

Working from home and work-related well-being: The role of work-family balance

Fabrizio Méndez-Rivero

Universidad Católica del Uruguay

Martina Querejeta

martina.querejeta@fcea.edu.uy

Universidad de la República de Uruguay

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Authors

Fabrizio Méndez-Rivero

Departamento de Bienestar y Salud, Universidad Católica del Uruguay, Montevideo, Uruguay

E-mail: fabrizio.mendez@ucu.edu.uy

ORCID: 0000-0002-5549-1084

Martina Querejeta (**corresponding author**)

Instituto de Economía, Departamento de Economía, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y de Administración, Universidad de la República, Montevideo, Uruguay

E-mail: martina.querejeta@fcea.edu.uy

ORCID: 0000-0001-5522-3461

Abstract

Telework has become a persistent feature of labor markets, yet evidence on whether it improves or undermines well-being remains mixed. This paper examines the association between telework, work-related well-being, and work-family balance across household contexts. Using harmonized microdata from approximately 4,400 workers in Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and the Netherlands collected in 2024, the analysis documents selection into telework, examines its association with burnout and work engagement, and applies a decomposition method to assess how work-family balance mediates these associations. Results reveal marked gender differences. Among men, telework is associated with higher burnout, particularly among fathers, with no gains in work engagement. Among women, it reduces exhaustion and, in dual-teleworking households, substantially increases engagement. Work-family balance explains an important share of these associations among women, but not among men. Overall, the findings highlight the importance of gender and intra-household dynamics in shaping the well-being effects of telework.

Keywords: Telework, Work-family balance, Well-being, Gender differences, Household dynamics.

JEL: J16, J22, I31

Statements and Declarations

Data Availability

The datasets generated by the survey research during and/or analyzed during the current study are available in the SWISSUbase repository, <https://doi.org/10.48573/11yc-mf28>.

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Author Contributions

Both authors contributed equally to all stages of the research and manuscript preparation, including study conception and design, data collection and analysis, and manuscript writing, and they are considered co-first authors. Both authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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1 Introduction

Telework has become a persistent feature of labor markets in advanced economies, extending well beyond the exceptional conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic. While remote work initially expanded as an emergency response, it has remained widespread in hybrid and voluntary forms, reshaping not only where work is performed but also how workers organize time and responsibilities across paid and unpaid activities. By altering the spatial and temporal boundaries between employment and family life, telework has the potential to transform household arrangements and, through them, workers' well-being.

From the perspective of household economics, the consequences of teleworking are theoretically ambiguous. On one hand, working remotely reduces commuting costs, increases schedule flexibility, and may strengthen workers' control over the allocation of time across competing domains. These changes may facilitate the reconciliation of work and family responsibilities and improve occupational well-being. On the other hand, telework can increase the permeability of work and family boundaries, intensify domestic interruptions, and generate expectations of constant availability. The same flexibility that enables coordination may therefore also amplify work-family conflict and reduce well-being. Whether teleworking ultimately improves or undermines workers' experiences remains an empirical question.

Growing literature documents heterogeneous effects of telework on burnout, work engagement, job satisfaction, and mental health. Yet existing evidence points to an important limitation, the fact that the consequences of telework cannot be fully understood at the individual level alone. Household circumstances shape the extent to which workers can convert flexibility into improved well-being. In particular, gender differences in unpaid work and caregiving responsibilities imply that remote work may generate unequal outcomes for men and women. Women continue to perform a disproportionate share of household production and care activities and therefore may experience telework differently than men, even under similar employment conditions (Çoban, 2022). Moreover, one partner's work arrangement may affect the other partner's capacity to combine paid work and family responsibilities, suggesting that telework generates intra-household interactions rather than purely individual responses.

Work-family balance constitutes a particularly relevant mechanism through which these dynamics may operate. Telework may improve workers' ability to coordinate professional and family demands by increasing autonomy and reducing time constraints. At the same time, the weakening of physical and temporal boundaries between work and home may intensify conflict between roles. Existing evidence increasingly suggests that differences in work-family balance explain an important share of the relationship between telework and occupational well-being. However, evidence remains limited regarding whether this mechanism differs across women and men and according to partners' teleworking arrangements.

This study contributes to this literature using data from The Empty Office project collected in 2024 across four European countries, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and the Netherlands (Vacchiano et al., 2024). The analysis focuses on two validated dimensions of work-related well-being: burnout, measured using the Burnout Assessment Tool (BAT-12), and work engagement, measured using the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES-9).

The empirical analysis proceeds in three steps. First, we document the sociodemographic and occupational correlates of telework access and intensity, with particular attention to how household composition shapes selection into remote work. Second, we examine the association between teleworking and work-related well-being and assess heterogeneity according to gender, parenthood,

and partner's teleworking status. Third, we apply the Karlson-Holm-Breen decomposition method to assess the extent to which the association between telework and well-being operates through differences in work-family balance and to distinguish direct from indirect associations.

Our results show that access to telework remains strongly stratified by education and occupational position, while household characteristics play a comparatively limited role in selection once job attributes are considered. The regression analysis suggests that the association between telework and work-related well-being is strongly gendered. Among men, telework is associated with higher burnout, particularly among fathers and in households where partners do not telework, with no corresponding gains in work engagement. Among women, telework is overall associated with well-being gains, namely lower exhaustion and higher engagement. Decomposition results further show that these gender differences reflect distinct underlying mechanisms: work-family balance accounts for an important share of the association between telework and well-being among women, especially when both partners telework, but not among men. These findings suggest that the well-being consequences of telework depend not only on individual work arrangements but also on household organization and the gendered allocation of responsibilities within couples.

This study contributes to the literature in three ways. First, by drawing on data collected in 2024, a post-pandemic context in which telework is predominantly voluntary and hybrid, it provides evidence from a period closer to a stable equilibrium of remote work adoption, rather than the exceptional conditions that dominated earlier research. Moreover, unlike much of the existing literature, which relies either on worker-level data from single organizations or on organization-level data, this study relies on cross-country individual-level data with rich information on household and job characteristics. This broader comparative framework strengthens the external validity of the evidence and allows for the analysis of gender differences and intrahousehold dynamics across institutional and organizational settings. Second, it advances the understanding of the mechanisms linking telework and occupational well-being by explicitly examining the role of work-family balance. Third, and most centrally, by incorporating the partner's teleworking status and household composition into the analysis, the dual-teleworking household is treated as a qualitatively distinct context, and it examines their implications for well-being. Indeed, our results challenge the individual worker as the standard unit of analysis for studying telework and well-being. Most research asks whether telework affects worker outcomes, taking the individual arrangement as the relevant input. We argue this question is incomplete as telework is embedded in household configurations, and its well-being consequences depend on the joint work arrangements of both partners. This paper explicitly recognizes the importance of household dynamics in examining how telework differentially shape the work-related well-being of men and women and the role of work-family balance in that relationship.

The remainder of the article is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the theoretical and empirical literature on teleworking, well-being, the role of work-family balance, and the gendered nature of these relationships. Section 3 describes the data, estimation samples, and variables used in the analysis. Section 4 presents the empirical strategy. Section 5 reports the main results and discusses the findings, and Section 6 concludes.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Telework and well-being

The relationship between teleworking and worker well-being is theoretically ambiguous and empirically contested. Telework offers potential benefits - the elimination of commuting time, greater schedule control, and increased autonomy- through which remote work may reduce exhaustion and improve psychological well-being (Bloom et al., 2015; Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). At the same time, it introduces new demands -blurred work-life boundaries, cognitive load from technology-

mediated communication, and social isolation- that may heighten stress and undermine mental health (Elbogen et al., 2022; Mendonça et al., 2022).

Post-pandemic evidence, less constrained by the exceptional conditions of COVID-19 (Elbaz et al., 2023), suggests that the effect on burnout and engagement depends critically on the intensity and voluntariness of the arrangement: moderate and voluntary telework is associated with better outcomes, while high-intensity or involuntary telework and arrangements that deviate from workers' preferences are linked to greater exhaustion and disengagement (Heiden et al., 2023; Hsu & Engelhardt, 2024; Rodríguez-Modroño & López-Igual, 2021; Santiago-Torner et al., 2025)

Gender constitutes a central axis of heterogeneity. While telework is often framed as a tool for reconciling work and family demands, women teleworkers bear a disproportionate share of domestic and caregiving tasks when working from home, generating additional exhaustion even as commuting burdens are reduced, a dynamic described as a "double penalty" (Çoban, 2022; de Laat, 2025; Desjardins et al., 2025). Yet for women in households where caregiving responsibilities are more equitably shared, particularly those with a partner who also teleworks, the well-being effects of remote work appear more favorable (Bezak et al., 2022; Fan & Moen, 2024; Prati, 2024).

The literature further documents differential effects across dimensions of well-being. Exhaustion responds more favorably to telework through commuting relief, while emotional impairment is more sensitive to isolation and boundary blurring (Hayes et al., 2021; Kaltiainen & Hakanen, 2022). Work engagement increases with telework under high schedule control and organizational support, but declines when remote work is associated with isolation, overwork, or boundary violations (Lu & Zhuang, 2023; Nagata et al., 2021; Pulido-Martos et al., 2021).

2.2 *The role of work-family balance*

Work-family balance occupies a central position in the literature linking telework to individual well-being. Work-family conflict, defined as a form of inter-role conflict between work and family role demands (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), is consistently associated with poorer well-being and mental health (Gisler et al., 2018). Telework may influence this relationship through competing mechanisms.

On the one hand, telework can improve work-family balance by increasing workers' control over the timing and location of work. Greater flexibility facilitates the coordination of work and family responsibilities, reduces commuting time, and increases perceived autonomy (Allen et al., 2013). Longitudinal evidence further shows that schedule control and the ability to disconnect from work are important channels through which telework reduces work-family conflict, particularly among workers facing substantial family demands (Laß & Wooden, 2023, 2025)

On the other hand, telework may blur the boundaries between work and home, increasing the permeability of work and family domains and the sense of permanent availability, encouraging longer working hours, and intensifying domestic demands (Clark, 2000; Golden et al., 2006). Therefore, telework can intensify work-family conflict by eroding the spatial and temporal boundaries that separate work from personal life (van der Lippe & Lippényi, 2020; Zhang et al., 2020).

Consistent with boundary theory, the effects of telework depend on workers' ability to manage the permeability of the borders between work and personal domains. When telework facilitates control over work-family borders it improves balance, whereas blurred boundaries and permanent availability increase conflict (Adams & Schwarz, 2024; Carvalho et al., 2021; Clark, 2000; Otsuka & Kaneita, 2025).

Recent research highlights that these processes also depend on the household context. Particularly, in dual-earner households, one partner's work arrangement directly affects the other's ability to reconcile work and family responsibilities. Dual-teleworking households may facilitate a more egalitarian division of unpaid work, while asymmetric arrangements when only women telework may reinforce traditional gender roles (Hu et al., 2023; Martucci, 2023; Pabilonia & Victoria Vernon, 2022). Work-family balance is therefore increasingly recognized as a key mechanism linking telework to well-being outcomes such as burnout, job satisfaction, or engagement (Carvalho et al., 2021; Rebecca & Jayawardana, 2023; Santiago-Torner, 2023; Yeves et al., 2026). Using the same cross-national dataset employed in this study, work-life balance was found to partially mediate the relationship between home workspace quality and occupational well-being (Bulti & Vacchiano, 2026).

2.3 Gender differences in the interaction between telework, work-family balance, and well-being

Gender is one of the most consistent sources of heterogeneities in the relationship between telework, work-family balance, and well-being. Evidence points to a marked asymmetry as telework tends to have limited or even negative implications for men's work-family balance, while its consequences for women are more heterogeneous and highly dependent on family circumstances (Çoban, 2022; Loezar-Hernández et al., 2023; Yucel & Chung, 2023).

These differences reflect persistent gender inequalities in unpaid work. Despite rising female labor force participation, women continue to perform a disproportionate share of childcare and domestic responsibilities (OECD, 2021). Consequently, women are more likely to use telework to reconcile paid work and caregiving, while men tend to value telework primarily for productivity and career-related reasons (Sprung et al., 2015). Following the boundary theory, the flexibility provided by telework may therefore improve or worsen work-family balance depending on which domain individuals prioritize and identify with most strongly (Clark, 2000). Because women typically face stronger social expectations regarding family responsibilities, the flexibility provided by telework may translate into greater work-family balance for some women, but into greater unpaid work and blurred boundaries for others, particularly mothers (Craig & Powell, 2012; Laß & Wooden, 2023, 2025; van der Lippe & Lippényi, 2020; Wheatley, 2017; Zhang et al., 2020).

The household context further conditions these gender differences. Within couples, one partner's work arrangement affects the other's allocation of time through bargaining and coordination processes. Evidence suggests that working from home can reshape the timing and allocation of paid and unpaid activities, with these patterns differing by gender and household context (Giménez-Nadal et al., 2025). However, evidence on whether these changes translate into more egalitarian arrangements remains mixed. While telework may increase fathers' involvement in unpaid work under some circumstances, women's teleworking may also reinforce traditional specialization patterns. Carlson et al. (2021) argue that mothers who do not work full-time may shield fathers from domestic demands, limiting the extent to which flexible work arrangements translate into a more egalitarian division of labor. These findings suggest that the effects of telework on work-family balance and well-being cannot be understood at the individual level alone but depend fundamentally on intra-household dynamics.

Despite the rapid expansion of teleworking, little evidence exists on how these relationships vary according to both gender and partners' teleworking arrangements. This paper addresses this gap by explicitly incorporating household context into the analysis of telework, work-family balance, and work-related well-being.

3 Data and Descriptive Statistics

3.1 Data sources and sample selection

This paper draws on quantitative microdata from the international project The Empty Office, which collects harmonized information on employment conditions, teleworking practices, well-being, and family characteristics across multiple countries (Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and the Netherlands) (Vacchiano et al., 2025). The target population consists of individuals aged 18 and over working in occupational sectors with high telework potential, such as finance, information and communication, technology, and education. Data was collected between June and July 2024 using a stratified random sampling design by age and gender, with booster quotas for full-time, hybrid, and in-person workers. The sample includes about 4,400 respondents (1,100 per country), ensuring sufficient statistical power to identify differences in telework patterns across socioeconomic groups within countries.

The Empty Office dataset has been used in a series of complementary studies examining different dimensions of remote work, including the structure and composition of personal networks across telework modalities (Vacchiano et al., 2026), and the role of home workspace quality and social interactions as mechanisms linking telework to well-being (Bulti & Vacchiano, 2026). This paper contributes to this line of research by exploring the role of work-family balance behind the association between telework and occupational well-being, with particular attention to household composition and the partner's teleworking status as moderating dimensions.

The analysis is restricted to individuals with consistent responses in the network questionnaire and is conducted on four samples: the full sample (3,913 individuals; 2,108 women and 1,805 men), a parent's sample (2,118 individuals; 1,114 women and 1,004 men), and couples-with-children sample depending on whether the partner teleworks (487 individuals; 250 women and 237 men) or not (447 individuals; 236 women and 211 men).

3.2 Variables

The main outcomes are two measures of work-related mental well-being. *Burnout* is measured using the Burnout Assessment Tool (BAT) (Schaufeli et al., 2020; Schaufeli & Taris, 2005). The survey includes 12 items covering four core dimensions of burnout: exhaustion, mental distance, cognitive impairment, and emotional impairment, each measured by three items. Respondents indicate how often they experience each statement on a five-point Likert scale ranging from never (1) to always (5). Following the standard BAT scoring procedure, items are first coded so that higher values indicate higher levels of burnout. For each dimension, we compute the average of the corresponding items, and the overall BAT score is constructed as the average of the four subscale scores. As a result, both the subscales and the overall BAT index range from 1 to 5, with higher values indicating greater burnout.

Work engagement is captured using the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale – short version (UWES-9), which captures positive psychological engagement with work (Schaufeli et al., 2002, 2006). The scale consists of nine items grouped into three dimensions: vigor, dedication, and absorption, each measured by three items. Respondents report how frequently they experience each feeling at work using a seven-point scale ranging from never (0) to every day (6). Items are coded so that higher values indicate higher engagement. For each dimension, we compute the average of the corresponding items, and the overall UWES score is calculated as the mean of the three subscale scores. Consequently, UWES subscales and the total score range from 0 to 6, with higher values reflecting higher work engagement.

Therefore, by examining burnout and engagement simultaneously, both the negative and positive dimensions of occupational well-being are captured, offering a broader picture. Table 1 below

provides some detail on the definition of each measure and dimensions of work-related mental well-being.

Table 1. Work-related mental well-being measures and dimensions

	Definition	Survey items
Burnout assessment tool (BAT)		
Exhaustion	A state of physical and mental depletion in which the worker feels completely drained of energy and no longer able to function adequately. Reflects the energetic component of burnout, the inability to perform work due to chronic fatigue.	(1) At work, I feel mentally exhausted. (2) After a day at work, I find it hard to recover my energy. (3) At work, I feel physically exhausted.
Mental Distance	An aversive psychological distancing from work, characterized by indifference, cynicism, reluctance to work, and a strong resistance to performing job tasks. Reflects the motivational component of burnout, unwillingness to spend effort at work.	(4) I struggle to find any enthusiasm for my work. (5) I feel a strong aversion towards my job. (6) I'm cynical about what my work means to others.
Cognitive Impairment	Reduced capacity to regulate cognitive processes at work, manifested as poor attention and concentration, forgetfulness, and difficulty processing information. Reflects the functional inability to think clearly due to chronic energy depletion.	(10) At work, I have trouble staying focused. (11) When I'm working, I have trouble concentrating. (12) I make mistakes in my work because I have my mind on other things.
Emotional Impairment	Reduced capacity to regulate emotional responses at work, characterized by sudden emotional outbursts, irritability, and difficulty managing interpersonal demands. Reflects impaired emotional control because of prolonged energy depletion.	(7) At work, I feel unable to control my emotions. (8) I do not recognize myself in the way I react emotionally at work. (9) At work I may overreact unintentionally.
Work engagement (UWES)		
Vigor	High levels of energy and mental resilience while working, willingness to invest effort in one's work, and persistence even when facing difficulties.	(1) At my work, I feel bursting with energy. (2) At my job, I feel strong and vigorous. (3) When I get up in the morning, I feel like going to work.
Dedication	A strong sense of involvement in one's work, characterized by feelings of significance, enthusiasm, inspiration, pride, and challenge.	(4) I am enthusiastic about my job. (5) My job inspires me. (6) I am proud of the work that I do.
Absorption	A state of full concentration and deep immersion in one's work, in which time passes quickly and detaching from the job feels difficult.	(7) I feel happy when I am working intensely. (8) I am immersed in my work. (9) I get carried away when I am working.

Notes: BAT dimensions from Schaufeli et al. (2020); Schaufeli & Taris (2005); UWES dimensions from (Schaufeli et al., 2002, 2006).

The key explanatory variable is teleworking status. An individual is considered a teleworker if teleworks a positive number of hours in a typical week.¹

The main mechanism explored captures respondents perceived work-family balance. Respondents report their level of agreement with four statements: (i) *“The boundary between work and personal life is blurred”*; (ii) *“I feel like I am always working”*; (iii) *“My work enables me to better fulfil household and childcare responsibilities”*; and (iv) *“I currently have a good balance between the time I spend working and the time I have available for non-work activities”*. Responses range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Items (iii) and (iv) are reverse-coded so that higher values

¹ Alternatively, we measure telework intensity by the number of hours worked remotely in a typical week. Results in Table A.5 show that findings for women are robust to this alternative definition, while for men, telework intensity plays a somewhat larger role in explaining the relationship between telework and well-being.

consistently indicate greater work–family balance. In addition to the individual items, we construct a composite index of work-family balance by aggregating information across all statements. Each component is first standardized, the standardized components are then averaged, and the resulting index is standardized again. Standardization is performed separately by gender, yielding a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 for women and men separately (Kling et al., 2007). Higher values of the index therefore indicate higher perceived work-family balance. Figure A 1 in the Appendix report responses to each item by sex for the total sample.

Individual and household controls include age, level of education, household typology, partnership status, presence and number of children, and country. Job-related controls include occupation type (managerial, clerical, technical, manual), employment status (salaried full or part-time, self-employed), firm size, and sector (public, private, NGO).

3.3 Descriptive statistics

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics by sex for the different estimation samples used in the analysis. The total sample is composed predominantly of middle-aged individuals with post-secondary education. Most respondents are employed full-time, and more than one third hold managerial positions. Approximately 70% work in medium- or large-sized firms with more than 50 employees, mainly in the private sector. Teleworking is widespread in the sample analyzed, with most respondents engaging in hybrid arrangements. Around half of the sample lives with a partner, and slightly more than half have children.

Marked gender differences emerge in both employment and family characteristics. Women are on average four years younger than men (41 versus 45), are more highly educated, and work fewer hours. They are less likely to be employed full-time or self-employed and more likely to work part-time. Women are also less likely to hold managerial positions, tend to work in smaller firms, and are more frequently employed in the public sector. Women are slightly more likely than men to telework, particularly to do so fully remotely. They are also marginally less likely to live with a partner or to have children.

Finally, among parents, men are more likely to work full-time and to telework, whereas the opposite pattern is observed for women. Among parents, teleworking incidence increases when the partner also teleworks: 68.7% of men and 66.0% of women in dual-teleworking couples work remotely, compared to 48.7% and 47.0%, respectively, when the partner does not telework. Hybrid arrangements dominate for both genders, while fully remote work remains relatively limited, though more common among women.

Taken together, the descriptive evidence suggests that teleworking is more prevalent among more educated workers and in households with stronger labor market attachment, particularly when both partners can work remotely. At the same time, persistent gender differences in working hours, employment type, and sectoral allocation highlight the continued importance of family structure and intra-household dynamics in shaping teleworking patterns.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of estimation samples, by sex.

	Men				Women			
	Total	w/Child.	Child. & Partner teleworks	Child. & Partner no teleworks	Total	w/Child.	Child. & Partner teleworks	Child. & Partner no teleworks
Age	44.750	47.225	46.284	47.360	41.164	45.314	41.881	46.401
ECCE or primary	0.078	0.067	0.061	0.085	0.058	0.076	0.054	0.124
Secondary	0.302	0.307	0.221	0.339	0.291	0.317	0.198	0.319
Post-secondary non-tertiary	0.245	0.243	0.203	0.244	0.250	0.241	0.225	0.237
Tertiary	0.203	0.220	0.297	0.200	0.208	0.199	0.256	0.167
Master's or Doctoral	0.172	0.162	0.218	0.133	0.192	0.166	0.266	0.153
Employed full-time	0.800	0.849	0.807	0.887	0.579	0.507	0.469	0.484
Employed part-time	0.136	0.099	0.122	0.075	0.376	0.450	0.490	0.481
Self employed	0.064	0.052	0.071	0.038	0.045	0.044	0.040	0.035
Weekly hours	38.077	38.459	38.826	39.014	33.302	31.977	32.333	30.598
Managers	0.414	0.455	0.602	0.318	0.345	0.342	0.448	0.254
Micro <10	0.123	0.097	0.087	0.092	0.146	0.155	0.131	0.170
Small 10-49	0.135	0.115	0.132	0.087	0.164	0.160	0.119	0.182
Medium 50-499	0.377	0.398	0.374	0.349	0.343	0.371	0.404	0.322
Large 500+	0.365	0.389	0.406	0.472	0.347	0.314	0.346	0.326
Public sector	0.259	0.279	0.311	0.197	0.341	0.321	0.329	0.260
Private sector	0.635	0.618	0.568	0.708	0.508	0.518	0.485	0.644
Joint Private-Public sector	0.077	0.076	0.073	0.083	0.110	0.114	0.134	0.074
NGO	0.030	0.027	0.048	0.012	0.041	0.047	0.052	0.022
Teleworking	0.534	0.573	0.687	0.487	0.558	0.552	0.660	0.470
Fully teleworking	0.071	0.069	0.085	0.059	0.114	0.108	0.088	0.095
Hybrid work	0.462	0.504	0.601	0.428	0.444	0.444	0.572	0.375
Has child	0.526				0.516			
Num. children	0.933	1.776	1.889	1.646	0.867	1.680	1.781	1.650
Has partner	0.470	0.608			0.445	0.524		
Partner's age	43.965	44.520	42.482	44.648	44.035	47.137	44.086	48.004
Partner is employed	0.782	0.770			0.874	0.872		
Partner no teleworking	0.485	0.508			0.512	0.529		
Observations	1,805	1,004	237	211	2,108	1,114	250	236

Notes: Values represent the mean of each variable.

Table 3 reports the descriptive statistics for the main outcome variables. The burnout and work engagement scales and their items by gender and teleworking status. Overall, teleworking is associated with higher levels of work engagement (UWES) for both men and women. Teleworkers exhibit significantly higher overall engagement scores, driven by increases in dedication and absorption. This pattern is consistent across subsamples only for women, where the positive association between teleworking and women's engagement remains robust but not men.

In terms of burnout, results are more nuanced. Overall, teleworkers exhibit lower levels of burnout, but difference is not significant at conventional levels. Among women, teleworking is associated with significantly lower levels of exhaustion, suggesting a potential protective effect on this dimension of burnout. This pattern is not consistent across subsamples. Teleworking fathers exhibit higher levels of burnout compared to non-fathers. In contrast, teleworking women always exhibit smaller burnout, and this pattern is even more pronounced among mothers in households where the partner is not teleworking.

Comparing across genders, two main results emerge. Women on average exhibit higher levels of burnout compared to men, but this difference is only significant for the exhaustion subscale. Women exhibit lower levels of work engagement across all UWES dimensions, but these differences are only significant among teleworkers.

Taken together, these descriptive patterns suggest that while teleworking is associated with higher engagement for both men and women, its relationship with burnout is mixed and differs across dimensions. Moreover, gender differences emerge primarily among teleworkers, highlighting the importance of considering intra-household dynamics and gender roles when analyzing the well-being effects of remote work.²

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of main outcomes, by sex and teleworking status.

	Men			Women		
	No telework	Teleworking	Diff	No telework	Teleworking	Diff
Burnout assessment tool (BAT)	2.255	2.261	0.006	2.269	2.292	0.022
BAT - Exhaustion	2.584	2.526	-0.058	2.732	2.658	-0.074**
BAT - Mental Distance	2.337	2.284	-0.053	2.285	2.299	0.014
BAT - Cognitive Impairment	1.959	1.943	-0.016	1.935	1.929	-0.006
BAT - Emotional Impairment	2.139	2.289	0.150***	2.125	2.280	0.155***
Work engagement (UWES)	3.850	3.992	0.143**	3.735	3.853	0.118*
UWES - Vigor	3.762	3.837	0.075	3.642	3.716	0.075
UWES - Dedication	4.006	4.174	0.168**	3.926	4.053	0.127*
UWES - Absorption	3.782	3.967	0.185**	3.636	3.789	0.152**
Observations	562	1,243	1,805	614	1,494	2,108

Notes: Values represent the raw average of all items on each scale or subscale. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05 and *** p<0.01.

4 Empirical Strategy

To examine the association between telework and work-related mental well-being, and the role of work-family balance, we rely on the mediation framework using the Karlson-Holm-Breen (KHB) decomposition method. This approach allows to decompose the total association between telework and work-related well-being into a component directly associated with telework and a component statistically accounted for by differences in work-family balance, thereby quantifying the relative importance of this potential mechanism.

Formally, the mediation structure is represented by the following system of equations:

$$(1) \text{balance}_i = \alpha_i + \beta_1 \text{telework}_i + \gamma'_1 X_i + \varepsilon_{1i}$$

$$(2) y_i = \alpha_2 + \beta_2 \text{telework}_i + \delta \text{balance}_i + \gamma'_2 X_i + \varepsilon_{2i}$$

Where y_i is the outcome of interest for individual i , namely the Burnout Assessment Tool (BAT) and the Work engagement (UWES) scales and subscales. telework_i is a binary variable taking value 1 if the individual engages in either fully remote or hybrid telework and balance_i is the work-family balance index. X_i is a set of individual control variables, including age, level of education, household

² Table A1 in the Appendix shows the same descriptive statistics of main outcomes by sex and teleworking status for the different samples used in this paper.

typology, partnership status, presence and number of children, employment status, type of occupation, firm size, sector, and country fixed effects. ε_{1i} and ε_{2i} are robust individual error terms.

The KHB method estimates equations (1) and (2) jointly, decomposing the total effect of teleworking on well-being into a direct effect (the association between teleworking and well-being net of work-family balance) and an indirect effect (the component of the association that operates through work-family balance). This approach allows to quantify the extent to which work-family balance accounts for the relationship between telework and well-being, and to assess whether this mechanism varies by gender, parenthood, and household composition.

5 Work from home, work-family balance, and well-being

The empirical analysis proceeds in three steps. First, we document the patterns of selection into telework by gender and household type. Second, we estimate the association between telework and mental well-being across household contexts. Finally, we decompose this relationship and explore the role of work-family balance as a potential mechanism. As a whole, results address the central argument of the paper, namely that telework is not a purely individual arrangement but rather embedded within households where the partner's work situation shapes the allocation of unpaid tasks and the capacity to manage the boundary between work and family life. The well-being effects of remote work are not properties of individual arrangements but of household configurations

5.1 Selection into teleworking

We first show evidence of the patterns of selection into telework by gender and household type. Table A2 in the Appendix shows the estimates of regressing teleworking status, on individual, household, and job-related characteristics and country fixed effects. It should be kept in mind that teleworking is widespread in the sample analyzed (Table 2).

A strong and monotonic educational gradient characterizes selection into telework for both men and women. Relative to individuals with primary education, those with secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary, tertiary, and postgraduate education are significantly more likely to telework, with effect sizes increasing sharply at higher levels of education. This pattern is remarkably stable across household types and is particularly pronounced among women.

Job characteristics are key predictors of teleworking. Managers and technical workers exhibit higher probabilities of teleworking compared to clerical workers, while all non-manual occupations display greater telework participation than manual workers. The largest coefficients are observed among men. Employment in medium-sized and large firms is also positively associated with teleworking compared to small firms, while self-employment is positively correlated with teleworking specially among women. Sectoral affiliation further shapes teleworking patterns. Telework is significantly more prevalent in the joint public-private and the private sector among women, whereas men working in NGOs are significantly less likely to telework. Weekly hours worked display limited association with teleworking, with small positive effects observed only among women in couples with children. These results point to gender-specific opportunities and constraints in access to telework.

Household characteristics play a comparatively minor role once job attributes are controlled for. The type of household, being in a couple or having children are not systematically associated with teleworking. The number of children is positively correlated with teleworking among men in couple. Finally, partner characteristics matter for men's teleworking behavior: having an employed partner and, in particular, a partner who does not teleworks significantly decreases men's likelihood of teleworking, consistent with assortative matching and coordinated work arrangements within

households. For women, partner characteristics are generally not significantly associated to teleworking.

Taken together, the results on the selection into teleworking confirm and extend prior evidence on the stratified nature of remote work access. Consistent with the broader literature, educational attainment and occupational position emerge as the dominant predictors, with a strong monotonic gradient observed for both men and women (Barrero et al., 2023; Gottlieb et al., 2021; López-Igual & Rodríguez-Modroño, 2020; Viollaz, 2022). This further relates to broader literature showing that access to flexible place working arrangements is more common among socioeconomically advantaged workers (Carlson et al., 2021).

The occupational hierarchy of teleworking access reflects the unequal distribution of tasks that can be performed remotely and aligns with evidence on the structural determinants of teleworking (Barrero et al., 2023; Sostero et al., 2020).

In contrast, household characteristics including the presence of children, partnership status, or extended family arrangements, play a comparatively minor role once occupational and educational attributes are controlled for. This finding challenges an intuitive expectation that caregiving responsibilities would substantially alter the probability of teleworking and is consistent with evidence suggesting that family-related motivations for teleworking are often secondary to organizational and occupational constraints. A notable exception is the number of children among men in couple, which is positively associated with teleworking, a pattern that may reflect strategic household coordination rather than individual preference. More striking is the result for partner characteristics: having a partner who teleworks increases men's likelihood of teleworking, consistent with assortative matching and the coordination of work arrangements within households (Hu et al., 2023). This "household contagion" in telework adoption has received limited attention in the literature but emerges here as a substantively relevant mechanism, particularly among men with children.

Taken together, these findings indicate that telework remains concentrated among more educated and occupationally advantaged workers, with occupation and education, rather than family structure, playing the central role in shaping access. Furthermore, this suggests that its potential well-being benefits are not equally distributed across the workforce.

5.2 Teleworking and well-being

Figures 1 and 2, and Table 4 present the association between teleworking and well-being for men and women across the four samples. In this subsection we discuss the total effects of telework on well-being outcomes, that is, the association estimated prior to the introduction of the work–family balance index as a mechanism, before turning to the decomposition of effects.

Among men, telework is associated with higher burnout in the total sample an effect concentrated in the emotional impairment dimension. No significant association with work engagement is observed. This pattern intensifies among men with children, for whom telework is significantly associated with higher burnout across all four dimensions. When men with children are stratified by their partner's teleworking status, the overall burnout effect disappears in households where the partner also teleworks, while in households where the partner does not telework, the effect becomes highly concentrated in emotional impairment. These results suggest that, for men, telework tends to increase burnout rather than enhance engagement, and that this adverse effect is most pronounced in the emotional domain among men with children and partners with on-site work arrangements.

Results are qualitatively different for women. In the total sample, telework yields no significant net effect on overall burnout or total engagement. These results mask two opposing forces, a significant

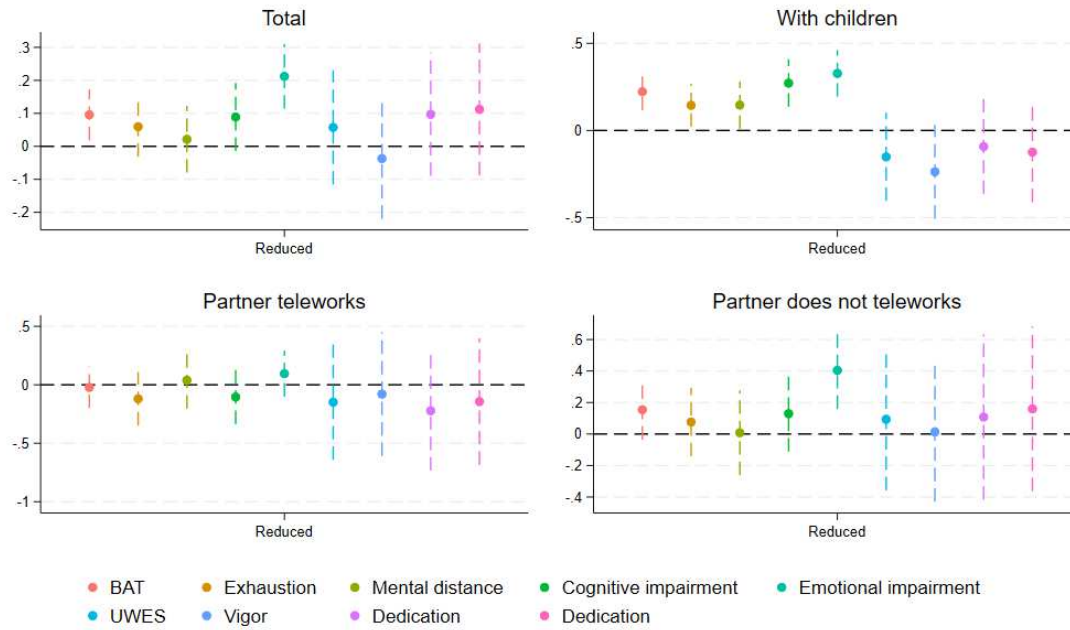
reduction in exhaustion and a significant increase in emotional impairment. Among women with children, the reduction in exhaustion becomes stronger while the emotional impairment effect loses significance. However, the most striking heterogeneity emerges when the partner's teleworking status is considered. When the partner also teleworks, telework is associated with a large and significant positive effect on total engagement, an effect that is consistent and substantial across all three engagement dimensions among women. By contrast, when the partner does not telework, the only significant effect is a modest reduction in exhaustion, with no effect on engagement. The household context of telework thus proves decisive in shaping its association with women's well-being.

These results reveal a sharp and persistent gender asymmetry in the well-being effects of telework. The fact that for men, particularly those with children, telework is negatively associated with work-related well-being is consistent with evidence suggesting that work-family conflict matters when exploring the effects of telework (Kalmanovich-Cohen & Stanton, 2025), though the specific mechanisms through which parenthood amplifies this effect for men remain an open empirical question. The absence of any significant engagement benefit for men stands in contrast to the broader positive narrative around telework flexibility and autonomy, and suggests that, at least in the post-pandemic context of predominantly hybrid arrangements, the well-being calculus of telework for men is driven more by its costs than its benefits.

For women, the picture is more nuanced but overall favorable, consistent with the relief from greater flexibility documented in the literature (Laß & Wooden, 2023; Rodríguez-Modroño & López-Igual, 2021). However, this comes along with a significant increase in emotional impairment, likely reflecting the intensification of interpersonal and boundary management demands that telework generates, including the difficulty of maintaining psychological distance from work when its physical setting coincides with the domestic sphere (Adams & Schwarz, 2024; Carvalho et al., 2021). Among women with children, the reduction in exhaustion strengthens while the emotional impairment effect attenuates, suggesting that having children shifts the balance toward net benefits of accessing more flexible working arrangements. This might be so because motherhood increases the value of commuting time saved and schedule flexibility gained (Arntz et al., 2022; Nagler et al., 2024).

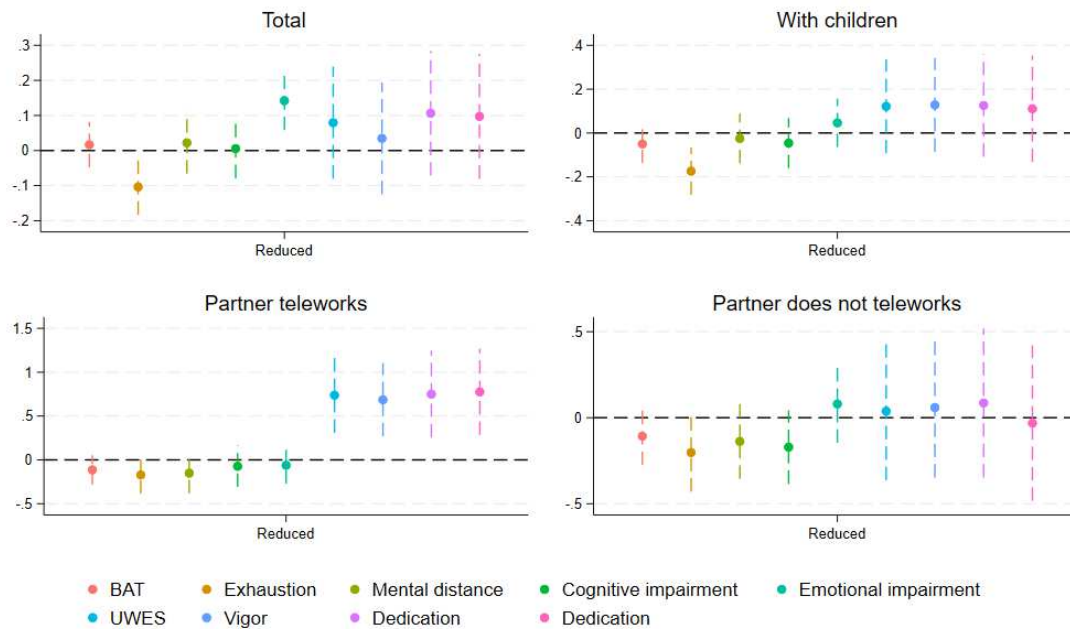
The most striking finding concerns the role of the partner's teleworking status. The fact that for women being in dual-teleworking households is associated with better well-being, extends the evidence on the importance of intra-household dynamics in conditioning the well-being effects of telework (Fan & Moen, 2024; Hu et al., 2023) is the largest effect observed in the entire analysis and is qualitatively different from anything observed for men or for women in households where only the woman teleworks. Taken together, the results point to gendered and asymmetric effects of teleworking on work-related wellbeing and suggest that the dual teleworking household represents a qualitatively distinct context, one in which the potential benefits of remote work are most fully realized for women.

Figure 1. Total effect of teleworking on work-related well-being for men



Notes: The coefficients correspond to the Reduced model in the KHB decomposition. Vertical lines represent the 95 percent confidence intervals. Robust standard errors. All regressions include individual, household, and job-related controls.

Figure 2. Total effect of teleworking on work-related well-being for women



Notes: The coefficients correspond to the Reduced model in the KHB decomposition. Vertical lines represent the 95 percent confidence intervals. Robust standard errors. All regressions include individual, household, and job-related controls.

5.3 The role of work-family balance

We begin by examining whether telework is associated with work-family balance, the proposed potential mechanism in the relationship between telework and well-being. Table A.3 reports the

estimates of a linear regression of the work-family balance index on telework and individual, household and job controls described in the previous sections. The results reveal a clear gender asymmetry. Telework is not significantly associated with work-family balance among men, whereas among women it is associated with improvements of 0.21, 0.19, and 0.16 standard deviations in the full sample, among mothers, and among partnered women, respectively. These findings provide initial evidence that telework improves the work-family interface for women but not for men.

Table 4 presents the complete results of the KHB decomposition for men and women across the four samples. The decomposition analysis allows to assess the extent to which the total effects documented above operate through work-family balance, and to distinguish direct from indirect pathways. The results reveal a strong gender asymmetry in the role of work-family balance.

For men, no significant indirect effects are observed in any of the four samples or across either burnout or engagement outcomes. This suggests that work-family balance does not function as a psychosocial mechanism linking telework to well-being among men. Instead, any association between telework and burnout appears to operate through channels other than work-family balance or reflects direct effects of the work modality itself.

For women, by contrast, work-family balance emerges as a consistent and pervasive mechanism. In the total sample, significant indirect effects are observed across all burnout and engagement dimensions. The direction of these effects is substantively meaningful. Telework improves work-family balance, which in turn reduces burnout and increases engagement. The pattern varies by outcome. For exhaustion and engagement outcomes, the direct effect is not significant while the indirect effect is, meaning the reduction in exhaustion associated with telework can be explained entirely through the improvement in work-family balance. For emotional impairment, both direct and indirect effects are significant, indicating partial pathway, meaning work-family balance explains only part of the association.

Among women with children, this pattern becomes even more systematic. Indirect effects remain significant across burnout dimensions and direct effects generally lose significance, consistent with a greater role of work-family balance. The same pattern holds for engagement, where indirect effects remain significant across all dimensions.

The most informative results emerge when stratifying by partner's teleworking status. Among women whose partner also teleworks, indirect effects through work-family balance are the largest observed in the analysis. For burnout outcomes, only indirect effects remain significant, indicating a greater role of work-family balance. For engagement, both direct and indirect effects are significant, implying that improved work-family balance explains an important share, but not all, of the engagement gains associated with telework. By contrast, when the partner does not telework, no indirect effects are observed. The only remaining effect is a direct reduction in exhaustion, operating independently of work-family balance.

The absence of indirect effects among men suggests that the burnout-increasing effects of telework operate through channels other than the work-family interface. This pattern is consistent with evidence showing that men's teleworking experience are more strongly shaped by organizational and performance dynamics than by work-family considerations (Çoban, 2022; Mofakhami et al., 2024). It may also reflect the lower prevalence of voluntary telework among men in our sample, reducing the degree of agency through which improvements in work-family balance could emerge.

Overall, these findings speak directly to work-family border theory and the role of boundary management in linking telework to well-being (Ashforth et al., 2000; Clark, 2000). Under this framework, the effects of telework on well-being depend on the degree of control individuals exercise over the permeability of work-family borders. Our results suggest that telework generates well-being gains not through remote work itself, but when it translates into greater control over the work-family interface, consistent with recent evidence (Clar-Novak, 2025; de Laat, 2025; Shen & Zamani, 2025) and previous studies linking flexible work arrangements to improved work-family balance and job satisfaction (Jamunarani & Syed, 2025). It is worth noting that evidence is not conclusive on this regard, and some other previous studies find that women working from home did not experience a better work-life balance than those not working from home (Kurowska, 2020; Peters et al., 2009), or that the positive effects were only evident for single rather than couples with children (ten Brummelhuis & van der Lippe, 2010).

One of the most novel findings of this paper is that the role of work-family balance depends critically on the partner's teleworking status. Among women with children, the strongest indirect effects are found in dual-teleworking households, suggesting that telework enhances well-being not simply by relocating work to the home but by enabling the joint reorganization of work and family responsibilities. Although these households face greater coordination demands, they also create greater opportunities to renegotiate boundaries and increase control over the work-family interface. In contrast, when only women telework while partners remain on-site, teleworking does not alter the underlying traditional work-family dynamics and benefits are limited to reduced exhaustion. This pattern is consistent with evidence showing that telework alone does not transform unequal divisions of unpaid work and may generate a "double penalty" for women in asymmetric household arrangement (Desjardins et al., 2025; Fernández-Lozano, 2023), which in our setting manifests here as an absence of work-family balance.

Taken together, the decomposition results show that telework affects well-being through fundamentally different mechanisms for men and women. By moving beyond the individual and incorporating household dynamics through the partner's work arrangement, this paper identifies work-family balance as a distinctly gendered pathway through which telework translates into well-being gains, particularly for women.

5.4 Robustness checks

To assess the robustness of the main results we estimate two alternative model specifications. We first re-estimate the main specification, sequentially excluding one of the four countries from the estimation sample. Results of the leave-one-country-out analysis are reported in Table A 4 in the Appendix and provide evidence of the robustness of the main results as they are not driven by any single country. The indirect effects of work-family balance for women remain statistically significant and in the same direction across all four specifications, and no indirect effects are observed for men in any of the scales and subsamples used.

Then we estimate the same model specification but replacing the key explanatory variable to a measure of telework intensity that accounts for the weekly teleworked hours. Results reported in Table A 5 in the Appendix shows some interesting gendered patterns. Estimates are qualitatively consistent for women, meaning work-family balance mediates the association between telework and well-being across the total sample, among mothers, and in dual-teleworking households, with no mediation when the partner does not telework. On the contrary, for men, significant indirect effects through work-family balance emerge in the total sample and in dual-teleworking households, suggesting that the intensity of telework exposure may matter for the mediation pathway in this group even when it does not with a binary indicator.

Table 4. KHB decomposition results: telework, work–family balance, and well-being.

Panel A. Men	(1) Total			(2) With children			(3) Partner teleworks			(4) Partner does not telework		
Outcome variable	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect
BAT total	0.093**	0.102***	-0.009	0.220***	0.203***	0.016	-0.017	0.068	-0.085	0.183*	0.140	0.043
Exhaustion	0.064	0.077*	-0.012	0.149**	0.126**	0.024	-0.117	0.002	-0.119	0.141	0.072	0.069
Mental distance	0.019	0.028	-0.010	0.144**	0.128*	0.016	0.045	0.129	-0.083	0.042	-0.007	0.048
Cognitive impairment	0.086*	0.094*	-0.008	0.266***	0.252***	0.014	-0.098	-0.021	-0.077	0.136	0.102	0.034
Emotional impairment	0.203***	0.210***	-0.008	0.320***	0.309***	0.011	0.103	0.162	-0.059	0.414***	0.394***	0.021
UWES total	0.067	0.056	0.011	-0.143	-0.123	-0.020	-0.156	-0.207	0.051	0.098	0.129	-0.032
Vigor	-0.024	-0.035	0.012	-0.229*	-0.207	-0.022	-0.087	-0.170	0.083	0.003	0.034	-0.032
Dedication	0.103	0.089	0.014	-0.084	-0.060	-0.025	-0.231	-0.279	0.049	0.118	0.167	-0.049
Absorption	0.121	0.115	0.007	-0.116	-0.104	-0.012	-0.151	-0.173	0.022	0.173	0.186	-0.014
Observations	1,734			976			232			208		

Panel B. Women	(1) Total			(2) With children			(3) Partner teleworks			(4) Partner does not telework		
Outcome variable	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect
BAT total	0.017	0.077**	-0.059***	-0.046	0.005	-0.051*	-0.119	0.035	-0.154***	-0.100	-0.113	0.012
Exhaustion	-0.102**	-0.015	-0.087***	-0.161***	-0.089	-0.072*	-0.151	0.085	-0.236***	-0.192	-0.209*	0.017
Mental distance	0.022	0.081*	-0.059***	-0.028	0.019	-0.047*	-0.158	-0.027	-0.131***	-0.136	-0.149	0.012
Cognitive impairment	0.007	0.058	-0.052***	-0.041	0.003	-0.044*	-0.079	0.057	-0.137***	-0.162	-0.173	0.011
Emotional impairment	0.142***	0.182***	-0.040***	0.047	0.087	-0.040*	-0.086	0.025	-0.111**	0.089	0.080	0.009
UWES total	0.082	0.012	0.069***	0.134	0.073	0.061*	0.740***	0.488**	0.252***	0.034	0.052	-0.019
Vigor	0.036	-0.042	0.078***	0.130	0.062	0.068*	0.690***	0.416*	0.275***	0.049	0.068	-0.020
Dedication	0.108	0.033	0.075***	0.142	0.078	0.064*	0.747***	0.472*	0.275***	0.087	0.105	-0.019
Absorption	0.101	0.046	0.055***	0.130	0.079	0.052*	0.783***	0.578**	0.205**	-0.034	-0.017	-0.018
Observations	1,958			1,042			233			224		

Notes: "Total effect" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct effect" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect effect" is the component associated to work-family balance (Diff = Total - Direct), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Robust standard errors. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Columns (1)–(2) refer to the total and couples-with-children subsamples; columns (3)–(4) further restrict to couples with children where the partner teleworks or does not telework, respectively. All regressions include individual, household, job-related controls, and country fixed effects.

5.5 *Heterogeneity analysis*

By employment sector. We first examine whether the relationship between telework, work–family balance, and work-related well-being differs between workers employed in the public and private sectors. The results are reported in Figures A2 and A3 in the Appendix.

Heterogeneity by sector is limited among men. The positive association between telework and burnout is observed in both the public and private sectors and remains largely driven by direct rather than indirect effects, with no evidence that work–family balance accounts for the relationship. Sectoral differences emerge only for work engagement. Telework is negatively associated with engagement among public-sector workers, particularly fathers. On the contrary, telework is positively associated with engagement among private-sector workers in the total sample.

Among women, telework is associated with lower burnout among public-sector workers in the total sample and among private workers in dual-teleworking households. Regarding work engagement, and contrary to what was found for men, telework is associated with stronger gains among public-sector workers. In contrast, when partners do not telework, sectoral differences largely disappear.

By working hours. We next investigate whether these associations vary according to working hours, distinguishing between full-time and part-time salaried workers. The results are reported in Figures A4 and A5 in the Appendix.

Among men, working hours do not meaningfully moderate the relationship between telework and work-related well-being. Both the total and indirect effects remain largely similar for full-time and part-time workers across most household types, with the exception of dual-teleworking couples among which part-time workers exhibit less work-engagement than full-time workers.

Among women, working hours mainly moderate the relationship between telework and work engagement rather than burnout. Telework shows little heterogeneity in burnout across full-time and part-time workers, with the latter having lower burnout than full-time workers in dual-teleworking couples. On the contrary, gains in work engagement are consistently larger among women working part-time, particularly among mothers and in dual-teleworking households.

Work–family balance plays a somewhat stronger role among part-time workers. Indirect effects on work engagement are more pronounced for women working part-time, especially when both partners telework, whereas among women whose partners do not telework, indirect effects are small or absent regardless of working hours. This suggests that reduced working hours amplify the benefits of telework only when accompanied by a supportive household context.

Overall, the results of the heterogeneity analysis suggest that gendered dynamics and household arrangements play a more prominent role than employment sector or working hours in shaping the effects of telework on work-related subjective well-being.

By age of the youngest child. Finally, we examine whether the associations between telework, work–family balance, and work-related well-being vary with the age of the youngest child. The analysis is restricted to parents and, given sample size constraints, among partnered individuals further restricted to households in which both partners telework. The results are reported in Figures A6 and A7 in the Appendix.

Among men, telework continues to be associated with higher burnout, while no significant indirect effects through work–family balance emerge regardless of whether the youngest child is aged 0–5, 6–

11, or 12 and older. If anything, the negative association between telework and burnout is higher among fathers of children under 12. Likewise, within dual-teleworking households, there is little evidence that the age of the youngest child systematically moderates the relationship between telework and well-being. Although point estimates vary, confidence intervals overlap substantially, suggesting limited heterogeneity.

Among women, the positive association between telework and work engagement is observed across all age groups although they appear somewhat larger during children's primary school years, particularly in dual-teleworking households. In contrast, burnout effects remain small and show little variation by children's age.

Overall, these findings suggest that the partner's teleworking status, rather than the age of children, is the main source of heterogeneity in the relationship between telework, work–family balance, and work-related well-being.

6 Conclusions

A large literature asks whether telework improves or undermines worker well-being. This paper examines the association between telework and work-related well-being, and the role of work-family balance in this relationship across household contexts. The findings of this paper show that the question posed at the individual level overlooks a crucial dimension, the moderating role of intra-household dynamics. Four main results emerge from the analysis.

First, access to telework remains strongly stratified by education and occupational position, confirming that the potential benefits of remote work are not equally available across the workforce. Household composition plays a limited independent role in shaping telework access, with the important exception of the partner's own teleworking status, which increases the probability of teleworking.

Second, the well-being effects of telework are markedly gendered and strongly associated with intra-household dynamics. For men, telework is associated with higher burnout and this intensifies among fathers, particularly when the partner works on-site. No engagement benefit is observed for men in any subsample. For women, results are more nuanced and telework reduces exhaustion across samples, but the largest and most substantively meaningful effect is a large positive impact on work engagement that emerges exclusively in dual-teleworking households and disappear when only the woman teleworks. That is, the largest effect documented in this paper is transmitted through the work-family interface.

Third, work-family balance operates as a central mechanism linking telework to well-being, but only for women. The decomposition analysis reveals a sharp gender asymmetry in this mechanism. Whereas for men, teleworking effects on burnout are direct and do not operate through the work-family interface, for women, work-family balance is a consistent mechanism across all burnout dimensions and engagement outcomes.

Fourth, the association between teleworking and well-being cannot be fully understood by taking the individual alone as the unit of analysis. The role of work-family balance is strongest in dual-teleworking households, where the capacity to negotiate the work-family interface is both more available and more consequential. In households where only the woman teleworks, the role of work-family balance is absent. These findings underscore that the well-being consequences of telework cannot be understood at the individual level alone. Instead, the configuration of work arrangements within the household is a decisive moderator.

These findings rest on several methodological strengths. The use of post-pandemic data captures a context of largely voluntary and hybrid telework, improving upon the pandemic-era evidence that dominates the existing literature. The joint examination of burnout and work engagement, negative and positive dimensions of well-being, using validated psychometric instruments provides a broader picture. The decomposition method allows for the analysis of the role of work-family balance. Finally, the analysis of heterogeneous effects by the partner's teleworking status represents a novel contribution to a literature that has predominantly analyzed teleworking effects at the individual level. At the same time, results should be interpreted considering two main limitations. First, the cross-sectional nature of the data precludes causal inference. Both individual and partners' teleworking arrangements may reflect unobserved characteristics correlated with well-being, such as occupational sorting, preferences for flexibility, or gender norms. Consequently, the stronger associations observed in dual-teleworking households should be interpreted as conditional associations rather than causal effects. Second, the analysis focuses on sectors with high telework potential, limiting the external validity of the findings and their applicability to workers in occupations where remote work is less feasible.

The results have several implications for research and policy. For research, they underscore the necessity of moving beyond individual-level analyses of telework and well-being to incorporate the household as a crucial unit. The partner's teleworking status is not merely a control variable but a fundamental moderator of the relationship between teleworking, work-family balance, and individual well-being. The analysis of intra-household work arrangements is a novel aspect we bring to the literature on the relationship between teleworking and well-being. Future research avenues could explore how household composition and the joint organization of paid work across partners shape the pathways from telework to well-being, ideally using empirical strategies that allow for causal identification. The recent growth of return-to-office mandates adds urgency to this agenda. Understanding the well-being costs and benefits of remote work across different household configurations is directly relevant to evaluating the consequences of policies that restrict or curtail flexible work arrangements.

For policy, the results caution against treating teleworking as a uniformly beneficial flexibility measure and underscore the need to evaluate remote work arrangements considering the household contexts in which they are enacted. The well-being gains documented for women in dual-teleworking households reflect the capacity of remote work to enable renegotiation of the work-family interface, a process that depends on both partners' simultaneous availability at home. Where this condition is absent, teleworking does not yield the same engagement benefits and may even generate emotional costs when boundary management falls exclusively on the teleworking partner. This also suggests that organizational support for boundary management (the right to disconnect, norms around availability, and flexibility in scheduling) may be more consequential for women's well-being than the mere provision of remote work options. In the context of widespread return-to-office mandates, these findings suggest that reversing remote work arrangements may carry well-being costs that are particularly salient for women in dual-earner households, the group for whom telework appears most beneficial. Finally, the finding that telework increases burnout for men, particularly fathers, merits further policy attention, as it suggests that the well-being risks of remote work are not confined to women and that the design of hybrid arrangements should account for the differential demands they generate across household contexts.

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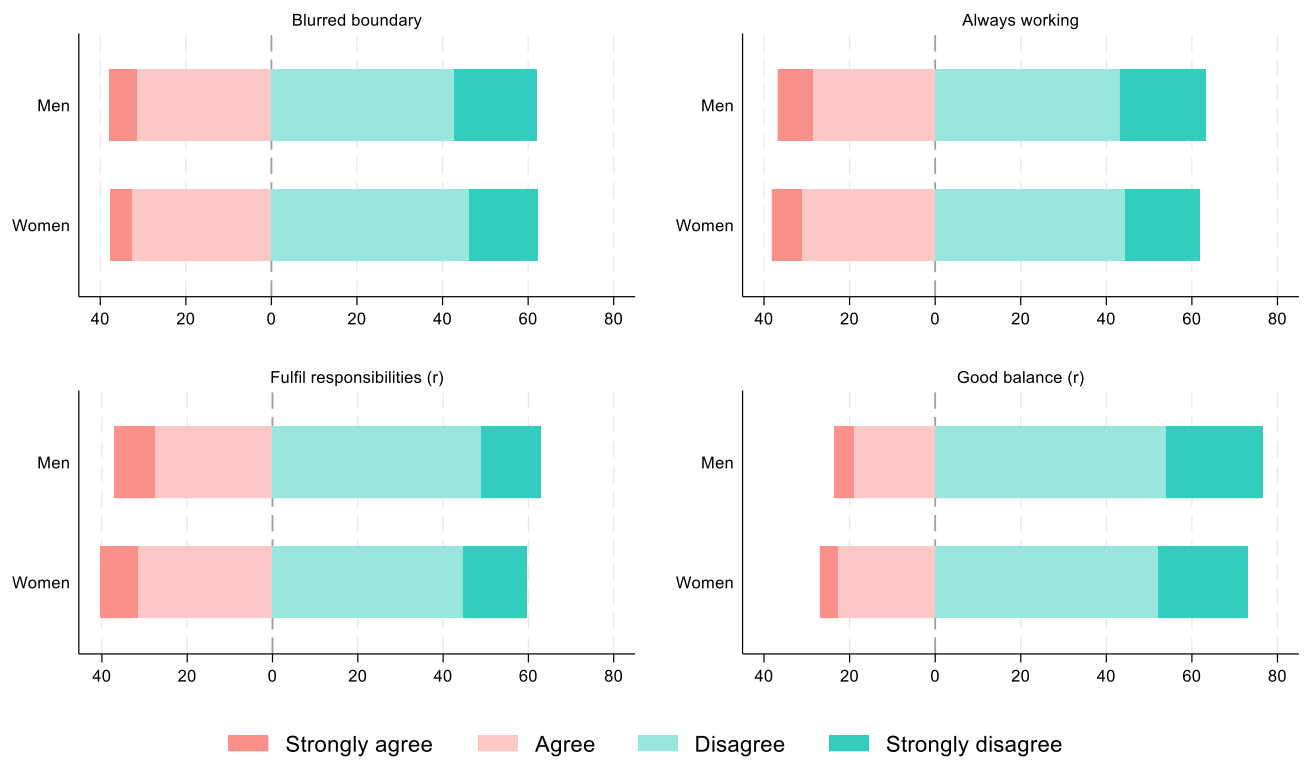
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8 Appendix

Figure A 1. Responses to work-balance items by sex. Total sample.



Notes: Complete sentences are “The boundary between work and personal life is blurred” (Blurred boundary); “I feel like I am always working” (Always working); “My work enables me to better fulfil household and childcare responsibilities” (Fulfil responsibilities); and “I currently have a good balance between the time I spend working and the time I have available for non-work activities” (Good balance). (r) indicates responses were reversed so that higher values consistently indicate greater work–family balance.

Table A 1. Descriptive statistics of main outcomes, by sex and teleworking status. Different estimation samples.

Panel A: w/Children	Men			Women		
	No telework	Teleworking	Diff	No telework	Teleworking	Diff
Burnout assessment tool (BAT)	2.129	2.285	0.156***	2.241	2.223	-0.018
BAT - Exhaustion	2.481	2.558	0.077	2.662	2.573	-0.089*
BAT - Mental Distance	2.207	2.310	0.103*	2.257	2.226	-0.031
BAT - Cognitive Impairment	1.834	2.011	0.178***	1.954	1.909	-0.045
BAT - Emotional Impairment	1.994	2.261	0.268***	2.091	2.182	0.091*
Work engagement (UWES)	4.042	4.022	-0.020	3.838	4.050	0.212**
UWES - Vigor	3.959	3.885	-0.075	3.732	3.921	0.188**
UWES – Dedication	4.209	4.208	-0.001	4.064	4.252	0.188**
UWES – Absorption	3.958	3.972	0.015	3.718	3.976	0.258***
Observations	286	718	1,004	338	776	1,114
Panel B: w/Children & Partner teleworks	Men			Women		
	No telework	Teleworking	Diff	No telework	Teleworking	Diff
Burnout assessment tool (BAT)	2.199	2.184	-0.014	2.236	2.179	-0.057
BAT - Exhaustion	2.598	2.524	-0.074	2.583	2.539	-0.044
BAT - Mental Distance	2.213	2.196	-0.017	2.222	2.149	-0.073
BAT - Cognitive Impairment	1.898	1.806	-0.092	1.957	1.870	-0.087
BAT - Emotional Impairment	2.086	2.213	0.127	2.181	2.157	-0.024
Work engagement (UWES)	4.300	4.232	-0.067	3.432	4.241	0.809***
UWES - Vigor	4.156	4.138	-0.018	3.391	4.055	0.663***
UWES – Dedication	4.540	4.423	-0.117	3.654	4.423	0.770***
UWES – Absorption	4.202	4.136	-0.066	3.250	4.245	0.995***
Observations	52	185	237	59	191	250
Panel C: w/Child & Partner NO teleworks	Men			Women		
	No telework	Teleworking	Diff	No telework	Teleworking	Diff
Burnout assessment tool (BAT)	1.998	2.089	0.091	2.201	2.034	-0.166*
BAT - Exhaustion	2.311	2.381	0.069	2.647	2.438	-0.209
BAT - Mental Distance	2.124	2.123	-0.001	2.332	2.091	-0.241**
BAT - Cognitive Impairment	1.691	1.732	0.041	1.854	1.602	-0.252**
BAT - Emotional Impairment	1.864	2.119	0.255**	1.970	2.007	0.037
Work engagement (UWES)	4.259	4.255	-0.003	3.888	3.943	0.055
UWES - Vigor	4.233	4.203	-0.030	3.771	3.862	0.091
UWES – Dedication	4.462	4.414	-0.049	4.042	4.144	0.102
UWES – Absorption	4.081	4.150	0.069	3.851	3.824	-0.027
Observations	71	140	211	82	154	236

Notes: Values represent the raw average of all items on each scale or subscale. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05 and *** p<0.01.

Table A 2. Linear regression results of the likelihood of Teleworking, by sex and sample.

	Men			Women		
	Total	w/Child.	w/Partner	Total	w/Child.	w/Partner
Age	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.002 (0.003)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.003)
Secondary	0.056 (0.048)	0.131** (0.065)	0.263*** (0.082)	0.098* (0.052)	0.090 (0.061)	0.241*** (0.087)
Post-secondary non-tertiary	0.076 (0.049)	0.113* (0.066)	0.171** (0.084)	0.142*** (0.053)	0.163*** (0.063)	0.298*** (0.090)
Tertiary	0.198*** (0.050)	0.275*** (0.068)	0.310*** (0.084)	0.310*** (0.053)	0.264*** (0.064)	0.346*** (0.088)
Master's or Doctoral	0.305*** (0.052)	0.413*** (0.071)	0.447*** (0.089)	0.397*** (0.054)	0.412*** (0.066)	0.447*** (0.092)
Extended household	0.052 (0.037)	0.073 (0.049)	0.104 (0.072)	-0.066* (0.034)	-0.006 (0.049)	0.032 (0.073)
Has child	0.021 (0.043)			0.045 (0.041)		
Num. children	0.014 (0.021)	0.016 (0.021)	0.051* (0.029)	-0.022 (0.020)	-0.019 (0.020)	0.005 (0.030)
In a couple	0.028 (0.023)	0.042 (0.030)		-0.019 (0.022)	-0.010 (0.029)	
Partner's age			-0.002 (0.003)			-0.000 (0.003)
Partner employed			-0.038 (0.054)			0.107 (0.070)
Partner no teleworking			-0.126*** (0.048)			-0.079 (0.051)
Self employed	0.250*** (0.058)	0.236*** (0.085)	0.181 (0.117)	0.267*** (0.058)	0.210** (0.083)	0.169 (0.129)
Employed full-time	0.034 (0.038)	0.047 (0.055)	0.076 (0.076)	0.035 (0.028)	-0.019 (0.039)	-0.007 (0.062)
Managers	0.339*** (0.036)	0.368*** (0.048)	0.356*** (0.071)	0.126** (0.056)	0.120 (0.074)	0.085 (0.107)
Technical	0.362*** (0.043)	0.381*** (0.059)	0.389*** (0.083)	0.072 (0.059)	0.098 (0.081)	-0.015 (0.116)
Clerical	0.226*** (0.035)	0.274*** (0.048)	0.259*** (0.070)	0.102* (0.054)	0.074 (0.071)	0.029 (0.102)
Weekly hours	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.001)	0.005*** (0.002)	0.005* (0.003)
Medium 50-499	0.100*** (0.030)	0.118*** (0.042)	0.123** (0.060)	0.097*** (0.027)	0.064* (0.036)	0.019 (0.054)
Large 500+	0.083*** (0.031)	0.066 (0.043)	0.068 (0.061)	0.089*** (0.028)	0.018 (0.039)	-0.070 (0.056)
Private sector	-0.006 (0.027)	-0.024 (0.035)	0.034 (0.049)	0.065*** (0.025)	0.058* (0.035)	-0.002 (0.051)
Joint Private-Public sector	-0.010 (0.045)	-0.017 (0.059)	-0.100 (0.082)	0.174*** (0.037)	0.264*** (0.050)	0.201** (0.079)
NGO	-0.138** (0.068)	-0.118 (0.095)	-0.064 (0.119)	0.034 (0.056)	0.014 (0.072)	-0.184* (0.109)
Constant	0.043 (0.091)	-0.121 (0.128)	-0.231 (0.194)	0.086 (0.092)	0.117 (0.127)	0.036 (0.196)
Observations	1,733	976	535	1,958	1,042	498
R-squared	0.184	0.198	0.231	0.129	0.156	0.178

Notes: Omitted categories are, primary education, not in extended households, with no children, not in a couple, partner teleworking, salaried worker, employed part-time, manual worker, in small firms (less than 50 workers), employed in the public sector. Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A 3. Linear regression results of work-family balance on teleworking, by sex and sample.

	Men: Total	w/Child.	w/Partner	Women: Total	w/Child.	w/Partner
Telework	0.045 (0.052)	-0.046 (0.070)	-0.051 (0.101)	0.205*** (0.046)	0.188*** (0.064)	0.164* (0.097)
Age	0.014*** (0.002)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.013* (0.007)	0.013*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.003)	0.015** (0.007)
Secondary	0.044 (0.103)	-0.032 (0.141)	-0.112 (0.188)	0.060 (0.106)	0.130 (0.124)	0.253 (0.184)
Post-secondary non-tertiary	0.121 (0.106)	-0.106 (0.144)	-0.217 (0.193)	0.095 (0.108)	0.169 (0.127)	0.092 (0.191)
Tertiary	0.193* (0.109)	0.125 (0.149)	0.137 (0.193)	0.089 (0.108)	0.152 (0.131)	0.258 (0.189)
Master's or Doctoral	0.095 (0.113)	0.004 (0.157)	0.031 (0.208)	0.016 (0.112)	0.021 (0.137)	0.063 (0.197)
Extended household	-0.010 (0.080)	0.001 (0.106)	0.186 (0.165)	0.154** (0.069)	0.026 (0.100)	-0.030 (0.154)
Has child	-0.113 (0.093)			-0.211** (0.083)		
Num. children	0.040 (0.045)	0.061 (0.045)	0.029 (0.066)	0.066 (0.041)	0.068* (0.041)	0.058 (0.063)
In a couple	0.150*** (0.051)	0.186*** (0.066)		0.144*** (0.044)	0.137** (0.060)	
Partner's age			0.009 (0.007)			-0.002 (0.007)
Partner employed			0.287** (0.122)			0.154 (0.148)
Partner no teleworking			0.381*** (0.109)			0.090 (0.107)
Self employed	-0.208* (0.127)	-0.036 (0.185)	-0.202 (0.267)	-0.281** (0.119)	-0.352** (0.168)	-0.487* (0.272)
Employed full-time	-0.068 (0.083)	-0.043 (0.119)	-0.173 (0.174)	0.009 (0.057)	-0.045 (0.078)	0.061 (0.129)
Managers	-0.162** (0.079)	-0.232** (0.107)	-0.322* (0.167)	-0.163 (0.114)	-0.005 (0.150)	-0.116 (0.225)
Technical	0.053 (0.096)	0.027 (0.132)	-0.225 (0.192)	-0.009 (0.120)	0.024 (0.164)	-0.013 (0.244)
Clerical	-0.115 (0.076)	-0.083 (0.106)	-0.241 (0.163)	-0.006 (0.110)	0.069 (0.145)	-0.033 (0.215)
Weekly hours	-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.018*** (0.004)	-0.024*** (0.006)	-0.020*** (0.002)	-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.027*** (0.005)
Medium 50-499	0.017 (0.065)	0.098 (0.091)	0.168 (0.138)	0.022 (0.056)	-0.006 (0.074)	0.098 (0.114)
Large 500+	0.239*** (0.068)	0.282*** (0.094)	0.214 (0.139)	0.143** (0.058)	0.087 (0.079)	0.112 (0.118)
Private sector	0.025 (0.058)	0.067 (0.077)	-0.029 (0.111)	0.082 (0.051)	0.107 (0.070)	0.176* (0.107)
Joint Private-Public sector	-0.163* (0.098)	-0.136 (0.129)	-0.216 (0.187)	-0.013 (0.075)	-0.001 (0.102)	0.236 (0.167)
NGO	0.000 (0.147)	-0.237 (0.206)	-0.154 (0.272)	-0.006 (0.113)	-0.064 (0.147)	-0.082 (0.229)
Constant	0.083 (0.197)	-0.217 (0.278)	-0.049 (0.442)	-0.160 (0.187)	-0.646** (0.259)	-0.316 (0.412)
Observations	1,733	976	535	1,958	1,042	498
R-squared	0.092	0.092	0.157	0.104	0.115	0.135

Notes: Omitted categories are, primary education, not in extended households, with no children, not in a couple, partner teleworking, salaried worker, employed part-time, manual worker, in small firms (less than 50 workers), employed in the public sector. Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table A 4. KHB decomposition results: telework, work–family balance, and well-being. Robustness check: country leave-one-out

Panel A. Men		Spain excl.			Switz. excl.			Neth. excl.			Germ. excl.		
<i>Sub-sample</i>	<i>Outcome variable</i>	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect
<i>(1) Total</i>	BAT total	0.072	0.083*	-0.011	0.051	0.066	-0.015	0.100**	0.110**	-0.010	0.117**	0.117**	0.000
	UWES total	-0.014	-0.025	0.011	0.203*	0.185*	0.018	0.110	0.097	0.013	-0.081	-0.081	-0.000
	Observations		1.316			1.325			1.275			1.286	
<i>(2) With children</i>	BAT total	0.193***	0.185***	0.008	0.227***	0.197***	0.030	0.221***	0.206***	0.015	0.221***	0.216***	0.005
	UWES total	-0.232	-0.224	-0.008	-0.084	-0.045	-0.040	-0.096	-0.077	-0.019	-0.241	-0.235	-0.006
	Observations		717			778			707			726	
<i>(3) Partner teleworks</i>	BAT total	0.033	0.085	-0.053	0.026	0.085	-0.059	-0.013	0.054	-0.066	-0.055	0.081	-0.136**
	UWES total	-0.387	-0.413	0.026	0.107	0.063	0.044	-0.040	-0.081	0.040	-0.082	-0.189	0.107
	Observations		193			182			143			178	
<i>(4) Partner does not telework</i>	BAT total	0.054	0.068	-0.014	0.272**	0.198*	0.074	0.166	0.108	0.058	0.178	0.164	0.013
	UWES total	0.223	0.209	0.013	0.020	0.089	-0.069	0.127	0.179	-0.052	0.112	0.117	-0.005
	Observations		135			172			161			156	
Panel B. Women		Spain excl.			Switz. excl.			Neth. excl.			Germ. excl.		
<i>Sub-sample</i>	<i>Outcome variable</i>	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect
<i>(1) Total</i>	BAT total	0.023	0.079**	-0.056***	0.000	0.058	-0.058***	0.033	0.101**	-0.067***	-0.034	0.016	-0.049**
	UWES total	0.084	0.014	0.069***	0.192*	0.133	0.059**	0.046	-0.036	0.082***	0.124	0.063	0.061**
	Observations		1.468			1.458			1.457			1.491	
<i>(2) With children</i>	BAT total	-0.029	0.025	-0.054*	-0.015	0.012	-0.026	-0.049	0.027	-0.075**	-0.106**	-0.068	-0.038
	UWES total	0.246**	0.175	0.070*	0.126	0.097	0.029	0.110	0.012	0.098**	0.108	0.061	0.047
	Observations		764			811			774			777	
<i>(3) Partner teleworks</i>	BAT total	-0.044	0.109	-0.153***	-0.220**	-0.070	-0.149**	-0.073	0.069	-0.142**	-0.116	0.064	-0.180***
	UWES total	0.694***	0.449*	0.245**	1.044***	0.803***	0.241**	0.498*	0.253	0.246**	0.751***	0.483*	0.268**
	Observations		183			186			154			176	
<i>(4) Partner does not telework</i>	BAT total	-0.075	-0.100	0.024	-0.049	-0.051	0.002	-0.118	-0.116	-0.002	-0.127	-0.156	0.029
	UWES total	0.226	0.260	-0.034	0.059	0.063	-0.004	0.009	0.006	0.003	-0.029	0.013	-0.042
	Observations		145			164			189			174	

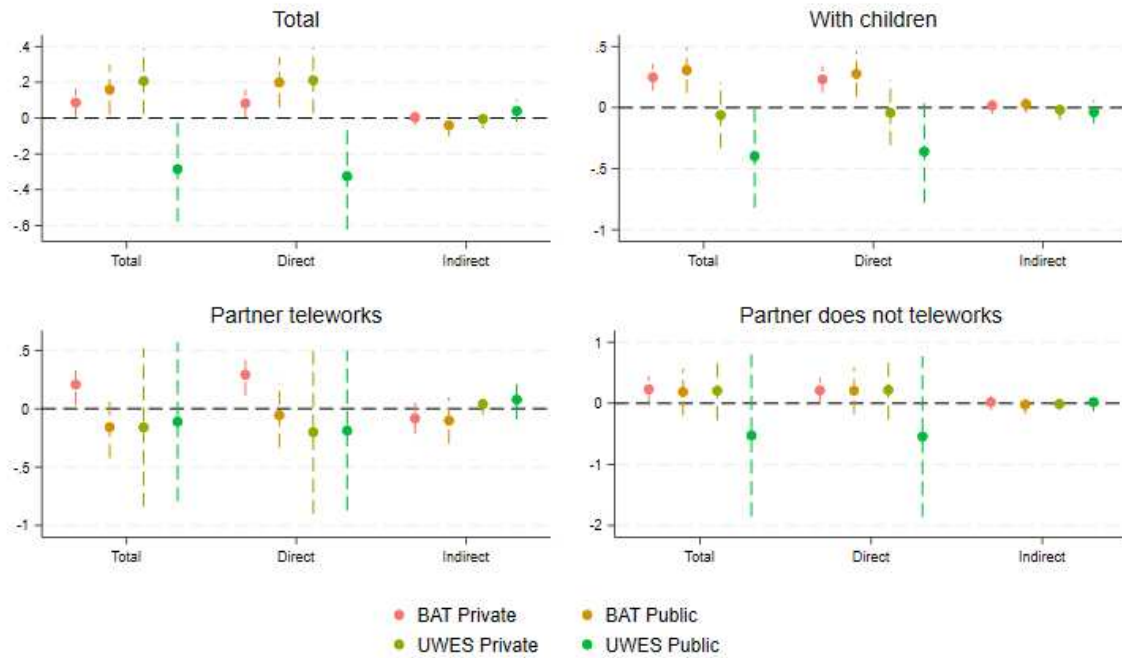
Notes: "Total effect" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct effect" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect effect" is the component associated to work-family balance (Diff = Total - Direct), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Robust standard errors. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Rows (1)–(2) refer to the total and couples-with-children subsamples; columns (3)–(4) further restrict to couples with children where the partner teleworks or does not telework, respectively. All regressions include individual, household, job-related controls, and country fixed effects.

Table A 5. KHB decomposition results: telework, work–family balance, and well-being. Robustness check: telework measured as weekly hours teleworked

Panel A. Men	(1) Total			(2) With children			(3) Partner teleworks			(4) Partner does not telework		
Outcome variable	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect
BAT total	0.001	0.003**	-0.002**	0.002	0.003*	-0.001	-0.003	0.002	-0.005***	0.005	0.003	0.002
Exhaustion	0.000	0.002	-0.002**	-0.001	0.001	-0.002	-0.005	0.002	-0.007***	0.003	-0.000	0.003
Mental distance	0.001	0.002	-0.002**	0.003	0.004*	-0.001	0.001	0.006	-0.005**	0.002	0.000	0.002
Cognitive impairment	0.000	0.002	-0.001**	0.002	0.003	-0.001	-0.009***	-0.005	-0.004**	0.001	-0.001	0.002
Emotional impairment	0.004**	0.006***	-0.001**	0.005**	0.006***	-0.001	0.001	0.004	-0.003**	0.012**	0.011**	0.001
UWES total	-0.001	-0.003	0.002**	-0.008*	-0.010**	0.002	-0.009	-0.012	0.003	-0.011	-0.009	-0.001
Vigor	-0.002	-0.004	0.002**	-0.007	-0.009*	0.002	-0.005	-0.010	0.005*	-0.005	-0.004	-0.001
Dedication	-0.001	-0.003	0.002**	-0.008	-0.010*	0.002	-0.009	-0.012	0.003	-0.017	-0.015	-0.002
Absorption	-0.001	-0.002	0.001**	-0.010*	-0.011**	0.001	-0.012	-0.014	0.002	-0.010	-0.009	-0.001
Observations	1,734			976			232			208		
Panel B. Women	(1) Total			(2) With children			(3) Partner teleworks			(4) Partner does not telework		
Outcome variable	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect
BAT total	0.001	0.003**	-0.002***	-0.000	0.001	-0.002*	-0.008**	-0.003	-0.005**	0.003	0.002	0.000
Exhaustion	-0.003**	0.000	-0.003***	-0.004*	-0.001	-0.003*	-0.008**	-0.001	-0.008**	-0.003	-0.004	0.000
Mental distance	0.001	0.003*	-0.002***	-0.000	0.002	-0.002*	-0.009	-0.004	-0.004**	0.003	0.002	0.000
Cognitive impairment	0.001	0.003	-0.002***	-0.001	0.001	-0.002*	-0.009**	-0.004	-0.004**	0.000	-0.000	0.000
Emotional impairment	0.005***	0.006***	-0.001***	0.003	0.004*	-0.001*	-0.008*	-0.004	-0.004**	0.011*	0.010*	0.000
UWES total	0.000	-0.002	0.003***	-0.000	-0.002	0.002*	0.021***	0.012	0.009**	-0.010	-0.010	-0.000
Vigor	-0.002	-0.005	0.003***	-0.002	-0.005	0.003*	0.022***	0.012	0.010**	-0.015	-0.015	-0.000
Dedication	0.000	-0.003	0.003***	-0.000	-0.003	0.002*	0.020**	0.010	0.010**	-0.010	-0.010	-0.000
Absorption	0.003	0.001	0.002***	0.002	-0.000	0.002*	0.021**	0.013	0.008**	-0.006	-0.005	-0.000
Observations	1,958			1,042			233			224		

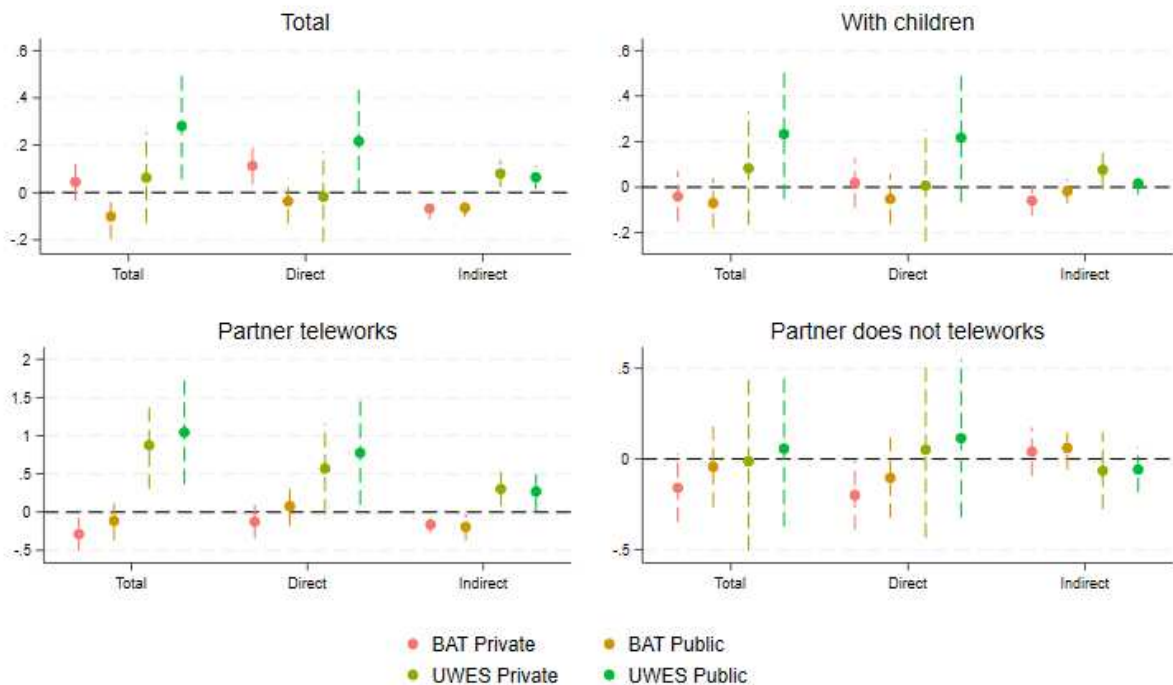
Notes: "Total effect" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct effect" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect effect" is the component associated to work-family balance (Diff = Total - Direct), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Robust standard errors. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Columns (1)–(2) refer to the total and couples-with-children subsamples; columns (3)–(4) further restrict to couples with children where the partner teleworks or does not telework, respectively. All regressions include individual, household, job-related controls, and country fixed effects.

Figure A 2. KHB decomposition results, by employment sector. Men.



Notes: "Total" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect" is the component associated to work-family balance ($\text{Diff} = \text{Total} - \text{Direct}$), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Vertical lines represent the 90 percent confidence intervals. Robust standard errors. All regressions include individual, household, job-related controls, and country fixed effects.

Figure A 3. KHB decomposition results, by employment sector. Women.



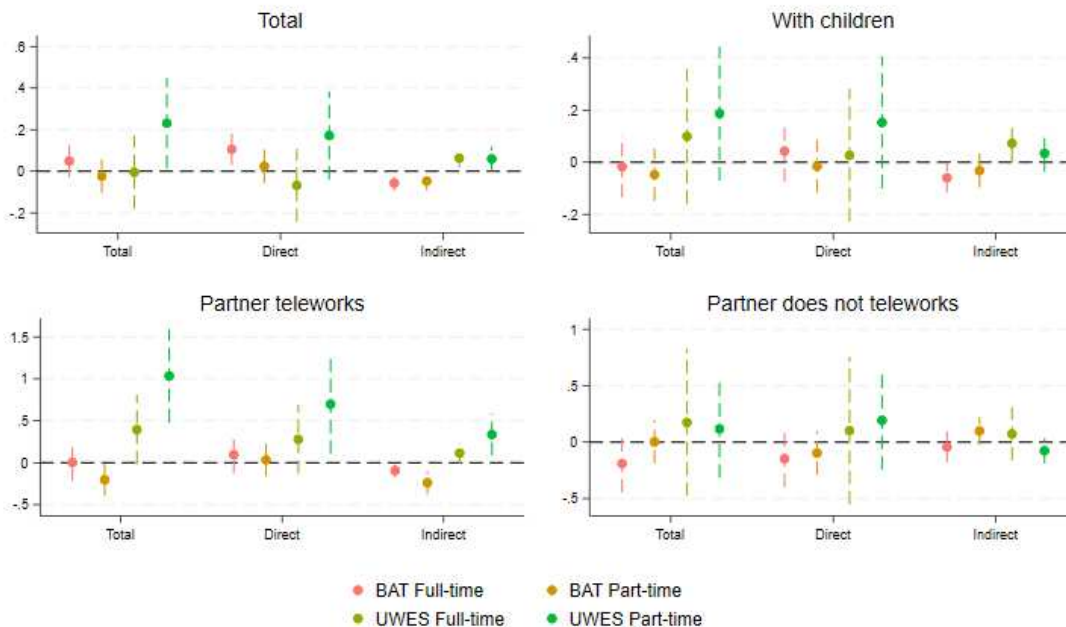
Notes: "Total" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect" is the component associated to work-family balance ($\text{Diff} = \text{Total} - \text{Direct}$), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Vertical lines represent the 90 percent confidence intervals. Robust standard errors. All regressions include individual, household, job-related controls, and country fixed effects.

Figure A 4. KHB decomposition results, by working hours. Men.



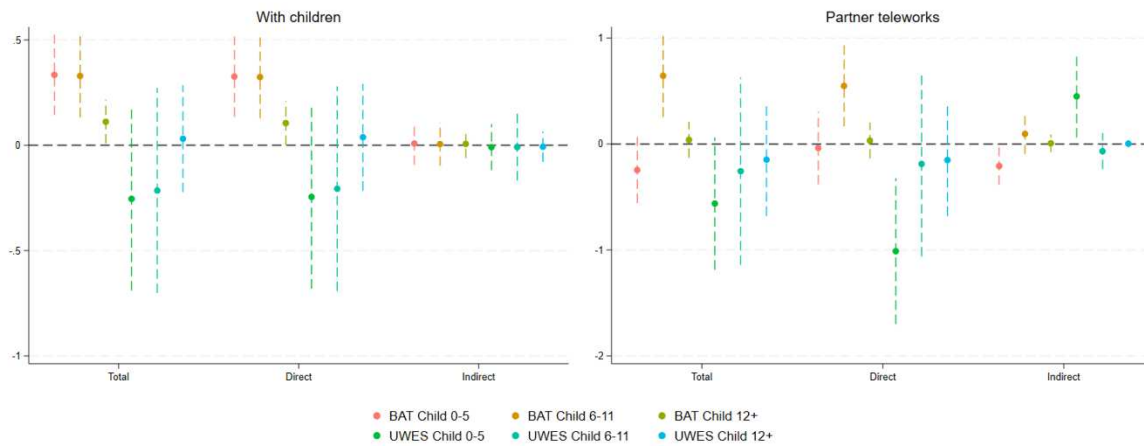
Notes: "Total" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect" is the component associated to work-family balance ($\text{Diff} = \text{Total} - \text{Direct}$), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Vertical lines represent the 90 percent confidence intervals. Robust standard errors. Regressions include a smaller set of individual, household, and job-related controls due to sample size constraints (age, level of education, occupational type, firm size, sector and country).

Figure A 5. KHB decomposition results, by working hours. Women.



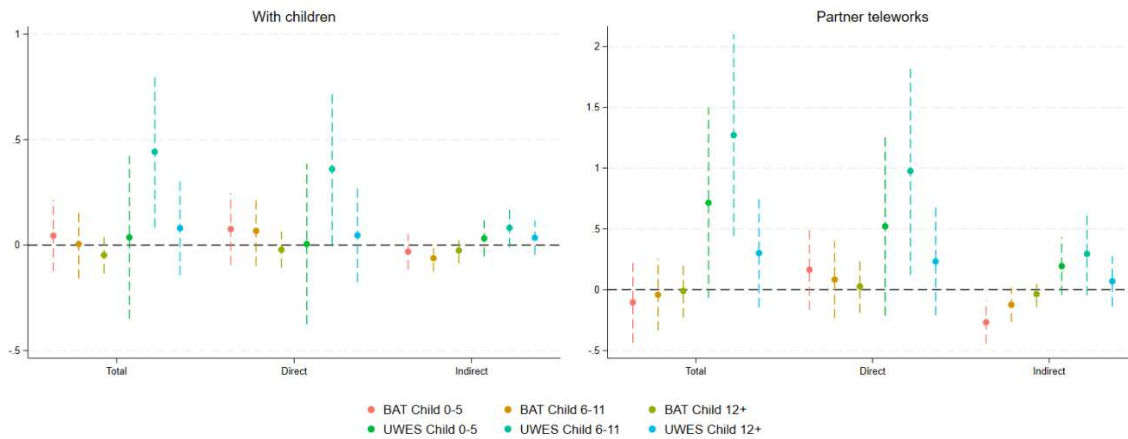
Notes: "Total" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect" is the component associated to work-family balance ($\text{Diff} = \text{Total} - \text{Direct}$), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Vertical lines represent the 90 percent confidence intervals. Robust standard errors. Regressions include a smaller set of individual, household, and job-related controls due to sample size constraints (age, level of education, occupational type, firm size, sector and country).

Figure A 6. KHB decomposition results, by age of youngest child. Men.



Notes: "Total" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect" is the component associated to work-family balance ($\text{Diff} = \text{Total} - \text{Direct}$), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Vertical lines represent the 90 percent confidence intervals. Robust standard errors. All regressions include individual, household, job-related controls, and country fixed effects.

Figure A 7. KHB decomposition results, by age of youngest child. Women.



Notes: "Total" is the coefficient from the model without the mediator (Reduced model in KHB); "Direct" is the coefficient once work-family balance is included (Full model in KHB); "Indirect" is the component associated to work-family balance ($\text{Diff} = \text{Total} - \text{Direct}$), estimated via the KHB decomposition. Vertical lines represent the 90 percent confidence intervals. Robust standard errors. All regressions include individual, household, job-related controls, and country fixed effects.