



Government
Equalities Office



THE
BEHAVIOURAL
INSIGHTS
TEAM

How many days should we work from home? What works to improve gender equality

Research report

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Executive summary

Executive summary

Many organisations had to rapidly transition their workforce to work permanently from home to meet the requirements of the UK government measures in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a result, perceptions of and preferences for such arrangements have changed.¹ As restrictions lift, many employers are likely to update their working from home policies. The design and communication of these policies may have implications for equality in the workplace.

We partnered with Defence Equipment and Support (DE&S), a specialised part of the Ministry of Defence, which had mostly office-based employees before COVID-19. We ran a randomised controlled trial (RCT) to test how different messages would influence intentions and preferences for working from home (n=3,852).

Two intervention messages were tested against a control message:

1. **Neutral (control):** Your responses will help us to plan reopening the offices.
2. **Default norm:** We expect employees to continue to primarily work from home.
3. **Low anchor:** We expect employees to work from home on average 2 days per week.

Messages were delivered within a survey that asked employees how many days they were planning to and would like to work from home once offices reopened to more staff.

Both messages communicated and set an organisational expectation. The ‘default norm’ message aimed to reverse the previous implicit default working location from the office to home. This was to encourage employees to increase their stated working from home intentions. Given that most DE&S employees want to work from home most of the time, the ‘default norm’ message is more in line with their preferences. At the same time, the ‘low anchor’ message deliberately chose a reference point below baseline preferences (2 days per week) as this is likely to be a common approach among organisations. This trial aimed to investigate the impact of those messages.

Neither of the two messages had a significant impact on average intentions or preferences across all employees. However, women reduced their intentions to work from home by around a quarter of a day per week (8%) in response to the intervention messages, while men’s intentions did not change. Although the result for women was weakly statistically significant, women could be more influenced by perceived organisational norms on working from home because they are more likely to experience ‘flexibility stigma’.²

Sustaining positive increases in working from home that have come about as a result of lockdown could help destigmatise this type of flexible working by making it a norm rather than an exception. However, the communication of an organisation’s working from home policy could result in gender unequal uptake. We therefore recommend that organisations avoid prescriptive messages that specify how much employees are expected to split their time between working onsite and from home as this may lead to increased inequality.

¹ Chung, H., Seo, H., Forbes, S., & Birkett, H. (2020). Working from home during the COVID-19 lockdown: changing preferences and the future of work.

² Chung, H., & Van der Lippe, T. (2018). Flexible working, work–life balance, and gender equality: Introduction. *Social Indicators Research*, 1-17.



Introduction

Introduction

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the UK government introduced a range of measures to reduce the spread of COVID-19 (referred to in this report as 'lockdown'), including asking people to work from home if they could. As a result, there was a steep increase in the number of people working from home.³ According to ONS, around a third of working adults in the UK exclusively worked from home in May 2020 during the first national lockdown.⁴ This compares to about 5% in 2019.⁵ This change included sectors that had very low rates of homeworking previously.

Even after some of the strictest restrictions were lifted, people who could effectively work from home were asked to continue doing so. Some survey evidence suggests there is widespread employee support for continued remote working after the pandemic.⁶ Even when employees are finally allowed to return to offices as before, working from home will likely be a lot more common than before the pandemic.

Flexible working – employee control over when and where they work – can take different forms, including part-time work, flexitime (flexible starting and finishing times) and working from home. The equality impacts of these options depend on the uptake, context and type of arrangement. In the UK, a large portion of the gender pay gap is explained by the higher uptake of part-time working among women.⁷ Part-time work is often stigmatised and perceived as a lack of job commitment.⁸ Part-time workers face limited career progression resulting in lower pay,⁹ which disproportionately affects women who rely on part-time work to carry out the greater share of unpaid care work.¹⁰ Increasing the availability of part-time roles in senior positions would help the labour market to better value and accommodate rather than penalise care work. The equality implications of homeworking are less clear.

On the one hand, working from home and flexitime could help those with greater caring responsibilities combine work and family demands by reducing commuting time and better accommodate those demands.¹¹ In one study, women with access to working from home are less likely to reduce their working hours after childbirth, although around a third still reduce their hours.¹² As such, working from home without reducing hours may not be enough for many mothers to fully accommodate their caring responsibilities and, thus, may not mitigate the gender pay gap that stems from differences in part-time working. Furthermore, working from home may lead to lower salary growth, particularly for those who work from home to a greater extent and in organisations where it is not the norm, while working overtime may buffer this negative effect on

³ [European Commission. \(2020\). *Telework in the EU before and after the COVID-19: where we were, where we head to.* Science for Policy Briefs; VOX EU CEPR. \(2020\). *Working from home: Estimating the worldwide potential.*](#)

⁴ [ONS. \(2020\). *Coronavirus and the latest indicators for the UK economy and society: 16 July 2020.*](#)

⁵ [ONS. \(2019\). *Coronavirus and homeworking in the UK labour market: 2019.*](#)

⁶ Chung, H., Seo, H., Forbes, S., & Birkett, H. (2020). Working from home during the COVID-19 lockdown: Changing preferences and the future of work.

⁷ Olsen, W., Gash, V. ORCID: 0000-0001-8152-4196, Sook, K. and Zhang, M. (2018). The gender pay gap in the UK: evidence from the UKHLS (DFE-RR804). London, UK: Department for Education, Government Equalities Office.

⁸ Chung, H. (2018). Gender, flexibility stigma and the perceived negative consequences of flexible working in the UK. *Social Indicators Research*, 1-25.

⁹ Costa Dias, M., Joyce, R., & Parodi, F. (2018). The gender pay gap in the UK: children and experience in work. *IFS Working Paper*.

¹⁰ [ONS \(2016\). *Women shoulder the responsibility of 'unpaid work'.*](#)

¹¹ Chung, H., & Van der Lippe, T. (2018). Flexible working, work–life balance, and gender equality: Introduction. *Social Indicators Research*, 1-17.

¹² Chung, H., & Van der Horst, M. (2018). Women's employment patterns after childbirth and the perceived access to and use of flexitime and teleworking. *Human relations*, 71(1), 47-72.

salary growth.¹³ This could mean the gender pay gap will increase if women work from home to take on more family work, while men work from home and work longer hours.¹⁴

There is good evidence that as working from home becomes more normalised in organisations, the negative impact on salary growth and promotions is reduced.¹⁵ In a post-pandemic world where working from home is a much stronger norm, this is cause for optimism about the equality impacts of homeworking. As such, organisations need to make sure that their work culture facilitates such arrangements for all their employees, regardless of gender, seniority or other characteristics. Managers (especially men) could also become good role models by using homeworking for family purposes and guard against overtime.¹⁶ Organisations should measure working from home practices among their employees and monitor for any unequal impacts on pay and promotions. In particular, organisations need to ensure that uptake is not affected by factors such as manager expectations and behaviour,¹⁷ anticipated negative effects on career, or by the proportion of colleagues who work from home.¹⁸

The proportion of colleagues who work from home is especially important for organisations with strong pre-lockdown norms of working in the office. Changing a norm relies on a critical number of people performing the new behaviour,¹⁹ so there will need to be enough employees who continue working from home after the pandemic to maintain the new norm. As restrictions are lifted, there will be a critical moment where employees will try to work out the new organisational norms for working from home.

We expect that the way in which organisational policy is communicated will have an important influence on the working from home culture as organisations reopen their offices. We know from the broader behavioural science literature that defaults and anchors both have an impact on behaviour, especially in a context where the 'best choice' is ambiguous and influenced by the social norm or others' behaviour.²⁰ Organisational policy messaging can indicate the new social norm and the likely behaviour of others.

This research is part of a three-year collaboration between the Behavioural Insights Team (BIT) and the Government Equalities Office (GEO): the Gender and Behavioural Insights (GABI) programme. The aim of the programme is to generate evidence for what works to improve gender equality in the workplace.

¹³ Golden, T. D., & Eddleston, K. A. (2020). Is there a price telecommuters pay? Examining the relationship between telecommuting and objective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 116, 103348

¹⁴ Kurowska, A. (2018). Gendered Effects of Home-Based Work on Parents' Capability to Balance Work with Non work: Two Countries with Different Models of Division of Labour Compared. *Social Indicators Research*, 1-21.

Scott, J., & Clery, E. (2013). Gender roles: An incomplete revolution. British social attitudes: the 30th report. London: NatCen Social Research, 115-28.

Sullivan, C., & Lewis, S. (2001). Home-based telework, gender, and the synchronization of work and family: perspectives of teleworkers and their co-residents. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 8(2), 123-145.

¹⁵ Golden, T. D., & Eddleston, K. A. (2020). Is there a price telecommuters pay? Examining the relationship between telecommuting and objective career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 116, 103348;

Van der Lippe, T., & Lippényi, Z. (2018). Beyond Formal Access: Organizational Context, Working From Home, and Work-Family Conflict of Men and Women in European Workplaces. *Social Indicators Research*, 151(2), 383-402.

¹⁶ Chung, H., & Van der Lippe, T. (2018). Flexible working, work-life balance, and gender equality: Introduction. *Social Indicators Research*, 1-17.

¹⁷ [BIT writing on HBR. \(2017\). How we nudged employees to embrace flexible work](#)

¹⁸ Van der Lippe, T., & Lippényi, Z. (2018). Beyond Formal Access: Organizational Context, Working From Home, and Work-Family Conflict of Men and Women in European Workplaces. *Social Indicators Research*.

¹⁹ Centola, D., Becker, J., Brackbill, D., & Baronchelli, A. (2018). Experimental evidence for tipping points in social convention. *Science*, 360(6393), 1116-1119.

²⁰ Soule, C. A. A., & Madrigal, R. (2015). Anchors and norms in anonymous pay-what-you-want pricing contexts. *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics*, 57, 167-175.

Interventions tested

To explore how different messaging can impact employee working from home intentions, we ran a trial with DE&S, a trading entity and an executive agency sponsored by the Ministry of Defence. It buys and supports the equipment and services for the Royal Navy, British Army and Royal Air Force. DE&S has approximately 12,000 employees, is male-dominated (66% men) and had a strong office norm before the COVID-19 pandemic.

We developed two intervention messages to communicate organisational working from home policy as the office reopened. We compared these to a neutral message that did not indicate any organisational expectations. The two intervention messages drew on key behavioural insights that could influence stated working from home intentions and preferences. We expected that the framing of the messages would affect employees' responses because:

- a) the decision was context-dependent and made under uncertainty as the optimal number of working from home days was not necessarily clear;
- b) the message could indicate the social norm.

At the beginning of the survey, employees saw the following sentence: 'Please provide your preferences for working from home below'. It was followed by one of the trial messages presented in **Table 1** below.

Table 1: Experimental Conditions

Condition	Message
Control (neutral)	Your responses will help us to plan reopening the offices.
T1: Default norm	We expect employees to continue to primarily work from home.
T2: Low anchor (2 working from home days)	We expect employees to work from home on average 2 days per week.

We worked collaboratively with a range of stakeholders within DE&S across HR, executive leadership and the Parents' Network run by DE&S employees to develop the messages. A key piece of feedback was the importance of framing the intervention in terms of preferences for 'working from home' rather than office or remote working. In particular, asking about 'office working' would not be inclusive of those who did not consider their onsite working location to be 'an office', while 'remote working' would include other working locations outside of the home.

Default norm

Defaults or 'pre-set' choice options have been effectively employed to shift people's behaviour towards the default option in many different domains.²¹ Providing a pre-set option increases the likelihood of its uptake because it requires no action. For example, defaults were used to increase uptake of pensions savings.²² Similarly, a GABI trial increased the proportion of jobs advertised as part-time at Zurich Insurance by making the roles available part-time by default (managers had to

²¹ Jachimowicz, J. M., Duncan, S., Weber, E. U., & Johnson, E. J. (2019). When and why defaults influence decisions: A meta-analysis of default effects. *Behavioural Public Policy*, 3(2), 159-186.

²² Cribb, J., & Emmerson, C. (2016). What happens when employers are obliged to nudge? Automatic enrolment and pension saving in the UK (No. W16/19). IFS Working Papers.

provide explicit reasoning for why it could not be), which increased the percentage of female applicants.²³ In this instance, it made advertising a role as only full-time more difficult for recruiting managers and also signalled the organisational norm and expectation.

In this trial, there was no default choice as such because individuals had to make an active choice. Communicating that working from home was the expected default, where previously it was office working, could indicate a new organisational norm and reduce the perceived friction costs associated with this working pattern. This in turn could encourage employees to increase their stated intentions and preferences for working from home.

We considered using a stronger default norm message, such as 'we expect employees to work fully remotely and only go into the office by exception'. However, realistically most organisations are unlikely to mandate their employees to work fully from home. Therefore, we decided to use a 'softer' version with the word 'primarily'.

Low anchor

Anchors operate by creating a frame of reference in an ambiguous decision that guides behaviour. For example, minimum payment amounts on credit card bills effectively anchor consumers to pay back small amounts each month off their credit card.²⁴ In one experiment, people were willing to donate more on average to a charity when shown a higher average donation by others, which acted as an anchor.²⁵

To have an effective 'anchor' for working from home days in this trial, we needed a number that would be plausible but noticeably different from a baseline. Based on the results from a small staff survey carried out in early lockdown, we assumed the baseline would be around 3.5 days of working from home per week. Based on these numbers we set the anchor for working from home at 2 days and hypothesised that it could reduce intended working from home behaviour. Many organisations may base their working from home policy on a 50% office capacity as they reopen in a COVID-safe manner and ask their employees to work in the office 2 or 3 days a week. However, given the baseline survey results, 2 or 3 days working from home is likely to be far lower than employee preferences and we wanted to test whether there would be any equalities impacts of such an anchor.

²³ [BIT. \(2020\). Changing the default: a field trial with Zurich Insurance to advertise all jobs as part-time.](#)

²⁴ Guttman-Kenney, B., Leary, J., & Stewart, N. (2018). Weighing anchor on credit card debt. Financial Conduct Authority Occasional Paper Series, (43).

²⁵ Hysenbelli, D., Rubaltelli, E., & Rumiati, R. (2013). Others' opinions count, but not all of them: anchoring to ingroup versus outgroup members' behavior in charitable giving. *Judgment & Decision Making*, 8(6).



Research aims and trial methodology

Research aims and trial methodology

We ran a three-armed RCT to test whether different framing, using a default norm or low anchor, for communicating organisational policy regarding working from home would influence employees' stated intended behaviour. All DE&S employees were sent a survey and those who opened the link were randomly assigned to one of three variations of the messages (see **Table 1** in the previous section under 'Interventions tested'). Two messages based on behavioural insights were tested against a neutral control message. Our hypotheses were as follows:

1. The **'default norm'** message was expected to increase stated intended working from home behaviour
2. The **'low anchor'** was expected to decrease stated intended working from home behaviour

Figure 1 illustrates the participant journey and **Figure 2** shows the survey questions.

Figure 1: The trial design

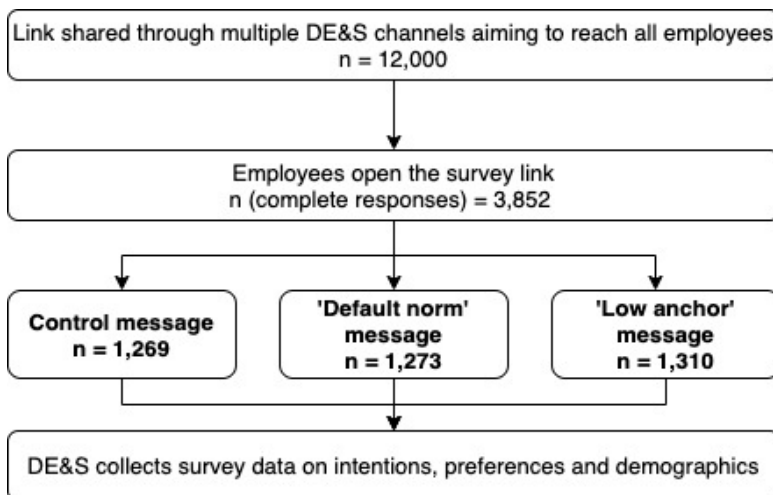


Figure 2: Participant survey

{Message variation}. Please provide your preferences for working from home below.

1. How many days do you typically work in a week?

 0.5 1 1.5 2 2.5 3 3.5 4 4.5 5

2. How many days will you work from home when the office opens to more staff?

 0 0.5 1 1.5 2 2.5 3 3.5 4 4.5 5

3. How many days would you like to work from home when the office opens to more staff?

 0 0.5 1 1.5 2 2.5 3 3.5 4 4.5 5

Description of data and sample

The trial took place from 7 to 14 September 2020. We received 4,185 responses to the survey, which is approximately equivalent to a 35% response rate. Of these, there were 3,852 completed surveys. We did not find evidence of differential completion rates (i.e. differential attrition) between

either intervention condition or the control. Survey completion rates were 91%-93% across the three trial arms.

We excluded respondents who indicated that their intended (for the primary analysis) or preferred (for the secondary analysis) number of working from home days was greater than the number of days they typically worked during the week. 22 responses were removed from the primary analysis and 28 were removed from the secondary analysis.²⁶

This resulted in a sample size of 3,829 for the primary analysis and 3,823 for the secondary analysis.

Balance Checks

We performed balance checks by comparing each intervention condition to the control condition for each covariate.²⁷ There was no evidence of covariate imbalance at the 10% level, other than for grade between the control and default norm conditions ($p = 0.001$). We mitigated this by controlling for grade in our regressions.

Detailed information on the balance checks results is available in Appendix 1: Summary statistics and balance checks.

Outcome measures

We used a proxy measure for working from home behaviour: intended working from home days. This was for several reasons:

- We were not able to accurately measure actual working from home behaviour as this data is not collected routinely.
- There would be too much time between the intervention and behaviour and too many additional factors that could affect actual working from home behaviour for us to see the direct impact of the intervention.
- In particular, since the RCT randomised into condition at the individual level, it relied on relatively little communication between employees who may have received opposing messages. Measuring actual working from home behaviour would have allowed time for employees to discuss preferences and intentions with each other. This would make it difficult to see the impact of each specific message.

Primary outcome measure

We had one primary outcome measure:

- *Number of intended working from home days* was chosen as a direct reflection of the main behavioural outcome of interest.

Secondary outcome measures

We had one secondary outcome measure:

- *Number of preferred working from home days* was chosen to explore whether there was a difference between preferences and intentions.

²⁶ We also excluded 1 respondent whose civilian status was recorded as 'other' to allow the Tobit models to run.

²⁷ To compare groups we used t-tests for continuous covariates and chi-squared tests for categorical covariates.

In addition, we had eight exploratory outcome measures, of which five were pre-specified and three were added at a later stage. **Table 2** provides a full list of outcome variables. Data for all outcome measures was collected in the survey immediately following the intervention messaging.

Table 2. Summary of outcome measures

Pre-specified
Primary: Number of intended working from home days (Q2 in the survey as per Figure 2)
Secondary: Number of preferred working from home days (Q3 in the survey as per Figure 2)
Exploratory: Differences in number of intended working from home days by subgroups: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gender - caring responsibilities status - ethnicity - disability status - seniority
Not pre-specified
Exploratory: Distribution of intended working from home days
Exploratory: Difference in number of intended working from home days by domain (Land, Air and Ships)
Exploratory: Differences in number of preferred working from home days by demographic subgroups, as per the above list

Analytical strategy

Primary and secondary outcomes

We estimated the effect of the two intervention conditions compared to the control condition on the primary and secondary outcomes using a Tobit regression censored at 0 and 5. We used two alternative model specifications:

1. $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T + \beta_2 P + \Psi_i \Gamma + \epsilon_i$
2. $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T + \beta_2 P + \beta_3 TP + \Psi_i \Gamma + \epsilon_i$

Here:

- Y is the outcome variable
- T is the intervention condition (with the control condition as the reference group)
- P is a measure of part-time work (1 - number of typical working days per week / 5)
- Γ is a vector of other covariates (domain, function, grade, civilian status, caring responsibilities, gender, ethnicity, disability status, age (as a quadratic term, indicator for missing age))

The model used throughout analyses was chosen based on the lowest Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) for these regressions.

Exploratory outcomes

Pre-specified exploratory analysis

In the TP, we pre-specified that we would estimate the interaction between condition and subgroup variables using Tobit regressions:

1. $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T + \beta_2 C + \beta_3 TC + \beta_4 P + \Psi_i \Gamma + \epsilon_i$
2. $Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T + \beta_2 C + \beta_3 TC + \beta_4 P + \beta_5 TP + \Psi_i \Gamma + \epsilon_i$

Here **C** is the variable for subgroup and differs depending on the particular analysis as follows:

- Caring responsibilities: 1 if dependent children or dependent adult(s) or both dependent children and adult(s), 0 otherwise
- Gender: 1 if woman, 0 if man ('prefer to self-describe another way' is treated as a missing value and hence omitted from analysis due to low prevalence)
- Ethnicity: we analysed the interaction with each ethnic minority category with more than 20 respondents per trial condition, performing two analyses:
 - 1 if White, 0 otherwise
 - 1 if Asian, 0 otherwise
- Disability status: 1 if have disability, 0 otherwise
- Seniority was converted into a continuous variable:
 - Level 1: 1 (least senior)
 - Level 2: 2
 - Level 3: 3

- Level 4: 4
- Level 5: 5
- Senior Civil Service: 6 (most senior)
- Respondents who listed their grade as 'other' were excluded
- 'Prefer not to say' answers were treated as missing values throughout.

We also performed separate regressions for each subgroup (coarsening the seniority variable into two groups of 1-3 and 4-6). We corrected for multiple comparisons within each subgroup analysis, e.g. performing 4 comparisons when conducting separate regressions by gender.

As in the primary analysis, we report the results of the model with the lowest AIC for each analysis.

Non-pre-specified exploratory analysis

Our first additional piece of exploratory analysis examined the distribution of intended working from home days. We also tested statistically whether there were differences in the proportion of people who chose a given number of intended working from home days. To do so, we scaled responses from part-time employees to a 5-day week. We also rounded responses down to the nearest whole number (e.g. 4.5 days is rounded down to 4 days) except for 0.5, which was rounded up to 1 in order to keep those who intended or preferred not to work from home at all separate. Then, we ran six logistic regressions with the same covariates as the primary outcome and an indicator for picking a given number of days (0-5) as the outcome.

In the second additional piece of exploratory analysis, we ran separate regressions by domain for the three main domains (Land, Air and Ships). We used the same regression models as the primary analysis besides omitting domain as a covariate.

Finally, we tested for differences between subgroups in intended and preferred working from home days (combining across all trial arms). We used the same model as in the primary analysis, but with coarsening of the subgroup variable as in the corresponding pre-specified exploratory subgroup analysis.



Trial results

Trial results

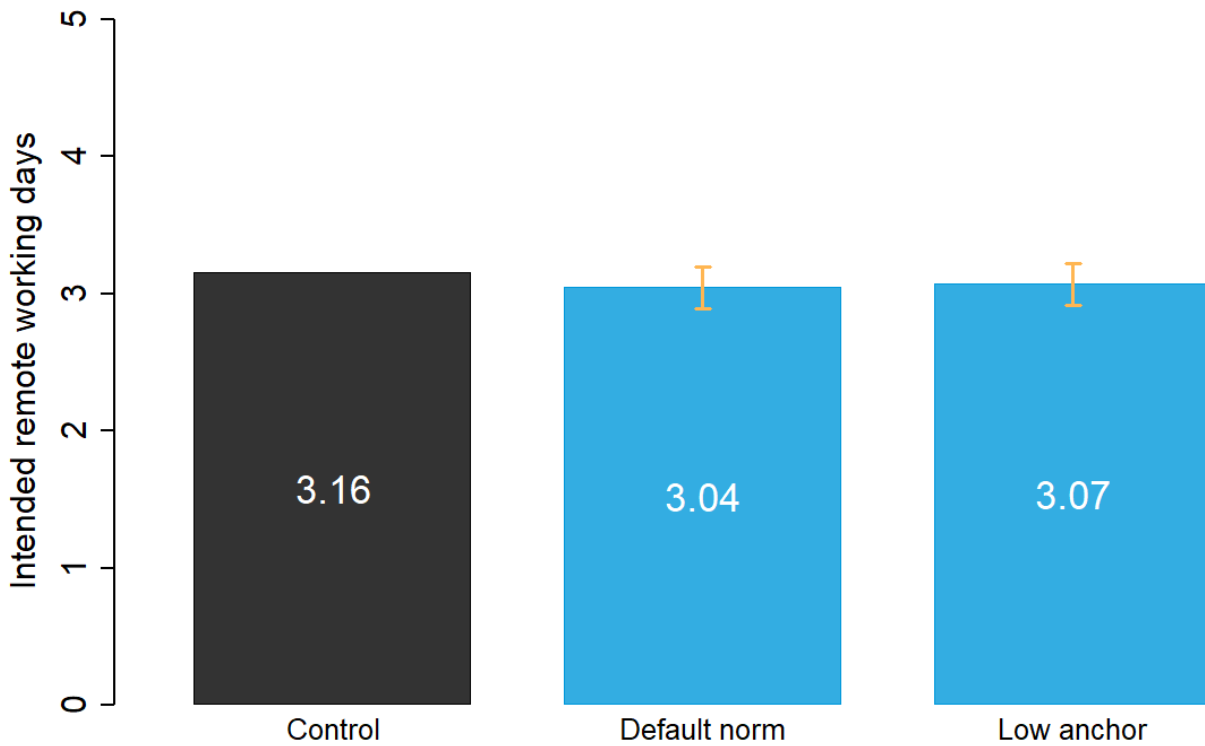
Overall, neither of the two intervention conditions changed the average number of intended or preferred working from home days compared to the control message.

Our subgroup analysis provided some evidence (at the 10% level) that women reduced their intended working from home days in response to each of the intervention conditions by around one quarter of a day.

Primary outcome measure

Neither intervention condition had a significant effect up to the 10% level (with or without correcting for multiple comparisons) on the average number of intended working from home days per week.

Figure 3: Estimated effects for primary analysis



N=3,829

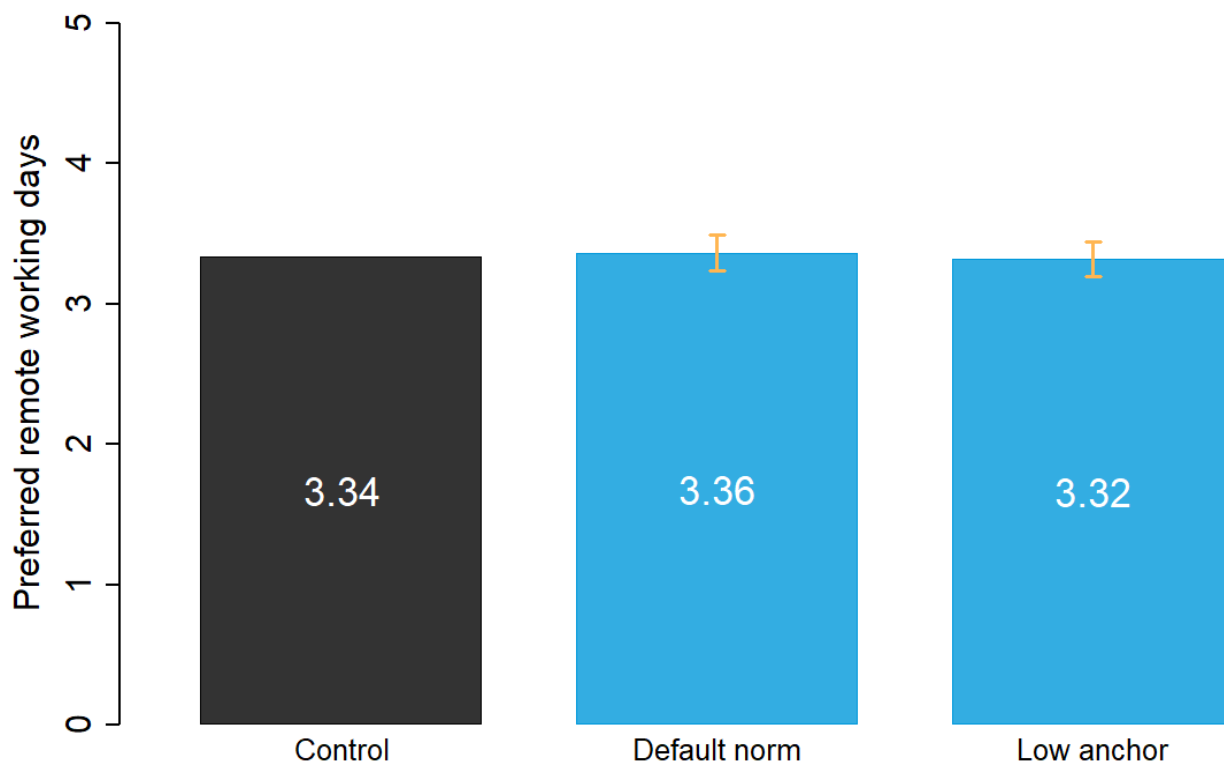
Primary analysis

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Secondary outcome measure

Neither intervention condition had a significant effect up to the 10% level (with or without correcting for multiple comparisons) on the average number of preferred working from home days per week.

Figure 4: Estimated effects for secondary analysis



N=3,823

Secondary analysis

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Overall, the average preferred working from home days (3.34) were higher than intended working from home days (3.11).²⁸ This difference was highly statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

Tables with detailed primary and secondary analyses results are in Appendix 2: Primary and secondary analysis.

²⁸ This analysis included 3,820 who satisfied the inclusion criteria for both the primary and secondary analyses

Exploratory analysis findings

Differences in primary and secondary outcomes by subgroup and domain

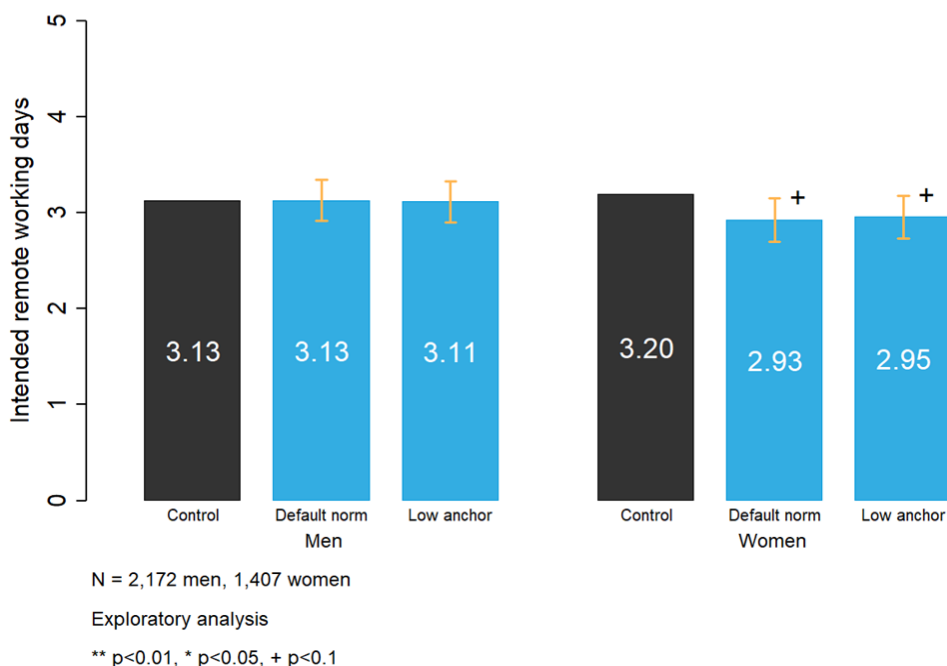
Subgroup analysis was performed for groups based on the following characteristics:

- Caring responsibilities (no dependents vs. any dependents)
- Gender (men vs. women)
- Ethnicity (Ethnic Minority vs. White)
- Ethnicity (non-Asian vs. Asian)
- Disability status (no disability vs. disability)
- Seniority (level 3 and below vs. level 4 and above)

None of the interaction terms were significant at the 10% level after correcting for multiple comparisons.²⁹ However, when we performed separate regressions by subgroup both intervention conditions had an estimated negative effect on the intended working from home days for women at the 10% level.³⁰

The estimated effects of the 'default norm' and 'low anchor' conditions on women's intended working from home days represent 8.4% and 7.6% reductions on the control group baseline of 3.20 days respectively. **Figure 5** presents the results of the subgroup analysis by gender (with separate regressions for men and women).

Figure 5: Estimated effects on primary outcome by gender



²⁹ Before correcting for multiple comparisons, the interaction effect is significant at the 10% level for 'anchor' for caring responsibilities, and for both 'anchor' and 'default norm' for disability.

³⁰ Unadjusted p-values of 0.021 for T1 'default' and 0.034 for T2 'anchor'.

The same analysis was carried out for the difference in the impact of the messages on the average preferred number of working from home days. We did not find any significant differences for any of the subgroups.

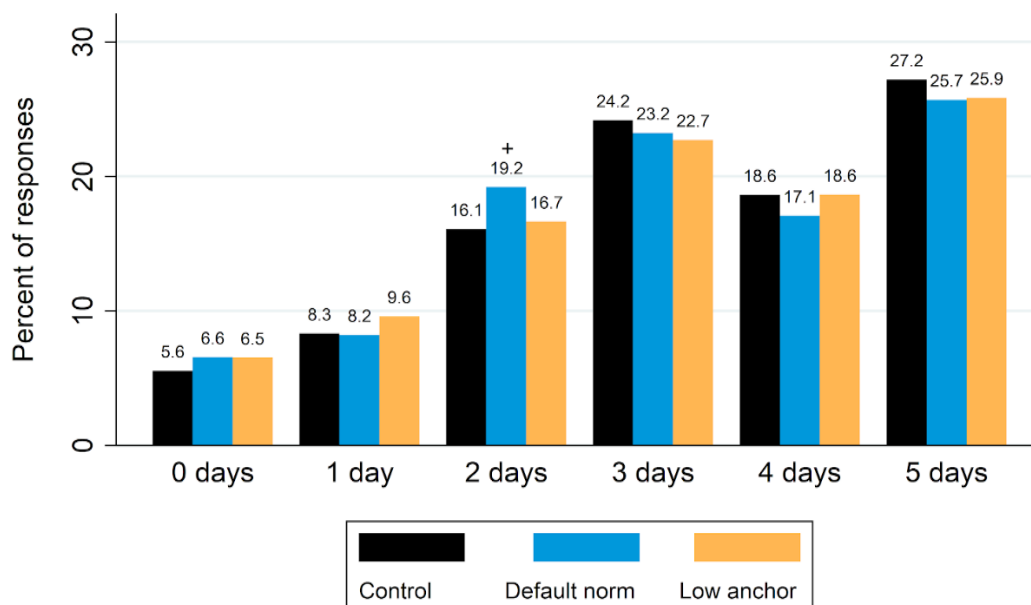
Also, there were no significant effects of the interventions on the intended number of working from home days in any of the three major domains (Land, Air, Ships).

Finally, we considered subgroup differences in the average number of intended and preferred working from home days across all three trial arms combined (see Table A3.4. and A3.5. in Appendix 3: Exploratory analysis). We found that employees with a disability had significantly higher intentions ($p < 0.01$) and preferences ($p < 0.01$) for working from home. Preferences for working from home were on average marginally significantly higher for employees with dependents ($p < 0.10$). Finally, more senior employees had significantly lower average preferences for working from home ($p < 0.05$). However, taking a closer look at the average per grade reveals that most grades had similar average preferences, apart from the most senior grade, which had lower preferences.

Distribution of intended working from home days

We did not find a significant effect (at the 10% level) on the proportion of respondents for any category when comparing either intervention condition to the control. The distribution of responses by condition is displayed in **Figure 6**. Half days were rounded down, i.e. 4.5 days was combined with 4. We rounded 0.5 days up to 1 day for full-time workers because selecting 0 days is qualitatively different as it indicates no working from home at all. Responses by part-time workers were scaled to make the bar graphs more intuitive. For example, if an employee plans to work from home 3 days a week but works 3 days in total, their response was scaled to 5 days.

Figure 6: Full sample: distribution of responses for primary outcome by condition



N=3,829

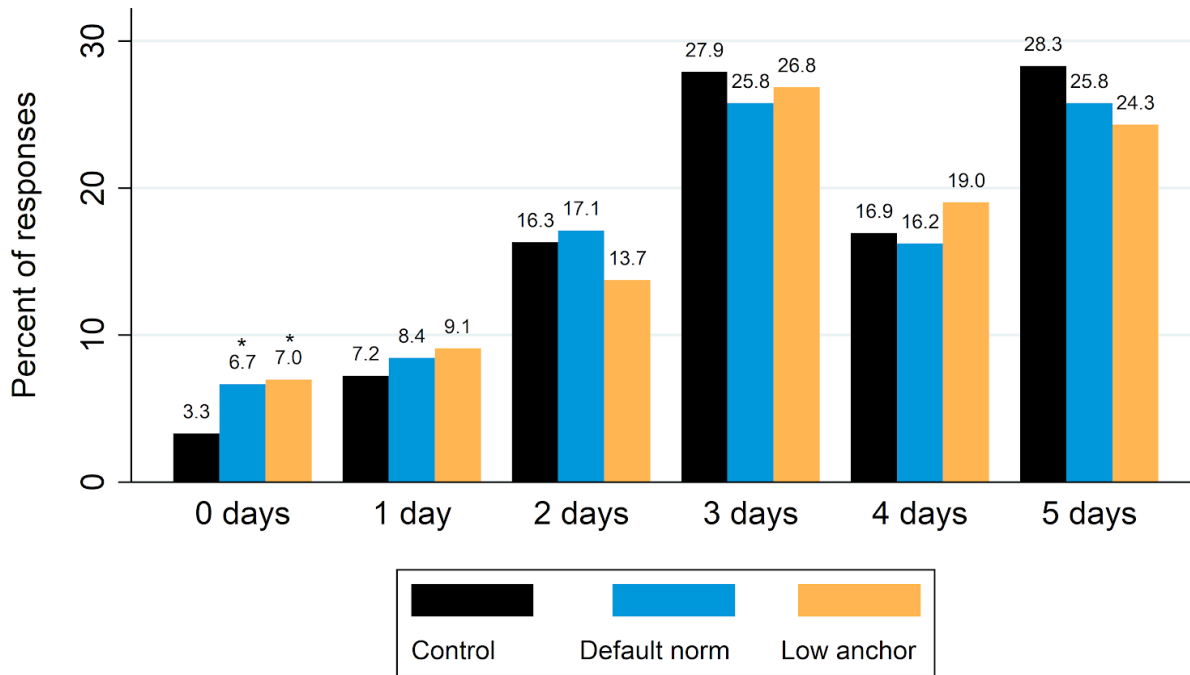
Exploratory analysis

For each category, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$

Note that the default norm was 'primarily working from home' and the low anchor was '2 days'

Figure 7 shows the distribution of women’s responses by condition. It should be noted that the sample sizes for each category were relatively small which affected test power, making it less likely to find statistically significant results. The only statistically significant effect was an increase in the proportion of respondents in the ‘default norm’ and ‘low anchor’ conditions in the ‘0 days’ category. The proportion of respondents who chose this option in the control group was very low at 3.3%, so that a 3-4 percentage point increase was a big proportionate change. The proportion of women who chose 5 days was lower (although not statistically significant) not only in the ‘low anchor’ but also in the ‘default norm’ condition.

Figure 7: Women: distribution of responses for primary outcome by condition



N=1,407

Exploratory analysis

For each category, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1



Discussion

Discussion

This trial tested whether different framing of messages around the organisation's working from home policy would influence intended working from home behaviour. **Our research found no impact of the 'default norm' and 'low anchor' messages on overall intentions or preferences. However, women reduced their intended working from home days in response to the intervention conditions where men did not.**

In terms of the overall null effect of the statements, we believe that the following explanations are plausible. First, other factors played a greater role in intentions and preferences than the organisation's messages. For example, convenience, role requirements and expectations about their own manager's preferences, could outweigh the centralised message. Second, employees may have seen the survey as an opportunity to influence the organisation's policy on working from home and therefore consciously did not conform to the low anchor. Finally, it is possible that employees did not adjust their responses after the 'default norm' message because the baseline for intended number of working from home days was already so high. Around two-thirds of employees (68% across control and intervention conditions) intended to work 3 days or more from home.

While the messages did not have a significant effect across the whole sample, subgroup analysis suggests that women reduced their intended working from home days in response to the intervention conditions by around a quarter of a day. At the same time, men did not adjust their intended working from home days in response to the messages. Men and women had similar preferences for working from home, so the messaging created a gender gap in intentions and pushed women further away from their preferences. Women may experience greater pressure to follow organisational policies and norms.³¹ In particular, women may be more concerned about how many days they work from home compares to others and the organisational norm, since on average they are more likely to face 'flexibility stigma'.³² Indeed, evidence from over 11,000 employees across Europe finds that women experience lower work-life conflict if a greater proportion of colleagues work from home, where men are less sensitive to this.³³

The anchor was deliberately chosen to be below the expected intentions and preferences for working from home. While we hypothesised that it would affect both men and women, there is evidence that the strength of anchoring can differ by gender.³⁴ However, the discrepancies may be driven by gendered differences in experiences with flexible working as men and women experience different societal attitudes and responses to the same behaviours. For example, women tend to be penalised more than men when they initiate salary negotiations.³⁵ It is possible that if women have experienced worse attitudes when they attempt to claim more, they could feel

³¹ DeHart-Davis, L. (2009). Green tape and public employee rule abidance: Why organizational rule attributes matter. *Public Administration Review*, 69(5), 901-910.

Portillo, S., & DeHart-Davis, L. (2009). Gender and organizational rule abidance. *Public Administration Review*, 69(2), 339-347.

Portillo, S. (2012). The paradox of rules: Rules as resources and constraints. *Administration & Society*, 44(1), 87-108.

³² Chung, H. (2018). Gender, flexibility stigma and the perceived negative consequences of flexible working in the UK. *Social Indicators Research*, 1-25.

³³ Van der Lippe, T., & Lippényi, Z. (2018). Beyond Formal Access: Organizational Context, Working From Home, and Work-Family Conflict of Men and Women in European Workplaces. *Social Indicators Research*.

³⁴ Jetter, M., & Walker, J. K. (2017). Anchoring in financial decision-making: Evidence from Jeopardy!. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, 141, 164-176.

³⁵ Bowles, H. R., Babcock, L., & Lai, L. (2007). Social incentives for gender differences in the propensity to initiate negotiations: Sometimes it does hurt to ask. *Organizational Behavior and human decision Processes*, 103(1), 84-103.

greater pressure to follow the expectations and respond closer to the 'anchor'. Additional research is needed to explore this.

It should be noted that the effect observed for women was only significant at the 10% level. Although we corrected for multiple comparisons, given the number of tests performed and the low significance, it is possible that the difference arose by chance. However, we caution against dismissing the result on this basis given the wider supporting literature. Additionally, if these gender differences are reliable, this would result in unequal uptake between men and women with implications for gender equality in the workplace. It is better to act conservatively and design policy to reduce this possibility.

A surprising finding was that women reduced their intended working from home days in response to the 'default norm' condition. It may be that the word 'primarily' was perceived as a lower organisational expectation than they had for themselves. In particular, 28% of women in the control group intended to fully work from home, while this number fell to 26% in the 'default norm' group.³⁶ As discussed in the 'Interventions tested' section, we did not choose a message encouraging employees to fully work from home as it would be an unrealistic scenario for the majority of organisations. The effect of such a message could have been quite different. To understand how employees interpreted the word 'primarily' and how it affected their responses, additional qualitative research would need to be conducted.

We also found that, on average, employees had greater preferences for working from home than intentions, suggesting that employees anticipated they would not be able to work from home as much as they would like. We cannot tell from this study, but reasons for this may include manager pressure, expected onsite work requirements or anticipation that meetings would not be facilitated remotely. Note that employees were first asked about intentions, immediately followed by preferences. Having the questions one immediately after the other may have encouraged employees to provide different answers although only around 50% of employees provided different answers. Equally, it may have encouraged employees to indicate preferences more in line with the intended working from home days that they had just provided. It may also have meant that employees reflected on the difference between their preferences and likely reality, leading to more honest answers. We cannot know from this study whether or how far the question format affected the responses.

In terms of the impact of the messages, there were no significant differences between the control and intervention groups for any other subgroup (except for gender differences discussed above). This could though be due to lower statistical power because of much smaller samples in each subgroup.

Nevertheless, we found some significant subgroup differences in terms of preferences and intentions for the combined sample across three trial arms. In particular, employees with dependents or a disability had significantly higher average preferences for working from home, while more senior employees had significantly lower average preferences for working from home. Employees with a disability also intended to work from home more on average. These findings imply that increased working from home would particularly benefit employees with a disability and dependents. However, if more senior employees work less from home, this could lead to progression barriers and negative career consequences for those who work more from home, with negative equalities consequences for those with a disability or dependents.

³⁶ This difference is not statistically significant, but analysing such small subgroups reduces the power to find significant results.



Conclusion

Conclusion

The purpose of this three-armed RCT was to explore the impact of different messages on employee intentions and preferences for working from home. There was no significant impact of the messages across the whole sample. However, women indicated lower average intentions for working from home in response to both intervention messages that set organisational expectations for working from home.

We encourage further trials across a broader range of organisations, given that this RCT was conducted with a single employer. Testing the messages across multiple organisations would better help identify subgroup differences where they exist. This is instrumental to ensure that workplaces facilitate equality across people of different genders, caring responsibilities and disability statuses. Further research could also measure actual working from home behaviour where possible and include qualitative analysis to better identify the factors driving the discrepancy.

The results of this trial suggest that the communication of an organisation's working from home policy could result in gender unequal uptake. Therefore, organisations should avoid setting specific quotas or requirements on working from home to avoid exacerbating existing gaps.



Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary statistics and balance checks

Table A1.1. shows survey completion rates by trial condition.

Table A1.1. Survey completion rates by trial condition

Condition	Number of completes	Completion rates	p-value from two-proportion test of completion rate vs. control
Control	1,269	91.43%	N/A
T1: Default norm	1,273	92.92%	0.165
T2: Low anchor	1,310	91.80%	0.772

Table A1.2. shows the average value for the primary outcome (intended number of working from home days) by condition for the eligible sample.

Table A1.2. Summary statistics for primary outcome (intended number of working from home days)

Condition	N	Mean	SD
Control	1,261	3.16	1.46
T1: Default norm	1,265	3.08	1.48
T2: Low anchor	1,304	3.09	1.50

Tables A1.3. and A1.4. provide the results of the balance checks for continuous and categorical covariates respectively.

Table A1.3. Balance checks for continuous covariates

Covariate	Mean for control	Mean for T1: default norm	Mean for T2: low anchor
Measure of part-time work (1 - number of typical working days per week / 5)	0.043	0.040	0.039
Age	44.27	44.69	45.01

Notes: + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Table A1.4. Balance checks for categorical covariates

Domain (p = 0.108 for control vs. T1, p = 0.717 for control vs. T2)									
Response	Air	Commercial	HR	Land	Resources	Ships	Strategic Enablers	Strategy and Corporate Operations	Submarine Delivery Agency
Control	19.51%	1.59%	2.93%	24.27%	1.43%	15.15%	26.65%	5.00%	3.49%
T1: Default norm	21.42%	2.85%	2.13%	25.77%	2.06%	14.31%	22.92%	5.14%	3.40%
T2: Low anchor	20.87%	2.15%	2.46%	25.79%	1.84%	14.58%	24.17%	4.60%	3.53%

Function (p = 0.295 for control vs. T1, p = 0.898 for control vs. T2)									
Response	Commercial	Corporate Services Group	Engineering	Finance and Accounting	HR	iLog	IM and IT	Project Controls	Project Management
Control	10.94%	15.15%	22.84%	4.44%	2.46%	16.18%	5.71%	11.42%	10.86%
T1: Default norm	12.49%	13.68%	25.30%	4.82%	2.06%	15.97%	4.03%	10.04%	11.62%
T2: Low anchor	11.97%	15.20%	23.33%	4.22%	1.84%	16.12%	4.91%	12.36%	10.05%

Grade (p = 0.001 for control vs. T1, p = 0.115 for control vs. T2)							
Response	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	SCS	Other
Control	14.91%	32.75%	28.95%	14.59%	4.20%	1.11%	3.49%
T1: Default norm	13.12%	29.41%	35.18%	13.91%	5.30%	0.95%	2.13%
T2: Low anchor	14.50%	30.78%	34.00%	13.43%	4.14%	0.69%	2.46%

Civilian status (p = 0.947 for control vs. T1, p = 0.964 for control vs. T2)			
Response	Civilian	Contractor	Military
Control	92.15%	2.93%	4.92%
T1: Default norm	92.49%	2.85%	4.66%
T2: Low anchor	91.86%	3.07%	5.07%

Caring responsibilities (p = 0.432 for control vs. T1, p = 0.533 for control vs. T2)				
Response	Both dependent children and adults	Dependent adults	Dependent children	No dependents
Control	2.78%	6.58%	31.72%	58.92%
T1: default norm	2.06%	6.17%	34.07%	57.71%
T2: low anchor	2.30%	5.45%	31.77%	60.48%

Gender (p = 0.481 for control vs. T1, p = 0.511 for control vs. T2)				
Response	Man	Woman	Prefer to self-describe another way	Prefer not to say
Control	54.88%	38.38%	0.16%	6.58%
T1: default norm	57.94%	35.57%	0.16%	6.32%
T2: low anchor	57.33%	36.30%	0.31%	6.06%

Ethnicity (p = 0.944 for control vs. T1, p = 0.947 for control vs. T2)						
Response	Asian	Black	Mixed / multiple	White	Other	Prefer not to say
Control	2.06%	1.19%	1.27%	84.77%	0.48%	10.23%
T1: Default norm	1.90%	1.26%	1.66%	84.82%	0.32%	10.04%
T2: Low anchor	2.00%	1.15%	1.23%	84.88%	0.23%	10.51%

Disability status (p = 0.543 for control vs. T1, p = 0.615 for control vs. T2)			
Response	Disability	No disability	Prefer not to say
Control	15.46%	78.19%	6.34%
T1: default norm	14.47%	78.26%	7.27%
T2: low anchor	14.20%	78.97%	6.83%

Appendix 2: Primary and secondary analysis

Table A2.1. presents the results from the primary analysis. We use model 1 ($Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T + \beta_2 P + \Psi_i \Gamma + \epsilon_i$) throughout because this has the lowest AIC for the main regression.

Column 1 provides the results of the main regression.

Columns 2 and 3 give the results of pre-specified robustness checks:

- In column 2, we impute missing values and ‘prefer not to say’ options for covariates using multiple imputation (omitting the indicator for missing age as a covariate). Specifically, we impute (continuous) age via predictive mean matching, (binary) disability via logistic regression imputation and the categorical covariates via polytomous regression imputation, creating 25 imputed datasets and pooling estimates using Rubin’s rules.
- In column 3, we remove all covariates.

Columns 4-6 present results from additional robustness checks (which were not pre-specified):

- In column 4, we use the ratio of intended working from home days to typical working days as the outcome (with censoring at 0 and 1).
- In column 5, we use an indicator for working fewer than 5 days per week as our measure of part-time work (P in the model above).
- In column 6, we use an OLS model rather than a Tobit model.

Table A2.1. Estimated effects for primary analysis

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Specification	Main regression	Impute missing values of covariates	No covariates	Take ratio of intended working from home days to typical working days as outcome	Use indicator for working fewer than 5 days per week as part-time covariate	OLS model
Mean for control group	3.16	3.16	3.16	0.66	3.16	3.16
Estimated effect of T1: default norm	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.06)
Estimated effect of T2: low anchor	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.06)
Observations	3,829	4,002	3,829	3,829	3,829	3,829

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (multiplicity-adjusted p-values)

Table A2.2. presents the results from the secondary analysis. We use model 1 throughout because this has the lowest AIC for the main regression.

Column 1 presents results from the main regression. Columns 2-6 present results from analogous robustness checks to the corresponding columns in Table A2.1.

Table A2.2. Estimated effects for secondary analysis

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Specification	Main regression	Impute missing values of covariates	No covariates	Take ratio of preferred working from home days to typical working days as outcome	Use indicator for working fewer than 5 days per week as part-time covariate	OLS model
Mean for control group	3.34	3.32	3.34	0.70	3.34	3.34
Estimated effect of T1: default norm	0.03 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.06)	0.01 (0.05)
Estimated effect of T2: low anchor	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.05)
Observations	3,823	3,998	3,823	3,823	3,823	3,823

Appendix 3: Exploratory analysis

Pre-specified exploratory analysis

Table A3.1. displays the results of the pre-specified subgroup analyses. Each of these analyses involves a regression in the model 1 form, since this had a lower AIC than model 2 in the Analysis section in all cases. For each analysis, we provide the coefficients on each intervention condition and the coefficient on the interaction term between each intervention condition and the subgroup variable.

We also perform separate regressions for each subgroup (using the model 1 form), as shown in Table A3.2.

Table A3.1. Estimated effects on primary outcome from pre-specified subgroup analysis (interaction terms)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Subgroup analysis (reference group vs. non-reference group)	Caring responsibilities (no dependents vs. any dependents)	Gender (men vs. women)	Ethnicity (EM vs. White)	Ethnicity (non-Asian vs. Asian)	Disability status (no disability vs. disability)	Seniority (N/A - continuous variable)
Estimated effect of T1: default norm for reference group	-0.18 (0.10)	0.01 (0.10)	0.37 (0.34)	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	N/A
Estimated coefficient on interaction between T1 and subgroup variable	0.16 (0.16)	-0.26 (0.16)	-0.54 (0.35)	0.69 (0.56)	-0.37 (0.22)	-0.09 (0.07)
Estimated effect of T2: low anchor for reference group	-0.19 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.10)	0.30 (0.35)	-0.12 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.09)	N/A
Estimated coefficient on interaction between T2 and subgroup variable	0.26 (0.16)	-0.23 (0.16)	-0.44 (0.36)	-0.51 (0.54)	-0.40 (0.22)	-0.06 (0.07)
Observations	3,829	3,579	3,436	3,436	3,568	3,726

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (multiplicity-adjusted p-values)

Table A3.2. Estimated effects on primary outcome from pre-specified subgroup analysis (separate regressions)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Subgroup analysis (reference group vs. non-reference group)	Caring responsibilities (no dependents vs. any dependents)	Gender (men vs. women)	Ethnicity (EM vs. White)	Ethnicity (non-Asian vs. Asian)	Disability status (no disability vs. disability)	Seniority (level 3 and below vs. level 4 and above)
Control-group mean for reference group	3.28	3.13	3.10	3.18	3.10	3.16
Estimated effect of T1: default norm for reference group	-0.17 (0.11)	-0.00 (0.11)	0.43 (0.35)	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.09)
Estimated effect of T2: low anchor for reference group	-0.19 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.11)	0.55 (0.35)	-0.12 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.09)
Observations for reference group	2,261	2,172	188	3,360	3,005	2,982
Control-group mean for non-reference group	2.98	3.20	3.18	3.13	3.54	3.18
Estimated effect of T1: default norm for non-reference group	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.27* (0.12)	-0.17 (0.08)		-0.38 (0.22)	-0.22 (0.14)
Estimated effect of T2: low anchor for non-reference group	0.06 (0.11)	-0.24* (0.11)	-0.15 (0.08)		-0.41 (0.22)	-0.27 (0.14)
Observations for non-reference group	1,568	1,407	3,248	76	563	744

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (multiplicity-adjusted p-values); there are too few observations from Asian respondents to produce estimates.

Non-pre-specified exploratory analysis

Columns 1-6 in Table A3.3. show the estimated effects of the two intervention conditions relative to the control on the proportion of people who chose each value for intended working from home days (as log-odds ratios).

Table A3.3. Estimated effects on proportion of respondents choosing each given number of intended working from home days

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Category for primary outcome	0 days	1 day	2 days	3 days	4 days	5 days
Proportion for control group	0.056	0.083	0.161	0.242	0.186	0.272
Estimated effect of T1: default	0.199 (0.171)	-0.004 (0.147)	0.211+ (0.107)	-0.058 (0.095)	-0.127 (0.106)	-0.061 (0.092)
Estimated effect of T2: anchor	0.170 (0.170)	0.148 (0.141)	0.052 (0.108)	-0.078 (0.095)	-0.012 (0.104)	-0.063 (0.091)
Observations	3,829	3,829	3,829	3,829	3,829	3,829

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (multiplicity-adjusted p-values).

Columns 1-3 in Table A3.4. show the estimated intervention effects for the Land, Air and Ships domains respectively.

Table A3.4. Estimated effects on primary outcome by domain

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Domain	Land	Air	Ships
Control-group mean for reference group	3.06	3.16	3.08
Estimated effect of T1: default norm	-0.07 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.17)	-0.14 (0.20)
Estimated effect of T2: low anchor	-0.06 (0.17)	-0.09 (0.17)	0.06 (0.20)
Observations	967	789	562

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (multiplicity-adjusted p-values); one observation from Land was removed due to being a singularity (the only respondent with HR as a function).

Table A3.5. presents estimated effects of the intervention conditions on preferred working from home days for the pre-specified subgroups (using separate regressions by subgroup and regressions in the model 1 form).

Table A3.5. Estimated effects on secondary outcome from pre-specified subgroups (separate regressions)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Subgroup analysis (reference group vs. non-reference group)	Caring responsibilities (no dependents vs. any dependents)	Gender (men vs. women)	Ethnicity (EM vs. White)	Ethnicity (non-Asian vs. Asian)	Disability status (no disability vs. disability)	Seniority (level 3 and below vs. level 4 and above)
Control-group mean for reference group	3.36	3.35	3.42	3.35	3.27	3.33
Estimated effect of T1: default norm for reference group	0.04 (0.09)	0.04 (0.09)		-0.02 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)
Estimated effect of T2: low anchor for reference group	-0.02 (0.08)	0.06 (0.09)		-0.05 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)
Observations for reference group	2,257	2,171	186	3,357	3,002	2,976
Control-group mean for non-reference group	3.30	3.31	3.34	3.22	3.64	3.36
Estimated effect of T1: default norm for non-reference group	-0.00 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.07)			
Estimated effect of T2: low anchor for non-reference group	-0.02 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.07)			
Observations for non-reference group	1,566	1,404	3,246	75	562	744

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; † p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (multiplicity-adjusted p-values); there are too few observations from EM, Asian, disabled or senior (level 4 or above) respondents to produce estimates.

Tables A3.4. and A3.5. show subgroup differences in the number of intended and preferred working from home days per week across the three trial arms.

Table A3.4. Subgroup difference in the number of intended working from home days

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Subgroup analysis (reference group vs. non-reference group)	Caring responsibilities (no dependents vs. any dependents)	Gender (men vs. women)	Ethnicity (EM vs. White)	Ethnicity (non-Asian vs. Asian)	Disability status (no disability vs. disability)	Seniority (N/A - continuous variable)	Ethnicity (EM or mixed/multiple vs. White or Asian)
Mean for reference group	3.16	3.12	3.22	3.11	3.08	N/A	3.27
Mean for non-reference group	3.05	3.09	3.11	3.14	3.30	N/A	3.11
Estimated coefficient (given covariates)	0.02 (0.07)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.15)	-0.06 (0.23)	0.26** (0.09)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.20 (0.19)
Observations	3,820	3,572	3,429	3,429	3,561	3,717	3,429

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (multiplicity-adjusted p-values)

Table A3.5. Subgroup difference in the number of preferred working from home days

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Subgroup analysis (reference group vs. non-reference group)	Caring responsibilities (no dependents vs. any dependents)	Gender (men vs. women)	Ethnicity (EM vs. White)	Ethnicity (non-Asian vs. Asian)	Disability status (no disability vs. disability)	Seniority (N/A - continuous variable)	Ethnicity (EM or mixed/multiple vs. White or Asian)
Mean for reference group	3.35	3.37	3.43	3.33	3.30	N/A	3.45
Mean for non-reference group	3.33	3.29	3.33	3.41	3.50	N/A	3.33
Estimated coefficient (given covariates)	0.11+ (0.05)	0.08 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.12)	0.06 (0.18)	0.23** (0.07)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.15 (0.15)
Observations	3,820	3,572	3,429	3,429	3,561	3,717	3,429

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; + p<0.1, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (multiplicity-adjusted p-values)



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