FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENTS AND PARENTAL LIFE SATISFACTION

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the impact of flexible workplace arrangements (such as working from home, flex time and easily being able to take a few hours off work on occasion to deal with personal or family matters) on the probability of having 'high life satisfaction', 'low level of stress' and 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' for parents who have at least one child under five years old. Using data from the 2016 General Social Survey – Canadians at work and home, and by applying simple probit methodology, this study finds that flexible work arrangements are not associated with parents having 'high life satisfaction', 'low level of stress' and 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home', and weekly working hours and satisfaction with division of chores is found to be a better predictor of these outcomes.

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Author

Chelsea Driscoll

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

For most working parents balancing work and home responsibilities can be quite stressful, especially when their children are young and not yet in school. While all parents with children living at home face some financial and psychological stress associated with raising their children, certain aspects may be heightened when their children are young. For example, full time day care is more expensive than after-school care and can take up a large portion of the household budget (Hicks, 2018, Ivanova et al., 2018, Johnston and Saulnier, 2015), especially if full-time care is needed for multiple children. In addition, parents of young children also face an intense "double work day" (MacDonald et al, 2005). Children who are not yet in school are still highly dependent on their parents; they are too young to make a basic meal for themselves, and too young to put themselves to bed if their parent is busy or tired after a long day at work. For these reasons among many others, young children may have an impact on life satisfaction for working parents. Therefore, the research question for this study is whether there is a positive relationship between flexible workplace arrangements and Canadian parents' life satisfaction (as well as their level of stress) when their children are under 5 years old, and whether the relationship looks different for mothers and fathers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to the 2018 World Happiness Report Canada is the 7th happiest country in the world. While Canadians have higher life satisfaction than those living in the United States and many other rich countries, those living in Nordic countries are happier (Helliwell et al., 2018). Although an individual's happiness is partially determined by their genetics and personality, life circumstances also play a role in determining an individual's happiness (Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2013). The impact of fertility and parenthood on life satisfaction has been studied in economics over the past few decades. Some studies find that there is a negative correlation between parenthood and life satisfaction (Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2013), while other studies find that having children increases life satisfaction (Baetschmann et al., 2016).

In Canada the General Social Survey (GSS) and the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) are two surveys administered by Statistics Canada that ask respondents to report their "satisfaction with life as a whole" on a scale from 0-10. These surveys are widely used in economic literature to study the impact of life satisfaction in Canada. Bonikowska et al. (2014) evaluates the variability in life satisfaction responses from year to year across the two surveys between 2003 and 2011. Using ordered probit and Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) models, the authors find that although the average life satisfaction remains the same in the CCHS from year to year, the average life satisfaction for the GSS varies. Specifically, the mean life satisfaction is lower during the time use surveys in 2005 and 2010. In addition, the authors find that working hours is negatively correlated with life satisfaction, and those with the ability to choose work start and end times report higher levels of life satisfaction. Moreover, those with irregular work schedules, such as shift or on call workers, report lower levels of life satisfaction than those with regular, day-time work schedules.

Bonikowska et al. (2014) is not the only study to find that alternative work policies and schedules have an impact on life satisfaction. MacDonald et al. (2005) study the association between employment characteristics and time-related stress and satisfaction with work-family balance. The authors use the 1998 GSS on Time Use, in which respondents were asked ''Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the balance between your job and home life?'' They found that 65.9 percent of full time female workers and 72 percent of full time male workers are satisfied with work-life balance. The survey also asks whether respondents have ''a flexible schedule that allows you to choose the time you begin and end your work day''; the authors find that men are more likely to report that they have a flexible schedule than women, and full time female workers have a more flexible schedule than part time female workers (30.7 percent in comparison to 23.6 percent.) The authors find that higher total paid hours significantly reduces women's satisfaction with work-life balance, similar to the findings in Bonikowska et al., 2014.

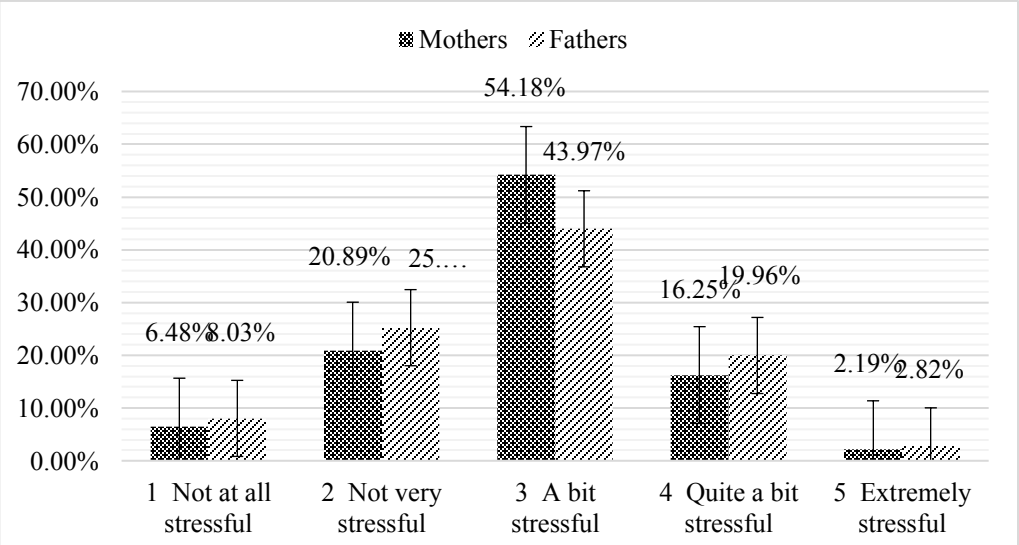
There are several studies in Europe that examine the impact of flexible work policies on life satisfaction, specifically for married couples and working parents. Europe

is an interesting region to study due to the diverse family policies among European countries. Mills and Täht (2010) look at the impacts of nonstandard work schedules on partnership quality in the Netherlands. They find that nonstandard schedules have a negative impact on parents of young children, especially for women. Another European study looks at various country level characteristics such as family allowance, child care and working time flexibility in 27 countries in Europe, and their impact on parent's life satisfaction. Using data from the European Social Survey from 2004 to 2010, Pollmann-Schult (2018) find that mothers and fathers in countries with low levels of work flexibility were less satisfied with their lives than their childless peers. Pollmann-Schult (2018) also finds that child care provision has a greater impact on mothers' life satisfaction.

Most family policies in Canada are designed to help alleviate the financial burden of raising young children and are not focused on lessening the "time crunch" burden working parents face. The stress associated with family responsibilities and not having enough time is common among parents with young children. According to the 2016 General Social Survey, cycle 30 – Canadians at Work and Home, 90.6% of the prime working-age population (age 25-54) state they have some stress in their life; 9.4% said their life is not stressful at all, 23.9% said not very stressful, 45.7% said a bit stressful, 17.6% said quite stressful and 3.4% said extremely stressful. Results were very similar for parents with children under 5. The difference between parents with young children and the prime working age population is their source of stress. According to the survey, 13.7% of the prime working-age population state that family is their main source of stress, and 16.5% say not having enough time is their main source of stress. In comparison, of parents who have one or more children under the age of five, 15.0% state that family is their main source of stress and 26.4% say not having enough time is their main source of stress.

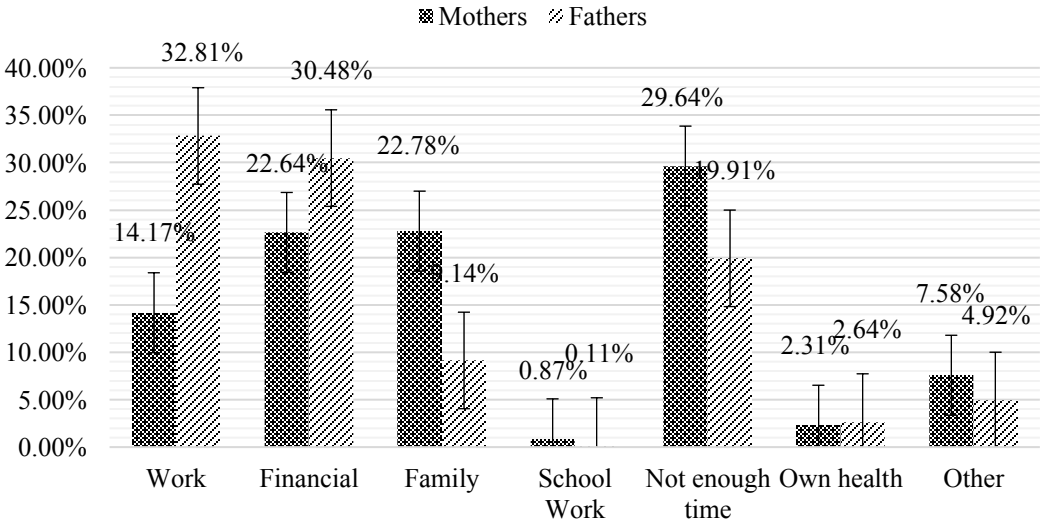
There are also very clear gender differences between mothers and fathers of young children as can be seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2 below. Although there are only slight differences in the level of stress the distinction lies in the source of stress; 22.5% of mothers selected family as their main source of stress in comparison to 7.2% of fathers,

FIGURE 1: LEVEL OF STRESS, PARENTS WITH 1 OR MORE CHILDREN UNDER 5, BY GENDER



AUTHORS CALCULATIONS, DATA SOURCE: 2016 GSS, CYCLE 30 - CANADIANS AT WORK AND HOME

FIGURE 2: MAIN SOURCE OF STRESS, PARENTS WITH 1 OR MORE CHILDREN UNDER 5, BY GENDER



AUTHORS CALCULATIONS, DATA SOURCE: 2016 GSS, CYCLE 30 - CANADIANS AT WORK AND HOME

and 33.5% of mothers selected not having enough time as their main source of stress in comparison to 18.9% of fathers.

Although the Minister of Employment, Workforce Development and Labour released a report in 2016 stating "The Government of Canada is committed to amending the Canada Labour Code to provide workers in federally regulated enterprises with a right to request flexible work arrangements from their employers", it is currently up to parents to make labour force participation decisions that best suit their family's needs. For example, they must decide whether both parents will work, and if so will they both work full time? In some cases, reducing weekly work hours or going part-time is not an option for either parent, and having one parent stay at home may not be financially possible. Moreover, childcare availability may provide additional issues. According to a report published by the Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives 44% of non-school age children live in a "childcare desert", meaning there are at least 3 children in potential competition for each licenced child care space (MacDonald, 2018).

On the other hand, some parents have more flexibility to accommodate their family responsibilities. Some workplaces offer flexible work schedules (or "flex time") giving the employee some control over their start and end times, and some employees have the option to work from home. Although not all occupations are conducive to these policies, simply having the ability to take a few hours to tend to family matters on occasion (for example when a child is sick or has an appointment) may alleviate some of the stress associated with balancing work and family responsibilities. Lack of flexible work arrangements is clearly an important policy gap and is potentially leaving Canadian workers with higher stress levels, poorer health, or lower levels of life satisfaction, especially parents of young children.

CHAPTER 2 – SUMMARY STATISTICS

The dataset selected to examine the relationship between flexible work arrangements and life satisfaction is the 2016 General Social Survey, cycle 30, Canadians at Work and Home. This microdata survey asks numerous questions related to work-life balance, including questions regarding various flexible workplace arrangements. In addition, many questions surrounding health behaviours and health outcomes are reported, one being satisfaction with life as a whole.

The survey was conducted by Statistics Canada from August 2nd to December 23rd, 2016. 19,609 non-institutionalized Canadians over the age of 15 and living in the ten provinces were contacted by telephone and electronically. Canadian citizens living in the territories or living on reserves are not included in the sample. Prior to 2013 only those with a landline phone number were contacted. To ensure households who do not have a landline were reached Statistics Canada began using a new survey frame in 2013 that combines telephone numbers (landline and cellular) with Statistics Canada's Address Register and collects data both electronically and via telephone. The new sampling frame also led to a new weighting strategy for the GSS to ensure the results were representative of the Canadian population living in the ten provinces. Telephone numbers belonging to the same address were grouped together to help ensure that the same household was not contacted more than once. Additionally, telephone numbers belonging to businesses and institutions were removed. Weights were calculated based on geographic region, age and sex to match the Canadian population. The person weights provided by Statistics Canada have been used for all calculations in this study.

Only the respondents who are legally married or living common-law, have a child under 5, and have selected employed, on maternity/paternity leave, or stay home to care for their children as their main activity are included in this study. Children under five years old was selected as the age cut-off since most children start kindergarten around 5 years old in Canada. Moreover, we do not know the exact age of the respondent's children in this survey, and "all children under 5 years old" and "at least one, but not all children under 5 years old" are the youngest categories in the survey. It is important to

note that focusing on married and common-law couples is necessary as there is not a large enough sample size when looking at other marital statuses, thus the results from this study do not consider the impacts of having flexible work arrangements on vulnerable populations such as single parents. In addition, respondents whose main activity is going to school, looking for paid work and those who have a long term illness are removed from the sample, as these situations present different stresses that may impact results on life satisfaction and level of stress. Respondents who are self-employed are also removed as self-employment may offer additional flexibility and may cloud the results of workplace flexibility on life satisfaction. Lastly, respondents with non-response for any of the analysis variables have also been removed.

There are 1,149 respondents (550 male and 599 female) in the sample. Using the person weights provided by Statistics Canada to ensure the sample is representative of the Canadian population 48.76% of the respondents are male and 51.24% are female. Also, 74.89% of respondents are employed, 15.99% care for children or look after household work, and 9.12% are on maternity/paternity or parental leave. There are also some noticeable gender differences between mother's and father's main activity in the last year; 97.55% of fathers are employed in comparison to 53.05% of mothers. Moreover, 2.45% of fathers stay home to care for children and the household, while 26.16% of mothers stay home to care for children and the household. Lastly, 17.91% of mothers are on maternity or parental leave. Although fathers can choose to take paternity leave in Canada there are no fathers in the survey who say this is their main activity (see Table 1). Note that some categories of response have been aggregated due to small cell sizes.

The fact that many mothers are staying home when their children are young is not surprising. Unfortunately, there is no information on why they have chosen to stay home in this survey, although there are many possible explanations, one being motherhood identity. According to Akerlof and Kranton (2010), women may feel that they "should" stay home with their children due to social norms. Another explanation is there may be a lack of child care availability, or the price of child care may be an issue. They also may not have had flexible work arrangements or jobs that would accommodate their family responsibilities. Without more information there is no way to determine whether these

TABLE 1 – SUMMARY STATISTICS

TABLE 1 - SUMMARY STATISTICS 2016 GSS - MARRIED WITH CHILDREN UNDER 5[1]

	Mothers	Fathers
Number of respondents	599	550
Median Life Satisfaction[2]	8.0	8.0
Median Level of Stress[3]	3.0	3.0
Number of Children	1.916	1.968
	(0.0752)	(0.0530)
Age 25 to 34	0.577	0.431
	(0.0254)	(0.0269)
Age 35 to 44	0.403	0.500
	(0.0254)	(0.0271)
Age 45 to 54	0.020	0.069
	(0.0059)	(0.0138)
Main Activity: Maternity/Paternity leave	0.172	-
	(0.0191)	-
Main Activity: Caring for children or housework	0.248	0.024
	(0.0237)	(0.0080)
Main Activity: Employed: Part time	0.070	0.028
	(0.0127)	(0.0081)
Main Activity: Employed Full time	0.397	0.644
	(0.0253)	(0.0264)
Main Activity: Employed High hours	0.037	0.273
	(0.0084)	(0.0248)
Spouse employed	0.922	0.732
	(0.0129)	(0.0255)
Urban	0.846	0.853
	(0.0188)	(0.0181)
Education: High school or less	0.144	0.210
	(0.0207)	(0.0252)
Education: Trades, college or certificate	0.339	0.408
	(0.0251)	(0.02643)
Education: Bachelor degree	0.333	0.238
	(0.0241)	(0.0217)
Education: Above bachelor degree	0.165	0.140
	(0.0191)	(0.0177)
Region of residence: West	0.321	0.313
	(0.0232)	(0.0243)
Region of residence: East	0.043	0.059
	(0.0051)	(0.0072)
Region of residence: Quebec	0.258	0.257
	(0.0238)	(0.0234)
Region of residence: Ontario	0.378	0.370
	(0.0265)	(0.0275)
Self-assessed health : Excellent	0.173	0.147
	(0.0205)	(0.0211)
Self-assessed health: Very Good	0.404	0.402
	(0.0260)	(0.0211)
Self-assessed health: Good	0.349	0.389
	(0.0248)	(0.0262)
Self-assessed health: Fair or poor	0.0708	0.061
	(0.0135)	(0.0124)
Family income: less than $50,000	0.113	0.112
	(0.0184)	(0.0208)
Family income: $50,000 to $74,999	0.198	0.203
	(0.0230)	(0.0219)
Family income: $75,000 to $99,999	0.174	0.195
	(0.0188)	(0.0225)
Family income: $100,000 to $124,999	0.184	0.160
	(0.0201)	(0.0188)
Family income: $125,000 or more	0.331	0.330
	(0.0239)	(0.0241)
Satisfaction with chores: Very Satisfied	0.297	0.365
	(0.0244)	(0.0268)
Satisfaction with chores: Satisfied	0.438	0.520
	(0.0261)	(0.0272)
Satisfaction with chores: Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	0.160	0.097
	(0.0200)	(0.0144)
Satisfaction with chores: Dissatisfied or Very Dissatisfied	0.0960	0.016
	(0.0147)	(0.0072)

Robust standard errors in parentheses

1 Respondents who's main activity is going to school, looking for paid work or have a long term illness have been removed from the sample. In addition, self-employed have also been removed.

2 Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest

3 Level of stress responses on scale from 1 o 5 (1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful)

SOURCE: AUTHOR'S CALCULATIONS, 2016 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY

mothers used to participate in the labour force and whether they would have returned if their jobs offered flexible work arrangements. For the purpose of this paper it is important to note that this may understate the impact of flexible work arrangements for mothers.

Having one parent stay home to care for children can be beneficial and is consistent with some economic theories. According the Becker (1965) model of household production, families may choose to "specialize" where one parent, typically the spouse with the higher wage, chooses to focus on paid work, and the other spouse focuses on unpaid work such as looking after household chores and child care. This allows one parent to look after anything that should arise (such as children's appointments and caring for them when they are sick) without impacting the other parent's paid work or family income. Ultimately, when parents specialize, the parent responsible for paid work likely does not need the same amount of workplace flexibility as a parent who is trying to juggle home and work responsibilities. When both parents are working having some form of flexible work arrangement (for at least one parent) may greatly impact parents' life satisfaction and level of stress in comparison to families who chose to specialize.

Since whether both parents are working is one of the key determinants in whether flexible work arrangements will have an impact parental stress it is important to include some measure of spouse employment. Unfortunately, the 2016 GSS did not ask respondents about their spouse or partners main activity. To control for whether or not the respondent's spouse is employed a dummy variable equal to one was calculated if the family income is greater than the respondent's income[1]. According to this calculation, 73.17% of men's spouses are working and 92.20% of women's spouses are working, which compares well with the self-reports of own paid work participation of respondents. Although this is not a perfect control for whether both spouses are working it is the only

[1] The 2016 GSS has the following categories for respondent's income: 1 - Less than $25,000, 2 - $25,000 to $49,999, 3 - $50,000 to $74,999, 4 - $75,000 to $99,999, 5 - $100,000 to $124,999, 6 - $125,000 or more. The dummy variable for spouse employed is equal to one if the family income is in a higher category than the respondent's income.

information available in the survey. In addition, there is no information on whether the spouse is working full-time or part-time, or whether the spouse has flexible work arrangements, both of which could impact the respondent's life satisfaction.

There are a few additional gender differences to note regarding the respondent's main activity, specifically regarding weekly hours worked for those who are employed. More mothers stated they work between 0 and 29 hours per week than fathers; 7.0% of mothers work part time in comparison to 2.8% of men. By contrast, more fathers stated they work more than 41 hours per week than mothers; 27.3% of fathers work more than 41 hours per week in comparison to 3.7% of mothers. These results can be seen in Table 2.

TABLE 2 – MAIN ACTIVITY OF RESPONDENT, BY GENDER

TABLE 2 - MAIN ACTIVITY OF THE RESPONDENT, BY GENDER		
	Mothers	Fathers
Part time (0-29 hours/week)	0.070	0.028
	(0.0127)	(0.0081)
Full time (30-40 hours/week)	0.397	0.644
	(0.0253)	(0.0264)
High hours (over 41 hours/week)	0.037	0.273
	(0.0084)	(0.0248)
Maternity/Paternity leave	0.172	-
	(0.0191)	-
Care for children	0.248	0.024
	(0.0237)	(0.0080)
Robust standard errors in parentheses		
SOURCE: AUTHOR'S CALCULATIONS, 2016 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY		

While there are distinct gender differences between mothers and fathers with children under 5 regarding their weekly hours worked, gender differences are not apparent in terms of flexible work arrangements for those that are working. As can be seen in Table 3, 72.41% and 75.78% of working mothers and fathers respectively have at least one of the flexible work arrangements examined in this study. The most common

type of flexible work arrangement is having the ability to get a few hours off to tend to family or personal matters. While well over half of working mothers and fathers stated that they can 'very easily' or 'easily' get a few hours off to tend to personal or family matters, less than half of the respondents stated they have a flexible schedule, meaning

TABLE 3 – FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENTS FOR PARENTS WHOSE MAIN ACTIVITY IS PAID WORK

TABLE 3 - FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGMENTS FOR PARENTS WHO'S MAIN ACTIVITY IS PAID WORK, BY GENDER

	Mothers	Fathers
Work from home	0.1924	0.1586
	(0.0277)	(0.0189)
Flex time	0.3998	0.3947
	(0.0340)	(0.0266)
Easily able to take time off for family matters	0.6519	0.6955
	(0.0331)	(0.0263)
Has at least one flexible work arrangement	0.7241	0.7578
	(0.0315)	(0.0248)

Robust standard errors in parentheses
SOURCE: AUTHOR'S CALCULATIONS, 2016 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY

TABLE 4 – FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENTS FOR PARENTS WITH PAID WORK BY EMPLOYMENT TYPE AND BY GENDER

TABLE 4 - FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT FOR PARENTS WITH PAID WORK BY EMPLOYMENT TYPE

	Full time		Part time		High Hours	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Work from home	0.1595	0.1387	0.1318	0.0056	0.3409	0.2385
	(0.0254)	(0.0219)	(0.0609)	(0.0061)	(0.1052)	(0.0436)
Flex time	0.3605	0.4128	0.4581	0.2842	0.2541	0.3398
	(0.0334)	(0.0318)	(0.0966)	(0.1311)	(0.0943)	(0.0503)
Family Matters	0.6271	0.7188	0.6396	0.5253	0.4748	0.636
	(0.0331)	(0.0296)	(0.0869)	(0.1516)	(0.1152)	(0.0559)
At least one FWA	0.6805	0.7813	0.6887	0.5309	0.6129	0.7639
	(0.0321)	(0.0266)	(0.0836)	(0.1517)	(0.0889)	(0.0336)

Robust standard errors in parentheses
SOURCE: AUTHOR'S CALCULATIONS, 2016 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY

they can choose what time they begin and end work. Lastly, working from home was the least common form of flexible work arrangements.

When looking at flexible work arrangements by employment type (part time, full time and high hours) there are some differences between full-time mothers and fathers (see Table 4). First of all, when looking at parents who work from home, there are more full-time and part-time mothers working from home than fathers. In addition, it is quite common for fathers who work high hours to have at least one flexible work arrangement, with being able to take time off to tend to family matters being the most common. Sample sizes are small for mothers working high hours as well as part-time fathers with flex time and the ability to take time off for family matters, leading to large standard errors and difficulty comparing these groups.

In the 2016 General Social Survey, the question "Using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means "Very dissatisfied" and 10 means "Very satisfied", how do you feel about your life as a whole right now?" is asked to assess life satisfaction. When looking at median life satisfaction by employment type and by sex the majority have a mean life satisfaction close to 8.0. Interestingly, as can be seen in Table 5, 48.04% fathers whose main activity is caring for children have life satisfaction equal to 10. Level of stress is assessed through the question "Thinking of the amount of stress in your life, would you say that most days are...?" where responses include "1 – Not stressful at all", "2 – Not very stressful", "3 – A bit stressful", "4 – Quite a bit stressful" and "5 – Extremely stressful". Results are similar when looking at median level of stress by employment type, with part time fathers and fathers who care for children having a median level of stress equal to 2.0. These results are displayed in Table 6.

Paradoxically, there is a possibility that flexible work arrangements may cause additional stress as parents who have flexible work arrangements may contribute more than what they perceive to be a 'fair share' of work at home because they are able to do it. For example, if one spouse has flex time and one does not and both work full time, then the spouse with the flexibility may spend more hours caring for the children and doing housework. The survey also asks respondents questions regarding the division of household chores and asks, "How satisfied are you with the way chores are divided in your household?" where responses include "1 – Very Satisfied", "2 – Satisfied", "3 – Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied", "4 – Dissatisfied" or "5 – Very Dissatisfied". In every

main activity category there were more mothers than fathers that were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the division of chores. Moreover, for fathers who work part time or care for children there were no fathers that are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the division of chores. There are some mothers, on the other hand, who are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the division of chores for every main activity category (see Table 7).

TABLE 5 – LIFE SATISFACTION BY MAIN ACTIVITY AND BY GENDER

TABLE 5 - LIFE SATISFACTION BY MAIN ACTIVITY AND BY GENDER										
	Full time		Part time		High Hours		Maternity Leave		Caring for children	
Life satisfaction	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)
6 and under	9.88	9.49	14.52	7.40	17.51	14.0	7.80	-	11.45	13.85
7	25.25	16.53	35.62	14.2	14.33	14.12	16.67	-	19.18	15.17
8	33.8	45.44	31.79	55.68	27.57	33.58	30.84	-	38.79	8.38
9	19.1	16.34	5.15	20.47	22.78	27.21	34.63	-	17.93	14.56
10	11.85	12.19	12.6	2.25	17.81	11.09	10.07	-	12.57	48.04
Median	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	-	8.0	8.0
Note: Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest										
SOURCE: AUTHOR'S CALCULATIONS, 2016 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY										

TABLE 6 – LEVEL OF STRESS BY MAIN ACTIVITY AND BY GENDER

TABLE 6 - LEVEL OF STRESS BY MAIN ACTIVITY AND BY GENDER										
	Full time		Part time		High Hours		Maternity Leave		Caring for children	
Level of Stress	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)
1	7.67	8.82	1.13	9.58	1.66	8.53	3.05	-	6.14	9.4
2	22.8	26.39	16.57	41.4	3.83	25.03	22.96	-	26.91	60.06
3	49.13	49.66	66.55	46.77	45.11	36.99	56.87	-	56.82	16.16
4	18.41	14.12	12.5	2.25	44.91	27.46	13.87	-	9.6	14.39
5	1.99	1.02	3.25	0	4.5	1.98	3.25	-	0.53	0
Median	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	-	3.0	2.0
Note: Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressfull, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful										
SOURCE: AUTHOR'S CALCULATIONS, 2016 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY										

TABLE 7 – SATISFACTION WITH DIVISION OF CHORES BY MAIN ACTIVITY AND BY GENDER

TABLE 7 - SATISFACTION WITH DIVISION OF CHORES BY MAIN ACTIVITY AND BY GENDER										
	Full time		Part time		High Hours		Maternity Leave		Caring for children	
	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)
Very Satisfied	23.93	33.26	36.8	26.58	47.91	43.42	27.93	-	34.31	45.94
Satiisfied	47.54	56.35	31.05	67.25	30.7	43.76	45.68	-	49.04	46.10
Neither Satisfied or Dissatified	15.59	8.95	20.26	6.17	14.08	10.69	19.76	-	12.84	7.95
Dissatisfied or Very Dissatisfied	12.85	1.44	11.63	0	7.32	2.14	6.63	-	3.8	-
Note: Satisfaction with division of chores responses are on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Very Satisfied, 2 = Satisfied, 3 = Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied, 4 = Dissatisfied, 5 = Very Dissatisfied										
SOURCE: AUTHOR'S CALCULATIONS, 2016 GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY										

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

METHODOLOGY

The methodology selected for this study is a simple probit model to evaluate the relationship between flexible work arrangements and life satisfaction, as well as level of stress and satisfaction with balance between work and home. True life satisfaction (Y_i^*), as well as true level of stress and true satisfaction with balance between work and home are unobservable dependent variables, but I assume that they are functions of flexible work arrangements, the other explanatory variables described above and an error term that is normally distributed with a mean of zero.

$$Y_i^* = \alpha + \boldsymbol{\beta X_i} + \varepsilon_i$$

What we do observe is 'high life satisfaction'[2], 'low level of stress'[3] and 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home'[4] since the respondent provides a numbered response to the survey question. Using life satisfaction as an example (since the same formulation of a binary dependent variable takes place for level of stress and satisfaction with balance between work and home), the observable 'high life satisfaction' is related to the unobservable true happiness (Y_i^*) by

$$High\ life\ satisfaction = 1\ if\ Y_i^* > 0$$
$$High\ life\ satisfaction = 0\ if\ Y_i^* \leq 0$$

[2] The following question from the 2016 GSS is used to evaluate life satisfaction: "Using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means "Very dissatisfied" and 10 means "Very satisfied", how do you feel about your life as a whole right now?" to evaluate life satisfaction. 'High life satisfaction' is a dummy variable equal to one if the respondent selects life satisfaction equal to 9 or 10.

[3] The following question from the 2016 GSS is used to evaluate level of stress: "Thinking of the amount of stress in your life, would you say that most days are...?". Response options include "1 – Not stressed at all", "2 – Not very stressful", "3 – A bit stressful", "4 – Quite a bit stressful" and "5 – Extremely stressful". 'Low level of stress' is a dummy variable equal to one if the respondent selects level of stress equal to 1 or 2.

[4] The following question from the 2016 GSS is used to evaluate satisfaction with balance between work and home: "How satisfied [are/were] you with the balance between your job and home life?". Response options were recoded so that "1 – Very Dissatisfied", "2 – Dissatisfied", "3 – Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied", "4 – Satisfied" and "5 – Very Satisfied". 'High satisfaction with balance between work and home' is a dummy variable equal to one if the respondent selects satisfaction with balance between work and home equal to 4 or 5.

The probabilities associated with the observed realizations are as follows:

$$\Pr(High\ life\ latisfaction = 1) = \Pr(Y_i^* > 0) = \Pr(\alpha + \boldsymbol{\beta X_i} + \varepsilon_i > 0)$$
$$\Pr(Low\ life\ latisfaction = 1) = \Pr(Y_i^* \leq 0) = \Pr(\alpha + \boldsymbol{\beta X_i} + \varepsilon_i \leq 0)$$

Given the assumed standard normal distribution, this can be further re-written as:

$$\Pr(High\ life\ latisfaction = 1) = \Pr(Y_i^* > 0) = \Phi\ (\alpha + \boldsymbol{\beta X_i} + \varepsilon_i)$$
$$\Pr(High\ life\ latisfaction = 0) = 1 - \Phi(\alpha + \boldsymbol{\beta X_i} + \varepsilon_i)$$

where $\boldsymbol{X}$ is a vector of control variables. Control variables include the main activity of the respondent, age group of the respondent, number of children living in the household, region of residence, living in an urban population centre, weekly hours worked, whether the respondent's spouse is employed, highest level of education of the respondent, self-reported health status, and family income. The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, have good self-reported health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is a full-time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base case is full time employees who do not have flexible work arrangements. The probit models are estimated for mothers and fathers separately.

In the first specification, key explanatory variables are the main activity variables: part time workers (those with less than 30 weekly working hours)[5], high hours workers (those with more than 41 weekly working hours), parents on maternity or paternity leave and parents who stay home with the children. Relative to the base case of a full time worker, the probit model evaluates the relationship between each main activity and the probability of having 'high life satisfaction', 'low level of stress' and 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' holding all else constant.

[5] Due to small cell size, fathers who work part time were dropped and are not included in the probit estimations.

Next, in the second specification, interaction terms between each employment type (part time[6], full time and high hours) and a dummy variable equal to one if the respondent has a flexible work arrangement (FWA) (those who selected yes to having the ability to work from home, selected yes to having a flexible schedule at work, or selected 'very easy' or 'easy' to being able to get a few hours off to tend to family/personal matters) are added to the model. This is added to test the relationship between flexible work arrangements and the probability of having 'high life satisfaction', 'low level of stress' or 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' relative to full time employees who do not have flexibility.

RESULTS

The marginal effects from probit results for mothers and fathers are presented in Table 8 and Table 9 respectively[7]. In the first specification (the basic model where the key explanatory variables are the main activities of the respondent and the base case is full time employment) the main activity controls for part-time and maternity/paternity are statistically significant in the 'high life satisfaction' model for mothers. With respect to part-time mothers, the probability of having 'high life satisfaction' is 20.4 percentage points lower for otherwise observably similar mothers, whereas the probability of having 'high life satisfaction' is 14.1 percentage points higher for mothers who are on maternity/paternity leave. In the model with 'low level of stress' as the dependent variable, relative to full time workers the probability of reporting 'low levels of stress' is 26.3 percentage points lower for mothers who work high hours. In the model with 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' as the dependent variable high hours is also statistically significant, with the probability of 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' being 28.2 percentage points lower than the base case of a full-time worker.

[6] Part time is included for mothers only.
[7] The probit estimates of regression coefficients are reported in the appendix.

TABLE 8 – MARGINAL EFFECTS FROM PROBIT ESTIMATES OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME – MOTHERS

TABLE 8 - MARGINAL EFFECTS FROM PROBIT ESTIMATES OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME - MOTHERS[1]

Dependent Variable	High Life Satisfaction[2]		Low Level of Stress[3]		High Satisfaction with Balance between Work and Home[4]	
Part time	-0.204*	-0.635***	-0.137	-0.0468	0.135	0.147
	(0.0941)	(0.151)	(0.0860)	(0.153)	(0.0932)	(0.158)
High hours	0.101	0.350**	-0.263**	-0.159	-0.282**	-0.0971
	(0.1126)	(0.173)	(0.105)	(0.148)	(0.113)	(0.194)
Maternity/paternity leave	0.141**	0.126*	-0.00236	0.0253		-
	(0.0580)	(0.0754)	(0.0618)	(0.0758)		-
Care for children	-0.042	-0.0541	-0.0182	0.00594		-
	(0.0592)	(0.0712)	(-0.32)	(0.09)		-
Part time * Flexible work arrangements		0.488***		-0.0993		0.140
		(0.173)		(0.173)		(0.176)
Full time * Flexible work arrangements		-0.0213		0.0414		0.164*
		(0.0701)		(0.0673)		(0.0842)
High hours * Flexible work arrangements		-0.496***		-0.155		-0.126
		(0.189)		(0.203)		(0.216)
Spouse employed	0.042	0.0235	0.0876	0.0912	-0.0252	-0.000679
	(0.0887)	(0.0868)	(0.0930)	(0.0944)	(0.114)	(0.113)
Number of children	-0.001	-0.000405	0.00402	0.00444	0.00544	0.0163
	(0.0232)	(0.0231)	(0.0233)	(0.0234)	(0.0390)	(0.0388)
Urban	-0.065	-0.0667	-0.0156	-0.0204	0.0120	-0.0114
	(0.0598)	(0.0590)	(0.0597)	(0.0601)	(0.0842)	(0.0876)
High school or less	0.007	0.00617	-0.0261	-0.0294	0.00674	-0.00812
	(0.0739)	(0.0734)	(0.0725)	(0.0715)	(0.116)	(0.122)
Trade, College or Certificate	0.067	0.0671	-0.0279	-0.0291	-0.00268	-0.0183
	(0.0519)	(0.0510)	(0.0519)	(0.0523)	(0.0774)	(0.0763)
Above bachelor degree	0.059	0.0408	-0.0752	-0.0729	0.0828	0.0849
	(0.0629)	(0.0620)	(0.0626)	(0.0626)	(0.100)	(0.0958)
West	0.017	0.0190	-0.0125	-0.00981	0.0301	0.0251
	(0.0513)	(0.0514)	(0.0521)	(0.0522)	(0.0774)	(0.0747)
East	0.020	0.0201	-0.0212	-0.0205	0.152	0.135
	(0.0624)	(0.0627)	(0.0654)	(0.0654)	(0.0949)	(0.0938)
Quebec	-0.038	-0.0229	-0.0689	-0.0716	-0.0617	-0.0832
	(0.0605)	(0.0600)	(0.0621)	(0.0624)	(0.0934)	(0.0913)
Age 25 to 34	0.043	0.0349	0.0244	0.0258	-0.0805	-0.0562
	(0.0466)	(0.0462)	(0.0459)	(0.0464)	(0.0688)	(0.0692)
Age 45 to 54	-0.296*	-0.294*	-0.0213	-0.00250	-0.425**	-0.375**
	(0.1473)	(0.151)	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.167)	(0.177)
Fair or poor health	-0.047	-0.0365	-0.183	-0.183	-0.207	-0.226
	(0.1140)	(0.112)	(0.131)	(0.128)	(0.150)	(0.145)
Excellent health	0.337***	0.339***	0.211***	0.213***	0.204**	0.202**
	(0.056)	(0.0551)	(0.0590)	(0.0595)	(0.0984)	(0.0952)
Very good health	0.139**	0.140***	0.0597	0.0579	0.0711	0.0543
	(0.0503)	(0.0493)	(0.0506)	(0.0507)	(0.0707)	(0.0709)
Family income: less than 50K	0.009	0.00359	0.237***	0.246***	0.155	0.242*
	(0.0880)	(0.0902)	(0.0883)	(0.0896)	(0.130)	(0.135)
Family income: 50K to 74K	0.118	0.113*	0.111*	0.117*	0.0648	0.0849
	(0.0661)	(0.0654)	(0.0664)	(0.0663)	(0.106)	(0.103)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.067	-0.0643	0.0416	0.0413	0.0680	0.0859
	(0.0660)	(0.0659)	(0.0655)	(0.0653)	(0.0934)	(0.0949)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.026	0.0211	0.0296	0.0325	-0.00978	-0.00796
	(0.0607)	(0.0600)	(0.0621)	(0.0618)	(0.0895)	(0.0916)
Observations	599	599	599	599	355	355

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is full time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second and third specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base case is full time employees who do not have flexible work arrangements.

2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.

3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

4 'High satisfaction with balance between work and home' is satisfaction with balance between work and home equal to 4 or 5. Satisfaction with balance between work and home responses are on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Very Dissatisfied, 2 = Dissatisfied, 3 = Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied, 4 = Satisfied, 5 = Very Satisfied

TABLE 9 – MARGINAL EFFECTS FROM PROBIT ESTIMATES OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME – FATHERS

TABLE 9 - MARGINAL EFFECTS FROM PROBIT ESTIMATES OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME - FATHERS[1]

Dependent Variable	Life Satisfaction[2] = 9 or 10		Level of Stress[3] = 1 or 2		High Satisfaction with Balance between Work and Home[4]	
Part time	-	-	-	-	-	-
High hours	0.122**	0.190*	0.000963	0.0443	-0.133**	-0.159
	(0.0542)	(0.110)	(0.0579)	(0.126)	(0.0527)	(0.107)
Maternity/paternity leave	-	-	-	-		
Care for children	0.381***	0.458***	0.305**	0.389***		
	(0.117)	(0.124)	(0.130)	(0.138)		
Part time * Flexible work arrangements	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full time * Flexible work arrangements		0.106		0.120*		0.138**
		(0.0662)		(0.0685)		(0.0605)
High hours * Flexible work arrangements		0.0135		0.0606		0.174*
		(0.106)		(0.122)		(0.103)
Spouse employed	0.0802	0.0766	0.0636	0.0603	-0.0358	-0.0410
	(0.0628)	(0.0624)	(0.0663)	(0.0653)	(0.0622)	(0.0601)
Number of children	-0.0123	-0.00709	0.0248	0.0321	-0.0237	-0.0114
	(0.0274)	(0.0273)	(0.0278)	(0.0271)	(0.0273)	(0.0274)
Urban	-0.210***	-0.217***	0.0284	0.0238	-0.0536	-0.0506
	(0.0637)	(0.0641)	(0.0720)	(0.0714)	(0.0699)	(0.0682)
High school or less	0.0750	0.0792	0.157*	0.169**	-0.172**	-0.149*
	(0.0772)	(0.0774)	(0.0840)	(0.0835)	(0.0786)	(0.0762)
Trade, College or Certificate	-0.0373	-0.0381	0.117*	0.118*	-0.0961	-0.0900
	(0.0602)	(0.0603)	(0.0643)	(0.0640)	(0.0620)	(0.0626)
Above bachelor degree	0.0231	0.0142	0.220***	0.210***	0.0828	0.0710
	(0.0750)	(0.0745)	(0.0773)	(0.0768)	(0.0772)	(0.0781)
West	0.0167	0.00592	0.00719	-0.00634	0.0885	0.0732
	(0.0583)	(0.0582)	(0.0624)	(0.0622)	(0.0560)	(0.0556)
East	-0.0345	-0.0405	-0.0668	-0.0727	0.171**	0.167**
	(0.0720)	(0.0727)	(0.0755)	(0.0754)	(0.0760)	(0.0758)
Quebec	0.0762	0.0677	-0.0393	-0.0493	0.110*	0.101
	(0.0644)	(0.0653)	(0.0668)	(0.0671)	(0.0644)	(0.0642)
Age 25 to 34	0.0585	0.0565	-0.0160	-0.0194	-0.0123	-0.0157
	(0.0499)	(0.0498)	(0.0531)	(0.0527)	(0.0503)	(0.0499)
Age 45 to 54	-0.0306	-0.0397	0.00816	-0.00673	0.224**	0.200**
	(0.0922)	(0.0927)	(0.106)	(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.0996)
Fair or poor health	-0.205*	-0.192	0.0269	0.0414	-0.0753	-0.0661
	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.111)	(0.110)	(0.103)	(0.0960)
Excellent health	0.0653	0.0708	0.171**	0.182**	0.136*	0.156**
	(0.0713)	(0.0705)	(0.0781)	(0.0765)	(0.0792)	(0.0762)
Very good health	0.0125	0.0125	0.0356	0.0346	0.111**	0.108**
	(0.0532)	(0.0527)	(0.0569)	(0.0561)	(0.0516)	(0.0518)
Family income: less than 50K	0.0507	0.0527	0.201**	0.200**	-0.189**	-0.190**
	(0.0971)	(0.0975)	(0.102)	(0.101)	(0.0875)	(0.0868)
Family income: 50K to 74K	-0.0373	-0.0348	0.0484	0.0515	0.0399	0.0428
	(0.0671)	(0.0662)	(0.0732)	(0.0724)	(0.0699)	(0.0703)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.0372	-0.0299	0.0334	0.0429	-0.000993	0.0166
	(0.0709)	(0.0705)	(0.0773)	(0.0763)	(0.0731)	(0.0702)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0107	0.0160	0.115	0.121*	0.0660	0.0744
	(0.0706)	(0.0699)	(0.0717)	(0.0718)	(0.0709)	(0.0731)
Observations	535	535	535	535	521	521

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a

2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.

3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

4 'High satisfaction with balance between work and home' is satisfaction with balance between work and home equal to 4 or 5. Satisfaction with balance between work and home responses are on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Very Dissatisfied, 2 = Dissatisfied, 3 = Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied, 4 = Satisfied, 5 = Very Satisfied

There are a few differences when looking at fathers in the first specification. In the model with 'high life satisfaction' as the dependent variable and full-time employment as the base case, the high hours and care for children controls are statistically significant and positively associated with 'high life satisfaction'. In the case of fathers working high hours the probability of 'high life satisfaction' is 12.2 percentage points higher, holding all else constant. The probability of 'high life satisfaction' is 38.1 percentage points higher for fathers who care for children, which is quite large. By comparison, holding all else constant excellent health status is associated with a 6.53 percentage point higher probability, and having a spouse who is employed have a probability that 8.02 percentage points higher. In the model with 'low level of stress' as the dependent variable fathers who care for children have a probability of 'low level of stress' that is 30.5 percentage points higher relative to the base case. In the model with 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' as the dependent variable high hours is negative and significant, with the probability of 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' is 13.3 percentage points lower for fathers who work high hours relative to the base case.

Next, in the second specification that includes the interaction terms between each employment type and flexible work arrangements as the key explanatory variables (in which the base case is full-time employees who do not have a flexible work arrangement), the part time and high hours controls, as well as the interaction terms between part time and flexible work arrangements and high hours and flexible work arrangements are statistically significant for mothers in the model with 'high life satisfaction' as the dependent variable. Mothers who work part time and have a flexible work arrangement have a probability of 'high life satisfaction' that is 48.8 percentage points greater than the base case of a full-time worker with no flexibility, yet the probability of 'high life satisfaction' for part time mothers who do not have flexible work arrangements is 63.5 percentage points lower, therefore the net effect for part time mothers with flexible work arrangements is 14.7 percentage points lower than the base case holding all else constant. In addition, the net effect for mothers who work high hours and have flexible work arrangements is 14.6 percentage points lower than the base case. In the model with 'low level of stress' and 'high satisfaction with balance between work

and home' as the dependent variables none of the interaction terms are statistically significant.

In the second specification for fathers, those who work high hours have a higher probability of 'high life satisfaction' by 19.0 percentage points relative to the base case. However, the interaction between high hours and flexible work arrangements was not statistically significant. Moreover, fathers who care for their children also have higher probability of 'high life satisfaction' and 'low level of stress' in comparison to the base case; the probability is 45.8 percentage points higher in the 'high life satisfaction' model and 38.9 percentage points higher in the level of stress model. Lastly, in the second specification of the 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' model the interaction term associated with full time and flexible work arrangements is positive and significant, with probability of having 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' being 13.8 percentage point higher than the base case of a full-time worker without flexible work arrangements. The interaction term between high hours and flexible work arrangements is also statistically significant; the probability is 17.4 percentage points higher in compared to an otherwise observably similar father.

There are a few controls that yielded some interesting results in addition to the key explanatory variables for each specification. For mothers there was a negative and statistically significant relationship between 'high life satisfaction' and the age group 45 and 54 in the first specification, and between 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' in both specifications, indicating that there is a negative correlation between mothers who have children later in life and life satisfaction in comparison to the base case of a full-time worker (without any flexible work arrangements in the second and third specification). Holding all else constant, the probability of 'high life satisfaction' for those in the age 45 to 54 group is 29.6 percentage points lower than the base case, and the probability of 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' is 42.5 and 37.5 percentage points lower than the base case in specification one and two respectively. One potential reason why this may be significant is that mothers of this age may be caring for their young children, as well as their own parents or in-laws. As was discussed in MacDonald et al. (2005) the "sandwich generation" who is caring for their young children and elderly family members was more likely to feel time related stress

holding hours worked constant. Age 45 to 54 control were only significant for fathers in the 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home'. Interestingly, in the case of fathers the probability of 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' is higher for those age 45-54 holding all else constant. The probability of 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' is 22.4 and 20.0 percentage points higher in specification one and two respectively.

Excellent health status was also statistically significant for mothers in all three models. The probability of 'high life satisfaction' is 33.7 and 33.9 percentage points higher in specification one and two respectively for those with excellent self-reported health status, holding all else constant. Similarly, the probability of 'low level of stress' also rise for those with excellent health status; probability increases by 21.1 percentage points in specification one and 21.3 percentage points in specification two. Lastly, in the 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' models, the probability is higher than the base case by 20.4 and 20.2 percentage points for mothers with excellent health status holding all else constant. Controls for self-reported health status are significant for fathers in both specifications of the 'low level of stress' and 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' models. Excellent health status is associated with a 17.1 and 18.2 percentage point rise in probability of 'low level of stress' holding all else constant. In the 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' model excellent health status is associated with a higher probability than the base case of a full-time worker by 13.6 and 15.6 percentage points in specification one and two respectively.

Since the 2016 GSS provides more details regarding the specific type of flexible work arrangement the second specification is further explored for the 'high life satisfaction' and 'low level of stress' models. Models are estimated with each type of flexible work arrangement (work from home, flex time and easily able to take time off for family or personal matters) interacted with each employment type (part time, full time and high hours) as key explanatory variables. Results for mothers and fathers are presented in Table 10 and 11 respectively.

Interestingly, the net effect for mothers who work high hours and work from home was negative in the 'high life satisfaction' model. Relative to the base case of mothers who work full-time with no flexible work arrangements, mother who work high

hours and work from home have a lower probability of having 'high life satisfaction' by 33.5 percentage points. One possible explanation is while that these mothers may be doing more than their perceived fair share of housework and child care, as not only do they have the flexibility to do so, they also work from home. In addition, part time and maternity leave controls were also significant in the work from home specification, with the probability of 'high life satisfaction' being 22.4 percentage points lower for part time mothers and rising by 13.8 percentage points for mothers on maternity/paternity leave holding all else constant. None of the key explanatory variables were significant in the 'low level of stress' model in the work from home specification.

In the flex time specification, part time mothers with flex time have a negative net effect; part time mothers with flex time have a 11.8 percentage point lower probability of 'high life satisfaction' relative to the base case of a full-time mothers without flexible work arrangements. Similarly, the net effect for mothers who work high hours and have flex time is also negative, with a probability that is 27.8 percentage points lower in the 'high life satisfaction' model. Moreover, the interaction term for full time and flex time is negative and significant; the probability of 'high life satisfaction' is 12.7 percentage points lower for full-time mothers with flexible work arrangements. None of the key explanatory variables were significant in the 'low level of stress' model. One explanation is that flex time may not be particularly 'stress relieving' to mothers working full time or high hours as they may have additional stress (from working multiple jobs, jobs with extra responsibilities, or simply working in an environment where the culture is to work long hours) that is not offset by the benefit of having flex time.

Lastly, and consistent with the other results, the net effect for part time mothers with the ability to take time off on occasion to tend to family matters is negative. The probability of having 'high life satisfaction' is 13.5 percentage points lower for these mothers holding all else constant. A possible explanation is that part-time workers are more likely to work irregular schedules or shift work, and while these easily allow for employees to take time off on occasion (for example switching shifts with another employee when their child is sick) the other drawbacks associated with irregular schedules or shift work (such as difficulty arranging child care) may not be offset by this

TABLE 10 – MARGINAL EFFECTS OF PROBIT ESTIMATES OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME WITH EACH TYPE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT – MOTHERS

TABLE 10 - MARGINAL EFFECTS FROM PROBIT ESTIMATES OF 'HIGH LIFE SATISFACTION' AND 'LOW LEVEL OF STRESS WITH EACH TYPE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT AS KEY EXPLANATORY VARIABLES - MOTHERS

Dependent Variable	High life satisfaction[2]			Low level of stress[3]		
Part time	-0.224**	-0.447***	-0.651***	-0.153	-0.111	-0.0301
	(0.107)	(0.105)	(0.144)	(0.0975)	(0.110)	(0.139)
High hours	0.234*	0.149	0.253*	-0.207*	-0.277**	-0.163
	(0.132)	(0.127)	(0.151)	(0.118)	(0.128)	(0.138)
Maternity/paternity leave	0.138**	0.0935	0.125*	-0.0101	0.00746	0.0444
	(0.0595)	(0.0629)	(0.0721)	(0.0641)	(0.0673)	(0.0730)
Care for children	-0.0416	-0.0818	-0.0559	-0.0237	-0.00943	0.0222
	(0.0599)	(0.0621)	(0.0685)	(0.0585)	(0.0619)	(0.0670)
Part time * Work from home	0.137			0.0598		
	(0.198)			(0.187)		
Full time * Work from home	-0.0149			-0.0564		
	(0.0824)			(0.0939)		
High hours * Work from home	-0.569***			-		
	(0.195)			-		
Part time * Flex time		0.329**			-0.0363	
		(0.163)			(0.166)	
Full time * Flex time		-0.127**			0.0268	
		(0.0646)			(0.0628)	
High hours * Flex time		-0.427*			0.0798	
		(0.226)			(0.215)	
Part time * Family matters			0.516***			-0.103
			(0.171)			(0.166)
Full time * Family matters			-0.0251			0.0765
			(0.0674)			(0.0652)
High hours * Family matters			-0.378**			-0.119
			(0.176)			(0.201)
Spouse employed	0.0234	0.00904	0.0255	0.0806	0.0916	0.0931
	(0.0875)	(0.0875)	(0.0874)	(0.0959)	(0.0930)	(0.0939)
Number of children	-0.00122	0.000181	0.000289	0.00407	0.00400	0.00569
	(0.0229)	(0.0227)	(0.0233)	(0.0236)	(0.0233)	(0.0233)
Urban	-0.0623	-0.0635	-0.0675	-0.0131	-0.0162	-0.0209
	(0.0596)	(0.0597)	(0.0594)	(0.0604)	(0.0602)	(0.0601)
High school or less	0.00901	0.00216	0.00676	-0.0294	-0.0254	-0.0308
	(0.0730)	(0.0725)	(0.0736)	(0.0732)	(0.0726)	(0.0714)
Trade, College or Certificate	0.0650	0.0624	0.0682	-0.0312	-0.0272	-0.0305
	(0.0507)	(0.0509)	(0.0512)	(0.0524)	(0.0521)	(0.0523)
Above bachelor degree	0.0510	0.0509	0.0511	-0.0815	-0.0739	-0.0722
	(0.0625)	(0.0634)	(0.0622)	(0.0638)	(0.0623)	(0.0619)
West	0.0126	0.0185	0.0180	-0.0165	-0.0124	-0.0108
	(0.0520)	(0.0511)	(0.0516)	(0.0533)	(0.0520)	(0.0520)
East	0.0213	0.0235	0.0226	-0.0245	-0.0222	-0.0207
	(0.0629)	(0.0612)	(0.0624)	(0.0663)	(0.0650)	(0.0654)
Quebec	-0.0350	-0.0226	-0.0273	-0.0688	-0.0710	-0.0742
	(0.0602)	(0.0595)	(0.0601)	(0.0630)	(0.0622)	(0.0622)
Age 25 to 34	0.0349	0.0359	0.0394	0.0216	0.0261	0.0285
	(0.0458)	(0.0461)	(0.0463)	(0.0467)	(0.0460)	(0.0462)
Age 45 to 54	-0.310**	-0.332**	-0.303**	-0.0261	-0.0112	0.0126
	(0.149)	(0.156)	(0.149)	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.127)
Fair or poor health	-0.0506	-0.0600	-0.0442	-0.184	-0.182	-0.187
	(0.116)	(0.111)	(0.112)	(0.134)	(0.131)	(0.127)
Excellent health	0.337***	0.347***	0.341***	0.214***	0.209***	0.213***
	(0.0559)	(0.0551)	(0.0554)	(0.0600)	(0.0598)	(0.0595)
Very good health	0.138***	0.147***	0.142***	0.0615	0.0576	0.0562
	(0.0498)	(0.0502)	(0.0494)	(0.0512)	(0.0512)	(0.0507)
Family income: less than 50K	0.00113	-0.00693	0.00353	0.232**	0.241***	0.255***
	(0.0887)	(0.0868)	(0.0900)	(0.0906)	(0.0886)	(0.0891)
Family income: 50K to 74K	0.114*	0.102	0.114*	0.109	0.114*	0.120*
	(0.0663)	(0.0653)	(0.0657)	(0.0681)	(0.0670)	(0.0664)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.0652	-0.0682	-0.0617	0.0411	0.0427	0.0424
	(0.0658)	(0.0657)	(0.0662)	(0.0665)	(0.0654)	(0.0647)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0238	0.0131	0.0232	0.0252	0.0330	0.0316
	(0.0608)	(0.0604)	(0.0603)	(0.0629)	(0.0618)	(0.0622)
Observations	599	599	599	589	599	599

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is full time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second and third specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base case is full time employees who do not have flexible work arrangements.

2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.

3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

TABLE 11 – MARGINAL EFFECTS OF PROBIT OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME WITH EACH TYPE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT – FATHERS

TABLE 11 - MARGINAL EFFECTS FROM PROBIT ESTIMATES OF 'HIGH LIFE SATISFACTION' AND 'LOW LEVEL OF STRESS WITH EACH TYPE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT AS KEY EXPLANATORY VARIABLES - FATHERS

Dependent Variable	High life satisfaction[2]			Low level of stress[3]		
Part time	-	-	-	-	-	-
High hours	0.0950	0.147**	0.186*	0.0425	0.00703	0.0528
	(0.0612)	(0.0691)	(0.0984)	(0.0656)	(0.0721)	(0.108)
Maternity/paternity leave	-	-	-	-	-	-
Care for children	0.382***	0.405***	0.463***	0.314**	0.329**	0.394***
	(0.117)	(0.118)	(0.121)	(0.129)	(0.131)	(0.133)
Part time * Work from home	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full time * Work from home	0.0133			0.132		
	(0.0807)			(0.0824)		
High hours * Work from home	0.116			-0.103		
	(0.104)			(0.114)		
Part time * Flex time	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full time * Flex time		0.0632			0.0694	
		(0.0555)			(0.0615)	
High hours * Flex time		0.00148			0.0626	
		(0.0945)			(0.102)	
Part time * Family matters	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full time * Family matters			0.127**			0.141**
			(0.0628)			(0.0638)
High hours * Family matters			0.0348			0.0694
			(0.0985)			(0.107)
Spouse employed	0.0785	0.0777	0.0814	0.0662	0.0643	0.0669
	(0.0621)	(0.0632)	(0.0621)	(0.0663)	(0.0664)	(0.0656)
Number of children	-0.00923	-0.0108	-0.00547	0.0252	0.0288	0.0328
	(0.0273)	(0.0275)	(0.0275)	(0.0276)	(0.0276)	(0.0271)
Urban	-0.213***	-0.214***	-0.208***	0.0261	0.0252	0.0326
	(0.0633)	(0.0635)	(0.0643)	(0.0718)	(0.0724)	(0.0709)
High school or less	0.0906	0.0781	0.0806	0.154*	0.165**	0.170**
	(0.0774)	(0.0775)	(0.0770)	(0.0853)	(0.0835)	(0.0834)
Trade, College or Certificate	-0.0285	-0.0309	-0.0350	0.127*	0.127*	0.121*
	(0.0611)	(0.0604)	(0.0603)	(0.0656)	(0.0651)	(0.0635)
Above bachelor degree	0.0227	0.0162	0.0118	0.230***	0.211***	0.207***
	(0.0753)	(0.0751)	(0.0746)	(0.0776)	(0.0776)	(0.0768)
West	0.0202	0.0114	0.00605	0.0104	0.00270	-0.00791
	(0.0583)	(0.0583)	(0.0585)	(0.0624)	(0.0618)	(0.0617)
East	-0.0306	-0.0346	-0.0415	-0.0639	-0.0651	-0.0764
	(0.0721)	(0.0723)	(0.0726)	(0.0750)	(0.0756)	(0.0751)
Quebec	0.0826	0.0693	0.0644	-0.0406	-0.0455	-0.0544
	(0.0643)	(0.0644)	(0.0653)	(0.0669)	(0.0671)	(0.0666)
Age 25 to 34	0.0580	0.0629	0.0605	-0.0134	-0.0117	-0.0135
	(0.0495)	(0.0501)	(0.0497)	(0.0528)	(0.0531)	(0.0524)
Age 45 to 54	-0.0328	-0.0280	-0.0458	0.0105	0.00926	-0.0119
	(0.0924)	(0.0923)	(0.0925)	(0.106)	(0.106)	(0.102)
Fair or poor health	-0.202*	-0.198*	-0.193*	0.0409	0.0383	0.0412
	(0.117)	(0.118)	(0.117)	(0.111)	(0.110)	(0.109)
Excellent health	0.0622	0.0640	0.0859	0.179**	0.174**	0.199***
	(0.0709)	(0.0715)	(0.0709)	(0.0789)	(0.0774)	(0.0766)
Very good health	0.0119	0.0125	0.0155	0.0402	0.0394	0.0379
	(0.0527)	(0.0534)	(0.0525)	(0.0566)	(0.0563)	(0.0557)
Family income: less than 50K	0.0564	0.0632	0.0511	0.220**	0.210**	0.199**
	(0.0969)	(0.0970)	(0.0968)	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.101)
Family income: 50K to 74K	-0.0344	-0.0320	-0.0329	0.0623	0.0536	0.0532
	(0.0671)	(0.0670)	(0.0662)	(0.0736)	(0.0730)	(0.0721)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.0410	-0.0329	-0.0251	0.0444	0.0387	0.0484
	(0.0704)	(0.0712)	(0.0705)	(0.0783)	(0.0772)	(0.0764)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0105	0.0176	0.0181	0.117	0.121*	0.123*
	(0.0711)	(0.0702)	(0.0701)	(0.0713)	(0.0722)	(0.0716)
Observations	535	535	535	535	535	535

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is full time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second and third specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base case is full time employees who do not have flexible work arrangements.

2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.

3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

benefit. Moreover, an employee scrambling to switch shifts or taking a day without pay on an impromptu sick day may work in a more stressful environment than an employee who has paid sick days and additional employee benefits. In addition, holding all else constant, the net effect of working high hours and being able to take time off on occasion to tend to family matters is a lower probability of 'high life satisfaction' by 12.5 percentage points relative to the base case. As was discussed, mothers working high hours may have additional stress that is not offset by the benefit of being able to take time off on occasion to tend to family matters.

The results for the models with each type of flexible work arrangement look different for fathers. None of the interaction terms were significant in the work from home or flex time specifications, however the interaction term between full time and having the ability to take time off on occasion to tend to family matters was positive and significant in both 'high life satisfaction' and 'low level of stress' model. The probability of 'high life satisfaction' for full time fathers with the ability to easily take time off on occasion for family matters is 12.7 percentage points higher holding all else constant. In the 'low level of stress' model, full time fathers with the ability to take time off on occasion have higher probability than the base case by 14.1 percentage points. Being able to take time off on occasion was the most common type of flexible work arrangement for full-time fathers and interestingly the only case where there is a positive effect in the models with different types of flexible work arrangements. 74.05% of full-time fathers are easily able to take time off on occasion to tend to family matters and this may be a proxy for having a good job (or working for a family friendly employer).

As was previously discussed, there is a possibility that those with more flexibility may do more than their perceived fair share of household work and child care, therefore a probit model where controls for satisfaction with division of chores are added is also estimated to further explore the relationship between the probability of 'high life satisfaction', 'low level of stress', 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' and flexible work arrangements. This specification is included to see whether satisfaction with division of chores mediates how flexible work arrangements is

TABLE 12 – MARGINAL EFFECTS OF PROBIT ESTIMATES OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME WITH SATISFACTION WITH DIVISION OF CHORES CONTROLS – MOTHERS AND FATHERS

TABLE 12 - MARGINAL EFFECTS FROM PROBIT ESTIMATES OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME WITH SATISFACTION WITH DIVISION OF CHORES CONTROLS - MOTHERS AND FATHERS[1]

Dependent Variable	High Life Satisfaction[2]		Low Level of Stress[3]		High Satisfaction with Balance between Work and Home[4]	
	Mothers	Fathers[5]	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Part time	-0.629***	-	-0.0452	-	0.151	-
	-0.141		(0.162)		(0.153)	
High hours	0.276*	-	-0.180	0.0490	-0.150	-0.148
	-0.152		(0.144)	(0.124)	(0.174)	(0.110)
Maternity/paternity leave	0.0981	-	0.0100	-	-	-
	(0.0693)		(0.0737)			
Care for children	-0.0967	-	-0.0231	0.385***	-	-
	(0.0652)		(0.0667)	(0.140)		
Part time * Flexible work arrangements	0.452***	-	-0.112	-	0.124	-
	-0.167		(0.184)		(0.166)	
Full time * Flexible work arrangements	-0.0389	-	0.0338	0.122*	0.130	0.138**
	-0.0653		(0.0654)	(0.0681)	(0.0799)	(0.0582)
High hours * Flexible work arrangements	-0.436**	-	-0.153	0.0631	-0.0880	0.162
	-0.179		(0.195)	(0.121)	(0.200)	(0.107)
Spouse employed	0.00685	-	0.0919	0.0577	-0.00754	-0.0334
	-0.0884		(0.0915)	(0.0647)	(0.107)	(0.0604)
Number of children	-0.00166	-	0.00576	0.0318	0.0286	-0.00559
	-0.023		(0.0231)	(0.0271)	(0.0395)	(0.0265)
Urban	-0.0674	-	-0.0160	0.0205	-0.0246	-0.0526
	-0.0569		(0.0586)	(0.0709)	(0.0801)	(0.0661)
High school or less	0.0421	-	-0.0214	0.168**	0.00559	-0.159**
	-0.07		(0.0685)	(0.0828)	(0.119)	(0.0758)
Trade, College or Certificate	0.0598	-	-0.0380	0.115*	-0.0193	-0.0897
	-0.0494		(0.0505)	(0.0633)	(0.0724)	(0.0616)
Above bachelor degree	0.0219	-	-0.0855	0.217***	0.0757	0.0860
	-0.0576		(0.0600)	(0.0766)	(0.0892)	(0.0769)
West	0.013	-	-0.0174	-0.0157	0.0193	0.0717
	-0.0484		(0.0497)	(0.0621)	(0.0707)	(0.0538)
East	0.00545	-	-0.0282	-0.0788	0.121	0.171**
	-0.0584		(0.0625)	(0.0754)	(0.0883)	(0.0714)
Quebec	-0.0135	-	-0.0704	-0.0526	-0.0730	0.0845
	-0.0567		(0.0599)	(0.0676)	(0.0883)	(0.0641)
Age 25 to 34	0.02	-	0.00922	-0.0200	-0.0966	-0.00159
	-0.0438		(0.0445)	(0.0523)	(0.0637)	(0.0486)
Age 45 to 54	-0.232	-	0.0566	-0.0162	-0.361**	0.178*
	-0.17		(0.124)	(0.102)	(0.175)	(0.0972)
Fair or poor health	0.00342	-	-0.158	0.0507	-0.165	-0.0322
	-0.111		(0.126)	(0.108)	(0.137)	(0.0968)
Excellent health	0.271***	-	0.169***	0.196**	0.139	0.161**
	-0.0542		(0.0585)	(0.0766)	(0.0902)	(0.0757)
Very good health	0.137***	-	0.0548	0.0367	0.0483	0.101**
	-0.0465		(0.0489)	(0.0557)	(0.0675)	(0.0506)
Family income: less than 50K	-0.0349	-	0.220**	0.202**	0.186	-0.209**
	-0.0872		(0.0874)	(0.101)	(0.128)	(0.0848)
Family income: 50K to 74K	0.102*	-	0.118*	0.0481	0.103	0.0226
	-0.0615		(0.0652)	(0.0720)	(0.0986)	(0.0680)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.0883	-	0.0344	0.0404	0.0757	0.0386
	-0.0625		(0.0640)	(0.0760)	(0.0896)	(0.0715)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0145	-	0.0376	0.122*	0.00433	0.0598
	-0.0562		(0.0587)	(0.0714)	(0.0861)	(0.0717)
Satisfaction with division of chores: Very Satisfied	0.327***	-	0.191***	0.0139	0.211**	0.285***
	(0.0622)		(0.0644)	(0.0807)	(0.0924)	(0.0792)
Satisfaction with division of chores: Satisfied	0.255***	-	0.161***	0.0493	0.264***	0.272***
	(0.0593)		(0.0607)	(0.0751)	(0.0820)	(0.0727)
Satisfaction with division of chores: Dissatisfied or Very dissatisfied	0.0115	-	-0.135	-0.229	-0.0960	0.227
	(0.107)		(0.0927)	(0.217)	(0.111)	(0.196)
Observations	599	-	599	535	355	521

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is full time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second and third specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base case is full time employees who do not have flexible work arrangements.

2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.
3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

4 'High satisfaction with balance between work and home' is satisfaction with balance between work and home equal to 4 or 5. Satisfaction with balance between work and home responses are on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Very Dissatisfied, 2 = Dissatisfied, 3 = Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied, 4 = Satisfied, 5 = Very Satisfied

associated with life satisfaction, stress and satisfaction with balance between work and home. In this specification the base case is full-time workers without any flexible work arrangements who are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the division of chores. See results for in Table 12.

In the 'high life satisfaction' model for mothers the net effect for those who work part time flexible work arrangements is negative, where the probability of 'high life satisfaction' is 17.7 percentage points lower relative to the base case. High hours and flexible work arrangements have a net effect of 16.0 percentage points lower than the base case. Interestingly, the controls for satisfaction with division of chores are statistically significant, with probability of 'high life satisfaction being 32.7 percentage points higher for very satisfied and 25.5 percentage points higher for satisfied. Although none of the key explanatory variables are significant in the 'low level of stress' and 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' models for mothers, the results are similar for the satisfaction with division of chores controls. The probability of 'low level of stress' is 19.1 and 16.1 percentage points higher for mothers who are very satisfied and satisfied with the division of chores respectively. Lastly, the probability of 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' is 21.1 and 26.4 percentage points higher for mother who are very satisfied and satisfied with the division of chores respectively holding all else constant.

For fathers, satisfaction with division of chores is not as noteworthy in the 'low level of stress' model, however is significant in the satisfaction with balance between work and home model[8]. Fathers who are very satisfied and satisfied with the division of chores have a higher probability of having 'high satisfaction with the balance between work and home' than the base case, equal to 28.5 and 27.2 percentage points. Moreover, in the second specification, full-time fathers with flexible work arrangements have higher probability of 'high satisfaction with balance between work and home' by 13.8 percentage points relative to full time workers without flexible work arrangements.

One explanation why the results for the satisfaction with division of chores specification look somewhat different for mothers and fathers is that mothers are

[8] A model with 'high life satisfaction' as the dependent variable and with satisfaction with division of chores controls could not be estimated for fathers due to small cell sizes.

spending more hours on housework or child care than fathers. While we do not know how many hours mothers are spending on unpaid work in comparison to fathers in this survey, other studies have found that mothers tend to spend more time on unpaid work than fathers. For example, MacDonald et al. (2005) found that mothers with children between age 0-4 spent 96 hours per week on unpaid work (such as housework and child care). By comparison to fathers with children the same ago spent 40 hours per week on unpaid work. If mothers are still doing the bulk of unpaid work (or more than their perceived fair share) and are more likely to work a "double work day" than fathers, then satisfaction with division of chores may be a better predictor of life satisfaction, level of stress and satisfaction with balance between work and home, regardless of whether or not they have flexible work arrangements. This would explain why mothers who are satisfied with the division of chores within their household have a higher probability of having 'high life satisfaction' and 'low level of stress'.

CHAPTER 4 – DISCUSSION

One issue with this econometric model in general is the sample size is small, which might be why some surprising results occurred. While the 2016 GSS included 19,609 respondents in total, the sample size for parents that are married with children under 5 is 1,149 which is quite small. Moreover, when looking at working mothers and fathers separately the sample sizes become even smaller, especially the sample of working mothers. The small sample size lead to large standard errors for some controls and may be part of the reason some of the key explanatory variables were not statistically significant.

As was discussed, one potential reason why flexible work arrangements may not lead to higher probability of 'high life satisfaction' or 'low level of stress' is because those with more flexibility may be spending more time on housework or child care since they are able to do so. Parents who face a "double work day" and juggle the majority (or more than their perceived fair share) of child care and household chores along with paid work may be especially stressed or unhappy. This may be heightened even further if their spouse is employed and does not have flexibility. By contrast respondents without flexible work arrangements may not experience higher stress or lower life satisfaction if their spouse has flexibility. Without more information on spouse employment is difficult to evaluate the full impacts of flexibility on life satisfaction and level of stress. In our sample there are likely some households where both parents have flexibility and are able to equally share family responsibilities. There also may be some households where one parent has flexibility (and in turn likely does more housework and child care) and the other spouse does not. Lastly, there may be some households where neither parent has a flexible work arrangement. All scenarios are significantly different, and it is difficult to disentangle the full effect of flexibility without more information on spouse employment.

Another possible explanation on why flexible work arrangements may not increase the probability of 'high life satisfaction' and 'low level of stress' in all scenarios is that mothers who go back to work while their children are young are observably different than mothers who choose to stay home. In this study only 53.05% of mothers are employed in comparison to 97.55% of fathers. Many mothers are staying home to care for their children when they are young and without more information on it is

difficult to determine whether there is a selection issue for mothers. Unfortunately, the 2016 GSS did not ask whether these mothers used to participate in the labour force and whether they would have returned if their jobs offered flexible work arrangements. There is a possibility that many of the mothers that have chosen to return to the labour force are doing so because they already had jobs that would allow them to balance their work and family responsibilities. There may also be other unobservable differences between working mothers and non-working mothers that cannot be identified in this study but could be controlled for in a longitudinal study. Another potential solution to account for the selection issue is to apply the Heckman selection methodology or propensity score matching to this study.

Lastly, this study also has endogeneity issues. The reason studying flexible work arrangements was selected was because that it would capture the benefits of having flexibility and would also be a proxy for having a good job, which would also be stress relieving and life satisfaction enhancing. However, there are many potential scenarios in which an individual may have a really good job with flexibility but still have a lot of stress. Take for example, a professor with young children who is working towards a tenured position; while a professor meets the criteria for having a good job with flexibility, the stress associated with working towards tenure is not captured in this study.

There may also be scenarios in which the nature of work beyond hours and money may also be particularly stressful. For example, some individuals may be working multiple jobs leading to high hours or may have jobs with extra responsibilities. Similar to the professor example, these situations may present additional stress even though the individual has flexibility.

It also important to note that this study may understate the impact on single parents. For a single parent having some form of flexibility may greatly reduce stress as they do not have a partner to share daily parenting duties with such as dropping their child off at day care or looking after supper and bath time if they are required to work late. Moreover, single parents may have more financial stress due to being a single earner household. Although child care is subsidized for low income parents it still poses additional stress on single parents as they do not have the options to have one stay at home with the children, or another partner to rely on when their children are home sick.

Although the flexible work arrangements do not appear to increase the probability of having 'high life satisfaction' or 'low levels of stress' for many of the employment types the fact that many mothers are staying home to care for their young children beyond maternity leave is an indicator that flexible work arrangement or child care policies may help increase maternal labour force participation. In addition, the fact that there was a negative relationship between 'low level of stress' and mothers who work high hours indicates that workplace policies and cultural norms (for example a cultural norm to work beyond regular working hours) can have an impact on maternal stress, in turn potentially impacting their overall health and well-being. These facts indicate that further research on flexible work arrangements, weekly working hours and their relationship with parental life satisfaction and stress is needed.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A1 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME - MOTHERS

APPENDIX A1 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME - MOTHERS[1]						
Dependent Variable	High Life Satisfaction[2]		Low Level of Stress[3]		High Satisfaction with Balance between Work and Home[4]	
Part time	-0.638**	-2.019***	-0.442	-0.152	0.369	0.408
	(0.298)	-0.471	(0.280)	(0.497)	(0.257)	(0.441)
High hours	0.317	1.114**	-0.850**	-0.516	-0.770**	-0.270
	(0.353)	-0.558	(0.337)	(0.478)	(0.314)	(0.539)
Maternity/paternity leave	0.440**	0.400*	-0.00763	0.0820	-	-
	(0.185)	(0.242)	(0.200)	(0.246)		
Care for children	-0.132	-0.172	-0.0589	0.0192	-	-
	(0.186)	(0.227)	(0.183)	(0.225)		
Part time * Flexible work arrangements		1.552***		-0.322		0.388
		-0.54		(0.561)		(0.492)
Full time * Flexible work arrangements		-0.0677		0.134		0.455*
		-0.223		(0.218)		(0.240)
High hours * Flexible work arrangements		-1.576***		-0.504		-0.350
		-0.609		(0.658)		(0.601)
Spouse employed	0.130	0.0748	0.283	0.296	-0.0688	-0.00189
	(0.278)	(0.276)	(0.302)	(0.307)	(0.311)	(0.314)
Number of children	-0.00425	-0.00129	0.0130	0.0144	0.0149	0.0453
	(0.0726)	(0.0736)	(0.0755)	(0.0757)	(0.107)	(0.108)
Urban	-0.203	-0.212	-0.0503	-0.0663	0.0329	-0.0317
	(0.188)	(0.188)	(0.193)	(0.195)	(0.230)	(0.244)
High school or less	0.0206	0.0196	-0.0845	-0.0953	0.0184	-0.0226
	(0.231)	(0.233)	(0.235)	(0.232)	(0.318)	(0.338)
Trade, College or Certificate	0.211	0.213	-0.0901	-0.0945	-0.00734	-0.0509
	(0.160)	(0.162)	(0.168)	(0.170)	(0.212)	(0.212)
Above bachelor degree	0.186	0.130	-0.243	-0.236	0.226	0.236
	(0.197)	(0.197)	(0.203)	(0.203)	(0.274)	(0.267)
West	0.0543	0.0604	-0.0404	-0.0318	0.0823	0.0698
	(0.163)	(0.164)	(0.168)	(0.169)	(0.212)	(0.208)
East	0.0617	0.0640	-0.0686	-0.0663	0.416	0.376
	(0.196)	(0.200)	(0.211)	(0.211)	(0.261)	(0.264)
Quebec	-0.118	-0.0728	-0.223	-0.232	-0.169	-0.231
	(0.189)	(0.191)	(0.202)	(0.203)	(0.256)	(0.255)
Age 25 to 34	0.135	0.111	0.0790	0.0837	-0.220	-0.156
	(0.146)	(0.146)	(0.148)	(0.150)	(0.189)	(0.193)
Age 45 to 54	-0.927**	-0.934*	-0.0689	-0.00810	-1.161**	-1.044**
	(0.460)	(0.480)	(0.406)	(0.410)	(0.467)	(0.501)
Fair or poor health	-0.148	-0.116	-0.593	-0.594	-0.566	-0.627
	(0.358)	(0.357)	(0.429)	(0.421)	(0.417)	(0.411)
Excellent health	1.054***	1.079***	0.683***	0.690***	0.558**	0.562**
	(0.195)	(0.194)	(0.200)	(0.202)	(0.278)	(0.272)
Very good health	0.438***	0.445***	0.193	0.188	0.194	0.151
	(0.161)	(0.160)	(0.165)	(0.165)	(0.194)	(0.198)
Family income: less than 50K	0.0287	0.0114	0.767***	0.798***	0.424	0.674*
	(0.276)	(0.287)	(0.293)	(0.297)	(0.357)	(0.381)
Family income: 50K to 74K	0.372*	0.358*	0.360*	0.378*	0.177	0.236
	(0.210)	(0.211)	(0.217)	(0.217)	(0.291)	(0.288)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.211	-0.204	0.134	0.134	0.186	0.239
	(0.207)	(0.210)	(0.212)	(0.211)	(0.255)	(0.265)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0809	0.0672	0.0956	0.105	-0.0267	-0.0222
	(0.190)	(0.191)	(0.201)	(0.200)	(0.245)	(0.255)
Constant	-1.001**	-0.901**	-1.036**	-1.130**	-0.155	-0.520
	(0.405)	(0.451)	(0.440)	(0.491)	(0.486)	(0.533)
Observations	599	599	599	599	355	355

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is full time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second and third specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base case is full time employees who do not have flexible work arrangements.

2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.

3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

4 'High satisfaction with balance between work and home' is satisfaction with balance between work and home equal to 4 or 5. Satisfaction with balance between work and home responses are on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Very Dissatisfied, 2 = Dissatisfied, 3 = Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied, 4 = Satisfied, 5 = Very Satisfied

APPENDIX A2 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME - FATHERS

APPENDIX A2 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF LIFE SATISFACTION, LEVEL OF STRESS AND SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME - FATHERS[1]						
Dependent Variable	Life Satisfaction[2] = 9 or 10		Level of Stress[3] = 1 or 2		High Satisfaction with Balance between Work and Home[4]	
Part time	-	-	-	-	-	-
High hours	0.368**	0.577*	0.00276	0.128	-0.407**	-0.496
	(0.166)	(0.335)	(0.166)	(0.364)	(0.164)	(0.338)
Maternity/paternity leave	-	-	-	-	-	-
Care for children	1.154***	1.392***	0.873**	1.122***	-	-
	(0.366)	(0.392)	(0.379)	(0.407)		
Part time * Flexible work arrangements	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full time * Flexible work arrangements		0.321		0.347*		0.431**
		(0.202)		(0.200)		(0.192)
High hours * Flexible work arrangements		0.0412		0.175		0.542*
		(0.322)		(0.352)		(0.324)
Spouse employed	0.242	0.233	0.182	0.174	-0.109	-0.128
	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.190)	(0.189)	(0.190)	(0.188)
Number of children	-0.0372	-0.0215	0.0709	0.0926	-0.0724	-0.0357
	(0.0832)	(0.0829)	(0.0798)	(0.0787)	(0.0836)	(0.0856)
Urban	-0.635***	-0.659***	0.0814	0.0686	-0.164	-0.158
	(0.200)	(0.203)	(0.206)	(0.206)	(0.215)	(0.214)
High school or less	0.227	0.241	0.450*	0.489**	-0.526**	-0.464*
	(0.233)	(0.236)	(0.243)	(0.244)	(0.246)	(0.242)
Trade, College or Certificate	-0.113	-0.116	0.336*	0.340*	-0.294	-0.281
	(0.182)	(0.184)	(0.186)	(0.186)	(0.191)	(0.197)
Above bachelor degree	0.0698	0.0430	0.629***	0.605***	0.253	0.221
	(0.227)	(0.226)	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.236)	(0.244)
West	0.0505	0.0180	0.0206	-0.0183	0.271	0.228
	(0.177)	(0.177)	(0.179)	(0.180)	(0.172)	(0.174)
East	-0.104	-0.123	-0.191	-0.210	0.522**	0.521**
	(0.217)	(0.220)	(0.215)	(0.217)	(0.233)	(0.237)
Quebec	0.231	0.206	-0.113	-0.142	0.336*	0.314
	(0.196)	(0.200)	(0.191)	(0.194)	(0.200)	(0.203)
Age 25 to 34	0.177	0.172	-0.0457	-0.0560	-0.0375	-0.0488
	(0.151)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.154)	(0.156)
Age 45 to 54	-0.0927	-0.121	0.0234	-0.0194	0.686**	0.625**
	(0.279)	(0.282)	(0.303)	(0.296)	(0.314)	(0.313)
Fair or poor health	-0.621*	-0.585	0.0770	0.119	-0.230	-0.206
	(0.359)	(0.361)	(0.319)	(0.317)	(0.315)	(0.300)
Excellent health	0.197	0.215	0.489**	0.525**	0.415*	0.486**
	(0.216)	(0.215)	(0.228)	(0.225)	(0.246)	(0.242)
Very good health	0.0379	0.0381	0.102	0.0998	0.339**	0.336**
	(0.161)	(0.160)	(0.163)	(0.162)	(0.160)	(0.164)
Family income: less than 50K	0.153	0.160	0.576*	0.578*	-0.578**	-0.592**
	(0.293)	(0.296)	(0.296)	(0.295)	(0.272)	(0.276)
Family income: 50K to 74K	-0.113	-0.106	0.139	0.149	0.122	0.133
	(0.203)	(0.202)	(0.210)	(0.209)	(0.214)	(0.219)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.112	-0.0909	0.0958	0.124	-0.00304	0.0517
	(0.215)	(0.215)	(0.221)	(0.220)	(0.224)	(0.219)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0322	0.0488	0.329	0.348*	0.202	0.232
	(0.214)	(0.212)	(0.207)	(0.209)	(0.217)	(0.229)
Constant	-0.331	-0.568	-1.318***	-1.600***	0.699*	0.311
	(0.397)	(0.432)	(0.387)	(0.418)	(0.398)	(0.423)
Observations	535	535	535	535	521	521

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a
2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.
3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

4 'High satisfaction with balance between work and home' is satisfaction with balance between work and home equal to 4 or 5. Satisfaction with balance between work and home responses are on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Very Dissatisfied, 2 = Dissatisfied, 3 = Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied, 4 = Satisfied, 5 = Very Satisfied

APPENDIX A3 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF 'HIGH LIFE SATISFACTION' AND 'LOW LEVEL OF STRESS WITH EACH TYPE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT AS KEY EXPLANATORY VARIABLES – MOTHERS

APPENDIX A3 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF 'HIGH LIFE SATISFACTION' AND 'LOW LEVEL OF STRESS WITH EACH TYPE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT AS KEY EXPLANATORY VARIABLES - MOTHERS

Dependent Variable	High life satisfaction[2]			Low level of stress[3]		
Part time	-0.708**	-1.424***	-2.064***	-0.489	-0.359	-0.0978
	(0.342)	(0.333)	(0.449)	(0.315)	(0.357)	(0.451)
High hours	0.739*	0.476	0.803*	-0.662*	-0.896**	-0.528
	(0.422)	(0.406)	(0.484)	(0.374)	(0.412)	(0.448)
Maternity/paternity leave	0.436**	0.298	0.396*	-0.0322	0.0242	0.144
	(0.192)	(0.202)	(0.231)	(0.205)	(0.218)	(0.237)
Care for children	-0.131	-0.261	-0.177	-0.0758	-0.0305	0.0722
	(0.190)	(0.199)	(0.218)	(0.187)	(0.200)	(0.218)
Part time * Work from home	0.432			0.191		
	(0.626)			(0.598)		
Full time * Work from home	-0.0470					
	(0.260)					
High hours * Work from home	-1.801***			-0.181		
	(0.622)			(0.300)		
Part time * Flex time		1.047**			-0.118	
		(0.514)			(0.536)	
Full time * Flex time		-0.403*			0.0867	
		(0.207)			(0.204)	
High hours * Flex time		-1.359*			0.258	
		(0.725)			(0.696)	
Part time * Family matters			1.633***			-0.335
			(0.531)			(0.539)
Full time * Family matters			-0.0796			0.248
			(0.214)			(0.212)
High hours * Family matters			-1.199**			-0.385
			(0.564)			(0.655)
Spouse employed	0.0741	0.0288	0.0807	0.258	0.296	0.302
	(0.277)	(0.279)	(0.277)	(0.308)	(0.302)	(0.307)
Number of children	-0.00385	0.000575	0.000915	0.0130	0.0129	0.0185
	(0.0724)	(0.0724)	(0.0738)	(0.0756)	(0.0754)	(0.0757)
Urban	-0.197	-0.202	-0.214	-0.0420	-0.0526	-0.0680
	(0.189)	(0.191)	(0.189)	(0.193)	(0.195)	(0.195)
High school or less	0.0285	0.00690	0.0214	-0.0940	-0.0823	-0.100
	(0.231)	(0.231)	(0.233)	(0.234)	(0.235)	(0.232)
Trade, College or Certificate	0.205	0.199	0.216	-0.0999	-0.0880	-0.0991
	(0.160)	(0.162)	(0.162)	(0.168)	(0.169)	(0.170)
Above bachelor degree	0.161	0.162	0.162	-0.261	-0.239	-0.235
	(0.198)	(0.202)	(0.197)	(0.205)	(0.202)	(0.201)
West	0.0397	0.0588	0.0571	-0.0527	-0.0401	-0.0351
	(0.165)	(0.163)	(0.164)	(0.171)	(0.168)	(0.169)
East	0.0674	0.0749	0.0717	-0.0784	-0.0720	-0.0672
	(0.200)	(0.196)	(0.198)	(0.212)	(0.210)	(0.212)
Quebec	-0.111	-0.0721	-0.0865	-0.220	-0.230	-0.241
	(0.190)	(0.189)	(0.190)	(0.202)	(0.202)	(0.203)
Age 25 to 34	0.110	0.114	0.125	0.0691	0.0844	0.0925
	(0.145)	(0.147)	(0.146)	(0.149)	(0.148)	(0.150)
Age 45 to 54	-0.979**	-1.056**	-0.959**	-0.0836	-0.0364	0.0411
	(0.471)	(0.497)	(0.471)	(0.406)	(0.409)	(0.414)
Fair or poor health	-0.160	-0.191	-0.140	-0.590	-0.590	-0.608
	(0.368)	(0.354)	(0.357)	(0.434)	(0.431)	(0.417)
Excellent health	1.065***	1.105***	1.080***	0.686***	0.677***	0.693***
	(0.195)	(0.195)	(0.195)	(0.201)	(0.202)	(0.203)
Very good health	0.435***	0.468***	0.451***	0.197	0.186	0.183
	(0.160)	(0.164)	(0.160)	(0.165)	(0.167)	(0.166)
Family income: less than 50K	0.00357	-0.0221	0.0112	0.743**	0.779***	0.827***
	(0.280)	(0.276)	(0.285)	(0.297)	(0.294)	(0.297)
Family income: 50K to 74K	0.360*	0.326	0.361*	0.349	0.369*	0.390*
	(0.212)	(0.210)	(0.211)	(0.220)	(0.219)	(0.218)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.206	-0.217	-0.196	0.132	0.138	0.138
	(0.209)	(0.210)	(0.210)	(0.213)	(0.211)	(0.210)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0752	0.0416	0.0734	0.0806	0.107	0.103
	(0.193)	(0.192)	(0.191)	(0.201)	(0.200)	(0.202)
Constant	-0.922**	-0.767*	-0.919**	-0.974**	-1.082**	-1.206**
	(0.415)	(0.413)	(0.445)	(0.451)	(0.451)	(0.486)
Observations	599	599	599	589	599	599

Robust standard errors in parentheses

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

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is full time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second and third specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base case is full time employees who do not have flexible work arrangements.

2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.

3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

APPENDIX A4 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF 'HIGH LIFE SATISFACTION' AND 'LOW LEVEL OF STRESS WITH EACH TYPE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT AS KEY EXPLANATORY VARIABLES – FATHERS

APPENDIX A4 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF 'HIGH LIFE SATISFACTION' AND 'LOW LEVEL OF STRESS WITH EACH TYPE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENT AS KEY EXPLANATORY VARIABLES - FATHERS

Dependent Variable	High life satisfaction[2]			Low level of stress[3]		
	-	-	-	-	-	-
Part time						
High hours	0.288	0.444**	0.568*	0.123	0.0202	0.153
	(0.186)	(0.211)	(0.301)	(0.190)	(0.207)	(0.314)
Maternity/paternity leave	-	-	-	-	-	-
Care for children	1.157***	1.228***	1.411***	0.907**	0.945**	1.142***
	(0.367)	(0.372)	(0.384)	(0.380)	(0.384)	(0.395)
Part time * Work from home	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full time * Work from home	0.0404			0.380		
	(0.245)			(0.240)		
High hours * Work from home	0.352			-0.298		
	(0.316)			(0.331)		
Part time * Flex time	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full time * Flex time		0.192			0.200	
		(0.169)			(0.178)	
High hours * Flex time		0.00448			0.180	
		(0.286)			(0.294)	
Part time * Family matters	-	-	-	-	-	-
Full time * Family matters			0.386**			0.410**
			(0.194)			(0.188)
High hours * Family matters			0.106			0.201
			(0.301)			(0.312)
Spouse employed	0.238	0.235	0.248	0.191	0.185	0.194
	(0.190)	(0.193)	(0.191)	(0.192)	(0.191)	(0.191)
Number of children	-0.0280	-0.0327	-0.0167	0.0727	0.0828	0.0952
	(0.0830)	(0.0835)	(0.0839)	(0.0800)	(0.0798)	(0.0790)
Urban	-0.645***	-0.647***	-0.635***	0.0752	0.0724	0.0944
	(0.200)	(0.200)	(0.203)	(0.207)	(0.208)	(0.206)
High school or less	0.275	0.237	0.246	0.444*	0.474*	0.493**
	(0.235)	(0.235)	(0.235)	(0.249)	(0.243)	(0.245)
Trade, College or Certificate	-0.0866	-0.0938	-0.107	0.366*	0.365*	0.350*
	(0.185)	(0.183)	(0.184)	(0.191)	(0.189)	(0.186)
Above bachelor degree	0.0690	0.0490	0.0361	0.665***	0.605***	0.601***
	(0.228)	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.230)	(0.228)	(0.228)
West	0.0612	0.0347	0.0184	0.0301	0.00775	-0.0229
	(0.177)	(0.177)	(0.178)	(0.180)	(0.178)	(0.179)
East	-0.0928	-0.105	-0.126	-0.185	-0.187	-0.221
	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.220)	(0.215)	(0.216)	(0.217)
Quebec	0.251	0.210	0.196	-0.117	-0.131	-0.158
	(0.196)	(0.196)	(0.200)	(0.193)	(0.193)	(0.193)
Age 25 to 34	0.176	0.191	0.185	-0.0387	-0.0335	-0.0393
	(0.151)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.153)	(0.153)	(0.152)
Age 45 to 54	-0.0994	-0.0848	-0.140	0.0302	0.0266	-0.0344
	(0.280)	(0.280)	(0.282)	(0.306)	(0.304)	(0.297)
Fair or poor health	-0.613*	-0.599*	-0.587	0.118	0.110	0.119
	(0.359)	(0.364)	(0.361)	(0.322)	(0.316)	(0.317)
Excellent health	0.189	0.194	0.262	0.516**	0.502**	0.578**
	(0.216)	(0.217)	(0.217)	(0.232)	(0.227)	(0.228)
Very good health	0.0359	0.0379	0.0473	0.116	0.113	0.110
	(0.160)	(0.162)	(0.160)	(0.164)	(0.162)	(0.162)
Family income: less than 50K	0.171	0.191	0.156	0.635**	0.603**	0.576*
	(0.294)	(0.294)	(0.295)	(0.297)	(0.295)	(0.295)
Family income: 50K to 74K	-0.104	-0.0970	-0.100	0.180	0.154	0.154
	(0.204)	(0.203)	(0.202)	(0.213)	(0.210)	(0.209)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.124	-0.0997	-0.0765	0.128	0.111	0.140
	(0.215)	(0.216)	(0.215)	(0.226)	(0.222)	(0.222)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0320	0.0532	0.0551	0.338	0.349*	0.357*
	(0.216)	(0.213)	(0.214)	(0.208)	(0.209)	(0.209)
	-0.371	-0.420	-0.659	-1.432***	-1.449***	-1.692***
	(0.402)	(0.414)	(0.434)	(0.397)	(0.402)	(0.419)
Observations	535	535	535	535	535	535

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is full time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second and third specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base case is full time employees who do not have flexible work arrangements.

2 'High Life Satisfaction' is life satisfaction equal t 9 or 10. Life Satisfaction responses on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the highest.

3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

APPENDIX A5 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF 'HIGH LIFE SATISFACTION', 'LOW LEVEL OF STRESS' AND 'HIGH SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME WITH SATISFACTION WITH DIVISION OF CHORES CONTROLS' - MOTHERS AND FATHERS

APPENDIX A5 - PROBIT ESTIMATE COEFFICIENTS OF 'HIGH LIFE SATISFACTION', 'LOW LEVEL OF STRESS' AND 'HIGH SATISFACTION WITH BALANCE BETWEEN WORK AND HOME WITH SATISFACTION WITH DIVISION OF CHORES CONTROLS' - MOTHERS AND FATHERS[1]

Dependent Variable	High Life Satisfaction[2]		Low Level of Stress[3]		High Satisfaction with Balance between Work and Home[4]	
	Mothers	Fathers[5]	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Part time	-2.148***	-	-0.153	-	0.449	-
	(0.473)		(0.548)		(0.458)	
High hours	0.944*	-	-0.610	0.142	-0.445	-0.480
	(0.526)		(0.487)	(0.361)	(0.519)	(0.359)
Maternity/paternity leave	0.335	-	0.0340	-	-	-
	(0.239)		(0.249)			
Care for children	-0.330	-	-0.0782	1.117***	-	-
	(0.223)		(0.226)	(0.415)		
Part time * Flexible work arrangements	1.545***	-	-0.379	-	0.368	-
	(0.564)		(0.623)		(0.495)	
Full time * Flexible work arrangements	-0.133	-	0.114	0.354*	0.385	0.447**
	(0.223)		(0.221)	(0.200)	(0.243)	(0.193)
High hours * Flexible work arrangements	-1.489**	-	-0.518	0.183	-0.262	0.524
	(0.618)		(0.662)	(0.351)	(0.594)	(0.349)
Spouse employed	0.0234	-	0.311	0.168	-0.0224	-0.108
	(0.302)		(0.311)	(0.188)	(0.318)	(0.196)
Number of children	-0.00567	-	0.0195	0.0923	0.0852	-0.0181
	(0.0786)		(0.0783)	(0.0789)	(0.118)	(0.0859)
Urban	-0.230	-	-0.0542	0.0594	-0.0731	-0.170
	(0.193)		(0.198)	(0.206)	(0.239)	(0.215)
High school or less	0.144	-	-0.0726	0.486**	0.0166	-0.514**
	(0.239)		(0.232)	(0.243)	(0.354)	(0.250)
Trade, College or Certificate	0.204	-	-0.129	0.335*	-0.0574	-0.291
	(0.168)		(0.172)	(0.185)	(0.216)	(0.202)
Above bachelor degree	0.0747	-	-0.290	0.629***	0.225	0.278
	(0.196)		(0.204)	(0.227)	(0.266)	(0.249)
West	0.0445	-	-0.0591	-0.0456	0.0574	0.232
	(0.165)		(0.168)	(0.180)	(0.210)	(0.175)
East	0.0186	-	-0.0955	-0.229	0.360	0.554**
	(0.200)		(0.211)	(0.218)	(0.263)	(0.232)
Quebec	-0.0462	-	-0.238	-0.153	-0.217	0.274
	(0.194)		(0.204)	(0.196)	(0.264)	(0.209)
Age 25 to 34	0.0684	-	0.0312	-0.0581	-0.287	-0.00515
	(0.149)		(0.151)	(0.152)	(0.191)	(0.157)
Age 45 to 54	-0.792	-	0.192	-0.0471	-1.075**	0.576*
	(0.581)		(0.419)	(0.297)	(0.526)	(0.316)
Fair or poor health	0.0117	-	-0.534	0.147	-0.492	-0.104
	(0.380)		(0.431)	(0.315)	(0.409)	(0.314)
Excellent health	0.924***	-	0.573***	0.568**	0.413	0.521**
	(0.200)		(0.204)	(0.227)	(0.274)	(0.251)
Very good health	0.467***	-	0.185	0.106	0.144	0.328**
	(0.163)		(0.166)	(0.162)	(0.202)	(0.167)
Family income: less than 50K	-0.119	-	0.743**	0.586**	0.554	-0.678**
	(0.298)		(0.302)	(0.296)	(0.386)	(0.282)
Family income: 50K to 74K	0.348	-	0.399*	0.140	0.306	0.0731
	(0.212)		(0.222)	(0.209)	(0.296)	(0.220)
Family income: 75K to 99K	-0.302	-	0.117	0.117	0.225	0.125
	(0.214)		(0.217)	(0.221)	(0.267)	(0.232)
Family income: 100K to 124K	0.0496	-	0.127	0.354*	0.0129	0.194
	(0.192)		(0.199)	(0.209)	(0.256)	(0.233)
Satisfaction with division of chores: Very Satisfied	1.115***	-	0.648***	0.0403	0.629**	0.925***
	(0.225)		(0.223)	(0.234)	(0.286)	(0.270)
Satisfaction with division of chores: Satisfied	0.869***	-	0.545***	0.143	0.785***	0.883***
	(0.209)		(0.208)	(0.218)	(0.262)	(0.249)
Satisfaction with division of chores: Dissatisfied or Very dissatisfied	0.0392	-	-0.457	-0.665	-0.286	0.736
	(0.365)		(0.312)	(0.634)	(0.329)	(0.640)
Constant	-1.447***		-1.477***	-1.672***	-0.893	-0.528
	(0.509)		(0.519)	(0.461)	(0.580)	(0.470)
Observations	599	-	599	535	355	521

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

1 The base case for this study is parents with children under 5 who are between age 35 and 44, are in good health, live in Ontario, have a bachelor's degree and have family income over $125,000 a year. In all specifications the main activity of the base case is full time employee (works between 30 and 40 hours per week); in the second and third specification in which flexible work arrangements are included, the base

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3 'Low Level of Stress' is level of stress equal to 1 or 2.Level of Stress responses on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Not at all stressful, 2 = Not very stressful, 3 = A bit stressful, 4 = Quite a bit stressful, 5 = Extremely stressful

4 'High satisfaction with balance between work and home' is satisfaction with balance between work and home equal to 4 or 5. Satisfaction with balance between work and home responses are on a scale from 1 to 5; 1 = Very Dissatisfied, 2 = Dissatisfied, 3 = Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied, 4 = Satisfied, 5 = Very Satisfied

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