Working From Home Leads to More Family-Oriented Men

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Abstract

We examine how working from home (WFH) affects men's participation in childcare and housework and their attitudes toward family. Because WFH is an endogenous decision, we apply a first-difference instrumental variable estimator, taking the degree to which one can work from home, measured at the individual level, as the instrument. We find that WFH increases the time that men spend on household chores and with family, and the fraction of men who consider life more important than work. Although WFH decreases their commuting time, we find no evidence that it reduces working hours or self-perceived productivity.

Keywords: working from home, gender, family, time use, housework, childcare **JEL Codes:** J13, J16, J22, J81

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1 Introduction

Work–family conflict has been a major concern for modern families as the number of dualearning couples has risen. Telecommuting or working from home (WFH) has been regarded as a promising means of improving workplace flexibility, and previous research (Kelly et al., 2014; Sherman, 2020) has shown that WFH can reduce work–family conflict for women.

While the earlier studies focus on women, some scholars suggest that WFH should also increase men's engagement with their families. Under the social distancing policy that have become implemented in response to the current COVID-19 pandemic, the practice of WFH has become common for many workers,¹ although the feasibility of WFH varies greatly across and within industries and occupations.² Alon et al. (2020) claim that because many women work in health care and other businesses considered critical, such as grocery stores and pharmacies, their husbands who can work from home inevitably become the main providers of childcare.³ They further argue that the reallocation of household duties during the pandemic is likely to have persistent effects on men's future participation in childcare, as indicated by the literature on paternity leave policy reforms.⁴ However, as far as we are aware, there is a lack of causal evidence in the literature that WFH increases husbands' household work or engagement with their family more generally.

The objective of this paper is to estimate the causal effects of WFH on male workers' engagement with their families using Japanese data. While gender gaps in unpaid domestic work exist in many OECD countries, Japan exhibits the largest inequality (Figure 1). Therefore, it is especially relevant to examine how the prevalence of WFH affects men's participation in domestic work and attitudes toward their families in a society with such entrenched traditional gender roles.

Our data are taken from the Survey on Changes in Attitudes and Behavior Under the Influ-

¹See, for example, Bartik et al. (2020); Bick, Blandin, and Mertens (2020); Brynjolfsson et al. (2020); Okubo (2020).

²See, for example, Adams-Prassl et al. (2020); Alipour, Falck, and Schüller (2020); Boeri, Caiumi, and Paccagnella (2020); Dingel and Neiman (2020); Kawaguchi and Motegi (2020).

³Hupkau and Petrongolo (2020) offer a similar prediction based on UK data.

⁴Farré and González (2019), Tamm (2019), and Patnaik (2019) show that paternity leave has a persistent effect on fathers' involvement in childcare.

ence of the Novel Coronavirus, conducted in December 2020 by the Cabinet Office of Japan. The survey asks questions on relative *changes* that have occurred since December 2019 (before the pandemic) in the number of days per week that men work from home and how much they engage with their family. These questions allow us to use the first-difference estimator to avoid an omitted variable bias from time-invariant unobserved individual characteristics.

Nevertheless, concerns may arise about an endogeneity bias caused by a possible correlation between a growth in the frequency of WFH and that of unobserved factors. For example, if workers chose to work from home because their fear of COVID-19 led them to become more family oriented, the change in their attitude toward the family is likely to increase their WFH days and participation in housework simultaneously. To address this concern, we use the feasibility of WFH as of December 2019 (i.e., before the pandemic) to instrument the changes in the number of WFH days. Our WFH feasibility index is self-reported by each individual and, hence, varies within occupations and industries. We take this first-difference instrumental variable (IV) estimator as our preferred specification.

We find that an additional WFH day increases male workers' engagement with their families. Specifically, an extra day of WFH per week leads to a 6.2% increase in time spent on housework and a 9.3% increase in the fraction of couples in which the husbands' share of housework rises. An additional day of WFH also increases time spent with the family by 5.6%, and raises the share of male workers reporting that they became more life oriented rather than work oriented by 11.6%.

A potential drawback of WFH is its adverse effects on work-related outcomes such as productivity. Our estimates indicate that WFH effectively reduces time spent on commuting but has no significant effect on working hours and workers' self-perceived productivity. Hence, we conclude that the practice of WFH encourages male workers to engage in their family life without sacrificing productivity.

Our main results are robust to alternative specifications. Note that a key identifying assumption is that the WFH index is uncorrelated with the changes of unobserved factors influencing outcomes (i.e., the error term). One might argue that regional, industry, and/or spouse's job characteristics, such as the feasibility of WFH, can influence both the instrument and error term. To address this concern, we control for region and industry fixed effects, and whether the spouse works from home. Our estimates remain essentially unchanged from the main results.

Finally, we examine the heterogeneity of the treatment effects. Our estimates indicate that the effects are stronger for male workers under 45 years of age and those who have preschool children, suggesting that there is a greater increase in time spent on childcare compared with time spent on other household chores when male workers increase their WFH days. In addition, our estimates suggest that the estimated effects are largely driven by university-educated male workers. Overall, our estimates indicate that WFH increases the time that men spend on domestic work and makes them more family oriented without losing productivity or reducing work hours, which will eventually promote greater gender equality within the family. This result suggests that policymakers may wish to promote WFH even once the pandemic ends in future.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews the related literature. Section 3 describes the data set and defines the variables. Section 4 explains our identification strategy and lays out the first-difference IV model. In Section 5, we present the results, including robustness checks and the heterogeneity analysis. In Section 6, we discuss the implications of our results in the context of the literature. We conclude in Section 7.

2 Literature Review

Our paper contributes to the literature on the causal impacts of WFH. Reflecting difficulty of avoiding self-selection into WFH, the literature has faced a challenge in establishing causality. Exceptions include Dutcher (2012) and Bloom et al. (2015). Dutcher (2012) conducts a laboratory experiment and shows that the productivity of telecommuting may depend on how creative the tasks are. Bloom et al. (2015) provide evidence from a field experiment that WFH increases the performance of call center employees by 13%.

As these papers mainly examine the effect of WFH on productivity, our research is more closely related to Kelly et al. (2014) and Sherman (2020), who estimate the effects of management practices on work–life balance. Kelly et al. (2014) conduct a randomized training

intervention designed to improve supervisors' support and employees' schedule control, and show that the intervention leads to improvements in employees' work–family balance and family time adequacy. Note, however, that the intervention aims to improve employees' control over when and where to work, and the support provided by supervisors. Hence, it is not clear to what extent the improved work–life balance can be attributed to remote working. Sherman (2020) focuses on the discretionary uptake of remote working and finds significant effects on family-to-work conflict for mothers but not for fathers.

The above two studies treat WFH as an option that improves workplace flexibility for those suffering from work–family conflicts, presumably working mothers. However, they do not examine how WFH affects fathers, who typically pay less attention to their families than mothers. The pandemic is a compelling situation in which workers who would not ordinarily prefer to work from home are strongly encouraged or required to do so. Exploiting the pandemic and pre-existing variations in the feasibility of WFH as an IV, we estimate a causal and independent effect of WFH, which complements the evidence from the previous studies.

Our research also contributes to the recent emerging literature on the impacts of COVID-19 on within-household gender inequality. Some studies report increased participation of males in childcare during the pandemic.⁵ However, very few studies have attempted to establish causal evidence of the effects of the increased WFH on the allocation of housework. Champeaux and Marchetta (2021) assess the effect of the lockdown policy in France on the distribution of housework and intrahousehold conflict. They find that the husband's share of housework increased only when the husband stayed at home and the wife worked away from the home. In contrast, our estimates suggest that WFH positively affects men's engagement with their family regardless of whether their spouse works from home. Moreover, unlike the studies examining the total impact of the lockdown, we attempt to isolate the effects of WFH by simulating the estimated model.

⁵See, for example, Andrew et al. (2020); Biroli et al. (2020); Del Boca et al. (2020); Farré et al. (2020); Mangiavacchi, Piccoli, and Pieroni (2020); Sevilla and Smith (2020).

3 Data

3.1 Overview

Our main data are taken from the 2nd Survey on Changes in Attitudes and Behaviors in Daily Life under the Influence of the Novel Coronavirus Infection,⁶ conducted in December 2020 by the Cabinet Office of Japan. The survey asks about the frequency of WFH, work-related outcomes such as hours of work and commuting time, the share of housework and childcare within the household, views on work–life balance, and other questions, such as why a respondent has changed his/her number of WFH days. Notably, the survey mainly asks respondents about *changes* since December 2019, prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. For example, one question asks, "How has the time you spend with your family changed compared with December 2019?" The format of such questions makes them suitable for our first-difference specification, as explained in Section 4. Approximately 10,000 individuals participated in the survey. They were randomly selected from a pool of registered monitors so that the same number of individuals are included for each gender and five-year age group. The region of residence was selected according to the population composition, ensuring that the sample is geographically representative.

We note that the survey is retrospective, that is, respondents working in December 2020 answered the questions; therefore, the sample is conditioned on working after the outbreak of COVID-19. This survey structure raises concerns because working status after the outbreak may be affected by the COVID-19 outbreak. To address this issue, we restrict our sample to married male workers with children under the age of 18 years. We impose this sample restriction because the employment rate of this specific demographic group is extremely stable even during the COVID-19 pandemic, as shown in Figure 2 (reproduced from Fukai et al. (2021)). The Japanese Labor Force Survey showed that from 2015 to 2020, the employment rate of this group stayed very high (98.7–99.5%). Importantly, their employment rate after the COVID-19 outbreak did not decrease significantly from the pre-pandemic period. Therefore, we consider that any biases arising from conditioning on working after the COVID-19 outbreak are negligible.

⁶The original name of the survey in Japanese is Dai 2 kai Singata Koronauirusu Kansensyō no Eikyōka ni okeru Seikatsu Ishiki · Kōdō no Henka ni kansuru Chōsa.

3.2 Variable Definitions

3.2.1 Working From Home

In the survey, respondents were asked what percentage of their total work was conducted from home in December 2019 and December 2020, selecting their response from five possible answers: 100%, more than 50%, less than 50%, usually go to the office but work from home irregularly, and none. Taking the middle points of the intervals, we treat "more than 50%" and "less than 50%" as 75% and 25%, respectively. If respondents answered that they usually went to the office but worked from home irregularly, we assume WFH accounts for 10% of their work. Hence, the share of WFH in total work takes a value of 100%, 75%, 25%, 10%, or 0%.⁷ To facilitate interpretation, we multiply this variable by the number of days worked per week.⁸

The survey also asks about the feasibility of WFH before the pandemic, as follows: "How much of your work falls into each of the following four categories?: 1. work that you can do from home without any problems, 2. work that you can do from home although productivity would be slightly lower, 3. work that can be done from home if the work procedure is appropriately altered, and 4. work that you cannot do from home. Provide your answers to each category as a percentage of your total workload. Make sure that the sum is 100%." We define the share of "work that can be done from home without any problems" as our index of WFH feasibility.

⁷We can construct the variable so that it is equally spaced (that is, takes values of 100%, 75%, 50%, 25%, and 0%) by assigning values of 50% and 25% to the alternatives "less than 50 %" and "work from home irregularly", respectively. However, this change does not affect the results.

⁸Although we presume that most respondents work 5 days a week, some answered that they reduced their working days to 3 or 4 days a week. For those respondents, we assume that they work 3.5 days per week and construct WFH variables by multiplying the frequency of WFH by 3.5.

⁹Note that we have the same series of survey data conducted in May 2020, although we do not use it in our analysis because of the lack of an IV, the feasibility of WFH. Using that data, we confirm that the percentage of workers who work from home in May 2020 in our data is close to the figure reported in Okubo (2020) and Morikawa (2020), both of whom use a survey conducted in Japan.

3.2.2 Engagement with Family

The survey asks several questions on how engagement with family has changed since December 2019, which are our main outcome variables. First, respondents provide answers on the percentage change in time spent on housework compared with the level in December 2019. Second, respondents report the change in the shares of housework within a couple. We construct a dummy variable that takes a value of one if a respondent answers that his own housework share (the husband's share of housework) increased, and zero otherwise. If respondents answer that "the share changed but has now returned to normal," the value is zero. Third, respondents report the percentage change in time spent with family in interval terms, with possible answers including -51% or lower, -50% to -21%, -20% to -6%, -5% to 5%, 6% to 20%, 21% to 50%, and 51% or higher. We construct a variable of the change in time spent with family by taking the middle point of each interval in the original question. If respondents answered that they increased (decreased) time spent with family by 51% or more, we calculate the variable as 51×1.25 (-51×1.25)%.¹⁰ Fourth, we have another dummy variable that takes a value of one if respondents answer that they became more life rather than work oriented, and zero otherwise.

3.2.3 Work-Related Outcomes

The survey asks about the change in commuting time, working hours, and self-perceived productivity relative to December 2019. As for the change in commuting time and working hours, respondents answer by choosing an interval, with the same selection of responses as for the question concerning time spent with family. The method for construction of the continuous variable is also the same. Turning to self-perceived productivity, as with the question on time spent with family, respondents provide answers on the percentage change compared with the level in December 2019.

¹⁰It is true that multiplying by 1.25 is an arbitrary choice, but this method is often used when a variable is topcoded. For example, Lemieux (2006) applies this method to adjust the topcoded wages in the US CPS.

3.3 Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 reports the descriptive statistics. Our sample consists of 984 married male workers with children under the age of 18 years. The average household size is 3.873. The proportion of workers who have a preschool child is 53.9%.

On average, WFH days increased by 0.499 days per week from December 2019 to December 2020. In December 2019, 12.5% of respondents worked from home at least once. The proportion rose to 28.5% in December 2020. On average, it was possible to do 22.185% of work from home in December 2019.

Turning to family-related outcomes, the time spent with family increased by 9.649%, while that spent on housework increased by 1.511%. In 14.9% of the sample households, the husband increased his share of housework. The respondents' family values ware also affected, with 40.6% of respondents reporting the importance of life over work increased.

Commuting time and working hours decreased by 7.572% and 2.540%, respectively, from December 2019 to December 2020. Respondents also reported that their productivity declined by 4.163% on average. Because respondents include both those who do and those who do not work from home, the figure does not necessarily reflect WFH productivity.

4 Econometric Model

This section details the econometric model used to estimate the causal effect of WFH on the outcomes. In subsection 4.1, we set up the first-difference specification as a baseline model, which examines the correlation between the change of the outcomes and the change of the WFH days. In subsection 4.2, we introduce an IV regression as our preferred specification. We instrument the change in the WFH days by the feasibility of WFH in December 2019.

4.1 Baseline Model

Because our data are for two periods, December 2019 and December 2020, we begin with the following first-difference regression to estimate the effect of WFH:

$$\Delta Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \Delta D_i + \mathbf{X}'_i \beta_2 + \Delta \varepsilon_i, \tag{1}$$

where Y is an outcome variable; D is the number of days of WFH per week; X is a vector of individual characteristics that consist of education, age, the number of household members, and the youngest child's educational stage as a proxy of age; and Δ is the first-difference operator, which takes the difference of each variable between December 2019 and December 2020. The parameter of interest is β_1 , which captures the effect of one extra day of WFH per week on the outcome.

If we regress the level of the outcome on the level of the WFH days, the estimates are likely to be biased because unobserved individual characteristics may affect both simultaneously. Table 2 reports the results from the regression of the number of WFH days in 2019 and 2020 on individual characteristics: education, age, the region of residence, the number of household members, and the child's educational stage. The coefficients on the indicators of living in Tokyo and the Kanto region (a region consisting of six prefectures near Tokyo) are significantly different from zero both for 2019 and 2020. If this correlation is due to unobserved differences between workers in the different regions, simply regressing outcome variables on the number of WFH days will produce biased estimates.

However, such time-invariant unobserved individual characteristics are removed by first differencing. Our identifying assumption of the first-difference estimator is that *changes* in days of WFH are orthogonal to *changes* in the error term, conditional on observed individual characteristics X_i .

4.2 Identification with the Instrumental Variable

Although a correlation between the *level* of the WFH days and that of the error term does not bias our estimates from the first-difference model, we are concerned that *changes* of the WFH

days may be correlated with those of the error term. For example, the fear of COVID-19 may affect both the WFH days and an individual's family orientedness. If this is the case, unobserved changes in the fear of COVID-19 bias our estimates from Equation 1.

Although the pandemic meant that people were urged to stay at home more strongly than ever before, there are reasons to believe that workers and firms had some discretion about whether to adopt WFH. Japan's stay-at-home restrictions are substantially less stringent than those adopted in other countries,¹¹ and Kitagawa et al. (2021) point out that the decision on whether to introduce WFH was completely at the discretion of employers even during the state of emergency in April 2020. As of December 1, 2020 (our targeted period), the Government Response Stringency Index—a composite measure of nine response indicators published by the University of Oxford's Blavatnik School of Government—is 42.59 for Japan. This is much lower than measures for France (75.00), the United States (75.46), the United Kingdom (67.59), and Canada (67.13).¹² In fact, in the survey, some respondents report that they reduced WFH days between December 2019 and December 2020 because their preferences for WFH changed.

To address the potential endogeneity bias, we use the feasibility of WFH in December 2019 as an IV denoted by z_i .¹³ This feasibility index for WFH can be considered to reflect the nature of the respondent's job tasks. For example, workers in the IT industry may be able to work from home because they can perform most of their tasks anywhere with a computer and an Internet connection. In contrast, WFH is infeasible for supermarket clerks because face-to-face service is necessary. Even in the same occupation, the feasibility of WFH may vary depending on job tasks. We expect that the feasibility of WFH is likely to affect the actual change in the WFH days apart from the workers' preference for WFH.

¹¹For example, Watanabe and Yabu (2020) study the state of emergency declared by the Japanese government in April 2020, which relied on requests and instructions rather than legal orders, fines, or arrests.

¹²https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/ covid-19-government-response-tracker

¹³In previous studies, the share of workers able to telecommute in the region is used as an IV to instrument mobility (Glaeser, Gorback, and Redding, 2020) and workplace absence (McLaren and Wang, 2020). Ishii, Nakayama, and Yamamoto (2020), who estimate the effects of WFH on Japanese workers' income and anxiety, instrument for WFH by the feasibility of WFH, which is constructed following Dingel and Neiman (2020).

The first-stage regression equation is:

$$\Delta D_i = \pi_0 + \pi_1 z_i + \mathbf{X}'_i \pi_2 + u_i. \tag{2}$$

In Section 5, we confirm that the feasibility of WFH is strongly correlated with changes in the WFH days.

Our instrument must satisfy the following exclusion restriction:

$$E[\Delta \varepsilon_i | z_i, \mathbf{X}_i] = 0. \tag{3}$$

The exclusion restriction requires that after controlling individual characteristics X_i , the feasibility of WFH in December 2019 be not correlated with the *changes* in the error term. In other words, the feasibility of WFH affects outcomes only through *changes* in the WFH days. Note that we allow for the correlation between the instrument and the *level* of the error term. For example, even if workers in the IT industry tend to contribute more to housework than other workers, the exclusion restriction is not violated because the IV is correlated only with the levels of the outcome. In contrast, if they tended to *change* the amount of time spent on housework between December 2019 and December 2020, then that would invalidate the exclusion restriction. In Section 5.3, we discuss the potential threat to the exclusion restriction and examine the validity of our instrument.

5 Results

5.1 Family-Related Outcomes

Table 4 presents the estimates for the outcomes related to engagement with the family. Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10 report estimates from the first-difference specification defined by Equation 1. Overall, an increase in the WFH days improves all four outcomes. An additional day of WFH increases time spent on housework by 5.461% and increases by 8.3% the fraction of male workers whose share of housework rose. In addition, time spent with family increased by 5.226% and the fraction of male workers who became more life oriented than before increased by 6.1%.

As discussed in Section 4, however, the first-difference specification may be subject to the endogeneity bias caused by time-varying unobserved variables. We address this problem by employing the IV specification. The estimation result for the first stage (Equation 2) is reported in Table 3. The coefficient of WFH feasibility is significantly positive, whereas other characteristics of workers are not predictive of the growth in WFH days. The F-value is 165.012, confirming that the feasibility of WFH serves as a strong instrument for the growth of the WFH days.

In Table 4, Columns 5, 8, 11, and 14 report the reduced-form estimates, and Columns 6, 9, 12, and 15 report the IV estimates using the feasibility of WFH as an instrument. All the estimates from the reduced form and the IV regressions are significantly positive. Focusing on the IV results, our preferred specification, an additional WFH day increases time spent on housework by 6.150%. Similarly, an extra day of WFH increases the fraction of men who increased their share of housework in the family by 9.3%. It also increases time spent with family by 5.550% and the fraction of men who became more life oriented than before by 11.6%.

The IV estimates are greater than the first-difference estimates for all four outcomes; however, using the Hausman test, we can reject the hypothesis that the two estimates are the same only for the life oriented indicator. We note that the discrepancy in the estimates could be explained by the fact that the IV estimator identifies the effects of WFH on a different subpopulation from the one for which the first-difference estimator identifies the effects. Whereas the first-difference estimates reflect the change in outcomes for all treated workers, the IV estimator identifies local average treatment effects for workers induced to work from home because of their high feasibility of WFH.

5.2 Work-Related Outcomes

Although WFH increases workers' engagement with their families, a concern is that it may potentially have adverse effects on work performance. To examine whether WFH lowers work productivity, we conduct the same estimation exercise as in Section 5.1 for work-related outcomes. The results are reported in Table 5.

We find that an additional day of WFH reduces commuting time by 12.388%. Because most

workers work five days a week and the effect of WFH on the change in commuting hours is expected to be around 20%, the effect appears underestimated. Nevertheless, this difference is likely to arise from a rounding error. As discussed in Section 3, we take the middle point of each interval to construct the variable. Accordingly, for the respondents whose commuting time decreased by 20%, our variable is -13%, almost the same as our estimate.

While WFH effectively reduces commuting time, we find no significant effect of WFH on working hours or productivity in all specifications. Thus, taking this together with the results in Section 5.1, we conclude that WFH promoted greater family engagement by male workers without sacrificing their productivity at work.

5.3 Validity of the Exclusion Restriction

As discussed in Section 4, the exclusion restriction is a crucial assumption to identify the causal effect of WFH. Although we argue that the exclusion restriction holds—that is, the percentage of work that workers can do from home is not correlated with *changes* in the error term—concerns may remain about its validity. This section considers possible pathways other than WFH through which the IV affects the outcome, i.e., the possible threats to our identification strategy. Then, we examine whether controlling such variables changes the results.

5.3.1 Regional Characteristics

Kawaguchi and Motegi (2020) provide evidence that the proportion of people working from home is quite high in Tokyo, suggesting that WFH is more feasible because white-collar occupations are concentrated in the metropolitan area. We confirm their finding in our data; the average feasibility of WFH in Tokyo is 35%, whereas it is 21% in other regions. In general, WFH is more feasible in larger cities.

On the other hand, the numbers of COVID-19 cases and deaths vary substantially by prefecture, and Tokyo has the largest number of cases per population in Japan in almost every period that we study.¹⁴ In general, large cities tend to have more COVID-19 cases. More COVID-19

¹⁴Although there were some periods when Okinawa had the largest number of COVID-19 cases per population in Japan, even during those periods, Tokyo had the second largest number.

cases and more deaths may make people more family oriented out of fear, leading them to spend more time with their family and, hence, contribute more to housework.

If this is the case, workers in large cities are more likely to have a job with high WFH feasibility and to become more family oriented because of the more intense COVID-19 situation compared with other cities, which implies a correlation between the instrument and the changes of the error term.

We include prefecture fixed effects in Equation 1 and estimate the model with the IV to address this concern. By including the prefecture fixed effects, our identification relies on the variation of the WFH feasibility within the prefecture rather than across prefectures. The estimates are reported in Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10 in Table 6 and Columns 1, 4, and 7 in Table 7. The results are essentially the same as the main results in Tables 4 and 5. Thus, we consider that regional differences in the spread of COVID-19 do not invalidate our exclusion restriction.

5.3.2 Industry Characteristics

Another potential threat to the validity of the exclusion restriction lies in industry characteristics. For example, under the COVID-19 pandemic, the IT industry has been increasing profits, whereas the food service industry has experienced a significant drop in sales. Such differences in business performance by industry may affect workers' perceptions regarding work–life balance and change their roles in the household. For example, workers in the food service industry may increase their contribution to housework to compensate for the reduction in their salary or to make use of the reduction in their working hours. Because the feasibility of WFH varies by industry, our instrument may be correlated with changes in the error term in Equation 1 through industry characteristics, which would bias our estimates.

To avoid the endogeneity bias, we additionally control for the industry (for example, manufacturing, retail business, and transportation), the job category (for example, sales, accounting, and human resources), and the number of employees of the firm in Equation 1 and estimate the model with the IV. Columns 2, 5, 8, and 11 in Table 6 and Columns 2, 5, and 8 in Table 7 report the estimates from these regressions. Again, the estimates are similar to the main results and do not change our conclusion. The results ensure that industry and other job characteristics are not pathways through which our IV is correlated with changes in the error terms.

5.3.3 Spouse's WFH Status

A final concern is that the feasibility of WFH is associated with the spouse's feasibility of WFH, and that this correlation may lead to the violation of the exclusion restriction. According to Malkov (2020), in the US, teleworkability-based occupational sorting occurs; in about 60% of couples, both spouses work in either teleworkable or non-teleworkable occupations. If the wife's feasibility of WFH is positively correlated with her time spent on housework, this can reduce the time that the husband spends on housework. Moreover, this is more likely to occur in couples where the husband's feasibility of WFH is high, which is a potential source of bias in our case.

Because our data do not contain information on spouses' feasibility of WFH, we directly control whether the spouse works from home, assuming that the husband's WFH days do not affect the wife's WFH status. Columns 3, 6, 9, and 12 in Table 6 and Columns 3, 6, and 9 in Table 7 report the results of the IV regressions. All estimates are comparable with those from the main specification, which reassures us about the validity of our IV.

However, some may argue that the husband's WFH status directly influences whether his spouse works from home. If that is the case, we should not directly control the spouse's WFH status in Equation 1 because it is affected by our treatment variable, the husband's WFH days. As we mentioned in Section 4, workers in Japan have their own discretion regarding whether to work from home. Thus, a husband and a wife may jointly decide on their WFH days. Nonetheless, because the husband's feasibility of WFH tends to be positively correlated with the spouse's feasibility of WFH, and because the wife's feasibility of WFH is negatively correlated with the outcomes concerning the husband's involvement with the family, our estimates from the specification without controlling the spouse's WFH status (Tables 4 and 5) can be regarded as a lower bound of the effects of WFH on the outcome. Therefore, even if our estimates are biased by omitting variables related to the spouse's feasibility of WFH, our conclusion does not change or would be even stronger.

5.4 Heterogeneous Effects of Working From Home

In this subsection, we explore the heterogeneity of the effect of WFH. Table 8–15 examine the heterogeneous effects of WFH by education, age, child's educational stage, and household size.

The results reported in Tables 8 and 9 show that the estimates for university graduates are similar to those obtained for the whole sample (Tables 4 and 5), suggesting that university graduates largely drive the results for the whole sample. For workers with lower education levels, all the estimates except the change in life orientation are insignificant. Note, however, that none of the differences between the two groups is statistically significant.

Turning to other workers' characteristics, the estimates in Tables 10–15 show interesting patterns: the effects of WFH on housework tend to be greater for those who are younger, whose child is younger, and whose household size is larger. In particular, workers under 45 years of age and workers with preschool children are more likely to increase their share of housework than are others at the 5% significance level. A possible explanation for the difference is that fathers of young children increase their time spent on caring for children at home rather than time spent on other household chores, as suggested by Champeaux and Marchetta (2021).

Another issue is whether the extent to which male workers increase their participation in household chores varies by whether their wives can work from home. Alon et al. (2020) expect the largest effects for families in which the father is able or forced to work from home while the mother is not. Champeaux and Marchetta (2021) show that under the lockdown in France, fathers effectively increased their contribution to housework only when the mother was the sole household member working outside the home.

As discussed in Section 5.3, although wives' feasibility of WFH is not available from our data, their actual WFH status is available, as men report whether their spouse worked from home, did not work from home, or did not have a paid job. We understand that the estimation controlling for the actual WFH status may not be valid because the spouses' WFH status may be endogenous. That being said, it is informative to estimate the IV regressions by splitting the sample by whether the wife worked outside the home or did not (i.e., in the latter case, she worked from home or did not have a paid job). The results are reported in Tables 17 and 18 in the Appendix. An additional WFH day has consistently positive effects on the family-related

outcomes regardless of whether the wives stay at home. The differences in the effects between the two groups are insignificant for all the outcomes. This suggests that WFH effectively encourages the reallocation of housework for couples who both stay at home and for couples in which only the husband stays at home.

6 Discussion

We relate our results to the literature on the impact of COVID-19 on families and worker productivity in Section 6.1. Furthermore, it is natural to ask whether WFH played a primary role in changing workers' attitudes and behaviors during the pandemic because COVID-19 affected lives across many dimensions beyond working style. Section 6.2 examines how much WFH contributed to the overall change in the various outcomes between December 2019 and 2020.

6.1 Relation to Previous Literature

Our results indicate that WFH promotes men's participation in household chores without reducing work productivity, which provides empirical evidence for the argument by Alon et al. (2020) and Hupkau and Petrongolo (2020) who argue that the increased work flexibility for men during the COVID-19 outbreak may encourage them to contribute more to housework and childcare. In contrast to many comparative studies investigating the consequences of COVID-19 confinement policies on families, our study establishes causal evidence for the impacts of WFH on families during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Further, our subsample analysis suggests that WFH leads to the redistribution of housework regardless of whether the spouse works from home. This is in contrast to the previous arguments in the literature. Alon et al. (2020) argue that the increased participation of men in housework is likely to be driven by telecommuters whose spouses work outside the home. Champeaux and Marchetta (2021) show that the redistribution of housework induced by the lockdown in France is effective only for families in which the mother works outside the home while the father works from home. The difference in the results may arise from the difference in the pre-existing gender disparity in domestic work. Japanese fathers may have a lower baseline and

more room to increase their contribution to domestic work when working from home than do French fathers.

Regarding the estimates for work productivity, our results appear to contradict Morikawa (2020) and Kitagawa et al. (2021), who report negative effects of WFH on productivity using a survey conducted in Japan. This discrepancy can be attributed to the fact that they used different estimators and different study periods compared with our study.

Morikawa (2020) asks survey participants who have adopted WFH about their productivity in WFH relative to working at the office. Kitagawa et al. (2021) estimate an average effect on employees who have experienced WFH by using a first-difference model similar to Equation 1 in our paper. It is important to note that both Morikawa (2020) and Kitagawa et al. (2021) estimate the effect of WFH from April to June in 2020. During that period, many workers were strongly urged to work from home even if they knew their productivity would decrease as a result of WFH.

In contrast, the survey we use asks about productivity in December 2020. As discussed in Section 4, firms and workers had considerable discretion at this point in deciding whether to work from home. Workers who would not suffer a productivity decline are likely to be selected into WFH.¹⁵ Our IV estimator identifies the local average treatment effect on workers induced to work from home because of their high WFH feasibility; therefore, the estimate indicates a null effect on productivity. In addition, given that we focus on December 2020, it is important to note that over time, as the pandemic continued, firms invested in IT equipment to improve the effectiveness of WFH, and many workers became more accustomed to WFH by December 2020, meaning that there was no longer a negative impact on their productivity because of WFH.¹⁶

¹⁵This hypothesis is consistent with Kawaguchi and Motegi (2020), who show that remote workers are more likely to be managed under pay-for-performance human resources management system because it ensures that they are less likely to be distracted when working from home.

¹⁶Another difference between Morikawa (2020) and the current paper is the survey questions on which the results are based. Morikawa (2020) compares productivity at home and at workplaces, whereas the question we use asks about total productivity changes before and after the pandemic. Given that about 28% of workers in our data work from home in December 2020, the productivity reported is not restricted to those who were working from home, which may also explain why we do not find a significant drop in productivity.

Our findings have important implications for considering a new working style. Some studies suggest that even after the COVID-19 pandemic, a large fraction of workers prefer to continue WFH (Kitagawa et al., 2021) and, hence, the practice of WFH will continue (Barrero, Bloom, and Davis, 2021; Bick, Blandin, and Mertens, 2020). By showing that WFH helps promote gender equality within households without sacrificing productivity at work, our results provide another reason to argue that policymakers should promote WFH options even after the pandemic.

6.2 How Much Does WFH Contribute to the Overall Changes?

We have confirmed that WFH has causal effects on outcomes related to engagement with family and commuting time, but to what extent does WFH account for the changes in attitude toward family under the COVID-19 pandemic? That is, because the pandemic has dramatically impacted our perceptions and behavior, WFH may play a little role relative to the role of the pandemic itself. We examine how much WFH contributed to the overall change in the outcomes between December 2019 and 2020.

Using the estimates obtained from Equation 1 with the IV, $\hat{\beta}_0$, $\hat{\beta}_1$, and $\hat{\beta}_2$, the sample mean of our dependent variable, $\overline{\Delta Y}$, can be written as follows:

$$\overline{\Delta Y} = \hat{\beta}_0 + \hat{\beta}_1 \overline{\Delta D} + \overline{\mathbf{X}}' \hat{\beta}_2, \tag{4}$$

where $\overline{\Delta D}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{X}}$ are the sample averages of ΔD and \mathbf{X} , respectively. To quantify the contribution of WFH, we define the counterfactual mean of the change in outcome, $\overline{\Delta Y}_{CF}$, as the value when no respondents change the number of WFH days, or by setting $\overline{\Delta D} = 0$:

$$\overline{\Delta Y}_{CF} = \hat{\beta}_0 + \overline{\mathbf{X}}' \hat{\beta}_2.$$
⁽⁵⁾

Then, we define the percentage contribution of WFH as

$$WFH contribution = \frac{\overline{\Delta Y} - \overline{\Delta Y}_{CF}}{\overline{\Delta Y}} \times 100.$$
(6)

For example, $\overline{\Delta Y} = 1$ and $\overline{\Delta Y}_{CF} = 0.6$ indicates that 40% of the overall change is contributed by WFH.

Table 16 reports the actual sample mean, counterfactual mean, and WFH contribution. For the outcome variables related to involvement with family, WFH contributes to 14% to 33% of the change in these outcomes from December 2019 to December 2020, with the exception of time spent on housework. Because our estimates predict that the average married male worker who does not change the number of WFH days will decrease his time spent on housework, the contribution calculated for WFH exceeds 100%. Overall, the contribution of WFH to the change in engagement with family is large even compared with other effects, including the pandemic itself.

As for work-related outcomes, it is worth noting that the contribution of WFH to the change in commuting time is 87%, and it is not statistically significantly different from 100%. This estimate implies that WFH is the only major path through which commuting time decreases between December 2019 and December 2020, which we find plausible.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, we study the impacts of WFH on male workers' participation in household chores and attitude toward their families. Our estimates indicate that WFH leads men to spend more time on housework and with their family, and makes it more likely that they will take a larger share of housework and value their life relative to work. Regarding work-related outcomes, we find no significant effect on the workers' self-perceived productivity and hours worked. Therefore, our estimates indicate that WFH encourages male workers to contribute more to household chores without sacrificing their performance at work.

This paper contributes to the literature on WFH by showing that the practice of WFH improves men's work–life balance. Although several studies have established that WFH reduces women's work–family conflict, scant attention has been paid to the impact of WFH on men. This lack of evidence for men may be attributed to the difficulty of avoiding self-selection into WFH in "normal" nonpandemic times or in an experiment that allows workers' discretion about whether to work from home. Exploiting the preexisting variation in the feasibility of WFH as an instrument and the pandemic as a compelling situation in which many male workers are motivated to work from home, we show that WFH increases fathers' engagement with the family.

This research is subject to at least two limitations. First, because we employ the IV estimator, our results show effects only for a subgroup of the population, that is, working fathers whose jobs can be readily performed from home. Our results may not be immediately extrapolated to other groups. Second, whether the effect of WFH on within-household gender equality persists is outside the scope of the current study, although we note that Alon et al. (2020) expect that it does persist. Further studies should address whether increased WFH would have longer-term effects.

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8 Figures and Tables



Figure 1: The Ratio of Unpaid Work Done by Women to That Done by Men

Notes: We collect data on the "Proportion of time spent on unpaid domestic and care work (% of a 24-hour day)" by gender, and construct a ratio of unpaid domestic work done by women to that done by men for each country. For example, if the ratio is 2, it means that women in that country spend twice as much time as men do on unpaid domestic work. Unpaid domestic and care work includes food preparation, dishwashing, cleaning and upkeep of a dwelling, laundry, ironing, gardening, caring for pets, shopping, installation, servicing, and repair of personal and household goods, childcare, and care of the sick, elderly, or disabled household members, among other tasks. Because the data are not collected in the same years, the years of observations differ between countries, as follows: United States 2018; Canada, Japan, and Switzerland 2016; United Kingdom 2015; Italy and Korea 2014; Germany 2013; and Norway and Sweden 2011.

Source: World Bank (2021).



Figure 2: The Predicted and Observed Employment Rates for Married Men with Children

Notes: The solid line represents the employment rate of married men with children from 2015 to 2020. The dashed line represents the predicted employment rate calculated from Equation 1 in Fukai et al. (2021) from 2015 to 2020. The vertical line in the graph represents the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in Japan, beginning in March 2020. The estimation sample in Fukai et al. (2021) is restricted to men aged 25 to 54 years who are married with children and for whom there is information on education and working status in the previous year.

Source: Figure 13 in Fukai et al. (2021).

	mean	sd	Obs.
Demographics			
Number of Household Members	3.873	0.914	984
Has a Preschool Child (1=Yes, 0=No)	0.539	0.499	984
Working from Home			
Change in Days of WFH per Week	0.499	1.321	984
Any Work from Home in Dec. 2019 (1=Yes, 0=No)	0.125	0.331	984
Any Work from Home in Dec. 2020 (1=Yes, 0=No)	0.285	0.451	984
Feasibility of Working from Home			
% of Work Can be Done from Home in Dec. 2019	22.185	29.506	984
Involvement with Family			
% Change in Time for Housework	1.511	28.113	984
Increased Housework Share (1=Yes, 0=No)	0.149	0.356	894
% Change in Time with Family	9.649	22.147	895
Became More Life Oriented (1=Yes, 0=No)	0.406	0.491	960
Work-Related Outcomes			
% Change in Commuting Time	-7.572	21.807	929
% Change in Working Hours	-2.540	29.247	984
% Change in Productivity	-4.163	20.307	984

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Notes: This table presents descriptive statistics for the main treatment variable (change in days of WFH per week), IV (the feasibility of WFH), outcome variables, and control variables. The first and second columns report the mean and the standard deviation of each variable. The last column reports the number of observations. Some variables have fewer observations because respondents can choose "I do not wish to answer" for these questions, with such responses treated as missing values in our data.

Source: Survey on Changes in Attitudes and Behavior Under the Influence of the Novel Coronavirus, 2020.

Table 2:	Correlation betwee	n WFH
Variables	and Individual Char	acteris-
tics		

	WFH in 2019	WFH in 2020
	(1)	(2)
Junior Colleges	0.024	-0.126
	(0.070)	(0.126)
University or More	0.029	0.244
	(0.048)	(0.105)
Age 25-34	0.067	-0.203
	(0.096)	(0.651)
Age 35-44	0.131	-0.217
	(0.095)	(0.656)
Age 45-54	0.128	-0.105
	(0.101)	(0.662)
Age 55-	0.085	-0.053
	(0.115)	(0.716)
Tokyo	0.274	1.301
	(0.093)	(0.220)
Kanto Region (excluding Tokyo)	0.196	0.550
	(0.062)	(0.138)
Chubu Region	0.062	0.320
	(0.040)	(0.138)
Kinki Region	0.045	0.184
	(0.041)	(0.127)
Chugoku-Shikoku Region	0.060	-0.065
	(0.068)	(0.130)
Kyushu-Okinawa Region	0.105	-0.057
	(0.066)	(0.111)
Household Members	-0.003	-0.050
	(0.021)	(0.041)
Child-Kindergarten/Nursery	0.082	0.192
	(0.066)	(0.121)
Child-Elementary	-0.037	0.155
	(0.072)	(0.139)
Child-Junior High	-0.062	0.027
	(0.078)	(0.162)
Child-High School or others	-0.025	0.011
	(0.086)	(0.202)
Intercept	-0.083	0.450
	(0.125)	(0.636)
R2	0.024	0.098
Observations	984	984

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses.

	Change in WFH
	(1)
Feasibility of WFH	0.024
	(0.002)
Junior Colleges	-0.095
	(0.100)
University or More	-0.027
	(0.079)
Age 25-34	-0.408
	(0.576)
Age 35-44	-0.369
	(0.581)
Age 45-54	-0.322
	(0.585)
Age 55-	-0.151
	(0.612)
Household Members	-0.041
	(0.033)
Child-Kindergarten/Nursery	0.025
	(0.101)
Child-Elementary	0.078
	(0.112)
Child-Junior High	-0.018
	(0.135)
Child-High School or others	-0.073
	(0.162)
Intercept	0.485
	(0.567)
R2	0.299
Observations	984
F-stat for Weak IV	165.012

 Table 3: First Stage Regression

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses.

	Change in Time for Housework (%)			Increase	ed Housework Share	e (1=Yes, 0=No)	Change	Change in Time with Family (%) Life Oriented (1=				0=No)
	FD	Reduced From	IV	FD	Reduced From	IV	FD	Reduced From	IV	FD	Reduced From	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Change in WFH	5.461		6.150	0.083		0.093	5.226		5.550	0.061		0.116
	(0.799)		(1.395)	(0.011)		(0.017)	(0.676)		(1.050)	(0.012)		(0.023)
Feasibility of WFH		0.149			0.002			0.143			0.003	
		(0.035)			(0)			(0.029)			(0.001)	
Observations	984	984	984	894	894	894	895	895	895	960	960	960
F-stat for Weak IV			165.012			171.3			181.389			164.884

Table 4: The Effect of Working From Home on Involvement with Family

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. All columns control for education, age, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in time spent on housework. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband increased his share of housework, and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in time spent with family. The dependent variable in Columns 10–12 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband became more life rather than work oriented, and zero otherwise. The first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10) report first-difference estimates obtained by regressing the change in the outcome on the change in WFH and control variables. The second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, 8, and 11) present reduced-form coefficients obtained by regressing the change in the outcome on the IV, feasibility of WFH. The last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, 9, and 12) show the IV estimates. The last row of the IV columns reports the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in Commuting Time (%)			Chang	ge in Working Ho	urs (%)	Change in Productivity (%)			
	FD	Reduced From	IV	FD	Reduced From	IV	FD	Reduced From	IV	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
Change in WFH	-10.556		-12.388	-1.168		0.896	-0.585		-0.163	
	(0.670)		(1.088)	(0.736)		(1.363)	(0.540)		(0.902)	
Feasibility of WFH		-0.308			0.022			-0.004		
		(0.033)			(0.033)			(0.022)		
Observations	929	929	929	984	984	984	984	984	984	
F-stat for Weak IV			168.111			165.012			165.012	

Table 5: The Effect of Working From Home on Work-Related Outcomes

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. All columns control for education, age, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in commuting time. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is the percentage change in working hours. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in self-reported productivity. The first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, and 7) report first-difference estimates obtained by regressing the change in the outcome on the change in WFH and control variables. The second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, and 8) present reduced-form coefficients obtained by regressing the change in the outcome on the IV, feasibility of WFH. The last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, and 9) show the IV estimates. The last row of the IV columns reports the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in	Time for H	ousework (%)	Increased H	Iousework S	hare (1=Yes, 0=No)	Change in Time with Family (%)			Life Oriented (1=Yes, 0=No)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
Change in WFH	6.465	7.294	5.920	0.090	0.093	0.086	5.377	4.907	5.383	0.120	0.114	0.098	
	(1.562)	(1.877)	(1.386)	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(1.124)	(1.480)	(1.085)	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.023)	
Observations	984	984	984	894	894	894	895	895	895	960	960	960	
F-stat for Weak IV	151.559	103.413	153.136	150.943	105.926	158.802	162.319	111.922	169.222	151.019	102.206	153.134	
Additional Controls	Prefecture	Job Info	Spouse WFH	Prefecture	Job Info	Spouse WFH	Prefecture	Job Info	Spouse WFH	Prefecture	Job Info	Spouse WFH	

Table 6: The Effect of Working From Home on Involvement with Family with Additional Controls

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression using feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, age, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in time spent on housework. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband increased his share of housework, and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in time spent with family. The dependent variable in Columns 10–12 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband became more life rather than work oriented, and zero otherwise. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10), we additionally include prefecture fixed effects. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, 8, and 11), we additionally include industry and job category fixed effects, and the number of employees of the firm. In the last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 5, 9, and 12), we additionally include a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the spouse worked from home, and zero otherwise. The last row reports the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in Commuting Time (%)			Change	Change in Working Hours (%)			Change in Productivity (%)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)		
Change in WFH	-11.996	-12.750	-12.064	1.502	-1.067	1.140	0.417	0.546	-0.142		
	(1.140)	(1.453)	(1.121)	(1.519)	(1.845)	(1.395)	(0.993)	(1.344)	(0.923)		
Observations	929	929	929	984	984	984	984	984	984		
F-stat for Weak IV	151.206	103.786	156.683	151.559	103.413	153.136	151.559	103.413	153.136		
Additional Controls	Prefecture	Job Info	Spouse WFH	Prefecture	Job Info	Spouse WFH	Prefecture	Job Info	Spouse WFH		

Table 7: The Effect of Working From Home on Work-Related Outcomes with Additional Controls

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression using feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, age, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in commuting time. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is the percentage change in working hours. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in self-reported productivity. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, and 7), we additionally include prefecture fixed effects. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, and 8), we additionally include industry and job category fixed effects, and the number of employees of the firm. In the last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 5, and 9), we additionally include a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the spouse worked from home, and zero otherwise. The last row reports the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.
	Change in Tim	e for Housew	ork (%)	Increased House	ework Share (1	=Yes, 0=No)	Change in Ti	ne with Fami	ily (%)	Life Orient	ted (1=Yes, 0=	No)
	Non-University	University	Full	Non-University	University	Full	Non-University	University	Full	Non-University	University	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Working From Home	1.827	7.382	1.557	0.053	0.109	0.048	3.504	5.827	3.856	0.226	0.083	0.222
	(3.491)	(1.501)	(3.442)	(0.032)	(0.020)	(0.031)	(2.212)	(1.193)	(2.109)	(0.069)	(0.025)	(0.066)
WFH \times University (1=Yes, 0=No)			5.884			0.063			1.895			-0.139
			(3.739)			(0.037)			(2.390)			(0.070)
Observations	359	625	984	309	585	894	306	589	895	342	618	960
F-stat for Weak IV	27.939	144.167	86.102	29.122	150.331	89.779	28.204	165.212	96.708	27.637	143.831	85.749
F-stat (Interaction IV)			72.217			75.324			82.681			72.048

Table 8: The Effect of Working From Home on Involvement with Family by Education Level

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for age, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in time spent on housework. The dependent variable in Columns 10–12 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband increased his share of housework, and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in time spent with family. The dependent variable in Columns 10–12 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband became more life rather than work oriented, and zero otherwise. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10), we restrict the sample to married male workers who graduated from university. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, 8, and 11), we restrict the sample to married male workers who graduated from university. In the last columns for each dependent variable sthat interact with a dummy variable that take a value of one if the husband graduated from university, and zero otherwise. The coefficient of WFH and the University dummy variable indicates whether the effect of WFH is heterogeneous between those who graduated from university and others. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the University dummy variable as another IV in Columns 3, 6, 9, and 12, we report the F-statistics for the interaction IV in the last row. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in Co	ommuting T	Time (%)	Change in W	Vorking Ho	urs (%)	Change in	Productivit	y (%)
	Non-College	College	Full	Non-College	College	Full	Non-College	College	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Working From Home	-7.146	-14.030	-7.061	2.422	0.551	0.879	-0.942	0.117	-1.286
	(2.912)	(1.039)	(2.881)	(3.619)	(1.355)	(3.605)	(2.149)	(0.973)	(2.113)
WFH × College (1=Yes, 0=No)			-6.991			0.010			1.478
			(3.044)			(3.822)			(2.265)
Observations	325	604	929	359	625	984	359	625	984
F-stat for Weak IV	30.579	142.586	86.564	27.939	144.167	86.102	27.939	144.167	86.102
F-stat (Interaction IV)			71.464			72.217			72.217

Table 9: The Effect of Working From Home on Work-Related Outcomes by Education Level

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for age, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in commuting time. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is the percentage change in working hours. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in self-reported productivity. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, and 7), we restrict the sample to married male workers who graduated from high school or junior college. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, and 9), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that take a value of one if the husband graduated from university and others. The coefficient of WFH is heterogeneous between those who graduated from university and others. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the college dummy variable as another IV in Columns 3, 6, and 9, we report the F-statistics for the interaction IV in the last row. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in	Time for Ho	usework (%)	Increased	Housework Sh	are (1=Yes, 0=No)	Change in	Time with F	amily (%)	Life Oriented (1=Yes, 0=No)		
	Age \leq 44	Age>44	Full	Age \leq 44	Age>44	Full	Age \leq 44	Age>44	Full	Age \leq 44	Age >44	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Working From Home	8.179	3.095	3.322	0.122	0.050	0.051	5.466	5.320	5.382	0.148	0.063	0.067
	(1.980)	(1.885)	(1.841)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(1.448)	(1.445)	(1.413)	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.034)
WFH \times age \leq 44 (1=Yes, 0=No)			4.733			0.070			0.059			0.081
			(2.690)			(0.032)			(2.003)			(0.046)
Observations	647	337	984	585	309	894	585	310	895	631	329	960
F-stat for Weak IV	93.811	70.55	82.272	99.434	71.169	85.012	98.333	87.297	92.507	93.464	71.094	82.274
F-stat (Interaction IV)			46.911			49.742			49.182			46.726

Table 10: The Effect of Working From Home on Involvement with Family by Age

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in time spent on housework. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband increased his share of housework, and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in time spent with family. The dependent variable in Columns 10–12 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband became more life rather than work oriented, and zero otherwise. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10), we restrict the sample to married male workers who are 44 years old or younger. In the second columns for each dependent variables (Columns 2, 5, 8, and 11), we restrict the sample to married male workers who are 45 years old or above. In the last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, 9, and 12), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that takes a value of one if a respondent is 44 years old or younger, and zero otherwise. The coefficient of WFH and the age dummy variable indicates whether the effect of WFH is heterogeneous depending on age. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the age dummy variable as another IV in Columns 3, 6, 9, and 12, we report the F-statistics for the interaction IV in the last row. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in	Commuting	Time (%)	Change in	Working H	ours (%)	Change i	n Productiv	ity (%)
	Age \leq 44	Age>44	Full	Age \leq 44	Age>44	Full	Age \leq 44	Age >44	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Working From Home	-11.402	-13.969	-13.917	0.626	1.274	1.573	-0.415	-0.013	-0.089
	(1.476)	(1.539)	(1.554)	(1.878)	(1.883)	(1.982)	(1.279)	(1.203)	(1.148)
WFH × age \leq 44 (1=Yes, 0=No)			2.504			-1.106			-0.279
			(2.156)			(2.743)			(1.684
Observations	607	322	929	647	337	984	647	337	984
F-stat for Weak IV	96.977	69.991	83.338	93.811	70.55	82.272	93.811	70.55	82.272
F-stat (Interaction IV)			48.521			46.911			46.911

Table 11: The Effect of Working From Home on Work-Related Outcomes by Age

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in commuting time. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is the percentage change in working hours. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in self-reported productivity. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, and 7), we restrict the sample to married male workers who are 44 years old or younger. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, and 8), we restrict the sample to married male workers who are 45 years old or above. In the last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, and 9), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that takes a value of one if a respondent is 44 years old or younger, and zero otherwise. The coefficient of the interaction of WFH and the age dummy variable indicates whether the effect of WFH is heterogeneous depending on age. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the age dummy variable as another IV in Columns 3, 6, and 9, we report the F-statistics for the interaction IV in the last row. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in	Time for Ho	ousework (%)	Increased	Housework S	Share (1=Yes, 0=No)	Change in	Time with I	Family (%)	Life Orier	nted (1=Ye	s, 0=No)
	Preschool	School	Full	Preschool	School	Full	Preschool	School	Full	Preschool	School	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Working From Home	8.585	3.605	3.605	0.133	0.048	0.048	5.386	5.786	5.786	0.163	0.067	0.067
	(2.266)	(1.600)	(1.600)	(0.027)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(1.556)	(1.419)	(1.419)	(0.035)	(0.031)	(0.031)
WFH \times Preschool (1=Yes, 0=No)			4.980			0.085			-0.400			0.096
			(2.774)			(0.034)			(2.106)			(0.047)
Observations	530	454	984	478	416	894	476	419	895	516	444	960
F-stat for Weak IV	80.469	86.372	83.421	85.133	87.571	86.352	84.327	101.228	92.778	79.839	86.853	83.346
F-stat (Interaction IV)			40.236			42.743			42.626			40.012

Table 12: The Effect of Working From Home on Involvement with Family by Child's Educational Stage

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, age, and the number of household members. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in time spent on housework. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband increased his share of housework, and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in time spent with family. The dependent variable in Columns 10–12 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband became more life rather than work oriented, and zero otherwise. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10), we restrict the sample to married male workers who have a preschool child. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, 8, and 11), we restrict the sample to married male workers whose student. In the last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, 9, and 12), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband has a preschool child, and zero otherwise. The coefficient of the interaction of WFH and the preschool dummy variable indicates whether the effect of WFH is heterogeneous depending on the school stage of the youngest child. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the preschool dummy variable as another IV in Columns 3, 6, 9, and 12, we report the F-statistics for the interaction IV in the last row. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in	Commuting	g Time (%)	Change in	Working I	lours (%)	Change ir	n Productiv	vity (%)
	Preschool	School	Full	Preschool	School	Full	Preschool	School	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Working From Home	-11.333	-13.615	-13.615	0.092	1.766	1.766	-1.220	1.008	1.008
	(1.688)	(1.318)	(1.318)	(2.115)	(1.667)	(1.667)	(1.443)	(1.078)	(1.078)
WFH \times Preschool (1=Yes, 0=No)			2.282			-1.675			-2.228
			(2.141)			(2.693)			(1.801)
Observations	497	432	929	530	454	984	530	454	984
F-stat for Weak IV	83.616	85.557	84.587	80.469	86.372	83.421	80.469	86.372	83.421
F-stat (Interaction IV)			42.347			40.236			40.236

Table 13: The Effect of Working From Home on Work-Related Outcomes by Child's Educational Stage

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, age, and the number of household members. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in commuting time. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is the percentage change in working hours. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in self-reported productivity. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, and 7), we restrict the sample to married male workers who have a preschool child. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, and 8), we restrict the sample to married male workers whose youngest child is an elementary, junior high, or high school student. In the last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, and 9), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband has a preschool child, and zero otherwise. The coefficient of the interaction of WFH and the preschool dummy variable indicates whether the effect of WFH is heterogeneous depending on the school stage of the youngest child. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the preschool dummy variable as another IV in Columns 3, 6, and 9, we report the F-statistics for the interaction IV in the last row. Note that the number of observations varias because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change i	n Time for H	ousework (%)	Increased	l Housework	Share (1=Yes, 0=No)	Change i	n Time with	Family (%)	Life Orie	ented (1=Ye	s, 0=No)
	Size = 3	Size >3	Full	Size = 3	Size >3	Full	Size = 3	Size >3	Full	Size = 3	Size >3	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Working From Home	4.368	7.684	7.637	0.100	0.097	0.098	4.654	5.923	5.902	0.169	0.085	0.084
	(2.358)	(1.682)	(1.678)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(1.524)	(1.466)	(1.461)	(0.037)	(0.031)	(0.031)
WFH \times Size = 3 (1=Yes, 0=No)			-3.261			0.003			-1.243			0.084
			(2.895)			(0.034)			(2.110)			(0.048)
Observations	375	609	984	349	545	894	345	550	895	365	595	960
F-stat for Weak IV	61.184	103.266	82.372	64.36	104.065	84.544	65.525	112.961	89.825	62.122	100.091	81.294
F-stat (Interaction IV)			30.727			32.366			32.804			31.062

Table 14: The Effect of Working From Home on Involvement with Family by Size

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, age, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in time spent on housework. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband increased his share of housework, and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in time spent with family. The dependent variable in Columns 10–12 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband became more life rather than work oriented, and zero otherwise. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10), we restrict the sample to married male workers whose household size is 3 persons. In the second columns 3, 6, 9, and 12), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the household size. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change in	n Commutir	ng Time (%)	Change in	n Working I	Hours (%)	Change in Productivity (%)			
	Size = 3	Size >3	Full	Size = 3	Size >3	Full	Size = 3	Size >3	Full	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
Working From Home	-11.050	-13.443	-13.475	1.166	0.985	1.027	-1.458	0.693	0.730	
	(1.839)	(1.262)	(1.261)	(2.281)	(1.628)	(1.627)	(1.563)	(1.077)	(1.075)	
WFH \times Size = 3 (1=Yes, 0=No)			2.431			0.130			-2.196	
			(2.236)			(2.801)			(1.897)	
Observations	351	578	929	375	609	984	375	609	984	
F-stat for Weak IV	62.726	102.619	82.871	61.184	103.266	82.372	61.184	103.266	82.372	
F-stat (Interaction IV)			31.447			30.727			30.727	

Table 15: The Effect of Working From Home on Work-Related Outcomes by Size

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, age, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in commuting time. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is the percentage change in working hours. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in self-reported productivity. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, and 7), we restrict the sample to married male workers whose household size is 3 persons. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, and 8), we restrict the sample to married male workers whose household size is 4 persons or more. In the last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, and 9), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the household size is three persons, and zero otherwise. The coefficient of the interaction of WFH and the household size dummy variable indicates whether the effect of WFH is heterogeneous depending on household size. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the household size dummy variable as another IV in Columns 3, 6, and 9, we report the F-statistics for the interaction IV in the last row. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Actual Mean	Mean without WFH	WFH Contribution (%)	95% CI
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Change in Time for Housework (%)	1.511	-1.555	202.9	[112.7 , 293.1]
Increased Housework Share (1=Yes, 0=No)	0.149	0.099	33.2	[21.1,45.3]
Change in Time with Family (%)	9.649	6.664	30.9	[19.5 , 42.4]
Life Oriented (1=Yes, 0=No)	0.406	0.348	14.4	[8.8,20.0]
Change in Commuting Time (%)	-7.572	-0.986	87.0	[72.0,102.0]
Change in Working Hours (%)	-2.540	-2.986	-17.6	[-70.0, 34.9]
Change in Productivity (%)	-4.163	-4.081	2.0	[-19.2,23.1]

Table 16: Contribution of Working From Home

Notes: This table shows how much WFH contributes to the overall changes in each outcome. The first column reports the actual mean of the outcomes, which are exactly the same as the values in Table 1. The second column presents the counterfactual mean of each outcome if no workers in our sample worked from home. The third column shows the percentage of the WFH contribution, which is given by $\frac{ActualMean Mean WFH}{ActualMean} \times 100$. The last column provides the 95% confidence intervals of the WFH contribution calculated by the delta method.

A Additional Tables

	Change in	Time for House	work (%)	Increased	Housework Share	e (1=Yes, 0=No)	Change i	n Time with Fan	nily (%)	Life O	riented (1=Yes, ()=No)
	At Home	Not At Home	Full	At Home	Not At Home	Full	At Home	Not At Home	Full	At Home	Not At Home	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Working From Home	6.741	5.575	5.545	0.111	0.082	0.083	7.474	3.640	3.668	0.149	0.078	0.080
	(2.487)	(1.614)	(1.610)	(0.027)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(1.471)	(1.532)	(1.528)	(0.037)	(0.030)	(0.030)
WFH \times At Home (1=Yes, 0=No)			1.195			0.029			3.810			0.070
			(2.962)			(0.035)			(2.121)			(0.048)
Observations	353	631	984	330	564	894	329	566	895	348	612	960
F-stat for Weak IV	77.831	82.821	80.373	78.086	86.574	82.411	79.782	95.047	87.477	79.608	79.831	79.839
F-stat (Interaction IV)			39.353			39.494			39.914			40.311

Table 17: The Effect of Working From Home on Involvement with Family by Spouse's WFH Status

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, age, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in time spent on housework. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband increased his share of housework, and zero otherwise. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in time spent with family. The dependent variable in Columns 10–12 is a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband became more life rather than work oriented, and zero otherwise. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, 7, and 10), we restrict the sample to married male workers whose wives were at home, i.e., they worked from home or did not undertake paid work. In the second columns 3, 6, 9, and 12), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband's wife was at home, that is, worked from home or did not undertake paid work, and zero otherwise. The coefficient of WFH and the spouse-at-home dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband's wife was at home. The last two rows report the F-statistics for the interaction of WFH and the spouse-at-home dummy variable indicates whether the effect of WFH is heterogeneous depending on whether the husband's wife works away from home. The last row. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.

	Change i	n Commuting Ti	ime (%)	Change	in Working Hou	ırs (%)	Chang	e in Productivity	y (%)
	At Home	Not At Home	Full	At Home	Not At Home	Full	At Home	Not At Home	Full
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Working From Home	-12.280	-12.541	-12.613	-1.699	2.873	2.787	-0.672	0.181	0.185
	(1.624)	(1.549)	(1.546)	(2.221)	(1.843)	(1.839)	(1.620)	(1.095)	(1.091)
WFH \times At Home (1=Yes, 0=No)			0.320			-4.489			-0.857
			(2.244)			(2.881)			(1.953)
Observations	340	589	929	353	631	984	353	631	984
F-stat for Weak IV	78.547	83.925	81.32	77.831	82.821	80.373	77.831	82.821	80.373
F-stat (Interaction IV)			39.592			39.353			39.353

Table 18: The Effect of Working From Home on Work-Related Outcomes by Spouse's WFH Status

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. This table presents the coefficients of the change in WFH from the IV regression that uses the feasibility of WFH as the IV. All columns control for education, age, the number of household members, and the school stage of the youngest child. The dependent variable in Columns 1–3 is the percentage change in commuting time. The dependent variable in Columns 4–6 is the percentage change in working hours. The dependent variable in Columns 7–9 is the percentage change in self-reported productivity. In the first columns for each dependent variable (Columns 1, 4, and 7), we restrict the sample to married male workers whose wives were at home, i.e., they worked from home or did not undertake paid work. In the second columns for each dependent variable (Columns 2, 5, and 8), we restrict the sample to married male workers with wives worked but did not work from home. In the last columns for each dependent variable (Columns 3, 6, and 9), using the whole sample, we additionally include treatment and control variables that interact with a dummy variable that takes a value of one if the husband's wife was at home, that is, worked from home or did not undertake paid work, and zero otherwise. The coefficient of the interaction of WFH and the spouse-at-home dummy variable indicates whether the effect of WFH is heterogeneous depending on whether the husband's wife works away from home or is at home. The last two rows report the F-statistics from the first-stage regressions. Because we use the interaction of the feasibility of WFH and the spouse-at-home dummy variable as another IV in Columns 3, 6, and 9, we report the F-statistics for the interaction IV in the last row. Note that the number of observations varies because of missing values in the outcomes.