



Arenguseire Keskus

# FUTURE OF WORK AND FLEXIBLE WORKING IN ESTONIA

The case of employee-friendly flexibility

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Principal Investigator of the Work Autonomy, Flexibility and Work-life Balance  
project (<http://www.wafproject.org>)

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# Key conclusions of the report

- **Flexible working is increasing in Estonia and there is a higher frequency in the use of flexible scheduling compared to the EU28 average**
  - 65% of all companies in Estonia say they have provided flexitime, almost a third of all dependent workers have access to flexitime or working time autonomy, about 1/5 of all workers have teleworked in the past 12 months in Estonia which is about the EU 28 average
  - The growth in flexible working in Estonia is much quicker than that found for the rest of Europe although a small dip in the proportion of workers with access to flexitime was found during the most recent financial crisis
- **When provided, companies in Estonia on average allow a more “flexible” use of flexitime compared to the European average**
  - When companies provide flexitime, they allow workers to work different number of hours across different days and for the hours to be accumulated to allow days off from work
- **The evidence suggests that the provision of flexible working arrangements are driven more by performance goals than provided to those in most need for family-friendly arrangements**
  - Examining who gets access to flexible working arrangements high skilled workers in supervisory roles have significantly higher access to various types of flexible working arrangements
- **Flexible working has mixed results for work-life balance**
  - Workers who have flexible schedules are not necessarily feeling less work-family conflict compared to those who do not, and those who telework feel significantly higher levels of work-family conflict

- one major reason for this is because flexible working increases the likelihood that work spills over to other spheres of life – making workers worry about work when not at work and workers more likely to work during their free time
- **However, those with more control over their work seem to be happier with their work-life balance**

**The report ends with possible future scenarios and suggestions for future research.**

## Key concepts used in this report

- **Flexible working** – can encompass a whole range of arrangements that allow workers to work more flexibility over when, where and how much they work. However, this report mainly focuses on flexitime, working time autonomy and teleworking.
- **Flexitime** – workers’ control over their schedules, e.g., flexible starting and ending times – can also be accompanied by the ability to accumulate hours to work less one day and more another, as well as to take days off with the accumulated hours
- **Working-time autonomy** – worker’s complete autonomy over their working hours and schedules, the ability to work whenever the worker wants.
- **Flexible schedules** – encompasses both flexitime and working time autonomy
- **Teleworking** – worker’s ability to choose the place of work freely – e.g., being able to work from home on occasion/on a regular basis
- **Work family conflict** – tension workers feel due to conflicting demands coming from work and family. In this project we focus mostly on the conflict workers feel when work demands prohibit workers from giving time/energy to family and household work
- **Overtime hours** – the additional hours workers work on top of their contractual hours
- **Schedule control** – The employee’s ability to control their working hours and schedules

# 1. Introduction

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The world of work is changing rapidly in recent times. This is due to a number of drivers such as the development of new technology, globalisation, changes in the demography of the labour market with more women participating, aging of the workforce, alongside the changes in the demands workers have towards work.

One of the major changes that have been occurring around the world due to these changes is that work has become more flexible – in that it is becoming increasingly commonplace to work outside of the employers’ premises and work outside of the normal working hours of 9 to 5. Although the other type of flexible work – that is the increase in precarious and atypical employment alongside the rise in insecurity in the labour market is another major change occurring in the labour market (for more on this see, Chung and Mau, 2014; Kalleberg, 2009), the focus of this report is the so-called “employee-friendly flexibility” (Chung and Tijdens, 2013), where workers have more control over when and where they work.

This report examines the way work has been changing in Estonia over the past decade focusing on flexible working. First it defines what flexible working is and conceptualises why and how it is being used. Second chapter of the report looks at the positive and negative outcomes of flexible working summarising some of the recent studies to put flexible working more into context. Then the report examines how the trends in flexible working has changed over the past decade in Estonia in comparison to the rest of Europe. It also examines which companies are more likely to provide flexible working arrangements using the European Company Survey of 2009 and 2013. The fourth section then looks at this question from the workers’ perspective to examine workers’ perceived access to flexible working using the European Working Conditions Survey of 2010 and 2015, also taking a brief look at the earlier data from 2005. The report also examines where flexible working is most prevalent across the different parts of the economy and population. The fifth section examines some outcomes of flexible working on work-life balance of workers. The report ends with future scenarios of how future of work will change in relation to flexible working and some policy conclusions on what we can do to enable the better use of flexible working.

## 2. What is flexible working?

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The concept of flexible working builds on the job demands–control model developed by Karasek (1979) but focuses on control over where and when work is done rather than how it is done (Kelly and Moen, 2007). In this report two types of flexible working arrangements are examined; **firstly schedule control, that is providing workers with the ability to alter their schedule, and includes flexitime; the control workers have on the starting and ending times of work.** This could lead to working different number of hours each day, and the ability to accumulate hours to take days off. **Working-time autonomy entails workers’ full autonomy of their work hours and schedules,** which means workers can work any time they want and in some cases there are no clear contractual hours and workers are asked to carry out more of a task/project based workload. Secondly, this report also examines **teleworking; that is working outside of the employer’s premises** – in the case of this report, we focus on working at home or in public spaces, such as cafes etc. There are other types of flexible working arrangements, mainly those that are linked to reduced working hours; part-time work, phased retirement, term-time only work, job sharing etc. Although it is another major way in which work-life balance can be achieved (Lyonette, 2015), this type of flexible working is not examined in this report.

Many existing studies as well as policy makers understand flexible working as a major way to address work-life balance of workers<sup>1</sup>. The assumption here is that having control over when and where the worker works can help facilitate the integration of their work and home roles. Schedule control provides workers with the flexibility in the time border between work and family domains, allowing workers to adapt the timing of work around family demands (Clark, 2000). For example, normal fixed working hours (e.g. 9am to 5pm) are not necessarily compatible with family schedules/demands (e.g. school pick up times at 3pm) and the ability to shift your schedules can help workers resolve potential arising conflict. Flexible working can also be used as a part of high-involvement systems (Wood and De Menezes, 2010) or high performance strategy, i.e. a system that allows workers more discretion and influence over their work primarily introduced by employers to increase productivity (Appelbaum, 2000).

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<sup>1</sup> For example, in the UK the right to request flexible working introduced in 2003, was introduced as a way to allow more women into the labour market after childbirth.

# 3. Developments & the patterns of flexible working across Europe and Estonia: Looking at the European Company Survey

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## Key findings

- The proportion of companies providing flexitime in Estonia is at par with the EU 28 average at 65%
- The growth of companies providing flexitime between 2009-2013 is much stronger in Estonia compared to the EU 28 average
- When a company provides flexitime in Estonia, on average they provide it for about half of its workers
- When providing flexitime, companies in Estonia are much more likely than in other European countries to allow workers to accumulate hours to work different number of days across the week and take days off with the accumulated hours.
- Financial services and real estate sector, and Other service sectors are those where flexitime is more likely to be provided in the company as well as provided to a larger group of workers in Estonia, similar to what is found for Europe
- Larger companies are more likely to provide flexitime to at least some of its employees, but smaller companies are more likely to provide it across the board
- Companies with larger number of skilled workers are much more likely to provide flexitime

**The *European Company Survey* (ECS)** from the European Foundation

The ECS provides information at the establishment level on various workplace practices, ranging from working time to social dialogue. A representative sample of establishments with more than 10 employees was gathered from 21

countries in 2004 and 30 countries in 2009 and 2013, including EU27/8 member states and three candidate countries, with approximately 1000 companies per country. The surveys were conducted via telephone, with personnel managers and, if available, employee representatives being interviewed. This is the only existing survey at the company level measuring flexible working that is comparable across countries. For more information see: <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/surveys/european-company-surveys>

### 3.1. Provision of flexitime across Europe

First the company level is examined, which companies are providing flexible working arrangements across Europe. In the European Company Survey, human resource managers were asked “Does your establishment offer employees the possibility to adapt - within certain limits – the time when they begin or finish their daily work according to their personal needs or wishes?”. Figure 1 provides the average proportion of companies that have said that they do provide such flexitime possibility to at least one of its employees. It is clear that flexible working is a widely used arrangement across Europe and is increasing over time. On average, 65% of all companies across Europe provide flexitime to their employees. This is an increase from 57% in 2009. When we change the definition of companies providing flexitime to those providing it to at least 20% of its workers, the proportion drops to 54% of all companies in 2013, again a rise from 45% in 2009.

We can find a large cross-national variance across Europe in the extent to which companies provide flexitime – with the Northern European countries such as Finland, Denmark and Sweden alongside Austria being the champions of flexible working with more than 80% of all companies providing flexitime to their workers in 2013. On the other hand, countries mostly in the Southern part of Europe flexitime is not as widely used – with Bulgaria, Cyprus and Greece with less than half of companies using flexitime in 2013.

When we use a stricter definition of having flexitime available to more than 20% of its workers, Croatia, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Hungary, Poland, Greece and Romania have less than 40% of its companies provide flexitime. Looking at Estonia more specifically, in 2013 65% of all companies say they have flexitime available to its workers (49% of companies have it available

**„The growth of flexitime provision in Estonia is much higher than that found for other countries.”**

to at least 1/5<sup>th</sup> of its workers), an increase from 49% in 2009 (37% to more than 1/5<sup>th</sup> of its workforce). **The growth of flexitime provision in Estonia is much higher than that found for other countries.**

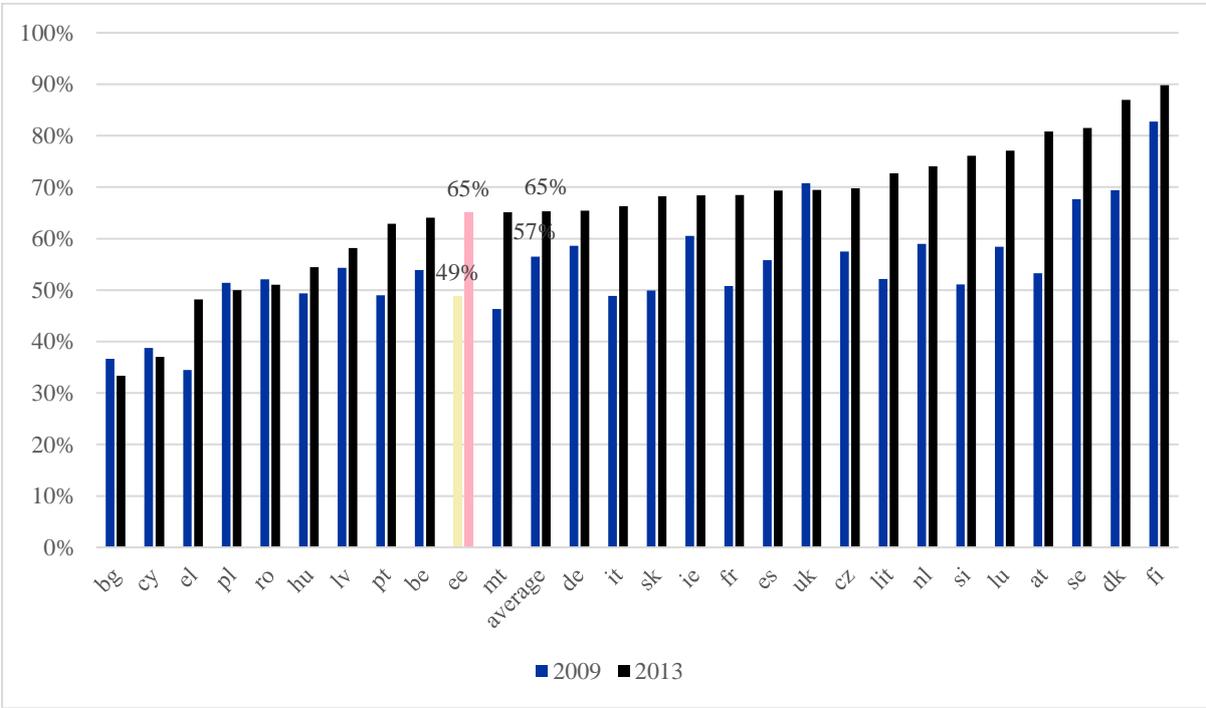


Figure 1 Proportion of companies providing flexitime across the European Union in 2009 and 2013

Source: ECS 2009, 2013 (establishment weighted) N= 24475(2009), 24316 (2013)

In the 2009 data, we can also see the proportion of workers covered by flexitime as well as the extent to which the flexitime is used more flexibly – allowing workers to accumulate hours across time to take days off etc. Figure 2 provides the data for the proportion of workers that have flexitime available by the company, when flexitime is available at all in the company. The data from 2009 is presented here because it is more reliable compared to the data from 2013,

where the proportion was measured in 20% categories. On average, when a company provides flexitime it is provided to more than half of its workforce, 65% to be exact. The Northern European countries again are the ones where it is more likely to be provided across the board, with Sweden, Denmark, and Finland all averaging above 70%. The UK and Germany are also countries where when the policy is implemented it is implemented across the board. Again the Southern European countries average lower. In Estonia when companies provide flexitime, on average it provides it 52% of its workforce although there are large variations. Figure 3 and 4 provides information concerning how flexible flexitime arrangements are used – namely the possibility to work different numbers of hours per day across the week, and to accumulate hours for days off. As we can see when flexitime is used, then most (about 3/4<sup>th</sup>) of all companies in Europe allow the flexible use of it. **Estonia is above average in the extent to which companies allow workers to accumulate hours to work different number of days across the week and take days off with the accumulated hours.**

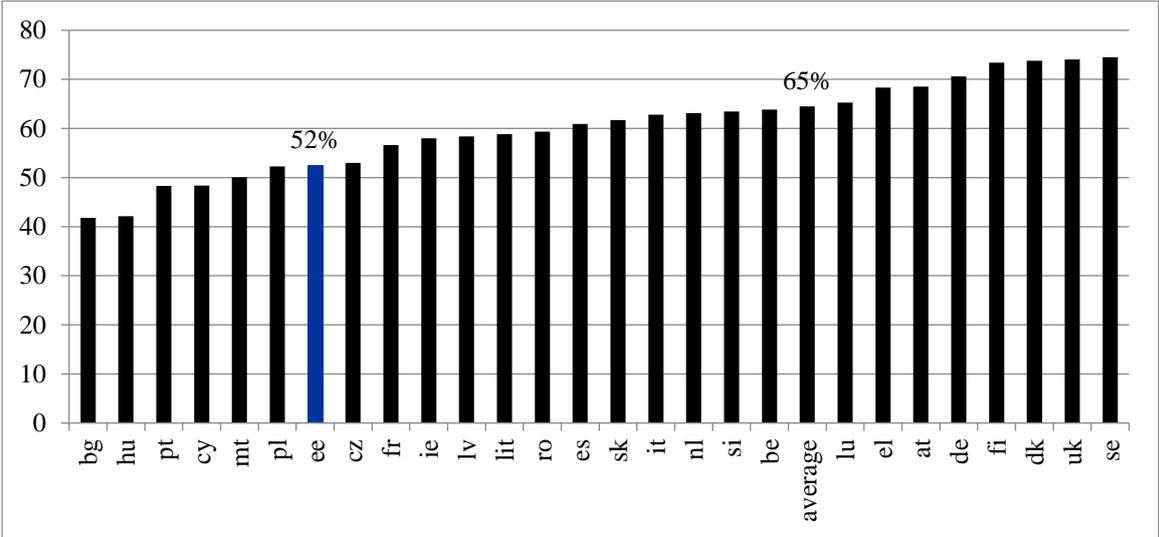


Figure 2 The average proportion of workers with access to flexitime, when flexitime is available in the company across the European Union in 2009

Source: ECS 2009 (establishment weighted) N=13352(2009)

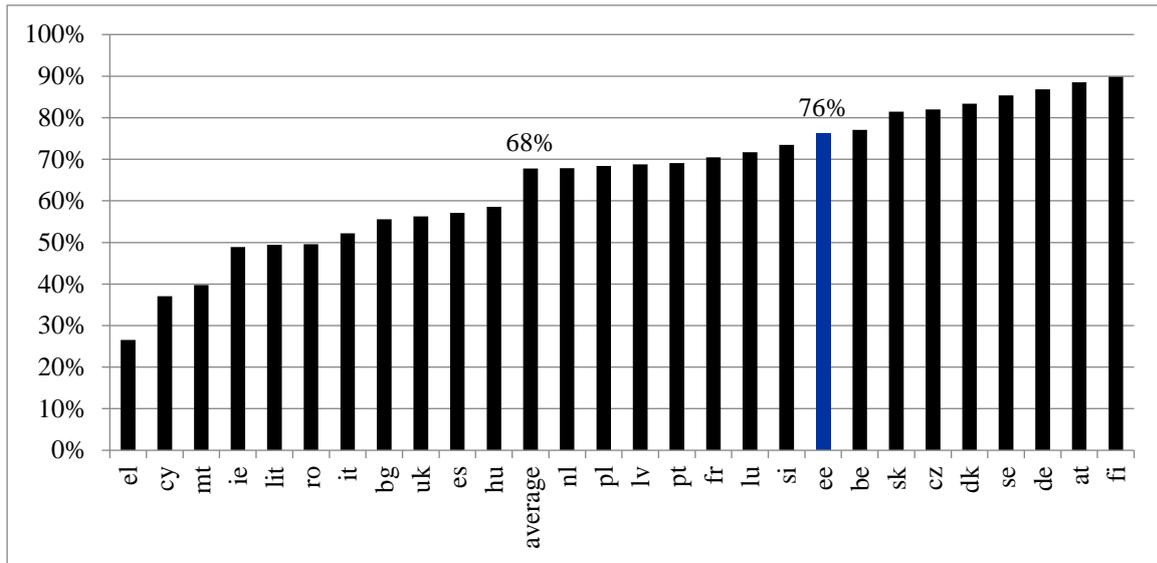


Figure 3 Percentage of companies allowing workers to accumulate hours to work different numbers of hours per day when providing flexitime across the European Union in 2009

Source: ECS 2009 (establishment weighted) N=13807 (2009)

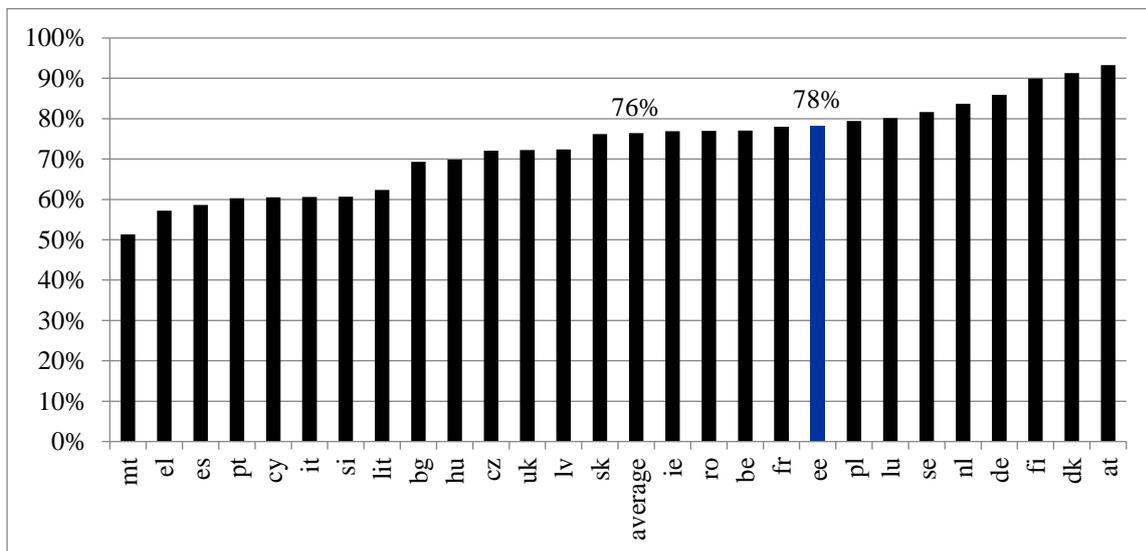


Figure 4 Percentage of companies allowing workers to take days off when allowing accumulation of hours across the European Union in 2009

Source: ECS 2009 (establishment weighted) N=9586 (2009)

## 3.2. Who provides flexitime<sup>2</sup>?

The question of which company is more likely to provide flexitime depends on the way in which flexitime is used and introduced. On the one hand, as flexitime is used as a family-friendly arrangement to enable workers to cope with demands of work and family life, companies with employees with more family demands are likely to face a higher demand to provide such arrangements. Given that women still take the bulk of responsibility for household tasks (Bianchi et al., 2000; Eurofound, 2013), it is likely that companies with larger shares of women are more likely to provide flexitime to its employees. Related to that, companies with (stronger) union/employee representatives or larger engagement of employer representatives in policies have been shown to provide more family and equal opportunity policies (Hoque and Bacon, 2014; Chung, 2008; TUC, 2005). Thus, we could expect that companies with an employee representative will be more likely to provide flexitime to its workers. Companies with good working climates will be more likely to provide workers with family friendly flexible work arrangements.

Due to the administrative costs that are involved in providing flexitime, larger companies may find it easier to administer it. Although small and medium sized companies may also provide various types of flexible work arrangements through an informal channel in an ad hoc basis, this type of use may not be picked up by a large scale survey as the one used in this paper (Dex and Scheibl, 2001). The type of work that is being done at the company has always been noted as one of the biggest constraints to the introduction flexible work arrangements by managers (Wanrooy et al., 2013). In other words, there are jobs where it is harder to apply flexitime than others, may it be due to constraints from the production structure- machinery, clients demand etc. or sensitivities towards certain business cycles. Public sectors have been seen to be better at providing various types of family friendly arrangements because they are not as sensitive to business cycles, employ a higher proportion of women (Evans, 2001) and are usually the forerunners of gender equality and family friendly initiatives (Bewley, 2006).

When flexible work arrangements is understood as a high performance strategy arrangement, we can expect it to be used more in knowledge intensive fields (Brescoll et al., 2013) and provided to workers in with higher occupational statuses and skills levels in expectation that it

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<sup>2</sup> Most of the text is derived from Chung, H. (2014) Explaining the provision of flexitime in companies across Europe (in the pre- and post-crisis Europe): role of national contexts. *WAF working paper 1*. Canterbury: University of Kent.

will enhance their productivity (Ortega, 2009; Nagar, 2002; Kelly and Kalev, 2006). Thus it is expected that companies with a high proportion of skilled workers, and those who use other types of high involvement systems – such as self-managed team work, performance related pay are companies more likely to implement flexitime. We will look at Estonian evidence to see whether these assumptions also hold true in Estonia.

Firstly, we will examine the proportion of companies providing flexitime and the average proportion of workers covered by flexitime across different sectors in Estonia for 2013. As we can see the sectors most likely to provide flexitime were the services sectors – with **financial services and real estate sector, as well as other services sectors being the ones where companies were most likely to use flexitime but also more likely to provide it across workers**. This is similar to the patterns found for the rest of Europe. However, unlike other European countries, the construction sectors in Estonia also frequently use flexitime although it is provided restrictive to certain groups of workers. As shown in Figure 6, **larger companies are more likely to provide flexitime to some of its workers, yet less likely to provide it to a large proportion of workers**. On the other hand, **smaller companies are less likely to provide flexitime, but when provided more likely to provide it to a larger group of workers**, this result is similar to the previous results found for Europe (Chung, 2014).

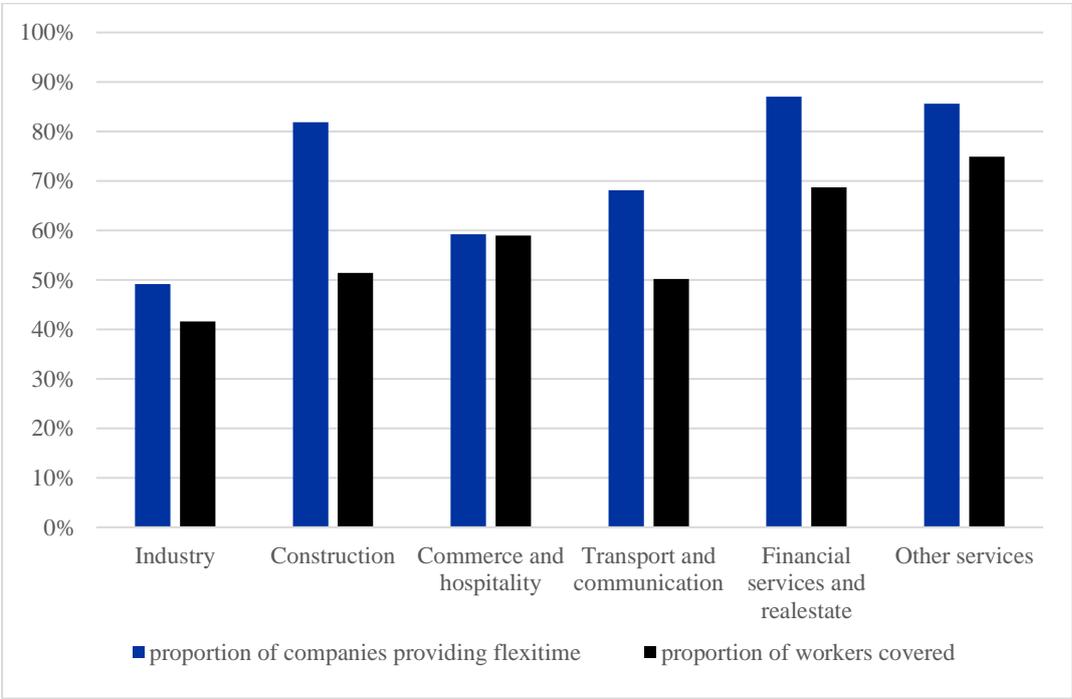


Figure 5 The proportion of companies providing flexitime and the average proportion of workers covered across different sectors in 2013 in Estonia (establishment weighted)

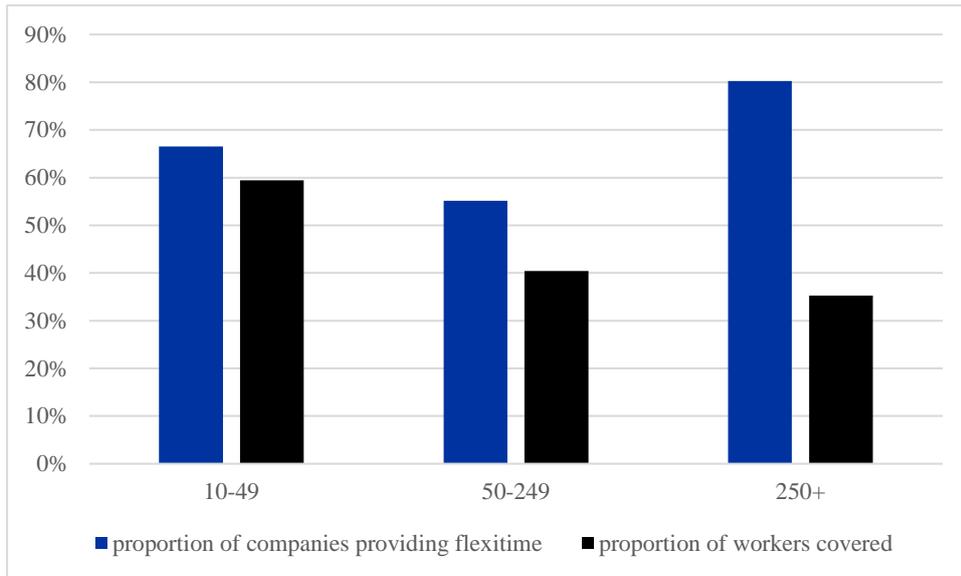


Figure 6 The proportion of companies providing flexitime and the average proportion of workers covered across different sized companies in 2013 in Estonia (establishment weighted)

Finally, to bring together the factors that can explain for the provision of flexitime a logistic regression is conducted. The results are as follows

- **The proportion of skilled workers in the firm significantly increases the likelihood that flexitime will be provided in the company.**
- The proportion of women in the company is also influential but not as much as the proportion of skilled workers.
- Medium sized companies are less likely to provide flexitime compared to large companies (250+).
- The regression results confirm the sectoral variation in the provision of flexitime with financial services and real estate sectors, other services, and construction sector being more likely to provide flexitime compared to Industry sector.
- Finally, unlike our expectation, the public sectors in Estonia is less likely to provide flexitime to their workers.

Table 1 Company level characteristics explaining the provision of flexitime in Estonia in 2013 (source European Company Survey 2013)

	Odds ratio
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<b>Composition</b>	
% females	1.007 <sup>+</sup>
% skilled	1.014 <sup>**</sup>
<b>Size(ref:250+)</b>	
10 to 49	0.512
49 to249	0.422 <sup>*</sup>
<b>Sector (ref: Industry)</b>	
Construction	2.109 <sup>+</sup>
Commerce and hospitality	0.927
Transport and communication	1.298
Financial services and real estate	5.607 <sup>*</sup>
Other services	2.311 <sup>*</sup>
Public sector	0.373 <sup>*</sup>
Performance related pay	1.178
Self-managed team work	1.470
Employee representative exists	1.019
Working climate	1.359
Psudo R2	8%

N=461

\*\*\* = p < 0.001, \*\* = p < 0.01, \* = p < 0.05, € = p < 0.10

# 4. Developments & the patterns of flexible working across Europe and Estonia: Looking at the European Working Conditions Survey

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## Key findings

- **Estonia has a relatively larger proportion of their workforce with some sort of schedule control compared to the EU28. Almost a third of all dependent workers have access to flexitime or working time autonomy**
- **The proportion of workers with flexitime has decreased between 2005 to 2010 but has increased significantly between 2010 and 2015, and in general is in an upward trajectory**
- **About 1/5 of all workers have teleworked in the past 12 months in Estonia, similar to the European average**
- **Those in higher occupations (managers and (associate) professionals) are much more likely than other occupations to have access to schedule control in Estonia**
- **Teleworking is predominately done by the top occupational groups (managers and (associate) professionals) in Estonia**
- **Other services, Public administration, Education and Transport sectors are the ones where teleworking is prevalent in Estonia similar to the findings for the rest of Europe**
- **Household composition and parental status had no influence over the access/use of both types of flexible working practices in Estonia, unlike what was found for the rest of Europe**

### *The European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS)*

The EWCS started in 2001 with data from 2005, 2010 and most recently 2015. This data is gathered by the European Foundation and aims to provide information on a number of dimensions of working conditions for workers across Europe. Individuals across European Union (EU27 in 2010, EU28 in 2015) and five candidate countries were included. A representative sample was gathered of those aged 15 or over and in employment (minimum 1 hour a week) at the time of the survey and was conducted through face-to-face interviews. Approximately 1000 cases are included per country.

For more information see: <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/surveys/european-working-conditions-surveys>

The limitation to the use of company data is that provision of flexible arrangements as understood by managers, and/or stated in company or state policies do not necessarily translate into the actual provision of flexible working arrangements for workers (Cooper and Baird, 2015). Furthermore, we know from previous studies that there are very large discrepancies across workers in their access to flexible working arrangements (Chung, 2018). Finally, this data does not cover a crucial part of the labour market – that is those in micro companies of 10 employees or less, which represents 90% of all companies in Estonia (European Commission, 2014). Thus, it is important to examine individual's perceived access to flexible working encompassing a larger population.

In the European Working Conditions Survey, respondents were asked “How are your working time arrangements set”, where the workers can answer 1 – “They are set by the company/organisation with no possibility for changes”, 2 – “You can choose between several fixed working schedules determined by the company/organisation”, 3 – “You can adapt your working hours within certain limits (e.g. flexitime)”, and 4 – “Your working hours are entirely determined by yourself”. Those who have answered 3 to the question are considered those with flexitime, and 4 as those with working-time autonomy. Note that we are examining access to flexitime and working time autonomy, which is distinct from the use of it (McNamara et al.,

2012), yet due to lack of data we cannot examine the latter. Self-employed workers are excluded from the data due to the fact that self-employed are unique in that their work is controlled predominately by themselves, and the relevance of flexible working is different for this group of workers.

## 4.1. Access to schedule control and teleworking

Examining Figure 7, we can see that approximately a quarter of workers across Europe had some sort of control over their schedules in 2015, a slight increase from 22% in 2010. Of these 20% have flexitime and a small minority of workers of 6% say that they have full control over their working hours. Of the different types of schedule control, the proportion of workers with access to flexitime has risen more from 17% to 20%, while the proportion of workers with working time autonomy has remained fairly stable. Again, the Northern European countries are the champions in terms of flexible working access, where in Sweden, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands more than 40% of workers have some control over their work schedules. In many of the Southern and Eastern European countries, few workers say they have flexible schedules.

### **Flexitime vs work autonomy**

**Flexitime** – workers' control over their schedules, e.g., flexible starting and ending times – can also be accompanied by the ability to accumulate hours to work less one day and more another, as well as to take days off with the accumulated hours

**Working-time autonomy** – worker's complete autonomy over their working hours and schedules, the ability to work whenever the worker wants.

The **proportion of workers with control over their schedule has increased in Estonia**, and unlike what was found for the company level data, **Estonia ranks as one of the countries with a relatively high number of workers with control over their schedules**. This increase was especially found in the workers with access to flexitime, from 18% in 2010 to 26% in 2015, a whopping 50% increase. However, looking at a longer term, it seems like this increase only came after an initial dip during the financial crisis.

Figure 9 shows the proportion of workers with flexitime and working time autonomy during 2005. Estonia has one of the highest proportion of workers with flexitime in Europe with 21% of all workers having access to it. Thus, it seems like during the financial crisis there has been a slight decrease in the number of workers with real access to flexitime – most likely due to their decline in negotiative power and perhaps an increase in job/employment insecurity over these years (Chung and van Oorschot, 2011). The **proportion of workers in Estonia who say that they have working time autonomy is small and relatively stable across the years**, from 5% in 2005, 6% in 2010 dropping slightly to 4% in 2015.

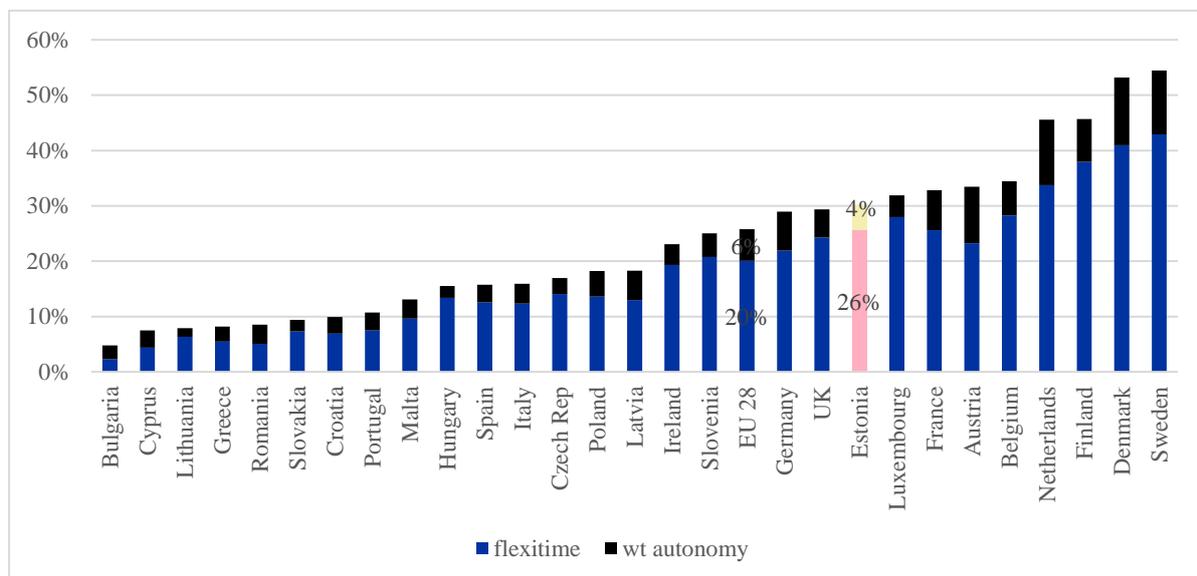


Figure 7 The proportion of workers across 28 European countries with access to flexible schedules in 2015 (source: EWCS, author's calculations) note: weighted averages

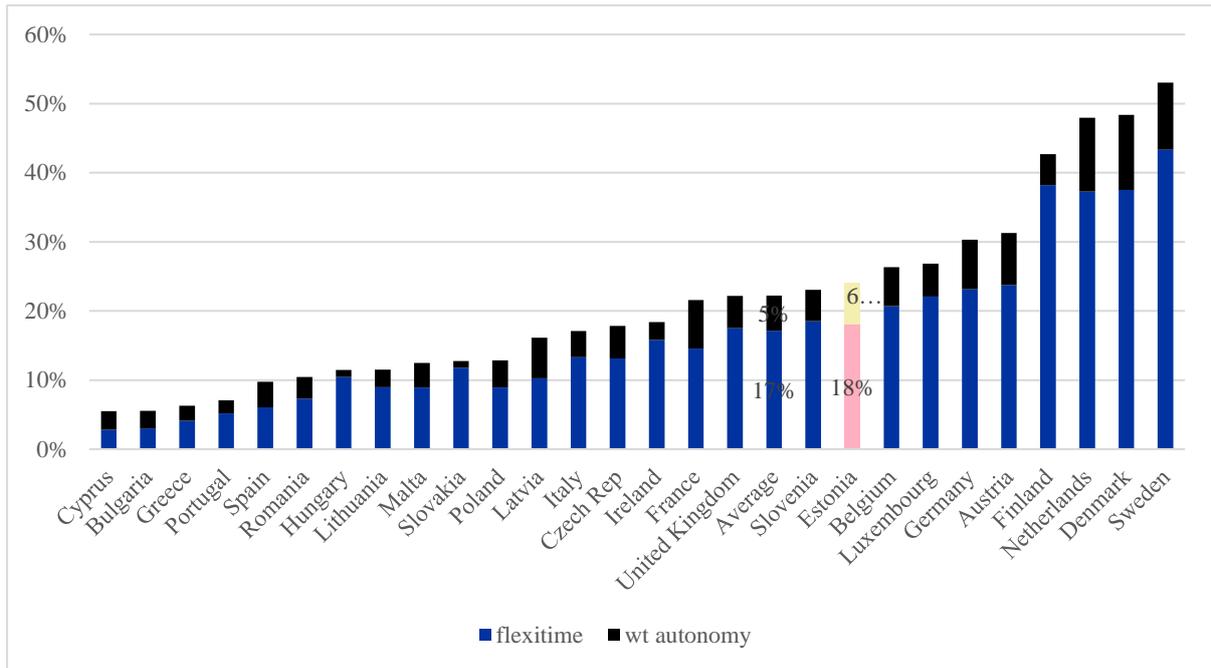


Figure 8 The proportion of workers across 28 European countries with access to flexible schedules in 2010 (source: EWCS, author's calculations) note: weighted averages

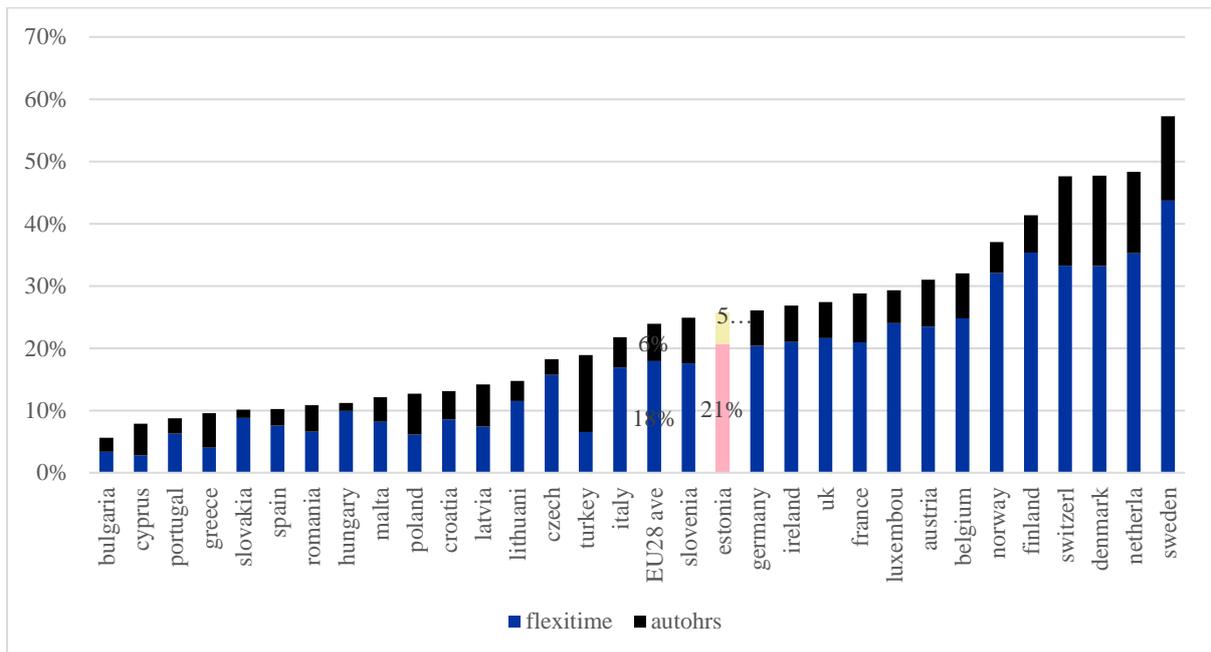


Figure 9 The proportion of workers across 28 European countries with access to flexible schedules (flexitime and work time autonomy) in 2005 (source: EWCS, author's calculations) note: weighted averages

In the EWCS of 2015, workers were also asked regarding the place of their work through the following question; “How often you have worked in each location during the last 12 months in your main paid job?”, where respondents could choose between a number of options including;

1) Your employer’s/your own business’ premises (office, factory, shop, school, etc.), 2) Clients’ premises, 3) A car or another vehicle, 4) An outside site (e.g. construction site, agricultural field, streets of a city), 5) Your own home, 6) Public spaces such as coffee shops, airports etc. Respondents could reply that they work in this location “Daily”, “Several times a week”, “Several times a month”, “Less often” or “Never”. The report considers those who have replied that they work in public spaces and/or their own home at least several times a month as those who telework, and those who work from home at least several times a month as those who work from home (home work). This data does not fully capture whether workers had the “freedom to choose” to work from home or other public spaces if they wanted to as a part of their main working hours or captures more the overtime work done at home in addition to the normal hours of work done in the workplace (see also, Glass and Noonan, 2016). However, the response to this question provides us with an idea of the extent to which workers are now working outside of the more traditional premises of work.

Looking at Figure 10, we can see that a large number of workers are now teleworking – with 1 out of 5 workers in the EU 28 regularly work in public spaces and/or their homes. 12% of all workers have worked in their homes several times a month in the past 12 months. Similarly, **in Estonia 18% of all workers have teleworked, 13% have worked from home.**

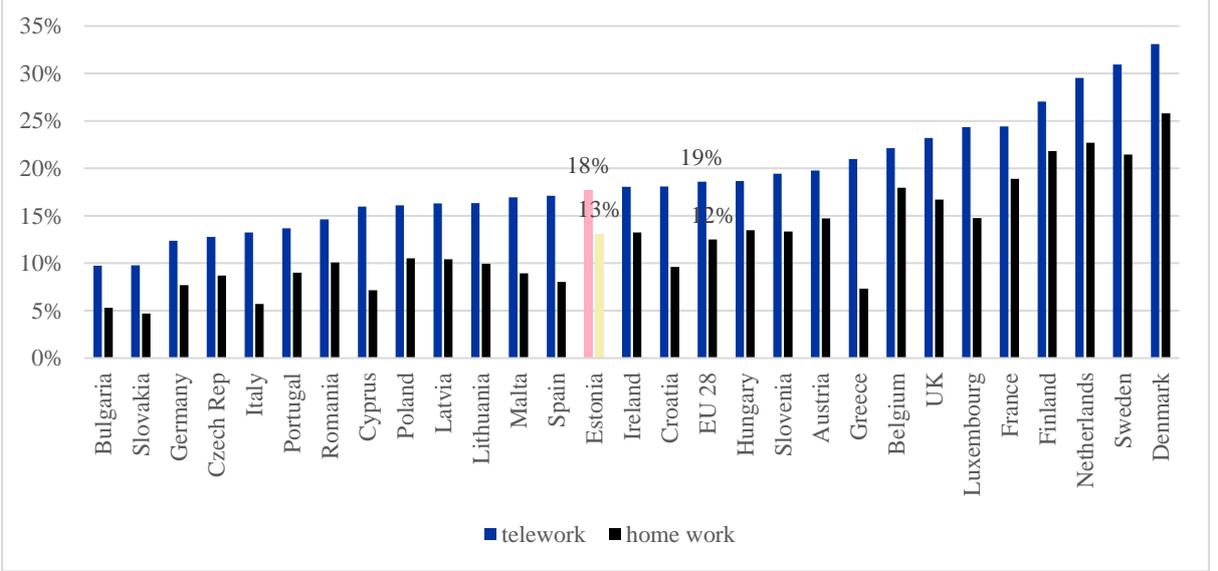


Figure 10 The proportion of workers across European countries that teleworked in the past 12 months in 2015 (source: EWCS, author’s calculations) note: weighted averages

## 4.2. Who gets access to flexible working time arrangements?

As mentioned in the previous section, flexible working can be used for various purposes. If flexible work arrangements is indeed used mostly for work-life balance demands of workers, we could expect that workers with more family demands – e.g., parents with younger children – are likely to request and use flexible work arrangements (Golden, 2009). In addition, workplaces with workers with more family responsibilities are likely to face a higher demand to provide family friendly arrangements (Goodstein, 1994). Thus female dominated work places are more likely to provide flexible work arrangements to its employees (Wood et al., 2003). In addition, many note that having a female supervisor will help in gaining access to flexible work arrangements.

As mentioned in the earlier sections, we could expect that high-skilled workers and workers in higher occupational groups may be more likely to gain access to flexible work arrangements (Chung, 2018) as well as those in supervisory roles (Adler, 1993). Similarly, workers with more experience, most likely older workers, may be more likely to gain access to flexible work arrangements. Those in better negotiation positions are expected to be more likely to have access over their work – thus those in permanent contracts are more likely to have access. In addition to the above, we can expect the range of company level factors mentioned in the previous section to be of relevance; for example, being in the public sector, the size and sector of the company, union present at the workplace, work culture etc. In addition, companies with supportive managers will be more likely to provide workers with family friendly flexible work arrangements (Minnotte et al., 2010).

Figure 11 provides information about the access worker have to flexible schedules across the different occupations in Estonia. As we can see, **Managers have the most control over their schedule** with 35% stating they have access to flexitime, and another 10% with access to working time autonomy. Professionals also have relatively higher levels of access to flexitime and working time autonomy. There is very little access to working time autonomy in other occupations, although surprisingly plant and machine operators and elementary occupations have a bit more autonomy compared to the more medium-level skill jobs. Flexitime access varies depending on the occupational level of the worker. Managers and professionals being

the ones with most access, and lower occupations having least access. Similar pattern emerges when examining teleworking and working at home. From Figure 12 we can see that **teleworking is predominately a pattern of work reserved for Managers and (Associate) professionals**, and very few clerical support workers. While more than 40% of managers teleworked, for all other occupation, less than 10% work outside of the more traditional working premises and almost none work from home on a regular basis. Again this may be due to the nature of the job where in the occupations requiring lower skills, it is almost impossible to take work home or outside of the workplace. This is a similar pattern found for other European countries.

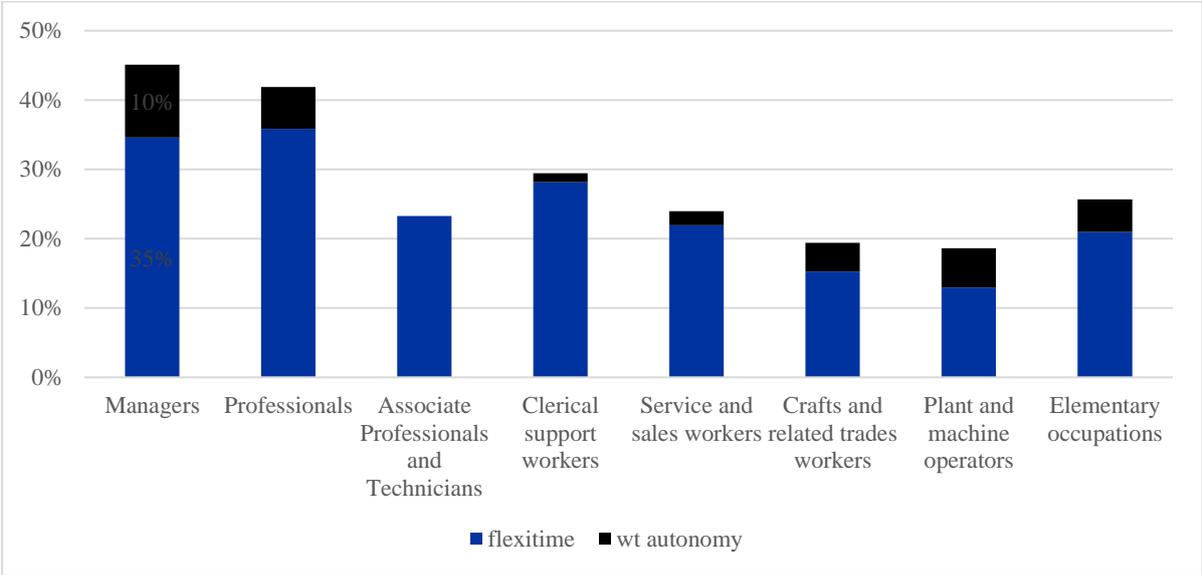


Figure 11 The proportion of workers across occupational levels in Estonia with access to flexible schedules in 2015 (source: EWCS, author's calculations) note: weighted averages

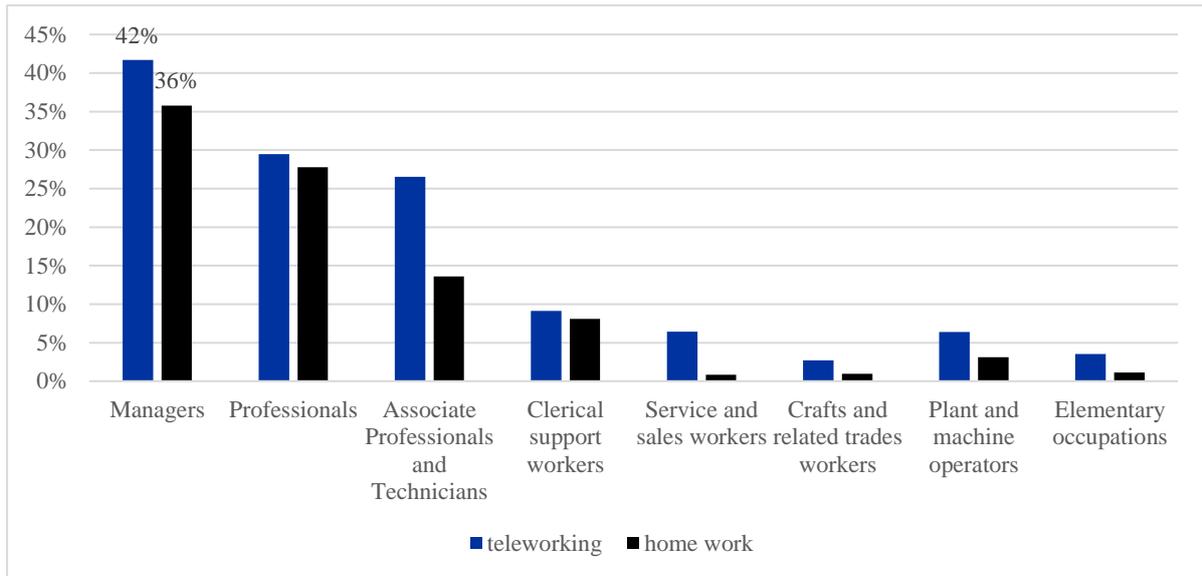


Figure 12 The proportion of workers across occupational levels in Estonia that teleworked in the past 12 months in 2015 (source: EWCS, author's calculations) note: weighted averages

Next, the variation across sectors in workers' access to teleworking is examined.

As shown in Figure 13 the sector with the most proportion of workers with control over their schedule is the Other services sector (which includes sectors such as Information and communication, Professional, scientific and technical activities, Administrative and support service activities, Arts, entertainment and recreation etc.) and then followed by Health and Social services, Hospitality and Construction. **This is a very different compared to rest of Europe where Health and Social services were one of the worst sectors in terms of access to flexitime and working time autonomy** (Chung, 2018).

Other services sector is also the best sector with the highest level of access to teleworking in Estonia, with more than 1/3 of its work force having worked in public spaces/home several times a month in the past 12 months (Figure 14). This is largely due to the sectors included in the Other sector category (see above). The other two sectors with high levels of teleworking were Public administration and Education sectors – signalling perhaps that it is the public sectors that may be some of the forerunners in the provision of teleworking in Estonia. On the other hand, it may be that these sectors are the ones where work is more likely to be transportable to other spaces, and/or sectors that are suffering from over work, where workers

end up catching up on work at home and or in other spaces. It is also worth noting that the sectors where we could expect would be almost impossible to telework, such as commerce hospitality, construction, transport, also have quite a significant number of workers saying that they work outside of their employer’s premises.

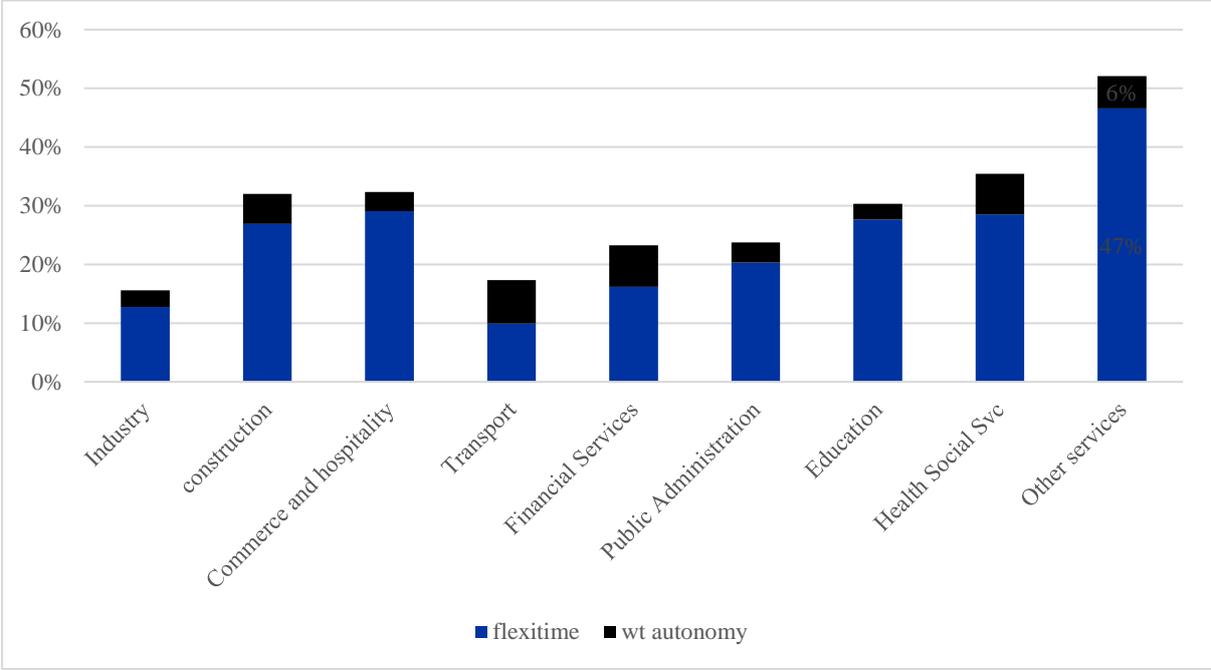


Figure 13 The proportion of workers across sectors in Estonia with access to flexible schedules in 2015 (source: EWCS 2015, author’s calculations) note: weighted averages

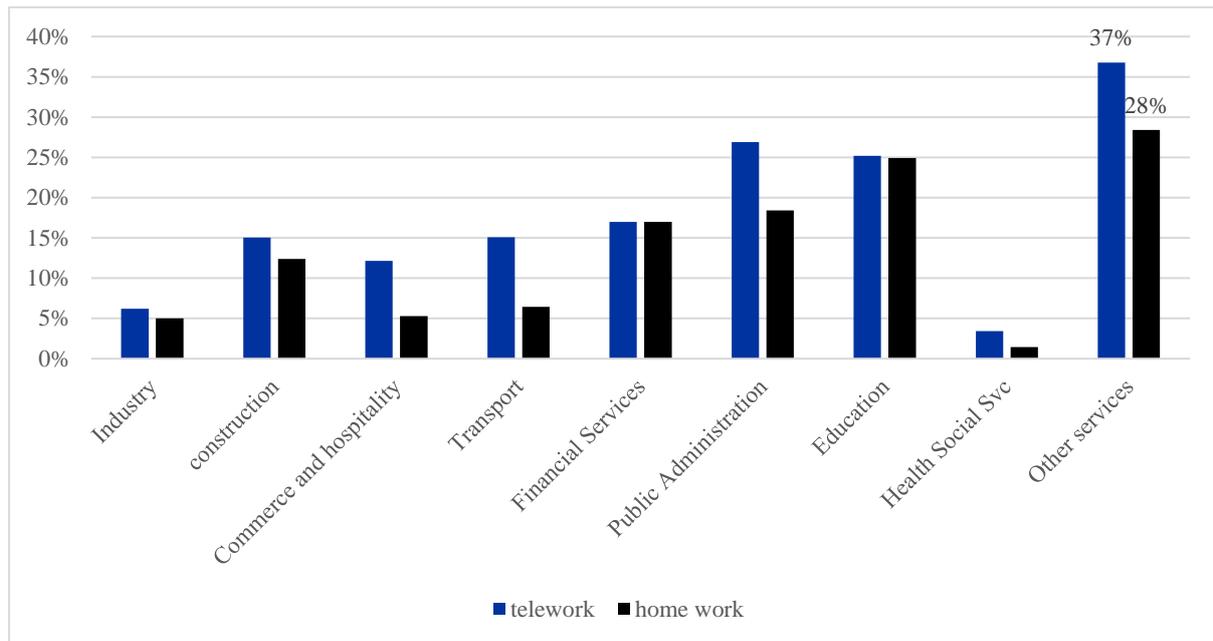


Figure 14 The proportion of workers across sectors in Estonia that teleworked in the past 12 months in 2015 (source: EWCS 2015, author's calculations) note: weighted averages

Finally, the multivariate analysis is conducted to see who has access to flexible work schedules (combining flexitime and working time autonomy), who teleworks (which includes regularly working from home) using a logistic regression model in table 2. The results are as follows;

- **Women are less likely to have access to teleworking** even having controlled for a wide range of factors, while there are no gender differences in the access to flexible schedules
- Tertiary educated workers are about 1.5 times and twice as likely compared to upper secondary educated workers to have access to flexitime and teleworking arrangements, respectively, similar to the findings for Europe
- Similarly, those in supervisor roles are also almost 4 times as likely as those who are not to have access to flexible schedules again reflecting what was found for Europe.
- There is a strong occupational segregation especially for teleworking where similar to what was found in Figure 11, those in occupations requiring higher education levels are much more likely to telework – with managers 8 times more likely as sales worker to work from either public spaces and/or home, having taken many other factors into account.

- Workers with supportive managers are also more likely to have access to both types of flexible working patterns similar to the findings for Europe
- Unlike what was found for rest of Europe, in Estonia, **when employee representatives are at the workplace it is likely that teleworking is more prevalent yet flexible schedules less prevalent.**
- Both types of arrangements are less likely to be provided by public companies, when we control for sectors occupation as well as other number of factors – a similar finding to that for the rest of Europe
- There is a large sectoral variation for teleworking, and similar to Figure 13, Other services, Public administration, Education and transport sectors are the ones where teleworking is prevalent similar to the findings for the rest of Europe
- For flexible schedules sectoral variations were not as prevalent once other factors are taken into account with the exception of other services being a sector it is prevalent, unlike what was found for the European average where the Public Administration sector as well as Financial Services sector were also those where flexible schedules were prevalent
- **Household composition and parental status had no influence over the access/use of both types of flexible working practices**, unlike in the rest of Europe where parents especially those with younger children (<6) were slightly more likely to have access to flexible working

*Table 2 Factors explaining access to flexible schedules and teleworking in Estonia in 2015 (data: European Working Conditions Survey 2015)*

	Flexible schedules	Teleworking
	Odds ratios	Odds ratios
Female	0.87	0.46*
Age	0.99	0.99
Partner	0.83	1.33
Youngest child <6	1.44	1.27

Youngest child 6-12	1.21	1.31
Lower secondary or below	1.00	1.39
(ref: Upper secondary)		
Tertiary educated	1.53 <sup>+</sup>	1.95 <sup>*</sup>
Working hours	0.97 <sup>*</sup>	1.01
Supervisory role	3.81 <sup>***</sup>	0.74
Employee Rep in workplace	0.64 <sup>+</sup>	1.76 <sup>*</sup>
Management support	1.52 <sup>*</sup>	1.81 <sup>*</sup>
Direct boss woman	1.38	1.07
Mostly men with the same position at workplace	0.85	1.04
Mostly women with the same position at workplace	0.72	0.69
Open ended contract	0.82	0.44 <sup>*</sup>
Public company	0.54 <sup>*</sup>	0.42 <sup>*</sup>
Micro company <10	1.06	2.14 <sup>+</sup>
SME 10-249	0.71	1.18
Ref: Large companies 250+		
Managers	1.42	7.19 <sup>***</sup>
Professionals	1.73	3.76 <sup>**</sup>
Associate Professionals and Technicians	0.83	3.78 <sup>**</sup>
Clerical support workers	0.88	1.43
(Ref; Service and sales workers)		
Crafts and related trades workers	0.85	0.27
Plant and machine operators	1.19	0.47

Elementary occupations	1.33	1.50
Industry	0.77	0.76
Ref: Commerce and Hospitality		
Transport	0.71	4.49*
Financial Services	1.00	0.92
Public Administration	2.00	3.00*
Education	1.74	3.38*
Health Social Svc	1.60	0.56
Other services	3.29***	2.89**
Cons	1.55	0.09*
N	642	637
Psuedo R2	14%	24%

\*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ , \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ , \* =  $p < 0.05$ , € =  $p < 0.10$

Note: This model excludes the self-employed, armed forces and agricultural workers, and workers 65 and over

## 5. The good and bad outcomes of flexibility

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### Key points:

- **Flexible working does not necessarily lead to better work-life balance outcomes**
- **One reason is that flexible working allow women to maintain their work intensity after childbirth**
- **Another reason is that flexible working can lead to an expansion of work – longer overtime hours and work spilling over to home spheres**

- **However, there is evidence to show that workers who work flexibly are happier with their work-life balance despite such spill-overs**
- **These results also hold true for the case of Estonia**

## 5.1. Outcomes of flexible working: evidence from existing literature

Flexible working, as mentioned in section 2, is predominantly perceived as a work-family reconciliation tool that allow parents to better navigate the demands from their work and home spheres. A large number of studies have shown that flexible working helps relieve workers' work-family conflicts, which is the conflict felt from the demands coming from the work and family (e.g., Chung, 2011; Kelly et al., 2014). Studies have shown that this is especially the case during the transition into parenthood (Erickson et al., 2010).

However, others argue that flexitime and telework have little or no impact on worker's work-family conflict (Michel et al., 2011; Allen et al., 2013) or that they, especially teleworking, can potentially increase work-family conflict (e.g. Golden et al., 2006; Kossek et al., 2006). One reason behind this is that flexitime and teleworking may allow workers, who would otherwise not have been able to, to remain in the labour market and maintain their working hours. Chung and van der Horst (2018) using UK longitudinal data shows that **women who are able to work flexibly, especially those who were using flexitime, are significantly less likely to reduce their working hours after childbirth**. Given that women's reduction in their work intensity after childbirth is one of the major reasons why the gender wage gap persists, flexible working is important method to tackle such inequalities. Furthermore, control over your work may also allow families to extend the amount of time spent with children (Craig and Powell, 2012; Noonan et al., 2007).

In addition to the positive influence flexible working can have on work-family balance, flexible working has been shown to bring about a whole range benefit for the company (see for a review de Menezes and Kelliher, 2011). Company can benefit from using flexibility by decreasing sickness and absenteeism of their workers, they can benefit from an increase in motivation and

loyalty (Onken-Menke, 2017) due to a better work-life balance for workers. On the other hand, studies have shown that companies gain productivity when using flexible working arrangements because **workers increase their work intensity and working hours when using flexible working arrangements** (Kelliher and Anderson, 2010; Lott and Chung, 2016; Glass and Noonan, 2016).

For example, Lott and Chung (2016) using German longitudinal household panel data found that flexitime and more so working time autonomy led to longer overtime hours worked by workers. This was especially the case for full-time workers and men, with up to 2 hours more overtime per week when switching from a fixed schedule to that which enabled working time autonomy. A similar finding was found in the US, where teleworking led to longer overtime hours of workers. However, unlike the overtime done at the workplace, overtime done at home did not lead to as much income premiums (Glass and Noonan, 2016). This on the one hand, can be perceived positively in that flexible working can lead to increased performance and profits for employers – despite the concerns of the costliness of introducing such arrangements. However, on the other hand this could potentially be seen as one of the possible dangers of making boundaries between work and family too flexible.

In fact, the analysis of the European Working Conditions survey has shown that those who work flexibly – both flexible schedules and teleworking, can lead workers to worry about work when not at work, and to work during their free time to meet demands compared to those who do not work flexibly (Chung, 2017). Such blurring of boundaries have been found in other studies in the US and elsewhere (Glavin and Schieman, 2012) explaining why in many cases flexible working does not necessarily lead to a better work-life balance.

### **Why does flexible working lead to increase in work?**

*(this section is derived from, Chung, 2017)*

Firstly, when the time boundaries between work and family life become blurred, this can lead to you to focus more, rather than less, on work (Clark, 2000), multi-tasking of the two roles or spill-over of work to the family sphere (Schieman et al., 2009). This is more likely to happen to workers who prioritise their work over other aspects of their life, such as higher skilled and high status workers (Schieman et

al., 2009). This has been called the ‘the autonomy paradox’; when enhancing individual’s control over when and where workers work leads to a “collective spiral of escalating engagement, where (workers) end up working everywhere/all the time” (Mazmanian et al., 2013: : 1338). A good example of this autonomy paradox can be found in the Silicon Valley, where long working hours are conflated into measures of success and despite being offered relative autonomy, workers end up working (sometimes extremely) long hours (Williams et al., 2013).

Another explanation for why flexible working can lead to work intensification is found in gift exchange (Kelliher and Anderson, 2010) or social exchange theory (Kossek et al., 2006). These theories suggest that to reciprocate for the favourable work arrangements “gifted” by the employers, workers expend greater effort, and increase their motivation and commitment, which leads them to work harder and/or longer hours. This can especially be the case when flexible working is not normalised and there is negative stigma towards its use, as workers may feel they have to work even harder to over compensate for such stigma. Enforced intensification can happen when employers detach work from fixed hours and make contracts more task based. For example, unlike fixed working hours where by labour laws there is a limit to the number of hours workers are allowed to work per day/week<sup>1</sup>, when workers have full autonomy over when and how long they work (full working-time autonomy), it is difficult to regulate the number of hours worked. This is especially true when workers “voluntarily” work longer hours to meet demands at work or when there are incentives for workers to work harder. Recent studies have noted that that managers sometimes negotiate for, or expect increased work intensity from, employees in exchange for the opportunity to work from home (Bathini and Kandathil, 2017). Whatever the cause, if flexible working can in some cases lead to an increase in work intensity and working hours/overtime hours, this can explain why flexible working does not necessarily lead to better work-life balance for workers

Furthermore, despite the evidence on increased rather than decreased work intensity through flexible working, **flexible working can potentially lead to stigmatization of workers who**

**work flexibly and can lead to negative career consequences for these workers** (see also, Working Families, 2017; TUC, 2017). In the analysis of UK data (Work Employment Relations Survey of 2011), more than 1/3 of all workers surveyed believed that flexible workers make more work for others, and 1/3 also believed that flexible working can lead to negative consequences for one's career (Chung, 2017). Men were more likely to hold stigmatized ideas towards flexible workers – in that they make more work for others, while parents, especially mothers with young children were the ones that felt that flexible working can lead to negative career consequences. In fact, in another recent survey from Workingmums in 2017, it was shown that 47% of all mothers surveyed felt that their career suffered from working flexibly (Workingmums, 2017).

Looking back at the Lott and Chung's (2016) study of the German worker's overtime patterns due to flexible working, we found that for men working flexibly, especially for those with working time autonomy, flexible working led to a rise in income premiums. However, for women, it did not lead to income gains despite the increase in overtime worked when working flexibly. Rather for mothers, there was almost a trade-off of more control for increased overtime without additional pay. The authors thus warn of a potential traditionalisation of gender roles through flexible working – i.e., where men work longer and get income premiums (and potentially career progression) through flexible working, while women do not. In fact, other studies have shown that for women flexible working may exacerbate the already existing demands they face at home by “enabling” them to do more at home (Hilbrecht et al., 2008).

## 5.2. Outcomes of flexible working: evidence from Estonia

To test whether these consequences of flexible working are also true for Estonia I've examined the work-family outcomes of flexible working using the European Working Conditions Survey of 2015. First, whether flexible working can help relieve work-family conflict of workers is examined. In the EWCS there are two work-family conflict variables – firstly, the question asking respondents whether they “felt too tired after work to do some of the household jobs which need to be done” is used to measure strain based work-family conflict; the second asks whether the respondent “found that your job prevented you from giving the time you wanted to your family” which is used to measure time based work-family conflict. Those who felt this

always or most of the time are considered as those who feel work-family conflict. Figure 15 examines the proportion of workers feeling work-family conflict by their flexible working status. As shown here, those who have fixed schedules seem to feel the most strain conflict, followed by those who have working time autonomy. On the other hand, those who have flexible schedules seem to have less time related conflict compared to those with fixed schedules and with employer-managed flexible schedules. However, when other factors such as working hours, occupation, sector, family composition is included, there is no statistically significant difference between those with and without flexible schedules. **Those who telework also seem to feel more conflict – both time and strain related, compared to those who do not telework.** This relationship is statistically significant even when other factors are taken into account as shown in Table 3 – those who telework are twice as likely to feel that they were too tired after work to do some of the household jobs, and more than 2.5 times as likely to feel that their job prevented them from giving time to family and social commitments. When comparing those who work from home on occasion against those who do not, it seems that they are more inclined to feel that their job prevents them from doing household jobs, yet no difference in the time conflict.

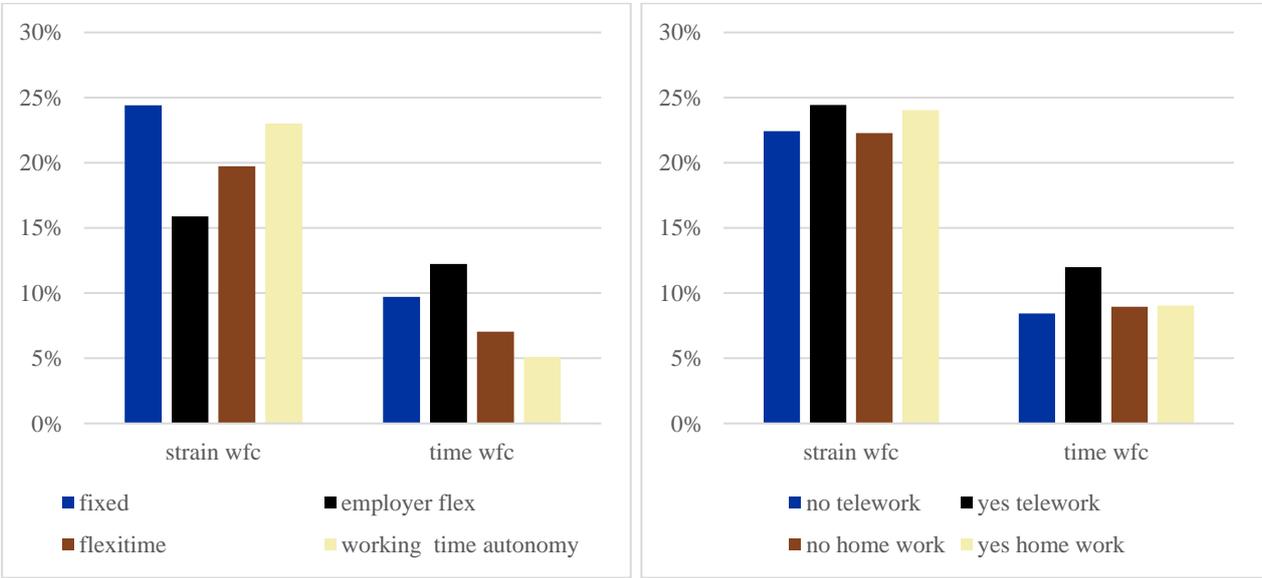


Figure 15 proportion of workers feeling work-family conflict by flexible working status in Estonia in 2015 (source: EWCS 2015) note: weighted averages

Table 3 Factors explaining work-family conflict in Estonia in 2015 (data: European Working Conditions Survey 2015)

	Too tired after work to do some of the household jobs	Job prevented you from giving time to family
	Odds ratios	Odds ratios
Employer-oriented flexibility	0.82	0.83
Flexitime	0.81	0.62
Working time autonomy	0.91	Omitted
Teleworking	2.11*	2.64*
Time off work for personal reasons	0.59*	0.44*
Female	1.04	0.58
Age	1.01	0.99
Partner	0.65 <sup>+</sup>	1.22
Youngest child <6	1.66	1.94
Youngest child 6-12	1.49	1.58
Lower secondary or below	1.47	1.17
(ref: Upper secondary)		
Tertiary educated	0.80	1.47
Working hours	1.06***	1.06**
Supervisory role	1.64	2.76*
Employee Rep in workplace	1.40	1.84
Management support	0.57*	0.50*
Direct boss woman	1.23	1.43
Mostly men with the same position at workplace	0.68	1.28

Mostly women with the same position at workplace	1.29	2.19
Open ended contract	0.88	1.10
Public company	1.08	0.86
Micro company <10	0.67	2.40
SME 10-249	1.10	2.16 <sup>+</sup>
Ref: Large companies 250+		
Managers	0.54	0.79
Professionals	0.45*	0.40
Associate Professionals and Technicians	0.67	0.58
Clerical support workers	0.73	0.52
(Ref; Service and sales workers)		
Crafts and related trades workers	1.34	1.76
Plant and machine operators	1.29	2.53
Elementary occupations	1.06	0.69
Industry	0.99	0.92
Ref: Commerce and Hospitality		
Transport	0.99	1.13
Financial Services	1.12	1.42
Public Administration	2.00	2.46
Education	0.82	1.23
Health Social Svc	1.74	3.12
Other services	1.06	1.13
Cons	0.05	0.00***

N	628	599
Pseudo R2	12%	17%

\*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ , \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ , \* =  $p < 0.05$ , € =  $p < 0.10$

Note: This model excludes self-employed, armed forces and agricultural workers, and workers over 65

Again one main reason for the lack of positive effect of flexible working on work-life balance outcomes is due to the spill-over effects when working flexibly. Figure 16 shows that this is in fact the case for Estonia. Those with flexitime and working time autonomy, as well as those who telework/work from home are much more likely to work during their free time compared to those without such flexible working patterns. Those with working time autonomy, and those who telework are also much more likely to worry about work when not at work as well. This is not as noticeably the case for those who work flexitime, especially when comparing to those with employer-driven flexible schedules. When having controlled for a number of factors, the association between teleworking and work spill over remained, yet that for working time autonomy was not statistically significant although this may be due to the small number of cases. **Those who teleworked were four times more likely to worry about work when not at work, and five times more likely to work during their free time.**

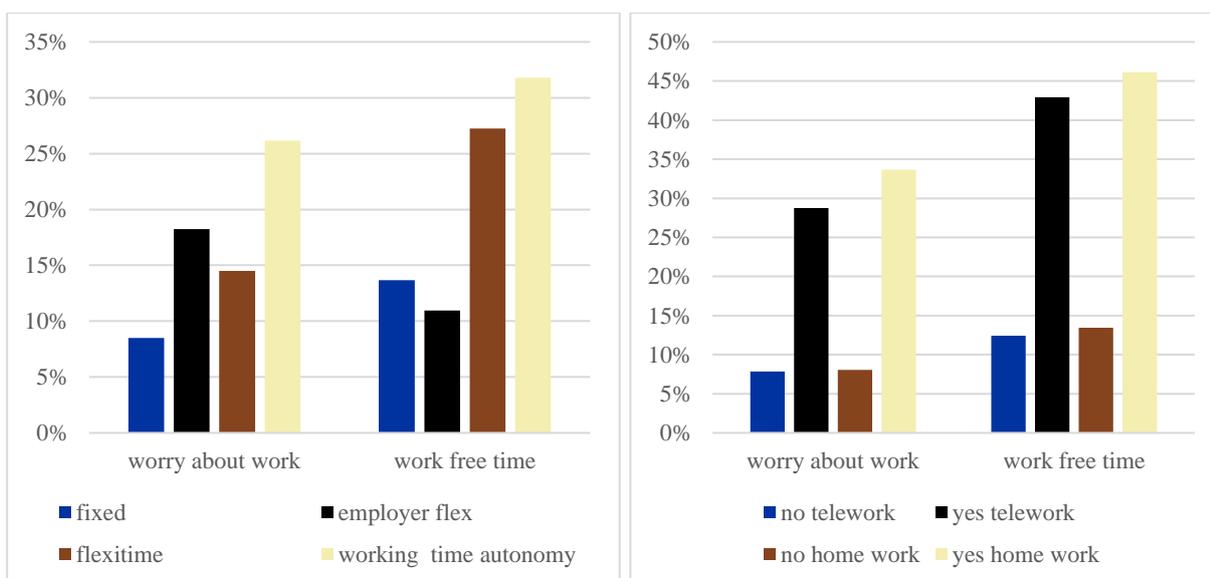


Figure 16 Proportion of workers experiencing work spill over by flexible working status in Estonia in 2015 (source: EWCS 2015) note: weighted averages

Table 4 Factors explaining work spill over & time adequacy in Estonia in 2015 (data: European Working Conditions Survey 2015)

	Worry about work when not at work	Work during free time	Working hours fit with family commitment
	Odds ratios	Odds ratios	Odds ratios
Employer-oriented flexibility	2.24	0.39	0.87
Flexitime	1.06	1.43	2.01*
Working time autonomy	1.41	1.51	2.73
Teleworking	4.21***	5.28***	0.77
Time off work for personal reasons	0.82	0.70	3.20***
Female	0.89	0.79	1.91 <sup>+</sup>
Age	1.02	1.01	1.02 <sup>+</sup>
Partner	0.93	0.49**	0.94
Youngest child <6	0.67	1.61	0.51 <sup>+</sup>
Youngest child 6-12	1.30	0.98	0.66
Lower secondary or below	0.78	0.87	1.38
(ref: Upper secondary)			
Tertiary educated	0.70	0.83	0.83
Working hours	1.06**	1.10***	0.95**
Supervisory role	2.43*	2.21*	0.75
Employee Rep in workplace	1.10	1.15	0.83
Management support	0.88	0.89	2.29***

Direct boss woman	1.20	1.05	1.44
Mostly men with the same position at workplace	0.88	0.73	0.92
Mostly women with the same position at workplace	1.06	1.16	0.46 <sup>+</sup>
Open ended contract	1.06	0.48 <sup>*</sup>	2.90 <sup>**</sup>
Public company	0.67	1.02	1.01
Micro company <10	0.84	0.87	1.18
SME 10-249	1.34	1.38	1.26
Ref: Large companies 250+			
Managers	3.67 <sup>*</sup>	2.18	1.20
Professionals	1.89	1.42	2.21 <sup>+</sup>
Associate Professionals and Technicians	1.38	1.04	1.35
Clerical support workers	0.84	1.48	3.72 <sup>+</sup>
(Ref; Service and sales workers)			
Crafts and related trades workers	0.86	1.44	1.07
Plant and machine operators	0.67	0.84	0.59
Elementary occupations	1.28	1.18	1.07
Industry	1.87	0.70	1.01
Ref: Commerce and Hospitality			
Transport	1.28	0.82	0.92
Financial Services	0.61	1.97	3.18
Public Administration	2.40	1.48	1.05
Education	2.19	1.70	1.23

Health Social Svc	4.03*	0.74	0.85
Other services	1.70	0.55	1.32
Cons	0.00	0.01***	1.21
N	627	629	630
Pseudo R2	19%	22%	20%

\*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$ , \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ , \* =  $p < 0.05$ ,  $\epsilon$  =  $p < 0.10$

Note: This model excludes self-employed, armed forces and agricultural workers, and workers over 65

However, again what we found is that in general, despite the spill-over experienced by flexible workers and not such a significant difference in their work-family conflict perceptions, those who work flexibly are generally more satisfied with their work-life balance. This is examined by the question; “In general, how do your working hours fit in with your family or social commitments outside work?”, where respondents can answer from not at all well (0), not very well (1), well (2), and very well(3). As shown in Figure 17, those with flexitime and working time autonomy are happier with their working hours fit compared to those with fixed schedules and or employer-led flexible schedules. Those who telework are not different from those who do not, but those who work from home are generally happier with their working hours fit compared to those who do not. Examining Table 4, where other factors are also taken into account it seems like **those with flexible schedules are happier with their working hours fit with family commitments.**

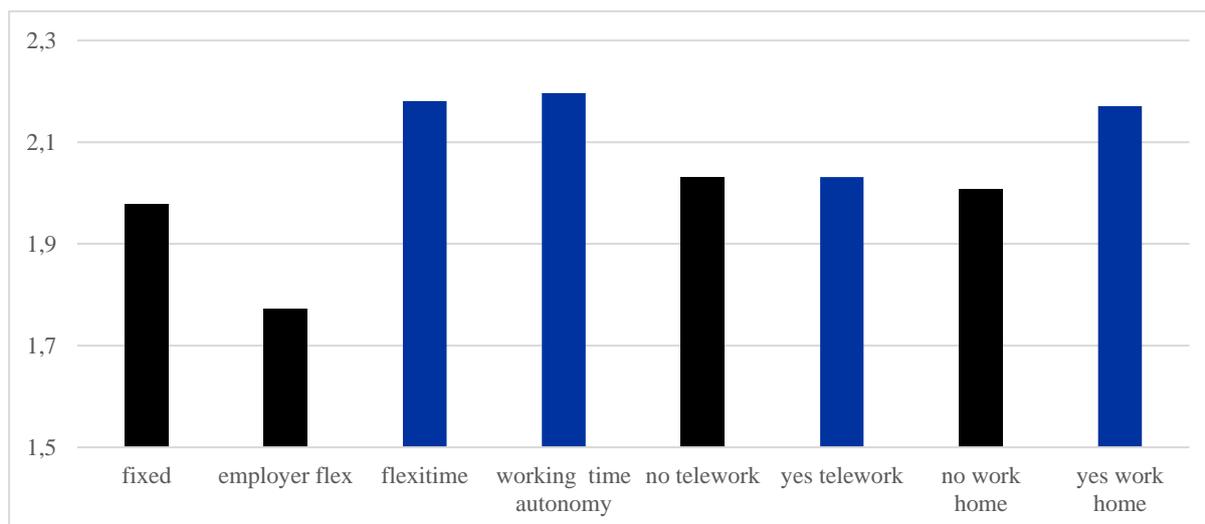


Figure 17 Average score of working time adequacy by flexible working status in Estonia in 2015 (source: EWCS 2015) note: weighted averages

## 6. Looking towards the future

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To sum up, flexible working can lead to a more balanced life between work with family life, and can help tackle the persistent gender inequalities in the labour market by allowing women to maintain their labour market positions after childbirth. This has huge implications for maintaining women's human capital and their career especially in a life-course perspective, which can help tackle the existing problems of gender wage gaps in the labour market. However, it can also lead to potential negative consequences of expanding work to encroach on family life, blurring of the two boundaries, and can lead to stigmatization of workers who work flexibly and even potentially traditionalising gender roles. As shown in this report, flexible working seems to lead to a certain degree of spill-over of work to family spheres also in the case of Estonia. Of the different types of flexible working, it was working time autonomy and teleworking that seem to be most problematic – most likely due to the fact that these two arrangements are the ones where the boundaries between work and other spheres of life are blurred most. However, we also see that control over one's work can still lead to better feelings of work-life balance.

In addition, based on data across 10 years, this report showed that flexible working is increasing in Estonia and for many, especially Managers and those working in certain sectors, such as Public Administration, Financial services and Other services, it will increasingly become a

normal way of work. Based on the company data and responses from human resource managers, it seems like the use of flexitime is used in a manner that can really benefit workers – by allowing them to work different number of hours across different days and accumulate hours to take days off. There are still large variations across sectors, companies and more so across different groups of workers with different levels of education and skills. There is evidence that rather than those with the most work-family demands, i.e., parents with young children and women, it is the higher skilled workers in higher occupational levels, supervisory roles that have access to flexible working. It is difficult to know how this will change in the future. However, the new proposal for a directive on work-life balance from the European Commission<sup>3</sup> as a part of the European pillar of social rights may be useful in shaping who has access to flexible working in the future. This proposal includes the right to request flexible working for carers and workers with children under 12. Such directives may increase the access to, and use of flexible working, especially for those who are not necessarily in high skilled positions but in great need of it for better balance between their work and family life. We could expect that such changes may also drive up the demands for better flexible working arrangements from workers in the future in Estonia and elsewhere, where it is not only particular sectors and occupations that benefit from flexible working but also those in more disadvantaged positions in the labour market who will want such control.

Such expansion in the number of workers with more control over their work can lead to new changes in the way we think about managing workers and productivity. Increasingly, work will not be defined by the time spent on a work, within the employer's premises, and managed directly by their direct managers. In the future, workers will be managing themselves carrying out more task based work, in self-managed teams, which can be largely detached from where and when it is carried out. However, especially in light of the high levels of insecurity in the current labour market as well as decline in workers' negotiation powers, the increased freedom may result in expansion rather than a contraction of work. Why this happens can be understood in the context of entrepreneurialisation of individuals and their career (Bröckling, 2015) where increasingly individuals are made to believe they are responsible for their own careers and accordingly failures thereof. In this context, to be able to compete in the market, individuals cannot but invest in their career and increase their work intensity when given freedom over their work. Furthermore, many forms of flexible working still comes with some stigmatization, since it deviates from the more "ideal worker norm" that is still prevalent in our workplaces. This

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<sup>3</sup> For more information please see: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1494929657775&uri=CELEX:52017PC0253>

norm is where workers' loyalty and motivation are measured by the number of hours they spend at the workplace (Williams et al., 2013). We still know very little about the longer term consequences of flexible working for people's career and the stigma it carries in Estonia. More research on people's perception of what flexible working means and how they perceive those who work flexibly will be useful to better adapt both national and corporate policies to ensure the development of flexible working policies that can work for both employers and employees.

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