Swedish Agency for Work
Environment Expertise

The Impact of Remote Work on Gender Equality in the Labour Market

– An Analysis of the Relationship Between Remote Work and Working Hours

Report 2025:2

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Foreword

Gender equality in the labour market has long been a key social policy issue. The COVID-19 pandemic brought about major changes in the labour market, not least in the form of the widespread transition to remote work for those businesses and individuals who were able to do so. Even after the pandemic, many employees have chosen and been given the opportunity to continue working remotely. Naturally, this radical change raises questions about how gender equality in working life is affected.

In its 2024 appropriation directions, the Swedish Agency for Work Environment Expertise was tasked with reporting on how remote work affects gender equality in the labour market. In response to the government mandate, the agency carried out two projects: a compilation of existing research in the field of remote work and gender equality in the labour market, and the present report, which is a quantitative study examining the relationship between remote work and the number of weekly working hours for women and men.

Karin Halldén, Associate Professor of Sociology at Stockholm University's Swedish Institute for Social Research, has produced this report on behalf of the agency. The expert has chosen her own theoretical and methodological starting points and is responsible for the findings and conclusions presented.

Anders Stenberg, Professor of Economics at Stockholm University, has quality assured the report.

The process-managing analyst at the Swedish Agency for Work Environment Expertise has been Johan Stenmark, and Kristin Nylander has been responsible for communication.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to everyone who contributed to this report.

Gävle, February 2025

Nader Ahmadi, Director-General

Author

Karin Halldén, Associate Professor of Sociology at the Swedish Institute for Social Research at *Stockholm University.*

Summary

Main findings

This study shows that, on average, employees who work remotely spend more hours working each week than those who do not. This is true for both women and men, but the association is stronger among women and mothers than it is among men and fathers. However, the analyses in the report show that selection effects have a significant impact on these results and that the causal link between remote work and working hours can be considered weak. Overall, the results indicate no more than marginal average effects on gender equality in the labour market in terms of weekly working hours.

Background

In December 2023, the government commissioned the Swedish Agency for Work Environment Expertise (Mynak) to report on how remote work, which had become more common after the COVID-19 pandemic, affects gender equality in the labour market. In response to this assignment, the agency carried out two projects: a literature review of existing research on remote work and gender equality in the labour market, and the present report. Remote work is defined as work from home and gender equality is measured in terms of differences in weekly working time. This report is a quantitative study that investigates the relationship between remote work and the number of hours worked per week by women and men and whether such effects might be particularly prominent among parents of young children. The analyses are based on data from Statistics Sweden's labour force surveys (LFS) for 2016–2024 and include employed women and men aged 20–64. Both cross-sectional data and longitudinal data are used to identify potential associations and causal relationships.

Results and conclusions

Remote work has grown increasingly common over the last decade. In 2016, approximately 29 per cent of all employees worked remotely to some extent, a figure that increased to approximately 44 per cent in 2021. Levels have remained high even after the end of the pandemic. Remote work is more common among white-collar workers and in the private sector. Before the pandemic, remote work was slightly more common among men than among women (about 29 and 28 per cent, respectively, in 2016), but after the pandemic, it has become more common among women (45 and 42 per cent, respectively, in 2024).

The first analysis in the report is based on cross-sectional data. These results should be interpreted with caution, as selection effects have not been factored into them. In other words, any existing systematic differences between individuals

who can work remotely and ones who can't have not been considered. For example, it is conceivable that people whose work capacity is high and whose work situations are flexible work remotely more often than others. Given these reservations, the results from the cross-sectional data show a positive and statistically significant relationship between remote work and measured weekly working hours among both women and men. However, this association is stronger among women. Among parents of young children, the relationship resembles that among the overall population and is stronger among mothers than it is among fathers.

One way of better controlling for selection effects is to follow the same individuals over time (longitudinal data). In such analyses, the relationship between remote work and weekly working hours remains positive and significant, although much weaker, and with very small differences between women and men; in terms of actual weekly working time, the difference is no more than a few minutes. The results among parents of young children are only statistically significant for mothers.

Discussion and limitations

The answer to the question of whether the increase in remote work after the COVID-19 pandemic increased gender equality in the labour market is unclear. Women work remotely to a slightly higher extent than men, and the results indicate that remote work has a weak positive effect on weekly working time and that the effect is somewhat stronger for women compared to men and mothers compared to fathers. The factors that cloud the issue include the minor positive effects of remote work on working time, as well as the minimal difference between women and men in terms of the strength of that association. It should also be pointed out that the positive effect of remote work on working time might be explained by selection effects, rather than any actual effects of remote work per se. Also, the follow-up only extends over two and a half years from the end of the pandemic. It may still be too early for clear effects of remote work on gender equality in the labour market to materialise – whether positive or negative.

Furthermore, many aspects of remote work may have implications for gender equality in the labour market that have not been examined in this report. One example would be its effects on employees' visibility in the workplace. This could affect opportunities for career and wage development, as physical presence in the workplace is often an important factor in promotion decisions and wage negotiations. Further aspects that may be significant involve the working environment. It is conceivable that remote work might lead to feelings of isolation and a lack of support from colleagues and managers, thus being detrimental to employees' work environment. On the other hand, remote work can boost employees' ability to combine family and work, which could result in reduced stress in everyday life. The report also does not cover aspects related to recreation, and parts of the time individuals gain by working remotely may be spent on recovery. These elements could positively affect workers' health and be linked to reduced morbidity.

Final reflections

All in all, it remains unclear how and to what extent the increase in remote work has affected gender equality in the labour market. Because of this, it will be important to follow several different aspects of remote work in the coming years. Furthermore, it will be important to study whether women are still overrepresented among remote workers, and whether the effects of remote work on outcomes such as career prospects, wage development, and health differ among women and men. These efforts promise to give us a more nuanced picture of the role that remote work plays for gender equality in the labour market.

Contents

1. Introduction

Mynak has been tasked by the Swedish Government with highlighting how *"... increased remote work following the COVID-19 pandemic continues to affect gender equality in the labour market".* Part of this mandate involves a quantitative study of the relationship between remote work and gender equality. This quantitative study is presented in this report. A detailed summary of previous research on a possible link between remote work and gender equality is presented in the systematic literature review, *Remote work and gender equality in the labour market – A literature review.*

The report is structured as follows: Initially, definitions of remote work and the COVID-19 pandemic are discussed. This is followed by a section on general trends in remote work and a discussion of the link between remote work and gender equality in the labour market. The report continues by presenting the specific question, data material, and method, and then presents overall statistics and results from the analyses. The concluding section of the report summarises the most important findings.

Definitions

The concepts of "remote work" and "the COVID-19 pandemic period" are central to this government mandate. However, these are not precise terms, which is why they are briefly discussed and defined below.

Remote work

"Remote work" can mean different things. On its website, the Swedish Agency for Government Employers (2024) defines remote work (also known as remote work in contexts involving ICT, Information and Communication Technology) in accordance with the central collective agreement (a definition which in turn is based on the European framework agreement) as *"... a way of organising and/or performing work using information technology, within the framework of an employment contract or employment relationship, where work that could also be performed at the employer's premises is regularly performed outside those premises". Within the scope of this specific government mandate, the term "remote work"* is interpreted to mean working from home – primarily because the mandate relates to the COVID-19 pandemic, during which working from home was common. The report uses the term "remote work" to refer to this type of work.

Before and after the COVID-19 pandemic period

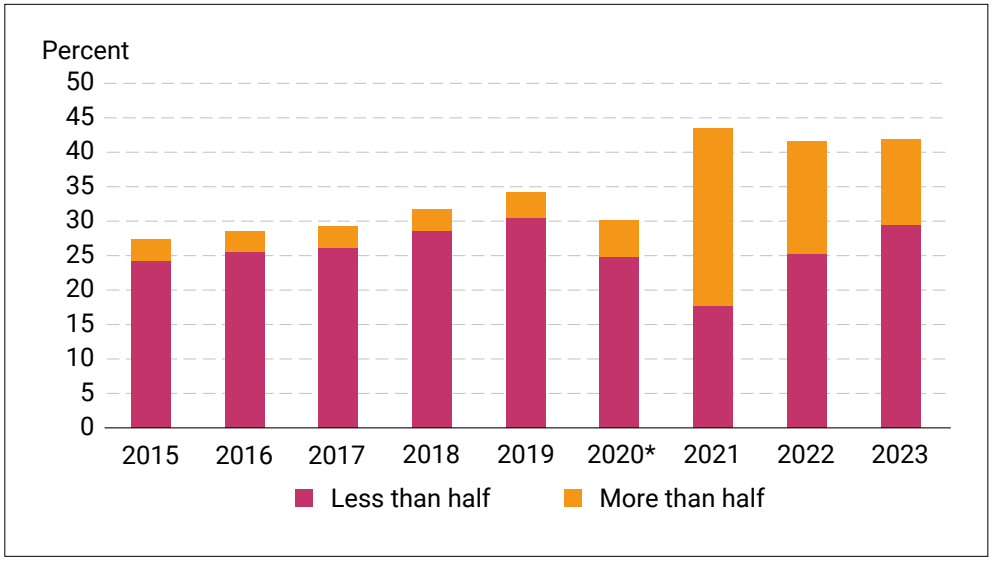
The COVID-19 pandemic began in early 2020. To keep the spread of infection down, in mid-March 2020, the Public Health Agency of Sweden recommended that employers encourage working from home (if possible) (Public Health Agency of Sweden, 2024). Furthermore, government agencies were tasked with enabling

their employees to work from home. On 9 February 2022, the Public Health Agency of Sweden's recommendations on working from home (along with many other pieces of advice and recommendations related to the COVID-19 pandemic) ceased to apply. Thus, the pre-pandemic period refers to 2019 and earlier (or alternatively the first quarter of 2020), and the post-pandemic period refers to 2023 and later (or alternatively the last three quarters of 2022).

Has remote work increased since the COVID-19 pandemic?

Statistics from Statistics Sweden (processed by the National Mediation Office) show that remote work has increased since the COVID-19 pandemic. Figure 1 shows the proportion of employees who worked remotely during the period 2015 to 2023. This figure shows that the proportion of remote workers (regardless of the extent of remote work) increased significantly during the last two years of the pandemic, from around 30–35 per cent in the years before the pandemic to over 40 per cent in 2021 and 2022. It is noteworthy that remote work remained at levels above 40 per cent even in 2023, i.e., when the pandemic was over.

Figure 1. Proportion (per cent) of employees aged 18–64 who worked remotely in 2015–2023 (broken down by extent).

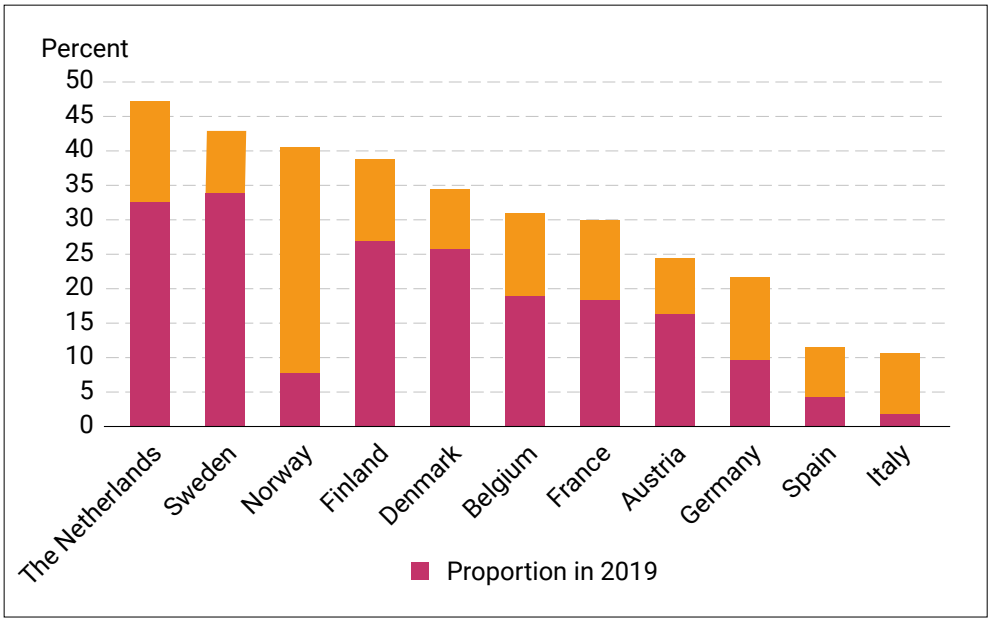


Note on Figure 1: Break in time series for 2020 due to reformulated question. Source: The National Mediation Office, 2024. The analysis is based on statistics from Statistics Sweden's Labour Force Surveys (LFS).

Figure 1 also shows that prior to the pandemic, the proportion of people who worked remotely most of the time (i.e., the yellow part of the bars) was around 3–4 per cent. Since the pandemic, this proportion has increased to around 13–16 per cent. Further analyses conducted by the National Mediation Office (2024) show that remote work is most common among white-collar workers in the private sector. Among these employees, men work from home to a greater extent than women (63.8 per cent of women and 69.8 per cent of men worked from home at least once a week in 2023).

However, across the labour market as a whole, it is more common for women to work remotely. It is also more common for individuals living in metropolitan areas to work from home. From a European perspective, Sweden ranks high in terms of remote work (National Mediation Office, 2024). Only the Netherlands has a higher proportion of individuals working remotely (see Figure 2). Even before the pandemic, Sweden and the Netherlands were at the top of the list.

Figure 2. Proportion (per cent) of remote workers among employed people aged 15–64 in 2023 (and 2019).



Note on Figure 2. Source: The National Mediation Office, 2024. The analysis is based on statistics from Statistics Sweden's Labour Force Surveys (LFS) and Eurostat.

Remote work and gender equality in the labour market

It is relatively well known that there are differences between women and men in the Swedish labour market. For example, women earn lower wages and hold a lower proportion of positions of power (Boye et al., 2017; National Mediation Office, 2014) and account for a higher proportion of work-related sick leave (see also the Swedish Social Insurance Agency, 2022). In connection with discussions about the causes of gender differences in the labour market, Goldin (2021) argues, inter alia, that gender equality among couples with children where both partners have careers is difficult to achieve, and that policies such as publicly subsidised childcare and flexible working arrangements are needed to make matters easier for working parents of young children. Sweden and the other Nordic countries are ranked among the most gender-equal countries in the world (World Economic Forum, 2023). This is often linked to the type of family policy they employ, which provides paid parental leave and publicly subsidised childcare, as well as a parental insurance system that encourages fathers to take

parental leave (the so-called "daddy months")[1] (Duvander et al., 2015). Thus, Swedish family policy tends to support a family model in which both partners work and share childcare responsibilities. The second thing Goldin mentions is flexibility in relation to work. An example of this is flexible working hours, such as the ability to decide when to start and end the working day (often within a certain time frame), to run errands or make private calls during working hours (provided that the time is made up later), or trust-based working hours, where employees have even greater freedom to decide when and where they work (compared to flexible working hours). Another example of flexible work is the option of working remotely. The possibility of remote work could mean longer working hours, as commuting time is eliminated and it becomes easier to combine work and private commitments, which should save time. On the other hand, the hours spent working in paid employment could decrease if the number of distractions increases when working remotely. This is influenced, for example, by whether there are small children in the household and whether the employee has a separate workspace at home.

Women generally work fewer hours per week than men, although the gender gap has narrowed over time (Statistics Sweden, 2024). During the period 2005–2023, among full-time employees aged 20–64, the total actual time worked increased by 26 per cent for men and 61 per cent for women. In 2023, women worked 2.7 hours less per week than men (ibid.). If all employees are included, the differences in working hours between women and men become even greater, as one reason for women's lower working hours is that they work part-time to a greater extent than men. As a parent in Sweden, you generally have the right to reduce your full-time working hours by 25 per cent if you have children under the age of eight. As a result, many parents (especially women) choose to reduce their working hours during their children's early years, in order to achieve a better work-life balance. In Sweden, approximately 28 per cent of all women worked part-time in 2023, while the corresponding figure for men was approximately 13 per cent (Eurostat, 2023). The European average for the same year was 27.9 per cent and 7.7 per cent for women and men, respectively (ibid.). Part-time work can be seen as a form of work flexibility that allows a higher proportion of women to participate in the labour force, especially mothers with young children in the household (Thévenon, 2013), who then do not have to choose between working full-time or staying at home full-time. This facilitates a better work-life balance. However, the proportion of women working part-time is much higher than the proportion of men, which means that part-time work also contributes to gender differences in the labour market, as it leads women to spend fewer hours in paid employment, and they thus receive lower incomes and pensions (Albrecht et al., 1997; Bertrand et al., 2010). Furthermore, part-time work tends to involve more repetitive, less skilled tasks and fewer opportunities for development on the job (Gallie et al., 2016; Halldén et al., 2012).

1 This refers to the three months of parental leave that cannot be transferred to the other parent.

If women are more likely to work part-time due to greater homemaking and child rearing, they may find it difficult to increase their working hours or work overtime on-site at the workplace. In that case, the possibility of remote work could help reduce gender disparities in the labour market. It is therefore possible that gender equality could be further fostered if the general norm changes so that physical presence at the workplace becomes less important for advancement and career development, and if, for example, business travel and in-person evening gatherings (i.e., for hospitality purposes) are reduced. Goldin (2021) argues that this is particularly important in so-called "greedy jobs", i.e., high-paying positions in sectors such as finance, management, and law, where career advancement often requires availability outside of agreed working hours.

A hypothesis that follows from these arguments is that remote work and increased acceptance of remote work should reduce the gender gap in terms of time spent in paid work, leading to greater gender equality in the labour market in this respect.

However, the opposite hypothesis is also conceivable. For example, men may use the increased flexibility and time savings that remote work affords them to work longer hours, while female remote workers may instead spend the time they save on unpaid domestic and care work. This might be a consequence of the blurring of the boundary between work and private life inherent to remote work – especially for women, who tend to take greater responsibility for the home and children. Increased acceptance and higher levels of remote work could thus instead lead gender roles to become cemented and cause gender gaps in labour market outcomes to remain constant or even widen (TCO, 2021). These arguments suggest that family circumstances – where the presence of young children in the household is particularly important – are significant for the link between remote work and gender equality in the labour market.

Finally, the possibility of remote work could increase both women's and men's weekly working hours. This could have a positive effect on gender equality, even if the relative difference between women's and men's weekly working hours remains unchanged. People sometimes talk about so-called "threshold effects". For example, an employer may choose to recruit managers internally from among employees who work at least a certain number of hours per week (i.e., not from among those who work part-time). Assuming that more women reach such thresholds, this could reduce the likelihood of gender differences arising as a result of different working hours.

Previous studies by Mynak on remote work and gender equality[2]

A great deal of research has examined how the increase in remote work during the COVID-19 pandemic affected gender equality during the pandemic years. However, many of these studies come from countries where childcare

2 A summary of previous research on a possible link between remote work and gender equality is presented in the systematic literature review, *Remote work and gender equality in the labour market – A literature review.*

facilities and schools were closed during the pandemic (which was not the case in Sweden). In places where schoolchildren were homeschooled, this meant that any kids living at home tended to be there during their parents' working days. This should be considered an aggravating circumstance in relation to the performance of paid work. Mynak (2022) has compiled both national and international research related to employees and remote work in connection with the COVID-19 pandemic in three areas: work environment and health, work-life balance, and productivity. These results are presented below.

With regard to the psychosocial work environment and health, Mynak's systematic literature review (2022) emphasises that remote work can have negative effects, as the boundary between work and leisure can become more difficult to define, and this can lead to increased emotional exhaustion. Furthermore, opportunities for learning and skills development, as well as contact with and support from managers and colleagues, may be reduced, and the individual may become more isolated. In addition, the report shows that managers tend to become more controlling when employees work remotely. Positive aspects include greater flexibility and self-determination, a better work-life balance, and more time for recovery. Furthermore, higher productivity and work engagement, as well as increased job satisfaction, were highlighted. The report also points to certain gender differences. Some studies found that remote work tends to be good for men's mental health (because it offers increased autonomy), but did not have the same effect on women. However, the systematic literature review also concludes that the links between gender, remote work, and different outcomes are complex. Notwithstanding, the presence of children in the household tends to have a negative impact on the work-life balance of remote workers, especially mothers. It is also likely that the relationship between remote work and various outcomes is not linear (i.e., the more a person works remotely, the better the outcomes). Rather, it may be that a combination of remote work and work at the physical workplace is ideal, as employees gain greater flexibility in their daily lives while maintaining contact with managers, colleagues, and the workplace in general.

Direct and indirect indicators of gender equality in the labour market

There are both direct and more indirect indicators of gender equality in the labour market. One direct indicator, which is also among the most common, is the gender wage gap – that is, the difference in wages between women and men. Another direct factor may relate to senior positions, for example whether the individual has managerial responsibility. Further direct measures that could be used when examining remote work and gender equality in the labour market include occupational and work environment factors, such as work-related illness and job satisfaction. As mentioned above, gender equality in the labour market is also closely tied to gender equality in the home with regard to domestic and care work, as a more equal distribution of unpaid work tends to correlate with a more equal distribution of paid work in the labour market

(Samtleben & Müller, 2022). Indicators of unpaid domestic and care work may include parental leave, temporary parental leave (to care for a sick child) and the time spent on housework. These can be considered indirect indicators of gender equality in the labour market. Another measure closely linked to gender equality in both labour market work and domestic work is the number of hours spent in paid employment, i.e., working hours. This factor can be seen as both a direct and indirect measure of gender equality (since working hours affect income, for example).

It is likely that any effects of remote work on many labour market outcomes, such as wages and more senior positions, will lag, as the time frame of the report is relatively short and the follow-up period extends less than two and a half years after the end of the pandemic. This makes it less likely that any effects on wages or positions would have had time to kick in. Thus, working hours should be one of the more relevant labour market outcomes for the analysis tied to the current government mandate.

Questions

Based on the discussion of remote work and gender equality between women/mothers and men/fathers in the labour market in the previous sections, the following questions have been formulated: *Has the increase in remote work reduced the differences between women and men in terms of weekly working hours? Does this apply specifically to parents of young children?*

Data and time period

As the questions of the government mandate concerns a change over time (before the pandemic, i.e., in 2019 or earlier, and after the pandemic, i.e., in 2023 or later), measurements of remote work and working hours are needed for (at least) two points in time, before and after the pandemic, ideally for the same individuals – so-called "longitudinal data" (also known as panel data). One data source that partially meets these requirements is the Labour Force Surveys (LFS). The LFS comprises part of Sweden's official statistics, and the survey is conducted by Statistics Sweden on behalf of the Swedish Parliament and Government. The purpose of the LFS is to describe the labour market and its relations, for example, people's working conditions, working hours, managerial responsibilities, and work organisation, as well as how many people are permanent or temporary employees. This report analyses the period 2016–2024. At the time of writing, data was only available up to August 2024. Thus, the annual average actual weekly working time for 2024 is not entirely comparable with previous years.

The LFS collects data every month and tracks respondents over a period of eight quarters. This means that some respondents can be followed over the pandemic period (if the first interview was conducted between the fourth quarter of 2019

and the second quarter of 2020, the last interview was conducted between the third quarter of 2021 and the first quarter of 2022).

The LFS was revised in the early 2020s, and certain questions were changed between 2020 and 2021. Data have been coded to ensure comparability over the period to the greatest extent possible, but differences between the periods 2016–2020 and 2021–2024 that are relevant to the report are described in footnotes.

Sample

The population studied consists of individuals aged 20 to 64 who are employed in the Swedish labour market (regardless of the extent or type of employment, with the exception of military personnel, who are excluded). Thus, young and older individuals, as well as those who are not employed, such as students and self-employed persons, are not included. Furthermore, those who reported zero hours of work during the reference week are excluded (see Footnote 7 for an explanation of the term "reference week"). The intention is to analyse the individuals who responded to questions about remote work and working hours, as well as the relevant control variables. The sample then consists of 113,706 respondents and a total of 212,470 observations over the period 2016–2024.[3]

3 Since respondents to the LFS are asked to participate in the survey for a period of eight consecutive quarters, their responses are weighted in the report.

2. Method

An analytical strategy based on cross-sectional data for the period studied involves comparing individuals who (fully or partially) work remotely with the group of employees who do not. The difference in weekly working hours between women and men in these groups can then be compared, adjusted for relevant factors related to working life and family situation. Adjusting for a factor involves removing the variation associated with that factor that may affect the relationship being investigated. This is sometimes referred to as controlling for a variable, or confounder analysis. In these analyses, it may be relevant to examine whether any correlation between remote work and working hours differs between women and men. It may also be of interest to conduct analyses on specific subgroups, such as parents of young children. A general caveat associated with analysing cross-sectional data is that there may be so-called "selection effects". This implies systematic differences (e.g., in education, health, motivation, etc.) between groups that have the opportunity to work from home and those that do not have the same possibility. Some of these differences are probably unobservable, meaning that there are no measures for them in the data, which means that the analyses cannot take them into account. One should therefore be cautious about drawing causal conclusions, i.e., conclusions about causal relationships, based on cross-sectional data.

Another analytical strategy is based on longitudinal data with measurement points for the same individual before (t0) and after (t1) the pandemic. This type of analysis focuses on employees who have changed their status, for example, from no remote work to a certain amount of remote work t1. These types of analyses (known as fixed-effects models) take advantage of the fact that individuals' opportunities for remote work vary over time, which makes it possible to compare individuals' working hours over time. By comparing the same individual's behaviour under different conditions (rather than with other individuals under different conditions), the likelihood that the analysis can control for selection increases. Fixed effects thus control for all factors that are constant over time, such as parental background and gender. If a variable measuring time is also included, the analyses adjust for whether the outcome variable may have changed between time points due to business cycle conditions or some other overarching factor that varies across years. To be sure of causality, the analyses must adjust for all relevant factors that may have changed for the individual between the two points in time, which is difficult to do. Thus, fixed effects analyses of longitudinal data provide a more accurate interpretation of the causal relationship than analyses of cross-sectional data, but it should be noted that potential changes affecting the *individual* over time (e.g., change of workplace) are not taken into account.

Analytical strategy

The main correlation of interest is that between remote work and working hours. In addition to studying the overall correlation, women and men, as well as parents of young children, i.e., mothers and fathers with children under the age of seven, will be analysed separately. The outcome variable is measured by asking about the respondent's *actual weekly working hours* in their main occupation. The empirical part of the report begins with a description of trends in remote work and actual weekly working hours between 2016 and 2024. After that, any correlation between remote work and weekly working hours is analysed using multivariate linear regression analyses (i.e., Ordinary Least Squares, OLS) of cross-sectional data for each year during the time period in question. OLS analyses are used because the dependent variable, actual weekly working hours, is on a continuous interval scale. The OLS estimate for the independent variable "remote work" shows the relationship between this and the dependent variable "actual weekly working hours". The OLS analyses of cross-sectional data include so-called interaction terms. Such variables measure whether the effect of one variable (e.g., remote work) on the dependent variable (e.g., working hours) is dependent on the value of another variable (such as ender). In this way, we can investigate whether there is a difference between women and men in terms of any correlation between remote work and working hours.

The OLS analyses of cross-sectional data include models that only adjust for gender, age, and the quarter of the year when the data was collected (to remove any seasonal effects) (Model 1), and models that also include all the family and work-related variables that have been constructed (described under the heading Variables below) (Model 2). To adjust for non-response, Statistics Sweden's weighting factor is included. Furthermore, robust standard errors clustered on the individual are used to take into account the fact that the observations in the data are correlated (i.e., that individuals are included in the data at several points in time).

To arrive at a more causal interpretation, i.e., a causal relationship, longitudinal data is also studied with regression analysis, so-called "fixed effects" (described under the heading Method above). These analyses also initially adjust only for age, the quarter of the year in which the data was collected, and the year (Model 1), while Model 2 includes all of the family and work-related variables that were constructed. However, only time-varying factors are included, as the fixed effects analysis already takes constant factors such as gender into account. Furthermore, year dummies[4] and robust standard errors clustered on the individual are used.

For both the OLS analyses of cross-sectional data and the fixed effects analyses of longitudinal data, the significance level, or the so-called "statistical error risk", is set at less than 5 per cent ($p < 0.05$), and most of the estimates presented in the graphs below have a significance level lower than 0.1 per cent ($p < 0.001$).

4 A dummy variable is a variable where all values are divided into different categories.

Variables

Below is a description of the variables that are controlled for in the analyses. The appendix contains descriptive statistics for the variables below (Table A1).

Remote work is defined based on the question "Do you do any work from home?". This question relates to the respondent's main occupation.[5]

Workplace size is a dummy variable indicating whether 10 people or fewer work at the workplace.

The variable "children" is measured partly using a dummy variable that indicates whether the interviewee has *children younger than seven years of age living at home,* and partly with a continuous variable that indicates *the number of children living at home* that a respondent has.

Manager is a self-reported variable based on responses to the question of whether the respondent has managerial responsibility.[6]

Married or cohabiting is a dummy variable for marital status.

Actual weekly working hours are defined as the actual number of hours worked in the main occupation during the reference week.[7] Here, the lower limit has been set at a minimum of 1 hour of work and the upper limit at a maximum of 80 hours per week.[8]

Industry is indicated by dummy variables classified according to the first level (so-called "departments") of the Swedish Standard Industrial Classification (SNI) 2007.[9]

The *quarter* in which the respondents were interviewed is indicated by dummy variables.

The sector is measured using three dummy variables: *state sector, primary* and *county council sector, and private sector.*

5 Prior to 2021, the time period to which the question refers was not specified. Starting in 2021, it was specified as the last month prior to the interview. Thus, the question was posed as follows in the years 2016 to 2019 and 2021 to 2024: "Do you do any work from home?" and "Have you worked from home in the past 4 weeks?". During 2020, the question was changed several times. Between January and April, it read: "Do you do any work from home?". Between May and November, the question was: "Do you usually do any work from home (if you think about the situation before the coronavirus pandemic)?". and in December, it read: "Do you do any work from home?"

6 The correlation between this variable and the variable indicating managerial occupations (i.e., *Higher positions and managerial occupations*) is less than 0.4. This is because the latter also includes senior civil servants and other types of senior positions in the labour market that do not entail managerial responsibility. The former variable, on the other hand, may refer to work management in all types of occupations.

7 The LFS asks respondents about working conditions, both in general and in relation to a specific week, known as the reference week. The question of actual working time refers to the weekly working time during the reference week, as opposed to the question of agreed weekly working time, which refers to the working time agreed between the employer and the employee. Thus, these two measurements will differ, and the actual working time tends to be shorter, as it is affected by factors such as vacation, absence due to illness, or caring for sick children.

8 In robustness tests, this variable has also been logarithmised. This means that the variable is transformed so that it becomes more normally distributed. The results of these analyses are described under the heading Sensitivity analyses.

9 Here, the levels (or departments) A and B have been combined, as have T, U, and X, as these are small categories.

Seniority in the profession is a continuous variable indicating the number of years in the profession.

Education is categorised into three dummy variables: *pre-secondary education (or no education), secondary education, and post-secondary education shorter than two years, and post-secondary education of two years or more.*

Fixed-term employment is indicated by a dummy variable.

Occupation is divided into dummy variables according to the first digit in the occupational coding of the Swedish Standard Classification of Occupations (SSYK) 2012 (military personnel are excluded): *Higher positions and managerial occupations; Occupations requiring advanced higher education qualifications; Occupations requiring higher education qualifications or equivalent; Occupations in administration and customer service; Service, care, and shop sales work; Occupations in agriculture, gardening, forestry, and fishing; Occupations in construction and manufacturing; Occupations in mechanical manufacturing and transport, etc., and Occupations requiring brief training or introduction/elementary occupations.*

Age is a continuous variable.

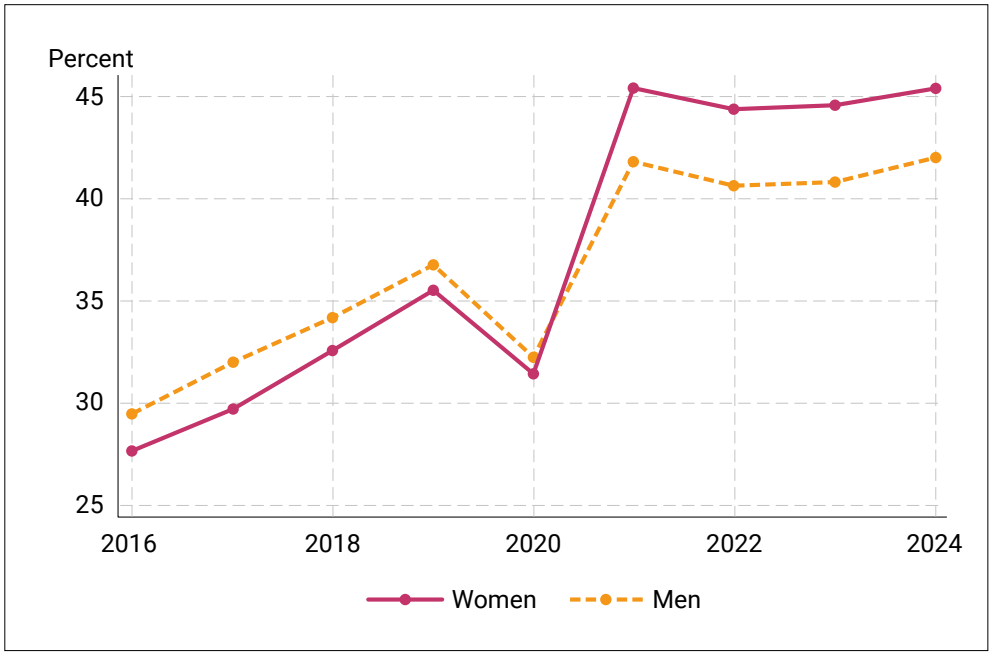
Year is indicated by dummy variables in the longitudinal analyses.

3. Results

The following paragraph presents descriptive trends regarding remote work and actual weekly working hours for the period 2016 to 2024.

Figure 3 shows the proportion of all employed women and men aged 20–64 who state that they work remotely, for each year from 2016 to 2024. Even before the pandemic, the proportions were relatively high and gradually increased from around 29 per cent in 2016 to around 36 per cent in 2019 (the overall trend is not shown in the figure). Before the pandemic, slightly more men than women reported that they worked remotely. In 2020, the lines converged, and the proportions of women and men working remotely became almost equal. During the pandemic, the proportion of people working remotely increased dramatically, to around 44 per cent in 2021. The gender gap also grew, with around 45 per cent of women and around 42 per cent of men stating that they worked remotely. After the pandemic, these high proportions of employees who reported that they worked remotely remained unchanged.

Figure 3. Remote work among employees aged 20–64 (per cent).

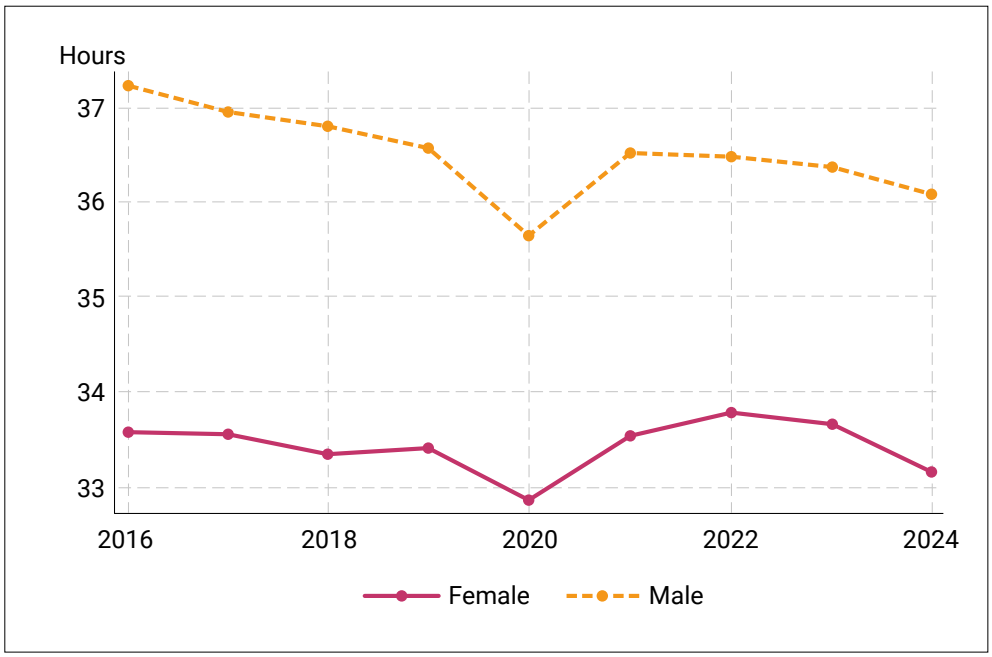


Note on Figure 3: The question is phrased differently in 2020, which is why this measurement point is not comparable with previous or subsequent years. Prior to 2021, the time period to which the question refers was not specified. Starting in 2021, it was specified as the last month prior to the interview. See Footnote 5 for details.

Figure 4 shows trends in actual weekly working hours in the main occupation of women and men. In 2016, working hours were 35.5 hours per week (the overall trend is not shown in the figure). Over the period studied, actual working hours decreased slightly, and in 2023 and 2024 they were 35.1 and 34.7 hours, respectively. It should be noted that the observed decline in working hours for

2024 may be partly linked to the fact that the data only includes quarters one to three of that year.[10] There is a clear gender difference, with women working fewer hours than men. The average actual working time for men was 37.3 hours in 2016 and 36.4 (36.1) hours in 2023 (2024), while the corresponding figures for women were 33.6 and 33.7 (33.2) hours. Thus, the gender gap in actual weekly working hours among the report's sample has decreased slightly, from approximately 3.7 hours in 2016 to approximately 2.7 (2.9) hours in 2023 (2024).

Figure 4. Actual weekly working hours among employees aged 20–64 (hours).



In summary, remote work increased between 2016 and 2024 and is now more common for women than for men. In terms of actual weekly working hours in the main occupation, men spend more hours than women on paid work. For men, the actual weekly working hours decreased slightly over the period, which is why the gender gap in working hours was smaller in 2023 (2024) than in 2016.

Is there a correlation between remote work and working hours?

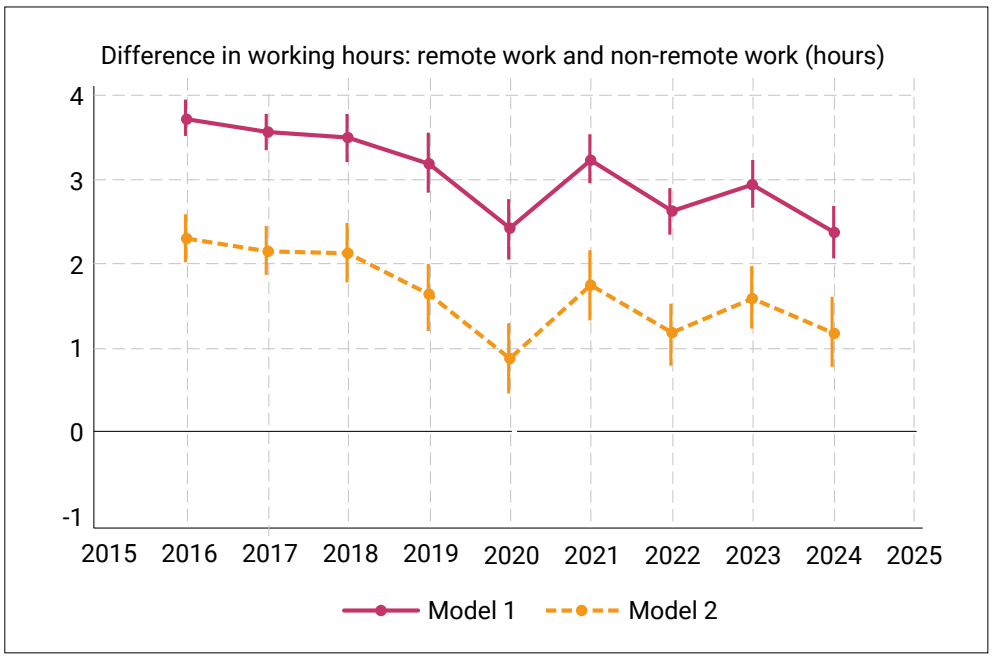
To answer the question of whether there is a correlation between remote work and actual weekly working hours, regression analyses are used on cross-sectional data for each year between 2016 and 2024. The results of the report are described in a number of figures. The figures can be understood as follows:

10 The database of Statistics Sweden allows comparisons of the average actual weekly working hours for 2023 and 2024 at an aggregated level. For employees aged 20–64, the actual weekly working hours in 2024 were almost at the same level as in 2023. However, the sample in the statistical database is less specific than the one used in this report. For the report's more limited sample, there could thus still be a decrease over time in actual weekly working hours.

If the estimates are above zero (as indicated by the horizontal dotted lines in the figures), the relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours is positive, i.e., remote work is linked to longer working hours. If the estimate is below zero, the correlation between remote work and actual weekly working hours is negative, i.e., remote work is linked to shorter working hours. The vertical lines adjacent to each estimate show the confidence intervals that connote the statistical certainty and precision of the estimates. A small interval indicates that the estimate is more precise than if the interval is large. The statistical significance, i.e., how likely it is that any correlations observed in the data actually exist in the population and are not due to chance, is also mentioned in the text.

In the first step, the entire sample is analysed. These results are presented in Figure 5, which shows the regression estimate for the relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours. Model 1 depicts annual estimates for the relationship, adjusted only for gender, age, and quarter, while Model 2 also adjusts for all control variables.

Figure 5. The relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours among employees aged 20–64.



Note on Figure 5: The question is phrased differently in 2020, which is why this measurement point is not comparable with previous or subsequent years. Prior to 2021, the time period to which the question refers was not specified. Starting in 2021, it was specified as the last month prior to the interview. See Footnote 5 for details. All models include quarterly dummies, Statistics Sweden's weighting factor, and robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. **Model 1** adjusts for gender and age. **Model 2** adjusts for gender, age, education, marital status, number of children, children under the age of seven, occupation, seniority in the occupation, sector, industry, managerial responsibility, workplace size, and type of employment.

The results based on Model 1 indicate a positive correlation between remote work and weekly working hours for the entire period studied. All estimates are also statistically significant. When control variables are included in Model 2, the size

of the estimate decreases, but the correlation remains positive and significant, and the size of the estimate also remains substantial, although declining slightly over time. The results can be interpreted as meaning that remote workers had an actual weekly working time that was approximately 2.3 hours longer in 2016 and approximately 1.2 hours longer in 2024, compared with those who did not work remotely in these years (given equal values for the parameters adjusted for in Model 2).

In summary, the analyses show that remote work has a positive and significant correlation with actual weekly working hours. The correlation varies somewhat and decreases over time, which is also confirmed by a significant interaction term between year and remote work (not shown).[11]

The correlation for women and men

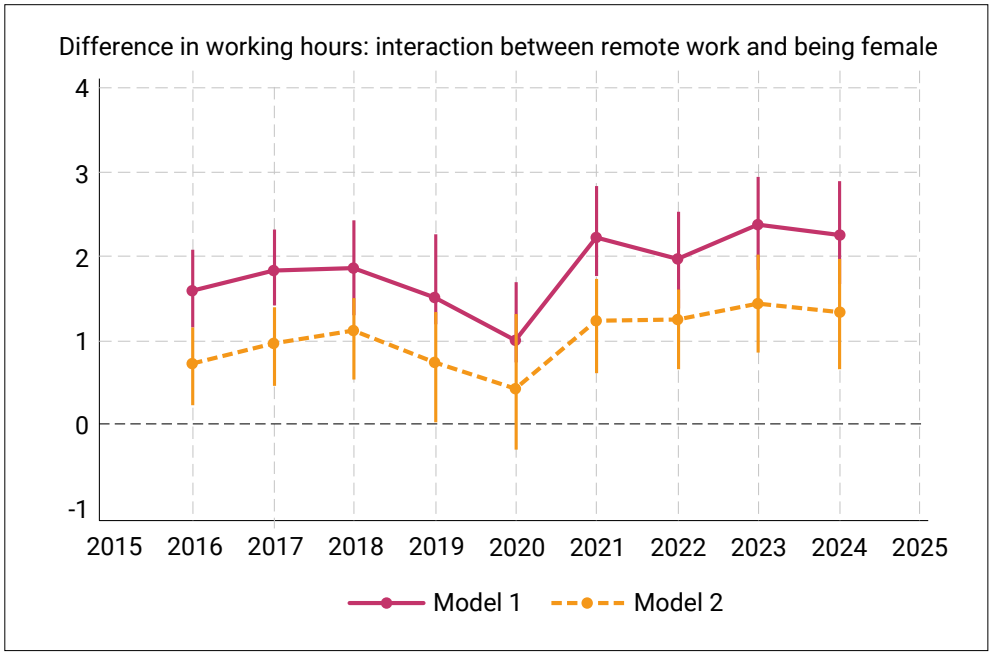
Based on the positive and significant correlation between remote work and weekly working hours revealed in the analysis, one may wonder whether this correlation differs between women and men. One way to investigate this is to include an interaction term between remote work and being female. The results of such an analysis are presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6 shows that the interaction estimates in both Model 1 and Model 2 are positive for all years during the period studied. The estimates are significant for all years except 2020 (Model 2) – a year that is not comparable with other years, however, as the question about remote work was asked in a different way (see footnote 5).[12] Consequently, the positive correlation between remote work and actual weekly working hours is stronger for women than for men, and the differences in actual working hours between women who work remotely and women who do not are greater than the corresponding differences for men (see main and interaction estimates in Appendix Table A2).

11 The comparisons refer to 2016 and 2023, as well as 2016 and 2024 (not shown).

12 In 2019, the significance level was exactly 5 per cent (p = 0.05). The main effects are presented in the Appendix (Table A2).

Figure 6. The relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours among employees aged 20–64 (interaction).



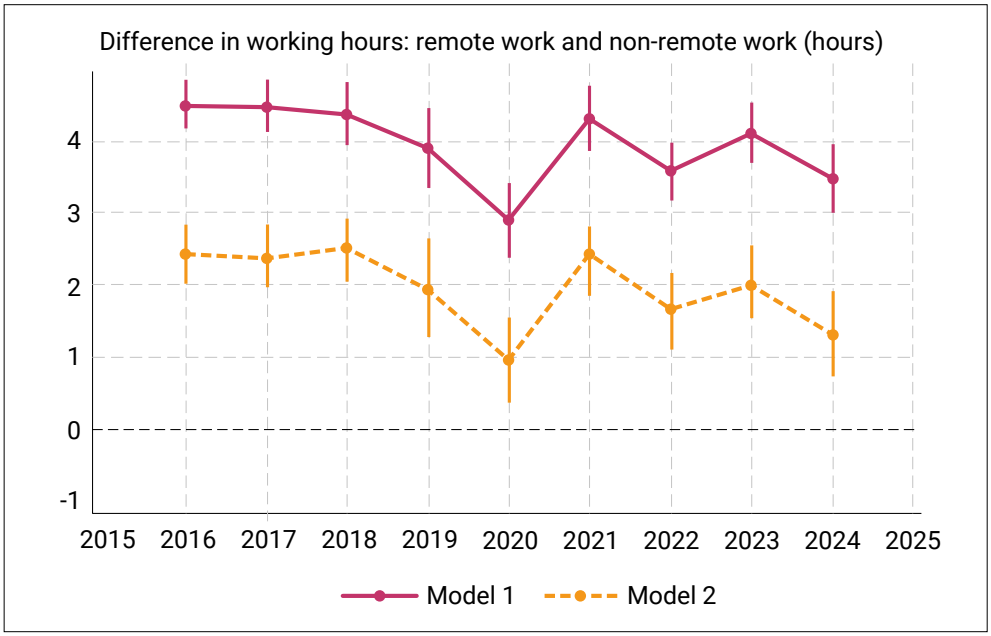
Note on Figure 6: The question is phrased differently in 2020, which is why this measurement point is not comparable with previous or subsequent years. Prior to 2021, the time period to which the question refers was not specified. Starting in 2021, it was specified as the last month prior to the interview. See Footnote 5 for details. All models include quarterly dummies, Statistics Sweden's weighting factor, and robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. **Model 1** adjusts for gender and age and includes an interaction variable between remote work and being female. **Model 2** adjusts for gender, age, education, marital status, number of children, children under the age of seven, occupation, seniority in the occupation, sector, industry, managerial responsibility, workplace size, employment type, and includes an interaction variable between remote work and being female.

The positive correlation between remote work and actual weekly working hours is stronger for women than for men, as indicated by separate studies of women and men (Figures 7 and 8 below). For all years during the period, remote work is positively linked to actual weekly working hours for both women and men. Except for men in 2022,[13] all estimates are also significant. However, the size of the correlations (i.e., the distance between the dotted horizontal line in the figures and the estimates) is generally greater for women than for men. The correlation decreases significantly over time for both sexes.[14]

13 The estimate is significant at the 10 per cent level ($p < 0.1$).

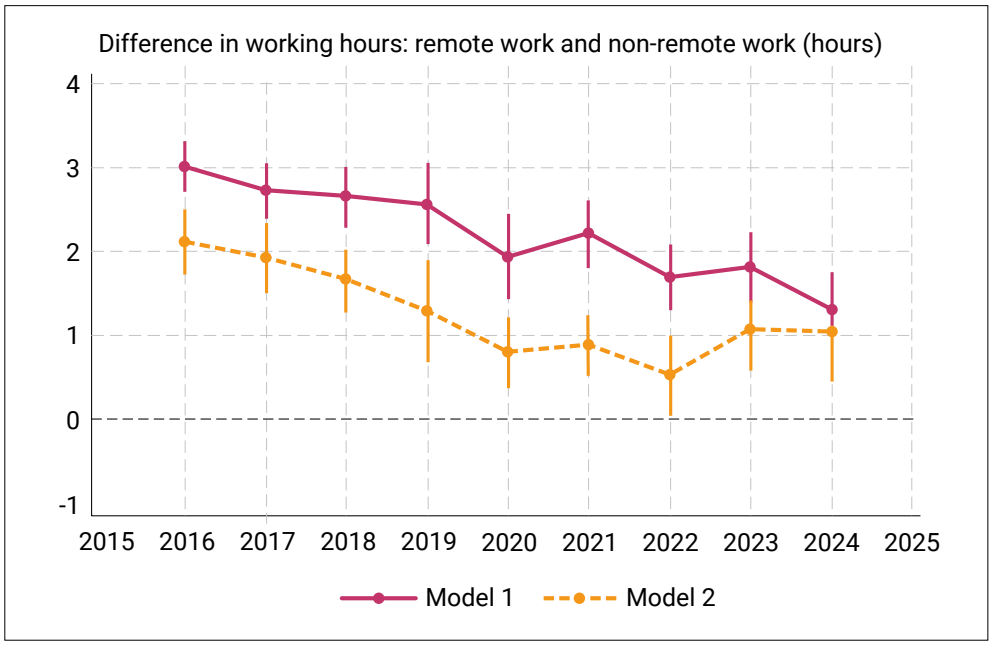
14 The comparisons refer to 2016 and 2023, as well as 2016 and 2024 (not shown).

Figure 7. The relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours among female employees aged 20–64.



Note on Figure 7: The question is phrased differently in 2020, which is why this measurement point is not comparable with previous or subsequent years. Prior to 2021, the time period to which the question refers was not specified. Starting in 2021, it was specified as the last month prior to the interview. See Footnote 5 for details. All models include quarterly dummies, Statistics Sweden's weighting factor, and robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. **Model 1** adjusts for age. **Model 2** adjusts for age, education, marital status, number of children, children under the age of seven, occupation, seniority in the occupation, sector, industry, managerial responsibility, workplace size, and type of employment.

Figure 8. The relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours among male employees aged 20–64.



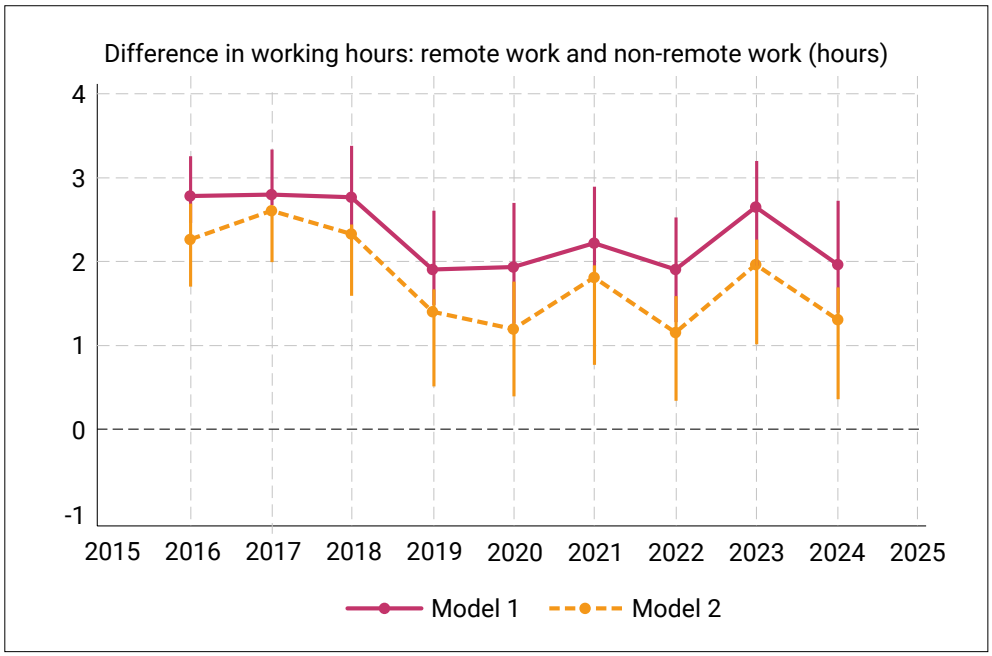
Note on Figure 8: The question is phrased differently in 2020, which is why this measurement point is not comparable with previous or subsequent years. Prior to 2021, the time period to which the question refers was not specified. Starting in 2021, it was specified as the last month prior to the interview. See Footnote 5 for details. All models include quarterly dummies, Statistics Sweden's weighting factor, and robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. **Model 1** adjusts for age. **Model 2** adjusts for age, education, marital status, number of children, children under the age of seven, occupation, seniority in the occupation, sector, industry, managerial responsibility, workplace size, and type of employment.

In summary, the positive and statistically significant correlation between remote work and weekly working hours tends to be stronger for women than for men.

The correlation for parents of young children

Figure 9 illustrates the relationship between remote work and weekly working hours for parents of young children, i.e., parents with children under the age of seven in the household.

Figure 9. The relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours among parents of young children aged 20–64.

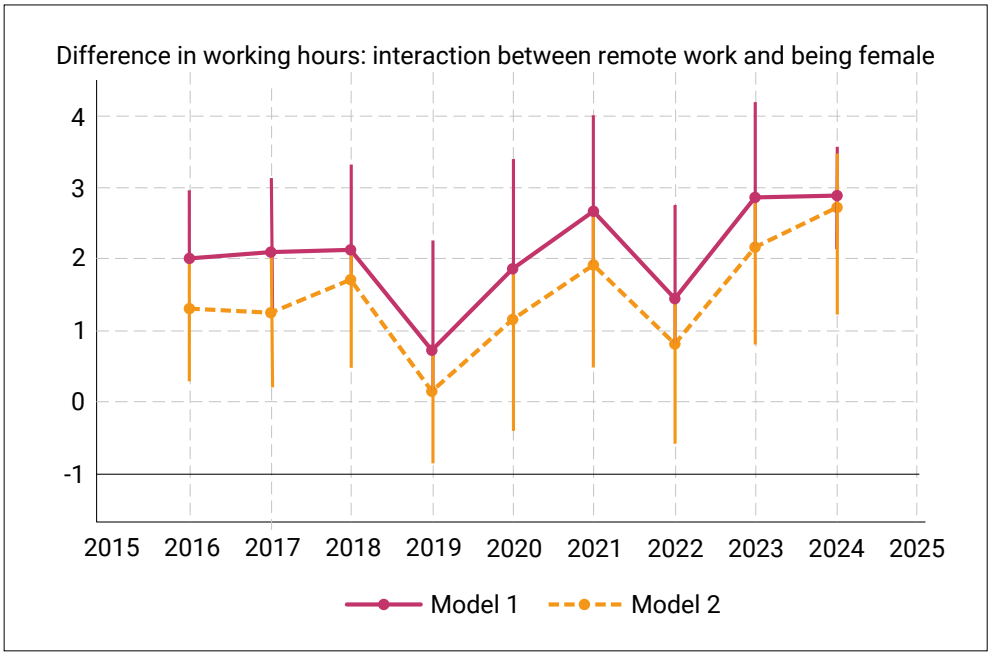


Note on Figure 9: The question is phrased differently in 2020, which is why this measurement point is not comparable with previous or subsequent years. Prior to 2021, the time period to which the question refers was not specified. Starting in 2021, it was specified as the last month prior to the interview. See Footnote 5 for details. All models include quarterly dummies, Statistics Sweden's weighting factor, and robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. **Model 1** adjusts for gender and age. **Model 2** adjusts for gender, age, education, marital status, occupation, seniority in the occupation, sector, industry, managerial responsibility, workplace size, and type of employment.

The results show that the correlation between remote work and actual weekly working hours is positive for the entire period, also for parents of young children. In addition, all estimates are statistically significant. The strength of the correlation differs relatively little between Model 1 and Model 2 (when all control variables are included), especially at the beginning of the period. The change over time in the relationship between remote work and working hours is similar to that presented for the entire sample, i.e., all women and men. The results can be interpreted as meaning that employees who worked remotely had an actual weekly working time that was approximately 2.3 hours longer in 2016 and approximately 1.3 hours longer in 2024, compared with those who did not work remotely in those years (given equal values for the parameters adjusted for in Model 2).

Figure 10 below shows the results for an interaction term between remote work and mothers. Similar to our general sample, i.e., women and men overall, the estimates are positive, but for certain years (2019, 2020, and 2022), the correlation is not statistically significant. However, since the estimates are significant for most of the period, this suggests that the correlation between remote work and actual weekly working hours is generally stronger for mothers with young children than for fathers with young children, and that the differences in actual working hours between mothers who work remotely and mothers who do not are greater than the corresponding differences for fathers (see main and interaction estimates in Appendix Table A3).[15] However, the correlation is not as clear across the entire period as the correlation between remote work and working hours for women compared with men in the sample as a whole.

Figure 10. The relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours among parents (aged 20–64) of young children (interaction).



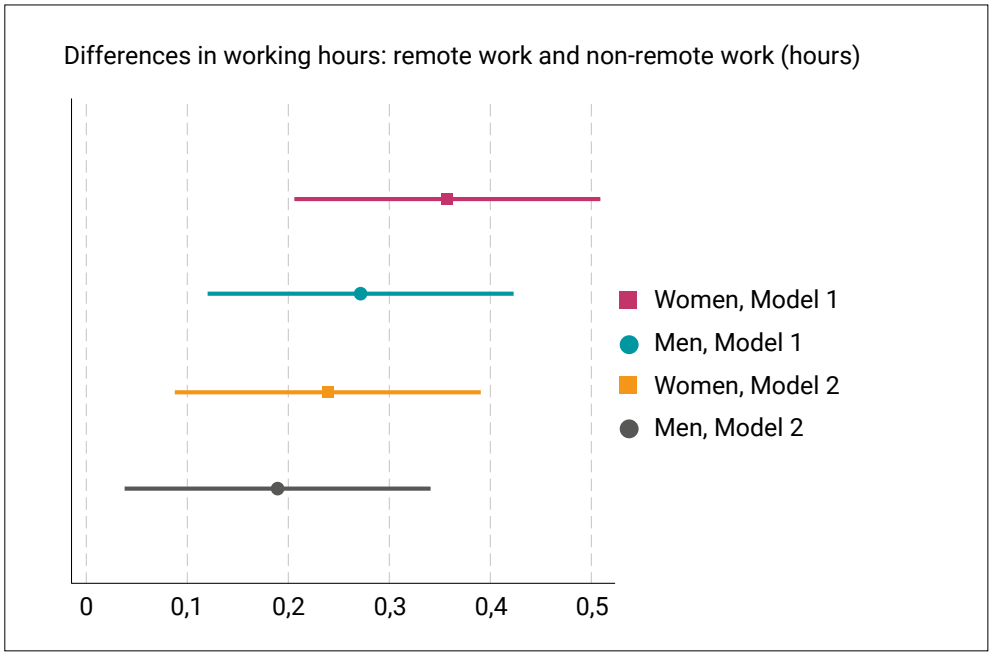
Note on Figure 10: The question is phrased differently in 2020, which is why this measurement point is not comparable with previous or subsequent years. Prior to 2021, the time period to which the question refers was not specified. Starting in 2021, it was specified as the last month prior to the interview. See Footnote 5 for details. All models include quarterly dummies, Statistics Sweden's weighting factor, and robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. **Model 1** adjusts for gender and age and includes an interaction variable between remote work and being female. **Model 2** adjusts for gender, age, education, marital status, occupation, seniority in occupation, sector, industry, managerial responsibility, workplace size, employment type, and includes an interaction variable between remote work and being female. The main effects are shown in the Appendix (Table A3).

15 When mothers and fathers are analysed separately, the results show major differences in estimate sizes, especially after the COVID-19 pandemic. The estimates are not significant for mothers in 2019 and not significant for fathers in 2020, 2021, 2022, and 2024.

Is the positive correlation between remote work and actual working hours due to selection?

In the analyses of cross-sectional data above, there is a risk that selection may influence the observed correlations. This means that there may be unobserved systematic differences (e.g., in education, health, motivation, etc.) between groups that have the opportunity to work from home and those that do not have the same possibility. In the following analyses, the longitudinal structure of the data is used to take into account any selection that may affect the relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours. Data is therefore analysed using fixed effects, where the individual's responses over time are compared. These models use the variation in different variables over time, and thus all constant variables (even those that cannot be observed in the data) are adjusted. Since gender is a constant variable (for the majority of individuals), it cannot be included in the analyses; instead, women and men are analysed separately.

Figure 11. The effect of remote work on actual weekly working hours among employees aged 20–64 over the period 2016–2024.



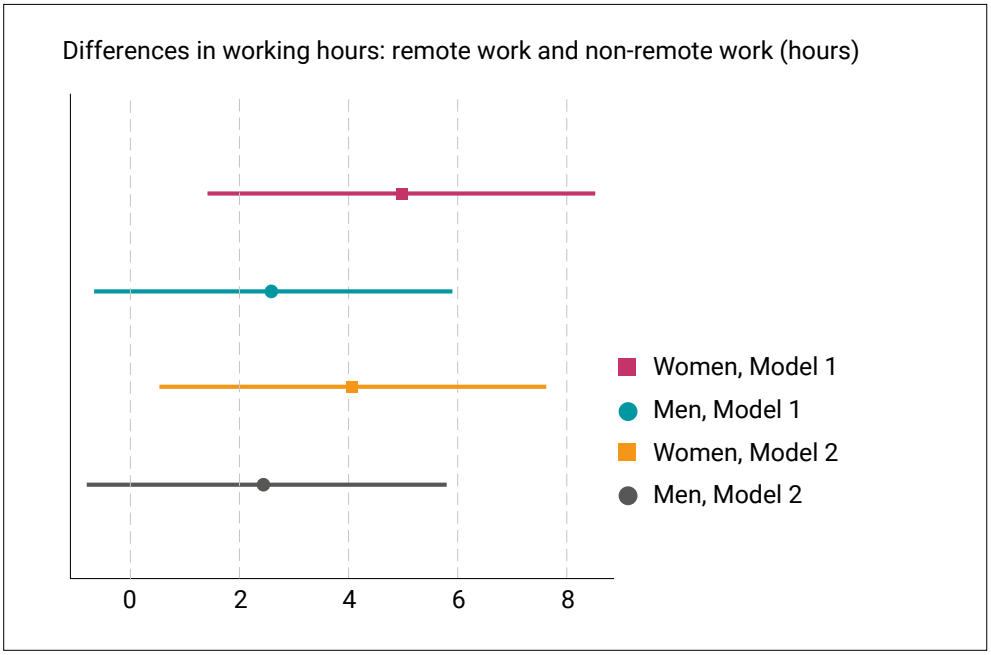
Note on Figure 11: The analyses include quarterly and annual dummies as well as robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. **Model 1** adjusts for age. **Model 2** adjusts for age, education, marital status, number of children, children under the age of seven, occupation, seniority in the occupation, sector, industry, managerial responsibility, workplace size, and type of employment.

Figure 11 shows that remote work has a positive effect on actual weekly working hours. The effect is significant for both women and men. The results can be interpreted as indicating that remote work results in an actual weekly working time that is approximately 14 minutes longer for women and approximately 11 minutes longer for men (given the controls in Model 2). In general, the results support a causal interpretation of a positive effect of remote work on working hours. However, the estimates are significantly lower than those in

the cross-sectional analyses, and the differences between women and men are marginal, as they only amount to a few minutes when translated into weekly working hours. Consequently, it cannot be ruled out that most of the correlations between remote work and working hours revealed in the cross-sectional analyses reflect selection, for example, linked to changes in unobserved factors of significance for the correlation over the period studied.

Mothers and fathers of children under seven years of age are analysed separately in Figure 12. The estimate is only significant for mothers. The results can be interpreted as indicating that remote work gives mothers approximately 25 minutes more working time (see Model 2). Thus, the effect is slightly stronger for female parents of young children than for women in general.

Figure 12. The effect of remote work on actual weekly working hours among parents (aged 20–64) of young children over the period 2016–2024.



Note on Figure 12: The analyses include quarterly and annual dummies as well as robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. **Model 1** adjusts for age. **Model 2** adjusts for age, education, marital status, occupation, seniority in occupation, sector, industry, managerial responsibility, workplace size, and type of employment.

In summary, the longitudinal analyses support a causal interpretation of a positive relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours for both women and men, but the relationship is relatively weak, and the gender differences are marginal. For parents with young children in the household, the correlation is only significant for mothers, and it is slightly stronger for mothers than for women in general. Overall, the confidence intervals are also large in both Figure 11 and Figure 12, which means that the estimates are less precise.

Sensitivity analyses

A number of additional analyses have been performed to investigate the robustness of the results. The outcome variable “actual weekly working hours” has thus been logarithmised. This means that the variable is transformed so that it becomes more normally distributed. The results of these analyses are in line with the overall findings of the report, i.e., positive and statistically significant correlations between remote work and working hours. However, there are more non-statistically significant results, especially for parents of young children in the fixed effects analyses. The analyses have also been redone using the outcome variable agreed weekly working hours, which is defined according to the question ”How many hours per week are you supposed to work according to your agreement?”. As with the variable “actual weekly working hours”, the lower limit is set at a minimum of 1 hour of work, and the upper limit is set at a maximum of 80 hours per week. The results generally correspond well with those for actual hours worked, but are stronger overall, and in the fixed effects analyses, the increase in working hours is clearer for women and mothers compared with the corresponding results when actual hours worked are used as the outcome variable.

4. Discussion and conclusions

This report analyses the link between remote work and gender equality in the labour market. Remote work is defined as working from home, and gender equality in the labour market is operationalised as the actual weekly hours worked by women and men in paid employment. The report focuses on investigating whether the time potentially freed up by increased remote work affects the differences between women and men in terms of their weekly working hours. Furthermore, the study also examines whether a possible correlation is particularly prominent among parents of young children. The data on which the quantitative analyses in the report are based are the Labour Force Surveys (LFS) for the period 2016–2024, and the sample studied consists of employed women and men aged 20–64.

A first observation is that the prevalence of remote work rose between 2016 and 2024, particularly in connection with the pandemic, and levels have remained high even after the pandemic. The increase is greater for women than for men. In 2016, approximately 29 per cent of employees reported that they worked remotely, and this was slightly more common among men than among women. However, in 2024, the proportion of women was higher than that of men, around 45 per cent compared to 42 per cent.

Results from repeated cross-sections (years), for the entire study period and for both women and men, show a positive and statistically significant relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours. However, the strength of the correlation weakened somewhat between 2016 and 2024. The correlation is slightly stronger for women than for men, and the group of parents of young children does not differ from women and men in general. Also, among parents of young children, the correlation tends to be slightly stronger for mothers than for fathers. Supplementary analyses with longitudinal data, which make it possible to follow individuals over time, support a causal interpretation of the results (i.e., a causal relationship interpretation), as these results also show a positive and statistically significant relationship between remote work and actual weekly working hours for both women and men. However, compared with the cross-sectional data, the correlations in the longitudinal data are significantly weaker and less precise, the differences between women and men are only marginal, and among parents of young children, the correlation is only significant for mothers. Furthermore, there is still room for selection to have an impact, as changes over time in unobserved factors such as work ethic and work tasks may affect the results. Thus, the positive effect of remote work on working hours could be explained by selection effects, rather than being an actual effect of remote work.

The report's conclusion, namely that there is a positive correlation between remote work and working hours, is in line with the findings of the Engineers of Sweden trade union (2023), which argues that remote work has facilitated

full-time work (instead of part-time work) primarily for its female members. And this may apply to a specific profession or group of workers. However, this report examines the entire labour market, and the difference is that the results only show a weak average correlation and marginal gender differences. This can be understood based on results from TCO (2025), which represents more occupational groups (from the white-collar category). Their female and male members without children primarily use the time they save by working remotely for *recovery, housework and cooking,* and *their own leisure activities/hobbies/exercise.* Working hours come in fourth place. In terms of the proportion who say they use their earned time for work, there are only minor differences between women and men (15 and 17 per cent, respectively). For mothers and fathers with children under the age of 12, working hours came in fifth and fourth place (27 per cent for both women and men), and the categories *picking up earlier from preschool/after-school* and *accompanying their child/children to after-school activities* were also ranked higher. Based on these results, the conclusions in this report are credible; i.e., the effect of remote work on working hours averages approximately 25 minutes per week for mothers and 14 minutes for women in general, and approximately 11 minutes per week for men overall (the results were not statistically significant for fathers).

One limitation of the analysed data is that the question about remote work has changed over the period studied (as the time period covered by the question regarding remote work was not specified until 2021). If anything, this would mean that the level of remote work was estimated to be higher in the period before the pandemic than in the period after (since the survey does not "only" ask about remote work conducted in the past four weeks). Thus, there should be little risk that the high levels of remote work observed after 2021 are due to the question having changed over time.

A further reservation is that, at the time of writing this report, only about two and a half years have passed since the end of the pandemic. It may still be too early to see clear effects of remote work on gender equality in the labour market – both positive and negative. An example of the former could be so-called threshold effects linked to working hours and certain types of jobs – for example, an employer may not want a manager to work (too few hours) part-time. It will also take some time before increased actual weekly working hours have any impact on gender equality in the labour market, for example, in terms of smaller gender differences in wages and more senior positions. Thus, any effects may only become apparent after a longer period of time. Concerns about an "A team" and a "B team" in the labour market have been raised (TCO, 2021), where women responsible for unpaid domestic and care work largely work remotely and constitute a B team that is disadvantaged in terms of work and career. One example is the question of whether visibility in the workplace affects career opportunities and salary development, as physical presence is often an important factor in promotion decisions and salary negotiations. Here, it would be necessary to study how job content and career development are potentially affected by remote work and whether this differs between women and men and between different professions.

Another aspect is the work environment. It is conceivable that remote work could lead to feelings of isolation and a lack of support from colleagues and managers, and thereby have a negative impact on employees' work environment. On the other hand, opportunities for recreation and relaxation may increase. Furthermore, employees may find it easier to combine family and work, which can reduce stress in everyday life. These elements can have a positive impact on workers' health and be tied to reduced sickness rates.

Finally, the issue of remote work and gender equality in the labour market needs to be examined in light of the correlation with women's greater responsibility for unpaid domestic and care work, parental leave, and temporary parental leave (to care for a sick child). This is because equality in the home is a prerequisite for equality in the labour market. Furthermore, it is important to study whether women continue to be overrepresented among remote workers, and whether the effects of remote work on, for example, career, salary development, and health differ between women and men. This will give us a more nuanced picture of the role of remote work with regard to gender equality in the labour market.

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6. Appendix

Table A1 presents the descriptive statistics for the variables used in the report. The full period 2016 to 2024 is collapsed in table A1, and individuals are only present one time in the data (the first time they participate in the LFS).

	Men	Women
	0.512	0.488
Actual weekly working hours	36.523	33.468
Remote work	0.372	0.383
Age	40.440	41.125
Married and cohabiting	0.672	0.697
Child ≤ 7 years	0.220	0.199
Number of children	0.896	0.935
Education:		
Pre-secondary education (or no education)	0.080	0.044
Secondary and post-secondary education ≤ 2 years	0.533	0.414
Post-secondary education > 2 years	0.387	0.542
Occupation:		
Higher positions and managerial occupations	0.071	0.060
Occupations requiring advanced higher education qualifications	0.257	0.369
Occupations requiring higher education qualifications or equivalent	0.210	0.174
Occupations in administration and customer service	0.053	0.081
Service, care, and shop sales work	0.124	0.239
Occupations in agriculture, gardening, forestry, and fishing	0.010	0.005
Occupations in construction and manufacturing	0.141	0.012
Occupations in mechanical manufacturing and transport etc.	0.089	0.018
Occupations requiring brief training or introduction	0.045	0.041
Sector:		
Primary and county council sector	0.129	0.380
State sector	0.061	0.082
Private sector	0.811	0.538
Seniority in the profession	7.401	7.608
Small workplace	0.171	0.170
Manager	0.342	0.273
Fixed-term employment	0.153	0.194
Industry:		
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining and quarrying	0.012	0.005
Manufacturing	0.160	0.053
Electricity, gas etc.	0.010	0.004
Water supply	0.008	0.003
Construction	0.098	0.014

	Men	Women
Wholesale and retail trade	0.118	0.095
Transport and storage etc.	0.064	0.021
Hotels and restaurants	0.028	0.029
Information and communication	0.073	0.034
Financial and insurance	0.023	0.024
Real estate	0.018	0.014
Law, economics, science, technology	0.096	0.079
Renting, travel activities etc.	0.056	0.043
Public administration and defence	0.063	0.104
Education	0.066	0.176
Care	0.074	0.252
Culture, entertainment, leisure activities	0.017	0.021
Other services	0.016	0.028
Other	0.001	0.001

Table A2 (Figure 6).
Main and interaction effects for the correlation between remote work and actual weekly working hours among employees aged 20–64 years.

Model 1	Remote work	Woman	Remote work x woman	Constant
2016	3.00***	-4.10***	1.58***	33.74***
2017	2.69***	-3.90***	1.82***	33.04***
2018	2.59***	-4.05***	1.86***	34.00***
2019	2.46***	-3.70***	1.51***	33.05***
2020	1.92***	-3.12***	0.98**	33.00***
2021	2.15***	-4.14***	2.22***	32.00***
2022	1.65***	-3.72***	1.96***	32.49***
2023	1.78***	-3.90***	2.37***	32.25***
2024	1.27***	-4.04***	2.25**	31.41***

Model 2	Remote work	Woman	Remote work x woman	Constant
2016	1.94***	-2.85***	0.71**	37.70***
2017	1.67***	-2.67***	0.96***	36.92***
2018	1.56***	-2.82***	1.10***	38.00***
2019	1.24***	-2.40***	0.75(*)	36.54***
2020	0.64*	-2.23***	0.419	36.73***
2021	1.10***	-2.84***	1.23***	35.92***
2022	0.51*	-2.58***	1.22***	36.48***
2023	0.83**	-2.63***	1.44***	35.85***
2024	0.48(*)	-2.91***	1.34***	35.09***

(*) = $p < 0.10$

Table A3 (Figure 10).
Main and interaction effects for the correlation between remote work and actual weekly working hours among parents aged 20–64 years.

Model 1	Remote work	Woman	Remote work x woman	Constant
2016	1.88***	-5.36***	2.01***	34.65***
2017	1.85***	-5.01***	2.08***	34.14***
2018	1.77***	-5.57***	2.14**	34.72***
2019	1.56**	-4.73***	0.71	34.87***
2020	1.05(*)	-4.41***	1.87*	33.70***
2021	1.01*	-5.50***	2.68***	32.50***
2022	1.21**	-3.88***	1.45*	32.68***
2023	1.28**	-4.66***	2.88***	30.82***
2024	0.61	-5.18***	2.89***	32.45***

(*) = p < 0.10

Model 2	Remote work	Woman	Remote work x woman	Constant
2016	1.62***	-4.11***	1.34**	35.06***
2017	2.02***	-3.61***	1.24*	34.35***
2018	1.47**	-4.39***	1.74**	35.65***
2019	1.31*	-3.59***	0.13	35.47***
2020	0.64	-3.23***	1.12	35.21***
2021	0.88	-4.17***	1.93**	33.71***
2022	0.73	-2.53***	0.79	32.76***
2023	0.83	-3.38***	2.17**	30.52***
2024	-0.11	-4.49***	2.76**	33.13***

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