

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

## – A Literature Review

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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 were given the opportunity to continue working remotely and chose to do so. Naturally, this radical change raises questions about how gender equality in working life is affected.

In the 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 quantitative study examining the relationship between remote work and the number of hours worked per week for women and men, and the present report, which is a compilation of existing research in the field of remote work and gender equality in the labour market.

Lena Grip, Associate Professor of Human Geography, and Ulrika Åkerlund, a PhD in Human Geography, both of Karlstad University's Department of Geography, Media, and Communication, have compiled this systematic literature review on behalf of the agency. The experts themselves have chosen their own theoretical and methodological starting points and are responsible for the findings and conclusions presented.

This systematic literature review has been quality-reviewed by Marina Heiden, a professor at the University of Gävle, and Lena Abrahamsson, a professor at Luleå University of Technology.

Analyst Johan Stenmark has served as the project manager at the Swedish Agency for Work Environment Expertise. Kristin Nylander has been the agency's communications officer.

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

Gävle, February 2025

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Nader Ahmadi', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Nader Ahmadi, Director-General

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# Summary

Increasing gender equality in the labor market has been on the political agenda for a long time. In Sweden, women's and men's participation in the labour market is almost equally high, and although there has been an equalization during the 2000s, there is still a clear gender segregation both in terms of occupational areas and distribution of work within an occupation/organization. In December 2023, the Swedish Government commissioned the Swedish Agency for Work Environment Expertise to report on how increased remote work after the COVID-19 pandemic affects gender equality in the labor market, and this knowledge review has been produced to answer this question.

Increased teleworking as technology and digitalization together with COVID-19, which unexpectedly accelerated the transition process, have changed the modern labor market and its relations. For some occupational groups, the sharp division between home and workplace has increasingly begun to dissolve, even after a return to the workplace became possible. However, a large majority of employed in Sweden work mainly at their workplace. In 2023, just under 15 percent of employed people worked remotely for more than half of their working days, and just under 23 percent for less than half of their working days. However, there are large differences between occupational groups. The occupations with the highest proportion of teleworkers are those requiring advanced university qualifications and, in these occupations, and among managers, the proportion who telework to some extent exceeds 50 percent. There is little difference between the proportion of men and women who telework in Sweden, but a higher proportion of women than men state that they want to continue working remotely to some extent even after the pandemic, based on a perception of being able to combine paid work with unpaid care work in a better way.

By presenting and discussing the compilation of studies in the field, the study's main research questions are answered:

1. How do remote working conditions differ between women and men in the post-pandemic labor market?
2. How does remote work after the pandemic affect
  - a) career and salary development,
  - b) productivity, and
  - c) the possibility of a sustainable work and family life (so-called "work-life balance") from a gender equality perspective?

## Methodology

The knowledge synthesis has been carried out through a systematic literature review, following a strict protocol for searching and selecting studies, with a focus on material published between 2020 and 2024, which captures the surge

in remote work as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the pandemic must be seen as an extreme event, which, although it has created the conditions for a 'new normal', cannot in itself be considered normal. It is the continued impact of telework on gender equality in the labor market that is the main focus of the assignment, and the study therefore does not analyze the direct effects of remote work on a large scale during the most intense months of the pandemic. In order not to miss relevant knowledge about conditions that prevailed before and during the most extreme phases of the pandemic, an analysis of previous review articles has been conducted.

The systematic literature search was conducted in September 2024 and after review and screening, 68 scientific articles were included in the analysis. Few of these publications were found to have Sweden or the Nordic region as the study area. For this reason, further screening and hand search was carried out where slightly broader inclusion criteria were applied, to include studies that have a relevant geographical context in focus (which resulted in the addition of six more articles). In addition, so-called gray literature has also been included, which increased the number of relevant publications in the database by an additional 18 reports.

## Findings

To begin with, remote working is paradoxical in the sense that it can lead to greater gender equality from one point of view but counteract it from another. Gender equality in the labor market is complex and is influenced by various framework conditions (for example regulatory framework, labor market composition, family policies, and other similar things) as well as social and cultural norms. In other words, it is difficult to give simple answers to the question of the impact of teleworking on gender equality in the labor market, but it is possible to state that the effects are not only positive or only negative and that women and men are affected in different ways by teleworking.

## Effects on salary and career

- People who work from home often experience higher productivity and ability to concentrate, while areas such as knowledge transfer, creativity, personal development, leadership skills, social contacts and context are reduced when teleworking.
- Skilled work and management positions often enable teleworking, which is true for both men and women, but favors men to a greater extent given the existing gender segregation in the labor market.
- Teleworking can reduce income inequality if it allows more people to access the labor market or increase their working hours.

- There is no evidence that teleworking reduces wage inequality, and some studies suggest that there is a negative impact of teleworking on wages and career development in the form of lost wage premiums or opportunities for promotion, due to gendered norms and expectations associated with both paid and unpaid work.
- The studies show a general increase in acceptance of telework, and that the negative effects on pay and career are reduced when many people in a workplace telework.

## Norms and expectations related to teleworking

- Stereotypical gender norms and expectations influence how teleworkers choose to organize their work in relation to both time and place. These norms and expectations are linked to both the professional role and the role the teleworker is expected to take privately.
- Flexible working arrangements may violate the idea of the 'ideal worker', which is also combined with stereotypical gender ideals around unpaid care work, and especially parenting.
- There are expectations that men, whether they are fathers or not, will be more efficient when they work from home, while mothers are often expected to be less efficient when they telecommute. This type of gender stereotyping can also be observed in the Swedish labor market.
- At the same time, several studies, both from an international and Swedish perspective, show that workers feel more efficient and productive when teleworking, based on increased ability to concentrate and fewer distractions. This is true for women to a greater extent than men, but not for people with (young) children at home.

## Work-life balance

- Teleworking has enabled women with unpaid care responsibilities to participate more fully in the labor market.
- Many studies show that women's responsibility for unpaid care work increases simultaneously with teleworking, for example through 'multitasking', in other words, alternating paid and unpaid work during the working day. This means that paid work is carried out for a longer period of the day, for example in the evening, leaving less time for leisure and recovery.
- The risk of this is that teleworking becomes cemented as a way (mainly for women) to integrate work and family life and normalizes overwork as acceptable.
- Hybrid working arrangements, in other words combining work at the workplace and from home, are highlighted in both research and the grey literature as a solution to benefit from the advantages of teleworking but avoid the disadvantages.



## Conclusions

The following conclusions valid for the Swedish context can be drawn from the knowledge review:

- For people who are spatially inflexible/place-bound due to, for example, responsibility for unpaid care work (to a greater extent women than men), teleworking provides an increased opportunity to participate in the labor market and access to a larger labor market. This may reduce income inequalities between women and men, although it does not affect wage differentials.
- At the same time, stereotypical gender expectations and norms related to breadwinner and caring responsibilities, as well as reduced workplace presence, may have a negative impact on wage and career progression when teleworking.
- Teleworking allows for a greater balance between paid work and unpaid care work. This has the potential for a more equal distribution of unpaid care work. At the same time, there is little evidence that such equalization has occurred with increased telework. Women still bear more responsibility for unpaid care work, and teleworking becomes a way to be devoted to both paid work and family.
- Stereotypical gender expectations and norms can influence both the willingness to telework and the organization of telework in the home. The normalization of teleworking as a way for (mainly) women to balance paid and unpaid work maintains a view of over-work as acceptable.



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# 1. Introduction

In Sweden, women's and men's participation in the labour market is nearly equal. However, there is clear gender segregation in the labour market. This applies both to the division of occupational areas (horizontal segregation) and the distribution of work within an occupation/organisation (vertical segregation) (1–3). Greater gender equality in the labour market has been on the political agenda for a long time. Despite this, clear divisions remain and have consequences for both individuals and societies through the gender-labelling of jobs (2), i.e. the assumption that certain jobs are more or less suitable for a particular sex (4). These labels, or perceptions and norms about who can work in which jobs, limit people's scope for action and make it difficult to secure the skills supply. However, both vertical and horizontal segregation in the Swedish labour market decreased during the 2000s, and the change during this period was among the largest in Europe (5; see also 6).

Remote work, i.e. working at a location other than that provided by an employer (with the exception of types of work where the regular workplace is at home or is not fixed), has existed for a long time, but has become more prevalent since the end of the 20th century, in line with rapid technological and digital developments (7, 8). During the COVID-19 pandemic, this development accelerated further and unexpectedly, and the modern labour market and its relationships can be assumed to have changed to an extent that we cannot yet fully comprehend. For some occupational groups, the sharp division between home and workplace has increasingly begun to dissolve, even after it became possible to return to the workplace.<sup>1</sup> The Labour Force Surveys conducted by Statistics Sweden (SCB) show that just under 40 per cent of the Swedish workforce worked remotely to some extent in 2023, and that there are significant differences between occupational categories and types of work tasks.

International studies conducted before and during the pandemic showed that the rise in remote work had an impact on gender equality in terms of both paid and unpaid work (e.g. 10). Among other things, existing inequalities in the labour market have been exacerbated by the transition to remote work, for example with regard to stress, opportunities for promotion, and skills development. The blurred boundaries between home and paid work can also affect productivity, with unpaid domestic and care work taking precedence, as well as the balance between paid work and private life. A systematic literature review published by the Swedish Agency for Work Environment Expertise (Myndigheten för arbetsmiljökunskap, commonly referred to by the acronym "Mynak") on the impact of remote work on the work environment, health, and work-life balance before and during the pandemic found that remote work can be a good solution if employees are provided with or have access

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1 For a longer historical perspective on the division between home and work, see, e.g. 9. Lindström, J & Ågren, M. Hemma och borta: Kvinnors och mäns arbete i en förindustriell kontext. Tidskrift för genusvetenskap. 2023;44(1–2):11–33.

to relevant resources for their work, but also that the presence of children in the home during working hours has a negative impact on paid work (11). While the pandemic changed the conditions for how work can be organised in many respects, the special circumstances created by recommendations on social distancing and physical contact must be viewed as isolated from a normal situation. To meet future challenges, knowledge is needed about how, in this “new normal”, the conditions for paid work, associated norms, and the organisation of work continue to affect gender equality in the labour market.

## Purpose and research questions

The overall purpose of this systematic literature review is to contribute knowledge about how the rise in remote work after the COVID-19 pandemic affects gender equality in the labour market. To this end, results from international and Swedish research, as well as so-called “grey literature”, have been compiled, in order to answer the following research questions:

1. How do the conditions for remote work differ between women and men in the post-pandemic labour market?
2. Post pandemic and from a gender equality perspective, how does remote work affect
  - a) career and salary development,
  - b) productivity, and
  - c) the possibility of a sustainable work-life balance?

The first question addresses the prevailing conditions for organising work in a flexible manner and how this differs between, e.g. occupational categories, sex, and geographical contexts. The second question focuses on how remote work is carried out and perceived, as well as the effects it can have on both employees and organisations.

## Delimitations

In this systematic literature review, the accepted definition of remote work (see “Definition of key terms”) focuses on remote work as a *working arrangement* in which work tasks are performed at a location other than that provided by the employer. Such work may be conducted at the employee’s home or at another location of their choosing. This study does not focus on remote work as a *form of employment* in which a regular workplace is not provided by the employer. It thus excludes the following types of work: self-employment, industrial home work, platform or gig work, and mobile work.

Based on the question in the agency’s mandate regarding gender equality, the overview has been limited to examining sex/gender for the purpose of understanding gender equality in the labour market and does not include other patterns of inequality or intersectional perspectives (differences related to ethnicity, sexuality, class, age, and disability). This obviously limits our full

understanding of the impact of remote work on gender equality in the labour market. For example, some research findings show that remote work can improve the mental health and well-being of LGBTQI+ people (see, e.g. 12, 13).

## Disposition

Following this introduction, which provides a brief overview of the problem area and presents the purpose and research questions, several key concepts for the problem area are defined. This is followed by a methodology chapter containing a detailed description of the approach used to produce the material on which the systematic literature review is based, as well as how the material was analysed.

Next comes a background chapter, which provides a broader picture of the state of knowledge about remote work in relation to gender equality than the strict delimitation of the systematic method allows. The background chapter describes the framework for regulations governing remote work at the European and Swedish levels and presents statistics on the extent of remote work in Sweden today, broken down by occupational area and sex. The chapter also includes an account of what has emerged in previous systematic literature reviews with regard to the problem area.

The “Findings” chapter presents the results and analysis of the included international original studies from 2020–2024, as well as studies on remote work and gender equality in Sweden and the Nordic region. The latter includes both scholarly studies and so-called “grey literature”.

The discussion chapter highlights and discusses the overall results of the systematic literature review and clarifies the relevance of the findings in a Swedish context. Based on this discussion, the “Conclusions” chapter presents conclusions related to the purpose and research questions of the report. The chapter also includes an account of identified knowledge gaps and areas where further research is needed.

## Definition of key concepts

### Gender and sex

In research on gender equality, it goes without saying that the concepts of sex and gender must be addressed. Gender equality is about equal rights, opportunities, and responsibilities for men and women in all areas of life and is therefore based on sex. At the same time, the concept includes the idea that people’s ability to shape their own lives should not be governed by ideas and perceptions about sex (14). Gender, i.e. norms and perceptions of sex, must therefore be included.

The vast majority of studies included in this systematic literature review discuss the binary categories of men and women, mothers and fathers. None of the included studies addresses non-binary individuals as a category in their research. This can

be explained by the fact that the vast majority of research conducted in this area is quantitative and based on register data and is therefore based on individuals' legal gender. At the same time, many of the studies also address traditional perceptions and norms regarding masculinity and femininity and the division of labour that results from these, i.e. gender norms. In this report, the term 'sex' is used to describe results based on the binary categories of male and female, and the term 'gender' is used when referring to norms and perceptions related to sex.

In addition to the omission of non-binary people in the studies analysed, the review also did not find any studies that shed light on conditions in so-called 'rainbow families' (i.e. families in which one or more members are LGBTQI+). It is consistently a heterosexual family that is explicitly or implicitly assumed. This is, of course, a shortcoming in the research (15), which is reflected in the conclusions that can be drawn from this systematic literature review.

## Remote work

There are many different ways to define remote work, which is the term used in this study to describe an *organisation* of work in accordance with the EU Framework Agreement on Telework (16, 17). The term can be broadly understood as work performed at a location other than that provided by the employer – i.e. it does not include work where the regular workplace is at home or where there is no regular workplace (e.g. *mobile work* (18–20) and freelance work, or the increasingly common types of *platform work* or *gig work*, where work is mediated via digital platforms (21–25)). According to this delimitation, remote work does not include flexible forms of employment or self-employment.

However, the included studies contain a variety of terms that fall under the assumed definition of remote work. The broadest term used is *flexible work*, which encompasses all types of working arrangements that do not have a fixed framework, such as working hours, workload, workplace, and so on (26–31). While Abendroth and Reimann (28) primarily understand flexible work as (from the employee's perspective) having control over where and when work is conducted, it is important to point out that the term can also encompass types of flexibility controlled by the employer, such as contractual flexibility (26). However, most studies use the term flexible work to describe choices regarding working hours and workplace. Another common definition in the included studies is *remote work* (16, 32–34). A closely related concept, often used synonymously with remote work, is *telework* (18, 35–37), but here the distinction is made that teleworking depends on communication with the organisation through electronic tools (information and communication technology, ICT) (16). Telework is therefore a narrower definition than remote work, but given the level of digitalisation in today's society, it can be assumed that the majority of remote work can also be defined as telework.

In most cases, the remote workplace in the included studies is the home, *work from home/WFH/home-based work* (38–42), but other locations also occur, such as *remote working hubs/co-working spaces* (36, 43, 44), which are either provided by the workplace or by independent companies through which a workplace can be booked on an ad hoc basis or for a longer period.

The definition of remote work also includes time dimensions, i.e. limitations on when the work is performed. Here, it is common to distinguish between work that is carried out *totally*, *partially*, or *occasionally* remotely (16). It should be noted here that due to their experiences of what was essentially enforced remote work during the COVID-19 pandemic, many employers and employees prefer to continue working in a combined manner, i.e. partly at the workplace and partly remotely, an arrangement that has come to be known as *hybrid work* (43, 45–50).

## **Paid work and unpaid care work**

As remote work is largely carried out from home, there is a tendency for the boundaries between paid work and unpaid care work to become blurred. For this reason, it is important to clarify the meaning of the concepts and the differences between paid and unpaid work in the home.

The equal distribution of unpaid domestic and care work is one of the Swedish Government's gender equality policy objectives and has been included since these objectives were adopted in the mid-2000s. However, in Sweden, women still perform a larger share of unpaid work (mainly related to everyday household tasks) and provide more unpaid care for their own children than men, and the Swedish Gender Equality Agency (51) has concluded that this objective has not been achieved.

The division between paid and unpaid work and clearly defined workplaces separate from the home is usually attributed to industrialisation (which occurred at the end of the 19th century in Sweden). This is a somewhat simplified account of history, partly because the division of labour already existed prior to industrialisation (9), and partly because a large number of women have always worked outside their own and other people's homes, often in jobs related to household care (e.g. 52). At the same time, industrialisation brought about a division that would have major consequences for the gender division of labour, with men being assigned the primary role of breadwinner and women an unpaid care role (see, e.g. 9, 53). The expansion of the public sector in the 1960s transferred some of the unpaid work that women had done in the home to the public sphere. Many former housewives were employed in the public sector and thus performed care tasks similar to paid work in a workplace, while continuing to bear primary responsibility for unpaid work in the home (54). The division between home and workplace and between work and unpaid care is particularly interesting, because it has a clear link to the discussions that arose when homes suddenly became workplaces during the COVID-19 pandemic, and when paid work became mixed with unpaid care during the lockdown periods.

Since remote work is often done at home (as discussed in the definition of remote work above), the use of terms can sometimes be confusing – conceptually, the difference between work from home (work performed for an employer from home) and unpaid care work in the home is not always clear-cut, even if the meaning is. It is not uncommon for paid care work, e.g. personal assistance provided to a close relative, to be carried out in one's own home. To avoid confusion, this report consistently uses the terms “unpaid work/care work” to distinguish such labour from paid work performed in the home.



## 2. Method

This *systematic literature review* has been carried out in accordance with the guidelines for literature searches established by the Swedish Work Environment Authority, and the PRISMA tool has been used (<http://www.prisma-statement.org/>). This instrument follows a strict protocol for searching and selecting studies and is therefore effective for compiling and comparing study results within a defined field and during a specified period of time (55–57). However, in this study the instrument has been slightly modified to suit the current research question.

The systematic literature review focuses on material published from 2020 onwards and thus captures the sharp increase in remote work that occurred during and after the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the pandemic must be seen as an extreme event which, despite having created the conditions for a “new normal”, cannot in itself be regarded as normal. *Since the main focus of the assignment is the long-term* impact of remote work on gender equality in the labour market, the direct effects of large-scale remote work during the most intense months of the pandemic have not been analysed (see the section “Relevance criteria for inclusion and exclusion”). Instead, these effects have been viewed as a prerequisite for continued development. However, given the time it takes to conduct a study and get it published, much of the research published from 2020 onwards can be expected to cover conditions both before and during the pandemic. This can provide important knowledge about how the rise in remote work as a result of the pandemic continues to affect gender equality in the labour market. The conditions that prevailed before and even during the most extreme phases of the pandemic are described in previous research reviews, which have not been included in this report’s systematic analysis, but have instead been used to provide background information for the analysis (see “Background”).

### Search of scholarly literature

The design and implementation of a strategy for literature search, selection, and evaluation has been carried out in three steps: 1) definition of search terms and criteria for inclusion and exclusion, 2) conducting searches in databases and supplementary manual search strategies, and 3) applying selection criteria and evaluating relevance to narrow down the final basis for analysis. In defining search terms and conducting database searches, the researchers were assisted by information specialists at Mid Sweden University Library. The researchers were, however, responsible for the final decisions on search and evaluation strategies.

The search strategy has been developed with a dual purpose. Firstly, it aims to provide a broader background description that goes beyond the questions themselves, in order to trace the historical development of the research field and provide a background understanding for the analysis. Secondly, it delimits the material used for the systematic literature review, i.e. the part of the report that

answers the questions. The definitions of search terms and selection criteria have been developed jointly by the researchers based on their expertise in the field and the purpose of the systematic literature review. In consultation with information specialists, relevant concepts and terms for the search strategy were identified.

Based on the purpose of the systematic literature review, which is to “contribute knowledge about how increased remote work after the COVID-19 pandemic affects gender equality in the labour market”, three key concepts have been identified:

1. remote work
2. labour market
3. gender equality.

These concepts were identified using the PEO question format, which means that they have been structured to cover the central issue (remote work), the population affected (the labour market), and the outcome of the issue (gender equality). These three concepts have been examined in previous research, both separately and in relation to each other, within numerous disciplines and from many different perspectives. As a result, research on remote work and gender equality constitutes a highly heterogeneous field of research, without clear terminological and topical rigour. The questions addressed in the systematic literature review also touch on several current social issues and trends (such as technological and socio-political conditions for labour market development, the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on both individuals and organisations, and gender equality issues). It was therefore necessary to construct sufficiently broad search strings to capture the various definitions and terms used in the research. The search terms<sup>2</sup> were therefore constructed in three “blocks”, based on the central concepts. Within these blocks, the search terms are combined with “OR”, which means that the search will return results that contain any of the terms. The three blocks are also combined with “AND”, which means that at least one search term from each block must be included in order for the publication to appear in the hit list (see Table 1).

Initially, no time restrictions were imposed on the database searches. This was done to enable a broad overview of the collective knowledge about both the development of remote work and its significance for gender equality in the labour market over time, as well as to isolate the pandemic as an extreme event. This broad overview forms the basis for the background description presented in the next chapter. The overview also enabled the researchers to refine exclusion criteria and define the time frame for the systematic literature review (2020–2024).

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2 Explanations of search terms:

PRE/1 means that ‘work’ must come before ‘home’ (with up to 1 word in between). For example, this will result in the exclusion of “home work”, and the inclusion of “work from home”.

W/1 means that “work and remot\*” must appear with up to 1 word between them. Thus, e.g. “work remotely” and “work from remote” will be included in the hit list.

The searches were conducted in parallel on 6 September 2024, in the Scopus, Web of Science (WoS), and PsycInfo databases, in order to ensure that as wide a range of publication channels as possible was covered. The search strategy was constructed in the Scopus database and then adapted for searches in other databases. The searches were conducted in the title, abstract, and keyword fields, with expanded terms for keywords (see Table 1). Both Scopus and Web of Science can be considered world-leading databases for research publications in virtually all fields of knowledge all disciplines (58). The inclusion of PsycInfo provides better coverage of psychology and the behavioural sciences, which were considered to be particularly relevant to the employee perspective in relation to remote work. The database searches (Scopus, Web of Science, and PsycInfo) yielded a total of 2,227 hits, and after filtering out overlaps, 1,556 publications were identified for screening (see Table 2 and Figure 1).

**Table 1.** Terms in the search blocks.

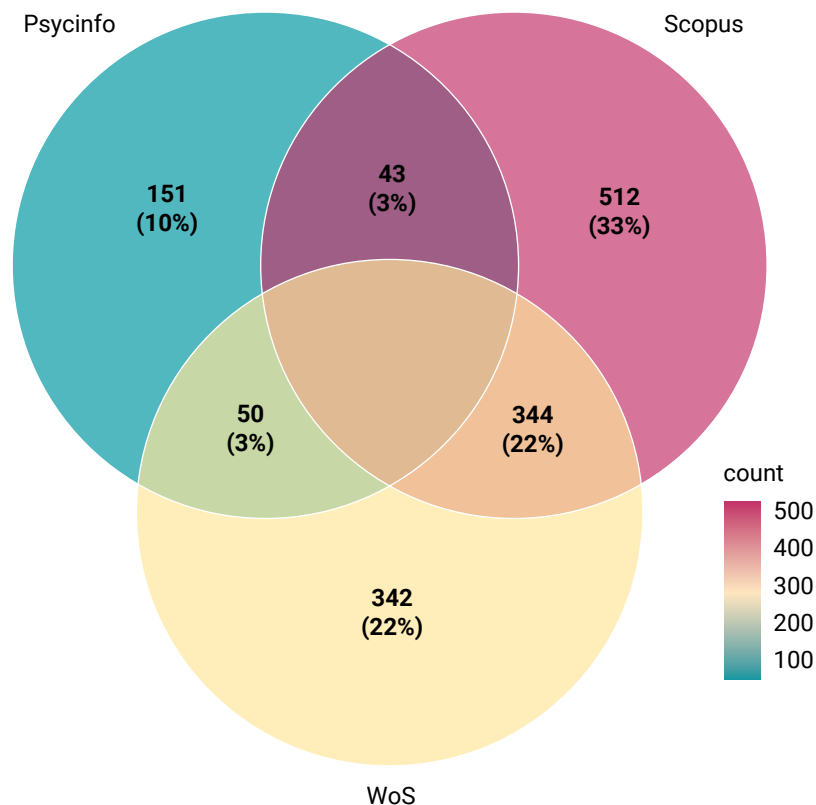
Block 1: Remote work	Block 2: Gender equality		Block 3: labour market	
Title, abstract, keywords	Title, abstract, keywords	Keywords	Title, abstract, keywords	Keywords
(work* PRE/1 home)	gender*	women	"Labour market**"	wage
(work* W/1 remote*)	Equality	mothers	"Labour market**"	wages
(work* W/1 distance)	inequalit*	fathers	"Job market**"	career*
telework*	discrimination	parents	employment	salaries
telecommut*	"wage gap**"	men	unemployment	salary
homeworking	intersectionality		employabl*	
"flexible workplace**"	"sex differences"			
"home-based work"				
"home-based work"				
hybrid				

\* is used for truncation, i.e. different endings of the term are accepted.

\*\* is used for phrase searches, which means that the term must be an exact match in order to be accepted.

**Table 2.** Search hits per database.

Database	Number of search hits
Scopus	1,013
Web of Science	850
PsycInfo	358
Overall	2,221
After filtering overlaps	1,556



**Figure 1.** Overlaps between databases.

Despite their breadth, Scopus and Web of Science have been criticised for offering relatively poor coverage of publication channels in the social sciences, as well as for having a clear bias toward English-language literature (59). The searches in these databases were therefore supplemented with manual searches in the Swedish research registers DiVA-Portal and Swepub, in the Google Scholar search engine, and by reviewing reference lists in identified key publications. Since a sophisticated search is not possible in these search engines, simplified search strings were used, focusing on the blocks “remote work” and “gender equality”. In this search, relevance criteria for inclusion and exclusion were applied directly during the search, which is why they are not included in the screening described in the next section. The searches resulted in eight scholarly articles. A complete list of included publications, as well as the final search strategies for each search round, are presented in Appendices 1 and 3, respectively.

## Relevance criteria for inclusion and exclusion

För de 1 556 publikationerna från databassökningarna bedömdes relevans enligt The 1,556 publications from the database searches underwent a three-step assessment for relevance. The entire screening process was carried out in the reference management system EndNote 21. The two participating researchers carried out the exclusion steps separately for the entire material, after which the results were compared. The researchers’ assessments were largely

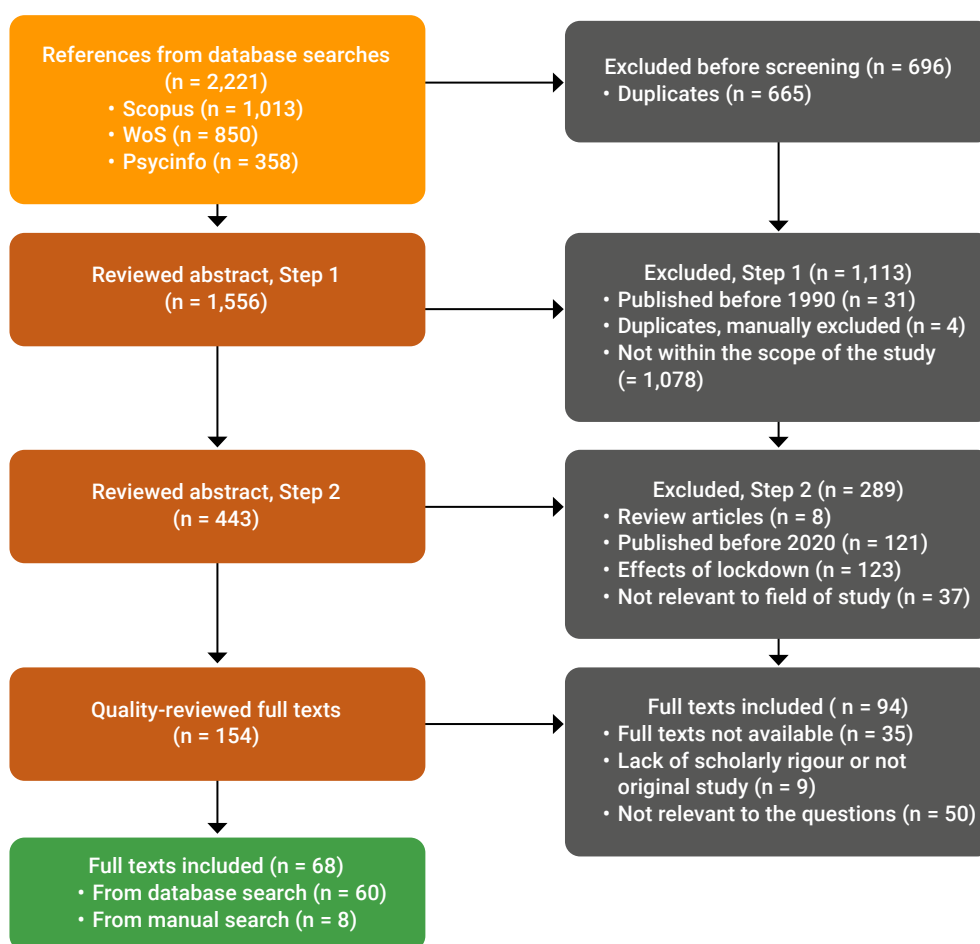
consistent, but in some cases their assessments of relevance differed. In those cases, the assessment was discussed, and the researchers then reached a joint decision regarding inclusion or exclusion. The screening is partly inductive, as the exclusion criteria have been refined during the process as researchers have become more familiar with the material (for example, by identifying research that focuses on the effects of pandemic restrictions). First, an exclusion based on publication date was carried out, whereby all publications from before 1990 were removed; in this step, 31 articles were excluded. Such a long-time span was initially chosen in order to be able to trace the historical development of the research field and contribute to the background description. The remaining 1,525 publications were reviewed manually by the researchers by reading the title and abstract.

In the first exclusion step, publications that correspond to the systematic literature review's definition of remote work were identified (see "Definition of key concepts"). This excluded 1,078 publications that examine work performed at a workplace provided by the employer, or the following forms of working arrangements: 1) industrial home work, 2) self-employment, 3) platform or gig work, 4) mobile work, such as freelancing and digital nomadism. In this step, four duplicates were also identified and excluded.

In the second exclusion step, the remaining 443 abstracts were read once more and the following exclusion criteria were applied to narrow down the publications that were relevant to the questions addressed in the systematic literature review: 1) articles published before 2020, 2) direct effects of pandemic restrictions (lockdown effects), and 3) geographical areas not relevant to the Swedish perspective (North America, Australia, Europe, the Nordic countries, and Sweden were considered relevant). In this step, eight articles published between 2009 and 2024 were also identified that constitute compilations of findings from previous studies (review articles) in the fields of telework, the labour market, and gender equality (see Tables 1 and 4 in Appendix 1). These review articles have been used in the compilation of the background chapter; however, they have been excluded from the systematic literature review, as they do not constitute original studies. Since the time span for publications included in these previous reviews and the present report partly overlap, an analysis of overlap has been performed. This shows that four articles (marked with "\*" in Table 1 in Appendix 1) appear in both one of the review studies reported in the background chapter and in the analysis of original studies in this systematic literature review. The overlap is therefore small and does not affect the analysis. The overlap is probably small because the questions of this report differ from those of previous overview articles, which mainly studied the effects of pandemic restrictions or studied an earlier time period. In this second exclusion step, a total of 289 publications were excluded.

A full-text search was conducted for the remaining 154 articles, resulting in the exclusion of a further 35 publications for which the full text was not available in English or Swedish. All available full texts were read through and the exclusion criteria from the previous step were applied again to the entirety of the texts.

Fifty articles were excluded based on relevance criteria, and nine articles were excluded because they were either not considered original articles or because they were of poor scholarly quality (see the “Scholarly quality” section). After adding the articles from the manual searches, the final result of the exclusion process was that 68 relevant articles (60 from the database searches and 8 from the manual searches) were included in the systematic literature review of texts published between 2020 and 2024. A detailed summary of the exclusion process is presented in Figure 2, as well as in Appendix 2.



**Figure 2.** PRISMA flow chart of the exclusion process.

## Scholarly quality

The basic requirement for quality is that the articles must have been published in peer-reviewed scholarly journals and books. In cases where the review procedure was difficult to determine or appeared questionable, a manual assessment has been made. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the research field, there is considerable methodological variation among the included studies. This makes it difficult to assess the quality of publications in a standardised way; in other words, it is difficult to assess the validity and reliability of e.g. large registry studies in the same way as in-depth qualitative interview studies. The quality assessment has therefore focused on the description of data collection and analysis methods, including theoretical basis, and articles have been excluded if they 1) either do not satisfactorily describe the methods used, or where the material is considered biased due to shortcomings in the methods, and 2) either do not adequately describe the analysis method, or where the analysis is considered to be too superficial and/or lacking theoretical basis. A detailed summary of excluded full texts is presented in Appendix 2.

## Search and quality assessment of grey literature

The systematic literature search identified only a few articles representing a Nordic or Swedish perspective. To gain a clearer picture of the impact of remote work on gender equality in the Swedish labour market, a search was also conducted of so-called “grey literature”, i.e. publications that have not undergone peer review. These consist partly of reports from research institutes such as Nordregio and Nordic Information on Gender (NIKK) (under the Nordic Council of Ministers), and partly of other types of publications from authorities, organisations, and companies.

The grey publications were found by searching Google with simplified search strings focusing on the terms “remote work” and “gender equality”, as well as by searching directly in publication lists from relevant research institutes and agencies (such as Nordregio, NIKK, and SCB). Further publications were found by reviewing reference lists. In this case, too, relevance criteria were applied directly to the search. Criteria for inclusion were 1) relevance to the purpose of the systematic literature review and the definition of remote work, and 2) publication after 2020. Initially, a search for publications focusing on Swedish and Nordic conditions was conducted, but publications relevant to labour market policy within the EU and the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) have also been included. A total of 18 grey publications were included; see Appendix 1.

The purpose of including grey literature was both to gain an understanding of the extent of remote work in Sweden and to investigate experiences of and perceptions about remote work and its significance for gender equality in the Swedish labour market among representatives of the labour market. The material that constitutes grey literature varies in quality; for example, reports from research institutes such as Nordregio are considered to meet methodological

requirements for scholarly rigour, while internal surveys conducted by, e.g. trade unions are regarded more as qualitative empirical material than as scholarly studies. The quality review is therefore less rigorous than in the systematic review, but results from studies conducted with inadequate scientific methods have been treated with caution in the analysis, particularly when discussing the extent of remote work.

## Thematic analysis

The included studies and grey literature published between 2020 and 2024 have been analysed using a *semi-structured* content analysis (55), which can be described as a qualitative thematic content analysis that both synthesises the results of the studies and seeks to address complex relationships between different social issues, based on the questions' bearing on gender equality, while also seeking to understand the perspectives of different actors, i.e. both employers and employees, as well as perspectives from different occupational categories. Themes were identified inductively, i.e., based on the content of the publications studied.

During the screening process, a rough categorisation was made, whereby the overall content of the publications was categorised as either 1) the general prevalence of remote work and its significance for the labour market, or 2) the significance of remote work for gender equality issues. When analysing the full texts, a more detailed categorisation and thematisation was carried out using the text analysis programme NVivo 14. The analysis identified four main themes under which different perspectives on gender equality can be discussed:

1. conditions and policy framework for remote work
2. effects on career and salary development
3. experiences of remote work
4. sustainable work and family life.

During the analysis, additional sub-themes were added to the main themes based on recurring content in the texts, such as norms and expectations, productivity, and autonomy/flexibility. The presentation of the results is structured according to these themes. The discussion chapter discusses the results based on three overarching questions that arose during the overall analysis of the study results. These questions tie together previous themes.

The themes and conclusions that could be drawn from the analysis were discussed continuously between the two researchers to ensure consensus.



### 3. Background

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an understanding of the conditions and extent of remote work from a Swedish perspective, as well as a broader picture of the state of knowledge on remote work in relation to gender equality than the scope of this systematic literature review allows. The chapter begins with an account of how remote work is regulated in Sweden and Europe, followed by a description of its extent in Sweden, and concludes with a summary of the findings of previous international systematic literature reviews.

#### Framework for regulating remote work

The organisation of work is stipulated in a number of different laws and regulations, both at the EU level and in national legislation. Within the EU, the 2002 Framework Agreement on Telework has been one of the most important references for both national and supranational legislation on remote work/telework (16, 17). The analysed literature has noted an increase in national legislation on remote work, which regulates certain aspects of remote work, such as pay, taxation, working hours, and data security and privacy (16, 35, 36, 60). Approaches vary across Europe, and Swedish legislation does not contain a specific definition of remote work, but a number of laws and regulations<sup>3</sup> affect how work in general – and thus also remote work – can be organised based on, e.g. autonomy, responsibility for the work environment, working hours, and so on (61).

This legal framework is supplemented at both the national and supranational levels, as well as at the industry, company, and organisational levels, by various types of agreements (primarily collective agreements), in addition to a range of policy frameworks. Even at the policy level, there are differences in how well remote work/telework is defined and how formalised various agreements are. In Sweden, a comprehensive agreement on remote work was concluded in 2005 between the Swedish Agency for Government Employers and a number of representatives of Swedish industry, trade unions, and the Association of Municipalities and County Councils (62). It stipulates that the guidelines set out in the European framework agreement must also be followed in Sweden, and that remote work should primarily be governed by agreements between employers and employees. A number of policy areas aimed at other purposes also indirectly affect the conditions for remote work through policy measures in their target area. Remote work is affected by or has an impact on several of Sweden's gender equality goals, especially those related to gender segregation (both horizontal and vertical) in the labour market – i.e. with regard to income, working hours, and the distribution of unpaid care work. Policy packages

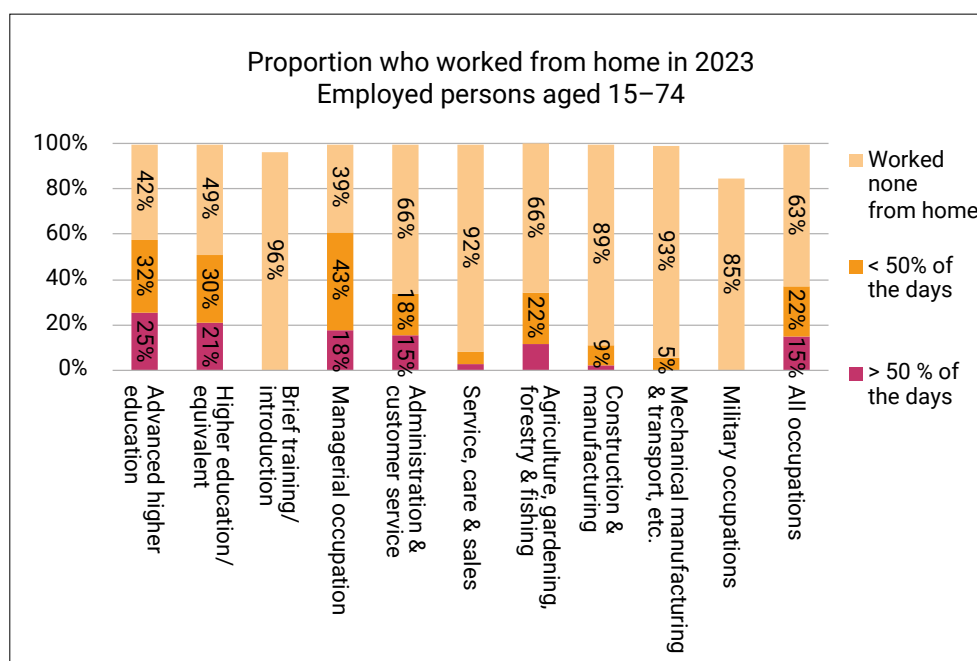
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3 The most important ones are the Employment Protection Act (lagen om anställningsskydd, LAS) (1982:80), the Work Environment Act (arbetsmiljölagen, AML) (1977:1160), the Working Hours Act (arbetstidslagen, ATL) (1982:673), and the case law of the Swedish labour Court (Arbetsdomstolen, AD).

aimed at creating a more even distribution across different sectors and positions in the labour market (e.g. measures related to equal pay, career development, recruitment, education, etc.) affect who has the opportunity to work remotely. Remote work is also becoming an increasingly common subject in regional development policy, where it can be seen as a tool for enhancing regional attractiveness and growth potential. Different actors' perceptions of policy measures are discussed in the section "Grey literature on remote work and gender equality in Sweden".

## The extent of remote work in Sweden

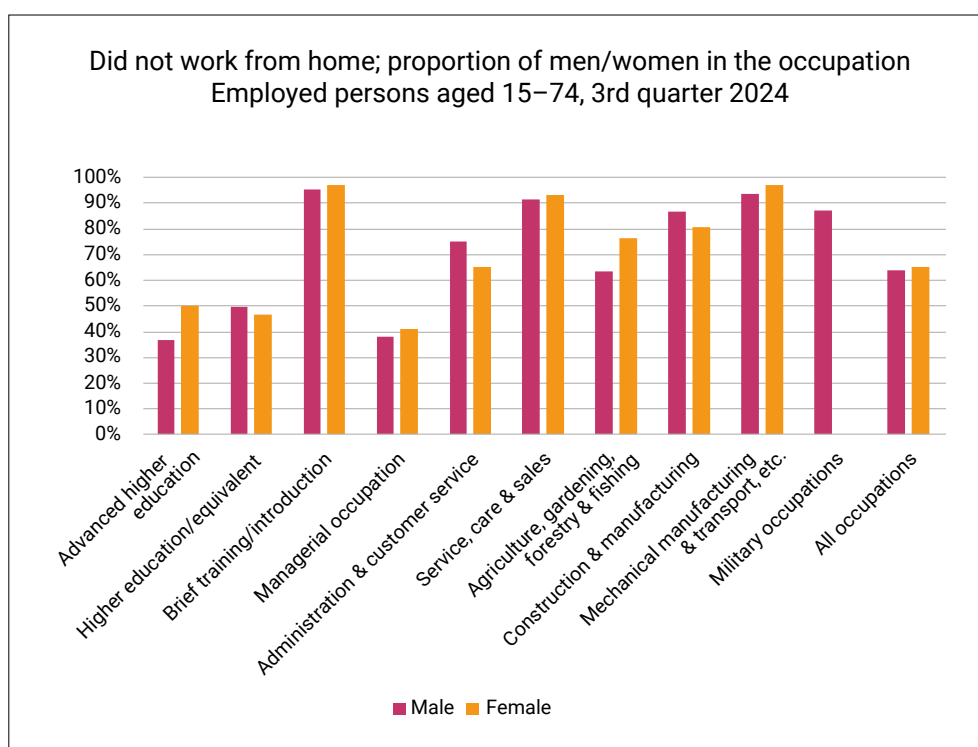
Statistics from SCB show that the majority of people in employment in Sweden mainly work at their workplace<sup>4</sup>. A press release (63) reports that just under 23 per cent of those in employment in March 2023 worked less than half of their working days remotely, and just under 15 per cent worked remotely more than half of their working days. Looking at the entire workforce, just under 40 per cent are affected by the issues discussed in this systematic literature review. However, there are significant differences between various occupational groups. The occupations with the highest proportion of remote workers are managerial occupations and those requiring higher education qualifications. In these professions, the proportion of people who work remotely to some extent exceeds 50 per cent. The proportion of remote workers in various occupational categories is illustrated in Figure 3.



**Figure 3.** Proportion of different occupational categories who worked from home in 2023 (of employed persons aged 15–74). Source: SCB's Labour Force Surveys (64); the authors' own processing of the data.

<sup>4</sup> Since spring 2023, SCB has published monthly statistics on remote work (retroactive from July 2022) as part of its labour force surveys.

The difference between the proportion of men and women who work remotely is small, although a slightly higher proportion of men work more than half of their days remotely (14.9 per cent of men, versus 14.6 per cent of women in employment), while the proportion of women who work remotely for less than half of the days is slightly higher (21.7% of men and 22.7% of women in employment) (64). Broken down by occupational category, certain differences between men and women can be seen. Figure 4 shows that in all occupational groups except administration and customer service, construction and manufacturing, and occupations requiring higher education (or equivalent), a higher proportion of women do not work from home at all.



**Figure 4.** Proportion of employed persons aged 15–74 who do not work from home, broken down by occupation and sex. Third quarter of 2024. Source: SCB’s Labour Force Surveys (64); the authors’ own processing of the data.

## Previous systematic literature reviews

This section summarises the findings of previous systematic literature reviews. These literature reviews are not included in the analysis of original studies 2020–2024.

In their overview, Herrera et al. (65) indicate that the first research on remote work came in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, as early as 1998, Santana and Cobo (66) noted that remote working was a so-called driving theme, i.e. a theme that emerged as well-developed and important for the structure of the research field. The earliest literature reviews discuss how the emergence of new technology affects work-related collaboration and the organisation of life

in general, and although many other themes have been included in research on remote work, the impact on the organisation of life can be said to be a recurring theme in all eight previous literature reviews. Work intensification and an increasing difficulty in drawing boundaries between work and leisure are thus noted in all the overview studies, which is also described by Aleem et al. (67) as a problem that employers need to address in order to have healthy and productive employees. Other challenges for employers are described as including cybersecurity and trust, while benefits in terms of cost savings, increased access to skilled labour, and increased productivity are also mentioned in the research (67, 68).

When it comes to the contribution of literature reviews to knowledge about the relationship between remote work and gender equality, there is consensus in the results, which can be summarised by Santana and Cobo's (66) description of the results as paradoxical. On the one hand, remote work can be seen to contribute to a better work-life balance for employees, but on the other hand, it can also lead to conflicts between these two parts of life and thus cause stress, especially among parents and most notably among mothers (65, 67, 69–71). Tietse et al. (72) note that although studies on remote work in the early 2000s mainly pointed to a positive impact on workers' lives, there is little evidence that the potential for change in gender-related division of labour often attributed to remote work has actually been realised. Similar results are also noted by Tursunbayeva et al. (68), who write that the use of flexible working arrangements reflects traditional gender roles and gender-segregated labour market dynamics. Based on such findings, Nowrousi-Kia et al. (70) emphasise the importance of gender-aware policies and politics and support systems related to remote work.

## 4. Results

This chapter presents the results and analysis of the included original studies (all published between 2020–2024). Only one original study has Sweden as its study area, and the applicability of other studies to a Swedish context is not a foregone conclusion. For this reason, the general results of the original international studies are first presented under the overarching themes *Conditions for remote work*, *Career and salary development*, *The influence of norms and expectations*, and *Sustainable work and family life*. This is followed by an account of studies on remote work and gender equality in Sweden and the Nordic countries, which includes both scholarly studies and grey literature.

### International studies on remote work and gender equality (2020–2024)

#### Conditions for remote work

Overall, the included studies show major differences in who has the opportunity to work remotely. According to previous research highlighting both global and European conditions, women, young people, the poorly educated, and migrants generally have fewer opportunities to do so (39, 40, 73). There are many explanations for this inequality. The rest of this text focuses mainly on explanations related to gender equality.

Firstly, the inequality stems from the fact that many work tasks cannot be performed remotely. Garrote Sanches et al. (40) note that globally, only 1 in 5 jobs can be performed remotely (see also, e.g. 74, 75), and that such opportunities are strongly linked to economic development; in high-income countries, the potential proportion of rises to around 1 in 3 jobs, while in low-income countries it can fall to as low as 1 in 26. This, combined with a gender-segregated labour market, leads to significant differences in the conditions for flexible working arrangements. In a study based on the EU's Labour Force Survey, Jerbashian and Vilalta-Bufí (41) discuss the availability of information and communication technology (ICT) as a factor that influences the possibility of teleworking. They note that a cross-section of remote workers in 12 European countries is highly heterogeneous. This suggests that remote work is increasing across all sectors. However, depending on the country, the figures vary slightly in terms of men's and women's opportunities for remote work. Based on a 2015 European survey, Kley and Reimer (76) find that women were underrepresented among remote workers compared to men (see also 73, 77). Barcus (78) also notes that it is in female-dominated sectors that the fewest opportunities for remote work exist. At the workplace level, an American study shows that the greatest opportunity to work remotely exists in workplaces with an even gender distribution, while Santiago-Vela and Mergener (79) use results from Germany to show that women are more likely than men to opt out of remote work, even when their employer offers the option (see also 80).

Secondly, studies show that remote work is more common among highly educated people and among those who hold higher/management positions in these occupations (for example, 18). Both high qualifications and higher hierarchical positioning can be tied to greater independence and the ability to make decisions about how and where work tasks should be performed. In an EU-wide study, López-Igual and Rodríguez-Modroño (18) show that employees in management positions and with skilled jobs – occupations and positions held to a greater extent by men than by women – are more than twice as likely to work remotely. However, in an Italian study, Cetrulo et al. (39) note that it is in the administrative professions that the highest proportion of women work remotely, while this is less common in scientific/scholarly and technical occupations.

Thirdly, the organisation's attitude toward productivity versus employee well-being and perceptions of the effect of remote work on productivity/the work environment are important factors in whether remote work is encouraged or restricted at the organisational level (28). Several studies suggest that from the employers' perspective, there has long been some hesitation about remote work, based on the perception that it leads to lower productivity among those working from home (49). There may be an understanding that parents, especially mothers, prefer remote work, but in a British study, Kasperska et al. (81) argue that employers may interpret remote workers' attitudes as less committed or productive. On the other hand, findings from a study of Poland and Kosovo (16) as well as findings from the United Kingdom and the United States (27) show that although low confidence in employees' ability to work remotely was common before the COVID-19 pandemic and in some respects appears to persist, the experience of remote work brought about by the pandemic seems to have encouraged many business leaders to rethink their approach and instead see flexible arrangements as a "production tool" that can be used to attract skilled workers and tackle the skills shortages that many industries have faced in the wake of the pandemic. An Italian experiment showed that hybrid working arrangements, or "smart work", increased productivity, partly by reducing employee absenteeism by an average of one working day per month (82). Other studies have noted cost benefits for organisations where a large proportion of the workforce regularly works remotely, partly in the form of reduced premises costs (83) and partly because in some cases (where the employer is not contractually obliged to pay compensation), overhead costs for electricity/internet connection, etc. are transferred to the remote worker (34). Disadvantages include perceived challenges in assuming managerial responsibility and the remote recruitment of staff (16).

When it comes to communication in remote work, several studies show that remote work has a negative effect on communication between employees, for example in terms of teamwork and the integration of new employees (16, 28, 84). A Polish study (85) shows that increased remote work leads to a reduction in knowledge transfer between colleagues, and more women than men in the study felt that remote work offered poorer conditions for learning. This study finds that the problem appears to be more widespread in larger organisations, where communication is more formalised.

## Career and salary development

Of the articles dealing with the theme of career and salary development, the majority focus on wage and salary differences between men and women. Here, two conflicting results can be discerned: On the one hand, remote work can lead to reduced wage differences, but – it can also increase them. Several studies have found that wage differences between men and women are reduced when employees are given the opportunity to work remotely for all or part of the week. A common explanation for this is that remote work enables employees who are not spatially flexible (e.g. people with unpaid care responsibilities at home) to work more. Some of the studies with results from Germany, Italy, Canada, and the US explain this by saying that mothers, in particular, can go back to work or work more hours than if they had to work at a normal workplace (50, 86–88). There are also studies from Germany showing that the reduced wage differences can be explained by the fact that remote work enables people who are spatially inflexible to find a job that matches their level of education (79). In these explanatory models, the reduced wage differences are tied to the fact that remote work provides greater opportunities to participate in the labour market, thereby increasing the individual's income. When it comes to career development, studies also indicate that the opportunity to work remotely – and the connection to the labour market that this provides for people who would otherwise spend most of their time on unpaid care work – can pay off in the long term. This is because remote work reduces the career gap that can otherwise arise during parenthood (50). A French study (89) found only minor gender differences in expectations of career advancement among remote workers, but at the same time showed that women who work remotely report higher expectations of career advancement than women who do not.

Studies from both Europe and the US also show that there is a link between jobs requiring longer education and higher pay in remote work, as well as between lower positions and negative effects on career and income in remote work (42, 90–92). This relationship applies to both men and women, but contributes to an increased wage gap, because men are more likely to work in sectors that require higher education. In relation to this, in an American study, Barcus (78) shows that family-friendly employment conditions (flexibility in terms of location and working hours, as well as paid parental leave) are associated with higher wages, and that female-dominated occupations are less likely to offer these types of conditions than male-dominated ones. While several studies discussed above may indicate that gender differences in working hours and monthly wages have been evened out, this does not necessarily mean that gender differences are decreasing in terms of actual hourly wages. When it comes to the impact of remote work on salary development, there are no clear results. Studies from Germany, Italy, and the US show that men's wages rise more than women's when working remotely (50, 86, 93, 94), while a British study shows that the wage and promotion disadvantages of working remotely mainly apply to men and childless women, but not to mothers (81). At the same time, further studies with results from the US and the EU show that both men and women who work remotely have less chance of getting a pay raise than workplace-based employees (19, 32, 95). When it comes to career development, studies based on data from

the United Kingdom, Russia, and the United States show that people who work entirely or partly remotely are less likely to be selected for promotion and further training, and that both employers and employees also express concern about this issue (32, 42, 81, 95–98). In an Italian study,

Bonacini et al. (86) note that there appear to be both “sticky floor” and “glass ceiling” effects<sup>5</sup> for employees with significant opportunities for remote work. Escriva et al. (90) have studied the situation in Germany, Belgium, and the United Kingdom, focusing, inter alia, on institutional measures, such as the possibility of working remotely in order to resolve conflicts between family members. Escriva et al. argue that such measures mainly target mothers, and this risks disadvantaging them in the workplace compared to their male and childless female colleagues, who are more available to their employer. Kouki (95) also points to findings from the United States indicating that mothers with higher education who choose to work remotely are assigned or choose less rewarding tasks, which has a negative impact on their career development. However, Kasperska et al. (81) argue in their study of the United Kingdom that the potential negative effects on salary and career development are no longer apparent when more than 80 per cent of employees work remotely.

## The influence of norms and expectations

The majority of studies that include a gender equality perspective refer to stereotypical gender norms and expectations as factors that lead to different career and salary development outcomes for men and women. For example, a Russian suggests that childless men and fathers who work from home violate norms about the “ideal employee”, while mothers fulfill societal gender norms by prioritising family responsibilities and therefore do not experience negative effects on their salary development when they work remotely (81). Contrary to this, an American study shows that fathers and women without children receive higher pay when they work remotely, and that this is linked to the fact that these individuals are considered to be more productive when working remotely, while mothers who work from home are expected to be more distracted by unpaid care responsibilities and therefore risk receiving fewer wage benefits than mothers who work at the workplace (94).

Overall, the studies mainly mention expectations that women will take greater responsibility for unpaid care-related tasks (e.g. 87), expectations that men will be the main breadwinners for the family, and an expectation that men will not prioritise unpaid care tasks over their paid work and career (e.g. 28, 99). Gender stereotypes can clash with employees’ strategies for balancing work and private life through, e.g. remote work or other flexible arrangements. If an employee’s strategies differ from the norm, this may affect their career prospects (28, 32, 89, 100, 101). This is particularly evident in a Canadian study that shows that conflicts between work and family life are increasing among fathers (87). When norms surrounding the ideal employee conflict with changing

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<sup>5</sup> “Sticky floor” describes a discriminatory employment pattern that keeps workers (mainly women) in lower pay grades, with low mobility and invisible barriers to career development. “Glass ceiling” refers to discriminatory patterns that prevent (primarily) women from being promoted to top jobs and organisational leadership.



norms and expectations related to fatherhood, this can create what a German study refers to as a “flexibility stigma” – a deviation from the norm that signals that the employee is not productive and committed (28). In the Canadian study (87), norms about women being primarily associated with unpaid care responsibilities are shown to contribute to women also having to work harder to prove themselves competent and committed to paid work. In an American study, Moller et al. (32) show that managers believe that they have the right to “punish” parents who work remotely by offering them fewer work-related rewards (such as opportunities for promotion and pay raises) than those who returned to work on-site after the pandemic. The same study also indicates that remote work is undervalued, because employees are perceived as less competent and committed to their jobs, and as having less potential for leadership. Moller et al. (32) therefore argue that because they are more likely to choose remote work, mothers are also at greater risk of falling behind in terms of salary and career development. In a similar American study, Moller et al. (96) show that colleagues also share managers’ perceptions that parents who work remotely are penalised at work. Nevertheless, they believe that these parents experience greater family-related satisfaction, which to some extent outweighs the disadvantages. The authors argue that this reinforces the theory of “flexibility stigma” and also points to the complexity surrounding stigma.

In summary, the studies show that differences between countries in terms of, e.g. parental insurance and expectations regarding labour force participation mean that views regarding remote workers vary. Firstly, norms and expectations differ for men and women in relation to their work performance and the types of work roles they are expected to take on. Secondly, norms and expectations for fathers and mothers differ in relation to financial responsibility and unpaid care responsibilities.

However, with an increased focus on flexibility in both working hours and the workplace, these norms and perceptions are being challenged to an ever-greater extent. For example, in a German study, Abendroth and Luekemann (99) show that men were more likely to reduce their total working hours after becoming fathers if they worked in organisations where remote work was normalised. They argue that the results provide some support for the argument that family-friendly policies can help change norms surrounding both work and unpaid care responsibilities, while also arguing that policy needs to go hand-in-hand with shifting norms in order for change to occur.

## **Sustainable work and family life: work-life balance**

Studies that examine the balance between paid and unpaid work show that remote work can contribute to a better work-life balance by making it easier to combine paid and unpaid work, especially for women. A French study found that the positive effects on work-life balance increased with the number of days worked from home, up to four days a week (102). While balance increases on one end through the experience of actually being able to manage both aspects better, remote work can simultaneously reduce balance on the other end, as it tends to contribute to increased stress when tasks in both spheres need to be

completed (103), something referred to in an American study as the “flexibility paradox” (96). Despite this, Russian studies highlight the fact that since returning to the workplace post pandemic, it has mainly been women who have expressed a desire to continue (or be given the opportunity) to work from home (47, 104).

Based on employers’ norm-based perceptions of productivity in remote work, it is interesting to compare this with employees’ experiences. Studies from Germany, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and the United States that have examined effectiveness from the perspective of employees show that remote or hybrid working arrangements can provide a sense of increased effectiveness, productivity, and greater independence and flexibility at work (37, 42, 49, 50, 93). This is true for both women and men. For example, an American study indicates that employees feel less disturbed, find it easier to focus, and perform better when working from home (49), which could be related to the findings of another American study (94) that found that remote workers tend to sleep longer, thus increasing their ability to concentrate. The same study also shows that childless women are the group that increases their working hours and productivity the most, but that mothers’ care responsibilities mean more interruptions during the working day, which, the authors note, can have a negative impact on productivity. In another American study (33), more than half (just over 60 per cent) of respondents said they work longer hours and/or more intensively on days when they work remotely. A German study shows that childless people are more satisfied with their work when they work from home and often choose to work unpaid overtime. The latter is explained by the fact that employees are willing to “pay” for the opportunity to choose their place of work (50). However, these results are not entirely consistent across the studies included, for example, based on results from the United Kingdom, Chung and van der Horst (98) found that the number of overtime hours remained largely unchanged when employees transitioned to remote work. Studies from Europe, Canada, Australia, and the United States show that the option of remote work can make it easier to improve the balance between paid work and unpaid care work, especially for women (74, 87, 94, 102, 105, 106). Studies from the United States and Canada also indicate that remote work helps to even out gender inequality in unpaid care responsibilities, meaning that fathers take on more responsibility than before (33, 107, 108). At the same time, the Canadian study (107) argues that it is not enough to offer the option of working from home; to enable a more equal distribution of unpaid care responsibilities, the possibility of remote work must also be accompanied by altered norms and expectations of fathers and mothers as workers and caregivers. A British study shows the exact opposite result, namely that fathers who work from home to a significant extent are less likely to be involved in childcare (109). Working arrangements with unclear boundaries between home and work, such as working from home, are shown in the study to be associated with a more traditional division of childcare, while the study also shows that fathers in the low-income group who work from home take greater responsibility for more routine household tasks than those who work at their workplace (109). An American study (108) shows that fathers’ involvement in household work depends on how much time their partners have to devote to these tasks. Although remote work

does not automatically lead to a more equal distribution of unpaid care work, based on findings from Canada, de Laat (87) argues that remote work can make it easier for parents to have a “dual commitment”, that is, to be committed to both their family and their career. However, the same study shows that fathers are more likely to see remote work as an opportunity to spend more time with their children, while mothers see it as a way to spend more time at work (see also 80, 94, 108). De Laat (87) also finds that women in the study see remote work as something that enables longer working days, overtime, and/or working in the evenings after their children have gone to bed. Studies from Germany and the US also show that mothers who work remotely are more likely to work in the evenings or outside regular office hours than fathers and mothers who do not work remotely, which means less time for recovery and leisure activities (50, 87, 110). In an American study, men who took slightly more responsibility for unpaid care work when working from home also felt that this reduced their leisure time (33). Longer working days are described in American and British studies as a strategy primarily used by mothers to cover the unpaid care hours that take time away from their paid work during the day and to reduce the performance gap between themselves and their male colleagues (42, 94). In the de Laat study (87), they also saw it as a way of conveying competence and commitment to their employer. German and American studies show that paid overtime is also generally more common among people who work from home, and that fathers work such hours to a greater extent than other workers, based on expectations that be their family’s main breadwinner (110, 111). Overall, it can be concluded that the spatial dissolution of boundaries between work and private life leads to the transfer of more professional demands to the private sphere.

American and British studies also show that women do more multitasking than men when working from home and take on more unpaid care work (110, 112), which may explain the findings of another British study showing that men who work remotely tend to have higher levels of job satisfaction and enjoyment than their female counterparts (113). A German study also reports that childless employees experience higher job satisfaction after starting remote work, which is not true of parents (50). Two American studies show that hybrid arrangements (where work is done partly remotely and partly at the designated workplace) can positively change everyday routines, creating a better balance between work and everyday life and reducing work-related stress (33, 114). However, an American study (33) shows that mothers are overrepresented among those who feel they never have enough time, and that this difference grows with increased responsibility for unpaid care work. Similar results can be found in a Russian study showing that women who work in a hybrid form describe low satisfaction with the amount of time they spend on their children (47).

### **Voluntary participation in flexible working arrangements**

Overall, the findings of this systematic literature review support the “flexibility paradox”, i.e. that people with the greatest responsibility for unpaid care work need flexibility to make their lives function, but that this does not contribute to greater job satisfaction – indeed, the opposite may be true. Several studies from Europe and North America also show that parents who work from home may

experience conflicts between unpaid home-related care tasks and paid work, and that working from home can contribute to more stress and less balance between the two (47, 49, 50, 74, 80, 87, 91, 94, 113, 115).

Studies from Italy, Poland, Kosovo, and the United States highlight autonomy and voluntary participation in both location-flexible and time-flexible working arrangements as something that should be a fundamental right for employees, based on agreements between employers and employees (16, 27, 33, 83, 116). At the same time, increased remote work should be implemented with an awareness of its impact on control and the work environment. An Italian study (116) found that while a greater sense of autonomy means that employees feel more secure and in control of their situation (which can protect them from psychological problems such as work-related stress), an “autonomy paradox” may arise whereby greater autonomy and flexibility lead to a more irregular work pace, due either to personal ambition or expectations from the organisation. These results should be interpreted in relation to other studies from Italy and Malta, which show that the gender pay gap increases with so-called family-friendly measures such as remote work, as these opportunities are mainly used by women and risk reinforcing traditional perceptions of the roles of men and women in the family and at work (86, 117). An Australian study shows that men avoid taking advantage of various flexible working arrangements because doing so could negatively affect their careers (118). For this reason, studies argue for the importance of “family-friendly” policies aimed at creating a more even distribution and balance between unpaid care responsibilities and paid work (38, 47, 119). In a German study, Abendroth and Reimann (28) found that employees work more flexibly when employers support their efforts to achieve a work-life balance, and that this is particularly important for informal flexible practices. This finding is also reinforced by Jain and Banerjee (120). Based on findings from Australia, they argue that the decision to work remotely is largely determined by external control factors (such as the type of tasks and access to materials and equipment) and subjective norms in the workplace.

## **Studies on remote work and gender equality in Sweden and the Nordic countries**

This systematic literature review includes only one study (121) that has Sweden as its study area, in accordance with the delimitations applicable to the purpose of the review. In order to examine the Swedish context in greater detail, as well as to discuss the significance of international research findings in a Swedish context, this section presents both scholarly studies and other types of research (known as grey literature) that focus on Sweden or other Nordic countries. The studies were identified through two processes. First, the material from the initial, broad systematic search was screened again, using broader inclusion criteria to identify studies with a Swedish and Nordic focus. While the focus on the effects of remote work on gender equality in the labour market remains a key criterion, the following inclusion criteria have been broadened: a) the time frame, with the inclusion of studies from 2000 onwards, and b) the relevance criterion,

with studies focusing on the effects of the pandemic on remote work now also included. This broad systematic literature search led to the identification of four studies relevant to Sweden and the Nordic region. In the next step, new manual searches were conducted using the same expanded inclusion criteria, resulting in three additional articles.

In other respects, the material has undergone the same quality review as the other studies included. It is worth noting that even with broader inclusion criteria, the number of studies with a Swedish or Nordic focus that address remote work and gender equality is small, and that more research is therefore needed to increase knowledge about how remote work affects gender equality in the labour market in a Swedish context. The studies included from a Swedish/Nordic perspective are listed in Table 3, Appendix 1. The next section presents the scholarly studies, followed by a presentation of the analysis of the grey literature.

## Swedish and Nordic research on remote work and gender equality, 2000–2024

The scholarly publications that highlight Swedish and Nordic aspects of remote work and gender equality show similar results in many areas to those found in international studies. Despite a well-developed public sector and comparatively egalitarian norms regarding family life and gender roles, there is still an uneven distribution of unpaid care work between men and women, and this affects the experience of remote work.

Four articles examine remote work and gender equality before the COVID-19 pandemic. A Swedish study from 2001 (122), which uses data from the late 1990s to investigate how widespread ICT-supported remote work (telework) was at that time, shows that it was more common among male high-income earners with permanent employment, a driving licence, and access to a computer at home. A 2007 survey (123) examined the experiences of Swedish government employees whose workplaces had been relocated. The responses show that women who worked remotely reported less effective recovery from work than women who continued to work at their workplace. On the contrary, men who worked remotely reported a slightly more effective recovery than those who did not. A Norwegian interview-based study from 2008 (124) investigated whether rural remote workers felt that the boundaries between work and private life were blurred. The results show that although both men and women praised the opportunities offered by a flexible workplace and the time having one saved them, this flexibility was used in different ways. While men highlighted the opportunity to enjoy more leisure time, women emphasised the opportunity to get more done at home and to be able to combine the roles of “professional woman” and “good mother”. There was also a difference in how people viewed their relationship with children at home during working hours; fathers were more likely to set rules for when children could “visit” them at work, while mothers adapted their work to their children’s needs. Men who went against this norm reflected on what others in society would think about them being so involved with their children – “doesn’t he work?” – while women tended to reflect on the risk of not being perceived as flexible enough (by their children)

because they “do nothing but work at home”. Similar results are reported in a 2018 Icelandic study of women and men in senior positions in Icelandic companies (125). The women in the study were more likely than the men to feel that remote work tended to blur the lines between paid and unpaid work. They used their flexibility to stretch their workday over more hours of the day and were also more likely to feel stressed when they combined paid work with unpaid care work. Men set clearer boundaries between work, care, and household tasks, and made greater use of the flexibility offered by remote work to spend time on their own. At the same time, Rafnsdóttir and Júlíusdóttir (125) note that men’s lower level of responsibility for daily family care and other household work is tied to the fact that a higher proportion of men than women had a partner who worked less than them and could take responsibility for the household. Among women, on the other hand, a higher proportion had a partner who worked at least as much as they did. Women also had fewer options than men when it came to where and when they worked and were not always able to choose to be at work, precisely because of their unpaid care work commitments. The two previous studies also examined how the workplace is arranged in the home, with Hartig et al. (123) noting that a slightly higher proportion of male Swedish remote workers had a separate home office. The Norwegian study (124) showed how female remote workers in rural areas tended to “hide” the fact that they worked from home from their neighbours, for example by parking their cars at the back of the house during working hours or avoiding sitting near windows at the front of the house, so as not to be perceived as available during working hours.

Three articles were identified that examine remote work in relation to gender equality during the COVID-19 pandemic. A Swedish study examining psychosocial working conditions (job demands and job resources) during the COVID-19 pandemic (126) shows that women with no previous experience of remote work experienced an increased workload. This increased workload was not reported in other groups, i.e. among men (regardless of working pattern), women who had been working remotely before the pandemic, or women who continued to work at their workplace. A Finnish study (127) noted that attitudes toward remote work changed during the pandemic; while most people (both women and men) initially saw flexibility as an opportunity to recover during the workday, for example by going for walks, these strategies were hardly mentioned at all after 1.5 years of remote work. Instead, more intensive work was reported, with skipped breaks and longer working days. Women were more likely than men to describe such changes in their work habits. Karjalainen (127) also noted that to a slightly greater extent than men, women wanted to maintain personal contact with colleagues, a role they often took on in the workplace. At the same time, they found it more difficult – which could give rise to a feeling of not doing enough in their job. In a study focusing on fathers’ experiences of the relationship between work and family life during the COVID-19 pandemic, Cox et al. (121) show that the fathers in the study interpreted the pandemic and the remote work that came with it in terms of new freedom and flexibility, while also expressing the importance of social interactions at work. The results of the study show that the pandemic was a transformative period for participants.

It provided an opportunity to understand their relationship with work and family in new ways, experience the flexibility of remote and hybrid work models, and benefit from having more space and time to manage home and family-related tasks. Cox et al. (121) conclude from their study that none of the fathers want to return to the workplace full-time, but neither do they want to continue working from home full-time, due to the social interactions and personal development they experience at their workplace.

## Grey literature on remote work and gender equality in Sweden

As described in Chapter 3, remote working has increased in Sweden from an already high level (126), and in an employee survey conducted by TCO during the COVID-19 pandemic, nine out of ten of those who had worked remotely wanted to continue doing so to some extent after the pandemic. In Akavia's employee survey from June 2021 (128), 73 per cent of respondents expressed a desire to continue working two to four days per week remotely. A slightly higher proportion of women than men (63 per cent women and 58 per cent men) said they wanted to continue working two to three days per week from home (129). Various surveys thus indicate a desire to work more flexibly in terms of location in the future, but as Randall et al. (20) argue, this is rarely a question of a "remote first" mindset. Rather, the most likely scenario is that hybrid arrangements, where working hours are divided between the workplace and home/other locations, can be expected to become the "new normal". Bogason et al. (43) argue that hybrid arrangements are often tailored to the wishes and needs of the employee (rather than those of the workplace), which means that such arrangements also focus more on the employee's well-being.

When it comes to who has the opportunity to work remotely, it should be noted that several of the occupational categories that do not allow for extensive remote work, such as education, healthcare, and social care, are heavily female-dominated (7), and that there is also a clear division between white-collar workers/academics and blue-collar workers, with the latter category having fewer flexible options (61). Nordregio's report *State of the Nordic Region 2024* (130) notes that remote work is somewhat more common in cities than in rural areas, and this is explained by labour market structures, such as where different types of occupations are located and what norms (e.g. gender norms or "ideal worker norms") exist in the local labour market, rather than the availability/lack of digital infrastructure

## Experiences of remote work

The report *Hur mycket jobbar vi i Sverige?* [ *How much do we work in Sweden?*] (131) shows that among permanent employees, the average actual working hours increased by one hour per week between 2005 and 2023. This increase is driven by women, who increased their actual working hours by two hours per week during the period. International research has indicated that remote work may mean that women in particular increase their working hours (50, 86–88), but it is not possible to determine whether the general increase in working hours in Sweden is related to an increase in remote work, as statistics on remote work for the Swedish labour market are not available for the same period. However, there

are also indications in the grey literature that remote work increases the number of hours worked. For example, TCO's 2021 employee survey (132) indicated that the workload of those who have continued to go to work has increased compared to that of employees who have worked remotely, and that this is more common among women. Forty-five per cent of remote workers say they have been able to flexibly adapt their working hours, while 23 per cent say they have experienced difficulties in setting boundaries and have therefore worked more than they should, and a third have worked normal hours. Combined with increased workloads, the problem of drawing boundaries can create conflicts between private and professional life, and the survey (132) shows that parents of young children (under 12) find it more difficult to balance their lives. A larger proportion of women than men experienced these problems (68 per cent of women versus 54 per cent of men), but from a longer-term perspective, the survey notes that more people found it easier to balance their work and private lives during the pandemic, when remote work became more common. In a survey conducted by Naturvetarna (133), 80 per cent of respondents felt that the number of days they worked remotely was in line with their preferences, but as many as 46 per cent felt stressed about eventually returning to work, explaining that the current arrangement made it easier for them to combine work with their personal lives.

There is also consensus in the grey literature that remote work reduces direct contact between colleagues, which many workers perceive as negative, both in terms of their work performance and well-being and their sense of social cohesion (61, 134). In Akavia's survey (129), 53 per cent responded that they feel more effective when working remotely, and more women than men report that they increased their creativity, efficiency, and innovation during the period of remote work brought about by the pandemic. The TCO survey from 2021 (132) also found that almost half of employees (both men and women) believe that they are just as effective when working remotely as they are otherwise. A higher proportion of women than men feel that they are more effective when working remotely (40 per cent of women versus 25 per cent of men), and that they find it easier to concentrate on their work tasks (40 per cent of women versus 30 per cent of men).

There is also consensus in the material that management's responsibility for a good work environment needs to be monitored closely when work is moved to remote locations. This applies both to the physical workplace (61, 128) and (perhaps even more importantly) to job security. The sense of job security is based both on how agreements regarding remote work are concluded between employers and employees and on the prevailing norms and expectations of employees – both in the workplace and in society at large. Young Håkansson et al. (7) argue that many of the expectations placed on employees today focus on the individual's employability in terms of both specialisation and flexibility. Firstly, the authors argue that these risks cementing unequal structures in the labour market, as women and men already tend to be steered toward gender-specific specialisations when choosing their education. Firstly, and particularly in relation to prevailing notions of "lifelong learning", the focus is on the



individual's responsibility to be constantly prepared to retrain themselves and learn new things in order to adapt to an increasingly flexible and borderless labour market. The authors argue that this borderless labour market risks leading to increased inequality in various ways, especially if it means that workers have less control over their situation.

### Desired policy measures

A voluntary basis for remote work, i.e. the employee's ability to choose – or not choose – to work remotely, is widely promoted by both trade unions and think tanks as one of the most fundamental rights and prerequisites for effective and gender-equal remote work, and the existence of the option is often more important than whether it is actually used (20, 128, 134, 135). Several of the original studies included discuss various types of flexible or “family-friendly” arrangements, agreed upon both at the collective and organisational levels, which allow employees to choose their working hours and place of work (see page 37 under the heading “Voluntary participation in flexible working arrangements”). According to the latest report from the Swedish Gender Equality Agency, part-time work motivated by unpaid care for children or close relatives has decreased among women, while it increased among men (136). According to the original studies included in this systematic literature review, this can be attributed, at least in part, to a rise in remote work (50, 86–88). However, even though the gap has narrowed somewhat, the fact remains that women adapt their working lives to family life to a greater extent than men, through longer parental leave, more part-time work, and more time off to care for children. Forsell (132) argues that this has to do with workplace norms and believes that these norms need to change.

Overall, trade unions and think tanks are calling for clearer wording regarding responsibility for both the physical and social working environment, including specifying the right to a physical workplace in regulations and collective agreements (61, 130, 138). Liljeröd and Wingborg (61), Rydell (128), and Kjellgren (137) note concerns among employees that employers will not allow remote work, and problematise the tendency among companies to reduce access to a physical workplace, combined with greater flexibility to allow employees to work remotely, either by closing offices or introducing so-called “hot desking” systems, wherein a limited number of office spaces are available for booking or on a “first-come, first-served” basis. With these systems, remote work risks becoming compulsory rather than voluntary, and this mainly benefits employees who are better able to adapt their working hours to gain access to office space. This can particularly disadvantage those who take on greater responsibility for unpaid domestic and care work, which is more common among women than men. Clearer wording regarding expectations for availability, i.e. the hours during which employees are expected to be available via telephone or email, is also desired (61, 137). There are examples of this in international research, such as that of de Laat (87), who describes how parts of Canada have agreed on a “right to disconnect”, which stipulates that employees are free from performing work and are not allowed to participate in work-related communication outside their paid working hours.

## 5. Discussion

This chapter discusses the overall findings that can be drawn from the systematic literature review and relates them to conditions in Sweden. The following discussion therefore summarises the analysis of international research, studies in Sweden and the Nordic region, and Swedish grey literature, which in the next chapter leads to conclusions applicable in a Swedish context. The discussion aims to answer the study's questions about how remote work affects gender equality in the Swedish labour market.

On a general level, it can be said that the relationship between gender equality and remote work is paradoxical – remote work can, for example, lead to greater gender equality in some respects, but counteract it in others. In other words, it is difficult to provide any simple answers to the question of how remote work affects gender equality in the labour market. However, it is clear that the effects are not entirely positive or entirely negative. Before discussing the effects of remote work, the question of its extent is raised. What proportion of the workforce has a job that can be performed remotely, and what impact can increase remote work be expected to have on the labour market as a whole?

Studies from various countries show slightly different results when it comes to the proportion of jobs that can be done remotely and whether it is men or women who have the highest proportion of these opportunities. In Sweden, surveys show that the majority of employed people, just over 60 per cent, mainly work at their workplace, and the distribution between women and men is relatively even (63, 64). Although remote work has been on the rise in recent years, a large part of the Swedish labour market has yet to be affected by this change and is unlikely to become subject to it in the future. However, in light of the knowledge that has emerged regarding gender equality aspects of remote work, for the part of the labour market affected by the shift towards remote work, the importance of taking these issues into account should not be downplayed. The Nordic studies included through broader inclusion criteria show that the gender inequality problems identified in the analysis of international studies from 2020 to 2024 also existed before this period. Some of the surveys conducted during the pandemic by labour market actors found that Swedish women experienced an increased sense of efficiency when working remotely, contrary to indications from international research (see the summary of previous research reviews in the “Background” chapter). This can probably be explained by Sweden's milder pandemic restrictions, which did not entail the closure of schools and preschools; this meant that parents were not forced to devote their time to homeschooling or childcare to the same extent as in many other countries. However, there is no indication that the gender-unequal consequences of remote work (primarily related to the unequal distribution of unpaid care work) have changed (or will change) on their own. With the rise in remote work, more people are affected by its consequences, and this can have a negative impact on gender equality in the labour market.

The continued discussion of the results is based on two overarching questions that arose during the overall analysis of the study results, namely:

- Why are men less keen than women to continue working from home?
- Is remote work a new “pitfall for women”

## Why are men less keen than women to continue working from home?

As noted in both scholarly studies and grey literature (e.g. 104, 129, 138, 139), a higher proportion of women than men expressed a desire to continue working remotely, even after returning to the workplace became possible following the pandemic. This is often attributed to the fact that remote work allows for a better balance between paid work and home-related care responsibilities. But why are men less keen than women to continue working from home? A simple answer is that men traditionally do not have/take as much responsibility for unpaid care work as women and therefore do not experience the same problems with balance. However, the analysed research supports the conclusion that the answer does not lie solely in balance – other factors also play a role. The question is not intended to blame either men or women for the unequal distribution of remote work, but rather to highlight aspects of inequality that only become apparent when the question is asked.

Studies have shown somewhat contradictory results regarding whether salary and career development are affected by remote work – and if so, how. Both Swedish and international studies show that skilled work and senior positions often enable remote work, i.e. people who are already well-placed in terms of salary and career have a high degree of opportunity to work remotely. However, this does not mean that it is remote work itself that has led to the employee’s professional position and continues to influence their career development. The link between skilled work and remote work applies to both men and women, but benefits men to a greater extent, due to the existing gender segregation in the labour market.

Analysed studies provide slightly different results regarding which employees are most affected in terms of salary and career development when working remotely. There is no research to support the claim that remote work reduces employee productivity; on the contrary, most studies indicate the opposite. If career and salary development were solely related to performance, remote workers should not risk falling behind. The results also indicate that wages and careers are not significantly affected when many people in a workplace work remotely (cf. 81). This may be related to how norms and expectations shift when many people share the same experience of remote work. It can therefore be concluded that whether the outcome in terms of salary and career is positive or negative is likely to be linked to employers’ (and colleagues’) gender-coded expectations of productivity when working from home, and that this probably varies between different workplaces and their gender arrangements, as well as between work tasks and workplace cultures. These findings may be relevant for the post-

pandemic labour market, as there is now greater general acceptance of – and experience with – remote work than there was previously. The results of the analysis also provide some support for the argument that family-friendly policies can help change norms surrounding both paid work and unpaid care work, while Abendroth and Luekemann (99) point out that policy needs to go hand in hand with changing norms for change to occur.

The answer to the question of why men are more likely than women to want to return to work can therefore be partly understood in terms of gender-coded norms, perceptions, and expectations regarding the ideal employee, dedication, and productivity. Remote work can also be seen to affect what could be categorised as job satisfaction, based on questions about knowledge transfer, creativity, personal development, and social contacts and interaction, which are less prevalent in remote work. Both scholarly studies and grey literature support the validity of both these assumptions about norms and personal development in a Swedish context.

## Is remote work a new “pitfall for women”?

Several results from analysed studies suggest that there are grounds for discussing remote work as a new “pitfall for women”. International studies highlight how remote work has enabled women with care responsibilities to participate in the labour market to a greater extent, i.e. by giving them the opportunity to work for pay despite having children at home. In Sweden, which has a well-developed childcare system, these results are not entirely transferable, although there are indications that the possibility of remote work may be behind the increase in women’s actual working hours in Sweden, as well. And even in Sweden, there exists what researchers refer to as “women’s relative place-boundness”, which means that the fact that women generally have the greatest responsibility for home and family also ties them more to a specific place and thus limits their ability to choose work in a labour market that is as large as that available to men (140, 141). In this regard, remote work can increase access to jobs that match an individual’s qualifications. At the same time, there is broad support in research for the view that working from home generally increases women’s responsibility for unpaid care-related tasks (see, for example, 19, 112). For example, Nordic, Swedish, and international studies show that women who work remotely engage in more multitasking than men, i.e. they combine paid work with unpaid household and care work (113, 132).

Secondly, the uneven distribution of unpaid care responsibilities risks leading women who can work from home to use this opportunity to extend their (paid) working hours throughout most of the day, leaving them with less time for leisure and recovery. Remote work certainly enables individuals to integrate work and family life, but the normalisation of remote work as the way for women to integrate these roles perpetuates a view that makes overtime more acceptable, and international studies highlight the fact that among other things, women must work harder to prove themselves competent and committed to paid work

(e.g. 87). Some studies also show this relationship for fathers (e.g. 111). The increased opportunity to reduce stress in the private sphere can thus be seen to come at a price, in the form of more pressure related to paid work and reduced leisure time. In the grey literature, both trade unions and think tanks emphasise the importance of autonomy when it comes to remote work, i.e. that employees themselves should be able to choose whether or not they work remotely. No findings suggest that mandatory regulations are beneficial for either employers or employees, while voluntary measures risk cementing existing gender patterns in terms of who chooses to work remotely based on gender norms regarding unpaid care responsibilities.

## 6. Conclusions

A key conclusion of this knowledge summary is that remote work can be expected to affect gender equality in the labour market. Particularly from an international perspective, but with some relevance to the Swedish context, it can be concluded that more remote work can contribute to higher participation in the labour force. This could lead to reduced income disparities (assuming that more people gain access to the labour market and that part-time work decreases). However, an even clearer result of the analysis of both international and Swedish studies is that remote work affects gender equality in terms of unpaid care work, which in turn can affect the labour market.

The following conclusions applicable to the Swedish context can be drawn from the systematic literature review:

- Most studies indicate that productivity increases with remote work (even more so for women than for men), due to increased concentration and fewer distractions. However, this does not apply to people with (young) children living at home, who may cause disruption.
- Remote work gives people who are spatially inflexible or place-bound due to, e.g. unpaid care responsibilities (women to a greater extent than men) greater opportunities to participate in the labour market. This can reduce income disparities between women and men, even if it does not affect wage differences.
- People who are spatially inflexible or place-bound also have greater opportunities to find jobs that match their qualifications. Since women are more likely than men to be responsible for unpaid care work and are therefore more likely to be restricted to a local labour market, the possibility of remote work expands the labour market to which they have access. Ensuring that people have jobs that match their skills can help reduce income disparities between men and women.
- Remote work enables a better balance between paid work and unpaid care work. This creates potential for a more equal distribution of unpaid care work.
- At the same time, gender stereotypes and norms related to breadwinning and caregiving responsibilities can have a negative impact on salary and career development for remote workers, but these norms can also influence employees' willingness to choose remote work in the first place.
- Knowledge transfer, creativity, personal development, social contacts and interaction risk being reduced when working remotely. This can have a negative impact on career development, as well as on gender equality in the labour market, because a higher proportion of women than men say they want to work remotely.

- When working remotely, women multitask more than men and compensate by extending their working hours beyond the normal working day. This means longer working days, less leisure time, and reduced recovery. Since unpaid care work is unevenly distributed between women and men, increased remote work risks placing a greater burden on women.
- The normalisation of remote work as a way for (primarily) women to balance paid and unpaid work perpetuates a view of overtime as acceptable.

## Knowledge gaps and research needs

The basis for this knowledge summary consists of research conducted before, during, and immediately after the COVID-19 pandemic. There is therefore a lack of long-term research on the consequences of increased remote work at a time when this form of work has become more widespread and normalised than it was before the pandemic. Therefore, continued monitoring of the effects of remote work on gender equality goals is needed, through both research and other follow-ups.

There is also a need for systematic and longitudinal studies on the extent of remote work and its spatial and sectoral distribution in Sweden. This can further highlight who has the opportunity to work remotely and what factors influence whether or not this is a possibility.

Research on remote work with intersectional perspectives is also needed. Based on the knowledge that remote work is more widely available to and utilised by people with higher education, there is reason to believe that relevant patterns of inequality also exist in terms of class and ethnicity, for example. Issues related to sexuality also need to be highlighted in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of remote work for individuals and the labour market.

This systematic literature review has mainly drawn conclusions based on research conducted in other countries. Based on the findings of the Nordic studies that fulfilled the expanded inclusion criteria, many of the results can be assumed to be transferable to a Swedish context. However, further studies are needed to confirm this, as well as to highlight the impact of remote work on gender equality in the post-pandemic Swedish context.

Additional questions not answered in this report, but which are relevant to the issue of gender equality in the labour market, include what happens to work tasks when they are moved out of the workplace and how increased remote work affects employees who do not choose/have the opportunity to work remotely. Does this affect women and men differently, and is there a difference between female-dominated and male-dominated workplaces?

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# Appendix 1: Tables of included original studies, review studies, and grey literature

**Tabell 1.** Sammanställning av originalstudier 2020–2024. Studier markerade med \* överlappar med analyserade studier i de tidigare systematiska litteraturöversikterna.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Abendroth, A. K., & Luekemann, L. (2023). Transition to fatherhood and adjustments in working hours: The importance of organizational policy feedback. <i>Journal of Family Research</i> .	2012/13, 2014/15, 2018/19	LEEP-B3, paneldata för arbetsgivare och arbetstagare från stora arbetsorganisationer. Utdrag om 1 687 män från 131 organisationer. <b>Tyskland.</b>	Resultaten visar att män var mer benägna att minska sin totala arbetstid efter att ha blivit fäder, när de arbetade i organisationer där användningen av flexplats redan hade normaliserats. Minskningen är dock fortfarande blygsam.
Abendroth, A. K. & Reimann, M. (2024). Organisational inhibition and promotion of flexible working in digitalised work environments. <i>New Technology Work and Employment</i> .	2018/2019	LEEP-B3, paneldata för arbetsgivare och arbetstagare från stora arbetsorganisationer. Utdrag om 4 298 arbetstagare från 160 organisationer. <b>Tyskland.</b>	Resultaten visar att tillgång till IKT-stöd och uttalat stöd från chefer för att kombinera arbete och privatliv ökar de anställdas flexibilitet i tid och rum, medan normer kring den "ideala arbetaren" kan ha viss effekt för att minska flexibiliteten.
Albrychiewicz-Słocińska, A. (2023). Learning Problems in a Remote Working Situation: A Generation Z Perspective. <i>Proceedings of the European Conference on Knowledge Management, ECKM</i> .	2022	Mixad enkätundersökning (telefon/webb) med 388 distansarbetare inom "Generation Z". <b>Polen.</b>	Undersöker kunskapsöverföring och lärande bland anställda vid distansarbete. Studien konstaterar att ökat distansarbete leder till minskad kunskapsöverföring och utmaningar i inläring av nya arbetsuppgifter. Ålder, kön, organisationens storlek och nivåer av formaliserade arrangemang har effekt på såväl upplevelsen av distansarbete som kunskapsöverföring.
Alfano, V., et al. (2023). I want to break free: the influence of the COVID-19 pandemic on work–life balance satisfaction. <i>Regional Studies, Regional Science</i> .	2020	Webbenkät (CAWI) med 803 arbetstagare från ett tvärsnitt av sektorer, genomförd av SVIMEZ, juni–oktober 2020, <b>Italien.</b>	Undersöker effekter för tillfredsställelse i arbetet och privatlivet, samt välmående bland arbetstagare i och med ett ökat distansarbete. Resultaten visar att högst tillfredsställelse finns hos manliga offentligsektorsanställda som är gifta och arbetar på distans. Författarna argumenterar för att Italiens övergripande familjepolitik cementerar en ojämlikhet på arbetsmarknaden och efterfrågar mer "familjevänlig" arbetsmarknadspolicy.
Angelici, M. & P. Profeta (2023). Smart working: work flexibility without constraints. <i>Management Science</i> .	2016–2017	Sluppmässigt experiment med arbetstagare i ett stort italienskt företag, där testgruppen arbetar enligt ett hybridarrangemang ("smart work"). 310 deltagare. <b>Italien.</b>	Resultaten visar att hybridarbete, "smart work", kan effektivisera produktiviteten hos arbetstagare och samtidigt öka deras välmående och work–life balance. Effekterna av experimentet var starkare för kvinnor, och inga signifikanta effekter syntes på samarbete i arbetslag.
Arntz, M., et al. (2020). Working from Home and COVID-19: The Chances and Risks for Gender Gaps. <i>Intereconomics</i> .	2018	BiBB/BAuA Employment Survey, undersökning av cirka 20 000 vuxna med avlönat arbete. <b>Tyskland.</b>	Studien konstruerar ett index för distansarbete som skiljer mellan helt och hållet distansarbete, delvis distansarbete och jobb på plats och finner att pandemin i ungefär en tredjedel av hushållen sannolikt kommer att leda till förändringar i fördelningen av arbetsuppgifter inom hushållet från mödrar till fäder.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Arntz, M., et al. (2022). Working from home, hours worked and wages: Heterogeneity by gender and parenthood. <i>Labour Economics</i> .	1997–2014	German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), ca 20 000 respondenter. <b>Tyskland.</b>	Studien visar att barnlösa arbetar en extra timme obetald övertid per vecka och rapporterar högre arbetstillfredsställelse efter att ha börjat med distansarbete. Bland föräldrar är könsskillnaderna i arbetstid och månadslön mindre efter att de börjat med distansarbete. Ökningen av timlönen är dock begränsad till fäder, såvida inte mödrarna byter arbetsgivare.
Barcus, M. (2022). Paying for Work-Family Balance: Assessing the Role of Family-Friendly Job Amenities in Occupational Segregation. <i>Social Currents</i> .	2017–2018	American Time Use Survey (ATUS), Leave Module data, 8 601 respondenter ingår i studien. <b>USA.</b>	Studien visar att arbetstagare i kvinnodominerade yrken har lägre tillgång till familjevänliga anställningsvillkor än arbetstagare i mansdominerade yrken. Dessutom är familjevänliga anställningsvillkor förknippade med högre löner. Studien finner inga belägg för att de lägre lönerna i kvinnodominerade yrken förklaras av att kvinnor samlas i yrken som gör det möjligt för dem att byta lön mot familjevänliga jobbfaciliteter.
*Battisti, E., et al. (2022). Remote working and digital transformation during the COVID-19 pandemic: Economic–financial impacts and psychological drivers for employees. <i>Journal of Business Research</i> .	2020–2021	Mixade metoder: fokusgruppintervjuer med 321 deltagare (feb–juni 2020), samt enkätundersökning (april–maj 2021) med 976 respondenter. <b>Italien.</b>	Resultaten visar att majoriteten av arbetstagarna upplever en negativ ekonomisk-finansiell påverkan på grund av såväl extra kostnader för t.ex. uppkoppling som utebliven övertids- och måltidsersättning. De ekonomiska aspekterna samspelar med psykologiska och beteendemässiga variabler som t.ex. arbetstillfredsställelse och teknostress och påverkar villigheten att fortsätta arbeta på distans.
Berisha, Q. & Klich, A. (2024). Remote Work Regulations in the EU, Poland and Kosovo with Some Considerations from the Perspective of the GDPR. <i>Białostockie Studia Prawnicze</i> .	n/a	Jämförande analys av relevant regelverk kring (distans)arbete och personuppgiftssäkerhet i EU, Polen och Kosovo. <b>Polen &amp; Kosovo.</b>	Artikeln undersöker huruvida EU:s regelverk för personuppgiftssäkerhet vid distansarbete kan implementeras i Polen och Kosovo, samt analyserar risken för överreglering och missbruk av rättigheter från arbetsgivarens sida.
*Bonacini, L., et al. (2021). Working from home and income inequality: risks of a 'new normal' with COVID-19. <i>Journal of Population Economics</i> .	2018 2013	Kombinerat dataset: Labour and Unemployment Survey (INAPP-PLUS), samt Survey of Professions (ICP-INAPP). Utdrag om 14 307 respondenter. <b>Italien.</b>	Resultaten visar att ökat distansarbete potentiellt kan vara förknippat med en genomsnittligt ökad arbetsinkomst, men att denna ökning är ojämnt fördelad och gynnar manliga, äldre, högutbildade och höglönade arbetstagare i högre utsträckning. Distansarbete riskerar därmed att förvärra redan existerande ojämlikheter på arbetsmarknaden, särskilt om inte adekvat reglering medföljer. Författarna föreslår en rad policyåtgärder, t.ex. inkomststöd, utbildningsstöd, samt "familjevänlig policy".
Bonacini, L., et al. (2024). Does Working from Home Increase the Gender Wage Gap? Insights from an Italian Survey of Occupations. <i>Feminist Economics</i> .	2013, 2018	Kombinerat dataset: Survey of Professions (ICP-INAPP), ca 16 000 anställda inom 800 yrken & Labour and Unemployment Survey (INAPP-PLUS), 45 000 personer i åldern 18–74 år. <b>Italien.</b>	Resultaten av studien visar att lönegapet är större bland kvinnor som arbetar i ett yrke med hög grad av möjlighet att jobba hemifrån, liksom lägre grad av karriärmöjligheter.
Brumley, K. M. & M. E. S. George (2022). Rules of engagement: Flexplace and ideal workers. <i>Social Currents</i> .	n/a	Kvalitativa intervjuer med 25 anställda med barn (yrkes- och arbetsledande positioner) inom bilindustrin. <b>USA.</b>	Undersöker förekomsten och utformningen av "flexplace"-policy inom organisationer för att utröna dess relation till normer om ideala arbetare och nyttjande av platsflexibla arbetsarrangemang. Resultaten visar att arbetsplatspolicy kring flexplats styrs av olika antaganden kring ideala arbetare, och arbetsplatsens specifika kontext framhålls.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Bruurs, S. & S. Huybrechts (2021). Telework in Belgium: A patchwork of legal regimes. <i>E-Journal of International and Comparative Labour Studies</i> .	n/a	Analyserar belgisk reglering av distansarbete, avgränsat till den privata sektorn (ej egenföretagande). <b>Belgien</b> .	Analysen visar att överlappande regelverk för olika typer av distansarbete leder till osäkerheter kring såväl arbetsgivares som arbetstagares rättigheter och skyldigheter, samt oklara gränsdragningar mellan olika typer av distansarbete vad gäller tillämpningen av regelverk.
Burchell, B., et al. (2021). Spatial and temporal segmenting of urban workplaces: The gendering of multi-locational working. <i>Urban Studies</i> .	2015	6th European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS), 10 599 heltidsanställda i städer. <b>EU</b> .	Resultaten visar att kvinnor i högre utsträckning är begränsade till att endast arbeta på sin arbetsplats, medan män har mer varierade och komplexa rumsliga och tidsmässiga arbetsmönster. Arbete på flera platser snarare än på en arbetsplats är ett fenomen som till störst del gäller för män.
Capecchi, S., et al. (2024). Occupational Stress, Working from Home, and Job Sustainability: Another Gender Issue? <i>Social Indicators Research</i> .	2015	6th European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS), 44 000 anställda i 35 länder. <b>EU</b> .	Studien visar att något högre andel män än kvinnor anger att de "aldrig är stressade", både gällande hemarbetande och för hållbara/icke hållbara arbetsförhållanden. Sannolikheten att "alltid vara stressad" är störst för kvinnor som regelbundet arbetar hemifrån med ett ohållbart jobb, följt av män med samma profil. Samma generella resultat kan observeras för respondenter som inte arbetar hemifrån.
Carlson, D.L., et al. (2021). Flexplace work and partnered fathers' time in housework and childcare. <i>Men and Masculinities</i> .	2017–2018	American Time Use Survey (ATUS), Leave Module data, 1 956 fäder ingår i studien. <b>USA</b> .	Fäder som distansarbetar rapporterar mer rutinmässig barnomsorg. Sambandet mellan distansarbete och fädernas tid för hushållsarbete är beroende av partners sysselsättningsstatus och fädernas skäl för att arbeta hemifrån.
Cetrulo, A., et al. (2022). Working from home and the explosion of enduring divides: income, employment and safety risks. <i>Economia Politica</i> .	2011–2017 2012–2016 2017	Kombinerat dataset: RLFC-ISTAT arbetskraftsundersökning (>85 000), Banca dati delle Professioni-INAIL undersökning om arbetsförhållanden (506), samt ICP-INAPP Survey of Professions (506). <b>Italien</b> .	Undersöker faktorer som möjliggör distansarbete på individ- och yrkesnivå i ett tvärsекtoriellt utsnitt av den italienska arbetskraften, samt analyserar socioekonomiska risker för de som inte kan distansarbeta, bl.a. utifrån könsdimensionen. Resultaten visar att faktorer såsom arbetsuppgifter, självständighetsgrad och yrkeskategorisering påverkar möjligheten till distansarbete, att personer som inte har möjlighet att distansarbeta får ökad risk för arbetslöshet, lönediskriminering samt hälsorisker, och att kvinnor samt personer med tillfälliga kontrakt är mer utsatta.
Choi, S. (2020). Flexible Work Arrangements and Employee Retention: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Federal Workforces. <i>Public Personnel Management</i> .	2011–2013	Longitudinell analys av U.S. OPM congressional reports on telework implementation & Central Personnel Data Files (CPDF). 428 observationer ingår i studien. <b>USA</b> .	Resultaten visar att en lägre andel frivillig personalomsättning rapporteras i statliga organisationer med fler distansarbetare och där arbetsledningen stöttar rumsflexibla arrangemang. Andra faktorer som spelar in är lönesättning, anställningsform, samt könsdimensioner.
*Chung, H., & Booker, C. (2023). Flexible Working and the Division of Housework and Childcare: Examining Divisions across Arrangement and Occupational Lines. <i>Work Employment and Society</i> .	2010/2011, 2012/2013, 2014/2015, 2016/2017	Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), ca 80 000 individer i 40 000 hushåll. <b>Storbritannien</b> .	Resultaten visar att arrangemang som tillåter mer otydliga gränser mellan hem och arbete, t.ex. arbete hemifrån, är förknippade med en mer traditionell uppdelning av omsorg om barn, men inte nödvändigtvis av hushållsarbetet. Resultaten visar också att flexibla arbetsformer kan ge familjer ett viktigt stöd när resurserna för att tillgodose kraven på barnomsorg och hushållsarbete är begränsade.



Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Chung, H., & van der Horst, M. (2020). Flexible working and unpaid overtime in the UK: The role of gender, parental and occupational status. <i>Social Indicators Research</i> .	2010/2011, 2012/2013, 2014/2015	Paneldata från Understanding Society, 30 761 respondenter. <b>Storbritannien.</b>	Resultaten av studien pekar på att flexibla arbetsformer potentiellt kan förvärra ojämlikheten mellan könen på arbetsmarknaden genom att göra det möjligt för män att ägna mer tid åt sitt arbete, medan detta kan vara mindre möjligt för kvinnor, särskilt heltidsarbetande mödrar.
Cooke, F.L., et al. (2022). Building sustainable societies through human-centred human resource management: Emerging issues and research opportunities. <i>The International Journal of Human Resource Management</i> .	n/a	Konceptuell diskussion.	Författarna utgår från övergripande teman (exempelvis covid-19-pandemin) för att illustrera hur digital teknik och ett ökat distansarbete kan påverka arbetstagare med olika socioekonomiska förutsättningar på olika sätt, och argumenterar för att människocentrerade förhållningssätt till HRM kan bidra till en bättre hållbarhet för såväl arbetskraft som för organisationer och samhällen i stort.
Coron, C., & Garbe, E. (2023). Deviation from the ideal worker norm and lower career success expectations: A "men's issue" too? <i>Journal of Vocational Behavior</i> .	2017	French RESPONSE enkätundersökning, 21 915 respondenter från 5 605 företag. <b>Frankrike.</b>	Resultaten visar att distansarbete har en bättre inverkan på mäns och kvinnors förväntningar på karriärframgång än deltidsarbete (CSE). Distansarbete gör det alltså möjligt för arbetstagare, och särskilt kvinnor, att närma sig den ideala arbetstagarnormen genom att kunna arbeta mer. Studien visar också att arbete–familjekonflikter påverkar mäns CSE mer negativt än kvinnors. Detta kan relateras till föreställningen om den ideala arbetstagarnormen.
Cox, L., Bjärehed, J., & Lundberg, T. (2024). 'A Total Gamechanger': An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Swedish Fathers' Work-Family Experiences Since the COVID-19 Pandemic. <i>Journal of Men's Studies</i> .	2023	Intervjustudie med 8 fäder. <b>Sverige.</b>	Resultaten i studien visar att pandemin var en omvälvande period för deltagarna, i form av en möjlighet att förstå sin relation till arbete och familj på nya sätt, uppleva flexibiliteten i distans- och hybridarbetsmodeller och dra nytta av att ha mer utrymme och tid för att hantera hem- och familjerelaterade uppgifter.
Damman, M., & Henskens, K. (2020). Gender Differences in Perceived Workplace Flexibility Among Older Workers in the Netherlands: A Brief Report. <i>Journal of Applied Gerontology</i> .	2015	NIDI Pension Panel Study, 4 813 nederländska äldre arbetstagare (60–65 år). <b>Nederländerna.</b>	Resultaten visar att kvinnor i genomsnitt upplever sig ha mindre flexibilitet på arbetsplatsen än män, både vad gäller arbetsschema och arbetsplats. Könsskillnaden i möjlighet till distansarbete kan förklaras av skillnader i arbetets karaktär.
Davidescu, A.A., et al. (2020). Work Flexibility, Job Satisfaction, and Job Performance among Romanian Employees-Implications for Sustainable Human Resource Management. <i>Sustainability</i> .	2018	Enkätundersökning riktad till arbetstagare i åldern 15–64 år (oktober–november 2018), 220 respondenter. <b>Rumänien.</b>	Artikeln undersöker hur olika typer av flexibla arbetsarrangemang påverkar arbetstillfredsställelse och arbetsprestation för att identifiera hur "hållbar HRM" kan utvecklas för att möta utmaningar i "framtidens arbete". Resultaten visar att flexibilitet i relation till både tid och plats är relevant, och att hybridlösningar uppskattas av arbetstagarna.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
de Laat, K. (2023). Living to Work (from Home): Overwork, Remote Work, and Gendered Dual Devotion to Work and Family. <i>Work and Occupations</i> .	2021	Intervjuer med 84 it-anställda på ett stort företag inom finanssektorn. <b>Kanada</b> .	Studien visar att många föräldrar har "dubbel hängivenhet" – en stark känsla av hängivenhet både för sina familjer och för sina karriärer. Flexibla arbetsarrangemang, särskilt distansarbete, underlättar dubbel hängivenhet genom att göra det möjligt för individer att integrera sitt arbets- och familjeliv. Studien konstaterar att metoder som möjliggör dubbla hängivenheter, i synnerhet distansarbete, hjälper föräldrar att upprätthålla en syn på sin tid som gör överarbetet mer acceptabelt.
de Laat, K., et al. (2023). More than employment policies? Parental leaves, flexible work and fathers' participation in unpaid care work. <i>Community, Work and Family</i> .	2021	International Familydemographic Survey, 4 683 kanadensiska fäder ingår i studien. <b>Kanada</b> .	Resultaten visar att flexibla arbetsformer kan öka fädernas engagemang efter de första månaderna av föräldraskapet, och att fädernas föräldraledighet och flexibla arbetsformer bidrar till en jämnare fördelning av det obetalda omsorgsarbetet.
Devic, I. B. (2024). Analysis of the influence of working time flexibility and labour law status on the reduction of the unemployment rate. <i>Casopis za Ekonomiju I Trzisne Komunikacije</i> .	2008–2018	EU Labour Force Survey (EU LFS), 447 031 observationer ingår i studien. <b>Österrike, Kroatien, Italien, Ungern och Slovenien</b> .	Artikeln undersöker långsiktiga effekter av flexibla arbetsformer på nivåer av arbetslöshet i 5 EU-länder. Ett signifikant samband mellan flexibla arrangemang och minskad arbetslöshet påvisas i samtliga studerade länder.
Dingel, J. & B. Neiman (2020). How many jobs can be done at home? <i>NBER Working Paper 26948</i> .		O*NET database release 24.2, två undersökningar: Work Context Questionnaire + Generalized Work Activities Questionnaire (ca 1 000 arbeten), samt arbetsrelaterad statistik från US Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) & International Labour Organization (ILO). <b>USA/ internationellt</b> .	Artikeln söker klassificera typer av arbeten som kan utföras på distans utifrån faktorer relaterade till arbetsuppgifter, arbetskontext, krav på utrustning etc. Resultaten visar att i den amerikanska kontexten kan 37 % av arbeten helt utföras på distans, med betydande variation mellan olika platskontext och sektorer. Vidgat till 85 länder visar studien att låginkomstländer har en mindre andel arbeten som kan utföras på distans.
Entgelmeier, I., & Rinke, T. (2023). Work-Related ICT Use and the Dissolution of Boundaries Between Work and Private Life. <i>Social Inclusion</i> .	2018	BiBB/BAuA Employment Survey, 15 615 inkluderade individer i analysen. <b>Tyskland</b> .	Studien visar att anställda som arbetar hemifrån och ofta använder IKT är betydligt mer benägna att arbeta övertid än anställda som ofta använder IKT och inte arbetar hemifrån. WFH ökar den rumsliga upplösningen av gränser mellan arbets- och privatliv, och flyttar fler yrkesmässiga krav till den privata sfären. Både IKT och WFH bidrar till att fäder utökar sin arbetstid, vilket kan förstås i relation till förväntningarna på dem som "familjeförsörjare". WFH tenderar därför att förstärka ojämlikheten mellan könen när det gäller lönearbete.
Escriba, A., et al. (2024). Dual-career Spanish couples in Europe: Work-family balance in childcare. <i>International Migration</i> .	2020	Enkätundersökning, 253 respondenter + 13 intervjuer med spanska par som migrerat till <b>Tyskland, Belgien och Storbritannien</b> .	Studien visar att högutbildade inomeuropeiska migrerade par med barn utnyttjar flexibla arbetsformer när de finns tillgängliga, även om fäder gör det i mindre utsträckning än mödrar. Vissa av dessa arbetsformer kan dock ha negativa effekter på karriären och inkomsterna för personer med lägre befattningar, både på kort och på lång sikt.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Ewers, M. and J. Kangmennaang (2023). New spaces of inequality with the rise of remote work: Autonomy, technostress, and life disruption. <i>Applied Geography</i> .	2021	Webbenkät till ett stratifierat urval av distansarbetare (minst 16 h/vecka), 1 174 kompletta svar. <b>USA.</b>	Studien undersöker erfarenheter av distansarbete hos amerikanska arbetstagare utifrån bland annat känsla av autonomi, teknostress och work-life balance. Resultaten visar att det finns stora skillnader i hur distansarbete upplevs, bland annat beroende på etnicitet, kön och familjesituation.
Ewald, A., et al. (2024). Fathering Identities and Men's Engagement With Flexible Working Arrangements. <i>The Journal of Men's Studies</i> .	2018–2019	Intervjuer med 43 heterosexuella fäder i tjänstemannayrken. <b>Australien.</b>	Undersöker flexibla arbetsarrangemang (FWA), och visar att fäder uttryckte en uppfattning om att vissa former av FWA som ökade deras synlighet som pappa, till exempel flexibla start- och sluttider och distansarbete, var acceptabla, men de ansåg att mer betydande former av flexibilitet, till exempel deltidarbete, formaliserade arrangemang eller att arbeta hemifrån mer än två dagar i veckan, var otillgängliga, opraktiska eller ouppnåeliga. Diskursen om att endast använda former av flexibilitet som inte äventyrade deras ställning på arbetsplatsen ledde till oförändrade genusrelationer i hemmet.
Fan, W., & Moen, P. (2023a). The Future(s) of Work? Disparities Around Changing Job Conditions When Remote/Hybrid or Returning to Working at Work. <i>Work and Occupations</i> .	2020–2022	Panelundersökning riktad till distansarbetare, 3 017 respondenter. <b>USA.</b>	Resultaten av studien visar att distansarbete/hybridarbete leder till minskningar av de psykologiska kraven i arbetet, särskilt bland äldre kvinnor och män. Personer med omsorgsansvar i hemmet upplever inte förbättrade arbetsvillkor oavsett om de arbetar på distans/hybridarbetar eller återtänder till arbetsplatsen.
Fan, W. & P. Moen (2023b). Ongoing Remote Work, Returning to Working at Work, or in between during COVID-19: What Promotes Subjective Well-Being? <i>Journal of Health and Social Behavior</i> .	2020–2021	Panelundersökning riktad till distansarbetare, 1 817 respondenter. <b>USA.</b>	Artikeln undersöker subjektivt välmående relaterat till att återvända till arbetsplatsen efter covid-19-pandemin. Resultaten visar att bytet av arbetsplats (från hemmet till den iordningsställda arbetsplatsen) upplevs mer stressfullt när övergången blir total, medan hybridarrangemang minskar negativa effekter. Särskilt väl fungerar hybridlösningar för män i minoritetsgrupper och med lägre utbildning, medan vita kvinnors välmående kan minska.
Farrugia, M., et al. (2024). Investigating the gender pay gap in the Maltese financial and insurance sector: a macro and micro approach. <i>Equality, Diversity and Inclusion</i> .	2004–2020	Analys av 12 nationella policydokument + 12 intervjuer med HR-personer. <b>Malta.</b>	Studien undersöker hur familje- och arbetsrelaterade policyer och åtgärder (t.ex. möjlighet till distansarbete) och deras införande bidrar till och upprätthåller lönegap mellan kvinnor och män. Studien visar att en uppsättning familjevänliga åtgärder bidrar till lönegapet på grund av att de är könsrelaterade eller att de främst utnyttjas av kvinnor.
Garrote Sanchez, D., et al. (2021). Who on Earth Can Work from Home? <i>World Bank Research Observer</i> .	2012–2019	Inkomst- och arbetskraftsdata från ILO samt EU + nationella arbetskraftsundersökningar, indexering av internetberoende arbeten från O*NET Survey, tillgång till internet från 2019 Gallup World Poll & BNP/capita från World Development Indicators, Världsbanken. <b>Global.</b>	Artikeln diskuterar genom en narrativ litteraturstudie (ej systematisk) forskning kring möjligheter till distansarbete och presenterar, i ett internationellt perspektiv, skattningar av typer av arbeten som utifrån exempelvis arbetsuppgifter, teknologiska krav och tillgång till internet erbjuder lämpliga förutsättningar för distansarbete. Författarna argumenterar för att tillgång till internet är en av de viktigaste faktorerna, och menar att begränsade möjligheter till distansarbete riskerar förvärra ojämlikhet på arbetsmarknader i ekonomiskt utsatta regioner.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Gómez-Domínguez, A., et al. (2024). Comparing Exposure to Psychosocial Risks: Face-to-Face Work vs. Telework. <i>Medicina del Lavoro</i> .	2021	Enkätundersökning till medlemmar i Spaniens största fackförening, 11 519 respondenter. <b>Spanien</b> .	Visar att anställda, oavsett kön, som kombinerar distansarbete och fysiskt arbete är mindre utsatta för psykosociala risker än de som huvudsakligen arbetar på distans eller de som arbetar på plats, med undantag för kvantitativa krav. Distansarbete är förknippat med en lägre exponering för känslomässiga behov, men å andra sidan med högre arbetskrav (särskilt i kombination med arbete på plats). Kvinnor som främst arbetar på distans uppvisar förhöjda nivåer av otrygghet i anställningen i alla dimensioner, tillsammans med utmaningar relaterade till arbetstakt, inflytande och utvecklingsmöjligheter. På samma sätt uppvisar män som främst arbetar på distans också en högre grad av otrygghet i anställningen.
Gurova, E., et al. (2020). Digitalization of Labor Relations. <i>Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference – Far East Con. (ISC-FEC2020)</i> .	2019	Enkät riktad till anställda i den ryska privata och offentliga sektorn. 116 respondenter. <b>Ryssland</b> .	Artikeln undersöker upplevda för- och nackdelar med digitalisering av arbete och distansarbete. Resultaten visar en oro för diskriminering p.g.a. ålder och bristande digital kompetens samt löneminskning, kompetensutvecklingssvårigheter, organisatoriska utmaningar och risker relaterade till datahantering.
Hildred, K., et al. (2023). Objective and subjective career success: individual, structural, and behavioral determinants on European hybrid workers. <i>Frontiers in Psychology</i> .	2022	Webbenkät riktad till europeiska "hybridarbetare", 739 respondenter. <b>EU</b> .	Studien undersöker faktorer för karriärframgång hos europeiska "hybridarbetare", som delar sin arbetstid mellan arbetsplatsen och hemmet. Olika individuella, strukturella och beteendemässiga faktorer undersöks utifrån subjektiva och objektiva uppfattningar om karriärframgång. Författarna menar att covid-19-pandemin medförde en mer tolerant syn på distansarbete och att arbetsgivare bör stötta sina anställda i deras strategiska karriärutveckling även i relation till flexibla arbetsformer.
Hokke, S., et al. (2021). Does flexible work 'work' in Australia? A survey of employed mothers' and fathers' work, family and health. <i>Community, Work and Family</i> .	2016	Webbenkät, 4 268 föräldrar med anställning är respondenter. <b>Australien</b> .	Resultaten visar att större användning av flexibla arbetsformer var förknippat med lägre grad av utmattning och utbrändhet för både fäder och mödrar. Studien visar att flexibla arbetsarrangemang kan ha vissa hälsofördelar, men menar samtidigt att en utbredd användning av andra informella arrangemang tyder på att flexibla arbetsplatsbestämmelser i sig inte till fullo tillgodoser föräldrarnas behov av familjerelaterat stöd.
Ingusci, E., et al. (2023). Development and validation of the Remote Working Benefits & Disadvantages Scale. <i>Quality &amp; Quantity: International Journal of Methodology</i> .	2020–2021	3 pilotstudier med italienska distansarbetare: en preliminär explorativ faktoranalys (EFA) med 304 deltagare, en skräddarsydd EFA med ett urval av 301 arbetstagare och en konfirmerande faktoranalys (CFA) med 677 arbetstagare. <b>Italien</b> .	Studiens syfte är att utveckla och validera en skala för för- och nackdelar med distansarbete. Resultaten tyder på att modellen underlättar den kvantitativa mätningen av de fördelar och nackdelar som är förknippade med distansarbete, och kan användas för att identifiera potentiella utmaningar som uppstår genom distansarbete och samtidigt åtgärder som kan implementeras för att förbättra organisationens välbefinnande.
Jain, T. et al. (2022) Covid and working from home: long-term impacts and psychosocial determinants. <i>Transportation Research Part A. Policy and Practice</i> .	2020	Enkätundersökning med 1 364 arbetstagare i Greater Melbourne-området. <b>Australien</b> .	Artikeln undersöker psykosociala faktorer som påverkar valet att fortsätta arbeta på distans efter covid-19-restriktionerna släppts. Enligt analysen kan en betydande ökning av WFH väntas efter covid-19-pandemin. I kontrast till andra studier visas yttre faktorer (t.ex. typ av arbete, teknologi, tillgång till material och utrustning) och subjektiva normer (t.ex. i relation till arbetsgivaren och familjesupport) vara mer avgörande för valet av distansarbete än subjektiva attityder till distansarbete som sådant.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Jerbashian, V. & M. Vilalta-Bufi (2024). On working from home in European countries. <i>International Journal of Manpower</i> .	2008–2017	EU:s arbetskraftsundersökning (EU-LFS) + EU-KLEMS databas för att utveckla trender och nivåer av IKT i 12 branscher. <b>EU</b> .	Studien analyserar utvecklingen av arbete hemifrån (WFH) inom branscher i 12 europeiska länder i relation till informations- och kommunikationsteknik (IKT). Studien visar att WFH generellt har ökat och att det finns en betydande heterogenitet mellan branscher. De menar att ökningen av WFH kan förknippas med ett prisfall i IKT inom branscher där krav på IKT är högre, samt hos äldre arbetstagare.
Johnson, S. (2021). Women deserve better: A discussion on COVID-19 and the gendered organization in the new economy. <i>Gender, Work &amp; Organization</i> .	n/a	Konceptuell diskussion.	I artikeln diskuteras hur konceptet "ideal worker" kan användas för att förstå hur pandemins effekter ökat ojämlika förhållanden i arbetsmarknader, och författaren argumenterar för att arbetsplatspolicyer behöver ses över och omformuleras för att främja jämställdhetsmål i det postpandemiska samhället.
Kamarova, T., et al. (2023a). Digital Employment in the Information Economy: Gender Specificity. <i>AIP Conference Proceedings</i> .	2015–2021	Innehållsanalys av lediga tjänster och meritförteckningar publicerade på HeadHunter (portal för jobb- och personalsökning). <b>Ryssland</b> .	Undersöker mäns och kvinnors preferenser för distansarbete. Resultat av studien visar att kvinnor föredrar distansarbete och flexibla arbetsvillkor i större utsträckning än män.
Kamarova, T., et al. (2023b). Impact of the Digitalization of Employment on the Work-Family Balance: Russians' Subjective Assessments. <i>Economic and Social Changes - Facts Trends Forecasts</i> .	2023	Enkät till arbetande personer med barn under 14 år, 954 respondenter. <b>Ryssland</b> .	Resultaten visar att respondenter som inte intensivt använder informations- och kommunikationsteknik har en högre genomsnittlig tillfredsställelse när det gäller den tid som ägnas åt föräldraansvar. Studien visar också att kvinnor som arbetar i ett hybridanställningssystem beskriver en låg tillfredsställelse med den tid som ägnas åt barn. Detta tyder på svårigheter i det praktiska genomförandet av detta arbetsformat. Samtidigt rapporterar ca 1/4 av respondenterna att hybridarbete skulle underlätta work-life balance.
Kasperska, A., et al. (2024). Managerial (dis) preferences towards employees working from home: post-pandemic experimental evidence. <i>PLOS ONE</i> .	2022	Digital enkät till arbetsgivare, 937 giltiga svar. <b>Storbritannien</b> .	Resultaten visar att anställda som distansarbetar i lägre utsträckning kommer ifråga för befordran, löneförhöjning och utbildning än anställda som arbetar på plats. Löne- och befodringsnackdelarna för WFH gäller särskilt för män (både fäder och icke-fäder) och barnlösa kvinnor, men inte för mödrar. Ju mer WFH-erfarenhet chefen har, desto mindre blir karriäreffekterna av att använda detta arbetssätt.
Kim, J. (2020). Workplace Flexibility and Parent-Child Interactions Among Working Parents in the U.S. <i>Social Indicators Research</i> .	Föräldrar till barn födda 2001	Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey-Birth Cohort (ECLS-B), 8 250 respondenter. <b>USA</b> .	Studien visar att positiva samband mellan att arbeta hemifrån och samspelet mellan föräldrar och barn var mer uttalade bland mödrar med låg inkomst än bland mödrar med medelhög och hög inkomst.
Kley, S., & Reimer, T. (2023). Exploring the Gender Gap in Teleworking from Home. The Roles of Worker's Characteristics, Occupational Positions and Gender Equality in Europe. <i>Social Indicators Research</i> .	2015	6th European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS), 16 000 anställda som använder ICT. <b>EU</b> .	Resultaten visar att kvinnor var underrepresenterade bland distansarbetande jämfört med män, även när hänsyn tas till könssegregering i arbetslivet. För kvinnor var deltidsarbete och arbete inom den privata sektorn förknippat med lägre förekomst av distansarbete, men inte för män. Nationsegenskaper förklarar en liten men signifikant del av förekomsten av distansarbete. I länder som rankas högt på jämställdhetsindexet och som har en stor offentlig sektor var distansarbete utbrett, medan det var mindre utbrett i länder med en högre andel kvinnor inom naturvetenskap och teknik.



Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Kossek, E. E. & C. Kelliher (2023). Making flexibility more i-deal: Advancing work-life equality collectively. <i>Group and Organization Management</i> .	n/a	Konceptuell diskussion. <b>USA och Storbritannien.</b>	Artikeln diskuterar arbetstagarnas rättigheter och möjligheter att förhandla kring och sluta individuella avtal om flexibla arbetsarrangemang. Författarna argumenterar för att detta bör vara en kollektiv rättighet för att stärka arbetstagares lika villkor och rättigheter.
Kouki, A. (2023). Beyond the "Comforts" of work from home: Child health and the female wage penalty. <i>European Economic Review</i> .	n/a	NLSY79 (longitudinell databas av personer 14–22 år 1979), 1 607 vita kvinnor i urvalet. <b>USA.</b>	Studien undersöker distansarbetets effekt på mödrars löner i relation till en tillfällig hälsochock för deras barn, som inte påverkar kvinnans arbetsmarknadsutfall utöver att få henne att arbeta hemma. Resultaten visar att det finns en betydande löneminskning som sannolikt beror på att kvinnor väljer eller tilldelas mindre lönsamma arbetsuppgifter när de arbetar hemifrån.
López-Igual, P. & P. Rodríguez-Modroño (2020). Who is Teleworking and Where from? Exploring the Main Determinants of Telework in Europe. <i>Sustainability</i> .	2015	6th European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS), intervjuer med 21 761 arbetstagare. <b>EU15.</b>	Artikeln undersöker arbetarprofiler inom olika typer av arbetsarrangemang i kategorin Telework & ICT-based Mobile Work (TICTM). Resultaten visar att distansarbetare (där en fast arbetsplats finns tillgänglig) till största delen utgörs av manliga arbetsledare och tjänstemän, medan gruppen mobila distansarbeten och hembaserade arbeten (utan fast arbetsplats) alltmer karaktäriseras av osäkra villkor, tillfälliga kontrakt och låga löner.
Lu, Z., & Zhuang, W. (2023). Can teleworking improve workers' job satisfaction? Exploring the roles of gender and emotional well-being. <i>Applied Research in Quality of Life</i> .	2014/2015	UK Time-Use Survey (UKTUS), 931 arbetstagare analyseras i urvalet. <b>Storbritannien.</b>	Resultaten visar att män som distansarbetar tenderar att ha högre nivåer av arbetsglädje och arbetstillfredsställelse än andra män, men detta är inte fallet för kvinnor. Detta på grund av att distansarbete leder till mer multitasking och hushållsarbete för kvinnor, vilket uppväger fördelarna med distansarbete. Detta motverkande mönster är uttalat bland kvinnliga arbetstagare på grund av deras relativt missgynnade ställning på både arbetsmarknaderna och i hushållen.
Mallet, O., et al. (2020). Where does work belong anymore? The implications of intensive homebased working. <i>Gender in Management: an international journal</i> .	n/a	Konceptuell discussion.	Artikeln diskuterar genuseffekter av hembaserat arbete utifrån en förståelse av hemmet som socialt rum, och lyfter utmaningar relaterade till flexibilitet, intensifiering av arbete och socioekonomiska faktorer.
*Moen, E., et al. (2022). The COVID-19 crisis and telework: a research survey on experiences, expectations and hopes. <i>European Journal of Health Economics</i> .	2020	Webbenkät med flamländska distansarbetare (> 10 % av arbetstiden), 2 673 deltagare. <b>Belgien.</b>	Undersöker erfarenheter av distansarbete ur ett arbetstagarperspektiv. Resultaten visar att arbetstagarna i stort rapporterar positiva erfarenheter, såsom ökad effektivitet och mindre risk för utbrändhet. De flesta respondenterna anser att distansarbete kommer att fortsätta i framtiden. Ett mindre antal respondenter befärar att distansarbete minskar karriärmöjligheter och försämrar kontakt med kollegor.
Moller, S., et al. (2024). Do working parents in the United States expect work location to impact job and family satisfaction in the post-pandemic period? Evidence from a survey experiment. <i>Frontiers in Psychology</i> .	2022	Experimentell webbenkät med heltidsanställda i åldern 25–59, med minst 1 barn. 518 deltagare. <b>USA.</b>	Artikeln undersöker hur arbetstagare upplever att distansarbete påverkar föräldrars tillfredsställelse på arbetet och i hemmet, och vilken roll familjekonflikter kontra arbetsrelaterade belöningar påverkar dessa uppfattningar. Resultaten visar att distansarbetande föräldrar förväntas uppleva lägre arbetsrelaterad tillfredsställelse och få tillgång till färre arbetsrelaterade belöningar, men samtidigt uppleva större familjerelaterad tillfredsställelse. Författarna menar att detta pekar på förekomsten av "flexibility stigma" och "flexibility paradox".

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Moller, S., et al. (2024). Remote Work Penalties: Work Location and Career Rewards. <i>Social Currents</i> .	2022	Experimentell webbenkät med chefer och arbetsledare i åldern 25–59. 815 deltagare. <b>USA</b> .	Artikeln undersöker hur chefer uppfattar normer kring distansarbetande föräldrar utifrån stöttning, arbetsrelaterade belöningar och prestationsförväntningar. Resultaten visar att cheferna uppfattar att fler belöningar fördelas till personer som arbetar på plats, och att distansarbetande föräldrar uppfattas som mindre hängivna sitt arbete och mindre lämpliga för ledarskapsuppgifter. Författarna menar att detta stärker förekomsten av "ideala arbetarnormer" som diskriminerar distansarbetare. Trots att inga könsskillnader återfanns i resultaten menar författarna att mödrar missgynnas då de i den amerikanska kontexten i högre grad väljer att arbeta från hemmet.
Männasoo, K. (2022). Working hours and gender wage differentials: Evidence from the American Working Conditions Survey. <i>Labour Economics</i> .	2015	American Working Conditions Survey (AWCS), 1 930 personer i urvalet. <b>USA</b> .	Resultaten visar att löneskillnaderna mellan könen är större när det finns begränsningar i arbetsuppgifterna, och särskilt om arbetstagaren har begränsad autonomi. Faktisk arbetstid förklarar en betydande del av lönegapet och en dominerande del för jobb som inte tillåter distansarbete.
Nagler, M., et al. (2024). Working from home, commuting, and gender. <i>Journal of Population Economics</i> .	2022	Webbenkät, 3 307 respondenter. <b>Tyskland</b> .	Studiens resultat visar att WFH minskar könsgapet i betalningsvilja för att undvika pendling, men inte helt stänger gapet. Resultaten tyder också på att WFH kan förbättra matchningen på arbetsmarknaden eftersom företag som erbjuder WFH kan locka till sig begåvade arbetstagare som annars kanske bor för långt bort för att vara villiga att acceptera ett jobberbjudande till den givna lönen.
Nath, V. & G. Lockwood (2022). Implications of the UK Equality Law for tele-homeworking: COVID-19 and beyond. <i>International Journal of Law and Management</i> .	n/a	Analys av reglering av tele-/distansarbete (UK Equality Law) i <b>Storbritannien</b> .	Artikeln undersöker praktiska och rättsliga implikationer kring distansarbete i relation till jämställdhet, inklusion och diversitet. Resultaten visar att det finns flertalet aspekter i lagstiftningen som kan ge upphov till tvister om diskriminering, mänskliga rättigheter och kontraktsbrott. Författarna efterfrågar tydligare policyramverk för att stärka jämlikhet och rättvisa arbetsarrangemang.
Osiewalska, B., et al. (2024). Home-based work and childbearing. <i>Population Studies – a Journal of Demography</i> .	2009–2019	UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 4 259 anställda kvinnor i urvalet. <b>Storbritannien</b> .	Studien visar att barnlösa kvinnor som arbetade hemifrån – regelbundet eller oregelbundet – var mindre benägna att bli mödrar än barnlösa kvinnor som arbetade på plats eller inte var anställda. Däremot visas arbete hemifrån inte påverkar att skaffa ett andra barn, vilket förklaras med de fördelar som HBW ger för work-life balance.
Pabilonia, S. W., & Vernon, V. (2022). Telework, Wages, and Time Use in the United States. <i>Review of Economics of the Household</i> .	2017–2018	American Time Use Survey Leave and Job Flexibilities Module (ATUS-LV), 5 597 anställda i urvalet. <b>USA</b> .	Studien visar att fäder som distansarbetar tjänar mer än fäder som har kontorsbaserade jobb, oavsett distansarbetsintensitet. Kvinnor utan barn som distansarbetar tjänar ibland mer än kvinnor med kontorsbaserade jobb. I branscher och yrken där distansarbete är vanligare har mödrar som arbetar hemifrån de flesta dagar i veckan lägre lön än mödrar som arbetar på kontor. Arbetsmönster och arbetstider mellan olika grupper av arbetstagare kan ligga bakom löneskillnaderna, nämligen att distansarbetare arbetar mindre på hemmadagar. När mödrar distansarbetar upplever de fler avbrott i sin arbetsdag än andra arbetstagare, vilket kan ha negativa effekter på deras produktivitet.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Popovici, I., et al. (2022). Nature and Composition of Earnings Reported by Health Economists and Related Professionals: Gender, Education, and Job Characteristics Matter. <i>Health Services Research and Managerial Epidemiology</i> .	2019	Online-enkät, 304 respondenter. <b>Globalt kontra USA.</b>	Undersöker inkomster som rapporteras av yrkesverksamma inom hälsoekonomi, resultatforskning och marknadstillträde i hela världen. Till skillnad från tidigare studier framkom inga signifikanta könsskillnader i lönerna, men däremot uppvisas löneskillnader mellan respondenter bosatta i och utanför USA. Studien kommer också fram till att arbete på distans hade en stor positiv inverkan på inkomsterna.
Prickett, K. C., et al. (2024). Employment Resources and the Physical and Mental Health of Mothers of Young Children. <i>Journal of Family Issues</i> .	Föräldrar till barn födda 2001	Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Birth Cohort (ECLS-B), 7 450 personer i urvalet. <b>USA.</b>	Studien undersöker inte primärt distansarbete, men visar bland annat att mödrar som kunde arbeta hemifrån vid behov hade en högre genomsnittlig fysisk hälsopoäng jämfört med mödrar som inte kunde arbeta hemifrån vid behov.
Reboul, E., et al. (2023). Experience and intensity of teleworking: what links with well-being after a year of health crisis in France? <i>Population</i> .	2020–2021	Epidemiology and Living Conditions under COVID-19 (EpiCov) survey, 43 857 personer i urvalet. <b>Frankrike.</b>	Resultaten visar att distansarbete hade en stark positiv inverkan på balansen mellan arbete och privatliv, och de positiva effekterna ökade med antalet dagar respondenten arbetade hemifrån. Fördelarna var större för kvinnor och föräldrar och var oberoende av erfarenhet av distansarbete före pandemin.
Rodríguez-Modroño, P., & López-Igual, P. (2021). Job quality and work–life balance of teleworkers. <i>International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health</i> .	2015	6th European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS), 35 765 arbetstagare i urvalet. <b>EU.</b>	Visar att tillfälliga distansarbetare är den grupp som har bäst arbetskvalitet. Personer som jobbar hemifrån, särskilt kvinnor, uppvisar bättre resultat när det gäller arbetstidens kvalitet och intensitet, men i utbyte mot lägre kompetens och handlingsfrihet, inkomst och karriärmöjligheter. Studien konstaterar därför att arbete hemifrån inte förbättrar kvaliteten på kvinnors arbetsliv, utan riskerar att förstärka traditionella könsroller.
Santiago-Vela, A., & Mergener, A. (2022). Gender overeducation gap in the digital age: Can spatial flexibility through working from home close the gap? <i>Social Science Research</i> .	2018	BiBB/BAuA Employment Survey, 9 549 sammanboende anställda personer i urvalet. <b>Tyskland.</b>	Resultaten visar att det finns ett överutbildningsgap mellan könen, där kvinnor löper högre risk att överutbilda sig än män. Samtidigt medför WFH-alternativet en lägre risk för överutbildning. Kvinnor uppvisar högre överutbildningsrisker bland anställda utan WFH-alternativet.
Song, Y., & Gao, J. (2020). Does Telework Stress Employees Out? A Study on Working at Home and Subjective Well-Being for Wage/Salary Workers. <i>Journal of Happiness Studies</i> .	2010, 2012 & 2013	American Time Use Survey Well-Being Modules, 3 962 personer i urvalet. <b>USA.</b>	Resultaten visar att distansarbete jämfört med att arbeta på arbetsplatsen är förknippat med mindre glädje och mer stress. Föräldrar, särskilt fäder, rapporterar en lägre nivå av välbefinnande när de arbetar hemma på vardagar, men en högre nivå när de arbetar hemma på helger. Helgarbete hemifrån upplevs mer stressande av barnlösa kvinnor än barnlösa män.
Tao, Y., et al. (2024) Energy, climate, and environmental sustainability of trend toward occupational-dependent hybrid work: Overview, research challenges, and outlook. <i>Journal of Cleaner Production</i> .	n/a	Konceptuell diskussion.	Artikeln diskuterar miljöeffekter av ett ökat distansarbete och identifierar tre kunskapsluckor: brist på systematiska värderingar av miljöeffekter på systemnivå, förståelsen av långsiktiga miljöeffekter i relation till olika socioekonomiska förhållanden, och bristande insikter kring nya teknologier, exempelvis metaverse för att adressera "hybridparadoxen" och underlätta kommunikation och samarbete mellan hybridarbetare.



Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
Wang, S., & Cheng, C. (2024). Opportunity or Exploitation? A Longitudinal Dyadic Analysis of Flexible Working Arrangements and Gender Household Labor Inequality. <i>Social Forces</i> .	2010–2020	UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 7 825 heterosexuella personer i urvalet. <b>Storbritannien.</b>	Resultaten visar att bland heterosexuella par intensifierar kvinnors användning av flexibla arbetsformer deras större andel av hushållsarbetet och upprätthåller deras huvudsakliga ansvar för barn, oavsett om deras män använder flexibla arbetsformer. Männens användning av FWA förändrar inte den ojämlika könsfördelningen av hushållsarbete och barnomsorg. Studien konstaterar att i stället för att ge en "möjlighet" till en mer jämlik fördelning av hushållsarbetet upprätthåller eller till och med förstärker användningen av FWA traditionella könsroller.
Yucel, D., & Chung, H. (2023). Working from home, work-family conflict, and the role of gender and gender role attitudes. <i>Community, Work &amp; Family</i> .	2017–2018	German Family Panel Survey (pairfam), 3 150 anställda i urvalet. <b>Tyskland.</b>	Visar att jämfört med anställda med fasta arbetsplatser rapporterar de som arbetar hemifrån högre nivåer av konflikter mellan familj och arbete, men inte högre nivåer av konflikter mellan arbete och familj. Ett samband mellan att arbeta hemifrån och konflikter mellan arbete och familj finns bland kvinnor med traditionella könsrollsattityder, medan ett samband mellan att arbeta hemifrån och konflikter mellan arbete och familj i stället hittas bland kvinnor med jämställda könsrollsattityder. Någon sådan variation fanns dock inte bland männen.

**Tabell 2.** Tidigare forskningsöversikter som använts för att teckna bakgrunden till studieområdet. Exkluderade från analysen av originalstudier.

Referens	Studerade år	Antal inkluderade studier	Tema	Resultat
Abugamza, A., et al. (2024). Impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on employment and inequalities: a systematic review of international evidence and critical appraisal of statistical methods. <i>Perspectives in Public Health</i> .	2020–2022	77 peer-reviewed + 8 grå litteratur	Effekterna av covid-19-pandemin på arbetsmarknaden på en individnivå.	Covid-19-pandemin hade en negativ effekt på sysselsättning, inkomst och arbetstid. Pandemin har sannolikt förvärrat redan existerande ojämlikheter på arbetsmarknaden. Resultaten visade också på en negativ inverkan på kvinnors arbetsmarknadsdeltagande relaterat till deras informella omsorgsansvar, både för barn och i vissa fall vård av äldre föräldrar.
Aleem, M., et al. (2023). Remote work and the COVID-19 pandemic: An artificial intelligence-based topic modeling and a future agenda. <i>Journal of Business Research</i> , 154.	2020–2022	198 peer-review	Distansarbete under covid-19.	Med hjälp av ett AI-baserat maskininlärningsverktyg identifierades åtta dominerande ämnen: påverkan på medarbetarna på ett personligt plan; påverkan på medarbetarnas karriär; familjeliv och genusroller; hälsa, välbefinnande och säkerhet; arbetsmarknadsdynamik; ekonomiska konsekvenser; hantering av distansarbete; organisatoriska strategier för distansarbete.
Herrera, J., et al. (2022). Teleworking: The Link between Worker, Family and Company. <i>Systems</i> , 10(5).	1984–2021	539 artiklar från WoS	Utvecklingen av forskning kring distansarbete.	Tidiga artiklar tog upp hur den nya teknikens framväxt påverkar samarbete och organiseringen av livet i stort. Efterhand tillkom samhällsövergripande frågor, liksom påverkan på individen. Ett tema som konsekvent har intresserat forskningen om distansarbete har handlat om konflikten mellan arbetstagaren, arbetsgivaren och familjen, balans mellan arbete och privatliv, och flexibilitetspolicy.
Nowrouzi-Kia, B., et al. (2024). Remote work transition amidst COVID-19: Impacts on presenteeism, absenteeism, and worker well-being—A scoping review. <i>PLOS ONE</i> , 19	2020–2023	10 peer-review	Förekomsten av sjuknärvaro och frånvaro bland distansarbetare under covid-19-pandemin, relaterat till fysiska och psykiska hälsoproblem.	Distansarbete kan innebära fördelar och nackdelar för den psykiska hälsan. Fördelar är minskad pendling, mer flexibla arbetsscheman, känsla av mindre stress och mer produktivitet. Negativa aspekter är högre nivåer av psykiskt lidande, ångest, förtvivlan och stress, samt långa arbetstider och dålig ergonomi. Kön konstateras som en viktig faktor för erfarenheter av distansarbete, eftersom arbetande föräldrar och kvinnor har haft svårigheter med barnomsorg, hushållsskyldigheter och arbetsbelastning.
Santana, M., & Cobo, M. J. (2020). What is the future of work? A science mapping analysis. <i>European Management Journal</i> , 38(6), 846-862.	1959–2019	2 286 artiklar från WoS	Framtidens arbete	Från 1998 finns distansarbete med som ett välutvecklat och viktigt tema för forskningsområdet. Temat innehåller underteman som välbefinnande, yrkesmässig isolering, konflikter mellan arbete och familj samt flexibla arbetsarrangemang.
Shirmohammadi, M., et al. (2022). Antecedents and Outcomes of Work-Life Balance While Working from Home: A Review of the Research Conducted During the COVID-19 Pandemic. <i>Human Resource Development Review</i> , 21(4), 473-516.	2020–2022	48 peer-reviewed	Work-life balance hos personer som jobbade hemifrån under covid-19-pandemin.	Baserat på Hobfalls "conservation of resources theory" (Hobfall, 1989) diskuteras resultaten utifrån resursförluster och resursförstärkning till följd av distansarbete. Resursförluster uppstod när anställda utsätts för stressfaktorer som upplevd arbetsintensitet, begränsningar i arbetsutrymmet, teknostress, yrkesmässig isolering, ömsesidigt beroende i arbetet, hushållsarbets intensitet, omsorgsansvar och känslomässiga krav. Resursförstärkning var sannolik när medarbetarna stöttades av arbetsledare och familjemedlemmar, fick autonomi och självständighet i arbetet och arbetet var personligt anpassningsbart.

Referens	Studerade år	Antal inkluderade studier	Tema	Resultat
Tietze, S., et al. (2009). Homebased work: a review of research into themes, directions and implications. <i>Personnel Review</i> , 38(6), 585-604.	1999–2009	58 peer-reviewed, conference papers & bokkapitel	Summera forskning om hembaserat arbete/distansarbete.	För vissa grupper inom "kunskapsarbete" kan distansarbete innebära en positiv förändring, men det finns få bevis för att införandet av distansarbete har lett till omfattande förändringar i den strukturella och könsrelaterade arbetsfördelningen.
Tursunbayeva, A., et al. (2022). "Remote Work at the Time of COVID-19 Pandemic and Beyond: A Scoping Review." I: S.R. Mondal, F. Di Virgilio, & S. Das (Eds.), <i>HR Analytics and Digital HR Practices: Digitalization post COVID-19</i> (pp. 127-169). <i>Springer Nature Singapore</i> .	2020–2021	32 peer review + 20 grå litteratur	Distansarbets fördelar och utmaningar för den anställda och för arbetsgivaren.	Fördelar för arbetstagaren: work-life balance, bredare inkludering, förbättrad interaktion, ökad produktivitet, pendlingsrelaterad kostnadsbesparing, HR-analyser av hälsa och välmående. Nackdelar: work-family-life balance (särskilt föräldrar), hälsa och välbefinnande, brist på digital kompetens och support, samt minskad interaktion med kollegor. Fördelar för arbetsgivaren: tillgång till kvalificerad arbetskraft, produktivitet, kontorsutrymmesrelaterad kostnadsbesparing, HR-analys av prestation. Nackdelar: cybersäkerhet, tillit och övervakning.

**Tabell 3.** Vetenskapliga studier från Sverige och Norden. Artiklar markerade med \* inkluderades i inklusionskriterierna för den systematiska litteraturoversikten.

Källa	Undersökt period	Material och population	Resultat
*Cox, L., et al. (2024). "A Total Gamechanger": An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Swedish Fathers' Work-Family Experiences Since the COVID-19 Pandemic." <i>Journal of Men's Studies</i> .	2023	Intervjustudie med 8 fäder. <b>Sverige</b> .	Resultaten i studien visar att pandemin var en omvälvande period för deltagarna, i form av en möjlighet att förstå sin relation till arbete och familj på nya sätt, uppleva flexibiliteten i distans- och hybridarbetsmodeller och dra nytta av att ha mer utrymme och tid för att hantera hem- och familjerelaterade uppgifter.
Hartig, T., Kylin, C. och Johansson, G. (2007), The Telework Tradeoff: Stress Mitigation vs. Constrained Restoration. <i>Applied Psychology</i> .	1999	Enkätstudie med 101 statsanställda, varav 58 var distansarbetare. <b>Sverige</b> .	Studien riktar till svenska statsanställda vars arbetsplats utlokaliseras till en annan stad. Avståndet till arbetsplatsen har för många blivit över 100 km. Studien visar att kvinnor som distansarbetade rapporterade mindre effektiv återhämtning än de som inte gjorde det, medan de distansarbetande männen rapporterade något mer effektiv återhämtning än de icke-distansarbetande männen.
Karjalainen, M. (2023). "Gender and the blurring boundaries of work in the era of telework-A longitudinal study." <i>Sociology Compass</i> .	2020 och 2021	Enkätundersökningar med anställda vid ett konsultbolag, september 2020 (n = 87) och september 2021 (n = 94). <b>Finland</b> .	Artikeln analyserar hur gränser mellan arbets- och privatliv suddas ut under längre tids distansarbete (under covid-19-pandemin). Resultaten visar att gränser suddas ut mer ju längre distansarbetet pågår, och att det finns genuskillnader, exempelvis att kvinnor har svårare att hålla isär betalt och obetalt arbete, vilket resulterar i känslan av att inte räkna till.
Laegran, A. S. (2008). "Domesticating home anchored work: Negotiating flexibility when bringing ICT based work home in rural communities." <i>Geoforum</i> .	2004–2005	Kvalitativa intervjuer med distansarbetare på landsbygd. 11 norska deltagare. <b>Norge och Skottland</b> .	Studien undersöker hur IKT-baserat distansarbete i en landsbygdscontext förhandlas med obetalt arbete i hemmet/samhället, och noterar genuskillnader där män är "främst arbetare" och kvinnor tar större ansvar för familj och hem.
Rafnsdóttir, G. L., & Júlíusdóttir, Ó. (2018). Reproducing gender roles through virtual work: The case of senior management. <i>International Journal of Media &amp; Cultural Politics</i> .	2010–2011	Intervjustudie med 32 personer i chefs-/styrelseposition. 15 män och 17 kvinnor deltog. <b>Island</b> .	Resultaten visar att distansarbete kan förbättra balansen mellan betalt och obetalt arbete eftersom det gör det möjligt för chefer att ta med sig arbetet hem från kontoret. Kvinnor är mer benägna än män att uppleva stress när gränserna mellan betalt och obetalt arbete suddas ut. Samtidigt beskriver kvinnorna också mindre möjlighet att välja flexibilitet eller inte.
Svensson, S., Mathiassen, S.E., Hallman, D. M., Heiden, M., Bergström, G. (2023) Associations Between Telework Experience and Psychosocial Working Conditions During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Cross-sectional Analysis Among White-Collar Workers in Sweden. <i>Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine</i> .	2020	Enkätstudie med 603 anställda i ett industriellt företag. <b>Sverige</b> .	Undersöker sambandet mellan erfarenhet av distansarbete före covid-19-pandemin och psykosociala arbetsförhållanden (jobbkrav och jobbresurser) under covid-19-pandemin. Resultaten tyder på att de psykosociala arbetsförhållandena kan påverkas olika hos de som distansarbetar beroende på kön och ålder.
Vilhelmson, B. and E. Thulin (2001). "Is regular work at fixed places fading away? The development of ICT-based and travel-based modes of work in Sweden." <i>Environment and Planning A</i> .	1997–1999	Nationella undersökningen om IKT-användning (SIKA) 1997–1999, ca 4 000 respondenter + Nationella resvaneundersökningen 1999, ca 5 700 respondenter. <b>Sverige</b> .	Artikeln estimerar spridningen av distansarbete stött av IKT, och konstaterar att spridningen av distansarbete vid tiden för studien ännu var låg men växande i och med ökad användning av IKT. Skillnader kan ses mellan exempelvis kön och yrkeskategori, och distansarbete var betydligt vanligare bland manliga höginkomsttagare med fast anställning, körkort och tillgång till dator i hemmet.

**Tabell 4.** Sammanställning av grå litteratur.

Referens	Typ av publikation och utgivare	Syfte	Resultat eller budskap
Bérastégui, P. (2021). Teleworking in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic: enabling conditions for a successful transition, European Trade Union Institute (ETUI).	ETUI Policy Brief: Covid-19 impact series	Syftet är att diskutera utmaningar för organisationer vid en transition till distansarbete, och att lägga fram policyrekommendationer för att främja arbetstagares välfärd.	Som policyrekommendationer framhålls: att arbetstagarens valfrihet gällande distansarbete bör bevakas, och att tillräcklig grad av autonomi och tillit säkerställs från organisationsledningar; att arbetsgivare bevakar risken för utmattning och isolering hos de anställda, och implementerar lämpliga åtgärder för hälsa och välmående; att arbetsgivare säkerställer att relevant kompetensutveckling (exempelvis för IKT) erbjuds för att minska risken för kunskapsmässig otillgänglighet till distansarbete.
Bodin, M. (2022). Omvärldsbevakning: distansarbete före, under och efter pandemin. Attract, Energikontor Norra Småland.	Omvärldsbevakning sammanställd inom projektet Attract, som drivs av Energicentrum Småland och arbetar för "innovativ arbetspendling för attraktiva arbetsgivare i Jönköpings län".	Omvärldsbevakningen syftar till att samla forskning och tendenser som pekar på positiva och negativa effekter av distansarbete, med fokus på arbetsmiljö, hållbarhet, produktivitet och hälsa. Ett sekundärt syfte är att samla kunskap kring koldioxidutsläppsminskning. Omvärldsbevakningen samlar kunskap om distansarbete före, under och efter pandemin.	Omvärldsbevakningen fastslår att efter pandemin kvarstår frågan "Hur gör vi för att maximera produktiviteten och samtidigt hålla balansen i livet?". Här lyfter man de s.k. distanshubbarna som en alternativ arbetsplats mellan hemmet och kontoret. Fördelar som skrivs fram är knutna till geografin, kompetensförsörjning och tillgänglighets-/pendlingsproblematiken mellan landsbygd/pendlingstunga orter.
Bogason, A., Bryntesson, M., & Salonen, H. (2024). Remote work in rural areas: possibilities and uncertainties. Nordregio Rapport 2024:7	Delrapport i projektet Remote work: effects on Nordic people, places and planning 2021-2024.	Denna rapport fördjupar sig i den ökande relevansen av distansarbete för att främja motståndskraftiga kommuner och regioner på landsbygden i de nordiska länderna. Metoden består av policygranskningar och intervjuer med planerare och praktiker kring frågor om landsbygdsutveckling.	Resultaten indikerar att hybridarbete kan bli den nya normen i Norden. De flesta regioner eller kommuner har ingen formell policy för distansarbete, utan förlitar sig i stället på ramverk som redan fanns på plats före, eller utvecklades under, covid-19-pandemin. Utmaningar som noteras inkluderar investering i digital infrastruktur, lagstiftning, säkring av goda offentliga tjänster och skattefrågor i relation till distansarbete.
Criscuolo, C., et al. (2020). Productivity gains from teleworking in the post COVID-19 era: How can public policies make it happen?, OECD.	OECD Policy Responses to Coronavirus (COVID-19).	Syftet är att diskutera hur policyer kan maximera positiva effekter av distansarbete för både arbetsgivare och arbetstagare.	För att minska risken att distansarbete negativt påverkar innovationsförmåga och arbetstagares hälsa på lång sikt bör policy beakta det fria valet och begränsa överarbete. För att stärka positiva effekter för såväl produktivitet som innovation kan policy främja t.ex. lärande genom "best practice", IKT-kompetens, investeringar riktade till hemmakontor, och utbredd god internetuppkoppling via bredband.
Forsell, Å. (2021). Livspusslet under coronapandemin. TCO	Medarbetarundersökning av fackförbundet TCO.	Undersökningen fokuserar på hur livspusslet påverkades för tjänstemännen under pandemin.	Resultaten visar att distansarbetare upplever att livspusslet har blivit lättare att få ihop i högre grad än de som går till arbetsplatsen. Detta gäller främst föräldrar och i högre utsträckning kvinnor. Flexibiliteten i arbetstiderna kan både förenkla och försvåra livspusslet – till de positiva aspekterna hör förkortad restid och till de negativa svårigheterna att avgränsa arbetet till normala arbetstider. Argumenterar för att ett föräldravänligt arbete inte nödvändigtvis innebär ett jämställt föräldraskap, och för att sådant arbete i förlängningen kan leda till sämre jämställdhet i arbetslivet då såväl löneutveckling som karriärutveckling gynnas av arbete på arbetsplatsen.

Referens	Typ av publikation och utgivare	Syfte	Resultat eller budskap
Granath Hansson, A., & Guðmundsdóttir, H. (2024). Remote work in smaller towns: possibilities and uncertainties. Nordregio Rapport 2024:5	Delrapport i projektet Remote work: effects on Nordic people, places and planning 2021–2024.	Rapporten undersöker om möjligheter till distansarbete efter pandemin har utvidgat området kring de nordiska huvudstäderna som drar nytta av deras arbetsmarknader.	Studien visar att det knappast är distansarbetet i sig som avgör var människor vill bosätta sig, utan snarare handlar det om plats/urban attraktivitet. Detta till trots ses distansarbetare som en del i en potentiell population som målgrupp i platsutvecklingsstrategier. Två möjligheter ses med distans-/hybridarbete: att locka inflyttare som arbetar i en annan region, och att rekrytera högkvalificerad arbetskraft till den lokala arbetsmarknaden. Mer kunskap om de personer som arbetar på distans efterfrågas.
Internetstiftelsen (2021). Svenskarna och internet 2021, Internetstiftelsen.	Årlig rapport om svenskarnas användning av internet och utvecklingen av digitaliseringen i det svenska samhället.	Rapporten syftar till att ge information och insikter om hur användningen av internet i Sverige utvecklas. Till kunskapsöversikten fokuseras läsningen på kap. 6: <i>Arbete och studier på distans</i> .	Rapporten fastslår att en stor del av de yrkesverksamma arbetade på distans under det studerade året, och att 9/10 av dessa vill fortsätta med det i mindre omfattning (drygt 2 dagar i veckan).
Kjellgren, T. (2021). Distansarbete och kostnader: striden om de 87 miljarderna. Sveriges Ingenjörer.	Rapport av fackförbundet Sveriges Ingenjörer, framtagen med hjälp av konsultbolaget WSP.	Syftet är att undersöka effekter av de kortsiktiga besparingarna företag i Sverige gör på att stänga kontor och låta sina anställda arbeta på distans, jämfört med effekter för arbetstagares förutsättningar och arbetsmiljö.	Rapporten diskuterar fördelar och risker med ett ökat distansarbete. Ur ett jämställdhetsperspektiv noteras att distansarbete kan medföra ökade chanser för män att bli mer delaktiga i ansvar för hem och familjen, men att det samtidigt riskerar att cementera traditionella könsroller och öka segregationen. Det argumenteras att risker med distansarbete minskar när det sker på frivillig basis, och rapporten fastslår att arbetsgivarna bör tillhandahålla arbetsplats i sina lokaler för att säkerställa en god arbetsmiljö.
Kreicbergs, J., & Ohlin, A. (2024). Distansarbetsrevolutionen: en rapport om det ökade avståndet mellan bostaden och arbetsplatsen och samhällsförändringarna som följer. Sveriges Ingenjörer.	Medarbetarundersökning av fackförbundet Sveriges Ingenjörer.	Undersöker effekter av det ökade avståndet mellan hem och arbetsplats för förbundets medarbetare, som en följd av ett ökat distansarbete.	Undersökningen finner att ca 40 % arbetar minst halva tiden på distans, vilket lyfts fram som en förutsättning för att ta ett jobb som ligger på längre pendlingsavstånd från hemmet. Alltså kan distansarbete sägas vara något som minskar geografiska barriärer på arbetsmarknaden. Diskuterar samhällseffekter och föreslår policyåtgärder.
Liljeröd, E., & Wingborg, M. (2022). Distansarbetet efter corona: tolv förslag för ett bättre arbetsliv. Arena Idé.	Rapport framtagen av tankesmedjan Arena Idé, som finansieras av fackföreningsrörelsen (bl.a. LO, TCO & Saco).	Rapporten utgår från ett antagande om ett ökat distansarbete efter pandemin och lyfter frågor kring arbetslivets organisation, arbetsmiljö, de anställdas villkor, den personliga integriteten i arbetslivet och den fackliga organiseringen, samt om distansarbete kan innebära en ökad segregation på arbetsmarknaden mellan yrkesgrupper där möjligheter till distansarbete skiljer sig åt.	Rapporten ger 12 rekommendationer: 1. Distansarbetet får inte spå på ojämlikheten. 2. Största möjliga frivillighet. 3. Förtydliga arbetsgivarens ansvar. 4. Utveckla arbetsmiljöarbetet. 5. Anställda har rätt till en ostörd fritid. 6. Distansarbete utanför hemmet bör underlättas. 7. Skapa möjligheter för hybridarbete. 8. Reglera hybridarbetet. 9. Skapa tryggare anställningar. 10. Distansarbetet får inte bli en kvinnofälla. 11. Stärk kontakterna med facket. 12. Utvärdera det fackliga arbetet.

Referens	Typ av publikation och utgivare	Syfte	Resultat eller budskap
Naturvetarna. (2021). Hemarbete och jämställdhet: så ser Naturvetarnas medlemmar på flexibelt arbetsliv och stress. Naturvetarna.	Medarbetarundersökning av fackförbundet Naturvetarna.	Huvudfokus är att undersöka medlemmarnas inställning till återgång till arbetsplatsen efter pandemin.	Undersökningen visar att de flesta medlemmarna har återgått till att arbeta på arbetsplatsen. Trots att de flesta upplever att antal dagar på arbetsplatsen stämmer överens med egna önskemål är det en betydande andel (46 %) som upplever stress i och med återgången. Detta gäller kvinnor i högre utsträckning än män, och det är större sannolikhet att de som tar större ansvar i hemmet känner mer stress.
Norlén, G., Heleniak, T., & Refsgaard, K. (2024). State of the Nordic region 2024. Nordregio Rapport 2024:13.	Återkommande rapport som sammanställer trender och utveckling inom demografi, arbetsmarknad och ekonomi för den nordiska regionen.	I denna sammanställning fokuseras läsningen på de tre kapitel som avhandlar arbetsmarknad, framför allt kap. 4: <i>The Nordic labour market after the pandemic</i> .	Rapporten noterar att det ökade distansarbetet är en av de tydligaste effekterna efter pandemin, men noterar också att majoriteten av arbetskraften (63 %) i de nordiska länderna ännu aldrig har arbetat hemifrån. Rapporten argumenterar för att den hybrida formen av distansarbete kommer att bestå, och med det skapas möjligheter för rurala kommuner att locka kompetent arbetskraft, samtidigt som individer har bättre möjligheter till en multilokal livsstil. En utmaning som spås är kopplad till ökade krav på digital/teknologisk kompetens.
Randall, L., Jensen, T. et al. (2022). Local and regional experiences of remote work and multilocality. Nordregio rapport.	Delrapport i projektet Remote work: effects on Nordic people, places and planning 2021 – 2024.	Rapportens huvudsyfte är att ge en bred lägesbild över distansarbetets utbredning och effekter för samhällsutveckling i de nordiska länderna. Ett ytterligare syfte är att ge en översikt över policyramverk som omger distansarbetspraktiker i de nordiska länderna.	Det föreslås att en fortsatt hög nivå av distansarbete är trolig i de nordiska länderna och rapporten argumenterar att hybridformatet svarar bäst på både arbetstagarnas behov av livskvalitet och förutsättningar för samverkan och innovation inom organisationerna. Policyramverk skiljer sig åt mellan de nordiska länderna, och i Sverige är ramverk kring distansarbete inte så tydligt – förutsättningar för dess utveckling styrs snarare i regional utvecklingspolicy, och i EU-policyer. Här noterar man att befintlig policy lägger en god grund för att främja distansarbete/flexibilitet men att det inte finns en tydlig riktning för detta.
Randall, L., Ormstrup Vestergård, L., et al. (2022). Remote work: effects on Nordic people, places and planning 2021-2024. Nordregio. Nordregio Rapport 2022:3	Delrapport i projektet Remote work: effects on Nordic people, places and planning 2021 – 2024.	Rapporten undersöker de rumsliga effekterna av ökat distansarbete efter pandemin (inkl. multilokalitet) med hjälp av statistik om flyttningar och mobilitet, samt lokala utmaningar och planeringsåtgärder i relation till detta, via en enkät till lokala aktörer i offentlig sektor.	Medan resultaten visar en ökad flyttbenägenhet och tendenser för ökad multilokalitet, är det inte möjligt att i dessa data se motiv till flyttar och det är därmed inte möjligt att säkerställa att dessa tendenser är en effekt av distansarbete. Medan många lokala aktörer såg positiva inflyttningsnivåer och en stor potential i att utveckla förutsättningarna för distansarbete, är det en utmaning att förstå arten av de förändringar som har skett efter pandemin och det noteras att många faktorer samspelar.
Rydell, B. (2021a).	Medarbetarundersökning av fackförbundet Akavia.	Undersöker medarbetarnas inställning till flexibla arbetsarrangemang efter pandemin, med fokus på genusfrågor.	Kvinnorna i undersökningen har generellt arbetat något mer än männen från hemmet under pandemin, har en positiv syn på distansarbete, och vill fortsättningsvis förlägga mer arbete hemifrån. Kvinnor anser i högre omfattning än männen att arbetet hemifrån har inneburit högre effektivitet och kreativitet, men har också varit mer stressade. Kvinnor utför mer hushållsarbete än män och det ser ut att öka när kvinnor arbetar mer hemifrån.



Referens	Typ av publikation och utgivare	Syfte	Resultat eller budskap
Rydell, B. (2021b) Kontoret efter pandemin – så ser Akavias medlemmar på framtidens arbetsplats. Akavia.	Medarbetarundersökning av fackförbundet Akavia.	Undersöker medarbetarnas inställning till flexibla arbetsarrangemang efter pandemin.	Resultaten visar att medlemmarna efterfrågar ett flexibelt och individualiserat arrangemang för när och var arbete ska genomföras, att distansarbete behöver regleras, till exempel för att säkerställa att arbetsgivare möjliggör en god arbetsmiljö i hemmet eller kompenserar arbetstagare för detta, samt att kontorsplats bör erbjudas vid behov.
SCB (2024). Hur mycket jobbar vi i Sverige? Arbetskraftsundersökningarna 2005–2023.	Minirapport sammanställd av SCB från Arbetskraftsundersökningarna 2005–2023.	Rapporten beskriver arbetstidens utveckling i Sverige under tidsperioden 2005–2023 och för personer i åldern 20–64 år. Syftet är att ge en övergripande bild av hur mycket vi arbetar i Sverige, till exempel genom att redovisa utvecklingen av genomsnittliga faktiskt arbetade timmar efter anställningsformer och arbetstid.	Rapporten beskriver en ökning av andelen sysselsatta i den svenska arbetskraften under perioden, samtidigt som den genomsnittliga faktiskt arbetade tiden i stort sett är oförändrad. Bland heltidsanställda har dock den faktiskt arbetade tiden ökat, vilket förklaras med att fast anställda kvinnor arbetar mer av de avtalade timmarna än tidigare.
Young Håkansson, S., et al. (2022). Framtidens hållbara arbetsliv i Norden – genusperspektiv på möjligheter och utmaningar. NIKK Nordiska Ministerrådet.	Rapport, kunskapsunderlag inom ramen för Nordiska ministerrådets arbete med Vision 2030 – hållbart arbetsliv.	Kunskapsunderlaget fokuserar på utmaningar som identifierats för att uppnå ett hållbart arbetsliv, med fokus på tre utmaningar: det livslånga lärandet, platsens betydelse samt anställningsformer och arbetsvillkor. Läsningen för föreliggande kunskapsöversikt fokuseras på del 2: Platsens betydelse – <i>distansarbete respektive platsbundet arbete</i> .	Rapporten noterar bland annat följande: det finns stora skillnader i möjligheten till distansarbete på den svenska arbetsmarknaden; många av de branscher där möjligheten är liten är kvinno-dominerade och präglas av osäkra villkor och låga löner, och kvinnor arbetar också oftare i kontaktyrken; könade normer kring arbetsuppgifter kan både utmanas och förstärkas genom ett ökat distansarbete; det finns inte ett entydigt stöd för att distansarbetet leder till bättre work-life balance.



# Appendix 2: Summary of excluded full texts and reasons

**Tabell 5.** Sammanställning av exkluderade fulltexter och orsak.

Källa	Orsak till exkludering
Alon, T., et al. (2022). From Mancession to Shecession: Women's Employment in Regular and Pandemic Recessions. NBER Macroeconomics Annual. 36: 83-151.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Anwar, M. A., et al. (2024). "Work futures: globalization, planetary markets, and uneven developments in the gig economy." GLOBALIZATIONS 21(4): 571-589.	Gigarbete/ egenföretagande
Avdiu, B. and G. Nayyar (2020). "When face-to-face interactions become an occupational hazard: Jobs in the time of COVID-19." Economics Letters 197.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Bachrach, D. G., et al. (2023). "As Clear as Black and White: Racially Disparate Concerns Over Career Progression for Remote Workers Across Racial Faultlines." Business and Society 62(6): 1145-1172.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Balog, M. M. and S. E. Demidova (2021). Human Capital Development in the Context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Barhate, B. and M. Hirudayaraj (2021). "Emerging career realities during the pandemic: What does it mean for women's career development?" Advances in Developing Human Resources 23(3): 253-266.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Bari, L., et al. (2021). "Gender differences in solo self-employment: Gendered flexibility and the effects of parenthood." Gender, Work and Organization 28(6): 2180-2198.	Gigarbete/ egenföretagande
Bennett Gayle, D., et al. (2024). "The coronavirus pandemic: Accessible technology for education, employment, and livelihoods." Assistive Technology 36(5): 352-359.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Beretta, E., et al. (2023). "The effect of reducing wages of remote workers on society. A preliminary assessment." PSL Quarterly Review 36(307): 373-392.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Braesemann, F., et al. (2022). "The global polarisation of remote work." PLOS ONE 17(10).	Gigarbete/ egenföretagande
Brooks, J. D. and S. von Schrader (2023). "An Accommodation for Whom? Has the COVID-19 Pandemic Changed the Landscape of Flexible and Remote Work for Workers with Disabilities?" Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Burk, B. N., et al. (2020). "Pandemic motherhood and the academy: A critical examination of the leisure-work dichotomy." Leisure Sciences 43(1-2): 225-231.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Caparrós Ruiz, A. (2022). "Factors determining teleworking before and during COVID-19: some evidence from Spain and Andalusia." Applied Economic Analysis 30(90): 196-212.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Claeys, G., et al. (2021). "The Great COVID-19 Divergence: Managing a Sustainable and Equitable Recovery in the EU." Intereconomics 56(4): 211-219.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Cockayne, D. (2021). "The feminist economic geographies of working from home and "digital by default" in Canada before, during, and after COVID-19." Canadian Geographies / Géographies canadiennes 65(4): 499-511.	Ej originalstudie
Couch, D. L., et al. (2021). "What COVID-19 could mean for the future of "work from home": The provocations of three women in the academy." Gender, Work and Organization 28(S1): 266-275.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Crowley, F., et al. (2021). "Covid-19: How important is education for social distancing and remote work." Economic and Social Review 52(2): 217-239.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
De Marco, E. (2023). Pandemic Crisis and Remote Working: Another Step Towards Gender Equal Pay and Bigenitoriality. SIDREA Series in Accounting and Business Administration. Part F202: 183-191.	Ej originalstudie
Deb, U., et al. (2024). "Stalled Progress? Evidence from American Time Use Data on Gender Differences in Time Spent on Economic Activities." Indian Journal of Labour Economics.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Erhel, C. (2021). Reforms and new challenges for work and employment in France: Social dialogue under pressure. The New World of Work: Challenges and Opportunities for Social Partners and Labour Institutions: 188-215.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen

Källa	Orsak till exkludering
Fang, D., et al. (2022). "We need to make sure telecommuting does not exacerbate gender disparity." The Lancet 400(10355): 795-797.	Ej vetenskaplig studie
Fiers, F. and E. Hargittai (2023). "Inequalities in Remote Gig Work During the COVID-19 Pandemic." International Journal of Communication 17: 4326-4345.	Gigarbete/ egenföretagande
Foong, E. and E. M. Gerber (2021). Understanding gender differences in pricing strategies in online labor marketplaces. Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems - Proceedings.	Gigarbete/ egenföretagande
Frank, J., et al. (2023). "Work as a social determinant of health in high-income countries: Past, present, and future." The Lancet 402(10410): 1357-1367.	Ej originalstudie
Gerber, C. (2022). "Gender and precarity in platform work: Old inequalities in the new world of work." New Technology, Work and Employment 37(2): 206-230.	Gigarbete/ egenföretagande
Graham, H. (2020). "Hysteresis and the sociological perspective in a time of crisis." Acta Sociologica (United Kingdom) 63(4): 450-452.	Ej originalstudie
Grishaeva, S. A., et al. (2021). Modern Trends of Russian Labour Market: Employers and Employees Expectations. Lecture Notes in Networks and Systems.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Han, E. S. (2024). "How did the COVID-19 pandemic affect men's and women's returns to unionization?" Industrial Relations 63(2): 172-204.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Harton, M., et al. (2023). "Monitoring and addressing the long-term impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on women in academic science, engineering, and medicine." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America 120(19).	Ej vetenskaplig studie
Hauff, S. and D. Rastetter (2021). "Good Work: Eroding and New Standards in a Changing World." Management Revue 32(3): 147-151.	Ej originalstudie
Hooley, T. (2022). The Future Isn't What It Used to Be! Revisiting the Changing World of Work After Covid- 19. I: Mapping the Future of Undergraduate Career Education: Equitable Career Learning, Development, and Preparation in the New World of Work, Routledge, s. 38-51.	Ej originalstudie
James, A. (2024). "Platform work-lives in the gig economy: Recentering work-family research." Gender, Work and Organization 31(2): 513-534.	Gigarbete/egenföretagande
Khan, S. U. (2023). "The firm-level employment impact of COVID-19: International evidence from World Bank Group's Enterprise Surveys." Eastern European Economics 61(5): 457-490.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Kim, N. K. N. and S. C. Parker (2021). "Entrepreneurial homeworkers." Small Business Economics 57(3): 1427-1451.	Gigarbete/egenföretagande
Kniffin, K. M., et al. (2021). "COVID-19 and the Workplace: Implications, Issues, and Insights for Future Research and Action." AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST 76(1): 63-77.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Kramer, A. and K. Z. Kramer (2020). "The potential impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on occupational status, work from home, and occupational mobility." Journal of Vocational Behavior 119.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Leap, B., et al. (2023). "Reorganizations of Gendered Labor During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Review and Suggestions for Further Research." Sociological Inquiry 93(1): 179-200.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Mazaheri, P., et al. (2023). "Flexible work arrangements and their impact on women in radiology: RSNA 2021 panel discussion summary sponsored by AAWR and more." Clinical Imaging 94: 56-61.	Ej originalstudie
Melin, J. L. and S. J. Correll (2022). "Preventing soft skill decay among early-career women in STEM during COVID-19: Evidence from a longitudinal intervention." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America 119(32).	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Mikats, J. (2024). "About the (un)acceptability of working in the presence of the child: parents' constructions of the child and corresponding parental responsibilities." ÖSTERREICHISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER SOZIOLOGIE 49(3): 439-459.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Milliken, F. J., et al. (2020). "Implications of the COVID-19 pandemic for gender equity issues at work." Journal of Management Studies 57(8): 1767-1772.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Minkus, L., et al. (2022). "The significance of occupations, family responsibilities, and gender for working from home: Lessons from COVID-19." PLOS ONE 17(6 June).	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Molina, J. A. (2022). Mothers in the Labor Market.	Ej relevans för frågeställningen

Källa	Orsak till exkludering
Nae, T. M. and N. A. Panie (2020). Responding to COVID 19: Gender Inequality Challenges. INNOVATIVE MODELS TO REVIVE THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.	Effekter av pandemi-restriktioner
Naor, M., et al. (2022). "The impact of COVID-19 on office space utilization and real-estate: a case study about teleworking in Israel as new normal." Journal of Facilities Management 20(1): 32-58.	Effekter av pandemi-restriktioner
Nash, M. and B. Churchill (2020). "Caring during COVID-19: A gendered analysis of Australian university responses to managing remote working and caring responsibilities." Gender, Work and Organization 27(5): 833-846.	Effekter av pandemi-restriktioner
Oladipo, O., et al. (2023). "Female entrepreneurs managing from home." Small Business Economics 61(2): 447-464.	Gigarbete/egenföretagande
Orman, E., et al. (2024). "Emergent time-spaces of working from home: Lessons from pandemic geographies." GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH 62(1): 28-44.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Parlak, S., et al. (2021). "Gender roles during COVID-19 pandemic: The experiences of Turkish female academics." GENDER WORK AND ORGANIZATION 28: 461-483.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Parlalis, S. K. and D. Hadjicharalambous (2024). Employee rights during pandemic in social sciences. The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Human Rights: Collective Research Project: 75-91.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Patterson, E. (2021). "Maintaining Transmission: DirecTV's Work-at-home Technical Support, Virtual Surveillance, and the Gendered Domestication of Distributive Labor." Television and New Media 22(6): 633-653.	Gigarbete/egenföretagande
Radovan, M. (2024). "Workplace Flexibility and Participation in Adult Learning." Sustainability (Switzerland) 16(14).	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Rodríguez-Modroño, P. (2021). "Non-standard work in unconventional workspaces: Self-employed women in home-based businesses and coworking spaces." URBAN STUDIES 58(11): 2258-2275.	Gigarbete/egenföretagande
Smirnykh, L. (2024). "Working from home and job satisfaction: evidence from Russia." International Journal of Manpower 45(3): 539-561.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Stundziene, A. and V. Giziene (2023). "Determinants of Young People with Secondary Education Being Employed." Economies 11(2).	Ej relevans för frågeställningen
Wang, Y. Z. and R. F. Yu (2024). "The influence of spousal support on the outcomes and willingness of work from home for female knowledge workers." Ergonomics 67(7): 941-953.	Ej geografisk relevans
Warnecke, T. (2021). "The COVID-19 crisis and (in)equity: What lessons can we learn?" International Journal of Pluralism and Economics Education 12(1): 8-13.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Wojnicka, K. and J. Kubisa (2023). "The covid-19 pandemic and caring masculinity: New prospects or a wasted opportunity?" Gender, Work and Organization 31(5): 1723-1737.	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Yavorsky, J. E., et al. (2021). "The gendered pandemic: The implications of COVID-19 for work and family." Sociology Compass 15(6).	Effekter av pandemirestriktioner
Zapata, L., et al. (2024). "Engaging new ways of work: the relevance of flexibility and digital tools in a post-COVID-19 era." Journal of Organizational Effectiveness 11(1): 1-17.	Ej geografisk relevans

# Appendix 3: List of search strings

## Web of Science Core Collection

Söktermer	Antal poster
<b>Distansarbete</b>	
TS=((work* NEAR/1 home) OR (work* NEAR/1 remot*) OR (work* NEAR/1 distance) OR telework* OR telecommut* OR homeworking OR "flexible workplace*" OR "home based work" OR "homebased work" OR (hybrid* NEAR/1 work*))	29 897
<b>Jämställdhet</b>	
TS=(gender* OR equality OR inequalit* OR discrimination OR "wage gap*" OR intersectional* OR "sex differences") OR TI=(women OR mothers OR fathers OR parents OR men) OR AK=(women OR mothers OR fathers OR parents OR men) OR KP=(women OR mothers OR fathers OR parents OR men)	3 036 718
<b>Arbetsmarknad</b>	
TS=("labour market*" OR "labor market*" OR "job market*" OR employment OR unemployment OR employab* OR "labor inequalit*" OR "labour inequalit*" OR "work organi?ation" OR "wage gap*") OR AK=(wage OR wages OR career* OR salaries OR salary) OR KP=(wage OR wages OR career* OR salaries OR salary) OR TI=(salaries OR salary)	346 783
<b>Kombinerade sökningar</b>	
5. 1 AND 2 AND 3	860
<b>Applicerade begränsningar</b>	
6. Exclude editorial & meeting abstract	852
<b>Slutresultat</b>	
9.	852

# Scopus

Söktermer		Antal poster
<b>Distansarbete</b>		
TITLE-ABS-KEY ( ( work* PRE/1 home ) OR ( work* W/1 remot* ) OR ( work* W/1 distance ) OR telework* OR telecommut* OR homeworking OR "flexible workplace*" OR "home based work" OR "homebased work" OR ( hybrid* W/1 work* ) )		37 333
<b>Jämställdhet</b>		
TITLE-ABS-KEY(gender* OR equality OR inequalit* OR discrimination OR "wage gap*" OR intersectional* OR "sex differences") OR TITLE(women OR mothers OR fathers OR parents OR men) OR KEY(women OR mothers OR fathers OR parents OR men)		3 428 860
<b>Arbetsmarknad</b>		
TITLE-ABS-KEY("labour market*" OR "labor market*" OR "job market*" OR employment OR unemployment OR employab* OR "labor inequalit*" OR "labour inequalit*" OR "work organi?ation" OR "wage gap*") OR KEY(wage OR wages OR career* OR salaries OR salary) OR TITLE(salaries OR salary)		620 646
Kombinerade sökningar		
5.	1 AND 2 AND 3	1 021
Applicerade begränsningar		
6.	Exclude editorial	1 016
Slutresultat		
9.		1 016

# PsycInfo

Söktermer		Antal poster
<b>Distansarbete</b>		
TIABSU((work* NEAR/1 home) OR (work* NEAR/1 remot*) OR (work* NEAR/1 distance) OR telework* OR telecommut* OR homeworking OR "flexible work-place*" OR "home based work" OR "homebased work" OR (hybrid* NEAR/1 work*)) OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE(Telecommuting) OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE(Teleworkers )		6 778
<b>Jämställdhet</b>		
TIABSU(gender* OR equality OR inequalit* OR discrimination OR "wage gap*" OR intersectional* OR "sex differences") OR TISU(women OR mothers OR fathers OR parents OR men) OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Human Sex Differences") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Diversity in the Workplace") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Gender Inclusion") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Social Equality") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Social Discrimination") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Economic Inequality") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT("Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT("Diversity") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Gender Diversity") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Pay Equity")		785 878
<b>Arbetsmarknad</b>		
TIABSU("labour market*" OR "labor market*" OR "job market*" OR employment OR unemployment OR employab* OR "labor inequalit*" OR "labour inequalit*" OR "work organi?ation") OR SU(wage OR wages OR career*) OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("labor market") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("employment") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Employee Compensation") OR MAINSUBJECT.EXACT.EXPLODE("Pay Equity")		144 295
<b>Kombinerade sökningar</b>		
5.	1 AND 2 AND 3	433
<b>Applicerade begränsningar</b>		
6.	Include scholarly journals & books	359
<b>Slutresultat</b>		
9.		359





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