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Working from home, COVID-19 and job satisfaction

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Abstract

This paper examines the impact of the growth in the incidence of working from home during the COVID-19 pandemic on workers' job satisfaction. Using longitudinal data collected in 2019 and 2021 as part of the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey, fixed-effects models of job satisfaction are estimated. Changes in the share of total weekly work hours usually worked from home are not found to have any significant association with changes in job satisfaction for men. In contrast, a strong significant positive (but non-linear) association is found for women, and this relationship is concentrated on women with children. These findings suggest the main benefit of working from home for workers arises from the improved ability to combine work and family responsibilities, something that matters more to women given they continue to shoulder most of the responsibility for house and care work.

WORKING FROM HOME, COVID-19 AND JOB SATISFACTION

The COVID-19 pandemic and the associated social distancing policies saw a marked increase in the incidence of working from home in many countries during 2020 and 2021 (Aksoy et al. 2022). In the US, for example, data collected as part of the American Community Survey (ACS) shows the fraction of workers reporting usually working from home in the previous week tripling between 2019 and 2021, rising from 5.7% to 17.9% (US Census Bureau 2022). It has been argued that this shift is the start of more lasting changes (e.g., Phillips 2020; Barrero, Bloom, and Davis 2021), with employers discovering potential productivity gains from moving to hybrid work arrangements that provide workers greater choice in where they work, and employees attracted by potential lifestyle benefits.

The most obvious benefit for workers is the reduction in time spent commuting, which both eliminates the emotional strain associated with lengthy commutes (Golden 2006) and frees up time for family and leisure pursuits (Gajendran and Harrison 2007; Laß and Wooden 2023). Working from home has also been found to be associated with greater control over working schedules (Sardeshmukh, Sharma, and Golden 2012; Laß and Wooden 2023), making it easier to combine and balance work commitments with non-work activities. Relatedly, working from home may be associated with fewer meetings and interruptions (Wöhrmann and Ebner 2021), which may make for a less stressful work environment. Working from home, however, does have its downsides. It can be associated with a blurring of boundaries between work time and non-work time (Wöhrmann and Ebner 2021), making it more difficult to 'turn work off' (Fan and Moen 2023) and facilitating work during so-called unsocial hours (i.e., evenings, nights and weekends) (Laß and Wooden 2023). It also typically involves workers spending a lot more time working on their own, which can lead to feelings of loneliness and isolation (Mann and Holdsworth 2003). Remote workers also tend to

receive less social support from co-workers and supervisors (Sardeshmukh et al. 2012; Wöhrmann and Ebner 2021). There are also the related issues of 'flexibility stigma' (e.g., Williams, Blair-Loy and Berdahl 2013) and 'proximity bias' (e.g., Williamson et al. 2022), with employees frequently reporting to be hesitant to use telework for fear that career advancement prospects might be damaged (McCloskey and Igbaria 2003; Golden and Eddleston 2020). It is thus an empirical question as to whether working from home enhances or diminishes worker well-being, and, more specifically, their satisfaction with their jobs.

Despite these competing factors, previous research has generally concluded that working primarily from home (or what is sometimes referred to as teleworking or telecommuting) is associated with higher levels of job satisfaction. Most of this research, however, has been conducted in an era when levels of teleworking were relatively low. As already noted, data from the ACS show that persons who usually worked from home accounted for less than 6% of the US workforce in 2019. Similarly low levels also prevailed in other Western nations. In Australia, both household survey and Census data indicate that only around 5 to 6% of workers worked mostly from home prior to the pandemic (Lim and Wooden 2020). Likewise, data from the European Union (EU) Labour Force Survey (Eurostat 2022) indicate that the proportion of employed persons in 2019 recorded as "usually" working from home averaged just 5.4% across the 27 EU member countries.

The low prevalence of working from home pre-COVID suggests that previous research into the association between telework and job satisfaction may have been focused on selective sub-populations, raising the question of whether positive associations with job satisfaction will continue to be found for affected populations that are much larger and that typically have not been provided with the opportunity to work remotely in the past. The opportunity to re-examine this question within such a different setting has been provided by the COVID-19 pandemic.

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In this study, we analyse the relationship between job satisfaction and working from home using data for Australia, a country where, as mentioned, in the wake of the pandemic, the incidence of working from home became far more widespread. Central to this study is the use of data from a long-running panel survey that has for many years been collecting information from members of a large sample of Australian households about (among many other things) job satisfaction and usual hours of work and, most critically, how many of those hours are worked from home. We are thus able to examine how job satisfaction levels changed over time and the extent to which such change differed with the take-up, and extent of take-up, of home working. Furthermore, the HILDA Survey provides assessments of several sub-dimensions of overall job satisfaction (such as satisfaction with hours, pay, and the flexibility to balance work and non-work commitments), which allows us to delve into the factors that drive the link between working from home and overall job satisfaction.

Previous Research

Interest in working from home, or what in the past was more commonly referred to as 'telecommuting' or 'teleworking', dates back to at least the 1970s (Nilles 1975). Since then a large literature has emerged, especially among human resource practitioners and consultants, advocating the many benefits of telecommuting and remote working to employers and employees alike (Pinsonneault and Boisvert 2001; Harpaz 2002). The earliest research provides evidence that is mostly supportive of this hypothesis, with a meta-analysis of 28 studies finding job satisfaction positively associated with telecommuting on average (Gajendran and Harrison 2007). That said, the average effect size ($d = 0.18$) was modest. This body of evidence, however, is far from convincing. Most of the studies involved the collection of survey data from relatively small samples of workers, typically drawn from a single employer (mostly from the US), and usually with relatively low response rates.

Furthermore, it seems likely that the sampled workers came from firms that had deliberately selected into telecommuting working arrangements, and thus it is not obvious that the job satisfaction benefits observed in these studies would extend to workers in other firms that are not so committed or suited to supporting telecommuting. All studies were also cross-sectional in design, which eliminates the capacity to control for unobserved influences on job satisfaction that might be correlated with telecommuting.

Subsequent research includes studies that used data from much larger population-wide samples. Among this group are studies of populations in Australia (Dockery and Bawa 2014), Germany (Kröll and Nüesch 2019; Bellmann and Hübler 2021; Arntz, Sarra, and Berlingieri 2022; Yang, Kelly, Kubzansky, and Berkman 2023), the UK (Wheatley 2012, 2017; Binder 2016; Felstead and Henseke 2017; Reuschke 2019), and the US (Kim, Henly, Golden, and Lambert 2020). Furthermore, in many of these cases the data came from household panels, thus enabling the use of statistical methods that better control for unobserved differences in individuals.

This body of evidence mostly supports the hypothesis that working from home has been a positive influence on job satisfaction, though again the magnitude of association is often judged to be small. The institutional and cultural context may also matter, with findings generally least favourable in the German studies. Indeed, some of these German studies reported either no association or negative associations with measures of work-life balance or satisfaction with leisure time (Kröll and Nüesch 2019; Bellmann and Hübler 2021), which would help explain weak associations with overall job satisfaction. The positive effects on job satisfaction have also been found to vary with both the frequency of working from home, with effects only significant for those who work the majority of their paid hours at home (Dockery and Bawa 2014), and the motivation for working from home, with significant positive associations absent when working from home is driven by the need to catch up on

work (Kim et al. 2020; Yang et al. 2023). There is also evidence that the positive effects may be short-lived. Bellmann and Hübler (2021), for example, made use of the panel nature of their data and found that while there was a boost to job satisfaction from the take up of working from home, this effect did not persist for long.

Finally, it is often argued that access to more flexible forms of work, such as remote working, provides more benefits to women than men, and especially to working mothers with dependent children (Kim et al. 2020; Laß and Wooden 2023). Despite this expectation, results from large-scale studies of the association between measures of working from home and job satisfaction that have allowed for effects to vary with gender are mixed. While some studies have obtained results in line with expectations (e.g., Wheatley 2017; Reuschke 2019), others have found no moderating role of gender (e.g., Wheatley 2012; Kim et al. 2020) or even that effects are larger for men (Dockery and Bawa 2014; Binder 2016).

All of the research cited so far comes from a pre-pandemic world, which, as we have previously emphasised, is one where working from home was far from the norm. This leads to the question of whether such positive effects will also be found in a world where levels of working from home are much higher. Numerous studies (covering multiple countries) have been conducted that are concerned with the association between working from home and job satisfaction during the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g., Toscano and Zappalà 2020; Karácsony 2021; Sousa-Uva, Sousa-Uva, Mello e Sampayo, and Serranheira 2021; Yu and Wu 2021; Ahmadi, Zandi, Cetraz, and Akhavan 2022; Makridis and Schloetzer 2022; Mohammed, Nandwani, Saboo, and Padannaya 2022; Niebuhr, Borle, Börner-Zobel, and Voelter-Mahlknecht 2022; Fan and Moen 2023), but this body of research does not get us far in answering our key question: Does working from home lead to higher levels of job satisfaction? Some of these studies, for example, are restricted to samples of persons who commenced working from home and thus are only concerned about the channels through

which working from home might influence worker well-being (e.g., Toscano and Zappalà 2020; Sousa-Uva et al. 2021; Yu and Wu 2021; Mohammed et al 2022). More importantly, with only few exceptions (Makridis and Schloetzer 2022; Fan and Moen 2023), all utilised small and, in most cases, highly selective samples. Finally, all of these studies used data collected after the pandemic commenced, and thus can tell us nothing about the extent to which the take-up of working from home caused a change in job satisfaction.

The Australian Context

While estimates vary depending on the data source used and way home working is defined and measured, survey data suggest that somewhere between 20% and 33% of Australian workers regularly worked at least some hours from home prior to the pandemic (ABS 2021; Laß and Wooden 2023). The Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey, the data source at the centre of this analysis, provides comparable estimates extending back to 2002, which are depicted in Figure 1. According to this source, about one in four Australian workers in 2019 usually worked at least some hours at home, and this level had changed very little over the preceding two decades. Much of this working from home activity, however, appears to have been of the "take work home with you" variety, with, as noted earlier, a much smaller fraction of the workforce – only around 6% – estimated to work most of their usual work hours from home, and only about half of this group work all hours from home. Furthermore, the majority of these persons working mostly from home – just over 3 in 4 – were self-employed (Wooden and Fok 2013). The proportion of employees who worked mostly from home was typically no more than 1.5%. This is despite the fact that Australia is one of the few OECD countries where legislation provides certain groups of employees with the right to request flexible workplace arrangements, including work location (OECD 2021).

In summary, like other Western countries, prior to the pandemic relatively few Australians worked their paid hours primarily from home. With the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic, however, the incidence of working from home in Australia rose sharply. As shown in Figure 1, according to the HILDA Survey, the proportion of employed persons working at least 50% of their usual weekly paid hours at home rose from just 6.1% in 2019 to 21.3% in 2020 and to 23.7% in 2021. A key driver of this change was the government response to containing the spread of the virus, which from the outset in late March 2020 included advice to work from home wherever possible (Stobart and Duckett 2022). This was a key element in the desire by governments to reduce population movement, which in turn was central to Australia's pursuit of a zero-COVID strategy, at least until a large fraction of the Australian population was vaccinated. Importantly, there were also periods when some Australian state governments, in response to outbreaks of the virus, imposed stringent lockdown measures. During these lockdowns people were generally only permitted to leave home for four reasons: (i) shopping for essentials; (ii) outdoor exercise and recreation (and then only within a 5 km radius of the home); (iii) to attend medical appointments or to provide care to others; or (iv) to work or study if unable to do this from home. Victoria, Australia's second most populous state, was most affected, with its citizens subject to seven periods of lockdown. This included two very prolonged lockdowns, which for residents of Melbourne, the state's largest city, commenced in July 2020 and lasted almost four months, and then again about a year later in August 2021, lasting 2.5 months. Similarly, residents of some parts of Australia's largest city, Sydney, were subject to progressive lockdowns from late June 2021, before a city-wide lockdown was imposed in early August and not lifted until mid-October.[1]

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[1] Lockdowns were also imposed on residents of New South Wales and Victoria who lived outside of the two major cities. These tended to be of a shorter duration, and duration varied across regions.

Data and Methods

Survey Data

As previously noted, the data we use come from the HILDA Survey, a longitudinal study following members of a nationally representative sample of Australian households on an annual basis since 2001 (Watson and Wooden 2021). Response rates are relatively high, especially the annual re-interview rate, which rose from 87% in wave 2 to over 94% by wave 5 and has remained at levels above that in every wave since (Summerfield et al. 2022, Table 8.35). Thus, whereas non-response means the sample does not precisely match the wider Australian population, differences are mostly small. The exception is recent immigrant arrivals. The nature of the panel design means that without constant refreshment samples (and one was added in wave 11), the study cannot adequately represent migrants entering Australia after the panel commenced.

The sample used is persons observed in paid employment at time of interview in both waves 19 (conducted mostly in 2019 and thus prior to the COVID-19 pandemic) and 21 (conducted mostly in 2021).[2] This provided a total of 17,382 observations from 8,691 unique individuals. Missing observations on covariates, however, reduced the size of the sample available for analysis to a maximum of 16,200 observations (from 8,100 individuals).[3]

Variables

Independent Variables

The principal outcome variable is a self-reported measure of overall job satisfaction scored on a 0 to 10 scale where the end points are labelled 'totally dissatisfied' and 'totally

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[2] Fieldwork for wave 19 commenced on 30 July 2019 and was completed by 8 February 2020, but with 94% of interviews completed in the months of August through October. Fieldwork for wave 21 commenced on 27 July 2021 and was completed by 14 March 2021, but again the majority of interviews (92%) were completed during August through October. For more details about the data collection process, see Summerfield et al. (2022).
[3] This is the sample size for the analysis of overall job satisfaction. Sample sizes for the analyses of satisfaction with the different job domains differ slightly.

satisfied'. We also examine satisfaction with five sub-domains of work: (i) total pay; (ii) job security; (iii) the work itself; (iv) the hours of work; and (v) the flexibility available to balance work and non-work commitments. These are scored on the same eleven-point scale.

Key Dependent Variable: Working From Home

Each year, all survey respondents that reported either doing any work in a job, business or farm during the previous 7 days, or being away from a job, business or farm (e.g., because of holidays or sickness), are asked how many hours they usually worked each week in their main job, and of those how many hours are usually worked at their home.[4] From these responses, it is straightforward to calculate a measure of the proportion of usual weekly hours of work that are worked at home.

The focus of these questions on usual hours of work, however, is potentially problematic for our analysis. Specifically, some respondents might have interpreted 'usual' as referring to life prior to the pandemic. This was partly addressed by the inclusion of an interviewer note explaining that 'usual' referred to a respondent's current working situation and not their working situation pre-pandemic. This, however, only helps if the respondent queries what is meant by the term 'usual'. The data collected during the pandemic, but especially in 2020 (i.e., wave 20), may thus understate both the number of persons working any hours from home and the number of hours per week that were being worked from home. By 2021, however, this risk of understatement will have diminished considerably, given workers will have become used to their pandemic working patterns. For interviews conducted in 2021, we therefore only expect a pronounced understatement among respondents living in areas where lockdowns and stay-at-home orders had been recently imposed. Some of these respondents

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[4] Respondents are permitted to answer that hours of work vary from week to week, but in these cases a follow-up question is asked about the number of hours worked on average over a usual 4-week period.

may have interpreted usual working hours as the working arrangements that applied immediately prior to the imposition of lockdown.

Control Variables

Selection of control variables was guided by previous analyses of job satisfaction using HILDA Survey data, and especially Green, Kler and Leeves (2010), Dockery and Bawa (2014) and Buddelmeyer, McVicar and Wooden (2015). We thus include controls for: age group (six categories), marital / partnership status (three categories), the presence of children differentiated by the age of the youngest child and whether that child was economically dependent (five categories)[5], educational attainment (four categories), the presence of a restrictive long-term health condition or disability (defined as any long-term health condition, impairment or disability that restricts everyday activities, has lasted or is likely to last, for 6 months or more, and limits the amount of work that can be done), whether a full-time student, employment status / contract type (five categories), length of tenure with the current employer (six categories), occupation (eight categories), hours usually worked per week (specified as a quadratic), whether a multiple jobholder, supervisory responsibilities, membership of a trade union, public sector employment, employer size (i.e., number of employees) (five categories), industry (19 categories), region of residence (i.e., remoteness area) (three categories), state or territory (eight categories), survey wave, the presence of another adult during the interview, and whether the interview was conducted in person or by telephone. Potential gender differences are accounted for by estimating separate models for men and women.

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[5] A dependent child is defined as: (i) any member of the household aged less than 15 years; or (ii) any household member aged 15 to 24 who is a full-time student, and who is the child of another household member, and for whom there is no identified partner or child of their own usually resident in the same household.

A list of all variables included in the analysis, along with their unweighted means, is presented in Table 1. The table shows that, between 2019 and 2021, the average level of overall job satisfaction rose by a modest, but statistically significant, 0.13 points on the 11-point scale for both men and women. Satisfaction with most sub-dimensions increased as well, with the biggest rise found for satisfaction with total pay, followed by satisfaction with the hours worked and with job security. The only satisfaction measure that did not increase significantly was the flexibility to balance work and non-work commitments among women, possibly reflecting the specific challenges of arranging childcare during the pandemic. Simultaneously, the percentage of workers who worked most of their work hours from home increased considerably – from about 5% to 21% for men and from about 8% to 27% for women.

Analytical Approach

We begin with a simple model where job satisfaction (JS) is a function of the amount (or share) of working time worked from home (WFH) and a set of other observable individual-level characteristic (X). This model takes the form:

$$JS_{it} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 WFH_{it} + \alpha_2 X_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

We are interested in the change in job satisfaction (ΔJS_i), and so specify a first-differences model:

$$\Delta JS_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \Delta WFH_i + \beta_2 \Delta X_i + \Delta \varepsilon_i \tag{2}$$

Where the number of time periods equals 2, this is identical to a fixed effects model:

$$JS_{it} = \delta_0 + \beta_1 WFH_{it} + \beta_2 X_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} + \mu_i \tag{3}$$

We experiment with various functional forms for WFH, including dummy variables identifying whether any or most hours are worked from home, a continuous variable measuring the proportion of total work hours that are worked from home, and a categorical

variable representing different levels of working from home (as measured by the percentage of total work hours worked from home).

Estimation is undertaken using the areg command in Stata (version 16), which fits a linear regression that absorbs one categorical variable for a person-specific effect.

Results

Table 2 presents results from a series of linear fixed effects models, where we regressed job satisfaction on several measures of working from home, separately by gender. All models accounted for the control variables listed in the Data and Methods section. For reasons of brevity, however, only the coefficients of interest are reported here (estimates from the full models are reported in Appendix Tables A1 and A2). Starting out with the simple binary measure of whether workers do any of their usual hours at home (Model 1), there was a significant positive association of this measure with job satisfaction for women. Precisely, the coefficient of 0.234 means that female workers who moved from working no hours at home in 2019 to working some hours at home in 2021 experienced, on average, almost a quarter of a point increase on the 0 to 10 job satisfaction scale. By contrast, the coefficient for men, while also positively signed, was much smaller (0.064) and statistically insignificant. A very similar pattern arose when we considered the effect of working 50% or more of the usual working hours from home (Model 2) or a linear specification of the proportion of paid hours worked from home (Model 3).

We next tested for non-linearity in the association between the extent of working from home and job satisfaction. First, we distinguished between different shares of time worked from home using seven categories (Model 4). For women, we found significant associations between almost every share of time worked from home and job satisfaction. The magnitudes of the coefficients, however, implied a non-linear relationship, with job satisfaction

increasing across categories until the 60-79% category (which was associated with a 0.640-point increase), before declining as the working from home share continued to rise further (only amounting to a 0.240-point increase for those working 100% of their time from home). Second, we used a more parsimonious quadratic specification (Model 5). The results from the estimation of this alternative specification confirmed the non-linear shape of the relationship for women, with the linear term positive and significant and the quadratic term negative and equally significant. Again, we found no significant associations for men in either model.

The marked gender difference merits further attention. Given women usually shoulder most of the house and care work in their families, it may be the greater ability to combine work with family demands that is driving the positive association between working from home and job satisfaction. To corroborate this assumption, we re-ran our detailed categorical model (Model 4 in Table 2) separately for women living with and without own children in the household. Results are presented in Table 3. We found that the coefficient of working from home 60-79% was indeed significantly and considerably larger for mothers than women without children. However, the coefficient for the 100% category was significantly larger for women without children.

In a next step, we examined what job facets contributed to the positive association of working from home with overall job satisfaction for women, and especially mothers. Table 4 presents results from separate regression analyses of five different sub-dimensions of job satisfaction — satisfaction with pay, job security, the work itself, the hours a person works, and the flexibility to balance work and non-work commitments. Again, estimation was undertaken separately for women with and without children. Among mothers, working from home was most strongly associated with the flexibility to balance work and non-work commitments. In particular, working between 60 and 99% of total work hours from home was associated with about a one point higher level of job satisfaction. Again, this result

underlines the crucial role of an improved conciliation of work with family commitments when working from home.

Working from home was also associated with increased satisfaction in other sub-dimensions but the associations were much weaker than with the flexibility measure. Most notably, there was evidence that working from home was associated with improved satisfaction with job security for women, both with and without children. The magnitude of this association was, however, more pronounced among mothers, and this positive effect was again concentrated among those working between 60 and 99% of their working hours from home. For other dimensions, positive associations were mostly found, which again tended to be larger for mothers than for women without children, but in almost all cases these estimated associations failed to achieve statistical significance.

Robustness checks

We next estimated modified versions of our detailed categorical model for women with the aim of testing the robustness of our results.

First, we addressed the possibility that the extent of working from home may have been measured less precisely for workers who were interviewed during lockdown. As discussed previously, given the survey question about working from home refers to "usual" work patterns, some workers may have reported their work pattern outside lockdown periods, while actually working much more from home at the time of interview. If so, this underreporting in the extent of home working would be expected to lead to estimates that understate the magnitude of the "true" association between working from home and job satisfaction. We argue that a crude test of this hypothesis can be provided by restricting our sample to workers residing in states that were not in lockdown for considerable parts of 2021. Results are reported in column (2) of Table 5. For comparative purposes, we also report, in column (1),

results for the sub-sample of workers residing in the two lockdown states (i.e., New South Wales and Victoria).

We found working from home to be associated with increased job satisfaction in both lockdown states and other states, but the two sets of coefficients were clearly not the same. In lockdown states, working 100% from home was associated with a significantly smaller increase in job satisfaction than in the other states. As argued above, this might reflect measurement error. But just as plausible, this might be the result of many workers in these states being forced to work entirely from home. By contrast, (the relatively few) workers in lockdown states who reported working 60 to 79% of total working hours from home experienced a significantly larger increase in job satisfaction than workers working a similar pattern in non-lockdown states. Very differently, if we focused only on states that were not subject to lockdowns in 2021, and hence where working from home was far less likely to be the result of a directive from government, we found two distinct groups separated at the 40% of worktime worked at home cut-off (i.e., 2 days per week for those working a standard 5-day week). Women who worked less often at home than this had job satisfaction levels in 2021 that were no different from when they did not work any hours from home in 2019. In contrast, for those for whom working from home hours exceeded this cut-off, job satisfaction was enhanced by about half a point, and the proportion of hours worked at home beyond this threshold mattered little. Our finding that the job satisfaction of women workers was enhanced by working from home remains intact, but how that relationship varies with the relative amount of time worked from home may be somewhat different than what was initially suggested.

Second, we tested whether and how much our results change if we focus on those occupations where working from home is most feasible. Studies conducted in other countries, for example, suggest that less than 40% of jobs can be performed entirely at home (e.g.,

Dingle and Neiman 2020; Sostero et al. 2020). We thus divided our sample into two groups based on whether they were employed in an occupation where working from home was relatively common, and re-estimated our models using the sub-sample of persons employed in occupations where the intensity of working from home is high ("WFH-intensive"). To identify these WFH-intensive occupations, we used data on method of travel to work from the 2021 Census of Population (ABS 2022), the date of which coincided with fieldwork for wave 21 of the HILDA Survey. This provided estimates of the proportion of employed persons within each of 358 occupation unit groups who worked at home on the day of the Census that could then be matched to the occupation data collected in the HILDA Survey. Estimates ranged from zero (e.g., forklift drivers, waiters, kitchen hands) to 87% (authors and book and script editors). We then defined a WFH-intensive occupation as one where at least 40% of employed persons in that occupation worked from home on the day of the Census. This threshold was exceeded in 82 occupation groups, representing 23.4% of all Australian workers.

Focusing on this subgroup of occupations yielded much stronger associations between working from home and job satisfaction for women. For example, a working from home share of 60-79% was then associated with a 0.953-point increase in this subgroup, which compares to the 0.640 increase for all women reported in Table 2. Somewhat unexpectedly, working from home 100% of the time was not associated with any significant improvement in job satisfaction. We speculate that this might be the result of many women in this group being forced to work from home (because of lockdowns in New South Wales and Victoria). In theory, we could tease this out by further restricting our estimation sample to women residing in the non-lockdown states. Unfortunately, the small sample sizes involved lead to larger standard errors and thus we were unable to draw inferences with any confidence. Again, no significant associations were found for men (see Appendix Table A5).

Third, since the outcome variables involve discrete values bounded between 0 and 10, it could be argued that linear regression is not strictly appropriate, and an estimator designed for ordinal dependent variables, but which also allows for the incorporation of fixed effects, should be used. We thus re-estimated our preferred model using an estimator developed by Baetschmann, Ballantyne, Staub, and Winkelmann (2020) for the conditional ordered logit case (feologit). The results are reported in column 5 of Table 5. While the coefficients from the fixed effects linear model (Table 2) are not directly comparable with those of the fixed effects ordered logit model, since they are scaled differently, a comparison of the pattern is valid. Just like the linear fixed effects case, the ordered logit results revealed a positive association between the share of time worked from home and job satisfaction that increased until the 60-79% category and then declined. Alternatively, we can compare ratios of coefficients, since the ratio of two coefficients is the estimate for the ratio of two average marginal effects (AME) for both the fixed effects linear model and the fixed effects ordered logit model. For example, comparing the coefficient on "40-59%" to the one on "60-79%" gives a ratio of 0.47 (0.300/0.640) for the fixed effects linear model (in Table 2) and 0.48 (0.530/1.096) for the fixed effects ordered logit model: In both regressions, the AME of the variable "60-79%" is about twice as large as the AME of the variable "40-59%". In short, use of an estimator designed for an ordinal outcome variable makes no difference to our conclusions.

Discussion

One consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic has been the marked rise in the incidence of working from home and the distinct possibility that this transformation in the way many people work is permanent (Barrero et al. 2021). One reason why the incidence of working from home is not expected to revert to pre-pandemic levels is that working from home

provides benefits to workers that those workers will be reluctant to forego. The analysis reported on in this paper suggests this hypothesis is only true for women. For men, we could not find any evidence that the marked growth in working from home between 2019 and 2021 in Australia has been associated with any change in job satisfaction levels on average. The perks from working from home (e.g., reduced commuting time) for men must be offset by the disadvantages (e.g., working in isolation). Furthermore, the magnitude of the estimated effects on women are not small. Coefficients in the order of 0.9 (obtained for women with children spending 60 to 79% of paid hours at home) are relatively large when judged against an outcome variable with a standard deviation of close to 1.5.

The gender difference uncovered in this research is something that sets our study apart from previous research. Gajendran and Harrison (2007: 1535), for example, in their meta-analysis of early research into the impacts of telecommuting concluded that "gender did not contribute to systematic variation in the effect sizes for any … outcomes", one of which was job satisfaction. Furthermore, and as noted earlier, a previous analysis of the same data that we use, but covering a period prior to the pandemic, reported a positive association between working from home and job satisfaction for both sexes that was actually larger for men (Dockery and Bawa 2014). We argue that the difference between our results and this earlier body of literature reflects marked differences in the types of jobs where opportunities to work from home were possible. As noted earlier, prior to the pandemic the large majority of Australians who worked primarily from home were self-employed. Very few employees (less than 1.5%) were given the opportunity to work primarily from home. Our analysis also suggests that the satisfaction benefits from working from home mainly accrue to women with children, which in turn is a function of the positive impact of working from home on the ability to balance work and non-work commitments.

These gender differences also lead to the conclusion that working from home could be yet another factor exacerbating the gender divide in the labour market. If working from home becomes a much more accepted and common working arrangement in the post-COVID pandemic era, as is often argued, then our results suggest that it will be women who are most likely to take advantage of this. On one hand, working from home could allow many women with care responsibilities to be employed in the first place or to extend their working hours. For example, Laß and Wooden (2023) show that working from home at least 80% of the time reduces the conflict between work and family for mothers as much as working nine fewer hours each week. On the other hand, this could be a factor that will work to further widen the gender wage gap. This might occur if wages adjust to compensate for the non-wage benefits that accrue to working from home. Certainly there is a literature establishing that workers are prepared to forfeit a significant fraction of their pay in return for the ability to work from home (e.g., Barrero et al. 2021; Lewandowski, Lipowska, and Smoter 2022; Mas and Palais 2017). But perhaps more crucially, and as noted in the Introduction, in organisations where workers have the flexibility to choose where to work, persons that choose to work more often from home may, because of flexibility stigma, be more likely to be overlooked for pay rises, promotions and other opportunities that enhance career progression (Golden and Eddleston 2020).

We also recognise that while the data we use has a number of strengths (notably they provide observations from the same workers collected in both 2019, and hence prior to the pandemic, and in 2021, and are drawn from a national probability sample), they are not without limitations. First, survey data are self-reported and thus subject to measurement error. In particular, we were concerned about the possibility that hours worked at home were being systematically understated, especially by those workers living under lockdown restrictions at the time of interviews. That said, restricting the sample to those residing in non-lockdown

states did not produce results that were vastly different. Second, the data only provides information on the number of hours worked at home and elsewhere in a usual week; we cannot distinguish part days worked at home from full days. Third, and as noted earlier, while we describe the underlying sample as nationally representative, the longitudinal nature of the sample design means recent immigrants are underrepresented. All of these limitations need to be borne in mind when interpreting the results.

Conclusion

Using longitudinal household panel survey data from a sample originally selected to be representative of the Australian population, and consistent with data from other sources both in Australia and in other countries, we report evidence of a marked rise in the proportion of paid working hours being worked from home during the COVID-19 pandemic. More importantly, we find that this growth in the prevalence of working from home was associated with a large rise in reported job satisfaction among women. Among men there was no such rise. We also find that this rise in overall job satisfaction among women is most marked for those with children and is largely a function of enhanced satisfaction with the flexibility available to balance work and non-work commitments. The relationship between working from home and job satisfaction does not, however, appear to be linear, though the precise nature of the relationship is still unclear. Among female workers residing in states affected by government-mandated lockdowns at the time of data collection in 2021, effects are largest for women spending between 60 and 79% of their usual paid hours working at home. In contrast, for those workers residing in states not directly impacted by lockdowns, the job satisfaction benefits are much the same for all women working 40% or more of their hours from home.

Overall, this study shows that the new way of working brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic can benefit worker well-being, but more so for certain groups, and notably women

with children. It is up to future research to establish whether these associations will persist. It is possible, for example, that for many workers, being newly exposed to working from home may have led to an upwards bump in reported job satisfaction that was only temporary. If, however, the beneficial effects for job satisfaction do persist, more women (and particularly mothers) can be expected to sort into home working arrangements, potentially enhancing existing gender inequalities in both employment careers and household responsibilities. Avoiding these downside risks will likely require further changes to the way we work, in workplace culture, and in gender norms around paid and unpaid work.

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Figure 1. The Extent of Working from Home (% of employed persons), Australia, 2002 to 2021
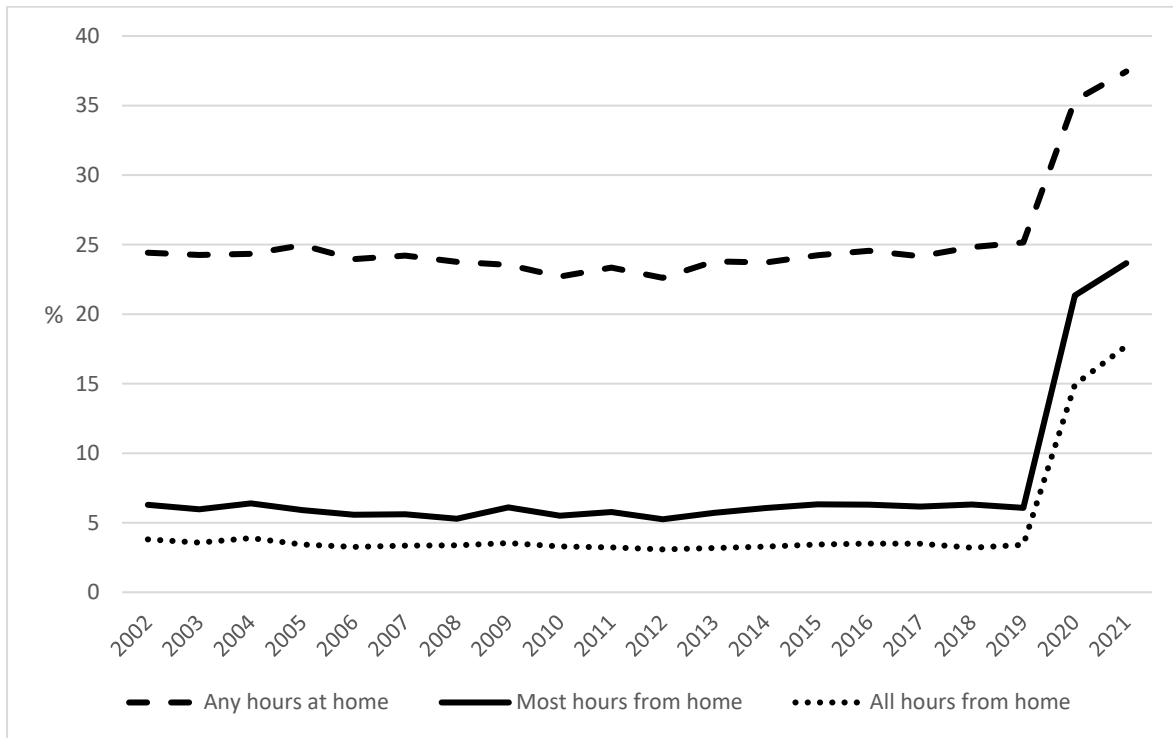
Note: All estimates are population weighted.

Source: HILDA Survey, unit-record data release 21 (Department of Social Services / Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research 2022).

Table 1. List of Variables and (Unweighted) Mean Values

Variable	Men		Women	
	2019	2021	2019	2021
Outcome variables				
Overall job satisfaction (0-10)	7.76	7.89	7.79	7.92
Satisfaction with total pay (0-10)	7.27	7.57	7.32	7.62
Satisfaction with job security (0-10)	8.02	8.22	8.04	8.24
Satisfaction with the work itself (0-10)	7.74	7.82	7.70	7.80
Satisfaction with the hours worked (0-10)	7.34	7.53	7.39	7.61
Satisfaction with the flexibility to balance work and non-work commitments (0-10)	7.55	7.70	7.56	7.64
Working from home				
Hours usually worked from home per week (no.)	7.57	22.41	9.96	27.98
Any hours worked from home	0.262	0.387	0.264	0.412
50% or more of total hours worked from home	0.051	0.208	0.075	0.269
Proportion of hours worked from home	0.076	0.224	0.100	0.280
Share of total hours usually worked from home				
None	0.738	0.613	0.736	0.588
1-19%	0.139	0.107	0.104	0.062
20-39%	0.062	0.053	0.071	0.062
40-59%	0.020	0.034	0.024	0.040
60-79%	0.009	0.023	0.011	0.027
80-99%	0.007	0.018	0.009	0.023
100%	0.026	0.153	0.045	0.199
Age group (years)				
15-24	0.126	0.087	0.147	0.105
25-34	0.267	0.246	0.247	0.239
35-44	0.213	0.232	0.210	0.214
45-54	0.201	0.205	0.209	0.214
55-64	0.156	0.177	0.157	0.178
65 or older	0.038	0.054	0.031	0.050
Marital / partnering status				
Single	0.276	0.259	0.330	0.312
Married	0.517	0.537	0.470	0.485
Cohabiting	0.207	0.204	0.201	0.203
Age of youngest child (interacted with dependence)				
Aged 0 to 4 years	0.178	0.181	0.139	0.137
Aged 5 to 14 years	0.179	0.179	0.195	0.198
Dependent child aged 15 to 24	0.059	0.063	0.076	0.076
Independent child	0.046	0.054	0.061	0.065
No children	0.537	0.522	0.528	0.524
Health status				
Restrictive long-term health condition or disability	0.075	0.086	0.093	0.109
Educational attainment				
Year 11 and below	0.144	0.129	0.122	0.103
Year 12	0.163	0.159	0.155	0.146
Vocational qualification or Diploma	0.393	0.399	0.305	0.313
Bachelor degree or higher	0.301	0.313	0.418	0.438
Full-time student	0.059	0.043	0.084	0.059
Employment type				
Permanent employee	0.622	0.654	0.610	0.672

Fixed-term contract employee	0.074	0.055	0.109	0.083
Casual employee	0.135	0.100	0.178	0.139
Self-employed	0.167	0.189	0.099	0.103
Other	0.002	0.002	0.004	0.003
Tenure with current employer				
Less than 1 year	0.165	0.144	0.186	0.172
1 to<2 years	0.091	0.062	0.097	0.054
2 to <5 years	0.251	0.256	0.264	0.265
5 to <10 years	0.199	0.213	0.194	0.221
10 to <20 years	0.183	0.199	0.176	0.182
20 or more years	0.111	0.127	0.083	0.106
Occupation				
Managers	0.185	0.190	0.113	0.119
Professionals	0.218	0.226	0.325	0.341
Technicians & trades workers	0.211	0.213	0.043	0.041
Community & personal service workers	0.073	0.066	0.163	0.159
Clerical & administrative workers	0.060	0.060	0.195	0.195
Sales workers	0.051	0.047	0.100	0.087
Machinery operators & drivers	0.105	0.108	0.010	0.013
Labourers	0.098	0.090	0.051	0.045
Other job characteristics				
Usual hours worked per week in all jobs	40.69	40.47	31.61	32.44
Multiple job holder	0.068	0.070	0.097	0.091
Normally supervise work of other employees	0.505	0.487	0.408	0.407
Trade union member	0.159	0.156	0.206	0.210
Public sector	0.176	0.171	0.296	0.311
Firm size				
Small (0-19 employees)	0.315	0.324	0.237	0.235
Medium (20-99 employees)	0.140	0.139	0.123	0.123
Large (100-499 employees)	0.115	0.121	0.112	0.114
Very large (500 or more employees)	0.401	0.376	0.479	0.465
Firm size unknown	0.029	0.040	0.048	0.063
Industry				
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	0.036	0.037	0.014	0.014
Mining	0.033	0.033	0.006	0.007
Manufacturing	0.111	0.105	0.037	0.032
Electricity, gas, water & waste services	0.018	0.017	0.005	0.006
Construction	0.147	0.156	0.016	0.018
Wholesale trade	0.040	0.042	0.018	0.017
Retail trade	0.073	0.066	0.105	0.097
Accommodation & food services	0.042	0.030	0.067	0.046
Transport, postal & warehousing	0.063	0.062	0.021	0.020
Information media & telecommunications	0.012	0.014	0.011	0.011
Financial & insurance services	0.032	0.037	0.037	0.038
Rental, hiring & real estate services	0.013	0.012	0.014	0.015
Professional, scientific & technical services	0.084	0.094	0.078	0.076
Administrative & support services	0.027	0.029	0.030	0.026
Public administration & safety	0.075	0.074	0.067	0.073
Education & training	0.061	0.057	0.154	0.159
Health care & social assistance	0.073	0.077	0.274	0.301
Arts & recreation services	0.020	0.021	0.016	0.015
Other services	0.040	0.038	0.030	0.031
Geographical location				
Major city	0.637	0.627	0.641	0.632
Inner regional	0.255	0.265	0.252	0.260

Outer regional or remote	0.107	0.108	0.107	0.109
State				
New South Wales	0.279	0.278	0.276	0.277
Victoria	0.265	0.264	0.266	0.263
Queensland	0.219	0.220	0.217	0.216
South Australia	0.082	0.083	0.086	0.087
Western Australi	0.090	0.090	0.088	0.090
Tasmania	0.034	0.035	0.034	0.034
Northern Territor	0.008	0.006	0.008	0.008
Australian Capital Territory	0.024	0.024	0.025	0.025
Interview characteristics				
Other adults present during the interview	0.332	0.206	0.276	0.176
Interviewed by phone	0.097	0.774	0.093	0.787
Observations	4108	4108	3992	3992

Table 2. Working From Home and Overall Job Satisfaction
(Fixed Effects Regression Results)

Model no.	Working from home variable	Men		Women	
		Coefficient (robust SE)	Adjusted R-squared	Coefficient (robust SE)	Adjusted R-squared
1.	Any hours worked from home	0.064 (0.055)	0.413	0.234*** (0.056)	0.375
2.	50% or more of hours worked from home	0.081 (0.063)	0.413	0.272*** (0.063)	0.376
3.	Proportion of hours worked from home	0.057 (0.073)	0.412	0.271*** (0.072)	0.375
4.	Share of hours worked from home (ref. = 0)				
	1-19%	0.088 (0.070)	0.413	0.128 (0.082)	0.376
	20-39%	-0.099 (0.089)		0.210* (0.091)	
	40-59%	0.203 (0.119)		0.300** (0.118)	
	60-79%	0.205 (0.150)		0.640*** (0.152)	
	80-99%	0.127 (0.170)		0.360* (0.160)	
	100%	0.053 (0.078)		0.240** (0.076)	
5.	Proportion of hours worked from home	0.042 (0.329)	0.412	1.335*** (0.321)	0.377
	Proportion of hours worked from home squared	0.015 (0.322)		-1.074*** (0.316)	
Observations		8216		7984	

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. All models include controls for age, partnership status, the presence of a long-term health condition, level of education attainment, whether full-time student, employment type, job tenure, usual weekly hours of work, whether has more than one job, supervisory responsibilities, public sector employee, trade union membership, employer size, occupation, industry, location and state of residence, survey year, whether interviewed by telephone, and whether other adults were present during the interview. Complete results are reported in Appendix Tables A1 and A2.
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$.

Table 3. The Impact of Children on the Relationship Between Working From Home and Overall Job Satisfaction, Women (Fixed Effects Regression Results)

Share of hours worked from home (reference group = 0%)	*Without children*	*With children*
1-19%	0.049	0.196
	(0.129)	(0.115)
20-39%	0.128	0.223
	(0.155)	(0.122)
40-59%	0.175	0.198
	(0.187)	(0.162)
60-79%	0.366	0.883***
	(0.239)	(0.219)
80-99%	0.298	0.527*
	(0.262)	(0.222)
100%	0.310**	0.126
	(0.113)	(0.111)
Joint significance (*p*-values)	0.139	0.002
Adjusted R-squared	0.356	0.417
Observations	4200	3784

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Control variables are the same as in Table 2. Complete results are reported in Appendix Table A3.
*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

Table 4. Working From Home and Satisfaction with Job Domains, Women (Fixed Effects Regression Results)

Share of hours worked from home (reference group = 0%)	Pay		Job security		The work itself		Hours		Flexibility to balance work and non-work	
	Without children	*With children*	*Without children*	*With children*	*Without children*	*With children*	*Without children*	*With children*	*Without children*	*With children*
1-19%	-0.006	0.217	0.342*	0.088	0.136	0.090	-0.115	0.113	0.143	0.213
	(0.158)	(0.144)	(0.160)	(0.148)	(0.139)	(0.127)	(0.166)	(0.155)	(0.173)	(0.158)
20-39%	0.114	0.197	-0.002	0.218	0.169	0.033	-0.100	0.084	0.188	0.230
	(0.191)	(0.152)	(0.192)	(0.156)	(0.167)	(0.134)	(0.200)	(0.164)	(0.208)	(0.167)
40-59%	0.018	0.262	0.480*	0.120	0.227	0.361*	0.275	-0.267	0.419	0.333
	(0.229)	(0.202)	(0.231)	(0.207)	(0.201)	(0.178)	(0.240)	(0.218)	(0.251)	(0.221)
60-79%	0.233	0.327	0.004	0.620*	0.066	0.478*	-0.061	0.513	0.555	1.023***
	(0.292)	(0.274)	(0.296)	(0.282)	(0.257)	(0.242)	(0.310)	(0.296)	(0.321)	(0.300)
80-99%	-0.190	0.371	0.190	0.759**	0.090	0.285	-0.167	0.504	0.253	0.997**
	(0.320)	(0.277)	(0.324)	(0.285)	(0.281)	(0.245)	(0.337)	(0.299)	(0.351)	(0.304)
100%	0.211	0.027	0.055	0.266	0.139	0.033	0.098	-0.046	0.356*	0.462**
	(0.138)	(0.139)	(0.140)	(0.142)	(0.121)	(0.122)	(0.145)	(0.150)	(0.151)	(0.152)
Joint significance (*p*-values)	0.699	0.440	0.181	0.076	0.814	0.221	0.796	0.145	0.185	0.001
Adjusted R-squared	0.384	0.426	0.366	0.449	0.418	0.445	0.342	0.363	0.396	0.490
Observations	4193	3780	4198	3780	4196	3783	4198	3783	4195	3779

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Control variables are the same as in Table 2.
*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

Table 5. Robustness Checks: Working From Home and Overall Job Satisfaction, Women

Share of hours worked from home (reference group = 0)	Lockdown states (NSW + VIC) (1)	Other states (2)	WFH-intensive occupations (3)	Other occupations (4)	FE ordered logit (5)
1-19%	0.172	0.035	0.273	-0.021	0.241
	(0.109)	(0.128)	(0.151)	(0.104)	(0.154)
20-39%	0.333**	0.043	0.335*	0.162	0.361*
	(0.117)	(0.146)	(0.149)	(0.120)	(0.170)
40-59%	0.217	0.449*	0.298	0.128	0.530**
	(0.156)	(0.184)	(0.186)	(0.167)	(0.201)
60-79%	0.791***	0.535*	0.953***	0.414	1.096**
	(0.189)	(0.260)	(0.224)	(0.219)	(0.290
80-99%	0.286	0.600*	0.548*	-0.133	0.733**
	(0.192)	(0.293)	(0.234)	(0.246)	(0.397)
100%	0.188*	0.476**	0.098	0.249*	0.397**
	(0.088)	(0.171)	(0.137)	(0.111)	(0.140)
Joint significance (*p*-values)	<0.001	0.026	<0.001	0.107	<0.001
Adjusted R-squared	0.376	0.388	0.466	0.413	
Observations	4319	3665	1918	2031	5202

Notes: Models 1 to 4 report the estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors in parentheses) from linear fixed effects regression models of overall job satisfaction. Model 5 reports the coefficients from an ordered logit fixed-effects regression. The number of observations in Model 5 is smaller than in the linear fixed effect regression model in Table 2 (N=7984) because the fixed effects ordered logit regression drops observations with no variation in the dependent variable. Control variables are the same as in Table 2.
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$.

Appendix

Table A1. Working From Home and Job Satisfaction, Women
(Fixed Effects Regression Results

	Any hours from home (1)	Most hours from home (2)	WFH categories (3)	Proportion worked from home (4)	Proportion worked from home plus its square (5)
Working from home					
Any hours WFH	0.234***				
	(0.056)				
50% or more of hours WFH		0.272***			
		(0.063)			
Proportion of hours WFH				0.271***	1.335***
				(0.072)	(0.321)
Proportion of hours WFH squared					-1.074***
					(0.316)
Share of hours WFH (ref. = 0)					
1-19%			0.128		
			(0.082)		
20-39%			0.210*		
			(0.091)		
40-59%			0.300*		
			(0.118)		
60-79%			0.640***		
			(0.152)		
80-99%			0.360*		
			(0.160)		
100%			0.240**		
			(0.076)		
Year = 2021	0.009	0.004	0.003	0.004	0.001
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Age group (ref. = 35-44)					
15-24	-0.266	-0.276	-0.260	-0.272	-0.256
	(0.189)	(0.189)	(0.189)	(0.189)	(0.189)
25-34	-0.149	-0.158	-0.148	-0.154	-0.143
	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.125)
45-54	0.098	0.090	0.099	0.089	0.095
	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.129)
55-64	-0.047	-0.066	-0.049	-0.068	-0.055
	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)
65 or older	0.202	0.162	0.197	0.163	0.189
	(0.284)	(0.284)	(0.284)	(0.284)	(0.284)
Marital / partnership status (ref. = Single)					
Married	-0.080	-0.080	-0.095	-0.078	-0.087
	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.137)
Cohabiting	-0.017	-0.007	-0.023	-0.010	-0.020
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)
Age of youngest child (interacted with dependence) (ref. = No children)					
Aged 0 to 4 years	0.128	0.143	0.126	0.137	0.118
	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.127)	(0.127)
Aged 5 to 14 years	0.265	0.266	0.254	0.267	0.254

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.137)	(0.137)
Dependent child aged 15 to 24	0.119	0.113	0.116	0.116	0.116
	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.132)
Independent child	-0.125	-0.134	-0.122	-0.132	-0.126
	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)
Health status					
Has restrictive long-term health condition or disability	-0.083	-0.077	-0.078	-0.081	-0.081
	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.088)
Educational attainment (ref. = Year 11 and below)					
Year 12	-0.333	-0.328	-0.324	-0.330	-0.326
	(0.211)	(0.211)	(0.211)	(0.211)	(0.211)
Vocational qual. or diploma	-0.077	-0.064	-0.060	-0.066	-0.064
	(0.255)	(0.255)	(0.255)	(0.256)	(0.255)
Bachelor degree or higher	-0.195	-0.193	-0.180	-0.198	-0.189
	(0.304)	(0.304)	(0.303)	(0.304)	(0.303)
Full-time student	0.306**	0.303**	0.311**	0.303**	0.311**
	(0.114)	(0.114)	(0.114)	(0.114)	(0.114)
Employment type (ref. = Permanent employee)					
Fixed-term contract employee	0.039	0.032	0.042	0.034	0.040
	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.082)
Casual employee	0.023	0.020	0.025	0.020	0.020
	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.087)
Self-employed	0.198	0.206	0.188	0.207	0.184
	(0.140)	(0.140)	(0.140)	(0.140)	(0.140)
Other	0.957*	0.968*	0.940*	0.969*	0.927*
	(0.377)	(0.376)	(0.376)	(0.377)	(0.376)
Tenure with current employer (ref. = Less than 1 year)					
1 to <2 years	-0.042	-0.040	-0.044	-0.042	-0.044
	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.082)
2 to < 5 years	-0.252***	-0.250***	-0.253***	-0.251***	-0.253***
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)
5 to < 10 years	-0.439***	-0.443***	-0.442***	-0.443***	-0.443***
	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)
10 to < 20 years	-0.403***	-0.402***	-0.403***	-0.403***	-0.410***
	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)
20 or more years	-0.411**	-0.426**	-0.414**	-0.424**	-0.421**
	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.147)
Occupation (ref. = Labourers)					
Managers	0.140	0.147	0.156	0.144	0.146
	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.190)
Professionals	0.291	0.308	0.297	0.304	0.289
	(0.190)	(0.189)	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.189)
Technicians & trades workers	0.570*	0.573*	0.562*	0.572*	0.564*
	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)	(0.224)
Community & personal service	0.069	0.068	0.075	0.068	0.074
	(0.182)	(0.182)	(0.181)	(0.182)	(0.181)
Clerical & administrative workers	0.292	0.297	0.304	0.293	0.296
	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.191)	(0.191)
Sales workers	0.217	0.221	0.219	0.221	0.220
	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)
Machinery operators & drivers	0.219	0.216	0.215	0.219	0.226
	(0.300)	(0.300)	(0.300)	(0.300)	(0.300)
Other job characteristics					
Usual hours worked per week	0.020**	0.020**	0.020*	0.020*	0.020**
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)

Usual hours worked per week squared	-0.0003**	-0.0003**	-0.0003**	-0.0003**	-0.0003**
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Multiple job holder	0.036	0.036	0.036	0.035	0.041
	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.086)
Supervisor	-0.013	-0.005	-0.012	-0.008	-0.012
	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)
Trade union member	-0.217*	-0.211*	-0.206*	-0.213*	-0.207*
	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.095)	(0.095)
Public sector	0.085	0.089	0.088	0.089	0.087
	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.096)
Firm size (ref. = Small (0-19 employees))					
Medium (20-99 employees)	-0.145	-0.149	-0.149	-0.146	-0.147
	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.101)
Large (100-499 employees)	-0.0513	-0.060	-0.0588	-0.058	-0.058
	(0.108)	(0.107)	(0.108)	(0.108)	(0.107)
Very large (500 or more)	-0.212*	-0.221*	-0.214*	-0.221*	-0.213*
	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.098)
Firm size unknown	-0.068	-0.080	-0.070	-0.077	-0.070
	(0.122)	(0.122)	(0.122)	(0.122)	(0.122)
Industry (ref. = Professional, scientific & technical services)					
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	-0.087	-0.118	-0.079	-0.110	-0.092
	(0.367)	(0.368)	(0.367)	(0.368)	(0.367)
Mining	0.103	0.123	0.148	0.106	0.108
	(0.512)	(0.512)	(0.512)	(0.512)	(0.511)
Manufacturing	-0.051	-0.071	-0.042	-0.078	-0.065
	(0.217)	(0.216)	(0.217)	(0.217)	(0.216)
Electricity, gas, water & waste	0.511	0.566	0.519	0.551	0.487
	(0.443)	(0.442)	(0.443)	(0.442)	(0.442)
Construction	0.438	0.397	0.409	0.404	0.415
	(0.260)	(0.259)	(0.260)	(0.260)	(0.259)
Wholesale trade	-0.013	-0.018	-0.006	-0.023	-0.021
	(0.258)	(0.258)	(0.258)	(0.258)	(0.257)
Retail trade	0.172	0.155	0.170	0.155	0.162
	(0.184)	(0.184)	(0.184)	(0.184)	(0.184)
Accommodation & food services	-0.119	-0.134	-0.111	-0.140	-0.124
	(0.189)	(0.188)	(0.189)	(0.189)	(0.188)
Transport, postal & warehousing	0.081	0.055	0.074	0.059	0.068
	(0.264)	(0.264)	(0.264)	(0.264)	(0.264)
Information media, communication	0.149	0.140	0.191	0.131	0.170
	(0.365)	(0.365)	(0.365)	(0.365)	(0.365)
Financial & insurance services	0.099	0.064	0.0722	0.0728	0.073
	(0.234)	(0.234)	(0.234)	(0.234)	(0.234)
Rental, hiring, real estate services	0.076	0.089	0.063	0.090	0.082
	(0.331)	(0.331)	(0.331)	(0.331)	(0.331)
Administrative & support services	0.026	0.044	0.044	0.035	0.034
	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.204)
Public administration & safety	0.580**	0.587**	0.588**	0.579**	0.576**
	(0.196)	(0.196)	(0.196)	(0.196)	(0.196)
Education & training	0.216	0.237	0.210	0.230	0.206
	(0.189)	(0.189)	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.189)
Health care & social assistance	0.499**	0.500**	0.501**	0.494**	0.496**
	(0.164)	(0.164)	(0.164)	(0.164)	(0.164)
Arts & recreation services	0.733**	0.737**	0.742**	0.726**	0.719**
	(0.262)	(0.262)	(0.262)	(0.262)	(0.262)
Other services	0.173	0.143	0.195	0.142	0.178
	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.227)

Geographical location (ref. = Outer regional or remote)					
Major city	0.141	0.142	0.154	0.138	0.146
	(0.235)	(0.235)	(0.235)	(0.235)	(0.235)
Inner regional	0.110	0.104	0.120	0.103	0.111
	(0.223)	(0.223)	(0.223)	(0.223)	(0.223)
State (ref. = Victoria)					
New South Wale	0.137	0.133	0.124	0.138	0.138
	(0.316)	(0.316)	(0.316)	(0.316)	(0.316)
Queensland	0.188	0.184	0.181	0.186	0.193
	(0.322)	(0.322)	(0.322)	(0.322)	(0.322)
South Australia	-0.349	-0.346	-0.324	-0.350	-0.326
	(0.564)	(0.564)	(0.564)	(0.565)	(0.564)
Western Australia	-0.159	-0.150	-0.161	-0.134	-0.144
	(0.582)	(0.582)	(0.582)	(0.582)	(0.581)
Tasmania	-1.145	-1.170	-1.158	-1.170	-1.134
	(0.698)	(0.698)	(0.698)	(0.698)	(0.697)
Northern Territories	0.530	0.544	0.636	0.518	0.588
	(0.818)	(0.818)	(0.818)	(0.818)	(0.817)
Australian Capital Territory	-0.024	-0.024	-0.008	-0.035	-0.015
	(0.566)	(0.566)	(0.566)	(0.566)	(0.566)
Interview characteristics					
Other adults present during i'view	-0.063	-0.063	-0.063	-0.064	-0.065
	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.053)
Interviewed by phone	0.108	0.089	0.095	0.095	0.096
	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)	(0.058)
Constant	7.404***	7.430***	7.382***	7.438***	7.396***
	(0.443)	(0.443)	(0.443)	(0.443)	(0.443)
Adjusted R-squared	0.375	0.376	0.376	0.375	0.377
Observations	7984	7984	7984	7984	7984

Notes: WFH = Working from home.
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$.

Table A2. Working From Home and Job Satisfaction, Men (Fixed Effects Regression Results)

	Any hours from home (1)	*Most hours from home* (2)	*WFH categories* (3)	*Proportion worked from home* (4)	*Proportion worked from home plus its square* (5)
Working from home					
Any hours WFH	0.064				
	(0.055)				
50% or more of hours WFH		0.081			
		(0.063)			
% of hours WFH				0.057	0.042
				(0.073)	(0.329)
% of hours WFH squared					0.015
					(0.322)
Share of hours WFH (ref. = 0)					
1-19%			0.088		
			(0.070)		
20-39%			-0.099		
			(0.089)		
40-59%			0.203		
			(0.119)		
60-79%			0.205		
			(0.150)		
80-99%			0.127		
			(0.169)		
100%			0.053		
			(0.078)		
Year = 2021	0.129**	0.126**	0.127**	0.128**	0.128**
	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Age group (ref. = 35-44)					
15-24	-0.161	-0.167	-0.160	-0.168	-0.168
	(0.168)	(0.168)	(0.168)	(0.168)	(0.168)
25-34	-0.077	-0.078	-0.072	-0.080	-0.080
	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)
45-54	0.015	0.017	0.017	0.018	0.018
	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)
55-64	-0.127	-0.126	-0.121	-0.125	-0.125
	(0.184)	(0.184)	(0.184)	(0.184)	(0.184)
65 or older	-0.155	-0.153	-0.146	-0.154	-0.154
	(0.272)	(0.272)	(0.273)	(0.272)	(0.273)
Marital / partnering status (ref. = Single)					
Married	-0.085	-0.088	-0.084	-0.088	-0.088
	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.132)
Cohabiting	0.020	0.023	0.022	0.021	0.021
	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.097)
Age of youngest child (interacted with dependence) (ref. = No children)					
Aged 0 to 4 years	-0.132	-0.137	-0.143	-0.133	-0.133
	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)
Aged 5 to 14 years	0.110	0.104	0.102	0.108	0.108
	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.115)
Dependent child aged 15 to 24	0.108	0.101	0.092	0.104	0.104
	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)

Independent child	0.108	0.102	0.091	0.104	0.104
	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.128)
Health status					
Has restrictive long-term health condition or disability	-0.010	-0.009	-0.011	-0.009	-0.009
	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)
Educational attainment (ref. = Year 11 and below)					
Year 12	-0.301	-0.301	-0.306	-0.304	-0.304
	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.218)
Vocational qual. or diploma	0.127	0.128	0.127	0.123	0.123
	(0.265)	(0.265)	(0.266)	(0.266)	(0.266)
Bachelor degree or higher	-0.546	-0.543	-0.559	-0.546	-0.546
	(0.323)	(0.323)	(0.323)	(0.323)	(0.323)
Full-time student	0.168	0.167	0.161	0.167	0.167
	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.120)
Employment type (ref = Permanent employee)					
Fixed-term contract employee	-0.164	-0.161	-0.166	-0.162	-0.162
	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.085)
Casual employee	-0.080	-0.081	-0.081	-0.081	-0.081
	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)
Self-employed	0.045	0.059	0.046	0.057	0.057
	(0.109)	(0.108)	(0.109)	(0.108)	(0.108)
Other	0.225	0.228	0.212	0.232	0.233
	(0.375)	(0.375)	(0.375)	(0.375)	(0.375)
Tenure with current employer (ref = Less than 1 year)					
1 to <2 years	-0.160*	-0.160*	-0.158*	-0.159*	-0.159*
	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.076)
2 to < 5 years	-0.281***	-0.281***	-0.277***	-0.281***	-0.281***
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.056)
5 to < 10 years	-0.537***	-0.538***	-0.538***	-0.537***	-0.537***
	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.072)
10 to < 20 years	-0.603***	-0.605***	-0.610***	-0.604***	-0.604***
	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.092)
20 or more years	-0.752***	-0.753***	-0.759***	-0.751***	-0.751***
	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.129)
Occupation (ref. = Labourers)					
Managers	0.091	0.095	0.093	0.096	0.096
	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)
Professionals	0.081	0.085	0.091	0.085	0.085
	(0.134)	(0.134)	(0.134)	(0.134)	(0.134)
Technicians & trades workers	0.030	0.030	0.024	0.031	0.031
	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.118)
Community & personal service	0.451**	0.451**	0.445**	0.451**	0.451**
	(0.166)	(0.166)	(0.166)	(0.166)	(0.166)
Clerical & administrative workers	0.074	0.078	0.069	0.077	0.078
	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.152)
Sales workers	0.146	0.145	0.142	0.146	0.146
	(0.149)	(0.149)	(0.149)	(0.149)	(0.149)
Machinery operators & drivers	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.022	0.022
	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)	(0.126)
Other job characteristics					
Usual hours worked per week	0.016*	0.016*	0.016*	0.016*	0.016*
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Usual hours worked per week (squared)	-0.0002*	-0.0002*	-0.0002*	-0.0002*	-0.0002*
	(0.00007)	(0.00007)	(0.00007)	(0.00007)	(0.00007)
Multiple job holder	-0.021	-0.023	-0.023	-0.022	-0.022

	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.089)
Supervisor	-0.091	-0.090	-0.092	-0.091	-0.091
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Trade union member	-0.061	-0.061	-0.062	-0.062	-0.062
	(0.094)	(0.094)	(0.094)	(0.094)	(0.094)
Public sector	0.116	0.113	0.117	0.113	0.113
	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.117)
Firm size (ref. = Small (0-19 employees))					
Medium (20-99 employees)	-0.005	-0.007	-0.010	-0.006	-0.006
	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.084)
Large (100-499 employees)	-0.029	-0.032	-0.031	-0.031	-0.031
	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.098)	(0.098)
Very large (500 or more)	0.099	0.097	0.096	0.098	0.098
	(0.091)	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.091)
Firm size unknown	0.094	0.093	0.084	0.093	0.093
	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.124)
Industry (ref. = Professional, scientific & technical services)					
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	-0.615*	-0.619*	-0.621*	-0.619*	-0.619*
	(0.260)	(0.261)	(0.261)	(0.261)	(0.261)
Mining	-0.067	-0.064	-0.068	-0.068	-0.068
	(0.212)	(0.212)	(0.212)	(0.212)	(0.212)
Manufacturing	-0.389*	-0.387*	-0.387*	-0.389*	-0.389*
	(0.157)	(0.157)	(0.157)	(0.157)	(0.157)
Electricity, gas, water & waste	-0.379	-0.374	-0.375	-0.376	-0.376
	(0.278)	(0.278)	(0.278)	(0.278)	(0.278)
Construction	-0.444**	-0.442**	-0.444**	-0.445**	-0.445**
	(0.155)	(0.155)	(0.155)	(0.155)	(0.155)
Wholesale trade	-0.488**	-0.485**	-0.488**	-0.486**	-0.486**
	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.181)
Retail trade	-0.707***	-0.710***	-0.711***	-0.711***	-0.711***
	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.174)
Accommodation & food services	-1.280***	-1.281***	-1.289***	-1.283***	-1.283***
	(0.209)	(0.209)	(0.209)	(0.209)	(0.209)
Transport, postal & warehousing	-0.562**	-0.562**	-0.565**	-0.563**	-0.563**
	(0.180)	(0.180)	(0.180)	(0.180)	(0.180)
Information media, communication	0.419	0.424	0.428	0.418	0.418
	(0.268)	(0.268)	(0.268)	(0.268)	(0.268)
Financial & insurance services	-0.171	-0.175	-0.173	-0.173	-0.173
	(0.226)	(0.226)	(0.226)	(0.226)	(0.226)
Rental, hiring, real estate services	-0.286	-0.284	-0.292	-0.287	-0.287
	(0.285)	(0.285)	(0.285)	(0.285)	(0.285)
Administrative & support services	-0.254	-0.250	-0.258	-0.252	-0.252
	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.192)
Public administration & safety	-0.416*	-0.413*	-0.416*	-0.416*	-0.416*
	(0.173)	(0.173)	(0.173)	(0.173)	(0.173)
Education & training	-0.201	-0.192	-0.191	-0.196	-0.196
	(0.205)	(0.205)	(0.205)	(0.205)	(0.205)
Health care & social assistance	-0.365	-0.363	-0.368	-0.365	-0.365
	(0.206)	(0.207)	(0.207)	(0.207)	(0.207)
Arts & recreation services	-0.177	-0.172	-0.190	-0.175	-0.174
	(0.225)	(0.225)	(0.226)	(0.225)	(0.226)
Other services	-0.658***	-0.659***	-0.670***	-0.658***	-0.658***
	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.194)
Geographical location (ref. = Outer regional or remote)					
Major city	0.002	-0.001	-0.007	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.218)	(0.218)
Inner regional	-0.079	-0.082	-0.090	-0.080	-0.080

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	(0.214)	(0.214)	(0.214)	(0.214)	(0.214)
State (ref. group = Victoria)					
New South Wales	-0.655*	-0.652*	-0.667*	-0.651*	-0.651*
	(0.307)	(0.307)	(0.307)	(0.307)	(0.307)
Queensland	-0.523	-0.528	-0.534	-0.524	-0.525
	(0.316)	(0.316)	(0.316)	(0.316)	(0.316)
South Australia	-1.082*	-1.082*	-1.076*	-1.084*	-1.084*
	(0.475)	(0.475)	(0.475)	(0.475)	(0.475)
Western Australia	-0.902	-0.895	-0.922	-0.894	-0.894
	(0.507)	(0.507)	(0.507)	(0.507)	(0.507)
Tasmania	-0.453	-0.445	-0.483	-0.450	-0.450
	(0.557)	(0.557)	(0.557)	(0.557)	(0.558)
Northern Territories	-1.007	-1.008	-1.041	-1.005	-1.005
	(0.539)	(0.539)	(0.539)	(0.539)	(0.539)
Australian Capital Territory	-0.500	-0.493	-0.535	-0.492	-0.492
	(0.398)	(0.398)	(0.398)	(0.398)	(0.398)
Interview characteristics					
Other adults present during i'view	0.007	0.007	0.005	0.007	0.007
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Interviewed by phone	0.007	0.003	0.003	0.006	0.006
	(0.051)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)
Constant	8.896***	8.902***	8.931***	8.905***	8.906***
	(0.412)	(0.412)	(0.412)	(0.412)	(0.412)
Adjusted R-squared	0.413	0.413	0.413	0.412	0.412
Observations	8216	8216	8216	8216	8216

Notes: WFH = Working from home.
*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

Table A3. The Impact of Children on the Relationship Between Working From Home and Job Satisfaction, Women (Fixed Effects Regression Results)

	Without children	With children
Share of hours working from home (ref. = 0)		
1-19%	0.047	0.203
	(0.129)	(0.115)
20-39%	0.130	0.230
	(0.155)	(0.122)
40-59%	0.180	0.191
	(0.187)	(0.161)
60-79%	0.366	0.892***
	(0.239)	(0.219)
80-99%	0.294	0.528*
	(0.262)	(0.222)
100%	0.316**	0.130
	(0.113)	(0.111)
Year = 2021	0.010	-0.088
	(0.076)	(0.074)
Age group (ref. = 35-44)		
15-24	0.121	-1.113*
	(0.279)	(0.512)
25-34	0.231	-0.358*
	(0.225)	(0.155)
45-54	-0.250	0.256
	(0.309)	(0.148)
55-64	-0.426	0.170
	(0.378)	(0.270)
65 or older	-0.251	1.002
	(0.455)	(0.566)
Marital / partnering status (ref. = Single)		
Married	0.103	-0.191
	(0.197)	(0.216)
Cohabiting	0.038	0.120
	(0.132)	(0.222)
Health status		
Has restrictive long-term health condition or disability	-0.007	-0.142
	(0.119)	(0.146)
Educational attainment (ref. = Year 11 and below)		
Year 12	-0.217	-1.083
	(0.231)	(1.002)
Vocational qualification or diploma	-0.0321	0.302
	(0.296)	(0.829)
Bachelor degree and higher	-0.280	0.960
	(0.351)	(0.955)
Full-time student	0.356*	-0.038
	(0.140)	(0.243)
Employment type (ref. = Permanent employee)		
Fixed-term contract employee	0.023	0.076
	(0.114)	(0.130)
Casual employee	0.088	0.067
	(0.124)	(0.134)
Self-employed	0.0470	0.235
	(0.202)	(0.215)
Others	0.470	0.781
	(0.678)	(0.484)

Tenure with current employer (ref. = Less than 1 year)		
1 to <2 years	-0.109	0.023
	(0.111)	(0.136)
2 to < 5 years	-0.301***	-0.147
	(0.082)	(0.094)
5 to < 10 years	-0.473***	-0.339**
	(0.120)	(0.115)
10 to < 20 years	-0.382*	-0.315*
	(0.171)	(0.139)
20 or more years	-0.437	-0.208
	(0.240)	(0.202)
Occupation (ref. = Labourers)		
Managers	0.369	-0.316
	(0.264)	(0.301)
Professionals	0.538*	-0.122
	(0.264)	(0.300)
Technicians & trades workers	0.925**	0.085
	(0.300)	(0.374)
Community & personal service workers	0.298	-0.296
	(0.246)	(0.290)
Clerical & administrative workers	0.467	-0.049
	(0.263)	(0.305)
Sales workers	0.445	-0.436
	(0.254)	(0.345)
Machinery operators & drivers	0.089	-0.210
	(0.424)	(0.531)
Other job characteristics		
Usual hours worked per week in all jobs	0.007	0.043***
	(0.011)	(0.012)
Usual hours worked per week in all jobs (squared)	-0.0001	-0.0005**
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Multiple job holder	-0.008	0.241
	(0.120)	(0.137)
Normally supervise work of other employees	-0.101	0.027
	(0.080)	(0.083)
Trade union member	-0.349*	-0.038
	(0.140)	(0.144)
Public sector	0.153	-0.022
	(0.141)	(0.146)
Firm size (ref. = Small (0-19 employees))		
Medium (20-99 employees)	-0.117	-0.213
	(0.139)	(0.165)
Large (100-499 employees)	0.034	-0.244
	(0.149)	(0.179)
Very large (500 or more)	-0.194	-0.307
	(0.135)	(0.160)
Firm size unknown	-0.200	-0.035
	(0.169)	(0.197)
Industry (ref. = Professional, scientific & technical services)		
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	-0.324	0.217
	(0.523)	(0.557)
Mining	0.760	-0.771
	(0.662)	(0.965)
Manufacturing	0.611	-0.459
	(0.328)	(0.316)
Electricity, gas, water & waste services	0.016	1.293
	(0.581)	(0.711)
Construction	0.823*	-0.193
	(0.399)	(0.375)

Wholesale trade	0.345	-0.195
	(0.377)	(0.393)
Retail trade	0.325	0.110
	(0.248)	(0.312)
Accommodation & food services	0.033	-0.336
	(0.250)	(0.337)
Transport, postal & warehousing	0.530	-0.447
	(0.378)	(0.421)
Information media & telecommunications	-0.568	-0.129
	(0.580)	(0.529)
Financial & insurance services	0.023	-0.134
	(0.356)	(0.331)
Rental, hiring & real estate services	0.443	-0.248
	(0.490)	(0.503)
Administrative & support services	0.432	-0.354
	(0.288)	(0.333)
Public administration & safety	0.561*	0.711*
	(0.266)	(0.311)
Education & training	0.240	0.259
	(0.279)	(0.282)
Health care & social assistance	0.570*	0.471
	(0.235)	(0.252)
Arts & recreation services	0.775*	0.622
	(0.338)	(0.453)
Other services	0.290	0.120
	(0.311)	(0.370)
Geographical location (ref. = Outer regional or remote)		
Major city	0.335	-0.392
	(0.318)	(0.480)
Inner regional	0.062	0.204
	(0.307)	(0.417)
State (ref. = Victoria)		
New South Wales	0.369	0.276
	(0.383)	(0.720)
Queensland	0.488	0.255
	(0.403)	(0.675)
South Australia	-0.151	-1.420
	(0.674)	(1.642)
Western Australia	-0.159	2.306
	(0.625)	(1.722)
Tasmania	-0.609	
	(0.777)	
Northern Territories	-0.125	1.769
	(1.034)	(1.686)
Australian Capital Territory	-0.162	0.878
	(0.763)	(1.055)
Interview characteristics		
Other adults present during interview	-0.079	-0.076
	(0.079)	(0.078)
Interviewed by phone	0.082	0.159
	(0.086)	(0.087)
Constant	7.069***	6.911***
	(0.586)	(1.054)
Adjusted R-squared	0.356	0.417
Observations	4200	3784

Notes: *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$.

Table A4. Working From Home and Satisfaction with Job Domains, Men (Fixed Effects Regression Results)

Share of hours worked from home (ref. = 0%)	Pay		Job security		The work itself		Hours		Flexibility to balance work and non-work	
	Without children	*With children*	*Without children*	*With children*	*Without children*	*With children*	*Without children*	*With children*	*Without children*	*With children*
1-19%	-0.196	0.220	-0.280*	0.272*	-0.025	0.277**	-0.195	0.231	-0.214	0.328*
	(0.146)	(0.115)	(0.141)	(0.117)	(0.130)	(0.102)	(0.152)	(0.121)	(0.156)	(0.132)
20-39%	-0.009	-0.060	-0.001	0.010	-0.020	0.085	-0.195	0.166	-0.087	0.219
	(0.182)	(0.150)	(0.175)	(0.153)	(0.162)	(0.133)	(0.189)	(0.158)	(0.195)	(0.174)
40-59%	0.042	0.320	-0.195	-0.020	0.136	0.122	0.068	0.159	0.147	0.079
	(0.235)	(0.203)	(0.226)	(0.207)	(0.209)	(0.180)	(0.244)	(0.213)	(0.252)	(0.234)
60-79%	-0.049	0.141	-0.226	0.226	0.015	0.112	0.123	0.248	0.162	0.655*
	(0.318)	(0.263)	(0.306)	(0.268)	(0.283)	(0.232)	(0.331)	(0.275)	(0.341)	(0.303)
80-99%	0.038	0.340	-0.419	-0.049	-0.120	0.262	-0.085	0.071	0.231	0.220
	(0.354)	(0.311)	(0.341)	(0.318)	(0.319)	(0.275)	(0.368)	(0.326)	(0.379)	(0.358)
100%	0.044	-0.037	-0.069	0.144	0.134	0.008	-0.161	0.139	-0.010	0.220
	(0.143)	(0.143)	(0.138)	(0.146)	(0.127)	(0.126)	(0.149)	(0.150)	(0.153)	(0.165)
Joint significance (*p*-values)	0.865	0.209	0.421	0.292	0.904	0.193	0.747	0.642	0.735	0.125
Adjusted R-squared	0.418	0.423	0.457	0.499	0.430	0.458	0.375	0.462	0.465	0.521
Observations	4350	3860	4353	3859	4353	3861	4352	3861	4353	3857

Notes: This table reports the estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors in parentheses) from linear fixed effects regression models of satisfaction with five different job domains. Control variables are the same as in Table 2.
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$.

Table A5. Robustness Checks: Working From Home and Job Satisfaction, Men

Share of hours worked from home (ref. = 0)	Lockdown states (NSW + VIC) (1)	Other states (2)	WFH-intensive occupations (3)	Other occupations (4)	FE ordered logit (5)
1-19%	0.028	0.105	-0.044	0.128	0.156
	(0.099)	(0.100)	(0.127)	(0.093)	(0.140)
20-39%	-0.136	-0.095	-0.122	-0.071	-0.277
	(0.123)	(0.127)	(0.133)	(0.135)	(0.179)
40-59%	0.191	0.188	0.058	0.300	0.436
	(0.160)	(0.178)	(0.174)	(0.187)	(0.232)
60-79%	0.083	0.390	0.192	0.115	0.572
	(0.195)	(0.242)	(0.230)	(0.228)	(0.304)
80-99%	0.123	0.022	0.100	-0.201	0.326
	(0.222)	(0.276)	(0.247)	(0.282)	(0.334)
100%	-0.016	0.248	0.028	0.234	0.125
	(0.095)	(0.161)	(0.124)	(0.152)	(0.160)
Joint significance (*p*-values)	0.670	0.242	0.874	0.204	0.037
Adjusted R-squared	0.418	0.442	0.428	0.416	
Observations	4462	3754	2031	6088	5022

Notes: Models 1 to 4 report the estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors in parentheses) from linear fixed effects regression models of job satisfaction. Model 5 reports the coefficients from an ordered logit fixed-effects regression. The number of observations in Model 5 are smaller than in the linear fixed effect regression model in Table 2 (N=8216) because the fixed effects ordered logit regression drops observations with no variation in the dependent variable, whereas the linear fixed effects regression does not. Control variables are the same as in Table 2.
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$.