The Changing Nature of Work: What can we learn from Time Use Diaries?*

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Abstract

The shift to remote work has reshaped the nature of work, persisting well beyond the immediate effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. While much research has focused on its short-term consequences, less is known about why workers continue to prefer remote arrangements and how this impacts time use, productivity, and well-being. Using data from the Centre for Time Use Research and the UK's Office for National Statistics (ONS) spanning 2016–2024, this study examines changes in total working time and time spent working from home, the emergence of a new equilibrium in work patterns, and the factors driving the sustained prevalence of remote work. Our findings reveal that remote workers generally allocate commuting time savings to additional work rather than leisure and report lower enjoyment across daily activities compared to office workers. Additionally, perceived productivity in remote settings is slightly lower, suggesting that preferences for home-based work are largely driven by commuting avoidance rather than efficiency gains. These insights contribute to ongoing debates on the future of work, highlighting implications for employers designing hybrid policies and policymakers addressing commuting inefficiencies and work-related costs.

Keywords: working from home, instantaneous enjoyment, productivity, time use diaries.

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1. Introduction

The rise of remote work has fundamentally reshaped labour markets and daily life, particularly in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. What initially emerged as a temporary response to global health restrictions has now solidified into a long-term shift in how work is structured for employees and employers (Aksoy et al, 2022; Hansen et al, 2023; Buckman et al, 2025). This transformation has significant implications for workers, employers, and policymakers, as it affects productivity, commuting behaviours, work-life balance, and economic efficiency (see Lee, 2023, for a review). While remote work has been extensively discussed in relation to short-term pandemic effects, its sustained presence and the motivations behind workers' preferences warrant further investigation.

A major area of interest is understanding why workers continue to choose remote work, even in cases where it may involve trade-offs such as reduced wages (Barrero et al, 2021; Nagler et al, 2022) and wage growth (Barrero et al, 2022). The ability to work from home is often associated with greater flexibility, reduced commuting time, and potential cost savings (Aksoy et al, 2023). However, the broader impact of remote work on time use, well-being, and productivity a few years after the pandemic remains an open question. Existing studies have explored some aspects of these issues for the US and UK, in particular up to one to two years after the social restrictions imposed to limit the COVID-19 contagion (Restrepo and Zeballos, 2022; Pabilonia and Vernon, 2022; Giménez-Nadal et al, 2024; Cowan, 2024), but new data allow for a deeper understanding of the underlying motivations that drive workers to prefer remote arrangements in the new work landscape.

This study examines three key research questions. First, we ask how time in work has changed between 2016, the time of the COVID-19 pandemic, and three years after the pandemic. Specifically, we investigate whether total time in work and time spent working from home—based on co-presence, location and device usage—has changed over time, particularly between 2016 and 2023, once social restrictions were lifted and the "new normal" of increased remote working settled. Second, we explore the more recent trend in total working time and time working from home to understand whether a new equilibrium has been reached. Third, we study why remote working remains more prevalent than in 2019 by asking whether remote workers are more likely to multitask, spend more time on activities they value more, and enjoy their time in work and in other activities more than their counterparts in the workplace. Finally, we assess whether workers believe they are more productive in remote settings compared to office environments.

To address these questions, we analyse two sets of data from time use survey diaries collected by the Centre for Time Use Research and the UK's Office for National Statistics (ONS) between 2016 and 2024, offering a comprehensive view of evolving work behaviours. These datasets allow us to compare work patterns across different time periods and examine how individuals allocate time to various activities when working remotely versus in an office, their enjoyment, and their self-perceived productivity. By leveraging these extensive datasets, we provide empirical insights into the factors that contribute to workers' decisions to continue working remotely.

Our findings reveal several important trends. First, remote work has remained a stable feature of the labour market beyond the immediate effects of the pandemic. Many workers continue to work from home despite the relaxation of restrictions, and this shift is accompanied by an increasing reliance on digital tools and home office setups. Second, our analysis challenges the assumption that remote work inherently leads to more multitasking, leisure, or unpaid work, and that it enhances enjoyment. We find that remote workers use the time saved from commuting to do more work and generally report lower enjoyment across most daily activities compared to those working in an office. Third, workers' perceived productivity is marginally lower with remote work, suggesting that the choice to work from home may not be primarily driven by efficiency gains. These results suggest that the avoidance of commuting and its associated financial and time costs may play a central role in remote work preferences.

These insights contribute to the ongoing literature about the future of work by offering a data-driven perspective on how workers allocate time and what motivates their choices. The study highlights the need for employers to carefully evaluate the benefits and challenges of remote work policies, particularly when designing hybrid work models. For policymakers, our findings emphasise the importance of addressing commuting inefficiencies and work-related expenses, which appear to be the drivers in the decision to work from home.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 sets out the UK context. Section 3 presents the data and the analysis. The main results are given in Section 4. Finally, the findings are discussed, and conclusions are presented in Section 5.

2. UK Context

The COVID-19 pandemic triggered an unprecedented disruption to the UK labour market, reshaping working patterns through strict public health measures and government intervention. The UK

experienced three national 'strict' lockdowns—March to July 2020, November 2020, and January to March 2021—that forced many workers to operate remotely while the Coronavirus Job Retention Scheme (furlough) sustained employment for those unable to work from home. These measures, while essential in mitigating economic collapse and reducing contagion, introduced profound shifts in work organisation, the effects of which continue to shape the post-pandemic landscape of work arrangements.

The most significant shift was the widespread adoption of remote working. Figure 1 shows the proportion of respondents in work who reported working mainly or partly from home in the Annual Population Survey (APS), broken down by gender, highest qualification, health status, and age. The proportion of all workers working mainly or partly from home rose from 8% in 2019 to 30% in 2022 and remained stable after that.[1] This reported increase is compared to the predicted proportion based on probit estimates for the period 2012–2019. Notably, this shift led to a gender convergence in remote work, with women, who were less likely to work from home before 2020, experiencing a sharper rise compared to men (top left panel). It was primarily driven by graduate workers (top right panel) rather than older workers (bottom right panel) or those with pre-existing health conditions (bottom left panel). The likelihood of transitioning to remote work was higher for those with a college degree, as observed by Barrero et al. (2023) for the US and for other countries, reflecting occupational differences between knowledge-based roles and jobs requiring physical presence.

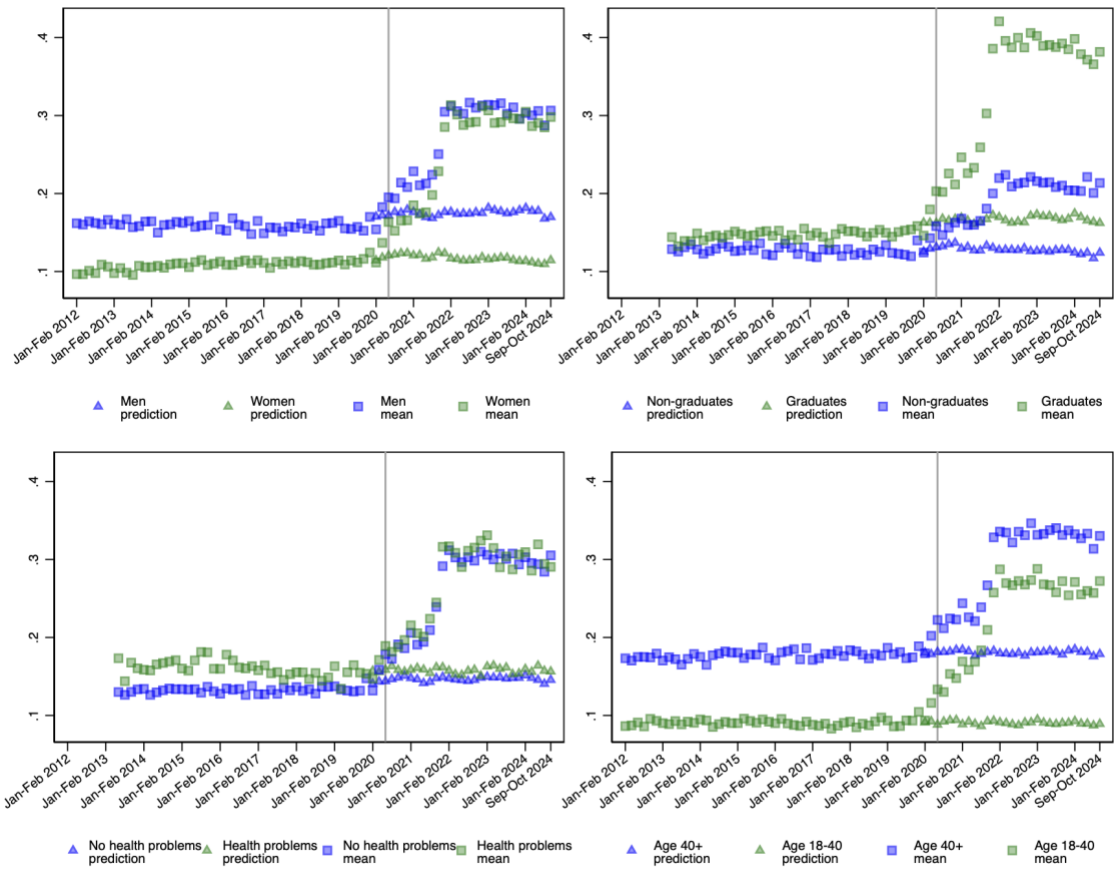
Figures A1 and A2 in Appendix A show that the increase in remote work was largely concentrated among workers in professional, managerial, associate professional, and administrative roles (SOC codes 1 to 5). It was also more prevalent in London and South East England, where these jobs are primarily located. Transport data further corroborates this shift, with a decline in weekday commuters—particularly train, underground, and, to a lesser extent, bus passengers—between 2019 and 2023 (Figures A4 and A5, Appendix A). Moreover, comparing observed patterns with pre-pandemic predictions confirms that this shift was a structural break rather than a mere acceleration of existing trends.[2]

While survey data provide valuable insights into shifting work patterns, a deeper understanding requires examining how individuals allocated their time before, during, and after the pandemic.

[1] As reported in Aksoy et al (2022) The UK was one of the countries with the highest number of paid planned and desired full days working from home at the end of 2021 and beginning of 2022.
[2] Figure A3 in Appendix A shows the proportion of APS respondents who report working only from their own home. The gaps in this proportion across socio-demographic groups are small or non-existent before 2019. After the COVID-19 pandemic this proportion shifted from .5 to .20, mostly driven by graduate workers.

Surveys capture broad trends in remote work adoption and working hours but fail to reveal the nuances of how work was structured within daily routines or the extent to which professional, domestic, and leisure activities overlapped or changed in their time allocation and their enjoyment—factors that could have implications for productivity, worker well-being and their preferences. To address this gap, we turn to time-use data, which offer granular insights into how work is integrated with other activities. This approach allows us to assess not only changes in total working hours and time allocated to other activities but also shifts in work location, co-presence of family members and multitasking. New time use data are also a tool to capture the enjoyment of workers for different activities and their self-reported productivity for each spell of work. Continuous time-use diaries are widely regarded as the best tools for tracking behavioural changes, as they minimize recall bias and are less influenced by social desirability bias compared to survey questions (Gershuny et al., 2019; Sullivan et al., 2021).

Figure 1: Proportion working mainly or partly from home and predictions–by gender, college degree, health status and age



Notes. The figure shows the bi-monthly proportion (square markers) of respondents working mainly or partly from home (WFH) and the prediction out of sample (triangle markers) for the period January 2020 – September/October 2024 based on APS data. The binary variable WFH is one when respondents report working from their own home, from the same grounds or building or different places with home as a base. Predicted proportion of WFH for the years 2020 - 2024 was obtained by first estimating, separately by sub-sample, a probit for the reported working from home on age, highest qualification, economic activity,

occupations, region of residence, marital or cohabiting status, a time trend, a squared and cubic time trend and month dummies for the years 2012-2019 and then averaging the out-of sample individual predictions by sub-sample and time. Predictions and means are obtained using the individual weights provided in the APS.

3. Data and method

This study utilises two sets of nationally representative data from the United Kingdom, collected with time use diary surveys prior to, during and after the COVID-19 pandemic. The first set, collected with the Click-and-Drag Diary Instrument (CaDDI), was gathered in 2016 and then again seven times from May 2020. Due to the absence of real-time representative data, researchers have relied on commercial survey panels to assess the impacts of the pandemic, given their ability to collect rapid responses (e.g., Adams-Prassl et al., 2020; Andrew et al., 2020). The respondents for CaDDI were drawn from the Dynata agency's large market research panel, with participants selected based on quotas for age, gender, socioeconomic status, and region to ensure representativeness relative to the UK population in 2016.[3] Respondents voluntarily participated in surveys conducted across seven cross-sectional waves: May and October 2016 (to control for seasonal effects); May–June 2020, during the UK's first lockdown; August 2020, a period of relaxed restrictions; November 2020 and January 2021, corresponding to the second and third national lockdowns; August–September 2021, when most restrictions had been lifted, and March 2023. By tracking individuals' daily activities over time, CaDDI provides valuable insights into shifts in work patterns and location of work and copresence. While this survey includes a relatively small number of diaries, it offers a unique perspective on these changes by capturing detailed information on time use across the pre-pandemic period, the height of lockdowns, and the post-pandemic recovery.

Respondents were asked to fill in online time-use diaries, which provide detailed records of participants' daily activities, their locations, co-presence, instantaneous enjoyment and device use, over a 24-hour period, for at least two days: a weekday and a weekend day. Activities were collected using a predefined list of 36 activity codes.[4] A picture of the online tool used to collect time use diaries is provided in figure B1, Appendix B. CaDDI time use diaries are then integrated with an individual survey that collects socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the respondents as well as information on satisfaction on different aspects of life.

[3] The seventh wave of time use data was collected by drawing respondents from the NatCen Opinion Panel and with a slightly different tool called Extended Light Digital Diary Instrument (ELiDDI).
[4] For the seventh wave the list was extended to include over 100 activities.

The final sample of CaDDI data used in the descriptive analysis consists of 3,731 individuals in employment at the time of the data collection, with a total of 4297 completed diary entries recorded during weekdays. Appendix B (Table B1) presents the main demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the sample of respondents in employment. A comparison of sample characteristics across waves indicates that the respondent pool is balanced in terms of gender, with half identifying as female. Between 30% to 35% are not in a partnership, with the exception of the last wave of data, where the proportion of singles was lower (23%). The proportion of the respondents that resides with at least one child under 16 years old varies between 39% to 60% across waves. Around half of respondents hold a post-secondary qualification. Respondents in 2016, September 2021 and March 2023 were, on average, older than those in other waves. Additionally, comparing the 2016 CaDDI sample with the UK's 2016 APS reveals that CaDDI respondents in employment tend to be more likely to hold post-secondary qualifications, but otherwise exhibit similar demographic characteristics (Appendix B, Table B2). To account for these differences, the analysis applies weights to align the joint distribution of education, age, and gender with that of the working age population in the APS 2016.

In this study we will focus on multiple measures of time in paid work recorded over the seven waves of the CaDDI data: total time in paid work, time and work at home, time in work with co-presence of household members and time in secondary activities recorded while the main activity is paid work. Additional measures of time considered are total time in work while using computers and smartphones and by location. Descriptive statistics for these measures are presented in table B3 Appendix B. Table B4 instead compares the mean of diary time spent in work, work from home and work with the co-presence of household members in CaDDI 2016 and in the UK Time Use Survey (UKTUS) 2014–15, a nationally representative dataset on time allocation. Both datasets show similar means, with the primary difference being a higher reported allocation of time at home while working in the CaDDI data. This difference may be driven by the distinct design and data collection method of the UKTUS survey that also presents a bigger proportion of missing time compared to CaDDI data.

The second dataset utilised in this study, the OTUS data, was developed by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). OTUS was designed to enhance the measurement of unpaid household production and caregiving, offering a more comprehensive understanding of their economic contributions. The survey collects nationally representative data on UK adults aged 18 and over, drawing respondents from the NatCen Opinion Panel. Data collection took place across eight waves between 2020 and 2024. The first three waves were conducted in March–April 2020 during the first COVID-19 lockdown,

September–October 2020 as most restrictions were lifted, and March 2021 amid the vaccine rollout. From wave 3 onward, time-use data collection followed a more regular pattern, with subsequent waves in March 2022, November 2022, March 2023, September–October 2023 and March 2024. The most recent wave was collected in March 2025 however it is not included in this study. Participants completed two diary days—one on a weekday and one on a weekend. Activities were recorded using a predefined list of 72 activity codes. Primary activities were reported in 10-minute intervals, while up to five secondary activities were captured in five-minute intervals. Copresence and location for each activity are not recorded however respondents are asked to select different activity codes for work from home and work from the workplace. A follow up question appearing in a pop-up window after each activity collects information about instantaneous enjoyment over a 24-hours period. A picture of the online instrument used by the ONS to collect time use diaries is provided in figure B2, Appendix B. In March 2024 the ONS introduced an experimental follow-up question on self-perceived productivity that was asked every time respondents selected a spell of paid work. The question asked was "During this time, roughly how productive were you?" and the possible choices were "1 = 100% productive; 2 = 90-99% productive; 3 = 80-89% productive; 4 = 70-79% productive; 5 = Less than 70% productive" as shown in Figure B3, Appendix B.

The final OTUS sample used in this analysis includes 8,406 weekday diaries collected between April 2020 and March 2024. Appendix C (Table C1) presents the main demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the sample. A comparison across waves indicates that the respondent pool remains balanced; however, women and individuals with a college degree are overrepresented compared to national averages. To account for these differences, we apply sample weights provided by the ONS.

We use OTUS data to construct measures of time spent working, allowing us to examine how work patterns evolved during the pandemic, across lockdown periods, and in the post-pandemic "new normal." Specifically, we focus on total working time, time spent working from home, enjoyment of work, and engagement in secondary activities while working. Additionally, we include an experimental question introduced in March 2024 on self-perceived productivity to explore its relationship with remote work. Table C2 in Appendix C provides descriptive statistics for time-use measures from OTUS diaries of employed respondents. Lastly, Appendix C (Figures C1 and C2) presents the distributions of self-reported productivity and work enjoyment.

This study includes two components: an analysis of how work patterns evolved during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, with particular focus on the implications of the widespread shift to remote working; an investigation of how remote working is associated with patterns of time use across

different activities, instantaneous enjoyment and self-reported productivity. Using CaDDI data, we analyse changes in total working time, work location, co-presence and device use between 2016 and subsequent periods including periods of national lockdowns, softer social restrictions and two post-pandemic times. To assess both the immediate impact of COVID-19 policy responses and their lasting effects after social restrictions were lifted, we employ an event-study design comparing time use patterns between our 2016 baseline and various pandemic phases characterised by different levels of social restrictions in the United Kingdom. Our event-study approach is formalised in the following specification:

$$Time_i = \alpha_0 + \delta W_i + \alpha_1^M May20_i + \alpha_2^M Aug20_i + \alpha_3^M Nov20_i + \alpha_4^M Jan21_i + \alpha_5^M Sep21_i + \\ + \alpha_1^W May20_i * W_i + \alpha_2^W Aug20_i * W_i + \alpha_3^W Nov20_i * W_i + \alpha_4^W Jan21_i * W_i + \\ + \alpha_5^W Sep21_i * W_i + \alpha_6^W Mar23_i * W_i + X_i\boldsymbol{\gamma} + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

Where the dependent variable $Time_i$ represents the reported measures of time for individual *i* and $May20_i, Aug20_i, Nov20_i, Jan21_i$ and $Mar23_i$ are binary indicators for each period of the pandemic covered by our data. X_i includes economic and sociodemographic characteristics and indicators for region of residence. W_i is a dummy taking value 1 if the respondent is a woman and 0 otherwise. Finally, ε_i is an idiosyncratic error term.

Our coefficients of interest are α_k^g (where $k = 1,..6$ and $g = M, W$) as they capture changes in time use as a response to the pandemic and beyond.[5] We complement this analysis with OTUS time use diary data to examine work pattern changes between the pandemic period (April 2020 through March 2022, spanning the first through third lockdowns) and the post-pandemic phase. Using November 2022 as our baseline, we apply an event-study specification analogous to the one presented in equation 1 to compare preceding and subsequent periods.

In addition we use OTUS data to investigate instantaneous enjoyment for different groups of activities (while considering working from the workplace and working from home as distinct types of activities) by estimating the following equation while controlling for individual fixed effects:

$$Enj_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 W + \beta_2^M Leisure_{ij} + \beta_3^M Unpaid\ Work_{ij} + \beta_4^M Travel_{ij} + \\ + \beta_5^M Work\ from\ office_{ij} + \beta_6^M Work\ from\ home_{ij} + \beta_2^F Leisure_{ij} + \\ + \beta_3^F Unpaid\ Work_{ij} + \beta_4^F Travel_{ij} + \beta_5^F Work\ from\ office_{ij} + \beta_6^F Work\ from\ home_i + \eta_i + \\ \gamma T_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (2)$$

[5] This interpretation holds under the assumption that there are no other factors (in addition to those we control for) which correlate with individuals' well-being and that are time-specific.

The dependent variable Enj_{ij} is the reported instantaneous enjoyment by individual i for episode j. The binary indicators $Leisure_{ij}, Unpaid\ Work_{ij}, Travel_{ij}, Work\ away\ from\ home_{ij}$ and $Work\ from\ home_{ij}$ *re*present five main groups of activities where the baseline is *Personal Care*; T_{ij} is the total time of the episode and η_i are individual fixed effects.[6] Here our coefficients of interest are β_k^g (where $k = 1,..5$ and $g = M, W$) as they reflect differences in enjoyment for different activities compared to personal care, that is a group of activities reported by everyone in the samples. The aim of this analysis is to capture whether respondents in the surveys express a clear preference for working from home over working from the office.

We employ regression analysis to examine how remote and non-remote workers allocate their time across different activities. This approach allows us to assess the relationship between work arrangements and time use while controlling for key demographic and socioeconomic factors. Finally, we focus on work episodes reported in the last wave of the OTUS data (March 2024) and estimate the empirical association between working from home and the self-perceived productivity (as well as enjoyment) by estimating the following equation:

$$Prod_{ij} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 W + \gamma_2^M WfH_{ij} + \gamma_2^F WfH_{ij} + X_i\boldsymbol{\delta} + \delta T_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (3)$$

The dependent variable $Prod_{ij}$ is the measure of self-perceived productivity collected by OTUS only for episodes of work and is defined on a five-point scale where 1 is the highest productivity and 5 is the lowest. For the analysis we revert this scale such that a positive estimate for γ_2^g would imply that respondents perceive a higher productivity when working from home.

4. Results

4.1 Before and during the pandemic

In this section we examine how time use changed before, during, and after the COVID-19 pandemic using data from the CaDDI continuous diary study. The analysis focuses on key changes in total work time, the distribution of work across different locations—such as home, the workplace, and other places— copresence and device use. Comparing data from different periods allows us to assess both the short-term disruptions and the long-term transformations in work and mobility habits.

[6] We identify episodes of work from home in CaDDI by using the activity code and the location reported by the respondent. In OTUS data, where respondents are not asked to report their location, there are two different activity codes for whether the respondent is in work at home or in work at the workplace.

Table 1 presents regression results showing how total time spent working and by location, changed during and after the COVID-19 pandemic. The estimates are reported separately for men and women, with the reference category representing the pre-pandemic period.

Overall, total work time declined significantly during the pandemic. In May 2020, men worked approximately 130 minutes less than before the pandemic, while women worked about 111 minutes less. Although work time partially recovered by August 2020, it remained lower than pre-pandemic levels throughout 2020 and early 2021. By March 2023, total work time had returned to pre-pandemic levels, as the estimates were no longer significantly different from the reference period.

The most notable change was the shift toward working from home. Before the pandemic, people spent minimal time working remotely, but this changed dramatically during lockdowns. In May 2020, men worked 108 minutes more at home compared to pre-pandemic levels, and this increase reached 157 minutes by January 2021. A similar pattern was observed for women, with remote work increasing by 86 minutes in May 2020 and peaking at 163 minutes in November 2020. Although some workers returned to offices in 2021 and 2022, by March 2023, time spent working from home remained significantly higher than before the pandemic, with men and women still working around 97 and 84 minutes more from home, respectively.

As remote work increased, time spent working at the workplace declined sharply. In May 2020, men spent 237 minutes less working at their workplace compared to the pre-pandemic period, while women spent 193 minutes less. Although workplace work increased again after lockdowns, it remained lower than pre-pandemic levels even in March 2023, with men and women still working 79 and 34 minutes less at the workplace, respectively. Work in other locations did not change significantly, apart from minor fluctuations over time.

The data also reveal gender differences in work patterns. Women consistently worked fewer total minutes than men, with a baseline difference of 86 minutes. The pandemic-induced increase in remote work was similar for both genders, but women showed a more sustained reliance on remote work even after the pandemic. While men experienced a slightly larger drop in workplace work time, women had a relatively smaller decrease, possibly due to differences in occupation types or job responsibilities.

Table 1: Changes in Time in Work and Time in Transport

	(1) Time in work	(2) Time in work at home	(3) Time in work at workplace	(4) Time in work in other places	(5) Time in work not at home
Constant	351.978***	-14.726	361.353***	5.350	366.704***
	(22.450)	(16.315)	(22.700)	(5.340)	(22.877)
Women	-86.731***	-11.378	-75.444***	0.091	-75.353***
	(22.995)	(12.937)	(23.830)	(2.975)	(24.104)
			Panel A: Men		
May 2020	-129.896***	107.647***	-236.757***	-0.786	-237.543***
	(21.434)	(15.773)	(20.265)	(3.186)	(20.336)
August 2020	-58.410***	134.385***	-195.596***	2.801	-192.795***
	(21.806)	(17.098)	(21.413)	(3.777)	(21.574)
November 2020	-53.632***	136.515***	-188.752***	-1.395	-190.147***
	(19.662)	(15.243)	(20.210)	(2.988)	(20.277)
January 2021	-81.807***	157.076***	-239.055***	0.172	-238.883***
	(21.152)	(16.909)	(20.340)	(3.362)	(20.489)
September 2021	-49.251**	85.523***	-136.495***	1.721	-134.774***
	(21.143)	(16.033)	(22.092)	(3.197)	(22.177)
March 2023	23.413	97.400***	-79.296***	5.309*	-73.987***
	(18.170)	(12.889)	(20.045)	(3.212)	(20.078)
			Panel B: Women		
May 2020	-111.2***	85.77***	-193.2***	-3.769**	-197***
	(23.31)	(16.77)	(20.89)	(1.600)	(21.17)
August 2020	-15.83	122.5***	-147.2***	8.818	-138.4***
	(23.77)	(17.76)	(21.87)	(5.552)	(22.58)
November 2020	11.00	163.1***	-153.7***	1.564	-152.1***
	(21.79)	(16.52)	(20.96)	(4.286)	(21.53)
January 2021	-19.28	138.2***	-153.9***	-3.566**	-157.5***
	(22.68)	(16.78)	(21.59)	(1.611)	(21.85)
September 2021	-67.64***	79.38***	-144.4***	-2.594	-147***
	(24.36)	(17.64)	(22.26)	(1.829)	(22.55)
March 2023	56.71***	83.57***	-34.53*	7.675***	-26.86
	(18.94)	(12.19)	(19.75)	(2.810)	(20.02)
N diaries	4,297	4,297	4,297	4,297	4,297
R-squared	0.079	0.084	0.115	0.009	0.117

Notes: Data come from the 2016, May 2020, August 2020, November 2020, January 2021, September 2021, and March 2023 CaDDI time diary surveys. Observations are diaries of respondents in work interviewed in the seven waves of the CaDDI surveys. The dependent variables measure minutes spent in a day at work by location (at home and away from home) and minutes spent in a day commuting. The table reports OLS estimates of changes in time allocation during the COVID-19 pandemic (with respect to the pre-pandemic period, i.e., 2016) while controlling for sociodemographic and economic characteristics, which include age, an indicator for whether there is a child aged 16 or under in the household, highest qualification, marital status, household income and a set of regional dummies for the following 12 regions: North East, North West, Yorkshire and the Humber, East Midlands, West Midlands, East London, South East, South West, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. Panel A reports coefficients for men while Panel B reports the coefficients for women ($\alpha_k^M + \alpha_k^F$) from Equation 1. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. ***.

Results about changes in co-presence during work time are presented in Table 2. Before the pandemic, individuals primarily worked alongside colleagues in workplaces. However, as remote work became widespread, there was a notable increase in time spent working alone and in the presence of household members, particularly partners and children.

For men, time spent working with household members increased significantly during the early pandemic months, peaking in August 2020. Specifically, in May 2020, men spent approximately 47 more minutes working in the presence of household members compared to the pre-pandemic period, and this rose to about 76 additional minutes in August 2020. This increase was primarily driven by time spent working with partners and, to a lesser extent, children. Notably, time spent working with children increased by around 26 minutes in August 2020, reflecting the overlap between remote work and childcare responsibilities. By March 2023, although the increase in co-presence had diminished, men were still spending about 28 additional minutes working with household members compared to pre-pandemic levels.

For women, the changes followed a similar pattern. In May 2020, women spent about 46 additional minutes working alongside household members, increasing to approximately 85 minutes in January 2021; in March 2023 women were still spending 36 minutes working in the presence of a family member. The data indicate that similarly to men women experienced a rise in time working with children, with an increase of around 32 minutes in January 2021 and 36 minutes in March 2023, and partners. However, unlike men, women also saw a significant increase in time spent working alone during certain periods of the pandemic and after. In March 2023, men and women worked about 38 and 28 minutes more in isolation than pre-pandemic.

The pandemic also led to a substantial decline in time spent working with individuals outside the household. In May 2020, men and women spent around 156 and 159 fewer minutes, respectively, working with non-household individuals. this change narrowed over time and by March 2023, disappeared.

Table B5 in Appendix B reports an additional set of results showing how the share of time in work with computer or smartphones has changes since 2016. The main result from this table is that the share of time in work at home with these devices has increased for men mainly after the end of the COVID-19 emergency (while women only increased time with smartphones in 2023). This finding may reflect a greater effort from men to create a more stable home office environment once hybrid working became more common, but also a changing composition of remote workers.

Overall, the findings confirm that the pandemic triggered a lasting shift in work habits, particularly the widespread adoption of remote work. While total work time eventually returned to pre-pandemic levels, the way people worked changed significantly, spending more time at home alone or with the co-presence of household members while reducing interactions with colleagues and others outside the

home. Even after the pandemic, co-presence with household members remained higher than pre-pandemic levels, reflecting the persistence of remote and hybrid work arrangements.

Table 2. Changes in Time in Work, by Copresence

	(1) Time in work with household members	(2) Time in work alone	(3) Time in work with child	(4) Time in work with partner	(5) Time in work with other household members	(6) Time in work with others
Constant	31.002**	90.343***	-15.234**	39.912***	6.324	209.862***
	(15.313)	(22.171)	(6.630)	(11.366)	(5.151)	(21.474)
Women	-10.466	-62.097***	1.179	-15.728**	4.083	-13.157
	(11.978)	(19.835)	(4.364)	(7.958)	(6.389)	(23.275)
			Panel A: Men			
May 2020	46.744***	-8.529	8.955	33.390***	4.399	-156.061***
	(15.118)	(19.914)	(5.593)	(11.099)	(5.226)	(18.723)
August 2020	75.698***	24.485	25.559***	40.751***	9.388	-139.988***
	(17.676)	(20.909)	(7.707)	(12.053)	(6.516)	(19.403)
November 2020	41.006***	36.394*	1.626	34.057***	5.323	-122.958***
	(13.538)	(19.293)	(4.284)	(10.450)	(5.086)	(19.187)
January 2021	55.705***	33.427	14.779**	34.396***	6.530	-152.953***
	(16.167)	(20.519)	(6.409)	(11.369)	(6.011)	(19.016)
September 2021	49.408***	20.145	13.845**	21.125**	14.437**	-108.185***
	(15.901)	(20.515)	(5.831)	(10.434)	(6.511)	(20.128)
March 2023	28.112**	37.973**	13.086***	11.996	3.029	-31.361
	(12.290)	(17.967)	(4.570)	(8.843)	(4.637)	(19.748)
			Panel B: Women			
May 2020	45.53***	17.73	21.92***	29.85***	-6.247	-159.3***
	(16.60)	(18.21)	(7.907)	(9.292)	(6.472)	(19.12)
August 2020	33.06**	73.03***	11.29*	27.01***	-5.232	-119***
	(13.60)	(19.77)	(6.701)	(8.624)	(5.747)	(20.42)
November 2020	60.38***	79.51***	9.046*	51.97***	-0.628	-123.3***
	(14.14)	(18.56)	(5.353)	(9.872)	(6.271)	(19.60)
January 2021	84.89***	55.99***	31.74***	53.87***	-0.718	-138.4***
	(17.72)	(18.45)	(8.338)	(10.27)	(6.945)	(19.77)
September 2021	0.304	48.48**	-1.355	10.90	-9.237*	-118.6***
	(10.45)	(20.08)	(3.922)	(7.365)	(5.308)	(20.47)
March 2023	36.39***	27.94*	12.56***	24.59***	-0.761	2.825
	(10.15)	(14.57)	(3.822)	(6.257)	(5.766)	(19.02)
N diaries	4,297	4,297	4,297	4,297	4,297	4,297
R-squared	0.079	0.084	0.115	0.009	0.117	0.068

Notes: Data come from the 2016, May 2020, August 2020, November 2020, January 2021, September 2021, and March 2023 CaDDI time diary surveys. Observations are working-age (18–69 years old) individuals interviewed in the seven waves of the CaDDI surveys. The dependent variables measure minutes spent in a day at work by co-presence. The table reports OLS estimates of changes in time allocation during the COVID-19 pandemic (with respect to the pre-pandemic period, i.e., 2016) while controlling for sociodemographic and economic characteristics, which include age, an indicator for whether there is a child aged 16 or under in the household, highest qualification, marital status, household income and a set of regional dummies for the following 12 regions: North East, North West, Yorkshire and the Humber, East Midlands, West Midlands, East London, South East, South West, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. Panel A reports coefficients for men while Panel B reports the coefficients for women ($\alpha_k^M + \alpha_k^F$) from Equation 1. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. ***.

4.1.1 During and after the pandemic

Before analyzing time use at work during the pandemic using OTUS diaries, we first compare time-use patterns between the CaDDI and OTUS datasets. This comparison provides context for the OTUS findings within the broader framework of time-use changes observed during the pandemic. By examining both datasets, we gain a more comprehensive understanding of how work patterns evolved from the pre-pandemic period to the post-pandemic era.

Figure 5, panel (a), compares total time spent working as recorded in the CaDDI and OTUS time-use diaries across different collection periods. Both datasets indicate a significant decline in total work time compared to pre-pandemic estimates, which were approximately 370 (380) minutes for men and 285 (300) minutes for women, based on UKTUS 2014/15 and CaDDI 2016 data, respectively. This reduction aligns with broader trends observed during the pandemic.

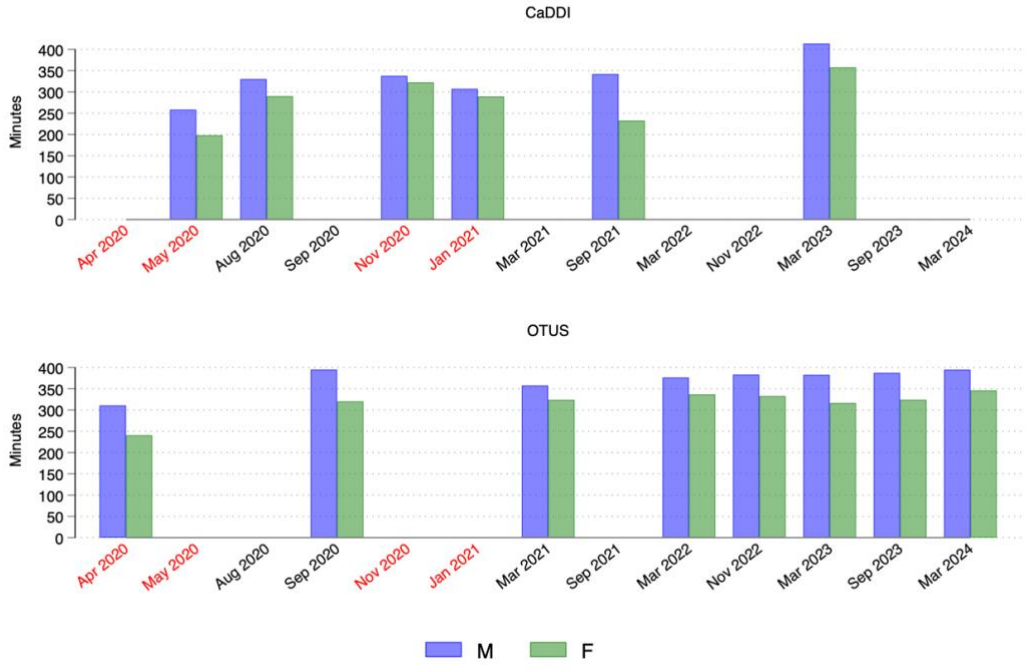
The CaDDI dataset, collected from May 2020 to January 2021, captures time use during the strict lockdown periods (dates shown in red in the figure), reflecting the immediate impact of these measures on work patterns. In contrast, the OTUS dataset includes data from the very beginning of the first lockdown, when workers were still adjusting to the new reality, as well as from September 2020 (a period without lockdowns) and March 2021 (at the tail end of the third lockdown). These differences in timing likely explain the variations observed between the two datasets during the pandemic.

In the post-pandemic period, a key finding emerges from the CaDDI dataset in September 2021, where total work time remains notably lower than pre-pandemic levels, particularly for women. This may reflect the impact of the COVID-19 Delta variant in the UK and higher risk aversion among women (Galasso et al., 2020; Ferrin, 2021). In contrast, the OTUS data indicate a stabilization of work time. From March 2022 onward, in the post-pandemic years, total time spent working gradually returned to levels closer to those observed before COVID-19.

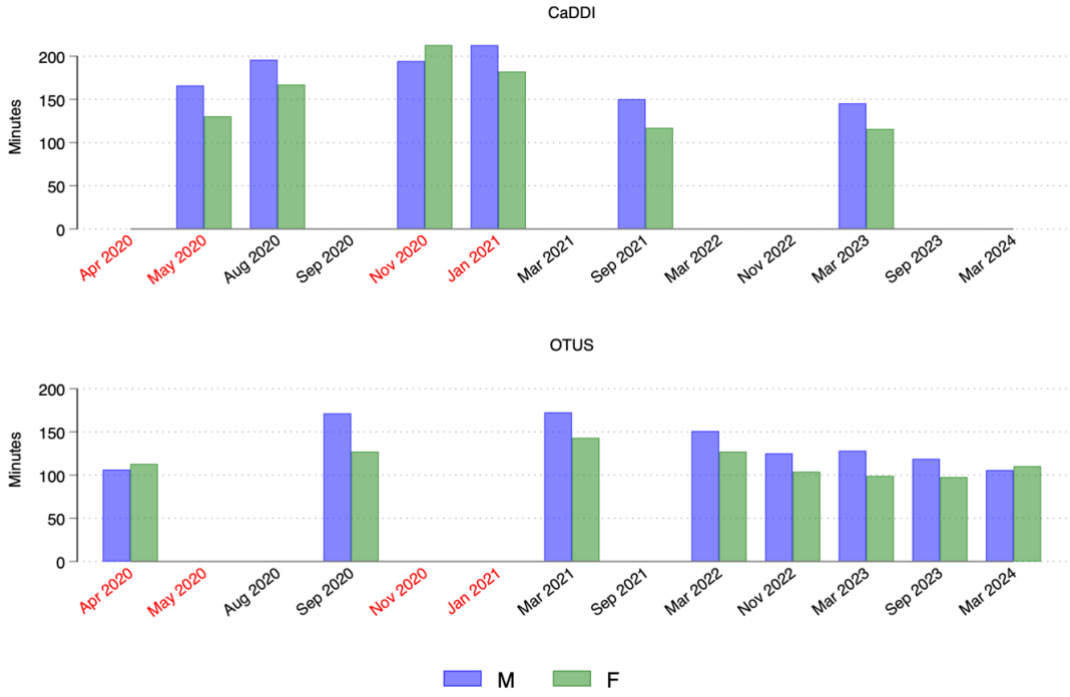
Panel (b) of Figure 5 presents the time spent working from home for men and women, as recorded in the CaDDI and OTUS datasets. Both datasets reveal a significant increase in remote work compared to pre-pandemic levels (see Table B4). However, differences in data collection timing explain key variations between the two.

Figure 3: Comparison CaDDI-OTUS data

(a) Total time in work



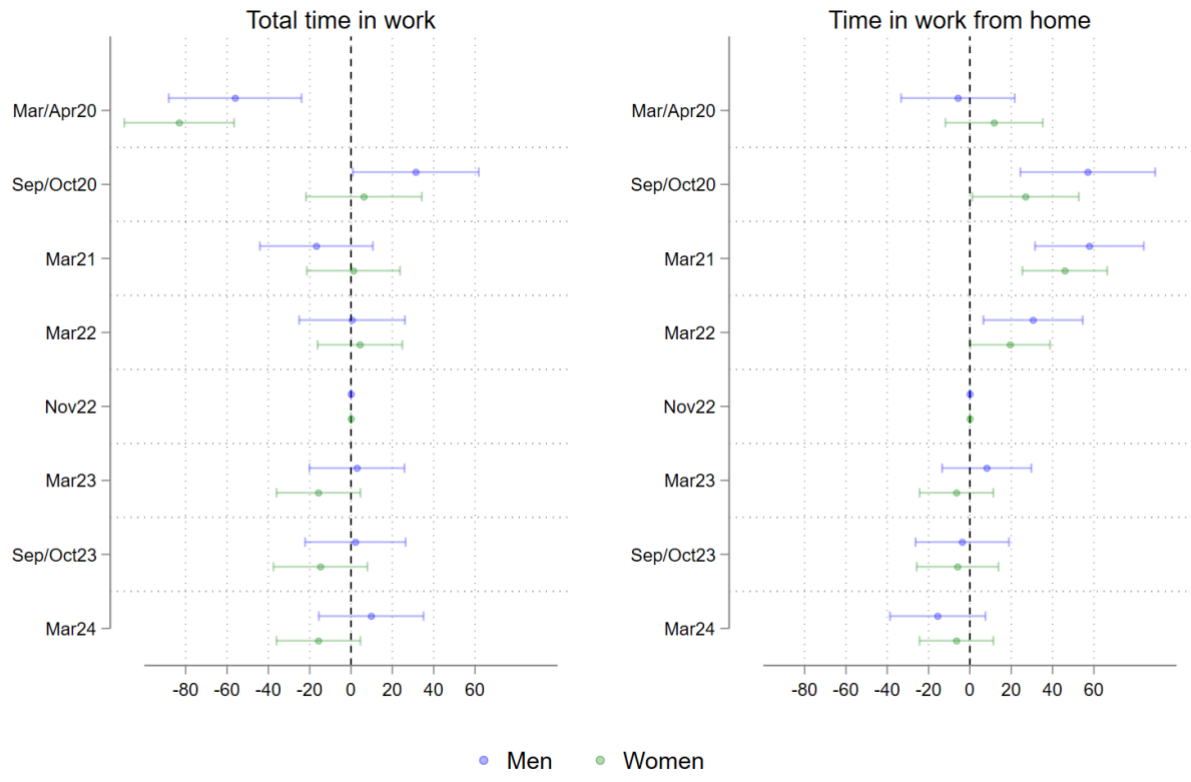
(b) Time in work from home



Note: total time in work (panel a) and time in work from home reported by male and female respondents in CaDDI and OTUS time use diaries. Dates in red highlight the survey waves that were collected during strict lockdowns implemented in the UK during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The CaDDI dataset, collected during strict lockdowns from 2020 to January 2021, captures the peak of remote work adoption, with a sharp rise in time spent working from home. In contrast, the OTUS diaries from September 2020 show a temporary reduction in remote work as some employees returned to offices, while the March 2021 data reflect a more stabilized yet declining trend as lockdowns eased. In the post-pandemic period, the CaDDI dataset for September 2021 shows a notable decline in remote work, driven by a reduction in total time worked. From March 2022 onward, the OTUS diaries indicate a stabilization of remote work, with time spent working from home remaining above pre-pandemic levels but exhibiting little fluctuation. This trend is further confirmed by CaDDI data from 2023.

Figure 4: Change in total time in work and time in work from home



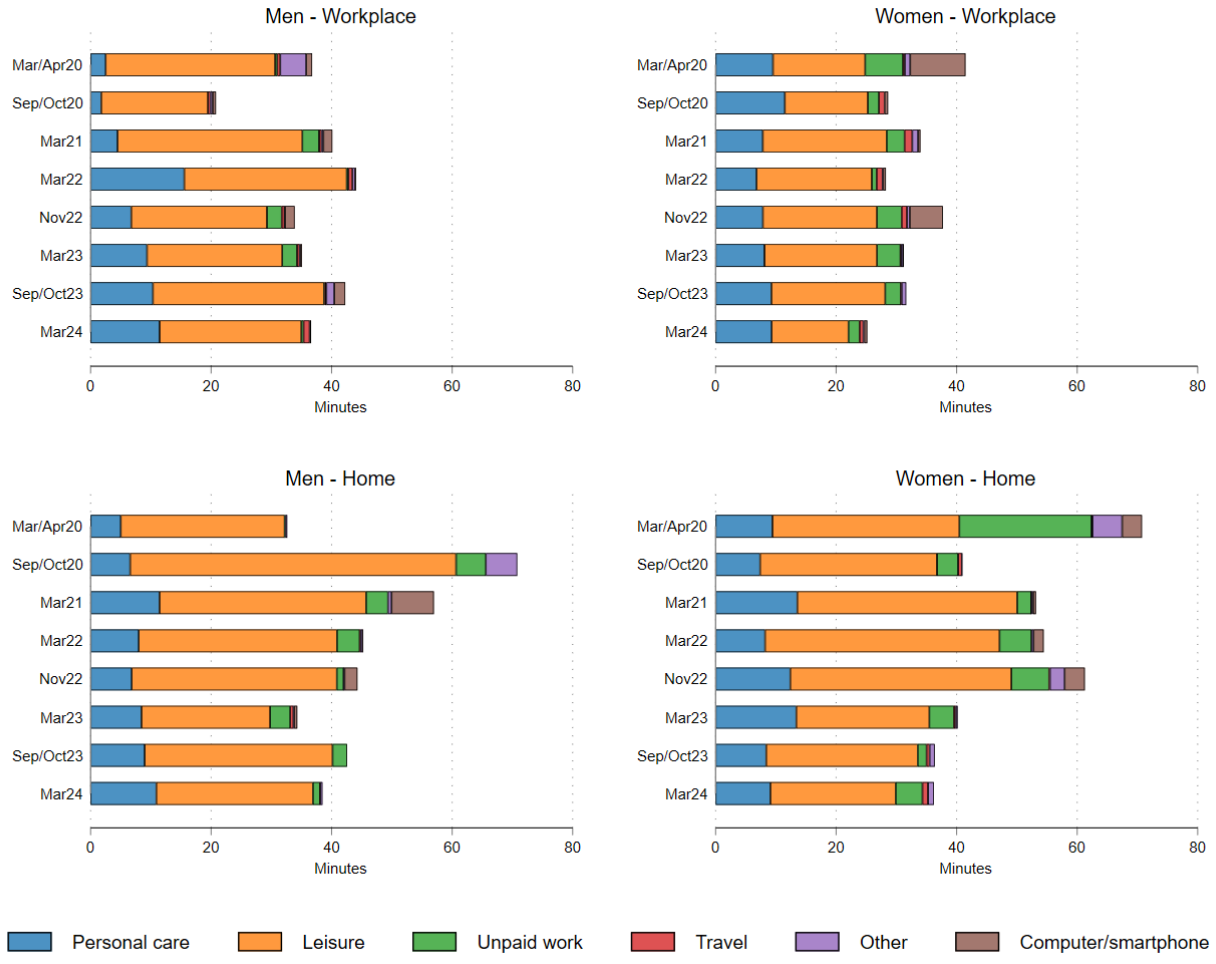
Notes: Data from five waves of OTUS time diary surveys (March 2022 to March 2024). Observations are diaries of activities reported in diaries by graduate respondents in employment during a weekday. The dependent variable is defined as the instantaneous enjoyment reported by respondents for each episode. Controls include socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents (age, marital status, household size, household income, number of children by age group) and a set of region dummies.

Figure 4 presents estimates and confidence intervals for changes in total work time (left panel) and remote work time (right panel) over the eight waves of the OTUS diary collection. The baseline is

November 2022, when social restrictions had been lifted and COVID-19 transmission was under control following an intensive vaccination campaign.

These results show that total work time has remained stable since March 2021, while the time spent in remote work has not changed since November 2022 for both men and women.

Figure 5: Time in secondary activities while working



Since the reported time spent on primary activities has shown a stable pattern in remote work since November 2022, it is crucial to examine whether working from home is preferred by employees due to its flexibility in allowing engagement in multiple activities simultaneously—potentially influencing productivity. Figure 5 presents the mean reported time spent on secondary activities while working, including personal care, leisure, unpaid work, travel, and computer/smartphone use, comparing respondents who work from home with those who work from the workplace.[7] This is suggestive

[7] Activities within these groups are listed in table C2, Appendix 2.

evidence on differences in multitasking as only one-third of respondents reported engaging in secondary activities during work hours. Nevertheless, the data provide an interesting perspective on how work location may influence time use.

The data shows that both men and women's time spent on secondary activities fluctuates over time. Until November 2022, those working remotely generally spent more time on secondary activities, such as leisure and personal care, compared to their office-working counterparts. However, starting in March 2023, the gap in time spent on secondary activities between remote and office workers began to shrink. This shift suggests that, as remote work patterns became more established, the work location itself may no longer be the primary factor influencing the allocation of time to secondary activities during work hours.

To better understand the incentives behind remote work, it is essential to compare how individuals working from home allocate their time relative to those working from an office and whether their instantaneous enjoyment of these activities differs. Table 4 presents the estimated differences in time use, as reported in OTUS diaries, across five main activity categories for remote and office-based workers.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, both men and women working from home spent less time on leisure, unpaid work, and travel, while devoting over two additional hours to paid work. This higher time in work possibly reflects occupational differences between workers who could carry on working from home without disruption and workers whose job was affected by social restrictions. In the post-pandemic period, a different pattern emerges. Men working from home spend approximately 20 minutes more on personal care, whereas women spend 30 minutes less. For men, remote work does not significantly alter the time spent on leisure and unpaid work compared to their office-based counterparts; however, they save around 43 minutes on commuting and work approximately 40 minutes longer. Women, on the other hand, allocate similar time to leisure, spend less time on unpaid work and travel (20 and 35 minutes, respectively), and devote an additional 1.5 hours to paid work.

Some of these gaps in time allocation between remote and office-based workers may be influenced by the different nature of their occupations, as remote workers are more likely to be employed in high-skilled jobs, possibly implying longer hours. However, when restricting the sample to graduates, a similar pattern persists, as shown in the bottom panel of Table 4.

Table 4: Reported time in all activities during the pandemic (2020-2021) and after (2022-2024)

	(1) Personal care	(2) Leisure	(3) Unpaid work	(4) Travel	(5) Paid work
			2020-2021		
WFH	-14.417	-48.599***	-30.404***	-45.124***	140.572***
	(10.806)	(12.973)	(8.713)	(10.009)	(17.449)
Female	27.772***	-25.687**	34.506***	-7.908	-35.145*
	(9.762)	(12.652)	(8.917)	(7.407)	(18.763)
Female*WFH	-18.415	27.829*	-2.632	12.676	-21.552
	(14.458)	(15.928)	(11.504)	(10.312)	(24.306)
Constant	740.111***	334.078***	141.388***	10.656*	187.690***
	(17.429)	(20.335)	(18.901)	(5.802)	(34.723)
N diaries	2,164	2,164	2,164	2,164	2,164
R-squared	0.074	0.076	0.184	0.150	0.138
			2022-2024		
WFH	20.425***	-6.018	-2.456	-42.350***	38.877***
	(6.313)	(6.854)	(4.505)	(3.431)	(8.946)
Female	43.506***	-5.217	50.653***	-8.594***	-75.639***
	(5.507)	(5.670)	(4.160)	(2.784)	(8.734)
Female*WFH	-49.279***	-7.342	-23.976***	8.083*	56.302***
	(8.958)	(8.920)	(6.223)	(4.382)	(12.094)
Constant	671.183***	288.769***	93.820***	55.352***	303.822***
	(12.651)	(11.352)	(9.529)	(5.700)	(17.463)
N diaries	6,242	6,242	6,242	6,242	6,242
R-squared	0.033	0.073	0.165	0.076	0.072
			2022-2024 – Graduates only		
WFH	13.303*	-8.731	-2.157	-49.034***	47.981***
	(8.036)	(9.343)	(6.094)	(4.790)	(12.407)
Female	34.074***	-3.883	48.027***	-9.635**	-71.547***
	(7.407)	(8.125)	(6.046)	(4.231)	(12.639)
Female*WFH	-37.009***	-8.334	-23.415***	12.187**	50.796***
	(11.034)	(11.881)	(8.293)	(6.078)	(16.309)
Constant	640.264***	308.980***	76.012***	80.806***	313.877***
	(8.360)	(9.940)	(7.094)	(5.152)	(14.923)
N diaries	3,611	3,611	3,611	3,611	3,611
R-squared	0.026	0.082	0.167	0.093	0.073

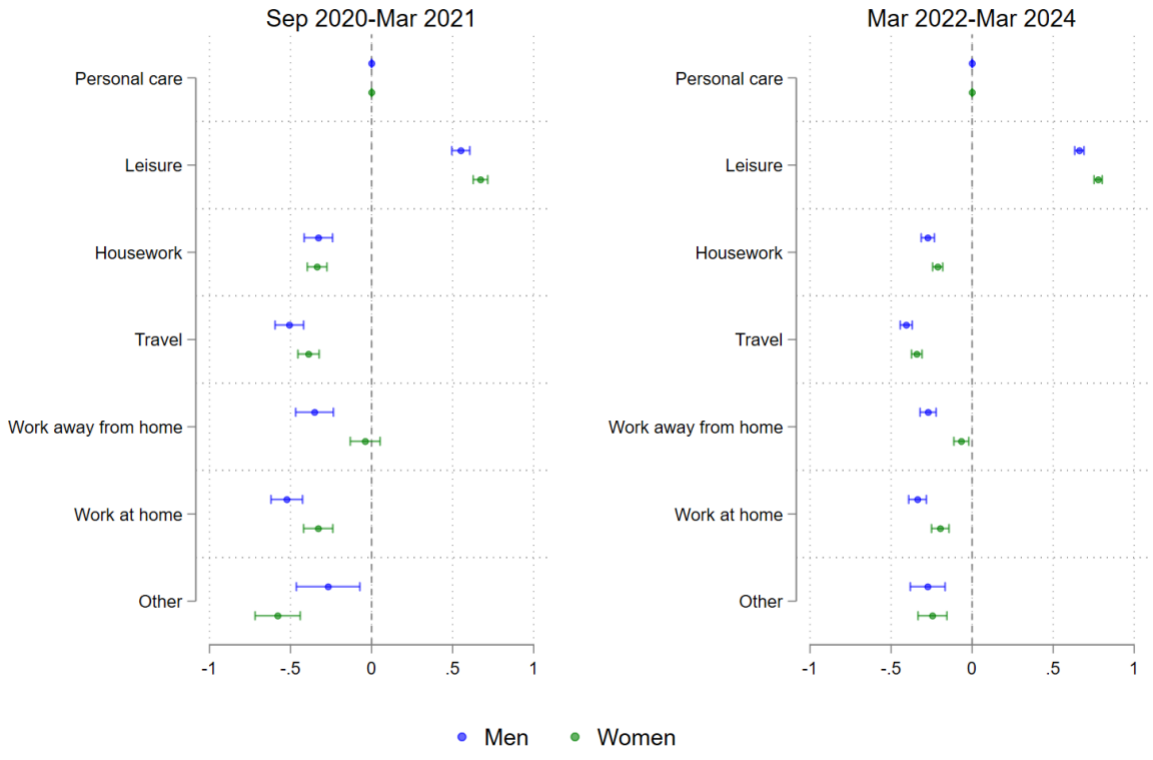
Notes: Data from five waves of OTUS time diary surveys (March 2022 to March 2024). Observations are diaries of activities reported in diaries by graduate respondents in employment during a weekday. The dependent variable is defined as the instantaneous enjoyment reported by respondents for each episode. Controls include socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents (age, marital status, household size, household income, number of children by age group) and a set of region dummies.

The analysis of OTUS diary data suggests that, following an initial shock caused by social restrictions and a gradual re-establishment of work patterns, remote workers have increasingly integrated remote work as a regular aspect of their employment. However this shift does not appear to be associated with

an increase in leisure time during or outside of work. Both men and women working from home engage in similar levels of leisure as their office-based counterparts. Instead, they reallocate the time saved on commuting—and, in the case of women, on unpaid work and personal care—towards additional paid work.

A key question that arises is whether the preference for remote work is driven by greater enjoyment of working from home compared to working in an office setting. To address this, we leverage data on individuals' time allocation alongside self-reported enjoyment levels for each activity. We estimate differences in instantaneous enjoyment across activities, distinguishing between remote work and work conducted outside the home. This analysis is conducted separately for the periods 2020–2021 and 2022–2024 using a regression framework at the episode level, controlling for episode length, individual characteristics, and regional fixed effects. The baseline category for these estimates is personal care, as it encompasses a set of universally performed activities (such as sleeping, eating, and washing) that appear in all diaries.

Figure 6: Instantaneous enjoyment by type of activity – OTUS



Notes: Data from eight waves of OTUS time diary surveys, April 2020- March 2022 (left) and March 2021 to March 2022 (rights). Observations are episodes of activities reported in diaries by respondents in employment during a weekday. The dependent variable is defined as the instantaneous enjoyment reported by respondents for each episode. Controls include socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and length of the episode.

Figure 6 illustrates that, across both periods, respondents—particularly women—report higher enjoyment when working from the office. This finding appears to contradict the notion that workers are willing to forgo part of their wages in exchange for the ability to work from home. However, it is possible that remote work enhances the enjoyment of other activities, such as leisure and unpaid work, by reducing the stress and time constraints associated with commuting.

To explore this further, we estimate differences in enjoyment between remote and office-based workers across key activity categories, including personal care, leisure, housework, and travel. Table 5 presents the results for the full sample (columns 1–4) and for graduates only (columns 5–8). Among the full sample, men working from home report lower enjoyment in personal care and leisure, while women experience lower enjoyment in personal care alone. When restricting the analysis to graduates, the findings indicate that remote work is generally associated with lower enjoyment across all activities, with the exception of leisure for women.

Table 5: Enjoyment in other activities by work location

	Full sample				Graduates			
	(1) Personal Care 2022-2024	(2) Leisure 2022-2024	(3) Unpaid work 2022-2024	(4) Travel 2022-2024	(5) Personal Care 2022-2024	(6) Leisure 2022-2024	(7) Unpaid work 2022-2024	(8) Travel 2022-2024
WFH	-0.054**	-0.066**	-0.065	-0.020	-0.118***	-0.128***	-0.131**	-0.115*
	(0.024)	(0.032)	(0.051)	(0.047)	(0.030)	(0.040)	(0.061)	(0.060)
Female	-0.032	0.075***	0.019	0.076**	0.008	0.084***	0.013	0.093**
	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.038)	(0.032)	(0.026)	(0.032)	(0.049)	(0.044)
Female*WFH	0.050	0.071*	0.070	-0.022	0.059	0.154***	0.051	0.032
	(0.033)	(0.042)	(0.062)	(0.060)	(0.041)	(0.051)	(0.075)	(0.077)
N episodes	46,385	22,022	15,694	12,108	27,339	13,518	10,018	7,167
R-squared	0.002	0.011	0.038	0.016	0.002	0.011	0.033	0.029

Notes: Data from five waves of OTUS time diary surveys (March 2022 to March 2024). Observations are episodes of activities reported in diaries by respondents in employment during a weekday. The dependent variable is defined as the instantaneous enjoyment reported by respondents for each episode. Controls include socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents (age, marital status, household size, household income, number of children by age group) and a set of region dummies.

Finally, we investigate whether remote workers perceive their working time as more productive. To address this question, we utilize the experimental measure of self-perceived productivity collected in the most recent wave of the OTUS time-use diaries from March 2024. Each time respondents recorded

a period of paid work in their diary, they were asked to assess their productivity on a five-point scale, as well as their enjoyment on a seven-point scale.

Table 6 presents estimates of the differences in self-reported productivity and enjoyment between remote and office-based workers. Results are reported separately for the full sample (top panel) and for graduates only (bottom panel). Self-reported productivity is analysed both as a continuous measure (column 1) and as a dichotomous variable with varying cut-offs (columns 2–5). Finally, column 6 reports the estimated difference in instantaneous enjoyment for the same work episodes.

Table 6: Self-reported productivity during work spells

	(1) Self-reported Productivity	(2) Probit Pr(Prod<100%)	(3) Probit Pr(Prod<90%)	(4) Probit Pr(Prod<80%)	(5) Probit Pr(Prod<70%)	(6) Enjoyment
	Full sample					
WFH	-0.196**	-0.168	-0.024	-0.173*	-0.388***	-0.248**
	(0.091)	(0.167)	(0.117)	(0.102)	(0.116)	(0.106)
Female	0.256***	0.216	0.326***	0.308***	0.133	0.067
	(0.078)	(0.156)	(0.108)	(0.093)	(0.100)	(0.090)
Female*WFH	0.024	0.263	-0.015	-0.036	0.085	-0.019
	(0.118)	(0.228)	(0.165)	(0.141)	(0.163)	(0.139)
N episodes	1,651	1,651	1,651	1,651	1,651	1,638
R-squared	0.072					0.069
	Graduates					
WFH	-0.225**	0.144	-0.007	0.281**	0.419***	-0.225**
	(0.112)	(0.254)	(0.151)	(0.135)	(0.160)	(0.112)
Female	0.281**	-0.149	-0.275*	-0.305**	-0.352**	0.281**
	(0.115)	(0.261)	(0.156)	(0.133)	(0.148)	(0.115)
Female*WFH	0.080	-0.249	-0.007	-0.236	0.086	0.080
	(0.155)	(0.322)	(0.214)	(0.185)	(0.217)	(0.155)
	3.666***	-2.579***	-1.005***	-0.362	-0.043	3.666***
N episodes	(0.268)	(0.530)	(0.284)	(0.238)	(0.260)	(0.268)
R-squared	902	902	902	902	902	902

Notes: Data from five waves of OTUS time diary surveys (March 2022 to March 2024). Observations are diaries of activities reported in diaries by graduate respondents in employment during a weekday. The dependent variable is defined as the instantaneous enjoyment reported by respondents for each episode. Controls include socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents (age, marital status, household size, household income, number of children by age group) and a set of region dummies. Estimates reported for probit model are marginal effects.

Respondents who report time working from home in their diaries perceive their time as being less productive as shown in columns 1, 4 and 5, and they enjoy it less (column 6). Estimates from the full sample are in line with those based on a sample of only graduates.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

The first findings of this study confirm that work from home is not merely a temporary response to the COVID-19 pandemic but rather a lasting transformation in work patterns in the UK. The sustained increase in home-based work and in the presence of household members, even after pandemic-related restrictions were lifted, suggests that many workers and employers perceive remote work as a viable and often preferable alternative to traditional office-based arrangements. Additionally, the growing reliance on electronic devices for remote work indicates a shift in the composition of remote workers, as they establish stable home office setups to support long-term remote work.

Existing literature has found that workers are willing to accept a pay cut in order to work remotely (Barrero et al, 2021). The second part of our study sought to explore the underlying reasons for this preference by exploiting new time use data collected by the ONS in the UK over the last four years. While one potential explanation is that remote work allows for more multitasking and engagement in secondary activities, our findings do not provide strong support for this hypothesis. Additionally, we considered whether the reduction in grooming and commuting time might translate into increased leisure or unpaid work, but our results indicate that this is not a significant driver either.

Another possible explanation is that people simply enjoy working from home more than working in the office or remote working allows them to enjoy more other activities. However, our findings suggest that this is not the case: the ranking of individuals' preferences on time allocation, obtained by estimating the mean instantaneous enjoyment for each activity, shows that working away from home is preferred to remote working. Furthermore, remote workers report lower levels of enjoyment across all activities, except for leisure among women, where enjoyment levels are comparable to those of women working in-office. This suggests that remote work does not necessarily enhance enjoyment in a straightforward manner. Finally we use an experimental measure of self-reported productivity available in the last wave of the OTUS data to test whether remote workers perceive their time in work as being more productive. Our results show that this is not the case, as remote workers report marginally lower productivity than their counterparts working from the office.

One possibility that emerges from these results is that commuting, and its associated costs, are driving remote work preferences. In 2019 in the UK, the average commute exceeds 60 minutes (Aksoy et al., 2022), and our study shows that commuting is disliked by workers, who may perceive remote working as a way to eliminate an unpleasant and time-consuming aspect of their daily routines. Beyond the

direct time savings, the financial costs of commuting—such as transportation expenses—and other out-of-pocket costs linked to working outside the home, such as childcare and meals, may also contribute to the preference for remote work. These economic and logistical considerations appear to outweigh the relatively lower enjoyment of remote work itself, making it an attractive option despite its potential drawbacks.

This study provides new insights into the long-term persistence of remote work and the factors influencing workers' preferences for remote working. While past research has highlighted workers' willingness to accept lower wages in exchange for remote work, our findings suggest that this is not necessarily due to increased enjoyment of working from home, the ability to multitask during work hours and the ability to enjoy more leisure or housework. Instead, the avoidance of commuting and its associated costs—both financial and non-financial—could be a primary motivator for remote work adoption.

The results have important implications for employers and policymakers. Employers considering hybrid or fully remote work arrangements should recognise that remote work is not inherently more enjoyable but is valued primarily for the flexibility and cost savings it offers. Policymakers aiming to support workers in a remote-first world may need to focus on improving the infrastructure for home-based work and rethinking urban commuting policies to make in-office work more attractive.

New valuable research explores in greater depth the trade-offs workers face when choosing remote work, particularly in relation to productivity, mental well-being, and long-term career development (Emanuel and Harrington, 2024; Gibbs et al., 2023; Denzer and Grunau, 2024; De Fraja et al, 2022). Additionally, studies examining whether improvements in commuting conditions or cost subsidies for in-office work might influence workers' preferences could provide further valuable insights. This study highlights the complex interplay between work location, time use, and economic trade-offs, reinforcing the need for nuanced discussions around the future of work.

References

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Appendix A – Additional APS results

Figure A1: Proportion working from home – occupations

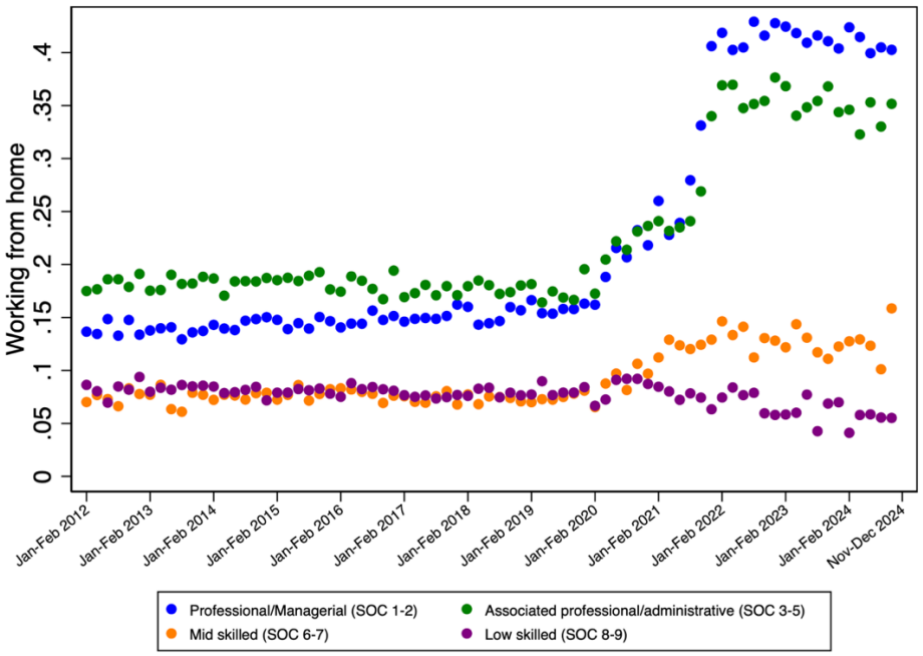


Figure A2: Proportion working from home – regions

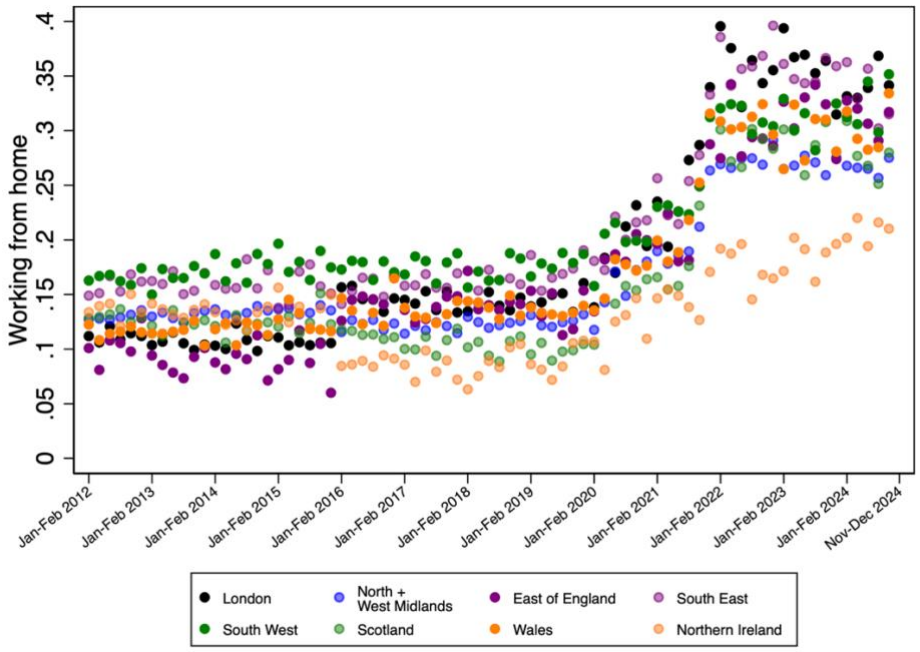
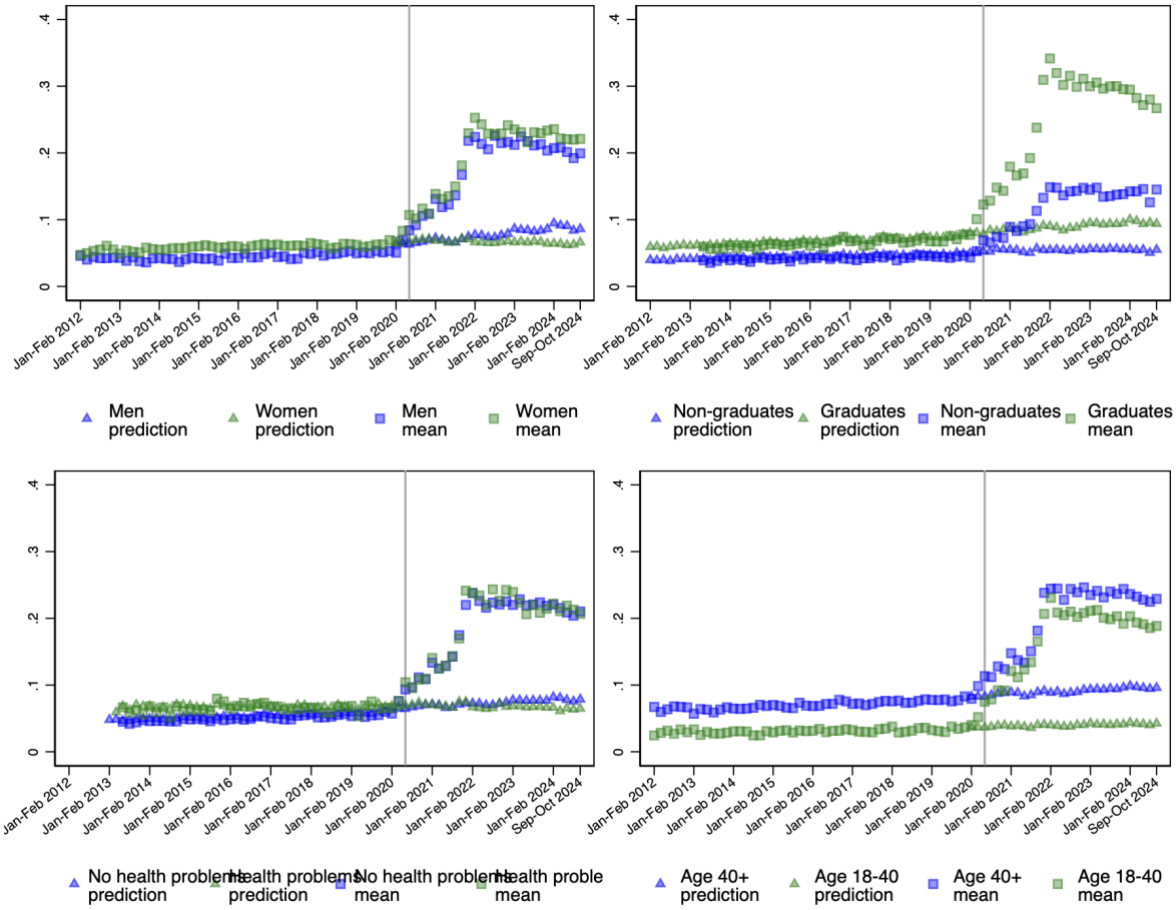


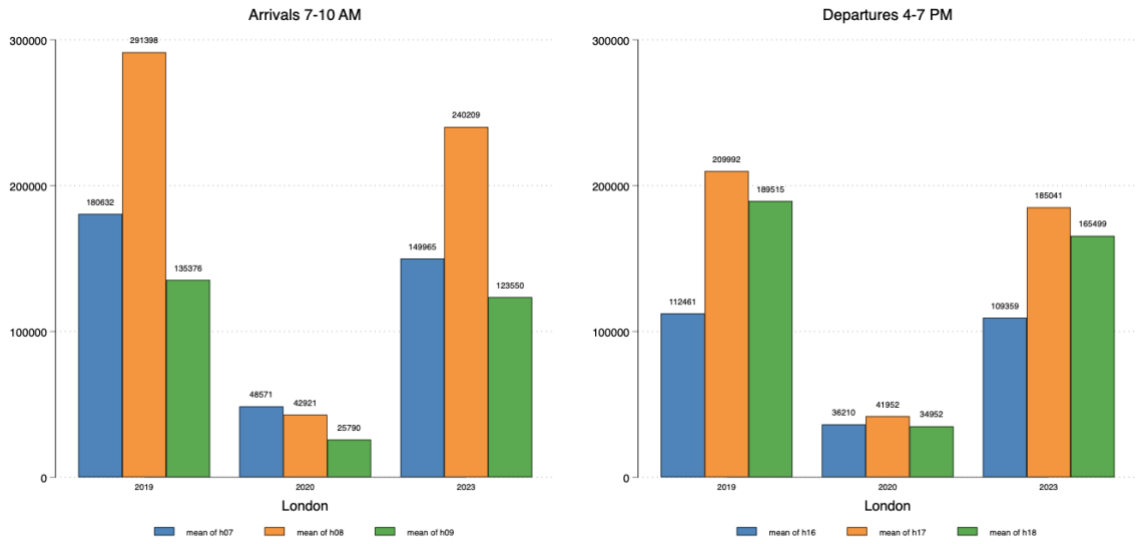
Figure A3: Proportion working *mainly* from home



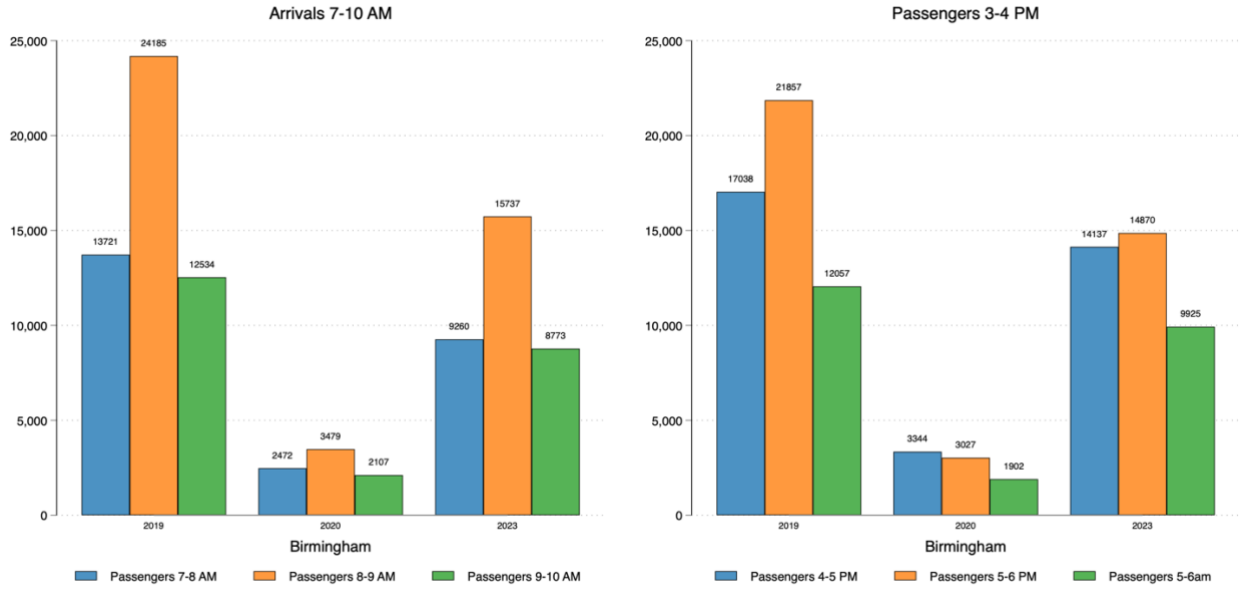
Notes. The figure shows the bi-monthly proportion (square markers) of respondents working *mainly* from home and the prediction out of sample (triangle markers) for the period January 2020 – September/October 2024 based on APS data. Predicted proportion of WFH for the years 2020 - 2024 was obtained by first estimating, separately by sub-sample, a probit for the reported working *mainly* from home on age, highest qualification, economic activity, occupations, region of residence, marital or cohabiting status, a time trend, a squared and cubic time trend and month dummies for the years 2012-2019 and then averaging the out-of sample individual predictions by sub-sample and time. Predictions and means are obtained using the individual weights provided in the APS.

Figure A4: Train passengers flows during rush hours: London, Birmingham and Manchester

(a) London



(b) Birmingham



(c) Manchester

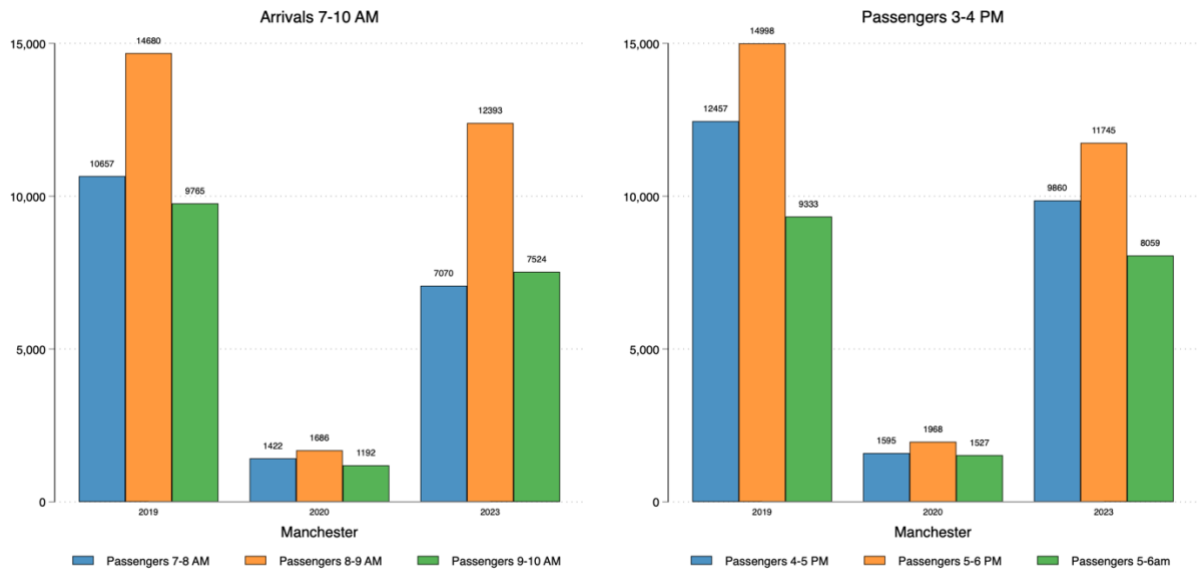
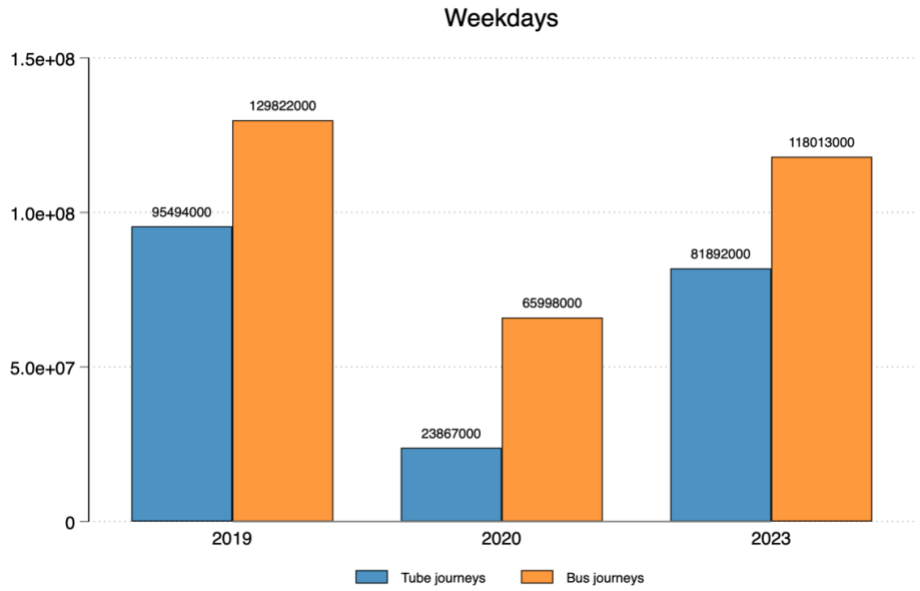


Figure A5: TFL journey counts



Note: total weekday journeys for buses and underground in November 2019, 2020 and 2023 in London as recorded by TFL. Data available from: https://tfl.gov.uk/corporate/publications-and-reports/network-demand-data

Appendix B: CaDDI and OTUS data

Figure B1: CaDDI instrument

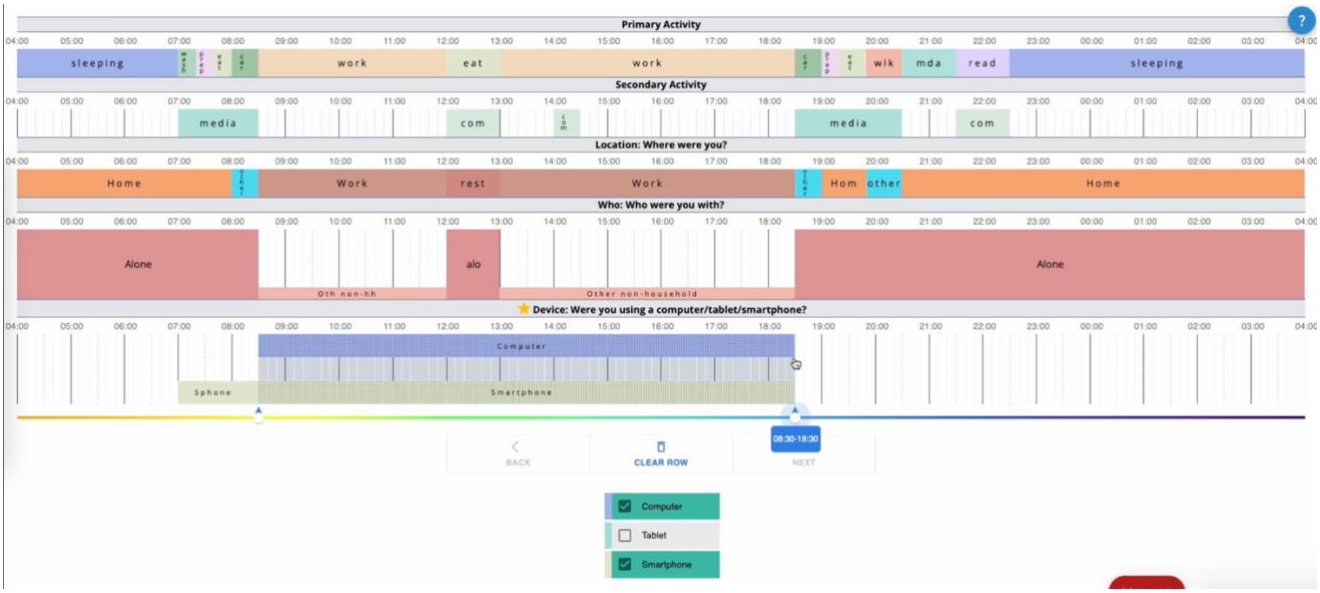


Figure B2: OTUS instrument

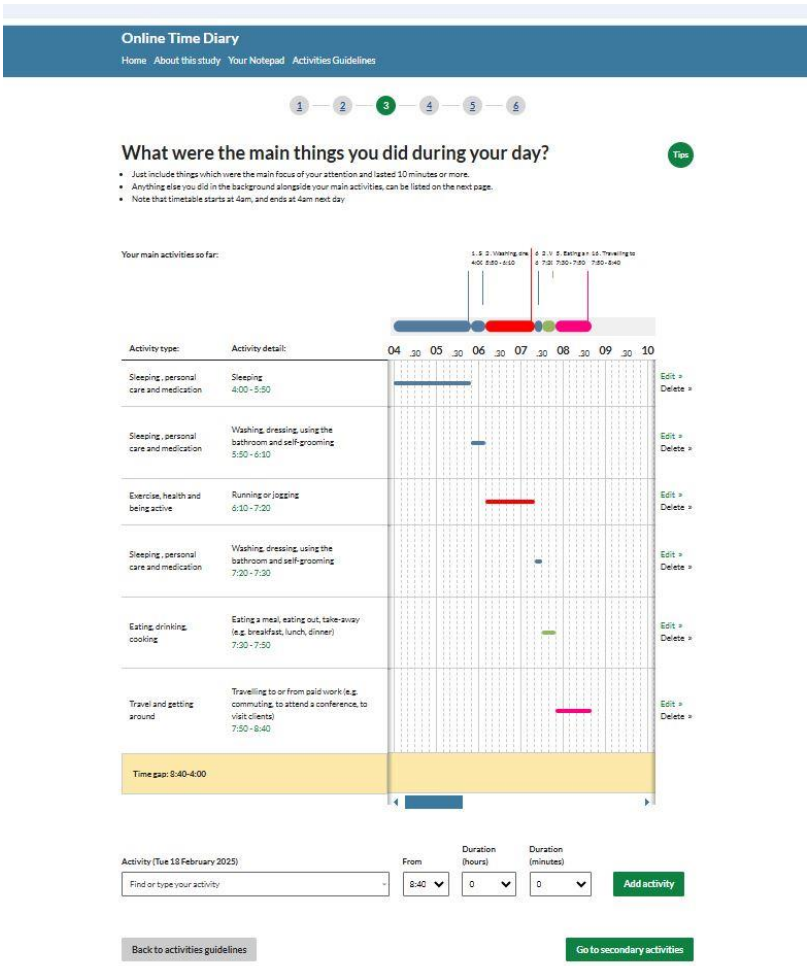


Figure B3: OTUS Wave 8 – Self-reported productivity

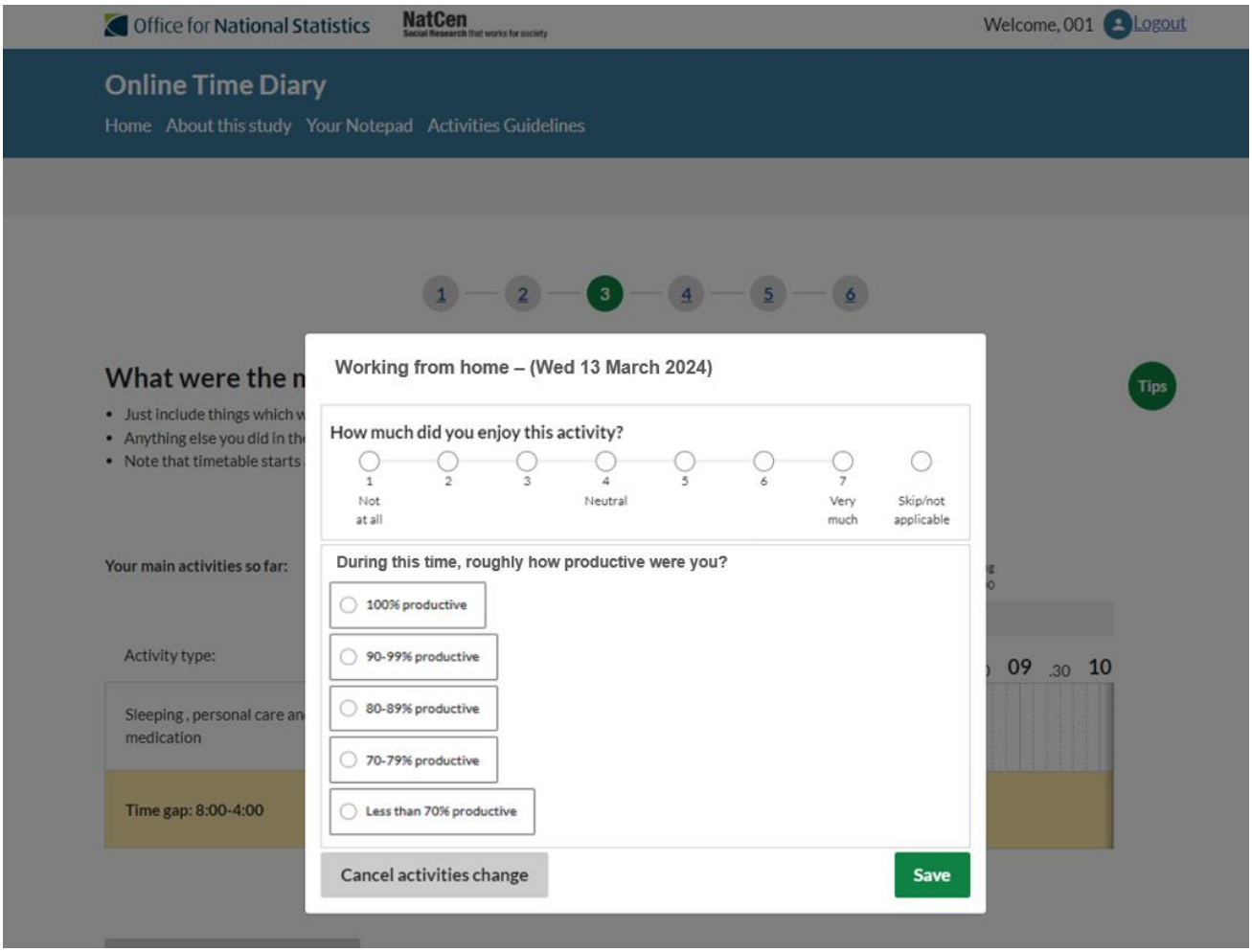


Table B1: Summary Statistics of socio-economic characteristics in CaDDI data

	2016	*May 2020*	*Aug 2020*	*Nov 2020*	*Jan 2021*	*Sep 2021*	*Mar 2023*	*Total*
Female	0.484	0.435	0.472	0.437	0.481	0.406	0.535	0.474
	(0.500)	(0.496)	(0.500)	(0.496)	(0.500)	(0.492)	(0.499)	(0.499)
Age: less than 30	0.196	0.205	0.138	0.129	0.217	0.120	0.147	0.160
	(0.398)	(0.404)	(0.346)	(0.335)	(0.413)	(0.326)	(0.354)	(0.367)
Age: 30 to 40	0.243	0.276	0.296	0.319	0.266	0.243	0.243	0.267
	(0.429)	(0.447)	(0.457)	(0.466)	(0.442)	(0.429)	(0.429)	(0.443)
Age: 40 to 50	0.220	0.258	0.242	0.255	0.231	0.252	0.245	0.244
	(0.414)	(0.438)	(0.429)	(0.436)	(0.422)	(0.435)	(0.430)	(0.430)
Age: 50+	0.341	0.262	0.324	0.298	0.286	0.384	0.365	0.328
	(0.475)	(0.440)	(0.468)	(0.458)	(0.452)	(0.487)	(0.482)	(0.470)
Higher Education	0.486	0.608	0.606	0.630	0.575	0.588	0.497	0.562
	(0.500)	(0.489)	(0.489)	(0.483)	(0.495)	(0.493)	(0.500)	(0.496)
Single/divorced/widowed	0.318	0.356	0.296	0.334	0.335	0.332	0.231	0.302
	(0.466)	(0.479)	(0.457)	(0.472)	(0.472)	(0.471)	(0.422)	(0.459)
At least 1 child <=16 y.o.	0.549	0.632	0.610	0.549	0.564	0.586	0.389	0.529
	(0.498)	(0.483)	(0.488)	(0.498)	(0.496)	(0.493)	(0.488)	(0.499)
Income less than £30K	0.379	0.291	0.236	0.268	0.250	0.258	0.229	0.264
	(0.486)	(0.455)	(0.425)	(0.443)	(0.434)	(0.438)	(0.420)	(0.441)
Income £30k-50k	0.334	0.311	0.322	0.319	0.342	0.295	0.260	0.304
	(0.472)	(0.463)	(0.468)	(0.466)	(0.475)	(0.457)	(0.439)	(0.460)
Income £50k-70k	0.117	0.183	0.193	0.173	0.180	0.144	0.170	0.168
	(0.322)	(0.387)	(0.395)	(0.379)	(0.385)	(0.351)	(0.376)	(0.374)
Income £70k+	0.171	0.215	0.250	0.239	0.227	0.303	0.150	0.212
	(0.377)	(0.411)	(0.433)	(0.427)	(0.419)	(0.460)	(0.357)	(0.409)
Income missing	0.0748	0.0354	0.0390	0.0261	0.0313	0.0408	0.191	0.0810
	(0.263)	(0.185)	(0.194)	(0.159)	(0.174)	(0.198)	(0.394)	(0.273)
East Anglia	0.110	0.0807	0.0780	0.0920	0.0822	0.0816	0.0675	0.0817
	(0.313)	(0.273)	(0.268)	(0.289)	(0.275)	(0.274)	(0.251)	(0.274)
East Midlands	0.100	0.0866	0.0858	0.0445	0.0646	0.0602	0.0957	0.0782
	(0.301)	(0.282)	(0.280)	(0.206)	(0.246)	(0.238)	(0.294)	(0.269)
London	0.0841	0.108	0.0780	0.204	0.168	0.177	0.124	0.136
	(0.278)	(0.311)	(0.268)	(0.403)	(0.374)	(0.382)	(0.330)	(0.343)
North East	0.129	0.154	0.142	0.0368	0.0333	0.0447	0.0427	0.0745
	(0.335)	(0.361)	(0.350)	(0.188)	(0.180)	(0.207)	(0.202)	(0.263)
North West	0.0771	0.0925	0.101	0.0828	0.117	0.134	0.128	0.108
	(0.267)	(0.290)	(0.302)	(0.276)	(0.322)	(0.341)	(0.334)	(0.311)
Northern Ireland	0.0467	0.0453	0.0448	0.0107	0.0274	0.0155	0.0256	0.0291
	(0.211)	(0.208)	(0.207)	(0.103)	(0.163)	(0.124)	(0.158)	(0.168)
Scotland	0.0117	0.0157	0.0175	0.0782	0.0685	0.0680	0.0701	0.0524
	(0.108)	(0.125)	(0.131)	(0.269)	(0.253)	(0.252)	(0.255)	(0.223)
South East	0.112	0.118	0.0955	0.155	0.159	0.155	0.135	0.134

	(0.316)	(0.323)	(0.294)	(0.362)	(0.366)	(0.363)	(0.342)	(0.341)
South West	0.0841	0.0669	0.0838	0.0966	0.0665	0.101	0.100	0.0882
	(0.278)	(0.250)	(0.277)	(0.296)	(0.249)	(0.302)	(0.300)	(0.284)
Wales	0.0467	0.0374	0.0370	0.0383	0.0509	0.0252	0.0385	0.0389
	(0.211)	(0.190)	(0.189)	(0.192)	(0.220)	(0.157)	(0.192)	(0.193)
West Midlands	0.110	0.102	0.168	0.0920	0.0881	0.0699	0.0744	0.0961
	(0.313)	(0.303)	(0.374)	(0.289)	(0.284)	(0.255)	(0.262)	(0.295)
Yorkshire	0.0888	0.0925	0.0682	0.0690	0.0744	0.0680	0.0983	0.0822
	(0.285)	(0.290)	(0.252)	(0.254)	(0.263)	(0.252)	(0.298)	(0.275)
N	428	508	513	652	511	515	1170	4297

Notes: The table shows the average demographic characteristics of individuals in employment interviewed in CaDDI/ELiDDI. Standard deviations are reported in parentheses.

Table B2: Comparison of Annual Population Survey and CaDDI

	APS 2016	**All**	**2016**	**May 2020**	**Aug 2020**	**Nov 2020**	**Jan 2021**	**Sep 2021**	**Mar 2023**
Female	0.468	0.474	0.484	0.435	0.472	0.437	0.481	0.406	0.468
	(0.499)	(0.499)	(0.500)	(0.496)	(0.500)	(0.496)	(0.500)	(0.492)	(0.499)
Higher education qual.	0.436	0.562	0.486	0.608	0.606	0.630	0.575	0.588	0.436
	(0.496)	(0.496)	(0.500)	(0.489)	(0.489)	(0.483)	(0.495)	(0.493)	(0.496)
Less than 30 years	0.254	0.160	0.196	0.205	0.138	0.129	0.217	0.120	0.254
	(0.435)	(0.367)	(0.398)	(0.404)	(0.346)	(0.335)	(0.413)	(0.326)	(0.435)
30 to 40 years	0.228	0.267	0.243	0.276	0.296	0.319	0.266	0.243	0.228
	(0.420)	(0.443)	(0.429)	(0.447)	(0.457)	(0.466)	(0.442)	(0.429)	(0.420)
40 to 50 years	0.241	0.244	0.220	0.258	0.242	0.255	0.231	0.252	0.241
	(0.428)	(0.430)	(0.414)	(0.438)	(0.429)	(0.436)	(0.422)	(0.435)	(0.428)
50 to 69 years	0.277	0.328	0.341	0.262	0.324	0.298	0.286	0.384	0.277
	(0.447)	(0.470)	(0.475)	(0.440)	(0.468)	(0.458)	(0.452)	(0.487)	(0.447)
Single	0.320	0.302	0.318	0.356	0.296	0.334	0.335	0.332	0.320
	(0.467)	(0.459)	(0.466)	(0.479)	(0.457)	(0.472)	(0.472)	(0.471)	(0.467)

Notes: The table shows the average demographic characteristics of individuals in employment interviewed in 2016 for the Annual Population Survey and in CaDDI. These means are calculated using the frequency weights provides in the APS 2016, while the unweighted averages of these demographic variables are presented for the CaDDI surveys. Standard deviations are reported in parentheses.

Table B3: Summary Statistics of time use measures in CaDDI data

	2016	May 2020	Aug 2020	Nov 2020	Jan 2021	Sep 2021	Mar 2023	All
Total work	341.7	232.2	311.2	331.2	298.6	297.6	383.7	324.6
	(240.1)	(249.4)	(253.6)	(233.7)	(239.7)	(258.4)	(212.2)	(241.4)
WFH	39.93	150.5	182.3	202.4	198.1	136.7	129.5	149.5
	(126.4)	(219.1)	(240.8)	(236.0)	(233.1)	(223.1)	(204.2)	(220.2)
Work away from home	297.7	79.78	119.6	124.6	98.02	156.7	243.7	169.1
	(247.2)	(190.9)	(217.1)	(214.9)	(199.2)	(237.0)	(249.4)	(238.0)
Work alone	108.8	124.5	161.4	177.7	164.1	155.9	130.5	145.5
	(204.8)	(211.6)	(237.6)	(233.1)	(223.4)	(237.4)	(202.8)	(220.8)
Work with partner	17.34	50.02	56.20	62.70	61.04	37.81	42.25	47.16
	(81.90)	(142.0)	(149.7)	(156.7)	(153.2)	(121.2)	(124.6)	(135.6)
Work with child	5.607	23.88	29.16	11.50	29.61	14.87	14.22	17.78
	(42.88)	(96.01)	(108.5)	(64.15)	(111.5)	(72.67)	(68.92)	(82.21)
Work with oth hh	8.411	8.681	10.88	10.03	10.35	11.98	9.274	9.877
	(65.21)	(61.31)	(68.96)	(62.22)	(75.58)	(72.92)	(60.22)	(65.74)
Work with smartphone	19.39	12.87	20.12	13.51	14.11	22.68	70.04	31.37
	(90.14)	(77.42)	(94.00)	(59.36)	(71.11)	(96.54)	(158.1)	(110.4)
Work with smartphone	0.421	4.587	4.483	4.172	4.990	2.777	26.10	9.786
at home	(3.909)	(40.08)	(34.33)	(32.36)	(40.99)	(21.48)	(99.80)	(59.64)
Work with computer	186.6	143.0	183.7	210.0	178.3	162.6	233.7	193.6
	(236.2)	(215.0)	(230.8)	(232.8)	(224.3)	(226.5)	(231.7)	(230.7)
Work with computer	24.39	102.6	133.3	147.8	136.4	97.07	111.2	111.0
at home	(99.39)	(188.0)	(214.1)	(213.4)	(208.6)	(192.7)	(193.5)	(196.1)
N	*428*	*508*	*513*	*652*	*511*	*515*	*1170*	*4297*

Table B4: Comparison UK Time Use Survey 2914/15 and CaDDI 2016

	UKTUS 2014/15		*CaDDI 2016*	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total time in work	368.3	284.6	378.1	302.8
	(232.5)	(230.9)	(233.0)	(242.1)
Time in work at home	32.97	21.31	40.09	39.76
	(110.6)	(77.91)	(130.1)	(122.6)
Time in work with hh members	24.61	21.28	34.12	28.41
	(89.10)	(78.59)	(134.7)	(103.7)
N	2,034	2,062	221	207

Notes: The table shows the weighted average number of minutes spent during weekdays in work, work at home and work with copresence of household members for respondents in employment in the UK Time Use survey. Similar unweighted statistics are reported for the CaDDI 2016 respondents. Standard deviations are reported in parentheses

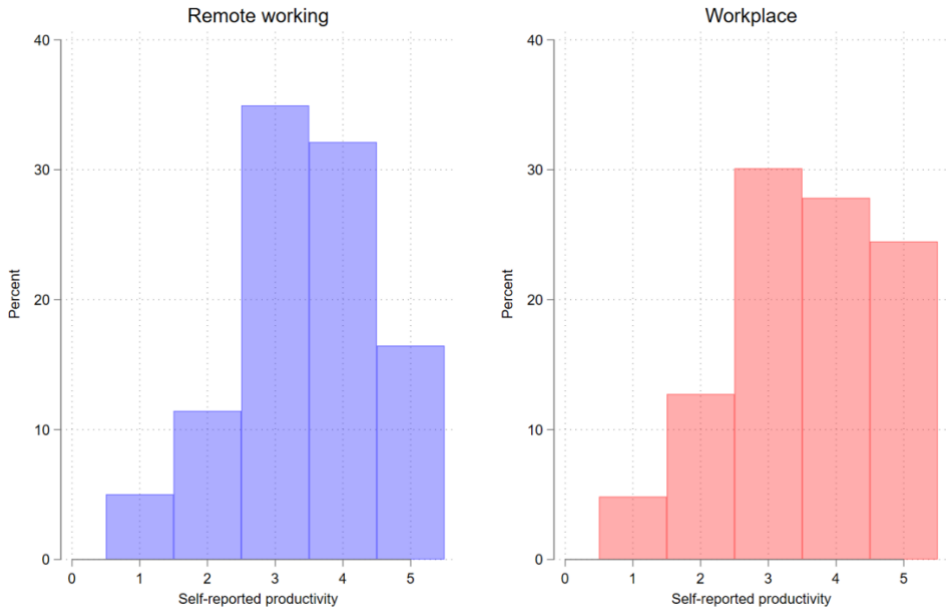
Table B5: Changes in Share of Time in Work with Device Use by Location

	(1) Time in work with computer	(2) Time in work with smartphone	(3) Time in work with computer at home	(4) Time in work with smartphone at home	(5) Time in work with computer at work	(6) Time in work with smartphone at work
Constant	0.329***	0.060**	0.383***	0.016	0.355***	0.069*
	(0.051)	(0.026)	(0.097)	(0.032)	(0.062)	(0.038)
Women	0.085	0.010	0.143	0.023	0.054	0.010
	(0.052)	(0.021)	(0.113)	(0.033)	(0.058)	(0.025)
Panel A: Men						
May 2020	0.053	-0.005	0.154*	-0.003	-0.062	0.034
	(0.051)	(0.020)	(0.091)	(0.015)	(0.074)	(0.040)
August 2020	0.089*	0.023	0.183**	0.035*	-0.073	0.068*
	(0.048)	(0.020)	(0.089)	(0.021)	(0.066)	(0.036)
November 2020	0.063	0.003	0.128	0.016	-0.084	0.020
	(0.045)	(0.016)	(0.086)	(0.014)	(0.060)	(0.026)
January 2021	0.047	0.013	0.095	0.026	-0.072	0.045
	(0.048)	(0.019)	(0.089)	(0.017)	(0.072)	(0.038)
September 2021	-0.028	0.049**	0.156*	0.059**	-0.189***	0.081**
	(0.048)	(0.022)	(0.090)	(0.025)	(0.055)	(0.032)
March 2023	0.104**	0.163***	0.257***	0.207***	-0.039	0.158***
	(0.041)	(0.021)	(0.084)	(0.027)	(0.047)	(0.026)
Panel B: Women						
May 2020	0.0599	-0.017	0.0438	-0.016	-0.029	0.066
	(0.0581)	(0.0256)	(0.0944)	(0.0388)	(0.0935)	(0.0538)
August 2020	-0.006	-0.024	0.0722	-0.021	-0.165**	0.0249
	(0.0533)	(0.0234)	(0.0911)	(0.037)	(0.0729)	(0.0428)
November 2020	0.0507	-0.020	0.0554	-0.016	-0.040	0.0191
	(0.0499)	(0.0216)	(0.0881)	(0.0357)	(0.0735)	(0.0378)
January 2021	0.0011	-0.036*	0.0742	-0.038	-0.156**	-0.001
	(0.0524)	(0.0216)	(0.0905)	(0.0351)	(0.0736)	(0.0389)
September 2021	0.0149	-0.008	0.0211	-0.017	-0.014	0.0153
	(0.0583)	(0.0242)	(0.0979)	(0.0378)	(0.0772)	(0.0406)
March 2023	0.0232	0.122***	0.0372	0.153***	-0.038	0.115***
	(0.0438)	(0.0227)	(0.0855)	(0.041)	(0.0517)	(0.0272)
Observations	3035	3035	1682	1682	1586	1586
R-squared	0.059	0.08	0.05	0.113	0.081	0.061

Notes: Data come from the 2016, May 2020, August 2020, November 2020, January 2021, September 2021, and March 2023 CaDDI time diary surveys. Observations are diaries of respondents interviewed in the seven waves of the CaDDI surveys. The dependent variables measure the shares of minutes spent at work by device use and location. The table reports OLS estimates of changes in time allocation during the COVID-19 pandemic (with respect to the pre-pandemic period, i.e., 2016) while controlling for different sets of covariates such as the sociodemographic characteristics, which include age, an indicator for whether there is a child aged 16 or under in the household, and highest qualification, economic characteristics covariate which include household income and the regional dummies, which include the following 12 regions: North East, North West, Yorkshire and the Humber, East Midlands, West Midlands, East London, South East, South West, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. Panel A reports coefficients for men while Panel B reports the coefficients for women ($\alpha_k^M + \alpha_k^F$) from Equation 1. Robust standard errors are in parentheses. *** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1. ***.

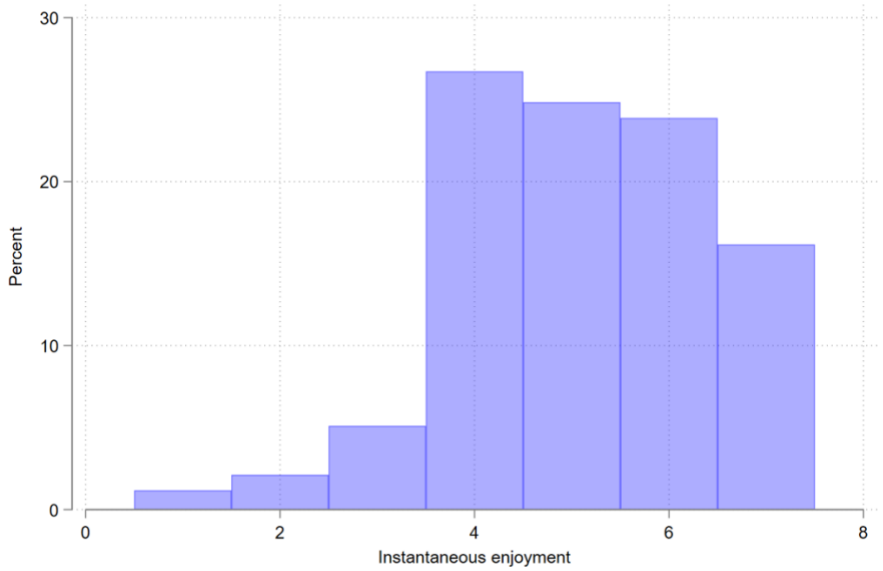
Appendix C: OTUS data

Figure C1: Distribution of the self-reported measure of productivity



Notes: unweighted measure of self-reported productivity in wave 8 over 1,651 episodes of work.

Figure C2: Distribution of the instantaneous enjoyment across all episodes and waves



Notes: unweighted measure of enjoyment across all episodes in the 8 waves of OTUS data.

Table C1: Summary Statistics of socio-economic characteristics in OTUS data

	Wave 1	*Wave 2*	*Wave 3*	*Wave 4*	*Wave 5*	*Wave 6*	*Wave 7*	*Wave 8*	*All*
Female	0.597	0.597	0.608	0.615	0.560	0.546	0.516	0.512	0.564

	(0.491)	(0.491)	(0.489)	(0.487)	(0.497)	(0.498)	(0.500)	(0.500)	(0.496)
College degree	0.597	0.634	0.553	0.639	0.607	0.594	0.523	0.512	0.580
	(0.491)	(0.482)	(0.497)	(0.480)	(0.489)	(0.491)	(0.500)	(0.500)	(0.494)
GCSE-A level	0.355	0.336	0.401	0.318	0.352	0.361	0.424	0.428	0.373
	(0.479)	(0.473)	(0.490)	(0.466)	(0.478)	(0.480)	(0.494)	(0.495)	(0.484)
Other or no qual.	0.0474	0.0296	0.0455	0.0427	0.0409	0.0456	0.0534	0.0602	0.0465
	(0.213)	(0.170)	(0.209)	(0.202)	(0.198)	(0.209)	(0.225)	(0.238)	(0.211)
Age: less than 34	0.157	0.201	0.147	0.216	0.209	0.199	0.214	0.249	0.202
	(0.364)	(0.401)	(0.355)	(0.412)	(0.407)	(0.400)	(0.410)	(0.433)	(0.402)
Age: 35 to 44	0.237	0.235	0.242	0.260	0.244	0.259	0.257	0.234	0.249
	(0.426)	(0.424)	(0.429)	(0.439)	(0.430)	(0.438)	(0.437)	(0.424)	(0.432)
Age: 45 to 55	0.321	0.285	0.306	0.246	0.270	0.252	0.259	0.256	0.268
	(0.467)	(0.452)	(0.461)	(0.431)	(0.444)	(0.434)	(0.438)	(0.437)	(0.443)
Age: 55+	0.284	0.279	0.304	0.277	0.277	0.290	0.271	0.261	0.281
	(0.451)	(0.449)	(0.460)	(0.448)	(0.448)	(0.454)	(0.444)	(0.439)	(0.449)
N of Children age 0-4	0.0981	0.113	0.102	0.126	0.116	0.122	0.123	0.138	0.119
	(0.298)	(0.317)	(0.302)	(0.332)	(0.321)	(0.327)	(0.329)	(0.345)	(0.324)
N of Children age 5-10	0.195	0.174	0.181	0.185	0.177	0.170	0.177	0.155	0.175
	(0.396)	(0.379)	(0.385)	(0.388)	(0.381)	(0.376)	(0.382)	(0.362)	(0.380)
N of Children age 11-15	0.179	0.168	0.190	0.160	0.191	0.160	0.180	0.163	0.173
	(0.384)	(0.374)	(0.392)	(0.367)	(0.393)	(0.367)	(0.384)	(0.370)	(0.378)
Single	0.421	0.473	0.455	0.442	0.439	0.417	0.406	0.412	0.430
N	591	541	1032	1266	1076	1711	1142	1047	8406

Notes: unweighted socio-demographic characteristics in OTUS data.

Table C2: Summary Statistics of time use in OTUS data

	Wave 1	*Wave 2*	*Wave 3*	*Wave 4*	*Wave 5*	*Wave 6*	*Wave 7*	*Wave 8*	*All*
	(0.494)	(0.500)	(0.498)	(0.497)	(0.496)	(0.493)	(0.491)	(0.492)	(0.495)
Time remote work	110.3	145.0	154.8	136.3	113.2	112.3	107.9	108.1	122.1
	(180.8)	(209.7)	(214.0)	(201.3)	(186.1)	(187.7)	(185.5)	(189.4)	(194.5)
Total time work	268.9	350.4	337.2	352.0	355.0	346.6	354.7	369.8	346.1
	(223.2)	(212.2)	(221.3)	(210.7)	(208.5)	(213.2)	(210.7)	(209.1)	(214.2)
N	591	541	1032	1266	1076	1711	1142	1047	8406

Notes: unweighted number of minutes in work and time in work at home from OTUS data.

Table C2: Activities Included in Personal Care, Leisure, Unpaid Work, Paid Work and Computer - OTUS data

Personal Care	Leisure	Unpaid Work	Travel	Paid work	Computer
Sleeping	Walking dog	Cleaning/tidying	Travel (e.g. walking, driving)	Working	Writing open-source software
Washing/getting ready	Watching TV/DVDs	Washing up	Commuting (e.g. to work, conference, clients)	Paid childcare/cleaning/odd jobs	Creating/coding website
Medication/health care	Streaming videos	Ironing/laundry	Travel for unpaid work (e.g. volunteering)	Renting out personal items	Writing online/content creation
Eating/takeaway	Watching TV/DVDs	Repairs (home/vehicle)	Shopping travel	Using private vehicle for work	Assisting others online
Cooking/washing up	Work break	Caring for pets	Social travel (e.g. pub, park)	Selling personal items	Supporting causes online
Cooking	Listening to audio	Feeding/caring for pets	Escorting kids to school/childcare	Using device for directions	
Snacking	Browsing internet	Packing for travel	Other travel (e.g. holiday, medical, gym)	Finding guidance online	
Drinking (tea, coffee, alcohol)	Checking email	Organizing household items	General computer use		
Appointments/errands (e.g. doctor, bank)	Social media	Fireplace maintenance	Working from home	Computer (no main purpose)	
	Reading (books, magazines)	DIY/gardening		Using computer/laptop	
	Socializing	Volunteering		Other computer use (e.g. coding, writing, helping online)	
	Calling/texting family & friends	Caring for children			
	Gaming	Comforting/cuddling children			
	Attending events (e.g. cinema, concert, museum)	Helping with homework			
	Hobbies/leisure	Reading to children			
	Resting/lying in bed	Playing with children			
	Talking with family/friends	Homeschooling			
	Religious event	Watching/attending child's event			
	Political meeting	Teaching children life skills			
	Other meeting/event	Teaching child development (e.g. writing, counting, baking)			
	Checking phone/tablet	Childcare (secondary activity)			
	Chatting	Adult care (secondary activity)			
	Exercise (gym, class, jogging)	Caring for adults			
	Team sports	Shopping			

Personal Care	Leisure	Unpaid Work	Travel	Paid work	Computer
	Other sports/exercise (hiking, cycling)	Browsing/window shopping			
	Walking for exercise	Queueing/waiting			
	Meditation/well-being	Banking/household tasks			
	Health/well-being activity	Financial/admin tasks			
	Fun course	Document completion (e.g. applications, forms)			
	Praying	Household admin			
	Smoking/vaping	DIY			
	Chatting	Gardening			
	Writing/texting/emailing				