Experience and Intensity of Telework: Links with Well-being after a Year of the COVID-19 Pandemic in France

Elena Reboul, Ariane Pailhé, Emilie Counil

Experience and Intensity of Telework: Links with Well-being after a Year of the COVID-19 Pandemic in France

Elena Reboul,* Ariane Pailhé,** Emilie Counil,** for the EpiCov team[1]

Abstract

Implemented on a massive scale during the Covid-19 pandemic, telework is now an established form of work organization, but its effects on workers' well-being remain a subject of debate. Drawing on data from a longitudinal survey representative of the French population (EpiCov), this article uses sequence analysis to retrace the work patterns of almost 40,000 people in paid employment and their recourse to telework during the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic in France. It also uses regressions to examine the repercussions on people's work-life balance and mental health during a period of calm in the pandemic (summer 2021) when working conditions returned almost to normal. In this context, teleworking had a strongly positive impact on the work-life balance, with beneficial effects that increased with the number of days spent working from home. The benefits were greater for women and for parents, and were independent of telework experience before the pandemic. On average, telework does not seem to have affected the risk of depression or anxiety.

Keywords

telework, France, trajectories, gender, well-being, work-life balance

Implemented on a massive scale during the COVID-19 pandemic as a means to slow the spread of the virus while maintaining economic activity (OECD, 2021), telework is now an established practice. It may have many advantages for workers and businesses, and likewise for the environment, but research conducted before the pandemic found that telework had an ambiguous effect

(1) Nathalie Bajos and Josiane Warszawski (lead scientists). Guillaume Bagein. François Beck. Emilie Counil. Florence Jusot. Nathalie Lydie. Claude Martin. Laurence Meyer. Ariane Pailhé. Philippe Raynaud. Alexandra Rouquette. Delphine Rahib. Patrick Sicard. Rémy Slama. Alexis Spire.

* Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM). Centre d'Etudes de l'Emploi et du Travail (CEET). Correspondence: elena.reboul@travail.gouv.fr

** Institut national d'études démographiques (INED).

Acknowledgements: This research received funding from the Agence nationale de la recherche ('Résilience Covid-19'. reference ANR-21-COVR-0028-01).

Translated by Catriona Dutreuilh

on quality of life (Bailey and Kurland, 2002; Vayre, 2019). These studies often focused on atypical telework situations and specific occupations, however. Now that this form of work organization has become widespread, the question deserves to be revisited.

While telework, in the strictest sense is 'a regular and formal mode of organization and execution of paid work, performed remotely via information and communication technologies, either totally or in part' (Vayre, 2019: p.5), it covers a diversity of situations that vary in terms of their regularity, formalization, share of total worktime, type of work performed, or employees' readiness to adopt such practices. In this respect, the teleworking conditions in the early days of the pandemic were very singular. Massive numbers of people began working from home, with little prior preparation and most often with no choice in the matter. Many were obliged to work in the presence of other household members, or while looking after children and providing help with their schoolwork. Under these conditions, telework may have been a negative experience, especially for parents and for women, who shouldered most of the additional burden of domestic work, childcare, and home schooling (Del Boca et al., 2020; Pailhé et al., 2022).

This article tracks how teleworking practices evolved in response to the COVID-19 pandemic in France and documents its repercussions on workers' well-being after the peak of the health crisis, at a time when the practice was taking root and when working conditions were returning to normal. Given the wide range of teleworking practices, this article also explores potential heterogeneity in its effects according to experience of telework before the pandemic and its intensity (number of days per week spent working from home). It also pays close attention to differences by sex and family situation.

It draws on data from a representative longitudinal survey launched in France at the time of the first lockdown in May 2020 (EpiCov: *Épidémiologie et Conditions de vie sous le Covid-19*, INSERM/DREES), crossing information on teleworking practices with indicators of mental health and quality of the work-life balance obtained from respondents in the summer of 2021. While the COVID-19 pandemic was still ongoing, the survey took place at a time of rapidly declining transmission thanks to the nationwide vaccination campaign (Costemalle et al., 2021). Social distancing rules were being lifted, with the reopening on 9 June of the last public spaces to remain closed (bars, restaurants, stadiums and sports facilities)[(2)] and the lifting of the government recommendation for exclusive teleworking (Jauneau, 2022). From November 2020, telework was regulated under a national interbranch agreement.

After a brief literature review followed by a description of data and methods, we present a typology of work trajectories between the pre-crisis period and the

(2) On 30 June 2021, restrictions on numbers of entries were lifted for these establishments and cultural venues (reopened since 19 May). Concerts with standing audiences resumed, followed by night clubs on 9 July.

summer of 2021. We describe the sociodemographic and occupational profiles associated with these various trajectories, each reflecting different telework experiences and practices. We then analyse the links between these work trajectories and three indicators of well-being in the summer of 2021: changes in the work-life balance since before the pandemic; presence of a depressive syndrome; and presence of an anxiety disorder. We conclude by describing the asymmetries observed among teleworkers according to telework intensity.

I. Literature review

The literature on the link between work organization and well-being outside the context of the pandemic shows that the effects of working from home are not clearcut. On the one hand, telework reduces commuting time, affords greater autonomy (Gajendran and Harrison, 2007), offers more flexible working hours (Maruyama et al., 2009), and helps to reduce fatigue and stress (Fonner and Rollof, 2010). On the other hand, teleworkers are at greater risk of social isolation (Bailey and Kurland, 2002; Mann and Holdsworth, 2003) and higher work intensity. Their working hours are liable to spill over into the evenings and weekends (Metzger and Cléach, 2004; Noonan and Glass, 2012; Felstead and Henseke, 2017; Hallépée and Mauroux, 2019; Knardahl and Christensen, 2022), and/or their family responsibilities may interfere with their work (Lapierre and Allen, 2006; Tremblay, 2006; Eddleston and Mulki, 2017). The repercussions of telework on the work-life balance thus remain unclear, with some studies finding an increase in stress (Kazekami, 2020) and greater role conflicts (Duxbury et al., 1994; Eddleston and Mulki, 2017; Kim et al., 2020), while others find no significant effects (Hill et al., 1996; Sullivan and Lewis, 2006; Morganson et al., 2010). A number of studies, on the contrary, find positive impacts on the work-life balance (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001; Gajendran and Harrison, 2007; Hilbrecht et al., 2008; Maruyama et al., 2009; Dockery and Bawa, 2018; Laß and Wooden, 2022). These contradictory findings are partly explained by differences in the definition of telework, and by the fact that a majority of earlier studies focused on small samples of employees with specific occupations, in companies with proactive telework policies. Very few studies use data representative of the entire population (Noonan and Glass, 2012; Felstead and Henseke, 2017; Kim et al., 2020; Yang et al., 2023), and even fewer are based on longitudinal data (Dockery and Bawa, 2018; Laß and Wooden, 2022).

The effects of telework also depend on its characteristics. Work-family conflict and occupational stress decline as experience of telework increases, reflecting a process of adaptation (Gajendran and Harrison, 2007; Vayre, 2009). An increase in teleworking, for its part, is associated with less disruption of family life due to work commitments (Golden et al., 2006; Gajendran and Harrison, 2007; Hornung and Glaser, 2009), less work exhaustion (Golden,

2006), and greater life satisfaction (Hornung and Glaser, 2009; Virick et al., 2010). However, it also correlated with greater encroachment of family demands on work time (Golden et al., 2006) and stronger feelings of isolation (Golden et al., 2008).

The gendered dimensions of telework on well-being are still being debated, due primarily to its ambiguous impact on women's work-life balance. The difficulties of conceptualizing and measuring the quality of this balance contribute to the lack of clarity (Kurowska, 2020). It has been argued that telework is especially beneficial for women as a means to deal with the dual commitments of family and working life (Chung and Van der Lippe, 2020; Angelici and Profeta, 2020; Laß and Wooden, 2022). At the same time, it also appears to maintain and even strengthen gender inequalities in the division of domestic labour and leisure time (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001; Noonan et al., 2007; Hilbrecht et al., 2008, 2013; Sullivan, 2012; Kurowska, 2020; Lyttelton et al., 2022), although certain studies have documented greater parental investment among fathers who work from home (Dockery and Bawa, 2018; Lyttelton et al., 2022). If the division of responsibilities between partners is not adapted accordingly, telework might adversely affect women's well-being by increasing their overall workload (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001), reducing the quality of their work time (Lyttelton et al., 2022) and exacerbating role conflicts (Duxbury et al., 2018), especially if they work non-standard hours (Yang et al., 2023). That said, qualitative studies have shown that mothers tend to value the flexibility of telework and the extra freedom it gives them to spend time with their children, despite the constraints of juggling work and school schedules and their lack of personal time (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001; Crosbie and Moore, 2004; Hillbrecht et al., 2008).

While the imposition of exclusive teleworking may have been associated with lower well-being during the COVID-19 pandemic (Niu et al., 2021), it is difficult to identify the specific effects of telework by isolating it from other factors at play over the period (Gueguen and Senik, 2021), and few studies have focused on this question. The study by Schifano et al. (2021), based on a panel survey of several thousand individuals conducted between February and November 2020 in a group of five European countries (including France), found that the transition to telework had no significant effect on the probability of depression, feelings of loneliness or life satisfaction. It slightly weakened the feeling that life is meaningful but reduced the probability of anxiety. In the United Kingdom, the study by Gueguen and Senik (2022) based on a large longitudinal survey covering the period April-November 2020, highlights the positive impact of telework on life satisfaction and its dynamic effects on mental health, which tended to deteriorate at the time of transition to telework before improving again after several months.

Large-scale longitudinal analyses of this kind have not yet been conducted in France where, as elsewhere, work organization was severely disrupted.

According to Labour Force survey data,(3) 18% of employees in France worked regularly or occasionally at home in 2019 (compared with an EU-27 average of 11%), and 31% in 2021 (again above the European average of 22%). The TraCov survey on around 17,000 individuals working in France, conducted by DARES at the beginning of the third wave (in the winter of 2021), provided some early data on the implications of telework during the pandemic. At that time, teleworkers more often reported a heavier workload (compared to before the pandemic) than other workers, and non-standard working hours (at night, in the evening and the early morning), but also greater work autonomy and fewer difficulties in reconciling work and personal life. Teleworking women more often reported a heavier workload and a more difficult work-life balance than their male counterparts (Erb et al., 2022).

Thanks to a longitudinal perspective and greater hindsight than during the peak of the health crisis, the EpiCov prospective cohort is shedding new light on these questions. It provides data on teleworking trends between May 2020 and August 2021 and on levels of well-being in the summer of 2021. During this period of lower COVID-19 transmission and rising vaccination uptake, teleworking conditions returned to more normal conditions, although the pandemic was still far from over.

II. Method

1. Data

Our analyses are based on data from the EpiCov survey (*Épidémiologie et Conditions de vie sous le Covid-19*; Epidemiology and Living Conditions under COVID-19) conducted by INSERM and DREES, in association with INSEE and Santé publique France. Around 135,000 respondents aged 15 and over, living in metropolitan France and in the overseas departments of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion (from among 371,000 people drawn at random from 2018 Fidéli tax data), responded via Internet or by phone to the first survey wave that took place between 2 May and 2 June 2020, spanning the end of the first lockdown (from 17 March to 11 May 2020) and its subsequent lifting. Around 110,000 people took part in the second wave, from 26 October to 20 November 2020, during the second lockdown (which lasted from 30 October to 15 December 2020), and 85,000 in the third wave, from 24 June to 9 August 2021, after the third lockdown. Weightings to adjust for non-response bias (the younger, less educated individuals on low incomes had a lower response rate in each wave) (Warszawski et al., 2021) were used in all our analyses.

Our population of interest comprises working-age individuals (aged 20–65) in employment before the first lockdown (excluding apprentices and trainees)

(3) https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFSA_EHOMP__custom_3882305/default/table?lang=en

who took part in the three survey waves, i.e. 44,078 individuals, reduced to 43,857 after removing those with missing values. We retrace their work trajectories from the 'pre-crisis' period (just before the first lockdown) up to the summer of 2021 and, for those still working at that time (39,144 people), we analyse the links between telework and well-being in the summer of 2021. Appendix Table A.1 presents the structure of the various analysis samples.

2. Measuring telework and well-being

Definition of telework

At each wave, respondents were asked to report their activity status and their teleworking practices during the week preceding the survey ('Have you worked from home in the last 7 days? Yes, you have worked exclusively from home / Yes, but you have also worked at your workplace / No, you have worked exclusively at your workplace'). During the first wave, they were also asked about their teleworking practices just before the start of the first lockdown ('Did you work from home before the lockdown, Yes/No'). For respondents who were working before the lockdown but who did not work in the week preceding the survey and who were therefore not asked this question (in most cases because they were on full furlough,[4] suggesting that their job could not be performed from home[5]), we impute an absence of telework before the lockdown.

The definition of telework was left to the discretion of respondents. It thus encompasses a variety of practices around the formalized central notion of work performed during standard working hours using information and communication technologies.

Indicators of well-being

We used three indicators of well-being measured during the third wave. The first corresponds to reported changes in the work-life balance since before the health crisis, in response to the question: 'At the moment, is it easier or more difficult for you to balance your work and personal life than before the health crisis? Much easier/Easier/No change/More difficult/Much more difficult'. We distinguished three categories of change: improvement, stability, deterioration.

The two other indicators concern the presence of a depressive syndrome or an anxiety disorder, detected respectively by PHQ–9 (Patient Health

(4) Under the French furlough system, employees whose hours were reduced or who stopped working altogether because their employers were obliged to limit or halt their activity received compensation from the government to make up for their loss of income. Employees obliged to stop work to look after their children during the lockdowns were also eligible for compensation. Compensatory payments amounted to at least 70% of their previous gross salary.

(5) 73% of respondents who were working before the lockdown were still in employment in the first wave, 18% were on full furlough, 7% were on annual leave, 1% were seeking employment and 0.3% were inactive.

Questionnaire–9) and GAD–7 (Generalized Anxiety Disorder–7). These questionnaires record the frequency of various clinical symptoms experienced by respondents over the previous two weeks, using four response categories: never, for several days, for more than half the days, practically every day. Each frequency level is associated with a score, from 0 to 27 for PHQ–9, and from 0 to 21 for GAD–7. We applied a threshold of 10 or above, the score that corresponds to moderate to severe depressive symptoms and a diagnosis of generalized anxiety (Kroenke et al., 2010).

3. Empirical strategy

Construction and description of a typology of trajectories

Using sequence analysis (Abbott, 1995), a typology of trajectories was constructed from longitudinal data on the employment status of respondents who were working before the first lockdown. Four states were considered (employment status before the first lockdown and in the week preceding the survey in each of the three waves), with seven categories: inactivity, unemployment, full furlough (temporary cessation of work), employment in the habitual workplace (no telework), hybrid telework (combination of working from home and at the workplace), exclusive telework (working exclusively from home), and annual leave. Partial furlough (temporary reduction of working hours) cannot be placed in an exclusive category as it may be combined with the other categories mentioned above: employment in the workplace (in most cases), hybrid telework and exclusive telework.

The 367 distinct trajectories defined in this way were grouped into five classes based on similarity[6] through an ascending hierarchical clustering (AHC) using the Ward method. The classes were then refined via partition clustering with the k-medoids algorithm (Kaufman and Rousseeuw, 1990), using the centres of the classes already obtained as initial centres (Robette, 2021).[7]

The socioeconomic profiles of these five classes of trajectories are described using multinomial regression based on variables measured in the first wave: sociodemographic variables (sex, age, educational level, residence in an overseas department, place of residence), occupational variables (occupational category and sector of activity,[8] private or public sector, type of employment contract) and variables characterizing the home environment (living with a partner, family situation, i.e. having minor children or not, and overcrowding,

(6) We measured dissimilarity between sequences by optimal matching using the Levenshtein distance, i.e. the minimum number of changes (substitutions, deletions, insertions) needed to transform one sequence into another.

(7) 32% of the sequences moved to a different class during this consolidation. This reallocation mainly concerned sequences that included annual leave (43%) and a temporary period of telework or furlough during the first wave (25%). The packages R TraMineR (Gabadinho et al., 2011) and WeightedCluster (Studer, 2013) were used for these analyses.

(8) Occupational category and sector of activity were imputed on the basis of responses recorded in the second wave.

i.e. one room or fewer per person, excluding the kitchen and bathroom). As family constraints may have had a differential impact on men's and women's work activity, we also tested an interaction between sex and family situation, which was found to be significant, and whose results are given in the appendix (Figure A1).

Multivariate analyses to assess the links between telework and well-being

The links between trajectory classes and well-being indicators were assessed on the sub-sample of individuals in employment[9] at the time of the third wave, using logistic and multinomial regressions with two nested models (Specifications 1 and 2). Specification 1 includes the variables mentioned above (updated in the third wave) and additional controls to minimize confusion of associations: for part-time working in the third wave, for experience of a severe form of COVID (liable to heighten anxiety) during the pandemic, either personally or among family or friends, and for pre-pandemic medical conditions (chronic health problems dating back at least six months reported in the first wave), distinguishing the presence of depression or anxiety from other problems. To explore how the trajectories influenced well-being, Specification 2 adds four potential mediators. The first is a binary indicator of a reported deterioration in the household's financial status since before the pandemic, which may have affected mental health and may have concerned workers in teleworkable occupations less frequently than the others. The three others are linked to work organization during the third wave and were selected on the basis of the literature presented above. As telework is liable to reduce well-being by lengthening working days or extending them beyond standing working hours, but may also improve well-being by giving workers more control over the organization of their time, we included mean daily working hours in the reference week, frequency of non-standard working hours (evening, night or early morning) and perceived gains in work autonomy during the crisis ('Since the start of the health crisis, have you been able to work with more autonomy than usual, compared with before? Always/often/sometimes/never').

Last, we focused on full-time employees[10] who worked from home during the second wave (7,809 individuals), to examine the links between well-being and number of teleworking days in the reference week (calculated as the difference between the number of days spent at the workplace and a typical five-day working week). The correlations were adjusted on the same variables as Specification 2, with additional controls for working time in the third wave and teleworking practices before the pandemic. The number of teleworking days squared was included in the regressions of change in the work-life balance,

(9) But who may have been on annual leave or full furlough at the time of the survey.

(10) Broadening the analysis to include part-time workers does not substantially affect the nature of the results (online Table C9).

as the descriptive statistics (Table 6) suggest a curvilinear relationship and the coefficient of the quadratic terms is statistically significant. The potential heterogeneity of the links between telework and well-being was tested by including interactions between trajectory classes and two moderators of interest: sex and family situation. Likewise for the number of teleworking days, a third moderator was added, in this case telework experience.

The results are presented as the average marginal effects[11] of the independent variables on the dependent variable (i.e. the average of their marginal effects determined for each respondent in the sample on the basis of their characteristics). The interactions are presented in the text if they are significant at the 5% level.[12] The other interaction tests are given in the online appendices (Tables C2, C3, C5, C6, C7).

III. Profiles of activity trajectories during the COVID-19 pandemic

1. Activity trajectories marked by the shock of the first lockdown

Before the health crisis, 12% of working individuals aged 20–65 reported working from home (slightly different shares are found in other sources, see Box 1). The shock of the first lockdown in the spring of 2020 severely disrupted work organization. Non-essential businesses and services were closed and, wherever possible, employees were required to work from home, with little advance warning and no prior agreement. Among individuals aged 20–65 who were working before the lockdown, 17% were now placed on full furlough and 33% worked from home, 21% exclusively. The majority of these teleworkers (62%) had no experience of telework before the pandemic. Moreover, while men accounted for a slightly higher proportion of teleworkers before the health crisis, telework being more common in male-dominated occupations, 35% of women were working from home in the spring of 2020, versus 31% of men (Figure 1). Telework and the furlough system limited job losses: only 1% of respondents who were working before the lockdown were unemployed in May 2020, and 0.4% inactive. The share of respondents who stopped working was similar for both men and women. Last, 7% of respondents were on leave (6% of men and 8% of women, who more frequently took time off work to look after their children).

(11) They make it easier to compare the results of non-linear nested models (Mood, 2010) and to test interaction effects whose existence and scale cannot be deduced, in the non-linear models, from the size and significance of the interaction term (Ai and Norton, 2003).

(12) To test an interaction between variables X and Z, we calculated the average marginal effects of X for each category of Z (and respectively those of Z for each category of X), and then tested the significance of the difference between these average marginal effects—or second difference—with the Wald test using estimates of variance and covariance calculated with the delta method. A second difference statistically different from 0 at the 5% level indicates significant interaction effects (Long and Freese, 2014).

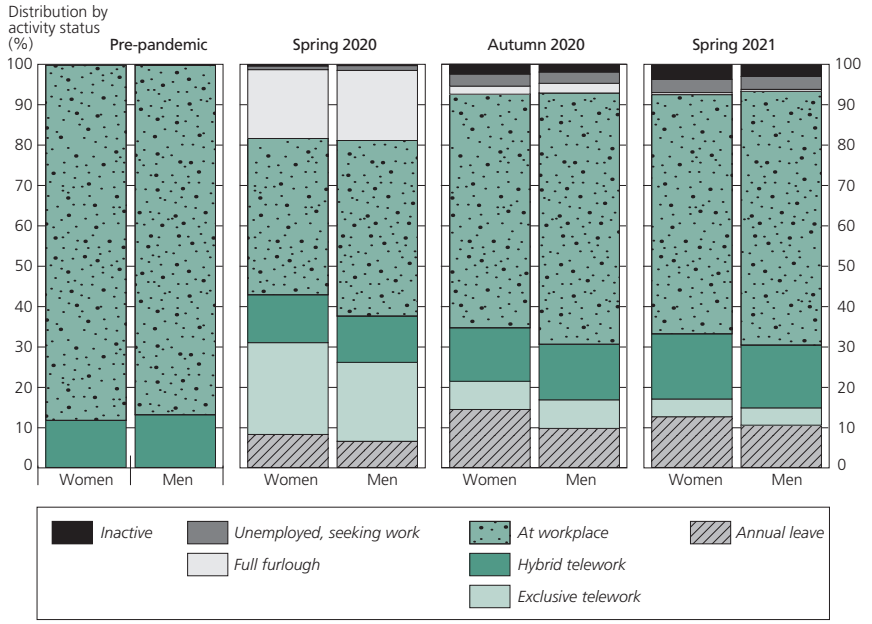
Box 1. Measuring telework

Estimates of the prevalence of telework vary across surveys, sometimes quite substantially. Alongside sampling frame and data collection issues, these discrepancies reflect differences in the definition of telework (Hallépée and Mauroux, 2018; Eurofound, 2022). In the absence of a formalized definition of telework (see Section II), the share of teleworkers obtained with EpiCov—12% of working people, 12% of employees—is, for example, higher than the figures obtained via the Working Conditions surveys (9% of employees in 2019) and the DARES Sumer survey (7% in 2017). These surveys applied a stricter definition of telework as work that can be performed on the employer's premises but that is performed elsewhere using information and communication technologies (Hallépée and Mauroux, 2019; Beatriz et al., 2021). The EpiCov estimate, on the other hand, is lower than that obtained with the Labour Force survey (18% in 2019) which applies a broad definition of working from home.

The second lockdown in the autumn of 2020 was less strict. Exclusive teleworking, when possible, was recommended but not obligatory. In October and November 2020, just 2% of workers were on full furlough and 21% were working from home, men and women alike. This decrease was driven by the sharp drop in exclusive teleworking (7%). As data collection overlapped with the school holidays, a larger share of workers were on leave than during the first wave.

On 9 June 2021, under the new social distancing rules, the government's exclusive teleworking recommendation was lifted and businesses were invited

Figure 1. Distribution according to activity status by sex and period (%)



Note: Before the pandemic, hybrid telework is imputed to individuals who reported having worked from home.
Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) who took part in all three waves (n = 43,857).
Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

to consult with personnel representatives to define a minimum weekly number of teleworking days. For public sector employees, it was set at three days per week. As a result, exclusive telework continued to decline (4%) in the summer of 2021, although 20% of workers continued to work from home, a higher percentage than before the health crisis. The share of workers on annual leave was also high during this summer period.

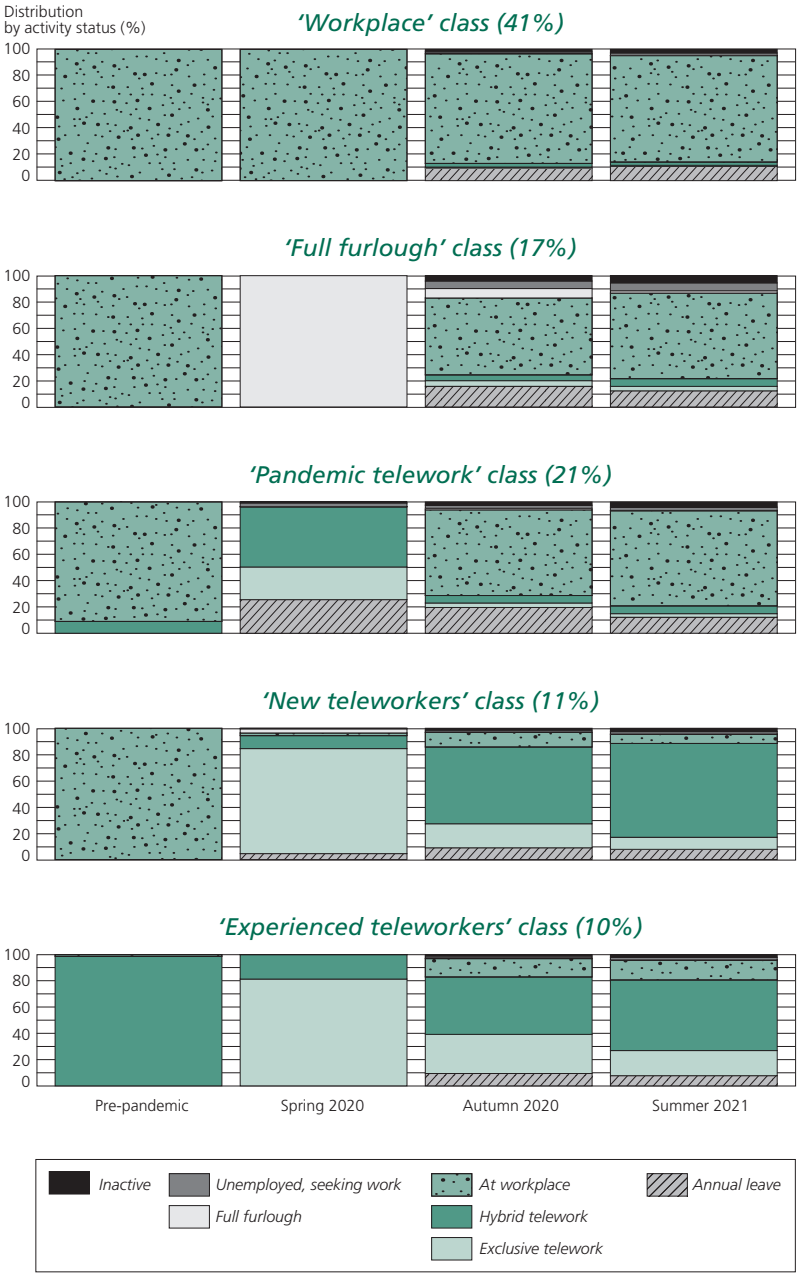
Five classes of activity trajectories can be identified among the diverse range of patterns observed during the pandemic. They are represented by the chronograms in Figure 2. The first and largest group (41%) comprises individuals who did not work from home before the first lockdown and were working mainly at their workplace during all three survey waves ('Workplace' class). The second class ('Furlough', 17% of the sample) comprises people who were placed on full furlough during the first lockdown and who had returned to their workplace by the second lockdown. The remaining classes represent three main forms of telework. The third includes individuals who were not working from home before the pandemic, who began teleworking during the first lockdown, but then returned to the workplace ('Pandemic telework', 21%). The fourth comprises individuals who became long-term teleworkers after starting to work from home during lockdown ('New teleworkers', 11%). The last category consists of individuals who were already teleworking before the health crisis and who mostly continued to work this way ('Experienced teleworkers', 10%).

2. Extension and recomposition of the teleworking population

The trajectories depend primarily on type of occupation. Not surprisingly, workers in key sectors (health, retail, agriculture, construction) were more likely to remain at the workplace throughout the pandemic, while workers in the hotel and catering industries were most likely to be on full furlough (Table 1). It was less educated individuals who most often found themselves in these two situations. In addition, while men and women were placed on furlough in equal proportions (17% of both sexes in the 'furlough' class) women were more affected all other things being equal—more specifically for identical sectors of activity.

The three modes of telework are more closely linked to job skill level, with pronounced gradients by educational level and a preponderant share of workers in higher-level occupations, followed by workers in intermediate occupations. Teachers, in particular were over-represented among pandemic teleworkers, following the closure of schools during the first lockdown and the introduction of remote teaching. New teleworkers, for whom the first lockdown had a lasting effect on their telework practices, share certain characteristics with experienced teleworkers. Highly educated individuals (more than two years of tertiary education) are over-represented, as are inhabitants of the Paris region, workers in the male-dominated information-communi-

Figure 2. Chronograms and distribution of classes of activity trajectories in the sample (%)



Note: Before the pandemic, hybrid telework is imputed to individuals who reported having worked from home.
Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) who took part in all three waves (n = 43,857).
Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

cation, finance, and specialized scientific and technical sectors (R&D consultants especially). This population of new teleworkers tends to be slightly younger than that of more experienced teleworkers, however, and to include more intermediate occupations and, above all, skilled clerical/sales workers, with a lesser prevalence of the information and communication sector and a stronger presence of public service workers.

This recomposition of telework contributed to its feminization, with women representing 47% of the 'experienced teleworkers' class but 52% of 'new teleworkers' (49% in the sample as a whole). While in proportional terms, women belong to the 'experienced teleworker' class slightly less frequently than men, this situation is reversed after sex composition by occupational category and sector of activity is taken into account (Table 1). During the pandemic, not only did telework expand into female-dominated jobs and sectors, but for equivalent social and occupational characteristics, women shifted to telework slightly more frequently than men, either temporarily or long term. Mothers of minor children, in particular, were more likely than childless women to switch to 'pandemic telework', doubtless as a means to combine work and childcare when schools and daycare centres were closed. It was women who appear to have shouldered the burden of family constraints: there is no significant difference between fathers and childless men in the probability of switching to pandemic telework (Appendix Figure A1).

IV. Activity trajectories and well-being

1. Telework, a driver of improvement in the work-life balance

In the summer of 2021, 7% of active individuals aged 20–65 still working during the third wave reported anxiety disorders and 10% a depressive syndrome (Table 2). These proportions seem to suggest a return to normal after the peak observed among the general population during the first lockdown (Hazo and Costemalle, 2021).[13] For most active people, the quality of the work-life balance was not greatly affected by the pandemic. However, when a change occurred, it was more frequently a deterioration (21% of respondents) than an improvement (10%).

Changes in the work-life balance vary by trajectory class, however. While people who continued at their usual workplace slightly more rarely reported a deterioration, improvement was much more frequently reported by teleworkers: only 4% of 'workplace' workers reported an improvement, compared with a quarter of experienced and new teleworkers. This net gain is not observed

(13) Hazo and Costemalle (2021) indicate that in 2019, the European Health Interview Survey (EHIS) reported a prevalence of depressive syndromes of 10.9% among people aged over 15; according to the CoviPrev survey (Santé Publique France, 2020), it reached 18–20% during the first lockdown.

Table 1. Trajectory determinants: average marginal effects of variables on the probability of belonging to a class of trajectories

	Workplace	Furlough	Pandemic telework	New teleworkers	Experienced teleworkers
Sex (*Ref.:* male)					
Female	–0.069 ***	0.016 **	0.026 ***	0.018 ***	0.009 **
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Age (*Ref.:* 40–49)					
Below 30	0.006	0.004	0.016	0.001	–0.027 ***
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.005)
30–39	–0.015 +	0.011	0.007	0.005	–0.008 *
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.004)
50+	–0.021 *	0.007	0.011	0.004	–0.001
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Educational level (*Ref.:* Upper secondary)					
Lower secondary	0.030 **	0.014 +	0.000	–0.016 ***	–0.028 ***
	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.006)
1 or 2 years tertiary	–0.070 ***	–0.044 ***	0.040 ***	0.044 ***	0.029 ***
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.005)
More than 2 years tertiary	–0.146 ***	–0.059 ***	0.053 ***	0.091 ***	0.061 ***
		(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Living with a partner (*Ref.:* No)					
Yes	0.005	–0.014 *	–0.003	–0.001	0.014 ***
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Family situation (*Ref.:* No minor children)					
Parent of minor child(ren)	–0.012	–0.011 +	0.018 **	–0.005	0.010 **
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Overcrowded dwelling (*Ref.:* No)					
Yes	–0.010	0.022 ***	0.002	–0.006 +	–0.009 *
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Residence in overseas department (*Ref.:* No)					
Yes	0.010	0.026	0.013	–0.031 **	–0.018
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Place of residence (*Ref.:* Urban outside Paris region)					
Rural	0.041 ***	–0.022 ***	0.005	–0.016 ***	–0.008 *
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Paris region	–0.088 ***	0.033 ***	–0.032 ***	0.036 ***	0.051 ***
	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Missing	–0.017	0.016	–0.019	–0.002	0.022 *
	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Occupational category (*Ref.:* Intermediate occupation)					
Farmer, self-employed, trader, business owner	0.003	0.090 ***	–0.045 ***	–0.055 ***	0.007
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Higher-level occupation	–0.116 ***	–0.033 ***	0.020 **	0.045 ***	0.084 ***
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Skilled clerical/sales worker	0.019 *	0.032 ***	–0.016 *	–0.009 +	–0.026 ***
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Unskilled clerical/sales worker	0.147 ***	0.043 ***	–0.022	–0.097 ***	–0.071 ***
	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Skilled manual worker	0.162 ***	0.056 ***	–0.039 **	–0.108 ***	–0.071 ***
	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.004)	(0.008)
Unskilled manual worker	0.122 ***	0.073 ***	–0.023	–0.099 ***	–0.074 ***
	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.007)	(0.008)

Table 1 (cont'd). Trajectory determinants: average marginal effects of variables on the probability of belonging to a class of trajectories

	Workplace	Furlough	Pandemic telework	New teleworkers	Experienced teleworkers
Fixed-term contract (*Ref.:* No)					
Yes	–0.054 ***	0.088 ***	0.002	–0.010	–0.027 ***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Private sector (*Ref.:* No)					
Yes	–0.044 ***	0.040 ***	–0.051 ***	0.032 ***	0.023 ***
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Economic sector (*Ref.:* Public services)					
Agriculture	0.126 ***	–0.073 ***	0.055 *	–0.066 ***	–0.042 ***
	(0.025)	(0.011)	(0.024)	(0.015)	(0.011)
Manufacturing	0.006	0.031 **	–0.000	–0.042 ***	0.006
	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.007)
Construction	0.003	0.082 ***	0.024	–0.082 ***	–0.027 **
	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Retail trade	0.092 ***	0.091 ***	–0.039 **	–0.095 ***	–0.049 ***
	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Transport	–0.026	0.080 ***	–0.007	–0.038 **	–0.009
	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.009)
Hotel and restaurant trades	–0.195 ***	0.401 ***	–0.035 +	–0.110 ***	–0.060 ***
	(0.019)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Information, communication	–0.210 ***	0.118 ***	–0.022	0.004	0.110 ***
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Finance, insurance	–0.057 **	–0.014	0.001	0.012	0.057 ***
	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Real estate	–0.214 ***	0.122 ***	0.028	0.033 +	0.030 +
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Specialized scientific and technical activities	–0.125 ***	0.059 ***	0.060 ***	–0.027 **	0.033 ***
	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Health	0.187 ***	0.004	–0.029 ***	–0.105 ***	–0.057 ***
	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Teaching	–0.253 ***	0.107 ***	0.179 ***	–0.041 ***	0.009
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Other	–0.031 *	0.087 ***	–0.013	–0.047 ***	0.004
	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Missing	–0.089 ***	0.118 ***	0.015	–0.071 ***	0.027 *
	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.012)

Note: Standard errors are given between brackets and significance levels are indicated as follows: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) who took part in all three waves (n = 43,857).
Source: EpiCov survey. waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of well-being indicators and mediating potentials measured in the summer of 2021, by trajectory class (%)

	Workplace	Furlough	Pandemic telework	New teleworkers	Experienced teleworkers	Overall	n
Indicators of well-being							
Change in work-life balance							
Deterioration	18.9	20.2	22.7	23.7	22.5	20.8	8,142
Stability	77.5	74.4	71.4	48.5	51.0	69.5	27,205
Improvement	3.6	5.4	6.0	27.8	26.5	9.6	3,758
Depression	9.2	11.1	10.9	10.5	9.9	10.1	3,954
Anxiety	6.2	7.5	7.8	7.4	6.6	6.9	2,701
Mediating potentials							
Daily working hours							
0 hours (leave or full furlough)	11.6	15.7	13.0	7.9	7.9	11.7	4,580
Between 0 and 6 hours	6.2	10.7	8.2	6.2	7.3	7.4	2,897
Between 6 and 8 hours	35.8	38.9	35.0	39.1	33.7	36.3	14,209
Between 8 and 10 hours	33.0	25.5	34.7	40.6	41.2	33.9	13,270
More than 10 hours	13.4	9.2	9.0	6.1	10.0	10.7	4,188
Non-standard hours							
Always	21.9	18.7	9.6	3.3	5.2	14.9	5,832
Often	10.1	7.3	7.1	7.1	10.0	8.7	3,406
Sometimes	13.5	11.6	15.0	22.4	27.3	16.1	6,302
Never	42.9	46.6	55.2	59.2	49.7	48.6	19,024
Missing*	11.6	15.7	13.0	7.9	7.9	11.7	4,580
Increased autonomy							
Always	11.0	11.7	10.0	10.6	5.0	11.3	4,423
Often	13.1	4.0	6.2	33.6	28.8	17.9	7,007
Sometimes	24.5	2.9	27.8	31.1	26.0	25.8	10,099
Never	51.4	51.4	46.0	24.8	30.2	44.9	17,576
Financial loss	26.8	5.2	26.8	20.3	22.0	28.4	11,117
Numbers	14,382	4,722	9,094	5,434	5,512	39,144	

Interpretation: 9.2% of the 'workplace' category reported a depressive syndrome in the third wave.
*Only people who had worked at least 1 hour in the week preceding the survey were asked about non-standard working hours.
Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) and during the third wave.
Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

among pandemic teleworkers who were no longer working from home at the time of the survey.

In terms of mental health, the differences are less marked. Depression is most prevalent among people placed on full furlough, and anxiety among pandemic teleworkers. In both cases, the frequency of mental health problems is lowest among workers whose routine was least affected by the crisis, i.e. 'workplace' workers and 'experienced teleworkers'.

The major asymmetries observed in terms of changes in the work-life balance are not due to differences in sociodemographic or occupational characteristics. After adjustment, the probability of experienced and new teleworkers reporting improvement in the work-life balance is 16.5 and 17.9 percentage points (pp) higher, respectively, than for 'workplace' workers i.e. around four times higher (Table 3, Specification 2). For the mental health indicators, the modest differences between 'workplace' and other classes are smaller and non-significant, apart from a persistent increase in anxiety among pandemic teleworkers (+1 pp, i.e. +15%).

The economic impact of the health crisis and the change in work organization differ considerably across the trajectories (Table 2). Not surprisingly, the financial impact is strongest for people placed on full furlough. In terms of work organization, while working hours varied little by type of telework, non-standard hours—concentrated in specific occupations—were more frequent among individuals still employed in the workplace. Teleworkers more often worked non-standard hours on an occasional basis, however, probably due to a work overspill or to a strategy of exploiting the flexibility of teleworking hours. Teleworkers, both experienced and new, stand out mainly in terms of work autonomy: 44% reported always or often being able to work with more autonomy than usual during the health crisis, versus 24% of 'workplace' workers.

Unexpectedly, financial impacts and the characteristics of work organization used in this study do not fully explain the differences in well-being across trajectories (Table 3, column Specification 2). After adjusting for the four mediators, the differences between teleworkers (experienced and new) and workplace workers in the probability of an improved work-life balance decrease slightly, essentially thanks to the flexibility associated with greater autonomy. Working hours, while significantly—and negatively—correlated with improvement (online Table C1), do little to explain the differences as they differ only slightly across classes. Non-standard working hours vary more substantially, but can be initially interpreted in contrasting ways: they may reflect a certain work-time flexibility or an encroachment of work on personal life. The data point to the second interpretation: non-standard hours do not appear to be significantly correlated with an improved work-life balance, but are positively correlated with its deterioration, and with anxiety and depression.

2. More frequent work-life balance gains for teleworking women and parents

All other things being equal, women are substantially more likely to present a depressive syndrome or an anxiety disorder than men (Table 3)—a gender inequality observed repeatedly (Salk, et al., 2017)—and these asymmetries do not appear to vary significantly between 'workplace' workers and 'experienced' or 'new' teleworkers (online Table C2). Changes in the work-life balance only

Table 3. Well-being in the summer of 2021: average marginal effects of a selection of variables with controls (Specification 1) and addition of mediators (Specification 2)

	Probability of change in work-life balance						Probability of depression		Probability of anxiety	
	Deterioration		Stability		Improvement					
	Specif. 1	Specif. 2	Specif. 1	Specif. 2	Specif. 1	Specif. 2	Specif. 1	Specif. 2	Specif. 1	Specif. 2
Trajectory class (*ref.*: Workplace)										
Furlough	0.001 (0.010)	–0.009 (0.010)	–0.015 (0.010)	–0.003 (0.010)	0.014 ** (0.005)	0.012 * (0.005)	0.007 (0.007)	0.001 (0.007)	0.005 (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)
Pandemic telework	0.005 (0.008)	0.007 (0.008)	–0.025 ** (0.009)	–0.024 ** (0.009)	0.020 *** (0.005)	0.017 *** (0.005)	0.007 (0.006)	0.008 (0.006)	0.010 * (0.005)	0.011 * (0.005)
New teleworkers	0.013 (0.010)	0.009 (0.010)	–0.192 *** (0.011)	–0.162 *** (0.011)	0.179 *** (0.009)	0.154 *** (0.008)	0.001 (0.007)	0.001 (0.007)	0.008 (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)
Experienced teleworkers	0.000 (0.010)	–0.006 (0.009)	–0.166 *** (0.011)	–0.139 *** (0.011)	0.165 *** (0.009)	0.145 *** (0.009)	0.003 (0.007)	0.001 (0.007)	0.006 (0.006)	0.004 (0.006)
Sex (*ref.*: Male)										
Female	0.006 (0.006)	0.010 + (0.006)	–0.013 * (0.007)	–0.014 * (0.006)	0.008 * (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)	0.042 *** (0.005)	0.043 *** (0.004)	0.038 *** (0.004)	0.039 *** (0.004)
Family situation (*ref.*: No minor children)										
Parent of minor child(ren)	0.041 *** (0.007)	0.030 *** (0.006)	–0.054 *** (0.007)	–0.044 *** (0.007)	0.013 *** (0.005)	0.014 *** (0.005)	–0.002 (0.005)	–0.008 * (0.005)	0.003 (0.004)	0.001 (0.004)
Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mediators		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓

Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) and during the third wave (n = 39,144).
Note: Standard errors are given between brackets and significance levels are indicated as follows: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. The controls include age, educational level, living with a partner, dwelling overcrowding, living in an overseas department, place of residence, occupational category, type of employment contract, sector of activity (public/private and type of activity), part-time working, pre-pandemic chronic health problems, experience of a severe form of COVID-19 (oneself or among close family and friends). The mediators include daily working hours, frequency of non-standard hours, autonomy gains during the pandemic, and deterioration of the household's financial situation since before the health crisis.
Interpretation: All other things being equal, in the sample, belonging to the 'new teleworkers' class is associated, on average, with an increase in the probability of improvement in the work-life balance that is 15.4 percentage points higher than for 'workplace' workers (after adding the mediators).
Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

differ slightly by sex, on average, although women are marginally more likely to report a change (Table 3). The gender differences in terms of a worsening of the balance do not vary significantly across the classes of trajectories (online Table C3). That said, women are significantly more likely than men to have an improved balance both among 'experienced' teleworkers (+2.4 pp, i.e. +13%) and 'new' teleworkers (+3.6 pp, i.e. +19%), but not among 'workplace' workers (Table 4 'Effect' column).

Not surprisingly, the effect of the health crisis on the work-life balance was greater for parents (Table 3). For equivalent social and occupational characteristics, they are more likely, on average, to have experienced a worsening of the work-life balance than childless people, a penalty that does not differ significantly across trajectory classes. However, they are also more likely to report an improvement, teleworkers especially (online Table C3, all sexes combined).

Table 4. Results of interaction between trajectory class and sex on the probability of improvement in the work-life balance

	Average probabilities of improvement		Average marginal effects of being a woman (*ref.*: man)		Average marginal effects of class (*ref.*: workplace)		
	Men	Women	Effect	Contrasts	Men	Women	Difference
Workplace	0.048	0.045	*a* –0.003	*d,e*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	
Furlough	0.062	0.055	*b* –0.008	*d,e*	0.015 +	0.010	–0.005
Pandemic telework	0.071	0.057	*c* –0.014 +	*d,e*	0.024 **	0.012 *	–0.012
New teleworkers	0.181	0.216	*d* 0.036 **	*a,b,c*	0.133 ***	0.171 ***	0.038 **
Experienced teleworkers	0.179	0.203	*e* 0.024 *	*a,b,c*	0.131 ***	0.158 ***	0.027 *

Note: The statistical significance levels of the average marginal effects are indicated as follows: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. The 'contrasts' column indicates whether the average effect of sex in a given class differs at the 5% level from those measured in the other classes, identified by letters. The 'difference' column indicates the difference between men and women in the average marginal effects of the trajectory class (effects for men/for women).
Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) and during the third wave (n = 39,144).
Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

Telework is associated with more gains in the work-life balance for fathers and mothers (Table 5a, men; Table 5b, women; 'Difference' column). This tendency is much stronger for men, however. Among women, the effect of being an 'experienced teleworker' (compared with 'workplace') only differs by parental status at the 10% level and the effect of the 'new teleworker' class varies less strongly by presence of children than for men. These smaller differences by family situation among men are linked to a stronger beneficial effect of telework for childless women than for childless men (Tables 5a and 5b, 6th and 7th columns).

Table 5. Results of interaction between trajectory class and family situation on the probability of improvement in the work-life balance, by sex

Table 5a. For men (n = 17,558)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Average probabilities of improvement		Average marginal effects of being a parent (*ref.*: childless)		Average marginal effects of class (*ref.*: workplace)		
	Childless	Parent	Effects	Contrasts	Childless	Parent	Difference
At the workplace	0.047	0.046	*a* –0.002	*d,e*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	
Furlough	0.050	0.073	*b* 0.023	*d*	0.003	0.028 +	0.025 ***
Pandemic telework	0.068	0.073	*c* 0.005	*d*	0.021 +	0.027 +	0.006
New teleworkers	0.140	0.240	*d* 0.101 ***	*a,b,c,e*	0.093 ***	0.195 ***	0.102 ***
Experienced teleworkers	0.163	0.206	*e* 0.043 *	*a,d*	0.116 ***	0.160 ***	0.044 *

Table 5b. For women (n = 21,586)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Average probabilities of improvement		Average marginal effects of being a parent (*ref.*: childless)		Average marginal effects of class (*ref.*: workplace)		
	Childless	Parent	Effects	Contrasts	Childless	Parent	Difference
At the workplace	0.054	0.038	*a* – 0.016	*b,c,d*	*Ref.*	*Ref.*	
Furlough	0.049	0.070	*b* 0.021	*a*	–0.005	0.032 *	0.037 ***
Pandemic telework	0.054	0.063	*c* 0.009	*a*	0.000	0.026 **	0.026 **
New teleworkers	0.201	0.230	*d* 0.028	*a*	0.147	0.192 ***	0.045 *
Experienced teleworkers	0.191	0.208	*e* 0.016		0.137	0.170 ***	0.033

Note: The statistical significance levels of the average marginal effects are indicated as follows: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. The 'contrasts' column indicates whether the average effect of family situation in a given class differs at the 5% level from those measured in the other classes, identified by letters. The 'difference' column indicates the difference between parents and childless people in the average marginal effects of the trajectory class (effects for parents – for childless people).
Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) and during the third wave (n = 39,144).
Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

V. Telework intensity and well-being

In the summer of 2021, 18% of full-time teleworking employees worked from home just one day a week, 22% two days, 39% three or four days and 21% exclusively (online Table C4). Exclusive teleworking was more prevalent among experienced teleworkers (26%) than new teleworkers (17%). Among full-time workers as a whole, the proportion of teleworkers does not vary by

sex (20% of men and women), and among teleworkers, telework intensity was slightly lower for women (2.9 days per week on average) than for men (3.1 days).

The prevalence of depression and anxiety is lowest for individuals who teleworked two or three days per week, and highest for exclusive teleworkers (Table 6). Moreover, the greater the telework intensity, the more frequent the improvement in the work-life balance, up to a ceiling of four days. The share of respondents reporting a worsening of the work-life balance decreases slightly with telework intensity.

Table 6. Descriptive statistics: indicators of well-being in the summer of 2021 by number of teleworking days (%)

	Teleworking days					Overall
	1	2	3	4	5	
Change in work-life balance (%)						
Deterioration	22.6	22.8	22.6	21.0	19.2	21.7
Stability	61.6	49.9	42.4	36.7	40.3	46.3
Improvement	15.8	27.2	35.0	42.4	40.5	32.0
Depression (%)	10.6	8.9	9.6	9.8	11.5	10.0
Anxiety (%)	7.1	5.6	5.9	7.5	8.3	6.8
n	1,445	1,743	1,958	1,084	1,579	7,809

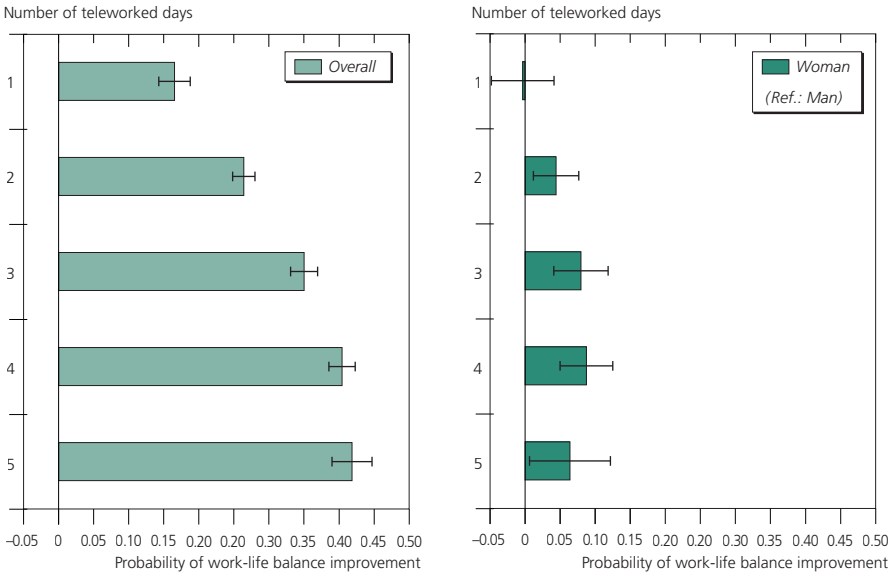
Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) and who were teleworking full-time employees during the third wave.
Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

After controlling for sociodemographic and occupational characteristics, telework intensity is not significantly associated with depression, anxiety or a worsening of the work-life balance (online Table C5). On the other hand, it is significantly and strongly correlated with a work-life balance improvement: on average, one additional teleworking day increases the probability of improvement by 6 percentage points. A ceiling is still observed at 4 or more days of telework (Figure 3a).

The previous analyses suggested that for equivalent social and occupational characteristics, there is no significant difference between experienced and new teleworkers in terms of change in the work-life balance or mental health (Section IV). This remains the case, whatever the telework intensity (online Table C6). However, telework appears to be more frequently associated with an improvement in the work-life balance for parents than for childless individuals (Section IV.2), although this difference does not appear to depend on telework intensity (online Table C7). For women, on the other hand, telework is more beneficial than for men when they work from home at least 2 days per week (Figure 3b, online Table C8).

Figure 3. Average predicted probabilities of work-life balance improvement and results of an interaction between sex and telework intensity

a. Average predicted probabilities *b. Average marginal effects of sex*



Note: 95% confidence intervals.

Interpretation: According to Figure 3a, if the distribution of characteristics in the sample remained unchanged but all individuals teleworked two days per week, 26.4% would report an improved work-life balance. According to Figure 3b, all other things being equal, being a woman (rather than a man) who is teleworking 2 days per week is associated, on average, with a 4.4 percentage point increase in the probability of reporting an improved work-life balance.

Coverage: Individuals aged 20–65, in employment before the first lockdown (excluding trainees and apprentices) and who were teleworking full-time employees during the third wave (n = 7,089).

Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

Conclusion

In France, as elsewhere, the COVID-19 pandemic led to an unprecedented increase in telework. For the majority of workers who adopted this mode of work organization it was a new experience, in some cases a crisis response limited to the first lockdown in the spring of 2020. For others it became a long-term work arrangement, taking a variety of forms, and with varying intensity. The profile of teleworkers also became more diverse. General population data from the EpiCov longitudinal survey show that before the pandemic, while women more often held teleworkable jobs than men (Sostero et al., 2020), the share of teleworking men was slightly higher than that of women, with a large proportion of highly qualified teleworking men in specific sectors such as information-communication or finance. By the summer of 2021, the share of teleworking women had increased, along with the share of teleworkers in intermediate and skilled clerical occupations. It became especially prevalent

in public services. Gender differences remain small, however, in terms of both prevalence of telework and number of teleworking days.

More than a year after the start of the pandemic, the EpiCov data reveal contrasting changes in the work-life balance across different teleworking arrangements. While it worsens with respect to its pre-pandemic level slightly more often for teleworkers than for those who remain in the workplace, this disparity disappears after taking account of the sociodemographic and occupational characteristics correlated with the categories of work organization. It is the work-life balance improvement, on the other hand, that sets teleworkers apart. Teleworkers reported an improved balance much more frequently than workers who remained at their workplace, but also more frequently than pandemic teleworkers who had returned to the workplace at the time of the survey. Their ability to reconcile their work and personal life increased with every additional teleworking day, up to a ceiling of 4 days.

This finding of a positive impact of telework on the work-life balance corroborates the results of numerous studies conducted in other countries both before (Sullivan and Lewis, 2001; Laß and Wooden, 2022) and during the health crisis, outside the strict lockdown periods (Erb et al., 2021; Kaufman and Tanigushi, 2021; Eurofound, 2022). This effect is not explained here by working time differentials (which are small); it is linked partly to increased autonomy. Other factors not observed in our survey may also provide an explanation, such as reduced commuting time, greater flexibility in working hours, or changes in work intensity.

The links between telework and the work-life balance do not differ, on average, by pre-pandemic telework experience: after more than a year of working from home, new teleworkers appear to have succeeded in adapting their personal organization to this new working arrangement, and vice-versa. It is women—who face the greatest contraints as the main organizers of domestic life—and parents who seem to have benefited most from the greater flexibility of telework. For equivalent social and occupational characteristics, and among full-time workers, women reported an improvement in their work-life balance more frequently than men when they teleworked for at least 2 days per week. This may be because telework makes it easier for women to manage their domestic responsibilities if its intensity is sufficient to avoid an excessive concentration of tasks that conflict with work obligations. Parents, for their part, draw greater benefit from telework than childless individuals, whatever its intensity. However, among childless individuals, the effect of telework is stronger for women than for men. This asymmetry may reflect less elasticity in men's involvement in domestic tasks (generally low) than in parenting activities (more satisfying and more varied) (Lyttelton et al., 2022).

This finding of a positive impact of telework on the work-life balance of women and parents contrasts with the conclusions of other studies conducted in France and elsewhere at earlier stages of the pandemic that revealed more

conflit between work and personal life for teleworking mothers of young children (Syrek et al., 2021; Eurofound, 2022), and more complaints by family members about the teleworker's lack of availability if she is a woman rather than a man (Erb et al., 2022). These differences are clearly indissociable from the observation period. The early stages of the pandemic, the first strict lockdowns in particular, were a period of severe stress and heightened conflict between work and personal life, for parents especially, and above all for mothers. Longitudinal follow-up studies have shown that work-life balance issues varied during the different stages of the pandemic, with a peak of dissatisfaction at the beginning of the pandemic (Syrek et al., 2022). Our more positive results very probably reflect the period of calm in the summer of 2021 and an easing of the additional domestic and parental workload imposed by social distancing measures. This suggests that they give a more accurate picture than earlier findings of the effect of telework in general, outside the specific context of the health crisis.

The fact that the survey was conducted in the summer holidays is unlikely to explain the association between telework and a better work-life balance. While children do not need help with schoolwork over the summer, they may nonetheless create conflict for teleworking parents between work and family responsibilities if they are in the home during working hours.

These results may also be explained by a bias of self-selection into telework, and by the nature of the indicator used in this article. As pointed up by Laß and Wooden (2022), work-life conflicts may be greater for teleworkers ex ante, as individuals who find it most difficult to achieve a work-life balance may be those with the greatest propensity to work from home. Our work-life balance variable limits this selection bias as it is measured in terms of change and not of level, but raises the question of possible edge effects: the individuals starting from the lowest levels of work-life balance (probably over-represented among women and parents) are more like to experience an improvement. Moreover, the differences observed by sex and family situation may also be linked to the way in which the work-life balance was conceptualized and formulated in the survey: the indicator used concerns the concurrent management of personal and working life—i.e. organizational possibilities and room for manoeuvre—while other indicators focus more on the balance between family and working life, interference between the two spheres, or emotional charge. Telework may thus enable women to better organize their dual workload, but with a greater sense of conflicting demands and, in some cases, with an increased burden of domestic and parenting responsibilities. The question of whether telework modifies the gender division of domestic and parental labour remains unanswered.

In terms of mental health, the EpiCov data suggest that telework does not have a substantive impact on depression and anxiety, whatever the telework intensity. It is possible, however, that the binary indicators used do not capture

the more subtle differences in mental health between teleworkers and workplace workers. Moreover, they do not reflect changes in mental health between before the pandemic and the start of teleworking. Last, the fact that the survey took place during the summer holidays may lead to an under-estimation of the adverse effects of telework on mental health. Teleworking over a holiday period may attenuate the sense of isolation resulting from more limited contact with colleagues and remote meetings.

More generally, the overall results presented here are based on a broad definition of telework and aggregate very different telework situations, in terms of work autonomy, familiarity with IT tools or modes of cooperation, for example. While the EpiCov data enabled us to explore differences in the experience of telework by sex and family situation, other sources of heterogeneity deserve to be considered in order to look beyond individual characteristics alone. For example, the repercussions of telework could be distinguished more finely through more qualitative approaches, by occupation or corporate culture, (Gálvez et al., 2012; Van der Lippe and Lippényi, 2020), or by telework policies within organizations (Schütz and Noûs, 2021) that define the meanings associated with telework, its modes of implementation and its management. Now that teleworking has become an established and routine practice, these avenues deserve further research to shed light on the links between telework and well-being.

Appendix

Table A1. Descriptive statistics of the various analysis samples (%)

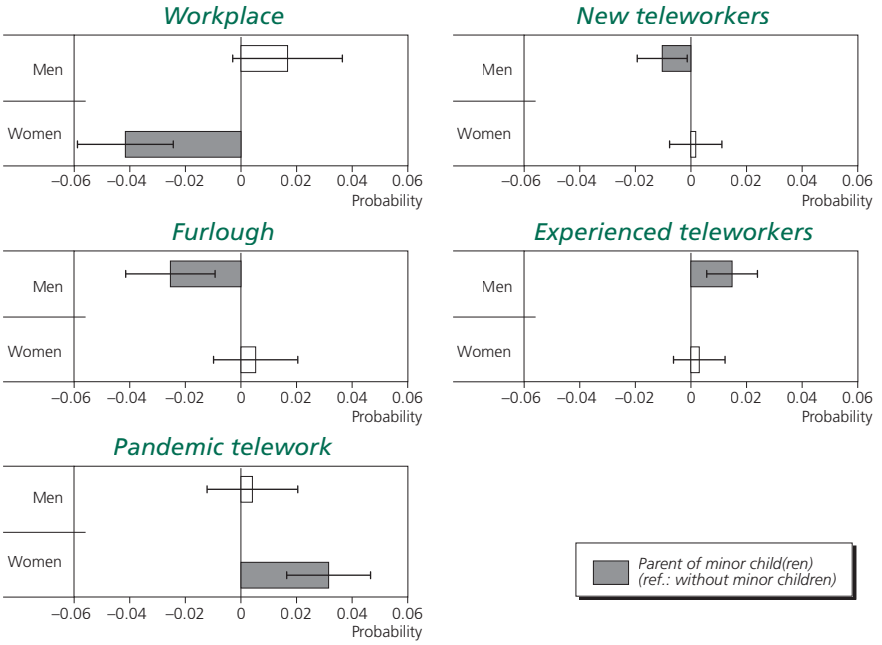
	Samples		
	Description of trajectories	Trajectories and well-being	Telework intensity and well-being
Sex			
Male	51.3	51.6	51.4
Female	48.7	48.4	48.6
Age			
Below 30	15.5	15.7	16.9
30-39	26.0	26.9	29.5
40-49	27.1	28.2	28.4
50+	31.3	29.2	25.3
Educational level			
Lower secondary	31.7	29.4	5.8
Upper secondary	20.5	20.6	10.4
1 or 2 years tertiary	29.9	31.1	37.6
More than 2 years tertiary	17.9	18.9	46.2
Overcrowded dwelling	33.6	30.9	29.7
Residence in overseas department	2.0	1.9	0.8
Place of residence			
Rural	21.9	21.9	11.8
Urban outside Paris region	56.1	56.3	51.5
Paris region	17.3	17.3	33.8
Missing	4.7	4.5	2.9
Living with a partner	69.0	68.3	69.7
Family situation			
No minor children	56.8	55.9	56.2
Parent of minor child(ren)	43.2	44.0	43.8
Pre-pandemic chronic health problems			
None	71.7	73.0	73.9
Chronic anxiety or depression	2.7	2.4	2.2
Other chronic problem	25.6	24.6	23.8
Occupational category			
Farmer, trader, craftworker, business owner	7.1	10.5	1.0
Higher-level occupation	22.1	21.4	59.9
Intermediate occupation	27.1	26.2	25.4
Skilled clerical/sales worker	16.0	16.2	12.0
Unskilled clerical/sales worker	10.2	8.8	1.4
Skilled manual worker	11.3	11.1	0.2
Unskilled manual worker	6.1	5.7	0.1

Table A1 (cont'd). Descriptive statistics of the various analysis samples (%)

	Samples		
	Description of trajectories	Trajectories and well-being	Telework intensity and well-being
Sector of activity			
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	2.9	2.5	0.7
Manufacturing	12.7	13.3	15.4
Construction	6.5	6.5	2.9
Retail trade	7.3	7.3	3.1
Transport	5.0	4.7	3.2
Hotel and restaurant trades	3.7	3.6	0.5
Information, communication	3.8	3.9	13.5
Finance and insurance	3.3	3.5	10.5
Real estate	1.1	1.2	1.6
Specialized, scientific and technical activities	4.9	4.9	9.7
Health	15.2	14.8	5.8
Public services	9.7	9.8	13.0
Teaching	8.0	8.1	7.4
Other	12.7	12.3	10.1
Missing	3.2	3.5	2.7
Private sector	3.6	64.8	79.4
Fixed-term employment contract	10.1	9.3	6.1
Part time	/	10.8	n.a.
Experience of a serious form of COVID-19	/	1.2	0.9
Experience of a serious form of Covid-19 among family or friends	/	12.1	11.5
Number of observations	43,857	39,144	7809

Note: n.a. not applicable (sample limited to persons in full-time employment in wave 3).
Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

Figure A1. Average marginal effects of family situation on the probability of belonging to a trajectory class, by sex (interaction)



Note: The bars are solid if the average marginal effect of being a parent (vs. childless) on the probability of belonging to a given trajectory class is significantly different from 0 at the 5% level. 95% confidence intervals.

Source: EpiCov survey, waves 1, 2, 3, 2020-2021, INSERM/DREES.

References

Abbott A. 1995. Sequence analysis: New methods for old ideas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 21(1), 93–113. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.21.080195.000521

Adams-Prassl A., Boneva T., Golin M., Rauh C. 2022. The impact of the coronavirus lockdown on mental health: Evidence from the United States. *Economic Policy*, 37(109), 139–155. https://doi.org/10.1093/epolic/eiac002

Angelici M., Profeta P. 2020. Smart-Working: Work flexibility without constraints, CESifo Working Paper No. 8165. https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3556304

Bailey D. E., Kurland N. B. 2002. A review of telework research: Findings, new directions, and lessons for the study of modern work. *Journal of Organizational Behavior: The International Journal of Industrial, Occupational and Organizational Psychology and Behavior*, 23(4), 383–400. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.144

Beatriz M., Erb L.-A., Beque M., Mauroux A. 2021. Quelles étaient les conditions de travail en 2019, avant la crise sanitaire ? *Dares Analyses*, 44, August.

Chung H., Van der Lippe T. 2020. Flexible working, work–life balance, and gender equality: Introduction. *Social Indicators Research*, *151*(2), 365–381. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-018-2025-x

Costemalle V., Gaini M., Hazo J.-B., Naouri D. 2021. En quatre vagues, l'épidémie de Covid-19 a causé 116 000 décès et lourdement affecté le système de soins, *Insee références*, France, portrait social, édition 2021. https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/5432509?sommaire=5435421#titre-bloc-26

Dockery A. M., Bawa S. 2018. When two worlds collude: Working from home and family functioning in Australia. *International Labour Review*, 157, 609–630. https://doi.org/10.1111/ilr.12119

Duxbury L., Stevenson M., Higgins C. 2018. Too much to do, too little time: Role overload and stress in a multi-role environment. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 25(3), 250–266. https://doi.org/10.1037/str0000062

Eddleston K., Mulki J. 2017. Toward understanding remote workers management of work-family boundaries: The complexity of workplace embeddedness. *Group & Organization Management*, 42(3), 346–387. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601115619548

Erb L., Inan C., Beatriz M., Bèque M., Coutrot T., Do T., Duval M., Mauroux A., Rosankis E. (Dares). 2022. Télétravail durant la crise sanitaire. Quelles pratiques en janvier 2021 ? Quels impacts sur le travail et la santé ? *Dares Analyses*, 9, May.

Eurofound. 2022. *The rise in telework: Impact on working conditions and regulations*. Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.

Felstead A., Henseke G. 2017. Assessing the growth of remote working and its consequences for effort, well-being and work-life balance. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 32, 195–212. https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12097

Fonner K. L., Roloff M. E. 2010. Why teleworkers are more satisfied with their jobs than are office-based workers: When less contact is beneficial. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 38(4), 336–361. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2010.513998

Gabadinho A., Ritschard G., Müller N., Studer M. 2011. Analyzing and visualizing state sequences in R with TraMineR. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 40(4), 1–37. https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v040.i04

Gajendran R. S., Harrison D. A. 2007. The good, the bad, and the unknown about telecommuting: Meta-analysis of psychological mediators and individual consequences. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 1524–1541. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.6.1524

Gálvez A., Martínez M. J., Pérez C. 2012. Telework and work-life balance: Some dimensions for organisational change. *Journal of Workplace Rights*, 16(3–4), 273–297. https://doi.org/10.2190/WR.16.3-4.B

Golden T. D. 2006. Avoiding depletion in virtual work: Telework and the intervening impact of work exhaustion on commitment and turnover intentions. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69, 176–187. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2006.02.003

Golden T. D., Veiga J. F., Simsek Z. 2006. Telecommuting's differential impact on work-family conflict: Is there no place like home? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(6), 1340–1350. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.91.6.1340

Golden T. D., Veiga J. F., Dino R. N. 2008. The impact of professional isolation on teleworker job performance and turnover intentions: Does time spent teleworking, interacting face-to-face, or having access to communication-enhancing technology matter? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(6), 1412–1421. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012722

Gueguen G., Senik C. 2021. Adopting Telework. The causal impact of working from home on subjective well-being in 2020. ffhalshs-03455306.

Hallépée S., Mauroux A. 2019. Quels sont les salariés concernés par le télétravail ? *Dares Analyses*, 051, November.

Hazo J.-B., Costemalle V. 2021. Confinement du printemps 2020. Une hausse des syndromes dépressifs, surtout chez les 15-24 ans. Résultats issus de la 1ère vague de l'enquête EpiCov et comparaison avec les enquêtes de santé européennes (EHIS) de 2014 et 2019. *Études et Résultats*, 1185.

Hilbrecht M., Shaw S. M., Johnson L. C., Andrey J. 2008. 'I'm home for the kids': contradictory implications for work–life balance of teleworking mothers. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 15(5), 454–476. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2008.00413.x

Hill E. J., Hawkins A. J., Miller B. C. 1996. Work and family in the virtual office: Perceived influences of mobile telework. *Family relations*, 45(3), 293–301. https://doi.org/10.2307/585501

Hornung S., Glaser J. 2009. Home-based telecommuting and quality of life: Further evidence on an employee-oriented human resource practice. *Psychological Reports*, 104(2), 395–402. https://doi.org/10.2466/PR0.104.2.395-402

Jauneau Y. 2022. En 2021, en moyenne chaque semaine, un salarié sur cinq a télétravaillé. *Insee Focus*, 263. https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/6209490

Kaufman L., Rousseeuw P. J. 1990. Partitioning Around Medoids (Program PAM). In Kaufman L., Rousseeuw P. J. (eds.), *Finding groups in data: An introduction to cluster analysis* (pp. 68–125). John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken.

Kaufman G., Taniguchi H. 2021. Working from home and changes in work characteristics during COVID-19. *Socius*, 7. https://doi.org/10.1177/23780231211052784

Kazekami S. 2020. Mechanisms to improve labor productivity by performing telework. *Telecommunications Policy*, 44(2). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.telpol.2019.101868

Kim J., Henly J. R., Golden L. M., Lambert S. J. 2020. Workplace flexibility and worker well-being by gender. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 82(3), 892–910. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12633

Knardahl S., Christensen J. O. 2022. Working at home and expectations of being available: effects on perceived work environment, turnover intentions, and health. *Scand J Work Environ Health*, 48(2), 99–108. https://doi.org/10.5271/sjweh.3996

Kroenke K., Spitzer R. L., Williams J. B., Löwe B. 2010. The patient health questionnaire somatic, anxiety, and depressive symptom scales: a systematic review. *Gen Hosp Psychiatry*, 32(4), 345–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.genhosppsych.2010.03.006

Kurowska A. 2020. Gendered effects of home-based work on parents' capability to balance work with non-work: Two countries with different models of division of labour compared. *Social Indicators Research,* 151, 405–425. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-018-2034-9

Lapierre L. M., Allen T. D. 2006. Work-supportive family, family-supportive supervision, use of organizational benefits, and problem-focused coping: Implications for work-family conflict and employee well-being. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology,* 11(2), 169–181. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.11.2.169

Lass I., Wooden M. 2022. Working from home and work–family conflict. *Work, Employment and Society*, 37(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/09500170221082474

Long J. S., Freese J. 2014. *Regression models for categorical dependent variables using Stata*, 3rd edition. Stata Press.

Lyttelton T., Zang E., Musick K. 2022. Telecommuting and gender inequalities in parents' paid and unpaid work before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 84(1), 230–249. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12810

Maruyama T., Hopkinson P. G., James P. W. 2009. A multivariate analysis of work–life balance outcomes from a large-scale telework programme. *New Technology, Work and Employment*, 24(1), 76–88. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-005X.2008.00219.x

Morganson V. J., Major D. A., Oborn K. L., Verive J. M., Heelan M. P. 2010. Comparing telework locations and traditional work arrangements: Differences in work-life balance support, job satisfaction, and inclusion. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 25(6), 578–595. https://doi.org/10.1108/02683941011056941

Metzger J.-L., Cléach O. 2004. Le télétravail des cadres : entre suractivité et apprentissage de nouvelles temporalités. *Sociologie du travail*, 46(4), 433–450. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soctra.2004.09.001

Noonan M. C., Glass J. L. 2012. The hard truth about telecommuting. *Monthly Labor Review*, 135(6), 38–45.

Niu Q., Nagata T., Fukutani N., Tezuka M., Shimoura K. 2021. Health effects of immediate telework introduction during the COVID-19 era in Japan: A cross-sectional study. *PLOS ONE*, 16(10), e0256530. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0256530

OECD. 2021. *Teleworking in the COVID-19 Pandemic: Trends and Prospects*. OECD Publishing. https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/view/?ref=1108_1108540-p249kho0iu&title=Teleworking-in-the-COVID-19-pandemic-Trends-and-prospects

Pailhé A., Solaz A., Wilner L. 2022. Housework and parenting during the lockdowns in France: How have socio-economic and gender inequalities changed? *Economics and Statistics*, 536–537, 3–25. https://doi.org/10.24187/ecostat.2022.536.2086

Robette N. 2021. *L'analyse statistique des trajectoires : Typologies de séquences et autres approches*. Ined Éditions, 'Méthodes et savoirs' book series. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ined.16670

Salk R. H., Hyde J. S., Abramson L. Y. 2017. Gender differences in depression in representative national samples: Meta-analyses of diagnoses and symptoms. *Psychological Bulletin,* 143(8), 783–822. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000102

Santé Publique France. 2020. Prévalences et évolutions de la dépression selon les profils sociodémographiques et les conditions de vie liées à l'épidémie.

Schifano S., Clark A. E., Greiff S., Vögele C., D'Ambrosio C. 2021. Well-being and working from home during COVID-19. *Information Technology & People*, preview publication. https://doi.org/10.1108/ITP-01-2021-0033

Schütz G., Noûs C. 2021. Pour une sociologie du télétravail ancrée dans les organisations. *Sociologies pratiques*, 43, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.3917/sopr.043.0001

Song Y., Gao J. 2020. Does telework stress employees out? A study on working at home and subjective well-being for wage/salary workers. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 21(7), 2649–2668. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-019-00196-6

Sostero M., Milasi S., Hurley J., Fernández-Macías E., Bisello M. 2020. *Teleworkability and the COVID-19 crisis: a new digital divide?*, European Commission, Seville, JRC121193.

Studer M. 2013. WeightedCluster Library Manual: A practical guide to creating typologies of trajectories in the social sciences with R. *LIVES Working Papers*, 24, 1–32. https://doi.org/10.12682/lives.2296-1658.2013.24

Sullivan C., Lewis S. 2001. Home-based telework, gender, and the synchronization of work and family: perspectives of teleworkers and their co-residents. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 8(2), 123–145. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0432.00125

Sullivan C., Lewis S. 2006. Work at home and the work-family interface. In Jones F., Burke R. J., Westman M. (eds.), *Work-life balance: A psychological perspective* (p. 143–162). Psychology Press, London.

Syrek C., Kühnel J., Vahle-Hinz T., de Bloom J. 2022. Being an accountant, cook, entertainer and teacher – all at the same time: Changes in employees› work and work-related well-being during the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. *Int J Psychol*, 57, 20–32. https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12761

Tremblay D. G., Chevrier C., Loreto M. D. 2006. Le télétravail à domicile : meilleure conciliation emploi-famille ou source d'envahissement de la vie privée ? *Revue Interventions économiques*, 34. https://doi.org/10.4000/interventionseconomiques.689

Van der Lippe T., Lippényi Z. 2020. Beyond formal access: Organizational context, working from home, and work-family conflict of men and women in European workplaces. *Social Indicators Research*, 151, 383–402. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-018-1993-1

Vayre É. 2019. Les incidences du télétravail sur le travailleur dans les domaines professionnel, familial et social. *Le travail humain*, 82(1), 1–39. https://doi.org/10.3917/th.821.0001

Virick M., DaSilva N., Arrington K. 2010. Moderators of the curvilinear relation between extent of telecommuting and job and life satisfaction: The role of performance outcome orientation and worker type. *Human Relations*, 63(1), 137–154. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726709349198

Warszawski J., Bajos N., Barlet M. et al. 2021. A national mixed-mode seroprevalence random population-based cohort on SARS-CoV-2 epidemic in France: the socio-epidemiological EpiCov study. *medRxiv*. https://doi.org/10.1101/2021.02.24.21252316

Yang D., Kelly E. L., Kubzansky L. D., Berkman L. 2023. Working from home and worker well-being: New evidence from Germany. *ILR Review*, 76(3), 504–531. https://doi.org/10.1177/00197939221148716

Résumé

Elena Reboul, Ariane Pailhé, Emilie Counil, pour l'équipe EpiCov •
Expérience et intensité du télétravail : quels liens avec le bien-être après une année de crise sanitaire en France ?

Mobilisé massivement pendant la pandémie de Covid-19, le télétravail est désormais une forme installée d'organisation du travail ; or ses effets sur le bien-être des travailleurs et travailleuses restent ambivalents et débattus. S'appuyant sur une enquête longitudinale représentative de la population française (EpiCov), cet article retrace, au moyen d'une analyse de séquences, les trajectoires d'activité de près de 40000 actifs occupés et, en particulier, l'usage du télétravail pendant la première année de crise sanitaire en France. Il examine ensuite, au moyen de régressions, ses répercussions sur l'articulation vie personnelle/vie professionnelle et la santé mentale dans une période d'accalmie (été 2021) permettant de se rapprocher des conditions de travail habituelles. Dans ce contexte, le télétravail apparaît comme un vecteur fort d'amélioration de l'articulation entre vie personnelle et vie professionnelle, et ce d'autant plus que le nombre de jours télétravaillés est élevé. Ce bénéfice est plus marqué pour les femmes et les parents, et indépendant de l'expérience du télétravail pré-pandémie. Le télétravail ne semble pas, en moyenne, affecter la dépression et les troubles anxieux.

Resumen

Elena Reboul, Ariane Pailhé, Emilie Counil, pour l'équipe EpiCov •
Experiencia e intensidad del teletrabajo: ¿qué relación hay con el bienestar tras un año de crisis sanitaria en Francia?

Movilizado a gran escala durante la pandemia del Covid-19, el teletrabajo es hoy una forma establecida de organización del trabajo, pero sus efectos sobre el bienestar de los trabajadores siguen siendo ambivalentes y debatidos. Basándose en una encuesta longitudinal representativa de la población francesa (EpiCov), este artículo utiliza el análisis de secuencias para trazar las trayectorias laborales de casi 40.000 trabajadores por cuenta ajena y, en particular, su uso del teletrabajo durante el primer año de la crisis sanitaria en Francia. A continuación, mediante regresiones, examina el impacto sobre el equilibrio entre la vida laboral y familiar y la salud mental durante un periodo de calma (verano de 2021), cuando se restablecen las condiciones laborales normales. En este contexto, el teletrabajo parece ser un fuerte vector de mejora del equilibrio entre la vida laboral y familiar, y más aún cuando el número de días teletrabajados es elevado. Este beneficio es más marcado para las mujeres y los padres, y es independiente de la experiencia de teletrabajo previa a la pandemia. Por término medio, el teletrabajo no parece afectar a la depresión ni a los trastornos de ansiedad.