Working From Home, Co-Presence, and Domestic Violence

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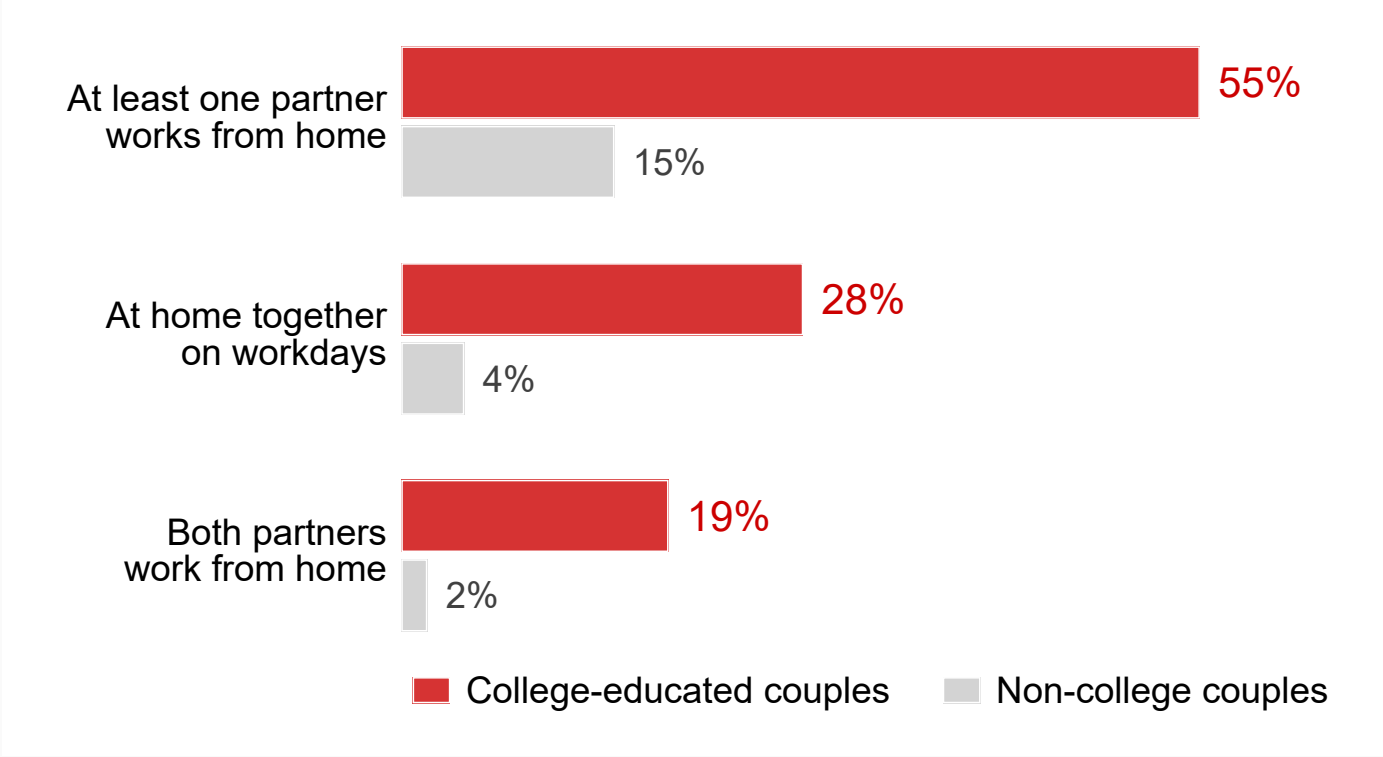
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The views presented are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the EBRD.

The rise of WFH changed not only where people work but also how much time household members spend together at home

- In more than half of college-educated couples, at least one partner works from home.
- In more than a quarter, both partners are at home during the working day.



Notes: Current Population Survey (CPS) monthly files, October 2024 to September 2025, pooled, household weights; both partners aged 25-54. Works from home: at least 20% of last week's hours worked at home (remote or hybrid). At home together on workdays: one partner works from home and the other also does or is not employed. College-educated: both partners have a bachelor's degree (37% of couples); non-college: neither does (39%).

Working from home could ease tensions at home or intensify them

Could reduce conflict

- Less commuting stress
- Less work-family conflict
- Stronger outside options for women

Could increase conflict

- More exposure to a partner
- More tension at home
- Lost refuge, more control

Key question: As working from home became more widespread, did greater time spent together at home reduce the risk of domestic violence or increase it?

Evidence Literature

Setting: Los Angeles police reporting districts

- **Geographic coverage:** 1,098 police reporting districts across 21 policing areas in Los Angeles
- **Study period:** 2013–2025, excl. 2020 and 2021
- **Main outcomes:**
  1. Domestic violence calls for service (battery and assault)
  2. Recorded domestic violence assault crimes
  3. Domestic violence arrests
- **Research design:** Diff-in-diff comparing neighbourhoods with different levels of pre-pandemic WFH feasibility
- **Timing:** Within-district changes in DV calls by hour of day and day of week, exploiting incident-level timestamps

Data

Core data

- **LAPD:** Calls for service, recorded crimes, and arrests
- **ACS:** Pre-pandemic occupational composition to construct neighbourhood-level WFH feasibility

Mechanisms and external evidence

- **ATUS:** Time use and couples' working-from-home patterns to examine co-presence
- **Add Health (Waves V–VI):** Within-person changes in intimate partner violence before and after the pandemic (in progress)
- **Additional settings:** Police records from nine other settings to assess the validity

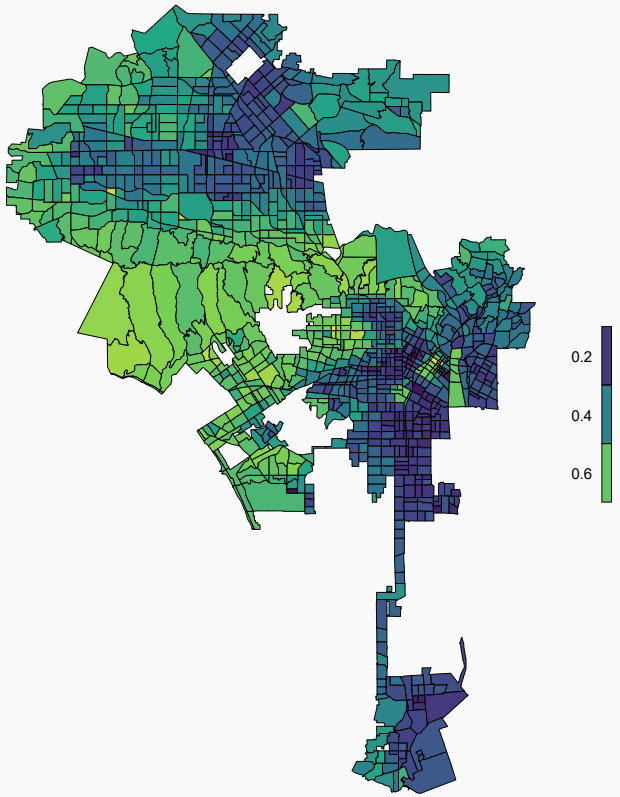
Six key findings so far

1. **DV calls:** +16% in the highest-WFH quartile relative to the lowest, driven by weekdays (+22%); weekend effect insignificant (+5%). No significant pre-trends or effects in the middle quartiles
2. **Recorded crime:** DV assault reports +18% and DV arrests +23%
3. **Other settings:** the same pattern in nine different cities across the US, Canada, the UK and Australia
4. **Timing:** The DV increase is concentrated on weekdays, especially during working hours (+37% from 9am–6pm), with smaller evening effects (+20%) and no detectable overnight increase.
5. **Specific to DV:** the weekday-weekend gap widens for DV calls but not for non-DV calls with the same incident codes; triple difference +15%
6. **Channels:** larger rise in crowded housing; little support for job loss, mental health, or childcare

Outline

- Introduction
- Background
- Data and empirical strategy
- Results: DV calls, crime reports and arrests
- Mechanisms: why weekdays?
- Results from other cities
- Conclusion

WFH feasibility varies widely across LA, even within policing areas

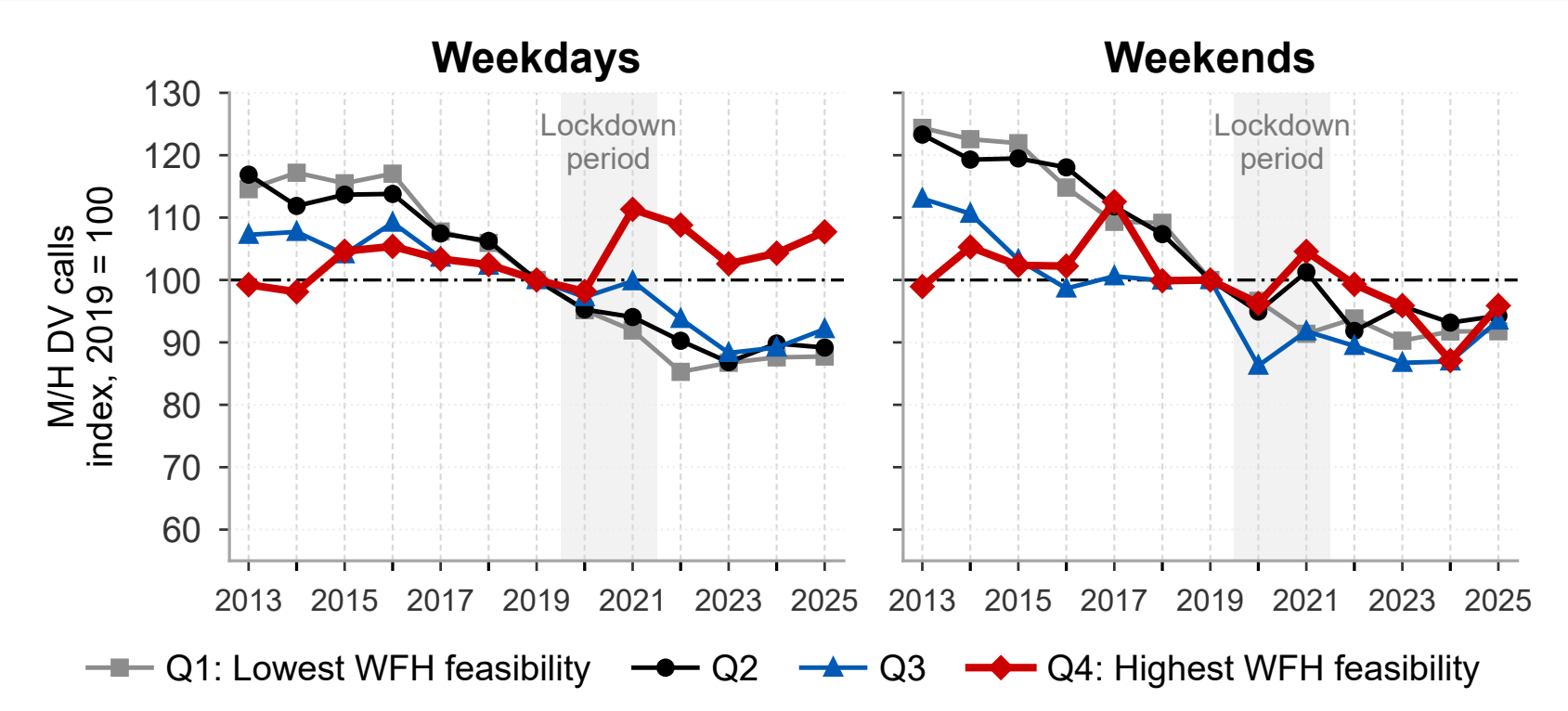


Feasibility by reporting district, 2013-16

- **Wide variation:** 9% to 78% across 1,098 districts; quartile means 22%, 32%, 46% and 60%
- **Within areas too:** 15 of the 21 policing areas contain both bottom- and top-quartile districts
- **Our comparison:** did DV calls rise more after 2020 in high- than in low-feasibility districts **of the same policing area**?

Notes: Feasibility is the share of a district's working residents whose jobs could be done from home. Dingel and Neiman (2020) score each occupation on whether it can be done at home. We average these scores over the occupations held by each district's employed residents in 2013-16 (ACS). Quartiles split the 1,098 districts into four equal-sized groups.

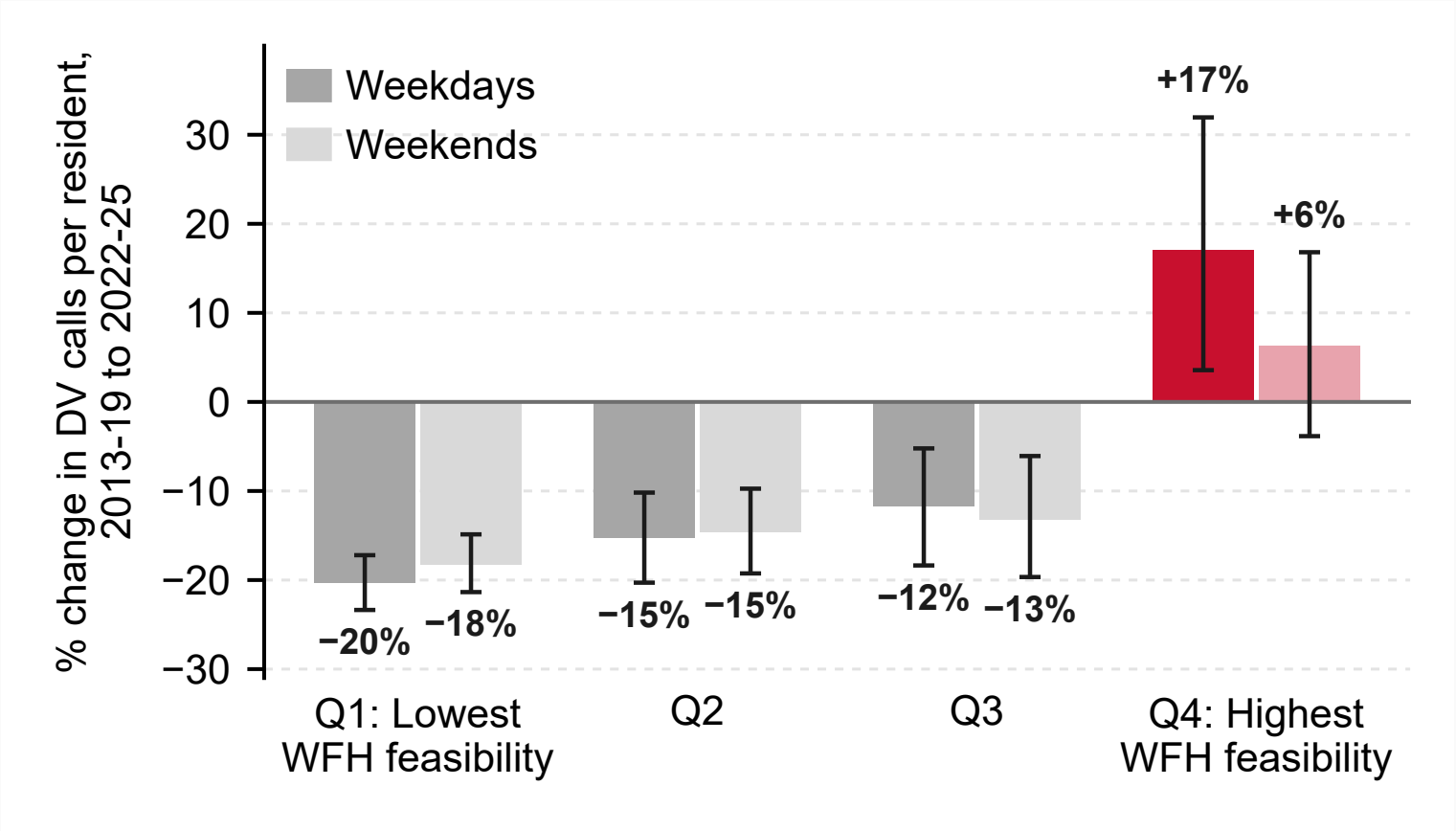
Domestic violence calls diverged in high-WFH neighbourhoods after the pandemic, particularly on weekdays



Notes: Medium to High Severity DV calls per 1,000 working-age residents (2019 population), pooled over the districts in each quartile of 2013-16 WFH feasibility and indexed to each quartile's 2019 value (2019 = 100). Raw rates without fixed effects or controls.

Non-DV Calls

Weekday DV calls rose by 17% in high-WFH districts, compared with declines of 12–20% elsewhere



Notes: Bars show % change in medium-to-high severity DV calls per 1,000 working-age residents (2019 population) per half-year, 2013-19 to 2022-25 (2020-21 excluded), averaged over the districts in each 2013-16 feasibility quartile. 95% CIs: within each quartile, districts are redrawn with replacement 4,999 times and the change recomputed; the interval spans the 2.5th to 97.5th percentiles. Raw means, no controls.

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LAPD data on calls for service across 1,098 neighbourhoods

- **550,889 DV calls** for service, 2013-25: reporting district, date and hour, dispatch code
- **Severity** from the dispatch code: low = dispute (620); medium = battery (242); high = assault with a deadly weapon (245), kidnapping (207)
- **Main outcome**: medium-to-high severity DV calls, by district and half-year
- **1,098 reporting districts** in 21 policing areas



Separate records at each stage

Empirical strategy: comparing changes within policing areas

$$\log \mathbb{E}[Y_{rt}] = \underbrace{\sum_{q=2}^{4} \beta_q (Q_{qr} \times Post_t)}_{\text{WFH quartile} \times \text{Post}} + \mu_r + \lambda_{a(r),t} + \gamma'(X_r \times Post_t) + \log E_r$$

- **Outcome (Y_{rt}):** DV calls by district and half-year.
- **Treatment exposure ($Q_{qr} \times Post_t$):** Pre-pandemic WFH-feasibility quartile interacted with the post-pandemic period (2022–25 vs. 2013–19); Q1 is the reference group.
- **District fixed effects (μ_r)**
- **Policing-area $\times$ half-year fixed effects ($\lambda_{a(r),t}$)**
- **Additional controls ($X_r \times Post_t$)**

Identification

- **District fixed effects:** Permanent differences in income, housing, policing, and reporting propensity
- **Policing-area $\times$ half-year fixed effects:** Shocks shared by districts within the same policing area in each half-year
- **Baseline controls $\times$ Post:** Differential post-pandemic changes associated with pre-pandemic employment and unemployment

Key identifying assumption:

Absent the expansion of WFH, high- and low-feasibility districts within the same policing area would have experienced similar **proportional changes** in DV calls, conditional on these controls

Result 1: DV calls rose with WFH feasibility at every severity level

A 10 percentage point increase in WFH feasibility is associated with 3.3–3.7% more DV calls across severity levels

For medium-to-high severity incidents, this corresponds to approximately 810 additional calls per year across Los Angeles, relative to 2019

	All DV calls	Low: dispute	Medium: battery	High: assault	Medium-to-high
WFH feasibility × Post	0.359***	0.364***	0.352***	0.326**	0.350***
	(0.100)	(0.117)	(0.106)	(0.146)	(0.103)
% effect of a 10 pp increase	+3.7%	+3.7%	+3.6%	+3.3%	+3.6%
Extra incidents per year v. 2019	+1,499	+679	+643	+156	+807
Incidents in 2019	41,003	18,331	17,967	4,705	22,672
Pre-pandemic mean	8.826	3.867	3.999	0.959	4.959
Reporting-district FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Area × half-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Labour-market controls × Post	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	24,156	24,156	24,134	23,870	24,134
Reporting districts	1,098	1,098	1,097	1,085	1,097

Notes: PPML, district × half-year DV calls, 2013-19 v. 2022-25 (2020-21 excluded); exposure: 2019 working-age population; continuous feasibility, all days; s.e. clustered by district; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Pre-pandemic mean: calls per 1,000 working-age residents per half-year.

The rise is concentrated on weekdays

A 10 percentage point higher WFH feasibility is associated with 4.8% more weekday DV calls after the pandemic, compared with 1.2% on weekends

	All days	Weekdays	Weekends
WFH feasibility × Post	0.350***	0.467***	0.122
	(0.103)	(0.117)	(0.112)
% effect of a 10 pp increase	+3.6%	+4.8%	+1.2%
Extra incidents per year v. 2019	+807	+723	+93
Incidents in 2019	22,672	15,139	7,533
Pre-pandemic mean	4.959	3.301	1.658
Reporting-district FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Area × half-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Labour-market controls × Post	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	24,134	24,112	24,002
Reporting districts	1,097	1,096	1,091

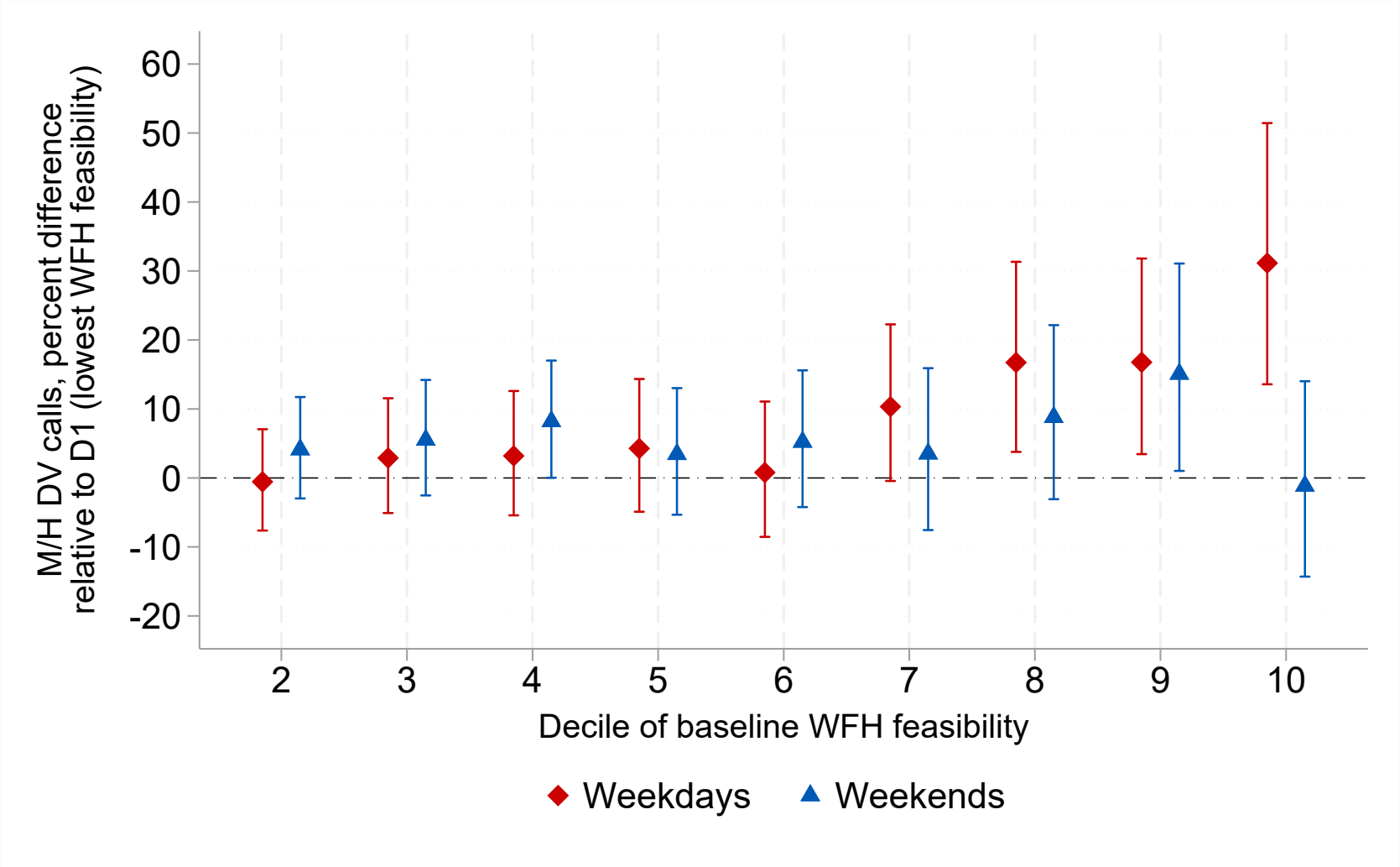
Notes: PPML, district × half-year medium-to-high severity DV calls, 2013-19 v. 2022-25 (2020-21 excluded); exposure: 2019 working-age population; continuous feasibility. Pre-pandemic mean: calls per 1,000 working-age residents per half-year.

The association is driven by the highest-WFH quartile, particularly on weekdays

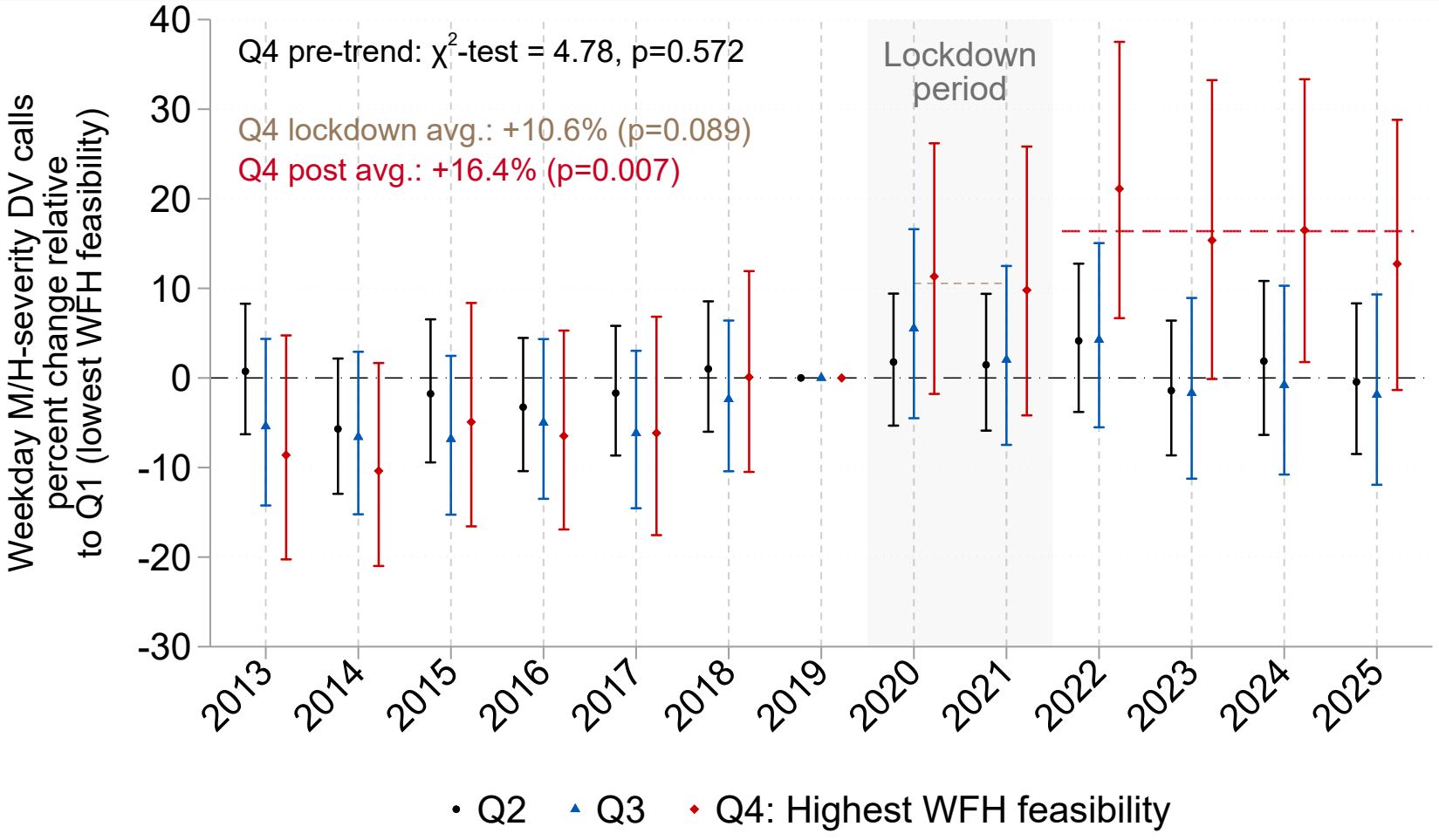
	All days	Weekdays	Weekends
Q2 × Post	0.024 (0.026)	0.025 (0.028)	0.022 (0.028)
Q3 × Post	0.037 (0.032)	0.046 (0.035)	0.019 (0.035)
Q4 × Post	0.149*** (0.041)	0.200*** (0.046)	0.049 (0.049)
Q4 effect	+16.0%	+22.1%	+5.0%
Q4: extra incidents per year v. 2019	+390	+349	+42
Q4: incidents in 2019	2,432	1,580	852
p-value: Q4 = Q3	0.003	0.000	0.528
p-value: Q4 = Q2	0.001	0.000	0.562
Pre-pandemic mean	4.959	3.301	1.658
Reporting-district FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Area × half-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Labour-market controls × Post	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	24,134	24,112	24,002
Reporting districts	1,097	1,096	1,091

Notes: PPML with equal-district quartiles of 2013-16 feasibility (Q1 omitted); s.e. clustered by district; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Q4 effect: $100[\exp(\beta_{Q4}) - 1]$.

The association is concentrated in the upper end of WFH feasibility, with the largest weekday increase in the top decile



High-WFH districts show no significant pre-trend; the divergence persists after lockdowns



Notes: Weekday medium-to-high severity DV calls, 2013-25, each quartile v. Q1, each year relative to 2019 (PPML; 95% CIs).

Result 2: The association extends to DV assault reports and arrests

About 320 more DV assault reports a year in Q4 districts than in 2019, 260 of them on weekdays

	All days	Weekdays	Weekends
Q2 × Post	−0.004 (0.024)	0.005 (0.028)	−0.021 (0.035)
Q3 × Post	0.022 (0.035)	0.047 (0.040)	−0.024 (0.046)
Q4 × Post	0.169*** (0.048)	0.215*** (0.053)	0.082 (0.061)
Q4 effect	+18.4%	+23.9%	+8.6%
Q4: extra incidents per year v. 2019	+323	+260	+57
Q4: incidents in 2019	1,754	1,087	667
p-value: Q4 = Q3	0.001	0.001	0.060
p-value: Q4 = Q2	0.000	0.000	0.093
Pre-pandemic mean	3.010	1.995	1.015
Reporting-district FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Area × half-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Labour-market controls × Post	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	19,348	19,296	19,168
Reporting districts	1,097	1,094	1,087

Notes: PPML, district × half-year DV assault reports, 2013-19 v. 2022-23; s.e. clustered by district; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Pre-pandemic mean: reports per 1,000 working-age residents per half-year.

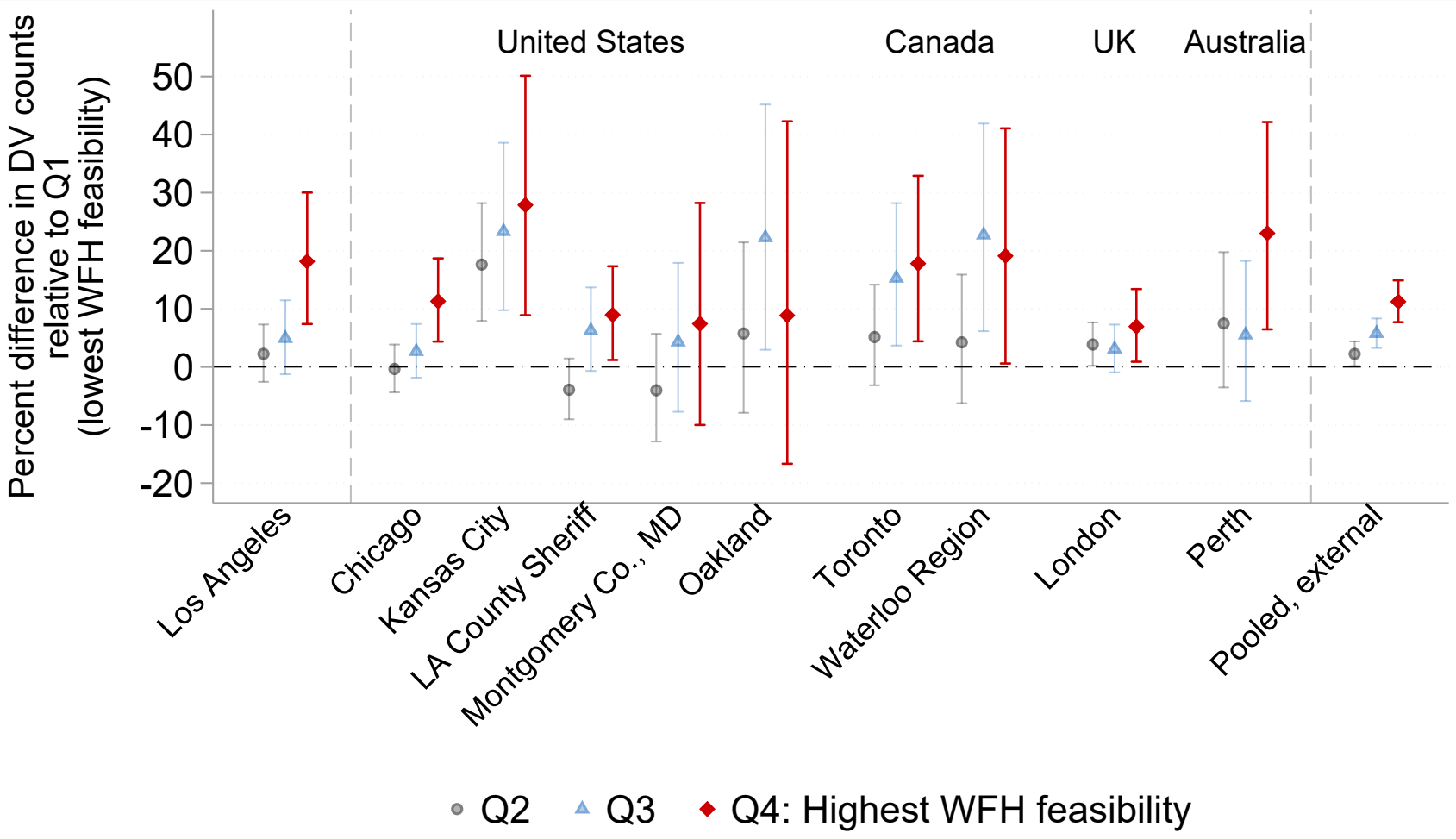
About 210 more DV arrests a year in Q4 districts than in 2019, 200 of them on weekdays; corroborates calls and reports

	All days	Weekdays	Weekends
Q2 × Post	0.059** (0.030)	0.064* (0.033)	0.042 (0.044)
Q3 × Post	0.058 (0.039)	0.079* (0.043)	0.009 (0.055)
Q4 × Post	0.206*** (0.049)	0.283*** (0.058)	0.042 (0.068)
Q4 effect	+22.9%	+32.7%	+4.3%
Q4: extra incidents per year v. 2019	+214	+199	+14
Q4: incidents in 2019	935	608	327
p-value: Q4 = Q3	0.001	0.000	0.597
p-value: Q4 = Q2	0.002	0.000	0.991
Pre-pandemic mean	1.644	1.111	0.532
Reporting-district FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Area × half-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Labour-market controls × Post	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	21,820	21,760	21,540
Reporting districts	1,091	1,088	1,077

Notes: PPML, district × half-year DV arrests, 2013-19 v. 2022-24 (2020-21 excluded); s.e. clustered by district; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Pre-pandemic mean: arrests per 1,000 working-age residents per half-year.

Result 3: The association extends beyond LA to nine other settings

A similar high-WFH DV response appears in nine other settings



Notes: Public police records (US, Canada, UK, Australia), less granular than the LAPD data. Same estimator.

Why weekdays?
WFH may have increased partners' co-presence

Before the pandemic

Work kept many partners apart during weekdays

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With the expansion of WFH

More partners are at home together during working hours

Key distinction:

Co-presence increased more on **weekdays than weekends**

Hypothesis:

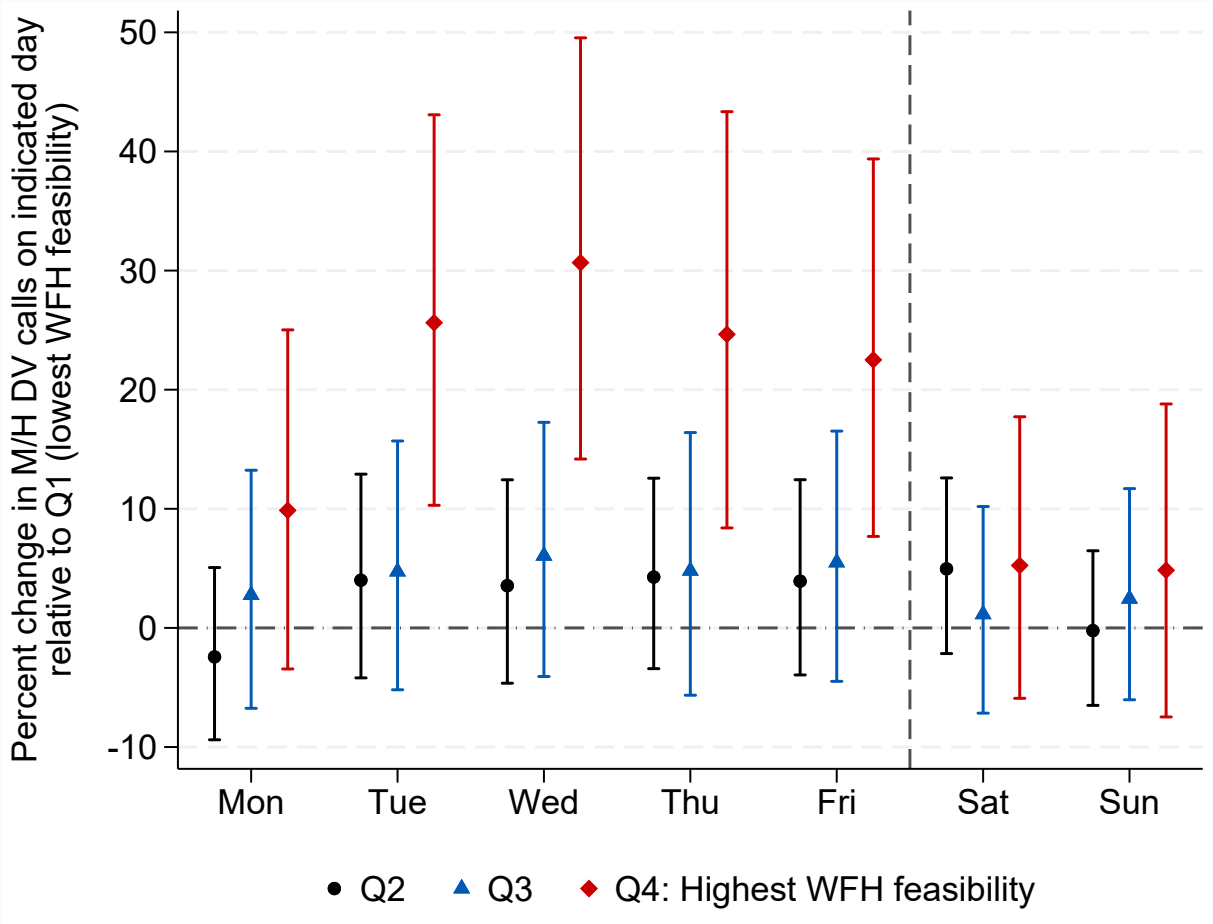
More time together may increase conflict or controlling behaviour

The co-presence hypothesis generates three testable predictions

If increased co-presence helps explain the DV results, we should observe:

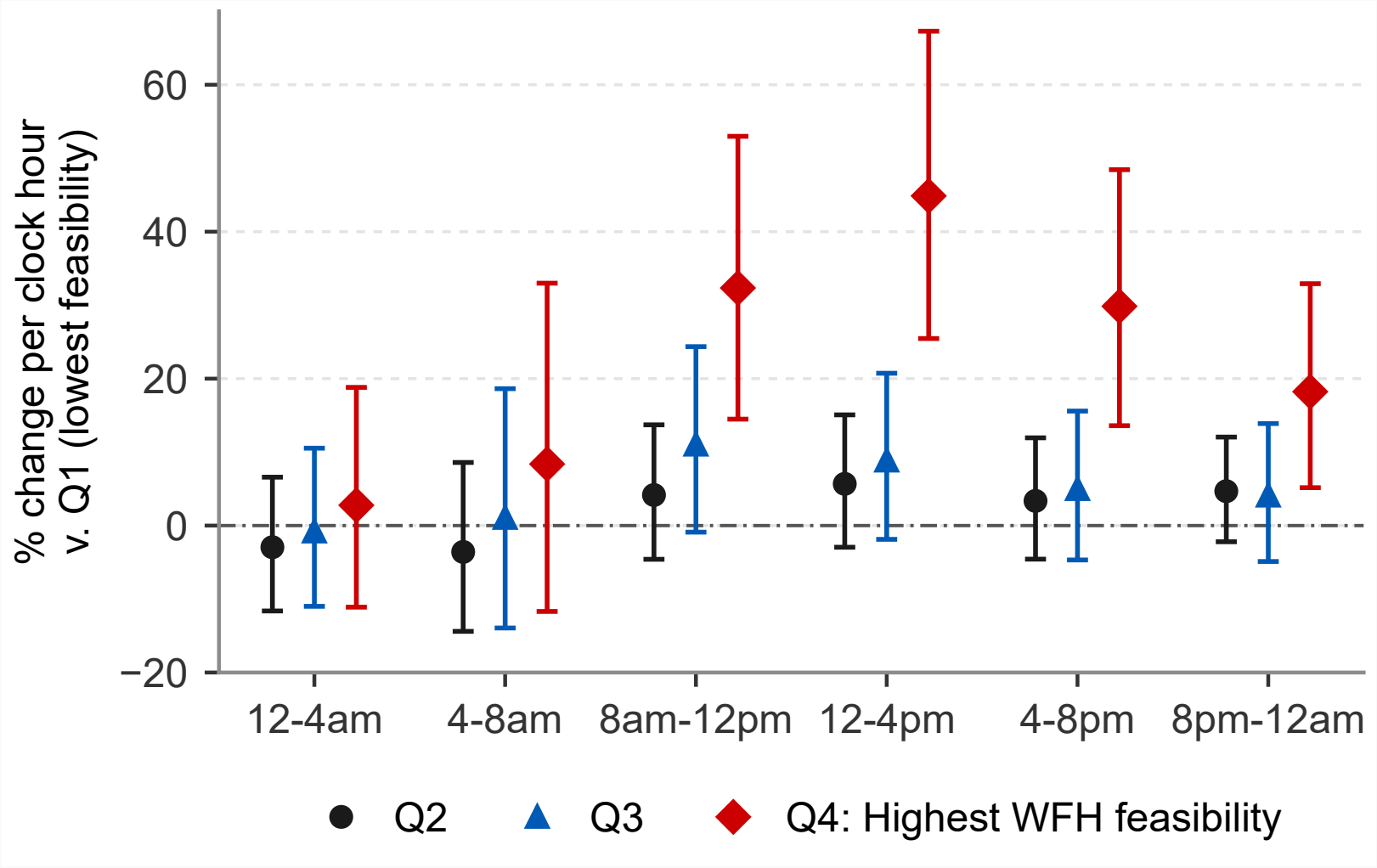
	Prediction	Evidence
1	A larger increase in partners' co-presence in high-WFH areas	LA couples (ACS); time diaries (ATUS)
2	Larger DV increases on weekdays, especially during working hours	Day-of-week and hourly DV calls
3	A stronger weekday shift for DV than for comparable non-DV incidents	DV vs. non-DV calls (triple difference)

The DV increase is concentrated on weekdays; weekend estimates are imprecise



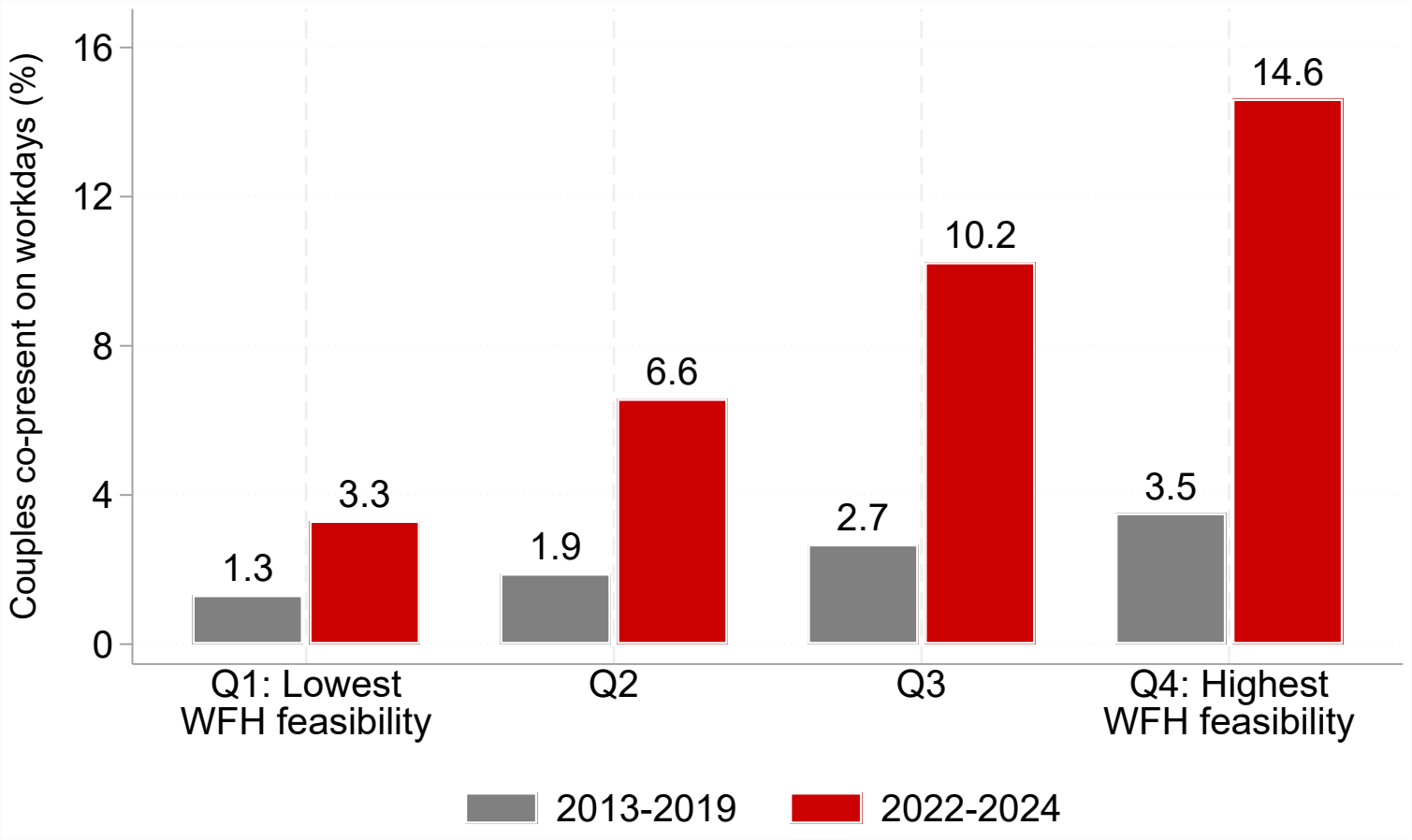
Notes: Medium-to-high severity DV calls on each day, percent change relative to Q1 (Q4 in red); 95% CIs. Monday is lower partly because most weekday holidays fall on Mondays.

The DV response is greatest during daytime working hours



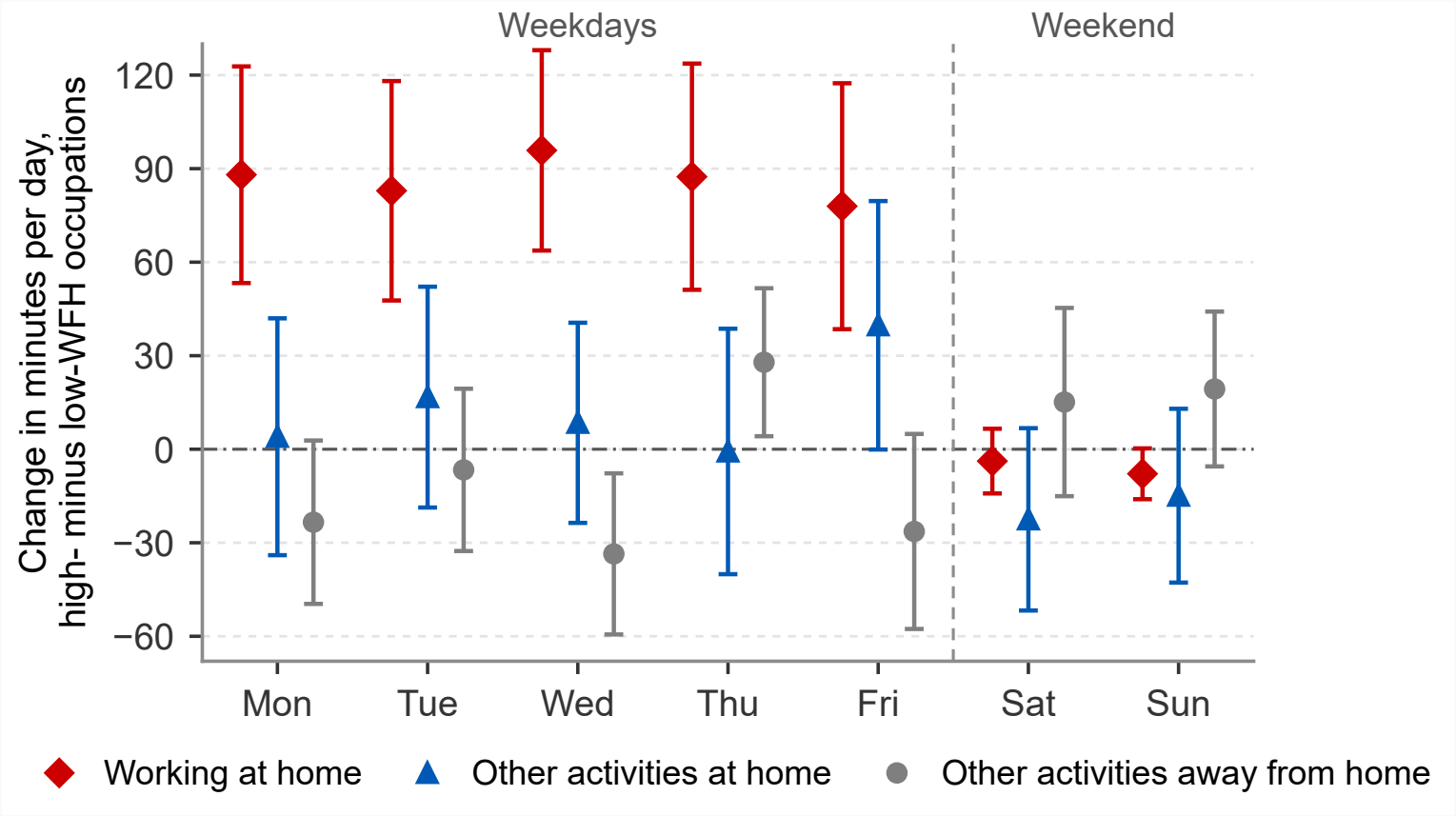
Notes: Weekday medium-to-high severity DV calls, percent change per clock hour within each block, relative to Q1 (Q4 in red); 95% CIs.

Workday co-presence rose by 11 pp in high-WFH areas, versus 2 pp in low-WFH areas



Notes: ACS, LA County couples aged 18–64, 2013–19 vs. 2022–24. Co-presence proxy: one partner usually works from home and the other also works from home or is not employed. 65 PUMA-based areas (not LAPD districts), grouped by pre-pandemic WFH feasibility. Hybrid work is not fully captured.

Workers in high-WFH occupations spend more time working at home on weekdays



Notes: ATUS diaries of employed respondents aged 18–64 living with a spouse or partner (90% married), 2013–19 vs. 2022–25 (2020–21 and holidays excluded). Each marker is a separate DiD for one diary day: the change in minutes per day for workers in high- minus low-WFH-feasibility occupations; weighted OLS with year and month FE; 95% CIs clustered by occupation. Working at home is paid work done at home (main job, second job); other activities at home is all other waking time at home (housework, meals, childcare, TV); other activities away from home is time out of the home other than work and commuting (shopping, errands, eating out, visiting friends).

Is the weekday increase specific to domestic violence?

Compare calls for the same types of incidents (battery, assault, kidnapping), distinguishing **DV-flagged from non-DV calls**.

Step 1: Estimate post-pandemic changes in Q4 relative to Q1, separately for weekdays and weekends.

	Weekdays	**Weekends**	**Weekday − weekend**
DV calls	(1)	(2)	$a = (1) - (2)$
Non-DV calls	(3)	(4)	$b = (3) - (4)$
Triple difference			$\boldsymbol{a - b}$

Step 2: Compare the weekday–weekend gaps between DV and non-DV calls.

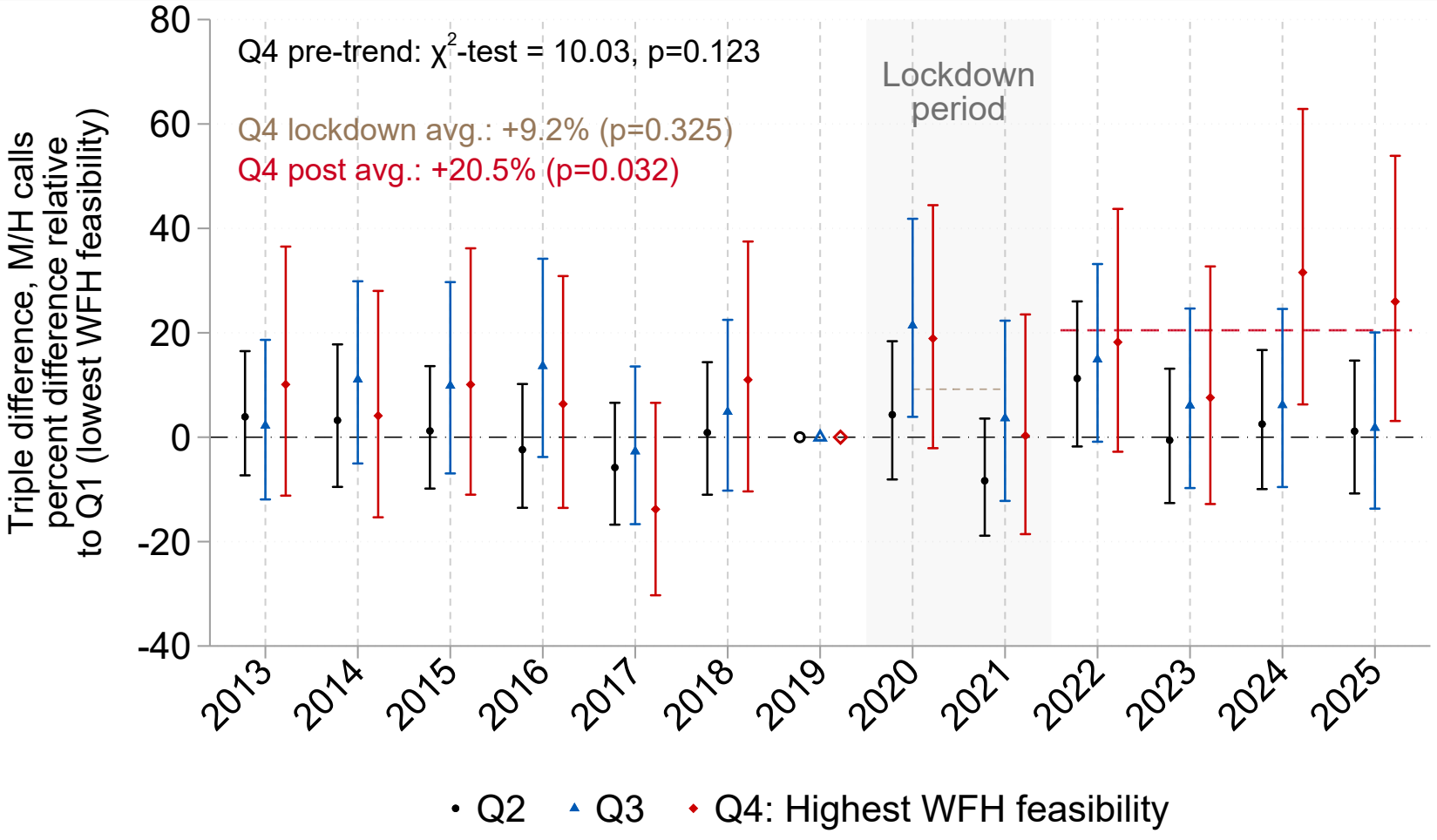
Interpretation: A positive triple difference means the weekday shift is **larger for DV than for non-DV calls**.

The weekday increase is significantly larger for DV than for comparable non-DV calls in high-WFH districts

	Weekdays	Weekends	Weekday − weekend
Domestic violence			
Q2 × Post	0.025 (0.028)	0.022 (0.028)	0.003 (0.025)
Q3 × Post	0.046 (0.035)	0.019 (0.035)	0.028 (0.031)
Q4 × Post	0.200*** (0.046)	0.049 (0.049)	0.151*** (0.048)
Non-domestic violence			
Q2 × Post	0.011 (0.028)	0.039 (0.029)	−0.028* (0.015)
Q3 × Post	0.048 (0.035)	0.035 (0.036)	0.013 (0.018)
Q4 × Post	0.108** (0.045)	0.097** (0.044)	0.011 (0.025)
Triple difference (domestic − non-domestic)			
Q2 × Post			0.031 (0.030)
Q3 × Post			0.014 (0.037)
Q4 × Post			0.140*** (0.053)

Notes: PPML of (DV and non-DV calls with the same incident codes, weekdays and weekends), each with its own district and area × half-year FEs and employment controls; 2013-19 v. 2022-25; log points relative to Q1; s.e. clustered by district; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Q4 triple difference: $100[\exp(0.140) - 1] = +15.0\%$.

The DV-specific weekday divergence emerged after the pandemic, with no pre-trend



Notes: [DV weekday − weekend] − [non-DV weekday − weekend], each quartile v. Q1, each year relative to **2019**; 95% CIs. Q4 pre-trend test $p = 0.12$; not rejecting is not proof of parallel trends. In-figure averages are relative to 2019 and are not the pooled +15%, which compares 2022-25 with the 2013-19 average.

Does residential space matter for the co-presence mechanism?

With more working from home

Partners spend more time together during weekdays.



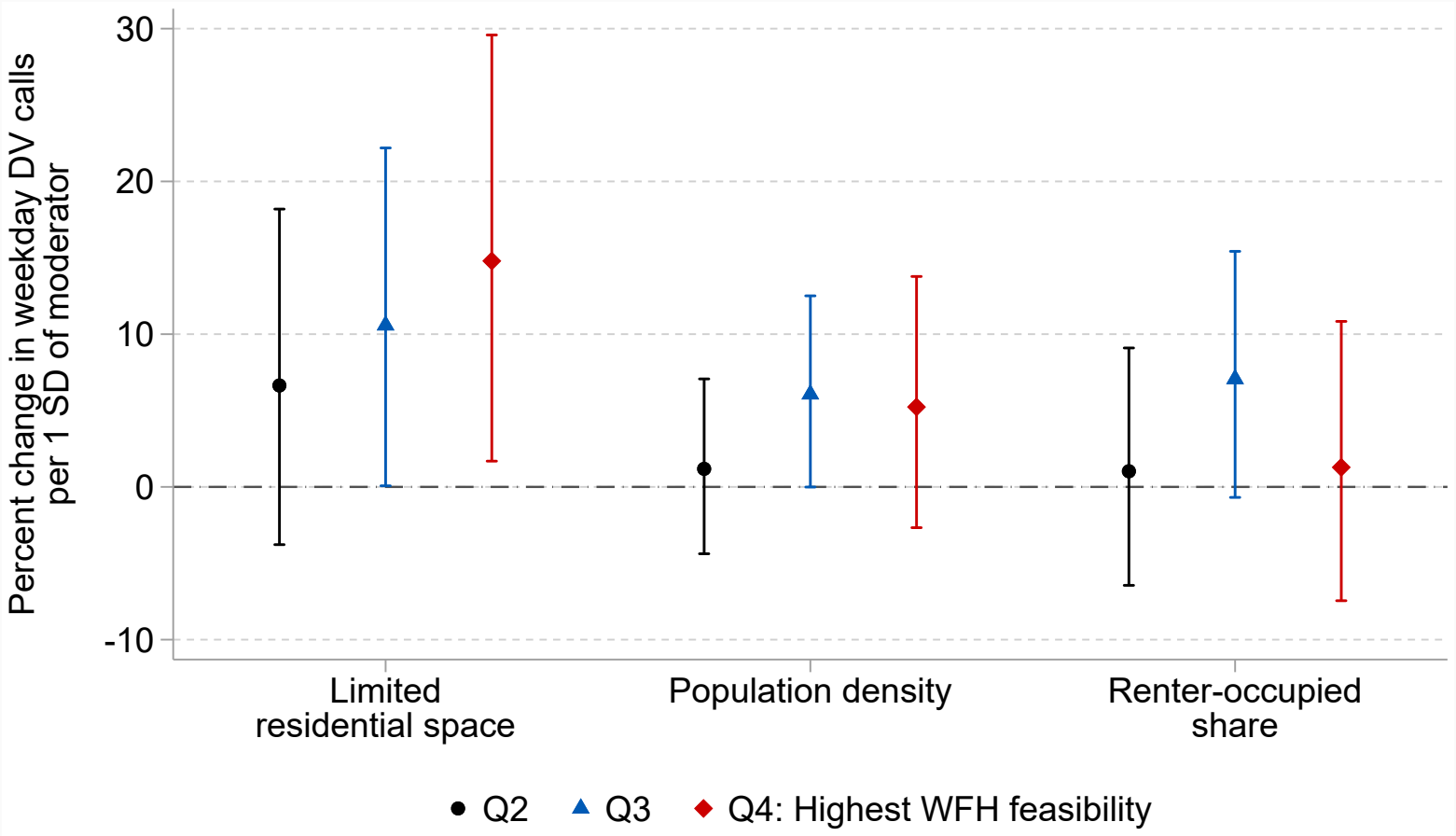
But households differ in available space

Limited space may make it harder to avoid tensions or conflict.

Prediction:

The weekday DV increase should be larger in high-WFH neighbourhoods with **less residential space**.

The weekday DV increase is larger in high-WFH areas with limited residential space



Notes: **Limited residential space:** Share of homes with more than 0.5 residents per room (more than one person per two rooms). **Population density:** Number of residents per unit of land area. **Renter share:** Share of occupied homes rented rather than owner-occupied. All measures are pre-pandemic. Estimates show the additional weekday DV response relative to Q1 for a one-standard-deviation increase in each measure (PPML; 95% CIs).

The weekday DV increase is robust to alternative specifications

- **Alternative post-pandemic windows:** The Q4 weekday effect remains +21–23% across 2021–22, 2022–23, and 2023–24 relative to 2013–19.

- **Influential areas or years:** Excluding any single policing area or year leaves the main results largely unchanged

- **Convergence in DV rates:** Could districts with initially low DV rates simply be catching up? We group districts by their 2010–12 DV call rates (quartiles or deciles) and allow each group separate half-year fixed effects. Results remain stable.

- **Population growth:** Could faster population growth in high-WFH districts explain the DV increase? A mechanical adjustment for the Q4–Q1 population-growth differential (6 log points) reduces the weekday estimate from 22% to 15%.

Alternative channels

- **Job loss and economic insecurity:** Employment did not deteriorate more in high-WFH areas; job separations and turnover were lower in more teleworkable occupations
- **Mental health and isolation:** LAPD calls reporting mental-health crises or attempted suicides did not increase more in high-WFH districts
- **Childcare pressures:** The weekday DV increase is not significantly larger in neighbourhoods with more households with young children
- **Commuting:** No variation in the DV response by pre-pandemic commuting times

Next steps

- **Validate with independent measures:** Examine emergency-department visits, homicides, and self-reported intimate partner violence (Add Health)
- **Understand who is affected:** Examine victim and suspect characteristics, including sex, using detailed police records
- **Distinguish new from repeat victimisation:** Assess whether the increase reflects more victims or repeated incidents involving the same victims

Conclusion

- DV calls rose by 16% in the highest-WFH districts relative to the lowest, driven by a 22% weekday increase.
- Increased time together, the concentration during working hours, and stronger effects in crowded housing point towards a co-presence mechanism.
- DV assault reports and arrests also increased, with similar associations across nine other settings.

Many thanks!

Comments or questions?

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Related literature

- **Earnings, employment, outside options and domestic violence**: Aizer (2010); Anderberg et al. (2016); Guarnieri and Rainer (2021); Erten and Keskin (2024); Bergvall (2024); Adams et al. (2024); Bhalotra et al. (2025)
- **COVID-19 lockdowns and domestic violence**: Leslie and Wilson (2020); McCrary and Sanga (2021); Bullinger et al. (2021); Miller et al. (2024); Bhalotra et al. (2026)
- **Working from home, households and neighbourhoods**: Barrero, Bloom and Davis (2023); Aksoy et al. (2022, 2023); Pabilonia and Vernon (2023, 2024); Laß and Wooden (2023); Harrington and Kahn (2026); Matheson et al. (2024)

Labour-market shocks change earnings and bargaining power. Working from home changes where people work, and so who is at home together. We study its persistent, post-lockdown expansion.

Back Index

The puzzle: evidence for each channel

Could reduce it

- **Less commuting stress**: each day worked from home saves 72 minutes of commuting (Aksoy et al., 2023); long commutes predict couple separation (Sandow, 2014)
- **Less work-family conflict**: telework lowers it (meta-analysis of 46 studies: Gajendran and Harrison, 2007); hybrid WFH cut quits by a third (Bloom, Han and Liang, 2024)
- **Stronger outside options for women**: WFH raised mothers' employment (Harrington and Kahn, 2025); a smaller gender wage gap reduces DV (Aizer, 2010)

Could raise it

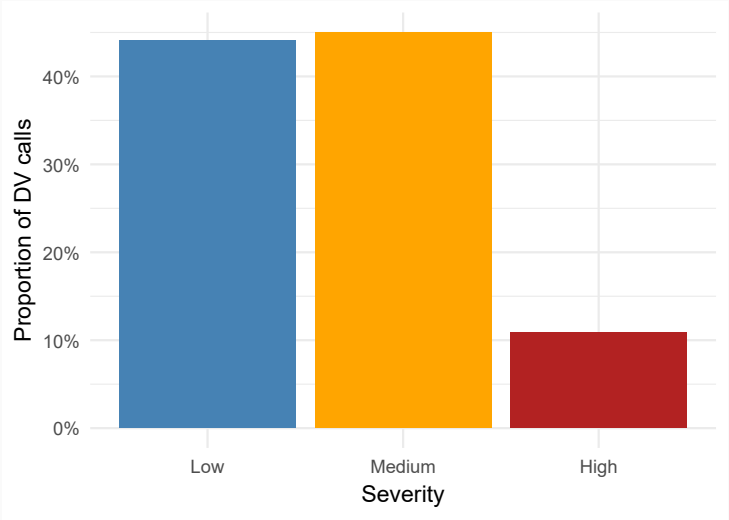
- **More exposure**: less time together lowered partner homicide (Dugan, Nagin and Rosenfeld, 1999); stay-at-home orders raised DV calls by 7.5% (Leslie and Wilson, 2020)
- **More tension at home**: "tension among family members or housemates may increase the risk that a worker experiences domestic violence and harassment" (WHO and ILO, 2022)
- **Lost refuge, more control**: "the workplace can be a place of safety for victims" (UK government, 2024); WFH "may mean increased and unrelenting control" (House of Lords debate, 2026)

Evidence so far: pandemic-era and mixed (Miall et al., 2023; Beland et al., 2020); "limited evidence" (House of Lords, 2026).

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Data: LAPD calls for service, 2013-25

- **Every DV-related call**: reporting district, date and hour, dispatch code (550,889 DV calls)
- **Dispatch severity:**
  - Low: dispute (620)
  - Medium: battery (242)
  - High: assault with a deadly weapon (245), kidnapping (207)
- **Main outcome:** medium-to-high severity DV calls (about 80% of DV crimes matched to a call were medium-to-high severity calls)
- **Panel:** 1,098 districts $\times$ half-years, 2013-19 and 2022-25 (2020-21 excluded)

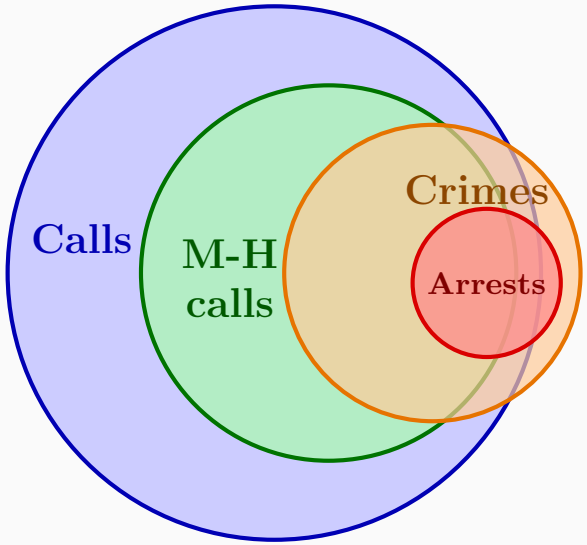


Share of DV calls by dispatch severity

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Calls, crimes and arrests: three decision makers

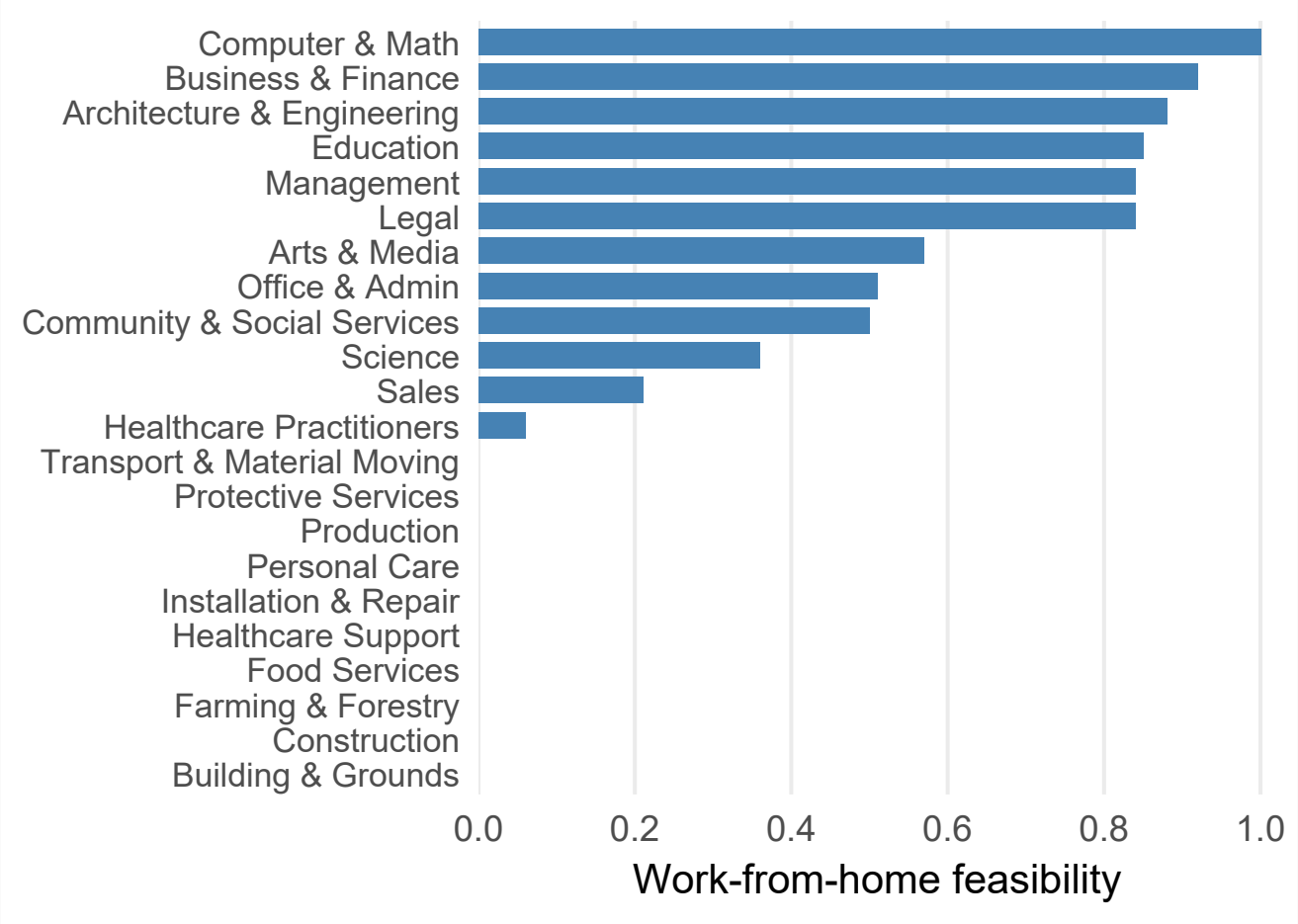
1. **Call**: **someone**, the victim or a third party, calls the police about an event.
2. **Dispatch code**: the **call handler** assesses the information and assigns a code.
3. **Recorded crime**: after the **responding officers'** assessment, an offence is recorded in a police report.
4. **Arrest**: **officers** may decide to make an arrest.



Separate records at each stage, not matched one-for-one; the pattern appears at every stage.

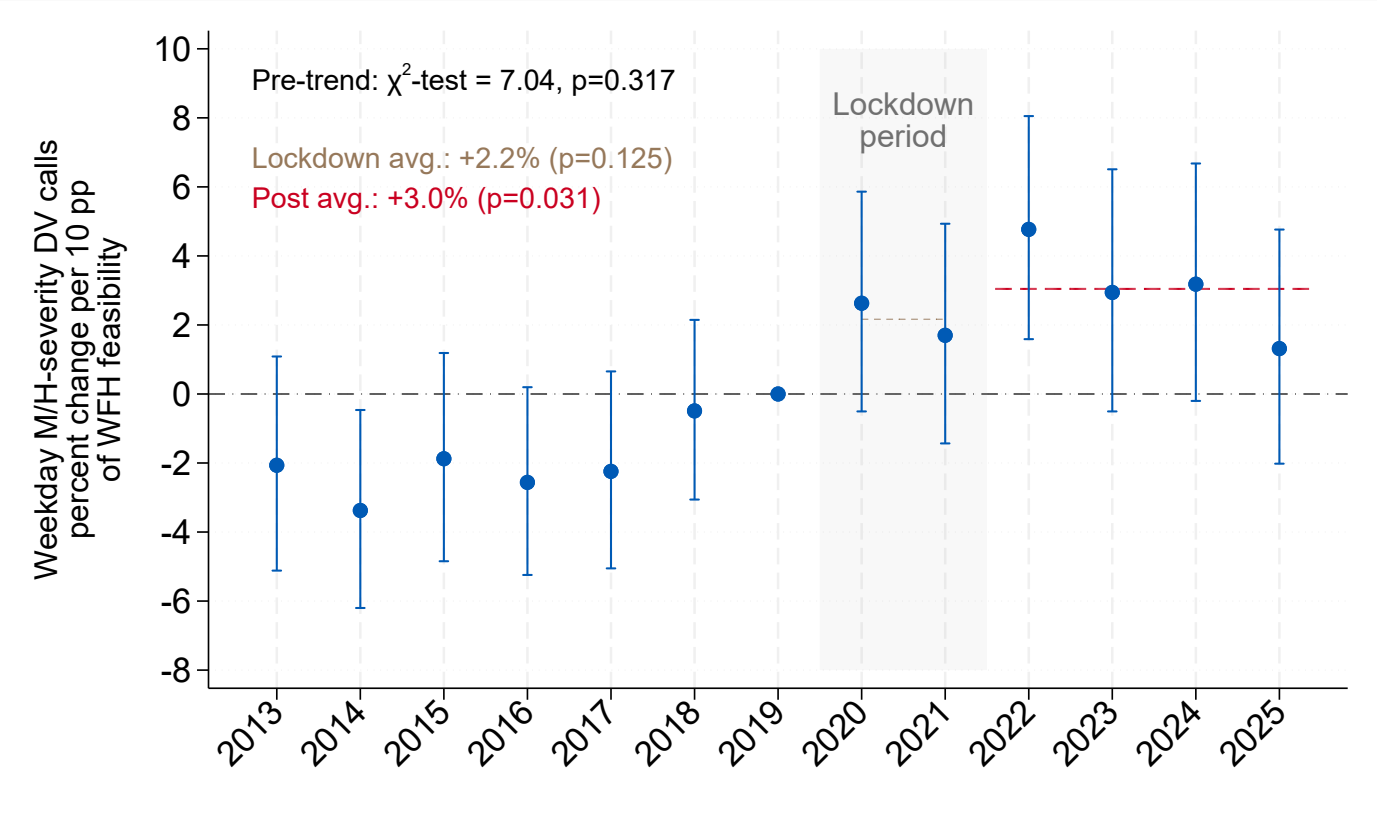
Police Process Back Index

Dingel-Neiman WFH feasibility by occupation group



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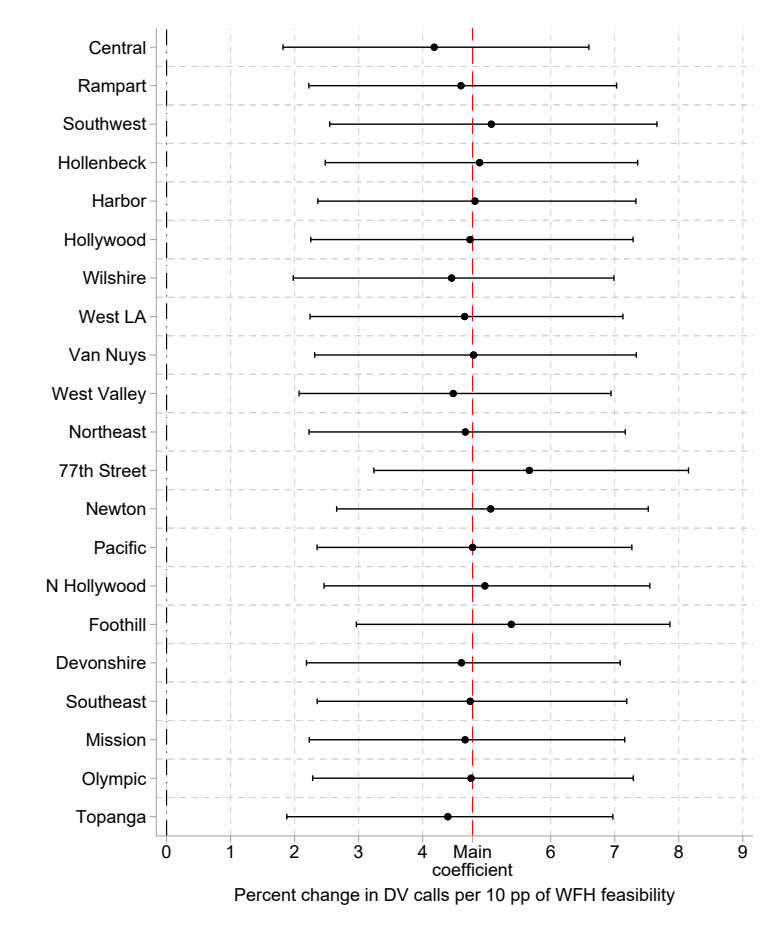
Event study, continuous feasibility: no pre-trend; +3% per 10 pp after the pandemic



Notes: Weekday medium-to-high severity DV calls; percent change per 10 pp of WFH feasibility, each year relative to 2019 (PPML; 95% CIs); companion of Figure 1.

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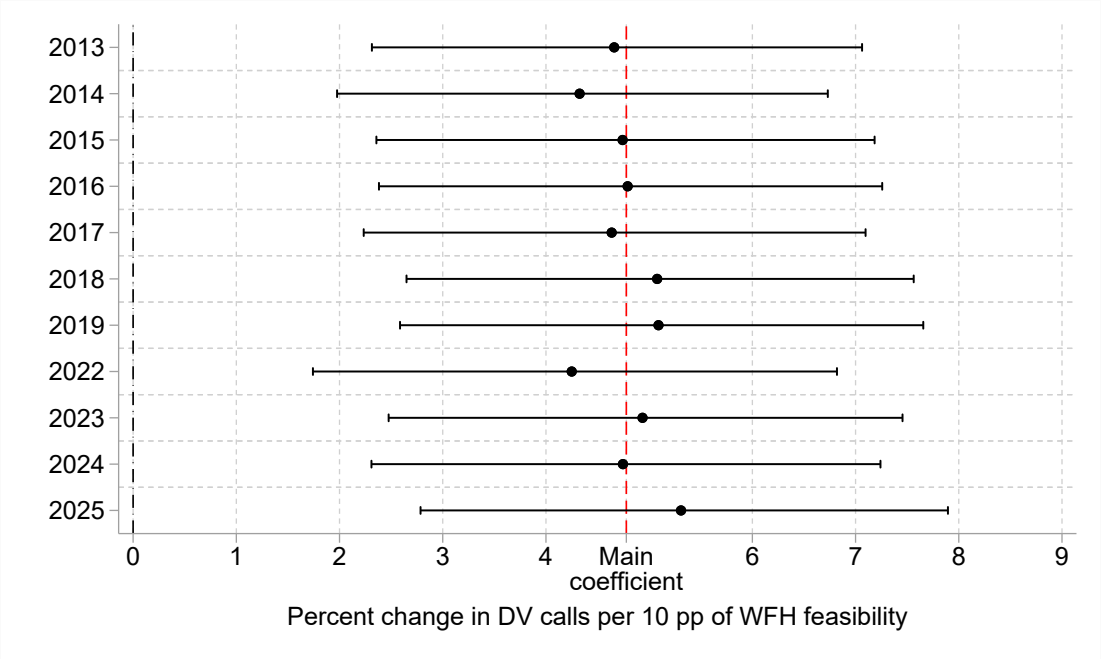
Leave one policing area out



Weekday medium-to-high severity DV calls, continuous specification; dashed line: main estimate (+4.8% per 10 pp); 95% CIs.

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Leave one year out



Weekday medium-to-high severity DV calls, continuous specification; dashed line: main estimate (+4.8% per 10 pp); 95% CIs.

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Population growth: what it can and cannot explain

- **Absorbed:** fixed 2019 exposure is absorbed by the district FE, so a different fixed population, or none, gives the same estimates.
- **Not absorbed:** population change within a district over time. 2022-24 v. 2013-19: Q4 $+4.9$, Q3 $+3.5$, Q1 -1.1, Q2 -1.8 log points.
- **Mechanical adjustment:** if calls rose one-for-one with residents, netting out the Q4-Q1 gap (6.0) leaves Q4 at $+9\%$ (all days) and $+15\%$ (weekdays); Q3 falls to about zero. This is not a full control for changing composition (who lives there).
- **Less exposed:** weekday v. weekend, hours and DV v. non-DV compare the same districts and periods (triple difference $+15\%$), though compositional change could still shift timing.
- **Why not current population?** It is partly a response to WFH, and small-area ACS counts are noisy.

Effect by Post Window | Population Table | Back | Index

Population growth: the effect does not grow with the gap

The Q4-Q1 population gap grows from 0.5 to 8.3 points across post windows; the Q4 weekday effect stays at 21-23%.

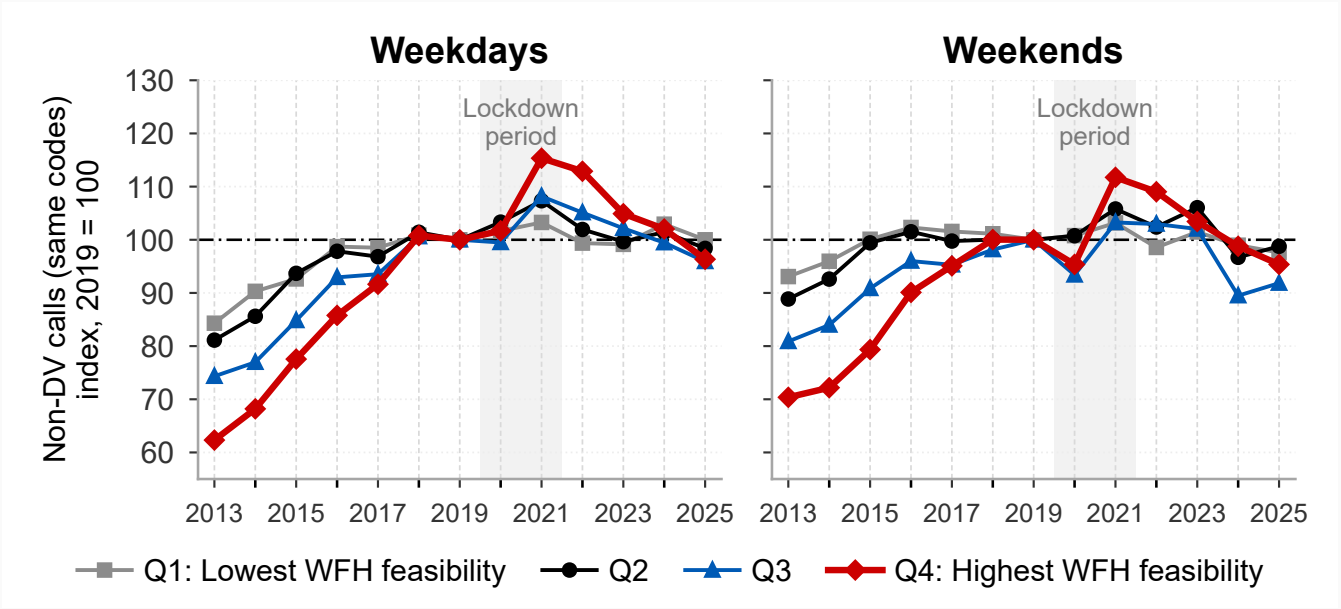
Post window	Q4 − Q1 population growth	Q4 effect, weekdays	Q4 effect, all days
2021-22	+0.5	+22.3%	+19.1%
2022-23	+4.3	+22.9%	+18.8%
2023-24	+8.3	+21.2%	+15.7%

Each window compared with 2013-19. Population growth: log points × 100, working-age population (ACS). Effects: PPML, relative to Q1, as in the main specification. If population drove the effect, it would rise with the gap; it does not.

Post Windows Figure Back Index

Non-DV calls with the same codes: no weekday-specific rise in the top quartile

Q4 non-DV rates caught up before 2019; after that the quartiles move broadly together, with the same brief Q4 rise in 2021-22 on weekdays and weekends.



Notes: Non-DV calls with the same incident codes as the DV outcome (242, 245, 207) per 1,000 working-age residents (2019 population), pooled over the districts in each quartile of 2013-16 WFH feasibility and indexed to each quartile's 2019 value (2019 = 100). Weekdays: Monday to Friday; weekends: Saturday and Sunday. Shaded: lockdown period (2020-21). Raw rates without fixed effects or controls.