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Career Penalties for Flexible Working: How Organizational Culture Shapes Managerial Decisions

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Abstract: This study explores how organizational factors influence managerial decision-making regarding the career advancement of employees working from home. Despite a large body of research on the new modes of working, a gap persists concerning the role of the organizational context in shaping these dynamics. In this article, we investigate whether managers' promotion and pay decisions depend on the employee's use of remote work and whether these decisions are moderated by the presence of the ideal worker norms (i.e. high work devotion and centrality) and family-friendly policies (childcare-related and flexible work options) in their work environments. We use data from a choice experiment, which included over 1,000 managers from the United Kingdom. The experiment was run in the second half of 2022, and therefore, this study provides post-pandemic evidence and represents the "new normal" settings. The findings indicate that employees who work fully remotely are less likely to be considered for promotion and a salary increase than on-site workers. This pattern is observed particularly in firms with more demanding organizational cultures, namely those with stronger ideal worker norms and/or fewer family-friendly policies. Importantly, both male and female remote workers experience career penalties, albeit in distinct ways, as both ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies appear important for men, whereas for women, it is primarily the availability of supportive policies that influences outcomes. The findings underscore the significant impact of organizational culture on managerial decision-making, with implications for both theory and practice.

Keywords: experiment, gender, promotion, organizational culture, work from home

JEL codes: J12, J13, J16, J21

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1. Introduction

Flexible work arrangements (FWAs) have been on the rise and constitute a sign of evolving professional practices. Work from home (WFH), a type of FWAs, is tied to overarching trends such as the individualization of needs and lifestyles, globalization of the economy and the digitization of the work landscape (Bailey et al. 2022; Schmoll and Süß 2019; Zammuto et al. 2007). Digital technologies have enabled knowledge workers to perform tasks remotely at any time (Bader and Kaiser 2017), and the recent COVID-19 pandemic has intensified these trends, prompting a global shift to WFH for millions of employees (McDonal et al. 2022; Kniffin et al. 2021). Even though the pandemic has ended, a considerable number of individuals find the adoption of WFH desirable (ONS 2024; Barrero et al. 2021; Ozimek 2020). Notably, the remote work revolution has altered the link between physical location and work, thereby influencing the employee management processes, for example, concerning career development (Caligiuri et al. 2024).

Despite a sizeable and growing body of literature exploring various aspects related to WFH, there is no consensus on how it impacts careers, and this effect varies for different employees (Villamor et al. 2023; Chung 2022; Matysiak et al. 2025). Experimental evidence on the impact of WFH on careers, conducted pre- as well as post-pandemic, indicates that engaging in this mode of working carries significant promotion and pay penalties (Chung and Wang 2024; Kasperska et al. 2024; Fernandez-Lozano et al. 2020; Golden and Eddleston 2020; Munsch 2016; Bloom et al. 2015) but other studies, mostly based on the survey data, find that it boosts career development (Arntz et al. 2022; Leslie et al. 2012). The differential treatment and career prospects of remote workers are often attributed to different perceptions of their productivity by employers. As evidenced by several studies, remote work does not necessarily diminish productivity and may, in some cases, enhance it (Angelici and Profeta 2024; Bloom et al. 2024; Birkinshaw et al. 2020; Choudhury et al. 2021). Nonetheless, remote workers are often perceived by employers as less productive and less committed (Matysiak et al. 2025; Fernandez-Lozano et al. 2020). The negative employer perceptions have been shown to directly lead to disadvantaged career outcomes experienced by remote workers (Matysiak et al. 2025).

One possible explanation for this phenomenon, which we test in this paper, is that promotion criteria do not solely depend on conscious and rational decision-making (based on, for example, productivity levels, skills, or abilities) and employers' judgment may be guided by aspects, such as stereotypes, company norms, and traditions which shape their ideas about

remote workers. Many argue that flexible workers experience differential treatment and worse evaluations because they do not adhere to ideal worker norms, namely, a paradigmatic employee who is fully devoted to work and puts it in the center of life (Chung 2022; Cech and Blair-Loy 2014; Williams et al. 2013; Acker 1990). Consequently, when operating in environments with more demanding work cultures, flexible workers can experience negative career consequences. Although it is recognized that strong ideal worker norms in the organization can prevent workers from engaging in FWA (Williamson et al. 2022; Lott and Abendroth 2020; Beham et al. 2015), less is known about how such settings influence promotion and pay decision-making processes, especially in the post-pandemic context.

The objective of this study is to fill the gap in the literature and explore how the organizational culture, in particular working norms and family-friendly policies, impacts managerial promotion and pay decisions for male and female remote workers. To answer this research question, we designed a conjoint experiment which was conducted in the second half of 2022 in the United Kingdom (UK). The study sample included over 1,000 managers who were instructed to choose the most suited employee for promotion and salary rise based on various employee profile characteristics.

This study makes important contributions to the literature and practice. The research adds to post-pandemic literature exploring managerial promotion preferences and attitudes towards those who work remotely (Matysiak et al. 2025; Chung and Wang 2024; Kasperska et al. 2024; Moller et al. 2024). Previous causal studies focused predominantly on the promotion and pay of remote workers in relation to their performance, abilities, and engagement, ignoring the impact of the norms, values, and attitudes present in the organization (Bloom et al. 2024; Moller et al. 2024; Choudhury et al. 2021; Fernandez-Lozano et al. 2020; Munsch 2016; Bloom et al. 2015). The current research extends this knowledge by showing how the environment surrounding the manager (i.e. decision maker), namely the working norms and availability of family-friendly policies, influences his/her decisions for promotion and pay for those who use WFH. Past studies explored how company policies and norms affect managerial decisions whether to allow employees to WFH (Beham et al. 2015) but not how they grant promotion decisions and evaluate such workers. Regarding practical implications, this study shows the managerial bias towards those working from home and identifies the organizational factors that moderate this effect. This can be of particular importance for practitioners who can use this knowledge when designing organizational structures, positions, and ways of working in the organization, and improve their management style to boost fairness and equity.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Decision-making in organizations and work culture

The theoretical framework of this article is based on March's (1991, 1994) ideas on how decisions are made in organizations. March's theory (1991) posits that decision making is determined by individual preferences and anticipation of outcomes as well as organizational constraints that influence the identification and execution of an optimal solution. March et al. (1994) distinguish two channels of decision-making, *the logic of consequences* and *the logic of appropriateness*. The former sees the decision-making process as consequential and preference-based, as best described by rational theories of choice. In this model, individuals are rationally evaluated using metrics like productivity levels, skills, abilities, and engagement at work, and promotion decisions hinge predominantly on these criteria. Nonetheless, March (1991) points out that decisions can also be a result of other reasons than intentional, future-oriented choices, and decisions often "happen" instead of "are made" in organizations. This perspective represents the *logic of appropriateness*, which states that decision-making often results from rule-following and the fulfillment of an identity (March et al. 1994). Namely, much of organizational choice behavior can be explained by the prevailing standards, work culture, norms, institutional structure, and the need to follow these rules (Brahm and Poblete 2024; Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2024). Consequently, managers tasked with making decisions regarding promotions and compensation may not always consciously and rationally evaluate different workers. Instead, their choices are shaped by organizational culture - the decisions occur more as a reflection of these factors than being consciously formulated and discussed.

Organizational culture, in this context, is defined as a set of shared systems, norms, values, and expectations within a work environment as well as the overall atmosphere created by these elements (Bertels et al. 2016; Van den Berg and Wilderom 2004). All of these define the specific identity of the organization and are indicative of the way the work environment is set up. The empirical literature recognizes that the organizational context can influence employees' approach to work, their priorities, and shape how work is conducted (Brahm and Poblete 2024; Glisson 2015). Organizational culture is considered to be transmitted through behavioral norms and expectations (Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2024; Glisson 2015). Thus, managers making decisions may adapt their behavior and way of acting to the identity and rules of the organization if they want to be part of it. If they act against such expectations ('social contracts'), they can lose legitimacy and authority, and experience professional penalties (Kinicki and Williams 2020; March et al. 1994).

2.2 Organizational context and the impact of WFH on careers

The extant research indicates that informal workplace norms and formal work-family policies are important factors that shape the professional experience of individuals engaging in FWAs (Thébaud and Pedulla 2022; Albiston and O'Connor 2016). Such workers often witness their work being devalued due to their deviation from the work devotion schema that places work at the center of their lives (Dumas and Sanchez-Burks 2015). This is because, in companies with demanding work cultures, engaging in FWAs deviates from the managerial expectation that employees are constantly available, work primarily in the office during standard hours, and ensure that non-work-related tasks do not interfere with their professional responsibilities. As a result, such workers do not align with the image of an *ideal worker*, a person fully devoted to work, always ready to take on additional responsibility, and free from personal life obligations (Cech and Blair-Loy 2014; Williams et al. 2013; Acker 2006). Workers who deviate from these rigid expectations are often stigmatized as less committed and productive (Cristea and Leonardi 2019; Williams et al. 2013), and in turn, have lower performance reviews, wages, and chances of promotion assigned to them (Kasperska et al. 2024; Coltrane et al. 2013; Glass 2004). Such *flexibility stigma* has been broadly documented and researched (Chung 2022; Pedulla and Thebaud 2022; Cech and Blair-Loy 2014; Coltrane et al. 2013), persisting even in the post-pandemic era (Matysiak et al. 2025). Despite the growing number of employees using FWA, the ideal worker expectations persist, now with a greater emphasis on constant connectedness, round-the-clock availability and digital visibility (Howcroft et al. 2025; Leonardi and Treem 2020).

The characteristics of the workplace environment, such as working norms and presence of family-friendly policies, are likely to influence workers' ability and willingness to engage in alternative modes of work (Lott and Abendroth 2020), and achieve sustainable careers across the life course while working flexibly (Leonardi et al. 2023; Tomlinson et al. 2018). Prior research confirms that some workers, even though they are able to, choose not to engage in FWAs due to the perceived cultural barriers in their place of work (Lott and Abendroth 2020). Notably, the organizational context not only impacts employees' willingness to engage in FWA but also shapes the employer's perceptions regarding those who should and can adopt such approaches. For example, Beham et al. (2015) in their experimental study on managerial telework allowances show that family-supportive organizational culture influences managers' responses to employees' requests for telework. The authors also used March's (1994) theory on decision-making and demonstrated how this process is influenced not only by the logic of

consequences but also by the logic of appropriateness, in particular, the working norms and formal policies. Consistent findings are presented in a recent study by Williamson et al. (2022) who show that managerial allowance decisions for telework are influenced by factors at the organizational level.

Furthermore, the use of FWAs can lead to different professional consequences depending on the prevailing organizational context. It is likely that in organizations with more demanding working norms and less support for work-family reconciliation, presence in the office can be expected, and as a result, those working remotely can be in a disadvantaged position. This office-based expectation can be demonstrated, for example, by how work is organized but also by explicit or implicit formulation by supervisors or management (Howcroft et al. 2025; Reid 2015). In many organizations, particularly those with more demanding work cultures, career advancement is achieved through continuous and uninterrupted service in addition to demonstrations of merit and accomplishment (Vinkenburg and Weber 2012). Whereas, organizations with more family-supportive cultures, sensitive to employees' family needs and supportive of work-family reconciliation, are more likely to accept the use of FWA and perceive it as a standard practice (Poelmans & Beham, 2008). In alignment with the logic of appropriateness, family-supportive organizational context, in particular ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies, can be important for how managers view those using WFH (i.e. whether they adhere to the rules of the organization and if they can be considered good, productive and committed employees), consequently impacting their career outcomes. Following the presented empirical evidence, we hypothesize that managers' promotion and pay decisions for employees who WFH depend on the organizational culture in which they are embedded. More precisely, managers operating in organizations with more demanding working norms and fewer family-friendly policies are less likely to choose remotely working employees for promotion and pay increases, compared to their on-site counterparts (H1).

2.3 Gender differences

Existing post-pandemic experimental research shows that remote work carries different penalties for men and women, with men often incurring greater career disadvantage (Matysiak et al. 2025; Chung and Wang 2024; Kasperska et al. 2024). These findings arise in response to norm violations, which encompass not only the ideal worker norm but also the societal gender norms that women, rather than men, should prioritize family responsibilities over professional careers (Prentice and Carranza 2002). These norms also underpin the design and targeting of

family-friendly workplace policies, which are often implicitly aimed at women, based on the assumption that they are the primary caregivers (Kossek and Ollier-Malaterre 2013). On one hand, the request to WFH suggests that employees attach a greater value to family responsibilities than to paid jobs, thus deviating from the ideal worker norm (Bourdeau et al. 2019). On the other hand, although such a request made by a woman can be prescribed to the social expectation that she is the one that is responsible for taking care of the family and housework, a similar request made by a man may signal a low commitment to work (Coltrane et al. 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). Because women are socially expected to seek flexibility, their use of family-friendly arrangements like WFH can be seen as legitimate and may therefore result in weaker penalties. Conversely, men's use of such policies violates both the ideal worker norm and gender expectations, leading to particularly harsh evaluations. Consistently, Eagly and Karau (2002) show that individuals are often deemed less competent when their professional roles are incongruent with societal expectations for their gender. Hence, a double deviation of men using remote work could indicate to managers that this employee is less worthy of a promotion. The organizational culture may, however, further affect the way that male and female employees are viewed by the managers responsible for granting promotions or salary rises. In organizations that lack family-friendly policies altogether, there may be an implicit expectation that employees, including women, will not need or request accommodations, potentially worsening career outcomes for those who do. This absence of structural support reinforces the ideal worker norm and can magnify penalties for both men and women seeking flexibility. Considering the intersection of organizational culture (including both working norms and the presence or absence of family-friendly policies) and societal expectations surrounding gender roles, we hypothesize that men who WFH will be particularly penalized in terms of promotions and pay rise in organizations with strong ideal worker norms (H2). In the case of women, we expect that the career disadvantage for WFH will be lower in organizations that have family-friendly policies in place (H3).

3. Methodology

3.1 Experimental design and procedure

The choice experiment conducted for this study received approval from the ethics committee (number 145/2022) and was pre-registered in the Open Science Framework.

We chose an experimental design for this study to adequately address the research questions and prevent sample selection bias. Firms with strong ideal worker norms are normally less likely to allow remote work, which means employees working from home in these firms tend to be a small, highly selected group with specific characteristics. Therefore, differences in their career outcomes may reflect this pre-selection rather than the effect of WFH itself. To prevent this bias, we conducted an experiment that isolates the effect of WFH on career outcomes across varying organizational cultures. We used conjoint, which is a type of survey-based experiment in which information provided to the participants is presented in the form of a table (Auspurg and Hinz 2014). Conjoint analysis enables the exploration of individuals' preferences and attitudes, facilitating the estimation of the causal effects of multiple attributes on hypothetical choices or evaluations (Bansak et al. 2021). They are characterized by an increased capacity to mitigate social desirability bias and enhanced external validity compared to other types of survey experiments, for example, vignettes (Hainmueller et al. 2015). This advantage is largely due to the tabular presentation of information, which allows for a greater number of attributes, and full randomizations of both the levels of attributes and the order in which they appear. The experimental design involved a paired conjoint with a forced answer, which implies that the participants were presented with pairs of workers' profiles and had to choose between them.

The data collection took place online in the second half of 2022, when the pandemic restrictions were already lifted in the UK (ONS 2024). At the beginning of the study, participants were presented with information on the scope of the research and what their responses would be used for. Subsequently, they were presented with a pair of workers' profiles and tasked with selecting one profile. The study design incorporated a between-subject approach, with all participants sequentially exposed to three pairs of worker profiles. The workers' profiles differed on seven attributes, namely, working mode, gender, number of children, age, work experience, skills ranking, and performance rating. The levels of profile attributes are presented in Table 1. Importantly, randomly selected half of the pairs of profiles were marked with the unknown performance rating, while the remaining profiles received either a satisfactory or exceptional rating (i.e. a positive performance rating). This experimental treatment of splitting the sample into two groups with different information aimed to investigate the existence of flexibility stigma (i.e. attributing lower performance to those who use flexible working arrangements). Each pair of workers' profiles was followed by five questions prompting participants to choose the worker deserving of promotion, training, and

salary increase, along with their perceptions of which worker was more competent and committed to work. After completing the choices, the participants responded to several questions regarding their demographic and professional information as well as the organization that they work in, including a set of questions on the prevalence of ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies.

Table 1. Overview of all attributes and their levels

Attribute	#	Levels
Gender	2	Female / Male
Family situation (number of children of age 14 and below)	3	0 / 1 / 3
Age	3	38 years old / 40 years old / 41 years old
Working mode (full-time, 5 days a week)	3	5 days at office / 3 days at office, 2 days at home / 5 days at home
Work experience in the sector (in full-time equivalent)	2	8 years / 13 years
Skills rank (1 very weak, 5 very strong)	3	social 2 analytical 5 / social 4 analytical 1 / social 3 analytical 2
Performance rank	3	not provided / satisfactory / exceptional

3.2 Sample

The study participants were managers employed in various businesses and industries within the UK. Inclusion criteria dictated that managers must supervise at least five individuals and work in companies that employ at least ten workers. This criterion aimed to ensure that the participants possessed supervisory experience and worked in organizations where career advancement was possible. The sample was also restricted to individuals working in occupations in which the share of jobs that can be done from home is at least 50% (Dingel and Neiman, 2020). This was implemented to preclude a scenario in which managers exhibit a bias against promoting those working remotely due to the impracticability of remote work in their respective jobs. The sample originated from an existing panel (YouGov) maintained by a research company that conducted data collection for this study. The sample is representative in terms of size and geographical location of the company that the respondents are employed at, as well as their gender.

A total of 1,206 managers participated in the study, however, 269 of them did not meet the quality criteria, which was the minimum required time for survey completion. The cut-off points were established for each pair of workers' profiles with descending values as it is plausible that the time required to familiarize oneself with subsequent profiles might be lower than the initial evaluation. The minimum time allocated for assessing the first pair was 15 seconds, followed by 9 seconds for the second pair and 5 seconds for the third pair. The final sample consisted of 937 respondents who assessed a total of 6 worker profiles (3 pairs), resulting in a cumulative response count of 5,622 ($937 * 6$) data records. Notably, the sample used for this study focuses exclusively on the respondents who evaluated profiles with unknown performance ratings. We believe that focusing on the managers' evaluation of hypothetical workers with unrevealed performance captures March's (1994) theoretical concept of *logic of appropriateness*, according to which managers evaluate the workers in line with prevailing expectations, in particular the working norms and standards in the organization. Consequently, the number of records was halved (2,804), while the number of respondents (937) remained unchanged.

3.3 Measures

The key outcome variables are promotion and salary rise, which are binary variables as either a worker was chosen for these or not. The explanatory variable is the working mode, which is characterized by three levels, namely 'office' (5 days at the office), 'hybrid' (3 days in the office and 2 days at home), and working fully from 'home' (5 days at home). The profile attributes, such as skills, work experience, family situation, and age, are used as control variables.

The moderator related to the organizational culture comprises the measures of the prevalence of ideal worker norms and the availability of family-friendly policies. To measure the presence of ideal worker norms we used a set of questions created by Cha et al. (2021), which asked, for example, whether to be successful in the company one has to work long hours, be available after the official working hours, not call in sick, put work above personal life or bring work home. The participants answered the questions using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 'definitely not' (1) to 'definitely yes' (4). To ensure consistency with the other moderator's responses (i.e. family-friendly policies), for the joint analysis of ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies, the variables were recoded into binary categories: (1) 'not', and (2) 'yes'. The answer option 'not applicable' was excluded from the sample. Factors

pertaining to family-friendly policies were constructed based on questions that asked about the presence of such measures in the company and can be divided into two groups, those that pertain to the availability of flexible work options (WFH, flextime, part-time) and childcare support (facilities and leaves). These two types of measures are the most commonly used family-friendly policies in organizations (Kossek et al. 2025; Kossek et al. 2023). The answer scales of these questions were (1) ‘yes’ and (2) ‘no’. Notably, our questionnaire also included a measure of the presence of working time accounts. We decided not to include it as a part of the family-friendly policies moderators because a large proportion of the respondents (i.e. over 40%) indicated that they did not know whether this policy was available in their companies. Summary statistics for all variables measuring working norms and family-friendly policies in organizations, after recoding, which were used in the analysis are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Summary statistics of the ideal worker norm and family-friendly measures

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.
<i>Highly successful workers in your company are those who ...</i>		
Work long hours	1.664	0.472
Work overtime	1.738	0.440
Bring work home	1.593	0.491
Are available beyond working hours	1.609	0.488
Put work above personal life	1.505	0.500
Do not take vacations	1.306	0.461
Do not take time off for family	1.354	0.478
Do not call in sick	1.521	0.500
Do over hours in the office	1.609	0.488
<i>Which measures are provided in your company (reverse coded):</i>		
Lack of support with childcare	1.542	0.498
Lack of childcare leaves	1.321	0.467
Lack of flexible work hours	1.169	0.375
Lack of WFH	1.167	0.373
Lack of part-time	1.168	0.373

Notes: The values range from 1 to 2, with lower ones indicating weak ideal worker norms and the presence of family-friendly policies and higher ones showing the opposite.

3.4 Analytical strategy

In the first step, we aimed to describe companies in our sample regarding their organizational culture, focusing on the potential interplay between ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies. To do this, we conducted latent class analysis (LCA). LCA is a statistical technique used to identify subgroups (i.e. latent classes) within populations based

on participants' responses to categorical indicator variables (Hagenaars and McCutcheon 2002). LCA also allows for calculating the probability that each individual or firm, like in our case, belongs to a subgroup (Weller et al. 2020). We ran the LCA on a full set of variables presented in Table 2, which led us to identify hidden groups of organizations in our sample in regard to their working norms and family-friendly policies. The optimal number of classes was determined using standard fit indices, such as Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), and entropy (Nylund-Gibson et al. 2018). Following the LCA with a selected number of classes, we estimated the probability that a firm belongs to each of the latent classes (posterior probabilities). We then used modal assignment and assigned each firm to the class for which it had the highest probability. The resulting categorical variable (organizational culture) reflects that assignment and is used in subsequent regression analyses. In addition to that, we computed item-response probabilities for each indicator (i.e. working norms and family-friendly policies) within each class to facilitate adequate interpretation of the latent groups, by showing typical patterns within each group.

To examine career penalties associated with WFH, we modeled the probabilities of obtaining a promotion/salary increase dependent on workers' mode of work and organizational culture. To do that, we used logistic regression with standard errors clustered by the respondent, separately for each outcome variable (promotion, salary increase). The working mode variable was used in an interaction model with the variable representing organizational culture. Control variables are the attributes of the (hypothetical) workers' profiles, namely, gender, skills, work experience, family situation, and age. Models testing Hypothesis 1 were run first on the pooled sample, and then separately for men and women. In the later models, gender is not included as a control variable but rather used to split the sample. This approach allows us to capture how organizational culture influences the career outcomes of men and women differently. We opted against using a three-way interaction (working mode $\times$ organizational culture $\times$ gender) to maintain interpretability, and our focus is on showing how organizational context affects men's and women's outcomes, not on comparing their outcomes with each other. For Hypotheses 2 and 3, we estimated separate models for men and women only. In order to present and interpret our findings, we display predicted probabilities by workers' mode of work and company type / profile, as they provide a more accurate and straightforward representation of findings in logit regressions, as compared to coefficients or odds ratios (Paolino 2021; Best and Wolf 2015). They were calculated based on model results after setting all remaining model covariates at their means.

Finally, we run LCA for ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies separately to further explore whether these factors influence women's and men's outcomes differently, as hypothesized (H2 & H3). The LCA analysis followed the same steps as outlined earlier. Similarly, logistic regression models were estimated, with margins calculated and predicted probabilities derived, but these models were run only on samples for men and women separately. For comparing predicted probabilities with each other and concluding about the significance of the differences we employed 83% confidence intervals (CIs) based on the evidence that the difference between two statistics may be significant if their 95% CIs overlap but is not (at 0.05 significance level) in case of nonoverlapping 83% CIs (Austin and Hux 2002), also called CIs for pairwise comparisons (Knol et al. 2011).

4. Findings

4.1 Typology of firms in terms of broad organizational culture

The LCA performed on the 14 variables revealed that there are four classes, which best characterize our sample in regards to organizational culture. Table 1 in the appendix presents the model fit statistics (BIC, AIC, and entropy) for the various class solutions initially considered, with the four-class model showing the best fit across all criteria. The four classes form the categories of our group-level variable, the organizational culture. Figure 1 in the Appendix shows the latent class probabilities for the four classes.

To describe the classes, we calculated the item-response probabilities for all measures of working norms and family-friendly policies within each latent class. The results are presented in Figure 2 in the Appendix. The results indicate four types of organizations in our sample:

- (1) Supportive – organizations characterized by weak ideal worker norms and offering family-friendly policies.
- (2) Intensive with time & place flexibility – organizations that maintain strong ideal worker norms but permit flexible work and allow for leave-taking, including vacations, sick leave and family-related absences.
- (3) Adaptive-traditional – organizations that, despite offering flexible work options and some childcare policies, uphold strong working norms across the board, including expectations of long hours, limited time off, and little accommodation for family needs.

- (4) Demanding – organizations with pronounced long-hours norms (overwork) and minimal or no childcare policies.

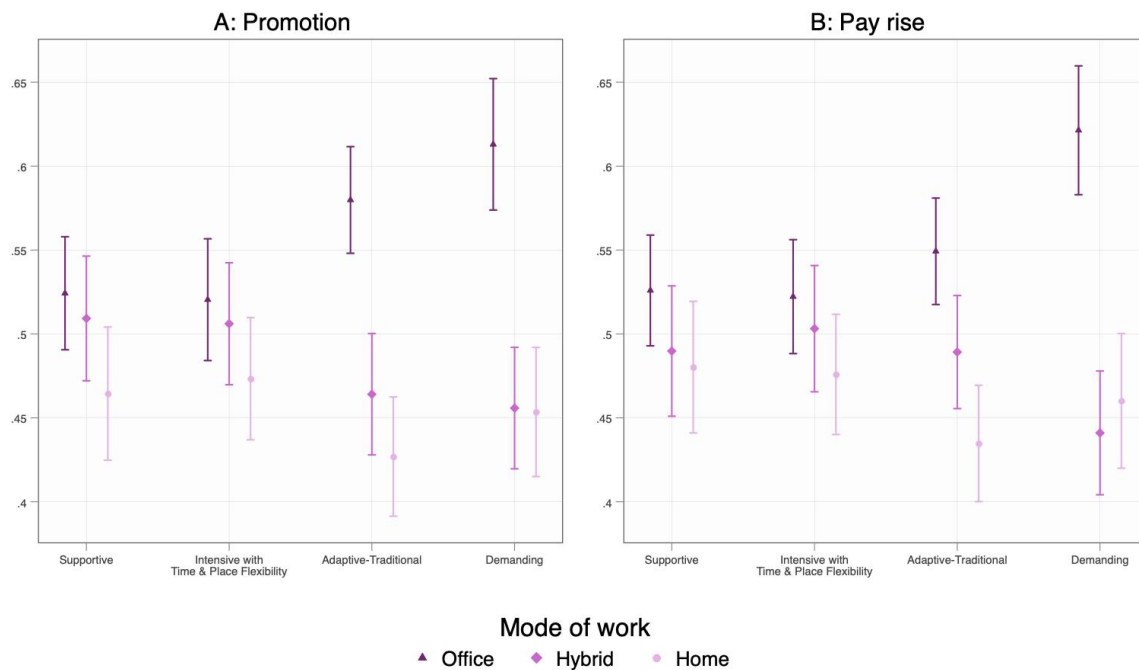
In our sample, 24.25% of respondents work in supportive organizations, 24.25% in organizations with an intense work culture but where time and place flexibility are provided, 29.11% in adaptive traditional and 22.39% in demanding organizations.

4.3. Heterogeneity in the impact of working mode on career outcomes across organizational cultures

Next, we explore the impact of WFH on career outcomes across different organizational contexts. Figure 1 presents predicted probabilities of being chosen for promotion and salary raise depending on the indicated working mode (of hypothetical workers) and the organizational culture of the firm in which the respondent works. As hypothesized (H1), we find evidence that organizational culture differentiates managers' assessment of workers who WFH. Namely, we find that managers are less likely to promote and give salary raises to those who WFH as compared to office-based workers only in organizations with strong working norms and limited family-friendly policies. Promotion gaps between daily WFH and office-based work are 16 percentage points (pp) in demanding organizations and 15 pp in adaptive-traditional organizations. Pay gaps are 16 pp and 6 pp respectively. We also find evidence for promotion disadvantages for hybrid workers when compared to office-based workers in both demanding (15 pp) and adaptive-traditional organizational contexts (12 pp). The pay disadvantages for hybrid workers exist only in the most demanding organizations (18 pp). We do not find any promotion or pay gaps based on the location of work in supportive organizations, and in organizations where despite intense work culture, flexibility of time and place is provided.

Interestingly, in our data, the differential treatment of employees working from home does not appear to result from their lower evaluations in organizations with more demanding work cultures compared to those more supportive organizations. Rather, we find a career premium, both in terms of promotion and salary, for those working on-site. Specifically, on-site workers are more likely to be promoted and receive a salary increase when their manager operates in a demanding organizational culture as compared to those in supportive cultures (by 9 pp for each outcome) and those in organizations characterized by intense working norms with the flexibility of time and place allowed (by 9 pp for promotion and 10 pp for salary).

Figure 1. Predicted probabilities of being promoted and given pay rise by organizational culture class: logit models (CIs 83%)

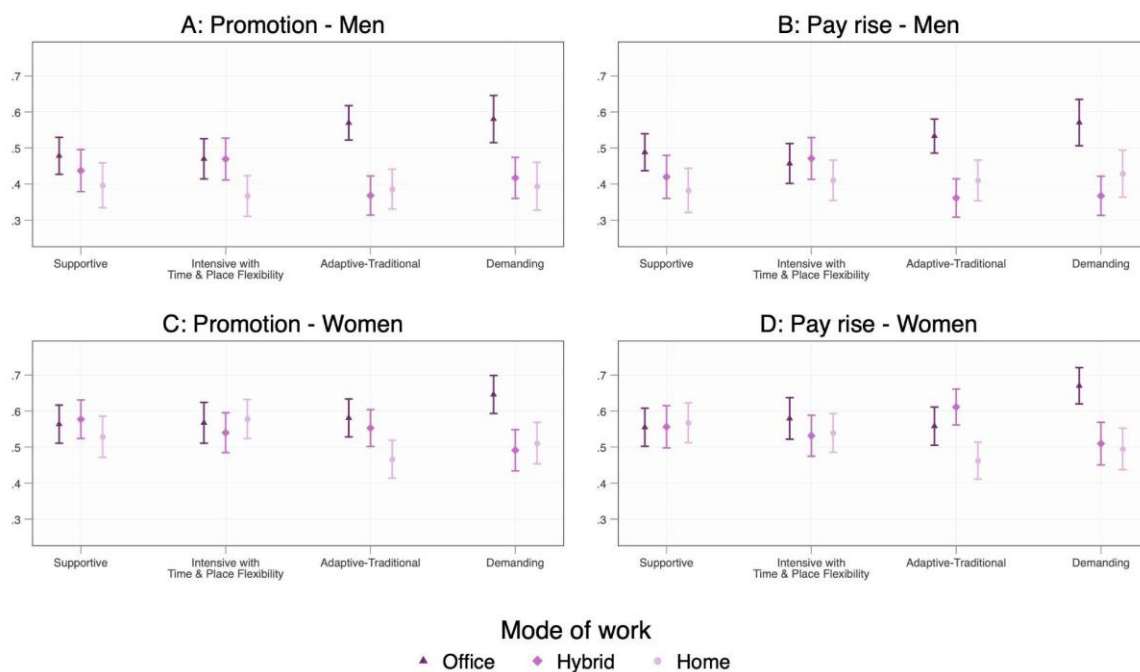


Next, we explore how promotion and pay decisions depend on the mode of work and organizational environment, separately for men and women (Figure 2). We find that men who fully WFH are less likely to be promoted and given salary raises than on-site workers in demanding (by 19 pp and 14 pp respectively) and adaptive-traditional organizations (by 18 pp and 12 pp respectively) (Figure 3 sections: A, B). The differences in promotion likelihood between hybrid and on-site working men are 16 pp in demanding organizations and 18 pp in adaptive-traditional organizations. The differences in salary raise likelihood between hybrid and on-site working men are 20 pp in demanding organizations and 17 pp in adaptive-traditional organizations.

Regarding women, the daily WFH vs. office-based work difference in promotion instances also exists only in organizations with more challenging work cultures (14 pp in demanding and 11 pp in adaptive-traditional organizations) (Figure 2 sections: C, D). However, in contrast to men, the pay gap between daily WFH and onsite work is statistically significant only in the most demanding work environments (18 pp). What distinguishes demanding and adaptive-traditional organizations is the lack of family-friendly policies in the former, which appears to be an important factor for women. Nonetheless, ideal worker norms also appear to somewhat moderate women's career outcomes, as on-site working women experience a pay

bonus when working in organizations with demanding as compared to supportive work cultures. For men, we find penalties in the organizational classes that have strong ideal worker norms. Therefore, as hypothesized (H2 & H3), we find some indication that male and female workers experience career penalties related to the use of WFH differently based on the organizational culture.

Figure 2. Predicted probabilities of being promoted and given a pay rise by organizational culture class: logit models estimated separately for men and women (CIs 83%)



4.3 The impact of working mode on career outcomes, distinctly for ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies in the organization

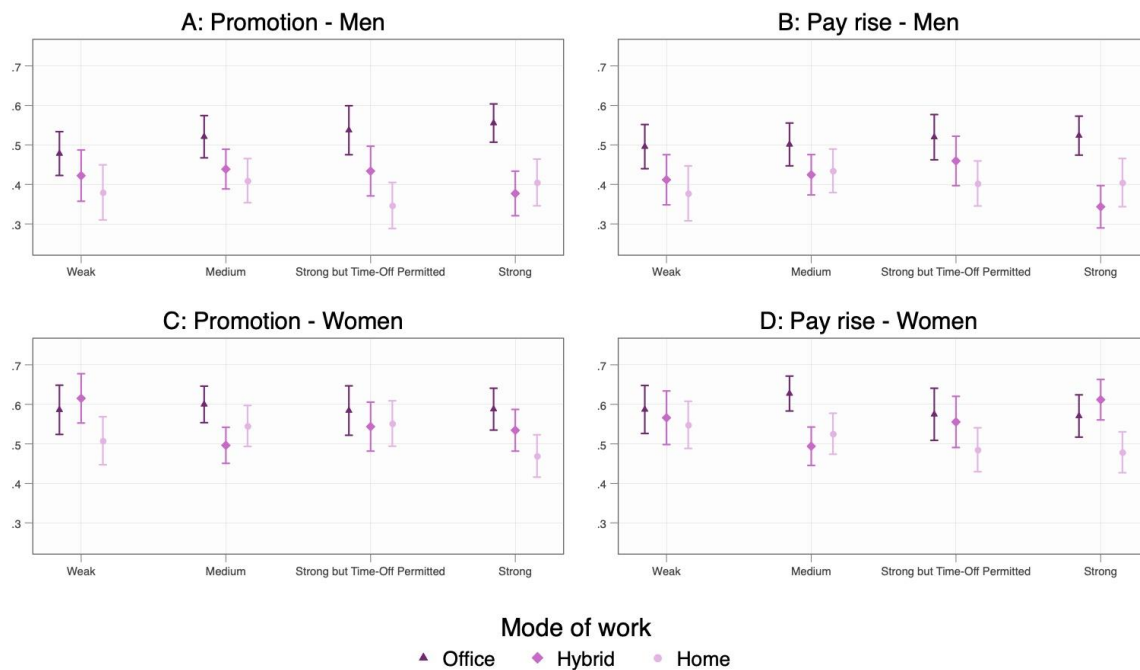
Finally, we run LCA and regression analysis separately for ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies in the organization to further verify whether the impacts of these two dimensions are gendered. Just like before, we checked the model fit statistics for the various class solutions initially considered (Table 1 in the Appendix). The LCA performed on the 9 variables measuring ideal worker norms revealed that there are four classes, which best characterize our sample in regards to working norms. The LCA conducted on 5 variables measuring the presence of family-friendly policies showed that three classes are best. To describe the classes for both analyses, we calculated the item-response probabilities for each latent class. The results are presented in Figures 3-6 in the Appendix. The categories for

working norms latent classes are: (1) "Weak" representing 18.70% of the sample (2) "Medium" - 32.07% of the sample, (3) "Strong but Time-Off Permitted" - 21.11% of the sample, and (4) "Strong" - 28.12% of the sample. The categories and prevalence of family-friendly policies are: (1) "Yes - all" 62.12% of the sample (2) "No childcare policies" - 29.91% of the sample and (3) "No flexible work options" - 7.96% of the sample.

Based on regression analysis (Figure 3 panels: A, B), we find that men who WFH daily are less likely to be promoted and given a pay rise when the managers operate in organizations with stronger ideal worker norms. The stronger the norms, the bigger the gap in promotion based on the location of work (11 pp in medium vs. 19 pp in strong & time-off permitted and 15 pp in strong ideal worker norms organizations). Such pay gaps for male employees exist only in strong ideal worker norms organizations (12 pp) and where strong working norms exist but time off is permitted (12 pp). Hybrid working men are less likely to be promoted (by 18 pp) and given a pay rise (by 18 pp) than their office-based counterparts only in organizations with the strongest ideal worker norms. Regarding women, the findings show a promotion penalty for daily WFH as compared to on-site work in organizations with the strongest working norms (12 pp), and a hybrid-working penalty only in organizations with a medium level of ideal worker norms (10 pp). The pay differences between WFH and on-site work follow a less clear pattern and are visible only in organizations with medium-level ideal worker norms (14 pp for hybrid working and 10 pp for daily WFH).

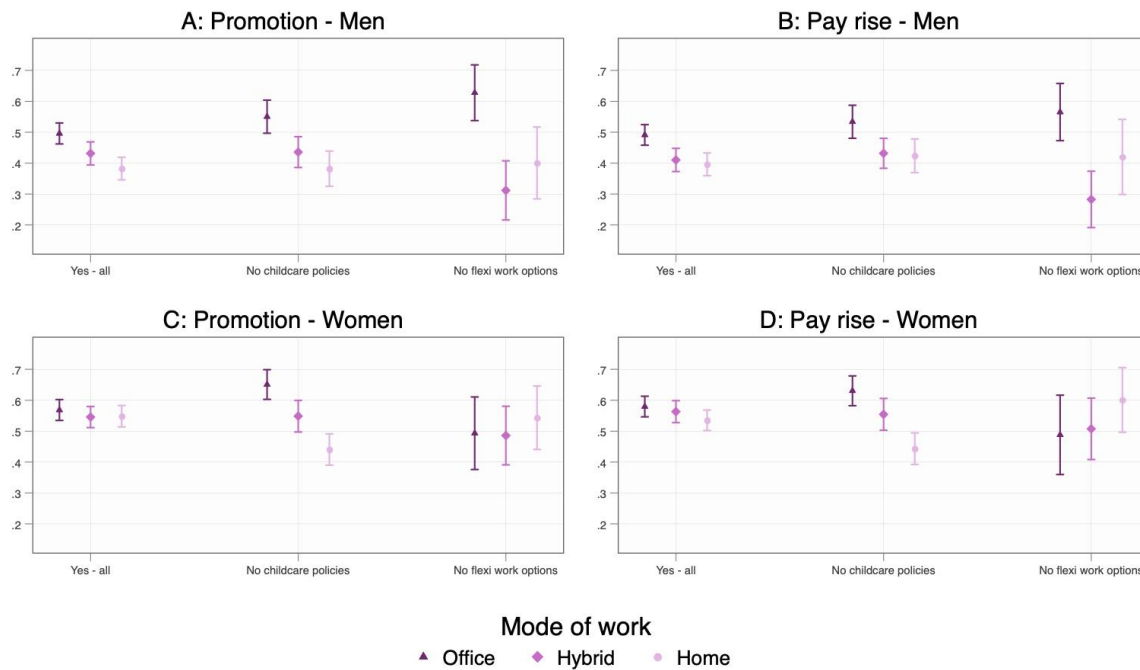
Regarding the moderating role of the presence of family-friendly policies in the organization, we find that men who WFH daily are less likely to be promoted compared to on-site workers in all policy contexts. Namely, men who WFH daily are less likely to be promoted in organizations that have both types of policies in place (by 12 pp), where childcare policies are lacking (by 17 pp) as well as where there is a lack of flexible work options (by 23 pp) (Figure 5 panels: A, B). Hybrid working men are only penalized in terms of promotion instances in organizations that either lack childcare or flexible work policies. Additionally, we find evidence for pay penalties for full-time WFH for men in organizations where all policies are in place (9 pp), and where childcare policies are lacking (11 pp). We also find that hybrid working men are less likely to be given a pay rise than office-based men in all policy contexts. Interestingly, we again find a promotion premium for office-based workers (12 pp), this time when male employees are evaluated by managers operating in organizations that lack flexible work policies, compared to those organizations where both childcare policies and flexible work options are in place.

Figure 3. Predicted probabilities of being promoted and given pay rise by the intensity of ideal worker norms in the organization, separately for men and women: logit models (CIs 83%)



When it comes to women (Figure 4 panels: C, D), we find that those who WFH daily are less likely to be promoted (by 21 pp) and given a pay rise (by 19 pp) than office-based women, but only in organizations that lack childcare-related policies. Such penalties related to the location of work do not exist in organizations that provide both types of policies, or where flexible work options are in place. We find no promotion of pay differences between those who work in the hybrid mode and those working on-site. In conclusion, we find evidence that the provision of policies is important for explaining penalties for WFH for women, confirming our hypothesis (H3), and it is particularly childcare policies that matter. It appears that for remotely working men it is both ideal worker norms and the presence of family-friendly policies that influence their career outcomes, with the lack of flexible work options being particularly important in the policy context (H2).

Figure 4. Predicted probabilities of being promoted and given pay rise by the availability of family-friendly policies in the organization, separately for men and women: logit models (CIs 83%)



5. Discussion

In this study, we explored how managers grant career advancement opportunities for remotely working men and women and whether these decisions depend on the organizational settings in which they are embedded. We find evidence that organizational factors, such as working norms (i.e. ideal worker norms) and family-friendly policies (i.e. flexible work options and childcare support) are important for explaining the differences in the managerial promotion and pay decisions of those using FWAs. Moreover, different organizational elements appear to influence the career penalties associated with WFH differently for women and men. While prior research on remote work has often overlooked the broader organizational context (Bloom et al. 2024; Moller et al. 2024; Arntz et al. 2022; Choudhury et al. 2021; Fernandez-Lozano et al. 2020; Bloom et al. 2015), our study underscores the role that organizational culture plays in guiding managerial promotion and pay decision-making. This becomes particularly crucial in response to calls in the literature advocating for a more comprehensive understanding of career development and the impacts of remote work on it (Leonardi et al. 2023).

Our findings show that the organizational context exerts a powerful influence on managerial behavior. This result stands in alignment with March's (1991, 1994) theory of decision-making which asserts that individual identities and decision-making rules are shaped by the larger organizational and institutional context such as formal policies, norms, values and expectations. Managers, being integral to a specific context, align their actions with it to maintain consistency and fidelity to their organization's identity. As a consequence, adherence to the rules and norms prevailing in the organization becomes essential in their decision-making. This is evident in our findings, which show how differently managers grant promotions and pay raises because of their organizational settings. For example, we find that promotion and pay penalties are particularly visible in organizations that have more demanding work cultures, namely, those with stronger ideal worker norms and lack of family-friendly policies. Similarly, we find evidence for more favorable treatment of on-site workers if they are evaluated by managers working in demanding rather than supportive organizations. In organizations with demanding work cultures, the emphasis on physical presence and traditional visibility (e.g. face visibility and working long hours at the office), may be more pronounced (Montanye and Livingston 2024; Bernhardt and Bunning 2020; Kossek and Van Dyne 2008). Consequently, individuals who deviate from these norms face negative career consequences and those who opt to work from the office are rewarded. Recently, Caligiuri et al. (2024) raised concerns that as decision-makers have fewer opportunities to observe employees who WFH directly, they may consequently not consider them as part of their talent pool. Williamson et al. (2022) demonstrate that although traditional phenomena of presenteeism and "chair culture" were notably less prevalent during the recent pandemic lockdown, organizations implemented policy changes during this period, introducing new barriers in the form of localized organizational criteria for remote work and senior managers not trusting staff to WFH. Thus, despite the increased prevalence of WFH in recent times, remote work persists to be seen unfavorably compared to office-based work, at least in some organizations.

Our findings stand in alignment with past research showing that workplaces with more demanding organizational cultures tend to view workers using FWAs in a more negative light. For example, prior research shows that in such organizations, managers are less likely to grant FWAs to employees (Williamson et al. 2022; Beham et al. 2015), and employees themselves are less likely to engage in FWAs if they perceive the culture to be less supportive (Lott and Abendroth 2020). This is because organizational culture is considered to shape the behavior of both workers and managers (Kinicki & Williams, 2020). What has been highlighted

in our research is the fact that formal (i.e. policies) and informal practices (i.e. norms and values) within organizations work together. We find evidence that these components do not exist in a vacuum, and they often intertwine and create a broader organizational context that impacts the experiences of employees using FWAs. Prior research also emphasizes the importance of both of these elements as formal policies may prove ineffective if they are entrenched in organizational cultures discouraging their utilization or placing individuals at a professional disadvantage (Chung 2022). We found evidence for this in our study, as those who WFH face career penalties not only in highly demanding organizations but also in those classified as adaptive traditional. These organizations have (some) family-friendly policies in place, but they maintain strong ideal worker norms, resulting in penalties for those who utilize FWAs and better evaluation of office-based workers.

In line with March's theory (1991, 1994), our study also revealed substantial differences in the experiences of male and female employees. This suggests that while individuals align their behavior with organizational culture, these expectations may be interpreted or enforced differently based on gender, reflecting broader societal norms. To understand how organizational culture differently influences the careers of men and women who WFH, it is important to consider the context of this research. The study is situated in the UK, a country characterized by a robust ideal worker culture marked by prolonged working hours and high work centrality (Chung and Seo 2024; OECD 2023). Notably, approximately 49% of our sample comprises workers employed in organizations with strong ideal worker norms. The ideal worker archetype traditionally aligns with a male employee prioritizing work over personal life, with assumptions rooted in full-time continuous work and the expectation that home responsibilities are managed by a non-working female partner (Cech and Blair-Loy 2014; Coltrane et al. 2013; Cha 2010; Alcer 1990). In our findings, the career penalties faced by remotely working men predominantly emerged in organizations with strong ideal worker norms, characterized by a culture of long work hours, limited time-off policies, and prioritization of work above personal life. Prior research supports this pattern, demonstrating that highly demanding work environments often exert intense pressure on employees to work long hours, remain constantly available, and display full commitment to their job roles (Howcroft et al. 2025; Cech and Blair-Loy 2014; Williams et al. 2013; Acker 2006). Such organizations also exhibit pressure on presentism and traditional work modalities as prerequisites for career advancement (Vandello et al. 2013; Kossek and Van Dyke 2008). Our results further show that men face particularly pronounced promotion penalties in organizations

that lack flexible work policies, as deviations from traditional work norms can be more visible in such settings. In contrast, penalties for WFH are smaller for men in organizations without childcare support policies, likely because societal expectations do not frame men as primary caregivers (Prentice and Carranza 2002). Instead, men are socially expected to fulfill the role of dedicated workers and financial providers (Cech and Blair-Loy 2014; Vandello et al. 2013; Williams et al. 2013). Thus, deviations from this norm, such as use of WFH, are met with professional penalties.

Women face professional penalties in part because prescriptive gender role norms position them as primary caregivers responsible for domestic duties, making it difficult to conform to the ideal worker model (Gagliardi et al. 2024; Cech and Blair-Loy 2014; Vandello et al. 2013; Williams et al. 2013; Prentice and Carranza 2002). Although societal attitudes toward gender roles have evolved over recent decades, childcare and household responsibilities in the UK remain disproportionately associated with women. This is due to both limited access to formal childcare services and persistent gender disparities in time spent on unpaid labor (Matysiak and Węziak-Białowolska 2016). Women in the UK, on average, devote significantly more time than men to housework and childcare, which contributes to enduring gaps in work hours, earnings, and career progression (Costa Dias et al. 2020; McMunn et al. 2020). In this context, women's use of remote work can be interpreted as a response to increased personal obligations (e.g., childcare, household responsibilities), signaling a lower prioritization of work relative to family. Conversely, in organizations that offer family-friendly measures, WFH may be normalized and perceived as a standard work practice, thereby reducing stigma and limiting associated career penalties for women. Interestingly, we also find a pay bonus for women who work on-site in more demanding organizations compared to those in more supportive environments. This may represent a form of compensation or recognition for women who manage to conform to the ideal worker norm (i.e. work full-time from the office), despite prevailing gender expectations and structural barriers that make such conformity atypical in the UK context. Overall, our results support longstanding arguments within the UK scholarly literature emphasizing the central role of organizational culture in ensuring the effectiveness of FWAs, and the need for a gender-sensitive approach to these matters (Chung 2022; Sullivan and Lewis 2001; Holt and Thaulow 1996). As our study illustrates, the mere provision of FWAs may not fully mitigate the bias against those who work remotely because of varying organizational cultures and the entrenched attitudes about gender roles.

5.1 Theoretical and practical implications

Our study contributes to the literature by examining how organizational culture, especially the presence of ideal worker norms and work-family policies, impacts managerial decision-making for male and female remote workers. The findings underscore that managerial promotion decision-making is a result of not only logical, consequential reasoning but is also influenced by the identity and rules of the organization, as hypothesized by March (1991). This extends the knowledge from the existing research on FWAs, as prior research with causal design has predominantly focused on the rational reasoning for promotion differences of remote workers, such as hours worked or productivity levels (Choudhury et al. 2021; Fernandez-Lozano et al. 2020; Bloom et al. 2015).

In terms of practical implications, this study demonstrates that managerial promotion decision-making is bounded by the way work is organized in companies, its values, norms, and expectations. Much of the existing literature indicates that the organizational provision of FWAs allows employees to achieve better work-life balance, improves well-being, and job satisfaction, limits turnover intentions, and can be viewed by employees as a message that their contribution to the organization is respected and valued (Kurowska et al. 2025; Laß and Wooden 2022; Chung and Van der Lippe 2020; Sherman 2019; Felstead and Henseke 2017). Hence, FWAs can be seen as an employee resource (Bakker et al. 2007). However, in organizations with more demanding work cultures, engagement in FWAs can constitute a burden on employees because it can negatively affect their future career prospects and supervisory evaluation (Kirby and Krone 2002). Correspondingly, the findings of our study underscore that the mere introduction of FWAs may not be enough, and organizations need to consider their norms and values if they want to have just and fair management of the entire workforce. This aligns with the calls of other researchers that a more fundamental cultural change challenging the ‘ideal worker’ norms is required to improve employee work-family reconciliation (Chung 2022; Sullivan and Lewis 2001). It may be necessary for organizations to educate supervisory personnel on the potential effects of WFH on their evaluations so that their influence on employee outcomes is better informed. Although organizational change is a long-lasting and difficult process (Kinicki and Williams 2020), new ways of managing the workforce, with a larger focus on diversity, equity and inclusion, as well as giving a voice to employees working flexibly, could prove helpful (Kossek et al. 2025). This process should consider different organizational orientations and strategies, as it has been shown that these are important for the type of interaction and outcomes that are valued in the organizations (Kinicki

and Williams 2020). Nevertheless, it is both possible and imperative to ensure equitable access to resources and opportunities for all employees regardless of the location of work or gender.

5.2 Limitations and suggestions for future research

Like all studies, ours is not without limitations. One of them is the fact that it was conducted in a single country, thus prompting an interest in investigating potential cross-national variations. The UK is a country characterized by strong ideal worker norms and gender inequality in the childcare division (Chung 2022; Matysiak and Węziak-Białowolska 2016). Arguably, the findings of this study are expected to be consistent with many other countries which exhibit similar norms and values. Future research could include exploring the contexts where national cultures exhibit greater support for gender equality and/or a diminished emphasis on work-centrality, for example, in Scandinavian countries (Cukrowska-Torzewska and Matysiak 2020; Esping-Andersen 1999). Such a perspective would allow for grasping the important interplay between national cultures, organizational factors, and managerial decision-making processes.

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Annexes

Table 1. The model specification information used to assess the number of latent classes in the sample.

Number of classes	ll(model)	df	AIC	BIC	Entropy
<i>Ideal worker norms & Family-friendly policies</i>					
2	-6312.142	29	12682.28	12822.63	.814
3	-6121.669	44	12331.34	12544.28	0.784
4	-6039.443	59	12196.89	12482.42	0.739
5	-5994.323	73	12134.65	12487.93	0.735
<i>Ideal worker norms</i>					
2	-4036.334	19	8110.668	8202.207	0.828
3	-3863.077	29	7784.153	7923.87	0.794
4	-3808.311	38	7692.621	7875.699	0.759
5	-3786.126	48	7668.253	7899.509	0.728
<i>Family-friendly policies</i>					
2	-2176.086	11	4374.171	4427.382	0.592
3	-2132.414	17	4298.828	4381.063	0.715
4	-2114.029	23	4274.058	4385.317	0.654
5	-2113.093	28	4282.187	4417.632	0.800

Figure 1. Predicted latent class probabilities for ideal worker norms and family-friendly policies with 95% CIs.

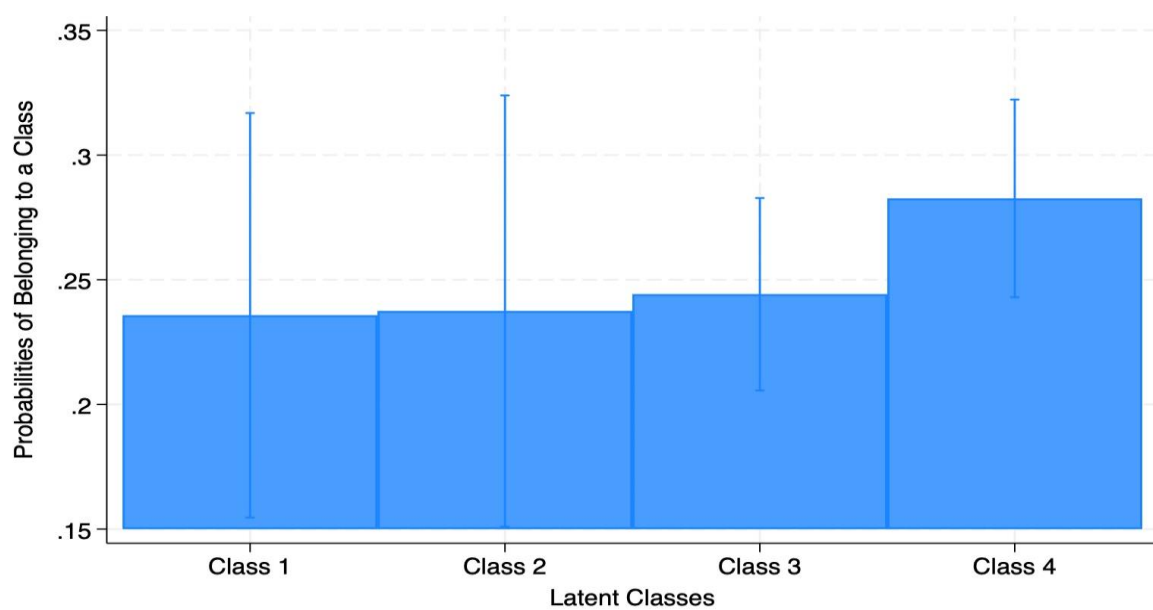
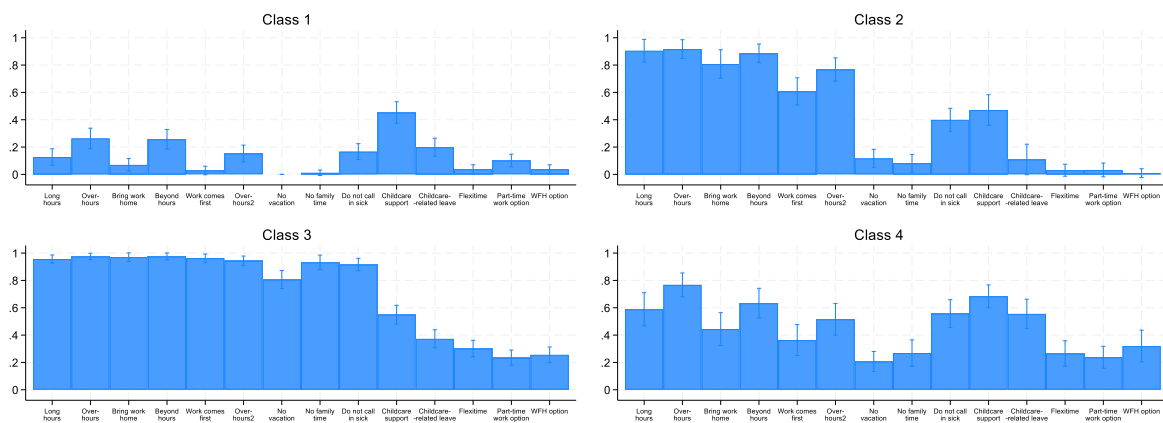


Figure 2. Predicted probability of working norms and family-friendly policies measures for each class with 95% CIs.



Notes: The questions for the presence of ideal worker norms asked whether to be successful in the company one has to work long or overhours hours, be available after the official working hours, bring work home, put work above personal life, not call in sick / take holidays or allocate personal time to work. The questions pertaining to family-friendly policies asked whether there is childcare support (facilities or financial contribution and special leaves) and flexible work options (WFH, flextime, part-time) in the company. The values on this graph range from 0 to 1, with lower ones indicating weak ideal worker norms and the presence of family-friendly policies and higher ones showing the opposite. Class 1 = Supportive; Class 2 = Intensive with Time & Place Flexibility; Class 3 = Adaptive-Traditional; Class 4 = Demanding.

Figure 3. Predicted latent class probabilities for ideal worker norms with 95% CIs.

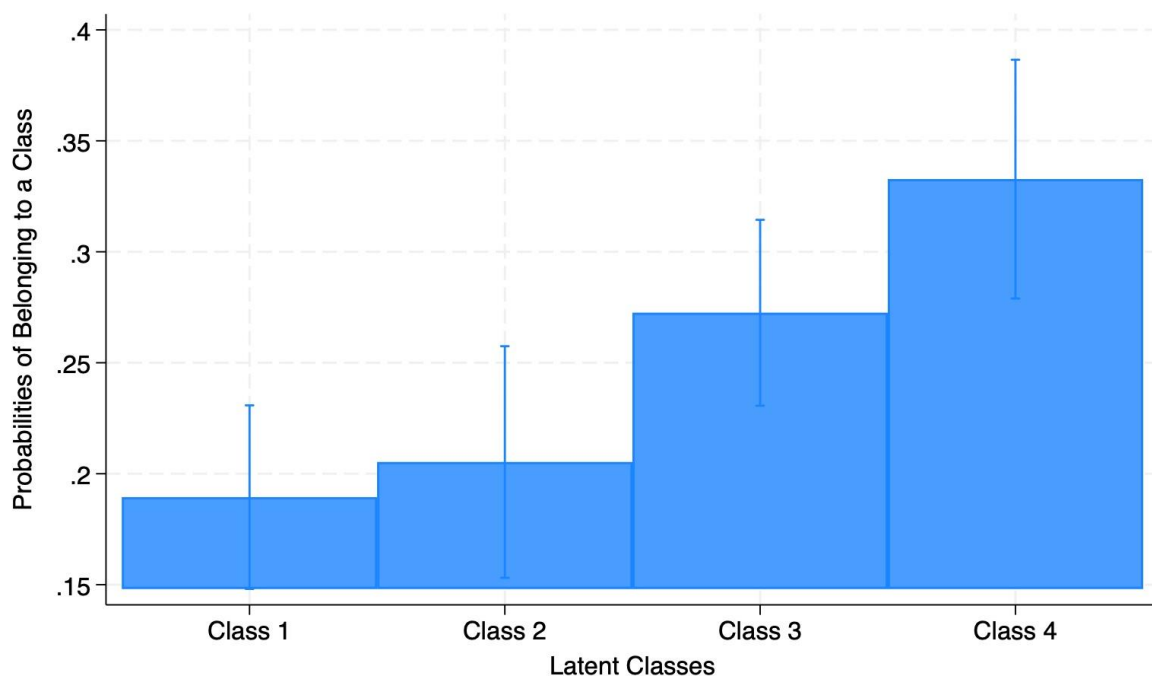


Figure 4. Predicted latent class probabilities for family-friendly policies with 95% CIs.

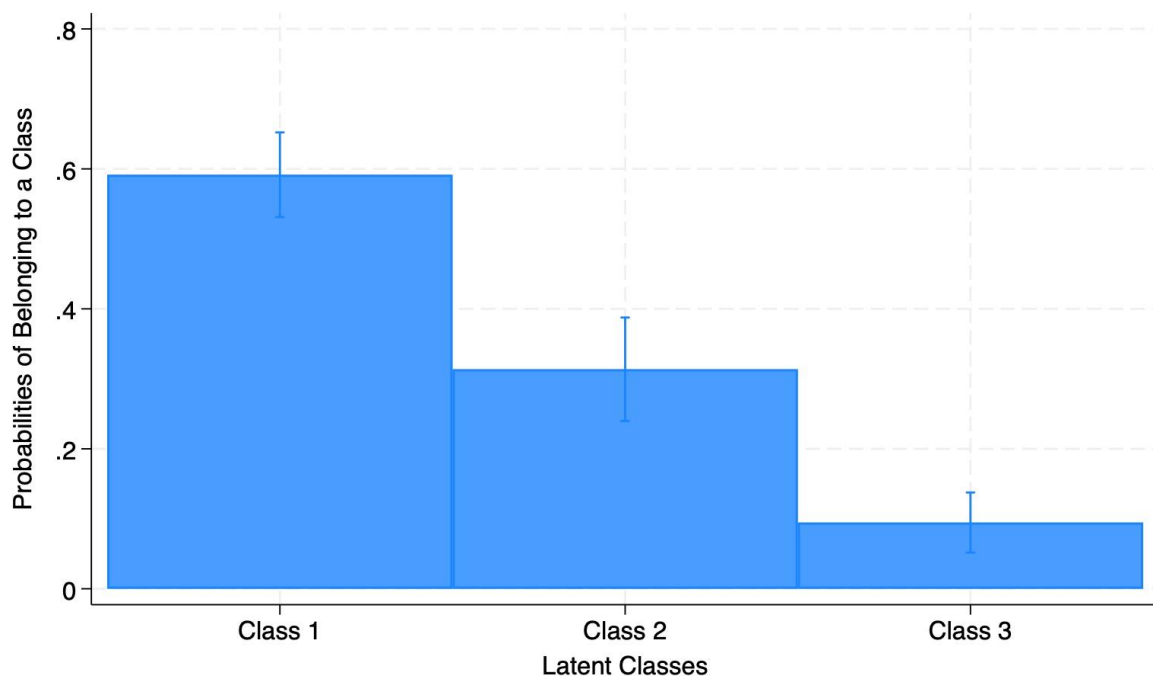
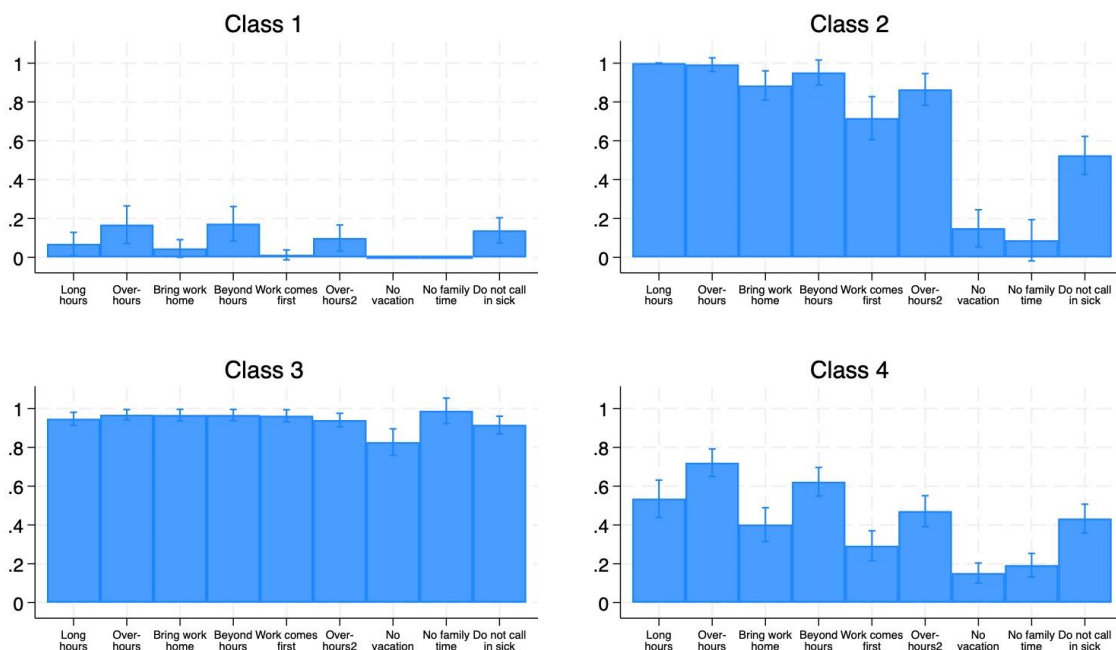
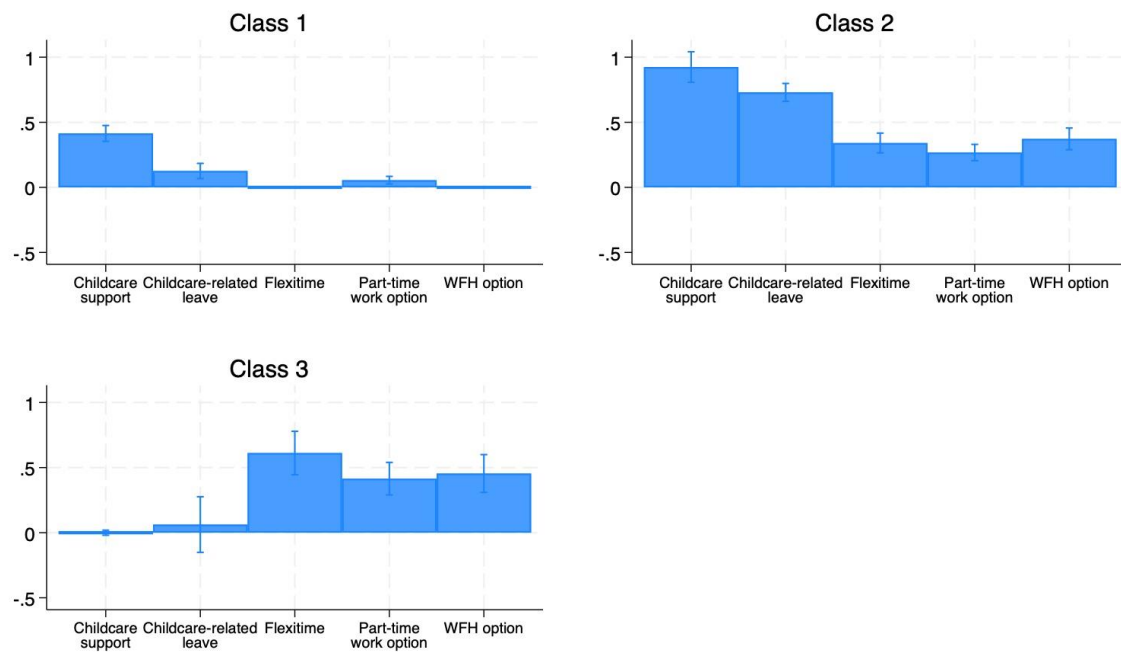


Figure 5. Predicted probability of working norms measures for each class with 95% CIs.



Notes: The questions for the presence of ideal worker norms asked whether to be successful in the company one has to work long or over hours, be available after the official working hours, bring work home, put work above personal life, not call in sick / take holidays or allocate personal time to work. The values on this graph range from 0 to 1, with lower ones indicating weak ideal worker norms and higher ones showing the opposite. Class 1 = Weak; Class 2 = Strong but Time-Off Permitted; Class 3 = Strong; Class 4 = Medium.

Figure 6. Predicted probability of family-friendly policies measures for each class with 95% CIs.



Notes: The questions pertaining to family-friendly policies asked whether there is childcare support (facilities or financial contribution and special leaves) and flexible work options (WFH, flexitime, part-time) in the company. The values on this graph range from 0 to 1, with lower ones indicating the presence of family-friendly policies and higher ones showing the opposite. Class 1 = All - yes; Class 2 = No childcare policies; Class 3 = No flexi work options.

Table 2. The odds ratio of choosing an employee for a promotion and salary raise by the working mode and organizational culture for a full sample and separately for men and women: logit models with SE clustered on the respondent level.

	Full sample	Full sample	Men	Women	Men	Women
	PROMOTION	SALARY	PROMOTION	PROMOTION	SALARY	SALARY
WFH: Hybrid (Ref: Office)	0.934 (0.178)	0.849 (0.165)	0.832 (0.225)	1.064 (0.290)	0.730 (0.201)	1.006 (0.279)
WFH: Home	0.763 (0.159)	0.813 (0.168)	0.689 (0.208)	0.855 (0.240)	0.611 (0.185)	1.058 (0.292)
Org. Culture: Intensive with Time & Place Flexibility	0.983 (0.160)	0.983 (0.154)	0.963 (0.239)	1.018 (0.261)	0.867 (0.217)	1.117 (0.288)
Org. Culture: Adaptive-Traditional (Ref: Supportive)	1.288 (0.198)	1.112 (0.169)	1.508* (0.349)	1.082 (0.268)	1.225 (0.284)	1.014 (0.249)
Org. Culture: Demanding	1.503** (0.262)	1.554** (0.268)	1.582* (0.436)	1.467 (0.374)	1.455 (0.400)	1.711** (0.431)
Hybrid # Org. Culture: Adaptive-Traditional	1.003 (0.278)	1.080 (0.302)	1.200 (0.474)	0.830 (0.323)	1.460 (0.585)	0.801 (0.316)
Hybrid # Org. Culture: Adaptive-Traditional	0.633* (0.170)	0.897 (0.241)	0.480* (0.184)	0.827 (0.315)	0.617 (0.236)	1.266 (0.488)
Hybrid # Org. Culture: Demanding	0.523** (0.150)	0.515** (0.148)	0.576 (0.235)	0.463* (0.183)	0.535 (0.219)	0.474* (0.189)
Home # Org. Culture: Adaptive-Traditional	1.059 (0.308)	0.997 (0.281)	0.902 (0.381)	1.227 (0.483)	1.319 (0.543)	0.789 (0.307)
Home # Org. Culture: Adaptive-Traditional	0.654 (0.184)	0.731 (0.203)	0.630 (0.253)	0.699 (0.274)	0.931 (0.373)	0.617 (0.239)
Home # Org. Culture: Demanding	0.633 (0.196)	0.587* (0.183)	0.624 (0.286)	0.630 (0.257)	0.855 (0.392)	0.422** (0.169)
Women (Ref: Men)	1.603***	1.641***	-	-	-	-

	Full sample	Full sample	Men	Women	Men	Women
	PROMOTION	SALARY	PROMOTION	PROMOTION	SALARY	SALARY
	(0.130)	(0.135)	-	-	-	-
Family situation: 1 child (Ref: childless)	1.095	1.059	1.066	1.146	0.943	1.197
	(0.109)	(0.105)	(0.146)	(0.161)	(0.131)	(0.167)
Family situation: 3 children	1.075	1.279**	0.994	1.147	1.228	1.339**
	(0.106)	(0.124)	(0.141)	(0.161)	(0.176)	(0.185)
Age: 40 years old (Ref: 38 years old)	1.101	1.007	1.051	1.133	1.013	1.000
	(0.112)	(0.102)	(0.154)	(0.159)	(0.148)	(0.143)
Age: 41 years old	1.148	1.018	1.180	1.095	0.980	1.034
	(0.114)	(0.099)	(0.166)	(0.152)	(0.140)	(0.143)
Work experience: 13 years (Ref: 8 years)	1.595***	1.480***	1.595***	1.627***	1.333**	1.646***
	(0.130)	(0.122)	(0.189)	(0.186)	(0.159)	(0.192)
Skills: 2, social 4, analytical 1 (Ref: 1 social 2, analytical 5)	0.210***	0.202***	0.209***	0.210***	0.173***	0.226***
	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.033)	(0.030)	(0.026)	(0.033)
Skills: 3, social 3, analytical 2	0.392***	0.381***	0.361***	0.425***	0.344***	0.420***
	(0.040)	(0.038)	(0.053)	(0.060)	(0.050)	(0.059)
Constant	1.398**	1.512**	1.559*	1.982***	2.026***	1.847***
	(0.224)	(0.246)	(0.358)	(0.471)	(0.478)	(0.435)
Observations	2,796	2,796	1,348	1,448	1,348	1,448

Notes: Each column represents a separate regression model. Robust SE in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3. The odds ratio of choosing an employee for a promotion and salary raise by the working mode and ideal worker intensity/presence of family-friendly policies in the organization, separately for men and women: logit models with SE clustered on the respondent level.

	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	PROMOTION	PROMOTION	SALARY	SALARY	PROMOTION	PROMOTION	SALARY	SALARY
WFH: Hybrid (Ref: Office)	0.777 (0.233)	1.143 (0.371)	0.681 (0.205)	0.910 (0.295)	0.749* (0.132)	0.902 (0.155)	0.690** (0.125)	0.929 (0.159)
WFH: Home	0.638 (0.220)	0.704 (0.223)	0.578 (0.197)	0.840 (0.258)	0.596*** (0.108)	0.914 (0.161)	0.646** (0.115)	0.819 (0.139)
Ideal worker norms: Medium (Ref: Weak)	1.210 (0.304)	1.065 (0.276)	1.025 (0.264)	1.204 (0.303)	- -	- -	- -	- -
Ideal worker norms: Strong but Time-Off Permitted	1.303 (0.355)	0.992 (0.291)	1.114 (0.295)	0.946 (0.279)	- -	- -	- -	- -
Ideal worker norms: Strong	1.413 (0.341)	1.008 (0.275)	1.134 (0.280)	0.928 (0.248)	- -	- -	- -	- -
Family-friendly policies: No childcare policies (Ref: Yes - all)	- -	- -	- -	- -	1.274 (0.264)	1.471* (0.300)	1.213 (0.253)	1.265 (0.252)
Family-friendly policies: No flexi work options	- -	- -	- -	- -	1.817* (0.597)	0.714 (0.284)	1.400 (0.459)	0.664 (0.286)
Hybrid # Ideal worker norms: Medium	0.891 (0.351)	0.549 (0.219)	1.035 (0.415)	0.603 (0.240)	- -	- -	- -	- -

	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	PROMOTION	PROMOTION	SALARY	SALARY	PROMOTION	PROMOTION	SALARY	SALARY
Hybrid # Ideal worker norms: Strong but Time-Off Permitted	0.809 (0.355)	0.728 (0.329)	1.118 (0.479)	1.008 (0.465)	- (0.254)	- (0.218)	- (0.291)	- (0.240)
Hybrid # Ideal worker norms: Strong	0.573 (0.232)	0.687 (0.290)	0.634 (0.260)	1.326 (0.559)	- (0.160)	- (0.582)	- (0.189)	- (0.690)
Home # Ideal worker norms: Medium	0.950 (0.424)	1.109 (0.450)	1.275 (0.567)	0.752 (0.296)	- (0.267)	- (0.133)	- (0.313)	- (0.163)
Home # Ideal worker norms: Strong but Time-Off Permitted	0.654 (0.306)	1.225 (0.534)	1.011 (0.452)	0.799 (0.347)	- (0.267)	- (0.133)	- (0.313)	- (0.163)
Home # Ideal worker norms: Strong	0.796 (0.351)	0.836 (0.351)	1.003 (0.441)	0.792 (0.325)	- (0.267)	- (0.133)	- (0.313)	- (0.163)
Hybrid # No childcare policies	- (0.254)	- (0.218)	- (0.291)	- (0.240)	0.800 (0.254)	0.689 (0.218)	0.911 (0.291)	0.760 (0.240)
Hybrid # No flexi work options	- (0.160)	- (0.582)	- (0.189)	- (0.690)	0.310** (0.160)	1.072 (0.582)	0.377* (0.189)	1.174 (0.690)
Home # No childcare policies	- (0.267)	- (0.133)	- (0.313)	- (0.163)	0.783 (0.267)	0.420*** (0.133)	0.938 (0.313)	0.525** (0.163)
Home # No flexi work options	- (0.341)	- (0.740)	- (0.471)	- (1.204)	0.599 (0.341)	1.369 (0.740)	0.799 (0.471)	2.026 (1.204)
Family situation: 1 child (Ref: childless)	1.052 (0.145)	1.100 (0.155)	0.941 (0.131)	1.109 (0.154)	1.063 (0.144)	1.155 (0.161)	0.941 (0.131)	1.182 (0.161)
Family situation: 3 children	0.973	1.166	1.206	1.312*	0.973	1.175	1.208	1.361**

	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	PROMOTION	PROMOTION	SALARY	SALARY	PROMOTION	PROMOTION	SALARY	SALARY
	(0.139)	(0.164)	(0.175)	(0.183)	(0.137)	(0.164)	(0.172)	(0.188)
Age: 40 years old (Ref: 38 years old)	1.040	1.118	1.001	0.968	1.079	1.137	1.039	1.001
	(0.154)	(0.158)	(0.148)	(0.140)	(0.158)	(0.159)	(0.152)	(0.142)
Age: 41 years old	1.170	1.082	0.973	0.990	1.206	1.101	1.003	1.039
	(0.167)	(0.152)	(0.140)	(0.138)	(0.170)	(0.153)	(0.143)	(0.144)
Work experience: 13 years (Ref: 8 years)	1.617***	1.616***	1.356**	1.626***	1.582***	1.640***	1.329**	1.641***
	(0.193)	(0.187)	(0.162)	(0.192)	(0.186)	(0.188)	(0.158)	(0.192)
Skills: 2, social 4, analytical 1 (Ref: 1 social 2, analytical 5)	0.213***	0.215***	0.177***	0.232***	0.215***	0.210***	0.176***	0.229***
	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.034)
Skills: 3, social 3, analytical 2	0.368***	0.441***	0.353***	0.426***	0.367***	0.423***	0.349***	0.418***
	(0.054)	(0.062)	(0.052)	(0.060)	(0.053)	(0.060)	(0.051)	(0.059)
Constant	1.557*	2.187***	2.069***	2.228***	1.658***	1.999***	2.011***	2.055***
	(0.383)	(0.568)	(0.523)	(0.568)	(0.304)	(0.378)	(0.381)	(0.380)
Observations	1,322	1,416	1,322	1,416	1,344	1,444	1,344	1,444

Notes: Each column represents a separate regression model. Robust SE in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1



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