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Working from Home and the Consequences for Labour Turnover and Career Progression*

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Abstract

In the wake of the rapid growth in working from home (WFH) there has been renewed interest in the impacts of this form of employment. One area of contention is job mobility and career progression. WFH is often argued to improve job satisfaction and thus enhance employee retention. In contrast, the lesser visibility of remote workers and the possible stigma associated with WFH might make them less likely to be promoted and more likely to be dismissed. This study tests these conflicting hypotheses using longitudinal data involving up to almost 150,000 observations on employees collected over a 21-year period from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey. Fixed-effects regression models of five different outcomes are estimated. Strong results are mostly confined to those that work exclusively from home, more marked for subjective outcomes than objective outcomes and, in the case of objective outcomes, restricted to men. Among male employees, WFH all the time is associated with fewer quits but more dismissals. No such associations are found for females. Hybrid arrangements are also associated with a lower likelihood of promotion for men. These findings suggest that WFH may come at a career price, but only for men.

JEL classification: J63, M51

Keywords: working from home, telecommuting, labour turnover, job quits, promotions, dismissals, Australia, HILDA Survey

1. Introduction

There has been a marked increase in the amount of paid work undertaken at or from home since the COVID-19 pandemic. Indeed, according to Aksoy et al. (2022: 282): "No other episode in modern history involves such a pronounced and widespread shift in working arrangements in such a compressed time frame." This has prompted renewed interest in the impact of working from home (WFH) on employees, firms and wider society.

Interestingly, researchers have long proclaimed the many benefits of WFH (and its telecommuting variant), including more satisfied, less stressed, more committed, and ultimately more productive workers (for reviews, see: Allen et al., 2015; Athanasiadou and Theriou, 2021). Given higher levels of job satisfaction and organisational commitment, it follows that we might also expect another benefit for employers would be reduced levels of voluntary labour turnover (i.e., job quits). This, however, is a topic on which research to date has been limited. Allen et al. (2015), for example, referred to a meta-analysis of studies of the association between WFH and turnover intentions (Gajendran and Harrison, 2007), but were unable to identify any studies of actual quitting behaviour.

It is also widely recognised that WFH can pose challenges for workers. Included here is the potential for work time to encroach further into non-work time (Fan and Moen, 2023; Wöhrmann and Ebner, 2021) and the greater likelihood that WFH will be associated with feelings of isolation (Golden et al., 2008; Mann and Holdsworth, 2003). Another potential drawback is an adverse impact on career prospects, something that is usually argued to be the result of either less visibility in the workplace (e.g., Bloom et al., 2015; McCloskey and

Igbaria, 2003) or managerial perceptions that remote workers might be less dedicated or productive, a phenomenon known as 'flexibility stigma' (e.g., Chung, 2020; Williams et al., 2013). But like voluntary turnover, empirical research on the impact of WFH on within-firm career progression is limited. The meta-analysis of Gajendran and Harrison (2007), for example, identified eight studies of perceived career prospects (mostly unpublished) with an average sample size of just 128 observations. Studies employing more objective outcome measures are even rarer, with the review of Athanasiadou and Theriou (2021) only identifying one study.

Finally, a related issue that, at least prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, had received no attention, is the possible impact of WFH on layoffs and dismissals (involuntary turnover). If WFH raises productivity, we might expect lower dismissal rates among persons that work from home. Conversely, the lesser visibility of remote workers and the possible stigma associated with flexible work arrangements might make them more likely to be laid off in the wake of a downturn or managerial re-organisation (Fosslien and Gottlieb-Cohen, 2023).

In this study, we present new evidence on the association between the extent of WFH and a range of outcomes related to labour mobility and career progression using longitudinal data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey. The outcomes examined include both subjective outcomes – the fear of job loss and intentions to quit – and objective outcomes – quits, dismissals and promotions. The use of a data source that is both longitudinal and has coverage of a national population is an advantage that sets this study apart from almost all previous empirical studies on these

issues. The longitudinal nature of the data is especially important since it permits analyses that both control for unobserved person-specific heterogeneity and identify changes in the employment status of individuals over time. The latter feature is crucial, allowing the investigation of not only whether employees anticipate leaving their current employer in the future, but also whether actual changes in employer subsequently take place. Furthermore, our study may be the first to examine the relationship between WFH and dismissals, thereby providing new insights into the relationship between WFH and career progression.

2. Theory and hypotheses

2.1 Definitions

WFH should need little explanation: It is paid work undertaken at or from the home of the worker. It is, however, often confused with telework or telecommuting – work performed away from traditional office spaces using computer-based technology to interact with others inside and outside their organisation (e.g., Feldman and Gainey, 1997; Golden, 2006a; Spreitzer et al., 2017). Much teleworking is thus synonymous with WFH, but not all.

2.2 General expectations

Two major competing perspectives exist regarding the impact of WFH on workers. The first is the Conservation of Resources (COR) model (Hobfoll, 1989), which argues that

workers strive to protect resources that help develop resilience and enhance their overall well-being. Proponents of this resources-based perspective argue that WFH can conserve resources in two main ways. First, WFH enables employees to save valuable time and energy by eliminating the need for commuting, a significant daily activity (Aksoy et al., 2022; Choudhury, 2022). For example, according to a recent study based on data from 27 countries, workers who had the ability to work from home during the pandemic years saved, on average, 72 minutes a day (Aksoy et al., 2023, Table 1). The saved time enables employees to both be more focused and spend more time on work-related tasks, which can improve output and performance (Choudhury et al., 2021; Choudhury, 2022).

Second, WFH provides employees with greater autonomy and control over work schedules and tasks (e.g., Feldman and Gainey, 1997; Gajendran and Harrison, 2007; Wöhrmann and Ebner, 2021). This greater control has, in turn, been found in empirical research to yield several benefits, including less job pressure (Schieman, 2013), higher productivity (Shobe, 2018), decreased burnout (Fernet et al., 2014), and lower levels of work-family conflict (Laß and Wooden, 2023). These benefits, alone or in tandem, can contribute to increased job performance and overall wellbeing, which in turn should be reflected in more opportunities for career progression and lower labour turnover. This gives us our first hypothesis.

> *Hypothesis 1:* WFH will be associated with greater chances of (a) promotion and lower (b) labour turnover, all else equal.

A competing perspective, often supported by sociologists and rooted in stigma and 'ideal worker' theories (Blair-Loy, 2003), emphasises the potential drawbacks of WFH. As described by Williams et al. (2013), notions about the 'ideal worker' reflect cultural norms that expect undivided attention to work, with time for personal or family demands during working hours expected to be minimal. Workers who deviate from this expected norm risk being viewed as uncommitted to their work. Flexible work practices, such as WFH, are thus often seen by supervisors and managers as a violation of 'ideal worker' norms, resulting in the stigmatisation of workers who take up the opportunity to work from home. Such stigmatisation can take the form of misperceptions about the level of involvement and interest in work by employees that work from home (Glass and Noonan, 2016; Leslie et al., 2012) and ultimately result in their being overlooked for promotion and other opportunities for career development.

Signalling theory (Spence, 1973) offers additional insights by describing how employers make inferences about the level of an individual's engagement with work in the presence of information asymmetry. A central assumption is that employers often use workers' observable attributes (such as gender, education or race) to assess the potential productivity of their employees. Where employers' decisions are clouded by incomplete information, WFH can also serve as an attribute that signals an employee's preference for non-work activities (such as family time), raising doubts about an employee's level of commitment and productivity.

Reduced visibility has also been cited as another potential disadvantage of WFH. Scholars have argued that the physical distance from the employer's workplace that is associated with WFH translates to psychological distance, giving rise to an 'out of sight, out of mind' phenomenon (McCloskey and Igbaria, 2003), which in turn may have implications for career rewards (Kossek et al., 2015). Greater visibility and more face-time with a supervisor have, for example, been shown to build trust and foster cooperation (Coenen and Kok, 2014), while also influencing how managers perceive an employee's sense of responsibility and dedication to their work (Elsbach et al., 2010). Thus, because employers often equate visibility with employee commitment to the organisation (Kossek and Van Dyne, 2008; Williams, 2001), employees that work from home are more likely to be seen as less devoted to their jobs and so more likely to be overlooked for promotions, even if their actual performance closely matches their productivity when they are in the office.

Another possible disadvantage of WFH is a weakening of social bonds with peers. This is a consequence of both a reduction in the quantity of face-to-face interactions or spontaneous exchanges when WFH, resulting in limited access to informal social networks that may be crucial for career success (Gajendran and Harrison, 2007; Golden et al., 2008) and a decline in the quality of exchanges between individuals and their managers compared to face-to-face interactions (Cooper and Kurland, 2002; Lapierre et al., 2016).

These theories and arguments lead to the expectation that employees who work from home will have fewer promotion opportunities, heightened fears of job loss, and increased chances of dismissal. This forms the basis for our second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: WFH will be negatively correlated with (a) promotions and positively related with (b) the fear of job loss and (c) dismissals, all else equal.

Hypothesis 2 is thus, in part, directly competing with Hypothesis 1.

Whether the relationships between WFH and labour turnover and promotions are positive or negative, however, may vary with the amount of time that employees spend WFH (Gajendran and Harrison, 2007; Golden and Eddleston, 2020).

Various studies have shown that when hours worked from home represent a relatively small fraction of the work week, the productivity and job satisfaction gains tend to be modest, if not entirely absent (Allen et al. 2015; Yang et al., 2023). This is because low-intensity WFH is often associated with little or no reduction in commuting and typically just means longer working hours or overtime (Laß and Wooden, 2023). This, in turn, has been found to adversely affect the health and overall well-being of workers (Wong et al., 2019).

At the other extreme, while the benefits linked to high-intensity WFH may contribute to higher productivity, they may also function as impediments to career advancement. As argued previously, factors like limited visibility, reduced networking opportunities, and flexibility stigma may combine to impede informal learning, skills development, and access to opportunities for career progression. Additionally, the greater social and professional isolation associated with high-intensity WFH has been argued to contribute to relatively poor job performance (Golden et al., 2008). The positive

association between the extent of WFH and the incidence of quits, dismissals and promotions might, therefore, be weaker for those who work from home all the time.

Recent studies also suggest that career advantages associated with WFH are optimised in hybrid arrangements in which workers work some days from home and some days at the employer's work site (Bloom et al., 2015; Golden, 2006b; Golden and Veiga, 2005). The central argument here is that employees who work these hybrid arrangements can leverage the strengths of both remote and in-office work.

Overall, the arguments and evidence summarised above lead us to propose the following:

> *Hypothesis 3*: The share of WFH will be non-linearly related to (a) intentions to quit, (b) actual job quits, (c) promotion opportunities, (d) fear of job loss and (e) dismissals, all else equal.

2.3 The role of gender

WFH often carries gender-related implications. It is well established that women bear the largest burden of care work involved in raising children, and this typically occurs at the expense of their employment and paid hours (e.g., Bianchi et al., 2006). This uneven gendered distribution of paid and unpaid work has been linked to societal norms prioritising husbands' careers (Goode, 1960), leading married women (and especially mothers) to experience greater pressure to manage the dual responsibilities of paid work and parenting. From a resources-based perspective, WFH can help women minimise stress and work-family conflict by allowing them to better integrate the needs of other family

members into their workday. The appeal of WFH might be particularly strong if it also empowers them to manage household responsibilities while concurrently advancing their careers (Chung and van der Horst, 2018). While evidence is mixed, studies suggest that women experience greater levels of job satisfaction when WFH compared to men (e.g., Esposito et al., 2024; Laß et al., 2025; Wheatley, 2017). Such arguments and findings imply that the favourable effects of WFH on quit intentions and decisions will be stronger among women than among men.

Following the same logic, and drawing again on signalling theory, women who work from home may also benefit more than men when it comes to promotion opportunities and job retention. Although women who work from home might be seen as prioritising family responsibilities, thereby reinforcing the notion of them being less dedicated to their paid work, the continued widespread acceptance of traditional norms around the roles played by men and women in the household may act to moderate the negative signals attached to WFH. For men, however, WFH all or most of the time is expected to be relatively uncommon, and thus potentially serves as a stronger and more negative signal regarding their level of work engagement and productivity. They are more likely to be perceived as deviating from prevailing breadwinner and 'ideal worker' norms, which, as argued earlier, tend to associate an employee's physical presence in the workplace with commitment and engagement (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Williams, 2001). Based on these postulations, we propose the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4a: Women who work from home will be less likely to quit than men.

Hypothesis 4b: Men who work from home will be more likely to be penalised in the workplace, in the form of lower rates of promotions and higher rates of dismissal, relative to women, all else equal.

3. Previous research

Although WFH has been the subject of a growing body of literature, research into the association between job and career mobility on the one hand, and WFH on the other, has been more limited. A Google Scholar search revealed only 13 published empirical studies of relevance, 11 of which included measures of voluntary labour turnover as an outcome and six of which included measures of career advancement. (A summary of these studies is provided in Table A1 in the supplemental material.) We did not identify a single study that examined associations with involuntary job loss.

Most studies of turnover have used a measure of intentions to quit. Indeed, only three studies could be identified that investigated whether there was an association between WFH and actual quitting, all of which involved relatively small-scale experiments. There is a similar distinction between subjective and objective outcome measures among the studies of career advancement, with three employing subjective measures of perceived opportunities for growth and skill development and only two focused on actual promotion outcomes. Another feature of this group of studies is the use of relatively small samples, often within a single firm, thus raising doubts about the extent to which findings can be generalised to broader populations.

Concerning quit intentions, the evidence is mixed, with some studies finding significant negative associations (Golden, 2006b; Golden et al., 2008; Kröll and Nüesch, 2019; Moen et al. 2017) and others no association (Kossek et al., 2006; Masuda et al., 2012; Redman et al., 2009). Very differently, Yang et al. (2023), in their study of employees of medium and large private sector establishments in Germany, found that quit intentions rose with WFH, but only when WFH was used to extend total working hours. Also of note, Lewis et al. (2024), in their analysis of almost 1.4 million observations collected from federal US government employees over a four-year window, reported that intentions to stay were highest among both those who teleworked most frequently (at least three days a week) and those who deliberately opted not to telework. This latter finding is consistent with our Hypothesis 3 that the link between WFH and quit intentions may not be a simple linear relationship.

An intention to quit, however, is not necessarily followed by an actual quit, and as noted above, we are only aware of three studies that have examined the impact of WFH on quit outcomes, each of which evaluated randomised control trials involving employees within single firms (Bloom et al., 2015, 2024; Moen et al. 2017). Bloom et al. (2015) reported that quit rates among Chinese call centre workers randomised to work from home were less than half that of the control group by the end of the experiment (which lasted 38 weeks). In a later experiment, also involving a Chinese firm, a similar finding was reported, with quit rates during a six-month window found to be 33% lower among employees permitted to work from home two days a week than among employees who were required to be in

the office five days a week (Bloom et al., 2024). Lastly, Moen et al. (2017) studied the impact of an intervention involving the blanket approval to work from home on workers in the IT division of a Fortune 500 firm in the US and reported quit rates over a 3-year observation window of 7.6% for workers in the treatment group and 11.3% for those in the control group. Whether such results will translate to wider populations and in non-experimental settings, however, is not obvious.

With respect to promotion and career advancement, the evidence is also far from conclusive. McCloskey and Igbaria (2003) rejected the hypothesis that telecommuters have fewer career advancement prospects compared to non-telecommuters, though this might be a function of the small sample size (n=97). Redman et al. (2009) utilised a larger sample (n=749) and did report a significant negative association between perceived support for careers and the number of hours worked from home, but the estimated magnitude of that effect was small (standardised β = -0.07). In contrast, Lewis et al. (2024) found that perceived career advancement opportunities were relatively low among workers who needed to be physically present at the workplace. Nevertheless, the outcome did not vary much with the frequency of WFH nor was it any less for those workers who chose not to telework. The limited career prospects reported by those who are required to be physically present in the workplace might thus reflect other aspects of the job that were not controlled for. Then there are the studies of Bloom et al. (2015) and Golden and Eddleston (2020), both of which used measures of actual promotions as the outcome and both of which reported evidence of a significant negative association. Nevertheless, the selective

nature of their samples (small groups of employees from a single firm) means results again cannot necessarily be generalised to wider populations. The results reported by Bloom et al. (2015), for example, hinge on a difference of just six promotions between treatment (n=23) and control group (n=17). Indeed, the more recent experimental study of Bloom et al. (2024) was unable to replicate these findings, reporting no significant differences in the promotion rates of workers assigned to treatment and control groups.

To summarise, previous research tends to provide support for the hypothesis that WFH is associated with both a lower likelihood of quitting and a lower likelihood of being promoted. Findings, however, are mixed and estimated size effects are small. This, combined with small selective samples, the reliance on cross-section data and hence the predominance of subjective outcome measures, and the possibility that associations are not linear, suggests that we still do not have a clear understanding of the impacts of WFH on job and career mobility.

4. Data, measures and methods

4.1 Data and samples

The data for this study come from the HILDA Survey, an ongoing longitudinal study that has been collecting data from members of a representative sample of Australian households selected and first interviewed in 2001 (Watson and Wooden, 2021). Each year data are collected from persons aged 15 years over who are a member of, or reside with a member of, one of the originally selected households, using both an interviewer-

administered form and a self-completion questionnaire. Survey content is wide-ranging, but has a focus on income, work and family.

For this analysis we began with a sample comprising employees (and hence all owner-managers are excluded) aged 18 to 75 years. We also excluded any full-time students. In addition, we restricted the period of observation to waves 2 to 22 (i.e., 2002 to 2022) given information needed to construct some of the outcome variables was not collected in wave 1. This provided an initial starting sample comprising 154,815 person-year observations from 21,787 respondents.

The outcome variables come from two survey components: an interview-based questionnaire for job quits, dismissals, intentions to quit, and fear of job loss, and a self-administered questionnaire for promotions. These survey components, along with the different nature of our dependent variables, led to the construction of three different estimation samples. The sample used to estimate models of intentions to quit and fear of job loss, which come from the interview-based questionnaire, comprised 149,815 person-year observations from 21,569 respondents. The reduction in sample here is due to incomplete data on variables included in our models. For actual quits and dismissals we were unable to include observations from the last wave (2022) given these variables were constructed from observations at $t+1$. This reduced the size of the maximum analytical sample to 116,307 person-year observations from 16,470 respondents. Finally, for the analysis of promotions, the analytical sample is slightly smaller – 102,453 person-year observations from 15,250 respondents. This is a function of both excluding observations

from the last wave and the outcome variable coming from the self-completion questionnaire, which is associated with additional non-response – on average, 92% of interview respondents each wave completed and returned this instrument (Summerfield et al., 2023).

4.2 Dependent variables

The two subjective outcome variables were derived from questions that are close to identical to those proposed by Manski and Straub (2000). The fear of job loss question reads: "What do you think is the percent chance that you will lose your job within the next 12 months? (That is, get retrenched or fired or not have your contract renewed.)" The question for quit intentions is: "What do you think is the percent chance that you will leave your job voluntarily (that is, quit or retire) during the next 12 months?" Responses range between 0 and 100.

Variables for quits and dismissals were derived from interview questions that identified whether the respondent was working for the same firm that employed them at the time of their previous interview and, if not, the main reason for ceasing work with that employer. Persons reporting "having been laid off, made redundant, dismissed or fired" were classified as having been dismissed. Persons were classified as having quit their job if they reported that the main reason for ceasing working for their previous employer was one of the following: (i) not satisfied with the job; (ii) to obtain a better job, just wanted a change, or to start a new business; (iii) retired or did not want to work any longer; (iv) to stay at home

to look after children, the house or someone else; (v) travel or have a holiday; (vi) returned to study, started study, or needed more time for study; (vii) spouse / partner transferred; (viii) too much travel time or too far from public transport; (ix) a change of lifestyle; (x) emigration; or (xi) other reasons. Ceasing a job because of one's own disability or injury, pregnancy, or because the job was only temporary, seasonal or a holiday job, was not treated as a quit.

Finally, the promotion variable was constructed from a question about major events that happened during the previous 12 months. Among the 21 possible events listed was: "Promoted at work". We used this information to create a binary variable that identifies those who were promoted at work during the past year.

4.3 Key independent variable: Proportion of hours worked from home

The key explanatory variable is the proportion of usual weekly work hours in the main job that are worked from home. We tested various specifications and found a categorical variable to be superior to both linear and quadratic specifications. Laß et al. (2025) reached a similar conclusion in their analysis of the association between WFH and job satisfaction. Following Laß et al. (2025), our categorical variable divides the workforce into seven groups based on the share of work hours worked from home: zero (the reference group), 1-19%, 20-39%, 40-59%, 60-79%, 80-99% and 100%. These cut-off points correspond roughly to the number of days worked from home per week. Thus, 1-19% corresponds to one day a week, 20-39% corresponds to two days a week, and so on.

4.4 Control variables

Selection of variables was guided by previous research on WFH (and especially Laß et al., 2025). Specifically, our estimation models included controls for: age (and its square); tenure with the current employer (and its square); marital status (three categories); educational attainment (four categories); the presence of a long-term health condition, impairment or disability (that has lasted or is likely to last for 6 months or more); usual hours worked per week in all jobs; whether a multiple job holder; employment status/contract type (five categories); whether a union member; occupation (eight categories); firm size (five categories); industry (nineteen categories); state or territory (eight categories); and survey wave. To account for gender differences, we estimated separate models for men and women. Key variables, together with their mean values disaggregated by gender for our three samples, are reported in Table 1.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

4.5 Methods

The relationships between WFH and outcomes are modelled using weighted person-specific fixed-effects panel models fitted separately for men and women. These models rely on variables that change with time and leverage the repeated observations of respondents

to assess how different WFH patterns are linked to labour turnover and promotion outcomes over time. Importantly, these models address potential bias stemming from unobservable, time-invariant differences.

These models take one of two functional forms:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 WFH_{it} + \beta_2{}' x_{it} + \mu_i + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

$$Y_{it+1} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 WFH_{it} + \beta_2{}' x_{it} + \mu_i + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

The only difference in these two specifications is the form of the outcome variable. Equation (1) was used to estimate models where the dependent variable (Y_{it}) represents either of the two subjective outcome variables, fear of job loss and intentions to quit. Equation (2), on the other hand, was used where the dependent variable (Y_{it+1}) measures the objective outcomes of quits, dismissal, and promotion, all of which were measured over the period between annual interviews. Both equations include the categorical measure of the share of total work hours worked from home (WFH_{it}), which varies both over individuals and over time for each individual; a vector of time-varying control variables (x_{it}); an intercept term (β_0); a person-specific fixed effect (μ_i), which controls for observed and unobserved time constant variables; year fixed effects (δ_t); and a random disturbance term (ε_{it}). Probability weights were used to ensure the samples are representative of the population in each year.

Note that the dependent variables in Equation 2 were treated as linear and continuous even though they represent binary outcomes. Although there are estimators that are

specifically designed for binary outcome variables (logit and probit models) that can be applied in a panel context, they do not permit the incorporation of person-specific weights, which are crucial for this analysis. Furthermore, the interpretation of the incremental effects of the WFH coefficients is more difficult and less intuitive with non-linear models.

5. Results

5.1 Descriptives: Changes over time in the incidence and extent of WFH

Figure 1 reports the proportion of the population-weighted sample of Australian employees that worked from home over our observation window by different intensity levels. Pre-pandemic (i.e., prior to 2020), most Australian employees did not work any hours for their employer at home during a usual week (about 81%). Furthermore, of those that did work at least some hours from home, the fraction of the usual work week spent WFH was mostly relatively small (i.e., low-intensity WFH). On average, about 61% of those employees who worked any hours from home prior to 2020 spent less than 20% of their work week making use of this arrangement, with the average number of hours worked from home each week among this group being just 4 hours. At the other end of the spectrum, among those employees working any hours from home, about 5.6% worked 60% or more of their usual work week from home. Figure 1 also reveals little change in the incidence of WFH over the period 2002 to 2019.

WFH rates and their distribution, however, changed markedly during the pandemic. To contain the spread of the COVID-19 virus, Australian governments embraced aggressive

social distancing measures (Stobart and Duckett, 2022). Among these measures was advice that individuals work from home wherever possible. The natural consequence was a significant increase in the incidence of WFH. This is reflected in Figure 1, which shows the proportion of employees who worked exclusively from home skyrocketing from less than 1% prior to the pandemic to 13% in 2020, and more specifically the second half of 2020 (given fieldwork in the HILDA Survey commences in late July each year, with more than 90% conducted during the period August to October: Summerfield et al., 2023, Table 8.6), and 16% in the second half of 2021.

By early 2022 most social distancing measures, including advice to work from home, had been lifted. Despite this, the share of people recorded as WFH in the 2022 round of the HILDA Survey remained considerable. Indeed, the fraction of employees working any hours at home in 2022 was only slightly lower than in 2021. The fraction working exclusively from home, however, more than halved – from 13% to 6% – while the fraction working anywhere from 20% to 79% of their usual work week at home increased from 11% to 18%. This is consistent with the idea that hybrid WFH arrangements became both more popular and more acceptable in the wake of the pandemic.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

5.2 WFH and intentions to quit and fear of job loss

We now turn to the results from fixed effects regression estimation, beginning with analyses of our two subjective measures: intentions to quit and fear of job loss. Coefficient estimates are reported in Table 2. We only report coefficients on our key explanatory variable of interest – WFH_{it} – but complete results are provided in supplemental material (Table A2).

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Focusing first on quit intentions, with one notable exception, the results presented in Columns 1 and 2 reveal little evidence of significant associations with the level of WFH. The exception is women who work exclusively from home. For this group we find that intentions to quit are significantly lower than that of women who never work from home (b = -3.159; p < 0.05). Such findings are indicative of greater satisfaction among female employees with high-intensity WFH arrangements. That said, the association is far from straightforward, with other high-intensity WFH employees not having a significantly lesser intention to quit relative to a situation when working zero hours from home (though this is driven part by the relatively large standard errors attached to our estimates). Furthermore, the magnitude of the estimated association is arguably not small. Among women, the largest estimate implies an intention to quit differential that exceeds 3

percentage points. This corresponds to approximately 14% of the mean value for this variable ([3.159/21.208] × 100).

Turning to the fear of job loss in Columns 3 and 4, we find, for both men and women, that working a larger fraction of the work week from home is associated with a heightened anxiety about job loss during the year ahead. Among men, the differences with a situation when working zero hours from home only becomes statistically significant when WFH all the time (b = 2.812; p < 0.01). Slightly different to men, Column 4 indicates that women fear job loss the most when they work from home most of the time (80-99%) (b = 3.199; p < 0.1), though this result is statistically significant only at the 10% level. We also find a smaller, but significant, association with the fear of job loss among women working exclusively from home (b = 1.696; p < 0.05). Despite these nuances, the overall pattern among women is similar to men: working a substantial portion of the workweek from home is associated with heightened concerns about potential job loss in the near future. We also suggest that estimates of 2.8 points for men and 1.7 points for women are substantial, considering the average reported probability of job loss for men is just over 11 percentage points (with a standard deviation of 20.3) and for women almost 10 percentage points (with a standard deviation of 19.8). These associations correspond to 24% of the respective mean for men ([2.812/11.429] × 100) and 17% of the respective mean for women ([1.696/9.879] ×100).

Overall, and despite the noise in the data, these findings provide some support in favour of Hypothesis 1b, but only among women, and Hypothesis 2b, for both men and women.

Furthermore, the fact that statistically significant relationships are only found among persons working entirely from home is indicative of non-linear relationships, and thus supportive of Hypothesis 3. That said, we found no evidence that relationships are U-shaped.

5.3 WFH and promotions, quits and dismissals

We now turn to the analysis of the relationship between WFH and actual labour turnover and promotions in the next wave. Results from linear probability models, again with person-specific fixed effects, are reported in Table 3. Complete results are reported in Online Appendix Table A3.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

A first takeaway from Table 3 is that the coefficient estimates across all models do not exhibit neat linear patterns (in line with Hypothesis 3), but neither is there evidence of clear curvilinear patterns.

Turning to actual quits, the results in Column 1 reveal that, compared to a situation when they worked from the office all the time, men are significantly less likely to quit when WFH between 40% and 59% of the time (b = -0.045; p < 0.01) or when WFH all of the time (b = -0.029; p < 0.01). Further testing revealed that we can divide the male

employee into two clear groups based on whether they do or do not work at least 40% of the work week from home. On average, rates of quits are about 3 percentage points lower among the former. This finding stands in contrast to the results presented in Table 2, which showed that men's intentions to quit jobs are not associated with the proportion of working time that took place at home. For women we find evidence for almost the exact opposite pattern. While intentions to quitting are found to be much lower among those women WFH all the time, actual quit rates over the following year among this group are no different to those who worked exclusively in the office. Quit intentions would thus not appear to be a good guide to actual quit behaviour. Of interest, there is only one group of women whose observed rate of quitting is significantly different from (and lower than) the average and that was those in low-intensity WFH jobs. This finding was not expected. Overall, these findings provide some support for Hypothesis 1b, but only for men.

When it comes to promotion chances, Column 3 shows that men in hybrid WFH categories (and especially those in the 60-79% category) experienced a lower chance of promotion in the next 12 months relative to a situation when they worked from home all the time. In contrast, among women employees there is no evidence that promotion prospects vary with the level of WFH. Overall, our results provide no support for our hypothesis that promotion probabilities rise with WFH (Hypothesis 1a) and only limited support for the counter hypothesis that they decline with WFH (Hypothesis 2a). That said, we did uncover evidence that, among male employees, those in hybrid arrangements are most disadvantaged, providing some support for Hypothesis 3.

When it comes to the likelihood of being dismissed, results presented in Column 5 again suggest that any strong associations with WFH are confined to men. Nevertheless, the estimated coefficients do not support the hypothesis that dismissal prospects rise linearly with the amount of time worked from home. While we do find that those men who work exclusively from home are significantly more likely to be dismissed in the year ahead (b = 0.016; $p < 0.01$), providing some support for Hypothesis 2c, we also find a significant negative association among those WFH 60-79% of the usual work week.

Finally, we also tested for gender differences in these outcome variables in a separate model using the pooled sample that included interactions between the WFH variables and the sex variable. While no gender differences were found in men's and women's promotion chances, we found small gender differences in actual quit and dismissal chances. Results (not shown here but available upon request), showed that women engaged in hybrid WFH arrangements (that is, between 20-39%) were more likely to quit their jobs ($b = 0.038$, $p < 0.05$) relative to men WFH at the same intensity level. Although these results pertain only to one WFH category, they contradict our expectations of Hypothesis 4a, which anticipated women to have a lower likelihood of quitting compared to men. Regarding dismissals, we found that the likelihood of dismissals was significantly lower for women who WFH 20-39% of the time ($b = -0.018$, $p < 0.01$) or all the time ($b = -0.014$, $p < 0.05$) compared to men WFH at the same intensity levels. This suggests that men in some WFH categories are more severely penalised than women, which partially supports Hypothesis 4b.

6. Discussion and conclusion

We used 21 years of longitudinal survey data collected from a sample of Australian workers aged between 18 and 75 years to examine the association between the extent of WFH and career progression and labour turnover. We also examined whether these relationships varied with gender. Unlike most previous research, our study delved into the effects of WFH on not only subjective outcome variables, measuring the fear of job loss and intentions to quit, but also on the likelihood of actual job quits, promotions and dismissals. To examine these relationships, we estimated a range of individual fixed-effects models, thus reducing the likelihood of omitted variables bias.

Our initial set of findings revealed that workers' quit intentions were inversely associated with the proportion of time worked from home, but only among women. More specifically, women who worked all the time from home were found to report a significantly lower intention to quit their job in the year ahead. This finding aligns with COR theory (Hobfoll, 1989) and is also consistent with prior research on the relationship between WFH and intentions to quit (Golden 2006b; Moen et al., 2017; Lewis et al. 2024; Yang et al., 2023). However, when we examined workers' actual quitting behaviour, we discovered that an inverse relationship between actual job quits and the proportion of WFH only held for men. Counter to our expectations, women across hybrid and high-intensity WFH categories did not show any significant differences in job quitting rates compared to a situation where they worked exclusively in the office. Gender differences were strongest in the hybrid category, with men in this category being far less likely than women to quit

their jobs. These findings are surprising and imply a disconnect between perceived and actual job quitting patterns across gender. For men, the benefits of hybrid or fully WFH arrangements may create a sense of security that reduces their perceived likelihood of quitting, even if other factors ultimately drive them to leave. Conversely, women may overestimate their quit intentions due to heightened concerns about work-life balance, career progression, or organisational support, even though these concerns do not always translate into actual job exits.

Research associating WFH with flexibility stigma, weakened social bonds and reduced visibility also led us to expect that WFH would be negatively associated with the probability of promotion and positively associated with the fear of job loss and dismissal. Our results provided partial support for this expectation, with the fear of job loss greatest among people who worked in WFH arrangements all the time. This pattern was found among both men and women. We also found that men in hybrid WFH arrangement had a lower likelihood of promotion while those who worked exclusively from home had a higher rate of dismissal Differences in the likelihood of dismissals, however, were gendered, with men in hybrid and full-time WFH categories being more likely to be dismissed than women working at the same intensity levels. Indeed, we found little evidence that rates of dismissal among women varied with the extent of WFH. These findings align with theories that emphasise 'ideal worker' norms (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Pedulla, 2016; Williams, 2001) and suggest that men face greater scrutiny or are perceived as less engaged or committed when WFH. Conversely, women in similar WFH

arrangements may benefit from different perceptions or organisational dynamics, such as an expectation that WFH aligns with caregiving responsibilities, which could shield them from dismissal risks.

While novel, our study is not without limitations. First, although our fixed effect models, which compare individuals to themselves over time, reduced the likelihood of omitted variable bias — an important form of endogeneity bias — a more direct examination of self-selection into jobs that offer WFH arrangements could further minimise the bias associated with endogeneity. Addressing endogeneity directly (through, for example, instrumental variables or randomised controlled trials), would allow future research to move beyond simply identifying associations, as our study did, and instead estimate the causal effects of WFH.

Second, our study revealed that the fear of job loss was greatest among those who worked from home all the time, but it remains unclear whether the fear of job loss varies across industries or types of employment. For example, workers in industries more prone to automation or restructuring might have a higher fear of job loss when WFH, while employees in other sectors might not experience the same anxiety. A more industry-specific analysis could help determine whether the fear of job loss is universal or context-dependent.

In conclusion, the most significant results were found among workers who work from home full-time, particularly for subjective outcomes. Regarding objective outcomes, men who worked from home all the time were less likely to quit but faced higher dismissal rates.

Additionally, hybrid work was associated with fewer promotions, but only for men. These findings suggest that while remote and hybrid work may enhance job retention, they could also come at a career cost for men. These factors should be carefully considered when designing future organisational policies, supporting equitable career growth for all workers regardless of their gender or type of WFH arrangement.

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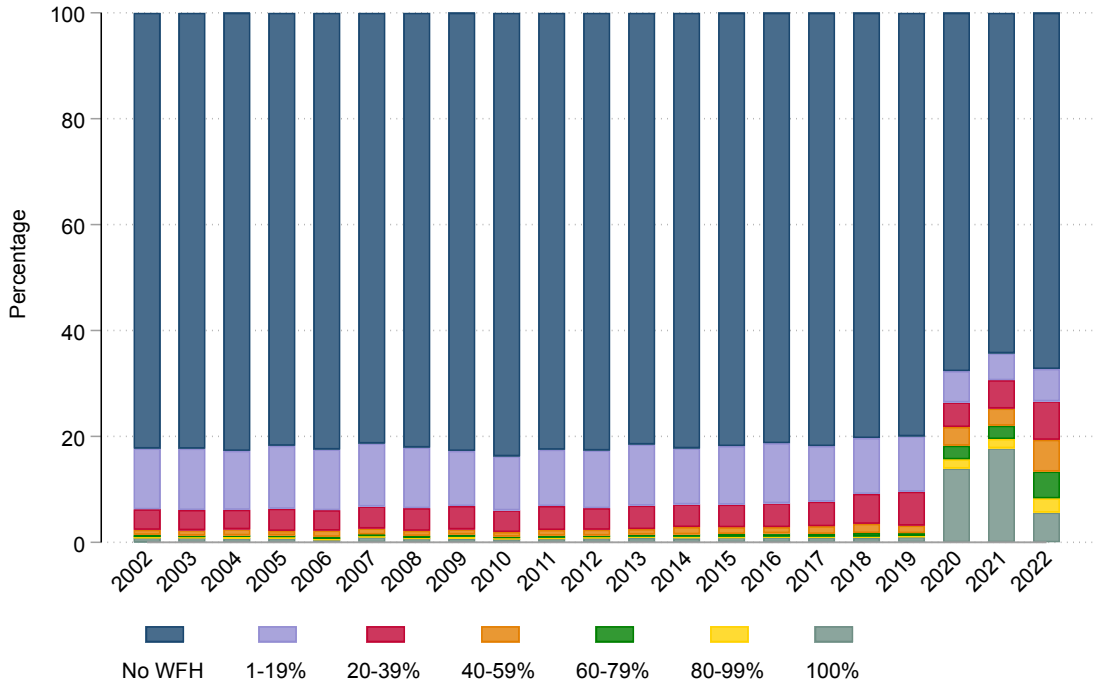

Figure 1. Distribution of working from home, 2002-2022

Notes: Sample restricted to employees (18-75 years old). Full-time students have been excluded. All figures are population weighted estimates.

Table 1. Means (weighted) of the outcome and share of WFH variables (standard deviation in parentheses)

	Sample 1		Sample 2		Sample 3	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Outcome variables						
Intention to quit in the next 12 months	21.526 (31.333)	21.208 (32.332)				
Fear of job loss in the next 12 months	11.429 (20.282)	9.879 (19.782)				
Quits *t*+1			0.094 (0.292)	0.092 (0.289)		
Dismissals *t*+1			0.030 (0.172)	0.019 (0.136)		
Promotions *t*+1					0.110 (0.313)	0.102 (0.303)
Share of usual weekly work hours worked from home						
None	0.804 (0.397)	0.782 (0.413)	0.804 (0.397)	0.783 (0.412)	0.798 (0.401)	0.782 (0.413)
1-19%	0.107 (0.309)	0.097 (0.296)	0.114 (0.318)	0.106 (0.308)	0.117 (0.321)	0.106 (0.307)
20-39%	0.039 (0.195)	0.055 (0.228)	0.039 (0.194)	0.056 (0.230)	0.040 (0.195)	0.055 (0.228)
40-59%	0.016 (0.124)	0.018 (0.133)	0.012 (0.111)	0.015 (0.123)	0.013 (0.114)	0.016 (0.126)
60-79%	0.009 (0.093)	0.010 (0.098)	0.006 (0.079)	0.007 (0.082)	0.007 (0.082)	0.007 (0.086)
80-99%	0.004 (0.067)	0.006 (0.074)	0.003 (0.059)	0.004 (0.060)	0.004 (0.061)	0.004 (0.061)
100%	0.021 (0.143)	0.033 (0.179)	0.020 (0.141)	0.029 (0.168)	0.021 (0.145)	0.030 (0.170)
Person-year observations	74,528	75,287	58,482	57,825	50,355	52,098

Table 2. Extent of working from home and intention to quit and fear of job loss, by gender: person-year fixed effects regression results (coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses)

	Intention to quit		Fear of job loss	
Share of usual weekly work hours worked from home (ref. = 0%)	Men (1)	Women (2)	Men (3)	Women (4)
1-19%	-0.036	-0.631	-0.284	-0.713
	(0.622)	(0.492)	(0.289)	(0.342)
20-39%	1.075	0.089	0.501	0.591
	(0.841)	(0.734)	(0.493)	(0.464)
40-59%	-1.790	-0.343	0.637	1.984
	(0.883)	(1.394)	(0.787)	(1.161)
60-79%	-0.653	-3.369	1.167	-0.716
	(1.210)	(2.038)	(0.900)	(1.226)
80-99%	-1.065	-0.055	2.455	3.199
	(1.737)	(1.565)	(1.485)	(1.828)
100%	-0.958	-3.159*	2.812**	1.696*
	(0.811)	(1.278)	(0.817)	(0.619)
Person-year observations	74,528	75,287	74,528	75,287
R-squared	0.393	0.385	0.386	0.364

Notes: ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$. Probability weights are used in all models. Complete results are reported in Table A2 in the supplemental material.

Table 3. Extent of working from home and job quits, promotions and dismissals, by gender: person-year fixed effects linear probability model (coefficients with standard errors in parentheses)

Share of usual weekly work hours worked from home (ref. = 0%)	Job quits, *t*+1		Promotions, *t*+1		Dismissals, *t*+1	
	Men (1)	Women (2)	Men (3)	Women (4)	Men (5)	Women (6)
1-19%	-0.004	-0.016*	-0.016	-0.004	-0.000	-0.002
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.003)	(0.003)
20-39%	0.002	-0.011	-0.024*	-0.012	0.010*	-0.007**
	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.002)
40-59%	-0.045**	-0.004	-0.017	-0.014	0.012	-0.003
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.003)
60-79%	-0.015	-0.014	-0.057**	0.011	-0.024*	-0.017
	(0.030)	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.030)	(0.010)	(0.013)
80-99%	-0.032	-0.014	-0.036	-0.027	-0.004	-0.009
	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.040)	(0.010)	(0.008)
100%	-0.029**	-0.006	0.032	0.002	0.016**	0.001
	(0.008)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Person-year observations	58,482	57,825	50,355	52,098	58,482	57,825
R-squared	0.285	0.311	0.306	0.308	0.226	0.232

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. **$p<0.01$, *$p<0.05$. Probability weights are used in all models. Complete results are reported in Table A3 in the supplemental material.

SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL

Table A1. Summary of empirical studies of association between WFH and quits / promotion

Study	*Sample*	*Outcomes*	*WFH measure*	*Method*	*Key finding*	*Notes*
McCloskey and Igbaria (2003)	53 telecommuters and 44 non-telecommuters from one firm.	3-point career advancement prospects scale assessed by supervisor.	Binary: telecommuter vs non-telecommuter.	Hierarchical regression.	No association.	Only controls were gender and marital status.
Golden (2006)	393 teleworkers from one firm.	3-item turnover intentions scale.	% of average workweek spent teleworking (range = 5 to 90).	Hierarchical regression.	Negative association, but much moderated by work exhaustion.	Only controls were age, gender, and tenure. Also studied organisational commitment.
Kossek et al. (2006)	245 professional employees from two large firms with telework policies	2-item turnover intentions scale.	Volume of telework (% of job performed away from main office).	Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression.	No association.	Significant negative associations with measures of psychological control and use of supportive HR policies found. Aso controlled for gender, children, marital status, firm, and total work hours.

Study	*Sample*	*Outcomes*	*WFH measure*	*Method*	*Key finding*	*Notes*
Golden et al. (2008)	261 professional level teleworkers from very large firm.	3-item turnover intentions scale.	% of average workweek spent working remotely.	Hierarchical regression.	Negative but only significant and sizeable when interacted with a measure of professional isolation.	Main focus is on the role of isolation and how it interacts with WFH. Also controls for extent of face-to-face interaction, access to communication technology, gender and duration of tenure.
Redman et al. (2009)	749 managerial and professional employees.	3-item turnover intentions scale. 4-item perceived organisational support for careers and training and development scale.	Number of hours worked at home.	Hierarchical regression.	No association with turnover intentions. Negative association with career development.	Only controls were gender, age, marital status and total work hours. Turnover intentions and career development were only two of 15 outcomes examined.
Masuda et al. (2012)	3918 managers from 15 countries.	Frequency of considering quitting during past 6 months.	Binary: Availability of telecommuting.	Hierarchical regression.	No association.	Included controls for age, gender, level, workhours, country cluster and availability of other types of flexible work arrangements.

Study	*Sample*	*Outcomes*	*WFH measure*	*Method*	*Key finding*	*Notes*
Bloom et al. (2015)	503 employees of a Shanghai call centre.	Binary: Quit during 8-month trial period. Binary: Promoted during a 22-month window.	Treatment = Work four shifts at home and one in the office each week. Control = Work five shifts in office.	Experimental design.	Fewer quitters in treatment group. Weak negative effect on promotion conditional on performance.	Number of promotion cases observed was very small.
Moen et al. (2017)	899 employees of an IT division within a Fortune 500 company	2-item turnover intentions scale. Voluntary terminations that occurred within 3 years of baseline.	Treatment = Work group assigned to STAR intervention (includes approval to work from home). Control = Usual practice.	Experimental design combined with multi-level mixed-effects regression and competing risk survival models.	Lower rates of turnover intentions and voluntary exits among workers in treatment group.	Relatively small number of voluntary exits (n=92). Treatment affected by announcement of company merger.
Kröll & Nüesch (2019)	German panel data, years 1999 and 2009 (n=7126; i=6132).	Probability of quitting in next 2 years.	Binary: Whether ever carries out work activity to home.	Fixed effects regression.	Negative effect (but only after controlling for person specific effects).	Large array of controls used (including overtime and commuting distance). Also controlled for job change (which was positive).

Study	*Sample*	*Outcomes*	*WFH measure*	*Method*	*Key finding*	*Notes*
Golden & Eddleston (2020)	461 professional employees of a US technology services firm.	Number of promotions over a six-year period.	% average work week spent telecommuting away from office during regular work hours.	Hierarchical regression.	Negative association. Larger when telecommuting was norm, and extra hours was high.	Controlled for telecommuting norms, extra hours, amount of F2F contact with supervisor, age, gender, tenure and hours worked.
Lewis et al. (2024)	Approx. 1.4 million observations from US federal government employees over 2012 to 2015, and 0.45 million in 2020.	Binary: "Are you considering leaving your organization within the next year?" (Reflected) 5-item advancement opportunities scale.	Categorical variable describing telework situation (ref. cat = need to be physically present).	OLS regression.	Intentions to stay highest among those who teleworked most frequently and those who chose not to telework, and lowest among those who denied teleworking. Advancement opportunities lowest among those denied telework.	Controlled for race/gender, sexual orientation, disability status. age group, supervisory status, pay category, tenure, location, agency.
Yang et al. (2023)	7857 employees from Germany (pooled panel data from 2014 and 2016).	Turnover intentions (5-point frequency scale)	Binary variable + categorical variable distinguishing "replacement WFH" from "extension WFH".	OLS regression (with workplace and year fixed effects).	Intentions to quit rose with "extension WFH". No association with "replacement WFH".	Controlled for age, gender, education, children, elder care, work hours, job pressure, supervisory status, occupation, wage, year and establishment fixed effects.

Study	*Sample*	*Outcomes*	*WFH measure*	*Method*	*Key finding*	*Notes*
Bloom et al. (2024)	1612 graduate employees of a Chinese travel technology firm.	Binary: Quit during 8-month trial period. Binary: Promoted during a 2-year post-trial period.	Treatment = Permitted to work two days per week from home. Control = Must work five days per week in the office.	Experimental design.	Quit rates were 33% lower for workers in the treatment group. No significant difference in promotion rates.	Reduction in quit rates was largest for women and employees with long commutes.

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Table A2. Fixed effects regression results: Working from home, fear of job loss and voluntary job quitting, by gender

	Intentions to quit		*Fear of job loss*	
	Men (1)	*Women* (2)	*Men* (3)	*Women* (4)
Share of usual weekly work hours worked from home (ref. 0%)				
1-19%	-0.036	-0.631	-0.284	-0.713
	(0.622)	(0.492)	(0.289)	(0.342)
20-39%	1.075	0.089	0.501	0.591
	(0.841)	(0.734)	(0.493)	(0.464)
40-59%	-1.790	-0.343	0.637	1.984
	(0.883)	(1.394)	(0.787)	(1.161)
60-79%	-0.653	-3.369	1.167	-0.716
	(1.210)	(2.038)	(0.900)	(1.226)
80-99%	-1.065	-0.055	2.455	3.199
	(1.737)	(1.565)	(1.485)	(1.828)
100%	-0.958	-3.159*	2.812**	1.696*
	(0.811)	(1.278)	(0.817)	(0.619)
Education level (ref. Year 11 or below)				
Year 12	-2.589	-0.851	-1.334	-1.149
	(1.719)	(1.665)	(1.329)	(0.931)
Vocational	2.912*	1.884	-0.516	-1.339
	(1.135)	(0.984)	(1.017)	(0.790)
Bachelor and higher	3.756*	3.276	-1.808	-0.535
	(1.715)	(1.829)	(1.483)	(1.144)
Long-term health condition	1.726**	1.331*	0.799*	0.937**
	(0.285)	(0.495)	(0.319)	(0.244)
Age	-0.742	-1.352*	-0.558	0.289
	(0.930)	(0.623)	(0.506)	(0.406)
Age squared	0.020**	0.027**	-0.002	-0.003*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Tenure	0.348**	0.442**	-0.025	-0.154**
	(0.075)	(0.065)	(0.058)	(0.044)
Tenure squared	0.002	-0.003	0.004*	0.007**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Marital status (ref. Single)				
Married	-0.690	-0.574	-0.597	-0.690
	(0.631)	(0.718)	(0.341)	(0.465)
Cohabiting	0.184	-1.681*	-0.157	-0.352
	(0.742)	(0.593)	(0.292)	(0.306)

Total number of children ever had (ref. No children)				
1	0.494	-4.056**	1.652**	0.360
	(1.078)	(0.649)	(0.533)	(0.578)
2	-0.388	-6.986**	1.564**	0.215
	(1.282)	(1.218)	(0.447)	(0.771)
3	-1.275	-8.146**	0.633	-0.215
	(1.539)	(1.577)	(0.859)	(1.052)
4+	-1.319	-10.061**	0.916	0.141
	(1.950)	(2.914)	(1.267)	(1.723)
Employment status (ref. Permanent employee, full time)				
Fixed-term contract employee	2.461**	3.348**	6.329**	8.354**
	(0.741)	(0.796)	(0.653)	(0.410)
Casual employee	9.844**	5.756**	6.179**	4.316**
	(0.709)	(0.559)	(0.550)	(0.433)
Other employees	12.265*	1.756	7.565**	4.899
	(4.777)	(2.518)	(1.849)	(2.578)
Industry (ref. Agriculture, forestry & fishing)				
Mining	-4.284	-5.420	0.584	4.859
	(2.618)	(3.358)	(1.848)	(2.365)
Manufacturing	0.090	-0.515	-1.851	2.034
	(1.941)	(2.267)	(1.382)	(1.878)
Electricity, gas, water and waste services	-3.131	-10.006	-3.552*	3.273
	(3.194)	(5.447)	(1.513)	(2.005)
Construction	-1.793	-2.093	-0.843	3.564
	(2.141)	(3.031)	(1.193)	(2.085)
Wholesale trade	-0.384	-1.108	-3.193*	0.729
	(2.305)	(2.439)	(1.519)	(2.054)
Retail trade	4.705	1.656	-3.684*	0.615
	(2.340)	(1.726)	(1.427)	(1.807)
Accommodation and food services	8.295*	6.439**	-5.551**	1.267
	(2.965)	(2.084)	(1.697)	(1.916)
Transport, postal and warehousing	-1.557	-3.122	-2.619	2.739
	(2.585)	(2.091)	(1.428)	(2.169)
Information media and telecommunications	2.588	-1.133	1.305	1.072
	(2.471)	(2.712)	(1.887)	(2.092)
Financial and insurance services	-5.092*	-5.866*	-0.288	1.015
	(2.326)	(2.467)	(1.757)	(1.650)
Rental, hiring and real estate services	-0.601	-1.688	-2.042	1.330
	(2.471)	(2.814)	(1.587)	(2.125)
Professional, scientific and technical services	-0.734	-2.940	-2.076	1.966
	(1.978)	(2.576)	(1.489)	(1.660)
Administrative and support services	2.464	0.461	-1.316	0.731
	(2.542)	(2.512)	(1.520)	(2.076)
Public administration and safety	-3.850*	-8.908**	-4.321**	2.296

	(1.789)	(2.238)	(1.387)	(1.454)
Education and training	-4.334	-7.222**	-3.991*	1.537
	(2.090)	(1.983)	(1.520)	(1.845)
Health care and social assistance	-3.002	-5.060*	-3.301	-0.303
	(2.774)	(2.159)	(1.630)	(1.771)
Arts and recreation services	-1.655	-1.699	-3.974*	2.840
	(2.910)	(3.634)	(1.445)	(2.026)
Other services	-0.912	-3.404	-2.839	-0.194
	(2.152)	(2.116)	(1.649)	(1.980)
Occupation (ref. Managers)				
Professionals	0.126	-1.256	0.266	-0.245
	(0.615)	(0.694)	(0.390)	(0.408)
Technicians and trades workers	1.506	0.250	0.363	-0.359
	(0.825)	(1.048)	(0.438)	(0.680)
Community and personal service workers	-0.013	1.045	-1.078	-1.016
	(1.118)	(0.880)	(0.674)	(0.605)
Clerical and administrative workers	0.996	-0.168	-0.600	0.166
	(0.713)	(0.956)	(0.782)	(0.688)
Sales workers	4.331**	2.142*	0.089	-1.191
	(1.164)	(0.927)	(0.755)	(0.692)
Machinery operators and drivers	3.661**	1.226	-0.109	1.768
	(1.188)	(2.124)	(0.740)	(1.754)
Labourers	5.184**	4.840**	0.433	-1.152
	(1.284)	(1.418)	(0.626)	(0.821)
Firm size (ref. < 20 employees)				
20-99 employees	-0.736	0.485	-0.511	0.539
	(0.666)	(0.731)	(0.406)	(0.481)
100-499 employees	-1.387*	0.235	0.495	0.412
	(0.566)	(0.711)	(0.347)	(0.593)
500 or more employees	-3.513**	-1.939*	-0.451	-0.500
	(0.669)	(0.762)	(0.384)	(0.423)
Missing	-0.662	-0.078	1.010	0.579
	(0.879)	(0.756)	(0.833)	(0.671)
Union member	-1.494*	-0.195	0.662	-0.240
	(0.669)	(0.401)	(0.561)	(0.420)
Multiple job holder	2.734**	2.584**	-1.001	0.665
	(0.895)	(0.587)	(0.487)	(0.319)
Usual hours worked per week	-0.103**	-0.166**	-0.019	-0.048**
	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.017)
State (ref. New South Wales)				
Victoria	2.681	2.856	-0.759	1.163
	(2.628)	(2.452)	(1.350)	(1.159)
Queensland	2.514	-2.356	-1.368	0.104
	(2.088)	(2.003)	(1.026)	(1.114)
South Australia	3.781	4.841	-1.848	-2.530
	(4.180)	(3.436)	(2.651)	(1.720)

Western Australia	2.297	-0.098	-1.136	-0.452
	(2.239)	(4.270)	(1.344)	(1.328)
Tasmania	1.100	-8.815	-4.762*	2.639
	(3.496)	(4.411)	(1.901)	(1.965)
Northern Territory	3.689	1.687	-2.899	-3.403*
	(4.161)	(4.352)	(1.394)	(1.251)
Australian Capital Territory	2.857	-1.554	0.323	-2.201
	(2.943)	(3.404)	(1.587)	(2.066)
Year (ref. 2002)				
2003	-1.566	-2.724**	0.456	0.245
	(0.899)	(0.670)	(0.508)	(0.403)
2004	-1.187	-2.466	1.123	-0.669
	(1.822)	(1.266)	(1.025)	(0.841)
2005	-2.414	-3.050	0.917	-0.685
	(2.611)	(1.932)	(1.507)	(1.206)
2006	-0.984	-4.034	1.860	-0.211
	(3.538)	(2.438)	(1.978)	(1.626)
2007	-3.371	-5.716	2.312	-1.205
	(4.358)	(2.983)	(2.485)	(1.984)
2008	-4.705	-6.728	3.721	0.207
	(5.216)	(3.616)	(2.955)	(2.375)
2009	-6.926	-8.544	5.319	1.539
	(6.168)	(4.300)	(3.465)	(2.791)
2010	-7.316	-8.841	5.210	-0.491
	(7.054)	(4.945)	(3.929)	(3.176)
2011	-7.326	-9.813	5.653	-0.411
	(7.874)	(5.579)	(4.397)	(3.559)
2012	-10.176	-11.115	8.243	1.633
	(8.825)	(6.192)	(4.847)	(3.925)
2013	-11.532	-12.655	10.103	3.138
	(9.641)	(6.756)	(5.391)	(4.374)
2014	-13.217	-13.177	10.492	2.776
	(10.454)	(7.301)	(5.937)	(4.726)
2015	-13.995	-15.330	11.359	2.602
	(11.306)	(8.010)	(6.445)	(5.124)
2016	-15.683	-14.604	12.215	2.430
	(12.209)	(8.688)	(6.921)	(5.531)
2017	-15.925	-16.404	11.404	2.270
	(13.180)	(9.209)	(7.409)	(5.864)
2018	-16.930	-17.546	11.807	1.957
	(14.143)	(9.838)	(7.924)	(6.254)
2019	-18.007	-19.132	13.757	1.385
	(15.093)	(10.436)	(8.406)	(6.723)
2020	-22.924	-20.917	16.015	4.143
	(15.840)	(11.150)	(8.949)	(7.068)
2021	-21.549	-19.480	13.356	1.966

	(16.687)	(11.793)	(9.455)	(7.401)
2022	-23.462	-21.316	11.575	-1.581
	(17.218)	(12.299)	(10.010)	(7.762)
Person-year observations	74,528	75,287	74,528	75,287
R-squared	0.393	0.385	0.386	0.364

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$.

Table A3. Fixed effects linear probability models: Working from home, actual job quitting, promotions and dismissals, by gender

	Job quitting		*Promotions*		*Dismissals*	
	Men (1)	*Women (2)*	*Men (3)*	*Women (4)*	*Men (5)*	*Women (6)*
Share of usual weekly work hours worked from home (ref. 0%)						
1-19%	-0.004	-0.016*	-0.016	-0.004	-0.000	-0.002
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.003)	(0.003)
20-39%	0.002	-0.011	-0.024*	-0.012	0.010*	-0.007**
	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.002)
40-59%	-0.045**	-0.004	-0.017	-0.014	0.012	-0.003
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.018)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.003)
60-79%	-0.015	-0.014	-0.057**	0.011	-0.024*	-0.017
	(0.030)	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.030)	(0.010)	(0.013)
80-99%	-0.032	-0.014	-0.036	-0.027	-0.004	-0.009
	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.040)	(0.010)	(0.008)
100%	-0.029**	-0.006	0.032	0.002	0.016**	0.001
	(0.008)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Educational attainment (ref. Year 11 and below)						
Year 12	-0.063*	-0.000	-0.027	-0.025	-0.013	0.023
	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Vocational	-0.007	0.023	0.014	-0.012	-0.011	0.004
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.006)
Bachelor and higher	-0.010	0.034	0.029	0.013	-0.017	0.020
	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Long-term health condition	-0.002	0.008	0.001	0.002	0.003	-0.002
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Age	-0.006	-0.007	0.008	0.004	-0.002	-0.008
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Age squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Tenure	0.007**	0.008**	-0.001	-0.002	0.002**	0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Tenure squared	-0.000**	-0.000**	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Marital status (ref. Single)						
Married	0.013	-0.029**	-0.010	-0.022*	0.001	-0.005
	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Cohabiting	0.003	-0.017	0.008	0.010	0.000	-0.012*
	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.005)

Total number of children ever had (ref. No children)						
1	-0.012	-0.036*	0.007	-0.042**	0.001	-0.002
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.006)
2	-0.023*	-0.011	-0.017	-0.008	0.010	-0.006
	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.006)
3	-0.028	-0.010	-0.008	0.023	0.014*	-0.002
	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.006)	(0.010)
4+	-0.017	-0.038	-0.004	0.018	0.006	0.006
	(0.021)	(0.029)	(0.020)	(0.025)	(0.009)	(0.015)
Employment status (ref. Permanent employee, full time)						
Fixed-term contract employee	0.008	-0.004	0.012	0.011	0.003	0.003
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Casual employee	0.078**	0.046**	0.002	-0.003	0.009*	0.003
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Other employees	0.041	-0.004	-0.043	0.020	-0.003	0.004
	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.020)	(0.015)
Industry (ref. Agriculture)						
Mining	-0.061**	-0.076	-0.001	0.143*	-0.010	-0.047
	(0.018)	(0.041)	(0.025)	(0.051)	(0.019)	(0.047)
Manufacturing	-0.024	-0.019	-0.034	-0.026	-0.018	-0.020
	(0.019)	(0.029)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.019)
Electricity, gas, water and waste services	-0.053*	-0.048	-0.026	0.031	-0.019	-0.007
	(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.021)	(0.035)	(0.019)	(0.022)
Construction	-0.030	-0.021	-0.021	-0.075*	-0.004	0.003
	(0.017)	(0.043)	(0.019)	(0.028)	(0.020)	(0.021)
Wholesale trade	-0.025	-0.043	-0.002	-0.011	-0.036	-0.029
	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.017)
Retail trade	0.001	-0.002	-0.017	0.006	-0.043*	-0.047*
	(0.026)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Accommodation and food services	0.064	0.055	0.009	0.011	-0.024	-0.035
	(0.033)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.020)	(0.025)	(0.023)
Transport, postal and warehousing	-0.034	-0.053	-0.033	-0.003	-0.032	-0.039
	(0.026)	(0.033)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.024)
Information media and telecommunications	-0.038	-0.041	-0.003	0.029	0.026	-0.031
	(0.021)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.029)
Financial and insurance services	-0.066	-0.075*	0.017	0.046	-0.031	-0.033
	(0.037)	(0.030)	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.023)
Rental, hiring and real estate services	0.028	-0.029	-0.023	0.007	-0.028	0.019
	(0.031)	(0.040)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.020)	(0.027)
Professional, scientific and technical services	-0.028	-0.047	-0.007	0.020	-0.012	-0.040
	(0.024)	(0.029)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.022)
Administrative and support services	0.001	0.035	-0.011	0.029	-0.029	-0.042*
	(0.021)	(0.026)	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Public administration and safety	-0.047	-0.096**	-0.025	0.015	-0.033	-0.043
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.022)
Education and training	-0.048	-0.055*	-0.036	-0.033	-0.021	-0.044

	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.022)
Health care and social assistance	-0.041	-0.058*	-0.003	-0.006	-0.031	-0.048
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.024)
Arts and recreation services	-0.005	-0.010	-0.038	-0.019	-0.027	-0.047*
	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Other services	-0.032	-0.043	-0.044*	-0.017	-0.030	-0.041
	(0.018)	(0.032)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.026)
Occupation (ref. Managers)						
Professionals	-0.018	-0.024	0.032**	0.036**	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Technicians and trades workers	0.005	-0.037*	0.032*	0.071**	-0.002	0.000
	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.003)	(0.007)
Community and personal service workers	0.006	-0.011	0.051**	0.049**	-0.010	-0.006
	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Clerical and administrative workers	-0.010	-0.025*	0.062**	0.033**	-0.003	0.002
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.007)
Sales workers	0.035*	0.007	0.022	0.045**	0.001	-0.009
	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Machinery operators and drivers	0.007	-0.070**	0.040*	0.066**	-0.008	0.008
	(0.013)	(0.024)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Labourers	0.019	-0.002	0.044*	0.055**	-0.003	-0.011
	(0.011)	(0.023)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Firm size (ref. < 20 employees)						
20-99 employees	-0.012	0.001	0.020**	0.024**	-0.009	-0.012
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)
100-499 employees	-0.021*	-0.004	0.026**	0.024*	-0.016*	-0.016*
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)
500 or more employees	-0.039**	-0.030**	0.031**	0.027**	-0.022**	-0.022**
	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Missing	-0.011	0.003	0.016*	0.014	-0.011	-0.024**
	(0.015)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Union member	-0.004	0.006	0.009	0.015	-0.003	0.000
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.003)
Multiple job holder	0.035**	0.055**	-0.006	0.004	-0.013	0.010**
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.003)
Usual hours worked per week	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.001	0.000	-0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State (ref. New South Wales)						
Victoria	0.041	0.019	0.033	0.029	0.016	-0.017
	(0.021)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Queensland	-0.017	0.031	0.021	0.042*	0.010	-0.011
	(0.029)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.013)	(0.012)
South Australia	0.043	0.030	0.111	0.013	0.020	-0.005
	(0.056)	(0.045)	(0.054)	(0.039)	(0.010)	(0.021)
Western Australia	0.038	0.085	0.046	-0.019	0.035	0.000
	(0.028)	(0.059)	(0.025)	(0.046)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Tasmania	0.020	0.034	0.026	-0.009	-0.000	-0.023

	(0.056)	(0.051)	(0.040)	(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.016)
Northern Territories	0.004	0.068	0.032	0.014	0.014	-0.078*
	(0.069)	(0.041)	(0.034)	(0.044)	(0.013)	(0.030)
Australian Capital Territory	-0.001	0.015	0.079*	0.050	0.012	-0.017
	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.056)	(0.009)	(0.011)
Year (ref. 2002)						
2003	0.010	0.005	-0.033**	0.002	-0.014**	0.001
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.004)
2004	0.022	0.028	-0.039*	-0.009	-0.011	0.002
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.007)
2005	0.030	0.021	-0.050	-0.017	-0.010	0.010
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.014)	(0.011)
2006	0.040	0.018	-0.062	-0.011	-0.010	0.015
	(0.033)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.033)	(0.018)	(0.015)
2007	0.035	0.020	-0.100*	-0.006	-0.010	0.024
	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.041)	(0.023)	(0.019)
2008	-0.009	-0.020	-0.134*	-0.060	0.008	0.045
	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.049)	(0.028)	(0.023)
2009	0.006	-0.015	-0.146*	-0.055	-0.009	0.036
	(0.060)	(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.057)	(0.032)	(0.026)
2010	0.007	-0.014	-0.158*	-0.063	-0.018	0.046
	(0.068)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.065)	(0.036)	(0.030)
2011	0.001	-0.012	-0.160	-0.058	-0.014	0.049
	(0.076)	(0.080)	(0.078)	(0.074)	(0.042)	(0.034)
2012	0.003	-0.027	-0.201*	-0.070	-0.009	0.059
	(0.084)	(0.088)	(0.087)	(0.081)	(0.046)	(0.037)
2013	0.013	-0.014	-0.226*	-0.078	-0.009	0.057
	(0.094)	(0.098)	(0.096)	(0.090)	(0.051)	(0.040)
2014	0.006	-0.018	-0.232*	-0.092	-0.011	0.075
	(0.101)	(0.107)	(0.104)	(0.096)	(0.056)	(0.044)
2015	0.017	-0.012	-0.239*	-0.084	-0.016	0.070
	(0.109)	(0.117)	(0.113)	(0.105)	(0.060)	(0.048)
2016	0.007	-0.021	-0.254	-0.094	-0.014	0.083
	(0.118)	(0.126)	(0.122)	(0.113)	(0.065)	(0.051)
2017	0.020	-0.014	-0.266	-0.076	-0.021	0.080
	(0.127)	(0.135)	(0.130)	(0.121)	(0.069)	(0.055)
2018	0.016	-0.022	-0.267	-0.101	-0.023	0.087
	(0.135)	(0.144)	(0.139)	(0.129)	(0.074)	(0.059)
2019	0.010	-0.042	-0.297	-0.094	-0.022	0.095
	(0.144)	(0.154)	(0.147)	(0.138)	(0.079)	(0.063)
2020	0.030	-0.000	-0.306	-0.075	-0.023	0.092
	(0.153)	(0.162)	(0.156)	(0.147)	(0.083)	(0.067)
2021	0.055	0.011	-0.293	-0.074	-0.043	0.101
	(0.161)	(0.172)	(0.164)	(0.156)	(0.088)	(0.070)
Person-year observations	58,482	57,825	50,355	52,098	58,482	57,825
N-respondents	0.285	0.311	0.306	0.308	0.226	0.232

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$.

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