GENDER AND PERCEIVED CHANCES OF PROMOTION OR WAGE INCREASE: THE ROLE OF FLEXIBLE WORK ARRANGEMENTS AND WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT

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Abstract: The literature on the perceived chances of promotion or wage increase (PCPWI), in relation to gender, is relatively scarce. Yet, PCPWI is an important element for employee motivation and commitment. This article examines the relationship between gender and PCPWI, in relation to work-life balance and flexible work arrangements (part-time work and teleworking). It is based on the DARES REPONSE survey, which provides a representative sample of French employees. Using multiple linear regression models with moderations, we show that part-time work is associated with a lower PCPWI for women as for men. However, part-time work or involvement in family life leading to a work-family conflict has a greater negative effect on PCPWI for men than for women. Teleworking is associated with an increase in PCPWI for women but not for men. Thus, this study gives some managerial recommendations for companies that want to put in place flexible work arrangements and work-family policies.

Keywords: gender, perceived chances of promotion, careers, work-life balance, moderating effects, ideal-worker norm

Introduction

Many research on careers have documented the current movement of individualization of career management characterized by a transfer in career management from organizations to employees (Baruch, 2004). Employees have been asked to become responsible for their career development and can, in counterparts, make career choices in accordance with their expectations and values (Herrbach & Mignonac, 2012). While some wish to achieve high levels of responsibility and wages, others can choose to prioritize their work-life balance (Arthur, Khapova, & Wilderom, 2005). In that vein, flexible work arrangements have been put forward by companies as allowing for more work-life balance and decreasing work-family conflict

(Leslie, Manchester, Park, & Mehng, 2012; Michel, Kotrba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2011). However, while the individualization of career management open new career perspectives, it is confronted with the ideal worker norm, which refers to the idea that committed workers are only those who are highly available for work, and who put work before other areas of their life (Leslie, Manchester, Park, & Mehng, 2012). This raises the issue of the compatibility between « building up a career » and opting for work arrangements that allow for a better work-life balance.

Some research has shown that workers who have responsibilities outside work are disadvantaged, especially those who use flexible work practices such as part-time work (Rapoport, Bailyn, Fletcher, & Pruitt, 2002). Besides, previous research has shown that this ideal worker norm is gendered: it corresponds generally to a masculine worker, due to the gender role norms which assign the family domain more to women than to men (Gaunt & Benjamin, 2007; Ruiz Castro, 2012).

This article deals with the relationship between perceived chances of promotion or wage increase (PCPWI), flexible work arrangements and work-family conflict, in relationship with gender[1]. The link between both is not obvious. Indeed, women are overrepresented among part-time workers (Mourlot & Yildiz, 2020), and suffer more from work-family conflict, and this sex difference explains part of the career differential between women and men. However, due to the ideal worker and the gender role norms, men's careers can suffer more from taking flexible work arrangements and to be involved in the family domain.

To explore this question, this study uses the nationally representative 2017 French REPONSE survey and generalized linear multiple models with moderating effects. The first section examines previous findings and arguments with respect to careers and gender, which inform this study's hypotheses. The research methods and empirical results are then introduced in the succeeding sections. The final sections provide further discussion and conclusions. The main results of this article are that part-time work is associated with a lower PCPWI for both women and men. However, part-time work or involvement in family life leading to a work-family conflict has a greater negative effect on PCPWI for men than for women. Finally, teleworking is associated with an increase in PCPWI for women but not for men.

I. Literature review and hypotheses

I.1. The individualization of career management and the ideal worker norm

The literature has largely documented the impact of the increased pace of economic changes on careers. Career studies argue that these changes have a direct impact on career management. Moving from a "work is primary" model to the "we are self-employed" model (Shapiro, Ingols, & Blake-Beard, 2008), career management has, therefore, been reported from organizations to employees. Employees have become active agents who, responsible for their employability,

[1] Throughout the article, we will use "gender" to refer to the social gender-related phenomena, and "sex" to refer to the statistical variable.

have to initiate improvement in their work situations and career outcomes (Fugate, Kinicki, & Ashforth, 2004).

This individualization of career management is presented as an interesting perspective for employees. While becoming their own career agent (Baruch, 2004), they can orient their professional evolution regarding their personal and subjective considerations (Herrbach & Mignonac, 2012). Objective criteria such as level of responsibilities or wages are not considered as the main career success criteria anymore. While some can build up their career pursuing objective goals such as wage increase or status, others can make alternative career choices giving priority to subjective criteria such as work-life balance (Arthur et al., 2005). Further, by extending careers beyond organizational boundaries, the individualization of career management has legitimated new kind of careers, hitherto discredited, characterized by periods of interruption (Shapiro et al., 2008) and where employment is considered as a temporary state (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996).

Women are usually presented as the main recipients of these changes. Hence, while women have traditionally faced difficulties in succeeding in both career and family spheres at the same time (Shapiro et al., 2008; Wynn, 2017), the individualization of career management has freed women from hegemonic objective career success criteria and allow them to reach instead subjective career goals. While becoming their own career agent, women can, therefore, take their distance from demanding full-time careers characterized by nonstop employment and carve out space for the multiple demands coming from private life. As some scholars explain, the individualization of career management has explicitly allowed women to conciliate both professional and familial priorities in their career plan and to make career choices that reflect more their personal values (Parker & Roan, 2014).

Although encouraging, this positive vision of contemporary careers set aside some critical issues (Baruch & Vardi, 2015), especially regarding commitment. Despite the movement of individualization of careers and career goal settings, commitment still remains synonymous of face-time work in many organizations. As theorized by the signaling theory, employers tend therefore to use only observable behaviors to make inferences about employees' characteristics that are harder to observe (Spence, 1973) and organizational commitment is part of these characteristics (Leslie et al., 2012). Consequently, commitment is tightly intertwined with an "ideal worker norm" that is "a standard dictating that employees show unwavering organizational dedication" (Leslie et al., 2012, p. 1410). In that perspective, committed workers are those who consider work as primary and time off for family as problematic (Fuegen, Biernat, Haines, & Deaux, 2004; Leslie et al., 2012; Williams, 2000; Wynn, 2017). Hence, while employees are supposed to run their career in line with their aspirations and values, they remain constraints by organizational expectations regarding commitment.

I.2. Flexible work arrangements, a trap for women?

In a world where the motto for committed workers is "Working from home or part-time makes it harder for your boss to know you. Do arrive early and stay late... make your commitment visible by pulling long hours" (Yang, 2009, p. 65 in Leslie et al., 2012, p. 1407), anyone who has responsibilities outside work is disadvantaged, especially those who use flexible work practices such as part-time work (Rapoport et al., 2002). Hence, managers tend to perceived employees' keenness to use flexibility policy as a desire to accommodate their personal life at the expense of their commitment (Leslie et al., 2012). The use of flexible work practices can

therefore result in lower performance evaluation by managers (Wharton, Chivers, & Blair-Loy, 2008) and penalties such as denial of pay raises, promotions or other career-related rewards (McCloskey & Igbaria, 2003; Williams, 2000). The end result of this is the creation of dual-track career path in organizations "whereby individuals focused on career advancement work a standard schedule and are based primarily in the workplace, and individuals who work remotely for reasons such as care responsibilities or health issues are not considered eligible for leadership positions" (Beauregard, Basile, & Canonico, 2018, p. 19).

Women are usually the ones who opt for flexible work arrangements, which penalizes them in their career (Shapiro et al., 2008). As they used arrangement such as flextime work, they are perceived as deviant from the ideal worker model and, consequently, appear to demonstrate less commitment to work than men (Duberley & Cohen, 2010). They benefit less from being stable contributors to the organization than men (Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005) and get less training and development opportunities that would prepare them for high-level positions (Russell & Eby, 1993). Further, women can get penalties such as denial of promotions or formal mentoring relationships or get assignments that reduced their influence or access to organizational resources (Shapiro et al., 2008). As a result, women can be trapped in career paths reflected by lower promotion chances.

Mothers are particularly concerned by this mechanism. As long as they conform to prescriptive motherhood stereotypes by working fewer hours and prioritizing family, they can "expect penalization for violating ideal worker norms" (Wynn, 2017, p. 648).

At the same time, women are also constrained by another norm: the motherhood ideal norm. Hence when trying to play the rules of the ideal worker norm, women can expect penalization for violating motherhood stereotypes (Wynn, 2017). As a result, women are facing "contradictory frames or injunctions that signify neither traditional feminine behavior nor masculine behavior will be rewarded, and often these behaviors are penalized" (Shapiro et al., 2008, p. 311).

Although men take less those flexible work arrangements and are less involved in their family life than women, some of them are also concerned. Our general research proposal is that the violation of the "ideal worker norm" has more negative consequences on men's careers than on women's. Indeed, this violation is less frequent and therefore might be less accepted for men. Furthermore, men who take flexible work arrangements and are involved in their family life violate two social norms: the "ideal worker norm", and the "gender role norm", assuming that men should take the breadwinner role and women should be responsible for household labor and childcare (Bagger & Li, 2012; Zhao, Zhang, & Foley, 2019).

This paper focuses on the link between work-life balance and flexible work arrangements, and perceived chances of promotion or wage increase (PCPWI) for women and men. There exist several types of flexible work arrangements (Leslie et al., 2012), and this study focuses on part-time work and teleworking: part-time work because it is very common among the female population in France, and teleworking because it has spread widely due to the covid-crisis. PCPWI has not been much studied in relation to sex or gender (Fox & Xiao, 2013; Wynn, 2017). Yet, while it is not, obviously, the same thing as actual chances of promotion, it is an important object because it influences employees' fairness perception (Foley, Kidder, & Powell, 2002), commitment and job performance (Wynn, 2017), subjective career success (Herrbach & Mignonac, 2012), and finally actual promotion chances (Fox & Xiao, 2013).

I.3. Hypotheses

Literature commonly acknowledges the negative relationship between part-time and promotion. As many research showed, the number of working hours and the willingness to work overtime are important criteria in promotion decisions (Booth, Francesconi, & Frank, 2003). In line with the ideal worker norm, they suggest that promotion is largely based on the criteria of the number of working hours which badly serve part-time workers. Part-time workers have therefore lower chance to be promoted than other workers. For that reason, we assume that part-time decreases the PCPWI for all employees (women and men).

Women are considered as the big losers of the promotion system. Most part-time workers are women and 40% of the promotion gaps between men and women can be explained by sex differences in contract hours, overtime hours and occasional late work (Deschacht, 2017). Therefore, female employees usually consider their time constraints to be an important obstacle to promotions (Nemoto, 2013). They consciously deviate from the ideal worker norm and are consequently aware that this deviation will be penalized by a lower chance of promotion.

We assume than male part-time workers can expect penalties even more important than women in terms of promotion or career advancement. Indeed, due to gender roles norms (Bagger & Li, 2012; Davis & Greenstein, 2009), men are usually considered to be the group that behave in accordance with the ideal worker norm. Men are supposed to conform to the ideal worker norm even more than women (who are traditionally seen as the deviant group). As a result, male part-time workers can be considered as having unexpected deviant patterns, strongly violating ideal career norms, and consequently can expect severe career penalties. We can then assume that part-time decreases female PCPWI less than male's.

H1: Part-time decreases both female and male employees' PCPWI, but it decreases female PCPWI less than male PCPWI.

The impact of teleworking on promotion is also well documented. Many research has argued that, like all the flexible work arrangements that reduce visibility in the office, teleworking has negative impact on promotion (Beauregard, 2011). Since organizations largely reward facetime and presence in the workplace, people working from home suffer from not being visible enough. They are routinely stigmatized (Munsch, Ridgeway, & Williams, 2014) and consequently less considered for leadership positions.

As Beauregard et al. (2018) explain: "If employees are indeed being assessed on both the amount and timing of their presence in the workplace, and are expected to be "extra" visible in order to be considered ambitious and hardworking, then it is hardly surprising that those who use telework arrangements are more likely than their office-based colleagues to report experiencing both reduced visibility in the workplace and reduced career development" (p. 19).

Although facetime-focused culture remains very common within companies, some research argues for a change in organizational culture regarding teleworking and teleworkers, especially nowadays (Carillo, Cachat-Rosset, Marsan, Saba, & Klarsfeld, 2021; de Vries, Tummers, & Bekkers, 2019; Nakrošienė, Bučiūnienė, & Goštautaitė, 2019). Some organizations with a culture more accepting of flexible arrangement attribute employee requests for teleworking as a way to remain committed to their organization while also balancing home responsibilities (Leslie et al., 2012).

We can postulate that this change is particularly favorable to women. Indeed, teleworking decreases the commuting time, and offers more flexibility in managing one's schedule. Teleworking is considered as a way for workers to maintain or even increase their ability to

work while addressing private demands. As a result, teleworking (like all the flexible working arrangements that enable employees to vary the timing and location of the hours they work) is often portrayed as a way to keep workers, and especially talented women, in the workforce (Beauregard et al., 2018). Moreover, people who face work-family conflicts, and notably women, can see teleworking as a way to avoid part-time work (Chung & van der Horst, 2018), increase their work availability due to the reduction of commuting time (Nakrošienė et al., 2019), and thus their career opportunities. On the contrary, and due to the ideal worker norm and the facetime-focused culture, men can see teleworking as having negative consequences on their career.

H2: Teleworking increases female PCPWI and decreases male PCPWI.

It has been shown that work-family conflict has a negative influence of career expectations and perceived chances of career for women as for men (Martins, Eddleston, & Veiga, 2002). Although previous literature has differentiated between work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict (Bagger, Li, & Gutek, 2008; Michel et al., 2011; St-Onge, Renaud, Guérin, & Caussignac, 2003), both refer to situations where work and family domains become somewhat incompatible (Michel et al., 2011). In this study, we will use the broad concept of work-family conflict. Previous research on work-family conflict has shown that sex is an antecedent of work-family conflict. Due to gender roles norms, women are often more involved than men in the family domain (Naschberger & Finstad-Milion, 2017), and thus face more often work-family conflict. However, men who face work-family conflict are the ones who want to be involved in their family lives. Previous research suggests that, more than sex, it is the importance granted to family and to work which explains work-family conflict (Bagger et al., 2008) Hence, as for the first hypothesis, we expect that work-family conflict will be associated with lower PCPWI for women as for men, but with a stronger effect for men than for women.

H3: Work-family conflict decreases both female and male employees' PCPWI, but it decreases female PCPWI less than male PCPWI.

II. Methods

II.1. Sample and data

This study is based on data obtained from the French REPONSE Survey conducted by the French Ministry of Labour in 2017. The REPONSE survey is a nationally representative survey of French workplaces with 10 or more employees and was inspired by the British Survey Workplace Employment Relations Survey (WERS). It is a stratified random sample with weights so it is possible to extrapolate the results obtained in this study by using employee weights. There are several employees respondents for each workplace.

The survey covers a wide range of topics. At an employee level, there are questions about the individuals, their work, their working situation, and their feelings about their work.

The entire sample consisted of 28,724 employees. After deleting incomplete responses for the main variables of interest, a sample of 23,387 respondents (10,164 females, 13,223 males) was obtained (representing 5,662 companies).

II.2. Measures and variables

In this study, the dependent variable (perceived chances of promotion or wage increase - PCPWI) is based on one question: *"Do you think there is any chance of you being promoted or being given a wage increase in the next 12 months?"*. Respondents can rate it on a Likert scale (1: "high chance"—4: "zero chance"). The usual estimation strategy used in this case is the ordered probit or logit estimator (Wynn, 2017). Other research transforms the variable of interest into a dichotomous one (Fox & Xiao, 2013). However, a traditional multiple linear regression estimator can be used once the dependent variable has been transformed into a "pseudo-continuous" variable, following Van Praag's approach (Van Praag & Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2006). This probit OLS (POLS) approach is useful for at least two reasons. First, the estimated coefficients can be interpreted as marginal effects (unlike ordered probit estimators). Second, the computation time is considerably reduced compared to a ordered logit or probit approach. This strategy has been used in several studies using ordered dependant variables (Moullet & Salibekyan, 2019; Origo & Pagani, 2009) and is explained in detail in a technical appendix provided by Origo and Pagani (2009). Hence, after inverting the order of the responses (1: "zero chance"—4: "high chance") to make the results more easily readable, we transformed our variable into a pseudo-continuous variable following Van Praag's approach (Van Praag & Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2006). The choice to use only one question can be debated. However, this decision corresponds to the choice made in some studies about perceived chances of promotion (e.g., Fox & Xiao (2013); Wynn (2017)).

The study utilized three variables concerning work-life balance, corresponding to our three hypotheses: part-time, teleworking, and work-family conflict. Part-time and teleworking are dichotomous variables ("Yes" / "No"), with teleworking representing the fact to be able to work from home regularly, i.e. one or several days a week. The work-family conflict corresponds to the following question: *"Does your work allow you to organize your private life satisfactorily"*, and respondents have four possibilities of answer: "Always", "Often", "Sometimes", "Never". Thus, a "Always" answer corresponds to the absence of work-family conflict, whereas a "Never" answer corresponds to strong work-family conflict.

The study also utilized variables that influence PCPWI following previous research. Previous research has shown that education is one of the determinants of career success and promotion (Ng et al., 2005; Pfeifer, 2010). Educational attainment was divided into seven levels in ascending order, which correspond to the French educational system: "No educational qualifications" / "Brevet" / "CAP-BEP" / "Bac/high school diploma" / "Bac+2" / "Bac+3 or 4 (undergraduate)" / ">Bac+4 (graduate)." Age has been shown to influence PCPWI (Fox & Xiao, 2013). In line with previous research, age was used as a continuous variable, but age squared was added to the models (Fox & Xiao, 2013). Previous research also used workplace tenure, and tenure squared (Wynn, 2017), as done in this study. Concerning the type of contract, it has been shown that temporary workers consider that they have fewer opportunities of promotion than permanent workers (Chambel & Castanheira, 2006). The type of contract variable was divided into two categories (i.e., "Permanent contract" and "Temporary contract"). Previous research has shown that occupational category and function can influence significantly the promotion chances: for example, promotions are generally more frequent for white-collars than blue-collars (Pfeifer, 2010). Occupation was divided into the six following categories: "Specialized worker" / "Skilled worker" / "Employee" / "Technician" / "Engineer and manager" / "Other." Function corresponds to the five following categories: "Production" / "Maintenance" / "Accounting & finance" / "R&D" / "Other." Some previous research has

studied the discrimination against unions, notably concerning wages (Bourdieu & Breda, 2017). Union membership corresponds to three categories ("Yes" / "No but I have been once" / "No never"), as being a union representative ("Yes" / "No" / "Purposeless because the workplace does not have employee representatives"). Previous research has shown that training is one of the predictors of promotion (Ng et al., 2005). In the REPONSE survey, training is a dichotomous variable ("Yes" / "No") corresponding to the fact of having benefitted from a training financed by the company in the last three years. The need for training could be associated to a lack of skills and therefore to a lower level of PCPWI. In the REPONSE survey, the need for training is a variable with three categories ("Yes" / "No" / "I don't know") corresponding to the fact of thinking that one needs an additional training. Finally, we also controlled for the fact to have been promoted recently. Promotion is a dichotomous variable ("Yes" / "No") corresponding to the fact of having been promoted in the last three years.

The full list of variables is presented in Table 1, together with some descriptive statistics.

Table 1 around here

II.3. Methods

Four linear regression models were estimated with PCPWI as the dependent variable. In all four models, a fixed-effect for the workplace was added in order to control for the variations of promotion and wage increases policies within companies. The first model (Model 1) includes sex, part-time work, teleworking, ability to conciliate work and personal life (i.e. absence of work-family conflict), education, age, workplace tenure, type of contract, occupational category, function, union membership, union representative, training, need for training, and promotion. The second model (Model 2) includes all those exogenous variables and takes into account the moderating effect of sex (Orser & Leck, 2010). Hence, the following moderators were included: sex x part-time, sex x teleworking, and sex x amiability to conciliate work and personal life. As all of these variables are categorical, significant interaction effects were visualized through plots that show the group means for each joint level of the regressors (Figures 1 and 2). Two additional models were estimated in order to gain a deeper understanding of these relationships, one exclusively for the female population (Model 3) and one for the male population (Model 4). This follows for example Huang and Gamble's (2015) research design. SAS software was used for all analyses.

III. Main results

An ANOVA test indicates that there is a significant difference of PCPWI between women and men: overall, women report a lower PCPWI than men (m=-0.12, against 0.09 for women).

Table 2 shows the average PCPWI for the men and women separately and for the sample as a whole, according to different characteristics, and indicates whether the differences in job satisfaction according to each modality of the categorical variable are significant for each sample (i.e., whole sample, female sample, male sample).

Table 2 around here

The level of PCPWI decreases for part-time workers for both women and men. On the contrary, teleworking is associated with a higher level of PCPWI, for both women and men. This could be explained by the fact that teleworking is more frequent among white-collars jobs, where the levels of PCPWI are higher. Indeed, a cross-tabulation shows that 22.19% of the engineers/managers (occupational category where the PCPWI is the highest) telework, against 4.65% of specialized workers (occupational category where the PCPWI is the lowest). Hence, this descriptive result will be examined further through a regression analysis to control for the work situation. The level of PCPWI decreases with work-family conflict, for both women and men. Those results indicate that the effects of the work-life balance variables go in the same sense for women and men. However, a deeper analysis with interaction effects is needed to estimate more precisely the degree of variation of those effects.

Concerning the other variables, the level of PCPWI increases with education for both women and men. This could be attributed to the fact that higher levels of education are linked to jobs where the possibility to have a career progression and a salary increase are higher. Indeed, the highest levels of PCPWI for both women and men are found for the occupational category "Engineer/Manager". Union membership tends to decrease the level of PCPWI, which could be due to the internalization of a potential discrimination towards union members. Training and promotion are associated with higher levels of PCPWI for both women and men. Concerning training, it could be due to the fact that training represents an investment made by the company to enable an employee to upgrade his or skills, which may effectively lead to opportunities for promotion or wage increases. Concerning promotion, this could be due to the fact that people who already haven promoted in the last three years are more likely to work in occupations associated with frequent opportunities for promotion. The effect of the fact to need additional training is significant only women. Surprisingly, women who report needing an additional training declare a higher level of PCPWI than women who think they do not need an additional training. This could be explained by the fact that some positions or occupations are associated with both perceptions of needing additional skills and higher PCPWI. This descriptive result needs to be examined further through a regression analysis to control for the work situation.

Table 3 reports the results of the models.

Table 3 around here

Model 1 was applied to the whole sample and did not include moderators. In this model, women report lower PCPWI than men, as is the case in Model 2 which includes moderators.

In all four models, people working part-time report a lower PCPWI than those working full-time. This is the case for both women (Model 3) and men (Model 4). However, the negative effect of part-time work is more important for men than women. A closer look at the moderator Sex x Working time (Figure 1) shows that females and males working part-time report a similar level of PCPWI, whereas males working full-time report a much higher level of PCPWI than female working full-time. Therefore, hypothesis H1 is supported.

Figure 1 around here

In Models 1, 2, and 3, teleworking does not influence significantly PCPWI. Besides, the moderator Sex x Teleworking is not significant (Model 2). This would imply that hypothesis H2 is not supported. However, in Model 3, which concerns only women, teleworking is associated with a higher level of PCPWI, which supports hypothesis 2. Therefore, hypothesis H2 is partially supported: teleworking increases female PCPWI but has no influence on male PCPWI.

In all four models, work-family conflict is associated with lower degrees of PCPWI, for women as for men. However, there is no significant difference among women between the ones who report to be "always" able to conciliate their work and private life, and the ones who report to be "often" able to conciliate both. A closer look at the moderator Sex x Ability to conciliate (Figure 2) shows that male who report that their work "never" allows them to organize their private life satisfactorily report a much lower PCPWI than other males, whereas the differences among women depending on the work-family conflict is not that important. Therefore, work-family conflict has a stronger negative influence on men's PCPWI than on women's, and hypothesis H3 is supported.

Figure 2 around here

Concerning the other variables, some differences of determinants between women and men should be noted. For example, having a high degree of education does not increase female PCPWI whereas having an undergraduate diploma increases PCPWI for men. Having a temporary contract increases female PCPWI but has no influence on male PCPWI. Being a member of a union decreases male PCPWI but has no influence on female PCWI. Being a union representative decreases female PCPWI but increases male PCPWI. Finally, reporting to need additional training is associated with lower PCPWI, which is more intuitive than the counterintuitive result obtained with the descriptive statistics.

IV. Discussion

This study dealt with the relationship between sex, flexible work arrangements and work-family conflict, and PCPWI. First, it shows that there is a difference among flexible work arrangements between part-time work and teleworking: part-time work is associated with lower levels of PCPWI, whereas it is not the case for teleworking. Thus, while previous research has generally examined flexible work arrangements as a whole (Leslie et al., 2012), it indicates that a more precise approach is needed. Second, it shows sex differences. Notably, the negative influence of part-time work on PCPWI is lower for women than for men. More precisely, while women report a lower PCPWI than men, females and males working part-time report a similar level of PCPWI, and males working full-time report a much higher level of PCPWI than female working full-time. Besides, teleworking increases women's PCPWI but has no influence on men's PCPWI. This can be due to the fact that teleworking allows individuals to conciliate more easily their family and work duties, and can specifically allow women to avoid part-time work and stay committed to their work (Chung & van der Horst, 2018; Nakrošienė et al., 2019). Work-

family conflict influences negatively PCPWI for women as for men, but the negative effects are stronger for men than for women. Those results open two major avenues of discussion.

First, they can be put in relation to the literature on social norms, notably social norms concerning work and gender. The ideal worker norm, which values highly available workers who put their work before other areas of their lives, explains the negative effects of part-time work on PCPWI. Indeed, this norm grants much importance to presenteeism (Beauregard et al., 2018). This ideal worker norm is connected with the gender roles norm, which assumes that men should take the breadwinner role and women should be responsible for household labor and childcare (Bagger & Li, 2012; Gaunt & Benjamin, 2007). Therefore, women who take flexible work arrangements and grant importance to their family deviate from the ideal worker norm but comply with the gender roles norm, whereas men in the same situation deviate from both the ideal worker norm and the gender roles norm. Therefore, the stigma encountered by men who value their family or personal life and take flexible arrangements is stronger than for women, and consequently the effects of this deviation is expected to be stronger (Elster, 1989; McAdams, 1997). This could explain why the negative effect of part-time work and work-family conflict is stronger for men than for women.

Second, those results highlight that women have largely assimilated that the gender roles norm and the ideal worker norm may contribute to reducing their career outcomes. While some research suggests that the individualization of career management offers to women the possibility to develop their career successfully (Parker & Roan, 2014; Shapiro et al., 2008), it is our contention that, first, women may still be confronted with many obstacles in their career development and second, that because of these difficulties they still have lower career expectations than men. Since they become their own career agent, women have to rely on individual features such as human capital or social capital acquisition to develop their career (Metz & Tharenou, 2001; Tharenou, 2001). But, because of their deviation from the ideal worker norm, women get fewer opportunities than men to develop their human and social capital (Duberley & Cohen, 2010). For instance, women are often excluded from influential networks (Metz & Tharenou, 2001) which decrease their opportunity to develop relationships that provide support for promotions. In accordance with Duberley and Cohen (2010), this paper supports therefore the idea that when the onus is on employees to acquire the capital to develop their career, women still get fewer opportunities for promotion than men and therefore anticipate a lower PCPWI than men.

Finally, by showing the persistence of the ideal worker norm within many companies and its impact on women PCPWI, this paper puts into question the psychological contract that exchange promotion and pay raise for organizational commitment. Whilst much of the career literature seems to see the psychological contract as gender neutral, or at least does not explicitly deal with gender issues, this article highlights that men and women experience differently this contract and that psychological contract may foster men's career while being an impediment for women.

Conclusion and implications

This work has theoretical and empirical contributions, but also limitations.

From a theoretical stance, this paper shows that despite the individualization of career management, women remain confronted to the ideal worker norm and therefore to reduced chances to be promoted or get a wage increase. Further, it shows that these inequalities between women and men have been assimilated by workers, especially women, who consequently expect fewer career outcomes than men.

From an empirical point of view, this paper uses a representative sample of the French workers' populations, which offers strong opportunities to generalize the results, contrary to a lot of studies on this topic.

From a managerial perspective, this study shows the importance of the distinction between various types of flexible work arrangements, notably part-time work and teleworking. It also shows that the stigma surrounding men's involvement in their personal and family lives remains important and calls for company policies aiming at its reduction.

This study also has limitations. First, causal relationships cannot be demonstrated because the data are cross-sectional. Future research could use longitudinal design studies to show causality. In addition, all variables were self-reported in the same questionnaire; thus, there is a chance of common method bias. A final limitation is the use of a single item to measure PCPWI.

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Tables

Table 1. Main variables and descriptive statistics of the REPONSE 2017 sample

	Whole sample	**Female**	**Male**
Number of observations	23,387	10,164	13,223
Perceived promotion probability	m=0.0, sd=16.64	m=-0.12, sd=15.75	m=0.09, sd=17.10
Work-life balance variables			
Working time			
Full-time	86.33	73.95	95.15
Part-time	13.67	26.05	4.85
Teleworking			
No	90.07	91.41	89.13
Yes	9.93	8.59	10.87
Ability to conciliate			
Always	18.04	19.31	17.13
Often	48.42	49.07	47.95
Sometimes	27.75	26.07	28.95
Never	5.80	5.55	5.97
Other variables			
Education			
No ed. qualification	6.93	5.35	8.05
Brevet	5.24	5.70	4.92
CAP-BEP	22.51	17.44	26.12
Bac (High school)	19.16	20.96	17.87
Bac+2	18.01	19.14	17.20
Bac+3 or 4 (undergrad.)	12.16	15.99	9.43
>Bac+4 (graduate)	16.00	15.42	16.42
Age	m=41.30, sd=196.64	m=41.02, sd=193.29	m=41.49, sd=199.10
Workplace tenure	m=13.42, sd=184.24	m=12.93, sd=176.82	m=13.77, sd=189.49
Type of contract			
Permanent	94.56	93.99	94.97
Temporary	5.44	6.01	5.03
Occupational category			
Specialized worker	12.48	8.48	15.30
Skilled worker	14.61	5.93	20.70
Employee	19.29	34.61	8.52
Technician	18.09	15.90	19.62
Engineer/Manager	25.13	20.62	28.29
Other	10.41	14.47	7.56
Function			
Production	27.20	14.23	36.28
Maintenance	9.27	1.55	14.68
Accounting/Finance	8.72	13.69	5.24
R&D	8.77	6.15	10.61
Other	46.04	64.38	33.19
Union membership			

No never	80.26	82.58	78.61
No but I have been once	7.79	7.08	8.30
Yes	11.95	10.34	13.09
Union representative			
No	90.35	90.89	89.98
Yes	6.65	5.95	7.14
Purposeless	3.00	3.16	2.88
Training			
No	52.49	55.57	50.29
Yes	47.51	44.43	49.71
Training needed			
No	51.39	50.37	52.11
I don’t know	4.95	5.38	4.65
Yes	43.67	44.25	43.25
Promotion			
No	71.64	75.06	69.19
Yes	28.36	24.94	30.81

Table 2. Average PCPWI by sex and main characteristics

	Whole sample	Female	Male
Work-life balance variables			
Working time	***	***	***
Full-time	0.05	-0.05	0.10
Part-time	-0.30	-0.32	-0.23
Teleworking	***	***	***
No	-0.02	-0.14	0.07
Yes	0.21	0.11	0.27
Ability to conciliate	***	***	***
Always	0.12	-0.05	0.26
Often	0.08	-0.04	0.17
Sometimes	-0.13	-0.25	-0.06
Never	-0.41	-0.52	-0.34
Other variables			
Education	***	***	***
No ed. qualification	-0.28	-0.42	-0.22
Brevet	-0.28	-0.41	-0.17
CAP-BEP	-0.17	-0.32	-0.10
Bac (High school)	-0.07	-0.23	0.05
Bac+2	0.04	-0.08	0.13
Bac+3 or 4 (undergrad.)	0.14	-0.01	0.31
>Bac+4 (graduate)	0.39	0.27	0.47
Age	***	***	***
Workplace tenure	***	***	***
Type of contract			
Permanent	0.00	-0.12	0.09
Temporary	-0.02	-0.12	0.06
Occupational category	***	***	***
Specialized worker	-0.25	-0.42	-0.19
Skilled worker	-0.06	-0.26	-0.02
Employee	-0.18	-0.21	-0.07
Technician	0.08	-0.02	0.13
Engineer/Manager	0.36	0.27	0.41
Other	-0.23	-0.31	-0.13
Function	***	***	***
Production	-0.02	-0.23	0.03
Maintenance	0.05	-0.23	0.08
Accounting/Finance	0.11	0.02	0.29
R&D	0.31	0.19	0.35
Other	-0.07	-0.15	0.04
Union membership	***	***	***
No never	0.03	-0.10	0.13
No but I have been once	-0.17	-0.29	-0.09
Yes	-0.12	-0.19	-0.09
Union representative	***	*	**
No	0.01	-0.11	0.10
Yes	-0.08	-0.21	-0.00
Purposeless	-0.06	-0.20	0.05

Training	***	***	***
No	-0.16	-0.26	-0.09
Yes	0.18	0.05	0.27
Training needed	**	**	
No	-0.00	-0.13	0.08
I don’t know	-0.08	-0.23	0.04
Yes	0.01	-0.11	0.10
Promotion	***	***	***
No	-0.20	-0.30	-0.12
Yes	0.50	0.41	0.56

*Significance levels: *=0.1; **=0.01; ***=0.001*

Table 3. Models

	Model 1 (Whole sample)	**Model 2** (Whole sample)	**Model 3** (Female sample)	**Model 4** (Male sample)
Intercept	0.91*	0.91*	1.28	0.57
Sex (ref. Male)				
Female	-0.08***	-0.09***	-	-
Work-life balance variables				
Working time (ref. Full-time)				
Part-time	-0.12***	-0.19***	-0.10***	-0.23***
Teleworking (ref. No)				
Yes	-0.00	-0.02	0.07*	-0.03
Ability to conciliate (ref. Often)				
Always	0.08***	0.11***	0.02	0.12***
Sometimes	-0.18***	-0.18***	-0.15***	-0.18***
Never	-0.39***	-0.43***	-0.28***	-0.40***
Moderation effects				
Sex x Working time	-	*	-	-
Sex x Teleworking	-	ns	-	-
Sex x Ability to conciliate	-	*	-	-
Other variables				
Education (ref. CAP-BEP)				
No ed. qualification	-0.00	-0.00	-0.04	0.02
Brevet	0.03	0.03	-0.04	0.03
Bac (High school)	-0.02	-0.02	-0.06*	0.02
Bac+2	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Bac+3 or 4 (undergrad.)	0.06*	0.06*	0.02	0.08*
>Bac+4 (graduate)	0.05*	0.05*	0.03	0.06
Age	-0.00	-0.00	0.01	0.00
Age²	-0.00*	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Workplace tenure	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01**	-0.01***
Workplace tenure²	0.00*	0.00***	0.00	0.00*
Type of contract (ref. Permanent)				
Temporary	0.04	0.04	0.09*	0.08
Occupational category (ref. Engineer/Manager)				
Specialized worker	-0.34***	-0.34***	-0.32***	-0.37***
Skilled worker	-0.24***	-0.24***	-0.15**	-0.27***
Employee	-0.25***	-0.24***	-0.24***	-0.26***
Technician	-0.14***	-0.14***	-0.12**	-0.16***
Other	-0.24***	-0.23***	-0.23**	-0.23***
Function (ref. Other)				
Production	-0.01	-0.01	-0.10*	0.03
Maintenance	-0.04	-0.04	-0.02	-0.01
Accounting/Finance	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
R&D	-0.06*	-0.06*	-0.05	-0.07*
Union membership (ref. No never)	-0.01	-0.01	-0.07	-0.00
No but I have been once	-0.08***	-0.08***	-0.03	-0.11**
Yes				
Union representative (ref. No)				
Yes	0.04	0.04	-0.09*	0.08*
Purposeless	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.07
Training (ref. No)				
Yes	0.13***	0.13***	0.10***	0.14***
Training needed (ref. No)				

I don’t know	-0.08**	-0.08**	-0.08*	-0.09*
Yes	-0.05***	-0.05***	-0.05*	-0.05**
Promotion (ref. No)				
Yes	0.42***	0.42***	0.42***	0.42***
R2	0.50	0.50	0.61	0.57
Adj. R2	0.32	0.32	0.30	0.31

*Significance levels: *=0.1; **=0.01; ***=0.001*

Figures

Figure 1. Sex x Working time

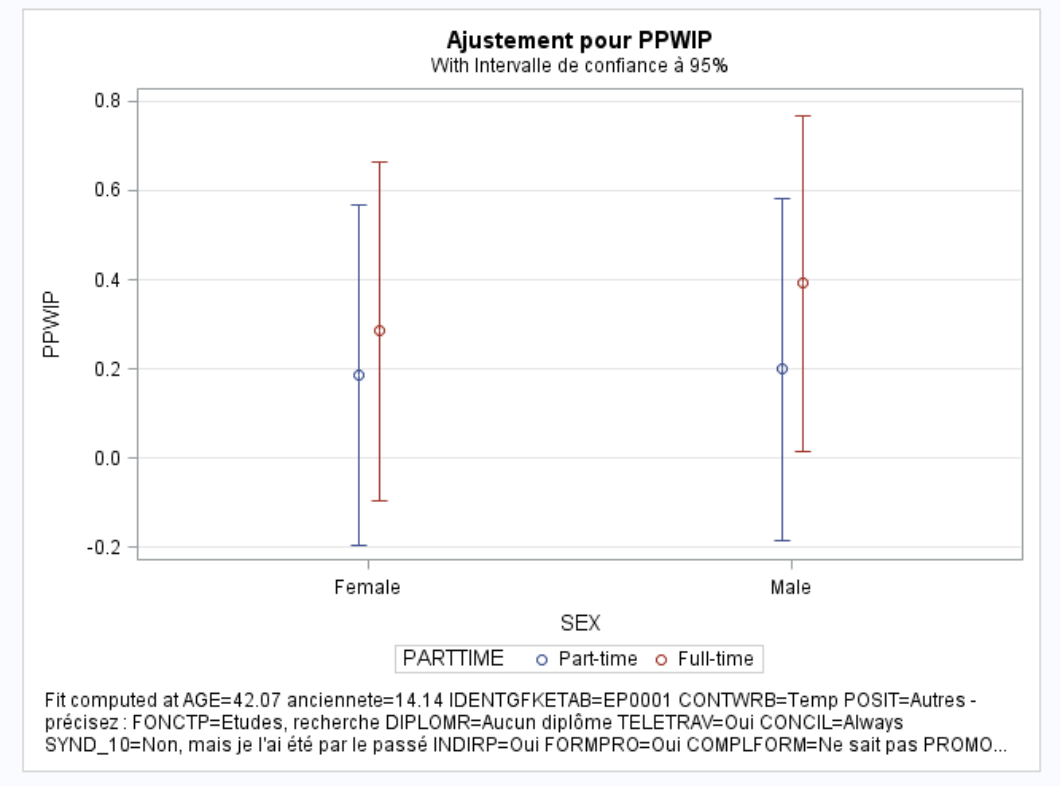

Figure 2. Sex x Ability to conciliate private life and work