Performing the digital ideal worker

The relationship between flexibility stigma, ideal worker culture and digital presenteeism

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Abstract

As digital technologies and homeworking become increasingly embedded in modern work practices, so too does the pressure on employees to remain constantly visible and responsive through work communication tools, a phenomenon we refer to as digital presenteeism. This study investigates which workers are more likely to or feel pressure to engage in digital presenteeism, focusing on differences by gender, parental status, ethnicity, and homeworking status. It further examines how organisational cultures, specifically, long hours work culture or bias against flexible workers, shape these behaviours. Drawing on UK data in 2024/2025 we find that particularly mothers and ethnic minority employees, as well as those in working from home occasionally, are significantly more likely to engage in digital presenteeism. Moreover, work cultures, particularly long hours work culture but also cultures that penalise flexible working, are strongly associated with digital presenteeism, and these cultural effects are especially pronounced for mothers and hybrid workers. Our findings highlight that the risks of an "always-on" work culture are not evenly distributed and may exacerbate existing workplace inequalities. The findings carry direct implications for HRM practice, pointing to the need for output-based performance management and cultural changes to address issues of digital presenteeism.

Introduction

The work landscape for office workers has changed radically across every developed economy in recent years with a combination of the rise of working from home (WFH) and other types of flexible working and the use of digital technologies at work (Eurofound, 2022; Russell et al., 2024). Work is now increasingly moving away from something that is carried out in a fixed physical space, namely the office, during fixed times, for example 9 to 5, and moving more into the digital space and where time boundaries become more flexible (Wajcman, 2015). The 'ideal worker', namely a worker who is seen as being committed, motivated, and therefore productive at work, was generally someone who works long hours in the office, prioritising work above any other responsibility (Williams, 1999). Workers are creating new ways of performing the ideal worker image in the digital world (Howcroft et al., 2024; Leonardi & Treem, 2020). One of the new ways of working we have seen over the years is the proliferation of the 'always-on' work culture where workers are connected to work all the time, and even outside of working hours (Mazmanian et al., 2013; Perlow, 2012).

Yet despite the centrality of organisational culture to digital presenteeism, HRM research has been slow to examine how the practices and systems organisations deploy actively produce and reproduce the very cultures that drive always-on behaviours. Performance management systems that reward visibility and responsiveness, managerial norms that conflate availability with commitment, and the absence of formal boundary-setting policies all constitute HRM choices, deliberate or by default, that shape the ideal worker culture and flexibility stigma workers navigate (Kossek & Lautsch, 2018; Matej & Amadeja, 2026). HRM can act as a systems architect for work place cultures, especially in the distributed and hybrid workplace, intentionally designing people practices that are equitable and sustainable rather than simply extending pre-digital assumptions about work devotion into the digital realm (Bell et al., 2017; Matej & Amadeja, 2026). This paper contributes to that agenda by providing evidence of which workers are most exposed to digital presenteeism pressures and why, findings that have direct implications for how organisations design performance management, managerial training, monitoring practices, and formal right-to-disconnect policies to reduce the unequal burden of the always-on culture.

To do this, we explore the patterns of 'digital presenteeism' among workers in the UK. Digital presenteeism behaviour is namely workers' feeling pressure to provide a constant and instant presence in the online workspace, even outside of working hours and even when it is not necessary to do so. Such behaviours are prevalent across Europe and other developed countries. For example, 52% of UK workers regularly check work related messages and emails outside of working hours, and 39% check and respond to work related messages whilst on annual leave (Boocock, 2024). In a recent report of workers across four European countries (Belgium, France, Italy, and Spain) it was found that over 80% received work-related communications outside their contractual working hours during a typical working week, with the vast majority (almost 9 out of 10) who have, having responded to such communications (Eurofound, 2023). Such pattern of behaviour hinders workers' ability to rest and physically and mentally detach away from work (Sonnentag & Fritz, 2015), potentially harming both workers' well-being and company performance (Chung et al., 2024; Derks & Bakker, 2014; Mazmanian et al., 2013; Wajcman, 2015) although this may depend on the context (Russell et al., 2024; van Zoonen et al., 2023).

This paper aims to understand which workers are more likely to, or feel the pressure to, perform digital presenteeism, why they do it, and most importantly how organisational cultures shape these patterns. Although some studies point to habits, personality traits, and other individual-level factors as explanations for workers' digital connectivity behaviours (Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007; Schlachter et al., 2018; Tennakoon et al., 2013), an increasing body of research points to broader organisational cultures and work norms that constrain workers' choices (Derks et al., 2015; Gadeyne et al., 2018; Howcroft et al., 2024; Wajcman & Rose, 2011). The two work cultures of interest are the ideal worker culture, or long-hours work culture, and the flexibility stigma culture, or the extent to which there are biases against remote workers. We focus on these two organisational cultures because they capture the core normative pressures that are likely to drive digital presenteeism. The ideal worker norm, the expectation that a committed worker prioritises work above all else and is always available, provides the foundational logic for why workers may feel compelled to signal their presence and responsiveness in the digital space, even outside of contractual hours (Acker, 1990; Williams, 1999). Flexibility stigma, in turn, reflects not merely bias against flexible or remote workers per se, but more broadly the extent to which a workplace harbours negative attitudes toward anyone who places boundaries around their work time or

draws on family-friendly arrangements (Cha & Grady, 2024; Williams et al., 2013). As such, flexibility stigma operates as a proxy for the wider work-life balance culture of an organisation, namely, the degree to which the organisation, in practice, valorises work devotion over personal and family life. Together, these two cultures represent both the *positive* pull toward demonstrating commitment through digital visibility and the *negative* sanction against those who fail to do so, creating a normative environment in which digital presenteeism becomes not merely a habit or personal preference, but a rational and even necessary performance of the ideal worker identity in the digital age.

Digital presenteeism behaviours may therefore be more prevalent among workers whose commitment is more readily questioned by managers due to existing workplace biases, namely, mothers, and ethnic minority workers, compared to childless workers, fathers and white workers respectively. We expect these variations to arise for two related reasons. First, disadvantaged groups face greater scrutiny and hold relatively weaker bargaining positions in the workplace (Correll & Ridgeway, 2006; Heath & Di Stasio, 2019), creating stronger pressure to perform visible commitment. Second, and more fundamentally, the ideal worker image is inherently racialised and gendered, constructed around a white, male norm (Berdahl et al., 2018), making it structurally harder for mothers and ethnic minority workers to embody, and therefore more imperative for them to compensate through alternative signals of dedication such as digital presence. On the other hand, for white workers, fathers, and childless workers, their work devotion and adherence to the ideal worker norm is assumed, making digital presenteeism less necessary.

We use the three waves of a UK time series survey on working condition (anonymised). This data includes a wealth of information around workers' attitudes and working conditions especially around WFH and hybrid working. A series of multiple regression analyses were conducted to explore how workers' perceived work cultures- the ideal worker or long-hours work culture and flexibility stigma culture - and their characteristics are associated with workers' digital presenteeism behaviours. We also explore how work cultures and workers' demographics shape digital presenteeism behaviours that are largely externally driven, rather than internally driven. This further enables us to explore how the adherence to the ideal worker culture is at the centre of why workers perform digital presenteeism behaviours.

Theory

Digital presenteeism

The rise of digitalisation, technological development, and post-pandemic homeworking (Eurofound, 2022b) have together brought in a new ideal worker image now manifesting in the digital space (Howcroft et al., 2024). Scholars have argued that the rise of 'smart' phones and other technology at work has given rise to the 'always-on' work culture as the possibility to be always connected to work was made possible (Mazmanian et al., 2013; Perlow, 2012). The rise of homeworking has also accelerated this process (Afota et al., 2023), by blurring boundaries between work and home spheres (Clark, 2010), allowing workers to be continuously engaged at work more than when such physical an temporal boundaries were in place (Johnson et al., 2021).

A result of this development is the constant digital connectivity at work, which in this paper we refer to as digital presenteeism. Digital presenteeism refers to the behaviour where employees feel compelled to maintain a constant, instant, and visible online presence in digital workspaces even when it is unnecessary. Although relatively new, this term has been creeping into the labour market lexicon especially during and after the pandemic, especially in countries like the UK[1]. Digital presenteeism is like other concepts used by other scholars to indicate digital connectivity at work (see also, Russell et al., 2024). Schlachter and colleagues (2018) use the term 'voluntary work-related information communication technology (ICT) use during non-work time,' and Derks and Bakker (2014) use 'work-related smartphone use during non-work time' to examine how workers use ICT and smartphones for work purposes outside of regular working hours including holidays. Others have used psychological detachment, namely, the ability to mentally disconnect from work (Sonnentag, 2012) to observe this phenomenon. Rather than the connectivity action, this is defined as refraining from doing work such as emails and refraining from thinking about work-related activities during non-work time (Buechel & Solinas, 2025).

[1] https://digitalpeople.blog.gov.uk/2020/10/27/digital-presenteeism/

One key difference between these and digital presenteeism lie in the fact that in addition to connecting to work outside of working hours, digital presenteeism also includes workers' feeling the need to maintain a constant and instant presence both during and outside normal working hours (see also, Verlinden et al., 2025). In this way, digital presenteeism behaviours also draws from the 'workplace telepressure' definition of the "varying levels of preoccupations with and urges for responding quickly to messages from clients, coworkers, or supervisors" (Barber & Santuzzi, 2015: 172). In addition to this, like the previous definition of 'presenteeism behaviours' in the in-office scenarios (Johns, 2010), digital presenteeism is carried out even when workers are ill or unable to work, frequently outside of workers' normal working hours, and at the detriment to their well-being. In this paper, we examine the after hours engagement in work distinguishing between the frequencies in which workers read (passive) or respond to/write (active) emails and other types of work communications outside of working hours, alongside the perceived pressures of the need to be digitally connected, which we indicate as the psychological pressures of digital presenteeism.

Why people engage in digital presenteeism

Digital presenteeism may be carried out to fulfil a part of one's core work tasks potentially in a more effective manner (Marstand et al., 2025; ten Brummelhuis et al., 2021), or is symptomatic of increasing work demands that cannot be fulfilled within one's normal working hours (Gadeyne et al., 2018; Piasna, 2017), or due to personal preferences in how to carry out work in todays' workplace with increasing blurring of boundaries between work and private life (Kossek, 2016). It can also develop in part due to the fact that synchronous communication fosters a heightened sense of emotional closeness, strengthening bonds and trust between people (Rainie & Wellman, 2012; Short et al., 1976). Especially in work context where most people are working remotely, worker may feel a stronger need to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours to ensure cohesion and trust within the work organisation (Gunawardena & Zittle, 1997; Russell et al., 2024). In this way, digital presenteeism can act as an effective work tool to genuinely enhance company performance (ten Brummelhuis et al., 2021) and may even provide workers with a sense of more control over their work (van Zoonen et al., 2023) especially when done via workers' initiative (Gadeyne et al., 2018).

However, in this paper, we argue that digital presenteeism is the new form of impression management at work (Bolino, 1999; Bolino et al., 2008), to show others your professionalism and commitment to work. Drawing from sociological literature of the idea around presentation of self, especially in capitalist societies (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005; Goffman, 1959), individual behaviours can be viewed as largely being performative, carried out to show others your value in society. Workplace behaviours are also carried out to show managers and colleagues one's motivation and commitment towards work, and their adherence to the 'ideal worker' norm (Bolino et al., 2008; Howcroft et al., 2024). Previous studies have evidenced how workers engage in certain work activities, such as (pretending to) working long hours, engage in face time activities, work after hours, to protect their professional reputation and enhance their assumed commitment to work (Berdahl et al., 2018; Cristea & Leonardi, 2019; Mazmanian et al., 2013; Reid, 2015; Williams et al., 2013). Leonardi and Treem (Leonardi & Treem, 2020) further presents the notion of digital 'self-presentation', where individuals digitally communicate with an audience in mind, curating the set of behaviours they want people to see, to shape the image people have of themselves. The digital workplace is particularly fertile ground for such impression management pressures because of its distinctive contextual features: unlike face-to-face interactions, digital communications are verifiable, highly visible to multiple audiences simultaneously, and with the advancement of digital tools, can easily be performed across time (during and outside of working hours) and space (workplace or at home), all of which can intensify workers' motivation or pressure to engage (McFarland et al., 2023). Moreover, the synchronous nature of many digital communication tools and the expectation of instant response via email or online communication spaces (e.g. Slack, or Teams), creates a continuous performance context in which absence or delay is itself an impression, signalling disengagement or low commitment to watching managers and colleagues (Barber & Santuzzi, 2015; McFarland et al., 2023). Taking these together, digital presenteeism can be understood as a way for workers to live up to the new digital ideal worker when work is increasingly taking place in the digital realm (Howcroft et al., 2024).

While digital presenteeism may stem from a range of motivations, from genuine work demands and personal preferences through to the social benefits of synchronous digital communication, we argue that a core driver is the performative pressure to signal commitment and professionalism in the digital workplace. Drawing on self-determination

theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000), we distinguish between two routes through which organisational cultures translate into digital presenteeism behaviour. Workers may engage in digital presenteeism in direct response to external pressures, namely the perceived expectations of their manager, colleagues, clients, or profession. Workers may also engage in digital presenteeism behaviours due to what they feel as internally driven motivations, such as career advancement, a fear of missing out on workplace developments, or simply habit and personal preference. We treat this as a distinction between externally and internally driven digital presenteeism. However, following critiques within the ideal worker norm literature (Lee et al., 2024; Wynn & Rao, 2019), we approach this distinction with caution: motivations that appear internal may themselves be the product of organisational cultures that have shaped workers' very understanding of what professional commitment in the digital age looks like (Goffman, 1959; Howcroft et al., 2024; Montanye & Livingston, 2024). In this paper, we examine both forms of digital presenteeism behaviour whilst fully acknowledging that internally driven presenteeism may be no less a symptom of workplace culture than its externally driven counterpart.

Who engages in digital presenteeism

Digital presenteeism may be especially important for remote workers (Afota et al., 2023; Barsness et al., 2005). Lacking other ways to show managers one’s commitment, e.g. in the office (Cristea & Leonardi, 2019), homeworkers may have to increase their digital presenteeism behaviours, a dynamic that early research on remote work already identified/ Studies show that physical distance from supervisors and colleagues both motivates and creates opportunities for impression management that would otherwise occur naturally through in-person interaction (Barsness et al., 2005). When workers work remotely, communication, and engagement are carried out largely online. In such contexts, workers ability to be available online can be seen as synonymous with their work motivation and commitment (Howcroft et al., 2024). This may be especially true when we consider that despite the steep rise of WFH we have seen across different countries, stigmatised views against homeworkers are still prevalent in today’s labour market (Kasperska et al., 2023; Wang & Chung, 2026). Given these dynamics, workers who work from home may be particularly likely to experience digital presenteeism as externally motivated, largely driven by the perceived expectations of managers, colleagues, and clients to be visibly present and

responsive in the digital space. By contrast, the internal motivations driving digital presenteeism, such as career ambitions and habit, are unlikely to differ substantially between homeworkers and those working in the office, as these reflect personal orientations toward work that are shaped by organisational culture rather than work location per se.

H1: Workers who work from home are more likely to engage in digital presenteeism behaviour compared to those who do not work from home.

H1-1: Workers who work from home are more likely to engage in the externally motivated digital presenteeism behaviour compared to those who do not work from home.

There can also be variations across demographic groups of workers in the way they feel *more pressured* to perform, and *who can better engage* in digital presenteeism behaviours. Scholars have posited that the performance of the ideal worker is inherently biased, as it was predicated on the patriarchal model of a male breadwinner (Acker, 1990; Williams, 1999). To become a disembodied worker who can devote themselves to and only to work, without any other demands or needs, one needs to have relieved oneself of any reproductive work, largely gained by the support from the female partner in a heterosexual relationship (Müller & Chung, 2025). In this sense, fathers and to a certain extent childless workers, already embody the ideal worker image (Berdahl et al., 2018), due to their lack of caring responsibilities and their ability to devote to work. Mothers are seen to be limited in their ability to do so as they face competing demands coming from the family and domestic spheres (Blair-Loy, 2009; Correll et al., 2007). Between fathers and childless workers, it may especially be fathers that are better able to engage in digital presenteeism, as they are more likely to have support from their partners to better focus on work (Parry, 2024), and they may feel more pressure for digital presenteeism for career purposes due to their breadwinner roles (Allen & Stevenson, 2023). When fathers and childless workers engage in digital presenteeism behaviour, it is more likely that it is internally driven, e.g. out of habit or to better succeed at work. This is because, as workers who more closely tied to the ideal worker image, they are less likely to feel their commitment is under scrutiny and therefore less dependent on digital visibility as a defensive strategy. Their digital presenteeism is more likely to reflect ambition and work orientation rather than a response to perceived threat – as it is an enabled digital presenteeism.

H2a: Fathers and childless workers are more likely to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours compared to mothers.

H2-1a: Fathers and childless workers are more likely to engage in the internally motivated digital presenteeism behaviours compared to mothers.

Yet, in contradiction to such expectations, previous studies have indicated that mothers, and those with caring responsibilities felt stronger pressure to engage in digital presenteeism (Chung et al., 2024; Howcroft et al., 2024). Studies have also shown that social norms around work availability can be stricter for women, and women may experience more difficulties maintaining boundaries (Derks & Bakker, 2014; Ravid et al., 2023; Schlachter et al., 2018). Although this could be seen as differences in habits or preferences, it is also due to the existing biases managers and colleagues have against mothers and workers with other responsibilities outside of work with regards to their capacity and motivation to work (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004b; TUC, 2021). In other words, because mothers are seen as being less motivated, less likely to be an ideal worker (Williams et al., 2013), they are less likely to be trusted by their managers and may experience harsher evaluation (Heilman & Okimoto, 2008; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004a). This may pressure women to engage more in digital presenteeism behaviours in hope to eradicate any biases they may face in the organisation more so as a defensive mechanism to protect their perceived professionalism and work commitment. Similarly, due to the bias against racial minorities (Heath & Di Stasio, 2019), ethnic minorities are more likely to engage in impression management behaviours, in response to the heightened scrutiny they face (Berdahl et al., 2018; Gök, 2026). Therefore, ethnic minority workers may feel more pressures to perform digital presenteeism behaviour to potentially compensate for these bias and scrutiny. White workers inherently embody the ideal worker norm and therefore may be less likely to feel the pressure to engage in digital presenteeism for defensive purposes. In sum, mothers and ethnic minorities may be more likely to feel the pressure to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours, especially those that are driven by external pressures, despite their limited capacity to do so.

H2b: Mothers and ethnic minority workers are more likely to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours

H2-1b: Mothers and ethnic minority workers are more likely to engage in the externally motivated digital presenteeism behaviours

Organisational culture as driver of digital presenteeism

Digital presenteeism behaviours, especially when we consider that it is a part of impression management of self-presentation that individuals engage in to present themselves as ideal workers, it is likely tied to the work culture of the organisation (Derks et al., 2015; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; McFarland et al., 2023; Perlow, 2012; Wajcman, 2015). The two work cultures of interest for this paper are the ideal worker culture and the flexibility stigma culture. As mentioned in the previous sections, the pressure for digital presenteeism comes from workers feeling the pressure to perform work devotion online to meet the expectations of their managers (Howcroft et al., 2024). In fact, previous qualitative studies have shown that the digital connectivity and always-on behaviours of workers are especially prevalent in organisations or professions where the ideal worker norms, namely where long-hours working or devotion to work, are most prevalent (Mazmanian et al., 2013; Perlow, 2012). Another organisational culture of interest is the flexibility stigma culture (Chung, 2020; Williams et al., 2013). This is namely where flexible workers, namely those who WFH or use any other flexible working or family-friendly arrangements, are considered less motivated, committed, and therefore less productive than non-flexible workers (Kasperska et al., 2023; Williams et al., 2013). Although in face value the flexibility stigma is largely capturing how flexible workers are viewed by mangers or colleagues, it can also be considered an indicator of a work culture where family-friendly policies are inaccessible, or even more, one that penalises how workers with other competing responsibilities are viewed (Cha & Grady, 2024). In this sense, the ideal worker culture measures the positive reward mechanism, which encourages workers to be always-on and put work first, and engage in digital presenteeism which will be rewarded through a more positive evaluation and promotion opportunities. The flexibility stigma culture is the negative punishment mechanism that pushes workers away from setting clear boundaries between work and family, which again reinforces the need to engage in digital presenteeism to avoid any potential career penalties.

The influence of these cultural norms on workers' digital presenteeism behaviours is likely to be felt across the workforce. However, it is workers in the most vulnerable positions, namely,

those with the weakest bargaining power and the most to lose from being perceived as insufficiently committed who may be most acutely shaped by external pressures to perform digital presence. As previously mentioned, mothers, ethnic minority workers, and homeworkers all occupy structurally weaker positions in the workplace relative to their counterparts, and the consequence of being seen as disengaged or uncommitted to work may be higher for these groups. As a result, we expect that organisational work cultures may exert a stronger influence on the digital presenteeism behaviours of these groups.

H3: Workers in workplaces with an ideal worker culture are more likely to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours.

H3-1: The moderating impact of the ideal worker culture on digital presenteeism behaviours, is stronger for mothers, ethnic minority workers, and workers who work from home.

H4: Workers in workplaces with a flexibility stigma culture are more likely to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours.

H4-1: The moderating impact of the flexibility stigma culture on digital presenteeism behaviours, is stronger for mothers, ethnic minority workers, and workers who work from home.

Data and Method

Data

We use data from a UK survey of working arrangements, which is a part of an international survey that explores WFH (anonymised). Since January 2021, this data has collected monthly data from a randomly selected sample of UK adults of working age who earned at least £10,000 in 2019. Each month, around 2,500 respondents are surveyed about their working conditions and a range of socioeconomic (e.g., occupation, sector) and demographic (e.g.,

age, sex, parental status) characteristics[2]. Informed consent was obtained from the participants. We draw on three waves, namely September 2024, December 2024, and June 2025, which together provide complementary measures of digital presenteeism. In particular, the September 2024 wave captures the behavioural frequency of digital presenteeism, measuring how often workers engage in active presenteeism behaviours (contacting colleagues outside working hours) and passive presenteeism behaviours (reading work messages outside working hours). It also includes measures of workplace culture, such as "ideal worker" norms and flexibility stigma. The December 2024 wave introduces a psychological measure of digital presenteeism, capturing the subjective pressure to maintain a constant, instant, and visible online presence. Moreover, it also introduces items capturing motivations for digital presenteeisms, distinguishing internally from externally motivated presenteeism behaviours. However, this wave does not include workplace culture measures, given the relative short-time span from September 2024. The June 2025 wave includes both questions on workplace culture and the psychological-level digital presenteeism behaviours.

We apply three sample restrictions across all waves. First, we exclude respondents who failed an embedded attention check to ensure data quality[3]. After this step, the valid samples are 1964 (September 2024), 1944 (December 2024), and 2023 (June 2025). Second, we restrict the sample to full-time employees working 30 or more hours per week, as digital presenteeism pressures are likely to operate differently for part-time workers whose contractual boundaries and organisational expectations around availability differ substantially from those of full-time employees (Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy, 2006; Williams, 2000). This reduces the samples to 1674 (September 2024), 1664 (December 2024), and 1743 (June 2025), respectively. Finally, we exclude a small number of self-employed respondents, for whom workplace culture measures, which capture perceived organisational norms--are not meaningfully applicable. The final analytical samples are 1667 (September 2024), 1660

[2] Starting from September 2024, the data (anonymised) has been collected quarterly—namely in September, December, March, and June—to capture time trends without overly short intervals between surveys.

[3] The attention check asked respondents to identify a specific colour to confirm active engagement with the survey. Respondents who failed were excluded to ensure data quality.

(December 2024), and 1738 (June 2025). Table A1 reports descriptive statistics for all key variables across these samples.

In addition to the wave-specific analyses, we conduct robustness checks by pooling the December 2024 and June 2025 samples to increase statistical power for detecting interaction effects between workplace culture and worker characteristics. Because the December 2024 wave did not include workplace culture items, we restrict this subsample to respondents who also participated in September 2024 (N = 492), using their September culture measures. This introduces a three-month lag between the measurement of workplace culture and the presenteeism outcome. Such temporal ordering may reduce the possibility that workers who engage in presenteeism may self-select into workplaces with strong ideal worker norms, rather than the other way around. Combined with the full June 2025 wave (N = 1738), the pooled sample comprises 2230 observations. We include a wave indicator to account for any differences between the two collection periods.

To make the data representative of the overall UK population, the survey responses are weighted[4] by age bands (20–29, 30–39, 40–49, and 50–64)[5], sex, educational attainment (Degree-level or higher vs. A-level or lower), region (London vs. other regions), and the telework-ability of occupations[6], matching weighted shares in the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS)—a national representative dataset conducted by the UK Office for National Statistics. After weighting, for example in the 2022 Q4 (anonymised) data, 39.97% of respondents reported working at least one day per week from home, closely aligning with the LFS

[4] We top-coded the weight at the 95th percentile to avoid extremely large weights (range: 0.0070202–7.246044).

[5] Respondents aged above 64 or below 20 make up only 3% of the data sample, so we focus on those aged 20–64 in both the weighting process and our analyses. In September and December 2024, only 2% of respondents fell outside this age range.

[6] Given the oversampling of homeworkers in the data, we construct sample weights primarily by using the **telework-ability** of workers' occupations, which captures the central occupational distinction for remote work and thereby inherently reflects occupation-based variation. We **do not** match further on industry categories, because doing so risks unmatched cells and adds little insight beyond telework-ability. Instead, we combine telework-ability with core demographics (age, sex, region, and education) to maintain a balance of representativeness and simplicity, ensuring our sample accurately reflects the essential remote-work dimension. The data asks respondents: "Consider your current or most recent job. Are you able to do that job from home (at least partially)? (e.g., a bartender is not able to do their job from home, whereas an administrative assistant in an office is)." From this, we derive the telework-ability of workers' occupations (Yes=telework-able, no=not telework-able). In the LFS, we merge occupation codes (SOC20M) with **the telework-ability index** provided by ONS (ONS, 2020), itself based on 2019 U.S. Occupational Information Network (O*NET) data. Because LFS uses SOC20M while the index is based on SOC10M, we first map SOC20M to SOC10M. Following Sostero et al.(2023), we use one-third of the distribution (1.419) as a threshold—where a higher index indicates lower likelihood of working from home—to identify telework-able versus non-telework-able occupations. We manually checked these classifications for validation.

estimate of 40.70% in the same period[7]. Given variations in survey questions and methodologies, we consider this discrepancy negligible.

Variable operationalisation

In this paper we examine digital presenteeism in three different ways. Firstly, in the September 2024 wave, drawing from the digital connectivity literature (Derks & Bakker, 2014; Schlachter et al., 2018) we examined how often workers connect to digital communication tools outside of their normal working hours. However, in this study we distinguish between the more active connectivity behaviours *"I **contact/email** colleagues, customers, or superiors outside my normal working hours",* from the passive connectivity behaviours of workers *"I **read** work emails/other types of messages outside my normal working hours"*. Respondents can respond 1 "Never", 2 "Less often than once a month", 3 "Once a month", 4 "Several times a month", 5 "1~2 days a week", 6 "3~4 days week", 7 "Everyday". In the December 2024 and June 2025 wave, we changed the variable to be more closely aligned to the definition of digital presenteeism by first providing the respondents a clearer definition. *"Digital presenteeism is the behaviour of employees who feel compelled to maintain a **constant, instant, or visible** online presence in digital workspaces (emails, Slack, WhatsApp, Microsoft teams, Google Chat/Meet, Zoom, and other forms of digital communication tools and apps), even when it is unnecessary, **both during** and outside of normal working hours, or detrimental to their well-being."* Here note that in this wave, we do not only measure those who engage in digital connectivity outside of working hours, but also during it. What is more, the definition highlights not only the constant connectivity, but also the pressure to engage in instant and visible online presence which refer to the pressure for synchronous communications at work(Rainie & Wellman, 2012; Short et al., 1976). Respondents could choose between 1 Never, 2 rarely, 3 sometimes, 4 often, and 5 always as their response categories in responding to the extent to which they engage in digital presenteeism. This was done to better measure the psychological pressures workers feel with regards to digital presenteeism (see also,Barber & Santuzzi, 2015), which may not correspond to the number of days they engage in such behaviours. Finally, we distinguish

[7] LFS only provides information on occasional WFH in 2022 Q4.

between digital presenteeism that is internally and externally motivated drawn from studies that explore long hours work culture and digital connectivity behaviours (Howcroft et al., 2024; Lee et al., 2024). Respondents were asked why they engage in digital presenteeism behaviours. Those who have responded that they do so due to the organisation, their manager, colleague, client expectations, or expectations of the profession, are considered to be those who are externally motivated digital presenteeism. Internal motivation for digital presenteeism behaviour is when workers engage in digital presenteeism to, for example, advance their career, to not miss out on what is happening at work, out of habit or preference.

To measure the ideal worker culture (Lee et al., 2024; Williams, 1999), we use the variable used in the UK Work Employment Relations Survey (Wanrooy et al., 2013). *"Think about how people in your kind of job progress – for example get a promotion. Do you agree or disagree that people in this workplace who want to progress usually have to put in long hours?".* Respondents can choose in a five point scale from 1 Strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree. Flexibility stigma culture measure is drawn from the literature on flexibility stigma (Williams et al., 2013) and previous surveys such as the British Social Attitude, Eurobarometer, etc. on this topic (Chung & Seo, 2024). However, rather than flexible working more widely the variable focuses specifically on working from home using the following question*; "In my organisation workers who work from home …are seen as being less motivated or committed than workers who generally work at the business premises"* For this question, respondents can choose in a five point scale from 1 Strongly disagree, to 5 strongly agree.

We explore how presenteeism varies across different groups of population across gender parental status (living with a child under 18) (mothers, fathers, workers without children), ethnicity (white vs ethnic minority), and working from home status distinguishing between, no days from home, 1 day, 2 days, 3 days, 4 days, and full remote). Based on previous studies (Derks et al., 2015; Gadeyne et al., 2018; Schlachter et al., 2018) we also control for a wide range of variables that may impact workers' digital presenteeism behaviours such as sector, occupation, age, education, working hours. Detailed description of the variables can be found in the online Appendix.

Methods

We begin by describing different digital presenteeism behaviours outlined above (Appendix Table A1). Next, we estimate multiple regressions to investigate how these behaviours vary by gender–parental status, ethnicity, WFH status, and workplace culture (ideal-worker norms and flexibility stigma). In September 2024 sample, we focus on workers' active and passive presenteeism behaviours. In December 2024, we examine internal/external performance-driven presenteeism. In June 2025 sample, we focus on psychological-level digital presenteeism. For the continuous dependent variables, including active presenteeism, passive presenteeism (both September 2024), and psychological presenteeism (June 2025), we use linear regression. For the binary dependent variables, including internally and externally motivated presenteeism (December 2024), we use logistic regression and report odds ratios for interpretation. We firstly estimate main-effect models that include WFH status, gender-parental status, ethnicity, and workplace culture measures (where available), controlling for workers' demographics and socioeconomic characteristics (Table 1, and Appendix Table A2). To assess whether mothers differ from other groups, we re-estimate these models with alternative reference categories (Appendix Table A3). We then introduce interaction terms between workplace culture and the demographic/homeworking variables to assess how individual characteristics and organisational environments jointly shape digital presenteeism (Appendix Tables A4-A5). All analyses are weighted and conducted in Stata 18.

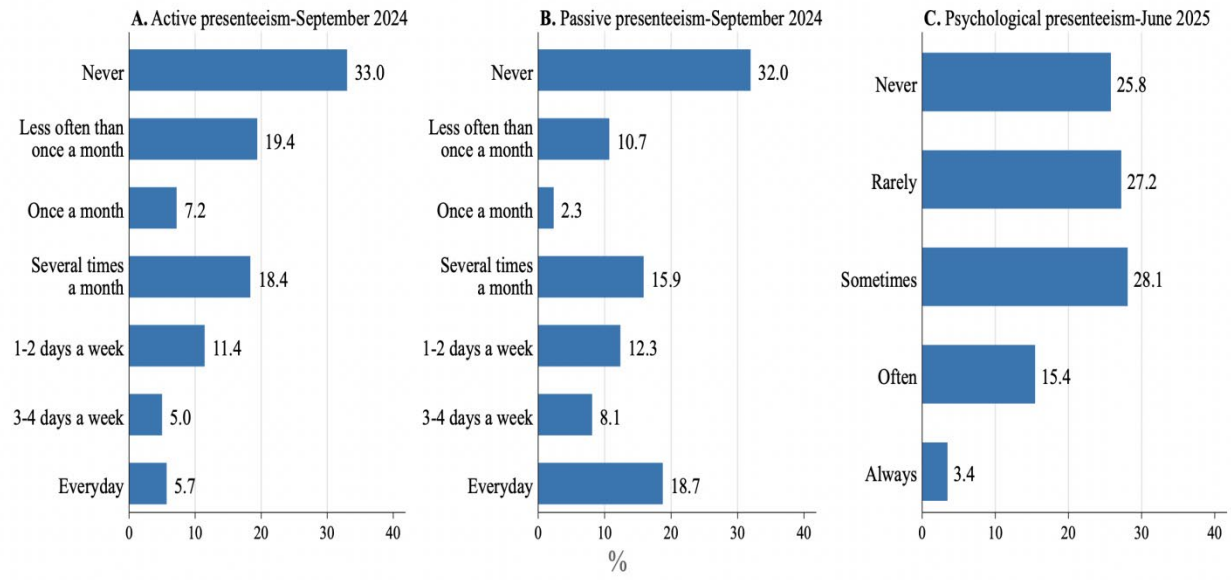
Results

Descriptive analysis

Figure 1 presents the frequency of digital presenteeism, in the three distinct ways it is measured in our survey. As shown in the left two panels of Figure 1, passive digital presenteeism, such as reading work-related messages outside normal hours, was more prevalent than active presenteeism, namely contacting clients or colleagues. For example, close to a quarter (24%) of respondents reported engaging in active presenteeism at least once a week, while two out of five (40%) of workers engaged in passive presenteeism at least once

a week. Furthermore, close to 20% of employees responded that they read work emails or messages outside their designated working time every day. However, the frequency based active and passive digital presenteeism behaviours did not necessarily mirror workers' subjective feeling of pressures of digital presenteeism. Although a large proportion of workers responded that they never engaged in both active (32%) and passive (30%) presenteeism behaviours, fewer 26% reported "never" (feeling pressure to) perform digital presenteeism (right panel of Figure 1). In fact, close to half of all respondents (49%) have at least 'sometimes' felt the pressure for digital presenteeism to have constant, instant visible presence online.

Figure 1. Distribution of digital presenteeism behaviours (weighted)



Furthermore, Appendix Table A1 reveals that over half (53%) of employees attributed their digital presenteeism to internal factors such as personal career goals or work habits, while only around 1/3 (35%) cited external pressures from employers, colleagues, or organizational norms[8]. This is somewhat contradictory to our expectations that digital presenteeism is a behaviour driven mostly to show others of your work motivation (see also, Howcroft et al., 2024). However, as noted by previous scholars (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005; Chung, 2022;

[8] Respondents could select multiple factors associated to their digital presenteeism, meaning the external and internal categories are not mutually exclusive—hence the summed percentages can exceed 100%.

Lee et al., 2024; Mazmanian et al., 2013), respondent's internal motivation may be driven by the societal or organisational culture, where workers internalise much of the external pressures for overwork and work centrality as their own initiative (Foucault, 2010; van Zoonen et al., 2023).

Multivariate analysis

Table 1 displays weighted regression models predicting which workers are more likely to engage in digital presenteeism, controlling for workers' age, occupations and other relevant factors.

Working From Home

Employees who WFH occasionally were more likely to engage in active presenteeism behaviours (1day WFH β: 0.568, $p<0.05$, 2days WFH β: 0.522, $p < 0.01$, 3 days WFH β: 0.395, $p<0.05$ in Model 1), and passive presenteeism (1day WFH β: 0.585, $p<0.05$ in Model 2) than those who did not WFH. There are several reasons why we see a more distinct pattern between workers who spend fewer days at home (1-3 days) compared to those who mostly WFH (4-5 days). Firstly, this may be because for the latter, the boundary between normal working hours vs private time are more blurred (Clark, 2000) which means that although workers who work at home more often do engage in digital presenteeism outside of normal working hours, they may not be able to distinguish between what normal working hours are as clearly as those who WFH less often. On the other hand, this may also be because the workers who work more days at home may be in organisations where WFH is more normalised across the organisation (van der Lippe & Lippényi, 2020), which can reduce workers' digital presenteeism pressures. However, when we examine the association between homeworking and psychological digital presenteeism (Model 5). All WFH categories, including 5-day WFH (β: 0.505, $p<0.001$) show significant positive associations, indicating greater subjective pressure to be always available are especially strong among those who WFH, and potentially those who WFH more often as we see a slightly higher coefficient among those who work 4 days from home. This difference, however, may also lie in the fact that the latter measures the pressures for instant and constant responses during working hours, which workers who WFH often may be more party to.

Table 1. Weighted regression models examining the population heterogeneity in digital presenteeism

	September 2024		December 2024		June 2025
	Model 1 Active Coef.	Model 2 Passive Coef.	Model 3 Internally OR	Model 4 Externally OR	Model 5 Psychological Coef.
WFH (ref=No WFH)					
1 day WFH	0.568*	0.585*	2.360**	1.534	0.294*
	(0.230)	(0.280)	(0.639)	(0.457)	(0.125)
2 days WFH	0.522**	0.379	1.617*	1.897**	0.556***
	(0.192)	(0.270)	(0.343)	(0.398)	(0.105)
3 days WFH	0.395*	0.217	1.722*	1.909**	0.528***
	(0.190)	(0.249)	(0.427)	(0.445)	(0.114)
4 days WFH	0.365	0.083	2.007**	1.455	0.770***
	(0.230)	(0.273)	(0.470)	(0.351)	(0.130)
5+ days WFH	0.112	-0.259	1.591*	1.568*	0.505***
	(0.227)	(0.275)	(0.354)	(0.344)	(0.118)
Flexibility stigma	0.087	-0.088			0.082
	(0.083)	(0.099)			(0.052)
Ideal worker norm	0.455***	0.458***			0.113*
	(0.067)	(0.084)			(0.045)
Gender and parental status (ref=Childless men)					
Fathers	0.089	-0.189	1.328	1.289	-0.013
	(0.216)	(0.276)	(0.325)	(0.327)	(0.128)
Childless women	0.041	-0.109	1.029	1.094	-0.085
	(0.211)	(0.243)	(0.236)	(0.247)	(0.117)
Mothers	0.410+	-0.272	1.784*	1.221	0.207
	(0.212)	(0.312)	(0.478)	(0.321)	(0.152)
Race (ref=White)					
BME	0.163	0.563+	0.837	1.194	0.092
	(0.187)	(0.306)	(0.206)	(0.255)	(0.141)
N	1667	1667	1660	1660	1738
Adjusted R^2 /Pseudo R^2	0.185	0.193	0.047	0.044	0.133

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. Model 1 to 2 and 5 report Adjusted R^2, and Models 3-4 report Pseudo R^2. All models control for age, educational level, occupation, working hours per week, and sector. $^{+}p < 0.10$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$. Full model in Appendix Table A2.

Exploring reasons behind digital presenteeism, workers who WFH had significantly higher likelihood of performing internally motivated digital presenteeism (e.g., 1 day WFH: OR: 2.360, $p<0.01$ in Model 3). Homeworkers were also more likely to choose external pressures as the motives for digital presenteeism. Among homeworkers, those who worked from home 2-3 days were almost twice as likely as those who do not WFH to say they engage in digital presenteeism due to external pressures (e.g., 2 days WFH: OR: 1.897, $p<0.01$ in Model 4). Overall, the results provide partial support for H1 that homeworkers may engage in digital presenteeism more often. We also partially accept Hypothesis 1-1 that expected that WFH workers engage in digital presenteeism especially due to the external pressures, as we found that workers with hybrid working (2-3 days a week) arrangement appear more prone to perform digital presenteeism to meet external expectations. However, we also found that homeworkers were also more likely to engage in internally motivated presenteeism.

Gender–Parental Status and Race

Next, we explore how digital presenteeism behaviours vary across gender and parental status. Mothers were marginally significantly more likely to engage in active presenteeism than both childless men (β: 0.410, $p < 0.10$ in Model 1) and childless women (β: 0.369, $p < 0.10$ in Model 3 in Appendix Table A3). Mothers were also more likely to feel more psychological pressures to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours (β: 0.291, $p < 0.05$ in comparison to childless women – see Appendix Table A3 Model 15) and more likely to engage in digital presenteeism for internal motivations (Odds: 1.784, $p < 0.05$ in Model 3, but also in comparison to childless women: Odds: 1.734, $p < 0.05$ – see Appendix Table A3 Model 9). As expected, BME (Black and minority ethnic) workers were marginally significantly engaging in passive digital presenteeism behaviours more often compared to white workers (β: 0.563, $p < 0.10$ in Model 2). In sum, we partially confirm our Hypothesis 2b which argued that mothers and BME workers are more likely to feel digital presenteeism pressure and more likely to engage in such behaviours. However, we reject Hypothesis 2b-1, as mothers were more likely to say their motivation for digital presenteeism was internally motivated, rather than externally motivated. This finding, while seemingly counterintuitive, is theoretically interpretable through the lens of self-determination theory and the ideal worker norm literature. From an SDT perspective, the distinction between external and internal motivation is not binary but reflects a continuum of internalisation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). What appears

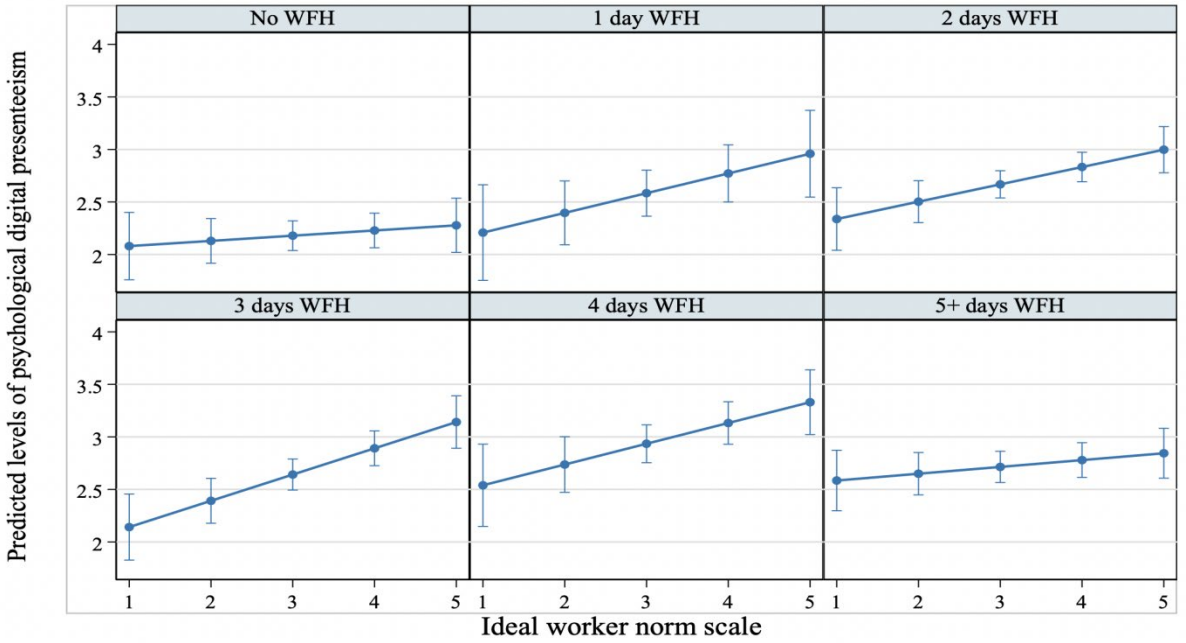
as internal motivation, mothers reporting that they engage in digital presenteeism out of personal career ambition, habit, or fear of missing out, may in fact reflect the deep internalisation of external organisational pressures rather than genuinely autonomous self-regulation (Foucault, 2010). As Lee et al. (2024) demonstrate, workers, particularly those in more precarious positions, can come to experience externally imposed work norms as self-generated, attributing their overwork to personal drive and professional values rather than to the structural conditions and biases that make such behaviours necessary. In this sense, mothers' apparent internal motivation for digital presenteeism may be less a sign of genuine autonomy than a sign that the ideal worker norm has been so thoroughly internalised that its external origins are no longer legible to the workers themselves (Foucault, 2010; van Zoonen et al., 2023; Wynn & Rao, 2019). This interpretation is consistent with our theoretical argument that internally driven digital presenteeism may be no less a symptom of workplace culture than its externally driven counterpart, and suggests that the internal/external distinction, while analytically useful, should not be read as a straightforward indicator of worker agency. In addition, unlike our hypothesis there were no differences in ethnicities with regards to the motivations behind why workers take part in digital presenteeism behaviours.

Ideal worker culture

Next, we examine the impact of ideal worker culture on workers' digital presenteeism behaviours. Note that culture variables were not asked in the December 2024 module therefore, we only examine the September 2024 and June 2025 modules here, but later in the robustness check we pool the December data presenteeism behaviours with September culture variables to examine whether there are notable differences. According to Table 1 Models 1 and 2, stronger ideal-worker norms are significantly associated workers' higher frequencies of both active (β: 0.455, $p < 0.001$) and passive (β: 0.458, $p < 0.001$) digital presenteeism. The ideal worker norm was also associated with higher likelihood of workers psychologically feeling the pressure of digital presenteeism, although the strength of that relationship is not as strong (β: 0.113, $p < 0.05$, Model 5). In other words, there is strong evidence to show that it is in organisations where long hours work is seen as a sign of devotion and commitment to one's work where workers are more likely to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours and feel the pressure to do so. This confirms our Hypothesis 3.

Next, we explore whether the moderating impact of ideal worker culture is stronger for different population groups. Appendix Table A7 Model 1 suggest that the positive relationship between ideal worker norms and psychological pressures for digital presenteeism may be pronounced among homeworkers. As we can see from the table, other than those who work fully remotely (5days WFH), most of the interaction terms between WFH and ideal worker are positive, although only 3 days WFH shows a positive significant result (3day WFH*ideal worker norm β:0.200, $p<0.05$). Figure 2 shows how although the ideal worker norm increases the likelihood of digital presenteeism of all workers, regardless of their WFH status, the effect is especially stronger among those who work hybrid (1~4 days a week from home, especially those who work half and half). This may be because hybrid workers occupy an in-between position, namely, present in the office some days but absent on others, which may heighten their awareness of how they compare to colleagues who are physically visible, leading them to compensate through greater digital presence on the days they are not in the office in order to signal equivalent levels of commitment and motivation.

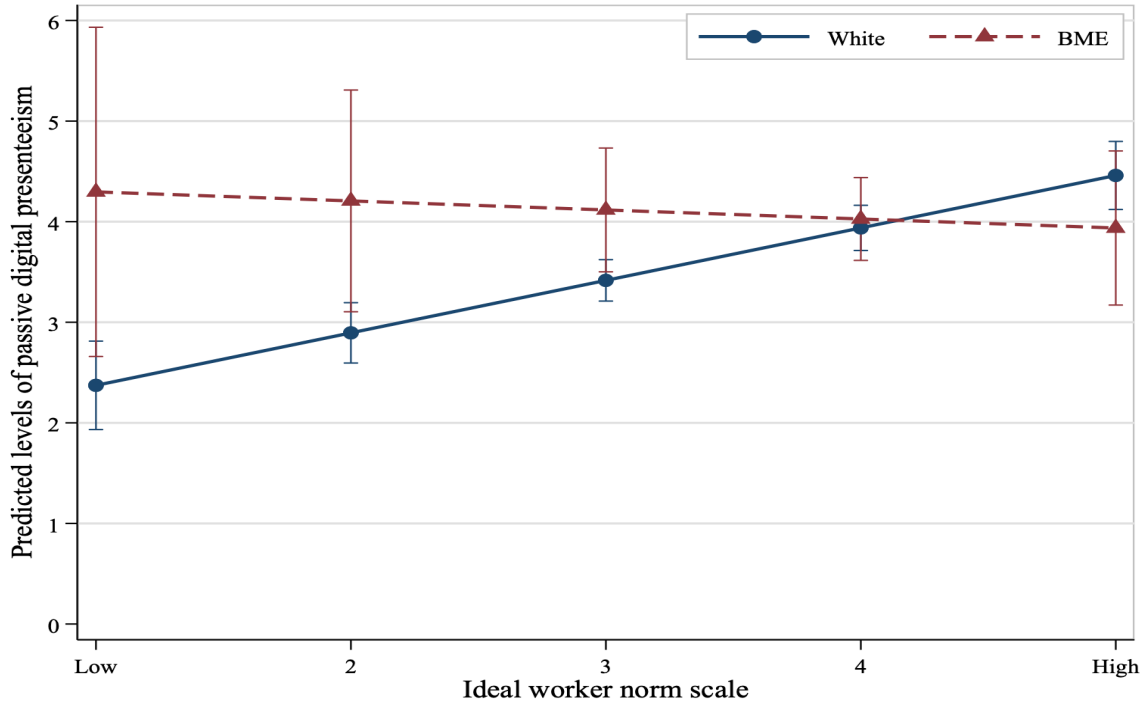
Figure 2. Predicted level of **psychological digital presenteeism** by homeworking status and ideal worker norm



Note: 95%Cis is reported. All models control for age, educational level, occupation, working hours per week, and sector. The higher score means stronger ideal worker norms in the workplace. Full regression results are displayed in Appendix Table A7 Model 1. Source: SWAA-UK Pooled sample, own estimations.

Surprisingly, while workers in workplaces with stronger ideal worker norm tend to engage more often in passive digital presenteeism, this is marginally less pronounced among BME workers than white workers (interaction BME*ideal worker β: -0.612, $p<0.05$ in Appendix Table A4 Model 8; a steeper downward red line in Figure 3), contradictory to H3. However, as the figure shows, this is largely because BME workers were engaging in more passive presenteeism regardless of the ideal worker culture. This pattern is interpretable through status characteristics theory (Correll & Ridgeway, 2006), which holds that race operates as a diffuse status characteristic, namely as a socially recognised marker that shapes evaluations of competence and commitment independently of actual performance. For white workers, digital presenteeism pressures rise and fall with the strength of the ideal worker culture in their organisation, suggesting that organisational norms are the primary mechanism through which performance expectations are communicated. For BME workers, however, racial status may function as a relatively fixed baseline of scrutiny that operates independently of, and arguably prior to, any specific organisational culture, meaning that the pressure to demonstrate commitment through digital visibility is already elevated regardless of whether the organisation formally valorises long hours. In other words, BME workers may be performing digital presenteeism not primarily in response to organisational ideal worker norms, but in response to a racialised labour market context in which their competence and commitment are routinely doubted irrespective of the workplace they inhabit (Heath & Di Stasio, 2019; TUC, 2022). Overall, these results provide partial evidence for H3 that worker in workplace with strong ideal worker norms have higher degree of digital presenteeism engagement. However, we cannot accept Hypothesis 3-1, as although we found that the moderating impact of ideal worker culture on digital presenteeism is stronger for homeworkers, we found no clear variation by gender-parental statuses, and the opposite result for BME workers.

Figure 3. Predicted level of **passive digital presenteeism** by race and ideal worker norm



Note: 95%Cis is reported. All models control for age, educational level, occupation, working hours per week, and sector. The higher score means stronger ideal worker norms in the workplace. Full regression results are displayed in Appendix Table A4 Model 8. Source: SWAA-UK September 2024, own estimations.

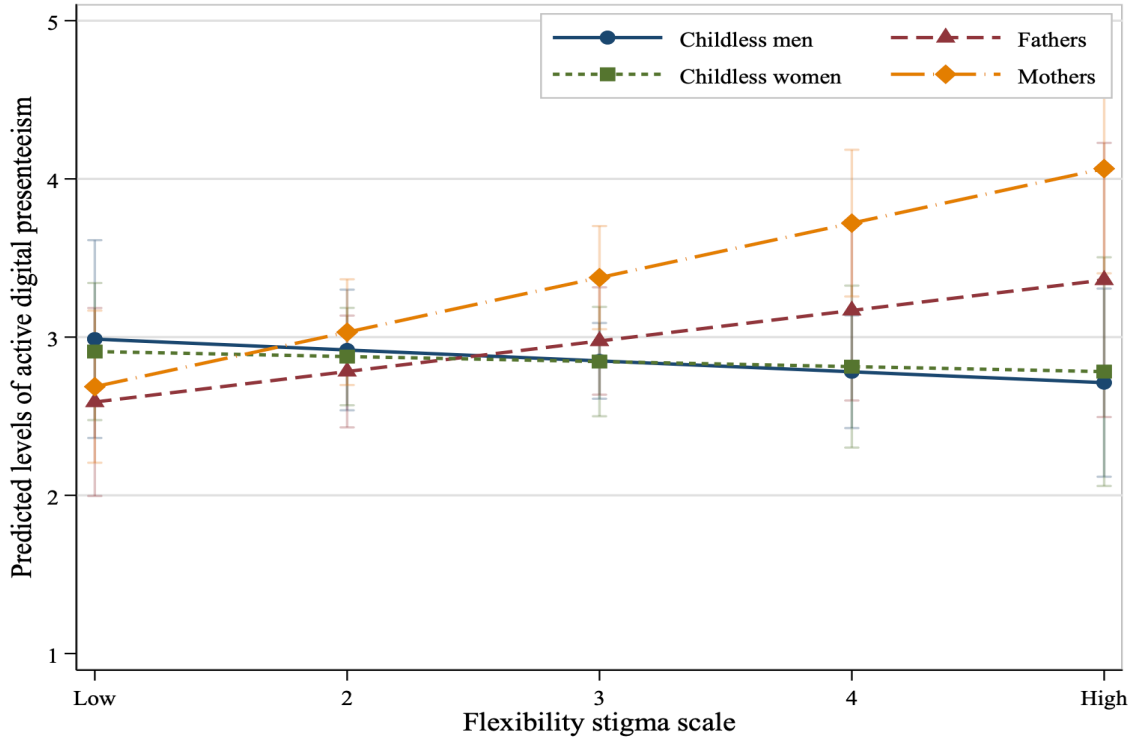
Flexibility stigma

Unlike the ideal worker culture, Table 1 shows that flexibility-stigma culture is not significantly associated with digital presenteeism behaviours, other than a small marginal association with the psychological pressures to be digitally connected (β: 0.080, p<0.10 in Appendix Table A6 Model 2). In organisations where workers feel that there is more bias against remote workers are those where workers feel more pressures to be digitally connected. Further analyses (see Appendix Table A5 and Figures 4–5) demonstrate that flexibility stigma become relevant when we consider how its impact varies across different worker demographics. Firstly, we found that flexibility stigma culture has a stronger effect on changing mother's likelihood of engaging in *active* digital presenteeism behaviour compared to childless men (Figure 4) (mother*flexibility stigma interaction term β: 0.413 p<0.05, Model 4), while childless men had an opposite trend (flexibility stigma β: -0.069 p>0.05, Model 4) albeit not significant. Examining the figure, fathers also seem to be more sensitive to flexibility stigma culture although the interaction term is not significant. In other words, particularly in organisations with prevalent flexibility stigma mothers appear to (feel the need

to) engage in digital presenteeism that can be actively seen by others, namely active digital presenteeism, which partially confirms Hypothesis 4-1.

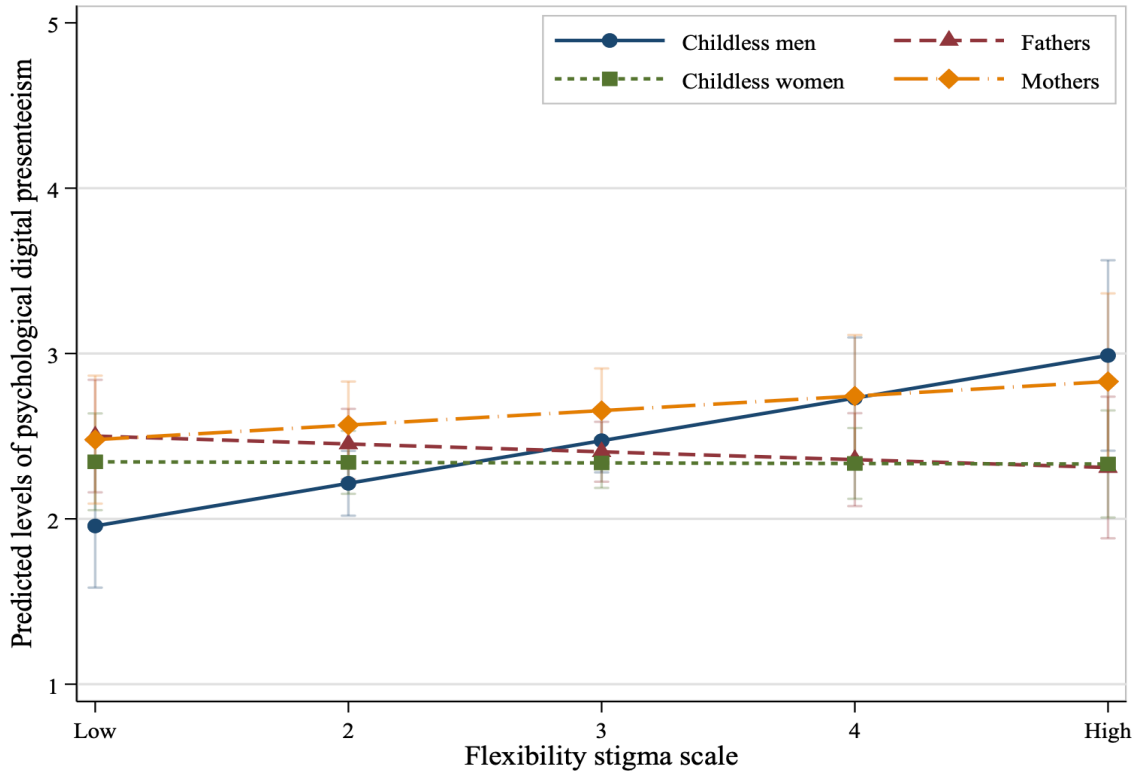
When examining psychological pressures of digital presenteeism, we find that fathers (father*flexibility stigma interaction term β: -0.305 p<0.05, Model 6) and childless women's pressures to be digitally connected to work (childless women*flexibility stigma interaction term β: -0.261 p<0.05, Model 6) are less likely to be impacted by flexibility stigma culture, in comparison to childless men (flexibility stigma β: 0.258 p<0.05, Model 6, and see also Figure 5). In other words, childless men's psychological pressures to be always digitally connected is shaped by organisational norms around flexible working, yet this is significantly less likely to be the case for fathers and childless women. Mothers on the other hand, do not significantly differ from childless men in the impact flexibility stigma culture has on their psychological pressures of digital presenteeism, although as we see from the figure the slope is not as steep as that for childless men.

Figure 4. Predicted levels of **active presenteeism** by gender-parental status and workplace flexibility stigma



Note: 95%Cis is reported. All models control for age, educational level, occupation, working hours per week, and sector. The higher score means stronger flexibility stigma in the workplace. Full regression results are displayed in Appendix Table A5 Model 4. Source: SWAA-UK September 2024, own estimations.

Figure 5. Predicted levels of **psychological presenteeism** by gender-parental status and workplace flexibility stigma



Note: 95%Cis is reported. All models control for age, educational level, occupation, working hours per week, and sector. The higher score means stronger flexibility stigma in the workplace. Full regression results are displayed in Appendix Table A5 Model 6. Source: SWAA-UK June 2025, own estimations.

With regards to ethnicity and WFH patterns, although the interaction terms do indicate some patterns with regards to WFH workers or ethnic minority workers may be more sensitive to organisational cultures of flexibility stigma, the variations were not statistically significant.

Overall, the results partially support our H4-1 that in workplaces with strong flexibility stigma, it is mainly mothers that engage significantly more often in digital presenteeism to counteract this bias. Interestingly, contrary to expectations, childless men also felt the psychological pressure to engage in digital presenteeism more frequently in organisations with stronger flexibility stigma. In sum, although the evidence depends on the type of digital presenteeism in question, it generally points to the fact that the influence of culture is not equal across the demographic groups.

Robustness check

We conduct several robustness checks (available upon request). First, we re-estimate our main models using ordered probit and logit specifications to account for the ordinal nature of the dependent variables. Results are substantively unchanged. Second, we collapse the WFH variable into three categories (reference=no WFH, hybrid 1-3 days, mostly remote 4-5 days) and confirm that hybrid workers remain the group most sensitive to ideal worker norms. Finally, as reported throughout, we pool the December 2024 and June 2025 samples to increase statistical power for interaction effects. The pooled results confirm the wave-specific findings while additionally revealing the main effect of flexibility stigma (Appendix Tables A6-A8).

Conclusion and discussion

In summary, our analysis shows that digital presenteeism, defined here as workers' engagement in and felt pressure to maintain a visible, constant connection to work communication tools, is prevalent in UK labour markets. We also found that this may be especially true among homeworkers, particularly those WFH part of the week. Workers in hybrid organisations may feel a stronger urge to maintain digital presence, especially when managers and other workers are going into the office on some days or days these workers do not. When all workers are fully or largely working remotely, such pressures may be not as present. Similarly, we found that it is especially mothers and BME workers who more frequently engage in and or feel pressure to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours (see also, Chung et al., 2024; Howcroft et al., 2024). We believe this is because these groups of workers may have weaker bargaining positions, or managers are more likely to hold biases against these workers (Correll et al., 2007; Heath & Di Stasio, 2019). Therefore, these groups of workers may have to engage in digital presenteeism behaviours more often to overcome potential biases against themselves. As expected, work cultures are important in shaping the pressures workers feel to maintain a visible constant connection to work, yet this pressure depends on the workers' position within the labour market. We also found that digital presenteeism pressures are amplified by ideal worker norms and flexibility stigma culture,

and that this is especially true for hybrid workers and mothers. With regards to flexibility stigma culture, childless men were also more sensitive with regards to feeling pressures to be always on. This may be because they are more acutely aware of being evaluated on digital presenteeism behaviours, especially in organisations where masculinity contests cultures are strong (Berdahl et al., 2018). Interestingly we found that the ideal worker culture does not necessarily impact BME workers in the same way. This may be because for BME workers, above and beyond the work culture that expects long hours work devotion from their workers, racism or other factors may be more important in determining the, already higher, likelihood of BME workers engaging in digital presenteeism.

These findings carry direct implications for how organisations design and deploy HRM practices in hybrid and virtual work environments. The patterns we document, how digital presenteeism driven by ideal worker norms and flexibility stigma falling disproportionately on mothers, ethnic minority workers, and hybrid workers, are not simply workplace issues that workers must navigate individually. They are, at least in part, the product of HRM choices, including performance management systems that reward visibility over output, managerial cultures that equate after-hours responsiveness with commitment, and the absence of formal policies setting clear expectations around digital availability (Kossek & Lautsch, 2018; Matej & Amadeja, 2026). Organisations seeking to reduce the unequal burden of always-on culture should therefore consider a range of HRM levers. First, shifting performance evaluation frameworks toward output-based, as without such interventions, managers may unintentionally rely on visibility-based criteria supporting the long-hours devotion culture. This would directly undermine the results of our findings which show such ideal worker cultures as the strongest driver of digital presenteeism across all worker groups. Second, targeted manager training, particularly in hybrid settings where the comparison between physically present and digitally visible workers may be most salient, can help reduce the pressures hybrid workers feel to be digitally connected all the time, which may hinder reaping benefits of having a hybrid work design. It can also reduce negative effects we find flexibility stigma cultures to have especially pronounced for mothers. Similarly, a work culture where workers are better able to access remote working and other flexible working arrangements and family-friendly benefits may also help develop a culture in which digital presenteeism behaviours are not seen as the norm. Finally, our study indicates that formal right-to-disconnect policies, while necessary, may be insufficient on their own to support

good digital working practices. Our results show that the internal motivation to engage in digital presenteeism, which is likely itself a product of internalised organisational norms (Lee et al., 2024; Ryan & Deci, 2000), will not be addressed by policy alone without broader cultural change that HRM is uniquely positioned to lead.

There are some limitations to our research. Given the cross-sectional nature of our data, there are limited causal mechanisms we can draw from this research. However, as our variables are largely fixed characteristics (e.g. gender/parental status/ethnicity), we do not anticipate a reverse causal mechanism to be at play here. However, for the work culture variable, it may be that those who already engage in digital presenteeism behaviours are those who seek out work cultures that expect long hours work or penalises those who uses flexible working arrangements. However, given what we know about UK workers' preferences for work-life balance, flexibility and shorter hours (CIPD, 2023; Smith, 2020), this reverse causality is unlikely to be driving the result. A further limitation concerns the fact that the measurements were carried out across different survey waves, which was due to the limit of variables we could include in the larger survey in which this study was a part of. This may have introduced timing effect that renders direct comparisons across waves problematic and should be addressed in future studies. Thirdly, we rely on self-reported items with regards to digital presenteeism behaviours as well as work cultural norms. Although these may be imperfect measures with regards to understanding the actual behaviours of digital connectivity at work, for example compared to log-in data through computer software and VPN, they allow us to measure the pressures felt by workers and the importance of perceived work cultures in impacting these pressures. The measurement of digital presenteeism is also limited in the survey in that it fails to explore the multidimensionality of the phenomena. Similarly, the motivations of engaging in digital presenteeism could be expanded further. Additionally, although we were able to explore between white versus BME workers, studies have shown heterogeneity within the BME group which needs further sub-group analysis (Chung & Yuan, 2025; Heath & Di Stasio, 2019). The sample size of this study did not allow for such analysis, but future studies should consider oversampling certain groups of the population to allow for a clearer subgroup analysis using an intersectionality lens. Similarly, digital presenteeism variation across age groups, or occupational or organisational status may also be important to explore given the pressures and weak negation powers entry level workers can face. Finally,

this study only explored the UK case, which limits its generalisability. Future studies should explore data from across different countries with different work cultures and institutions.

Regardless, this study provides useful empirical evidence around the prevalence of digital presenteeism behaviour using a representative sample of workers in the UK. It further highlights how organisational culture interacts with gender, race, and work arrangement to shape unequal pressures for digital availability in the modern workplace. Results indicate that rather than the necessity of such behaviours, these patterns of behaviours may be attributed to workers' relative bargaining positions in the labour market, inherent biases within our workplaces, and problematic work cultures that push workers to engage in work behaviours that may be detrimental to not only their well-being but also to company's performance outcomes (Derks & Bakker, 2014). Although the study only examined workers' perspective, previous studies (Buechel & Solinas, 2025) have evidenced how these behaviours are driven by employers' preferences towards digital presenteeism behaviours, where boundary setting behaviours result in career penalties. Policy makers should therefore aim to look at different policy tools to help protect workers against the always-on culture such as the right to disconnect (European Commission, 2024). However, beyond such rights, they should also consider ways to protect workers, especially in more vulnerable positions, from potential discrimination, especially when they keep stronger boundaries between work and their private lives. This study has shown that the pressures for always-on may not be felt equal across the working population with different needs for protections. What is more, this study has shown organisational and potentially national work cultures are crucial factors in understanding why such behaviours occur. In other words, more concerted efforts are needed to tackle these flexibility stigma or ideal worker cultures, in addition to policies to support digital boundary setting, if the goal is to provide workers with better protection against the pressures of digital presenteeism and always-on culture.

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Appendix

Table A1. Descriptive results for the mean/frequency of key variables (weighted)

	September 2024		December 2024		June 2025		Pooled December-June	
	Mean/%	SD	Mean/%	SD	Mean/%	SD	Mean/%	SD
Active presenteeism	2.99	1.92						
Never (1)	33.00							
Less often than once a month (2)	19.40							
Once a month (3)	7.19							
Several times a month (4)	18.35							
1-2 days a week (5)	11.42							
3-4 days a week (6)	4.97							
Everyday (7)	5.66							
Passive presenteeism	3.85	2.23						
Never (1)	31.95							
Less often than once a month (2)	10.69							
Once a month (3)	2.32							
Several times a month (4)	15.85							
1-2 days a week (5)	12.35							
3-4 days a week (6)	8.10							
Everyday (7)	18.74							
Psychological measure presenteeism			2.76	1.17	2.69	1.11	2.68	1.13
Never (1)			26.08		25.80		25.78	
Rarely (2)			25.30		27.22		27.56	
Sometimes (3)			28.52		28.10		27.73	
Often (4)			13.12		15.44		14.82	
Always (5)			6.98		3.45		4.12	
Internally driven presenteeism								
Ref=No			46.32					
Yes			53.68					
Externally driven presenteeism								
Ref=No			65.94					
Yes			34.06					
WFH								
Ref=No WFH	55.99		56.72		55.47		55.88	

1 full paid day WFH	8.13		8.86	7.39		8.13	
2 full paid days WFH	8.58		9.71	10.80		10.23	
3 full paid days WFH	7.68		7.50	8.40		7.96	
4 full paid days WFH	6.73		6.39	6.74		6.40	
5^{+} full paid days WFH	12.88		10.81	11.19		11.40	
Flexibility stigma	2.53	1.13		2.52	1.10	2.52	1.11
Strongly disagree (1)	12.27			14.21		14.07	
Disagree (2)	27.00			25.90		26.42	
Neither agree nor disagree (3)	33.10			34.34		33.18	
Agree (4)	22.46			21.20		22.10	
Strongly agree (5)	5.17			4.35		4.23	
Ideal worker norm scale	3.26	1.04		3.32	1.01	3.31	1.02
Strongly disagree (1)	4.46			3.77		4.36	
Disagree (2)	20.12			21.34		20.84	
Neither agree nor disagree (3)	23.69			21.89		21.76	
Agree (4)	41.43			43.92		44.29	
Strongly agree (5)	10.29			9.09		8.75	
Age of respondent							
Ref=20-29	22.30		23.26	21.95		21.83	
30-39	27.13		27.17	27.80		26.00	
40-49	22.86		23.22	25.11		24.78	
50-64	27.71		26.35	25.14		27.39	
Parental status and sex							
Ref=Childless men	34.69		33.06	30.17		32.49	
Fathers	24.84		24.46	25.92		26.01	
Childless women	25.09		24.89	27.65		25.84	
Mothers	15.38		17.59	16.26		15.67	
Race							
Ref=White	89.19		82.09	86.57		87.94	
BME	10.81		17.91	13.43		12.06	
Educational level							
Secondary or below	49.95		48.90	47.41		49.04	
Ref=Bachelor degree	34.39		33.92	36.83		35.46	
Upper tertiary or above	15.66		17.18	15.76		15.50	
Occupation							
Ref=Managers	9.49		8.36	10.18		9.71	
Professional stem	12.30		14.18	15.28		14.81	
Professional non-stem	15.85		15.09	19.01		18.19	

Technicians and associate professionals	6.25		12.81		6.61		6.37	
Clerical support workers	11.18		9.06		10.25		10.02	
Service and sales workers	14.23		12.83		12.54		12.94	
Craft trade skills plant agriculture elementary workers	23.40		17.62		20.65		21.15	
Other	7.30		10.04		5.47		6.81	
Sector								
Ref=Primary and secondary	16.14		12.36		16.13		16.13	
Tertiary consumer oriented	14.97		11.52		11.98		11.87	
Tertiary business oriented	17.79		16.37		14.62		16.27	
Tertiary knowledge intensive	10.60		10.21		12.17		11.88	
Public service	31.60		39.13		36.43		34.80	
Other	8.90		10.40		8.66		9.05	
Working hours	38.52	4.75	38.52	4.91	38.42	4.68	38.43	4.62
Total number	1667		1660		1738		2230	

Note. %: Column percentages, SD: Standard deviations, Ref: reference level. Column percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Table A2. Regression models examining the population heterogeneity in digital presenteeism (including coefficients of all control variables) (weighted)

	September 2024		December 2024		June 2025
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	Active	Passive	Internally driven	Externally driven	Psychological
	Coef.	Coef.	OR	OR	Coef.
WFH (ref=No WFH)					
1 day WFH	0.568*	0.585*	2.360**	1.534	0.294*
	(0.230)	(0.280)	(0.639)	(0.457)	(0.125)
2 days WFH	0.522**	0.379	1.617*	1.897**	0.556***
	(0.192)	(0.270)	(0.343)	(0.398)	(0.105)
3 days WFH	0.395*	0.217	1.722*	1.909**	0.528***
	(0.190)	(0.249)	(0.427)	(0.445)	(0.114)
4 days WFH	0.365	0.083	2.007**	1.455	0.770***
	(0.230)	(0.273)	(0.470)	(0.351)	(0.130)
5+ days WFH	0.112	-0.259	1.591*	1.568*	0.505***
	(0.227)	(0.275)	(0.354)	(0.344)	(0.118)
Flexibility stigma	0.087	-0.088			0.082
	(0.083)	(0.099)			(0.052)
Ideal worker norm	0.455***	0.458***			0.113*
	(0.067)	(0.084)			(0.045)
Gender and parental status (ref=Childless men)					
Fathers	0.089	-0.189	1.328	1.289	-0.013
	(0.216)	(0.276)	(0.325)	(0.327)	(0.128)
Childless women	0.041	-0.109	1.029	1.094	-0.085
	(0.211)	(0.243)	(0.236)	(0.247)	(0.117)
Mothers	0.410+	-0.272	1.784*	1.221	0.207
	(0.212)	(0.312)	(0.478)	(0.321)	(0.152)
Race (ref=White)					
BME	0.163	0.563+	0.837	1.194	0.092
	(0.187)	(0.306)	(0.206)	(0.255)	(0.141)
Age (ref=20-29)					
30-39	-0.089	0.095	0.711	1.120	-0.087
	(0.229)	(0.279)	(0.177)	(0.280)	(0.145)
40-49	-0.038	0.233	0.675	0.699	-0.202
	(0.266)	(0.321)	(0.192)	(0.190)	(0.159)
50-64	0.087	0.185	0.570*	0.634+	-0.538**
	(0.252)	(0.282)	(0.154)	(0.166)	(0.164)

Educational level (Ref=Bachelor degree)					
Secondary or below	0.123	-0.442*	0.981	0.882	-0.079
	(0.157)	(0.217)	(0.195)	(0.180)	(0.100)
Upper tertiary or above	0.071	0.156	1.508+	0.879	-0.125
	(0.159)	(0.259)	(0.316)	(0.172)	(0.114)
Working hours capped 60	0.064***	0.050*	0.989	1.020	-0.002
	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.009)
Occupations (ref=managers)					
Professional stem	-0.067	-0.482	0.841	1.088	-0.227
	(0.224)	(0.352)	(0.232)	(0.296)	(0.169)
Professional non-stem	0.250	0.095	0.818	0.660+	-0.370*
	(0.258)	(0.317)	(0.210)	(0.160)	(0.149)
Technicians and associate professionals	0.242	0.341	1.261	0.970	-0.070
	(0.404)	(0.600)	(0.466)	(0.359)	(0.212)
Clerical support workers	-0.500*	-0.669*	0.684	0.986	-0.074
	(0.219)	(0.339)	(0.182)	(0.238)	(0.133)
Service and sales workers	0.272	0.073	0.642	1.209	-0.161
	(0.301)	(0.413)	(0.235)	(0.399)	(0.199)
Craft trade skills plant agriculture elementary workers	-0.805***	-1.603***	0.704	0.729	-0.344+
	(0.238)	(0.382)	(0.197)	(0.213)	(0.176)
Other	-0.642*	-1.330**	0.662	0.820	-0.145
	(0.311)	(0.428)	(0.258)	(0.278)	(0.172)
Sector (ref=primary and secondary)					
Tertiary consumer oriented	-0.313	-0.544	1.545	0.740	0.012
	(0.354)	(0.432)	(0.668)	(0.298)	(0.236)

Tertiary business oriented	-0.166	-0.193	1.401	1.396	-0.062
	(0.275)	(0.405)	(0.456)	(0.454)	(0.199)
Tertiary knowledge intensive	-0.093	-0.402	0.806	1.125	0.065
	(0.265)	(0.368)	(0.247)	(0.341)	(0.194)
Public service	0.146	0.100	0.786	0.979	-0.048
	(0.249)	(0.343)	(0.220)	(0.285)	(0.176)
Other	0.209	0.182	1.130	0.742	-0.292
	(0.289)	(0.386)	(0.450)	(0.265)	(0.214)
Constant	-1.428^{+}	1.137	1.985	0.227^{+}	2.190***
	(0.808)	(1.050)	(1.477)	(0.191)	(0.468)
N	1667	1667	1660	1660	1738
Adjusted R^2/Pseudo R^2	0.185	0.193	0.047	0.044	0.133

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001. For Model 1 to 2 and 5 report Adjusted R2, and Models 3-4 report Pseudo R2.

Table A3. Regression models examining the population heterogeneity in digital presenteeism (change reference group for the gender-parental status) (weighted)

	September 2024						December 2024						June 2025		
	Active			Passive			Internal			External			Psychological		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	OR	OR	OR	OR	OR	OR	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
Gender-parental status (ref=Childless men)															
Fathers	0.089		-0.189			1.328			1.289			-0.013			
	(0.216)		(0.276)			(0.325)			(0.327)			(0.128)			
Childless women	0.041		-0.109			1.029			1.094			-0.085			
	(0.211)		(0.243)			(0.236)			(0.247)			(0.117)			
Mothers	**0.410**$^{+}$		-0.272			**1.784***			1.221			0.207			
	(0.212)		(0.312)			**(0.478)**			(0.321)			(0.152)			
Gender-parental status (ref=Fathers)															
Childless men		-0.089			0.189			0.753			0.776			0.013	
		(0.216)			(0.276)			(0.184)			(0.197)			(0.128)	
Childless women		-0.048			0.080			0.775			0.849			-0.071	
		(0.228)			(0.273)			(0.204)			(0.225)			(0.120)	
Mothers		0.321			-0.083			1.344			0.948			0.220	

		(0.219)			(0.321)			(0.379)			(0.255)			(0.148)	
Gender-parental status (ref=Childless women)															
Childless men			-0.041			0.109			0.972			0.914			0.085
			(0.211)			(0.243)			(0.223)			(0.206)			(0.117)
Fathers			0.048			-0.080			1.290			1.178			0.071
			(0.228)			(0.273)			(0.339)			(0.312)			(0.120)
Mothers			**0.369**$^{+}$			-0.163			**1.734***			1.116			**0.291***
			(0.224)			(0.307)			**(0.474)**			(0.290)			**(0.141)**
Controls	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
N	1667	1667	1667	1667	1667	1667	1660	1660	1660	1660	1660	1660	1738	1738	1738
Adjusted R^2/Pseudo R^2	0.185	0.185	0.185	0.193	0.193	0.193	0.047	0.047	0.047	0.044	0.044	0.044	0.133	0.133	0.133

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001. Model 1 to 6 and 13 to 15 report Adjusted R^2, and Models 7-12 report Pseudo R^2. All models control for homeworking status, race, age, educational level, occupation, working hours per week, and sector. For Model 1 to 6 and 13 to 15, working culture measures are also controlled.

Table A4. Regression models examining the variations in **digital presenteeism** by **the workplace ideal worker norm and homeworking status, gender-parental status, race** (including coefficients of all control variables) (weighted)

	WFH			Gender-parental status			Race		
	September 2024		June 2025	September 2024		June 2025	September 2024		June 2025
	Model 1 Active Coef.	Model 2 Passive Coef.	Model 3 Psychological Coef.	Model 4 Active Coef.	Model 5 Passive Coef.	Model 6 Psychological Coef.	Model 7 Active Coef.	Model 8 Passive Coef.	Model 9 Psychological Coef.
Ideal worker norm	0.467***	0.414**	0.082	0.383**	0.425**	0.144+	0.450***	0.522***	0.120*
	(0.107)	(0.142)	(0.075)	(0.119)	(0.158)	(0.081)	(0.072)	(0.085)	(0.049)
WFH (ref=No WFH)									
1 day WFH	1.690*	0.410	-0.014	0.554*	0.588*	0.305*	0.567*	0.597*	0.296*
	(0.703)	(0.835)	(0.459)	(0.228)	(0.280)	(0.127)	(0.230)	(0.277)	(0.126)
2 days WFH	0.284	-0.498	0.131	0.516**	0.374	0.568***	0.520**	0.403	0.561***
	(0.620)	(0.854)	(0.341)	(0.193)	(0.272)	(0.104)	(0.193)	(0.265)	(0.107)
3 days WFH	0.511	-0.507	0.029	0.378*	0.224	0.544***	0.391*	0.272	0.533***
	(0.515)	(0.692)	(0.360)	(0.191)	(0.249)	(0.113)	(0.191)	(0.244)	(0.116)
4 days WFH	0.139	0.018	0.459	0.343	0.089	0.778***	0.364	0.105	0.772***
	(0.632)	(0.781)	(0.410)	(0.226)	(0.274)	(0.128)	(0.231)	(0.270)	(0.131)
5+ days WFH	0.087	-0.091	0.642+	0.104	-0.250	0.516***	0.111	-0.236	0.504***
	(0.546)	(0.733)	(0.339)	(0.220)	(0.272)	(0.116)	(0.228)	(0.279)	(0.118)
WFH * Ideal worker norm									
1 day WFH	-0.327	0.053	0.092						
	(0.218)	(0.251)	(0.123)						
2 days WFH	0.069	0.262	0.123						

	(0.176)	(0.230)	(0.096)						
3 days WFH	-0.038	0.232	0.151						
	(0.153)	(0.191)	(0.102)						
4 days WFH	0.069	0.021	0.096						
	(0.213)	(0.239)	(0.117)						
5+ days WFH	0.006	-0.050	-0.045						
	(0.177)	(0.220)	(0.097)						
Gender-parental status (ref=Childless men)									
Fathers	0.099	-0.194	-0.018	-0.520	-0.165	0.366	0.091	-0.208	-0.016
	(0.216)	(0.277)	(0.126)	(0.569)	(0.949)	(0.416)	(0.216)	(0.271)	(0.128)
Childless women	0.036	-0.111	-0.086	-0.008	-0.759	0.110	0.042	-0.125	-0.087
	(0.211)	(0.242)	(0.118)	(0.591)	(0.749)	(0.359)	(0.212)	(0.240)	(0.117)
Mothers	0.412^{+}	-0.273	0.209	-0.255	0.199	-0.106	0.411^{+}	-0.274	0.202
	(0.210)	(0.309)	(0.153)	(0.692)	(0.912)	(0.456)	(0.212)	(0.313)	(0.152)
Gender-parental status * Ideal worker norm									
Fathers				0.178	-0.005	-0.114			
				(0.181)	(0.271)	(0.119)			
Childless women				0.010	0.202	-0.058			
				(0.171)	(0.210)	(0.110)			
Mothers				0.197	-0.140	0.092			
				(0.200)	(0.258)	(0.130)			
Race (ref=White)									

BME	0.160	0.551^{+}	0.081	0.172	0.563^{+}	0.091	0.019	2.535*	0.296
	(0.185)	(0.300)	(0.141)	(0.185)	(0.296)	(0.142)	(0.509)	(1.141)	(0.391)
Race * ideal worker norm									
BME							0.045	-0.612*	-0.062
							(0.160)	(0.296)	(0.120)
Flexibility stigma	0.081	-0.086	0.079	0.075	-0.078	0.086	0.086	-0.075	0.082
	(0.082)	(0.100)	(0.053)	(0.082)	(0.098)	(0.052)	(0.083)	(0.099)	(0.052)
Age (ref=20-29)									
30-39	-0.094	0.101	-0.096	-0.091	0.081	-0.096	-0.089	0.099	-0.087
	(0.230)	(0.280)	(0.145)	(0.229)	(0.280)	(0.142)	(0.229)	(0.276)	(0.145)
40-49	-0.036	0.228	-0.209	-0.038	0.242	-0.216	-0.039	0.242	-0.202
	(0.267)	(0.322)	(0.160)	(0.265)	(0.319)	(0.156)	(0.266)	(0.317)	(0.158)
50-64	0.084	0.176	-0.551***	0.071	0.184	-0.548***	0.085	0.210	-0.539***
	(0.250)	(0.280)	(0.164)	(0.252)	(0.283)	(0.162)	(0.251)	(0.281)	(0.163)
Educational level (Ref=Bachelor degree)									
Secondary or below	0.118	-0.439*	-0.073	0.123	-0.434*	-0.070	0.122	-0.423^{+}	-0.079
	(0.157)	(0.218)	(0.099)	(0.157)	(0.218)	(0.100)	(0.156)	(0.217)	(0.100)
Upper tertiary or above	0.073	0.152	-0.132	0.061	0.182	-0.126	0.073	0.137	-0.128
	(0.159)	(0.259)	(0.114)	(0.161)	(0.255)	(0.114)	(0.159)	(0.243)	(0.114)
Working hours capped 60	0.063***	0.051*	-0.002	0.063***	0.049*	-0.002	0.064***	0.049*	-0.002
	(0.017)	(0.021)	(0.009)	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.009)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.009)

Occupations (ref=managers)									
Professional stem	-0.061	-0.474	-0.225	-0.057	-0.501	-0.240	-0.065	-0.505	-0.225
	(0.225)	(0.354)	(0.169)	(0.223)	(0.350)	(0.167)	(0.224)	(0.351)	(0.169)
Professional non-stem	0.262	0.094	-0.359*	0.271	0.069	-0.377*	0.251	0.078	-0.369*
	(0.257)	(0.316)	(0.148)	(0.258)	(0.315)	(0.148)	(0.258)	(0.313)	(0.149)
Technicians and associate professionals	0.257	0.355	-0.069	0.224	0.382	-0.053	0.247	0.270	-0.064
	(0.407)	(0.601)	(0.214)	(0.403)	(0.599)	(0.207)	(0.405)	(0.601)	(0.212)
Clerical support workers	-0.484*	-0.666+	-0.061	-0.493*	-0.653+	-0.086	-0.500*	-0.674*	-0.072
	(0.219)	(0.341)	(0.132)	(0.218)	(0.337)	(0.132)	(0.219)	(0.334)	(0.133)
Service and sales workers	0.272	0.065	-0.156	0.281	0.087	-0.171	0.277	0.013	-0.156
	(0.302)	(0.414)	(0.199)	(0.301)	(0.411)	(0.197)	(0.301)	(0.405)	(0.199)
Craft trade skills plant agriculture elementary workers	-0.795***	-1.594***	-0.348*	-0.805***	-1.597***	-0.363*	-0.804***	-1.629***	-0.341+
	(0.238)	(0.381)	(0.176)	(0.238)	(0.377)	(0.175)	(0.239)	(0.371)	(0.176)
Other	-0.628*	-1.342**	-0.129	-0.621*	-1.333**	-0.144	-0.641*	-1.347**	-0.138
	(0.309)	(0.427)	(0.174)	(0.310)	(0.430)	(0.169)	(0.311)	(0.418)	(0.172)
Sector (ref=primary and secondary)									
Tertiary consumer	-0.295	-0.531	-0.001	-0.314	-0.541	0.024	-0.318	-0.478	0.009

oriented									
	(0.357)	(0.432)	(0.238)	(0.351)	(0.433)	(0.236)	(0.353)	(0.418)	(0.236)
Tertiary business oriented	-0.176	-0.203	-0.071	-0.155	-0.201	-0.066	-0.170	-0.142	-0.060
	(0.277)	(0.403)	(0.197)	(0.273)	(0.403)	(0.197)	(0.275)	(0.400)	(0.197)
Tertiary knowledge intensive	-0.088	-0.407	0.067	-0.087	-0.392	0.075	-0.095	-0.376	0.066
	(0.265)	(0.369)	(0.195)	(0.262)	(0.367)	(0.192)	(0.265)	(0.365)	(0.194)
Public service	0.130	0.096	-0.046	0.148	0.091	-0.046	0.142	0.157	-0.050
	(0.248)	(0.341)	(0.176)	(0.248)	(0.342)	(0.176)	(0.250)	(0.328)	(0.177)
Other	0.214	0.147	-0.312	0.188	0.160	-0.293	0.202	0.274	-0.294
	(0.295)	(0.394)	(0.213)	(0.291)	(0.392)	(0.216)	(0.291)	(0.370)	(0.215)
Constant	-1.415^{+}	1.255	2.303***	-1.120	1.254	2.057***	-1.411^{+}	0.907	2.173***
	(0.854)	(1.135)	(0.510)	(0.932)	(1.263)	(0.509)	(0.813)	(1.066)	(0.468)
N	1667	1667	1738	1667	1667	1738	1667	1667	1738
Adjusted R2	0.185	0.193	0.134	0.186	0.195	0.136	0.185	0.200	0.133

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001. Analyses are restricted to the September 2024 and June 2025 samples, as measures of flexibility stigma and ideal-worker culture are available only in these two waves.

Table A5. Regression models examining the variations in digital presenteeism by **the workplace flexibility stigma and homeworking status, gender-parental status, race** (including coefficients of all control variables) (weighted)

	WFH			Gender-parental status			Race		
	September 2024		June 2025	September 2024		June 2025	September 2024		June 2025
	Model 1 Active Coef.	Model 2 Passive Coef.	Model 3 Psychological Coef.	Model 4 Active Coef.	Model 5 Passive Coef.	Model 6 Psychological Coef.	Model 7 Active Coef.	Model 8 Passive Coef.	Model 9 Psychological Coef.
Flexibility stigma	0.089	-0.135	0.068	-0.069	-0.155	0.258*	0.058	-0.073	0.085
	(0.155)	(0.201)	(0.097)	(0.143)	(0.188)	(0.114)	(0.092)	(0.109)	(0.058)
WFH (ref=No WFH)									
1 day WFH	0.626	-0.436	0.243	0.556*	0.583*	0.309*	0.563*	0.587*	0.294*
	(0.690)	(0.808)	(0.420)	(0.228)	(0.283)	(0.126)	(0.230)	(0.279)	(0.125)
2 days WFH	0.257	-0.504	0.379	0.498*	0.379	0.557***	0.510**	0.384	0.557***
	(0.591)	(0.757)	(0.333)	(0.194)	(0.274)	(0.105)	(0.193)	(0.269)	(0.106)
3 days WFH	0.677	-0.355	0.414	0.364+	0.211	0.534***	0.370+	0.230	0.530***
	(0.570)	(0.722)	(0.353)	(0.189)	(0.250)	(0.115)	(0.192)	(0.249)	(0.115)
4 days WFH	0.170	-0.130	0.658+	0.312	0.056	0.755***	0.350	0.091	0.771***
	(0.692)	(0.816)	(0.391)	(0.224)	(0.271)	(0.131)	(0.234)	(0.273)	(0.131)
5+ days WFH	0.206	0.405	0.539	0.050	-0.254	0.501***	0.093	-0.249	0.506***
	(0.585)	(0.704)	(0.352)	(0.216)	(0.274)	(0.119)	(0.231)	(0.278)	(0.119)
WFH * Flexibility stigma									
1 day WFH	-0.019	0.334	0.017						
	(0.208)	(0.261)	(0.135)						

2 days WFH	0.101	0.336	0.066						
	(0.195)	(0.255)	(0.109)						
3 days WFH	-0.120	0.239	0.043						
	(0.190)	(0.243)	(0.117)						
4 days WFH	0.087	0.085	0.046						
	(0.288)	(0.315)	(0.138)						
5+ days WFH	-0.041	-0.306	-0.023						
	(0.224)	(0.243)	(0.120)						
Gender-parental status (ref=Childless men)									
Fathers	0.083	-0.204	-0.014	-0.660	-0.749	0.849*	0.087	-0.187	-0.012
	(0.217)	(0.278)	(0.127)	(0.603)	(0.808)	(0.374)	(0.216)	(0.276)	(0.128)
Childless women	0.047	-0.095	-0.087	-0.116	-0.249	0.649+	0.047	-0.112	-0.085
	(0.213)	(0.242)	(0.116)	(0.502)	(0.615)	(0.350)	(0.212)	(0.242)	(0.117)
Mothers	0.415+	-0.223	0.206	-0.714	-0.338	0.692+	0.415+	-0.274	0.206
	(0.214)	(0.309)	(0.151)	(0.551)	(0.728)	(0.400)	(0.213)	(0.312)	(0.152)
Gender-parental status * Flexibility stigma									
Fathers				0.262	0.195	-0.305*			
				(0.213)	(0.291)	(0.140)			
Childless women				0.037	0.044	-0.261*			
				(0.176)	(0.224)	(0.129)			
Mothers				0.413*	0.016	-0.170			
				(0.186)	(0.283)	(0.147)			

Race (ref=White)									
BME	0.174	0.569^{+}	0.088	0.173	0.569^{+}	0.104	-0.384	0.849	0.158
	(0.188)	(0.300)	(0.141)	(0.184)	(0.307)	(0.140)	(0.376)	(0.630)	(0.319)
Race * Flexibility stigma									
BME							0.224	-0.117	-0.025
							(0.139)	(0.205)	(0.123)
Ideal worker norm	0.457***	0.474***	0.113*	0.443***	0.457***	0.120**	0.452***	0.460***	0.113*
	(0.067)	(0.083)	(0.045)	(0.066)	(0.084)	(0.046)	(0.067)	(0.084)	(0.045)
Age (ref=20-29)									
30-39	-0.088	0.115	-0.092	-0.064	0.097	-0.107	-0.085	0.093	-0.089
	(0.230)	(0.284)	(0.145)	(0.223)	(0.275)	(0.142)	(0.229)	(0.279)	(0.147)
40-49	-0.032	0.250	-0.206	-0.061	0.244	-0.204	-0.042	0.235	-0.203
	(0.269)	(0.329)	(0.158)	(0.260)	(0.310)	(0.154)	(0.267)	(0.319)	(0.159)
50-64	0.090	0.212	-0.541**	0.110	0.198	-0.545***	0.082	0.187	-0.539**
	(0.258)	(0.296)	(0.165)	(0.245)	(0.276)	(0.156)	(0.253)	(0.280)	(0.164)
Educational level (Ref=Bachelor degree)									
Secondary or below	0.130	-0.423^{+}	-0.080	0.156	-0.430*	-0.071	0.127	-0.444*	-0.078
	(0.156)	(0.216)	(0.100)	(0.155)	(0.219)	(0.098)	(0.156)	(0.217)	(0.100)
Upper tertiary or above	0.074	0.166	-0.127	0.092	0.163	-0.117	0.065	0.159	-0.125
	(0.158)	(0.257)	(0.114)	(0.157)	(0.258)	(0.112)	(0.160)	(0.259)	(0.114)
Working hours capped 60	0.064***	0.050*	-0.002	0.060***	0.049*	-0.001	0.064***	0.050*	-0.002

	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.009)	(0.018)	(0.022)	(0.009)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.009)
Occupations (ref=managers)									
Professional stem	-0.064	-0.488	-0.224	-0.087	-0.461	-0.201	-0.058	-0.486	-0.225
	(0.226)	(0.351)	(0.170)	(0.220)	(0.346)	(0.170)	(0.223)	(0.352)	(0.169)
Professional non-stem	0.237	0.079	-0.367*	0.248	0.088	-0.364*	0.247	0.096	-0.370*
	(0.255)	(0.315)	(0.150)	(0.249)	(0.313)	(0.151)	(0.258)	(0.315)	(0.149)
Technicians and associate professionals	0.232	0.346	-0.068	0.165	0.361	-0.068	0.240	0.341	-0.071
	(0.405)	(0.602)	(0.214)	(0.408)	(0.584)	(0.209)	(0.404)	(0.601)	(0.211)
Clerical support workers	-0.507*	-0.680*	-0.069	-0.524*	-0.655+	-0.064	-0.510*	-0.664*	-0.072
	(0.220)	(0.343)	(0.134)	(0.220)	(0.341)	(0.134)	(0.219)	(0.338)	(0.134)
Service and sales workers	0.268	0.040	-0.158	0.292	0.090	-0.163	0.283	0.067	-0.159
	(0.308)	(0.413)	(0.199)	(0.294)	(0.405)	(0.202)	(0.300)	(0.412)	(0.199)
Craft trade skills plant agriculture elementary workers	-0.811***	-1.574***	-0.341+	-0.825***	-1.586***	-0.370*	-0.806***	-1.603***	-0.343+
	(0.238)	(0.379)	(0.176)	(0.235)	(0.381)	(0.175)	(0.238)	(0.381)	(0.176)
Other	-0.655*	-1.350**	-0.145	-0.689*	-1.320**	-0.115	-0.649*	-1.327**	-0.143
	(0.308)	(0.416)	(0.172)	(0.313)	(0.429)	(0.171)	(0.311)	(0.425)	(0.172)
Sector (ref=primary and secondary)									

Tertiary consumer oriented	-0.318	-0.561	0.008	-0.322	-0.542	0.034	-0.339	-0.531	0.011
	(0.358)	(0.433)	(0.234)	(0.344)	(0.432)	(0.232)	(0.350)	(0.430)	(0.237)
Tertiary business oriented	-0.169	-0.267	-0.065	-0.108	-0.169	-0.059	-0.181	-0.186	-0.061
	(0.280)	(0.406)	(0.199)	(0.269)	(0.407)	(0.196)	(0.275)	(0.404)	(0.197)
Tertiary knowledge intensive	-0.105	-0.460	0.064	-0.067	-0.375	0.078	-0.094	-0.402	0.065
	(0.267)	(0.366)	(0.195)	(0.251)	(0.365)	(0.190)	(0.264)	(0.369)	(0.194)
Public service	0.138	0.056	-0.047	0.164	0.115	-0.025	0.129	0.109	-0.047
	(0.247)	(0.338)	(0.177)	(0.239)	(0.342)	(0.173)	(0.249)	(0.340)	(0.175)
Other	0.197	0.119	-0.289	0.240	0.190	-0.302	0.180	0.197	-0.294
	(0.293)	(0.385)	(0.222)	(0.285)	(0.386)	(0.208)	(0.288)	(0.381)	(0.216)
Constant	-1.433	1.251	2.239***	-0.803	1.362	1.620**	-1.331	1.086	2.182***
	(0.885)	(1.164)	(0.499)	(0.974)	(1.235)	(0.515)	(0.813)	(1.059)	(0.465)
N	1667	1667	1738	1667	1667	1738	1667	1667	1738
Adjusted R^2	0.184	0.199	0.132	0.191	0.193	0.145	0.186	0.193	0.133

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Analyses are restricted to the September 2024 and June 2025 samples, as measures of flexibility stigma and ideal-worker culture are available only in these two waves.

Table A6. Regression models examining the population heterogeneity in digital presenteeism among the pooled December 2024 and June 2025 sample (including coefficients of all control variables) (weighted)

	Without working culture variables	With working culture variables
	Model 1	Model 2
	Psychological	Psychological
	Coef.	Coef.
WFH (ref=No WFH)		
1 day WFH	0.438**	0.453**
	(0.143)	(0.138)
2 days WFH	0.503***	0.534***
	(0.094)	(0.094)
3 days WFH	0.467***	0.521***
	(0.101)	(0.103)
4 days WFH	0.700***	0.788***
	(0.111)	(0.116)
5+ days WFH	0.451***	0.544***
	(0.094)	(0.103)
Flexibility stigma		0.080+
		(0.046)
Ideal worker norm		0.097*
		(0.040)
Gender and parental status (ref=Childless men)		
Fathers	-0.012	0.000
	(0.122)	(0.119)
Childless women	-0.081	-0.075
	(0.109)	(0.106)
Mothers	0.249+	0.257+
	(0.147)	(0.142)
Race (ref=White)		
BME	0.186	0.187
	(0.158)	(0.153)
Age (ref=20-29)		
30-39	-0.053	-0.033
	(0.135)	(0.130)
40-49	-0.123	-0.134
	(0.150)	(0.147)
50-64	-0.404**	-0.408**
	(0.156)	(0.152)

Educational level (Ref=Bachelor degree)		
Secondary or below	-0.044	-0.043
	(0.091)	(0.091)
Upper tertiary or above	-0.102	-0.087
	(0.100)	(0.099)
Working hours capped 60	-0.003	-0.005
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Occupations (ref=managers)		
Professional stem	-0.259^{+}	-0.223
	(0.144)	(0.145)
Professional non-stem	-0.281*	-0.314*
	(0.128)	(0.128)
Technicians and associate professionals	-0.066	0.000
	(0.174)	(0.172)
Clerical support workers	-0.151	-0.124
	(0.115)	(0.116)
Service and sales workers	-0.102	-0.105
	(0.176)	(0.175)
Craft trade skills plant agriculture elementary workers	-0.444**	-0.413**
	(0.155)	(0.153)
Other	0.013	0.062
	(0.174)	(0.175)
Sector (ref=primary and secondary)		
Tertiary consumer oriented	-0.038	-0.009
	(0.219)	(0.208)
Tertiary business oriented	0.021	0.047
	(0.180)	(0.178)

Tertiary knowledge intensive	-0.003	0.011
	(0.173)	(0.171)
Public service	-0.100	-0.061
	(0.158)	(0.153)
Other	-0.313^{+}	-0.297
	(0.190)	(0.190)
Wave (ref=December 2024)		
June 2025	-0.070	-0.076
	(0.093)	(0.093)
Constant	2.836***	2.299***
	(0.444)	(0.436)
N	2230	2230
Adjusted R^2	0.115	0.129

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Table A7. Regression models examining the variations in **digital presenteeism** by **the workplace ideal worker norm and homeworking status, gender-parental status, race** among the pooled December 2024 and June 2025 sample (including coefficients of all control variables) (weighted)

	WFH Model 1 Psychological Coef.	Gender-parental status Model 2 Psychological Coef.	Race Model 3 Psychological Coef.
Ideal worker norm	0.050	0.150*	0.101*
	(0.065)	(0.073)	(0.043)
WFH (ref=No WFH)			
1 day WFH	-0.010	0.461***	0.454**
	(0.386)	(0.137)	(0.138)
2 days WFH	0.142	0.543***	0.536***
	(0.297)	(0.093)	(0.095)
3 days WFH	-0.139	0.531***	0.522***
	(0.311)	(0.102)	(0.104)
4 days WFH	0.311	0.794***	0.789***
	(0.349)	(0.115)	(0.116)
5+ days WFH	0.489^{+}	0.549***	0.544***
	(0.291)	(0.102)	(0.103)
WFH * Ideal worker norm			
1 day WFH	0.138		

	(0.115)		
2 days WFH	0.116		
	(0.085)		
3 days WFH	0.200*		
	(0.089)		
4 days WFH	0.148		
	(0.099)		
5+ days WFH	0.015		
	(0.083)		
Gender-parental status (ref=Childless men)			
Fathers	-0.011	0.505	-0.001
	(0.118)	(0.362)	(0.119)
Childless women	-0.076	0.175	-0.075
	(0.106)	(0.309)	(0.106)
Mothers	0.255+	0.114	0.255+
	(0.142)	(0.399)	(0.142)
Gender-parental status * Ideal worker norm			
Fathers		-0.152	
		(0.105)	
Childless women		-0.075	
		(0.096)	
Mothers		0.042	
		(0.118)	
Race (ref=White)			
BME	0.179	0.186	0.319
	(0.154)	(0.151)	(0.347)
Race*ideal worker norm			
BME			-0.040
			(0.114)
Flexibility stigma	0.079+	0.083+	0.081+
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Age (ref=20-29)			
30-39	-0.036	-0.031	-0.033
	(0.130)	(0.127)	(0.130)
40-49	-0.135	-0.142	-0.134
	(0.148)	(0.145)	(0.147)
50-64	-0.416**	-0.407**	-0.409**
	(0.153)	(0.149)	(0.152)

Educational level (Ref=Bachelor degree)			
Secondary or below	-0.038	-0.039	-0.042
	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.091)
Upper tertiary or above	-0.091	-0.089	-0.089
	(0.098)	(0.099)	(0.099)
Working hours capped 60	-0.005	-0.004	-0.005
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Occupations (ref=managers)			
Professional stem	-0.213	-0.242^{+}	-0.223
	(0.145)	(0.144)	(0.146)
Professional non-stem	-0.295*	-0.320*	-0.313*
	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.129)
Technicians and associate professionals	0.011	0.011	0.004
	(0.173)	(0.168)	(0.172)
Clerical support workers	-0.104	-0.135	-0.122
	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.116)
Service and sales workers	-0.098	-0.118	-0.103
	(0.176)	(0.173)	(0.175)
Craft trade skills plant agriculture elementary workers	-0.411**	-0.430**	-0.412**
	(0.153)	(0.153)	(0.154)
Other	0.072	0.049	0.067
	(0.175)	(0.172)	(0.173)
Sector (ref=primary and secondary)			
Tertiary consumer oriented	-0.026	-0.008	-0.011
	(0.209)	(0.208)	(0.208)
Tertiary business oriented	0.032	0.043	0.048
	(0.177)	(0.178)	(0.178)

Tertiary knowledge intensive	0.002	0.024	0.012
	(0.171)	(0.169)	(0.171)
Public service	-0.069	-0.059	-0.063
	(0.153)	(0.154)	(0.154)
Other	-0.324^{+}	-0.293	-0.297
	(0.190)	(0.192)	(0.191)
Wave (ref=December 2024)			
June 2025	-0.077	-0.077	-0.076
	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.093)
Constant	2.464***	2.070***	2.288***
	(0.467)	(0.475)	(0.438)
N	2230	2230	2230
Adjusted R^2	0.131	0.131	0.128

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. $^{+}$ p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Table A8. Regression models examining the variations in **digital presenteeism** by **the workplace flexibility stigma and homeworking status, gender-parental status, race** among the pooled December 2024 and June 2025 sample (including coefficients of all control variables) (weighted)

	WFH Model 1 Psychological Coef.	Gender-parental status Model 2 Psychological Coef.	Race Model 3 Psychological Coef.
Flexibility stigma	0.071	0.218*	0.070
	(0.084)	(0.099)	(0.051)
WFH (ref=No WFH)			
1 day WFH	0.477	0.450***	0.452**
	(0.404)	(0.134)	(0.138)
2 days WFH	0.354	0.539***	0.532***
	(0.285)	(0.094)	(0.095)
3 days WFH	0.458	0.520***	0.516***
	(0.307)	(0.103)	(0.104)
4 days WFH	0.660*	0.777***	0.783***
	(0.332)	(0.116)	(0.116)
5+ days WFH	0.602*	0.540***	0.539***
	(0.300)	(0.103)	(0.104)
WFH*Flexibility stigma			
1 day WFH	-0.009		
	(0.145)		

2 days WFH	0.068		
	(0.097)		
3 days WFH	0.024		
	(0.103)		
4 days WFH	0.056		
	(0.120)		
5+ days WFH	-0.032		
	(0.103)		
Gender-parental status (ref=Childless men)			
Fathers	-0.001	0.706*	-0.003
	(0.119)	(0.324)	(0.120)
Childless women	-0.077	0.529+	-0.075
	(0.104)	(0.301)	(0.106)
Mothers	0.257+	0.525	0.258+
	(0.141)	(0.352)	(0.143)
Gender-parental status * Flexibility stigma			
Fathers		-0.251*	
		(0.122)	
Childless women		-0.216+	
		(0.113)	
Mothers		-0.089	
		(0.134)	
Race (ref=White)			
BME	0.186	0.199	-0.042
	(0.154)	(0.150)	(0.306)
Race*Flexibility stigma			
BME			0.088
			(0.136)
Ideal worker norm	0.097*	0.100*	0.096*
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.040)
Age (ref=20-29)			
30-39	-0.037	-0.048	-0.027
	(0.131)	(0.128)	(0.132)
40-49	-0.135	-0.135	-0.131
	(0.148)	(0.143)	(0.148)
50-64	-0.409**	-0.414**	-0.407**
	(0.156)	(0.146)	(0.152)
Educational level (Ref=Bachelor degree)			
Secondary or below	-0.044	-0.037	-0.047

	(0.091)	(0.090)	(0.090)
Upper tertiary or above	-0.090	-0.074	-0.087
	(0.099)	(0.099)	(0.099)
Working hours capped 60	-0.005	-0.004	-0.005
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Occupations (ref=managers)			
Professional stem	-0.220	-0.214	-0.228
	(0.146)	(0.146)	(0.145)
Professional non-stem	-0.314*	-0.311*	-0.314*
	(0.129)	(0.130)	(0.129)
Technicians and associate professionals	0.004	-0.007	-0.000
	(0.172)	(0.170)	(0.172)
Clerical support workers	-0.119	-0.118	-0.130
	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)
Service and sales workers	-0.103	-0.111	-0.109
	(0.175)	(0.177)	(0.175)
Craft trade skills plant agriculture elementary workers	-0.411**	-0.443**	-0.414**
	(0.153)	(0.153)	(0.153)
Other	0.062	0.076	0.052
	(0.175)	(0.173)	(0.171)
Sector (ref=primary and secondary)			
Tertiary consumer oriented	-0.011	-0.001	-0.007
	(0.204)	(0.206)	(0.208)
Tertiary business oriented	0.043	0.040	0.044
	(0.177)	(0.178)	(0.178)
Tertiary knowledge intensive	0.009	0.016	0.009
	(0.171)	(0.167)	(0.171)
Public service	-0.062	-0.055	-0.065
	(0.153)	(0.152)	(0.154)
Other	-0.296	-0.308+	-0.294
	(0.195)	(0.186)	(0.191)

Wave (ref=December 2024)			
June 2025	-0.077	-0.064	-0.077
	(0.092)	(0.093)	(0.093)
Constant	2.332***	1.852***	2.326***
	(0.458)	(0.478)	(0.435)
N	2230	2230	2230
Adjusted R^2	0.127	0.137	0.129

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.