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DO WORKERS VALUE FLEXIBLE JOBS? A FIELD EXPERIMENT

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### **ABSTRACT**

We explore workers' valuation of job flexibility, using a field experiment conducted on a Chinese job board, as well as survey and observational data for the same job seekers. Our experimental job ads differ randomly in offering jobs that are flexible regarding when one works (time flexibility) or where one works (place flexibility). We find strong evidence that workers value job flexibility. Application rates are higher for flexible jobs, conditional on the salary offered. Survey evidence indicates that workers are willing to take lower pay for more flexible jobs. Finally, non-experimental job board application data do not indicate that workers value job flexibility, reinforcing the difficulty of estimating workers' valuation of job conditions from observational data.

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## 1. Introduction

Non-monetary job characteristics, in addition to expected earnings, have long been recognized as potentially influential factors affecting workers' job choices. In this paper, we present evidence on how workers value job flexibility. While there are many job amenities one could study, there are reasons for interest in job flexibility specifically. Employers may be interested in offering more flexible jobs to help recruit workers or to reduce office costs, and governments may be interested in promoting job flexibility to increase labor supply and reduce congestion. These motivations presume that workers actually value flexible jobs. But do they?

Our central contribution is field experiment evidence, which comes from a collaboration with a Chinese online job board on which people search for jobs and employers look for workers. We generate random variation in job flexibility offered to job seekers in invitations to apply for jobs that are offered by a single firm. Our job flexibility conditions vary with respect to both when one works (time flexibility, i.e., the ability to schedule one's work within a workday) and where one works (place flexibility, i.e., the ability to telecommute). We also vary the pay of the jobs. We compare the application rates across job flexibility conditions conditional on pay, and estimate workers' valuation of job flexibility by contrasting application rates across various job flexibility and pay combinations.

In our view, this field experiment approach improves upon the other two approaches used in the literature. We are also able to generate evidence using these other two approaches, to compare the results with the field experiment evidence. First, we complement our experiment with analysis of observational data collected from the same job board used in the experiment, covering the same period, city, occupations, and job seekers. This analysis parallels what has been done in prior research on workers' valuation of job amenities, based on the hedonic pricing model (Rosen, 1974, 1986). These studies use observational data, regressing wages on job characteristics of realized job choices to try to infer workers' valuation of these job characteristics. The estimates often appear to be incorrectly signed, leading economists to focus on two potential problems: (i) omitted variable bias attributable to correlations between job amenities and unmeasured worker heterogeneity (e.g., Brown, 1980;<sup>1</sup> Kniesner et al., 2012) or unmeasured job or firm characteristics (e.g., Hwang et al., 1998; Lang and

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<sup>1</sup> Brown (1980) also focused on potential measurement error in job characteristics.

Majumdar, 2004); and (ii) endogenous sorting of workers across jobs, both cross-sectionally and over time (e.g., Bonhomme and Jolivet, 2009; Sullivan and To, 2014).<sup>2</sup> Recent research has tried to address these challenges by using matched employer-employee data to try to fully account for heterogeneity in firms and in worker-job matches (e.g., Taber and Vejlín, 2016; Lavetti, 2017; Lavetti and Schmutte, 2017; Sorkin, 2018).

Our analysis of observational data from the job board is intended in part to see if we replicate past evidence indicating that observational data lead to evidence that sometimes seems inconsistent with how we expect workers to value job amenities (in our case, job flexibility) – which is what we find. One explanation of the seemingly incorrect evidence from studies using observational data is that the wage regressions estimated do not necessarily isolate workers’ valuation of job characteristics, but rather the market-clearing compensating wage differentials that trace out a market-clearing envelope of different firms’ iso-profit curves reflecting the impact of job characteristics on costs, and workers’ indifference curves over job characteristics. Only when the indifference curves are tangent to the envelope, i.e., the labor market is in equilibrium, is the slope of the envelope at a given level of the job characteristic (the compensating differential) equal to the workers’ willingness to pay (WTP), and only for small changes in the characteristic for marginal workers choosing that level of characteristic (Smith, 1979). However, if the changes are not small, or if the labor market is not in equilibrium, due to, for example, search frictions that prevent workers from matching with their most preferred jobs, the equivalence between compensating wage differentials and workers’ valuation is broken.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the analysis of observational data, our experiment is intended to capture more directly workers’ valuation of job characteristics.

We also provide complementary evidence from a parallel approach to estimating workers’ valuation of job amenities that has been used in several recent studies. These studies use the stated preference approach to directly estimate average workers’ preferences based on their choices between pairs of exogenously assigned hypothetical jobs with different combinations of amenity levels and pay

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<sup>2</sup> For example, workers may vary in unmeasured productivity, and more productive workers may use their higher income to “buy” more pleasant job characteristics (assuming positive job amenities are a normal good). This would lead to a positive bias in the estimated effect of positive job amenities on pay, in contrast to the predicted negative effect of positive amenities on pay from the theory of compensation differentials.

<sup>3</sup> On the latter point, see Wiswall and Zafar (2017) and Lavetti (2017).

(Eriksson and Kristensen, 2014; Mas and Pallais, 2017; Wiswall and Zafar, 2017; Maestas et al., 2018).<sup>4</sup> In our experiment, we also surveyed job applicants to collect data on salary expectations for the experimental job, and for an otherwise identical hypothetical job with different flexibility conditions, to measure their valuation of job flexibility based on within-individual comparisons. We were particularly interested in whether the evidence from this exercise matches the experimental evidence – which it does, at least qualitatively.

In our view, there are two key virtues of the natural field experiment (Harrison and List, 2004) setting that offers real jobs to real job seekers. First, like the stated preference approach, the field experiment estimates workers' valuation free of potential biases in estimates from observational data on realized job choices. Second, unlike studies using the stated preference approach where decisions are not incentivized, at least not for high-stakes decisions like job choices, our subjects are actually searching for jobs, and hence have incentives at all stages of the experiment to respond in ways most likely to get them the jobs they want.<sup>5</sup> The incentive compatibility of our experimental estimates, plus the fact that the estimates come from real job seekers who did not know they were under scrutiny in a scientific study, should make them more internally and externally valid. On the other hand, we look at a narrow set of jobs (and at one employer), so the results may not be generalizable to different types of jobs and the workers searching for them.

Our field experiment could be used to study workers' valuation of any of a number of job amenities. We focus on job flexibility for a few reasons. First, job flexibility is common and appears likely to increase.<sup>6</sup> Second, workers have interest in job flexibility to make it easier to integrate work

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<sup>4</sup> For example, Mas and Pallais (2017) use a discrete choice experiment in hiring for a U.S. call center to estimate WTP for alternative work arrangements relative to traditional office positions. They find that most workers are not willing to pay for scheduling flexibility (choosing when to work), but are willing to give up 20% of their wage to avoid a schedule set by an employer on short notice, and are willing to pay 8% for the option to work from home. Maestas et al. (2018) use hypothetical job profiles to estimate WTP for non-monetary job characteristics (including schedule flexibility and telecommuting opportunities) for a nationally representative sample of U.S. workers, and find that setting one's own schedule and telecommuting are equivalent to 9.0% and 4.1% wage increases, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> In contrast, for example, Mas and Pallais “did not tell applicants that these were the actual positions” and “assured applicants that we would not look at their choices before making hiring decisions” (2017, pp. 3729).

<sup>6</sup> For example, in the United States 79% of employers offer some degree of flexible working hours to their employees in 2008 (Galinsky et al., 2008). In Europe, at least 55% of firms in the 27 European Union member countries with 10 or more employees use policies with flexible starting and ending times in 2009 (Riedmann et al., 2010). Over 26 million people (about 18% of the labor force) in the United States telecommute at least once per week in 2008 (MSNBC, 2008), and a quarter of European employees mostly worked from places other than the office in 2010 (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2012).

and family obligations (Perlow, 1997), and firms may regard job flexibility as a means to increase motivation and commitment (e.g., Caillier, 2012; Eaton, 2003).<sup>7</sup> Aside from employers seeking to expand the pool of potential workers, governments in many countries are looking for ways to increase labor supply in response to population aging, and increased job flexibility may help achieve this goal by spurring labor supply among the inactive working-age population.<sup>8</sup> Third, with rising traffic congestion and the spread of laptops and cellphone connectivity, telecommuting is becoming increasingly common in developing countries,<sup>9</sup> and may help these countries manage growing congestion and urbanization. Finally, to conduct our experiment on the valuation of job flexibility, we needed cooperation from an interested employer; the employer with which we worked was particularly interested in how offering more flexible jobs would affect recruitment (and potentially wages as well).

While there may be a strong prior expectation that workers value job flexibility, there may be downsides to flexibility. Working from home may reduce the chance of promotion due to less on-the-job training and less face time in the office (Kossek and Dyne, 2008; Elsbach et al., 2010; Bloom et al., 2015). Flexible work schedules may not only allow workers to choose when to work, but may also entail requirements to work longer or at irregular hours (Goldin, 2014) – consistent with the findings of Mas and Pallais (2017) regarding workers’ negative valuation of employers’ ability to set schedules on short notice. Given both the potential importance of workers’ valuation of job flexibility, and the

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Moreover, in the United States, the proportion of employees who primarily work from home has more than tripled over the past 30 years (Mateyka et al., 2012). And the United States enacted legislation in 2010 that dramatically increased telework opportunities for the U.S. federal workforce (Caillier, 2012), and the federal government continues to pursue telework implementation strategies (Mastracci, 2013). On the other hand, some large U.S. companies in developed economies have announced moves away from flexible work practices, such as Hewlett-Packard (DeBold, 2013) and Yahoo.com (Pepitone, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> There is a good deal of research on the impacts of job flexibility on employers and work. See, e.g., Delaney and Huselid (1996), Huselid et al. (1997), and Konrad and Mangel (2000), for effects on firms; Caillier (2012) and Posner et al. (2014), for effects on individual outcomes such as work motivation; Eaton (2003) and Lyness et al. (2012) for impacts on organizational commitment and perceived productivity; Kossek and Dyne (2008) and Elsbach et al. (2010) for effects on career advancement; Eldridge and Pablonia (2008, 2010) for effects on working hours; and other evidence summarized in Bailey and Kurland (2002). There is also some experimental evidence on the effects of job flexibility on worker productivity both from the lab (Dutcher, 2012) and from the field (Bloom et al., 2015).

<sup>8</sup> For instance, Chen et al. (2018) examine the benefits of flexible work arrangements for Uber drivers by estimating their expected labor supply surplus in different flexibility scenarios, and show that the median driver required a 54% increase in wages if hourly adaption to reservation wage shocks would not be allowed, and a 178% wage increase if neither hourly nor daily adaption would be allowed. In other words, drivers would reduce work hours supplied by more than two-thirds if required to supply labor inflexibly at prevailing wages.

<sup>9</sup> The share of managers allowing telecommuting in many developing countries is estimated to be 10-20% (Bloom et al., 2015).

possibility that *a priori* expectations are wrong, our evidence – aside from deploying methods to obtain more reliable evidence on workers’ valuation of job flexibility – is substantively important.

To summarize our results briefly, our analysis of observational data shows the usual counter-intuitive results from hedonic pricing model estimation, with no clear evidence that workers value job flexibility, and some evidence in the opposite direction. However, our experimental evidence points consistently to workers valuing job flexibility. Subjects in our field experiment were much more likely to apply for flexible jobs, conditional on the salary offered. Moreover, evidence from the survey clearly indicates that job applicants are willing to take lower pay in return for more flexible jobs, although the estimates are smaller than those implied by the experimental evidence.<sup>10</sup>

## **2. The Job Board**

Our field experiment and observational data collection were run on one of the largest nationwide online job boards in China. Over 3.5 million companies posted job openings on this job board, and the job board had 41.1 million jobs posted in 2016. It had 135 million registered job seekers as of March 2017, and on average 4.68 million were active each day in 2016. The employers and job seekers are mainly located in China. The job board has one sub-job board in each province or province-equivalent municipal city (e.g., Beijing, Shanghai). The job board specializes in white-collar jobs. At the time of the experiment, over 80% of job seekers had at least a college degree, and over 80% of the jobs posted required applicants to have a college degree or higher. Most jobs advertised are full-time, non-temporary jobs.

Employers can post job ads in 51 industries and 59 occupations. The ads are produced based on a standard template capturing information about the job and employee requirements. Among the information included is the range of pre-tax monthly salary offered (mostly fixed rate, but sometimes “negotiable”), and fringe benefits, which may include flexible working conditions.<sup>11</sup> Appendix B

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<sup>10</sup> The difference is consistent with evidence from research estimating WTP for reductions in commuting time, which indicates that stated preference data often yield considerably smaller values of time than revealed preference data (e.g., Hensher, 1997; Calfee and Winston, 1998; Brownstone and Small, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> An employer can choose up to eight pre-specified fringe benefits. The list of potential fringe benefits appears in Appendix Table A1 (in Appendix A). The other information on the template and in the job ads includes: place of work; publishing date of the job ad; part- or full-time job; required educational degree; required years of work experience; number of vacancies; job responsibilities and requirements; and other employer details (like address and contact information).

provides five examples of randomly selected job ads posted on the job board, which we use in designing the ads in our experiment.<sup>12</sup>

To apply for jobs, job seekers need to first register and fill in required individual information to construct a standardized resume. The required information includes: individual details (name, contact information, gender, year and month of birth, year and month when started the first job, place of *Hukou*, highest educational degree and dates of start and completion, school name, major, and overseas work/study experience);<sup>13</sup> information about work or internship experience (industry, job title, and length of job); type of job sought (occupation, industry, and location); monthly salary expectations (pre-tax);<sup>14</sup> and current work status (employed, unemployed, etc.).

Job seekers can search for jobs on the job board, and employers can post job ads and search for potential employees. Job seekers can either access the job ads listed on the employer's webpage, or use the search bar to search for jobs. The postings listed or searched are identical for all job seekers. When clicking an ad, job seekers see a full-page description. Logged-in job seekers can click the "apply" button of a job ad to apply for that job and send the generated resume to an employer. While job seekers can apply for jobs for free, employers must pay for personal contact information, which is otherwise concealed, to invite someone to apply. But when a job seeker applies, the employer receives the generated resume along with contact information. Most employers choose to contact applicants offline, such as by telephone or email, although the job board also provides a communication system for this purpose.<sup>15</sup> This implies that the job board's data do not capture the final outcomes of the search process (such as callbacks for interviews, jobs offers, and actual remuneration).

Since thousands of job ads are posted every day for most occupations, to facilitate matches between jobs and workers the job board provides two services to employers – email pushing and message pushing – through which job invitations are sent to potentially suitable candidates based on

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<sup>12</sup> The fringe benefits appear at the top of a job ad, right after the job title and the employer's name (see Appendix B).

<sup>13</sup> Filling in marital status is optional.

<sup>14</sup> All job seekers need to set a generic monthly salary in their resumes that they would like to receive, but they can choose not to reveal it to employers.

<sup>15</sup> This information, and other information about how the job board works in practice, was provided to us in conversations with staff at the job board.



matching algorithms.<sup>16</sup> Email pushing entails sending a brief description of selected job openings via email to candidates.<sup>17</sup> Message pushing plays a similar role, but with information sent via a job board app that job searchers can choose to install on their mobile devices. Both emails and messages include a link to the full job ad. A job seeker receives 1-2 emails or app messages per day during the time she frequently logs onto her account or searches for jobs. The job board can push up to 1 million emails or app messages per day.

### **3. Non-experimental data analysis**

We begin with an analysis of observational data to provide a baseline – which in the end serves mainly to emphasize the difficulty of estimating workers’ valuation of job amenities from observational data, and the value of using experimental data.

#### *Valuation of flexibility based on employer salary offers*

We first analyze pay based on employer monthly salary offers. We collected all full-time job ads posted for the five occupations we also studied in our experiment (software, finance, personnel (human resources, or HR), marketing, and sales management), for jobs located in Beijing between November 20, 2017 and March 2, 2018. This period covered 5 weeks before, 5 weeks after, and 4 weeks during the implementation of our field experiment, which was conducted between January 4 and February 1, 2018. These criteria yielded ads for 342,152 jobs.

We estimate the relationship between the natural logarithm of the midpoint of the range of pre-tax monthly salary offered in a job,<sup>18</sup> and a dummy variable for whether flexible working conditions is one of the fringe benefits the employer offers; in the non-experimental data, the type of job flexibility is not specified. The average monthly salary (midpoint) in the jobs offered is 11,437 Chinese Yuan (CNY) (about \$1,660). Among the job ads in the sample, 20% are classified as flexible. We also control

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<sup>16</sup> The matching algorithms can rely on information in the resumes (e.g., the salary offered in the job matches the monthly salary expectation of the job seeker), job seekers’ previous job search behavior (e.g., the occupation or industry in which the job seeker searched in the past matches the occupation or industry of the job), or application behavior on the job board (e.g., the occupation or industry in which the job seeker has previously applied matches the occupation or industry of the job) on the job board. Employers can define some parameters of the matching algorithm for their postings (e.g., to push ads to those with a college degree, or working in a particular industry).

<sup>17</sup> According to Horton (2017), this is a common service on online job boards.

<sup>18</sup> Prior research based on observational data usually uses earnings data in jobs workers actually perform, rather than salary offer data in jobs that are advertised or for which workers apply. However, advertising and job application behaviors should correspond to some extent with workers’ realized job choices in a well-functioning labor market.

for a rich set of job and establishment characteristics.<sup>19</sup>

Table 1 reports the regression results. Column (1) estimates a pooled ordinary least squares (OLS) model controlling for job and establishment characteristics, with standard errors clustered at the establishment level. Flexible jobs are associated with 4.1% higher salaries (statistically significant), which is inconsistent with job flexibility being a workplace amenity for which workers are willing to accept lower wages. Column (2) adds establishment fixed effects.<sup>20</sup> The estimated coefficient on job flexibility falls to near zero and becomes statistically insignificant, suggesting that unmeasured establishment-level heterogeneity is positively correlated with both salaries and job flexibility.<sup>21</sup> Still, the estimate does not become negative – as we would expect for a workplace amenity that workers value. On the other hand, as pointed out in the introduction, the estimates could be biased by unobserved worker heterogeneity, with more productive workers “buying” more workplace amenities, obscuring evidence that workers are willing to accept lower wages for such amenities.

One might be concerned that the absence of evidence in favor of workers valuing job flexibility is attributable to other problems with the data. However, the relationships of salary offers to the control variables conform to other evidence from labor economics, such as rising pay with education requirements and experience requirements, as indicated in Appendix Table A1.

#### *Valuation of flexibility based on workers’ generic monthly salary expectations*

We also estimate regressions for workers’ generic salary expectations, using data from all jobs the sampled job seekers in our experiment applied for in the 5 weeks prior to the experiment, combined with information from their generated resumes obtained a week before the start of the experiment. The dependent variable is the natural logarithm of the midpoint of the range of pre-tax monthly salary expectations listed by job seekers, and the independent variable of interest is the proportion of jobs applied for that were flexible. Given that there is just one salary expectation measure for each job

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<sup>19</sup> These are listed in Appendix Table A1; the table also provides descriptive statistics for all of the variables we have for this analysis, as well as estimated coefficients for control variables. Since there are sometimes missing data, the number of observations in our analysis (326,241) is a bit smaller than the total number of jobs in the dataset.

<sup>20</sup> The number of job ads posted by an establishment varied a great deal, from 1 to 2,442, with an average of 51.

<sup>21</sup> One concern is that other fringe benefits a job offers may be jointly determined with job flexibility, so that controlling for other benefits in the analysis may underestimate workers’ valuation of job flexibility. However, the results are very similar when other benefits are excluded from the analysis. (The point estimates for the OLS and fixed effects models become 0.058 and 0.007 respectively, with standard errors unchanged.)

seeker, we cannot study differences in salary expectations of the same job seeker across different jobs, precluding the use of individual fixed effects. We do, though, control for a rich set of characteristics of job seekers.<sup>22</sup> The average generic salary expectation reported by job seekers is lower than the average offer of firms, by about 1,700 CNY, but recall that the former does not pertain to a specific job. Of the jobs applied for, 17% were flexible – fairly close to the 20% of jobs listed as flexible by employers.

Table 2 reports the regression results. In column (1), we omit the individual-level controls, and the estimated association between salary expectations and the proportion of jobs applied for that were flexible is positive (0.18, statistically significant), inconsistent with workers being willing to pay for job flexibility. If more productive workers choose more flexible jobs, we would expect a positive bias in the estimates without controls, and a greater likelihood of finding a negative effect when we include the controls. To obtain comparable estimates, we first restrict the sample to the subset of observations with complete data on the individual characteristics of job seekers, in column (2). When we add controls, in column (3), we find a sizable reduction in the estimated coefficient (from 0.17 to 0.11, still statistically significant), consistent with this direction of bias. However, there could be additional positive bias from unobserved differences in worker productivity that are positively associated with both pay and applications to flexible jobs.

Again, one might be concerned that this is attributable to other problems with the data. However, Appendix Table A2 shows that the relationships of salary expectations to the control variables conform to expectations, such as rising pay with education and experience.

#### *Valuation of flexibility based on monthly salary in jobs workers applied for*

Finally, we use information on all the jobs to which the sampled job seekers in our experiment applied in the 5 weeks prior to our experiment (over 2 million jobs). The dependent and independent variables are the same as in the analysis of valuation of flexibility based on employer salary offers. This analysis lets us introduce individual fixed effects for the job seekers, and hence test whether when the

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<sup>22</sup> These are listed in Appendix Table A2, along with the regression coefficients for the control variables and descriptive statistics. In the self-reported resume data on individual characteristics, there are sometimes inconsistencies related to the dates of events reported, such as a birth date later than other events such as the start of highest education or a first job, or start dates for specific spells (such as education) that are later than ending dates. There are also some less clear inconsistencies, such as completing education at too young an age (e.g., completing college before age 18 or university before age 22). We clean the data to eliminate these kinds of inconsistent cases, for both the analysis reported here and the analysis of the experimental data whenever individual characteristics are considered. This resulted in excluding fewer than 1.6% of observations.

same person applies for a more flexible job, for example, they apply for jobs offering lower salaries. We do not add job seeker characteristics since these are time-invariant and hence subsumed by the individual fixed effects. This analysis is most akin to the estimation of workers' valuation based on the hedonic pricing model and observational data, except that it uses data on job applications rather than realized job choices.

As shown in Table 3, without individual fixed effects, in column (1), flexible jobs are associated with 4.5% higher salaries (statistically significant), which, like our other regression estimates based on non-experimental data, is inconsistent with workers being willing to pay for job flexibility. As before, we expect positive bias if more productive workers choose greater job flexibility. When we add individual fixed effects in column (2), we obtain a smaller coefficient estimate (0.028, still statistically significant) – consistent with positive bias, but still positive rather than negative.<sup>23</sup> Still, this analysis cannot control for unmeasured differences in job seekers' perceptions of different employers – such as variation in productivity – that could be associated with both flexibility and pay, a relationship that workers may understand in their job application decisions.<sup>24,25</sup>

### *Summary*

Across our three regression analyses using observational data – based on employer salary offers, job seekers' salary expectations, or employer offers in the jobs to which job seekers apply – we never find evidence consistent with job flexibility being an amenity for which workers are willing to accept lower pay.

Problems with using non-experimental data may be exacerbated by the limited nature of our data on job flexibility. First, employers can only list up to eight fringe benefits, and therefore some flexible jobs may not be classified as flexible. Second, the non-experimental data provide no details on what exactly is flexible about the job, and workers may differentially value time flexibility and place flexibility.<sup>26</sup> The data in our experimental analysis overcome this limitation and thus should give us

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<sup>23</sup> As before, we show that the data conform to other expected relationships (Appendix Table A3).

<sup>24</sup> The job and employer characteristics used are the same as in Appendix Table A1; descriptive statistics for the sample used for this analysis are in Appendix Table A3, as are the regression coefficients for the controls.

<sup>25</sup> When other benefits are excluded from the analysis, the results are similar. (The point estimates for the OLS and fixed effects models are 0.053 and 0.033, respectively, with standard errors unchanged.)

<sup>26</sup> For example, a flexible schedule, if not specified clearly, may be viewed as a negative amenity by some workers, implying that workers need to work more hours or work more intensely (Burchell et al., 2007; Gambles

more reliable evidence.

#### 4. Experimental design

Our field experiment is designed to provide estimates of workers' valuation of job flexibility free of the biases from job and firm heterogeneity and sorting that may plague estimates from observational data, as well as potential problems from using hypothetical scenarios in the stated preference data. In the experiment, we exogenously varied job flexibility conditions in posted jobs, and the salary offered in these jobs. The flexibility conditions in the posted jobs included schedule or time flexibility (when to work) and place flexibility (the ability to work from home, or off-site). We then collected information on applications to these jobs, and salary expectations for these jobs (from applicants), to obtain two different kinds of information on workers' valuation of job flexibility. We transferred the resumes of the job applicants to the company (as explained below), and its HR department contacted selected applicants for further recruitment procedures.<sup>27</sup>

##### *Experimental setting – employer, positions, and targeted job seekers*

We collaborated with a start-up company operating in the information technology (IT) industry. This company had real recruitment demand for several positions and was interested in exploring how variation in the flexibility of working conditions offered would affect its recruitment. IT is a popular industry, and it was common for companies in this industry to allow flexible working conditions.<sup>28</sup> Using a start-up company was beneficial because the company was neither well-known nor large (i.e., 20-99 employees), hence minimizing the effect of our intervention on the market. The company is located in the northwestern part of Beijing where there is a cluster of IT companies.

The job positions we used in the experiment were dictated by the demands of the company, and the suitability of different kinds of positions for offering job flexibility. Among the positions for which

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et al., 2006; Kelliher and Anderson, 2010). For instance, many Chinese information technology (IT) firms label their work time arrangement as flexible scheduling while using it to push employees to work overtime, such as “9-9-6 (i.e., 9 AM to 9 PM a day, six days a week)” without paying additional compensation (Beijing Youth Daily, 2016). There is also evidence consistent with job flexibility leading to increased work demands in the United States and Europe (see, e.g., Chung, 2017, and Paulas, 2018). In contrast, place flexibility may be less ambiguously a positive amenity.

<sup>27</sup> The company contacted 87 applicants for interviews and the rest of them received a rejection letter via their account on the job board.

<sup>28</sup> For example, among the 342,152 jobs we used to examine valuation of flexibility based on employer monthly salary offers in our non-experimental analysis, 73,192 were in IT, and 26.5% of these listed “flexible working conditions” as a fringe benefit, behind only insurance (55.3% of 4,398 jobs, mostly in sales), online gaming (35.2% of 4,532 jobs), and fund/securities/futures/investment (28.4% of 26,830 jobs).

the company planned to recruit, we selected five that were amenable to setting up independent remote tasks that could be performed with an internet connection from different locations or at different times. The positions were Java engineer, financial executive, human resource manager, marketing executive, and sales executive, which could be classified in the following broader occupations that could be listed on the job board: software, finance, personnel, marketing, and sales management.

We define the population of eligible job seekers targeted for our experiment based on the following criteria from their resumes or other job board data: (1) residence in Beijing at the time of the experiment; (2) college degree or higher; (3) active in job search, defined as having logged into their job board account within one month from when we first extracted their resumes for consideration for inclusion in the experiment;<sup>29</sup> and (4) a match between any of the “intended occupations” chosen by the job seeker (they could indicate up to three) and our chosen occupations.<sup>30</sup> We drew the population of job seekers for the study, which was all job seekers registered on the job board fulfilling these criteria, a week before each set of experimental contacts were made (as explained below).

### *Treatments*

For each job, we implemented a  $2 \times 2$  between-subjects factorial design in which we varied whether the job ad posted included time or place flexibility. There were four variants:

- *NoFlex*: The job did not offer time or place flexibility. Employees needed to be at the office Monday through Friday, for 8 hours between 9 AM and 6 PM.
- *TimeFlex*: On Monday, the conditions were the same as in the *NoFlex* treatment. For Tuesday through Friday, employees had to work in the office, but could choose their 8 hours starting between 7 AM and 10 AM and ending between 4 PM and 7 PM.
- *PlaceFlex*: On Monday, the conditions were the same as in the *NoFlex* treatment. For Tuesday through Friday, employees could work wherever they liked for 8 hours between 9 AM and 6 PM by logging into the company’s online working system.

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<sup>29</sup> The one-month cutoff was chosen to correspond to the usual definition of unemployment. In the United States a worker is defined as unemployed if she searched for a job in the past month (see [https://www.bls.gov/cps/cps\\_htgm.htm#unemployed](https://www.bls.gov/cps/cps_htgm.htm#unemployed), viewed August 15, 2018). In China, the criterion is three months (see [http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjzd/gjtjzd/201807/t20180717\\_1610135.html](http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjzd/gjtjzd/201807/t20180717_1610135.html), in Chinese, viewed August 18, 2018). We chose the more restrictive U.S. standard to have a more active sample of job searchers.

<sup>30</sup> For a job seeker who had multiple “intended occupations” that matched our occupations, for the experimental intervention we randomly assigned one of the jobs (using equal probabilities).

- *FullFlex*: The same conditions for Monday applied. For Tuesday through Friday both the time flexibility in *TimeFlex* and the place flexibility in *PlaceFlex* applied. That is, employees could work wherever they liked by logging into the company's online working system for 8 hours starting between 7 AM and 10 AM and ending between 4 PM and 7 PM.

Similar kinds of job flexibility conditions are referenced in data on worker preferences for job flexibility.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, flexible conditions are common in some of the experimental occupations, including software, sales, and marketing, but less so for finance and personnel.<sup>32</sup> In all cases, our job ads indicated that these flexible work arrangements could be used after the first month on the job.

The time ranges for *TimeFlex* were based on actual practices to alleviate traffic congestion that were commonly observed in other job ads on the job board, and met the needs of the company with which we collaborated. Between 7 AM and 9 AM, and again between 5 PM and 7 PM, one lane is designated for “buses only” on main roads in Beijing. The average one-way commuting time from home to office in Beijing was 53 minutes in 2017 (DIDI, 2018). Our flexible time setting thus allowed commuters to avoid the peak hours by finishing or starting commuting before or after peak travel hours. We also verified, from thousands of job ads collected from the job board during the summer of 2017, that our *TimeFlex* conditions were among the most common that appeared. To try to rule out the possibility that time flexibility was interpreted as requiring employees to work overtime or at irregular hours, we explicitly mentioned that working hours were 8 hours chosen by employees within the 7AM-7PM range in the job ads for all treatments. Our *PlaceFlex* setting might be considered as most relevant to reducing commuting time.

The job flexibility treatment conditions were presented in three places in the job ads – and other than the treatment conditions, for each position the job ads were identical. First, the title of the position at the top of the job ad included the treatment condition. For the *NoFlex* treatment, nothing appeared

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<sup>31</sup> For example, according to a 2017 flexible work options survey of over 5,500 U.S. professionals on *flexjobs.com*, telecommuting and flexible scheduling are considered as the preferred types of job flexibility by 81% and 70% of respondents, respectively – far higher percentages than for other types of flexibility such as part-time schedule (46%), alternative schedule (44%), and freelance contract (39%); see Reynolds (2017).

<sup>32</sup> Among all the jobs posted on *flexjobs.com*, during January to September, 2017, computer and IT, sales, and accounting and finance are listed as the three out of the top 10 career fields for flexible jobs (Reynolds, 2017). Among the jobs we used to examine valuation of flexibility based on employer salary offers, 25.0%, 24.7%, and 21.0% of the jobs in software, sales, and marketing, respectively, listed “flexible job” in the fringe benefits, whereas 13.8% and 15.4% of the jobs in finance and personnel, respectively, listed “flexible job” in the fringe benefits.

after the job title. For the *TimeFlex*, *PlaceFlex*, and *FullFlex* treatments, respectively, the additional text appearing was “with flexible work time,” “with flexible work place,” and “with both flexible work time and place.” Second, information on the treatment appeared in boxes at the top of the ad listing fringe benefits. For the *TimeFlex*, *PlaceFlex*, and *FullFlex* treatments the box indicated “flexible working conditions,” while this did not appear among the fringe benefits for the *NoFlex* treatment. Third, the “Work Arrangements” section of the ad listed the details of the job flexibility conditions outlined above. These are the three places where information on job flexibility conditions commonly appeared in other job ads.<sup>33</sup>

In general, our job ads followed the standard job ad template of the job board. Regarding other information in the job ads, we set required educational level to college degree, which was the most common education requirement on this job board. We set required years of work experience to 5-10 years.<sup>34</sup> We chose this experience range so that, given the college degree requirement, targeted workers would tend to be in an age range when there are likely to be family responsibilities associated with small children, which could make job flexibility more salient and valuable.<sup>35, 36</sup> Appendix C provides an example of a job ad for the financial executive position in the *FullFlex* treatment.

The job flexibility treatments were also presented in the job ad emails and app messages that subjects received. In the emails, the treatment condition appeared in both the subject line of the emails (in the same manner as in the titles of the job ads), and under “Work Arrangements” in the same manner as specified in the job ads. The app messages simply contained information on the job title and

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<sup>33</sup> As in all such experiments, in manipulating job flexibility conditions (or pay, discussed below), the assumption is that the subjects do not perceive the jobs as differing along other dimensions. A potential concern is that job seekers may use the advertised job characteristics as signals to infer other unobserved job characteristics. For example, in lab experiments, raising incentives has been shown to convey a signal about the egoistic and exploitative intentions of the principal (Carpenter and Dolifka, 2013) or about the difficulty of the job (Bremzen et al., 2015).

<sup>34</sup> Employers could select from no experience requirement, or 0-1, 1-3, 3-5, 5-10, or >10 years.

<sup>35</sup> However, we did not restrict our targeted eligible job seekers to have work experience of 5-10 years.

<sup>36</sup> Since we imposed education and experience requirements in the experimental jobs, and used one specific company, one concern is that the non-experimental analysis discussed above is not comparable to the experimental analysis. To address this issue, we redid the non-experimental analysis imposing restrictions to obtain a subsample of similar jobs and firms as in the experiment, and verified that our results were robust despite much smaller samples (results available upon request). When studying employer salary offers, we restricted the sample to jobs requiring college education or above, 5-10 years of work experience, and offered by firms of similar size and operated in similar industries. And when studying valuation of flexibility based on workers’ generic monthly salary expectations and monthly salary in jobs for which workers applied, in addition to the above restrictions, we required that the jobs were full-time, located in Beijing, and in the five occupations as in the experiment.



the treatment condition for *TimeFlex*, *PlaceFlex* and *FullFlex* treatments. Both the job ad emails and app messages included a link to the job ads.

To be able to estimate the WTP for job flexibility, in the job ad emails and app messages we varied the pre-tax monthly salary offered across three ranges – 10,000-15,000 CNY, 15,000-20,000 CNY, and 20,000-25,000 CNY.<sup>37</sup> These ranges were derived from the distribution of salary ranges in over 8,000 real job ads we collected from the job board during the summer of 2017, which were recruiting for our five experimental occupations and required at least college education and at least 5-10 years of work experience.<sup>38</sup> The use of salary ranges rather than single salary amounts in the emails and messages coincided with the “negotiable” setting in the job ads.<sup>39</sup> For job ad emails, these salary ranges were presented in the subject line and right after the title of the job position in the main body of the emails. For the job ad app messages, these salary ranges were presented in the message right after the title of the job position. Appendices D and E present examples of a job ad email and an app message for the financial executive position in the *FullFlex* treatment.

#### *Experimental procedure*

Our experiment included an application stage and a survey stage. In the application stage, we published the job ads on the job board, and then the job board pushed the corresponding job ads via both emails and app messages to the population of eligible job seekers, with one job seeker receiving one ad. Since all active job ads – with the corresponding flexibility conditions – had to simultaneously appear on the employer’s webpage on the job board, we posted the job ad for each treatment sequentially, one treatment at a time for a week, for each of the five job positions. We were posting ads for the five different job positions simultaneously. To control for potential temporal confounds due to the order in which the treatments appeared, we randomized the order of the treatments by job and week,

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<sup>37</sup> We used a monthly salary instead of an hourly wage in the experiment because it was natural for full-time jobs of similar types (almost all the ads on the job board) to set a fixed monthly salary. We also explicitly mentioned in the job ads that the work day was eight hours, to try to rule out the possibility that higher salary was offered as compensation for longer working hours.

<sup>38</sup> We separately computed the 25<sup>th</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup>, and the 75<sup>th</sup> percentiles for the lower and upper limit of the salary range, which were 10,001, 15,001, and 20,001 CNY for the lower limit, and 15,000, 20,000, and 30,000 CNY for the upper limit, respectively. To keep the ranges comparable, we used 25,000 as the upper limit for the high range.

<sup>39</sup> We incorporated experimental variation in salary offers in the emails and app messages only, and simply presented pay as “negotiable” in the job ads published on the employer’s webpage, because it would have been far more complex and taken far longer to also coordinate the webpage job ads to vary both flexibility conditions and pay. However, the word “negotiable” is not inconsistent with the pay for the job ads pushed to experimental subjects, and it is being negotiable within the indicated pay ranges.

as shown in Table 4. The application stage of the experiment lasted for four weeks. Specifically, we published the job ad for each job position and each treatment on Thursday mornings and stated in all the ads, emails, and app messages that the application deadline was 9 AM the following Wednesday. Applying for the experimental jobs serves as a first measure of the degree of interest in our job.

We could have simply drawn the population of job seekers (meeting the criteria described above) before the start of the entire experiment, randomly divided the population (for each job) into four equal-sized parts, and randomly assigned one to each week. But job seekers might be less active in later weeks than in earlier weeks. Instead, to ensure that eligible job seekers across weeks and treatments had a similar degree of activeness in job search, we drew the population of eligible job seekers, for each job, for each week during which the application stage of the experiment was administered one week prior.<sup>40</sup>

We divided our selected population for each job in each week into two parts: 4/5 were randomly split into three groups of equal size to be sent job ad emails and app messages with different monthly salary offers in the three ranges described above; the remaining 1/5 were included as an additional control group (besides those assigned the *NoFlex* treatment). This additional control group was not contacted by email or app messages, enabling us to consider Hawthorne effects for those contacted in the *NoFlex* condition. The treatment design is summarized in Table 5.

For the job seekers who were sent emails and app messages, applying for a job involves two steps. First, they needed to click the link to the job ad, which directed the job seekers to the corresponding job ad on the employer's webpage on the job board. Second, they needed to click the "apply" button on the webpage. The redirection from the email or app system to the webpage was standard for all email or message recipients contacted through these means, and applications taken on the job board could be recorded. Any job seeker, whether or not they received an email or an app message, could search the job board and find and apply for the experimental jobs.

In the survey stage, we sent an email and a text message (see Appendix F) to all job seekers

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<sup>40</sup> We employed the following approach to determine how and whom to select in each week for each job. In week 1, we randomly selected 1/4 of the eligible job seekers for each job. In weeks 2-4, we first excluded those who had already been selected, and those who had applied for the experimental jobs without being contacted in previous week(s), and then randomly selected 1/3, 1/2, and all of the remaining eligible job seekers, respectively, for the corresponding week. In this manner, we used up the entire population of eligible job seekers with comparable population size across weeks.

who had applied for our jobs, inviting them to voluntarily answer an online questionnaire within three days, prompting them by writing: “Your qualifications match our position well. We would like to know more about you.” Job applicants were told that the questionnaire had 16 questions and would take about 5 minutes to complete. We did not provide additional incentive to respond to the questionnaire because we believed job seekers who were interested in the job would have enough incentive to complete the questionnaire, and it seemed unnatural for a company evaluating job applicants to offer incentives to complete this survey. Completion of the questionnaire required additional effort and thus serves as a second measure of the degree of interest in our job, which we use in a parallel analysis to our analysis of job applications.

The survey questions covered things like home address, family status, and (monthly) salary expectations for the experimental job. We also elicited additional information about salary expectations in relation to job flexibility. In discussing the non-experimental evidence, we noted that job seekers might interpret an offer of a flexible job as a signal of a higher-productivity firm that could pay a higher wage. In our experiment, although our job flexibility conditions were randomly assigned and we used a single employer across treatments, job seekers could still interpret the variation in job flexibility this way. However, our experimental evidence shows that job seekers generally are willing to accept lower wages for flexible jobs – i.e., they value this amenity. In the absence of this potential positive bias, our result could be stronger. Nonetheless, we used the survey to ask a hypothetical question about salary expectations for the job if a flexible job were changed to a non-flexible one, or vice versa.<sup>41,42</sup>

Analyzing changes in salary expectations in relation to changes in job flexibility can be thought of as controlling for an employer fixed effect. Appendix G provides a version of the questionnaire.

The timeline of the experiment is summarized in Figure 1. Throughout the experiment, there were no communications between the applicants and the experimenters, except for the carefully scripted job ad emails and app messages sent in the first stage, and emails and text messages regarding questionnaire completion in the survey stage.

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<sup>41</sup> For applicants assigned to the experimental jobs in the *TimeFlex*, *PlaceFlex* and *FullFlex* treatments, the hypothetical question concerned the salary expectations if the flexibility conditions were removed. For applicants to the jobs in the *NoFlex* treatment, the hypothetical question was changed to ask the salary expectations if one of the three randomly chosen flexibility conditions were implemented.

<sup>42</sup> Since this question appeared in the actual job application process that might affect the probability of getting the job, job seekers had an incentive to answer truthfully.

Compared to the procedure adopted by Flory et al. (2015) and Hedblom et al. (2019), in which randomized treatment conditions were revealed only after job seekers had expressed interest in the job by emailing their resumes, our treatment conditions regarding job flexibility were presented to the job seekers in the job ads in the first stage. In our view, this procedure had two advantages. Most important, it preserved the normal way of presenting key job conditions on the job board we used. In addition, it allowed us to collect data on which jobs applicants applied for in one stage, and then to administer the questionnaire in the second stage, rather than requiring three stages.

## 5. Experimental data analysis

The experiment was conducted in January and early February of 2018. We randomly assigned eligible job seekers into various job flexibility conditions and gave the subsample for each treatment to the job board.<sup>43</sup> The key data collected from the experiment include the following: job ad-level data on the number of job seekers who opened the job ad emails or app messages; individual-level data on who sent their resumes to apply for the experimental jobs; individual-level data on who filled in the questionnaire; and individual-level data collected in the questionnaire.

*Do more job seekers open the job ad emails or app messages for flexible jobs?*

Table 6 reports on job ad email and app message openings by treatment and by offered salary level.<sup>44</sup> The total number of job seekers included in the experiment is 123,988, between 23,000 and 26,000 in each treatment depending on the size of the population of eligible job seekers in each job and each week. The additional control group is around the same size. Since the job ad emails and app messages with different combinations of treatments, salary offers, and positions had separate links, the job board could monitor each link for how many emails and app messages had been successfully sent,

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<sup>43</sup> Appendix Table A4 reports summary statistics on job seekers' individual characteristics for each treatment. The mean differences for almost all variables are small across treatments. We also ran pairwise (across four treatments and the additional control group) Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of equality of distributions of these characteristics. We find differences significant at the 10% level for 51 out of 170 comparisons – 34 more than we would expect by chance. There could be two reasons. First, our randomization did not stratify on any individual characteristics, since the resume items were so numerous and different characteristics had different numbers of missing values. Second, we have a very large sample compared to most experiments, which makes it more likely that small differences are statistically significant at conventional levels. Our regressions control for these differences in characteristics across treatments, but our estimated treatment effects do not vary with whether we include these controls.

<sup>44</sup> Salary offer levels 10,000-15,000 CNY, 15,000-20,000 CNY, and 20,000-25,000 CNY are referred to as Low, Medium, and High salary levels, respectively.

and how many of them had been opened.<sup>45</sup> However, the email opening data for five out of 60 treatment-salary level-position combinations could not be successfully retrieved; the successful cases are indicated by an “x” in the top rows of Table 6. The opening rate is computed as the number of job ad email or app message recipients who opened the email or app message divided by the number of sampled job seekers who were successfully sent the emails or app messages for each combination of treatment, salary offer level, and position. Table 6 shows that across job flexibility conditions and salary ranges, the opening rates for emails are between 19.70% and 27.33%. The opening rates for app messages range from 1.38% to 2.44%.

We first look at descriptive evidence across treatments on rates at which subjects opened job ad emails or app messages, in Table 7. We report absolute and relative differences compared to the *NoFlex* treatment. The evidence consistently points to more email and app message openings for *FullFlex* vs. *NoFlex* comparisons. For *PlaceFlex* or *TimeFlex* vs. *NoFlex*, the evidence is generally in the same direction, but less clear-cut; much of the evidence points to significantly more openings for flexible jobs (e.g., for *TimeFlex* emails in high salary jobs, and *PlaceFlex* and *TimeFlex* app messages at all salary levels), but the evidence is reversed in some cases (e.g., for email ads for *PlaceFlex* in medium and high salary jobs).

Table 8 provides statistical tests from regressing the opening rate on the treatments. Each observation is a unique job ad email or app message linked to a given combination of treatment, salary offer level, and position. Columns (1) and (2) are for job ad emails, and columns (3) and (4) for app messages. In columns (1) and (3), with only dummy variables for treatments, we find no significant differences in opening rates across treatments, relative to the *NoFlex* baseline, for either job ad emails or app messages. In columns (2) and (4), we add salary offer level and position dummy variables, and find only one significant difference, at the 10% level, for *FullFlex* vs. *NoFlex*. This weak evidence of any differences is in line with our findings based on the non-experimental data. This is not surprising, because when deciding to open a job ad email or an app message, job seekers could only see a brief

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<sup>45</sup> Not every email was successfully sent because the email address in the resumes job seekers provided might be invalid. Nor were app messages always successfully sent because not every job seeker had downloaded and installed the app or agreed to receive messages pushed to them. It seems highly likely that missing data for these two reasons is random with respect to preferences for job flexibility, and hence that there was not selection bias with respect to job seekers who opened the emails or messages.

mention of flexibility conditions in the subject line or next to the job title. Only opening the email or the link in the app message to the job ad would provide them with the details about the job flexibility conditions.

*Do flexible jobs attract more applications?*

Table 9 reports on the joint distributions of the job flexibility conditions in the jobs for which subjects applied and the job flexibility conditions with which they were treated, for the full sample (in the top panel), and then by salary level. Recall that we posted ads on the company's webpage corresponding to those being used in the experiment, so subjects could have applied for jobs with different flexibility conditions than those with which they were treated. However, most numbers are on the main diagonal, indicating compliance (i.e., job seekers applied for the treatment we sent), and infrequent applications stemming from experimental job seekers simply finding the ads on the webpage.<sup>46</sup>

The application rates reported in the last column are computed as the number of applications divided by the number of job seekers who were sent job ad emails and app messages. For the full sample, the application rates for all treatments are all below 0.5%. Application rates are low because there are thousands of job openings posted every day, presumably with many job descriptions similar to ours, so that getting an email or an app message as part of the experiment would not be expected to generate a large number of applications.<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, the application rates are 62%-92% higher for flexible jobs than for non-flexible jobs. For example, the application rate in the *NoFlex* treatment is 0.24%, compared to 0.45% for *FullFlex*. The bottom three panels show that application rates increase with the offered salary level. More important from our perspective, within each salary level, the application rate is higher in the treatments with job flexibility.

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<sup>46</sup> We checked the joint distribution of the off-diagonal elements (in total, 39 cases out of 369), and found that 21 applications were made to a different treatment but the same job position one week later (14 cases), two weeks later (5 cases) or three weeks later (2 cases) than when the job ad emails and app messages were sent; these could have been later applications in response to the ads. However, 16 applications were made to different treatments and job positions in the same week as the job ad emails and app messages were sent, and 2 applications were made to different treatments and job positions one week later than when the job ad emails and app messages were sent. Thus, we cannot attribute the non-compliant applications to applying with a delay. Rather, at least some of the non-compliance is due to the ads also appearing on the company's webpage on the job board.

<sup>47</sup> Personal conversations with the staff at the job board indicated that a 0.5% rate of application for job ads pushed to job seekers is typical. Given that approximately 80% of jobs on the job board (shown in our non-experimental data) do not indicate flexible features, the flexibility conditions that are far more prevalent in the experimental job ads are not the reason for the low application rate for our jobs.

Next, we turn to regression analysis using the individual-level data. Table 10 reports the results, also including the additional control group we did not contact. The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the job seeker applied for our job.<sup>48</sup> We present marginal effects from a probit model. Column (1) reports the application difference between treated groups and the additional control group. We find evidence of a positive and significant contact effect – a 0.27 percentage point increase relative to the 0.06 percentage point application rate for the additional control group. In the second column, the four treatment groups are separated. Column (2) reports that there is a significant positive effect for each treatment group, including the *NoFlex* group; the latter result shows the value of including the *NoFlex* treatment, so that we can isolate the effect of the job flexibility conditions net of the effect of contacting job seekers. Columns (3) and (4) add job seekers' individual characteristics; the estimates are little changed and continue to indicate positive and significant contact effects.<sup>49</sup>

Table 11 turns to the analysis of the differential effects of the job flexibility treatments, with *NoFlex* as the reference group. We present marginal effects from a probit model in the top panel, and tests of relative comparisons of marginal effects in the bottom panel. Column (1) includes only the treatment dummy variables. We find evidence that all three job flexibility treatments significantly boost application rates relative to the *NoFlex* treatment, with effects ranging from 0.18 to 0.24 percentage point – with the effect largest for the *FullFlex* condition. These estimates should be compared to a baseline application rate of 0.24 percentage point for the *NoFlex* treatment (Table 9, top panel), indicating roughly a doubling of application rates. Column (2) adds the salary offer level and position dummy variables; the estimates are slightly smaller, but statistically significant in all cases. Column (3) adds job seekers' individual characteristics; the estimates are little changed from those in column (2) and continue to indicate that more flexible job conditions boost application rates significantly. The bottom rows of the table indicate that there is one significant difference between the different job flexibility treatments – with a significantly higher application rate (by 0.08-0.11 percentage point) for *FullFlex* vs. *PlaceFlex*.

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<sup>48</sup> Applications made to treatments or positions other than those applicants were sent are not included. (Thirty-two job seekers made in total 39 applications to other treatments; there are two more applications than the number of off-diagonal elements because of applications made to different positions than the ones sent, but with the same flexibility treatments.)

<sup>49</sup> Appendix Table A5 reports the summary statistics for the individual characteristics of job seekers and the treatments for the sample.

More important, the marginal effects of flexibility conditions and high salary level have similar magnitudes, suggesting that job seekers value flexibility by amounts in the same ballpark as having a monthly salary that is higher by 10,000 CNY (i.e., from the salary range 10,000-15,000 CNY to 20,000-25,000 CNY).<sup>50</sup> This suggests that flexibility is highly valued.

To provide more specific evidence on this issue, column (4) adds the interaction terms of the treatment dummy variables and the salary offer dummy variables.<sup>51</sup> The significant estimated difference in application rates between *FullFlex* low salary and *NoFlex* medium salary jobs, and the insignificant estimated difference in application rates between *FullFlex* low salary and *NoFlex* high salary jobs suggests that job seekers value the option to work flexibly both in terms of time and place by 5,000-10,000 CNY a month. The significant estimated difference in application rates between *FullFlex* medium salary and *NoFlex* high salary jobs reinforces the previous result that the valuation for the full flexibility condition holds irrespective of salary levels.

Another indicator of interest in applying for a job is whether the job seekers completed the questionnaire we sent them; we do not condition on applying. This is a useful indicator because it takes considerably more effort than just applying. Table 12 reports on the joint distributions of the job flexibility conditions to which subjects applied and completed the questionnaire, and the job flexibility conditions with which they were treated, for the full sample (in the top panel), and by salary level; the structure of the table is the same as Table 9.<sup>52</sup> The completion rate is computed as the number of applications to which the questionnaire was completed divided by the number of sampled job seekers who were sent job ad emails or app messages. The completion rates in the top panel show that 0.1%-0.3% of job seekers completed the questionnaire;<sup>53</sup> the rates are about 60%-100% higher for flexible jobs than for non-flexible jobs. Looking across salary levels, completion rates are always higher for more flexible jobs (and generally also for higher salary jobs).

Table 13 reports the regression estimates of the treatment effects on questionnaire completion.

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<sup>50</sup> The *p*-values from tests of the equality of marginal effects of *TimeFlex* and *High*, *PlaceFlex* and *High*, and *FullFlex* and *High* all exceed 0.10.

<sup>51</sup> This analysis was not included in our pre-analysis plan because it was suggested by a reviewer to reinforce our results.

<sup>52</sup> There are a few applicants (four out of 234) who started to answer the questionnaire but did not complete it. Results for whether applicants started the questionnaire are almost identical.

<sup>53</sup> Of course the completion rates for applicants are much higher. Based on comparing Tables 9 and 12, the completion rate for applicants exceeds 60%.



The three specifications are the same as in columns (1)-(3) of Table 11. In column (1), including only the treatment dummy variables, we find that the probability of completing the questionnaire is 0.11, 0.12, and 0.15 percentage points higher for *TimeFlex*, *PlaceFlex*, and *FullFlex*, respectively, compared to the *NoFlex* treatment. Compared to the 0.14 percentage point completion rate for the *NoFlex* treatment (Table 12, top panel), these effects are sizable. The three estimates are slightly smaller when the salary and position controls are included in column (2), but statistically significant in all cases. Column (3) adds job seekers' individual characteristics; the estimates are little changed from those in column (2) and continue to indicate that more flexible job conditions boost questionnaire completion rates significantly. The bottom rows of the table indicate that the estimated differences between the flexibility treatments are small and not statistically significant.

There may be a concern that the job application decision may reflect not only interest in the job but also probability of getting the job.<sup>54</sup> The similarity between job application and questionnaire completion results, however, suggests that this concern is irrelevant here. This is because applying for the job was simple and costless, whereas completing the questionnaire required considerably more effort. We would expect to observe that the questionnaire completion decision is less responsive to treatment conditions if the probability of getting the job played an important role in the application and questionnaire completion decisions.

Overall, the evidence on job application rates – whether measured directly or based on the more-intensive measure of questionnaire completion – indicates that job seekers are more likely to apply for flexible jobs. This provides evidence that job flexibility is a positive job amenity. However, there may be variation in preferences for job flexibility across different types of job seekers. We next present evidence on this.

#### *Heterogeneity across job seekers in applications for flexible jobs*

We explore differences in responses to flexible job offers by gender and marital status, which can be related to family responsibilities. We do not have information from the resume data of job seekers on whether they have children, but we presume that married people are considerably more

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<sup>54</sup> For instance, in models of directed search (Wright et al., 2017), better jobs in terms of pay or amenities may not necessarily attract a higher number of applicants, because although job seekers may value these job attributes, they may want to avoid more competition for these jobs.

likely to have children and consequently might particularly value job flexibility, especially women. Either place or time flexibility could make it easier to juggle the demands of work and family.<sup>55</sup>

To address this question, we introduce into the models of the treatment effects on applications (from Table 11) the two-way interactions between treatment dummies, gender, marital status, as well as three-way interactions. The results from the probit estimates, with marginal effects for interactions computed correctly (Ai and Norton, 2003), are reported in Table 14.

The main effects of the flexibility treatments are now reflective of treatment comparisons for unmarried males. They show that flexible jobs do not increase application rates significantly for this group. In the bottom panel of the table, rows (i)-(iii) show that unmarried females are also not more likely to apply for flexible jobs. Rows (iv)-(vi) indicate that married males respond more strongly to the full flexibility treatment, compared to the no flexibility treatment. And rows (vii)-(ix) indicate that married females respond more strongly to all types of flexible jobs.

The evidence that married job seekers seem to prefer both types of flexibility is consistent with workers, at least in a large, congested city like Beijing, placing a positive value on being able to economize on commuting time by avoiding the peak travel hours or by working from home. Married women may value flexibility more because of greater responsibilities for housework, child care, and caring for parents and parents-in-law. Given the above findings, we look in particular at evidence on workers' valuation of job flexibility for married females, using the same specification as in Table 11 column (4). Despite the smaller sample, the estimated differences in Table 15 provide some statistical evidence that married women are willing to trade off full flexibility jobs for about 5,000 CNY a month (based on the  $\{FullFlex \times Medium\}$  vs.  $\{NoFlex \times High\}$  comparison).

#### *Do applicants trade off pay for job flexibility?*

The evidence to this point pertains to whether applicants are more likely to apply for flexible jobs, based on random variation in job ads from our experiment. Our evidence on applying for jobs (measured in various ways) points to a positive value placed on flexible jobs. We now turn to more direct evidence on workers' valuation for job flexibility, using salary expectations for the experimental

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<sup>55</sup> Since 97% of the applicants report having independent work space at home, there is no way to test for whether there is heterogeneity in the preference for place flexibility along this dimension.

job and the hypothetical job from the questionnaire we administered to subjects in the experiment who applied for a job.<sup>56</sup> Because this information comes from the questionnaire from employers after applying for a job, the elicited salary expectations should be incentive compatible. We noted earlier the possibility that job seekers might perceive an offer of a more flexible job as indicating a more productive firm, which could drive higher salary expectations. Our approach in this sub-section should be immune to this problem since we elicit applicants' salary expectations in the same job, under different job flexibility conditions.

Table 16 reports the monthly salary expectations in the experimental job and the hypothetical job with different flexibility conditions. We see that in nearly every case applicants have lower salary expectations for more flexible jobs – when *nothing* changes but the job flexibility condition. First, in the top panel (i.e., the first nine rows) for those treated with inflexible jobs, looking across the means and medians there are only 2 cases (in boldface), out of 16, where applicants' salary expectations are higher for flexible jobs. And in all cases, this apparent lower valuation of job flexibility is for the *TimeFlex* treatment. Second, across the bottom three panels (i.e., the last nine rows), there is only 1 case, out of 18, where salary expectations are higher for more flexible jobs; again, this is for jobs with flexible hours (*TimeFlex*). Recall that we discussed earlier why flexible scheduling, especially in isolation, may not be viewed as a positive amenity by all workers, since it may be indicative of demands for additional work from home by employers.

Table 17 provides a more parsimonious summary of the data, and test statistics. Here, we estimate models for the difference between salary expectations for the experimental and hypothetical job. The first three rows report estimates for the difference between *NoFlex* experimental jobs and hypothetical jobs with each of the three job flexibility conditions. These can be interpreted as the WTP

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<sup>56</sup> Among 369 treated job seekers who applied for the experimental jobs, only 230 completed the questionnaire. (Of these, 214 were applicants to the treatment and position sent in the job ad email or app message, and another 16 applied for the job through the company's website. We only use the 214 applicants in our analysis.) A natural question is whether the samples are representative of all treated job seekers. We compared treatments and individual characteristics of applicants who completed the questionnaire and those who did not. We find small mean differences for all variables, which are statistically insignificant based on Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of the equality of distributions. This result suggests that questionnaire completers and non-completers are similar on observables, making sample selection bias on unobservables less likely.

for job flexibility.<sup>57</sup> The second three rows report the estimates for the negative of the difference between the three different types of flexible experimental jobs and the hypothetical *NoFlex* job. Because we change the sign, these estimates also provide a measure of the WTP for job flexibility. Further, in columns (1) and (2) we report estimates where we do not impose symmetry in the difference between salary expectations on an experimental inflexible job (*NoFlex*) and a hypothetical flexible job (say, *PlaceFlex*), and the difference between salary expectations on an experimental job with the same flexibility condition (*PlaceFlex*, in this example), and a hypothetical inflexible job (*NoFlex*). Because these effects may be symmetric, and the sample is small, we also report estimates where we impose this symmetry condition. In columns (1) and (3), we report coefficients from OLS models without controls, and in columns (2) and (4) with the position and salary level controls included.

We find strong evidence that job seekers in treatments with flexibility conditions value both place flexibility and full flexibility. For example, in column (2) the WTP estimates are around 1,000 CNY (monthly) for the former, and 1,300 CNY for the latter. These estimates are 7.7% and 9.8% lower, respectively, relative to the salary expectation in the *NoFlex* experimental job for all salary offer levels combined (13,143 CNY); and both estimates are statistically significant at the 5% level. These valuation estimates are smaller in magnitude than those obtained from Table 11, column (4). Since these estimates are derived from a small and selected sample of applicants, we need to be cautious about them.

Next, consider the estimates when we impose symmetry. We checked whether the set of the symmetry restrictions individually and jointly were reasonable, and the test statistics in columns (1)-(2) (rows (i)-(iv)) in the bottom panel of Table 17 indicate that the restrictions are not rejected in most cases. We also checked whether the estimates for each change of flexibility condition between the experimental and hypothetical jobs were comparable without and with symmetry restrictions imposed. The test statistics in the bottom panel of Table 17 (rows (v)-(xi)) indicate that the estimates are comparable in most cases. We again find strong evidence that job seekers value both place flexibility and full flexibility, suggesting that workers value place flexibility (either alone or combined with time

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<sup>57</sup> It should be noted that our WTP measure may differ from those used in the stated preference approach. In contrast to choosing the preferred job from two usually hypothetical job options with different job attribute levels and measuring workers' pure preferences for a certain attribute, our salary expectations combine workers' preferences with their salary expectations.

flexibility). For example, in column (4) the WTP estimates are around 1,100 CNY (monthly) for place flexibility, and 1,370 CNY for full flexibility. These estimates reflect 8.5% and 10.4% lower salary expectations, respectively, relative to that in the *NoFlex* experimental job for all salary offer levels combined (13,143 CNY);<sup>58</sup> and both estimates are statistically significant at the 1% level.

## 6. Conclusions

We explore evidence on workers' valuation of the flexibility of jobs offered by employers, using data from a field experiment on a Chinese job board. In the experiment, we generate random variation across job seekers in invitations to apply for jobs that differ in terms of job flexibility conditions regarding both when one works (time flexibility) and where one works (place flexibility). The experimental data allow the estimation of workers' valuation of job flexibility free of the potential biases that underlie most existing research using observational data, as well as potential biases from using hypothetical scenarios in the stated preference approach.

Our experiment provides strong evidence that workers value job flexibility. Across the experimental variation in job flexibility conditions that our subjects receive, they are much more likely to apply for flexible jobs, conditional on the salary offered. Moreover, when we administer a questionnaire to job seekers who have applied for our experimental jobs, there is strong evidence they are willing to take lower pay in return for more flexible jobs, with some evidence that they value place flexibility in particular.

Finally, we find that non-experimental data from the job board we utilize fails to produce evidence that workers value job flexibility. The contrast with the experimental evidence provides further support to the argument that experimental data can be very useful at providing evidence on workers' WTP for positive job amenities or to avoid negative job amenities. The methods we develop and use in this paper can likely be applied fruitfully to understanding workers' valuation of job amenities generally.

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<sup>58</sup> These WTP estimates relative to salary level are similar to those obtained from the stated preference method. For example, the WTP for the availability of a part-time option is estimated at 5.1% of annual salary in Wiswall and Zafar (2017), and the WTP for the option to work from home is estimated at 8% of the hourly wage in Mas and Pallais (2017).

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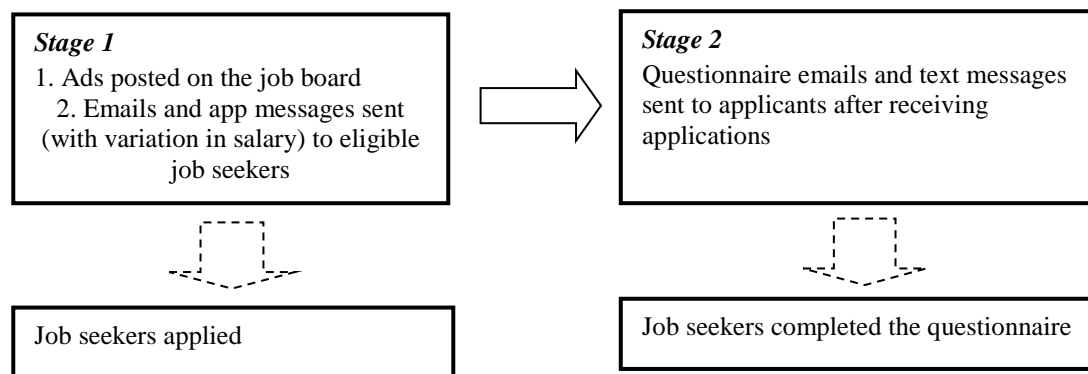
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**Figure 1. Summary of the experimental procedure**



**Table 1. Valuation of flexibility based on employer salary offers**

Dependent variable: ln(salary midpoint)	Pooled OLS (1)	Establishment fixed effects (2)
Flexible job	0.041*** (0.008)	-0.004 (0.007)
Job characteristics	Yes	Yes
Establishment characteristics	Yes	No
Number of job ads	326,241	326,241
Number of establishments	47,583	47,583
R <sup>2</sup>	0.42	0.33

Notes: The estimators of the models are indicated in the column heading. Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity and correlation within establishments are reported in parentheses. R<sup>2</sup> in column (2) is the within-establishment R<sup>2</sup>. \*\*\* indicates statistical significance at the 1% level. The coefficients and standard errors of the job and establishment characteristics controlled in the regressions in column (1) are shown in Table A1.

**Table 2. Valuation of flexibility based on job seekers' generic monthly salary expectations**

Dependent variable: ln(salary expectation midpoint)	Experimental job seekers who applied for jobs other than the experimental jobs	Experimental job seekers who applied for jobs other than the experimental jobs, with non-missing individual characteristics	Experimental job seekers who applied for jobs other than the experimental jobs, with non-missing individual characteristics
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Proportion of flexible jobs applied for	0.175*** (0.011)	0.170*** (0.018)	0.110*** (0.014)
Job seeker characteristics	No	No	Yes
Number of job seekers	48,586	28,407	28,407
R <sup>2</sup>	0.004	0.003	0.37

Notes: The samples covered are indicated in the column heading. Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity are reported in parentheses. \*\*\* indicates statistical significance at the 1% level. The coefficients and standard errors of the job seeker characteristics controlled in the regressions in column (2) are shown in Appendix Table A2.

**Table 3. Valuation of flexibility based on monthly salary in job ads job seekers applied for**

Dependent variable: ln(salary midpoint)	Pooled OLS (1)	Job seeker fixed effects (2)
Flexible job	0.045*** (0.001)	0.028*** (0.001)
Job characteristics	Yes	Yes
Establishment characteristics	Yes	Yes
Job seeker fixed effects	No	Yes
Number of jobs applied	1,932,698	1,932,698
Number of job seekers	56,721	56,721
R <sup>2</sup>	0.48	0.18

Notes: Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity and correlation within job seekers are reported in parentheses. \*\*\* indicates statistical significance at the 1% level, respectively. The coefficients and standard errors of the job and establishment characteristics controlled in the regressions in column (1) are shown in Appendix Table A3.

**Table 4. Order of treatments by position and week, application stage of experiment**

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4
Java engineer	<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>NoFlex</i>
Financial executive	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>
Human resource manager	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>
Marketing executive	<i>FullFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i>
Sales executive	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>

**Table 5. Summary of the experimental treatments**

		Place flexibility	
		Regular work place	Flexible place
Time flexibility	Regular work time	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i>
	Flexible time	<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>
Additional control		No job ad email or app message sent	

Notes: For each job in each treatment, one third of the subjects were randomly assigned monthly salary offer ranges of 10,000-15,000 CNY, 15,000-20,000 CNY, or 20,000-25,000 CNY.

**Table 6. Job ad email and app message openings by treatment**

	<i>NoFlex</i>			<i>TimeFlex</i>			<i>PlaceFlex</i>			<i>FullFlex</i>		
	Low (1)	Medium (2)	High (3)	Low (4)	Medium (5)	High (6)	Low (7)	Medium (8)	High (9)	Low (10)	Medium (11)	High (12)
Number of job seekers	7,889	7,889	7,892	8,757	8,756	8,755	7,666	7,670	7,668	8,740	8,748	8,748
Positions that have data on successfully sent emails												
Java	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Finance	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x
HR	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Marketing		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sales	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
No. of job seekers in above positions	6,256	7,889	7,892	8,757	6,675	6,512	7,666	6,180	6,177	8,740	8,748	8,748
No. of job ad emails successfully sent in above positions	5,217	7,146	6,863	6,615	6,026	5,888	7,093	5,615	5,649	7,909	7,900	7,898
No. (%) of job ad recipients who opened the emails in above positions	1,180 22.62%	1,781 24.92%	1,638 23.87%	1,566 23.67%	1,317 21.86%	1,609 27.33%	1,663 23.45%	1,141 20.32%	1,113 19.70%	1,937 24.49%	1,983 25.10%	1,954 24.74%
App messages were successfully sent to all flexibility-salary level-position combinations												
No. of job seekers in above positions	7,889	7,889	7,892	8,757	8,756	8,755	7,666	7,670	7,668	8,740	8,748	8,748
No. of app messages successfully sent in above positions	5,889	5,924	5,911	6,400	6,399	6,337	5,573	5,595	5,559	6,353	6,279	6,291
No. (%) of app message recipients who opened the message in above positions	82 1.39%	82 1.38%	90 1.52%	106 1.66%	109 1.70%	118 1.86%	97 1.74%	110 1.97%	122 2.19%	136 2.14%	153 2.44%	141 2.24%

Notes: Low, Medium, and High refer to pre-tax monthly salary offered in the job ad, i.e., 10,000-15,000 CNY, 15,000-20,000 CNY, and 20,000-25,000 CNY, respectively. The difference in the “No. of job seekers in above positions” between emails and app messages sent are due to the positions that do not have data on successfully sent emails (e.g., the marketing position in column (1)).

**Table 7. Comparisons of opening rates across treatments**

		<i>TimeFlex</i> vs. <i>NoFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i> vs. <i>NoFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i> vs. <i>NoFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i> vs. <i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i> vs. <i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i> vs. <i>PlaceFlex</i>
<i>Job ad emails</i>							
Low	Absolute difference in opening rate	1.06%	0.83%	1.87%	-0.23%	0.82%	1.05%
	Relative difference in opening rate relative to <i>NoFlex</i> treatment	4.66%	3.66%	8.28%	-1.01%	3.61%	4.62%
Medium	Absolute difference in opening rate	-3.07%	-4.60%	0.18%	-1.53%	3.25%	4.78%
	Relative difference in opening rate relative to <i>NoFlex</i> treatment	-12.31%	-18.47%	0.72%	-6.16%	13.02%	19.18%
High	Absolute difference in opening rate	3.46%	-4.16%	0.87%	-7.62%	-2.59%	5.04%
	Relative difference in opening rate relative to <i>NoFlex</i> treatment	14.50%	-17.45%	3.66%	-31.94%	-10.84%	21.11%
<i>App messages</i>							
Low	Absolute difference in opening rate	0.26%	0.35%	0.75%	0.08%	0.48%	0.40%
	Relative difference in opening rate relative to <i>NoFlex</i> treatment	18.95%	25.00%	53.74%	6.05%	34.79%	28.74%
Medium	Absolute difference in opening rate	0.32%	0.58%	1.05%	0.26%	0.73%	0.47%
	Relative difference in opening rate relative to <i>NoFlex</i> treatment	23.06%	42.03%	76.04%	18.97%	52.98%	34.00%
High	Absolute difference in opening rate	0.34%	0.67%	0.72%	0.33%	0.38%	0.05%
	Relative difference in opening rate relative to <i>NoFlex</i> treatment	22.30%	44.14%	47.20%	21.84%	24.91%	3.06%

**Table 8. Treatment effect on job ad email and app message opening rates**

Dependent variable: Opening rate	Job ad emails		App messages	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>TimeFlex</i>	0.003 (0.027)	0.002 (0.028)	0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	-0.031 (0.027)	-0.028 (0.028)	0.005 (0.003)	0.005 (0.003)
<i>FullFlex</i>	0.010 (0.026)	0.009 (0.027)	0.005 (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)
Medium		-0.005 (0.024)		0.001 (0.003)
High		-0.003 (0.024)		0.003 (0.003)
Finance		0.049 (0.032)		0.016*** (0.003)
HR		0.006 (0.030)		0.006* (0.003)
Marketing		0.038 (0.030)		0.007** (0.003)
Sales		0.038 (0.029)		0.009*** (0.003)
Number of job ad emails or app messages	55	55	60	60
R <sup>2</sup>	0.048	0.126	0.053	0.367

Notes: This table reports OLS estimation results. The opening rate is computed as the number of job ad email or app message recipients who opened the email or app message divided by the number of sampled job seekers who were successfully sent the emails or app messages of certain combination of treatment, salary offer level, and position. One job ad email or app message linked with the combination of treatment, salary offer level and position is one observation. Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity are reported in parentheses. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.

**Table 9. Applications by treatment****Full sample**

	<u>Treatment of job ads applied for</u>				Total	Application rate
	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>		
<u>Treatment of job ad emails and app messages sent</u>						
<i>NoFlex</i>	45	4	2	5	56	0.24%
<i>TimeFlex</i>	1	98	3	4	106	0.40%
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	2	7	74	5	88	0.38%
<i>FullFlex</i>	1	4	1	113	119	0.45%
Not treated	69 (4)	103 (3)	93 (5)	108 (3)	373	(0.06%)
Total	118	216	173	235	742	

**For each offered salary level**

Low salary	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>	Total	Application rate
<u>Treatment of job ad emails and messages sent</u>						
<i>NoFlex</i>	14	2	1	2	19	0.24%
<i>TimeFlex</i>	0	22	0	0	22	0.25%
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	0	0	24	2	26	0.34%
<i>FullFlex</i>	0	2	0	30	32	0.37%
Total	14	26	25	34	99	0.30%
Medium salary	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>	Total	Application rate
<u>Treatment of job ad emails and app messages sent</u>						
<i>NoFlex</i>	12	0	0	0	12	0.15%
<i>TimeFlex</i>	1	29	2	2	34	0.39%
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	1	5	19	2	27	0.35%
<i>FullFlex</i>	1	1	1	45	48	0.55%
Total	15	35	22	49	121	0.37%
High salary	<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>FullFlex</i>	Total	Application rate
<u>Treatment of job ad emails and app messages sent</u>						
<i>NoFlex</i>	19	2	1	3	25	0.32%
<i>TimeFlex</i>	0	47	1	2	50	0.57%
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	1	2	31	1	35	0.46%
<i>FullFlex</i>	0	1	0	38	39	0.45%
Total	20	52	33	44	149	0.45%

Notes: Application rate is computed as the number of applications divided by the number of sampled job seekers who were sent job ad emails or app messages. Since we cannot track who successfully received the email or app message at the individual level, we use all job seekers intended to be treated as the denominator. There are 373 applications coming from job seekers who did not receive email or app message but saw the job ad on the job board, including 15 from the additional control group, whose application number and rate are indicated in parentheses. We consider these applications as coming from job seekers who were “not treated.”

**Table 10. Contact effect on applications**

Dependent variable: Apply or not	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Treated	0.0027*** (0.0002)		0.0025*** (0.0003)	
<i>NoFlex</i>		0.0013*** 0.0003		0.0012*** (0.0003)
<i>TimeFlex</i>		0.0031*** 0.0004		0.0028*** (0.0005)
<i>PlaceFlex</i>		0.0026*** 0.0004		0.0024*** (0.0004)
<i>FullFlex</i>		0.0037*** 0.0004		0.0036*** (0.0005)
Female			-0.0008*** (0.0003)	-0.0009*** (0.0003)
Married			0.0018*** (0.0003)	0.0018*** (0.0003)
Age			-0.0002 (0.0003)	-0.0002 (0.0003)
Age <sup>2</sup>			0.00001** (0.000004)	0.00001** (0.00004)
Bachelor			0.0004 (0.0003)	0.0004 (0.0003)
Master or above			0.0003 (0.0005)	0.0004 (0.0005)
Experience			0.0005*** (0.0002)	0.0005*** (0.0001)
Experience <sup>2</sup>			-0.00002*** (0.00001)	-0.00002*** (0.00001)
Overseas studying or work experience			-0.0005 (0.0005)	-0.0005 (0.0004)
Currently employed			0.0014*** (0.0005)	0.0014*** (0.0005)
Tenure			-0.0002 (0.0001)	-0.0002 (0.0001)
Tenure <sup>2</sup>			0.00001 (0.00001)	0.00001 (0.00001)
Beijing Hukou			-0.0002 (0.0003)	-0.0002 (0.0003)
Expect to work full time			-0.0029 (0.0029)	-0.0027 (0.0028)
Expect to work part time			-0.0033 (0.0031)	-0.0031 (0.0030)
Expect to work in Beijing			0.0016*** (0.0003)	0.0015*** (0.0003)
Number of job seekers	123,956	123,956	72,555	72,555
Wald $\chi^2$	47.15***	71.47***	402.66***	407.22***

Notes: This table reports marginal effects from a probit model. The sample includes sampled job seekers who were sent job ad emails and app messages and the additional control group. All applications not made to the sent treatments or positions are excluded. Job seekers whose individual characteristics have inconsistencies or missing values are also excluded. Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity are reported in parentheses. \*\* and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 5% and 1% levels, respectively.  $\chi^2$ -statistic is for Wald test of joint significance of all regressors. The application rate of the additional control group is 0.06%.

**Table 11. Treatment effect on applications**

Dependent variable: Apply or not	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>TimeFlex</i>	0.0018*** (0.0005)	0.0012*** (0.0004)	0.0011** (0.0004)	0.0002 (0.0007)
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	0.0013*** (0.0005)	0.0011** (0.0004)	0.0010** (0.0005)	0.0010 (0.0008)
<i>FullFlex</i>	0.0024*** (0.0005)	0.0019*** (0.0004)	0.0019*** (0.0005)	0.0012 (0.0008)
Medium		0.0003 (0.0004)	0.0005 (0.0004)	-0.0002 (0.0007)
High		0.0012*** (0.0004)	0.0016*** (0.0004)	0.0010 (0.0008)
<i>TimeFlex</i> × Medium				0.0010 (0.0010)
<i>TimeFlex</i> × High				0.0021* (0.0012)
<i>PlaceFlex</i> × Medium				-0.0002 (0.0011)
<i>PlaceFlex</i> × High				0.0001 (0.0013)
<i>FullFlex</i> × Medium				0.0020* (0.0012)
<i>FullFlex</i> × High				0.0000 (0.0012)
Finance		0.0043*** (0.0005)	0.0041*** (0.0006)	0.0040*** (0.0006)
HR		0.0023*** (0.0004)	0.0027*** (0.0005)	0.0027*** (0.0005)
Marketing		0.0022*** (0.0005)	0.0014*** (0.0004)	0.0013*** (0.0004)
Sales		0.0029*** (0.0005)	0.0012*** (0.0004)	0.0012*** (0.0004)
Female			-0.0026*** (0.0005)	-0.0026*** (0.0005)
Married			0.0021*** (0.0004)	0.0021*** (0.0004)
Age			-0.0002 (0.0004)	-0.0002 (0.0004)
Age <sup>2</sup>			0.00001** (0.00001)	0.00001** (0.00001)
Bachelor			0.0003 (0.0004)	0.0003 (0.0004)
Master or above			0.0005 (0.0007)	0.0005 (0.0007)
Experience			0.0006*** (0.0002)	0.0006*** (0.0002)
Experience <sup>2</sup>			-0.00003*** (0.00001)	-0.00003*** (0.00001)
Overseas studying or work experience			-0.0007 (0.0006)	-0.0007 (0.0006)
Currently employed			0.0016*** (0.0006)	0.0016*** (0.0006)
Tenure			-0.0002 (0.0002)	-0.0002 (0.0002)
Tenure <sup>2</sup>			0.00001 (0.00001)	-0.00003 (0.00001)
Beijing Hukou			-0.0004 (0.0004)	-0.0004 (0.0004)
Expect to work full time			-0.0029 (0.0032)	-0.0028 (0.0032)
Expect to work part time			-0.0036 (0.0034)	-0.0035 (0.0034)
Expect to work in Beijing			0.0019*** (0.0004)	0.0018*** (0.0004)
Number of job seekers	99,146	99,146	58,151	58,151
Wald $\chi^2$	22.66***	75.84***	377.91***	383.16***
continued...				



**Table 11 (continued)**

Estimated differences			
(i) <i>PlaceFlex</i> – <i>TimeFlex</i>	-0.0005 (0.0005)	-0.0001 (0.0005)	-0.0002 (0.0005)
(ii) <i>FullFlex</i> – <i>TimeFlex</i>	0.0006 (0.0005)	0.0007 (0.0005)	0.0008 (0.0005)
(iii) <i>FullFlex</i> – <i>PlaceFlex</i>	0.0011* (0.0005)	0.0008* (0.0005)	0.0009* (0.0005)
(iv) <i>FullFlex</i> × Low – <i>NoFlex</i> × Medium			0.0015** (0.0007)
(v) <i>FullFlex</i> × Low – <i>NoFlex</i> × High			0.0003 (0.0009)
(vi) <i>FullFlex</i> × Medium – <i>NoFlex</i> × High			0.0020** (0.0001)

Notes: This table reports marginal effects from a probit model. The sample includes only sampled job seekers who were sent job ad emails and app messages. All applications not made to the sent treatments or positions are excluded. Job seekers whose individual characteristics have inconsistencies or missing values are also excluded. Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity are reported in parentheses. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.  $\chi^2$ -statistic is for Wald test of joint significance of all regressors.

**Table 12. Questionnaire completion by treatment**

Full sample						
	Treatment of job ads applied for					Completion rate
	NoFlex	TimeFlex	PlaceFlex	FullFlex	Total	
<u>Treatment of job ad emails and app messages sent</u>						
NoFlex	28	3	1	1	33	0.14%
TimeFlex	0	61	1	2	64	0.24%
PlaceFlex	1	1	54	2	58	0.25%
FullFlex	0	2	1	72	75	0.29%
Not treated	30 (3)	44 (2)	34 (0)	58 (1)	166 (6)	(0.02%)
Total	59	111	91	135	396	
For each offered salary level						
Low salary	NoFlex	TimeFlex	PlaceFlex	FullFlex	Total	Completion rate
<u>Treatment of job ad emails and app messages sent</u>						
NoFlex	8	1	0	0	9	0.11%
TimeFlex	0	11	0	0	11	0.13%
PlaceFlex	0	0	17	1	18	0.23%
FullFlex	0	1	0	17	18	0.21%
Total	8	13	17	18	56	0.17%
Medium salary	NoFlex	TimeFlex	PlaceFlex	FullFlex	Total	Completion rate
<u>Treatment of job ad emails and app messages sent</u>						
NoFlex	6	0	0	0	6	0.08%
TimeFlex	0	20	1	1	22	0.25%
PlaceFlex	0	1	14	1	16	0.21%
FullFlex	0	0	1	31	32	0.37%
Total	6	21	16	33	76	0.23%
High salary	NoFlex	TimeFlex	PlaceFlex	FullFlex	Total	Completion rate
<u>Treatment of job ad emails and app messages sent</u>						
NoFlex	14	2	1	1	18	0.23%
TimeFlex	0	30	0	1	31	0.35%
PlaceFlex	1	0	23	0	24	0.31%
FullFlex	0	1	0	24	25	0.29%
Total	15	33	24	26	98	0.30%

Notes: Completion rate is computed as the number of applications that filled in home address, monthly salary expectation for the experimental and hypothetical jobs divided by the number of sampled job seekers who were sent job ad emails and app messages corresponding to particular treatment. There are 166 questionnaires completed by job seekers who did not receive email or app message but saw the job ad on the job board's website, including 6 from the additional control group, whose application number and rate are indicated in parentheses. We consider these questionnaire completions as coming from job seekers who were "not treated."

**Table 13. Treatment effect on questionnaire completion**

Dependent variable: Complete or not	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>TimeFlex</i>	0.0011*** (0.0004)	0.0007** (0.0003)	0.0006* (0.0003)
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	0.0012*** (0.0004)	0.0010*** (0.0004)	0.0009** (0.0004)
<i>FullFlex</i>	0.0015*** (0.0004)	0.0012*** (0.0003)	0.0012*** (0.0004)
Medium		0.0004 (0.0003)	0.0005* (0.0003)
High		0.0010*** (0.0003)	0.0013*** (0.0004)
Finance		0.0029*** (0.0004)	0.0027*** (0.0005)
HR		0.0016*** (0.0003)	0.0020*** (0.0004)
Marketing		0.0012*** (0.0003)	0.0008** (0.0003)
Sales		0.0023*** (0.0005)	0.0011*** (0.0004)
Female			-0.0016*** (0.0004)
Married			0.0010*** (0.0003)
Age			-0.0003 (0.0003)
Age <sup>2</sup>			0.00001** (0.000004)
Bachelor			0.0002 (0.0003)
Master or above			0.0004 (0.0006)
Experience			0.0005*** (0.0002)
Experience <sup>2</sup>			-0.00002*** (0.00001)
Overseas studying or work experience			-0.0004 (0.0005)
Currently employed			0.0012** (0.0005)
Tenure			-0.0001 (0.0001)
Tenure <sup>2</sup>			0.000005 (0.00001)
Beijing Hukou			-0.0003 (0.0003)
Expect to work full time			-0.0018 (0.0025)
Expect to work part time			-0.0015 (0.0029)
Expect to work in Beijing			0.0011*** (0.0003)
Number of job seekers	99,146	99,146	58,151
Wald $\chi^2$	14.76***	57.87***	274.06***
Estimated differences			
(i) <i>PlaceFlex</i> – <i>TimeFlex</i>	0.00003 (0.0004)	0.0003 (0.0004)	0.0002 (0.0004)
(ii) <i>FullFlex</i> – <i>TimeFlex</i>	0.0004 (0.0004)	0.0005 (0.0004)	0.0006 (0.0004)
(iii) <i>FullFlex</i> – <i>PlaceFlex</i>	0.0004 (0.0005)	0.0002 (0.0004)	0.0004 (0.0004)

Notes: This table reports marginal effects from a probit model. The sample includes only sampled job seekers who were sent job ad emails and app messages. All applications not made to the sent treatments and positions are excluded. Job seekers whose individual characteristics have inconsistencies or missing values are also excluded. Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity are reported in parentheses. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.  $\chi^2$ -statistic is for Wald test of joint significance of all regressors.

**Table 14. Heterogeneity in treatment effect on applications by gender and marital status**

Dependent variable: Apply or not	Marginal effects	Standard errors
<i>TimeFlex</i>	0.0017	(0.0015)
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	0.0012	(0.0015)
<i>FullFlex</i>	0.0006	(0.0014)
Female	-0.0014	(0.0011)
Female $\times$ <i>TimeFlex</i>	-0.0017	(0.0016)
Female $\times$ <i>PlaceFlex</i>	-0.0011	(0.0016)
Female $\times$ <i>FullFlex</i>	-0.0003	(0.0015)
Married	0.0021	(0.0014)
Married $\times$ <i>TimeFlex</i>	0.0002	(0.0022)
Married $\times$ <i>PlaceFlex</i>	-0.0016	(0.0021)
Married $\times$ <i>FullFlex</i>	0.0036	(0.0023)
Female $\times$ Married	-0.0020	(0.0015)
Female $\times$ Married $\times$ <i>TimeFlex</i>	0.0016	(0.0024)
Female $\times$ Married $\times$ <i>PlaceFlex</i>	0.0042*	(0.0023)
Female $\times$ Married $\times$ <i>FullFlex</i>	-0.0009	(0.0025)
Age	-0.0001	(0.0004)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.00001*	(0.00001)
Bachelor	0.0003	(0.0004)
Master or above	0.0005	(0.0007)
Experience	0.0005***	(0.0002)
Experience <sup>2</sup>	-0.00003***	(0.00001)
Overseas studying or work experience	-0.0007	(0.0005)
Currently employed	0.0016***	(0.0006)
Tenure	-0.0002	(0.0002)
Tenure <sup>2</sup>	0.00001	(0.00001)
Beijing Hukou	-0.0003	(0.0004)
Expect to work full time	-0.0028	(0.0031)
Expect to work part time	-0.0035	(0.0033)
Expect to work in Beijing	0.0018***	(0.0004)
Medium	0.0005	(0.0005)
High	0.0016***	(0.0005)
Finance	0.0040***	(0.0006)
HR	0.0026***	(0.0005)
Marketing	0.0013***	(0.0004)
Sales	0.0011***	(0.0004)
Number of job seekers	58,151	
Wald $\chi^2$	390.77***	
Estimated differences		
(i) Unmarried female: <i>TimeFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	-0.00003	(0.0005)
(ii) Unmarried female: <i>PlaceFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	0.0001	(0.0006)
(iii) Unmarried female: <i>FullFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	0.0003	(0.0005)
(iv) Married male: <i>TimeFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	0.0019	(0.0016)
(v) Married male: <i>PlaceFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	-0.0004	(0.0014)
(vi) Married male: <i>FullFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	0.0042**	(0.0018)
(vii) Married female: <i>TimeFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	0.0018**	(0.0007)
(viii) Married female: <i>PlaceFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	0.0027***	(0.0008)
(ix) Married female: <i>FullFlex</i> – <i>NoFlex</i>	0.0030***	(0.0008)

Notes: This table reports the estimated change in the probability of application (marginal effects) and standard error on this change in probability. The marginal effects for the double and triple interactions are computed using difference-in-differences, to recover the correct marginal effects with interactions in a probit model. Standard errors are computed using the delta method. The sample includes only sampled job seekers who were sent job ad emails and app messages. All applications not made to the sent treatment or positions are excluded. Job seekers whose individual characteristics have inconsistencies or missing values are also excluded. Standard errors are reported in parentheses. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.  $\chi^2$ -statistic is for Wald test of joint significance of all regressors.

**Table 15. Treatment effect on applications for married females**

Dependent variable: Apply or not	
<i>TimeFlex</i>	0.0002 (0.0007)
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	0.0017 (0.0011)
<i>FullFlex</i>	0.0003 (0.0007)
Medium	0.00004 (0.0007)
High	0.0004 (0.0009)
<i>TimeFlex</i> × Medium	0.0010 (0.0011)
<i>TimeFlex</i> × High	0.0027* (0.0015)
<i>PlaceFlex</i> × Medium	0.0000 (0.0016)
<i>PlaceFlex</i> × High	0.0011 (0.0018)
<i>FullFlex</i> × Medium	0.0035** (0.0016)
<i>FullFlex</i> × High	0.0025 (0.0016)
Finance	0.0021** (0.0010)
HR	0.0012 (0.0009)
Marketing	-0.0005 (0.0009)
Sales	-0.0008 (0.0009)
Age	0.0006 (0.0006)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.000001 (0.00001)
Bachelor	0.0002 (0.0006)
Master or above	0.0001 (0.0009)
Experience	0.0002 (0.0003)
Experience <sup>2</sup>	-0.00001 (0.00001)
Overseas studying or work experience	-0.0006 (0.0006)
Currently employed	0.0015 (0.0010)
Tenure	0.0000 (0.0004)
Tenure <sup>2</sup>	-0.00002 (0.00004)
Beijing Hukou	-0.0004 (0.0004)
Expect to work full time	-0.0043 (0.0059)
Expect to work part time	-0.0024 (0.0069)
Expect to work in Beijing	0.0016*** (0.0005)
Number of job seekers	18,706
Wald $\chi^2$	180.20***
continued...	

**Table 15 (continued)**

Estimated differences	
(i) $FullFlex \times Low - NoFlex \times Medium$	0.0003 (0.0007)
(ii) $FullFlex \times Low - NoFlex \times High$	-0.0001 (0.0009)
(iii) $FullFlex \times Medium - NoFlex \times High$	0.0034** (0.0015)

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Notes: This table reports marginal effects from a probit model. The sample includes only sampled married female job seekers who were sent job ad emails and app messages. All applications not made to the sent treatments or positions are excluded. Job seekers whose individual characteristics have inconsistencies or missing values are also excluded. Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity are reported in parentheses. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.  $\chi^2$ -statistic is for Wald test of joint significance of all regressors.

**Table 16. Salary expectation comparison - experimental vs. hypothetical job**

Treatment of the experimental job	Treatment of hypothetical job	Salary offer level	Salary expectation on experimental job				Salary expectation on hypothetical job		
			Obs.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
<i>NoFlex</i>	<i>TimeFlex</i>	Low	3	6333.33	6000	2020.73	6266.667	6000	2112.66
	<i>TimeFlex</i>	Medium	4	<b>12500</b>	<b>11000</b>	5259.91	<b>12750</b>	<b>11500</b>	5251.98
	<i>TimeFlex</i>	High	5	17000	15000	4949.75	16200	15000	4764.45
	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	Low	2	10500	10500	3535.53	10000	10000	2828.43
	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	Medium	0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
	<i>PlaceFlex</i>	High	4	15250	13500	6946.22	14250	13500	4349.33
	<i>FullFlex</i>	Low	3	9000	9000	1000	9000	9000	1000
	<i>FullFlex</i>	Medium	2	22500	22500	3535.53	20000	20000	7071.07
	<i>FullFlex</i>	High	5	12000	8000	7348.47	11500	7000	7566.37
<i>TimeFlex</i>	<i>NoFlex</i>	Low	11	12772.73	12000	5546.91	14500	10000	8558.62
	<i>NoFlex</i>	Medium	20	14275	11000	11603.62	15535	12000	13780.55
	<i>NoFlex</i>	High	30	18166.67	<b>20000</b>	5791.39	18483.33	<b>19000</b>	6306.11
<i>PlaceFlex</i>	<i>NoFlex</i>	Low	17	14758.82	12900	6161.48	15764.71	15000	6768.77
	<i>NoFlex</i>	Medium	14	14214.29	15000	4964.16	17107.14	18000	6433.62
	<i>NoFlex</i>	High	23	16804.35	15000	5557.02	17913.04	18000	6359.77
<i>FullFlex</i>	<i>NoFlex</i>	Low	17	12352.94	12000	3463.04	13705.88	14000	4119.54
	<i>NoFlex</i>	Medium	30	16466.70	15000	6224.11	18933.37	18000	8016.89
	<i>NoFlex</i>	High	24	16937.50	17000	7760.42	18791.67	18000	9273.52

Notes: The treated applicants are applicants to the experimental jobs of the treatment and position sent in the job ad email and app message, who completed the questionnaire.

**Table 17. Treatment effects on salary expectation change from experimental to hypothetical job: willingness to pay (WTP) for job flexibility**

Dependent variable: Difference in salary expectation between experimental and hypothetical treatments	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Symmetry not imposed		Symmetry imposed	
<i>NoFlex – TimeFlex</i> (WTP)	266.67 (379.77)	790.63 (650.92)	779.45*** (274.63)	426.49 (299.34)
<i>NoFlex – PlaceFlex</i> (WTP)	833.33 (997.75)	1,172.48 (1,113.33)	1,468.33*** (345.44)	1,112.24*** (353.90)
<i>NoFlex – FullFlex</i> (WTP)	750.00 (471.69)	1,247.95* (748.10)	1,839.51*** (311.43)	1,368.04*** (375.11)
– { <i>TimeFlex – NoFlex</i> } (WTP)	880.33*** (320.85)	259.65 (626.68)	779.45*** (274.63)	426.49 (299.34)
– { <i>PlaceFlex – NoFlex</i> } (WTP)	1,538.89*** (369.05)	1,012.79** (511.90)	1,468.33*** (345.44)	1,112.24*** (353.90)
– { <i>FullFlex – NoFlex</i> } (WTP)	1,992.96*** (347.67)	1,292.22** (553.61)	1,839.51*** (311.43)	1,368.04*** (375.11)
Medium		-707.85 (500.87)		-672.88 (459.37)
High		234.12 (423.74)		269.18 (378.47)
Finance		-421.13 (503.99)		-338.78 (408.70)
HR		-515.94 (492.87)		-423.39 (383.00)
Marketing		-491.08 (578.14)		-404.67 (451.39)
Sales		-623.57 (699.77)		-540.94 (662.17)
Number of questionnaire completers	214	214	214	214
$R^2$	0.25	0.27	0.24	0.27
Symmetry restriction tests:				
(i) { <i>NoFlex – TimeFlex</i> } = – { <i>TimeFlex – NoFlex</i> }	0.22	0.65		
(ii) { <i>NoFlex – PlaceFlex</i> } = – { <i>PlaceFlex – NoFlex</i> }	0.51	0.91		
(iii) { <i>NoFlex – FullFlex</i> } = – { <i>FullFlex – NoFlex</i> }	0.04	0.97		
(iv) Joint test of (i)-(iii)	0.09	0.61		
Estimated differences				
(v) { <i>NoFlex – TimeFlex</i> } col. (1) = { <i>NoFlex – TimeFlex</i> } col. (3)		0.21		
(vi) { <i>TimeFlex – NoFlex</i> } col. (1) = { <i>TimeFlex – NoFlex</i> } col. (3)		0.24		
(vii) { <i>NoFlex – PlaceFlex</i> } col. (1) = { <i>NoFlex – PlaceFlex</i> } col. (3)		0.50		
(viii) { <i>PlaceFlex – NoFlex</i> } col. (1) = { <i>PlaceFlex – NoFlex</i> } col. (3)		0.52		
(ix) { <i>NoFlex – FullFlex</i> } col. (1) = { <i>NoFlex – FullFlex</i> } col. (3)		0.03		
(x) { <i>FullFlex – NoFlex</i> } col. (1) = { <i>FullFlex – NoFlex</i> } col. (3)		0.07		
(xi) Joint test of (v)-(x)		0.36		

Notes: This table reports coefficients from an OLS regression without a constant, so that all comparisons can be obtained directly from the regression coefficients. The treated applicants are applicants to the experimental jobs of the treatment and position sent in the job ad email and app message, who completed the questionnaire. Those whose individual characteristics have inconsistencies or missing values are excluded. In columns (3) and (4), the coefficients on the differences between the two WTP estimates for the same change in job flexibility (e.g., the first and fourth rows) are constrained to be equal. Robust standard errors allowing for heteroskedasticity are reported in parentheses. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.



## Appendix A: Additional Tables and Figures

**Appendix Table A1. Summary statistics of regression variables for analysis of employer salary offers**

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	N	% missing values	Regression coefficient	Regression std. error
Midpoint of monthly salary offer	11436.74	8727.84	334,197	2.38%		
Job flexibility	0.20	0.40	342,152	4.65%		
<i>Required educational degree</i>						
No requirement	0.18	0.38	342,110	4.64%	Base category	
Below college	0.02	0.13	342,110	4.64%	-0.297***	(0.019)
College	0.40	0.49	342,110	4.64%	-0.112***	(0.012)
Bachelor	0.39	0.49	342,110	4.64%	0.085***	(0.010)
Master or above	0.01	0.11	342,110	4.64%	0.344***	(0.020)
<i>Required years of work experience</i>						
No requirement	0.39	0.49	342,139	4.65%	Base category	
No experience	0.01	0.09	342,139	4.65%	-0.296***	(0.023)
0-1 years	0.02	0.12	342,139	4.65%	-0.243***	(0.026)
1-3 years	0.26	0.44	342,139	4.65%	0.008	(0.010)
3-5 years	0.22	0.41	342,139	4.65%	0.293***	(0.009)
5-10 years	0.10	0.30	342,139	4.65%	0.618***	(0.009)
Over 10 years	0.01	0.10	342,139	4.65%	1.016***	(0.037)
<i>Other fringe benefits</i>						
14-month salary	0.02	0.13	342,152	4.65%	0.119***	(0.015)
No overtime work	0.05	0.21	342,152	4.65%	-0.028**	(0.012)
Five social insurance and one housing fund	0.76	0.43	342,152	4.65%	0.013*	(0.008)
Transportation allowance	0.24	0.42	342,152	4.65%	-0.021***	(0.007)
Housing allowance	0.06	0.24	342,152	4.65%	-0.021	(0.017)
Gym card	0.02	0.13	342,152	4.65%	0.185***	(0.019)
Interest-free mortgages	0.00	0.04	342,152	4.65%	0.288***	(0.095)
Free shuttle bus	0.05	0.22	342,152	4.65%	-0.016	(0.013)
Attendance bonus	0.19	0.40	342,152	4.65%	-0.033***	(0.010)
Start-up company	0.05	0.21	342,152	4.65%	0.020**	(0.009)
Overtime allowance	0.12	0.33	342,152	4.65%	-0.034***	(0.009)
Free dormitory	0.08	0.27	342,152	4.65%	-0.132***	(0.015)
Free meals	0.06	0.24	342,152	4.65%	0.016*	(0.009)
Staff travel	0.33	0.47	342,152	4.65%	0.018***	(0.007)
Weekend off	0.00	0.02	342,152	4.65%	-0.016	(0.031)
Regular health examination	0.29	0.45	342,152	4.65%	0.009	(0.008)
Paid annual leave	0.53	0.50	342,152	4.65%	-0.021***	(0.007)
Double pay at year end	0.25	0.43	342,152	4.65%	0.052***	(0.008)
Year-end dividend	0.12	0.32	342,152	4.65%	0.081***	(0.014)
No probation period	0.01	0.09	342,152	4.65%	0.154***	(0.031)
Multiple salary raises per year	0.05	0.23	342,152	4.65%	0.056***	(0.012)
Performance-based bonus	0.49	0.50	342,152	4.65%	0.014***	(0.005)
Stocks and options	0.06	0.24	342,152	4.65%	0.117***	(0.014)
Holiday benefits	0.53	0.50	342,152	4.65%	-0.011*	(0.006)
Supplementary medical insurance	0.19	0.39	342,152	4.65%	0.054***	(0.010)
Communication allowance	0.19	0.39	342,152	4.65%	0.013	(0.010)
Heating allowance	0.02	0.13	342,152	4.65%	-0.008	(0.024)
Meal allowance	0.34	0.47	342,152	4.65%	-0.020***	(0.006)
High-temperature allowance	0.04	0.19	342,152	4.65%	-0.038**	(0.017)
<i>Other job characteristics</i>						
Number of vacancies	4.40	44.01	340,723	4.25%	0.0002***	(0.00004)
<i>Occupation</i>						
Software	0.24	0.43	342,152	4.65%	Base category	
Personnel	0.22	0.41	342,152	4.65%	-0.444***	(0.011)
Marketing	0.17	0.37	342,152	4.65%	-0.250***	(0.011)
Finance	0.21	0.40	342,152	4.65%	-0.482***	(0.011)
Sales	0.17	0.37	342,152	4.65%	-0.060***	(0.011)
<i>Establishment size</i>						
1-20	0.08	0.27	338,493	3.62%	Base category	
20-99	0.28	0.45	338,493	3.62%	-0.069***	(0.015)
100-499	0.38	0.48	338,493	3.62%	-0.022	(0.015)
500-999	0.11	0.31	338,493	3.62%	0.012	(0.019)
1000-9999	0.12	0.32	338,493	3.62%	0.046***	(0.016)
10000 or above	0.04	0.20	338,493	3.62%	-0.009	(0.035)
<i>Establishment ownership</i>						
Government agency	0.00	0.01	341,265	4.40%	-0.046	(0.095)
Public institution	0.00	0.06	341,265	4.40%	-0.110***	(0.032)
Representative office	0.00	0.03	341,265	4.40%	-0.052	(0.128)
Public	0.10	0.30	341,265	4.40%	-0.039**	(0.019)
Private	0.54	0.50	341,265	4.40%	0.032**	(0.014)
Foreign	0.04	0.19	341,265	4.40%	0.054**	(0.023)
Joint venture	0.08	0.27	341,265	4.40%	0.054**	(0.023)
Corporate	0.15	0.36	341,265	4.40%	0.027	(0.017)
Listed	0.06	0.24	341,265	4.40%	(0.024)	0.024
Other	0.03	0.16	341,265	4.40%	Base category	

Notes: After dropping observations with missing data, for the sample available for the regression analysis including all of these variables, N = 326,241 (from a total sample of 342,152 observations). Regression coefficients and standard errors are from the regression shown in column (1) in Table 1. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively. Jobs that did not specify a requirement for educational degree or years of work experience might expect workers with “average” levels of these qualifications, which is probably why we obtain negative estimates for low levels of education and experience.

**Appendix Table A2. Summary statistics of regression variables for analysis of job seekers' generic salary expectations**

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	N	% missing values	Regression coefficient	Regression std. error
Midpoint of anticipated monthly salary	9,690.29	7,219.22	47,808	40.58%		
Proportion of flexible jobs applied	0.17	0.20	57,428	50.53%		
Female	0.61	0.49	57,428	50.53%	-0.088***	(0.007)
Married	0.53	0.50	34,081	16.65%	-0.037***	(0.006)
Age	27.92	4.91	57,428	50.53%	0.003	(0.009)
Age <sup>2</sup>	803.49	311.51	57,428	50.53%	0.0004***	(0.0002)
Beijing Hukou	0.30	0.46	57,228	50.36%	-0.091***	(0.007)
<i>Educational degree</i>						
College	0.32	0.47	57,428	50.53%	Base category	
Bachelor	0.58	0.49	57,428	50.53%	0.195***	(0.007)
Master or above	0.10	0.30	57,428	50.53%	0.474***	(0.013)
<i>Work experience</i>						
Experience	5.73	4.69	57,428	50.53%	0.032***	(0.003)
Experience <sup>2</sup>	54.83	100.71	57,428	50.53%	-0.001***	(0.0002)
Overseas studying or work experience	0.05	0.21	57,428	50.53%	0.077***	(0.016)
<i>Employment status</i>						
Currently employed	0.37	0.48	56,992	50.16%	0.315***	(0.008)
Tenure	1.03	2.21	56,992	50.16%	-0.014***	(0.003)
Tenure <sup>2</sup>	5.95	29.59	56,992	50.16%	0.0004*	(0.0002)
Tenure of the employed	2.78	2.88	20,441	48.25%	Not included in the regression	
<i>Job expectation</i>						
Expect to work full-time	0.97	0.16	57,402	50.51%	0.617***	(0.026)
Expect to work part-time	0.01	0.10	57,402	50.51%	-0.053	(0.056)
Expect to work as an intern	0.02	0.12	57,402	50.51%	Base category	
Expect to work in Beijing	0.91	0.28	57,349	50.47%	0.468***	(0.013)
<i>Expected job occupation</i>						
Software	0.13	0.33	57,428	50.53%	Base category	
Finance	0.21	0.41	57,428	50.53%	-0.247***	(0.012)
Personnel	0.30	0.46	57,428	50.53%	-0.289***	(0.011)
Marketing	0.21	0.40	57,428	50.53%	-0.077***	(0.012)
Sales	0.15	0.36	57,428	50.53%	0.041***	(0.013)

Notes: After dropping observations with missing data, for the sample available for the regression analysis including all of these variables, N = 28,407 (from a total sample of 57,428 observations). (Filling in some items, such as marital status, is optional.) We do not include tenure of the employed in the regression, but just show it here for descriptive purposes. Regression coefficients and standard errors are from the same regression as column (2) in Table 2. \* and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10% and 1% levels, respectively.

**Appendix Table A3. Summary statistics of regression variables for analysis of monthly salary in job ads job seekers applied for**

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	All jobs applied for	% missing values	Regression coefficient	Regression std. error
Midpoint of salary offer	12908.89	10120.84	2,074,355	6.83%		
Job flexibility	0.18	0.38	2,144,798	9.89%		
<i>Required educational degree</i>						
No requirement	0.17	0.37	2,144,022	9.86%	Base category	
Below college	0.01	0.12	2,144,022	9.86%	-0.333***	(0.004)
College	0.28	0.45	2,144,022	9.86%	-0.195***	(0.002)
Bachelor	0.52	0.50	2,144,022	9.86%	0.025***	(0.002)
Master or above	0.02	0.14	2,144,022	9.86%	0.198***	(0.005)
<i>Required years of work experience,</i>						
No requirement	0.32	0.47	2,144,774	9.89%	Base category	
No experience	0.01	0.10	2,144,774	9.89%	-0.267***	(0.004)
Experience 0-1 years	0.01	0.10	2,144,774	9.89%	-0.281***	(0.004)
Experience 1-3 years	0.25	0.43	2,144,774	9.89%	-0.072***	(0.003)
Experience 3-5 years	0.23	0.42	2,144,774	9.89%	0.233***	(0.003)
Experience 5-10 years	0.15	0.36	2,144,774	9.89%	0.582***	(0.004)
Experience over 10 years	0.02	0.16	2,144,774	9.89%	0.960***	(0.007)
<i>Other fringe benefits</i>						
14-month salary	0.02	0.14	2,144,798	9.89%	0.093***	(0.002)
No overtime work	0.03	0.18	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.042***	(0.002)
Five social insurance and one housing fund	0.78	0.41	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.007***	(0.001)
Transportation allowance	0.24	0.43	2,144,798	9.89%	0.003***	(0.001)
Housing allowance	0.04	0.20	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.017***	(0.002)
Gym card	0.01	0.11	2,144,798	9.89%	0.105***	(0.003)
Interest-free mortgages	0.00	0.03	2,144,798	9.89%	0.018*	(0.010)
Free shuttle bus	0.05	0.22	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.005***	(0.002)
Attendance bonus	0.15	0.35	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.036***	(0.001)
Start-up company	0.05	0.21	2,144,798	9.89%	0.016***	(0.002)
Overtime allowance	0.12	0.32	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.032***	(0.001)
Free dormitory	0.07	0.25	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.080***	(0.002)
Free meals	0.07	0.26	2,144,798	9.89%	0.001	(0.002)
Staff travel	0.27	0.44	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.008***	(0.001)
Weekend off	0.00	0.01	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.069***	(0.022)
Regular health examination	0.34	0.47	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.007***	(0.001)
Paid annual leave	0.57	0.50	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.012***	(0.001)
Double pay at year end	0.21	0.41	2,144,798	9.89%	0.015***	(0.001)
Year-end dividend	0.09	0.29	2,144,798	9.89%	0.050***	(0.002)
No probation period	0.00	0.07	2,144,798	9.89%	0.051***	(0.006)
Multiple salary raises per year	0.04	0.20	2,144,798	9.89%	0.045***	(0.002)
Performance-based bonus	0.49	0.50	2,144,798	9.89%	0.011***	(0.001)
Stocks and options	0.06	0.23	2,144,798	9.89%	0.119***	(0.002)
Holiday benefits	0.54	0.50	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.009***	(0.001)
Supplementary medical insurance	0.20	0.40	2,144,798	9.89%	0.032***	(0.001)
Communication allowance	0.23	0.42	2,144,798	9.89%	0.003***	(0.001)
Heating allowance	0.03	0.18	2,144,798	9.89%	0.002	(0.002)
Meal allowance	0.39	0.49	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.014***	(0.001)
High-temperature allowance	0.05	0.22	2,144,798	9.89%	-0.075***	(0.002)
<i>Nature of the job</i>						
Full-time	0.98	0.13	2,142,241	9.78%	0.210***	(0.008)
Part-time	0.01	0.08	2,142,241	9.78%	-0.523***	(0.020)
Internship	0.01	0.08	2,142,241	9.78%	-0.697***	(0.011)
Campus	0.00	0.05	2,142,241	9.78%	Base category	
<i>Other job characteristics</i>						
Number of vacancies	5.23	55.17	2,140,049	9.69%	0.0001***	(0.00001)
<i>Establishment size</i>						
1-20	0.06	0.24	2,120,518	8.86%	Base category	
20-99	0.26	0.44	2,120,518	8.86%	-0.054***	(0.002)
100-499	0.36	0.48	2,120,518	8.86%	-0.012***	(0.002)
500-999	0.11	0.32	2,120,518	8.86%	0.022***	(0.002)
1000-9999	0.16	0.37	2,120,518	8.86%	0.041***	(0.002)
10000 or above	0.04	0.19	2,120,518	8.86%	0.072***	(0.003)
<i>Establishment ownership</i>						
Government agency	0.00	0.02	2,135,890	9.51%	-0.040	(0.025)
Public institution	0.01	0.10	2,135,890	9.51%	-0.114***	(0.005)
Representative office	0.00	0.03	2,135,890	9.51%	0.017	(0.022)
Public	0.13	0.34	2,135,890	9.51%	-0.002	(0.003)
Private	0.51	0.50	2,135,890	9.51%	0.022***	(0.003)
Foreign	0.05	0.23	2,135,890	9.51%	0.029***	(0.003)
Joint venture	0.05	0.23	2,135,890	9.51%	0.029***	(0.003)
Corporate	0.13	0.34	2,135,890	9.51%	0.003	(0.003)
Listed	0.07	0.26	2,135,890	9.51%	0.020***	(0.003)
Other	0.03	0.18	2,135,890	9.51%	Base category	

Notes: After dropping observations with missing data, for the sample available for the regression analysis including all of these variables, N = 1,932,698 (from a total sample of 2,144,798 observations). Regression coefficients and standard errors are from the same regression as column (1) in Table 3. \* and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10% and 1% levels, respectively.

**Appendix Table A4. Pairwise randomization tests between treatments**

Variable	<i>NoFlex</i>			<i>TimeFlex</i>			<i>PlaceFlex</i>			<i>FullFlex</i>			Additional control		
	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.
Female (proportion)	23,247	0.51 <sup>(2)***,(4)***,(5)***</sup>	0.50	25,869	0.56 <sup>(3)***,(5)***</sup>	0.50	22,603	0.52 <sup>(4)***,(5)***</sup>	0.50	25,825	0.56 <sup>(5)***</sup>	0.50	24,386	0.54	0.50
Married (proportion)	14,158	0.60 <sup>(2)***,(4)***</sup>	0.49	15,663	0.56 <sup>(3)***,(5)***</sup>	0.50	13,473	0.60 <sup>(4)***,(5)**</sup>	0.49	15,348	0.57	0.49	14,518	0.59	0.49
Age	23,247	29.51 <sup>(2)***,(4)***,(5)*</sup>	5.37	25,869	29.69 <sup>(3)**,(4)***,(5)**</sup>	5.50	22,603	29.57	5.41	25,825	29.55 <sup>(5)*</sup>	5.46	24,386	29.60	5.47
College (proportion)	23,247	0.27	0.44	25,869	0.26	0.44	22,603	0.25	0.44	25,825	0.26	0.44	24,386	0.26	0.44
Bachelor (proportion)	23,247	0.61 <sup>(4)***</sup>	0.49	25,869	0.61	0.49	22,603	0.61	0.49	25,825	0.62	0.48	24,386	0.62	0.49
Master or above (proportion)	23,247	0.13 <sup>(4)*</sup>	0.33	25,869	0.12	0.33	22,603	0.13 <sup>(4)***</sup>	0.34	25,825	0.12	0.32	24,386	0.12	0.33
Experience	23,247	6.93 <sup>(2)***,(4)***</sup>	4.80	25,869	7.10 <sup>(3)***,(4)***</sup>	4.97	22,603	6.94	4.86	25,825	6.98	4.95	24,386	7.04	4.97
Overseas studying or work experience (proportion)	23,247	0.05	0.23	25,869	0.06	0.23	22,603	0.06	0.24	25,825	0.05	0.22	24,386	0.05	0.23
Currently employed	23,018	0.38	0.49	25,707	0.39	0.49	22,355	0.38	0.49	25,677	0.38	0.48	24,209	0.38	0.49
Tenure	23,018	1.34	2.64	25,707	1.36	2.71	22,355	1.34	2.61	25,677	1.32	2.66	24,209	1.32	2.63
Beijing Hukou (proportion)	23,164	0.35 <sup>(2)***,(3)*,(4)***,(5)***</sup>	0.48	25,787	0.38 <sup>(3)***</sup>	0.49	22,522	0.36 <sup>(4)***,(5)**</sup>	0.48	25,721	0.39	0.49	24,294	0.38	0.48
Expect to work full-time (proportion)	23,235	0.97	0.16	25,854	0.97	0.17	22,587	0.97	0.17	25,814	0.97	0.16	24,375	0.97	0.16
Expect to work part-time (proportion)	23,235	0.02	0.12	25,854	0.01	0.12	22,587	0.01	0.12	25,814	0.01	0.11	24,375	0.01	0.11
Expect to work as an intern (proportion)	23,235	0.01	0.11	25,854	0.01	0.12	22,587	0.01	0.11	25,814	0.01	0.12	24,375	0.01	0.11
Expect to work in Beijing (proportion)	23,210	0.92	0.28	25,835	0.92	0.27	22,560	0.92	0.27	25,789	0.92	0.27	24,355	0.92	0.27
Applied for other jobs in the 5 weeks prior to the experiment (proportion)	23,247	0.45 <sup>(2)***,(4)***,(5)***</sup>	0.50	25,869	0.49 <sup>(3)***,(5)***</sup>	0.50	22,603	0.45 <sup>(4)***,(5)***</sup>	0.50	25,825	0.49 <sup>(5)***</sup>	0.50	24,386	0.47	0.50
Proportion of flexible jobs applied in the 5 weeks prior to the experiment	10,404	0.19 <sup>(2)***,(4)***,(5)***</sup>	0.23	12,694	0.17 <sup>(3)***,(5)***</sup>	0.22	10,116	0.18 <sup>(4)***,(5)***</sup>	0.23	12,665	0.17 <sup>(5)***</sup>	0.23	11,549	0.18	0.23

Notes: The sample for each individual characteristic is limited to non-missing observations after eliminating those with inconsistent dates of events. The superscript next to the mean of each treatment shows the column number to which treatment (column) is compared, and the asterisks mark the significance level of the difference following the conventional manner. If, for a given variable, two treatments are not significantly different at conventional levels, no superscript is added. This comparison is only conducted to the ““right”” to avoid double counting, i.e., column (1) is compared to columns (2)-(5), column (2) is compared to columns (3)-(5), etc. \*, \*\*, and \*\*\* indicate statistical significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.

**Appendix Table A5. Summary statistics of regression variables for experimental data analysis**

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	% missing values
Apply or not	0.004	0.07	121,898	40.48%
Female	0.58	0.49	121,898	40.48%
Married	0.58	0.49	73,130	0.79%
Age	27.96	4.67	121,898	40.48%
Age <sup>2</sup>	803.54	293.36	121,898	40.48%
Beijing Hukou	0.28	0.45	121,456	40.26%
<i>Educational degree</i>				
College	0.30	0.46	121,898	40.48%
Bachelor	0.59	0.49	121,898	40.48%
Master or above	0.11	0.32	121,898	40.48%
<i>Work experience</i>				
Experience	5.69	4.44	121,898	40.48%
Experience <sup>2</sup>	52.06	91.90	121,898	40.48%
Overseas studying or work experience	0.05	0.23	121,898	40.48%
<i>Employment status</i>				
Currently employed	0.38	0.49	120,934	40.00%
Tenure	1.14	2.28	120,934	40.00%
Tenure <sup>2</sup>	6.50	28.58	120,934	40.00%
<i>Job expectation</i>				
Expect to work full time	0.97	0.17	121,833	40.45%
Expect to work part time	0.01	0.11	121,833	40.45%
Expect to work as an intern	0.02	0.13	121,833	40.45%
Expect to work in Beijing	0.90	0.30	121,717	40.39%
<i>Treatment</i>				
NoFlex	0.19	0.39	121,898	40.48%
TimeFlex	0.21	0.41	121,898	40.48%
PlaceFlex	0.18	0.39	121,898	40.48%
FullFlex	0.21	0.41	121,898	40.48%
Additional control	0.20	0.40	121,898	40.48%
<i>Job/occupation</i>				
Java	0.17	0.37	121898	40.48%
Finance	0.21	0.40	121898	40.48%
HR	0.28	0.45	121898	40.48%
Marketing	0.20	0.40	121898	40.48%
Sales	0.14	0.35	121898	40.48%

Notes: After dropping observations with missing data, for the sample available for the regression analysis (with the additional control group) including all of these variables, N = 72,555 (from a total sample of 121,898 observations).

## Appendix B. Examples of Job Ads

### UI Designers

Co. Ltd.

14-months salary

No probation period

Multiple salary raise per year

Free meals

Five social insurance and one housing fund

Paid annual leave

Flexible working conditions

Holiday benefits

Monthly salary: 15000-30000 Yuan/month    Place of work: Beijing  
Publish date: In recruitment    Job type: Full time  
Work experience required: 3-5 years    Educational degree required: Bachelor  
Number of vacancies: 2    Occupation type: User interface (UI) designer

#### Job Description

Company Introduction

#### Job Responsibility

1. Complete visual concept design proposals and visual design based on a good understanding of product design requirements.
2. Provide insights for the visual style and creative planning of the overall interface of the product set by the team.

#### Job Requirements

1. At least 3 years work experience in user interface design; excellent visual design skills and some understanding of mobile internet APP design.
2. Proficient in softwares, such as Photoshop, Illustrator, Sketch, Aftereffect, etc.
3. Have a good sense of wholeness in image control and strict control over pixel-level details.
4. Innovative and sharp observational and analytical skills of visual design and color.
5. Good communication skills and design elaboration, good at teamwork.
6. Have the ability to complete tasks quickly and to continuously iterate and optimize vision design according to product changes.
7. Good at self-motivation and challenge-meeting, and enthusiastic in learning and enterprise.
8. Pay attention to industry design trends and information trends of scientific and technological products.
9. Good habit of making work summary.

#### Pluses

1. Good at interactive animation design.
2. Good realistic painting or graphic typography skills.
3. Active thinking and strong learning ability;
4. Good English reading and writing skills.

#### Benefits highlights

- Manifold bonuses: quarterly bonus, year-end bonus, and more than 16-months salary for outstanding employees.

- Frequent salary raise: once or twice a year.

- Generous benefits: flexible work - no need to punch card on and off work, unlimited fruit and snacks, free lunch and dinner, diversified team building activities, annual high-end medical insurance, etc.

#### Work address

Apply Now

## Financial Executive

Co. Ltd.

Five social insurance and one housing fund

Transportation allowance

Meal allowance

Communication allowance

Paid annual leave

Holiday benefits

Monthly salary: 30001-50000 Yuan/month      Place of work: Dongcheng District, Beijing  
Publish date: In recruitment      Job type: Full time  
Work experience required: 10 years or more      Educational degree required: Master  
Number of vacancies: 1      Occupation type: Financial Executive

**Job Description**      Company Introduction

### Job Responsibility

1. Manage the company's accounting, reporting, and budget system establishment; plan business operation; formulate, implement and control the budget under the board of directors and the CEO.
2. Organize and coordinate the functioning of the company's financial resources and business plan; formulate and implement the company's financial strategy plan.
3. Formulate the company's profit plan, investment plan, financial plan, expenditure budget or cost standards.
4. Establish and improve the organization of the company's internal accounting system and data management system, as well as the rules and regulations of accounting and financial management.
5. Establish internal accounting, auditing and control systems; improve financial management, control and accounting structure; and implement effective management of accounting personnel.
6. Manage cash flow, working capital, capital budget, merger and acquisition related financial issues, corporate financing, capital change, etc.
7. Conduct economic activity analysis with the operation and management departments to reduce costs, increase revenue, and increase profits.
8. Supervise the company to obey national financial laws and regulations, as well as board resolutions.
9. Keep contact with the government's fiscal and taxation departments, and implement fiscal and taxation policies.
10. Complete other work assigned by the board of directors and the CEO.

### Job Requirements

1. Master degree or above with a finance major, have professional title of accountant, and experienced in financial operations of listed companies.
2. More than 10 years' experience in financial management of large group companies.
3. Have comprehensive financial expertise, and financial operation and management experience.
4. Proficient in the operation of corporate cost management system and comprehensive budget management system.
5. Well trained in management, strategic management, management ability development, corporate operation procedure, financial management, etc.
6. Have proficiency in national fiscal and tax laws and regulations, excellent professional judgment and rich experience in financial project analysis and processing.
7. Familiar with accounting standards and related financial, taxation and auditing regulations and policies.
8. Honest, responsible, serious, and prudent.
9. Good communication and coordination skills, disciplined, cooperative and innovative.

### Work address

Apply Now



## Human Resource Manager

Co. Ltd.

14-months salary

Five social insurance and one housing fund

Performance-based bonus

Transportation allowance

Meal allowance

Communication allowance

Paid annual leave

Holiday benefits

Monthly salary: 10001-15000 Yuan/month

Place of work: Daxing District, Beijing

Publish date: In recruitment

Job type: Full time

Work experience required: 5-10 years

Educational degree required: College

Number of vacancies: 1

Occupation type: Human resource manager

### Job Description

Company Introduction

### Job Responsibility

1. Manage the company's accounting, reporting, and budget system establishment; plan business operation; formulate, implement and control the budget under the board of directors and the CEO.
2. Organize and coordinate the functioning of the company's financial resources and business plan; formulate and implement the company's financial strategy plan.
3. Formulate the company's profit plan, investment plan, financial plan, expenditure budget or cost standards.
4. Establish and improve the organization of the company's internal accounting system and data management system, as well as the rules and regulations of accounting and financial management.
5. Establish internal accounting, auditing and control systems; improve financial management, control and accounting structure; and implement effective management of accounting personnel.
6. Manage cash flow, working capital, capital budget, merger and acquisition related financial issues, corporate financing, capital change, etc.
7. Conduct economic activity analysis with the operation and management departments to reduce costs, increase revenue, and increase profits.
8. Supervise the company to obey national financial laws and regulations, as well as board resolutions.
9. Keep contact with the government's fiscal and taxation departments, and implement fiscal and taxation policies.
10. Complete other work assigned by the board of directors and the CEO.

### Job Requirements

1. College degree or above, majored in human resource management, public administration, business administration or the like.
2. At least three year experience in human resource management, including at least one year as personnel manager.
3. Familiar with the theory of modern human resource management, and national labor laws and regulations and local policies; good at office software, such as Word, Excel, PPT, etc.
4. Have good speaking and writing skills, communication and coordination skills, and good thinking and execution capabilities.
5. Optimistic and outgoing, honest and trustworthy, diligent and pragmatic, emotionally stable, and have good sense of teamwork and responsibility.

### Work address

Apply Now



## Store Location Specialist

Co. Ltd.

Holiday benefits

Flexible working conditions

Monthly salary: 3000-6000 Yuan/month

Place of work: Beijing

Publish date: In recruitment

Job type: Full time

Work experience required: No requirement

Educational degree required: No requirement

Number of vacancies: 10

Occupation type: Site selection/ new store development

### Job Description

### Company Introduction

### Job Responsibility

1. Search street, plan and record site according to the deployment and requirement of the direct supervisor.
2. Select site and incept new projects of chain stores;
3. Confirm, track, pay deposit and sign contract for the new project;
4. Complete other related work assigned.

### Job Requirements

1. People experienced in chain store site selection are preferred;
2. Good communication skills and integrated thinking ability; familiar with Beijing, .
3. Honest, hardworking and good at teamwork.

### Work address

Apply Now

**Team Manager [five social insurance and one housing fund]**

Co. Ltd.

Five social insurance and one housing fund

Double pay at year end

Performance-based bonus

Overtime allowance

Paid annual leave

Holiday benefits

Monthly salary: 6001-8000 Yuan/month

Place of work: Xicheng District, Beijing

Publish date: In recruitment

Job type: Full time

Work experience required: 1-3 years

Educational degree required: No requirement

Number of vacancies: 5

Occupation type: Group purchase manager/supervisor

**Job Description**

**Company Introduction**

**Job Responsibility**

1. Responsible for team building and member recruitment.
2. Assign sales tasks reasonably.
3. Lead the team to achieve sales targets.
4. Lead the team to identify and maintain new customers.
5. Train team members in terms of mission and vision as well as basic financial and product knowledge in a short period of time.

**Job Requirements**

1. College degree or above; 3 years or above sales experience; people with team management experience are preferred.
2. Two years or above experience in financial sector; familiar with the knowledge of fund, trust, P2P, securities and so on.
3. Passionate about sales and have a personal understanding of investment and financial management.
4. Good execution and pressure taking ability.
5. Good professional ethics and time management ability.

**Promotion path**

Team manager → Sales director → Branch manager

The salary we offer is at the high end in the industry. Welcome to joining us!

**Work address**

Apply Now

## Appendix C. A Job Ad on the Employer's Webpage Recommended to Eligible Job Seekers in the Experiment

**Financial Executive [with both flexible work timing and place]**  

Co. Ltd.

Five social insurance and one housing fund

Double pay at year end

Performance-based bonus

Communication allowance

Paid annual leave

Flexible working conditions

Regular health examination

Holiday benefits

Monthly salary: Negotiable

Place of work: Haidian District, Beijing

Publish date: In recruitment

Job type: Full time

Work experience required: 5-10 years

Educational degree required: College

Number of vacancies: 2

Occupation type: Financial officer

Job Description

Company Introduction

**Job Responsibility**

1. Formulate and implement monthly, quarterly and annual financial budget, and produce corresponding financial report.
2. Control operation budget, plan and declare tax; manage capital allocation, cost and financial accounting and financial analysis.
3. Formulate, maintain and improve the company's financial management system and work procedures; establish an accountable financial accounting system and financial monitoring system to achieve effective internal control.
4. Establish and maintain good relations with industrial and commercial institutions, tax bureaus, banks, etc.

**Job Requirements**

1. At least 5 years relevant work experience; strong in work ethics, teamwork spirit, sense of responsibility, self-motivation and communication skills.
2. Serious working, dedicated to details, fast-learning, and pressure taking ability are valued.
3. Have comprehensive accounting knowledge, familiar with daily financial management procedures, financial and legislative regulations and common financial softwares.
4. Good at cost management, risk control and financial analysis; good management and problem-solving capabilities.

**Work arrangements**

*The first month:* work in the office from 9 AM to 6 PM for 8 hours from Monday to Friday. Weekend off.

*After one month:* work in the office from 9 AM to 6 PM for 8 hours on Monday; work at wherever you like via logging into the company's online working system for 8 hours starting between 7 AM and 10 AM and ending between 4 PM and 7 PM from Tuesday to Friday. Weekend off.

**Inquiring Email:**

Please note that the deadline for applying this job is **9 am on January 24, 2018 (Wednesday)**.

After reviewing your qualifications, the company will invite you for an interview, so stay tuned!

Welcome to joining us!

**Work address**

Apply Now

## Appendix D. Examples of Job Ad Emails

Email subject line: Job position	Monthly salary level offered	Email subject line
Financial Executive (with both flexible work time and place)	Low monthly Salary	Job recommendation: Financial Executive [with both flexible work time and place/monthly salary: 10-15K]
	Medium monthly Salary	Job recommendation: Financial Executive [with both flexible work time and place/monthly salary: 15-20K]
	High monthly Salary	Job recommendation: Financial Executive [with both flexible work time and place/monthly salary: 20-25K]

### Email content

Hi! Your qualifications match our [Financial Executive] position well! We hence recommend you this job!  
See below for more information.

### Financial Executive (15000-20000 Yuan/month)

Company Name

Co. Ltd.

Place of Work

Beijing

Work Arrangements

*The first month:* working in the office from 9 am to 6 pm with one hour lunch break from Monday to Friday.  
Weekend off.

*After one month:* working in the office from 9 am to 6 pm with one hour lunch break on Monday; work at  
any places via logging into the company's online working system for 8 hours starting between 7 am and 10  
am and ending between 4 pm and 7 pm from Tuesday to Friday. Weekend off.

Job Responsibility

1. Formulate and implement monthly, quarterly and annual financial budget, and produce corresponding financial report.
2. Control operation budget, plan and declare tax; manage capital allocation, cost and financial accounting and financial analysis.
3. Formulate, maintain and improve the company's financial management system and work procedures  
.....[More]

Please note that the deadline for application is 9 am on January 24, 2018 (Wednesday).

[Learn more about the job](#)

### Appendix E. Examples of Job Ad App Messages

Job position	Monthly salary level offered	App message
Financial Executive (with both flexible work time and place)	Low monthly salary	Find your dream job here! Click to check the job designated for you: Financial Executive [with both flexible work time and place/monthly salary: 10-15K]
	Medium monthly salary	Find your dream job here! Click to check the job designated for you: Financial Executive [with both flexible work time and place/monthly salary: 15-20K]
	High monthly salary	Find your dream job here! Click to check the job designated for you: Financial Executive [with both flexible work time and place/monthly salary: 20-25K]

## **Appendix F. Email and Text Message Sent to All Job Seekers Who Applied for Our Jobs**

### **Email**

Email subject line: Invitation from XXX Co. Ltd. to answer a short questionnaire

Dear YYY,

Thank you for applying for the ZZZ position in XXX Co. Ltd.

Your qualifications match our position well. We would like to know more about you. Please spend 5 minutes to complete an online questionnaire within 3 days. Thank you for your cooperation.

Welcome to joining us! Link to the questionnaire: DDD.

Human resource department

XXX Co. Ltd.

### **Text message**

[XXX Co. Ltd.] Dear YYY,

Thank you for applying for the ZZZ position in XXX Co. Ltd.

Your qualifications match our position well. We would like to know more about you. Please spend 5 minutes to complete an online questionnaire within 3 days. Thank you for your cooperation.

Welcome to joining us! Link to the questionnaire: DDD.

## Appendix G. Applicant Questionnaire

In order to improve our hiring process, we would like to know you more by asking some additional questions. This questionnaire consists of 16 questions and will cost you about 5 minutes to complete. There is no right and wrong answers. Please answer truthfully. Thank you for your cooperation!

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Cellphone number: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Address of current residence: \_\_\_\_\_ [Example: No. 2 Xincang Road, Tongzhou District, Beijing]
4. Monthly anticipated pre-tax salary for this job: \_\_\_\_\_ CNY / month
5. Estimated time to start the job : \_\_\_\_ year \_\_\_\_ month \_\_\_\_ day
6. Please rank the importance you attach to the job or employer characteristics [Please sort by importance, the most important is 1, the second is 2, and so on. The ranking cannot be repeated]:
  - Work time flexibility
  - Work place flexibility
  - Salary and benefits
  - Working environment
  - On-the-job training opportunities
  - Inter-colleague relationships
  - Corporate culture
7. This job will provide both time and place flexibilities [i.e., After first month working 9 am to 6 pm in office (eight hours plus one-hour lunch break), on Mondays employees work 9 am to 6 pm in office, from Tuesday to Friday they are allowed to work wherever they like via logging into the company's online working system for 8 hours starting between 7 am and 10 am and ending between 4 pm and 7 pm]. Suppose that if this job no longer had the aforementioned flexible working conditions but changed to fixed hours and place [i.e., working in office between 9 am and 6 pm, five days a week]. Please answer:  
  
In the absence of flexible working conditions, your monthly anticipated pre-tax salary for this job: \_\_\_\_\_CNY / month  
[There are in total six versions of this question: NoFlex experimental job to TimeFlex hypothetical job, NoFlex experimental job to PlaceFlex hypothetical job, NoFlex experimental job to FullFlex hypothetical job, TimeFlex experimental job to NoFlex hypothetical job, PlaceFlex experimental job to NoFlex hypothetical job, and FullFlex experimental job to NoFlex hypothetical job. Here we present the last version.]
8. Marital status:
  - Unmarried
  - Married
  - Divorced
  - Widowed
9. Do you have an independent workspace at home?
  - Yes
  - No
10. Please tell me, in general, how willing or unwilling you are to take risks.

Please use a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you are “completely unwilling to take risks” and a 10 means you are “very willing to take risks”. You can also use any numbers between 0 and 10 to indicate where you fall on the scale, like 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Completely unwilling to take risks                      Very willing to take risks  
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11. We now ask for your willingness to act in a certain way in four different areas.

Please again indicate your answer on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you are “completely unwilling to do so” and a 10 means you are “very willing to do so”. You can also use any numbers between 0 and 10 to indicate where you fall on the scale, like 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

	Completely unwilling to do so	Very willing to do so
How willing are you to give up something that is beneficial for you today in order to benefit more from that in the future?	0	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
How willing are you to punish someone who treats <b>you</b> unfairly, even if there may be costs for you?	0	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
How willing are you to punish someone who treats <b>others</b> unfairly, even if there may be costs for you?	0	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
How willing are you to give to good causes without expecting anything in return?	0	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

12. How well do the following statements describe you as a person?

Please indicate your answer on a scale from 0 to 10. A 0 means “does not describe me at all” and a 10 means “describes me perfectly”. You can also use any numbers between 0 and 10 to indicate where you fall on the scale, like 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

	Does not describe me at all	Describes me perfectly
When someone does me a favor I am willing to return it.	0	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
If I am treated very unjustly, I will take revenge at the first occasion, even if there is a cost to do so.	0	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
I assume that people have only the best intentions.	0	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13. How many children do you have?

- No children
- 1 child
- 2 children
- 3 children or above

13-1.

[If choose “1 child” in Q13]:

Year of birth of this child: \_\_\_\_ year.

[If choose “2 children” in Q13]:

Year of birth of the 1st child: \_\_\_\_ year

Year of birth of the 2nd child: \_\_\_\_ year.



[If choose ““3 children or above”” in Q13]:

Year of birth of the 1st child: \_\_\_\_ year

Year of birth of the 2nd child: \_\_\_\_ year

Year of birth of the 3rd child: \_\_\_\_ year.

14. Are you or your spouse currently pregnant?
- Yes
  - No
15. Who helps with child caring and housework in your home [Multiple choice]?
- Only yourself
  - Your spouse
  - Parents / parents-in-law
  - Your siblings
  - Your child(ren)
  - Nannies / part-time houseowrk helpers
  - Other\_\_\_\_\_
16. Do you need to take care of the elderly in your family?
- Yes
  - No

This is the end! Thank you for your cooperation!