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Gender Disparities in Valuing Remote and Hybrid Work in Latin America

Ana Maria Diaz
Luz Magdalena Salas
Claudia Piras
Agustina Suaya

Inter-American Development Bank
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Gender Disparities in Valuing Remote and Hybrid Work in Latin America

Ana Maria Diaz ^{*} Luz Magdalena Salas[†] Claudia Piras [‡]
Agustina Suaya [§]

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Abstract

This study sheds light on the growing trend and gender dynamics of workplace flexibility in Latin America, underscoring the importance of remote work options in the region’s labor market. We explore gender differences in willingness to pay (WTP) for remote work arrangements in Latin America, using a discrete choice experiment across five countries: Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Chile, and Argentina. Results reveals a general trend among Latin American workers to trade off some wage in exchange for more remote work options, both fully and partially remote, in two male-dominated occupations: Manufacturing and information technology. On average, participants agreed to sacrifice around 10% of their wage for hybrid jobs (80% remote, 20% on-site). The WTP for fully remote work was slightly lower, at about 6% of the wage. Women exhibit a higher WTP for flexibility compared to men, with a 62.5% higher willingness across estimates for hybrid arrangements. Moreover, women’s inclination towards fully remote options was distinct, as they showed a positive WTP (up to 10% of their salary) for such arrangements, whereas men exhibited no willingness to reduce their wages for fully remote roles.

JEL Codes: J22, J31, J41, J51, J71

Keywords: Willingness to Pay, Flexible Work Arrangements, Discrete Choice Experiment.

^{*}Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Departamento de Economía, a.diaze@javeriana.edu.co

[†]Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Departamento de Economía, salas.luz@javeriana.edu.co

[‡]Inter-American Development Bank, claudiapi@iadb.org

[§]Inter-American Development Bank, asuaya@iadb.org

1 Introduction

The implementation of flexible work arrangements is becoming increasingly popular among firms worldwide, offering employees various options such as different working hours, days, and the flexibility to work from different locations, including home or in a hybrid setting. By providing these types of flexibility, employers grant their workers greater control over their work schedules, facilitating a better balance with life commitments such as family responsibilities (Chung and Van der Horst, 2018; Chung and Van der Lippe, 2020). Despite the growing adoption of flexible work arrangements in many parts of the world, there is noticeable hesitancy among employers in Latin America and other developing countries, particularly outside higher-skilled occupations (Golden, 2001; Wiß, 2017). This reluctance often stems from concerns over potential productivity losses and a lack of understanding about the nature of such contracts (Beckmann, 2016; Moens et al., 2022; Ortega, 2009), even though studies have consistently shown that flexible work arrangements can lead to increased productivity (, n.d.; Aksoy et al., 2022; Angelici and Profeta, 2020; Bloom et al., 2015, 2022; Dutcher, 2012; Gibbs et al., 2021; Harrington and Emanuel, 2020; Rupietta and Beckmann, 2017), as well as improved job satisfaction, and retention, among other benefits (Eaton, 2003; Kelliher and Anderson, 2010; Kossek and Michel, 2011; Kröll and Nüesch, 2019; Pierce and Newstrom, 1983; Valet et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2018).

Given this backdrop, it becomes crucial to understand the dynamics of workplace flexibility in regions where its implementation lags, particularly from a gender perspective. This leads us to the core of our investigation: we aim to explore gender differences in the willingness to pay (WTP) for workplace flexibility among workers in five Latin American countries. To achieve this, the study uses a large-scale Discrete Choice Experiment (DCE) to elicit preferences for flexibility from almost 5,000 participants across five

Latin American countries. The DCE presented respondents with a number of fictitious work situations, each featuring a unique combination of pay and workplace flexibility, and asked them to select their preferred option. Our experimental design allows us to specifically examine the WTP for a remote and hybrid model in which we offer 80% of the work time to be performed remotely and 20% of the work time to be performed on-site, reflecting a growing global interest in remote work. Our approach aligns with previous research by Bloom et al. (2015), Angelici and Profeta (2020), Mas and Pallais (2016), and Valet et al. (2021), which similarly assessed flexibility based on workplace location. Nevertheless, our study extends this research to the Latin American setting, providing novel insights into gendered-specific preferences for remote work. This exploration fills a gap in a region with few studies on this subject and highlights the potential of policies aimed at providing flexible job opportunities for women, therefore, enhancing their participation in the labor market.¹

In our experimental setup, participants were initially given a choice between two economic sectors: manufacturing, emphasizing the role of operations supervisor, and information technology (ICT), presenting options for roles like engineer and software developer. This deliberate selection considered the traditionally male-dominated nature of these sectors, particularly in positions such as manufacturing and operations supervisor. By examining preferences in these sectors, our study aims to uncover gender disparities in the valuation of remote work arrangements. Moreover, Dingel and Neiman (2020) highlight the differing potentials for remote work across occupations. Typically, ICT roles demonstrate higher feasibility for remote work, whereas manufacturing roles, including operations supervisors, tend to have lower feasibility. This contrast provides a unique opportunity to assess how men and women value remote work in sectors with

¹We focused exclusively on formal employment scenarios and did not measure the transition from informal to formal employment. The WTP values we obtained are based on choices within formal job options, ensuring that these measurements are not confounded with transitions between informal and formal sectors.

varying remote work potentials.

Participants were presented with a series of screens, each displaying two hypothetical job advertisements. These ads varied in terms of workplace flexibility and wage and were customized based on the participant's selected sector and occupation. Each advertisement provided details on the position, occupation, schedule, employment type, and wage, without specifying information about the employer or the type of employment contract. A baseline job scenario was established for comparison, featuring a full-time position located downtown with a fixed monthly salary. This initial salary was set based on the average wage data for the chosen occupation and sector within each country, sourced from Computrabajo.

To assess the impact of workplace flexibility on participant preferences, we introduced two experimental conditions: one offering 100% remote work and the other a hybrid model, combining 80% remote work with 20% on-site work. The wages in these treatment scenarios were adjusted to be 0 to 20 percent lower than the benchmark wage, introducing a trade-off between lower salary and increased flexibility. By systematically varying the wage levels and the flexibility options across these job ads, we can estimate the willingness to pay for either remote or hybrid work arrangements using a conditional logit.

The results show that Latin American workers were willing to trade off some pay in exchange for remote or hybrid work settings. Also, we find differences in the willingness to pay for these forms of flexibility by gender, with women being more likely than men to prefer flexibility. Specifically, participants were willing to sacrifice an average of 10 percent of the wage offered to get a hybrid job that allows for 80 percent of remote work and 20 percent of on-site work. This estimate is precise, with our 95 percent confidence intervals ranging from 92 to 125 USD per month. Also, the willingness to pay for remote work was much lower, with participants prone to sacrificing approximately 60 USD per

month on average, or 6 percent of the wage offered in the job posting.

Women were willing to sacrifice up to 13 percent of their salary for hybrid work arrangements, translating to roughly 148 USD per month, and 10 percent for remote positions, or about 110 USD monthly. In contrast, men's willingness was significantly lower, showing no inclination to reduce wages for remote jobs and only an 8 percent, or 88 USD monthly, reduction for hybrid roles. This disparity not only highlights the higher value women place on flexibility but also indicates their potential to seek out and prioritize work-life balance more than their male counterparts.

These insights reveal a broader trend: women's willingness to exchange wages for flexibility, notably in hybrid arrangements, is about twice that of men, suggesting profound implications for employers aiming to attract and retain a diverse workforce. Contrary to previous studies that have suggested that women may be more willing to trade-off pay for flexible work arrangements due to their desire to reconcile work and family responsibilities (Berniell et al., 2021; He et al., 2021), our findings show that women were willing to pay the same wage for remote and hybrid work arrangements regardless of age, the presence of dependents in the household, or their proximity to the workplace. Conversely, men exhibited a stronger preference for proximity, showing a greater willingness to pay a premium for work flexibility when the job location was further away. This finding aligns with the conclusions drawn in Valet et al. (2021).

Our study also explores another potential explanation for the gender gap in WTP for workplace flexibility: the perception of flexible work options as a "luxury good". This perspective views workplace flexibility, such as remote or hybrid jobs, as more of a desirable option than a necessity. If this is true, there could be large disparities in the willingness of participants to pay for flexible job arrangements based on their level of education, income, and employment status. Although we did not reveal any statistical differences across these groups, it is noteworthy that individuals with a college degree or higher

were predominantly the ones driving the demand for hybrid and remote work options. This finding aligns with the idea that higher educational attainment may correlate with a greater valuation of workplace flexibility. Interestingly, our findings suggest that both, low- and high-income earners, were willing to sacrifice more salary than middle-income earners for hybrid work, suggesting a non-linear relationship between income level and the value placed on flexible work arrangements. In addition, unemployed women were more willing to pay for flexible jobs than employed women.

Building on our empirical findings, we then explore how these gendered preferences for workplace flexibility in Latin America fit within the wider body of research. Studies show that workers are willing to accept lower wages for flexible work arrangements (Chen et al., 2020, 2019; He et al., 2021; Mas and Pallais, 2016). However, little research has examined gender differences in this willingness in Latin America. A recent study in Colombia found that women highly value flexible work options and are willing to pay for a full-time flexible schedule, but have less interest in part-time contracts Bustelo et al. (2023). Our paper aims to investigate gender differences in the willingness to pay for remote work flexibility in five Latin American countries (Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, and Chile) offering new insights into labor preferences in contexts with large informal sectors and low female labor participation.

Studies show that workers are often willing to trade off higher pay for more flexible work arrangements. For example, Mas and Pallais (2016) found that workers are willing to forgo 20 percent of wages to avoid a schedule set by employers with only a week's notice, and willing to pay 8 percent for the option of working from home. He et al. (2021) further demonstrated this preference through a field experiment on a Chinese job board to explore workers' valuation of job flexibility (time and location). They found a 62%-92% increase in applications for jobs offering flexibility in timing and location, despite overall low application rates. This preference is especially pronounced among women,

particularly those married women (often proxied for mothers), who value flexibility to accommodate their roles as caregivers. Similarly, [Berniell et al. \(2021\)](#) noted motherhood pushing women towards flexible jobs due to its influence on labor supply. [Le Barbanchon et al. \(2019\)](#) further demonstrated that French women have a smaller job search radius and willingly accept lower wages for jobs closer to home, accounting for nearly 10% of the gender wage gap.

When comparing flexibility in work arrangements to other job attributes, other studies have found gender differences in workers' preferences. Women favor roles offering scheduling flexibility and good company reputation, while men seek high-paying, stable jobs [Valet et al. \(2021\)](#). This trend was consistent in both Germany and the Netherlands. Moreover, workers prefer contract stability, with permanent workers requiring up to a 37% wage premium to consider temporary employment, reflecting a preference for job security and associated benefits [Pouliakas and Theodossiou \(2010\)](#). However, workers with prior temporary contracts demand lower premiums, suggesting adaptation to precarious work conditions. Studies show a positive relationship between job flexibility and increased female labor market participation, especially concerning family responsibilities and childbearing ([Chung and Van der Horst, 2018](#)). However, flexibility under some circumstances may be interpreted as a pathway to career success or, on the contrary, may lead to penalties for workers who use it. For instance, [Leslie et al. \(2012\)](#) highlighted how flexible work practices are associated with commitment levels and perceived career success. They revealed that managers' perceptions of the reasons behind employees' use of flexibility—whether for productivity enhancement or family-related issues—can significantly influence their views on an employee's career prospects.

Our study contributes to the literature by employing a discrete choice experiment (DCE) to capture workers' revealed preferences, evaluating job seekers' preferences independently from their current employment situations. Conducting a large-scale survey

across five Latin American countries allows us to understand workers' preferences in developing countries' labor markets. The existing literature is dominated by data from industrialized countries (Chung and Van der Lippe, 2020). Moreover, this is one of the few studies that compare preferences for workplace flexibility in a multi-country scenario. By comparing men's and women's preferences for workplace flexibility, we acknowledge and address gender gap concerns. Our study's estimations consider various job seeker characteristics like education, age, employment status, commute time, and income. This approach provides insights into the valuation of workplace flexibility among different groups, informing employers about the value workers place on non-pecuniary job attributes. We also compare declared vs. revealed preferences for flexibility using a DCE, an aspect barely explored in literature Bustelo et al. (2023). Aligning our findings with Bloom et al. (2022), who highlighted graduate students' high valuation of hybrid jobs, offers insights into preference consistency or divergence across different contexts. Our results can guide employers in designing policies that enhance employee quality, satisfaction, and retention.²

The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2, we describe the study design, including the development of the hypothetical job postings and the data collection process. In Section 3, we present the empirical methodology and data analysis. Section 4 presents the results of the study, including the estimation of the willingness to pay for flexible work arrangements and the heterogeneity analysis. Finally, in Section 5, we provide a discussion of our findings, implications, and limitations of the study, and conclude with recommendations for future research.

²Using data from Germany, Kröll and Nüesch (2019) find that different forms of flexibility (schedule flexibility, having a sabbatical time, and working from home) increased job satisfaction among workers, and, at the same time, reduced employee turnover intentions.

2 Study Design

We conducted a large-scale online survey for working-age men and women in five Latin American countries: Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, and Chile.³ Each participant completed a 15-minute online survey. We explored various respondents' attributes such as demographics, household composition, labor status, income, and occupation. Subsequently, the participants were invited to take part in a discrete choice experiment (DCE) that gauged their willingness to pay for remote and hybrid work (80 percent remote and 20 percent on-site) as compared to regular full-time employment without a remote option. This specific design measured people's preferences towards different types of job flexibility in terms of where they had to work while keeping the number of hours worked, working schedule, and job location fixed across all options.

In our study, participants were initially given the choice between two male-dominated economic sectors: manufacturing or information technology (ICT). After this selection, they were presented with a list of specific occupations within their chosen sector, as detailed in Table 1. The rationale behind selecting these particular sectors and occupations stems from their notable gender disparities in labor participation, as documented in the Global Gender Gap Report 2020 by the World Economic Forum. This strategic focus on male-dominated sectors aims to provide a nuanced exploration of both male and female workers' preferences and attitudes towards job flexibility. By delving into these sectors, the study is positioned to offer insights into the gendered dynamics of workplace flexibility, thereby enriching our understanding of how different genders value job flexibility

³We used the IPSOS Interactive Services Panel for participant recruitment. The panel is a widely recognized tool for conducting extensive surveys in Latin America, comprising over a million panelists across the region, including Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru. The survey utilized a non-probabilistic sampling method. It used a quota sampling in which the process of selecting participants continued until we reached the quotas reflecting the expected employment status distributions in each country by gender, as reported by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) in their February 2021 report [link](#)

in contexts characterized by marked gender disparities in labor participation. Furthermore, this approach enables an in-depth examination of gendered perceptions towards workplace flexibility in occupations with varying levels of remote work adoption, as indicated by [Dingel and Neiman \(2020\)](#).

Table 1. Sectors and Occupations

Economic Sector	Occupations
Manufacturing	Operator
	Operations supervisor
Information Technologies	Engineer
	Software developer

The participants were exposed to multiple screens containing two fictitious job postings that varied in terms of workplace flexibility and wage. Each posting was tailored to the participant’s initial selection of sector and occupation. Job ads included information on position, occupation, schedule, type of employment (i.e., onsite, remote, or hybrid), and wage. There was no additional information supplied about the employing firm, the terms of the contract, or the type of contract.

The baseline job posting, serving as a comparison point, offered full-time employment at a fixed downtown workplace with a constant monthly wage, denoted as w . The experiment’s two treatments were designed to explore the impact of workplace flexibility in the labor market. The first treatment focused on remote work, facilitating comparison with prior studies. The second treatment involved a hybrid work model. Initially, we opted for an 80% remote and 20% on-site model, chosen for its alignment with the emerging trends in remote work and its increasing prevalence in the modern workforce. This configuration was also selected based on literature indicating that a significant por-

tion of remote work optimally balances flexibility benefits with the need for in-person collaboration.

However, we acknowledge that alternative ratios, such as a more evenly split hybrid model, might be more prevalent in some job roles and could potentially influence worker preferences. While our study used the 80/20 split, it is important to note that using a different ratio might increase the estimates. Therefore, our findings, particularly the point estimates and observed gender gaps, can be considered a conservative lower bound of the actual impact of hybrid work models.

To establish the initial wage benchmark, we referred to the average wage in the selected occupation and sector across each country, obtained from Computrabajo. Subsequently, we randomly selected a δ value, ranging between 0 and 20 percent to decrease the wage from the benchmark, thereby creating the treatment wage offer. Consider as an example the wage offered within the ICT sector, engineer occupation, where skill level was determined by on-the-job experience, based on the average wage offered in Colombia, as illustrated in Figure 1. This approach ensured that wage adjustments aligned with industry standards and realistic job offers, enhancing the external validity of the experiment.

Figure 1. Example of screens for ICT jobs

Job Offer 1	Job Offer 2
Company seeking a dedicated engineer. Work schedule: Mon to Fri, 8 am - 5 pm. Work type: On-site at downtown office. Monthly wage: USD 750.	Company seeking a dedicated engineer. Work schedule: Mon to Fri, 8 am - 5 pm. Work type: Remote. Monthly wage: USD 675.

(a) On site vs. remote

Job Offer 1	Job Offer 2
Company seeking a dedicated engineer. Work schedule: Mon to Fri, 8 am - 5 pm. Work type: On-site at downtown office. Monthly wage: USD 750.	Company seeking a dedicated engineer. Work schedule: Mon to Fri, 8 am - 5 pm. Work type: 80% Remote, 20% On-site at downtown office. Monthly wage: USD 675.

(b) Non-remote vs. hybrid

Within the ICT sector, participants were exposed to two choice sets: i) non-remote job with wage w_a vs. remote work with wage $w_b = w_a * (1 - \delta)$; ii) non-remote work with wage w_a vs. hybrid work (80 percent remote and 20 percent at the workplace) with a wage of $w_b = w_a * (1 - \delta)$. Conversely, for the manufacturing sector, we presented a single screen only with two options: a non-remote job with wage w_a vs. a hybrid job with a wage of $w_b = w_a * (1 - \delta)$. We omitted the possibility of fully working remotely, given that our chosen occupations primarily involve onsite work. This holds especially true for operators. See Figure 2 for an illustration of the offers made to workers who selected manufacturing and operation supervisors, reflecting an average wage in Colombia.

Figure 2. Example of screens for Manufacturing

Job Offer 1	Job Offer 2
Company seeks a dedicated Operations Supervisor. Work schedule: Mon to Fri, 8 am - 5 pm. Work Type: On-site at downtown office.	Company seeks a proactive Operations Supervisor. Work schedule: Mon to Fri, 8 am - 5 pm. Work type: 80% Remote, 20% On-site at downtown office.
Monthly wage: USD 500.	Monthly wage: USD 450.

(a) On-site vs. hybrid

Participants were instructed to indicate which job offers they would prefer for each choice set, assuming they were actively seeking employment in their chosen occupation. We explicitly asked to select one alternative in every presented choice set. To measure inattention, one screen from the choice set was repeated for each individual.

Following the DCE, we conducted a series of questions aimed at uncovering the attributes participants prioritize when applying for a job. This part of the survey was designed to elicit declared preferences, which we then compared to the preferences revealed through their choices in the DCE. This comparative analysis offers valuable insights into the alignment (or disparity) between what participants profess to value in job offers and the preferences they demonstrate through their selections in the experimental scenarios.

3 Empirical methodology and data

This design allows us to determine participants' preferences for different types of workplace flexibility, and quantify their willingness to pay (or sacrifice) in terms of salary for a more flexible job alternative. This approach is particularly focused on measuring the willingness to pay for workplace flexibility across five Latin American countries. By concentrating on male-dominated occupations within two distinct economic sectors, the study aims to provide insights into the gender dynamics at play in the valuation of workplace flexibility.

3.1 Empirical methodology

Our data set consists of a panel of eight job postings for each individual who chose to work in the ICT sector and two choices for those in the manufacturing sector. For each posting, we have information about the salary offered, the type of employment (onsite non-flexible -baseline-, remote, or hybrid), and the position of the job posting on the screen (left or right). Additionally, we recorded the job postings that participants preferred.

Our underlying model is that the utility a participant i enjoys from a job j that was presented in screen s is given by

$$U_{ijs} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_{1,ijs} + \alpha_2 X_{2,ijs} + \alpha_C C_j + \mu_{is} + \varepsilon_{ijs}$$

where X_k measure amenities (working remotely or hybrid work) of job j , C_j represents the cost of the alternative, μ_i represents elements that are constant about individual's i and ε_{ijs} represents an error term. A job j would be selected if $U_{ijs} > U_{iks}$ for all other k employment available on the same screen.

Define Y_{ijs} as a dummy indicating that option j was selected by individual i in screen s . The estimation we can perform is:

$$Pr(Y_{ijs} = 1) = Pr(\text{Max}(U_{i1s}, U_{i2s}) = U_{ijs})$$

We estimate the parameters α using a conditional logit model. We allow for the errors to be correlated within the pair screen-individual. Using these coefficients, we then estimate the willingness to pay for job attribute X_k using the following equivalence:

$$WTP(X_k) = -\frac{\frac{\partial U}{\partial X_k}}{\frac{\partial U}{\partial C_j}} = -\frac{\alpha_k}{\alpha_c}$$

We will use our point estimates of α to compute the willingness to pay for workplace flexibility, with confidence intervals computed using the delta-method to account for uncertainty in the estimation of the parameters.

3.2 Data

The study involved a total of 4,785 participants from Argentina (17%), Chile (17%), Colombia (22%), Mexico (25%), and Peru (19%), see Table 2. The sample was diverse, half of the respondents are women and 12 percent are migrants. The majority of participants were between ages 35 and 54, a third of the sample was younger than 35, and less than a fifth was older than 55. The level of education is relatively high, with almost 57 percent reporting some tertiary education, 40 percent holding a high school diploma, and 3 percent being high school dropouts.

The average household in the sample has 4 individuals, and 29 percent of households have dependents at home (children younger than 5 years old and adults who require

permanent care). The commuting time from participants' homes to downtown is on average 62.48 minutes. We set all job positions in the same location in the city - i.e. downtown. Finally, the last panel summarizes the participants' labor situation. A large proportion of them (70 percent) is employed, with an average of 38.49 hours worked per week.

Turning to the results derived from the experiment, we examined the participants' sector preferences based on gender, as presented in panel A of Table 3. Notably, both women and men in our sample are more likely to prefer the information and communications technology (ICT) sector compared to manufacturing. Furthermore, as shown in panel B, the occupation of 'developer' was selected by participants 50 percent of the time, followed by engineer, operations manager, and operator.

The gender disparities in preferences for workplace flexibility are further reinforced by the results outlined in Table 4. The estimated probability of selecting a job that offers any type of workplace flexibility is statistically larger for women than for men. To illustrate this result, women exhibit a 56 percent likelihood of choosing a remote position and a 51 percent likelihood of selecting a hybrid job, whereas men display comparatively lower probabilities at 50 percent for remote jobs and 44 percent for hybrid job offers.

4 Results

4.1 Average willingness to pay

We present our primary estimation results in Table 5. In the first column, we show the results for the entire sample, while in subsequent columns we break down the results by gender. For the entire sample, we find a strong preference for hybrid and remote work. The coefficients are positive and strongly statistically significant. We find that

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of the Participants

Variable	Mean	St. Dev.	N
<i>Demographics</i>			
Country of Residence			
Argentina (%)	0.17	0.37	841
Chile (%)	0.17	0.38	841
Colombia (%)	0.22	0.41	1,055
Mexico (%)	0.25	0.43	1,157
Peru (%)	0.19	0.39	901
Female (%)	0.50	0.50	2,373
Migrants (%)	0.12	0.33	582
Age			
18-34 years (%)	0.31	0.49	1,503
35-54 years (%)	0.51	0.49	2,457
55+ years (%)	0.17	0.31	825
Education			
High School Dropout (%)	0.03	0.17	153
High School (%)	0.40	0.48	1,891
Tertiary Education (%)	0.57	0.49	2,741
Number of participants			4,785
<i>Household characteristics</i>			
Household Size (ind.)	4.08	3.84	4,785
Dependents (%)	0.29	0.45	4,785
Distance to city center (minutes)	62.48	103.01	4,785
<i>Labor supply</i>			
Employed (%)	0.70	0.45	3,358
Working Hours (hours)	38.29	17.16	3,358

Notes: The total number of participants in the study is 4,785. The N represents the number of individuals that meet the specified condition.⁴

Table 3. Probability of Selecting Economic Sector and Occupation

Variable	(1) Female		(2) Male		T-test Difference (1)-(2)
	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	
<i>Panel A: Economic Sector</i>					
Manufacturing	2373	0.31 (0.01)	2412	0.29 (0.01)	0.03**
TICs	2373	0.69 (0.01)	2412	0.71 (0.01)	-0.03**
<i>Panel B: Occupation</i>					
Operator	2373	0.13 (0.01)	2412	0.10 (0.01)	0.03***
Operations manager	2373	0.18 (0.01)	2412	0.19 (0.01)	-0.00
Developer	2373	0.50 (0.01)	2412	0.46 (0.01)	0.04***
Engineer	2373	0.19 (0.01)	2412	0.26 (0.01)	-0.07***

Notes: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

Table 4. Probability of Selecting an Ad

Variable	(1) Female		(2) Male		T-test Difference (1)-(2)
	N	Mean/SE	N	Mean/SE	
T1: Hybrid	1628	0.51 (0.01)	1721	0.44 (0.01)	0.07***
T2: Remote	2373	0.56 (0.01)	2412	0.50 (0.01)	0.06***
Right	3635	0.53 (0.01)	3787	0.57 (0.01)	-0.04***

Notes: The value displayed for t-tests are the differences in the means across the groups. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

these patterns hold for both men and women when we separate the results by gender. However, women value workplace flexibility more than men – that is, the ability to have some control over their workplace environment. This inclination might stem from several factors, including that women usually have more home-related activities and responsibilities compared to men. therefore, experience a greater preference for jobs with more flexibility. Evidence from [Bustelo et al. \(2023\)](#) suggests that women are willing to sacrifice part of their wages to have a more flexible job in terms of schedule. This study, however, focuses on another type of flexibility: workplace flexibility. Beyond domestic duties, women’s preference for remote or hybrid jobs may also be influenced by other characteristics such as contextual factors or occupational characteristics.

Table 5. Conditional logit coefficients for chosen jobs

	Total Sample	Female	Male
T1: Hybrid	.398*** (.040)	.495*** (.056)	.303*** (.056)
T2: Remote	.219*** (.045)	.356*** (.066)	.088 (.063)
Monthly cost (USD)	-.004*** (.000)	-.003*** (.000)	-.004*** (.000)
N	16268	8002	8266

Notes: This table reports the results of the conditional logit model, where the dependent variable is a binary variable Y_{ijs} indicating whether option j was selected by participant i in screen s . The model includes contract characteristics and monthly costs as independent variables. Standard errors are clustered within screen-by-participant and presented in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

Once we transform this into a measure of willingness to pay, we find that participants are willing to sacrifice an average of 109 USD per month, or 10 percent of the wage offered, to obtain a hybrid job that allows them to work 80 percent of the time remotely

and 20 percent of the time in the office (see Table 6). This estimate is precise, with our 95 percent confidence intervals ranging from 92 to 125 USD per month. Conversely, participants were willing to sacrifice only 60 USD per month on average, or 6 percent of the offered wage, for remote work.

A striking finding emerged in the gender-based disparity regarding their valuation of workplace flexibility. Notably, women were willing to forgo 13 percent of the wage offered for a hybrid work arrangement. This suggests a substantial inclination among women towards flexible working arrangements, particularly hybrid jobs, possibly driven by their perceived potential to achieve a more balanced work-life dynamic. Women were also willing to accept 10 percent reduction in pay for remote work. In contrast, men appear less interested in workplace flexibility, as they were not willing to forgo any wages for remote arrangements and indicated a willingness to sacrifice only 8 percent of their salary for hybrid jobs. This highlights that men prioritize higher wages over the possibility of flexible working setups.

Table 6. Willingness to Pay

	Total Sample	Female	Male
T1: Hybrid	108.76***	144.46***	78.05**
95% Conf. Interval	[92.17, 125.36]	[114.15, 174.78]	[57.33, 98.75]
T2: Remote	59.75***	103.72***	22.57
95% Conf. Interval	[40.50, 79.02]	[74.84 , 132.60]	[-6.12, 51.25]
N	16,268	8,002	8,266

Notes: This table presents the estimated willingness to pay for each contract attribute (i.e, hybrid or remote), as the ratio of the coefficient of that attribute, from Table 5 to the negative of the monthly cost. We use the delta method to estimate the variance of the willingness-to-pay, see Hole (2007) for a discussion. Computed 95% confidence interval reported within brackets. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

4.2 Robustness

In this section, we evaluate whether the observed willingness of workers to pay for workplace flexibility might be influenced by confounding factors. We were concerned that participants might have experienced inattention during their decision-making process, leading to estimations that reflected random variations or noise rather than real preferences. To address this concern, we analyzed a sub-sample of our participants who were shown the same job postings on two different screens. This approach allowed us to compare the outcomes from our initial estimation to this restricted sample, providing evidence against the idea that inattention was a major source explaining our main findings.

The results are presented in Table 7. Although the coefficients are larger for both treatments and genders, the results are consistent with those presented in Table 5. We find that attentive men exhibit a positive willingness to pay for remote work, indicating that it is a desirable work alternative and raising the possibility that the former results might have been underestimated. While the coefficients for the total sample and women display an increase, their significance level is maintained at 95 percent, indicating that women continue to demonstrate a stronger preference for both forms of flexible work arrangements compared to men.

In sum, our findings provide evidence against the idea that inattention significantly affected our original estimates, and support the robustness of our main conclusions. We note that our results persist in highlighting women's stronger preference for workplace flexibility compared to men, even when taking into account the potential effects of inattention.

Our analysis reveals pronounced gender differences in the willingness to pay for workplace flexibility, as shown in Table 8. Women, on average, were much more willing

Table 7. Conditional logit coefficients for attentive participants

	Total Sample	Female	Male
T1: Hybrid	.489*** (.044)	.572*** (.063)	.407*** (.063)
T2: Remote	.299*** (.051)	.424*** (.074)	.177** (.071)
Monthly cost (USD)	-.004*** (.000)	-.004*** (.001)	-.005*** (.001)
N	13140	6482	6658

Notes: This table reports the results of the conditional logit model, where the dependent variable is a binary variable Y_{ijs} indicating whether option j was selected by participant i in screen s , restricting the sample to attentive participants. The model includes contract characteristics and `monthlycostst` as independent variables. Standard errors are clustered within screen-by-participant and presented in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

to trade off pay for the opportunity to work from home or have a hybrid work arrangement. For example, women were willing to sacrifice approximately 148 USD per month, or 14 percent of the offered wage, for a hybrid job arrangement compared to 88 USD, or 8 percent, for men. Similarly, women were willing to give up 110 USD per month, or 10 percent, for a remote job, while men’s willingness to pay was only 38 USD, or 3.5 percent. These results provide evidence that women’s willingness to sacrifice wages for workplace flexibility is twice as much as that of men when job seekers encounter job vacancies that offer such flexibility.

We also considered the possibility that participants’ responses in the DCE might have been influenced by the placement of the ads on the screen, as inattentive participants might have chosen all the options that appeared on the right or left of the screen. We re-estimate our main equation adding the position of the job posting on the screen as a

Table 8. Willingness to Pay for attentive participants

	Total Sample	Female	Male
T1: Hybrid	115.76***	148.21***	88.47***
95% Conf. Interval	[99.01, 131.68]	[117.70, 178.71]	[68.80, 108.12]
T2: Remote	70.45**	109.90***	38.44**
95% Conf. Interval	[52.27, 88.63]	[81.01, 138.78]	[12.96, 63.92]
N	13,140	6,482	6,658

Notes: This table presents the estimated willingness to pay for each contract attribute (i.e, Hybrid and Remote), as the ratio of the coefficient of that attribute, from Table 7, to the negative of monthly cost, for the sub-sample of attentive participants. We use the delta method to estimate the variance of the willingness-to-pay, see Hole (2007) for a discussion. Computed 95% confidence interval reported within brackets. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

control. The results are displayed in Table 9, leading us to conclude that the results are unaffected by adding this variable. Thus, the position of the job posting on the screen does not affect which option is preferred.

We also observe that adding the control of the screen position in the regression amplifies the coefficient for men, and is now statistically significant at the 90 percent level, indicating their attraction to remote job vacancies. Nevertheless, the coefficient for men remains much smaller than that for women, suggesting a substantially stronger preference for workplace flexibility among women. These results provide additional evidence that our estimates are robust and not driven by confounding factors.

In general, our findings indicate that employees are willing to pay for remote and hybrid work arrangements in male-dominated occupations. Moreover, our results reflect participants' preferences and are not confounded with external or design factors. Respondents indicated that they would be willing to forgo up to 10 percent of the offered wage per month for such a benefit. We found, however, important differences

Table 9. Conditional logit coefficients controlling for position on the screen

	Total Sample	Female	Male
T1: Hybrid	.496*** (.052)	.587*** (.073)	.409*** (.074)
T2: Remote	.305*** (.058)	.440*** (.083)	.179** (.081)
Position on the screen: right	.012 (.050)	.028 (.071)	.004 (.071)
Monthly cost (USD)	-.004*** (.000)	-.004*** (.001)	-.005*** (.001)
N	13140	6482	6658

Notes: This table reports the results of the conditional logit model, where the dependent variable is a binary variable Y_{ijs} indicating whether option j was selected by participant i in screen s , for the entire sample. The model includes contract characteristics and monthly cost as independent variables. Standard errors are clustered within screen-by-participant and presented in parentheses. ***, **, and * indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level.

between men and women when it comes to willingness to pay for workplace flexibility. Women, in particular, showed a much stronger preference for workplace flexibility than men. They were willing to sacrifice approximately twice as much of their wage for the ability to have greater flexibility in their job location in comparison to men. This finding is indicative of the higher value women place on having control over where they work, possibly reflecting broader considerations such as balancing work with domestic responsibilities or personal preferences for work environments.

This finding has important implications, shedding light on the different priorities and perspectives of men and women concerning their careers and work environments. Yet, the question remains: what explains these differences? One possible explanation lies in the societal role that women often take as primary caregivers for children and elderly family members (Chung and Van der Horst, 2018; Chung and Van der Lippe, 2020; Valet

et al., 2021). Consequently, they might require a greater degree of adaptability in their occupations to meet these responsibilities, such as the necessity to work fully or partially remotely.

As a result, there could be significant heterogeneity in the willingness of participants to pay, depending on factors such as age, proximity to potential employers, and the presence of dependents requiring care. Long commuting times, for example, might be likely to increase the demand for remote or hybrid work since it may allow workers to alter their schedules in a way that reduces the time spent going from and to work. To account for this heterogeneity, we use survey data to estimate the effects of our main equation in subgroups.

Our study provides additional insights into the differences between women's and men's willingness to pay for workplace flexibility. In contrast to previous research that suggested that women may be more willing to pay for such arrangements due to caregiving responsibilities, our results indicate that the gender gap cannot be attributed to this factor. Figure 3 provides evidence supporting this claim, showing that participants with or without dependents have a similar willingness to pay for flexible jobs, regardless of gender.

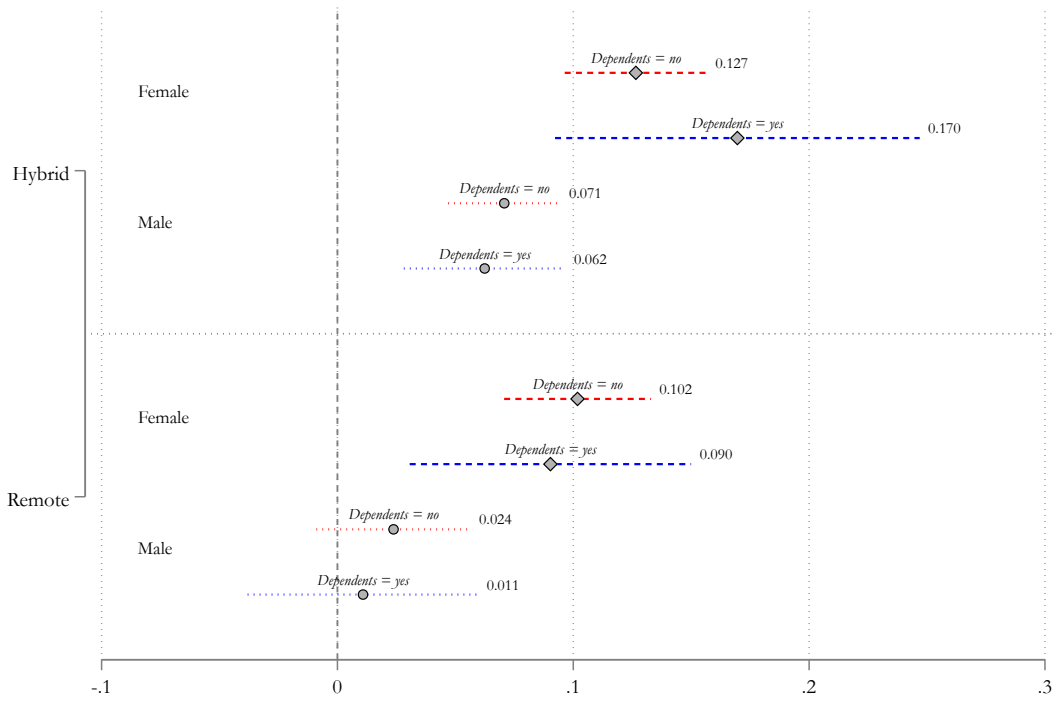
Panel (a) of the figure presents the results of our analysis concerning differences in willingness to pay for flexible work arrangements by whether or not participants have dependents requiring permanent care. Our findings show that women are willing to pay between 12 and 17 percent of their wage for a hybrid job, while men are not willing to sacrifice any amount of their salary for such an arrangement. The willingness to pay for remote jobs is approximately 10 percent larger for women, whereas for men, the amount is not statistically significant. This result suggests that caregiving responsibilities do not fully account for the observed gender differences in valuing workplace flexibility.

Panel (b) explores whether the willingness to pay for flexible work arrangements varies by age. Women are willing to pay between 11 and 18 percent of their wage for a hybrid job, regardless of their age. Interestingly, men aged 18-35 showed a higher, albeit not statistically significant, willingness to pay for hybrid work compared to other age groups. For remote work, younger women are not willing to pay, while middle-aged and older are willing to sacrifice up to 14 percent of the offered wages. Men, on the other hand, are generally less attracted to such arrangements than women and are consistently unwilling to pay for working remotely.

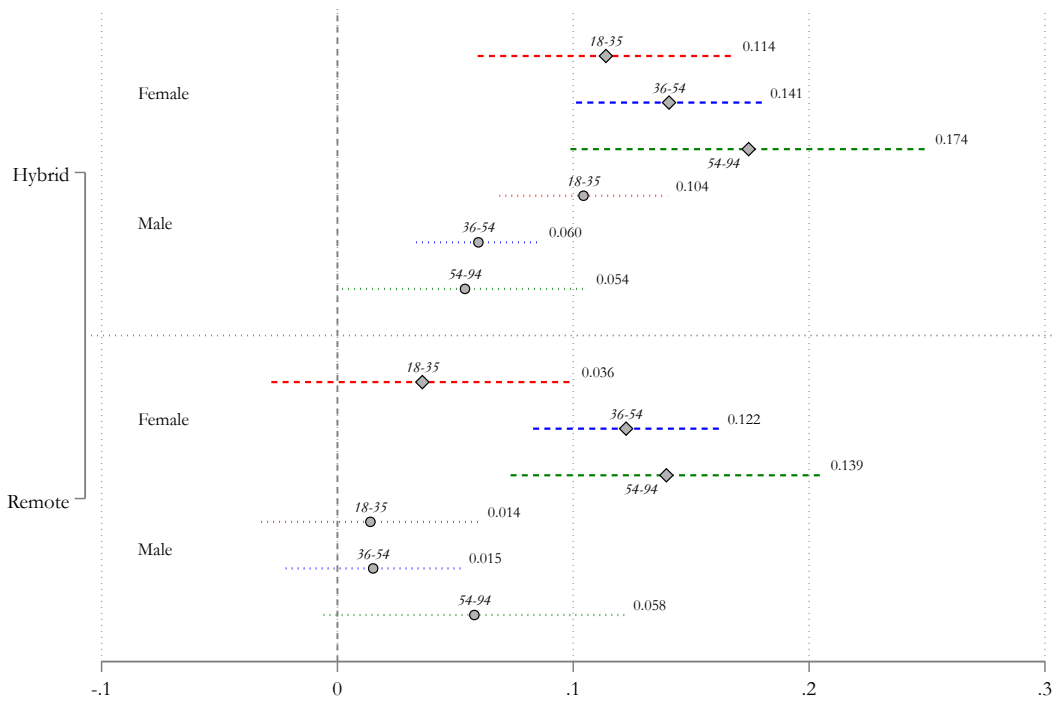
Finally, panel (c) considers heterogeneity in terms of commuting time to the workplace, splitting the sample into those who live within 30 minutes of the job and those who live more than 30 minutes away. Women are willing to pay between 12 to 16 percent of their wage for a hybrid job and between 8 to 12 percent for a remote job, regardless of their commuting time. Men, however, are more sensitive to distance when a hybrid job offer is in their choice set. They are more willing to forgo wages for a flexible job when they live further away from the workplace. Specifically, when men are presented with ads for fully remote jobs, those residing closer to the office showed an unwillingness to forfeit any portion of the offered wage. However, for those with longer commutes, there was a statistically significant and positive willingness to pay, approximately 4 percent of the offered wage.

Existing literature suggests that flexibility is often considered a "luxury good" for women rather than a necessity (Bustelo et al., 2023). This means that women may view flexible work options as desirable rather than essential, especially if there is a cost associated with accessing these types of jobs. For instance, individuals with higher education levels might place greater value on flexible work arrangements, seeing them as opportunities to exercise more control over their time and job location. This perception could lead them to be willing to pay more for such flexibility. On the other hand, those with

Figure 3. Heterogeneous willingness to pay for flexibility

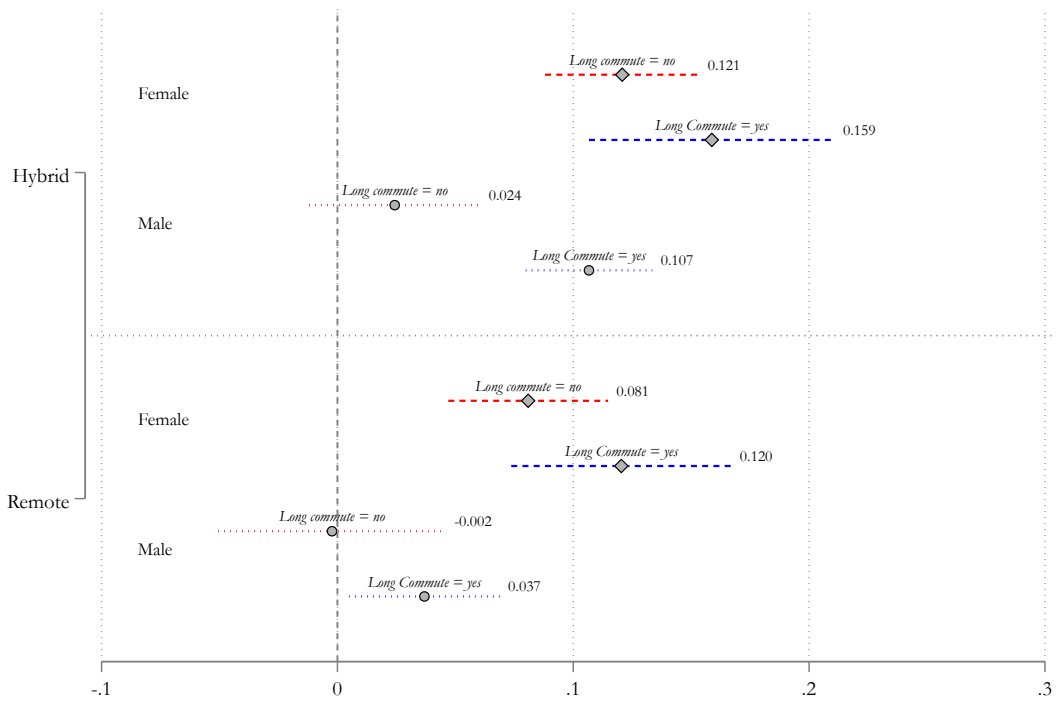


(a) By dependents



(b) By age

Figure 3 (Cont.). Heterogeneous willingness to pay for flexibility



(a) By distance to job

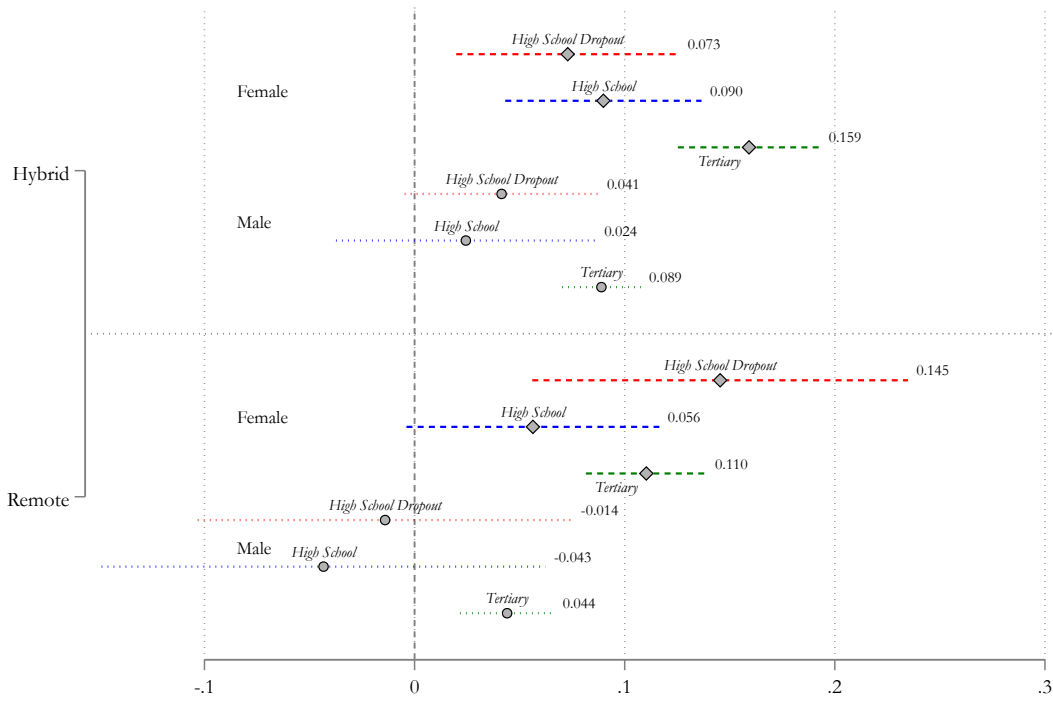
lower incomes might be less inclined to pay for flexibility, as sacrificing any part of their income could be less feasible for them. Additionally, currently employed individuals might show a higher willingness to invest in flexible arrangements, viewing them as a means to better balance their current job commitments with personal life.

To examine the heterogeneous willingness to pay for flexible work arrangements, we estimated the main equation for different subgroups. Panel (a) of Figure 4 presents the results for individuals with different levels of education. We find no significant differences in the willingness to pay across educational levels for either gender. Notably, those with a college degree or higher are driving the main results for hybrid work arrangements, which allow for a mix of remote and in-person work. A similar trend is observed for remote work arrangements. According to our findings, both women and men are willing to pay more for remote jobs, but the willingness to sacrifice wages is higher for women high-school dropouts, although this finding is not precisely estimated.

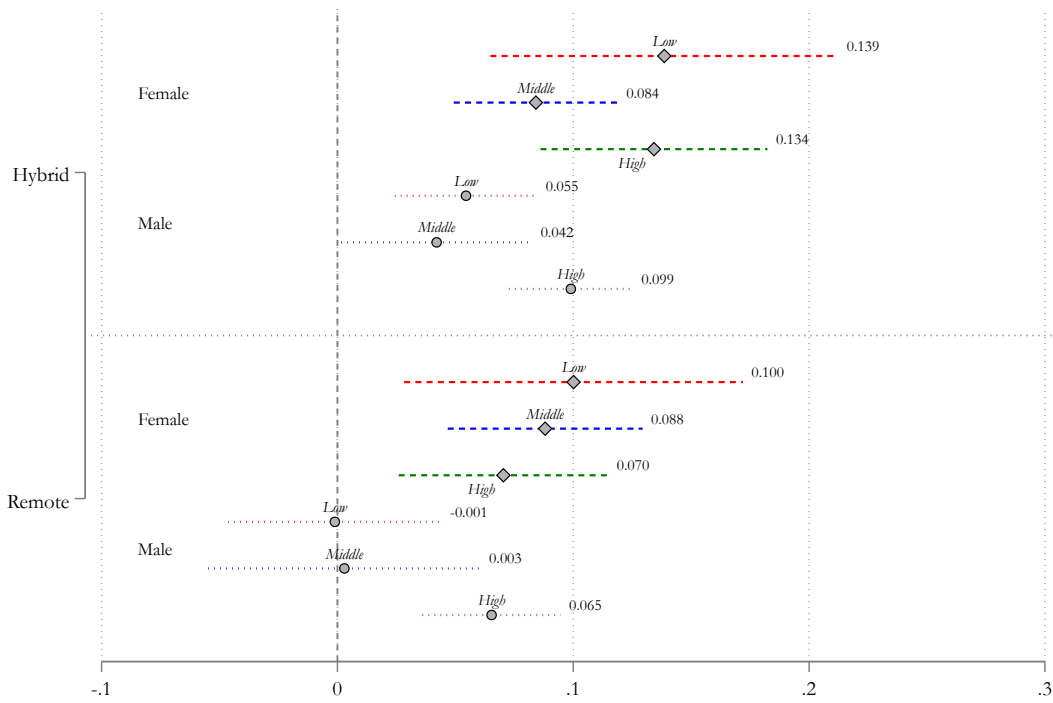
Panel (b) shifts the focus to heterogeneous effects by income. We find no significant differences in the willingness to pay across different income levels. Low- and high-income earners are willing to sacrifice more than middle-income earners for hybrid work; this is clear for women and less evident for males. However, the differences across levels of income are not statistically significant.

Finally, in panel (c), we divide the sample by employment status. We find no differences in employment status for men and women when it comes to preferences for hybrid and remote work, with one exception: unemployed women demonstrate a greater willingness to sacrifice more for flexible work arrangements compared to their employed counterparts. These results suggest that, overall, the willingness to pay is not affected by education, income, or employment status.

Figure 4. Heterogeneous willingness to pay for flexibility

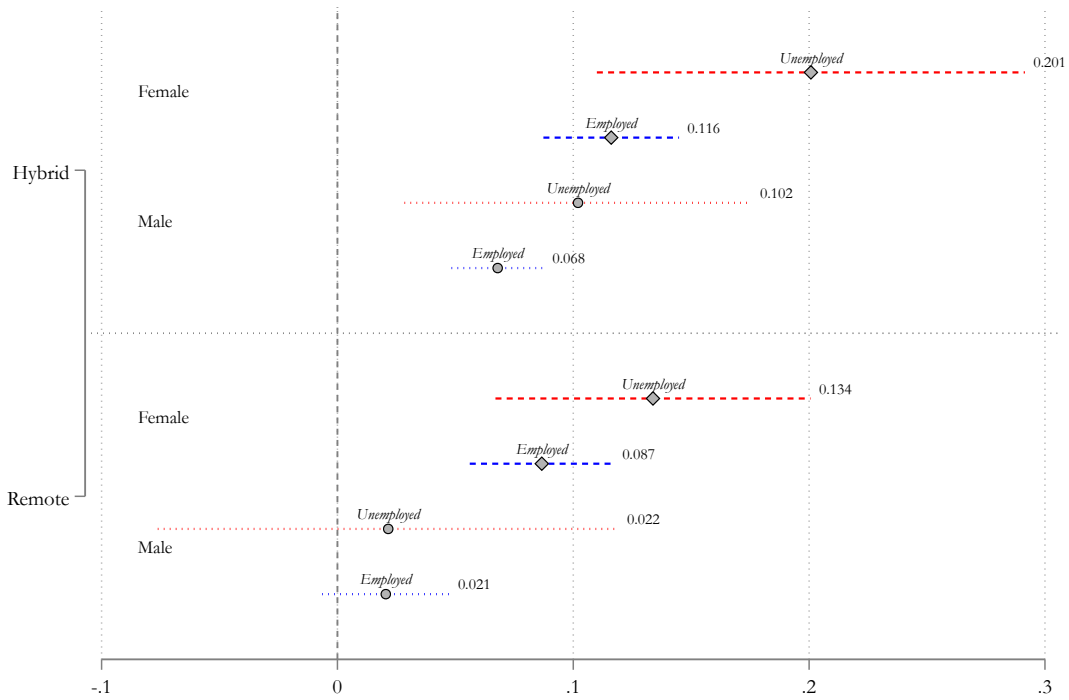


(a) By education



(b) By income

Figure 4 (Cont.). Heterogeneous willingness to pay for flexibility

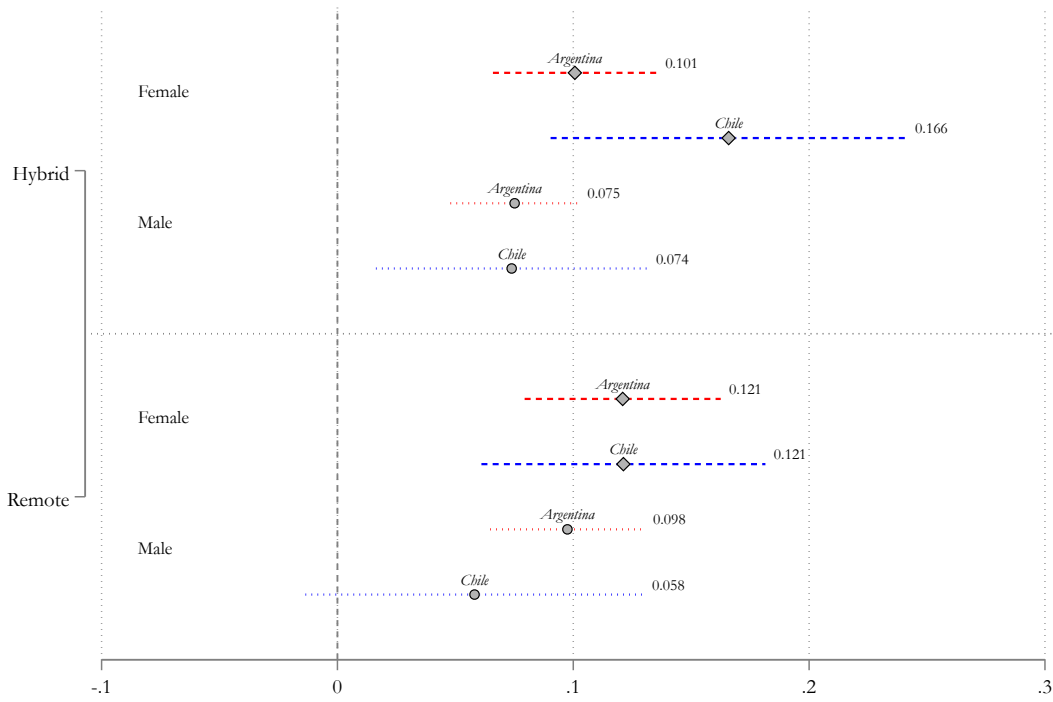


(a) By employment

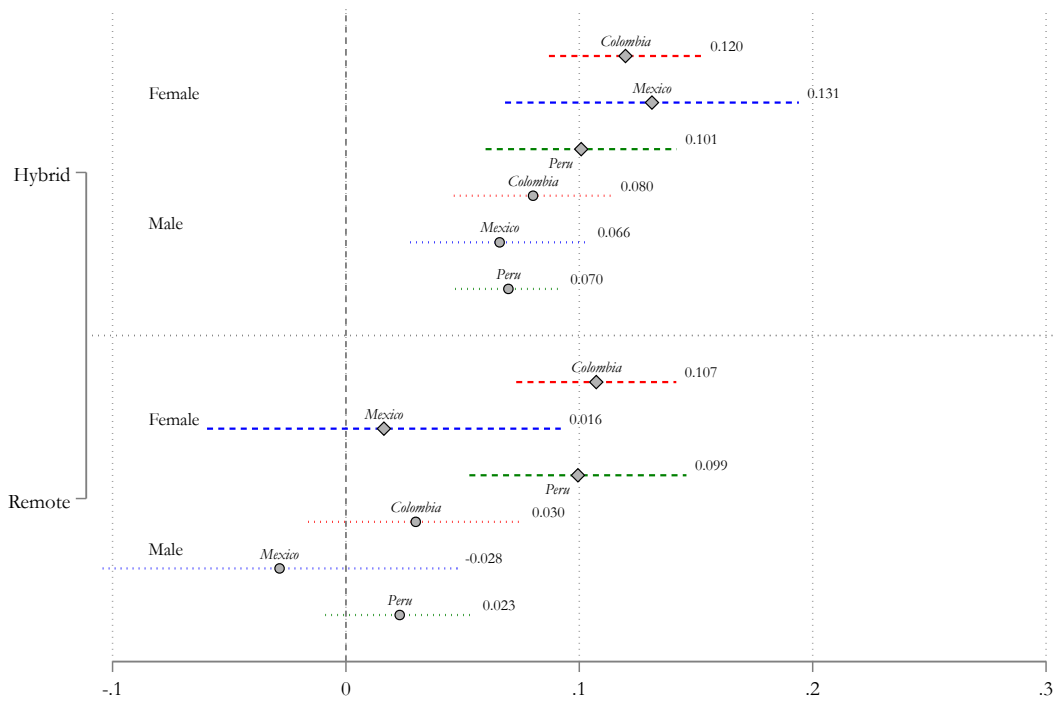
We now provide more insight into how the willingness to pay for flexible work arrangements differs across contexts. In panels (a) and (b), we provide results per country, dividing them into southern and northern regions. Once more, no statistically significant differences in the willingness to pay were found across countries. In terms of magnitudes, women job seekers from Chile, Colombia, and Mexico are willing to pay more than 10 percent of their offered wage for a hybrid job; while Argentina and Peru reach 10 percent. In the case of remote work, women from Argentina and Chile are willing to sacrifice a slightly larger percentage of the offered wage in comparison to the rest of the countries. However, women from Mexico are not willing to sacrifice any amount of their salary to apply for a fully remote job. Surprisingly, we do not find any differences between men and women in any country for any of the flexible work arrangements

offered.

Figure 5. Heterogeneous willingness to pay for flexibility



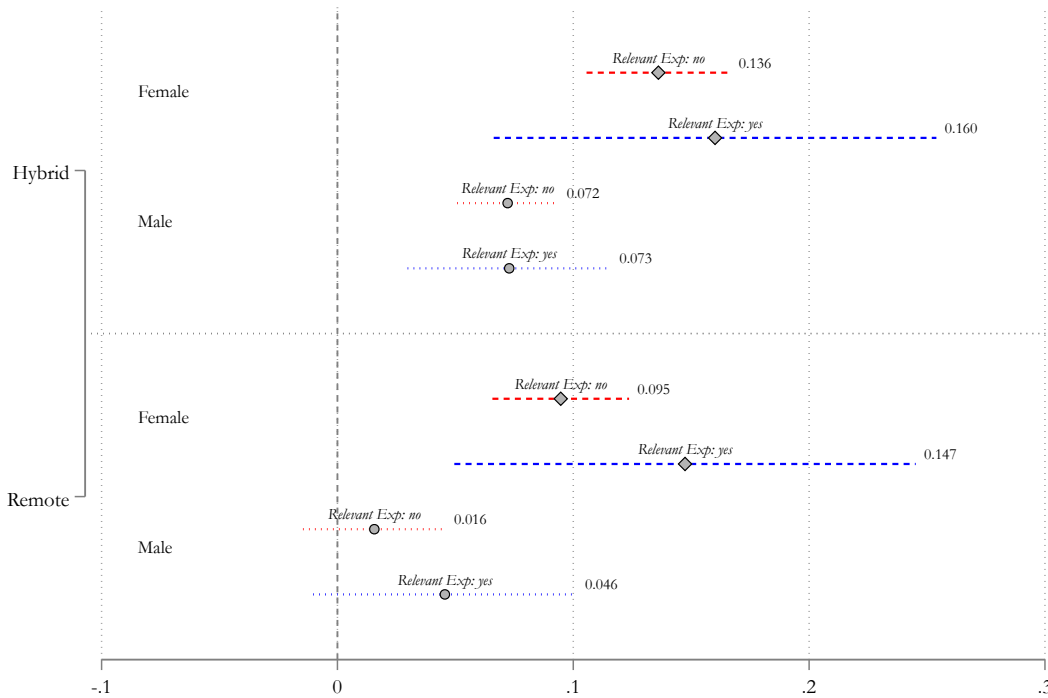
(a) By country south



(b) By country north

There is a potential concern that the credibility of results could be compromised if participants lacked former experience in these sectors, possibly leading them to engage with the experiment less seriously. To address this, Figure 5 (Cont.) compares responses from those with and without prior experience in Manufacturing or the ICT sectors. Remarkably, the results remain statistically consistent across both groups, affirming the robustness of our findings. This consistency suggests that our approach effectively elicited genuine preferences for workplace flexibility, despite the hypothetical nature of the scenarios and irrespective of participants' previous sector experience.

Figure 5 (Cont.). Heterogeneous willingness to pay for flexibility

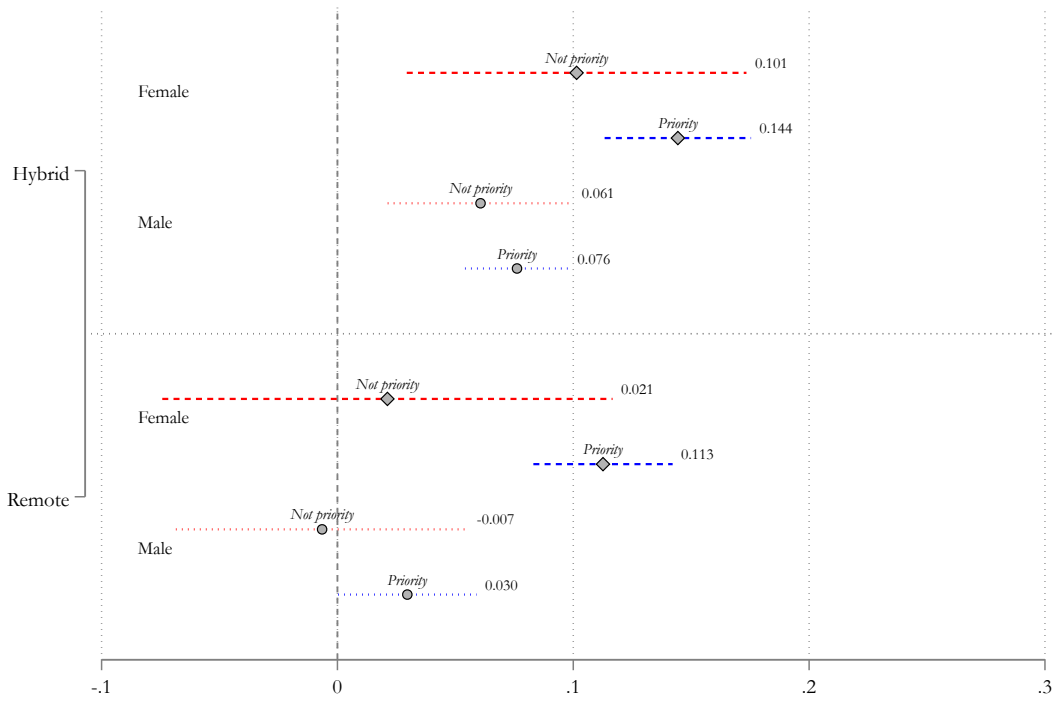


(a) By relevant former experience

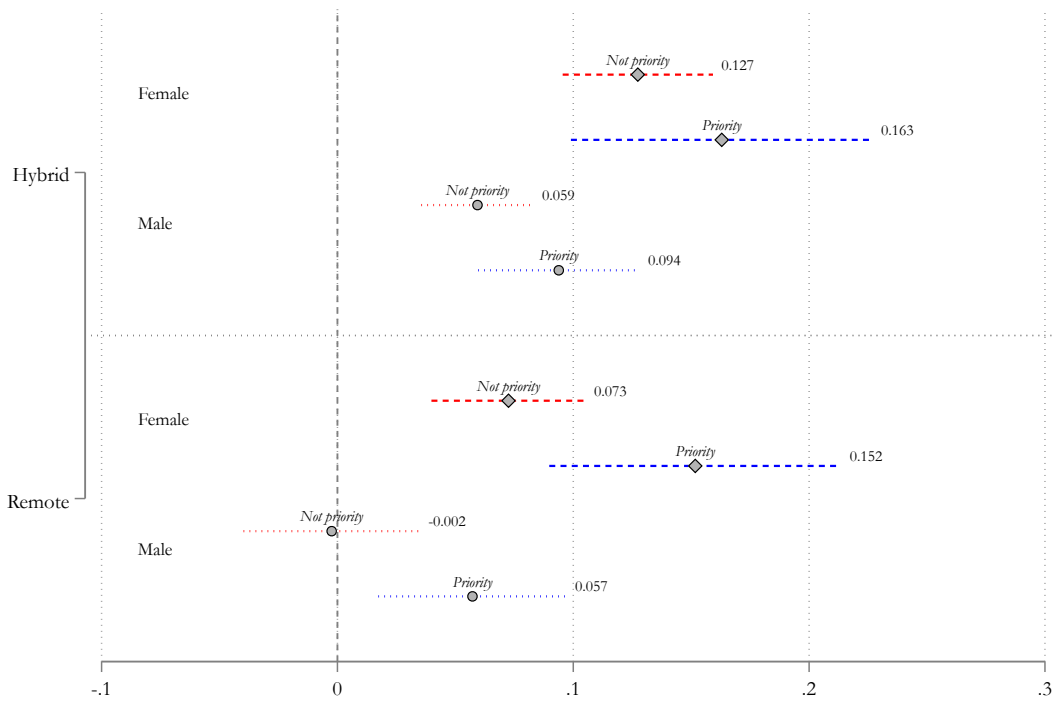
In the last exercise, we investigate individual preferences for workplace flexibility by comparing our estimates of willingness to pay with participants' stated job attribute priorities before the experiment. We divided our sample into two groups: those who

prioritized job schedules and those who didn't, and further divided the sample by those who prioritized time flexibility and those who didn't. These comparisons are important because if job seekers value flexibility in terms of schedule or time, they should also prefer workplace flexibility rather than a regular not-remote job, and therefore, will be willing to pay more for the studied work alternatives. In panel (a) of Figure 6, we find that participants who prioritized the schedule in their jobs are willing to pay more for flexible work arrangements, in terms of workplace, regardless of their gender. In panel (b), we also observe that participants who prioritize time flexibility are also more likely to be willing to pay for both, remote and hybrid jobs. However, the point estimates are not statistically different from those who do not prioritize this job characteristic.

Figure 6. Heterogeneous willingness to pay for flexibility



(a) By schedule



(b) By time flexibility

Overall, our results show that participants are willing to pay for workplace flexibility, particularly in the form of hybrid work arrangements and to a lesser extent, remote work arrangements. Women are consistently more willing to sacrifice wages for these flexible work arrangements than men, which suggests that they may value the ability to balance work and family responsibilities more than men do. However, our results indicate that this difference in willingness to pay is not driven by the presence of dependents or other demographic factors, such as age or income. Additionally, we find no significant differences in willingness to pay for flexible work arrangements across countries or occupations.

Further analysis shows that job seekers who prioritize a flexible schedule and time flexibility are also more willing to pay for flexible work arrangements, indicating that they value the ability to control their work hours and location. These findings suggest that workplace flexibility is an important consideration for job seekers when evaluating job offers, and employers may benefit from offering flexible work arrangements to attract and retain top talent, particularly among female job seekers.

5 Conclusion

This study investigates how job seekers value workplace flexibility in five Latin American countries, specifically examining potential gender disparities in their willingness to pay for flexible work arrangements. Using a Discrete Choice Experiment to elicit revealed preferences from workers and job seekers, our findings unveil that, on average, Latin American workers exhibit a readiness to exchange a portion of their pay for more flexible job options within two male-dominated occupations. Participants displayed a willingness to sacrifice 10 percent of the offered wage, equivalent to approximately 109 USD per month, to secure a hybrid job offering 80 percent of remote work and 20 percent

onsite presence. However, this willingness to pay for entirely remote work was relatively lower, reflecting an average reduction of 6 percent of their wage, or approximately 60 USD per month.

The findings from this study suggest that there is a strong demand for workplace flexibility. Yet it is important to note that the willingness to pay for these work setups differs considerably by gender and by various characteristics of the job seekers. While both genders prefer a mix of office and remote work, women are generally willing to trade off more salary to obtain this flexibility. Surprisingly, although remote work is preferred by women overall, they are less willing to pay for it than for hybrid work. Men, meanwhile, are not willing to pay for fully remote work at all.

The gender disparity in valuing flexible work arrangements could be influenced by various factors, including household composition, age, cultural norms, economic status, and individual preferences. These insights are crucial for devising policies or programs aimed at enhancing gender balance in the workforce, particularly in male-dominated sectors. Our findings challenge the notion that gender differences in valuing flexibility are solely driven by a need to balance work and family responsibilities. Rather, our data suggest that for high-skilled and higher-income male workers, flexibility is often viewed as a luxury, in contrast to the mixed results observed among women.

Future studies can provide more insight into how the WTP for flexible work arrangements differs across occupations. Furthermore, how the WTP for flexible work arrangements varies across time and context could provide a more comprehensive analysis of the role these arrangements play in reducing gender inequality by increasing the participation of women in male-dominated occupations; and also inform employers about how job seekers value job attributes other than earnings. Furthermore, future research can investigate the potential spillover effects of workplace flexibility on other important outcomes, such as productivity, job satisfaction, and employee turnover. Understand-

ing these effects can provide employers with a more complete picture of the costs and benefits of offering flexible work arrangements.

An additional avenue for future research is the exploration of various types of hybrid work arrangements. While our current research primarily focused on a model combining 80/20 remote/on-site models, there is significant potential in examining other hybrid configurations. Different balances between remote and on-site work could offer varied benefits and challenges, and preferences for these configurations might differ significantly across different demographics, including gender, age, and occupation.

Overall, by further exploring these factors, future research can provide a more nuanced understanding of the demand for workplace flexibility and its implications for gender equality in the labor market.

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