How Do Workers Think About The Costs and Benefits of Freelance Work? New Evidence From a Survey Experiment

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NBER/CRIW Conference on The Changing Nature of Work

Overview

- Most US workers are employees of firms, but a significant share work for firms as self-employed freelancers/independent contractors
 - Important trade-offs: self-employed contractors not covered by most labor laws (e.g. minimum wage, unemployment insurance)
 - Over 10% of US workforce (>1/2 are side jobs); Both high-end professionals and low-end jobs like warehouse, truckers, cleaners (Collins et al. 2019; Garin et al 2021)
 - Increased policy scrutiny in recent years (AB5 in CA, Biden DOL guidelines)
- **Q**: Why do workers enter gig arrangements?

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 - Increased policy scrutiny in recent years (AB5 in CA, Biden DOL guidelines)
- **Q**: Why do workers enter gig arrangements?
- 1. Positive view: Some workers value being own boss and flexibility of "gig" work
 - Despite challenges of self-employment, these perks are hard to find in other jobs
- 2. **Negative view:** Firms hire workers as freelancers to cut costs, lower compensation in ways workers may not be fully aware of
 - Many costs are shifted to worker: 1/2 of payroll tax, many expenses, firms don't pay UI taxes/ workers' comp... and workers not covered by these

We conduct a survey experiment to study how workers perceive the trade-offs of freelancing

- ▶ How do workers perceive their current work arrangements?
- How do amenities differ across work arrangements?
- ► How much do freelance workers make on net?
- Are workers aware of the differences in the expense and tax burdens on freelancers? (related: Chetty Looney Kroft 2009, Pires 2023)
- How sensitive are reported earnings to question framing? (related: Abraham, Hershbein, Houseman, Truesdale 2024)

1. Survey Design

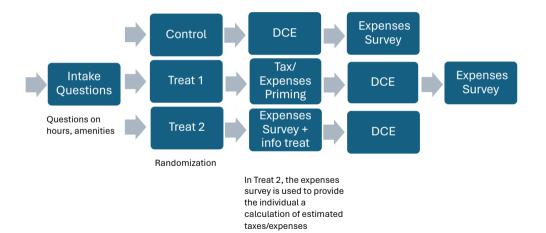
2. Findings

Survey Overview

- Our survey was launched as a follow-on to 2024 wave of NORC EPOP
 - Invite 5,707 of the 9,568 EPOP respondents from Amerispeak probability sample who are currently working or looking for work (excluding employers)
 - Got 3,830 responses, 2,895 in final survey sample dropping pilot and low-attention responses
 - Composition of final sample similar to invited sample More
- Survey Design
 - 1. Supplement EPOP questions with additional questions about work arrangements and amenities in *current main job*, standardized for all respondents
 - 2. Ask detailed questions about work-related expenses in current job
 - 3. Elicit expected (hypothetical) net earnings in freelance vs. traditional arrangements
 - 4. Discrete choice experiment to elicit valuations (examine in other work) More
- ▶ We randomly altered the information environment for 3 and 4

Experimental Design: Randomized Treatment Arms

- CONTROL: No information, hypothetical questions not asked (holdout for DCE)
 - Detailed expense module asked at end
- INFO1: Give basic information about W2 employment versus 1099 freelancing before hypothetical expense questions, no quantitative information
 - Detailed expense module asked at end
- INFO2: Provide detailed information including customized estimates of expense and tax burden in each hypothetical arrangement
 - Detailed expense module asked before hypothetical expense questions, used to calculate personalized estimates
 - Also provide example costs for each detailed item



INFO2 group gets this before hypothetical expense Qs, all other groups at end

Please indicate which of the following are required for your MAIN job/work arrangement, AND whether you supply them at your OWN EXPENSE or if they are provided by an employer or client?

	Not required/ applicable	I supply myself	Provided by employer/client
Motor vehicle		۲	
Business travel (airfare, hotel, etc.)			0
Computer			
Mobile phone			
Internet access			\bigcirc
Specialized software or web services			0
Accessory hardware (headsets, cameras, tools, etc.)			
Supplies or materials			\bigcirc
Licenses, certifications, subscriptions, etc.			0
Liability insurance			0
Home office or coworking space			

Only INFO2 group gets text in red box

You indicated that you use a motor vehicle for work purposes. Please (1) estimate the average expense for the <u>motor vehicle</u> you use solely for the purpose of work (that is, the expense you would avoid if a motor vehicle was not required for your work); then (2) separate the portion of this expense that is <u>reimbursed</u>. by a client or employer and the portion that is <u>not reimbursed</u>.

For example, Edmunds.com estimates the total costs of gas, repairs, and depreciation for a 1-year old Toyota Camry are approximately \$4,000 per year, assuming 10,000 miles driven per year. Your costs may be higher or lower depending on your vehicle and usage.

Please tell us just the part of the expense covering your use of this item for your work. For example, if your total costs on this item are \$4,000 per year but 50% of the use of the item is for personal purposes, your expense for business would be \$2,000.

You can report your estimated expense on a weekly, monthly, or annual basis. Please indicate which basis you are using.

Reimbursed	\$ 0
Not reimbursed	\$ 0
Total	\$ 0

Weekly	Monthly	Yearly

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Computer			0
Mobile phone		\circ	\circ
Internet access			0
Specialized software or web services		0	\bigcirc
Accessory hardware (headsets, cameras, tools, etc.)			\circ
Supplies or materials			0
Licenses, certifications, subscriptions, etc.		\circ	\bigcirc
Liability insurance			\circ
Home office or coworking space		0	\circ

Only INFO2 group gets text in red box

You indicated that you use a <u>motor vehicle</u> for work purposes. Please estimate the additional expense you would need to incur to provide a motor vehicle yourself if it had not been provided by your employer or client.

For example, Edmunds.com estimates the total costs of gas, repairs, and depreciation for a 1-year old Toyota Camry are approximately \$4,000 per year, assuming 10,000 miles driven per year. Your costs may be higher or lower depending on your vehicle and usage.

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You can report your estimated expense on a weekly, monthly, or annual basis. Please indicate which basis you are using.



Basic Information (INFO1 and INFO2)

Both INFO1 and INFO2 see this and take comprehension quiz .

People generally work for businesses either as a **1099** Independent contractor or as a W-2 employee, with the 1099 and W-2 forms being used by businesses to report earnings to the IRS for each kind of worker, respectively. The main differences between the two types of jobs are:

Contract Type:	Contract Type:
Work for a firm as a 1099	Work for firm as a W-2
independent contractor	employee
Not covered by unemployment	Covered by unemployment
insurance, workers	insurance, workers
compensation insurance,	compensation insurance,
overtime, or other employment	overtime, and other
laws	employment laws
You are responsible for complying with any taxes and quarterly estimated tax payments	The employer will calculate and withhold payroll taxes and estimated federal income tax
In general, you must provide all necessary equipment and supplies at your own expense	In general, the employer provides all necessary equipment and supplies at no expense to you

Below, we will ask you a few questions to review the differences between these two types of jobs so that the distinction is clear in the remaining parts of the survey.

INFO1: Collect Baseline Net/Gross Expectations

INFO1 is then asked to estimate net earnings for W2 and 1099 with same gross pay:

Now think about your current job, where you make \$1,200 per week.

Suppose you were offered two similar jobs, each with a <u>weekly</u> **gross pay** of \$1,200 before any taxes and expenses.

In your situation, what would you expect your <u>weekly</u> **take-home** earnings after taxes and expenses to be in each job, if one was a W-2 employee job and the other was a 1099 independent contractor job?

Your best estimate is fine

Your Estimated Net Weekly Earnings as a 1099 Independent Contractor

Your Estimated Net Weekly Earnings as a W-2 Employee

INFO2 sees additional information based on answers to the expenses questions:

Now think about your current job, where you earn \$1,200 per week.

Suppose you were offered two similar jobs, each with a <u>weekly</u> gross pay of \$1,200 before any taxes and expenses. In one job, you would be hired as a 1099 independent contractor, and in the other, as a W-2 employee.

Below, we have provided estimates for <u>weekly</u> unreimbursed expenses and federal taxes for which you would be responsible, based on the job type. These estimates are based on what you have toid us about your expenses in your current job, and the federal taxes that would apply to a single individual with no children for each type of job, assuming it were their sole income source for a full year.

Contract Type:	Contract Type:
Work for a firm as a 1099	Work for firm as a W-2
independent contractor	employee
Weekly Gross Pay: \$1,200	Weekly Gross Pay: \$1,200
Federal Income Taxes: \$66.01	Federal Income Taxes: \$115.40
Social Security and Medicare	Social Security and Medicare
<u>Taxes:</u> \$153.16	<u>Taxes:</u> \$91.80
Unreimbursed Expenses: \$115.47	Unreimbursed Expenses: \$0
Implied Net Weekly Take-home	Implied Net Weekly Take-home
Pay:	Pay:
\$865.35	\$992.80

For each job, the exact taxes you would owe and the unrelmbursed expenses would depend on your personal circumstances. You may owe additional taxes based on the state and municipality in which you live. This means the actual taxes and expenses you encounter may be higher or lower than those listed above.

Since our estimates might not accurately reflect your specific situation, please tell us what you expect your *actual* <u>weeky</u> **take**home earnings *after* taxes and expenses would be for each job aiven your situation.

Your best estimate is fine.

our Estimated Net	
/eekly Earnings as a 099 Independent	
ontractor	

our Estimated Net	
Veekly Earnings as a	
V-2 Employee	

1. Survey Design

2. Findings

Identifying Freelancers: Alternative Methods

Infer freelance status in main job several alternative ways

- 1. Use EPOP identifiers: In last week, is either main job...
 - Employee 84.2%
 - Business owner 4.8%
 - Other Freelance/Self-emp 10.9%
- 2. Ask if main job withholds taxes (per Abraham et al 2024)
 - Employer takes taxes out of pay 81.2%
 - Pay all taxes myself 18.18%
- 3. Ask if receive W2 or 1099 from main job
 - ▶ W2 83.8%
 - 1099 12.5%
 - No info reporting 3.7%

(Note: percentages are among non-missing values)

Columns sum to 100 percent

	<i>EP</i> C	EPOP: In main job, respondent is			Main job ta	xes are
	Traditional	Self-	SE Business	SE	Withheld by	Not
Share of group who report	Employee	Employed	Owner	Freelancer	employer	withheld
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Employer withholds taxes:						
Yes	0.907	0.304	0.329	0.293	1	0
No	0.093	0.696	0.671	0.707	0	1
Earnings reported on:						
W-2 return	0.940	0.268	0.375	0.225	0.972	0.244
1099 return	0.054	0.522	0.354	0.589	0.025	0.572
No 3rd-party reporting	0.006	0.210	0.271	0.186	0.003	0.184

Some people who self-identify as employees have no withholding...

	EPO	EPOP: In main job, respondent is			Main job ta	xes are
	Traditional	Self-	SE Business	SE	Withheld by	Not
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...but goes both ways

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Big differences in annual gross pay

	Median Earnings (\$)				Share with Job Feature				
			Average	Average	Remote Work	Control	Control How	Likely	
Worker type	Annual	Hourly	Weeks/Yr	Hours/Week	OK	Schedule	Work Done	Ends in <	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
EPOP: Main job is									
Traditional Employment	50000	26	44	37	0.320	0.540	0.689	0.02	
Self-employment	26000	20	38	33	0.443	0.890	0.917	0.05	
Owns business	26000	19	40	38	0.337	0.924	0.955	0.02	
Freelancer	26000	20	38	31	0.490	0.875	0.900	0.06	
Employer withholds taxes:									
Yes	50180	26	44	38	0.325	0.535	0.683	0.02	
No	19904	19	36	30	0.406	0.858	0.902	0.04	
Earnings reported on:									
W-2 return	52000	26	45	38	0.338	0.528	0.686	0.02	
1099 return	20800	19	36	31	0.426	0.870	0.871	0.04	
No 3rd pary reporting	15600	22	35	29	0.265	0.990	1.000	0.11	

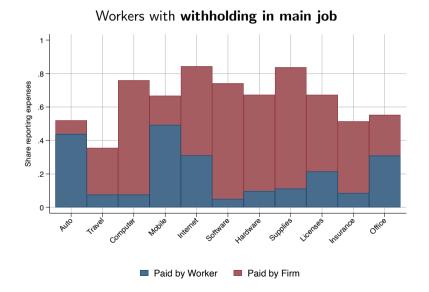
Some explained by lower hours among freelancers

	Median Earnings (\$)				Share with Job Feature				
			Average	Average	Remote Work	Control	Control How	Likely.	
Worker type	Annual	Hourly	Weeks / Yr	Hours/Week	OK	Schedule	Work Done	Ends in <	
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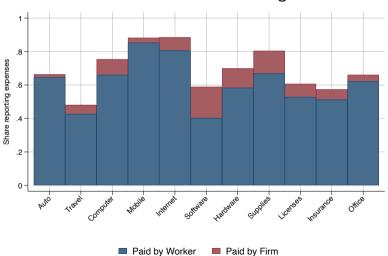
Freelancers have more control/flexibility, less stability

	Median Earnings (\$)		_		Share with Job Feature				
			Average	Average	Remote Work	Control	Control How	Likely.	
Worker type	Annual	Hourly	Weeks / Yr	Hours/Week	OK	Schedule	Work Done	Ends in •	
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Who Covers What Expenses?



Who Covers What Expenses?



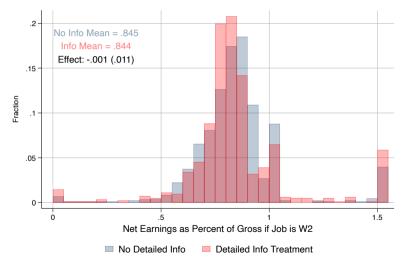
How Much Do Totaled Expense Items Cost?

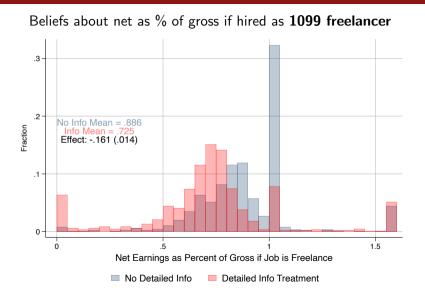
- Employed workers (withholding) say they spend 3% of gross pay on out of pocket expenses and estimate employer-provided items would cost an extra 5-8% of gross pay
 - Employee ut of pocket is mostly car, home office Details
- Self-employed workers (no withholding) say they spend 7-9% of gross pay on out of pocket expenses and estimate client-provided items would cost an extra 3-6% of gross pay
- All together, providing sample expense costs did not significant shift totals of reported values Estimates
 - ▶ We find some evidence of a negative effect on estimated cost of firm-provided items
 - No evidence of change in cost of out of pocket items

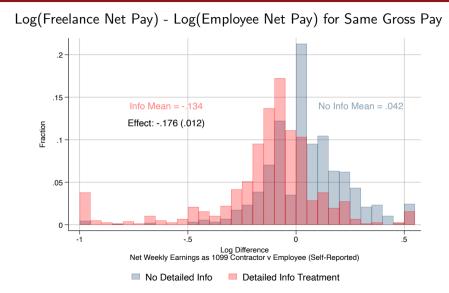
How Salient are Differences in Take-Home Pay?

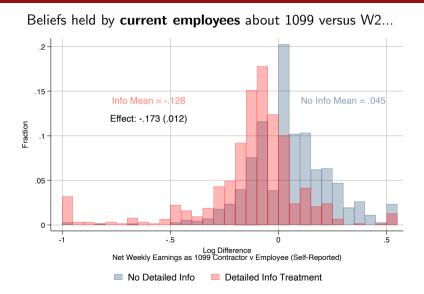
- A traditional job and a freelance job with the same posted gross pay may lead to different net earnings
 - Unreimbursed expenses
 - Different tax treatments (SECA tax, QBI deduction)
- We ask respondents in treatment arms 1 and 2: for *hypothetical* traditional and freelance jobs with your *actual* weekly gross earnings, what do you expect your take-home pay after taxes and unreimbursed expenses to be?
- Treatment arms vary information given before question
 - ▶ *INFO1:* Asked *before* any information provided or expense questions asked
 - INFO2: Asked after expense worksheet and information, including expected expense and tax burden based on ansers
 - (Control group not asked, avoid priming before DCE)

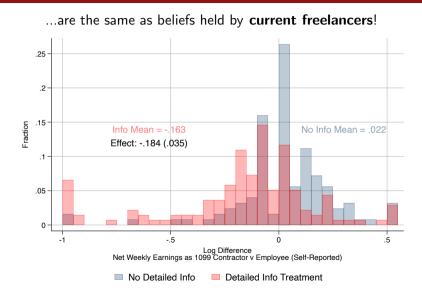
Beliefs about net as % of gross if hired as traditional W2 employee











Takeaways

Key findings:

- Freelance (SE) workers make less per hour than employees have greater control of when, where, and how they work
- SE workers spend an additional 5 to 8 percentage points of gross pay covering unreimbursed expenses
- Without giving information, people expect IC arrangements to yield higher net income, reverses with information
 - ▶ Not mitigated by experience—same effect regardless of current work arrangement
 - Not explained by differences in detailed expense items across groups more
 - INFO2 not just parroting back our estimates more

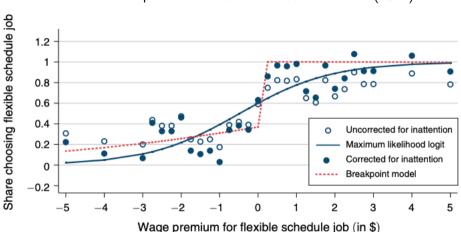
Implications:

- ► Workers may not fully anticipate tax and expense burdens of freelance work
- Initial DCE results suggest WTP for traditional employment doubles when given information Baseline Effects

Thanks!

Appendix Slides

Inattention



Inattention important correction in Mas and Pallais (2017)

FIGURE 1. WTP FOR FLEXIBLE SCHEDULE

Information Treatment (Both Treatment Arms)

Both treatment arms (but not control) must then take, and pass. a guiz: Back



Review Ouestion: Imagine you have a W-2 employee job with weekly gross pay before taxes and expenses of \$1,000 per week.

Assume that your income tax is \$100 per week. You spend \$50 per week for a membership at a co-working space that is fully reimbursed by your employer.

What would your weekly take-home (net) earnings after taxes and unreimbursed expenses be?

0 900

○ 1000

0 850

Review Question: What would your answer to the question above be if you were a **1099 contractor** and your expenses for the co-working space were not reimbursed by an employer? (Assume the gross pay and taxes are the same for this example. though they may not be the same in real-world situations.)

1,000	
900	
850	

Review Ouestion: Which type of job. 1099 independent contractor or W-2 employee, is eliaible for unemployment insurance, workers' compensation, overtime pay, and covered by employment laws?

1099	indo	non	lant	cont	in	hor.	iab.
1000	IIIUG	pen	161 IC	0011	i uu	01	100

O W-2 employee job

Review Question: In each job, who is responsible for providing and covering the costs of equipment and supplies?

	You	Employer/Client
1099 independent contractor job	0	0
W-2 employee job	0	0

Sample Composition * back

	Unw	eighted	Using Sam	plingWeights
EPOP Characteristics	Invited	Final Sample	Invited	Final Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Main job is				
Self-employment	0.177	0.160	0.177	0.158
Owns business	0.060	0.052	0.057	0.048
Freelancer	0.117	0.108	0.120	0.109
Has second job	0.208	0.209	0.218	0.212
Married	0.519	0.527	0.511	0.516
Race				
White	0.673	0.677	0.599	0.568
Nonwhite	0.327	0.323	0.401	0.432
Education				
HS or less	0.147	0.124	0.324	0.301
Some college	0.292	0.279	0.296	0.280
College graduate	0.346	0.363	0.220	0.247
Graduate degree	0.180	0.201	0.114	0.129
Age				
Under 30	0.137	0.141	0.240	0.252
30–44	0.381	0.408	0.318	0.337
45-64	0.369	0.359	0.351	0.343
65+	0.114	0.092	0.092	0.068
Household income				
Under \$50k	0.256	0.227	0.302	0.276
\$50k-\$100k	0.319	0.313	0.287	0.282
\$100k-\$200k	0.326	0.347	0.313	0.335
\$200k+	0.099	0.113	0.098	0.106
Total N	5707	2895	5707	2895

Discrete Choice Experiment: Three Arms * back

DCE differs slightly across treatment arms: Control

Imagine you received two job offers with job characteristics and gross earnings (before any taxes and expenses) as displayed below.

The two jobs are identical in all aspects except those that are displayed. Which job would you prefer?

Pay Amount:
\$1,264 per week before any taxes and expenses
Contract Type:
Work for a firm as a
W-2 employee
At the end of the year, earnings are reported to you on
a W-2 information return
Base Hours: 40 hours/week
Location Flexibility:
Job must be done on-site
Control over Schedule:
Schedule is fixed, standard weekday hours
Independence:
You are told how you do your work
Job Security:
Very low (5%) chance job ends before 1 year
No health or retirement plan offered
0

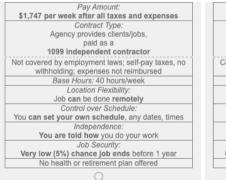
	Pay Amount:
\$1,261	per week before any taxes and expenses
	Contract Type:
	Work for a firm as a
	1099 independent contractor
At the er	nd of the year, earnings are reported to you on
	a 1099 information return
	Base Hours: 40 hours/week
	Location Flexibility:
	Job must be done on-site
	Control over Schedule:
You ca	n set your own schedule, any dates, times
	Independence:
Y	ou control how you do your own work
	Job Security:
Unce	rtain (50%) chance job ends before 1 year
	No health or retirement plan offered
	0

Discrete Choice Experiment: Three Arms * back

DCE differs slightly across treatment arms: $\ensuremath{ \mbox{ Treatment } 1 \ensuremath{}}$

Imagine you received two job offers with job characteristics and <u>net take-home pay</u> (<u>after all taxes and expenses</u>) as displayed below.

The two jobs are identical in all aspects except those that are displayed. Which job would you prefer?





Discrete Choice Experiment: Three Arms * back

DCE differs slightly across treatment arms: Treatment 2

Imagine you received two job offers with job characteristics and gross earnings (before any taxes and expenses) as displayed below.

The two jobs are identical in all aspects except those that are displayed. Which job would you prefer?



		Estimated Expense Amount (\$) if Greater than Zero									
	Auto	Travel	Computer	Mobile	Internet	Software	Hardware	Supplies	Licenses	Insurance	Office
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Item Paid Out of Pocket											
Mean, CONTROL and INFO1	1650	1415	592	717	668	632	261	438	295	505	957
Mean, <i>INFO2</i>	2495	1561	609	510	491	430	282	295	256	773	674
Difference	845	147	16	-208	-177	-202	21	-143	-39	268	-283
(SE)	(328)	(687)	(145)	(128)	(152)	(178)	(74)	(115)	(51)	(163)	(263)
Item Provided by Firm/Client											
Mean, CONTROL and INFO1	3789	3213	1098	1236	722	1235	557	1069	717	2055	4214
Mean, INFO2	5819	4401	678	412	341	570	344	497	432	1052	1393
Difference	2029	1188	-421	-824	-381	-664	-213	-572	-285	-1003	-2821
(SE)	(1745)	(720)	(77)	(181)	(203)	(140)	(109)	(187)	(110)	(409)	(1101)

Totaled Expenses » back

	Main Job: Employer Withholds Taxe		
	Full Sample	Yes	No
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Total Job Expenses			
Mean, CONTROL and INFO1	0.110	0.096	0.175
Mean, <i>INFO2</i>	0.098	0.093	0.115
Difference	-0.012	-0.003	-0.060
(SE)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.046)
Expenses Paid Out of Pocket			
Mean, CONTROL and INFO1	0.025	0.011	0.092
Mean, INFO2	0.032	0.022	0.071
Difference	0.008	0.012	-0.021
(SE)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.027)
Items Provided by Firm/Client			
Mean, CONTROL and INFO1	0.076	0.079	0.061
Mean, INFO2	0.054	0.061	0.028
Difference	-0.021	-0.018	-0.034
(SE)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.021)

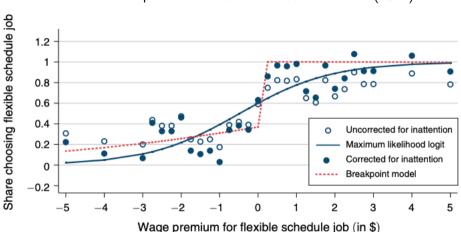
Important in Mas and Pallais (2017) but trivial in Maestas et. al (2018) In our setting, 97% choose correctly.

Below is a list of numbers. Please select the number seven.

07			
05			
0 9			
01			
03			
0 11			
0 12			



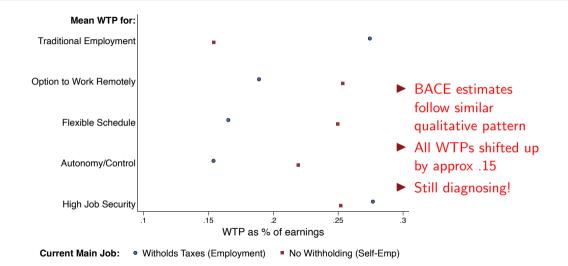
Inattention



Inattention important correction in Mas and Pallais (2017)

FIGURE 1. WTP FOR FLEXIBLE SCHEDULE

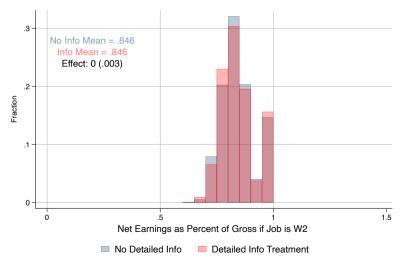
Preliminary BACE Estimates



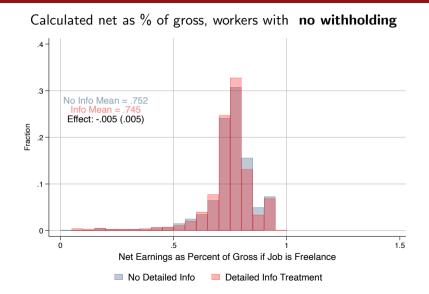


Group Differences Not Driven By Differences in Expense Totals * back

Calculated net as % of gross, workers with withholding in main job

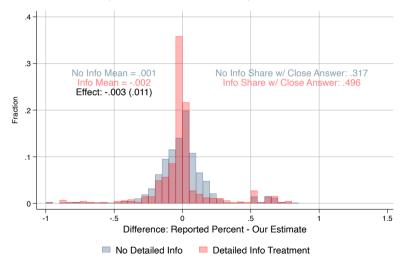


Group Differences Not Driven By Differences in Expense Totals * back

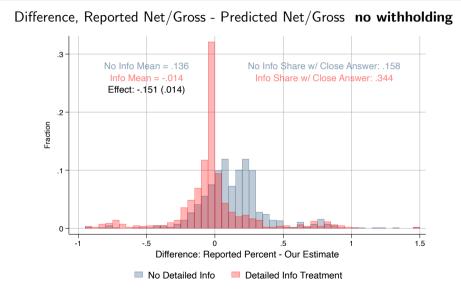


INFO2 Not Just Plugging in Our Estimates * back

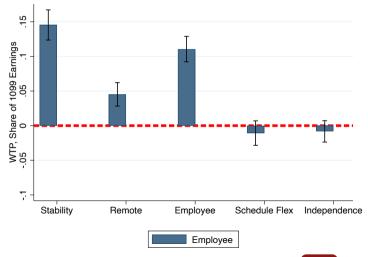
Difference, Reported Net/Gross - Predicted Net/Gross withholding in main job



INFO2 Not Just Plugging in Our Estimates * back



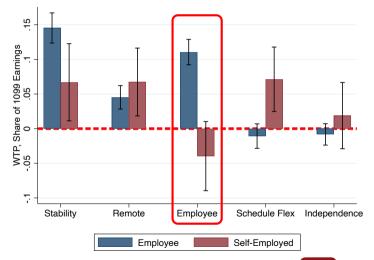
Valuations (de-biased) of Employee v Other Amenities, Current Employee



Note: Logit estimate, Treatment Group 1 (Net Earnings) Plack

Valuations (de-biased) of Employee v Other Amenities, by Current SE

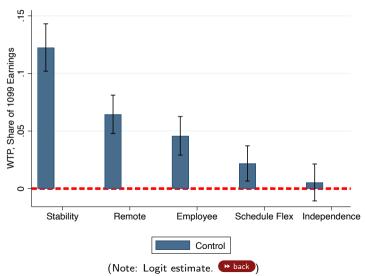
Valuations very different for self-employed. Negative valuation of employee status!



Note: Logit estimate, Treatment Group 1 (Net Earnings) Plack

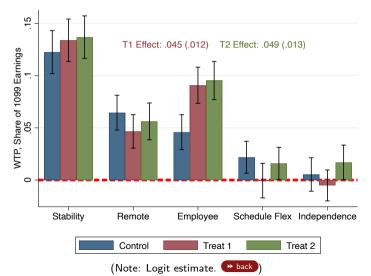
Valuations of Employee v Other Amenities

Employee contract valued at about 5% of earnings in control group



Valuations of Employee v Other Amenities: By Treatment

Treatment doubles valuation of employee. No effect on other amenity valuations.



Valuations of Employee v Other Amenities

Treatment doubles valuation of employee. No effect on other amenity valuations.

