Can Women "Have It All"? The Trade-Off Between Social Tasks and Workplace Flexibility

Savannah Noray Harvard University

July 21, 2025

Introduction

• Persistent gender gaps in earnings, career progression (Cortés and Pan, 2023)

- Persistent gender gaps in earnings, career progression (Cortés and Pan, 2023)
- One potential explanation for these gaps: inflexible ("greedy") work (Goldin, 2014)

- Persistent gender gaps in earnings, career progression (Cortés and Pan, 2023)
- One potential explanation for these gaps: inflexible ("greedy") work (Goldin, 2014)
 - o some jobs are structured to reward those who work long, irregular, or particular hours
 - e.g., legal sector

- Persistent gender gaps in earnings, career progression (Cortés and Pan, 2023)
- One potential explanation for these gaps: inflexible ("greedy") work (Goldin, 2014)
 - $\circ~$ some jobs are structured to reward those who work long, irregular, or particular hours
 - e.g., legal sector
 - o women value customizing their hours (i.e., flexibility) & thus lag behind men

- Persistent gender gaps in earnings, career progression (Cortés and Pan, 2023)
- One potential explanation for these gaps: inflexible ("greedy") work (Goldin, 2014)
 - $\circ~$ some jobs are structured to reward those who work long, irregular, or particular hours
 - e.g., legal sector
 - o women value customizing their hours (i.e., flexibility) & thus lag behind men
- \Rightarrow flexible jobs well-suited to women's time constraints

- Persistent gender gaps in earnings, career progression (Cortés and Pan, 2023)
- One potential explanation for these gaps: inflexible ("greedy") work (Goldin, 2014)
 - $\circ~$ some jobs are structured to reward those who work long, irregular, or particular hours
 - e.g., legal sector
 - o women value customizing their hours (i.e., flexibility) & thus lag behind men
- \Rightarrow flexible jobs well-suited to women's **time constraints**

- Persistent gender gaps in earnings, career progression (Cortés and Pan, 2023)
- One potential explanation for these gaps: inflexible ("greedy") work (Goldin, 2014)
 - $\circ~$ some jobs are structured to reward those who work long, irregular, or particular hours $\,$
 - e.g., legal sector
 - o women value customizing their hours (i.e., flexibility) & thus lag behind men
- ⇒ flexible jobs well-suited to women's **time constraints** ...and **talents**?

• No (on average).

• No (on average). Two reasons:

- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - o 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks

- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - o 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)

- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - o 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)
 - social skills are important in jobs involving client or co-worker interactions (Deming, 2017)

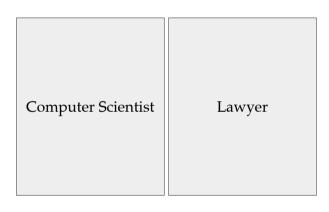
- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)
 - social skills are important in jobs involving client or co-worker interactions (Deming, 2017)
 - o 2: Yet, social tasks tend to be *bundled with* inflexible work environments

- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)
 - social skills are important in jobs involving client or co-worker interactions (Deming, 2017)
 - 2: Yet, social tasks tend to be *bundled with* inflexible work environments
 - lacksquare e.g. work with people o relationship-specific capital o more likely to be "on call"

Compare and contrast two jobs



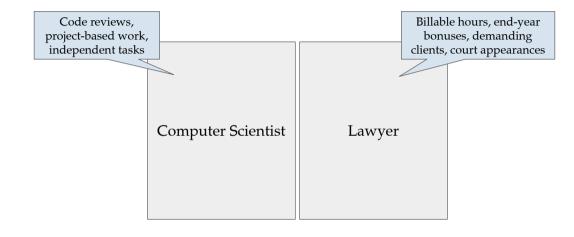
Compare and contrast two jobs



These jobs are structured differently

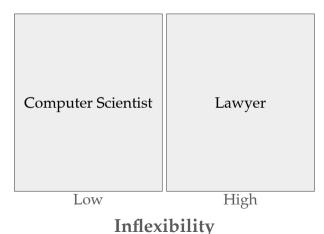
Computer Scientist	Lawyer
--------------------	--------

These jobs are structured differently

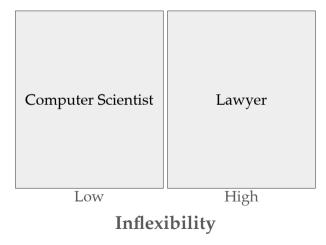


→ <u>when</u> you supply your labor (and <u>how much</u> you supply) is more intrinsically tied to lawyer's productivity

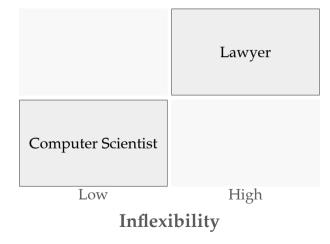
Legal work is comparatively less flexible



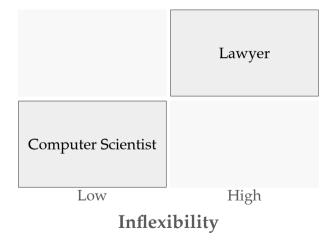
But, these jobs are also different in other ways...



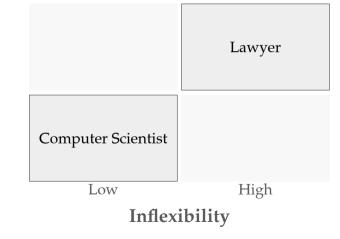
But, these jobs are also different in other ways...



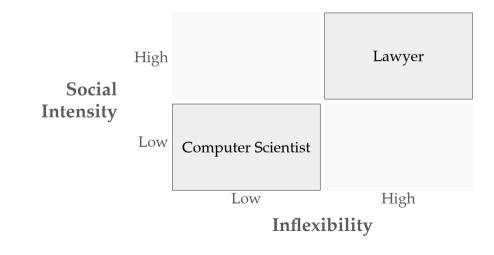
Lawyers work with people



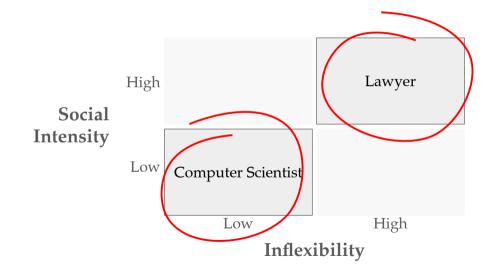
Lawyers work with <u>people</u> (and computer scientists work with <u>machines</u>)



Lawyers work with <u>people</u> (and computer scientists work with <u>machines</u>)



Most occupations fall in these two quadrants



- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)
 - social skills are important in jobs involving client or co-worker interactions (Deming, 2017)
 - 2: Yet, social tasks tend to be *bundled with* inflexible work environments
 - $lue{}$ e.g. work with people ightarrow relationship-specific capital ightarrow more likely to be "on call"
- \Rightarrow women must forgo flexibility to be in a job that matches their skillset (& vice versa)

- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)
 - social skills are important in jobs involving client or co-worker interactions (Deming, 2017)
 - 2: Yet, social tasks tend to be *bundled with* inflexible work environments
 - lacktriangle e.g. work with people \rightarrow relationship-specific capital \rightarrow more likely to be "on call"
- ⇒ women must forgo flexibility to be in a job that matches their skillset (& vice versa)
- So what?

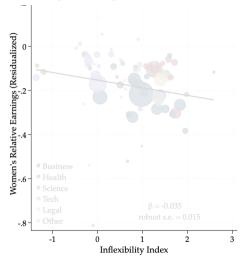
- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)
 - social skills are important in jobs involving client or co-worker interactions (Deming, 2017)
 - 2: Yet, social tasks tend to be *bundled with* inflexible work environments
 - lacktriangle e.g. work with people \rightarrow relationship-specific capital \rightarrow more likely to be "on call"
- ⇒ women must forgo flexibility to be in a job that matches their skillset (& vice versa)
- So what? Trade-off magnifies the impact of inflexible work on the gender wage gap
 - o additional channel: loss of female talent

- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)
 - social skills are important in jobs involving client or co-worker interactions (Deming, 2017)
 - 2: Yet, social tasks tend to be *bundled with* inflexible work environments
 - $lue{}$ e.g. work with people ightarrow relationship-specific capital ightarrow more likely to be "on call"
- ⇒ women must forgo flexibility to be in a job that matches their skillset (& vice versa)
- So what? Trade-off magnifies the impact of inflexible work on the gender wage gap
 - o additional channel: loss of female talent
- ⇒ downstream implication: more accurately assess how certain policies affect gender wage gaps (e.g., childcare subsidies, flex. work arrangements)

- No (on average). Two reasons:
 - 1: Women have a comparative advantage in social tasks
 - women excel in *social perceptiveness* (e.g. Hall, 1978)
 - social skills are important in jobs involving client or co-worker interactions (Deming, 2017)
 - 2: Yet, social tasks tend to be *bundled with* inflexible work environments
 - $lue{}$ e.g. work with people ightarrow relationship-specific capital ightarrow more likely to be "on call"
- ⇒ women must forgo flexibility to be in a job that matches their skillset (& vice versa)
- So what? Trade-off magnifies the impact of inflexible work on the gender wage gap
 - o additional channel: loss of female talent
- ⇒ downstream implication: more accurately assess how certain policies affect gender wage gaps (e.g., childcare subsidies, flex. work arrangements)

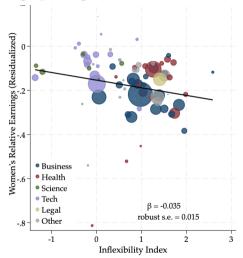
Consider: prima facie evidence of a trade-off

Consider: *prima facie* evidence of a trade-off



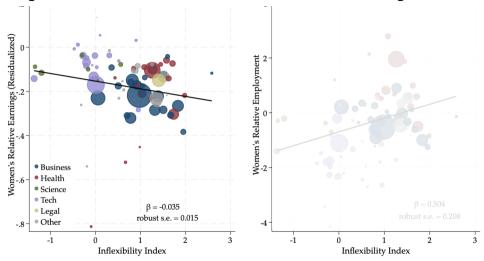
 ${\it Notes}: \ high income, college \ educated, FTFY \ workers \ in \ ACS \ 2015-2019. \ Left \ panel \ replicates \ Goldin \ (2014).$

Wage gap larger in less flexible occupations...



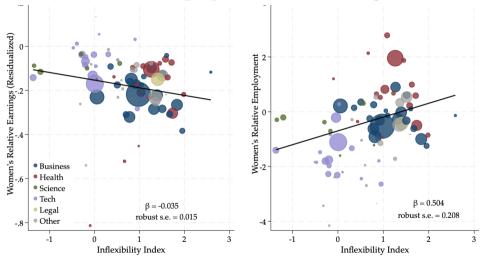
 $\textit{Notes}: \ high income, college \ educated, FTFY \ workers \ in \ ACS \ 2015-2019. \ Left \ panel \ replicates \ Goldin \ (2014).$

...we expect women to be attracted to flexible occupations...



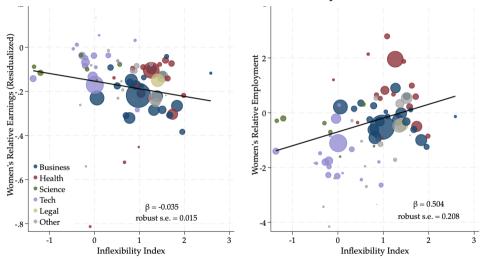
 ${\it Notes}: high income, college educated, FTFY workers in ACS 2015-2019. \ Left panel replicates Goldin (2014).$

But, women's relative employment is increasing in inflexibility



 ${\it Notes}: high income, college educated, FTFY workers in ACS 2015-2019. \ Left panel replicates Goldin (2014).$

Women find some other attribute of these jobs attractive...



 ${\it Notes}: high income, college educated, FTFY workers in ACS 2015-2019. \ Left panel replicates Goldin (2014).$

- Document two descriptive facts:
 - 1. women are more skilled in social perceptiveness
 - 2. but, flexibility is inversely correlated with social intensity [O*NET]

- Document two descriptive facts:
 - 1. women are more skilled in social perceptiveness
 - 2. but, flexibility is inversely correlated with social intensity [O*NET]
- Develop a model of occupational choice
 - o key feature: social tasks *less substitutable* across time periods

- Document two descriptive facts:
 - 1. women are more skilled in social perceptiveness
 - 2. but, flexibility is inversely correlated with social intensity [O*NET]
- Develop a model of occupational choice
 - o key feature: social tasks *less substitutable* across time periods
- Provide evidence consistent with predictions of the model:

- Document two descriptive facts:
 - 1. women are more skilled in social perceptiveness
 - 2. but, flexibility is inversely correlated with social intensity [O*NET]
- Develop a model of occupational choice
 - o key feature: social tasks less substitutable across time periods
- Provide evidence consistent with predictions of the model:
 - 1. Women's relative labor market returns to both flex. & social are attenuated [ACS]

- Document two descriptive facts:
 - 1. women are more skilled in social perceptiveness
 - 2. but, flexibility is inversely correlated with social intensity [O*NET]
- Develop a model of occupational choice
 - o key feature: social tasks less substitutable across time periods
- Provide evidence consistent with predictions of the model:
 - 1. Women's relative labor market returns to both flex. & social are attenuated [ACS]
 - 2. High social skill women under-represented in inflexible jobs [NLSY79]
 - 3. *Time constraints* drive gaps \Rightarrow motherhood penalty larger in inflexible jobs [NLSY79, CPS]
 - 4. Flexibility-enhancing tech. adoption has been concentrated in social sectors [CPS, ATUS]

This presentation

- Document two descriptive facts:
 - 1. women are more skilled in social perceptiveness
 - 2. but, flexibility is inversely correlated with social intensity [O*NET]
- Develop a model of occupational choice
 - o key feature: social tasks less substitutable across time periods
- Provide evidence consistent with predictions of the model:
 - 1. Women's relative labor market returns to both flex. & social are attenuated [ACS]
 - 2. High social skill women under-represented in inflexible jobs [NLSY79]
 - 3. *Time constraints* drive gaps \Rightarrow motherhood penalty larger in inflexible jobs [NLSY79, CPS]
 - 4. Flexibility-enhancing tech. adoption has been concentrated in social sectors [CPS, ATUS]

Contribution to the Literature

 Lack of workplace flexibility hinders women's labor market outcomes (Bang, 2021; Bütikofer et al., 2018; Ciasullo & Uccioli, 2024; Cortés & Pan, 2016, 2019, 2023; Cubas et al., 2023; Erosa et al., 2022

(Bang, 2021; Bütikofer et al., 2018; Ciasullo & Uccíoli, 2024; Cortés & Pan, 2016, 2019, 2023; Cubas et al., 2023; Erosa et al., 2022 Goldin, 2014; Goldin et al., 2024; Juhn & Rubinstein, 2022; Kleven et al., 2019; Maestas et al., 2023; Mas & Pallais, 2017, 2020; Pertold-Gebicka et al., 2016 Wasserman, 2023; Wiswall & Zafar, 2018)

- \Rightarrow quasi-experimental evidence: flexibility varies by occupation
- \Rightarrow negative consequences are amplified due to women's comp. adv. in social sk.
- 2. Certain jobs *have* enhanced flexibility

(Goldin, 2021; Goldin & Katz, 2011, 2016; Harrington & Kahn, 2023; Wasserman, 2023)

- ⇒ these advancements have been concentrated in jobs in which women excel
- 3. Women do not *always* opt for flexible jobs

(Mas & Pallais, 2017, 2020)

- \Rightarrow resolve puzzle by considering job amenities and tasks jointly
- 4. Growth in prevalence of social tasks, which plays to women's comp. adv.

(Atalay et al., 2020; Cortes et al., 2023; Cortés et al., 2024; Deming, 2017; Edin et al., 2022; Ngai & Petrongolo, 2017)

 \Rightarrow limited gains for women if coupled with demanding work environments

Contribution to the Literature

1. Lack of workplace flexibility hinders women's labor market outcomes (Bang, 2021; Bütikofer et al., 2018; Ciasullo & Uccioli, 2024; Cortés & Pan, 2016, 2019, 2023; Cubas et al., 2023; Erosa et al., 2022

(Bang, 2021; Bütikofer et al., 2018; Ciasullo & Uccfoli, 2024; Cortés & Pan, 2016, 2019, 2023; Cubas et al., 2023; Erosa et al., 2022 Goldin, 2014; Goldin et al., 2024; Juhn & Rubinstein, 2022; Kleven et al., 2019; Maestas et al., 2023; Mas & Pallais, 2017, 2020; Pertold-Gebicka et al., 2016 Wasserman, 2023; Wiswall & Zafar, 2018)

- ⇒ quasi-experimental evidence: flexibility varies by occupation
- \Rightarrow negative consequences are amplified due to women's comp. adv. in social sk.
- 2. Certain jobs *have* enhanced flexibility

(Goldin, 2021; Goldin & Katz, 2011, 2016; Harrington & Kahn, 2023; Wasserman, 2023)

- ⇒ these advancements have been concentrated in jobs in which women excel
- 3. Women do not *always* opt for flexible jobs

(Mas & Pallais, 2017, 2020)

- ⇒ resolve puzzle by considering job amenities and tasks jointly
- 4. Growth in prevalence of social tasks, which plays to women's comp. adv.

(Atalay et al., 2020; Cortes et al., 2023; Cortés et al., 2024; Deming, 2017; Edin et al., 2022; Ngai & Petrongolo, 2017)

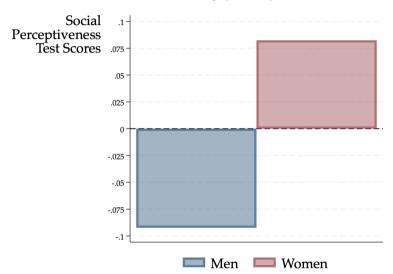
⇒ limited gains for women if coupled with demanding work environments

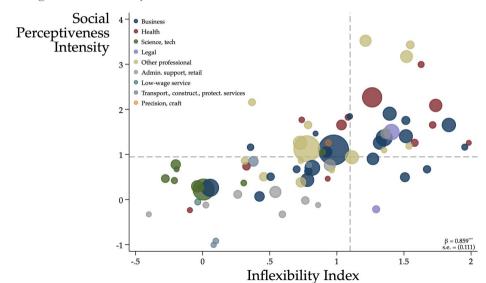
Two stylized facts

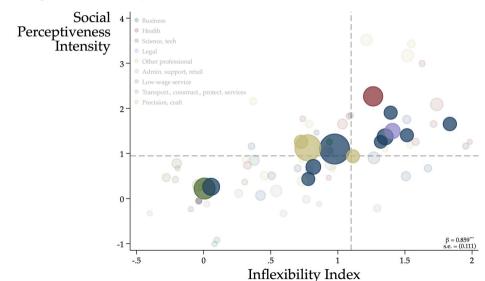
Fact 1: women are more socially perceptive...

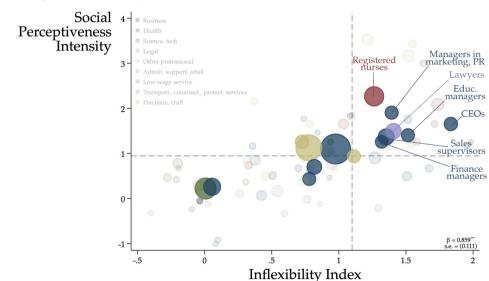
Fact 1: women are more socially perceptive...

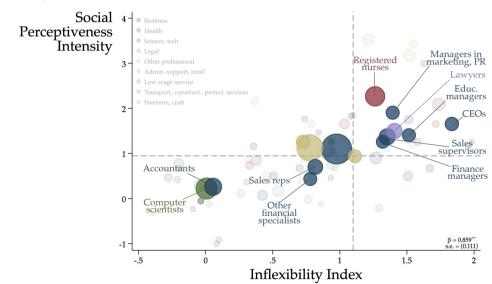
Fact 1: women are more socially perceptive...

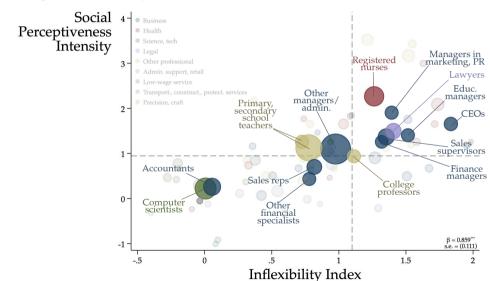












The rest of the paper

• Claim: these two facts \Rightarrow tradeoff \Rightarrow widens the gender wage gap

- Claim: these two facts ⇒ tradeoff ⇒ widens the gender wage gap
- Remainder of paper: evidence consistent w/ a model embedding this tradeoff

- Claim: these two facts ⇒ tradeoff ⇒ widens the gender wage gap
- Remainder of paper: evidence consistent w/ a model embedding this tradeoff
 - 1. Women's relative labor market returns to both flex. & social are attenuated
 - i.e. gender gaps in earnings/employment in inflexible jobs widen/emerge only after controlling for social perceptiveness (and vice versa)

- Claim: these two facts ⇒ tradeoff ⇒ widens the gender wage gap
- Remainder of paper: evidence consistent w/ a model embedding this tradeoff
 - 1. Women's relative labor market returns to both flex. & social are attenuated
 - i.e. gender gaps in earnings/employment in inflexible jobs widen/emerge only after controlling for social perceptiveness (and vice versa)
 - 2. High social skill women under-represented in inflexible jobs

- Claim: these two facts ⇒ tradeoff ⇒ widens the gender wage gap
- Remainder of paper: evidence consistent w/ a model embedding this tradeoff
 - 1. Women's relative labor market returns to both flex. & social are attenuated
 - i.e. gender gaps in earnings/employment in inflexible jobs widen/emerge only after controlling for social perceptiveness (and vice versa)
 - 2. High social skill women under-represented in inflexible jobs
 - 3. *Time constraints* drive gaps \Rightarrow motherhood penalty larger in inflexible jobs

- Claim: these two facts ⇒ tradeoff ⇒ widens the gender wage gap
- Remainder of paper: evidence consistent w/ a model embedding this tradeoff
 - 1. Women's relative labor market returns to both flex. & social are attenuated
 - i.e. gender gaps in earnings/employment in inflexible jobs widen/emerge only after controlling for social perceptiveness (and vice versa)
 - 2. High social skill women under-represented in inflexible jobs
 - 3. *Time constraints* drive gaps \Rightarrow motherhood penalty larger in inflexible jobs
 - 4. Flexibility-enhancing tech. adoption has been concentrated in social sectors
 - e.g. WFH technologies (Skype, Zoom)

- Claim: these two facts ⇒ tradeoff ⇒ widens the gender wage gap
- Remainder of paper: evidence consistent w/ a model embedding this tradeoff
 - 1. Women's relative labor market returns to both flex. & social are attenuated
 - i.e. gender gaps in earnings/employment in inflexible jobs widen/emerge only after controlling for social perceptiveness (and vice versa)
 - 2. High social skill women under-represented in inflexible jobs
 - 3. *Time constraints* drive gaps \Rightarrow motherhood penalty larger in inflexible jobs
 - 4. Flexibility-enhancing tech. adoption has been concentrated in social sectors
 - e.g. WFH technologies (Skype, Zoom)
- Future work: understanding what frictions/costs may hold firms back

Thank you! Email: savannahnoray@g.harvard.edu.