

Cash or Red Envelope: A Field Experiment on Work Incentives in China

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Abstract

The nature of gifts matters at the workplace and affects worker's reciprocity and productivity. We design a field experiment to investigate how different presentations of a monetary gift influences worker's reciprocity in response to unappealing payment scheme. Undergraduate students in China are hired for a temporary research assistant job to enter survey answers to the computer. At the end of the job, student workers are given a surprising monetary gift of two different amounts in cold, hard cash or a slightly more thoughtful form with cash enclosed in a red envelope, and they decide whether to stay to help out with more survey entries with less appealing piece rate pay relative to in the original task. We find that how to present the monetary gift counts but only for the larger amount. For the larger gift, red envelope dominates cold, hard cash in all the aspects including workers' average performance, willingness to help under a less appealing pay scheme, and willingness to give up more earnings by trading off higher quality of work for quantity. The difference in the impact occurs since workers are more likely to perceive the more thoughtful presentation of the large gift as the employer's appreciation and are less likely to perceive the gift as additional income.

Keywords: lab in the field, reciprocity, red envelope

JEL Classification: C91, D9, J3

1. Introduction

How to motivate employees to provide more efforts is a central challenge for both theorists and practitioners. In particular, starting from Akerlof's seminal work (Akerlof, 1982), a large volume of literature has documented the importance of gift exchange, i.e., workers reciprocate positively to "gifts" and return favors by exerting

6 higher effort (see Fehr et al., 1993; Hannan et al., 2002a; Charness, 2004; Gneezy
7 and List, 2006; Hossain and Li, 2013). In reality, tremendous amount of time, effort,
8 and energies have been spent on gifting and the presentations of the gifts, e.g., gift
9 cards, chocolates, and flowers. For example, 45% U.S. workers reported that they
10 give their gift to colleagues during the holiday season, and 56% of them spend more
11 than \$20 for gifts¹.

12 When it comes to the choice of gifts, both the size and the nature of the gifts
13 matter. The current literature in economics mainly focus on the first issue, and
14 report that small incentive may crowd out economic agents' intrinsic motivations in
15 certain activities, such as blood donation (Titmuss et al., 1970), charity fundraising
16 (Gneezy and Rustichini, 2000). A recent field experiment by Hossain and Li (2013)
17 points out that whether the crowding out effect incur or not depends on the context,
18 e.g., significant crowding out effect only occurs when the task is under pro-social
19 frame, but not under a regular work setting.

20 Compared to the monetary size of the gifts, the nature of gifts is lack of study and
21 economic theory mostly assumes that gifts with equal monetary value are equivalent.
22 However, in practice, people perceive monetary and non-monetary gifts differently
23 and non-monetary gift, which signals more time and effort from the principal, is
24 usually more effective to motivate higher productivity for workers (Kube et al., 2012).
25 Therefore, when a cash gift signaling more time and effort, such as the origami, an
26 artistically folded and wrapped cash gift used in Kube et al. (2012), is as effective as
27 non-monetary gift regarding increasing worker's productivity.

28 In this study, we investigate how the different presentations of monetary gift in-
29 fluence reciprocity by workers. In reality, gift cards (also called gift certificates in
30 North America, or gift vouchers in the U.K.) are often used as alternative to cash
31 gift among friends or coworkers. They are prepaid money cards usually issued by
32 a retailer or a financial institute for purchases at a store or business. In some East
33 Asian cultures, monetary gifts take the form of cash bills wrapped in an opaque red
34 envelope with some words of blessings or appreciations printed on the cover. The
35 red color of the envelope symbolizes good luck and is also believed to ward off evil
36 spirits. These red envelopes, also known as red packets, are given among family
37 members or friends during holiday seasons (e.g., Lunar New Year) or at family and
38 social gatherings to celebrate important events (e.g., wedding, baby birth, gradua-
39 tion, birthday). They are also given to employees by supervisors or business owners
40 as a token of appreciation or wish for good fortune². Moreover, in Japan, people

¹<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/holiday-gift-giving-in-the-workplace-an-insiders-guide/>

²The emergence of WeChat, the worldwide largest social media mobile APP equipped with

41 use a special kind of envelope called "Goshugi-bukuro and Kodan-bukuro" to wrap
 42 cash gift, and the manners of wrapping monetary gift varies in different occasions³.
 43 In Korean, cash gift is popular for weddings (called "congratulatory money"), birth-
 44 days, funerals, etc. However, cash gift should be put in a white envelope, otherwise
 45 it is thought to be rude. In Italian wedding, the bride may carry a special bag called
 46 "la borsa" at her reception. And as part of a custom guests place envelopes called
 47 "buste" with money into the satin bag. In Nigerian wedding, guests also fill a bag
 48 with envelopes containing checks. On wedding morning in Malaysia, children carry
 49 trays of food and money wrapped by animal or flower-shaped envelopes to the bride⁴.
 50 As the alternative to cash, all these different presentations of monetary gifts share
 51 one characteristic in common. That is, they add the warmth and fuzziness to the
 52 cold, hard cash since the gift givers spend time and effort and put more thoughts
 53 into the gifts than just offering cash. Although the economic theory predicts that
 54 these different forms of gifts should be equivalent to cash of the same value in their
 55 impact on workers' effort at workplace, it is puzzling why despite the time and effort
 56 spent by the gift givers, these alternative forms of monetary gifts are often preferred
 57 to cash gifting in real life.

58 In this study, we conduct a natural field experiment to investigate whether and
 59 how a more thoughtful form of monetary gift influences workers' reciprocity. In
 60 the experiment conducted in China we use cash wrapped in a red envelope as an
 61 alternative form of gift and compare and contrast its impact on workers' effort to
 62 that of cash. Specifically, undergraduate students are hired as part-time workers to
 63 enter survey answers to the computer for a lump-sum payment. They are given a
 64 surprising monetary gift at the end of the task. The nature and the amount of the
 65 monetary reward vary across treatments. The amount of reward is either low (5
 66 RMB) or high (20 RMB) offered as cash or as cash wrapped in a red envelope. The
 67 student workers decide whether to stay to help with more survey entries with a less
 68 appealing piece-rate payment.

69 We find that compared to the control treatment with no gift, workers who receive
 70 a monetary gift are more likely to participate in the additional task except when they
 71 are offered with the large amount of cash. How to present the monetary gift matters,

online payment service, brings the use of red packets to a new era and WeChat users can send the virtual red packets to one particular friend or a group people in a Wechat group (Qiu et al., 2016; Yuan et al., 2017). In particular, even a small red packet containing several cents can significantly improve communication volumes in WeChat groups (Yuan et al., 2017).

³<http://dicethkamikaze.com/blog/jp-culture/a-manner-of-japanese-money-gift/>

⁴<https://www.theknot.com/content/giving-money>

72 but the effect depends on the amount. For the smaller amount of gift, cash and cash
73 enclosed in a red envelope have similar impact on worker’s willingness to reciprocate
74 and their work quantity and quality. For the larger amount of gift, however, red
75 envelope dominates cash across the board including workers’ average performance,
76 willingness to help under a less appealing pay scheme, willingness to deliver higher
77 quality of work in trade-off with a higher quantity and more earnings. This different
78 impact of the presentations of the large gift is primarily driven by worker’s percep-
79 tions. Since the large cash gift in a red envelope is more likely to be perceived as
80 the employer’s appreciation and less likely to be perceived as additional income, it
81 counteracts the crowding-out effect of large monetary incentives on worker’s effort.

82 Our study contributes to the literature on gift exchange by showing that even a
83 weak manipulation of the presentation of monetary gift could make a difference in
84 motivating workers under a relatively unappealing payment environment. Cash in
85 the red envelope in our study represents a slightly more thoughtful presentation of
86 the monetary gift than the cold, hard cash, since a generic red envelope signals the
87 minimum amount of time and effort invested by the employer in the gift. Neverthe-
88 less, it affects positively the workers’ reciprocity in the overall performance and their
89 choice of quality over quantity despite the unattractive pay scheme. Therefore, com-
90 pared to the earlier studies in the literature, our study shows that a weakly better
91 presentation of the monetary gift, compared to cold, hard cash, could generate more
92 reciprocity from the workers, and its positive impact could survive the less appealing
93 payment environments. Our findings, therefore, justify the tremendous amount of
94 time and effort invested in daily gift-giving practices.

95 The rest of the paper is organized as follows. The related literature is reviewed
96 in Section 2. Section 3 presents the experimental design. Section 4 discusses the
97 empirical analyses and results. Section 5 concludes.

98 2. Literature Review

99 In this section, we review related field experiments on gift exchange. For the
100 laboratory experiment, please refer to Charness and Kuhn’s survey paper.

101 A large literature has documented the effectiveness of gift, though the magnitude
102 of the effect varies with gift nature, e.g., monetary (Ockenfels et al., 2014) vs. non-
103 monetary gift (Kube et al., 2012; Maréchal and Thöni, 2016); gift size (Falk, 2007);
104 and the workers’ type, e.g., students (Gneezy and List (2006), Hennig-Schmidt et
105 al. (2010), Kube et al. (2013), Al-Ubaydli et al. (2015), Esteves-Sorenson and Macera
106 (2013)) vs. non-student populations (Bellemare and Shearer (2009), Hannan et al.
107 (2002b)). Englmaier and Leider (2012) and Kessler (2013) explore factors that pre-
108 dict when reciprocity in labor markets is likely to occur. For example, the signal of

the gift is better unambiguous. If it is perceived as more kind, more generous, people would reciprocate more. Besides, psychological motivators in gift exchange such as "warm glow" giving (Imas, 2014) or social preference (Dellavigna et al., 2016), compliments (Kirchler and Palan, 2018), social recognition (Kosfeld and Neckermann, 2011), reputation concern (List, 2006) may also lead to better performance of employees. Moreover, fairness is a very important factor for reciprocity behavior (see Cox et al., 2007; Bolton and Ockenfels, 2000; Fehr and Schmidt, 1999; Koszegi and Rabin, 2006). Dellavigna and Pope (2017) conduct a large-scale real-effort experiment and examine the effectiveness of different monetary and non-monetary motivators.

Whether gift matters crucially depends on how workers evaluate the wage compared to a reference point, which is usually the initial wage or market wage. For example, Cohn et al. (2014) find that employees reciprocate to wage increase only when they perceive being underpaid at their base wage, and the effect is only significant for those reciprocal types, which are measured by a follow-up two-person game. Using survey data from a large multinational company, Ockenfels et al. (2014) find that bonuses that fall behind natural reference points lead to lower job satisfaction and performance. They also use a laboratory experiment for robustness check. A field experiment by Kube et al. (2013) suggests that cutting wage significantly decrease students' work quantity due to negative reciprocity, while the same amount of wage increase does not symmetrically increase effort. Bartling and Schmidt (2014) shows that an initial contract may serve as reference point that shape the expectations of the contracting parties and affect the renegotiation .

Furthermore, a study by Gilchrist et al. (2016) show the surprising gift component instead of the additional monetary incentive, matters more for gift-exchange. Using odesk employees, they either reward a direct large cash reward under high wage rate treatment in which \$4 per hour (higher than market wage) is directly presented to workers, their productivity is indifferent with the control in which the wage rate is \$3 per hour. However, when the high wage rate is unveiled by \$3 per hour plus a surprise bonus of \$1 per hour (\$3+\$1) to workers in "3+1" treatment, the productivity becomes significantly higher than control and direct high wage rate treatment. This study implies that how to present the gift in a more salient and perceptible way would elicit a large impact on worker' reciprocity behavior. In other words, the initial contract sets the reference point for employees and the surprising gifts triggers the reciprocity as they are higher than the reference point. Ockenfels et al. (2015) also find that presenting the wage in two steps increase rather than a single large increase would induce higher output and more honesty from employee.

Furthermore, context matters in the gift-exchange. If it is a competitive environment, the social preference concern may disappear (Hossain and Li, 2013). A field

147 experiment by Englmaier and Leider (2012) suggests that the effectiveness of gift
148 exchange depends on workplace context, e.g., when the employers can receive bonus
149 from worker's higher effort, and the positive responses to wage gifts mainly come
150 from reciprocal workers.

151 Non-monetary gift is also used⁵. For example, Maréchal and Thöni (2016) con-
152 duct a field experiment on sales representatives by asking them to give potential
153 buyers toothpaste as gift, and find that the gift significantly increases their sales
154 revenue. Furthermore, the effect of the gift depends on the relationship between
155 salesman and the potential buyer, e.g, the gift tends to hamper negotiations and re-
156 duces revenue for the first-time meet circumstance. In an audit study conducted in
157 Chinese hospitals, Currie et al. (2013) demonstrate that gifts from patients to physi-
158 cians reduce the prescription of unnecessary antibiotics and increase service quality,
159 even for third parties associated with the gift giver. Kirchler and Palan (2014) study
160 the effect of tipping and verbal compliments on service quality in Turkish fast food
161 restaurants. Kosfeld and Neckermann (2011) find that congratulation card which
162 honors the best performance significantly increase students' performance.

163 Goette and Stutzer (2008) compare the effectiveness of two different types of
164 incentives for blood donation, and find that compared to control without gift, a
165 lottery ticket significantly increases the number of blood donations , while a free
166 cholesterol test, a non-monetary incentive does not. They argue that their no public
167 image concern in their study, therefore the possible negative impact of material
168 incentive may not exist.

169 All prior studies focus on the effect of gifts conditional on the workers has com-
170 mitted to a task or accepted a contract. We examine whether receiving in a gift
171 for a pre-committed task could have any impact on their likelihood of staying in a
172 non-required task. A study which shares similar protocol is Hossain and Li (2013)
173 though they do not have the surprising gift stage. Their focus is about how social
174 context affects individual decisions in the follow-up task, e.g., whether the task is
175 framed as monetary related or social related. However, we are interested in studying

⁵Some theoretical works analyze non-monetary gift. Kaplan and Ruffle (2009) shows that when search cost and uncertainty are important for recipients, in-kind gift enhances expected welfare better than cash. Ellingsen and Johannesson (2011) discusses these two types of gifts from the signal perspective. Specifically, non-monetary gift is considered as a credible signal of altruism and kindness. In contrast, The requesting of money signals of greed. Another theoretical work by Dur (2009) show that Besides offering high wage, giving attention is another way for managers to signal their altruism to workers. However, Duffy and Puzzello (2011) compare the efficiency of monetary and non-monetary gift exchange and find that money can enhance welfare compared to without money.

the impact of gift nature on the follow-up task. Furthermore, compared to their study which varies the monetary size in the follow-up task, we vary the gift size and examine its interaction with gift nature.

3. Experimental Design

Table 1: Experimental Design

		Gift Nature		
		Cash	Red Envelope	Control(No Reward)
Reward	Large (20 RMB)	45	45	48
Amount	Small (5 RMB)	46	46	

To investigate how the reward size and type influences the work performance, we implement a 2x2 factorial between-subject design for treatments, along with a control which does not have additional reward. In treatments, a monetary reward is offered in a surprising fashion in the middle of the experiment. The reward varies in amount and type (i.e., cash or enclosed in a red envelope).

Task The real-effort task is for participants to manually type and enter survey answers in Chinese into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. We choose survey data entry as the experimental task since it is a common task for the temporary research assistant jobs on campus. The only skills required are reading and typing in Chinese. The quantity and quality of the work is easy to evaluate. Each copy of the survey contains the answer to one survey question. It takes 2 to 3 minutes on average to enter the text into the spreadsheet.

Incentives The experiment consists of two stages. In the first stage, participants are given 50 copies of surveys and told to enter as many copies as they could in 40 minutes. Everyone is paid with a fixed amount of 60 RMB for their work in this stage. Although they are told to enter the surveys as accurately as they could, the payment in this stage is fixed and does not depend on the accuracy of their entries.

Upon completion of their work in the first stage, each participant receives 60 RMB in cash as promised. In addition, the participants are each offered with a surprising reward as a token of appreciation for their work in the first stage. Afterwards, they are asked if they are willing to stay to help with more survey entries in the second stage. The reward is surprising to the participants since they are only informed about the data-entry task and the fixed payment of 60 RMB in the first stage in the recruiting email. No information is given on the reward or the second stage of the experiment until the end of the first stage of the experiment.



Figure 1: Red Envelope Used in the Experiment

205 The surprising reward varies in the type of presentation and amount. The RMB
 206 cash bills are given to each participant directly in the Cash treatments or enclosed
 207 in a $16.30\text{cm} \times 8.80\text{cm}$ opaque red envelope (Figure 1) in the two Red Envelope
 208 treatments. These red envelopes are commonly used for gifting at workplace. They
 209 have a generic design with "Best Wishes" printed in Chinese on the cover. They are
 210 conveniently available in many stores for several cents each so their monetary value
 211 is negligible. Similar to gift cards – the prepaid stored-value money card, the red
 212 envelope adds warmth and fuzziness to the cold, hard cash. Different from gift cards,
 213 the use of cash enclosed in the envelope is not restricted to any particular stores or
 214 related businesses. Therefore, cash wrapped in a red envelope in our experiment is a
 215 weak manipulation of the presentation of monetary gift which is equivalent to cash
 216 of the same amount. This design allows us to investigate the impact of a slightly
 217 more thoughtful presentation of a monetary gift on workers' reciprocity.⁶

⁶In the money Origami treatment in Kube et al. (2012), the monetary gift was given in a form of an origami shirt (artistically folded out of a 5-euro bill) and a 2-euro coin (with a smily face drawn on it) glued together on a plain postcard. We believe that the generic red envelopes used in our study signal less time and effort invested by the employers compared to the unique design of smily face with the origami shirt in Kube et al. (2012).

218 Two amounts, 5 RMB and 20 RMB, are used. Five RMB is used as the small
219 reward since it is about 8 percent of the 60 RMB fixed pay in the first stage and the
220 price of a bottle of soft-drink beverage sold in vending machines on campus. Twenty
221 RMB is used as the large amount of reward. It is about 33 percent of the 60-RMB
222 fixed payment and the price of a McDonald’s combo meal. Therefore, our choices
223 of reward amount and type yield four experimental treatments, Large Cash (LC),
224 Large Red Envelope (LRE), Small Cash (SC), and Small Red Envelope (SRE).

225 In all the treatments, participants are told that the reward is offered as a token of
226 appreciation for the work that they have just completed. In the two Cash treatments,
227 a 5 RMB or 20 RMB bill is given to the participants. Since the amount of cash
228 reward cannot be observed directly with the envelopes in the two Red Envelopement
229 treatments, the participants are asked to open their red envelopes to confirm the
230 amount, while the experimenter publicly announces the reward amount.

231 Along with the surprising reward, each participant also receives a letter that asks
232 for help with more survey entries for 1 RMB per piece in the second stage. As a
233 monetary incentive, 1 RMB piece rate is substantially less appealing than the fixed
234 pay of 60 RMB for 40 minutes work in the first stage.⁷ We use this low incentive
235 purposefully in the second stage to investigate the participants’ willingness to recip-
236 rocate under a substantially less appealing incentive condition⁸. The participants
237 are asked to decide individually and privately whether they would like to stay to
238 continue to work, and if yes, how many copies (between 1 and 40) he or she wants to
239 complete. They are asked to record his or her decisions on the letter and return it to
240 the experimenter.⁹ Those who choose to stay are given another 40 copies of survey
241 and are asked to complete at least the number of copies that they have specified in
242 their letters. Figure 2 presents the timeline of the experiment.

243 A post-experiment questionnaire is conducted before the participants’ departure.
244 Besides the demographic questions, the post-experiment questionnaire also include
245 questions on participants’ emotions in each stage of the experiment, attitudes towards
246 different types of reward, as well as the reasons for leaving or staying after the first
247 stage of the experiment.

⁷Given the fact that each survey takes an average of 2.5 minutes to type, the 60 RMB for 40 minutes work is equivalent to 3.75 RMB per survey.

⁸Esteves-Sorenson (2017) also find that the piece rate scheme is more efficient at effort incentive than fixed payment scheme.

⁹The participants record their decisions individually and privately on whether to stay or to leave and the number of copies if staying. This procedure is designed to minimize any potential peer effects or coordination among some participants. No one changed the decisions after the decisions were submitted to the experimenter.

248 Compared to treatments, no such reward is offered in the control . In the control,
 249 the experiment proceeds to the second stage after each participant receives the 60
 250 RMB payment for their work during the first stage. The participants are asked to
 251 decide whether to stay for more survey entries for the piece rate of 1 RMB, and
 252 if yes, how many copies (between 1 and 40) he or she wants to complete. Table
 253 1 summaries the experiment design and reports the number of participants in each
 254 treatment and control.

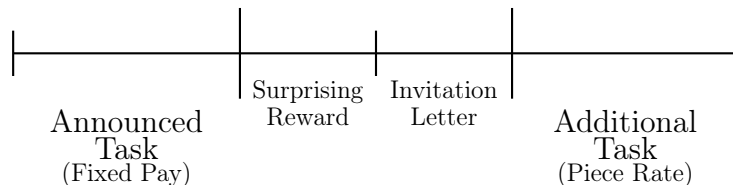


Figure 2: Experiment Timeline

255 The experiment was conducted at Tsinghua University, Beijing, China from Fall
 256 2016 to Summer 2017. A total number of 230 undergraduate students, 116 men and
 257 114 women, participated in 40 sessions, 8 sessions for each treatment. The average
 258 number of participants was 6 per session. We used a large computer lab, and the
 259 participants sat far away from each other to minimize the peer effects (Falk and
 260 Ichino, 2006). The participants were randomly assigned to the treatments with each
 261 person participating in only one treatment. Since all the participants were told that
 262 they were doing a temporary research assistant work for an economics professor, no
 263 one was aware that they were participating in an experiment. Each session lasted for
 264 about 100 minutes. The average payment was 82 RMB (around \$13) per participant.
 265 Appendix C includes the post-experiment survey and Appendix D the experiment
 266 instructions.

267 4. Results

268 In this section, we report the treatment effects on work quantity including the
 269 unconditional number of copies entered in the additional task, the likelihood of par-
 270 ticipating in the task (i.e., the extensive margin), the number of copies they enter
 271 conditional on participation (i.e., the intensive margin), and the quality of their work
 272 in the additional task. We also investigate how individual perceptions mediate these
 273 effects. For ease of presentation, a reward presented as cash without a red envelope
 274 will be referred to as "cash", and a cash reward enclosed in a red envelope will be
 275 referred to as "red envelope". Each subject is treated as one independent observation
 276 in both non-parametric and regression analyses.

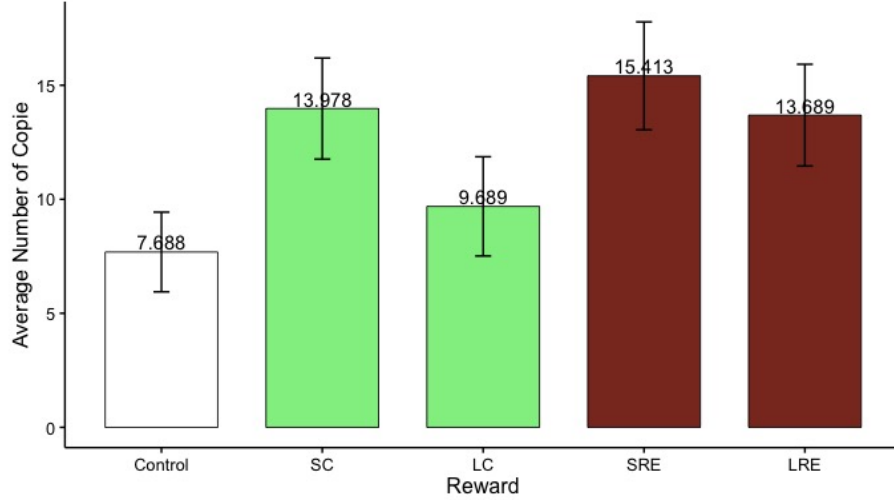


Figure 3: Unconditional number of Copies Entered in the Additional Task

To examine the treatment effects on participants' performance, we first compare the unconditional average number of survey entries between treatments and control. Figure 3 shows that when offered with the small cash or the small red envelope award, participants enter an average number of 13.978 and 15.413 surveys, both significantly higher than 7.688 in the control (SC > Control, $p = 0.019$; SRE > Control, $p = 0.013$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests).¹⁰ Interestingly, the large cash award leads to a slight, albeit insignificant, increase in the average performance, relative to the control (9.689 vs. 7.688, $p = 0.737$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests). In sharp contrast, participants enter 13.689 surveys on average when receiving the large red envelope, significantly higher than 7.688 in the control treatment ($p = 0.019$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests) and marginally higher than 9.689 in the LC treatment ($p = 0.071$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests). In addition, we find no significant difference between the SRE and SC treatments ($p > 0.10$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests), suggesting that the impact of cash and red envelope is similar when the award size is small.

In Table 2, we present a Tobit model to further analyze the treatment effects on the participants' overall performance. The dependent variable is the number of

¹⁰The number of survey entries is coded as zero for those who choose not to participate in the additional task.

Table 2: Tobit Regression for the Unconditional Number of Copies

	(1)	(2)
Small Cash	7.185** (3.028)	8.424*** (3.027)
Large Cash	1.876 (3.162)	1.398 (3.145)
Small RE	7.628** (3.035)	8.024*** (3.015)
Large RE	7.225** (3.040)	7.703** (2.998)
First Stage Entry		0.660*** (0.169)
Female		2.984 (1.902)
Afternoon		-4.694 (3.497)
Night		-3.518 (2.296)
Observations	230	230
Log Likelihood	-545.169	-535.089
Pseudo R ²	0.010	0.028

Notes: (1) The dependent variable is the number of surveys entered by individual participants in additional task. It is coded as zero for those who choose not to participate in the additional task. (2) Marginal effects are reported. (3) Standard errors are reported in parentheses. (4) *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

surveys entered by individual participants in the additional task. The main independent variables are the treatment dummies, Small Cash, Large Cash, Small RE, and Large RE. The omitted variable is the control. To control for other covariates what may influence the performance, in Column 2, we also include control variables such as participant’s gender, performance in Stage 1, and the time dummies – morning (omitted), afternoon, or night – for the experimental sessions. Additionally, marginal effects are reported.

Regression results are consistent with non-parametric tests. In both columns, all treatment dummies except Large Cash are positive and significant ($p < 0.05$, two-sided χ^2 tests). Comparing between treatments, we find that the impact of Large RE is significantly higher than Large Cash (7.225 v. 1.876, $p = 0.045$ in Column 1; 7.703 v. 1.398, $p = 0.041$ in Column 2, two-sided χ^2 tests), while the difference between Small RE and Small Cash is not significant ($p > 0.10$, two-sided χ^2 tests). These findings indicate that although the impact of red envelope is similar to that of cash for a small monetary award, red envelope has more appealing impact on participant’s overall performance than cold, hard cash for a *large* monetary award. These discussions lead to Result 1.

Result 1 (Treatment Effect on Work Quantity) *1a) Compared to the control, the number of survey entries is significantly higher when participants are offered with a small reward (cash or red envelope) or with a large red envelope. However, the number of survey entries is insignificantly different between the Large Cash treatment and the control.*

1b) The average number of survey entries is significantly higher when participants are offered with a large red envelope than with large cash.

4.2. Extensive and Intensive Margins

To understand what drive the treatment effect on the unconditional number of survey copies, We further investigate the participation rate in the additional task, i.e., the extensive margin, and the number of survey entries conditional on participation, i.e., the intensive margin. As shown in Panel A of Figure 4, the participation rate in the additional task is 37.5% in the control. Compared to control, this rate is significantly higher in SC (60.9%, $p = 0.023$, two-sided χ^2 tests), SRE (58.7%, $p = 0.039$, two-sided χ^2 tests), and LRE (62.2%, $p = 0.017$, two-sided χ^2 tests). However, it is 37.8% in LC, which is not significantly different from control ($p = 0.978$, two-sided χ^2 tests). We also find that the participation rate is very similar between red envelope and cash for the small award (58.7% vs. 60.9%, $p > 0.10$, two-sided χ^2 tests). While for the large award, the participation rate in LRE exceeds that in LC by 24.4 percentage points (62.2% vs. 37.8%, $p = 0.020$, two-sided χ^2 tests).

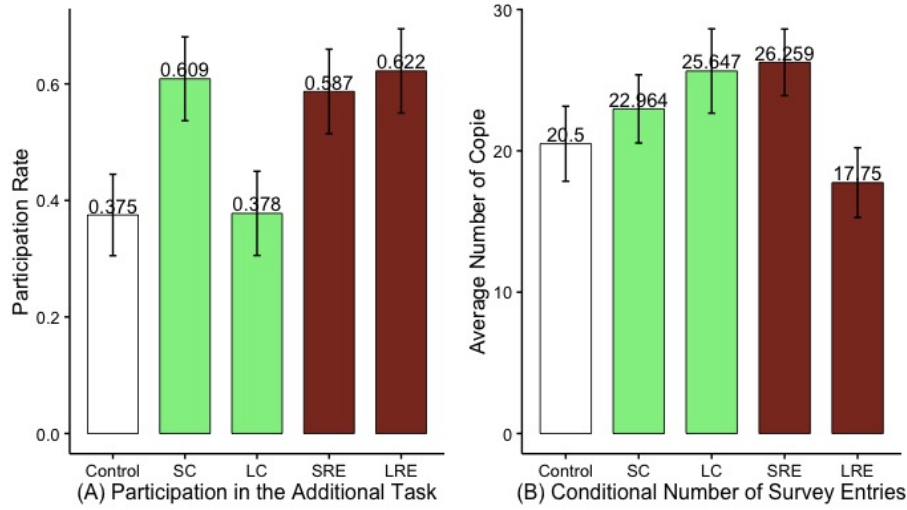


Figure 4: Extensive and Intensive Margins

In summary, the results on participation are consistent with Result 1. Specifically, red envelope motivates participation effectively in the additional task regardless of the size of monetary incentives while cash works under the small, but not the large incentive.

These findings are further confirmed in the Probit regressions in Columns 1 and 2 of Table 3. Again, all treatment dummies except LC is positive and significant in both specifications ($p < 0.05$, two-sided χ^2 tests). Moreover, the participation rate is significantly higher in LRE than in LC ($p = 0.013$, two-sided χ^2 tests) We summarize these findings below.

Result 2 (Extensive Margin: Participation) *2a) Compared to the control, participants are more likely to participate in the additional task when offered with a small reward either as cash or as red envelope. However, for the large reward, only the red envelope leads to higher participation.*

2b) The large red envelope induces a higher participation rate than the large cash award, while the types of the award do not influence participation for the low amount.

Next, we examine the number of survey entries conditional on the participation in the additional task (i.e., the intensive margin), shown in Panel B of Figure 3. First, no difference is found between treatments and control ($p > 0.10$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests). The only difference is that under the large amount of award, the conditional number of survey entries is significantly *lower*, rather than higher, in the Large RE than in the Large Cash treatment ($p = 0.042$, two-sided

Table 3: Participation and Conditional Survey Entries

	A. Participation (Probit)		B. Conditional Entries (OLS)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Small Cash	0.229** (0.095)	0.263*** (0.095)	2.464 (3.756)	2.947 (3.744)
Large Cash	0.003 (0.105)	−0.004 (0.108)	5.147 (4.205)	4.348 (4.251)
Small RE	0.208** (0.096)	0.224** (0.097)	5.759 (3.783)	5.804 (3.770)
Large RE	0.241** (0.094)	0.257*** (0.094)	−2.750 (3.756)	−1.992 (3.789)
First Stage Entry		0.018*** (0.006)		0.386* (0.206)
Female		0.118* (0.068)		2.007 (2.344)
Afternoon		−0.091 (0.126)		−2.689 (4.129)
Night		−0.092 (0.083)		−2.689 (2.689)
Constant			20.500*** (2.931)	12.570** (6.043)
Observations	230	230	118	118
R ² /Pseudo R ²	0.037	0.079	0.067	0.111

Note: The dependent variable of the Probit model in Columns 1 and 2 is the likelihood of participating in the additional task. Marginal effects are reported. The dependent variable of the OLS model in Columns 3 and 4 is the *conditional* number of survey entries. Standard errors are in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

353 Wilcoxon rank-sum tests). These findings are further confirmed by the OLS analysis
 354 in Columns 3 and 4 of Table 3 with the dependent variable being the conditional
 355 number of survey entries. The comparison between the coefficients of Large Cash
 356 and Large RE is statistically significant in Column 3 (5.147 vs. -2.750, $p = 0.041$,
 357 F-test), though it becomes insignificant in Column 4 (4.348 vs. -1.992, $p = 0.105$)
 358 when more covariates are added to the regression. In summary, we do not find a
 359 consistent and robust result for the conditional number of copies.

360 Altogether, the analyses for intensive and extensive margin demonstrate that the
 361 treatment effects on the overall performance found in Result 1 are primarily driven by
 362 the treatment effects on participation, rather than on the conditional performance.

363 4.3. Work Quality

364 An ideal measure of work quality would be the degree of accuracy of the survey
 365 entries. In our experiment, however, it is prohibitively difficult to verify the accuracy
 366 for about 3,000 individual survey entries, each of which takes 2-3 minutes to type.
 367 Instead, we use the completion rate, a logistically simpler measure, as a proxy for
 368 work quality. One survey entry is considered as “complete” if the number of Chinese
 369 or English words and numerals that a participant enters to the Excel Spreadsheet is
 370 no less than the word count in the original survey. It is considered as incomplete,
 371 otherwise. For each individual participant, the average completion rate is calculated
 372 as the proportion of the surveys that he or she completes.

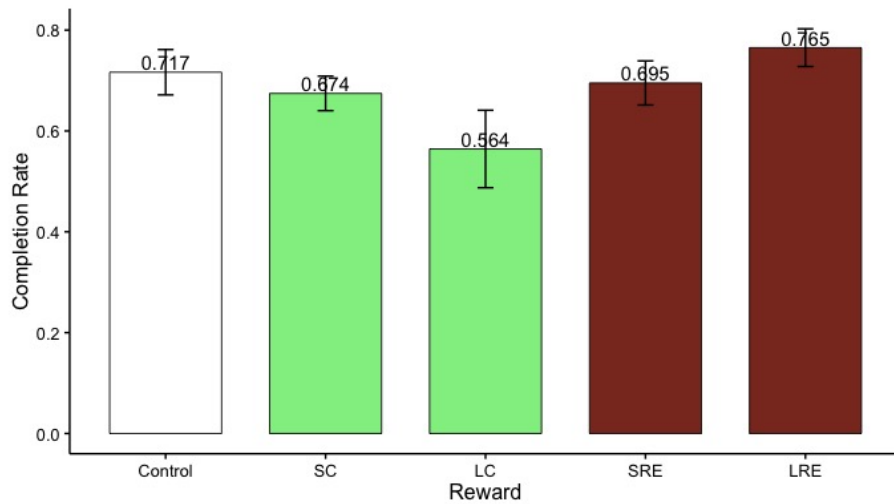


Figure 5: Completion Rate in the Additional Work

As shown in Figure 5, the average completion rate varies from 0.564 to 0.765 in treatments, but none of them is significantly different from 0.717 in the control ($p > 0.10$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests).¹¹ For the small award, we find that although the average completion rate increases slightly in SRE compared to in SC, the difference is not statistically significant (0.695 vs. 0.674, $p = 0.560$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests). In contrast, the average completion rate in LRE is significantly higher than in LC (0.765 vs. 0.564, $p = 0.026$, two-sided Wilcoxon rank-sum tests) for the large award. The OLS regressions in Table 4 yield similar results. We find that the impact of LC on the average completion rate is significantly lower than in the control ($p < 0.05$ in Columns 1 and 2, F-test). In addition, the coefficient of LRE significantly exceeds that of LC (0.049 vs. -0.152, $p = 0.004$, Column 1; 0.054 vs. -0.168, $p = 0.001$, Column 2, F-test).¹² These findings suggest that the presentation of red envelope matters for work quality. Red envelope induces higher work quality than cash does, but its impact is only statistically significant for the large award. These results are summarized below.

Result 3 (Work Quality) *4a) Compared to the control, the survey entry completion rate is significantly lower when participants are offered with a large cash award.*

4b) For the small award, the survey entry completion rate is similar between cash and red envelope. For the large award, the completion rate is significantly higher with red envelope than with cash.

Though prior analyses suggest that the conditional number of copies under LC is higher than LRE, the results for quality provides us important insights on the quantity-versus-quality tradeoff conditional on one's participation in the additional task. Specifically, LC may have tried to reap more payments out of greater quantities. Unlike LC, LRE successfully helps curb the participants' temptations on pecuniary gains and induces them to choose *quality* over quantity in their work¹³.

¹¹The average completion rate may seem low. This occurs due to our criterion on completion. In other words, a survey entry would be considered as incomplete, and the "complete" variable would take a value of zero if the number of words and numerals entered for a particular survey is less than the original survey.

¹²For robustness check, we relax the criterion on survey entry completion to 95% or 90%. That is, one survey entry is considered as "complete" if 95% or 90% of the total words are entered to the Excel Spreadsheet. New results are reported in Appendix B. For the 95% criteria, the impact of LC on the average completion rate is significantly lower than the control treatment ($p = 0.009$, F-test) and the LRE treatment ($p = 0.004$, F-test). For the 90% threshold, the impact of LC is significantly lower than the control treatment ($p = 0.009$, F-test) and the LRE treatment ($p = 0.007$, F-test). Therefore, the treatment effects on work quality discussed above are robust.

¹³Kim and Slonim (2012) also find that gift could induce different effect on work quantity and

Results 1-3 combined suggest that the nature of gift matters, but the effect depends on the amount. For the small award, red envelope and cash fare similarly regarding participants' overall performance, participations rate, and work quality. For the large award, however, red envelope has more appealing impact than cash does across the board. When given a large red envelope, participants' overall performance is better, participation rate is higher, and participants are more likely to choose quality over quantity than when they are given the hard, cold cash. Therefore, red envelope, a more thoughtful presentation of the award, is more effective than cash in motivating workers to work, especially under large monetary incentives.

4.4. Perceptions

In this section, we investigate why red envelope and cash have different impact especially under large monetary incentives. According to Heyman and Ariely (2004), people response differently to payment in a social market compared to a monetary market. In social-market relationships, effort will be at a high level and insensitive to the increase of payment level. We expect that red envelope contains rich social and cultural meanings compared to the same amount of cash gift. Therefore, we explore whether participants perceive these two types of gifts differently. If so, how their perceptions drive their decisions.

In the post-experimental survey, we ask subjects about their perceptions of cash or red envelope in different treatments, and find that their impressions on these two types of gifts is quite different between LC and LRE¹⁴. Therefore, we will specifically focus on the comparison between LC and LRE.

Comparing the distribution of five reasons in Large Cash and Large Red Envelope, we find that the main difference comes from three reasons: reason 2-"appreciation", reason 3-"luck", and 4-"additional income". However, reason 3-"luck" is rarely chosen by subjects in cash treatment¹⁵. So we will focus on the perception of "appreciation" and "additional income". Figure 6 presents the percentage of choosing each reason in LC and LRE treatment. Specifically, under large amount, 60% of workers who

work quality. They run a hybrid lab-field experiment where participants entered survey data for a well-known charitable organization. Workers received either a high or low fixed wage framed as either fair or unfair. While the fairness manipulation did not affect the quantity or quality of work, the wage gift had an effect on the quality of the work but not the quantity.

¹⁴Figure B.3 in the Appendix B presents the distribution of each reason for favoring red envelope or cash bonus respectively. The reasons include (1) a nice surprise; (2) make me feel appreciated; (3) represent luck; (4) additional income; (5) other.

¹⁵Only 1.1% subjects in cash treatment choose "luck", which is significantly lower than those in red envelope treatment (15.39%, $p < 0.001$, two-sided test of proportions)

Table 4: Average Completion Rate

	(1)	(2)
Small Cash	−0.042 (0.067)	−0.031 (0.065)
Large Cash	−0.152** (0.075)	−0.168** (0.074)
Small RE	−0.021 (0.067)	−0.012 (0.066)
Large RE	0.049 (0.067)	0.054 (0.066)
First Stage Entry		0.007* (0.004)
Female		−0.022 (0.041)
Afternoon		−0.131* (0.072)
Night		−0.096** (0.047)
Constant	0.717*** (0.052)	0.649*** (0.105)
Observations	118	118
R ²	0.075	0.152

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. *p<0.1;
 p<0.05; *p<0.01

427 receive red envelope like it because they perceive an appreciation from this reward (vs
 428 31.11% in Cash, $p = 0.006$, two-sided test of proportions). In contrast, 37.78% of cash
 429 receivers report that they like the reward because of additional income (only 15.56%
 430 in Red Envelope, $p = 0.017$, two-sided test of proportions). This indicates that
 431 workers who receive cash reward pay more attention to their income. Suppose that
 432 subjects consider the sum of surprising gift and the first-stage payment as the income
 433 reference point, they would be less likely to participate in the additional task when
 434 the gap between reference point and the second-stage payment is large.¹⁶ However,
 435 red envelope may turn people's attention from income difference to appreciation,
 436 therefore, the negative impact of large reward may be alleviated.

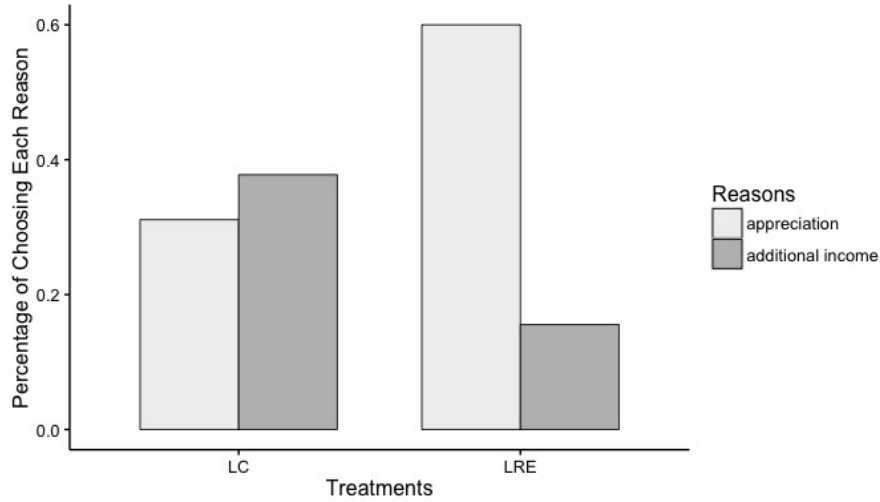


Figure 6: Reasons That People Like to Receive Cash or RE

437 To further investigate this conjecture, we investigate how the perception of large
 438 red envelope and cash affects participation in the additional task. Specifically,
 439 whether perception of appreciation and income play a role in individual decision-
 440 making. Tables 5 and table 6 report mediation tests for these two perceptions re-
 441 spectively. In table 5, the dependent variables in columns (1), (2) and (4) are the
 442 participation dummy, while in column (3) it is a dummy variable which indicates
 443 whether subject chooses "appreciation" as a reason for favoring red envelope/cash.
 444 The Large RE treatment dummy in Column (1) is positive and significant at 1% level,

¹⁶In fact, in the post-experiment survey, subjects who chose not to stay in the additional task reported that a major reason is that the wage in the additional task is too low.

445 suggesting that compared to large cash, subjects who receive large red envelope are
 446 more likely to participate in the additional task. The appreciation dummy in Col-
 447 umn (2) is also positive and significant at 1% level, indicating that those who believe
 448 that the gift, no matter whether it is cash or red envelope, represent appreciation,
 449 are more likely to participate. Furthermore, the positive and significant Large RE in
 450 Column (3) shows that compared to large cash, large red envelope is more likely to
 451 make people feel appreciated. Comparing column (4) with (1), we find that the when
 452 appreciation is added to the regression, the marginal effect of red envelope decreases
 453 from 0.298 to 0.234. This implies that subjects' perception of appreciation is one of
 454 the channels that help red envelope to promote the likelihood of participation.

455 Similarly, table 6 presents the effects of additional income. The first 4 columns
 456 are similar to table 5 except we change the appreciation dummy to income dummy.
 457 Comparing column (4) with (1), we find that the marginal coefficient of red envelope
 458 decreases from 0.298 to 0.260 after controlling for income. In column (5), we control
 459 for both appreciation and income, and find that the marginal effect of LRE further
 460 decreases to 0.199, and its effect becomes weakly significant. Altogether, these results
 461 show that perceiving appreciation more and monetary income less would make people
 462 more likely to participate in the additional task, and compared to large cash, large
 463 red envelope is more effective to promote such perceptions.

464 Further, we use bootstrapping method in Tingley et al. (2014) to test the medi-
 465 ation effects¹⁷. The mediation test for appreciation is significant. Specifically, the
 466 average causal mediation effect (ACME) is 0.072 ($p = 0.032$), which indicates that
 467 the indirect effect of mediation-appreciation is significant. The proportion of medi-
 468 ation effect is 25.886% ($p = 0.041$). The mediation test of additional income is not
 469 significant. Then we define a new mediation variable which indicates choosing ap-
 470 preciation while not choosing income¹⁸. It shows that the average causal mediation
 471 effect (ACME) becomes 0.108 ($p = 0.010$), and the proportion of mediation effect
 472 becomes 39.392% ($p = 0.017$). This implies that combining both appreciation and
 473 income perception together is a very important mediation for the causal effect of red
 474 envelope on participation.

475 **Result 4 (Perceptions of Gift Presentations)** *Under large amount, the cash re-*
 476 *ward in a red envelope is more likely to be perceived as the employer's appreciation*
 477 *and less likely to be perceived as additional income. These differences in perceptions*

¹⁷We use bootstrapping method instead of Sobel test because the Sobel test only have adequate power under large sample size, and only can be used for linear regression.

¹⁸When subject chooses appreciation and doesn't choose income, the value of this mediation variable is 1; Otherwise it's 0.

Table 5: Mediation Test of Appreciation Perception

	Participate	Participate	Appreciation	Participate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Large RE	0.298*** (0.105)		0.328*** (0.104)	0.234** (0.115)
Appreciation		0.334*** (0.105)		0.281** (0.113)
First Stage Entry	0.030*** (0.011)	0.023** (0.011)	0.019* (0.011)	0.027** (0.011)
Female	-0.035 (0.112)	0.002 (0.114)	-0.128 (0.111)	-0.001 (0.116)
Afternoon	0.094 (0.253)	0.171 (0.245)	-0.249 (0.202)	0.162 (0.247)
Night	0.036 (0.135)	0.094 (0.137)	-0.233* (0.130)	0.107 (0.142)
Observations	90	90	90	90
Log Likelihood	-55.156	-54.322	-54.606	-52.315

Note: This table reports the marginal effects. Standard errors are in parentheses. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 6: Mediation Test of Additional Income Perception

	Participate	Participate	Income	Participate	Participate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Large RE	0.298*** (0.105)		-0.205** (0.091)	0.260** (0.110)	0.199* (0.119)
Income		-0.280** (0.116)		-0.224* (0.125)	-0.201 (0.127)
Appreciation					0.268** (0.115)
First Stage Entry	0.030*** (0.011)	0.029*** (0.011)	0.006 (0.009)	0.032*** (0.011)	0.029** (0.012)
Female	-0.035 (0.112)	-0.034 (0.111)	0.001 (0.095)	-0.036 (0.113)	-0.002 (0.117)
Afternoon	0.094 (0.253)	0.097 (0.250)	0.030 (0.244)	0.084 (0.252)	0.147 (0.250)
Night	0.036 (0.135)	0.039 (0.132)	0.091 (0.106)	0.051 (0.136)	0.111 (0.142)
Observations	90	90	90	90	90
Log Likelihood	-55.156	-56.259	-48.553	-53.637	-51.113

Note: This table presents the marginal effects. Standard errors are in parentheses. *p<0.1;
 p<0.05; *p<0.01

478 *can at least partially explain the treatment difference between LRE and LC.*

479 In sum, our results show that how to present the gift matters, but the effect de-
480 pends on the amount. When the gift amount is small, the cash gift and cash enclosed
481 in a red envelope have similar impact on the worker’s performance. When the gift
482 amount is large, however, red envelope dominates cash across the board because of
483 the change of perception. In the appendix, we construct a simple behavioral model
484 to qualitatively illustrate the difference between LRE and LC, and show that the
485 larger amount the surprising gift, the less likely the subjects would participate in the
486 additional task. However, red envelope make people weight more on appreciation,
487 and if this effect is strong enough, people would still stay under the large incentive.

488 5. Conclusion

489 A variety of gifts have been used to promote employer’s productivity in the work-
490 place, In this study, we conduct a lab in the field experiment to quantify the effect
491 of red packet on worker’s behavior under different monetary sizes. We find that red
492 envelope is more effective than cash bonus for encouraging participants to stay in
493 additional task. More interestingly, it shows that the nature of gifts is particular im-
494 portant when the large incentive is used. Under large amount, workers who receive
495 red envelope are more likely to participate in the additional task and exert higher
496 work quality compared to those cash receivers. While there is no difference for these
497 two types of gifts under the small incentive.

498 We also observe that large cash induces negative incentive effect on participation.
499 One possible reason is that people may use their first-stage income including the
500 surprising gift as a reference point, thus when the second stage income is much
501 lower than the first-stage, they are less likely to participate. However, Red envelope
502 helps to motivate worker’s pro-social feelings and induce them to pay more attention
503 on appreciation feeling instead of monetary income. Therefore, such gift promotes
504 higher productivity of workers than cash.

505 Though we use red envelope in our experiment, this can be extended to studies
506 using other types of gifts. Altogether, our study implies that when referring to
507 incentive effect, not only the incentive size but the nature of gifts also matters.

508 It is important for employers to choose the right types of gifts with the appropriate
509 amount to achieve its efficient use.

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Appendix

Appendix A. Model

In this section, we propose a behavioral model to explain the findings in the experiment.

Appendix A.1. The Model

An employee decides whether she would like to participate in the additional entry task after she receives a surprise reward. If choosing to stay, then she will make a decision about how many copies she would enter and the effort exert to each copy.

Denote that an employee conditional on staying decides to enter additional survey with quantity q , and exert effort e to each copy. e can be also regarded as the proxy of entry quality of each survey copy¹⁹. The more efforts individual exerts in each copy, the higher quality (i.e. higher completion rate or lower error rate) the entered content is.

The employer receive a return which is associated with both quantity and quality of the entry work. The payoff of employer in the additional work is given by

$$v_P = e \cdot q - w \cdot q \quad (\text{A.1})$$

w is the wage paid to employee. The partial derivative of payoff with respect to quantity q is monotonic increasing with quality e . We underline that quantity and quality are actually complementary in the evaluation of work. In our situation, the survey copies entered by workers is useful for principal only when each of them has a low error rate or high completion rate. This payoff setting is also reasonable in many other workplaces.

The payoff of the employee is

$$v_A = w \cdot q - C \cdot e \quad (\text{A.2})$$

Where the C is the marginal cost of work effort. Since more elaborate work costs more time. Employees allocate their constrained time between quantity and quality. If they choose to enter a higher number of copies, they will exert fewer efforts in each single copy. In the other way, if they choose to do more elaborated work and

¹⁹In our experiment, it is the average completion rate of each survey copy by a worker.

increase quality, they have to enter fewer copies. The constraint condition is given by

$$q + b \cdot e = d \quad (\text{A.3})$$

Where b is the relative time consumption rate of quality to quantity²⁰. d is the total time constraint. The employee has a preference for reciprocal behavior. She has social preference and care about the employer's payoff²¹. The employee's utility is given by

$$u = m(\theta, \Delta w) \cdot v_P + (1 - m(\theta, \Delta w)) \cdot v_A \quad (\text{A.4})$$

Where m is the weight that individual puts on her employer's payoff. Accordingly, $1-m$ is the weight on her own payoff. Refer to Cox et al. (2007) that when agent has a higher emotional state toward the principal, he would care more about the principal's payoff. In our setting, the employee's emotional state toward the employer is determined by two elements: the emotional feeling when she receive surprising gift (θ) and the relative wage of additional task compared to the initial wage (Δw). Individual's weight on their social preference to employer is determined by:

$$m = \beta \cdot \theta + (1 - \beta) \cdot f(\Delta w) \quad (\text{A.5})$$

with

$$\theta = \lambda \cdot R + \kappa \quad (\text{A.6})$$

$$f(\Delta w) = \begin{cases} w - w_r, w > w_r \\ \sigma(w - w_r), w < w_r \end{cases} \quad (\text{A.7})$$

⁶⁵⁰ θ is a compound measurement of individual's emotion like happiness, pleasure,
⁶⁵¹ proud, etc. We indicate in (A.6) that the emotional feeling is a linear increasing
⁶⁵² function of surprise reward amount received by individual, R ²². λ is the marginal
⁶⁵³ effect of reward on emotion. κ is a constant intercept.

⁶⁵⁴ $f(\Delta w)$ is the reference-dependent utility of wage in which w_r is the reference
⁶⁵⁵ wage/reference point(Ockenfels et al. (2014), Cohn et al. (2014), Grund and Sliwka
⁶⁵⁶ (2007)). Similar with Sliwka and Werner (2017), we incorporate loss aversion as-
⁶⁵⁷ sumption that when employee obtains a wage lower than their reference wage, loss
⁶⁵⁸ increases much faster than gains. σ is the loss averse coefficient ($\sigma > 1$).

²⁰If we treat quantity and quality as two alternative production factors, b can also be regarded as the relative price of quality

²¹Dellavigna et al. (2016) underlines the important role of social preference in the incentive design of the workplace. It shows that workers behave substantial social preference to their employers. They exert more efforts when their work is associated with their employer's value, which shows a pattern of "warm glow".

²² $R \in \mathbf{R}^+$. In our experiment, R is a discrete variable, and $R \in \{5, 20\}$

659 β is the weight on emotional state. Similarly, $1-\beta$ is the weight on relative wage
660 income. Therefore, the weight of individual's social preference is determined by her
661 emotional state and relative wage income. This implies that employees would put a
662 higher weight on employer's utility either when they are in good mood temporarily
663 or receive a higher relative wage from employer. From Sliwka and Werner (2017),
664 employee's previous wage level has a propensity to become her reference wage and
665 has an influence on the work effort. We denote that the reference wage is the piece
666 rate employees have received in their initial stage work, i.e. $w_r = \frac{I+R}{N}$. I is the fixed
667 payment in the initial stage²³. N is the number of copies entered in the initial stage.

668 *Appendix A.2. Analysis*

669 Each employee maximizes her utility by deciding whether to stay, how many
670 copies to enter and the entry effort (quality) of each copy. Since it is a sequen-
671 tial decision process, we first concentrate on quantity and quality choice of stayed
672 employees, Then we use backward induction to analysis the participation decision.

The utility maximum problem of employee is given by

$$\begin{aligned} \max \quad & u = m(eq - wq) + (1 - m)(wq - Ce) \\ \text{st.} \quad & q + b \cdot e = d \end{aligned} \quad (\text{A.8})$$

673 **Lemma 1** *There is a threshold β^* such that: When $\beta > \beta^*$, the social preference*
674 *weight m is increasing with respect to the reward amount R ; When $\beta < \beta^*$, m is*
675 *decreasing with respect to R ; When $\beta = \beta^*$, m is a constant.*

Proof *In our setup, wage of employees is always lower than reference wage, hence they are loss averse. Combining (A.5), (A.6), (A.7):*

$$m = [\beta\lambda - \frac{(1-\beta)\sigma}{N}]R + \beta\kappa + (1-\beta)\sigma(w - \frac{I}{N}) \quad (\text{A.9})$$

676 *When $\beta > \beta^* = \frac{\sigma}{\lambda N + \sigma}$, m is linear increasing with respect to R ; When $\beta < \beta^*$, m is*
677 *decreasing with respect to R ; When $\beta = \beta^*$, m is a constant.*

678 The relationship between m and R is in Figure A.1. The slope of the linear
679 function is increasing as β increases. In Result section, we show that employees
680 who receive red envelope are more likely to have a perception of appreciation, good
681 luck and care less about monetary income than cash receivers. Therefore, it is
682 straightforward to assume that $\beta_{RE} > \beta_{Cash}$, i.e. workers who receive red envelope
683 have higher weight on their emotional state, while they would have higher weight on
684 relative wage income if receiving cash. Further, we make the following assumption.

²³In our experiment, $I=60\text{RMB}$.

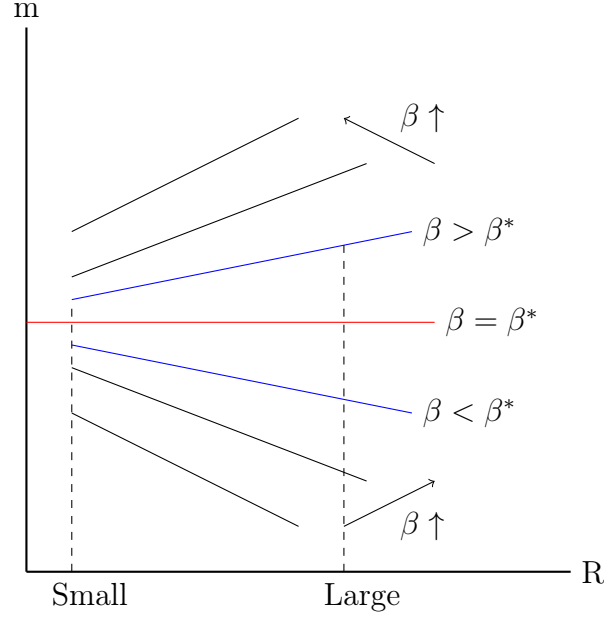


Figure A.1: Social preference weight m and reward amount R

685 **Assumption 1** The parameter β of an employee when receiving red envelope and
 686 receiving cash satisfies: $\beta_{RE} > \beta^* > \beta_{Cash}$.

687 **Proposition 1** If Assumption 1 holds: (1) When receiving cash, individual's work
 688 quality is decreasing with respect to R . While her work quantity is increasing with
 689 respect to R ; (2) When receiving red envelope, individual's work quality is increasing
 690 with respect to R . While her work quantity is decreasing with respect to R ; (3) under
 691 large reward size, individual's work quality is higher when receiving red envelope,
 692 while work quantity is higher when receiving cash.

Proof The first order condition of utility maximization problem in (8) with respect to q and e is

$$\begin{aligned} e^*(m) &= \frac{(2m-1)(b+C)}{2mb} \\ q^*(m) &= d - \frac{(2m-1)(b+C)}{2m} \end{aligned} \tag{A.10}$$

From lemma 1 and assumption 1, we can derive that under large reward amount

$m_{RE} > m_{Cash}$, which indicates

$$e^*(m_{RE}) > e^*(m_{Cash}), \quad q^*(m_{RE}) < q^*(m_{Cash}) \quad (\text{A.11})$$

693 This implies that individual would exert more effort to increase the work quality,
 694 while decrease the work quantity when they receive red envelope. When incentive
 695 size increases, m_{RE} is increasing with respect to R . While m_{Cash} is decreasing
 696 with respect to R . Therefore, $e^*(m_{Cash}(R))$ is decreasing with respect to R , i.e.
 697 workers who receive cash will exert less effort and decrease work quality when reward
 698 amount increases (Figure 5). In turn, $e^*(m_{RE}(R))$ is increasing with respect to R ,
 699 i.e. workers who receive red envelope will exert more effort and increase work quality
 700 when reward amount increases (Figure 5). $q^*(m_{RE}(R))$ is decreasing with respect
 701 to R , i.e. workers who receive red envelope will decrease work quantity when reward
 702 amount increases (Figure 4(B)). $q^*(m_{Cash}(R))$ is decreasing with respect to R , i.e.
 703 workers who receive cash will increase work quantity when reward amount increases
 704 (Figure 4(B)).

705 Conclusions of proposition 1 are consistent with the findings in the experiment. The
 706 intuition can be summarized as follows: Red envelope induces employees with higher
 707 perception of pro-social feeling like proud, happiness etc., and care less about their
 708 wage income inequality (i.e. RE induces a higher value of β). In this circumstances,
 709 employees would put more weight on their social preference for employers' payoff
 710 in utility function ($m \uparrow$). To maximize utility employees would take actions to re-
 711 ciprocate employers. In our setting, employers obtains more benefits from quality
 712 improvement than quantity improvement²⁴. Therefore, under time constraints em-
 713 ployees would increase the quality and decrease quantity.

Then we analyze the decision of participating in the additional work. When making decision of whether to stay, the utility function of individual is given by

$$U = u - \epsilon \quad (\text{A.12})$$

u is the utility function formalized in equation (A.4). We normalize the utility to zero when individual choose to quit. Otherwise she would obtain utility u net an opportunity cost ϵ . ϵ is a random variable which satisfies a CDF of $G(\cdot)$. The probability of staying is given by

$$P = Prob(u - \epsilon > 0) = G(m(e^*q^* - wq^*) + (1 - m)(wq^* - Ce^*)) \quad (\text{A.13})$$

²⁴When quantity increases, employers have to pay more wage to workers.

714 Where e^*, q^* are the optimal effort and quantity individual would choose when she
715 has stayed, which are presented in equation (A.10).

716 **Assumption 2** (1) $(b + C)(b + d) - 2bd > 0$; (2). The parameter β of an employee
717 when receiving cash satisfies: $\beta_{Cash} > \beta^{**25}$.

718 **Proposition 2** Under Assumption 1 and 2, individual's probability of participation
719 is increasing with respect to R when receiving red envelope, while decreasing with
720 respect to R when receiving cash.

Proof Combining (A.9) with (A.12), and taking the partial derivative of P with respect to m :

$$\frac{\partial P}{\partial m} = g \cdot \frac{1}{4m^2b} [-(b + C)^2 + 4m^2(b + C)(b + d) - 8m^2bd] = 0 \quad (\text{A.14})$$

$$m^* = \frac{b + C}{2\sqrt{(b + C)(b + d) - 2bd}} \quad (\text{A.15})$$

721 From Assumption 2 (1), when $m > m^*$, P is increasing with respect to m ; When
722 $m < m^*$, P is decreasing with respect to m . Assumption 2 (2) implies that $m_{Cash} >$
723 m^* always satisfies. Then $m_{RE} > m^*$ also satisfies. Therefore, P is increasing with
724 respect to m for both cash receivers and RE receivers. The relationship between P and
725 m is shown in Figure A.2. From lemma 1, m is increasing with respect to R when
726 receiving red envelope, which implies that P is increasing with respect to R when
727 receiving red envelope; Likewise, m is decreasing with respect to R when receiving
728 cash, which implies that P is decreasing with respect to R when receiving cash.

729 Proposition 2 indicates that when both Assumption 1 and 2 are satisfied, we can
730 obtain the participation rate pattern shown in Figure 4(A).

²⁵ $\beta^{**} = \frac{\frac{\sigma \bar{R}}{N} - \sigma(w - \frac{I}{N}) + \frac{b+C}{2\sqrt{(b+C)(b+d)-2bd}}}{(\lambda + \frac{\sigma}{N})\bar{R} + \kappa - \sigma(w - \frac{I}{N})}$, \bar{R} is the upper bound of cash reward amount. If $\bar{R} \rightarrow +\infty$, then $\beta^{**} = \beta^* = \frac{\sigma}{\lambda N + \sigma}$. Therefore, β_{Cash} which satisfies $\beta^{**} < \beta_{Cash} < \beta^*$ exists as long as $\bar{R} < +\infty$.

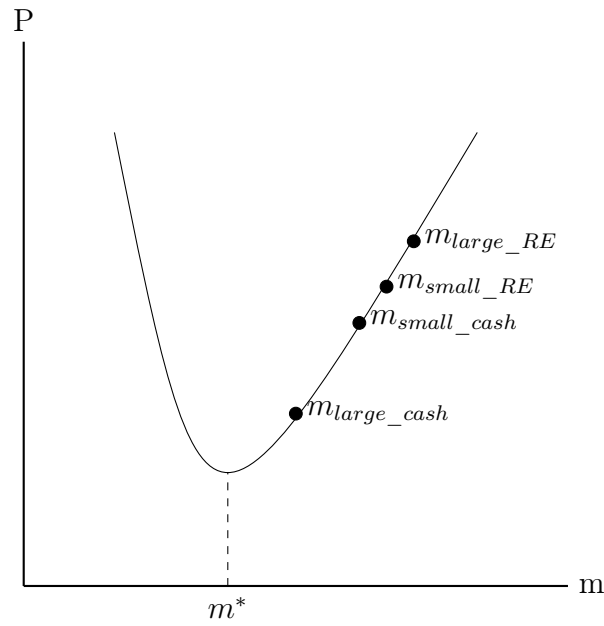


Figure A.2: Participation probability P and social preference weight m

731 Appendix B. Tables and Figures

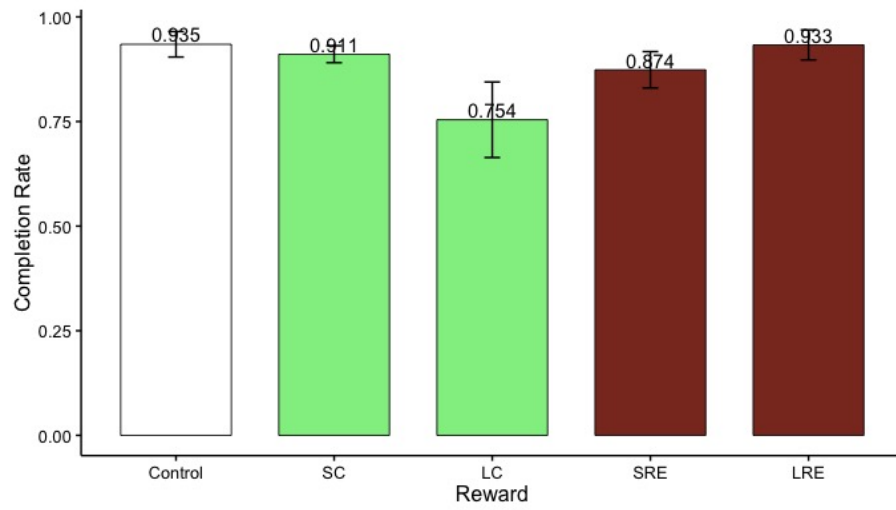


Figure B.1: Completion Rate in the Additional Work (95% Threshold)

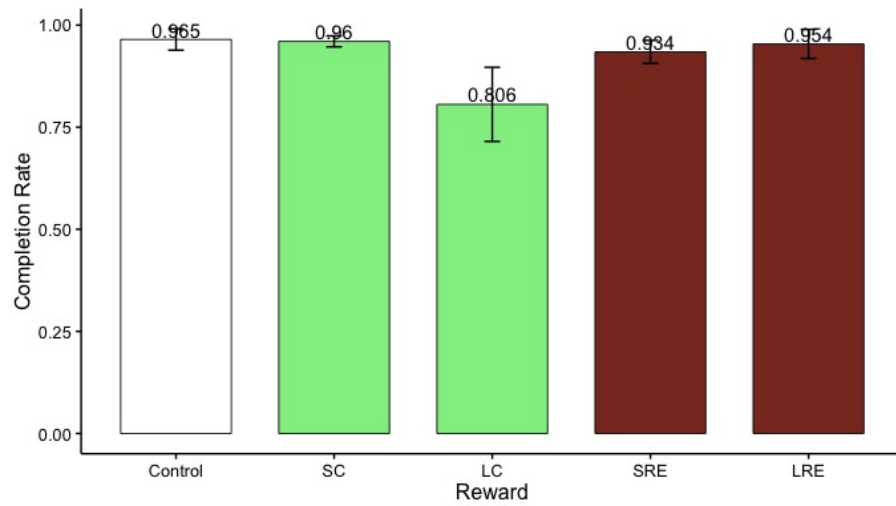


Figure B.2: Completion Rate in the Additional Work (90% Threshold)

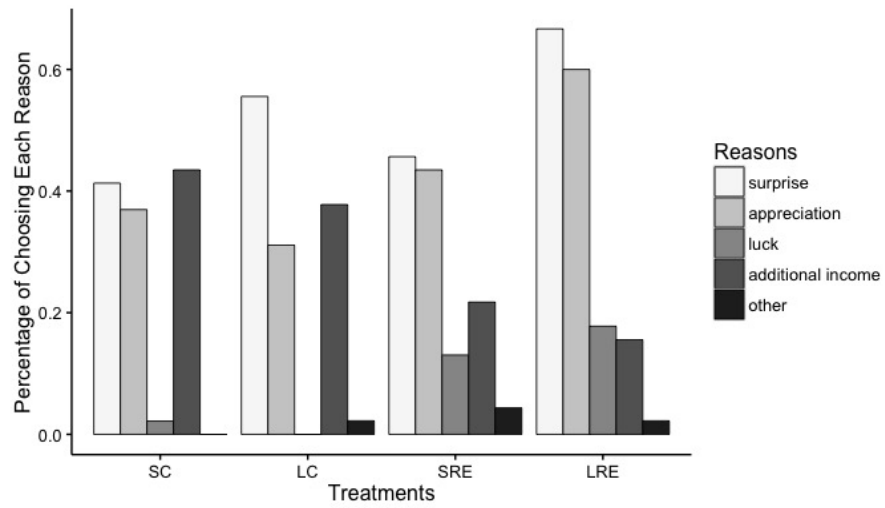


Figure B.3: Reasons That People Like to Receive Cash or RE

Table B.1: OLS Regression of Completion Rate in Additional Task on Treatments (95% Threshold)

	(1)	(2)
Small Cash	−0.024 (0.064)	−0.018 (0.064)
Large Cash	−0.180** (0.072)	−0.193*** (0.073)
Small RE	−0.061 (0.065)	−0.057 (0.065)
Large RE	−0.001 (0.064)	0.0003 (0.065)
First Stage Entry		0.006 (0.004)
Female		−0.030 (0.040)
Afternoon		−0.030 (0.071)
Night		−0.060 (0.046)
Constant	0.935*** (0.050)	0.869*** (0.103)
Observations	118	118
R ²	0.076	0.118

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. *p<0.1;
p<0.05; *p<0.01

Table B.2: OLS Regression of Completion Rate in Additional Task on Treatments (90% Threshold)

	(1)	(2)
Small Cash	−0.005 (0.058)	−0.001 (0.057)
Large Cash	−0.159** (0.064)	−0.173*** (0.065)
Small RE	−0.030 (0.058)	−0.028 (0.058)
Large RE	−0.011 (0.058)	−0.012 (0.058)
First Stage Entry		0.005* (0.003)
Female		−0.027 (0.036)
Afternoon		−0.012 (0.063)
Night		−0.037 (0.041)
Constant	0.965*** (0.045)	0.887*** (0.093)
Observations	118	118
R ²	0.074	0.112

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. *p<0.1;
 p<0.05; *p<0.01

Appendix C. Post-experiment Survey

Survey Questions

Name: _____ Gender: _____ Computer ID: _____

Thanks again for your participation in the RA work. To improve our work, we hope to invite you to finish this survey.

1. How did you feel in the first round of entry work?
 - (a) Extremely unhappy
 - (b) Unhappy
 - (c) Feeling nothing
 - (d) Happy
 - (e) Extremely happy
 - (f) If you have any other feelings, please describe them:
2. How did you feel when you received the 20 RMB cash bonus/5 RMB cash bonus/ 20 RMB red envelope/ 5 RMB red envelope reward? (Treatment Only)
 - (a) Extremely unhappy
 - (b) Unhappy
 - (c) Feeling nothing
 - (d) Happy
 - (e) Extremely happy
 - (f) If you have any other feelings, please describe them:
3. How did you feel in the second round of entry work? (For those who stayed only)
 - (a) Extremely unhappy
 - (b) Unhappy
 - (c) Feeling nothing
 - (d) Happy
 - (e) Extremely happy
 - (f) If you have any other feelings, please describe them:
4. Why did you choose to take participate in the additional work? (For those who stayed only)
5. Why did you choose to leave? (For those who left only)
6. How did you choose the number of copies in the additional work? (For those who stayed only)
7. Why do you like to receive red envelope/cash bonus? (Treatment only)
 - (a) It's a surprise

- 769 (b) I can feel appreciation and recognition from the employer
 770 (c) It is a symbol of happiness and luck in traditional Chinese culture
 771 (d) I can receive additional income
 772 (e) Other reasons
- 773 8. Which reward do you prefer, 5 RMB RE or 5 RMB cash? (RL, BL Treatments
 774 + Control Only)
 775 (a) 5 RMB RE
 776 (b) 5 RMB cash
 777 (c) They are indifferent
- 778 9. Which reward do you prefer, 20 RMB RE or 20 RMB cash? (RH, BH Treat-
 779 ments + Control Only)
 780 (a) 20 RMB RE
 781 (b) 20 RMB cash
 782 (c) They are indifferent

783 Appendix D. Experimental Instructions

784 *The contents of instructions are the same for all treatments except for those in*
 785 *square brackets, which are treatment specific.*

786 Announced Task

787 Welcome to participate in our survey entry work.

788 Do not talk to anyone or use the cell phone during the work. Please keep your
 789 phone silent or shut it down. If you have any questions, please raise up your hand.
 790 The staff will come to help you.

791 Attention: Do not mark on any questionnaires!

792 This work will last for 40 minutes. You will receive a payment of 60 RMB. The
 793 payment is offered when the time is up. The rules are as follows:

- 794 1. Open the Microsoft Excel file called "Survey Questionnaire" on your computer
 795 desktop.
- 796 2. You will receive 50 copies of ordered questionnaires. The number is on the top
 797 left.
- 798 3. Please enter the answer of the second question into the "content" column (high-
 799 light in yellow) of "Survey Questionnaire" spreadsheet. **Don't forget to save**
 800 **the file during the entry process.** Notice: Please enter the content in
 801 numerical sequence of the questionnaire. The sequence is not allowed to be
 802 changed!

803 4. This work will last for 40 minutes. We'll announce publicly when the time is
804 up.

805 (40 minutes later) The time is up. Please stop typing. Now We're going to offer
806 the payment.

807 **Surprising reward and invitation letter**

808 [*Control: Meanwhile, We have prepared a letter for every RA. Please read and*
809 *fill in the letter carefully.*

810 *BH: In return for your hard work, we will give you an additional 20 RMB cash*
811 *bonus. Please stay at your seat and wait for the staff to deliver the bonus. Meanwhile,*
812 *we have prepared a letter for every RA. Please read and fill in the letter carefully.*

813 *BL: In return for your hard work, we will give you an additional 5 RMB cash*
814 *bonus. Please stay at your seat and wait for the staff to deliver the bonus. Meanwhile,*
815 *we have prepared a letter for every RA. Please read and fill in the letter carefully.*

816 *RH: In return for your hard work, we will give you an additional RE reward.*
817 *Please stay at your seat and wait for the staff to deliver the reward. (Announce*
818 *publicly when all RAs have opened up their RE.) Everyone received 20 RMB in the*
819 *RE. Meanwhile, we have prepared a letter for every RA. Please read and fill in the*
820 *letter carefully.*

821 *RL: In return for your hard work, we will give you an additional RE reward.*
822 *Please stay at your seat and wait for the staff to deliver the reward. (Announce*
823 *publicly when all RAs have opened up their RE.) Everyone received 5 RMB in the*
824 *RE. Meanwhile, we have prepared a letter for every RA. Please read and fill in the*
825 *letter carefully.]*

826 Content of the letter:

827
828 *Thanks for your participation. There are some more copies of survey needed to be*
829 *entered. We will pay you 1 RMB per copy for this additional task.*

830 • *If you do not want to enter more copies, please write down zero. Then you can*
831 *leave.*

832 • *If you want to enter more copies, please write down the number of copies you*
833 *want to type (you can choose any number between 1 to 40 copies). If you choose*
834 *to enter y copies, then you are going to be paid y RMB when you finish your*
835 *work.*

836 *Please fill in the following information:*
837 *Name:_____ Student ID:_____ Computer Number:_____*
838 *I would like to enter_____copies.*
839 *Please hand in this sheet to our staff. Thank you.*

840
841 If your choice is zero copy, you can leave right now. If your choice is larger than
842 zero copy, please stay at your seat.

843 **Additional Task**

844 Thank you for participating in the additional entry task. The rules are as follows:

- 845 1. Please close "Survey Questionnaire" and open "Survey Questionnaire2" on your
846 desktop.
- 847 2. You will receive 40 copies of ordered new questionnaires.
- 848 3. Please enter the answer of the second question into the "content" column (high-
849 light in yellow) of "Survey Questionnaire2" spreadsheet. **Don't forget to**
850 **save the file during the entry process.** Notice: Please enter the content
851 in numerical sequence of the questionnaire. The sequence is not allowed to be
852 changed!
- 853 4. Please enter the number of copies you have written in the letter.
- 854 5. Please raise up your hand when you finish the work.