

Financial Incentives as Signals: Experimental Evidence from the Recruitment of Village Promoters in Uganda

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Motivation and objectives

- Two broad categories of *motivation*
- Intrinsic: how motivated an individual feels to accomplish a certain task.
- Extrinsic: rewards an individual gets for accomplishing a certain task, most often: money.
- Research question: to recruit people for a pro-social task (intrinsic motivation), do monetary incentives attract or crowd-out financial applicants?
- In particular, does signaling of financial incentives attract or crowd-out prosocial applicants?
- Freakonomics/Benabou-Tirole: when image reward is important, adding monetary incentives can actually be counter productive.

- Rural Uganda, 2010s.
- Objective: recruit community health workers who provide education (purely social) and sell items, some pro-social (mixed) and some not (purely financial)
- Mostly variable income, unpredictable and low.
- When advertising for the position, limit information on job characteristics, and randomize who gets info about max, mean and min of earnings distribution of CHW elsewhere.

Two separate experiments on different groups of people:

- Research design: advertise for community health worker (CHW) position and vary information given.
- Recruitment experiment: leads to actual recruiting and follow-up among micro finance clients (4,853)
- First stage: changes perception of financial reward linked to position.
- Second stage: changes what kind of people apply and get the job.
- Ultimately, impact on job performance and for some, survey.
- Information experiment: advertise for position in the same way and survey villagers (6,844), but no recruitment.

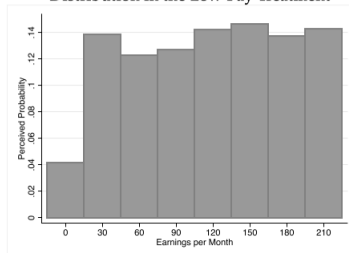
Results on perception of job earnings

Information experiment

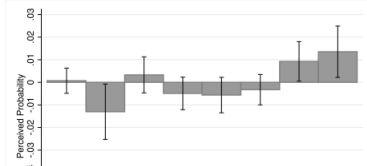
Outcomes: expected distribution of earnings.

Measurement: ask people to put a given number of beans in boxes representing earnings.

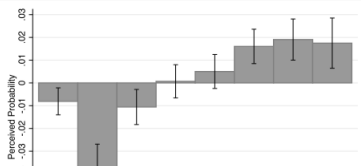
Distribution in the Low-Pay Treatment



Difference between Medium- and Low-Pay Treatment



Difference between High- and Low-Pay Treatment



Results on perception of job characteristics

Information experiment

Outcomes: perception of characteristics. Measurement: survey.

Table 3: Treatment Effects on other Perceived Job Attributes
[Information Experiment]

VARIABLES	(1) Job is perceived as a "private goal" (CHPs do the job for the money) more than a "social goal" (CHPs do the job to improve health conditions)	(2) Perceived proportion of time allocated to sales (vs. delivery of health services)	(3) Expected number of work hours in a "typical week"	(4) Perceived difficulty in selling products to community	(5) Perceived difficulty in improving people's health behavior	(6) Own perceived ability
Medium-Pay Treatment	-0.0033 (0.02)	0.0027 (0.01)	-0.0638 (0.34)	-0.0285 (0.04)	-0.0315 (0.05)	0.0286 (0.13)
High-Pay Treatment	0.0692*** (0.02)	0.0450*** (0.01)	0.1665 (0.35)	0.0008 (0.04)	-0.0236 (0.05)	0.1144 (0.14)
Mean dep var in Low-Pay T.	0.403	0.461	14.081	1.827	2.536	6.004
Obs. (# Respondents)	3,067	3,014	2,769	3,055	3,056	2,901
R-squared	0.282	0.293	0.384	0.266	0.217	0.259
<i>p-value Med=High</i>	0.002	0.000	0.544	0.444	0.867	0.483
<i>p-value Low=Med=High</i>	0.004	0.000	0.822	0.698	0.789	0.673

Results on recruited workers characteristics

Recruitment experiment

Results hold for applicants as well.

Table 6: Treatment Effects on Traits of the Health Promoters

[Recruitment Experiment, Sample = CHPs]

VARIABLES	CHP's prosocial preferences					CHP's interest in sales	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Amount donated (dictator game)	=1 if donated more than 0 (50th percentile)	=1 if donated more than .5 (85th percentile)	Has ever volunteered in the health sector	Community driven	Owens a shop	Has ever sold health-related products
Medium-Pay Treatment	-0.2399*** (0.07)	-0.2152*** (0.06)	-0.2159*** (0.06)	-0.0212 (0.07)	-0.1702** (0.07)	-0.0613 (0.06)	-0.0007 (0.06)
High-Pay Treatment	-0.2573*** (0.07)	-0.2125*** (0.06)	-0.2623*** (0.06)	-0.1108* (0.07)	-0.2677*** (0.07)	0.0584 (0.06)	0.0330 (0.06)
Mean of dep var in Low-Pay T.	0.463	0.611	0.526	0.347	0.695	0.283	0.221
Observations (# CHPs)	301	301	301	301	297	293	301
R-squared	0.255	0.309	0.312	0.046	0.174	0.143	0.156
<i>p-value Med=High</i>	0.703	0.965	0.406	0.151	0.146	0.045	0.546
<i>p-value Low=Med=High</i>	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.178	0.000	0.133	0.793

Note: Coefficients are OLS estimates. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** = 0.01, ** = 0.05, * = 0.1.

Results on job performance

Recruitment experiment

Outcome: length on the job and performance besides sales.

Table 7: Treatment Effects on Drop-out and Performance of CHPs
[Recruitment Experiment, Sample = CHPs]

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
	<i>DROP OUT</i>			<i>PERFORMANCE</i>											
	CHP has dropped out within two years of recruitment			Monthly sales profits			Number of households visited per month			Number of pre- and postnatal checks			Score given by BRAC to CHP overall performance (out of 10)		
Medium-Pay Treatment	0.0818 (-0.06)	0.0391 (0.06)	0.0827 (0.07)	-3.2843 (2.53)	-1.2695 (2.49)	-1.4013 (2.85)	-2.4506 (3.51)	0.6103 (3.56)	-1.1416 (3.65)	-0.8090 (0.66)	-0.1435 (0.66)	-0.2749 (0.70)	-0.6288* (0.34)	-0.4406 (0.34)	-0.3312 (0.39)
High-Pay Treatment	0.1359** (0.06)	0.0901 (0.06)	0.0953 (0.07)	-4.8243 (2.97)	-2.6637 (2.97)	-2.9253 (3.04)	-8.0721** (3.55)	-4.7896 (3.53)	-4.0527 (3.65)	-1.4528** (0.72)	-0.7391 (0.74)	-0.4547 (0.74)	-0.8210** (0.35)	-0.6228* (0.36)	-0.6251 (0.40)
Amount donated		-0.1782*** (0.05)	-0.1353** (0.06)		8.3973*** (2.79)	8.4848*** (2.91)		12.7578*** (3.69)	10.9888*** (4.02)		2.7739*** (0.69)	3.1343*** (0.70)		0.7836** (0.31)	0.9804** (0.39)
Ever volunteered in the health sector			-0.1299** (0.06)			4.0673 (2.63)			4.0498 (3.47)			1.6478** (0.71)			0.4169 (0.35)
Community driven			0.0460 (0.06)			-3.0813 (2.68)			-1.0483 (3.44)			-0.6795 (0.68)			-0.3345 (0.36)
Owns a shop			0.0610 (0.07)			4.0161 (4.10)			6.3491 (4.19)			-0.0151 (0.75)			-0.0268 (0.42)
Ever sold health-related products			-0.2300*** (0.07)			0.8803 (4.32)			5.1064 (3.89)			1.2062 (0.91)			0.8421* (0.43)
Controls	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Mean of dep var in Low-Pay T.	0.189	0.189	0.189	38.396	38.396	38.396	52.807	52.807	52.807	9.801	9.801	9.801	6.758	6.758	6.758
Observations (# CHPs)	301	301	271	301	301	271	301	301	271	301	301	271	297	297	268
R-squared	0.131	0.157	0.258	0.427	0.444	0.496	0.484	0.504	0.575	0.255	0.295	0.371	0.170	0.184	0.277

Discussion and conclusion

- Interesting paper. Is it really the first one to measure financial incentives as signaling?
- Randomization was well done, balances etc.
- Interesting that it can be done without lying, just modifying information given.
- How convinced are we that prosocial worker do their job better?
- The surprise effect still holds for me.