

# Class differences in social networks: Evidence from a referral experiment

Manuel Munoz,\* Ernesto Reuben,<sup>†\*</sup>Reha Tuncer<sup>‡</sup>

June 5, 2025

## Abstract

Lorem Ipsum ([Beaman, Keleher, & Magruder, 2018](#))

**JEL Classification:** C93, D03, D83, J24

**Keywords:** productivity beliefs, referrals, field experiment, skill identification, social class

\*Luxembourg Institute of Socio-Economic Research

<sup>†</sup>Division of Social Science, New York University Abu Dhabi

<sup>‡</sup>University of Luxembourg

10    **1    Introduction**

10

11    Equally qualified individuals may face very different labor market outcomes depending on    11  
12    their socioeconomic status ([Stansbury & Rodriguez, 2024](#)). A key driver of this inequality    12  
13    is due to differences in social capital,<sup>1</sup> with recent empirical work characterizing its most    13  
14    important facet as the “share of high-SES friends among individuals with low-SES” as    14  
15    it correlates strongly with labor market income ([Chetty et al., 2022b](#)). A lack of social    15  
16    capital means a lack of access to individuals with influential (higher paid) jobs and job    16  
17    opportunities. In economic terms, it implies having worse outcomes when using one’s    17  
18    network to find jobs conditional on the capacity on leveraging one’s social network.<sup>2</sup>    18

19    Referral hiring, the formal or informal process where firms ask workers to recommend    19  
20    qualified candidates for job opportunities, is a common labor market practice which    20  
21    makes evident the role of differences in social capital. As referrals must originate from    21  
22    the networks of referrers, the composition of referrer networks becomes a crucial channel    22  
23    that may propagate inequality: Similar individuals across socio-demographic charac-    23  
24    teristics tend to form connections at higher rates ([McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001](#)),    24  
25    making across SES (low-to-high) connections less likely than same-SES connec-    25  
26    tions ([Chetty et al., 2022b](#)). Referrals will thus reflect similarities in socio-demographic    26  
27    characteristics present in networks even in the absence of biases in the referral procedure,    27  
28    i.e., referring at random from one’s network according to some productivity criteria.    28

29    Yet, experimental evidence shows referrals can be biased even under substantial pay-    29  
30    for-performance incentives beyond what is attributable to differences in network composi-    30  
31    tions, at least for the case of gender ([Beaman et al., 2018; Hederos, Sandberg, Kvissberg, & Polano, 2025](#)). A similar bias against low-SES may further exacerbate outcomes of    31  
32    low-SES individuals: If job information are in the hands of a select few high-SES which    32  
33   

---

<sup>1</sup>See for example [Bourdieu \(1986\); Loury \(1977\)](#) for pioneering work on the relationship between social position and human capital acquisition.

<sup>2</sup>See for example [Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn \(1981\); Mouw \(2003\)](#) for differential outcomes while using contacts in job search, and [Pedulla and Pager \(2019\); Smith \(2005\)](#) specifically for the effects of race conditional on network use.

34 low-SES have already limited network access to (social capital hypothesis), and high-SES 34  
35 referrers are biased against low-SES, referring other high-SES at higher rates than their 35  
36 network composition, we should expect referral hiring to further disadvantage low-SES. 36  
37 The empirical question we answer is whether there is a bias against low-SES once we 37  
38 account for the network SES compositon in a controlled setting. 38

39 In this study, we study inequalities related to SES combining a university-wide cross- 39  
40 sectional network data set comprising over 4,500 students in which classroom interactions 40  
41 are recorded along with individual attributes. We focus on the role of SES in referrals 41  
42 by experimentally investigating whether individuals who are asked to refer a peer tend 42  
43 to refer a same-SES candidate. We also explore potential mechanisms behind referral 43  
44 patterns by randomizing participants into two different incentive structures. To this end, 44  
45 we conducted a lab-in-the-field experiment with 734 students in a Colombian university. 45  
46 Participants were instructed to refer a qualified student for tasks similar to the math and 46  
47 reading parts of the national university entry exam (equivalent of SAT in US system). 47  
48 To incentivize participants to refer qualified candidates, we set earnings dependent on 48  
49 referred candidates' actual university entry exam scores. 49

50 Referral hiring in the labor market can range from firm-level formal referral programs 50  
51 asking employees to bring candidates to simply passing on job opportunities between net- 51  
52 work members ([Topa, 2019](#)). As our participants are students at the university and refer 52  
53 based on exam scores, we abstract away from formal referral programs with defined job 53  
54 openings. Our setting instead resembles situations where contacts share opportunities 54  
55 with each other without the need for the referred candidate to take any action and with- 55  
56 out revealing the identity of the referrer. This eliminates reputational concerns as there 56  
57 is no hiring firm, and puts a lower bound on the expected reciprocity for the referrer in 57  
58 combination with pay-for-performance incentives ([Bandiera, Barankay, & Rasul, 2009](#); 58  
[Witte, 2021](#)). At the same time, referring based on university entry exam scores are still 59  
60 an objective, widely accepted measure of ability, and we show evidence that referrers in 60  
61 our setting not only possess accurate information about these signals but are also able 61  
62 to screen more productive individuals from their university network. 62

63 In a university setting, class attendance provides essential opportunities for face-to- 63  
64 face interaction between students. On the one hand, this reduces network segregation by 64  
65 providing ample opportunities to meet across-SES, because of the exposure to an equal 65  
66 or higher level of high-SES compared to the population (Chetty et al., 2022a).<sup>3</sup> On the 66  
67 other hand, as students take more and more classes together, their similarities across 67  
68 all observable characteristics tend to increase (Kossinets & Watts, 2009), which should 68  
69 drive the high- and low-SES networks to segregate. Our setting is ideal to study these 69  
70 opposing forces: First, The very high level of income inequality and existence of deeply 70  
71 rooted historical groups in Colombia makes SES differences extremely visible in access 71  
72 to tertiary education, where the rich and poor typically select into different institutions 72  
73 (Jaramillo-Echeverri & Álvarez, 2023). Yet, thanks to the particular standing of the 73  
74 institution we have chosen for this study (Figure 4), all SES groups including both low- 74  
75 and high-SES mix together in this university. Second, using administrative data, we are 75  
76 able to reconstruct 734 participants' complete university network based on the number 76  
77 of common courses they have taken together with other students. This allows directly 77  
78 identifying the individual characteristics of those getting referrals among all possible 78  
79 candidates, as well as descriptive characterizations of similarity (e.g., in same-SES share) 79  
80 in student networks as a function of the number of classes taken. 80

81 We find strong evidence that networks of high- and low-SES participants exhibit 81  
82 same-SES bias. Both groups are connected at higher rates with their own SES group 82  
83 than what would be at random given actual group shares at the university (Figure 1a). 83  
84 As students take more courses together within the same program, their networks dwindle 84  
85 in size (Figures 2a and 2b), and become more homogenous in SES-shares (Figure 1b). We 85  
86 identify selection into academic programs as a key mechanism. The private university 86  
87 where our study took place implements exogenous cost-based program pricing and does 87  
88 not offer SES-based price reductions. These result in programs with very large cost 88

---

<sup>3</sup>In a different sample from the same university population, Díaz, Munoz, Reuben, and Tuncer (2025) show this holds true for the highest-SES individuals at this institution, accounting for about 6% of their sample but less than 5% of Colombian high-school graduates Fergusson and Flórez (2021a).

89 differences within the same university (Figure 3a). We find that average yearly fee paid 89  
90 per student increases with SES, and the high-SES share in the most expensive program 90  
91 at the university, medicine, drives the network segregation across SES (Figure 3b). 91

92 Do segregated networks account for all the differences in SES referral rates across 92  
93 SES groups? Although same-SES referrals are 17% more common than is suggested by 93  
94 referrer networks, controlling for these, we find no general SES-bias against beyond what 94  
95 is attributable to network composition. Regardless of SES, participants refer productive 95  
96 individuals, and referred candidates are characterized by a very high number of courses 96  
97 taken together. The latter underlies the impact of program selection, where smaller 97  
98 and more homogenous parts of the networks are activated for referrals made in our 98  
99 setting. Our treatment randomized participants across two different incentive schemes 99  
100 by adding a substantial monetary bonus (\$25) for the referred candidate on top of the 100  
101 pay-for-performance incentives. We provide evidence that treatment incentives did not 101  
102 change the referral behavior across the same-SES referral rate, the number of courses 102  
103 taken together with the referral candidate, and the candidate's exam scores. 103

104 This paper contributes to the literature on referral experiments by solving the chal- 104  
105 lenge of observing the entire referral network. Earlier research could only compare re- 105  
106 ferrals made across different incentive structures or experimental instructions and make 106  
107 according conclusions. For example, when participants are paid on the basis of their 107  
108 referred candidate's productivity instead of receiving a fixed finder's fee (Beaman & 108  
109 Magruder, 2012), or when participants are restricted to refer either a male or female 109  
110 candidate instead of freely (Beaman et al., 2018). Pallais and Sands (2016) recruited a 110  
111 random sample of nonreferred workers to compare with referred ones, but none of the 111  
112 previous studies could provide a direct comparison of the referral choice set with those 112  
113 who were selected by participants. Closest to our work is the work of Hederos et al. 113  
114 (2025), who elicited friendship networks by asking referrers to name 5 friends. Their 114  
115 findings suggest only half of those who were referred were from the elicited friendship 115  
116 network, and thus is not a complete observation of the referral choice set. Although 116  
117 commonplace, censored elicitation methods also result in underestimating network ef- 117

118 fects ([Griffith, 2022](#)) and may suffer from biases in recall. We are able to take our 118  
119 analysis one step further by asking for referrals from the enrollment network, where we 119  
120 have complete information on every single connection that may or may not get a refer- 120  
121 ral. This allows us to neatly separate the effect of the network composition from any 121  
122 potential biases stemming from the referral procedure itself. 122

123 Second, we build upon to the earlier work on SES-biases in referrals. To our knowl- 123  
124 edge, the first to study SES-biases in referrals are [Díaz et al. \(2025\)](#), and our study 124  
125 is conceptually the closest to theirs. Drawing from a similar sample from the same 125  
126 institution, [Díaz et al. \(2025\)](#) focus on referrals from first year students made within 126  
127 mixed-program classrooms, and find no evidence for an aggregate bias against low-SES. 127  
128 We also find no aggregate bias against low-SES in referrals. Our setup differs as we sam- 128  
129 ple from students who completed their first year and impose no limits on referring from 129  
130 a classroom. This has several implications: We find that referrals in our setup go to in- 130  
131 dividuals within the same program, and that programs have different SES-shares which 131  
132 become more even more accentuated as students take more courses together. While 132  
133 networks drive inequality in referral outcomes because of the institutional environment 133  
134 in our sample, we have no reason to believe first year student networks in [Díaz et al.](#) 134  
135 ([2025](#)) have similar levels of segregation to begin with. Following the recent evidence, 135  
136 implementing more mixed-program courses which allow for across-SES mixing can be 136  
137 a clear policy goal ([Alan, Duysak, Kubilay, & Mumcu, 2023; Rohrer, Keller, & Elwert,](#) 137  
138 [2021](#)). 138

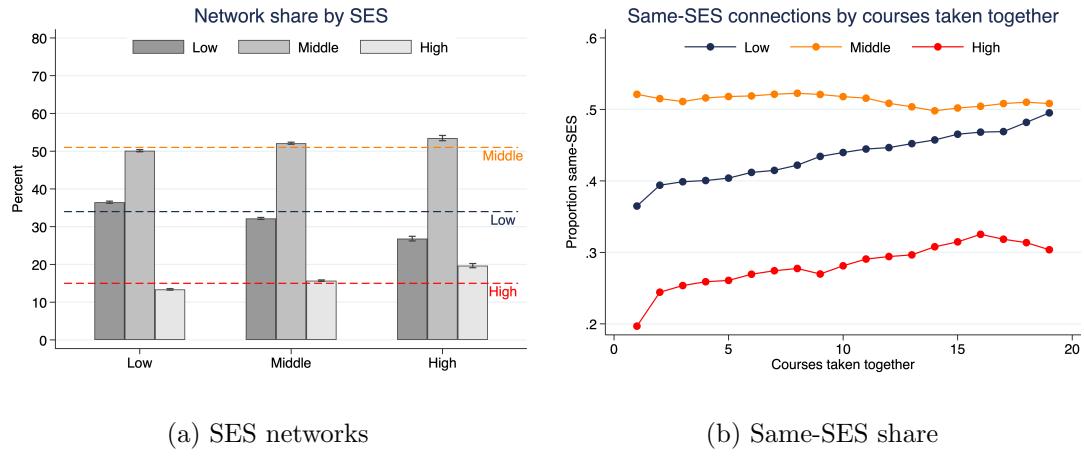
139 Finally, we contribute to the growing literature on SES differences in the labor mar- 139  
140 ket, expliciting the role of networks as a driver of inequality. [Stansbury and Rodriguez](#) 140  
141 ([2024](#)) find that low-SES researchers coauthor more often with other low-SES, and have 141  
142 networks that have lower values which can explain why 142

143 The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 begins with the back- 143  
144 ground and setting in Colombia. In Section 3 we present the design of the experiment. 144  
145 In Section 4 we describe the data and procedures. Section 5 discusses the results of the 145  
146 experiment. Section 6 concludes. The Appendix presents additional tables and figures 146

147 as well as the experiment instructions.

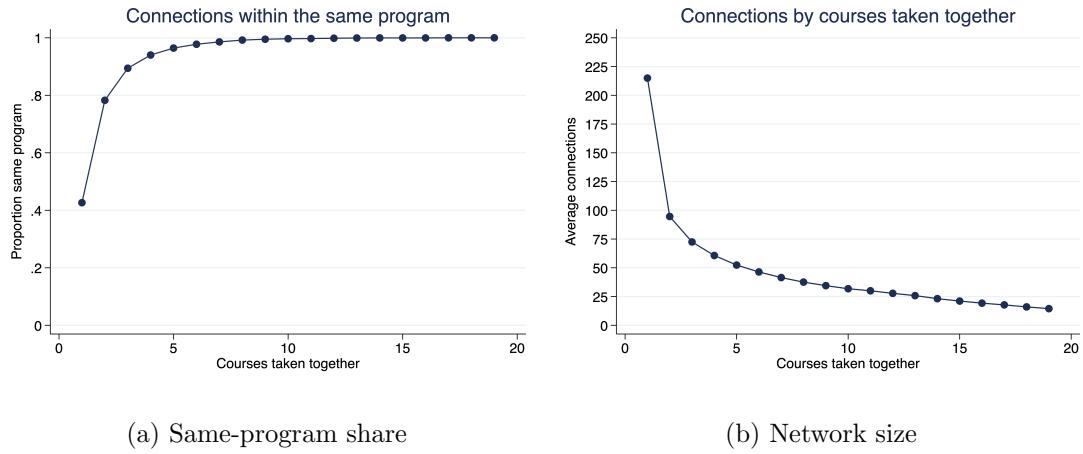
147

Figure 1: Networks of SES groups and same-SES segregation



*Note:* The left panel compares the network shares of SES groups in the networks of low-, middle-, and high-SES. Horizontal lines plot the university-wide shares of each SES group. While the share of low-SES peers in the network decreases as the SES of the group increases, the share of high-SES peers in the network increases. The right panel shows the average share of same-SES connections for low-, middle-, and high-SES as a function of the average number of courses taken together with network members. Low- and high-SES networks both become more homogenous as the average number of courses taken together with their connections increase.

Figure 2: Network characteristics and courses taken together

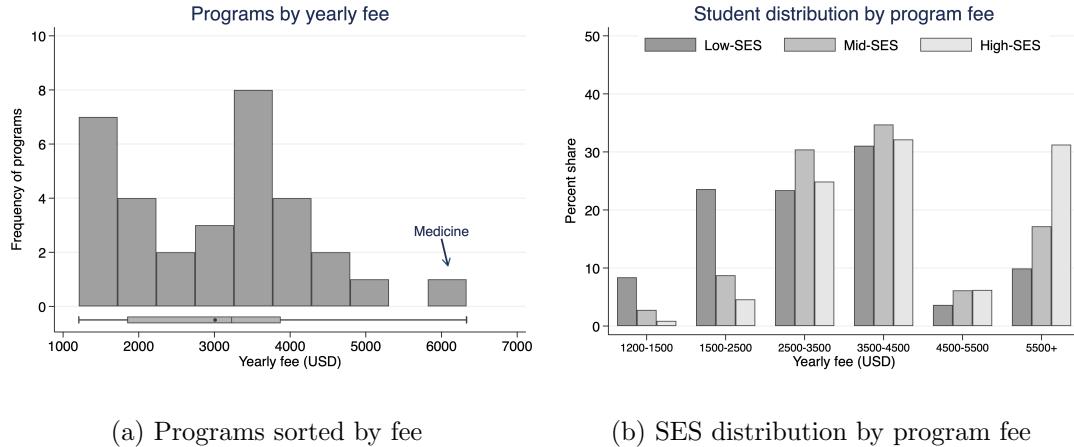


(a) Same-program share

(b) Network size

*Note:* The left panel illustrates the share of connections within the same program as a function of the number of courses taken together. The right panel shows the average network size as a function of the number of courses taken together. Taking more than 5 courses together with a network member means on average 90% chance to be in the same program. Similarly, past 5 courses together, the average network size dwindles by 80%, from more than 220 individuals to below 50.

Figure 3: University programs by yearly fee and SES distribution

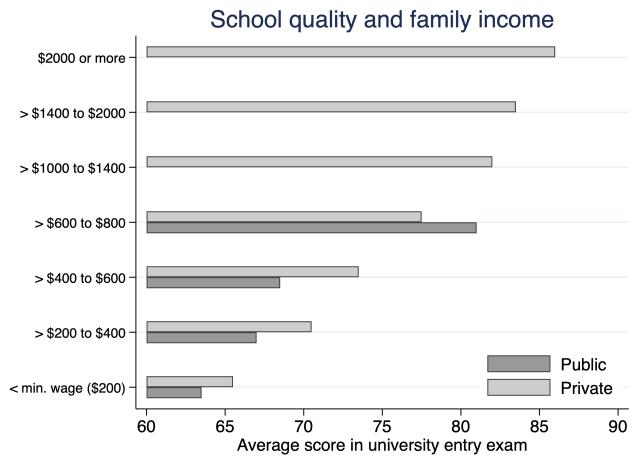


(a) Programs sorted by fee

(b) SES distribution by program fee

*Note:* The left panel shows the distribution of programs at the university by their average yearly fee. The right panel illustrates the distribution of each SES group across programs sorted by fee. As of 2025 net average monthly wage is around \$350 and the minimum legal wage is at \$200. The average yearly fee of programs stands at \$3000, and medicine is an extreme outlier at \$6000. Distributions of SES groups across programs show the majority of low-SES select into programs with below average cost, while high-SES select into programs with above average cost. Medicine accounts for a third of all high-SES students at this university.

Figure 4: Income, performance, and university choice in Colombia



*Note:* This figure shows the average score national university entry exam by family income and type of higher education institution. With average student score in the 65-70 band, the private university where we conducted this experiment caters to low- and high-SES students. Figure reproduced from [Fergusson and Flórez \(2021b\)](#).

## 148 2 Background and Setting

149 Our study takes place at UNAB, a medium-sized private university in Bucaramanga, 149  
 150 Colombia with approximately 6,000 enrolled students. The university's student body 150  
 151 is remarkably diverse with about 35% of the students classified as low-SES, and 15% 151  
 152 high-SES. Diversity at this institution provides a unique research setting, as Colombian 152  
 153 society is highly unequal and generally characterized by limited interaction between 153  
 154 social classes, with different socioeconomic groups separated by education and geographic 154  
 155 residence.<sup>4</sup> Despite significant financial barriers, many lower and middle-SES families 155  
 156 prioritize university education for their children ([Hudson & Library of Congress, 2010](#), p. 156

<sup>4</sup>Colombia has consistently ranked as one of the most unequal countries in Latin America ([World Bank, 2024](#)), with the richest decile earning 50 times more than the poorest decile ([United Nations, 2023](#)). This economic disparity is reflected by a highly stratified society with significant class inequalities and limited class mobility ([Angulo, Gaviria, Páez, & Azevedo, 2012](#); [García, Rodríguez, Sánchez, & Bedoya, 2015](#)).

157 103), with UNAB representing one of the few environments where sustained inter-SES 157  
158 contact occurs naturally (see Figure 4). 158

159 In 1994, Colombia introduced a nationwide classification system dividing the popu- 159  
160 lation into 6 strata based on housing characteristics and neighborhood amenities.<sup>5</sup> We 160  
161 use this classification as the measure of SES in our experiment: Students in strata 1 to 161  
162 2 are categorized as low-SES, strata 3 to 4 as middle-SES and those in strata 5 to 6 as 162  
163 high-SES. 163

164 We invited via email all 4,417 students who had at the time of recruitment completed 164  
165 their first year at the university to participate in our experiment. 837 students who joined 165  
166 (19%) display large variations in terms of their academic programs and SES. This setup 166  
167 provides a unique opportunity for collaborative inter-class contact on equal status, whose 167  
168 positive effects on reducing discrimination are casually documented (Lowe, 2021; Mousa, 168  
169 Rao, 2019). 169

---

<sup>5</sup>Initially designed for utility subsidies from higher strata (5 and 6) to support lower strata (1 to 3), it now extends to university fees and social program eligibility. Stratum 4 neither receives subsidies nor pays extra taxes. This stratification system largely aligns with and potentially reinforces existing social class divisions (Guevara S & Shields, 2019; Uribe-Mallarino, 2008).

<sub>170</sub> **3 Design**

<sub>170</sub>

<sub>171</sub> **4 Sample, Incentives, and Procedure**

<sub>171</sub>

<sub>172</sub> **5 Results**

<sub>172</sub>

<sub>173</sub> **5.1 Descriptives**

<sub>173</sub>

Table 1: Selection into the experiment

	<b>Admin Data</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b><i>p</i></b>
Reading score	62.651	65.183	0.000
Math score	63.973	67.477	0.000
GPA	3.958	4.012	0.000
Low-SES	0.343	0.410	0.000
Med-SES	0.505	0.499	0.763
High-SES	0.153	0.091	0.000
Female	0.567	0.530	0.060
Age	21.154	20.651	0.000
Observations	4,417	734	5,151

*Note:* This table compares characteristics between the full administrative sample and the experimental sample. *p*-values for binary outcomes (Low-SES, Med-SES, High-SES, Female) are from two-sample tests of proportions; for continuous variables, from two-sample *t*-tests with unequal variances. All reported *p*-values are two-tailed.

Table 2: Balance between treatments

	<b>Baseline</b>	<b>Bonus</b>	<i>p</i>
Reading score	64.712	65.693	0.134
Math score	67.366	67.597	0.780
GPA	4.003	4.021	0.445
# connections	173.40	176.88	0.574
Tie strength	3.939	3.719	0.443
Low-SES	0.419	0.401	0.615
Med-SES	0.492	0.506	0.714
High-SES	0.089	0.094	0.824
Female	0.529	0.531	0.947
Age	20.576	20.733	0.380
Observations	382	352	734

*Note:* This table presents balance tests between **Baseline** and **Bonus** conditions. *p*-values for binary outcomes are from two-sample tests of proportions; for continuous variables, from two-sample *t*-tests with unequal variances. All reported *p*-values are two-tailed. Tie strength refers to the number of classes taken together. # connections refers to the number of individuals in referrer choice sets, otherwise called the “network degree”. Low-SES, Med-SES, and High-SES are binary variables indicating the share of participants in estrato 1 and 2, 3 and 4, or 5 and 6, respectively.

Table 3: Distribution of referrals by area

Area	Only one referral	Both areas	Total
Verbal	65	608	673
Math	61	608	669
Total	126	1,216	1,342

*Note:* The table shows how many referrers made referrals in only one area versus both areas. “Only one referral” indicates individuals who made referrals exclusively in that area. “Both areas” shows individuals who made referrals in both verbal and math areas. The majority of referrers (608) made referrals in both areas.

Table 4: Summary statistics for network members by nomination status

	Verbal		Math	
	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred	Referred
Reading z-score	0.070 (0.003)	0.509 (0.039)	0.079 (0.003)	0.465 (0.040)
Math z-score	0.079 (0.003)	0.452 (0.042)	0.087 (0.003)	0.590 (0.043)
GPA z-score	-0.066 (0.003)	0.705 (0.041)	-0.069 (0.003)	0.711 (0.041)
Tie strength z-score	-0.153 (0.003)	2.690 (0.091)	-0.184 (0.003)	2.488 (0.090)
Low-SES	0.334 (0.001)	0.374 (0.019)	0.338 (0.001)	0.384 (0.019)
Med-SES	0.515 (0.001)	0.513 (0.019)	0.513 (0.001)	0.507 (0.019)
High-SES	0.151 (0.001)	0.113 (0.012)	0.149 (0.001)	0.109 (0.012)
Observations	128,174	673	127,481	669

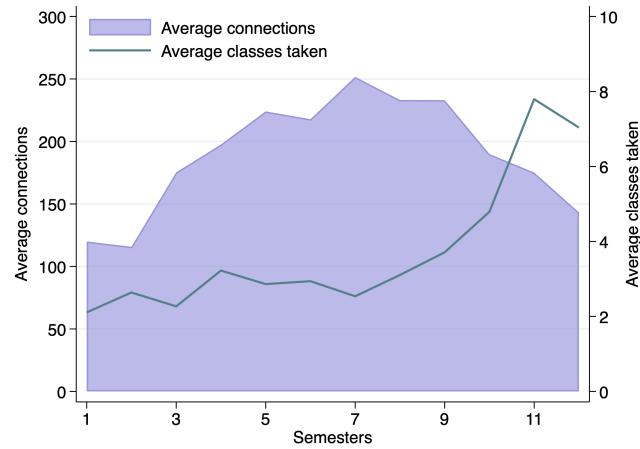
*Note:* Standard errors in parentheses. GPA, test scores, and tie strength are standardized at the network level. For each referrer's network, we first calculated the mean and standard deviation of each measure. We then computed the average of these means and standard deviations across all referrers. Each individual's score was standardized using these network-level statistics. The standardization formula is  $z = (x - \bar{x}_{network})/\sigma_{network}$ , where  $\bar{x}_{network}$  and  $\sigma_{network}$  are the average of network means and standard deviations, respectively. Low-SES, Med-SES, and High-SES are binary variables indicating the share of participants in estrato 1 and 2, 3 and 4, or 5 and 6, respectively. Tie strength measures the number of connections between individuals.

Table 5: Comparison of math and verbal scores by SES group and data source

	Math			Verbal		
	Network	Admin	Sample	Network	Admin	Sample
Low-SES	66.976 (0.052)	61.653 (0.346)	67.813 (0.694)	64.738 (0.043)	60.974 (0.274)	66.058 (0.574)
Mid-SES	65.627 (0.039)	64.531 (0.224)	66.859 (0.580)	63.685 (0.032)	63.154 (0.183)	64.779 (0.436)
High-SES	67.781 (0.077)	67.330 (0.416)	70.610 (1.295)	64.966 (0.063)	64.892 (0.341)	66.397 (1.214)
Observations	128,150	4,415	669	128,847	4,403	673

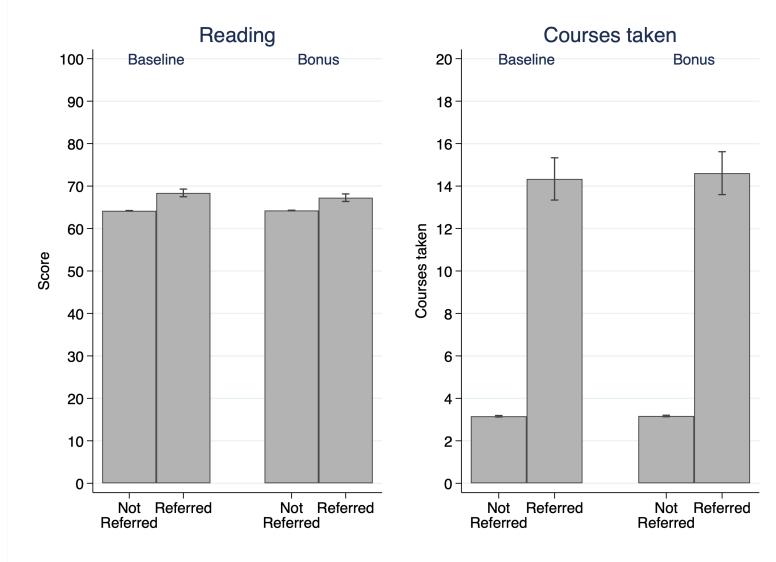
*Note:* Standard errors in parentheses. The table presents mean scores with standard errors for math and verbal tests across the entire network, the admin data, and the sample. Admin data consistently shows lower scores than both network and the sample across all SES groups consistent with selection, with the largest gaps occurring for the Low-SES. Differences between network and sample scores are generally smaller than those between either and the admin data.

Figure 5: Participant network size and tie strength by time spent at UNAB

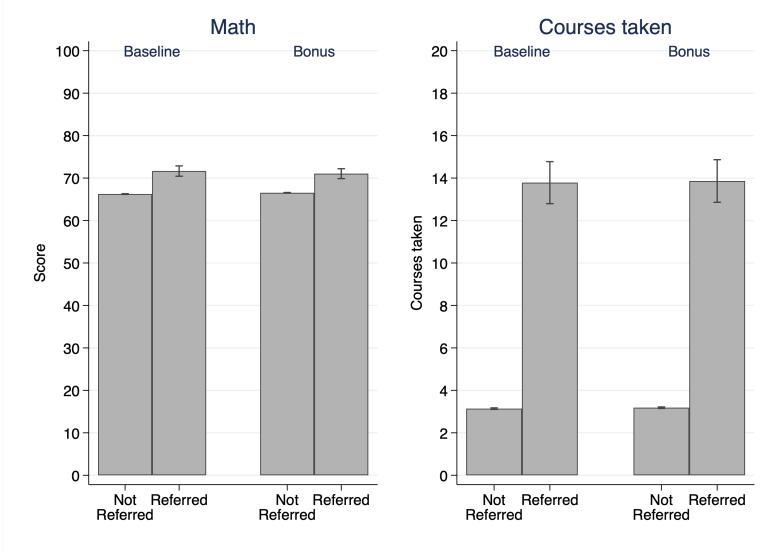


*Note:* This figure displays the average number of connections for referrers in blue and the average number of classes they have taken together with their connections in green across semesters spent at UNAB. The data shows an increase in the number of classes taken together as students progress in their programs, with the connections peaking around 7 semesters and dropping as certain students finish their bachelor's.

Figure 6: Effect of the Bonus on Referrals



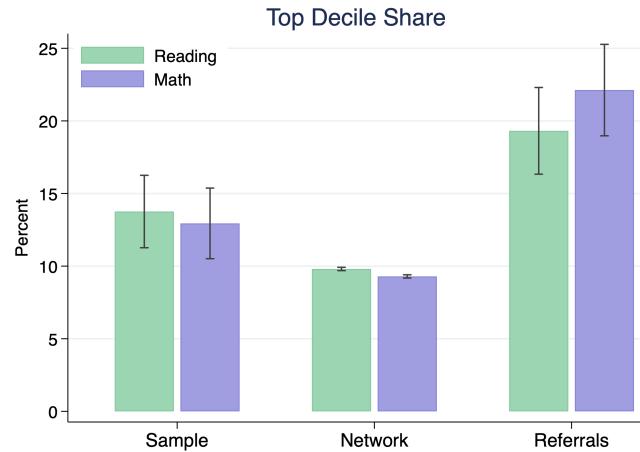
(a) Reading



(b) Math

*Note:* The top panel compares the reading scores and tie strength of referrals across conditions. The bottom panel shows the average standardized math and tie strength of referrals across conditions. We test differences in across conditions using two-sample *t*-tests and find no meaningful differences. For both math and reading, treatment causes no significant changes in referral performance or tie strength.

Figure 7: Top decile performer share across the sample, network and referrals



*Note:* This figure displays the percentage share of top decile individuals according to the admin data across three dimensions. First bar shows referrers in the sample of participants. Second bar is the share of top decile individuals in their networks. Third column shows the share of top decile among the referrals made. We test differences between proportions across these three groups using two-sample tests of proportions. For both math and reading scores, the differences between Sample and Network ( $p < 0.001$ ), Sample and Referrals ( $p < 0.005$ ), and Network and Referrals ( $p < 0.001$ ) are all statistically significant.

## 6 Conclusion

175 **References**

175

- 176 Alan, S., Duysak, E., Kibilay, E., & Mumcu, I. (2023). Social Exclusion and Ethnic 176  
177 Segregation in Schools: The Role of Teachers' Ethnic Prejudice. *The Review of 177  
178 Economics and Statistics*, 105(5), 1039–1054. doi: 10.1162/rest\_a\_01111 178
- 179 Angulo, R., Gaviria, A., Páez, G. N., & Azevedo, J. P. (2012). Movilidad social en 179  
180 colombia. *Documentos CEDE*. 180
- 181 Bandiera, O., Barankay, I., & Rasul, I. (2009). Social connections and incentives in the 181  
182 workplace: Evidence from personnel data. *Econometrica*, 77(4), 1047–1094. 182
- 183 Beaman, L., Keleher, N., & Magruder, J. (2018). Do Job Networks Disadvantage 183  
184 Women? Evidence from a Recruitment Experiment in Malawi. *Journal of Labor 184  
185 Economics*, 36(1), 121–157. doi: 10.1086/693869 185
- 186 Beaman, L., & Magruder, J. (2012). Who Gets the Job Referral? Evidence from a 186  
187 Social Networks Experiment. *American Economic Review*, 102(7), 3574–3593. 187  
188 doi: 10.1257/aer.102.7.3574 188
- 189 Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory 189  
190 and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York: Greenwood 190  
191 Press. 191
- 192 Chetty, R., Jackson, M. O., Kuchler, T., Stroebel, J., Hendren, N., Fluegge, R. B., ... 192  
193 Wernerfelt, N. (2022a). Social capital II: Determinants of economic connectedness. 193  
194 *Nature*, 608(7921), 122–134. doi: 10.1038/s41586-022-04997-3 194
- 195 Chetty, R., Jackson, M. O., Kuchler, T., Stroebel, J., Hendren, N., Fluegge, R. B., ... 195  
196 Wernerfelt, N. (2022b). Social capital I: Measurement and associations with 196  
197 economic mobility. *Nature*, 608(7921), 108–121. doi: 10.1038/s41586-022-04996-4 197
- 198 Díaz, J., Munoz, M., Reuben, E., & Tuncer, R. (2025, March). *Peer skill identification 198  
199 and social class: Evidence from a referral field experiment.* (Working Paper) 199
- 200 Fergusson, L., & Flórez, S. A. (2021a). Desigualdad educativa en colombia. In 200  
201 J. C. Cárdenas, L. Fergusson, & M. García-Villegas (Eds.), *La quinta puerta: De 201  
202 cómo la educación en colombia agudiza las desigualdades en lugar de remediarlas* 202

- 203 (pp. 81–114). Bogotá: Ariel. 203
- 204 Fergusson, L., & Flórez, S. A. (2021b). Distinción escolar. In J. C. Cárdenas, L. Fer- 204  
205 gusson, & M. García-Villegas (Eds.), *La quinta puerta: De cómo la educación en 205  
206 colombia agudiza las desigualdades en lugar de remediarlas* (pp. 81–114). Bogotá: 206  
207 Ariel. 207
- 208 García, S., Rodríguez, C., Sánchez, F., & Bedoya, J. G. (2015). La lotería de la 208  
209 cuna: La movilidad social a través de la educación en los municipios de colombia. 209  
210 *Documentos CEDE*. 210
- 211 Griffith, A. (2022). Name Your Friends, but Only Five? The Importance of Censoring in 211  
212 Peer Effects Estimates Using Social Network Data. *Journal of Labor Economics*. 212  
213 doi: 10.1086/717935 213
- 214 Guevara S, J. D., & Shields, R. (2019). Spatializing stratification: Bogotá. *Ardeth. A* 214  
215 *Magazine on the Power of the Project*(4), 223–236. 215
- 216 Hederos, K., Sandberg, A., Kvissberg, L., & Polano, E. (2025). Gender homophily 216  
217 in job referrals: Evidence from a field study among university students. *Labour* 217  
218 *Economics*, 92, 102662. 218
- 219 Hudson, R. A., & Library of Congress (Eds.). (2010). *Colombia: a country study* 219  
220 (5th ed.). Washington, D.C: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For 220  
221 sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, 221  
222 <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010009203/>. 222
- 223 Jaramillo-Echeverri, J., & Álvarez, A. (2023). *The Persistence of Segregation in Edu-* 223  
224 *cation: Evidence from Historical Elites and Ethnic Surnames in Colombia* (SSRN 224  
225 Scholarly Paper No. 4575894). Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. 225  
226 doi: 10.2139/ssrn.4575894 226
- 227 Kossinets, G., & Watts, D. J. (2009). Origins of homophily in an evolving social network. 227  
228 *American Journal of Sociology*, 115(2), 405–450. Retrieved from <https://www> 228  
229 [.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/599247](https://journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/599247) doi: 10.1086/599247 229
- 230 Lin, N., Ensel, W. M., & Vaughn, J. C. (1981). Social Resources and Strength of 230  
231 Ties: Structural Factors in Occupational Status Attainment. *American Sociological* 231

- 232                   *Review*, 46(4), 393–405. doi: 10.2307/2095260                   232
- 233   Loury, G. C. (1977). A dynamic theory of racial income differences. In P. A. Wallace                   233  
234                   & A. M. LaMond (Eds.), *Women, minorities, and employment discrimination*                   234  
235                   (pp. 153–186). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books. (Originally published as Dis-                   235  
236                   cussion Paper 225, Northwestern University, Center for Mathematical Studies in                   236  
237                   Economics and Management Science, 1976)                   237
- 238   Lowe, M. (2021). Types of contact: A field experiment on collaborative and adversarial                   238  
239                   caste integration. *American Economic Review*, 111(6), 1807–1844.                   239
- 240   McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily                   240  
241                   in social networks. *Annual review of sociology*, 27(1), 415–444.                   241
- 242   Mousa, S. (2020). Building social cohesion between christians and muslims through                   242  
243                   soccer in post-isis iraq. *Science*, 369(6505), 866–870.                   243
- 244   Mouw, T. (2003). Social Capital and Finding a Job: Do Contacts Matter? *American                   244  
245                   Sociological Review*, 68(6), 868–898. doi: 10.1177/000312240306800604                   245
- 246   Pallais, A., & Sands, E. G. (2016). Why the Referential Treatment? Evidence from                   246  
247                   Field Experiments on Referrals. *Journal of Political Economy*, 124(6), 1793–1828.                   247  
248                   doi: 10.1086/688850                   248
- 249   Pedulla, D. S., & Pager, D. (2019). Race and networks in the job search process.                   249  
250                   *American Sociological Review*, 84, 983-1012. doi: 10.1177/0003122419883255                   250
- 251   Rao, G. (2019). Familiarity does not breed contempt: Generosity, discrimination, and                   251  
252                   diversity in delhi schools. *American Economic Review*, 109(3), 774–809.                   252
- 253   Rohrer, J. M., Keller, T., & Elwert, F. (2021). Proximity can induce diverse friendships:                   253  
254                   A large randomized classroom experiment. *PLOS ONE*, 16(8), e0255097. doi:                   254  
255                   10.1371/journal.pone.0255097                   255
- 256   Smith, S. S. (2005). “Don’t put my name on it”: Social Capital Activation and Job-                   256  
257                   Finding Assistance among the Black Urban Poor. *American Journal of Sociology*,                   257  
258                   111(1), 1–57. doi: 10.1086/428814                   258
- 259   Stansbury, A., & Rodriguez, K. (2024). The class gap in career progression: Evidence                   259  
260                   from US academia. *Working Paper*.                   260

- 261 Topa, G. (2019). Social and spatial networks in labour markets. *Oxford Review of 261*  
262 *Economic Policy*, 35(4), 722–745. 262
- 263 United Nations. (2023). *Social panorama of latin america and the caribbean 263*  
264 *2023: labour inclusion as a key axis of inclusive social development.* 264
- 265 ECLAC and United Nations. Retrieved from <https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/68702-panorama-social-america-latina-caribe-2023-la-inclusion-laboral-como-eje-central> 265
- 266 266
- 267 267
- 268 Uribe-Mallarino, C. (2008). Estratificación social en bogotá: de la política pública a la 268  
269 dinámica de la segregación social. *Universitas humanistica*(65), 139–172. 269
- 270 Witte, M. (2021). Why do workers make job referrals? experimental evidence from 270  
271 ethiopia. *Working Paper.* 271
- 272 World Bank. (2024). *Regional poverty and inequality update spring 2024* 272  
273 (Poverty and Equity Global Practice Brief). Washington, D.C.: World 273  
274 Bank Group. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/099070124163525013/P17951815642cf06e1aec4155e4d8868269> 274
- 275 275

<sup>276</sup> **A Additional Figures and Tables**

<sup>276</sup>

<sup>277</sup> **A.1 Additional Figures**

<sup>277</sup>

278 **B Experiment**

278

279 We include the English version of the instructions used in Qualtrics. Participants saw 279  
280 the Spanish version. Horizontal lines in the text indicate page breaks and clarifying 280  
281 comments are inside brackets. 281

282 **Consent**

282

283 You have been invited to participate in this decision-making study. This study is directed 283  
284 by [omitted for anonymous review] and organized with the support of the Social Bee Lab 284  
285 (Social Behavior and Experimental Economics Laboratory) at UNAB. 285

286 In this study, we will pay **one (1)** out of every **ten (10)** participants, who will be 286  
287 randomly selected. Each selected person will receive a fixed payment of **70,000** (seventy 287  
288 thousand pesos) for completing the study. Additionally, they can earn up to **270,000** 288  
289 (two hundred and seventy thousand pesos), depending on their decisions. So, in total, 289  
290 if you are selected to receive payment, you can earn up to **340,000** (three hundred and 290  
291 forty thousand pesos) for completing this study. 291

292 If you are selected, you can claim your payment at any Banco de Bogotá office by 292  
293 presenting your ID. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you can leave the 293  
294 study at any time. If you withdraw before completing the study, you will not receive 294  
295 any payment. 295

296 The estimated duration of this study is 20 minutes. 296

297 The purpose of this study is to understand how people make decisions. For this, we will 297  
298 use administrative information from the university such as the SABER 11 test scores of 298  
299 various students (including you). Your responses will not be shared with anyone and your 299  
300 participation will not affect your academic records. To maintain strict confidentiality, the 300  
301 research results will not be associated at any time with information that could personally 301

302 identify you. 302

303 There are no risks associated with your participation in this study beyond everyday risks. 303  
304 However, if you wish to report any problems, you can contact Professor [omitted for 304  
305 anonymous review]. For questions related to your rights as a research study participant, 305  
306 you can contact the IRB office of [omitted for anonymous review]. 306

307 By selecting the option “I want to participate in the study” below, you give your con- 307  
308 sent to participate in this study and allow us to compare your responses with some 308  
309 administrative records from the university. 309

310 • I want to participate in the study [advances to next page] 310

311 • I do not want to participate in the study 311

---

312 \_\_\_\_\_ 312

## 313 Student Information 313

314 Please write your student code. In case you are enrolled in more than one program 314  
315 simultaneously, write the code of the first program you entered: 315

316 [Student ID code] 316

317 What semester are you currently in? 317

318 [Slider ranging from 1 to 11] 318

---

319 \_\_\_\_\_ 319

320 [Random assignment to treatment or control] 320

321 **Instructions**

321

322 The instructions for this study are presented in the following video. Please watch it 322  
323 carefully. We will explain your participation and how earnings are determined if you are 323  
324 selected to receive payment. 324

325 [Treatment-specific instructions in video format] 325

326 If you want to read the text of the instructions narrated in the video, press the “Read 326  
327 instruction text” button. Also know that in each question, there will be a button with 327  
328 information that will remind you if that question has earnings and how it is calculated, 328  
329 in case you have any doubts. 329

330 • I want to read the instructions text [text version below] 330

331 ————— 331

332 In this study, you will respond to three types of questions. First, are the belief questions. 332  
333 For belief questions, we will use as reference the results of the SABER 11 test that you 333  
334 and other students took to enter the university, focused on three areas of the exam: 334  
335 mathematics, reading, and English. 335

336 For each area, we will take the scores of all university students and order them from 336  
337 lowest to highest. We will then group them into 100 percentiles. The percentile is a 337  
338 position measure that indicates the percentage of students with an exam score that is 338  
339 above or below a value. 339

340 For example, if your score in mathematics is in the 20th percentile, it means that 20 340  
341 percent of university students have a score lower than yours and the remaining 80 percent 341  
342 have a higher score. A sample belief question is: “compared to university students, in 342  
343 what percentile is your score for mathematics?” 343

344 If your answer is correct, you can earn 20 thousand pesos. We say your answer is correct 344

345 if the difference between the percentile you suggest and the actual percentile of your 345  
346 score is not greater than 7 units. For example, if you have a score that is in the 33rd 346  
347 percentile and you say it is in the 38th, the answer is correct because the difference is 347  
348 less than 7. But if you answer that it is in the 41st, the difference is greater than 7 and 348  
349 the answer is incorrect. 349

350 The second type of questions are recommendation questions and are also based on the 350  
351 mathematics, reading, and English areas of the SABER 11 test. We will ask you to think 351  
352 about the students with whom you have taken or are taking classes, to recommend from 352  
353 among them the person you consider best at solving problems similar to those on the 353  
354 SABER 11 test. 354

355 When you start typing the name of your recommended person, the computer will show 355  
356 suggestions with the full name, program, and university entry year of different students. 356  
357 Choose the person you want to recommend. If the name doesn't appear, check that you 357  
358 are writing it correctly. Do not use accents and use 'n' instead of 'ñ'. If it still doesn't 358  
359 appear, it may be because that person is not enrolled this semester or because they did 359  
360 not take the SABER 11 test. In that case, recommend someone else. 360

361 You can earn up to 250,000 pesos for your recommendation. We will multiply your 361  
362 recommended person's score by 100 pesos if they are in the first 50 percentiles. We will 362  
363 multiply it by 500 pesos if your recommended person's score is between the 51st and 363  
364 65th percentile. If it is between the 66th and 80th percentile, we will multiply your 364  
365 recommended person's score by 1000 pesos. If the score is between the 81st and 90th 365  
366 percentile, you earn 1500 pesos multiplied by your recommended person's score. And if 366  
367 the score is between the 91st and 100th percentile, we will multiply your recommended 367  
368 person's score by 2500 pesos to determine the earnings. 368

369 The third type of questions are information questions and focus on aspects of your 369  
370 personal life or your relationship with the people you have recommended. 370

371 **Earnings**

371

372 Now we will explain who gets paid for participating and how the earnings for this study 372  
373 are assigned. The computer will randomly select one out of every 10 participants to pay 373  
374 for their responses. For selected individuals, the computer will randomly choose one of 374  
375 the three areas, and from that chosen area, it will pay for one of the belief questions. 375

376 Similarly, the computer will randomly select one of the three areas to pay for one of the 376  
377 recommendation questions. 377

378 **Additionally, if you are selected to receive payment, your recommended per- 378  
379 son in the chosen area will receive a fixed payment of 100 thousand pesos. 379  
380 [Only seen if assigned to the treatment]** 380

381 Each person selected to receive payment for this study can earn: up to 20 thousand pesos 381  
382 for one of the belief questions, up to 250 thousand pesos for one of the recommendation 382  
383 questions, and a fixed payment of 70 thousand pesos for completing the study. 383

384 Selected individuals can earn up to 340 thousand pesos. 384

---

385 \_\_\_\_\_ 385

386 [Participants go through all three Subject Areas in randomized order] 386

387 **Subject Areas**

387

388 **Critical Reading**

388

389 For this section, we will use as reference the Critical Reading test from SABER 11, which 389  
390 evaluates the necessary competencies to understand, interpret, and evaluate texts that 390  
391 can be found in everyday life and in non-specialized academic fields. 391

392 [Clicking shows the example question from SABER 11 below] 392

393 Although the democratic political tradition dates back to ancient Greece, political 393  
394 thinkers did not address the democratic cause until the 19th century. Until then, democ- 394  
395 racy had been rejected as the government of the ignorant and unenlightened masses. 395  
396 Today it seems that we have all become democrats without having solid arguments in 396  
397 favor. Liberals, conservatives, socialists, communists, anarchists, and even fascists have 397  
398 rushed to proclaim the virtues of democracy and to show their democratic credentials 398  
399 (Andrew Heywood). According to the text, which political positions identify themselves 399  
400 as democratic? 400

- 401     • Only political positions that are not extremist 401  
402     • The most recent political positions historically 402  
403     • The majority of existing political positions 403  
404     • The totality of possible political currents 404

405 —————— 405

## 406 Mathematics 406

407 This section references the Mathematics test from SABER 11, which evaluates people's 407  
408 competencies to face situations that can be resolved using certain mathematical tools. 408

409 [Clicking shows the example question from SABER 11 below] 409

410 A person living in Colombia has investments in dollars in the United States and knows 410  
411 that the exchange rate of the dollar against the Colombian peso will remain constant 411  
412 this month, with 1 dollar equivalent to 2,000 Colombian pesos. Their investment, in 412  
413 dollars, will yield profits of 3% in the same period. A friend assures them that their 413  
414 profits in pesos will also be 3%. Their friend's statement is: 414

- 415     • Correct. The proportion in which the investment increases in dollars is the same 415  
416         as in pesos. 416

- 417        • Incorrect. The exact value of the investment should be known.                  417
- 418        • Correct. 3% is a fixed proportion in either currency.                  418
- 419        • Incorrect. 3% is a larger increase in Colombian pesos.                  419

420        

---

                  420

421        **English**                  421

422        This section uses the English test from SABER 11 as a reference, which evaluates that    422  
423        the person demonstrates their communicative abilities in reading and language use in    423  
424        this language.                  424

425        [Clicking shows the example question from SABER 11 below]                  425

426        Complete the conversations by marking the correct option.                  426

- 427        • Conversation 1: I can't eat a cold sandwich. It is horrible!                  427
- 428            – I hope so.                  428
- 429            – I agree.                  429
- 430            – I am not.                  430

- 431        • Conversation 2: It rained a lot last night!                  431
- 432            – Did you accept?                  432
- 433            – Did you understand?                  433
- 434            – Did you sleep?                  434

435        

---

                  435

436        [Following parts are identical for all Subject Areas and are not repeated here for brevity]    436

437 **Your Score**

437

438 Compared to university students, in which percentile do you think your [Subject Area] 438  
439 test score falls (1 is the lowest percentile and 100 the highest)? 439

440 [Clicking shows the explanations below] 440

441 How is a percentile calculated? 441

442 A percentile is a position measurement. To calculate it, we take the test scores for all 442  
443 students currently enrolled in the university and order them from lowest to highest. The 443  
444 percentile value you choose refers to the percentage of students whose score is below 444  
445 yours. For example, if you choose the 20th percentile, you're indicating that 20% of 445  
446 students have a score lower than yours and the remaining 80% have a score higher than 446  
447 yours. 447

448 What can I earn for this question? 448

449 For your answer, you can earn **20,000 (twenty thousand) PESOS**, but only if the 449  
450 difference between your response and the correct percentile is less than 7. For example, if 450  
451 the percentile where your score falls is 33 and you respond with 38 (or 28), the difference 451  
452 is 5 and the answer is considered correct. But if you respond with 41 or more (or 25 or 452  
453 less), for example, the difference would be greater than 7 and the answer is incorrect. 453

454 Please move the sphere to indicate which percentile you think your score falls in: 454

455 [Slider with values from 0 to 100] 455

456 

---

 456

457 **Recommendation**

457

458 Among the people with whom you have taken any class at the university, who is your 458  
459 recommendation for the [Subject Area] test? Please write that person's name in the 459  
460 box below: 460

461 **Important:** You will not be considered for payment unless the recommended 461  
462 person is someone with whom you have taken at least one class during your 462  
463 studies. 463

464 Your response is only a recommendation for the purposes of this study and we will **not** 464  
465 contact your recommended person at any time. 465

466 [Clicking shows the explanations below] 466

467 Who can I recommend? 467

468 Your recommendation **must** be someone with whom you have taken (or are taking) a 468  
469 class. If not, your answer will not be considered for payment. The person you recommend 469  
470 will not be contacted or receive any benefit from your recommendation. 470

471 As you write, you will see up to 7 suggested student names containing the letters you 471  
472 have entered. The more you write, the more accurate the suggestions will be. Please 472  
473 write **without** accents and use the letter 'n' instead of 'ñ'. If the name of the person 473  
474 you're writing doesn't appear, it could be because you made an error while writing the 474  
475 name. 475

476 If the name is correct and still doesn't appear, it could be because the student is not en- 476  
477 rolled this semester or didn't take the SABER 11 test. In that case, you must recommend 477  
478 someone else. 478

479 My earnings for this question? 479

480 For your recommendation, you could receive earnings of up to 250,000 (two hundred and 480  
481 fifty thousand) PESOS. The earnings are calculated based on your recommendation's 481  
482 score and the percentile of that score compared to other UNAB students, as follows: 482

- 483 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$100 (one hundred) pesos if it's 483  
484 between the 1st and 50th percentiles 484
- 485 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$500 (five hundred) pesos if it's 485  
486 between the 51st and 65th percentiles 486
- 487 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$1000 (one thousand) pesos if 487  
488 it's between the 66th and 80th percentiles 488
- 489 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$1500 (one thousand five hun- 489  
490 dred) pesos if it's between the 81st and 90th percentiles 490
- 491 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$2500 (two thousand five hun- 491  
492 dred) pesos if it's between the 91st and 100th percentiles 492

493 This is illustrated in the image below: 493

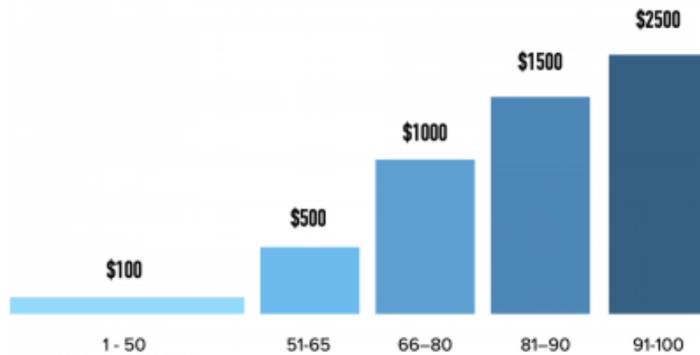


Figure B.1: Earnings for recommendation questions

494 For example, if your recommendation got 54 points and the score is in the 48th percentile, 494

495 you could earn  $54 \times 100 = 5400$  PESOS. But, if the same score of 54 points were in the 495  
496 98th percentile, you could earn  $54 \times 2500 = 135,000$  PESOS. 496

497 [Text field with student name suggestions popping up as participant types] 497

498 \_\_\_\_\_ 498

## 499 **Relationship with your recommendation** 499

500 How close is your relationship with your recommendedation: “[Name of the student 500  
501 selected from earlier]”? (0 indicates you are barely acquaintances and 10 means you are 501  
502 very close) 502

503 [Slider with values from 0 to 10] 503

504 \_\_\_\_\_ 504

## 505 **Your recommendation's score** 505

506 Compared to university students, in which percentile do you think [Name of the student 506  
507 selected from earlier]’s score falls in the **[Subject Area]** test (1 is the lowest percentile 507  
508 and 100 the highest)? 508

509 [Clicking shows the explanations below] 509

510 How is a percentile calculated? 510

511 A percentile is a position measurement. To calculate it, we take the test scores for all 511  
512 students currently enrolled in the university and order them from lowest to highest. The 512  
513 percentile value you choose refers to the percentage of students whose score is below 513  
514 yours. For example, if you choose the 20th percentile, you’re indicating that 20% of 514  
515 students have a score lower than yours and the remaining 80% have a score higher than 515  
516 yours. 516

517 What can I earn for this question?

517

518 For your answer, you can earn **20,000 (twenty thousand) PESOS**, but only if the 518  
519 difference between your response and the correct percentile is less than 7. For example, 519  
520 if the percentile where your recommended person's score falls is 33 and you respond with 520  
521 38 (or 28), the difference is 5 and the answer is considered correct. But if you respond 521  
522 with 41 or more (or 25 or less), for example, the difference would be greater than 7 and 522  
523 the answer is incorrect. 523

524 Please move the sphere to indicate which percentile you think your recommended per- 524  
525 son's score falls in: 525

526 [Slider with values from 0 to 100] 526

527 ————— 527

## 528 Demographic Information 528

529 What is the highest level of education achieved by your father? 529

530 [Primary, High School, University, Graduate Studies, Not Applicable] 530

531 What is the highest level of education achieved by your mother? 531

532 [Primary, High School, University, Graduate Studies, Not Applicable] 532

533 Please indicate the socio-economic group to which your family belongs: 533

534 [Group A (Strata 1 or 2), Group B (Strata 3 or 4), Group C (Strata 5 or 6)] 534

535 ————— 535

## 536 UNAB Students Distribution

536

537 Thinking about UNAB students, in your opinion, what percentage belongs to each socio- 537  
538 economic group? The total must sum to 100%: 538

539 [Group A (Strata 1 or 2) percentage input area] 539  
540 [Group B (Strata 3 or 4) percentage input area] 540  
541 [Group C (Strata 5 or 6) percentage input area] 541  
542 [Shows sum of above percentages] 542

---

543 \_\_\_\_\_ 543

## 544 End of the Experiment

544

545 Thank you for participating in this study. 545

546 If you are chosen to receive payment for your participation, you will receive a confirma- 546  
547 tion to your UNAB email and a link to fill out a form with your information. The process 547  
548 of processing payments is done through Nequi and takes approximately 15 business days, 548  
549 counted from the day of your participation. 549

550 [Clicking shows the explanations below] 550

551 Who gets paid and how is it decided? 551

552 The computer will randomly select one out of every ten participants in this study to be 552  
553 paid for their decisions. 553

554 For selected individuals, the computer will randomly select one area: mathematics, 554  
555 reading, or English, and from that area will select one of the belief questions. If the 555  
556 answer to that question is correct, the participant will receive 20,000 pesos. 556

557 The computer will randomly select an area (mathematics, critical reading, or English) to 557  
558 pay for one of the recommendation questions. The area chosen for the recommendation 558  
559 question is independent of the area chosen for the belief question. The computer will 559  
560 take one of the two recommendations you have made for the chosen area. Depending on 560  
561 your recommendation's score, you could win up to 250,000 pesos. 561

562 Additionally, people selected to receive payment for their participation will have a fixed 562  
563 earnings of 70,000 pesos for completing the study. 563

564 \_\_\_\_\_ 564

## 565 **Participation** 565

566 In the future, we will conduct studies similar to this one where people can earn money 566  
567 for their participation. The participation in these studies is by invitation only. Please 567  
568 indicate if you are interested in being invited to other studies similar to this one: 568

569 [Yes, No] 569