

1 Project ICFES: Evidence from a referral field experiment\* 1

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3 June 3, 2025 3

4 **Abstract** 4

5 Lorem Ipsum ([Beaman, Keleher, & Magruder, 2018](#)) 5

6 **JEL Classification:** C93, D03, D83, J24 6

7 **Keywords:** productivity beliefs, referrals, field experiment, skill identification, social 7  
8 class 8

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\*We obtained Institutional Review Board approvals from NYU Abu Dhabi (HRPP 2024-50) and the University of Luxembourg (ERP 24-028). The study design was preregistered in the OSF Registries prior to data collection (see <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/V9T3W>).

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# 1 Introduction

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

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

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

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<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. fill in citation sociology reading from slides

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

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

Referral hiring in the labor market can range from firm-level formal referral programs asking employees to bring candidates to simply passing on job opportunities between network members (Topa, 2019). As our participants are students at the university and refer based on exam scores, we abstract away from formal referral programs with defined job openings. Our setting instead resembles situations where contacts share opportunities with each other without the need for the referred candidate to take any action. This eliminates reputational concerns as there is no firm (see for example Bandiera, Barankay, and Rasul (2009); Witte (2021)). At the same time, national university entry exam scores are still objective, widely accepted measures of ability, and we show evidence that referrers in our setting possess accurate information about these signals.

In a university setting, class attendance provides essential opportunities for face-to-face interaction between students. On the one hand, this reduces network segregation by providing ample opportunities to meet across-SES, because of the exposure to an equal

or higher level of high-SES compared to the population (Chetty et al., 2022a). On the other hand, as students take more and more classes together, their similarities across all observable characteristics tend to increase (Kossinets & Watts, 2009), which should drive the high- and low-SES networks to segregate. Our setting is ideal to study these opposing forces: First, The very high level of income inequality and existence of deeply rooted historical groups in Colombia makes SES differences extremely visible in access to tertiary education, where the rich and poor typically select into different institutions (Jaramillo-Echeverri & Álvarez, 2023). Yet, thanks to the particular standing of the institution we have chosen for this study (Figure 4), different SES groups including both low- and high-SES mix together in this university.

We find strong evidence that networks of high- and low-SES participants exhibit same-SES bias. Both groups are connected at higher rates with their own SES group than what would be at random given actual group shares at the university (Figure 1a). As students take more courses together within the same program, their networks dwindle in size (Figures 2a and 2b), and become more homogenous in SES-shares (Figure 1b). We identify selection into academic programs as a key mechanism. The private university where our study took place implements exogenous cost-based program pricing and does not offer SES-based price reductions. These result in programs with very large cost differences within the same university (Figure 3a). We find that average yearly fee paid per student increases with SES, and the high-SES share in the most expensive program at the university, medicine, drives the network segregation across SES (Figure 3b).

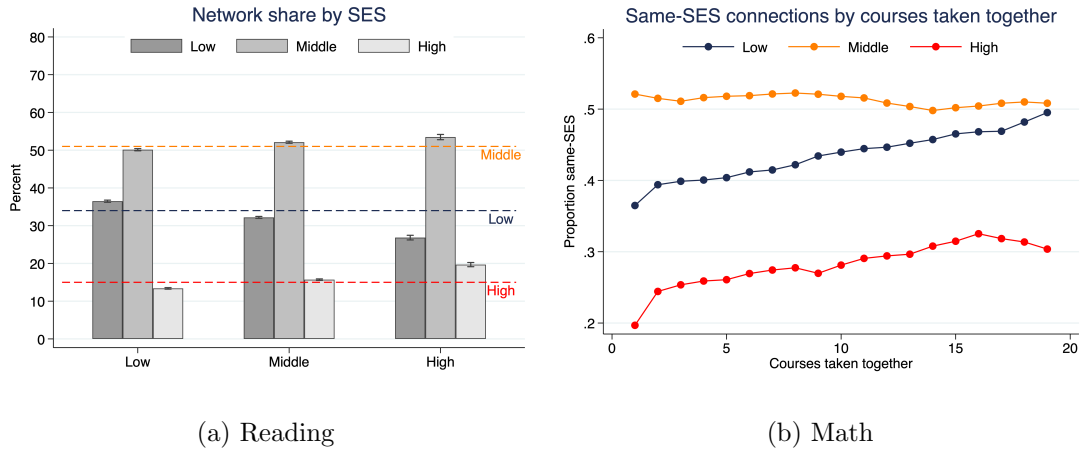
Do segregated networks account for all the differences in SES referral rates across SES groups? Same-SES referrals are 17% more common than is suggested by referrer networks. High- and low-SES referrers under refer each other by 50%. Yet, controlling for networks, our results suggest only low-SES students show significant same-SES homophily in referrals. Regardless of SES, referrals identify highly able individuals, and are characterized by a very high number of courses taken together. The latter underlies the impact of program selection in referrals, where the smaller and more homogenous choice sets come into play. Our treatment randomized participants across two different

incentive schemes by adding a substantial monetary bonus (\$25) for the referred candidate on top of the pay-for-performance incentives. We provide evidence that treatment incentives did not change the referral behavior across the same-SES referral rate, the number of courses taken together with the referral candidate, and the candidate's exam scores.

This paper extends various the literature

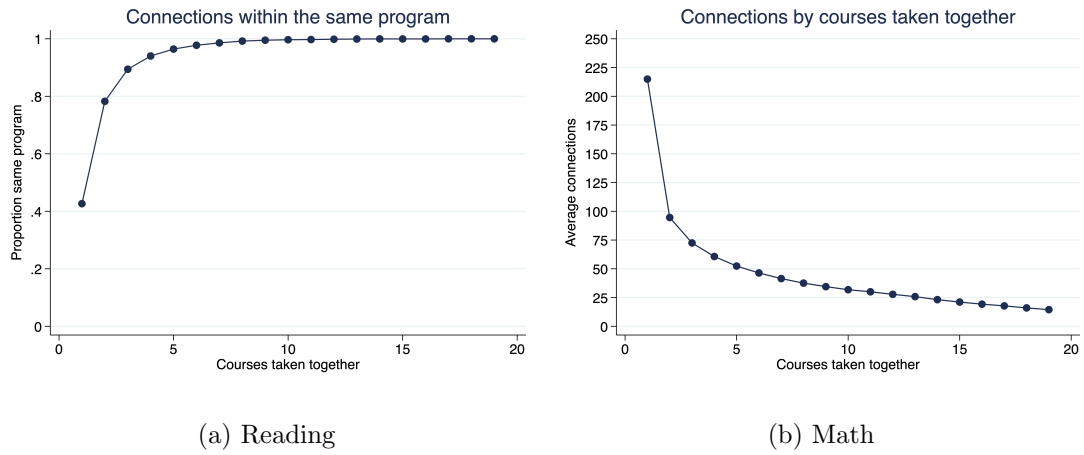
The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 begins with the background and setting in Colombia. In Section 3 we present the design of the experiment. In Section 4 we describe the data and procedures. Section 5 discusses the results of the experiment. Section 6 concludes. The Appendix presents additional tables and figures as well as the experiment instructions.

Figure 1: Effect of the Bonus on Referrals



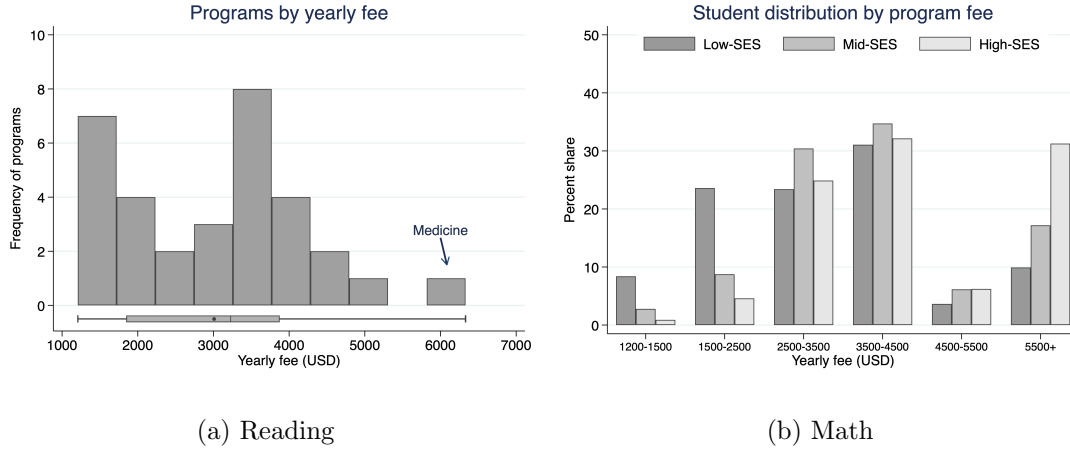
*Note:* The top panel compares the reading scores and tie strength of referrals across conditions. The bottom panel shows the average standardized math and tie strength of referrals across conditions. We test differences in across conditions using two-sample  $t$ -tests and find no meaningful differences.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

Figure 2: Effect of the Bonus on Referrals



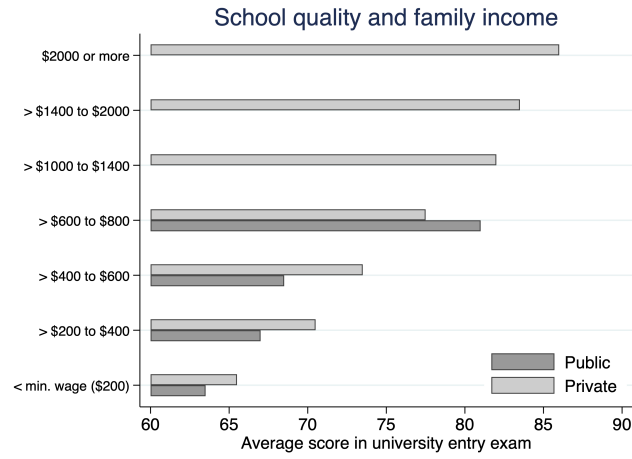
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Figure 3: Effect of the Bonus on Referrals



*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. considering the net average monthly wage stands at \$350 and minimum legal wage is at \$200 in 2025

Figure 4: 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 from (Fergusson & Flórez, 2021)



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2 Background and Setting

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3 Design

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4 Results

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4.1 Descriptives

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Table 1: Selection into the experiment

	Admin Data	Sample	<i>p</i>
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>	<b><i>p</i></b>
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

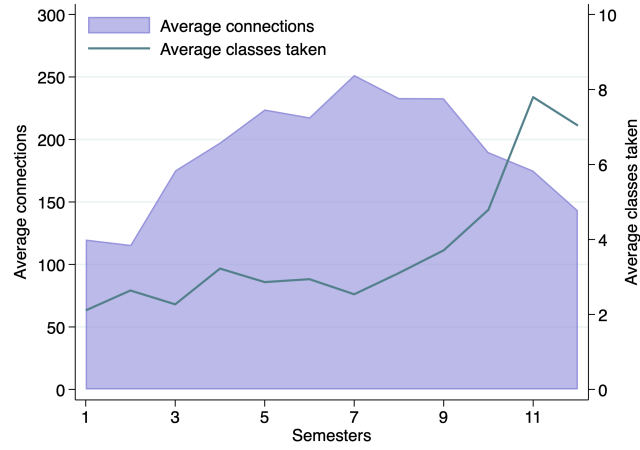
*Note:* Standard errors in parentheses. GPA, test scores, and tie strength are standardized at the network level. For each referrer’s network, we first calculated the mean and standard deviation of each measure. We then computed the average of these means and standard deviations across all referrers. 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

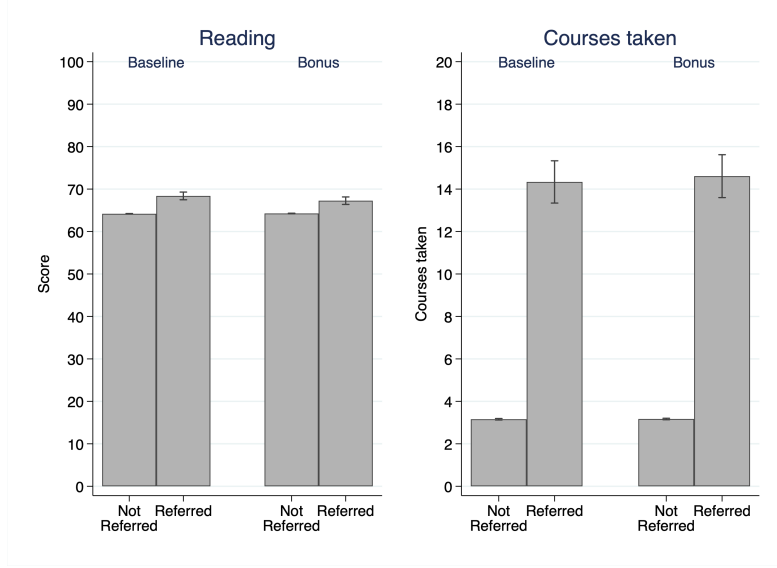
*Note:* Standard errors in parentheses. The table presents mean scores with standard errors for math and verbal tests across the entire network, the admin data, and the sample. Admin data consistently shows lower scores than both network and the sample across all SES groups consistent with selection, 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

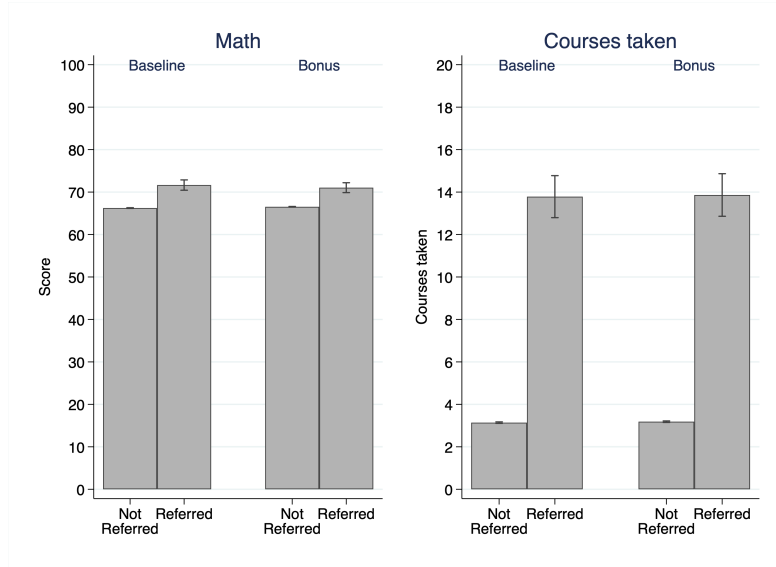


*Note:* This figure displays the average number of connections for referrers in blue and the average number of classes they have taken together with their connections in green across semesters spent at UNAB. The data shows an increase in the number of classes taken together as students progress in their 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



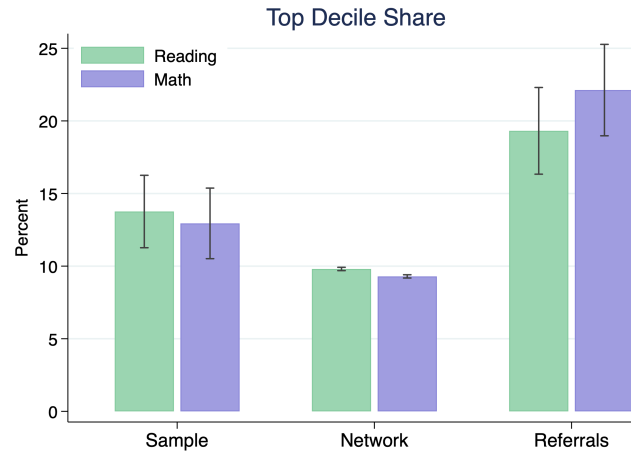
(a) Reading



(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.

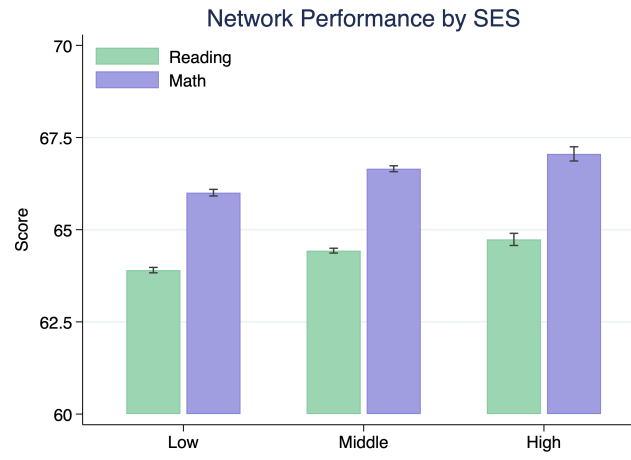
Figure 7: Top decile performer share across the sample, network and referrals



*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.

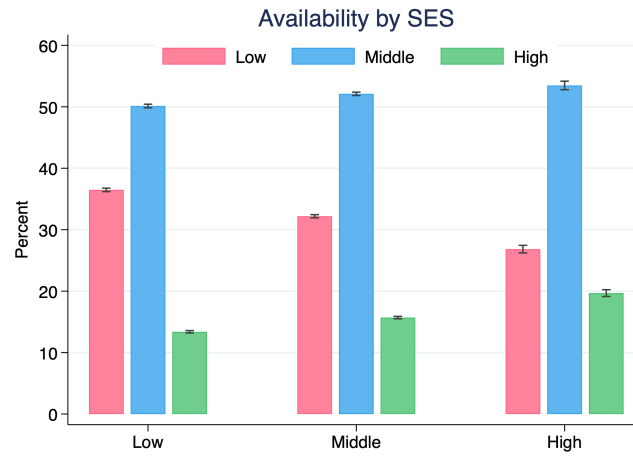


Figure 8: Participant network performance by subject and SES



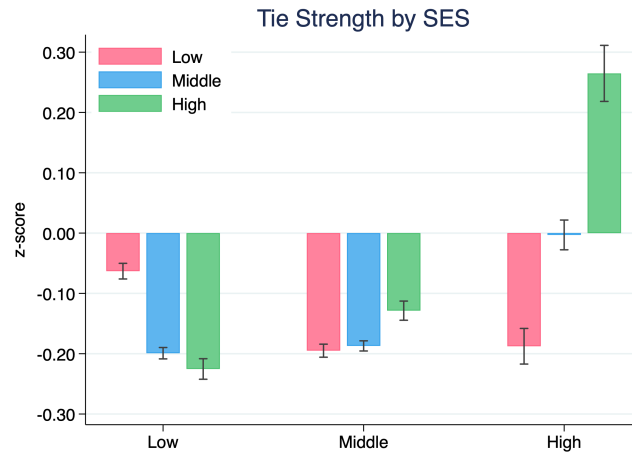
*Note:* This figure displays the network average math and reading z-scores across referrer SES. We test differences between scores across SES using paired  $t$ -tests. For both math and reading scores, all differences between SES groups are statistically significant (all  $p \leq 0.001$ ).

Figure 9: Participant network composition by SES



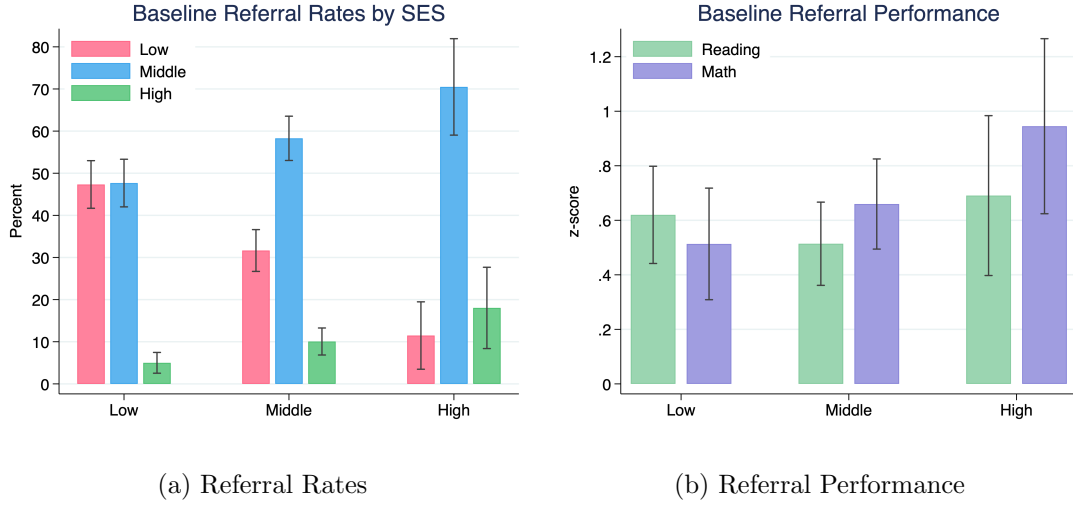
*Note:* This figure displays the composition of networks by SES. We test differences in proportions of peer connections across SES groups using two-sample tests of proportions. All differences are statistically significant ( $p < 0.001$ ): Low SES students are more likely to connect with Low SES peers than Middle or High SES students; Middle SES students form more connections with Middle SES peers than Low SES students; and High SES students have the highest proportion of High SES connections.

Figure 10: Participant network composition by SES



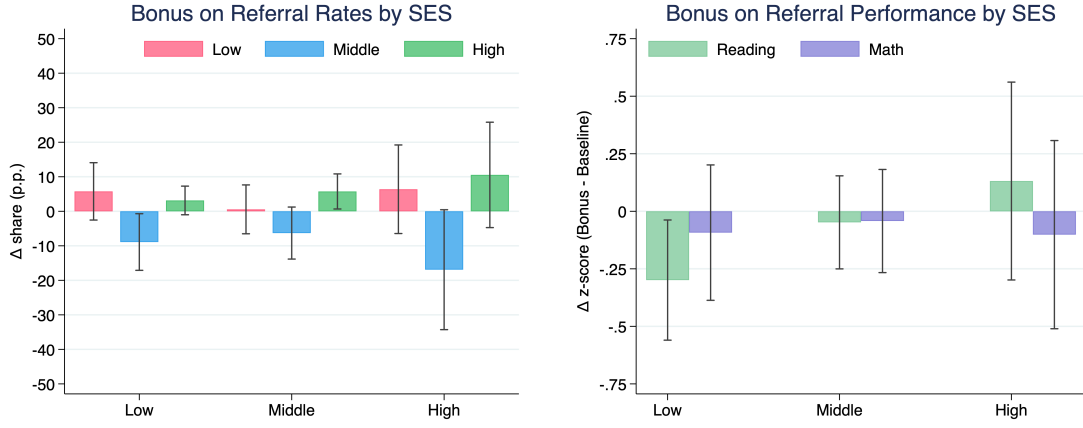
*Note:* This figure displays the standardized tie strength by SES. We test differences in standardized tie strength across SES groups using two-sample  $t$ -tests. All differences are statistically significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) except for the comparison between Middle and High SES students' connections to Low SES peers ( $p = 0.65$ ). The standardized tie strength for High SES students with other High SES students is substantially positive (0.26), while all other tie strengths are negative or near zero.

Figure 11: Baseline Referral Patterns by SES



*Note:* The left panel shows the distribution of referrals across SES in the baseline condition. We test differences in SES shares across SES groups using two-sample tests of proportions. All differences are statistically significant ( $p < 0.1$ ). The right panel shows the average standardized math and reading scores of referred students by referrer's SES. We test differences in z-scores across SES groups using two-sample  $t$ -tests and find no statistically significant differences in reading scores across SES groups (all  $p > 0.36$ ). For math scores, we observe marginally significant differences between Low and High SES students ( $p = 0.08$ ) and between Middle and High SES students ( $p = 0.18$ ), with High SES referring peers with higher math performance.

Figure 12: Effect of the Bonus

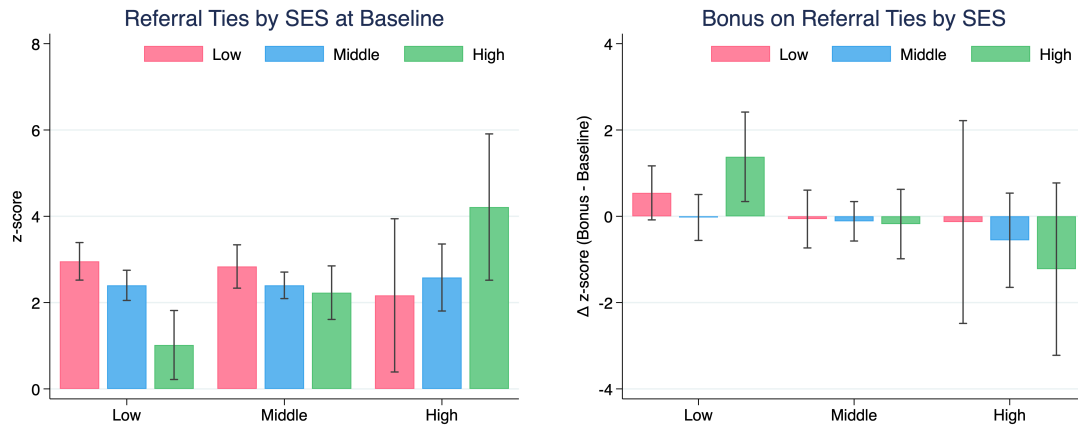


(a) Changes in Referral Rates

(b) Changes in Referral Performance

*Note:* The left panel shows the changes in referral rates across SES. We test differences in SES shares across conditions using two-sample tests of proportions. For Low-SES, only the change in referral share of Middle-SES is statistically significant ( $p = 0.034$ ). For Middle-SES, only the change in referral share of High-SES is statistically significant ( $p = 0.027$ ). For High-SES, only the change in referral share of Middle-SES is statistically significant ( $p = 0.059$ ). The right panel shows the differences in math and reading z-scores across SES. We test differences in SES shares across conditions using two-sample  $t$ -tests. For both reading and math scores, the only statistically significant difference is in the reading scores for Low-SES ( $p = 0.026$ ).

Figure 13: Effect of the Bonus on Tie Strength

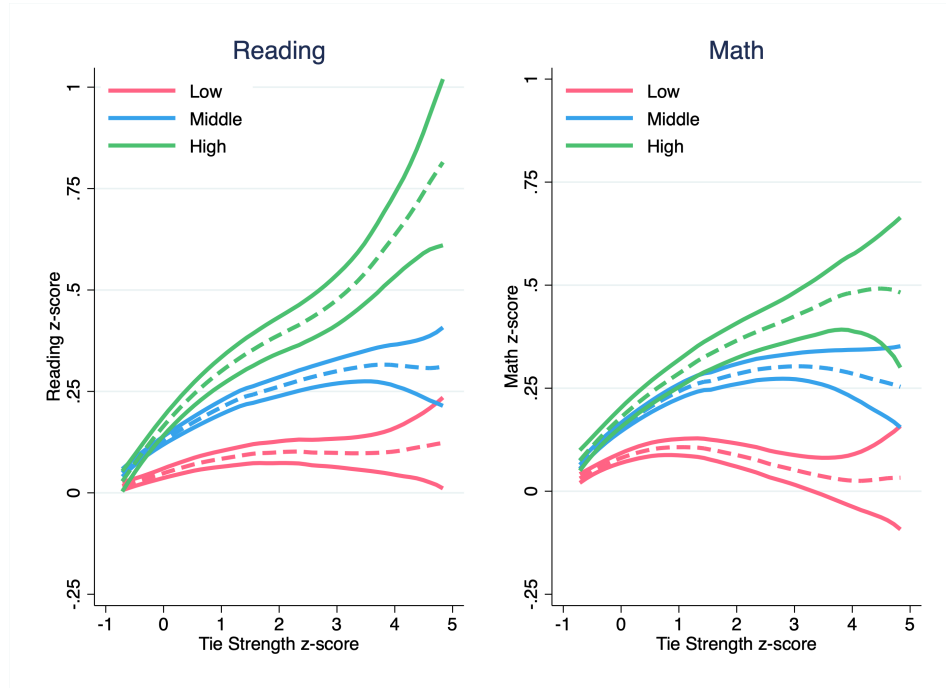


(a) Changes in Referral Rates

(b) Changes in Referral Performance

*Note:* The left panel shows the changes in referral rates across socioeconomic strata (bonus minus baseline). The right panel shows the differences in average standardized math and reading scores of referred students by referrer's SES.

Figure 14: Performance by Tie Strength and SES



*Note:* This figure shows local polynomial regressions of network math and reading z-scores by social tie strength across socioeconomic status groups with 95% confidence intervals. Higher SES have steeper positive relationships between tie strength and the average performance those in their network across reading and math scores.

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158	<b>A</b>	<b>Additional Figures and Tables</b>	158
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159	<b>A.1</b>	<b>Additional Figures</b>	159
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## 160 B Experiment 160

161 *We include the English version of the instructions used in Qualtrics. Participansts saw* 161  
162 *the Spanish version. Horizontal lines in the text indicate page breaks and clarifying* 162  
163 *comments are inside brackets.* 163

## 164 Consent 164

165 You have been invited to participate in this decision-making study. This study is directed 165  
166 by [omitted for anonymous review] and organized with the support of the Social Bee Lab 166  
167 (Social Behavior and Experimental Economics Laboratory) at UNAB. 167

168 In this study, we will pay **one (1)** out of every **ten (10)** participants, who will be 168  
169 randomly selected. Each selected person will receive a fixed payment of **70,000** (seventy 169  
170 thousand pesos) for completing the study. Additionally, they can earn up to **270,000** 170  
171 (two hundred and seventy thousand pesos), depending on their decisions. So, in total, 171  
172 if you are selected to receive payment, you can earn up to **340,000** (three hundred and 172  
173 forty thousand pesos) for completing this study. 173

174 If you are selected, you can claim your payment at any Banco de Bogotá office by 174  
175 presenting your ID. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you can leave the 175  
176 study at any time. If you withdraw before completing the study, you will not receive 176  
177 any payment. 177

178 The estimated duration of this study is 20 minutes. 178

179 The purpose of this study is to understand how people make decisions. For this, we will 179  
180 use administrative information from the university such as the SABER 11 test scores of 180  
181 various students (including you). Your responses will not be shared with anyone and your 181  
182 participation will not affect your academic records. To maintain strict confidentiality, the 182  
183 research results will not be associated at any time with information that could personally 183

184 identify you. 184

185 There are no risks associated with your participation in this study beyond everyday risks. 185

186 However, if you wish to report any problems, you can contact Professor [omitted for 186

187 anonymous review]. For questions related to your rights as a research study participant, 187

188 you can contact the IRB office of [omitted for anonymous review]. 188

189 By selecting the option “I want to participate in the study” below, you give your con- 189

190 sent to participate in this study and allow us to compare your responses with some 190

191 administrative records from the university. 191

192 • I want to participate in the study [advances to next page] 192

193 • I do not want to participate in the study 193

194 \_\_\_\_\_ 194

## 195 **Student Information** 195

196 Please write your student code. In case you are enrolled in more than one program 196

197 simultaneously, write the code of the first program you entered: 197

198 [Student ID code] 198

199 What semester are you currently in? 199

200 [Slider ranging from 1 to 11] 200

201 \_\_\_\_\_ 201

202 [Random assignment to treatment or control] 202

203	<b>Instructions</b>	203
204	The instructions for this study are presented in the following video. Please watch it	204
205	carefully. We will explain your participation and how earnings are determined if you are	205
206	selected to receive payment.	206
207	[Treatment-specific instructions in video format]	207
208	If you want to read the text of the instructions narrated in the video, press the “Read	208
209	instruction text” button. Also know that in each question, there will be a button with	209
210	information that will remind you if that question has earnings and how it is calculated,	210
211	in case you have any doubts.	211
212	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I want to read the instructions text [text version below]</li> </ul>	212
213	<hr/>	213
214	In this study, you will respond to three types of questions. First, are the belief questions.	214
215	For belief questions, we will use as reference the results of the SABER 11 test that you	215
216	and other students took to enter the university, focused on three areas of the exam:	216
217	mathematics, reading, and English.	217
218	For each area, we will take the scores of all university students and order them from	218
219	lowest to highest. We will then group them into 100 percentiles. The percentile is a	219
220	position measure that indicates the percentage of students with an exam score that is	220
221	above or below a value.	221
222	For example, if your score in mathematics is in the 20th percentile, it means that 20	222
223	percent of university students have a score lower than yours and the remaining 80 percent	223
224	have a higher score. A sample belief question is: “compared to university students, in	224
225	what percentile is your score for mathematics?”	225
226	If your answer is correct, you can earn 20 thousand pesos. We say your answer is correct	226

227 if the difference between the percentile you suggest and the actual percentile of your 227  
228 score is not greater than 7 units. For example, if you have a score that is in the 33rd 228  
229 percentile and you say it is in the 38th, the answer is correct because the difference is 229  
230 less than 7. But if you answer that it is in the 41st, the difference is greater than 7 and 230  
231 the answer is incorrect. 231

232 The second type of questions are recommendation questions and are also based on the 232  
233 mathematics, reading, and English areas of the SABER 11 test. We will ask you to think 233  
234 about the students with whom you have taken or are taking classes, to recommend from 234  
235 among them the person you consider best at solving problems similar to those on the 235  
236 SABER 11 test. 236

237 When you start typing the name of your recommended person, the computer will show 237  
238 suggestions with the full name, program, and university entry year of different students. 238  
239 Choose the person you want to recommend. If the name doesn't appear, check that you 239  
240 are writing it correctly. Do not use accents and use 'n' instead of 'ñ'. If it still doesn't 240  
241 appear, it may be because that person is not enrolled this semester or because they did 241  
242 not take the SABER 11 test. In that case, recommend someone else. 242

243 You can earn up to 250,000 pesos for your recommendation. We will multiply your 243  
244 recommended person's score by 100 pesos if they are in the first 50 percentiles. We will 244  
245 multiply it by 500 pesos if your recommended person's score is between the 51st and 245  
246 65th percentile. If it is between the 66th and 80th percentile, we will multiply your 246  
247 recommended person's score by 1000 pesos. If the score is between the 81st and 90th 247  
248 percentile, you earn 1500 pesos multiplied by your recommended person's score. And if 248  
249 the score is between the 91st and 100th percentile, we will multiply your recommended 249  
250 person's score by 2500 pesos to determine the earnings. 250

251 The third type of questions are information questions and focus on aspects of your 251  
252 personal life or your relationship with the people you have recommended. 252

253	<b>Earnings</b>	253
254	Now we will explain who gets paid for participating and how the earnings for this study	254
255	are assigned. The computer will randomly select one out of every 10 participants to pay	255
256	for their responses. For selected individuals, the computer will randomly choose one of	256
257	the three areas, and from that chosen area, it will pay for one of the belief questions.	257
258	Similarly, the computer will randomly select one of the three areas to pay for one of the	258
259	recommendation questions.	259
260	<b>Additionally, if you are selected to receive payment, your recommended per-</b>	260
261	<b>son in the chosen area will receive a fixed payment of 100 thousand pesos.</b>	261
262	[Only seen if assigned to the treatment]	262
263	Each person selected to receive payment for this study can earn: up to 20 thousand pesos	263
264	for one of the belief questions, up to 250 thousand pesos for one of the recommendation	264
265	questions, and a fixed payment of 70 thousand pesos for completing the study.	265
266	Selected individuals can earn up to 340 thousand pesos.	266
267	<hr/>	267
268	[Participants go through all three Subject Areas in randomized order]	268
269	<b>Subject Areas</b>	269
270	<b>Critical Reading</b>	270
271	For this section, we will use as reference the Critical Reading test from SABER 11, which	271
272	evaluates the necessary competencies to understand, interpret, and evaluate texts that	272
273	can be found in everyday life and in non-specialized academic fields.	273
274	[Clicking shows the example question from SABER 11 below]	274

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

- Only political positions that are not extremist
- The most recent political positions historically
- The majority of existing political positions
- The totality of possible political currents

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## Mathematics

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

[Clicking shows the example question from SABER 11 below]

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

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



299	• Incorrect. The exact value of the investment should be known.	299
300	• Correct. 3% is a fixed proportion in either currency.	300
301	• Incorrect. 3% is a larger increase in Colombian pesos.	301
302	<hr/>	302
303	<b>English</b>	303
304	This section uses the English test from SABER 11 as a reference, which evaluates that	304
305	the person demonstrates their communicative abilities in reading and language use in	305
306	this language.	306
307	[Clicking shows the example question from SABER 11 below]	307
308	Complete the conversations by marking the correct option.	308
309	• Conversation 1: I can't eat a cold sandwich. It is horrible!	309
310	– I hope so.	310
311	– I agree.	311
312	– I am not.	312
313	• Conversation 2: It rained a lot last night!	313
314	– Did you accept?	314
315	– Did you understand?	315
316	– Did you sleep?	316
317	<hr/>	317
318	[Following parts are identical for all Subject Areas and are not repeated here for brevity]	318

319	<b>Your Score</b>	319
320	Compared to university students, in which percentile do you think your <b>[Subject Area]</b>	320
321	test score falls (1 is the lowest percentile and 100 the highest)?	321
322	[Clicking shows the explanations below]	322
323	How is a percentile calculated?	323
324	A percentile is a position measurement. To calculate it, we take the test scores for all	324
325	students currently enrolled in the university and order them from lowest to highest. The	325
326	percentile value you choose refers to the percentage of students whose score is below	326
327	yours. For example, if you choose the 20th percentile, you're indicating that 20% of	327
328	students have a score lower than yours and the remaining 80% have a score higher than	328
329	yours.	329
330	What can I earn for this question?	330
331	For your answer, you can earn <b>20,000 (twenty thousand) PESOS</b> , but only if the	331
332	difference between your response and the correct percentile is less than 7. For example, if	332
333	the percentile where your score falls is 33 and you respond with 38 (or 28), the difference	333
334	is 5 and the answer is considered correct. But if you respond with 41 or more (or 25 or	334
335	less), for example, the difference would be greater than 7 and the answer is incorrect.	335
336	Please move the sphere to indicate which percentile you think your score falls in:	336
337	[Slider with values from 0 to 100]	337
338	<hr/>	338

339 **Recommendation** 339

340 Among the people with whom you have taken any class at the university, who is your 340  
341 recommendation for the [Subject Area] test? Please write that person's name in the 341  
342 box below: 342

343 **Important:** You will not be considered for payment unless the recommended 343  
344 person is someone with whom you have taken at least one class during your 344  
345 studies. 345

346 Your response is only a recommendation for the purposes of this study and we will **not** 346  
347 contact your recommended person at any time. 347

348 [Clicking shows the explanations below] 348

349 Who can I recommend? 349

350 Your recommendation **must** be someone with whom you have taken (or are taking) a 350  
351 class. If not, your answer will not be considered for payment. The person you recommend 351  
352 will not be contacted or receive any benefit from your recommendation. 352

353 As you write, you will see up to 7 suggested student names containing the letters you 353  
354 have entered. The more you write, the more accurate the suggestions will be. Please 354  
355 write **without** accents and use the letter 'n' instead of 'ñ'. If the name of the person 355  
356 you're writing doesn't appear, it could be because you made an error while writing the 356  
357 name. 357

358 If the name is correct and still doesn't appear, it could be because the student is not en- 358  
359 rolled this semester or didn't take the SABER 11 test. In that case, you must recommend 359  
360 someone else. 360

361 My earnings for this question? 361

362 For your recommendation, you could receive earnings of up to 250,000 (two hundred and 362  
363 fifty thousand) PESOS. The earnings are calculated based on your recommendation's 363  
364 score and the percentile of that score compared to other UNAB students, as follows: 364

- 365 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$100 (one hundred) pesos if it's 365  
366 between the 1st and 50th percentiles 366
- 367 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$500 (five hundred) pesos if it's 367  
368 between the 51st and 65th percentiles 368
- 369 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$1000 (one thousand) pesos if 369  
370 it's between the 66th and 80th percentiles 370
- 371 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$1500 (one thousand five hun- 371  
372 dred) pesos if it's between the 81st and 90th percentiles 372
- 373 • We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$2500 (two thousand five hun- 373  
374 dred) pesos if it's between the 91st and 100th percentiles 374

375 This is illustrated in the image below: 375

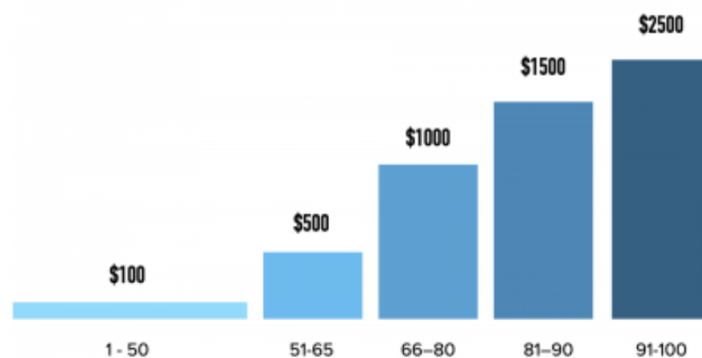


Figure B.1: Earnings for recommendation questions

376 For example, if your recommendation got 54 points and the score is in the 48th percentile, 376

377 you could earn  $54 \times 100 = 5400$  PESOS. But, if the same score of 54 points were in the 377  
378 98th percentile, you could earn  $54 \times 2500 = 135,000$  PESOS. 378

379 [Text field with student name suggestions popping up as participant types] 379

380 

---

 380

## 381 **Relationship with your recommendation** 381

382 How close is your relationship with your recommendedation: “[Name of the student 382  
383 selected from earlier]”? (0 indicates you are barely acquaintances and 10 means you are 383  
384 very close) 384

385 [Slider with values from 0 to 10] 385

386 

---

 386

## 387 **Your recommendation’s score** 387

388 Compared to university students, in which percentile do you think [Name of the student 388  
389 selected from earlier]’s score falls in the [Subject Area] test (1 is the lowest percentile 389  
390 and 100 the highest)? 390

391 [Clicking shows the explanations below] 391

392 How is a percentile calculated? 392

393 A percentile is a position measurement. To calculate it, we take the test scores for all 393  
394 students currently enrolled in the university and order them from lowest to highest. The 394  
395 percentile value you choose refers to the percentage of students whose score is below 395  
396 yours. For example, if you choose the 20th percentile, you’re indicating that 20% of 396  
397 students have a score lower than yours and the remaining 80% have a score higher than 397  
398 yours. 398

399 What can I earn for this question? 399

400 For your answer, you can earn **20,000 (twenty thousand) PESOS**, but only if the 400  
401 difference between your response and the correct percentile is less than 7. For example, 401  
402 if the percentile where your recommended person's score falls is 33 and you respond with 402  
403 38 (or 28), the difference is 5 and the answer is considered correct. But if you respond 403  
404 with 41 or more (or 25 or less), for example, the difference would be greater than 7 and 404  
405 the answer is incorrect. 405

406 Please move the sphere to indicate which percentile you think your recommended per- 406  
407 son's score falls in: 407

408 [Slider with values from 0 to 100] 408

409 \_\_\_\_\_ 409

## 410 Demographic Information 410

411 What is the highest level of education achieved by your father? 411

412 [Primary, High School, University, Graduate Studies, Not Applicable] 412

413 What is the highest level of education achieved by your mother? 413

414 [Primary, High School, University, Graduate Studies, Not Applicable] 414

415 Please indicate the socio-economic group to which your family belongs: 415

416 [Group A (Strata 1 or 2), Group B (Strata 3 or 4), Group C (Strata 5 or 6)] 416

417 \_\_\_\_\_ 417

418	<b>UNAB Students Distribution</b>	418
419	Thinking about UNAB students, in your opinion, what percentage belongs to each socio-	419
420	economic group? The total must sum to 100%:	420
421	[Group A (Strata 1 or 2) percentage input area]	421
422	[Group B (Strata 3 or 4) percentage input area]	422
423	[Group C (Strata 5 or 6) percentage input area]	423
424	[Shows sum of above percentages]	424
425	<hr/>	425
426	<b>End of the Experiment</b>	426
427	Thank you for participating in this study.	427
428	If you are chosen to receive payment for your participation, you will receive a confirma-	428
429	tion to your UNAB email and a link to fill out a form with your information. The process	429
430	of processing payments is done through Nequi and takes approximately 15 business days,	430
431	counted from the day of your participation.	431
432	[Clicking shows the explanations below]	432
433	Who gets paid and how is it decided?	433
434	The computer will randomly select one out of every ten participants in this study to be	434
435	paid for their decisions.	435
436	For selected individuals, the computer will randomly select one area: mathematics,	436
437	reading, or English, and from that area will select one of the belief questions. If the	437
438	answer to that question is correct, the participant will receive 20,000 pesos.	438

439 The computer will randomly select an area (mathematics, critical reading, or English) to 439  
440 pay for one of the recommendation questions. The area chosen for the recommendation 440  
441 question is independent of the area chosen for the belief question. The computer will 441  
442 take one of the two recommendations you have made for the chosen area. Depending on 442  
443 your recommendation's score, you could win up to 250,000 pesos. 443

444 Additionally, people selected to receive payment for their participation will have a fixed 444  
445 earnings of 70,000 pesos for completing the study. 445

446 \_\_\_\_\_ 446

## 447 **Participation** 447

448 In the future, we will conduct studies similar to this one where people can earn money 448  
449 for their participation. The participation in these studies is by invitation only. Please 449  
450 indicate if you are interested in being invited to other studies similar to this one: 450

451 [Yes, No] 451