

1 Class differences in social networks: Evidence from a referral 1
2 experiment 2

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5 **Abstract** 5

6 Lorem Ipsum ([Beaman, Keleher, & Magruder, 2018](#)) 6

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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,¹ 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.²

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 even 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

¹See for example Bourdieu (1986); Loury (1977) for pioneering work on the relationship between social position and human capital acquisition.

²See 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.

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 and without revealing the identity of the referrer. This eliminates reputational concerns as there is no hiring firm, and puts a lower bound on the expected reciprocity for the referrer in combination with pay-for-performance incentives (Bandiera, Barankay, & Rasul, 2009; Witte, 2021). At the same time, referring based on university entry exam scores are still an objective, widely accepted measure of ability, and we show evidence that referrers in our setting not only possess accurate information about these signals but are also able to screen more productive individuals from their university network.

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).³ 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), all SES groups including both low- and high-SES mix together in this university. Second, using administrative data, we are able to reconstruct 734 participants' complete university network based on the number of common courses they have taken together with other students. This allows directly identifying the individual characteristics of those getting referrals among all possible candidates, as well as descriptive characterizations of similarity (e.g., in same-SES share) in student networks as a function of the number of classes taken.

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

³In 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).

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? Although same-SES referrals are 17% more common than is suggested by referrer networks, controlling for these, we find no general SES-bias against beyond what is attributable to network composition. Regardless of SES, participants refer productive individuals, and referred candidates are characterized by a very high number of courses taken together. The latter underlies the impact of program selection, where smaller and more homogenous parts of the networks are activated for referrals made in our setting. 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 contributes to the literature on referral experiments by solving the challenge of observing the entire referral network. Earlier research could only compare referrals made across different incentive structures or experimental instructions and make according conclusions. For example, when participants are paid on the basis of their referred candidate’s productivity instead of receiving a fixed finder’s fee (Beaman & Magruder, 2012), or when participants are restricted to refer either a male or female candidate instead of freely (Beaman et al., 2018). Pallais and Sands (2016) recruited a random sample of nonreferred workers to compare with referred ones, but none of the previous studies could provide a direct comparison of the referral choice set with those who were selected by participants. Closest to our work is the work of Hederos et al. (2025), who elicited friendship networks by asking referrers to name 5 friends. Their findings suggest only half of those who were referred were from the elicited friendship network, and thus is not a complete observation of the referral choice set. Although commonplace, censored elicitation methods also result in underestimating network ef-

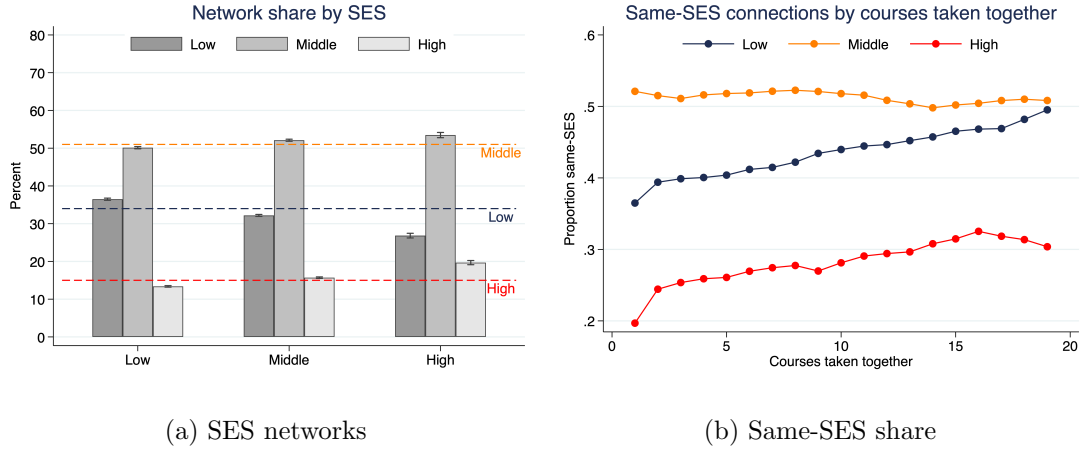
fects (Griffith, 2022) and may suffer from biases in recall. We are able to take our analysis one step further by asking for referrals from the enrollment network, where we have complete information on every single connection that may or may not get a referral. This allows us to neatly separate the effect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

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

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

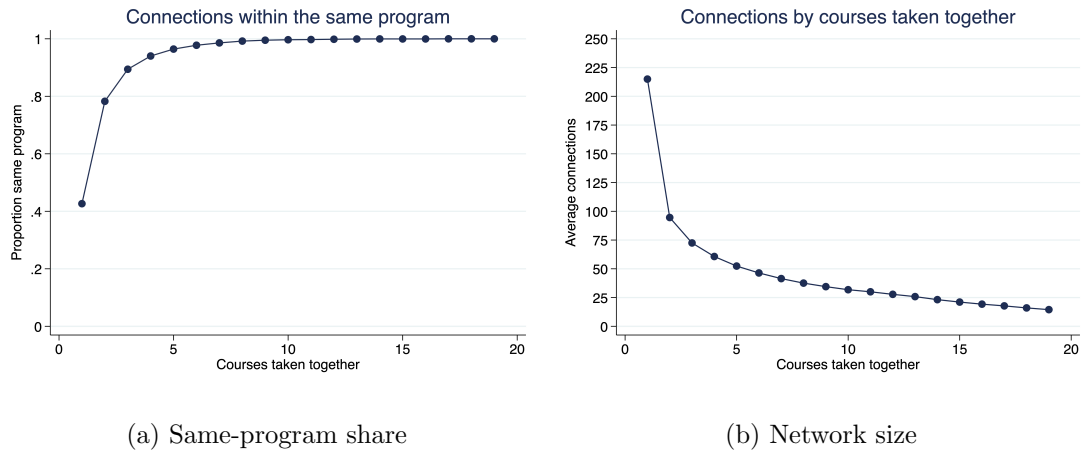
The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 begins with the background and setting in Colombia. In Section 3 we present the design of the experiment. In Section 4 we describe the data and procedures. Section 5 discusses the results of the experiment. Section 6 concludes. The Appendix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

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



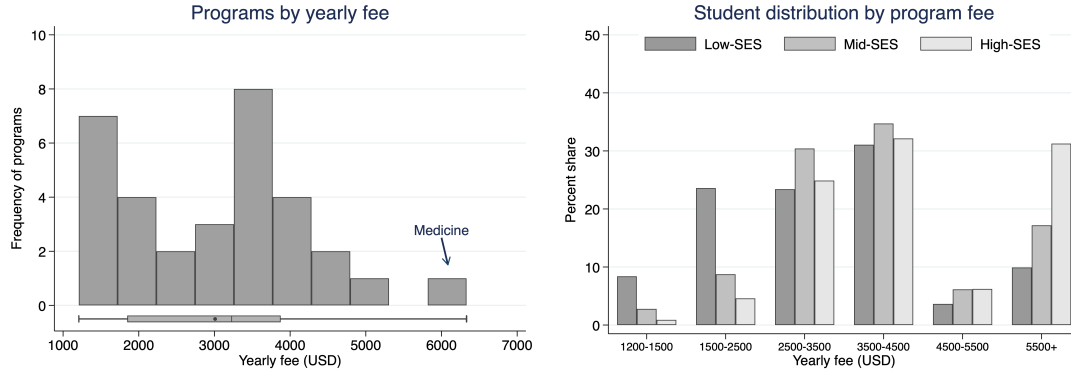
Note: The left panel compares the network shares of SES groups in the networks of low-, middle-, and high-SES. Horizontal lines plot the university-wide shares of each SES group. While the share of low-SES peers in the network decreases as the SES of the group increases, the share of high-SES peers in 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



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

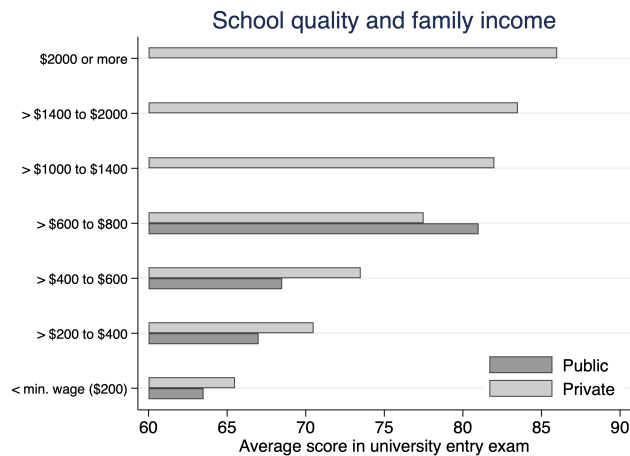


(a) Programs sorted by fee

(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 \(2021b\)](#).

2 Background and Setting

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

⁴Colombia 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](#)).

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

In 1994, Colombia introduced a nationwide classification system dividing the population into 6 strata based on housing characteristics and neighborhood amenities.⁵ We use this classification as the measure of SES in our experiment: Students in strata 1 to 2 are categorized as low-SES, strata 3 to 4 as middle-SES and those in strata 5 to 6 as high-SES.

We invited via email all 4,417 students who had at the time of recruitment completed their first year at the university to participate in our experiment. 837 students who joined (19%) display large variations in terms of their academic programs and SES. This setup provides a unique opportunity for collaborative inter-class contact on equal status, whose positive effects on reducing discrimination are casually documented (Lowe, 2021; Mousa, 2020; Rao, 2019).

⁵Initially 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).

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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

	Baseline	Bonus	<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

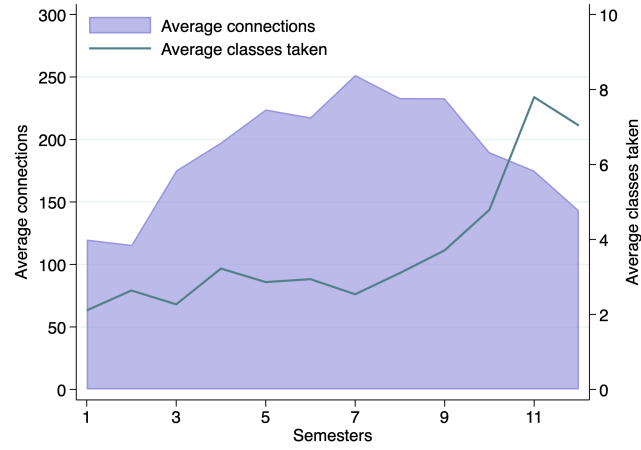
Note: Standard errors in parentheses. GPA, test scores, and tie strength are standardized at the network level. For each referrer’s network, we first calculated the mean and standard deviation of each measure. We then computed the average of these means and standard deviations across all referrers. Each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

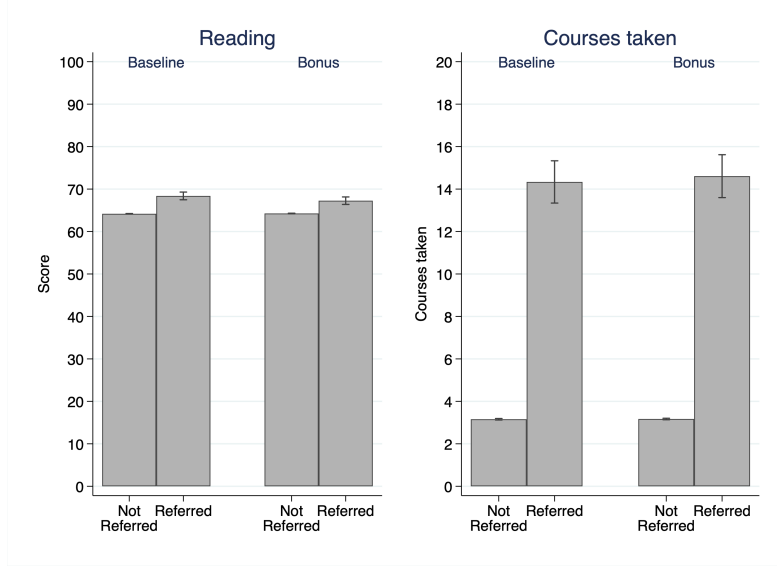
Note: Standard errors in parentheses. The table presents mean scores with standard errors for math and verbal tests across the entire network, the admin data, and the sample. Admin data consistently shows lower scores than both network and the sample across all SES groups consistent with selection, with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

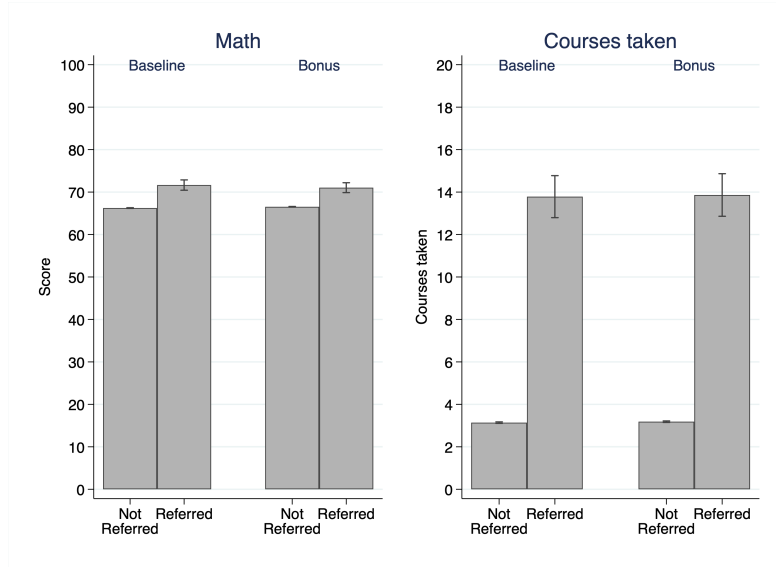


Note: This figure displays the average number of connections for referrers in blue and the average number of classes they have taken together with their connections in green across semesters spent at UNAB. The data shows an increase in the number of classes taken together as students progress in their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



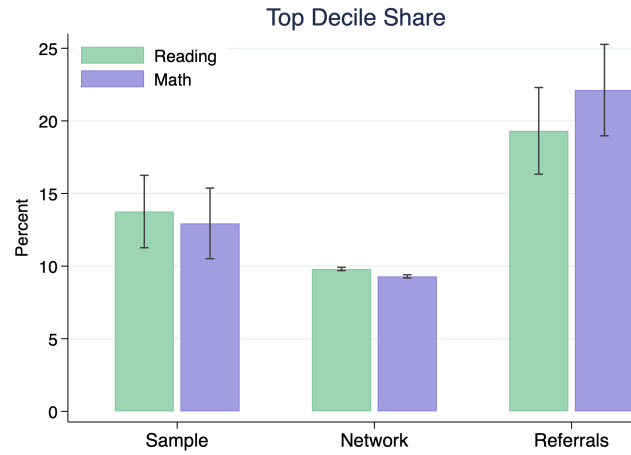
(a) Reading



(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.

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276 **A Additional Figures and Tables**

276

277 **A.1 Additional Figures**

277

278 B Experiment 278

279 *We include the English version of the instructions used in Qualtrics. Participansts 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want to read the instructions text [text version below] 	330
331	<hr/>	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	<hr/>	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	<hr/>	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	<hr/>	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	<hr/>	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

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

- We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$100 (one hundred) pesos if it's between the 1st and 50th percentiles
- We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$500 (five hundred) pesos if it's between the 51st and 65th percentiles
- We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$1000 (one thousand) pesos if it's between the 66th and 80th percentiles
- We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$1500 (one thousand five hundred) pesos if it's between the 81st and 90th percentiles
- We will multiply your recommendation's score by \$2500 (two thousand five hundred) pesos if it's between the 91st and 100th percentiles

This is illustrated in the image below:

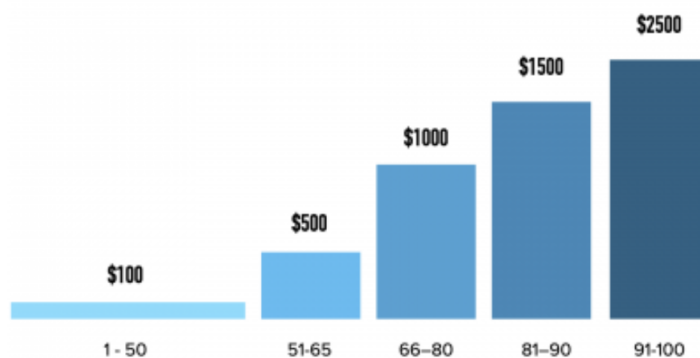


Figure B.1: Earnings for recommendation questions

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

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	<hr/>	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