

Job amenities for students: evidence from a field experiment

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Student jobs: important for school-to-work transition

- ▶ 14 M (70%) American college students begin their work lives with a student job (Carnevale and Smith, 2018)
 - ▶ first exposure to work world
 - ▶ shape preferences about work
- ▶ Student jobs can train the future workforce (Le Barbanchon et al., 2023; Harrington and Khatiwada, 2016)
 - ▶ Impart skills that cannot be learned in the classroom (Mortimer & Staff, 2004)
 - ▶ Raises earnings, educational attainment (Le Barbanchon et al., 2023)
 - ▶ Help low-income youth pay for school (Carnevale and Smith, 2018)
- ▶ But we know little about how to recruit for them

Field Experiment

- ▶ Partner with student employment division of large state university
 - ▶ Recruitment emails to students during annual recruitment drive
 - ▶ Natural field experiment (Harrison & List, 2004)
- ▶ One week prior to academic year, conducted intervention:
 - ▶ Subjects: entire undergraduate student body ($N = 40,875$)
- ▶ Randomly assigned students to emails which varied
 1. Pay: mention \$13 vs. \$15
 2. Nonpecuniary: “flexible schedule around classes”
 3. Nonpecuniary: mandatory weekday and weekend shifts
- ▶ Email contained link to real jobs site
 - ▶ All subjects viewed same website
 - ▶ Tracked clicks (“job interest”)
 - ▶ Observed real job applications
 - ▶ % students apply at all (extensive margin)
 - ▶ # applications per applicant (intensive margin)

Results Overview

1. Mentions of **pay** raise interest among both men and women
 - ▶ raise total applications among men
2. Mentions of **shift work**
 - ▶ decrease likelihood of applying among women (extensive margin)
 - ▶ increase applications from men (intensive margin)
 - ▶ conjecture: shift work is has both desirable and undesirable features
3. Mentions of **flexible scheduling** have little impact overall
 - ▶ increase applications from men

Contributions

1. What job characteristics appeal to students?
 - ▶ Understanding students' work preferences can help craft more appealing jobs
 - ▶ Better utilize student work as a way to train future workforce
2. Value of different nonpecuniary job amenities after Covid-19 pandemic?
 - ▶ Burst of literature on remote work - geographic flexibility (see Barrero et al., 2021; Choudhury et al., 2021; Angelici & Profeta, 2022; Aksoy et al., 2022; Bick et al., 2023; Alipour et al., 2023)
 - ▶ This paper informs how to accommodate service-sector workers
 - ▶ Difficult to make remote, but may accommodate via time flexibility
 - ▶ Often most "time poor" (Giurge et al., 2020; Whillans and West, 2022)
3. Informs gender gap in job preferences, work time
 - ▶ Goldin (2014): flexible work valuable to women, since motherhood imposes time constraints
 - ▶ Our paper closely examines "flexibility": "flexible schedules" vs. "shift work"
 - ▶ "flexible schedules" does little to increase % of women that apply
 - ▶ but women strongly deterred by "shift work"

Experiment Timeline

Clicks over Time

Applications over Time

Intervention email

N=40,875



Opened email

N=14,077

34% of experimental sample



Clicked on jobs site

N=1,722

12% of those who opened email



Apply to job

N=1,339

78% of those who visited jobs site

Variation from emails
impacts click rates

Caveat: can only track
clicks of reminder emails

Almost all
clickers apply

Email Conditions

	Baseline	Mandatory shifts	Flexible schedules
\$13			
\$15			

Email Conditions

	Baseline	Mandatory shifts	Flexible schedules
\$13	You could earn \$13 per hour. Different jobs pay different rates.		
\$15	You could earn \$15 per hour. Different jobs pay different rates.		

Email Conditions

	Baseline	Mandatory shifts	Flexible schedules
\$13	$N = 7,808$	<p>You could earn \$13 per hour. Different jobs pay different rates. For some jobs, workers must work two shifts during the week and two shifts every other weekend.</p>	
\$15	$N = 7,806$	<p>You could earn \$15 per hour. Different jobs pay different rates. For some jobs, workers must work two shifts during the week and two shifts every other weekend.</p>	

Email Conditions

	Baseline	Mandatory shifts	Flexible schedules
\$13	$N = 7,808$	$N = 7,792$	You could earn \$13 per hour. Different jobs pay different rates. Flexible scheduling around classes.
\$15	$N = 7,806$	$N = 7,783$	You could earn \$15 per hour. Different jobs pay different rates. Flexible scheduling around classes.

Email Conditions

	Baseline	Mandatory shifts	Flexible schedules
\$13	$N = 7,808$	$N = 7,792$	$N = 7,833$
\$15	$N = 7,806$	$N = 7,783$	$N = 7,811$

Email Conditions

	Baseline	Mandatory shifts	Flexible schedules
\$13	$N = 7,808$	$N = 7,792$	$N = 7,833$
\$15	$N = 7,806$	$N = 7,783$	$N = 7,811$

Identifying assumption: open email \perp treatment

No difference in opening email across treatments

Regression of Opening Email on Treatment

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
15 per hour	0.004 (0.008)	0.005 (0.008)	0.014 (0.012)	0.014 (0.012)
13 per hour, mandatory shifts	0.013 (0.008)	0.013 (0.008)	0.007 (0.012)	0.006 (0.012)
15 per hour, mandatory shifts	0.006 (0.008)	0.006 (0.008)	0.004 (0.012)	0.004 (0.012)
13 per hour, flexible	0.010 (0.008)	0.009 (0.008)	0.006 (0.012)	0.007 (0.012)
15 per hour, flexible	0.010 (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)	0.005 (0.012)	0.005 (0.012)
Observations	40875	39970	17536	17536
% opened email	34.44	34.50	32.88	32.88
Joint F-test p-value	0.620	0.674	0.924	0.918
Age, sex, race, class		Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional Controls			Yes	Yes
College Controls				Yes

Notes: *Additional controls* are citizenship, in-state residence, expected family contribution, whether eligible for Pell grants, and disability status. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

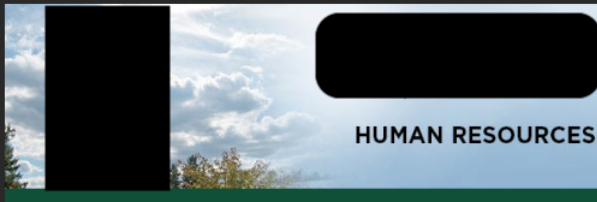
SR

To: Chuan, Amanda

<noreply@qemailserver.com>



Tue 8/23/2022 9:09 AM



Dear Amanda:

[REDACTED] is hiring student workers for the Fall 2022 Semester. You could earn \$15 per hour. Different jobs pay different rates. For some jobs, workers must work two shifts during the week and two shifts every other weekend. We invite you to apply!

For more information, please click on the link:

[jobs.\[REDACTED\].edu](#)

Sincerely,

[REDACTED] (she/her/hers)

Director, Human Resources

Jobs Website

University Activities Board Student Coordinator

20153893P

University
Activities
Board (UAB)
(Loc)

Student

06/10/2023

Location: UAB at the
- Starting pay \$14.50
General Duties and Responsibilities:- Attend and collaboratively lead all weekly UAB Member meetings- Attend and participate in all weekly UAB meetings- Meet weekly with designated UAB Advisor- Maintain event files and UAB programming calendars- Recruit volunteers to assist with events- Recruit and lead members on Project Teams- Serve as back-...

[View Details](#)

[Bookmark](#)

Event Set-Up/Server Dining

20153904P

(Loc)

Center

Student

08/05/2023

\$13.00 per hour
Looking for a great summer job with the ability to work into the coming school year? Are you a person who is customer focused, hardworking, a team player and dependable? If you answered Yes, then we want you! Join the Events Team at Tower, Arena, for... Center, that helps serve the hotel and Athletic Venues, including Center,

[View Details](#)

[Bookmark](#)

Front Desk Rotation Clerical

20153902P

(Loc)

Center

Student

06/30/2023

Wage = \$12.00 per hour
Great Level I Internship for HB Students
Looking for a great summer job with the ability to work into the coming school year? Are you a person who is customer focused, hardworking, a team player and dependable? If you answered Yes, then we want you! As a Front Office Rotational Student, you will train on and master all the front office positions at the Hotel & ...

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[Bookmark](#)

Receptionist Clerical

20153898P

Place/
Apartments
Service
Centers (Loc)

Student

07/31/2023

Hiring Service Center Receptionist (SCR's) for Apartments/
!This position is for summer 2023 (May to August) and also Fall 2023 and Spring 2024!
As a Service Center Receptionist, you will perform routine clerical support while providing customer service to all residence hall students and customers, both in person and over the phone. You will also be responsible for maintaini...

[View Details](#)

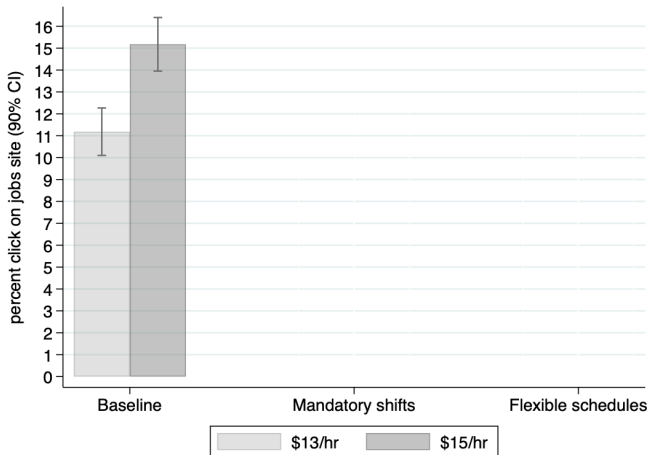
[Bookmark](#)

Jobs Website

Job Title	Event Set-Up/Server \$13.00 per hour!
	Looking for a great summer job with the ability to work into the coming school year? Are you a person who is customer focused, hardworking, a team player and dependable? If you answered Yes, then we want you!
	Join the Events Team at _____ Center, that helps serve the hotel and _____ Athletic Venues, including _____ Tower, _____ Arena, for all types of events!
Job Description	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Provides exceptional customer service by Delivering Outstanding _____ Experience (DOSE)Prepare room for events: set tablecloths, dishes, glassware, silverware as directedAssist in clearing, cleaning and breaking down room at the completion of an eventServe guests food and drinks during event as requiredAccommodate any needs for reasonable special requestsEnsure guest satisfactionFollow directions as detailed from Banquet Lead, Banquet Captain or Banquet ManagerOther duties as assigned
Required Qualifications	Must be able to work Summer 2023 May – Aug <ul style="list-style-type: none">Be able to work 15-20 hours per weekBe able to work morning, lunch, and evening shiftsBe able to work weekendsBe able to work between classes when your schedule allows.Punctuality, positive attitude, and attention detail and provide great customer serviceWork with a team in a fast-paced environment
Preferred Qualifications	Be able to work Summer 2023 <ul style="list-style-type: none">Able to work flexible hours and shifts
Equal Employment Opportunity Statement	All qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, national origin, citizenship, disability or protected veteran status.
Physical Demands	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Be able to lift up to 45 poundsRealize the position will require you to stand for long periods of time
Work Hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Must be able to work Summer 2023 May – AugMust be able to work 15-20 hours per week, including weekends.Work 2 Lunch Shifts between 11am-2pm Mon-FriWork shifts between classes when needed
Work Location	_____ Center (Loc)

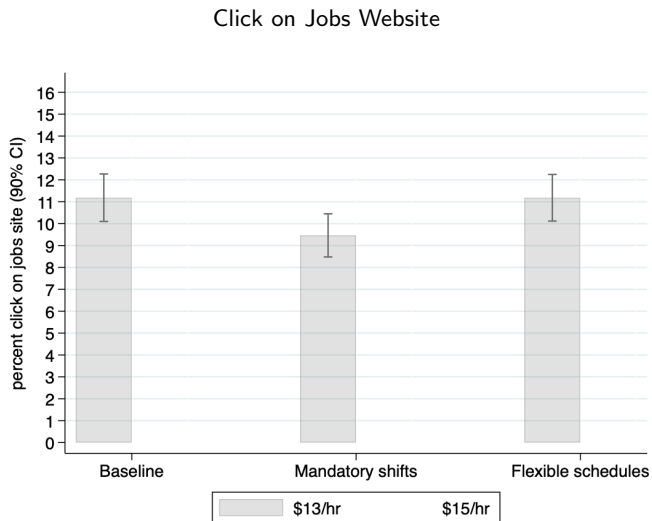
Raw Data: Interest in Jobs

Click on Jobs Website



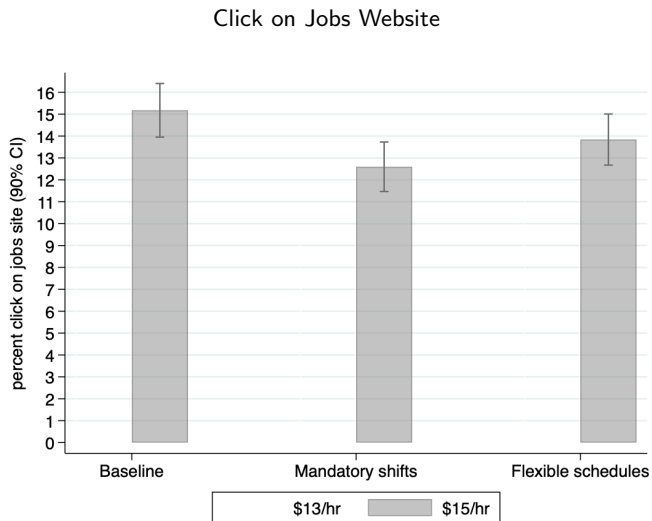
- ▶ Compare \$13 vs. \$15 at baseline

Raw Data: Interest in Jobs



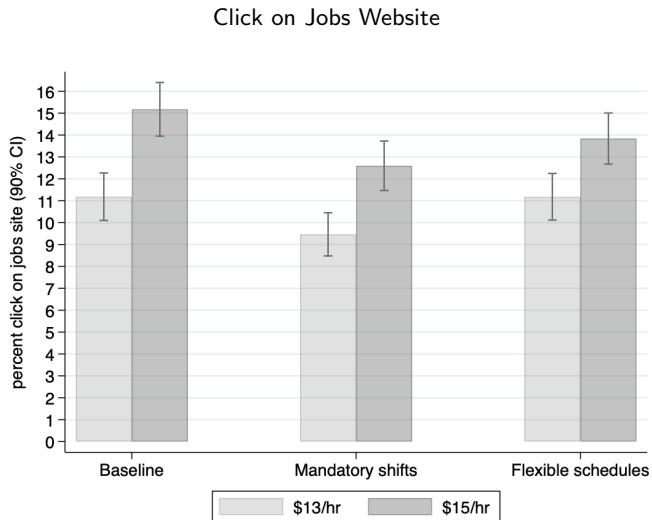
- ▶ Compare effect of mentioning shift work or flexible scheduling
 - ▶ when salient pay is \$13

Raw Data: Interest in Jobs



- ▶ Compare effect of mentioning shift work or flexible scheduling
 - ▶ when salient pay is \$15

Raw Data: Interest in Jobs



- ▶ Compare interactions btwn pay, shift work, flexible scheduling

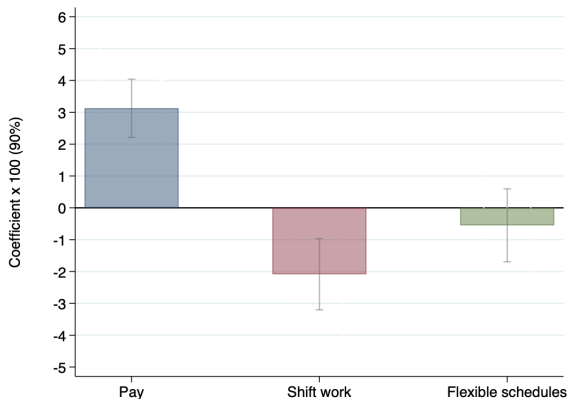
Regression Specification (ITT)

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{pay} + \beta_2 \text{shifts} + \beta_3 \text{flexible} \\ + \beta_2 X_i + \epsilon_i$$

- ▶ y_i : click rates (“interest”), % job applicants (extensive margin), applications (intensive margin)
- ▶ **Independent Variables:**
 1. **Pay** - \$13 vs. \$15
 2. **shift work** during weekdays and weekends
 3. **flexible** schedules around classes
- ▶ Controls X_i : student record data (age, female, race, academic level)
- ▶ Sample: students who opened email

Interest in Jobs

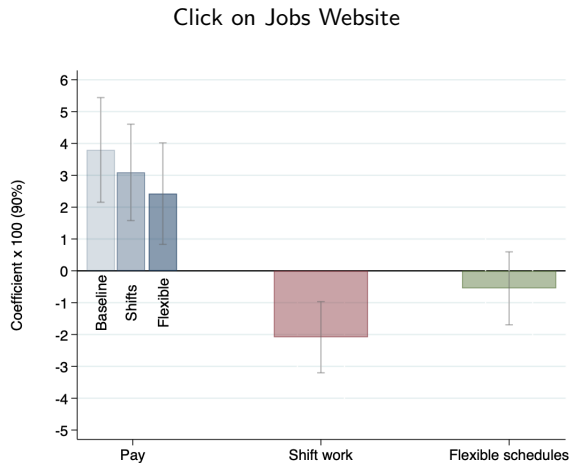
Click on Jobs Website



Pooling all results:

- ▶ Higher pay raises interest in jobs site
- ▶ Mentions of shift work decreases interest
- ▶ Mentions of flexible scheduling do not impact interest

Interest in Jobs



Examining impact of **pay**,

- ▶ greater interest for “baseline” condition, shift work condition, and flexible condition

Interest in Jobs



Examining impact of mentioning **shift work**:

- ▶ lower click rates if shift work is mentioned, when pay is \$13 or \$15

Interest in Jobs



Examining impact of mentioning **flexible scheduling**:

- ▶ no significant effect in either pay condition

2SLS Regression (TOT)

$$\text{First Stage: } \text{click}_{D_i} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 D_i + \alpha_2 X_i + v_i \quad (1)$$

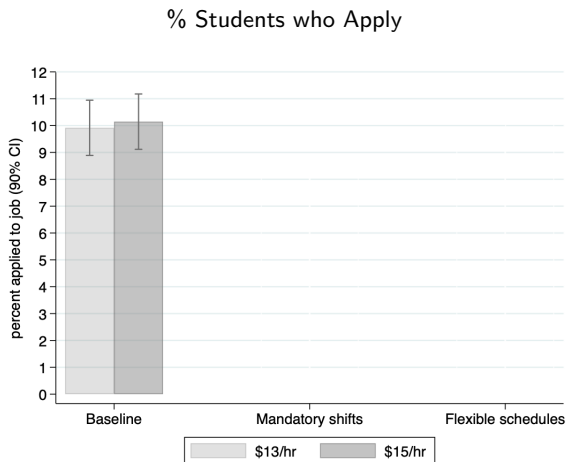
- ▶ D_i - randomized assignment to email:
 - ▶ **pay** - \$13 vs. \$15
 - ▶ **shift work** during weekdays and weekends
 - ▶ **flexible** schedules around classes
- ▶ click_{D_i} - click on jobs site | assigned to email D_i

2SLS Regression (TOT)

$$\text{Second Stage: } \tilde{y}_i = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 \widehat{\text{click}}_{D_i} + \gamma_2 X_i + u_i \quad (2)$$

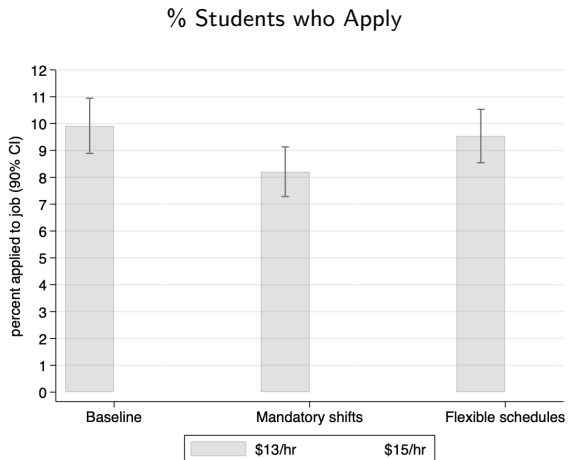
- ▶ \tilde{y}_i : % job applicants, applications
- ▶ Controls X_i : student record data (age, female, race, academic level)
- ▶ Sample: students who opened email
- ▶ **Exclusion restriction:** difference across assigned treatments impacts application rates through influencing whether student clicks on jobs site
- ▶ Robustness: Results hold with
 - ▶ OLS for students who opened email & all students (ITT)
 - ▶ Additional controls: residence, citizenship, expected family contribution, Pell eligibility, disability, major group
 - ▶ Interactions between pay and whether shifts/flexibility are mentioned

Raw Data: Job Applicants



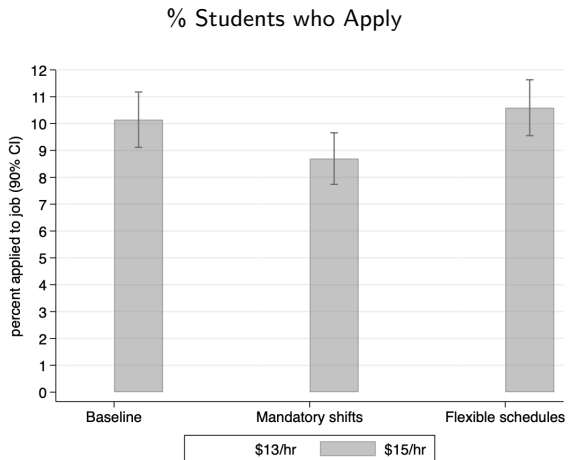
- ▶ Compare \$13 vs. \$15 at baseline
 - ▶ **no** effect of pay on actual application rates

Raw Data: Job Applicants



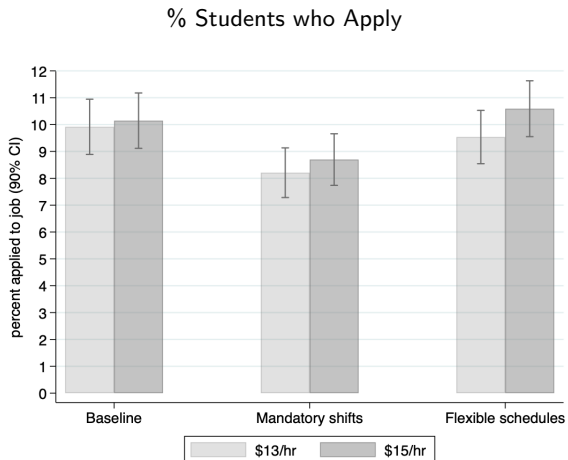
- ▶ When salient pay is \$13
 - ▶ mentioning shift work decreases applications
 - ▶ no impact of mentioning flexible scheduling

Raw Data: Job Applicants



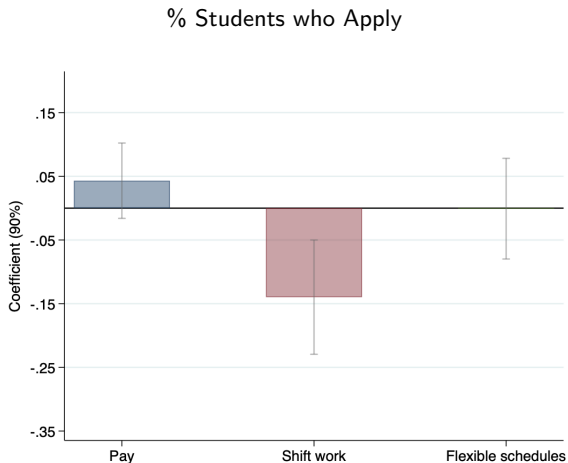
- ▶ When salient pay is \$15
 - ▶ mentioning shift work decreases applications
 - ▶ no impact of mentioning flexible scheduling

Raw Data: Job Applicants



- ▶ Compare interactions btwn pay, shift work, flexible scheduling

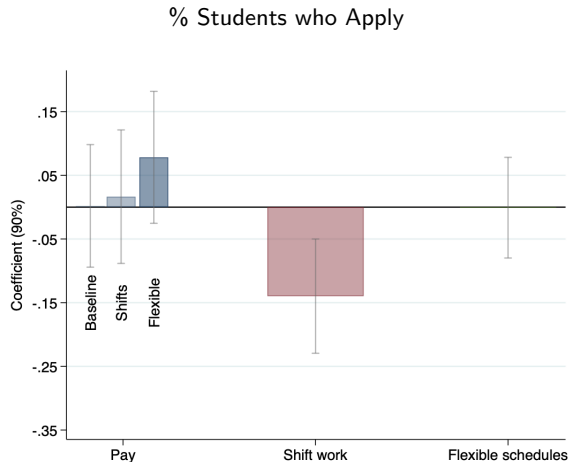
TOT Results: Job Applicants



Pooling all results:

- ▶ No impact of pay or flexible scheduling
- ▶ Decline in applications when email mentions shift work

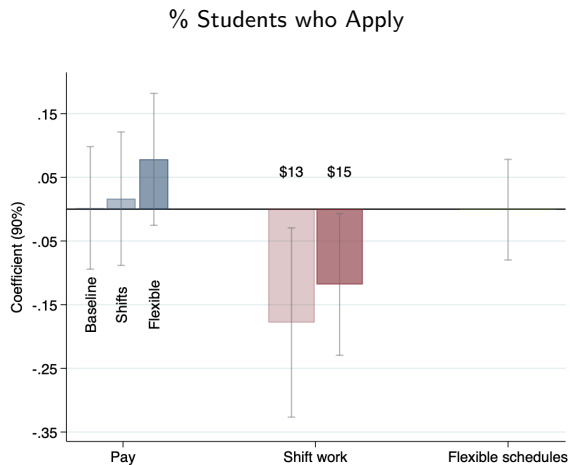
TOT Results: Job Applicants



Examining impact of **pay**,

- ▶ No impact in any condition
- ▶ Expected: clicking on jobs site reveals same pay information for all students
 - ▶ Regardless of whether email mentioned \$13 or \$15

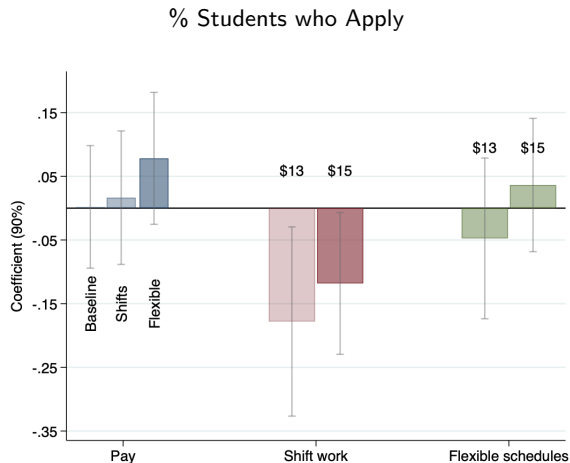
TOT Results: Job Applicants



Examining impact of **shift work**,

- ▶ Significant decline in applications for both \$13 and \$15 condition

TOT Results: Job Applicants



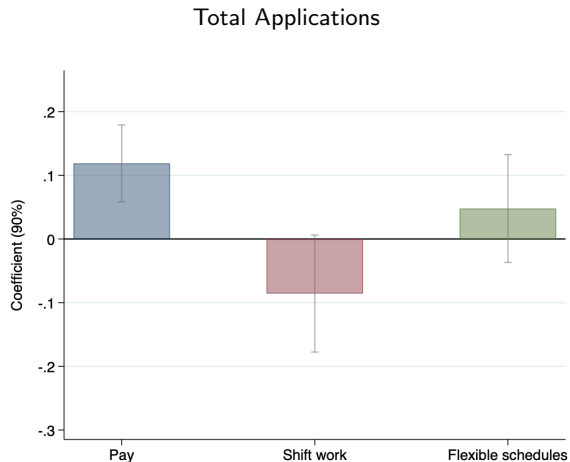
Examining impact of **flexible scheduling**,

- ▶ No significant impact in either pay condition

Mentions of **pay**

- ▶ increase interest but do not increase # students who ever apply
- ▶ do they change total applications received?

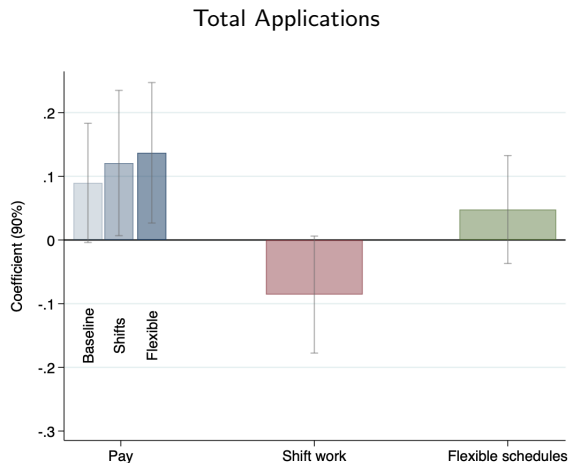
TOT Results: Applications



Pooling all results:

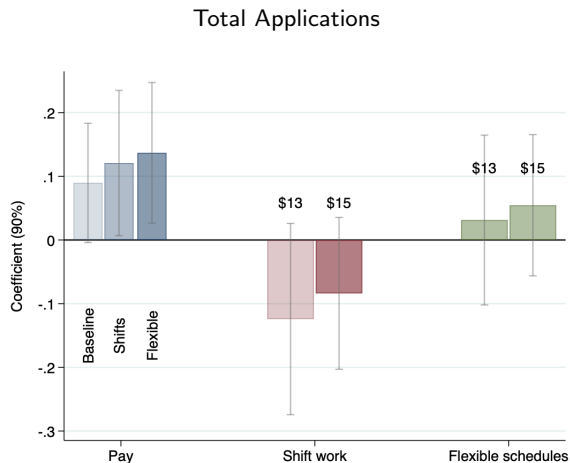
- ▶ Mentioning **pay** raises total volume of applications
- ▶ Mentioning **shift work** decreases total volume of applications

TOT Results: Applications



- ▶ Effect of pay is positive for all email conditions
 - ▶ significant only when flexible schedule mentioned

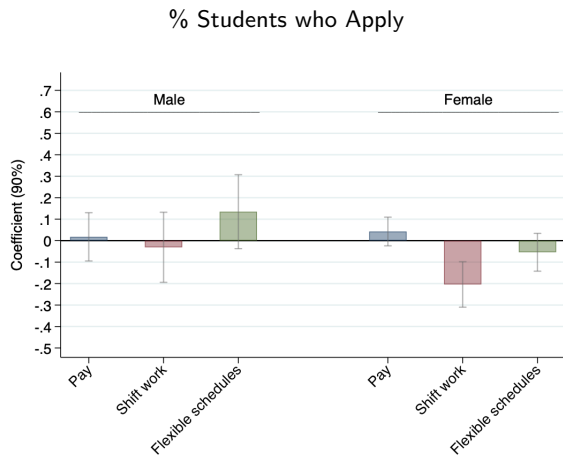
TOT Results: Applications



- ▶ Effect of shift work negative for both pay conditions
 - ▶ (insignificant in each condition)

Results by Gender

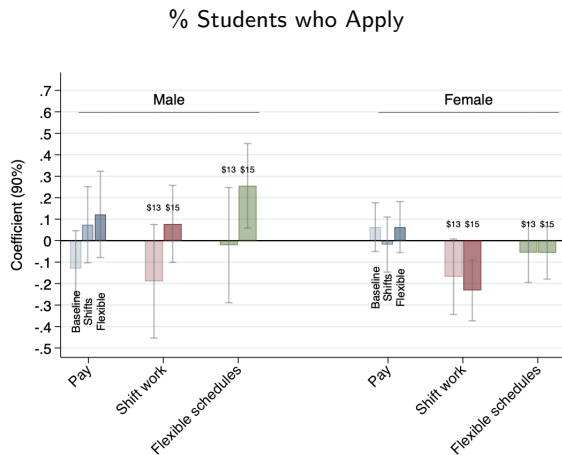
TOT Results by Gender: Applicants



Pooling all results:

- ▶ Decline in applicants for shift work driven by women

TOT Results by Gender: Applicants

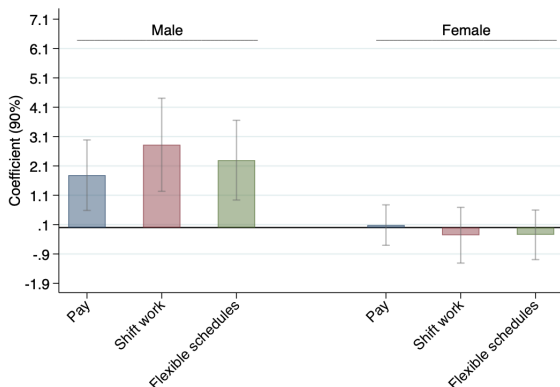


For those who received email mentioning \$15:

- ▶ Mentioning **shift work** decreases female applicants
- ▶ Mentioning **flexible scheduling** raises male applicants

TOT Results by Gender: Applications

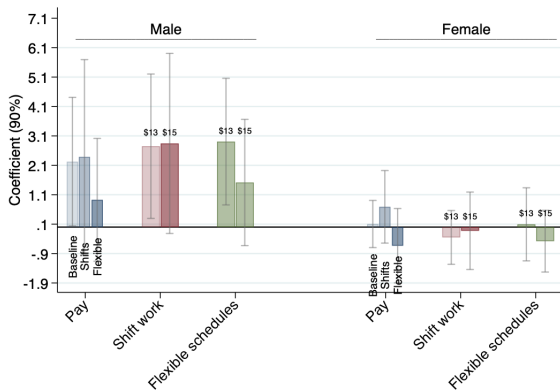
Average Applications per Applicant



- ▶ Mentioning pay, shift work, or flexible scheduling raises average applications per *male* applicant
 - ▶ *Opposite* gender effect of shift work!
 - ▶ Shift work conveys ambiguous information

TOT Results by Gender: Applications

Average Applications per Applicant

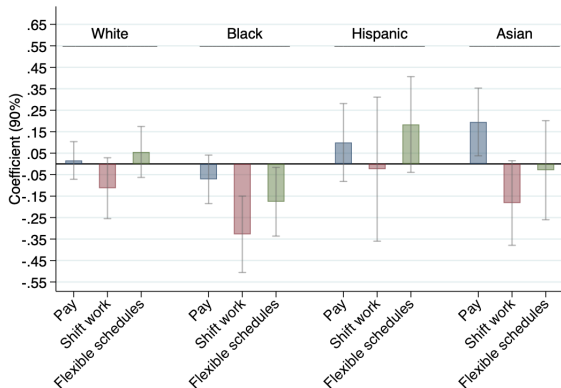


- ▶ Effect of pay significant for men only in baseline condition
- ▶ Effect of shift work, flexible scheduling significant for men who received email mentioning \$13

Results by Race

TOT Results by Race: Applicants

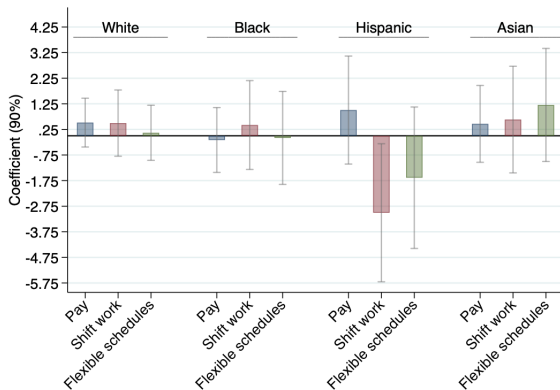
% Students who Apply



- ▶ Mentioning higher pay makes Asian students more likely to apply
- ▶ Mentions of shift work makes Black students less likely to apply

TOT Results by Race: Applications

Average Applications per Applicant

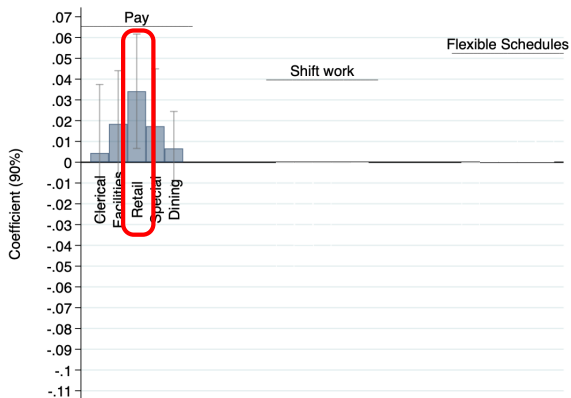


- ▶ Mentions of shift work decrease average applications among Hispanic applicants

Results by Job Type

Do emails affect type of position students apply to?

Coefficient estimate for different job types



- ▶ Mentioning **greater pay** raises application rates in retail jobs
 - ▶ E.g., Spirit shop, golf vendors, etc.

Do emails affect type of position students apply to?

TOT estimates for different job types

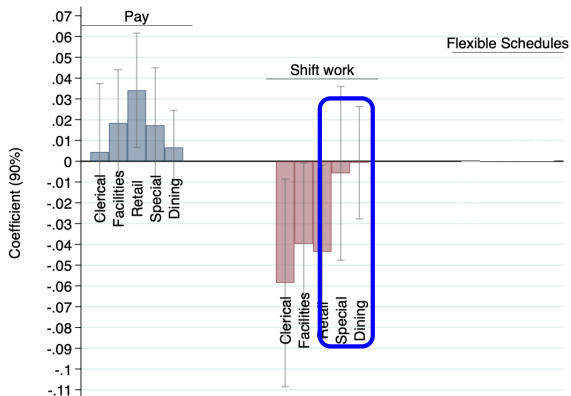


► Shift work

- Decreases applications to clerical, facilities, and retail
- All tend to mention weekend work in their job ads

Do emails affect type of position students apply to?

TOT estimates for different job types

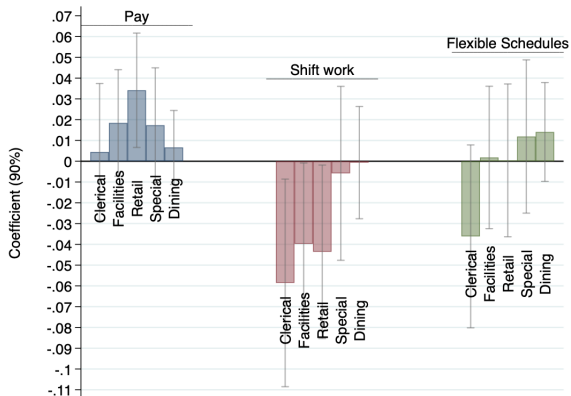


► Shift work

- Decreases applications to all categories except specialized and dining
 - Specialized: helps students learn skills, helpful for major or future career
 - Dining: difficult to hire for; higher hours than other categories

Do emails affect type of position students apply to?

TOT estimates for different job types



► Flexible scheduling

- No significant impact across job categories
- Specialized, dining esp likely to mention flexible scheduling around classes

Conclusion

What job features appeal to students?

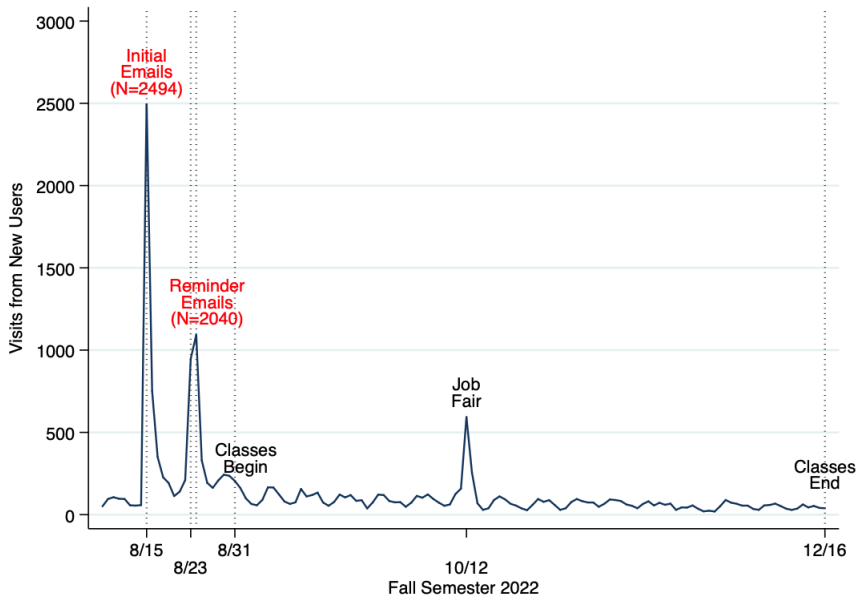
- ▶ Pay: email mentioning higher pay rate generated more interest, more applications
- ▶ Flexibility: mentioning shift work decreased female applicants, generated more applications among men
- ▶ Vague mentions of “flexible scheduling around classes” had limited effect
 - ▶ Some evidence of higher application likelihoods among men
- ▶ Notable gender gap in results
 - ▶ women deterred by shift work
 - ▶ driven by Black and Hispanic women
 - ▶ connects to lit arguing that women have greater preferences for flexibility (Goldin, 2014; Mas and Pallais, 2017; He et al., 2021)

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- ▶ Ross, M., & Svajlenka, N.P. 2016. Employment and disconnection among teens and young adults: The role of place, race, and education. Brookings Institute Report. Accessed May 22, 2023 at <https://www.brookings.edu/research/employment-and-disconnection-among-teens-and-young-adults-the-role-of-place-race-and-education/>
- ▶ Whillans, A., West, C. Alleviating time poverty among the working poor: a pre-registered longitudinal field experiment. *Sci Rep* 12, 719 (2022).

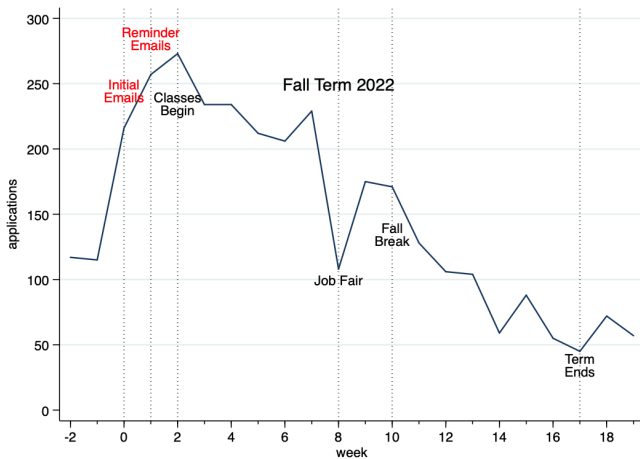
Reminder emails mostly generate clicks from new users

New Users to Jobs Website



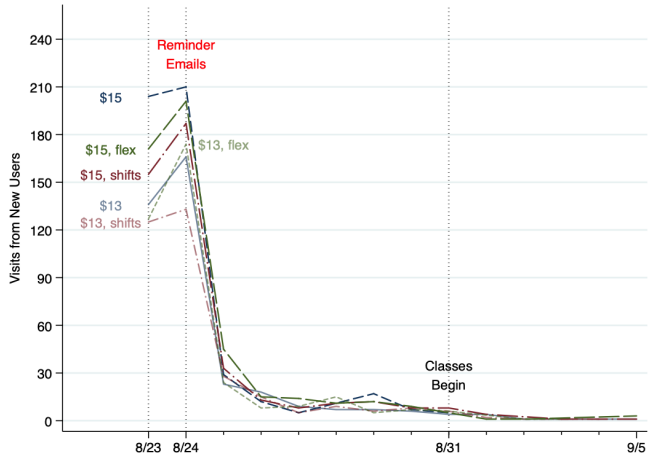
Students continue to apply after intervention week

Job Applications



New users to job site by treatment

New Users to Jobs Website



Demographic Breakdown

	% of students	% opened email	% click if opened email	% apply if opened email
Men	47.4%	40.8%	31.4%	36.4%
Women	52.6%	59.2%	68.64%	63.6%
White	66.5%	65.1%	54.1%	49.1%
Black	6.9%	6.9%	13.0%	12.9%
Hispanic	6.3%	6.2%	7.3%	7.0%
Asian	7.9%	8.5%	11.2%	8.3%
Total	40,875	14,077	1,722	1,339

Relative to representation in student population,

- ▶ Women more likely to open email, click, and apply
- ▶ Whites less likely to click and apply
- ▶ Blacks more likely to click and apply

◀ Results by Gender

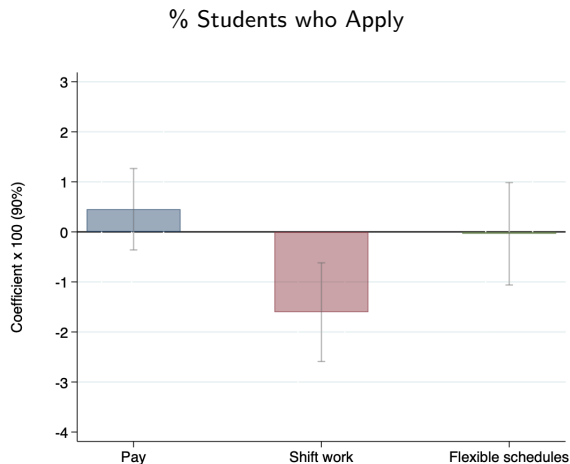
◀ Results by Race

Demographic Breakdown (Intersection)

	% of students	% opened email	% click if opened email	% apply if opened email
White Men	31.1%	25.8%	16.4%	15.2%
White Women	35.4%	39.3%	37.7%	33.9%
Black Men	2.7%	2.1%	2.9%	3.2%
Black Women	4.2%	4.8%	10.1%	9.6%
Hispanic Men	2.8%	2.3%	2.2%	2.3%
Hispanic Women	3.5%	3.9%	5.1%	4.7%
Asian Men	4.0%	3.7%	3.5%	3.1%
Asian Women	3.9%	4.8%	7.6%	5.2%
Total	40,875	14,077	1,722	1,339

- ▶ Among minorities, women more likely to click and apply
 - ▶ esp Black and Asian women

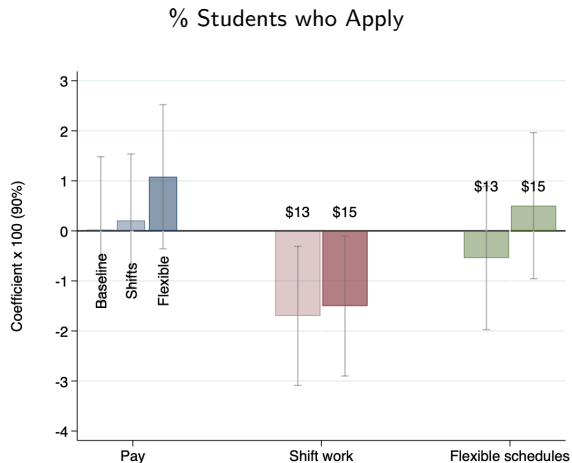
ITT Regression Results: Job Applicants



Examining impact of **flexible scheduling**,

- ▶ No significant impact in either pay condition

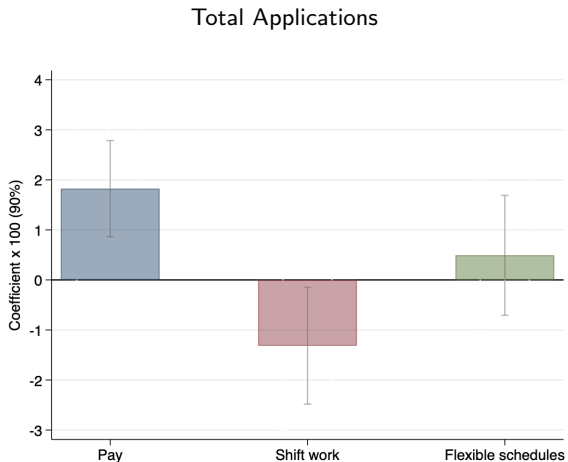
ITT Regression Results: Job Applicants



Examining impact of **flexible scheduling**,

- ▶ No significant impact in either pay condition

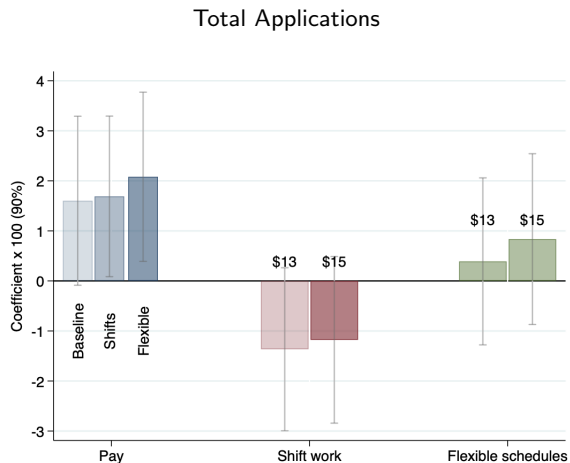
ITT Results: Applications



Pooling all results:

- ▶ Mentioning **pay** raises total volume of applications
- ▶ Mentioning **shift work** decreases total volume of applications

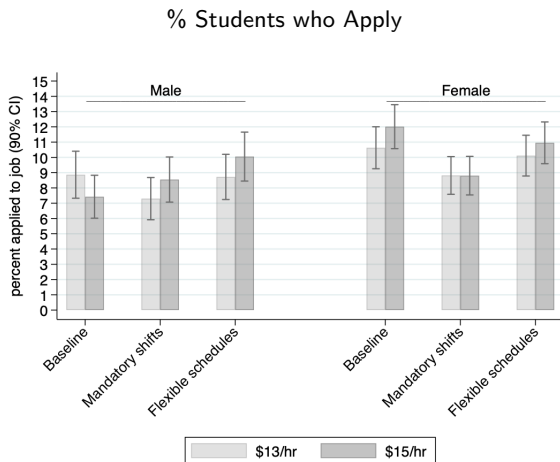
ITT Results: Applications



- ▶ Effect of shift work negative for both pay conditions
 - ▶ (insignificant in each condition)

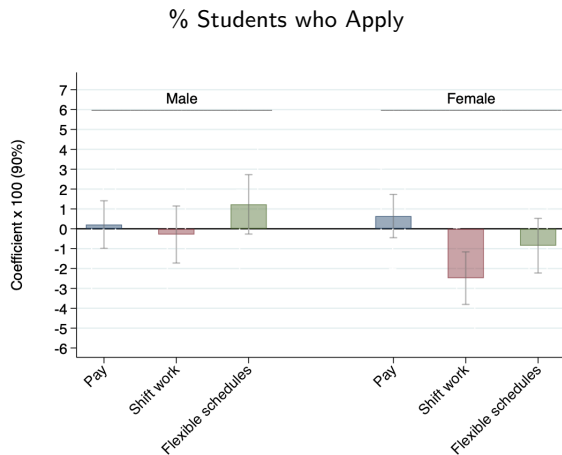
◀ TOT Results

Raw Data: Applicants by Gender



- ▶ More women apply than men at baseline (852 vs. 487)
- ▶ Emails mentioning pay do not impact # of applicants
- ▶ Mentioning **shift work** decreases # of female applicants

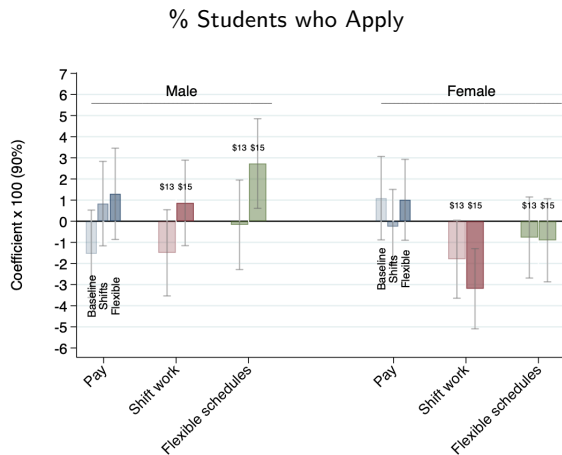
ITT Results by Gender: Applicants



Pooling all results:

- ▶ Decline in applicants for shift work driven by women

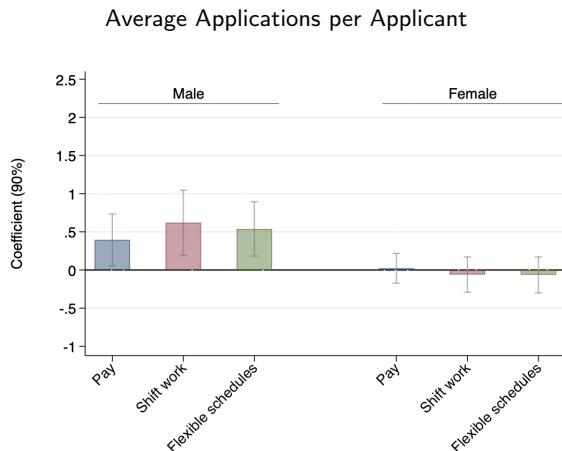
ITT Results by Gender: Applicants



For those who received email mentioning \$15:

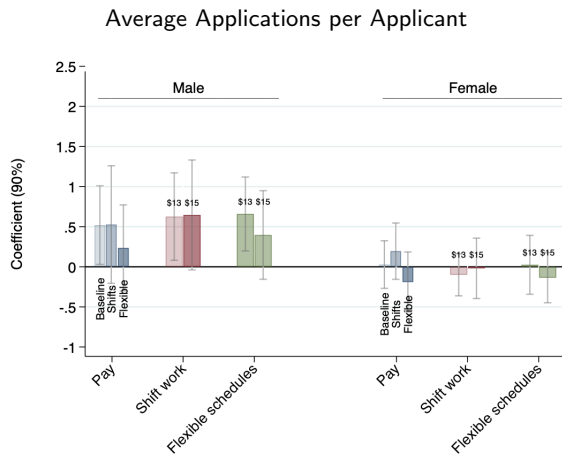
- ▶ Mentioning **shift work** decreases female applicants
- ▶ Mentioning **flexible scheduling** raises male applicants

ITT Results by Gender: Applications



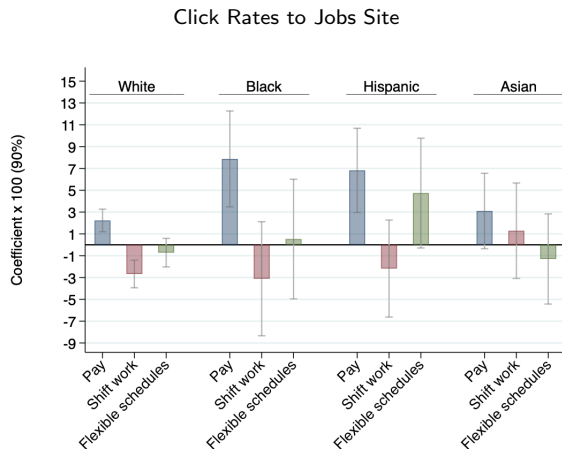
- ▶ Mentioning pay, shift work, or flexible scheduling raises average applications per *male applicant*
 - ▶ *Opposite* gender effect of shift work!
 - ▶ Shift work conveys ambiguous information

ITT Results by Gender: Applications



- ▶ Effect of pay significant for men only in baseline condition
- ▶ Effect of shift work, flexible scheduling significant for men who received email mentioning \$13

ITT Results by Race: Interest in Jobs

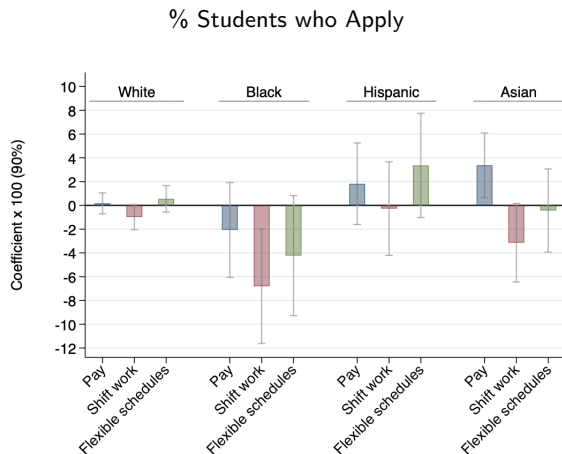


► Mentioning higher pay raises interest among White, Black, Hispanic students

Demographic Breakdown

◀ Race Results

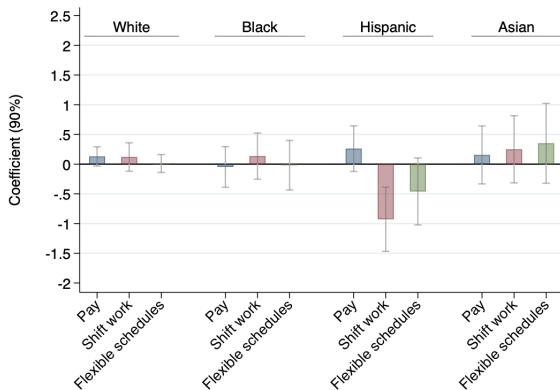
ITT Results by Race: Applicants



- ▶ Mentioning higher pay makes Asian students more likely to apply
- ▶ Mentions of shift work makes Black students less likely to apply

ITT Results by Race: Applications

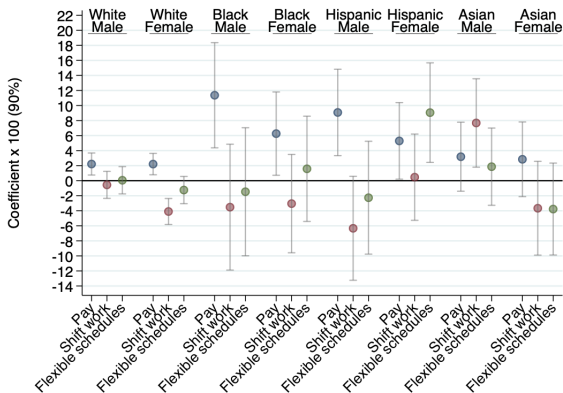
Average Applications per Applicant



- ▶ Mentions of shift work decrease average applications among Hispanic applicants

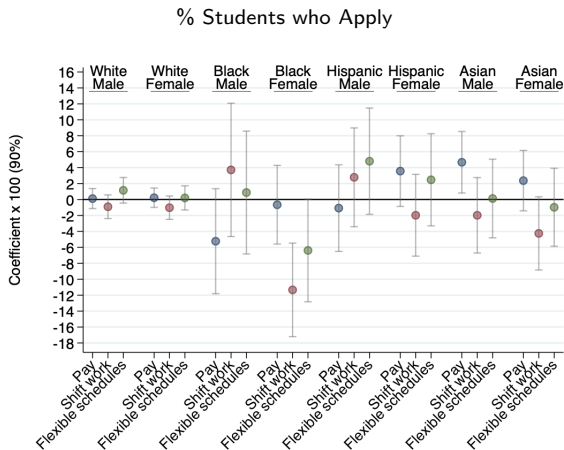
ITT Results by Race and Gender: Interest in Jobs

Click Rates to Jobs Site



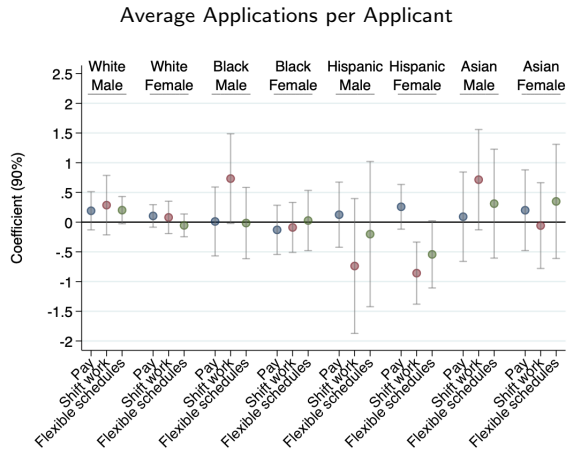
- ▶ Mentioning higher pay raises interest among both men and women among White, Black, and Hispanic students
- ▶ Mentions of shift work decreases interest among White women
- ▶ Mentions of shift work raise interest among Asian men

ITT Results by Race and Gender: Applicants



- ▶ Mentioning higher pay makes Asian students more likely to apply
- ▶ Mentions of shift work makes Black students less likely to apply

ITT Results by Race and Gender: Applications



- ▶ Mentions of shift work decrease average applications among Hispanic applicants

Do emails affect type of position students apply to?

ITT estimates for different job types

