

Evaluating the Efficiency of Regulation in Matching Markets with Distributional Disparities

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introduction

- outcomes in matching markets may differ from socially desirable ones
- policymakers often intervene in these markets
 - e.g., affirmative action in school choice, gender quotas in elections
- a common intervention is **cap-based regulation**
 - limits the number of matches in certain categories

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 - **after:** students can **freely express their preferences**, leading to a concentration of applicants in **non-university** and **urban** programs

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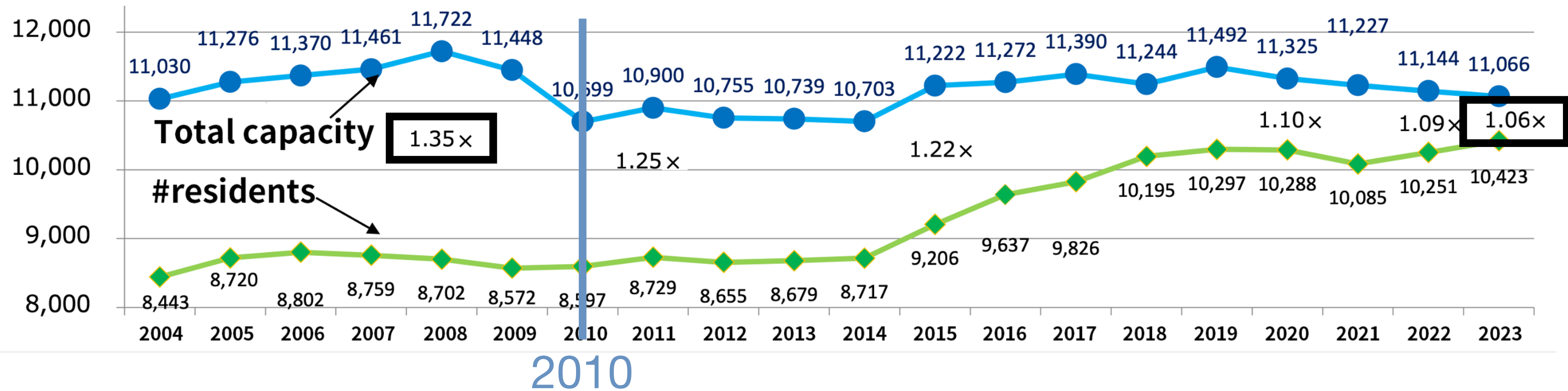
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 - in 2009, **48.6%** of residents were matched with hospitals in **6** of Japan's **47** prefectures
- policymakers sought to secure adequate resident coverage in all areas

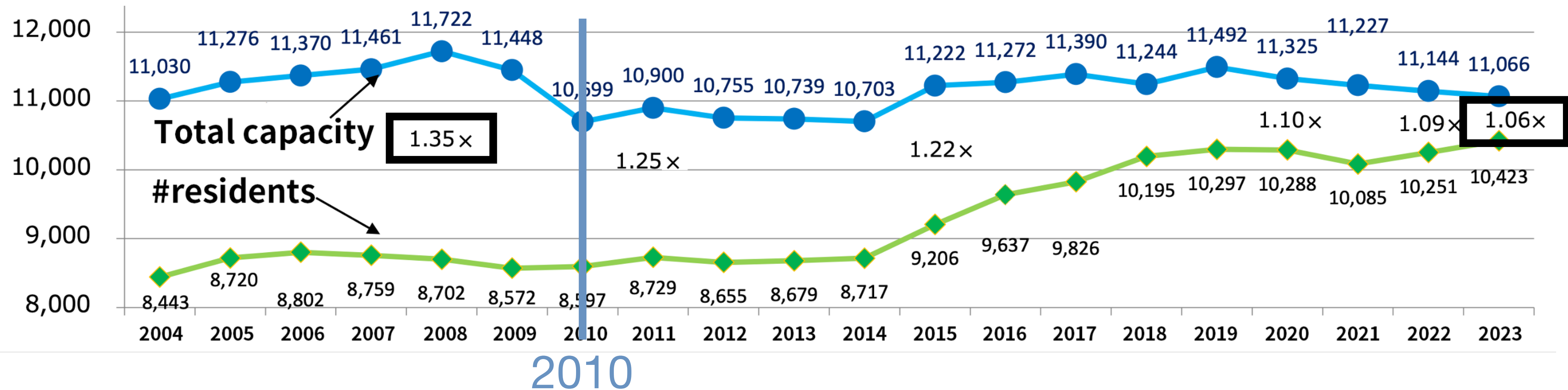
cap-based regulation in JRMP

- government has imposed cap-based regulation **since 2010**.



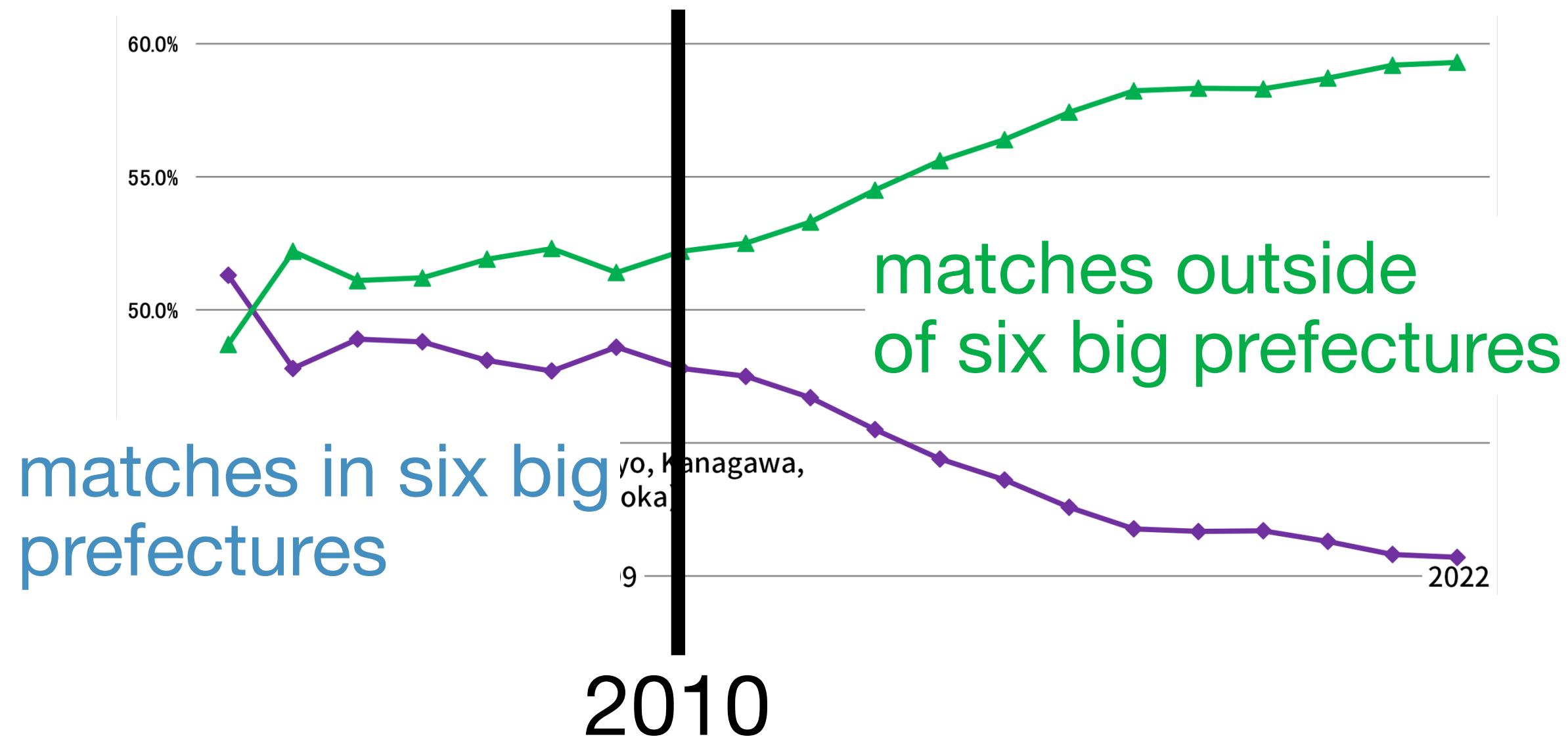
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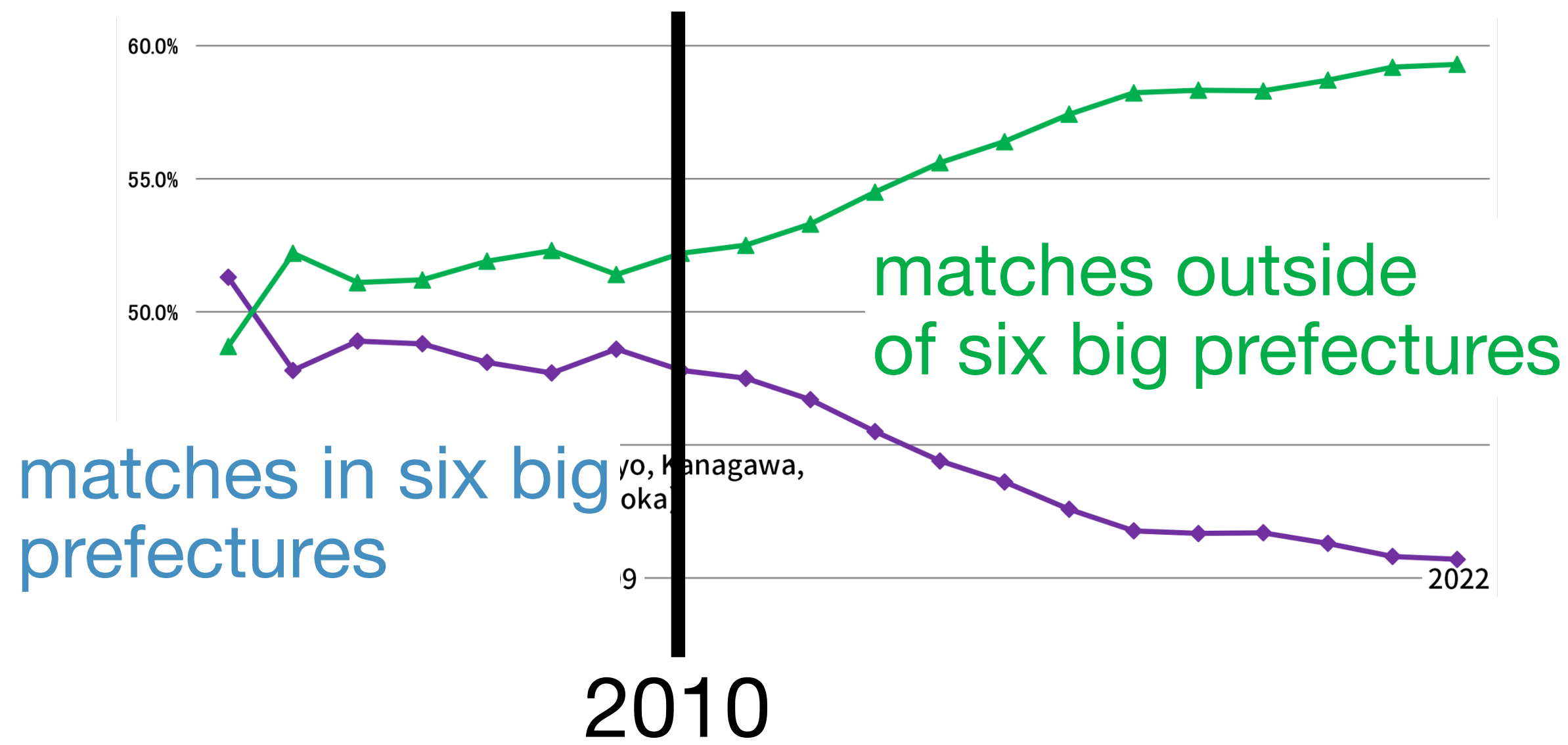
- ratio of positions to residents has decreased (**1.35** in 2008 to **1.06** in 2023)
- share of positions in urban areas has decreased (**42.3%** in 2004 to **35.1%** in 2023)

results of the regulation



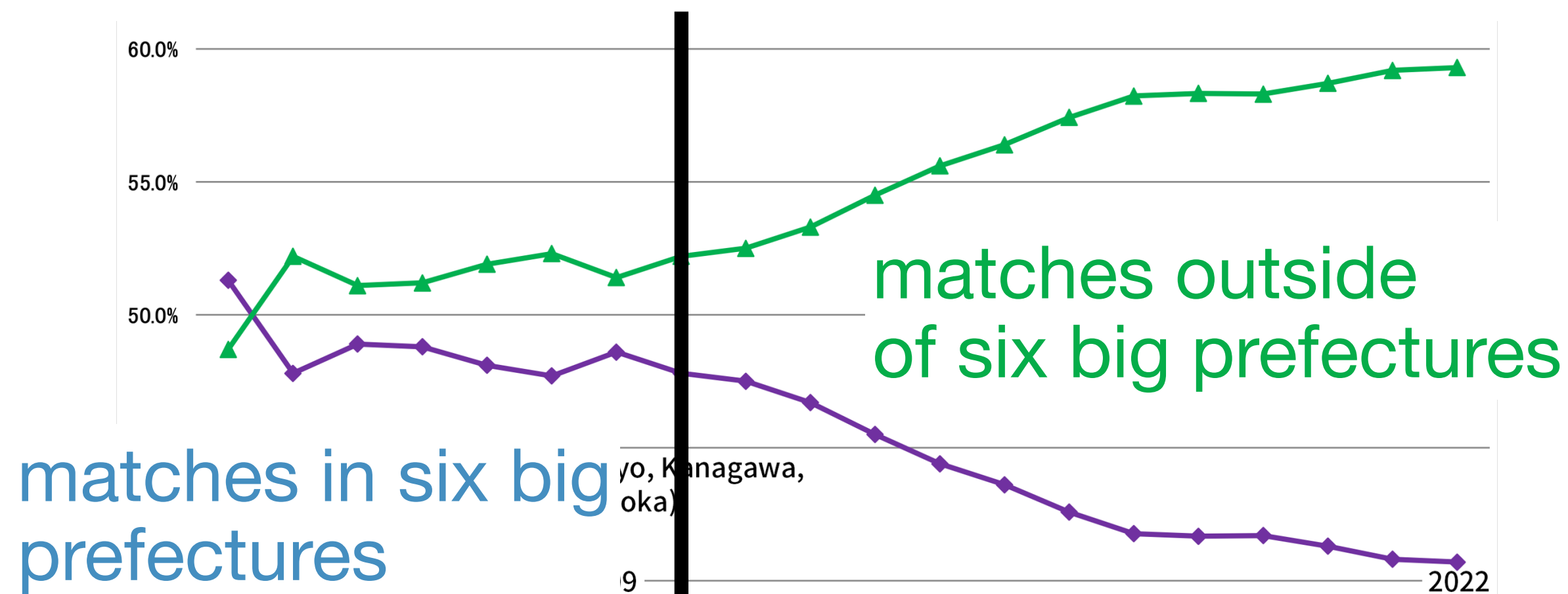
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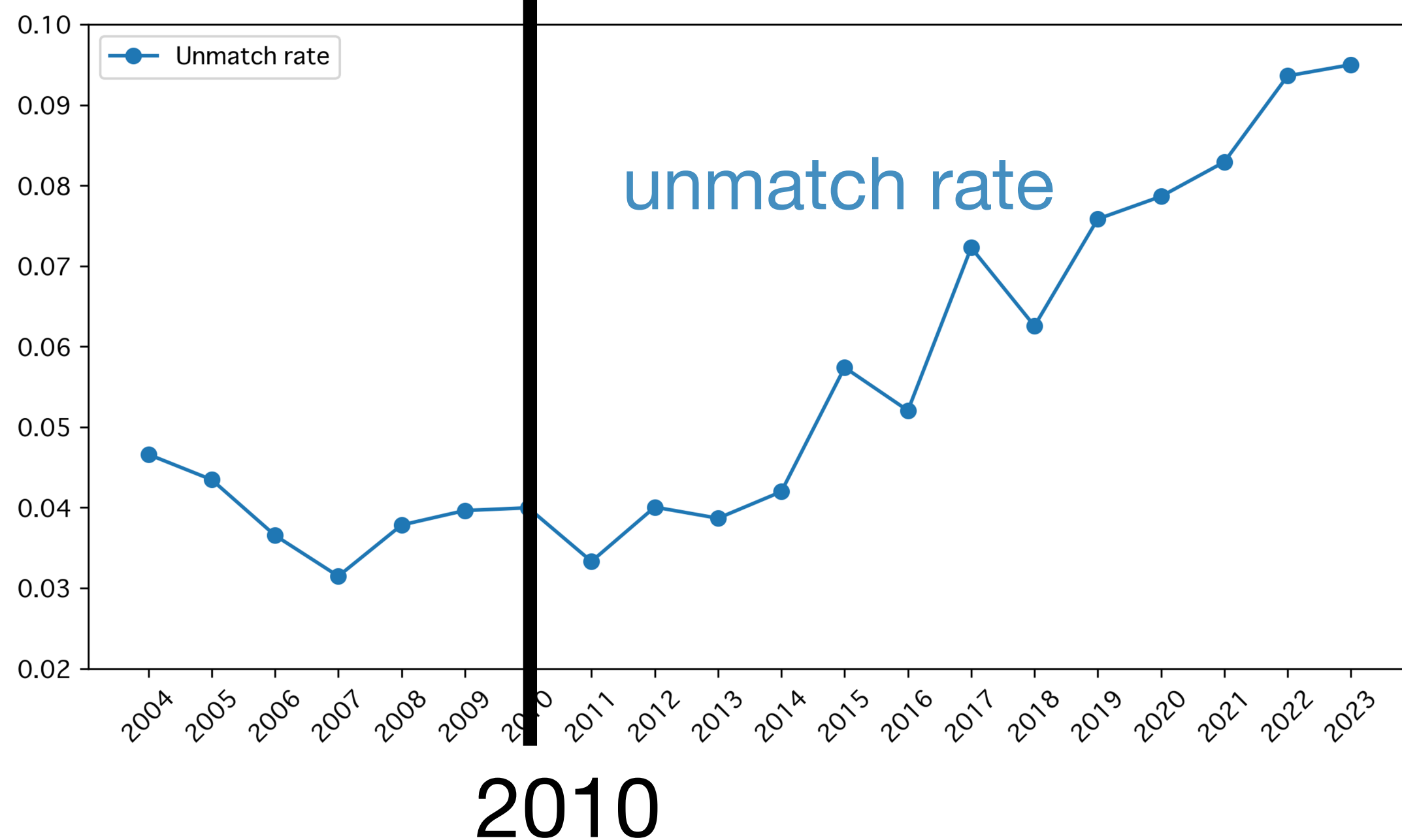


- share of matches in urban areas has decreased (+)
- effects on rural areas are mixed (-)

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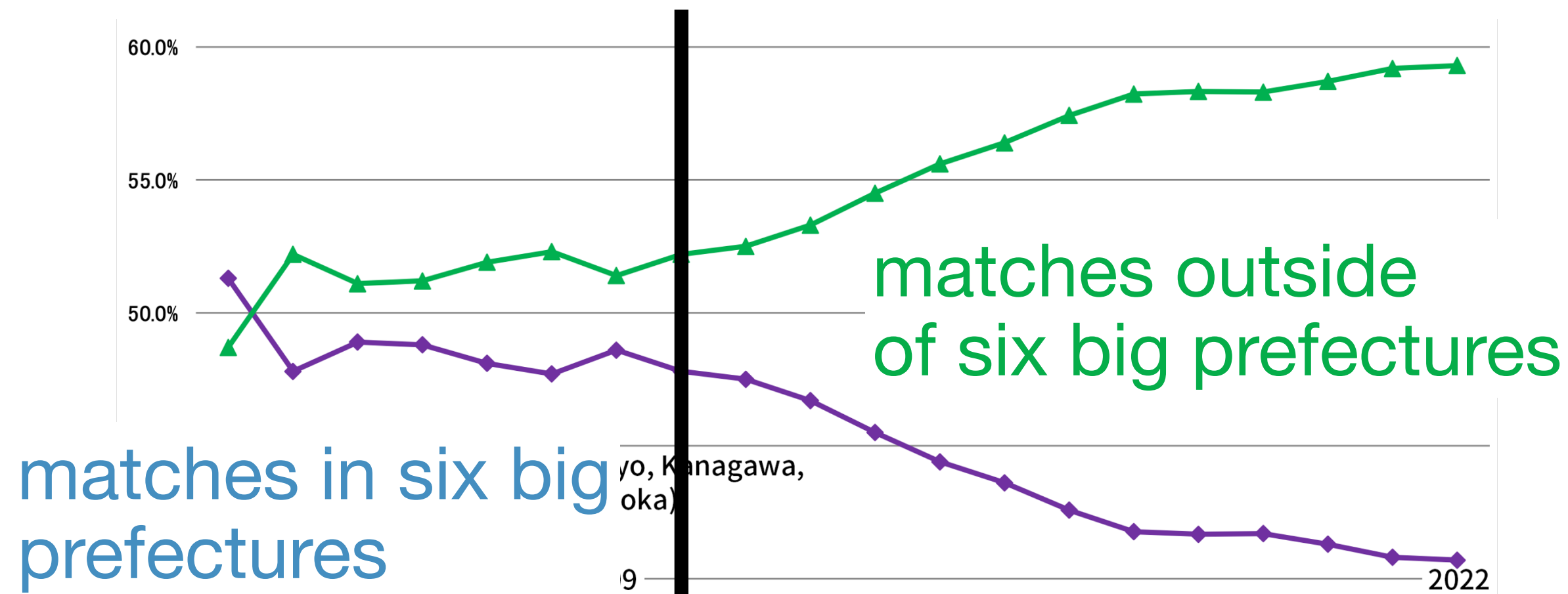


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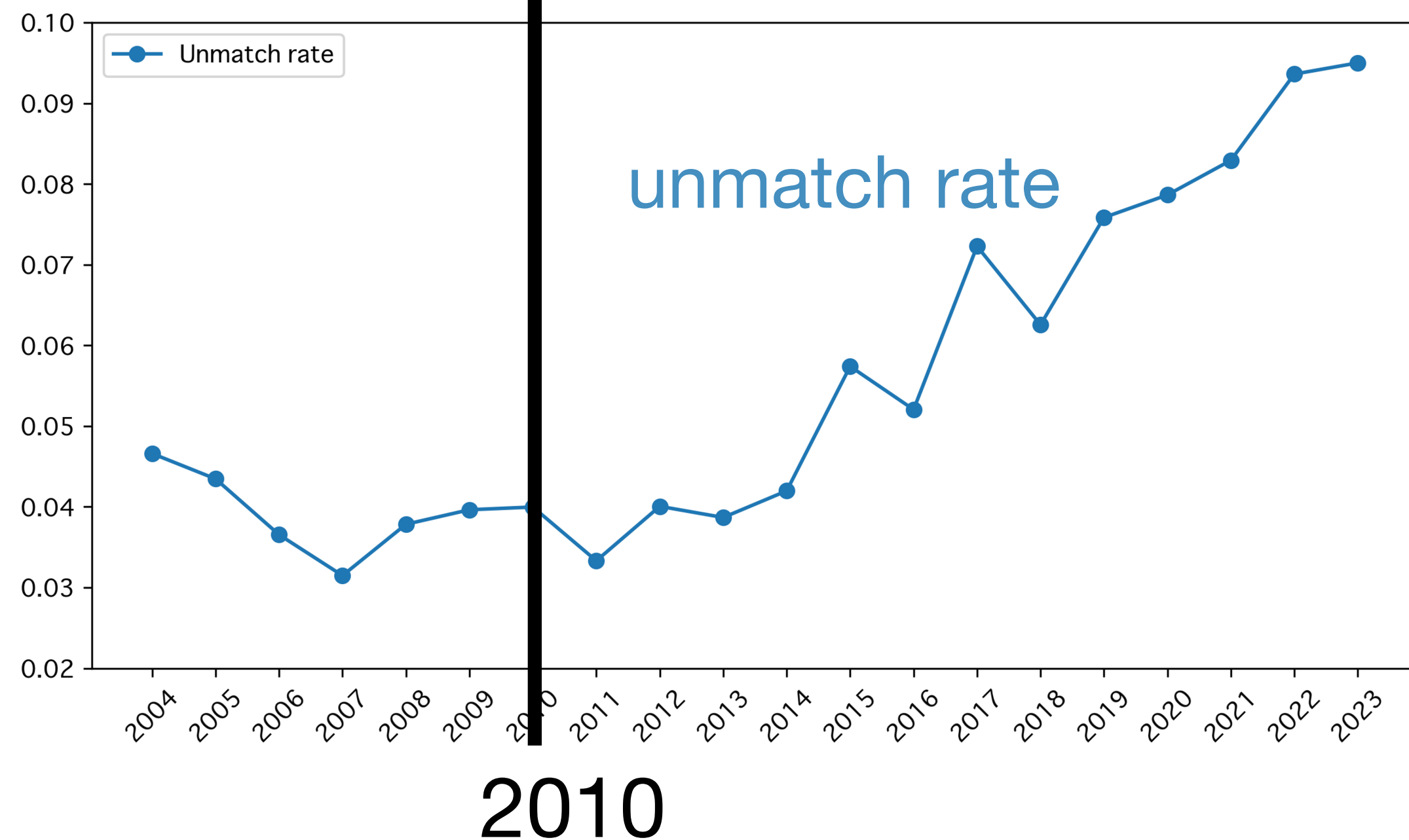


- unmatch rate has been increasing (-)
 - **4%** in 2010 → **9%+** in 2023

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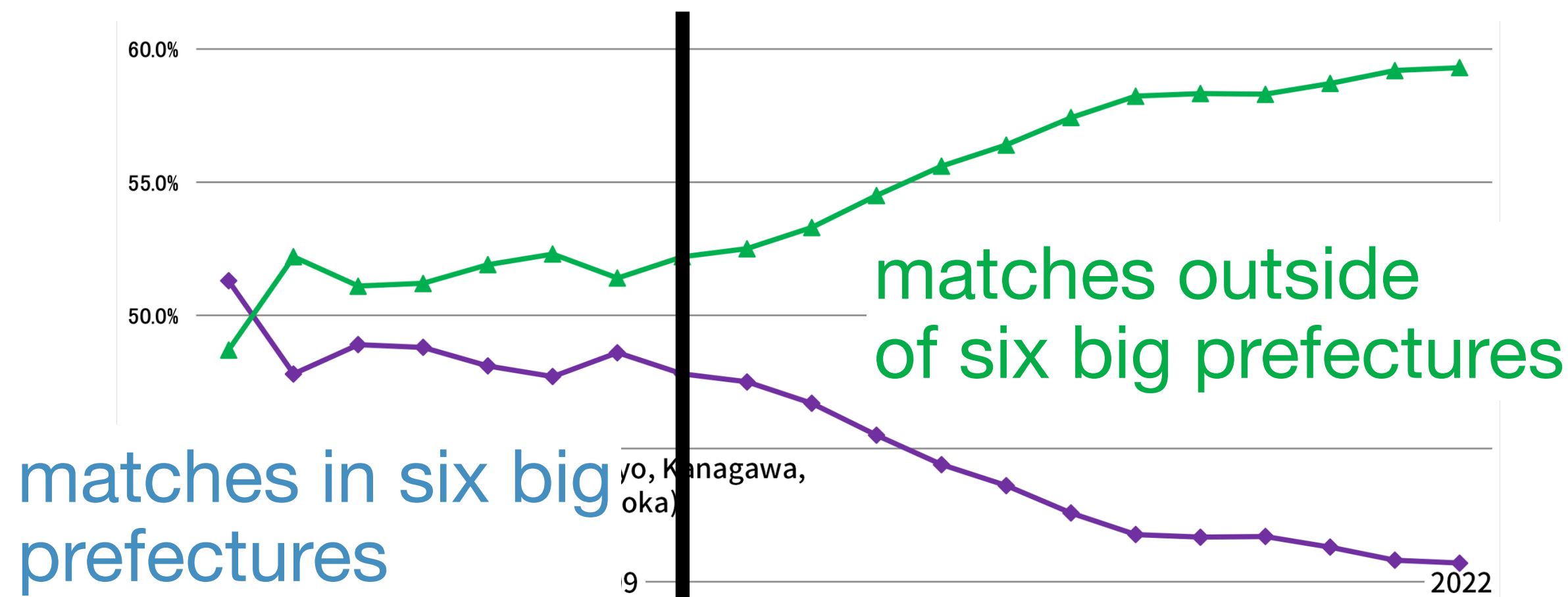
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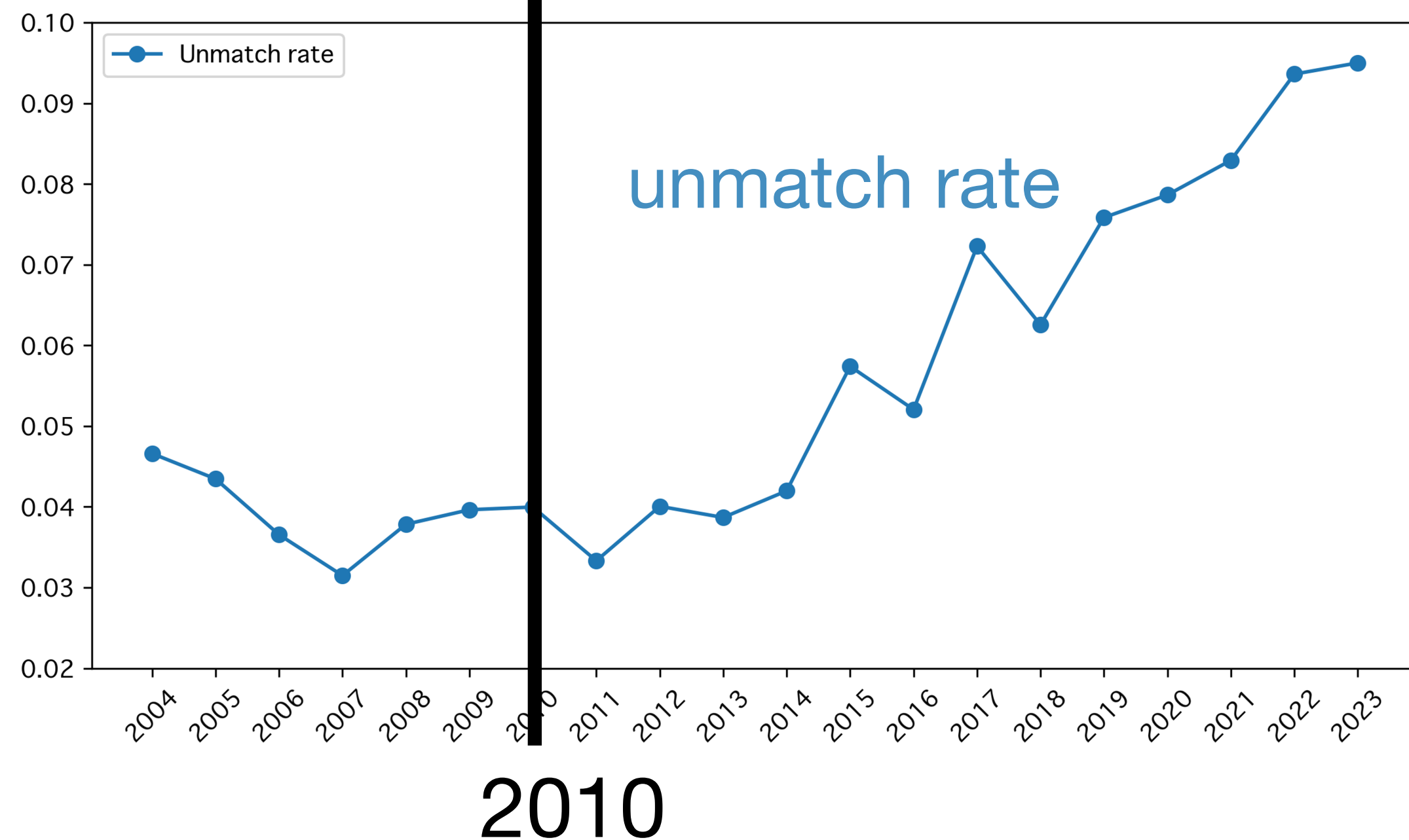
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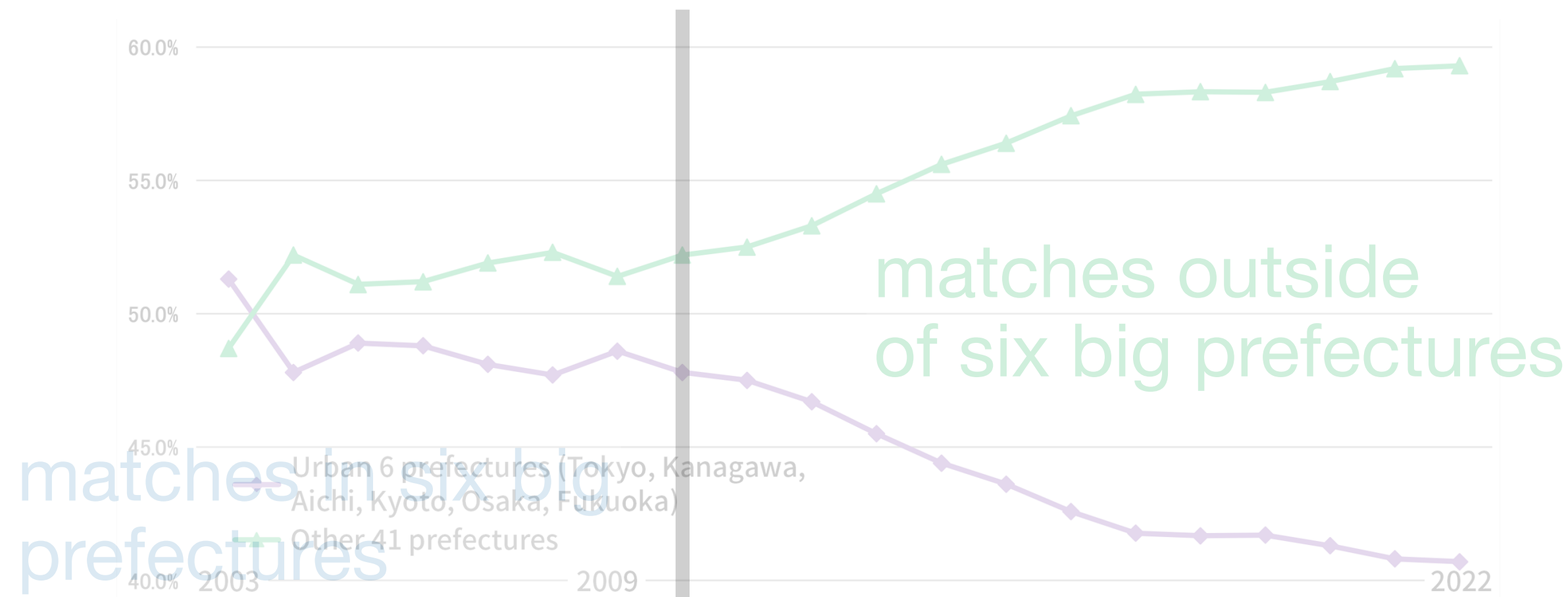


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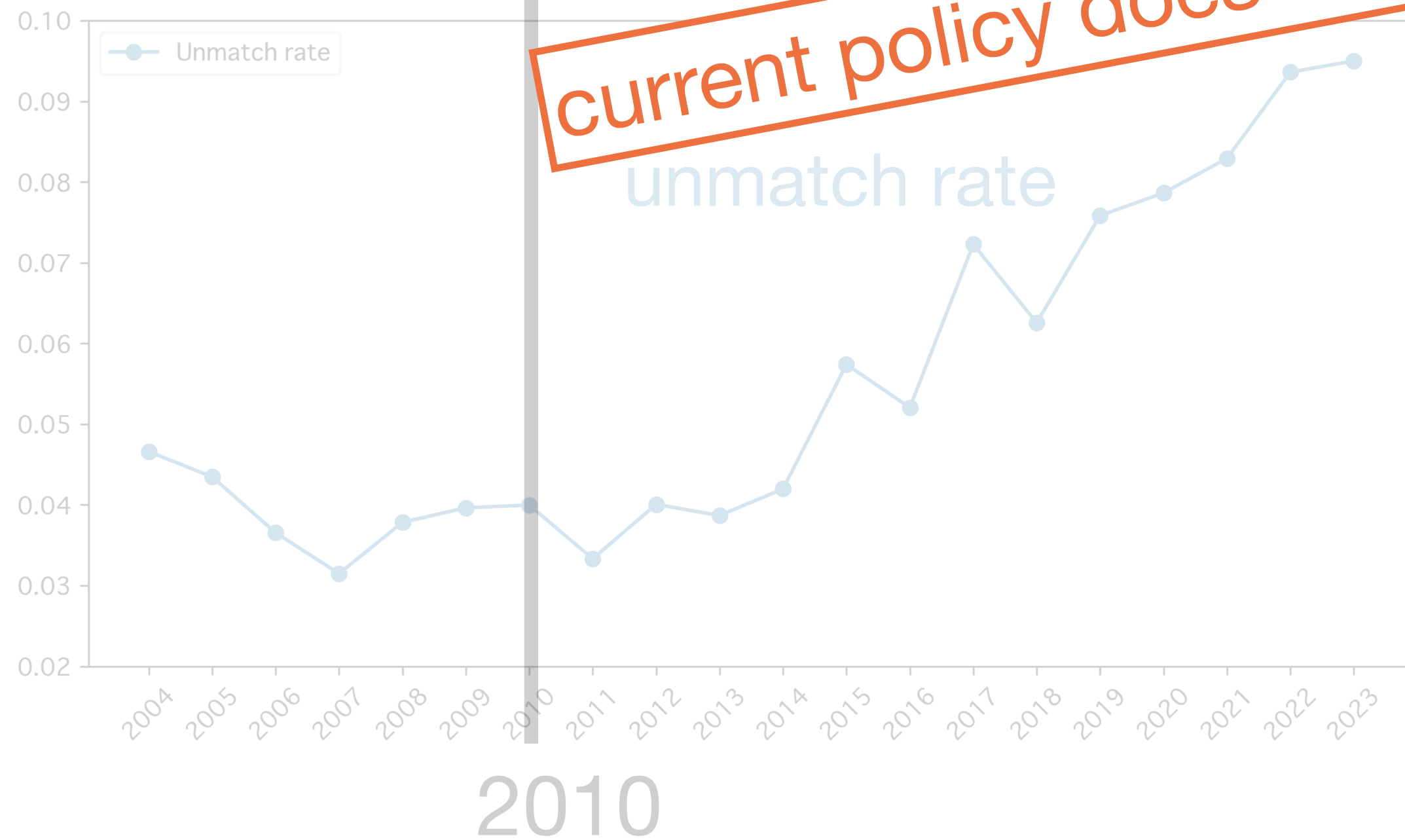
- search for a position in a rapid, decentralized mkt
- wait and reapply next year
- leave the medical career path

results of the regulation



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current policy does not appear to be very effective



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questions

- how effective is cap-based regulation?
- how do alternative policies, such as monetary interventions, compare?
- can we quantify their performance?

contribution

this paper:

- develops a framework to evaluate policies in matching mkt with distributional constraints
 - transferable utility matching model with **regional constraints**
 - "optimal" taxation policy generates higher social surplus than cap-based policies
 - in large mkts, an approx. opt. taxation policy can be computed from observable data
- applies the framework to a novel dataset from the Japan Residency Matching Program:
 - status quo cap-based regulation generates a **significant welfare loss**
 - moderate subsidy can achieve the same distributional goal, improving welfare

some relevant literature

- **matching with distributional constraints**

- **Kamada and Kojima (2015)**, Abdulkadiroglu and Sonmez (2003), Ehlers, Hafalir, Yenmez, and Yildirim (2014), Kojima (2012), Hafalir, Yenmez, and Yildirim (2013), Fragiadakis and Troyan (2017) ...
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- primarily focuses on how to **set caps** by modifying the deferred acceptance algorithm

- **our paper:** uses the **transferable utility (TU)** matching model

- accommodates a **broader class of policies**, including monetary interventions, with a **clear welfare benchmark**

- accounts for **endogenous transfers** (e.g., salary adjustment in response to intervention)



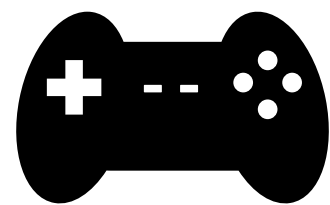
model



theoretical results



estimation



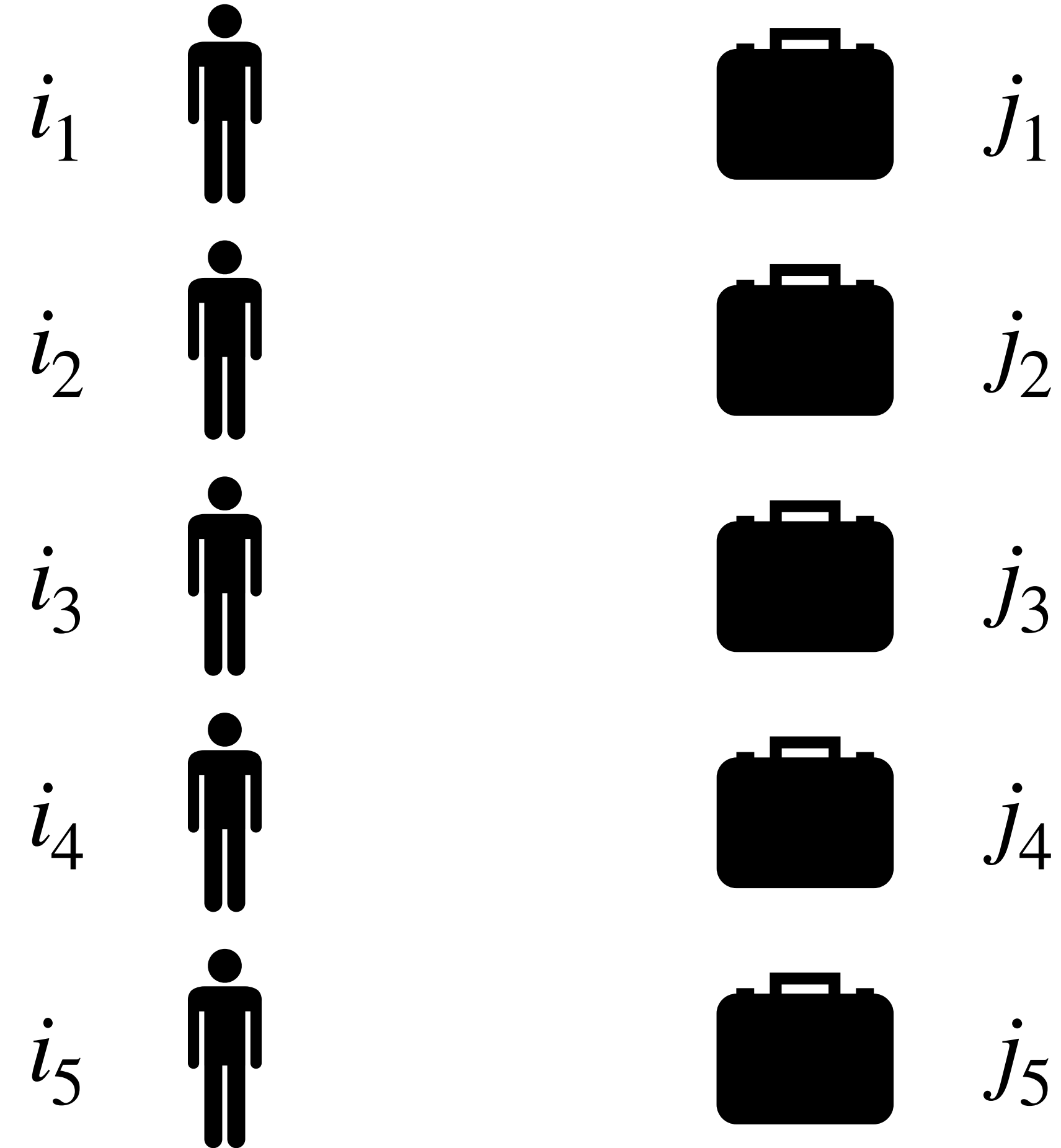
simulation

agents' problem

- doctors $i \in I$ and positions $j \in J$

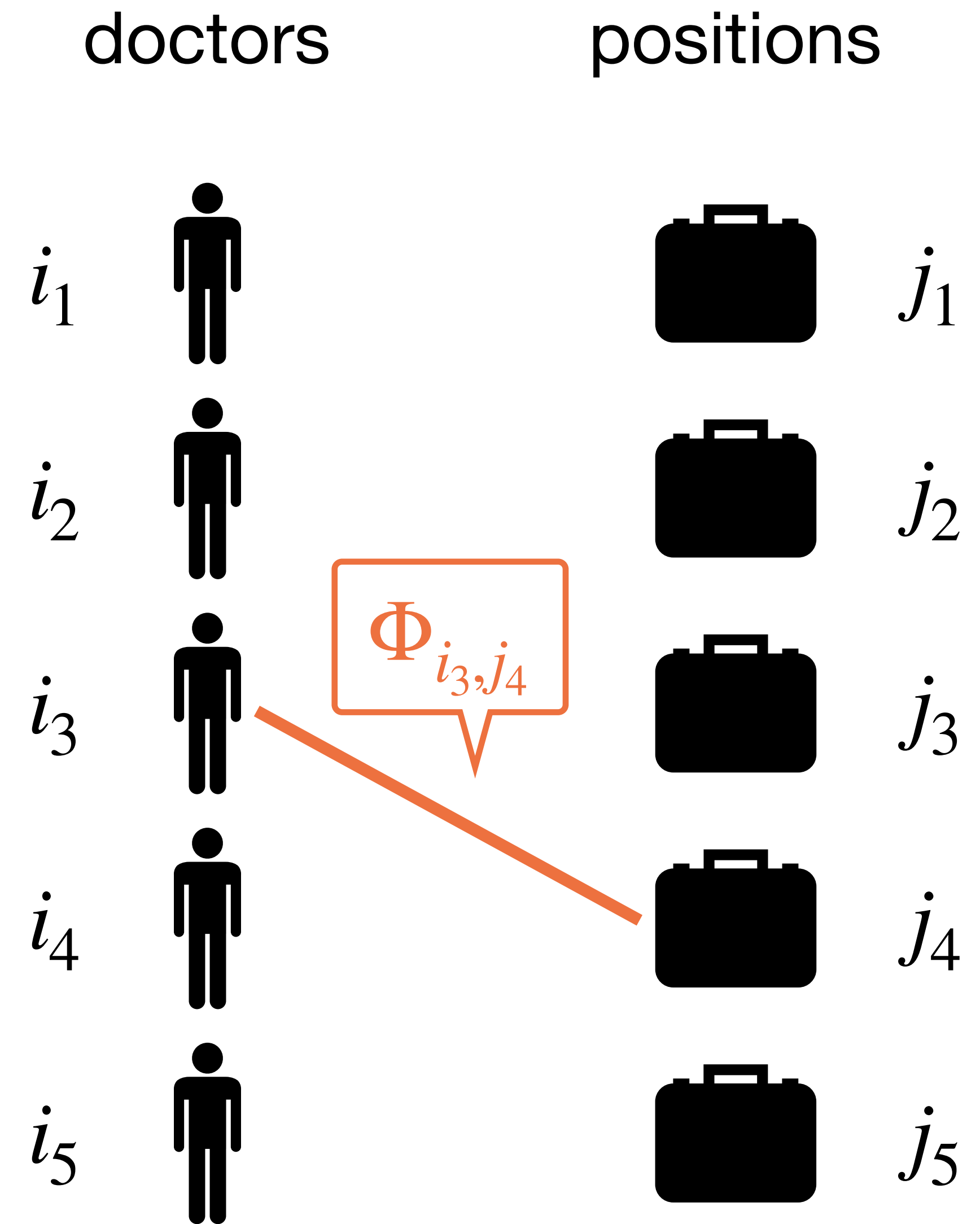
doctors

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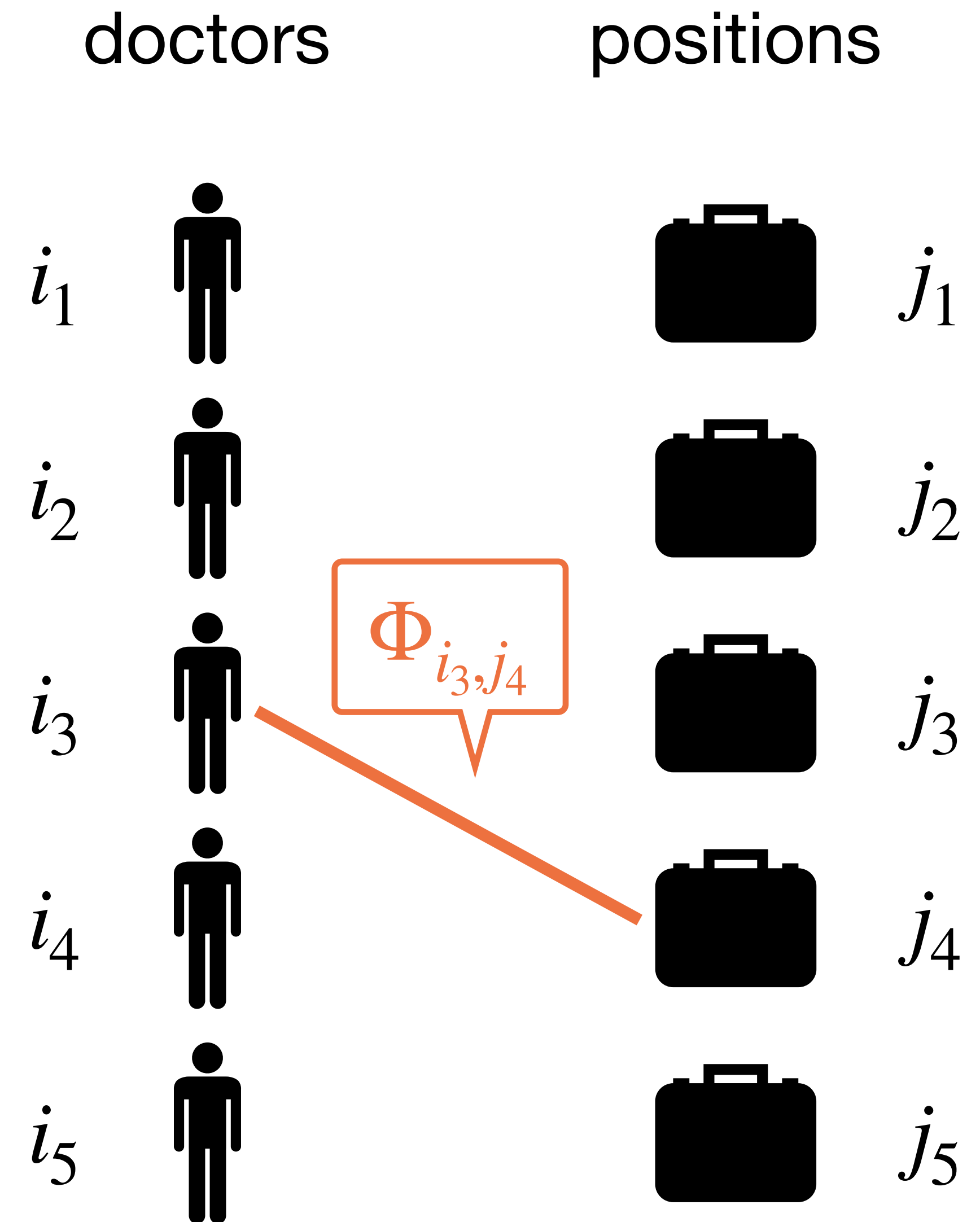
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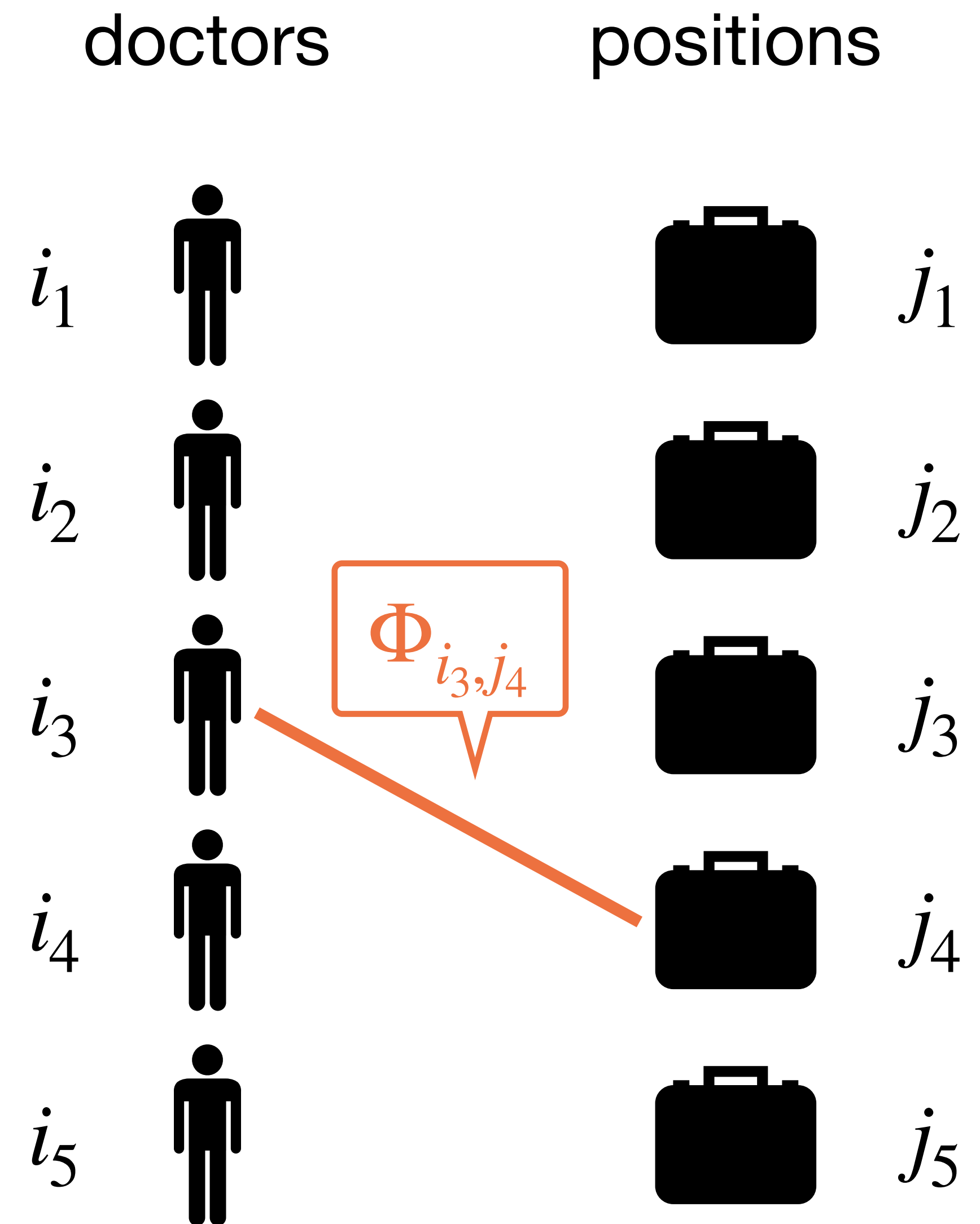
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 - $d_{ij} = 1$ iff i and j are matched



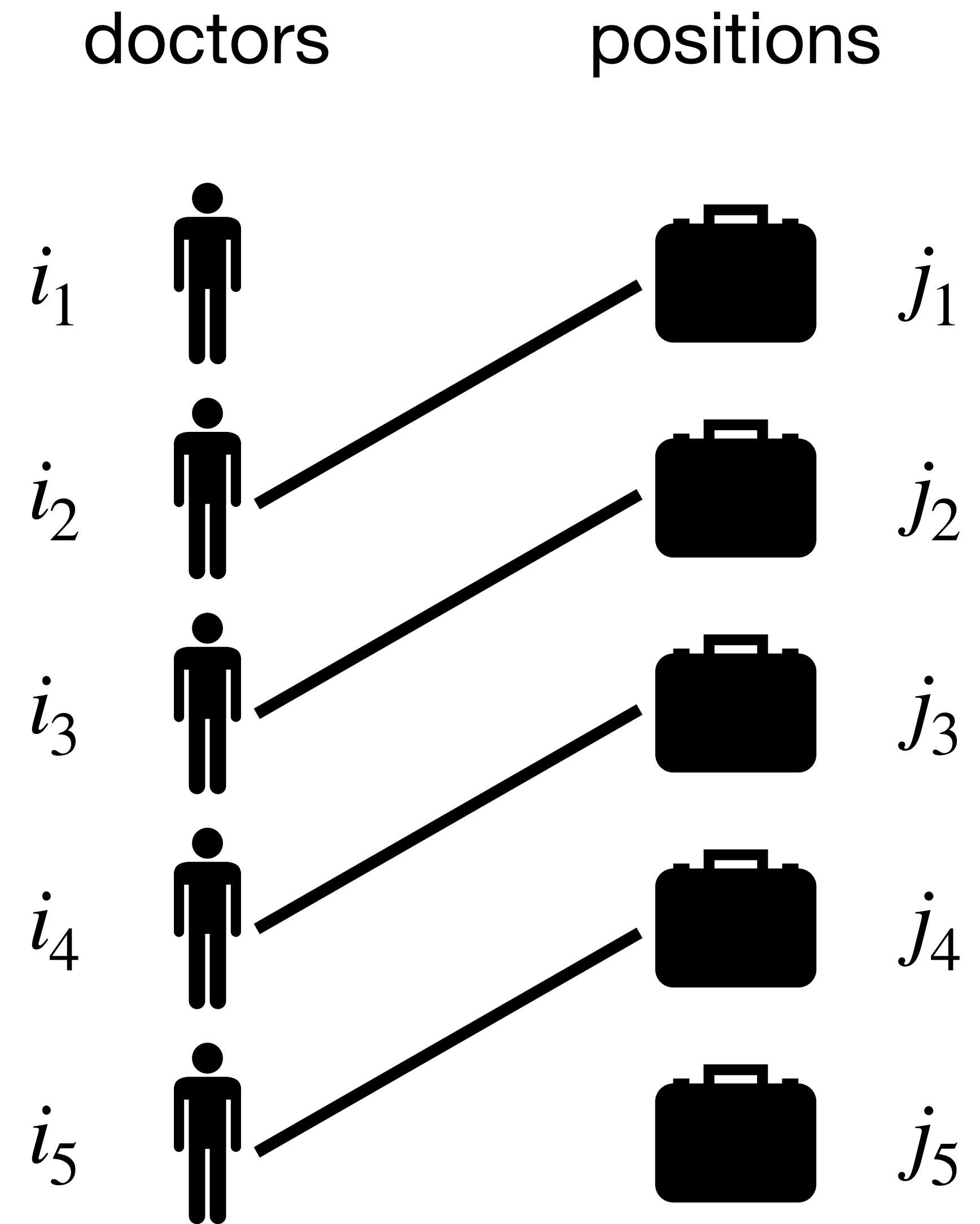
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- a **matching** is a binary-valued matrix $d = (d_{ij})_{i,j}$
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- agents know $(\Phi_{ij})_{i,j}$ and form a matching, which yields a **stable outcome**



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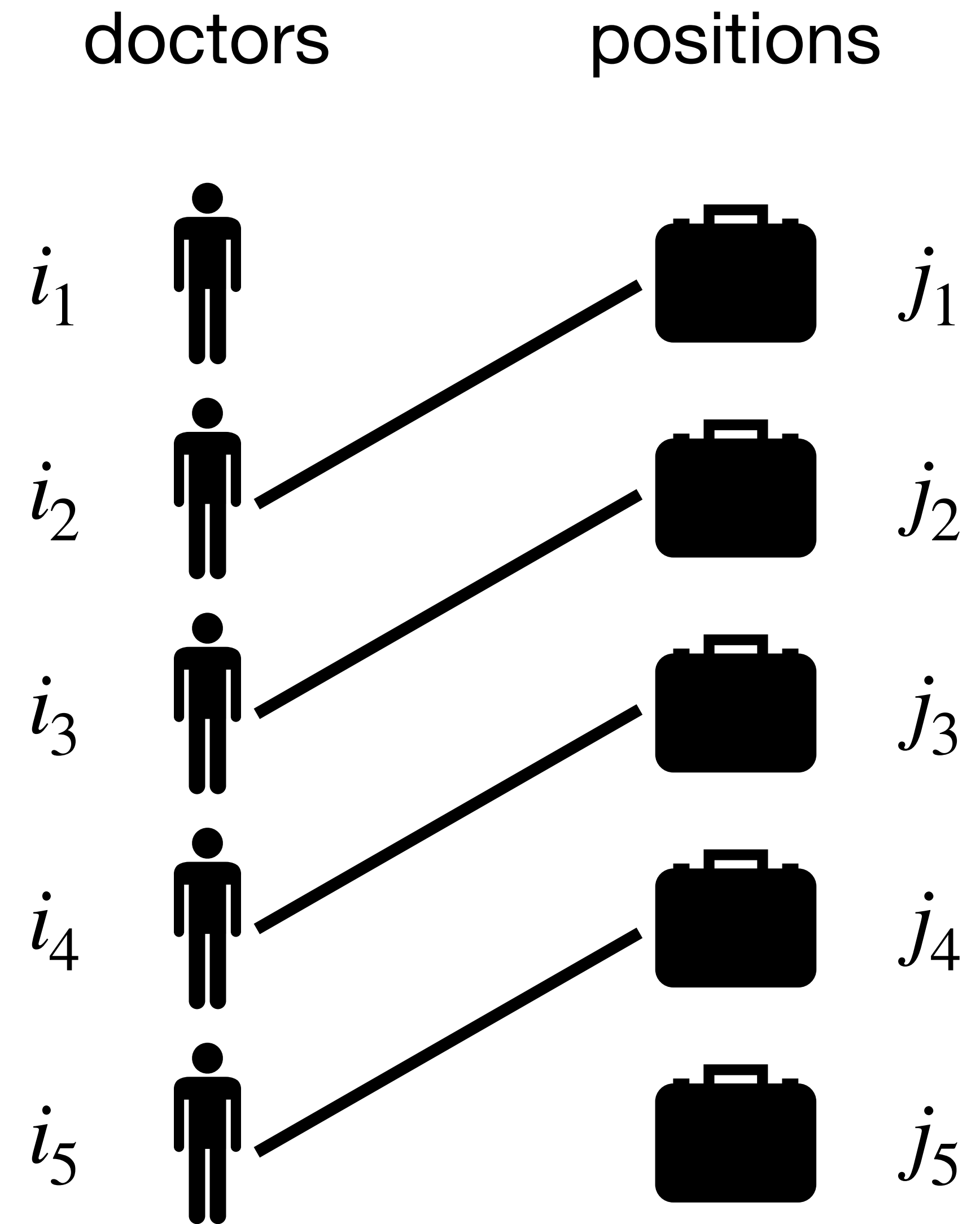
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 (d, u, v) is a **stable outcome** if it is
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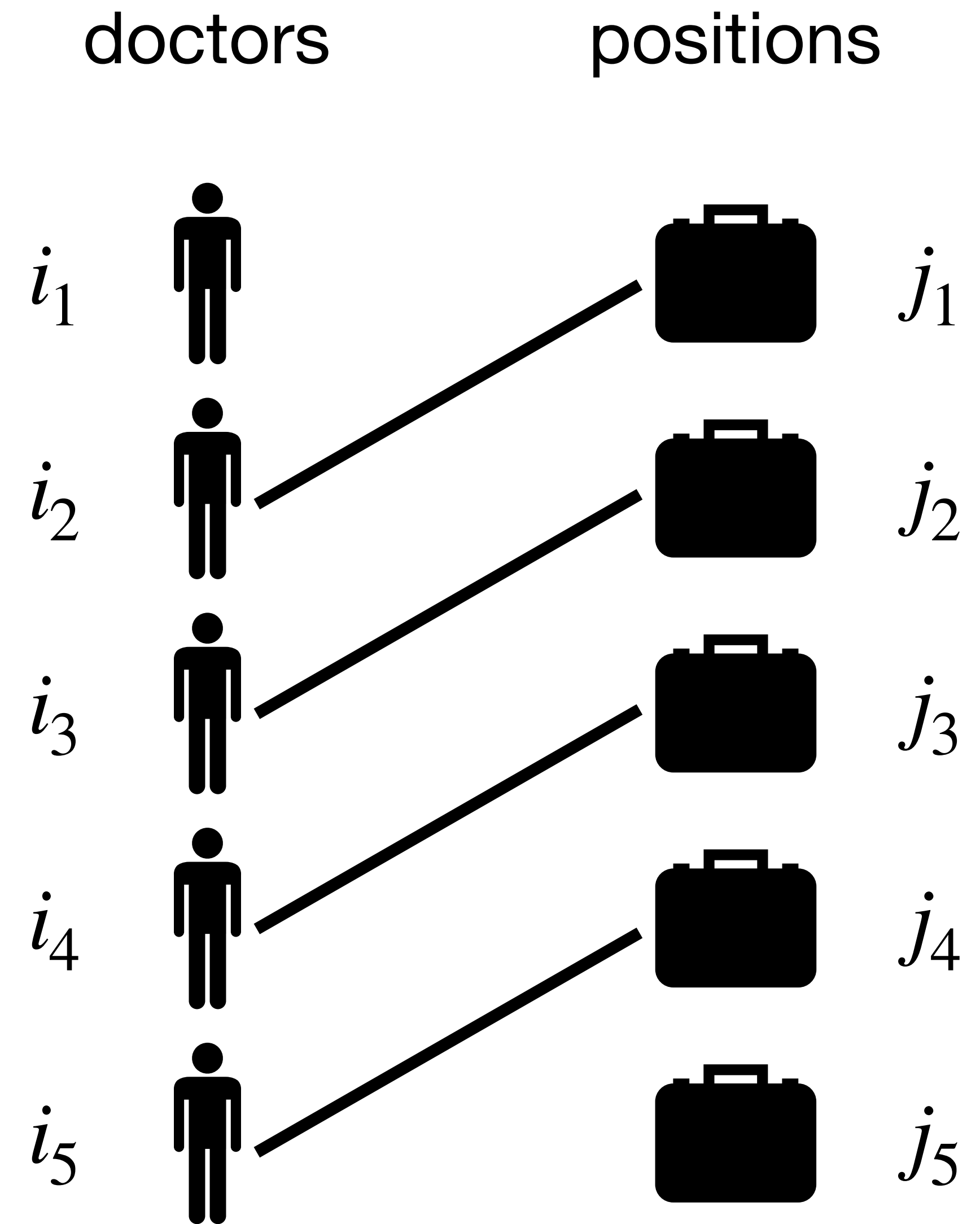


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doctor i 's equilibrium payoff

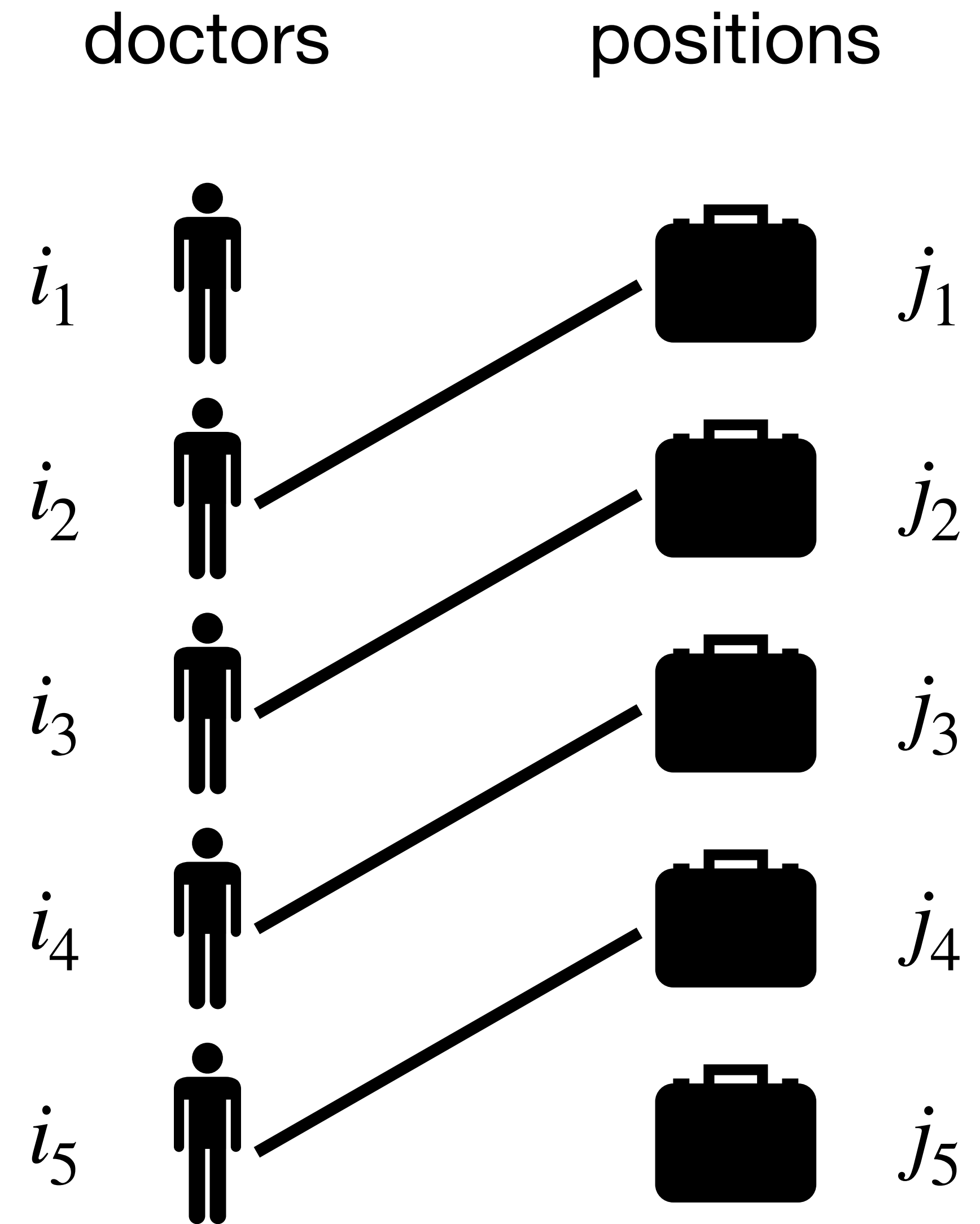


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position j 's equilibrium payoff



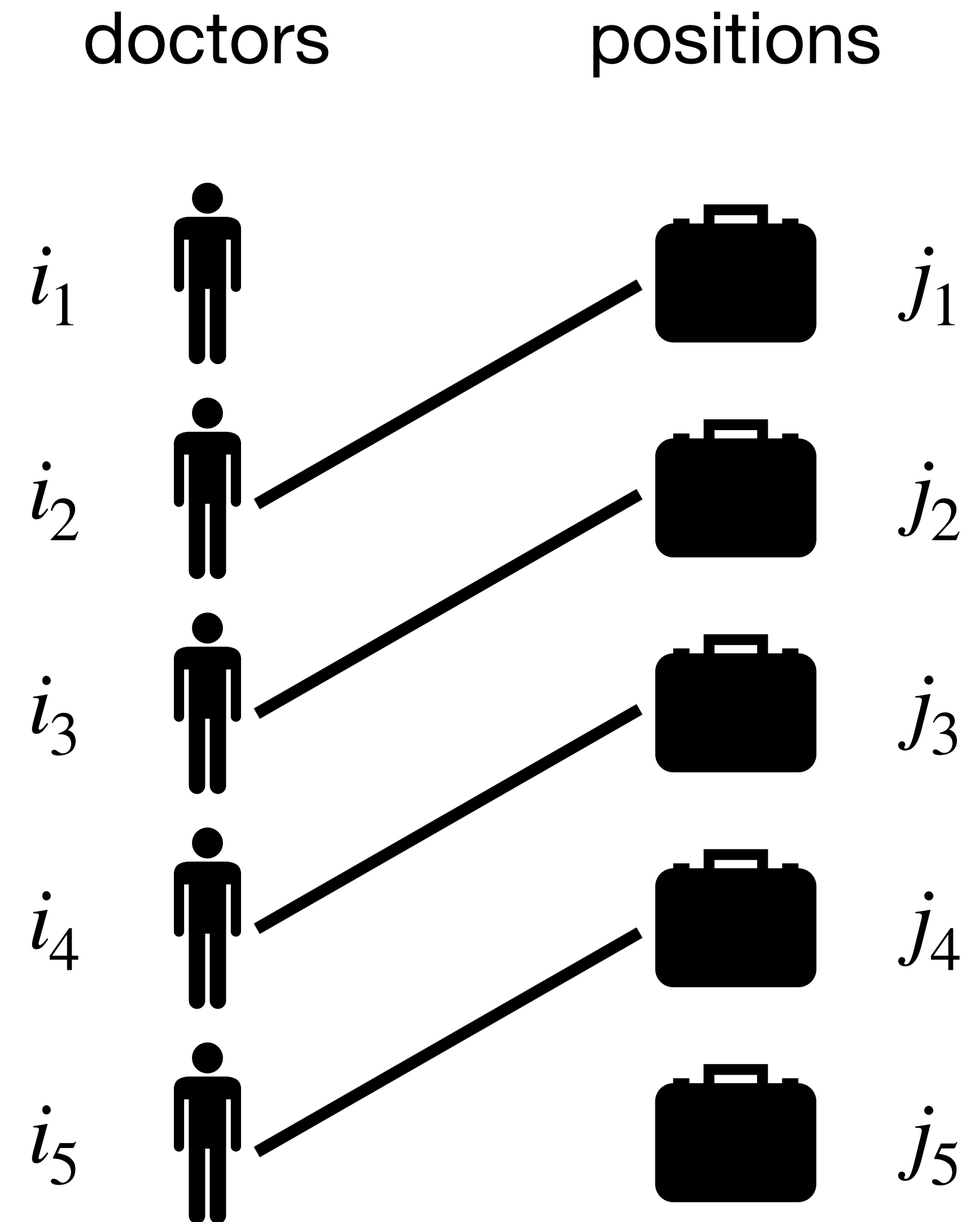
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payoffs when unmatched



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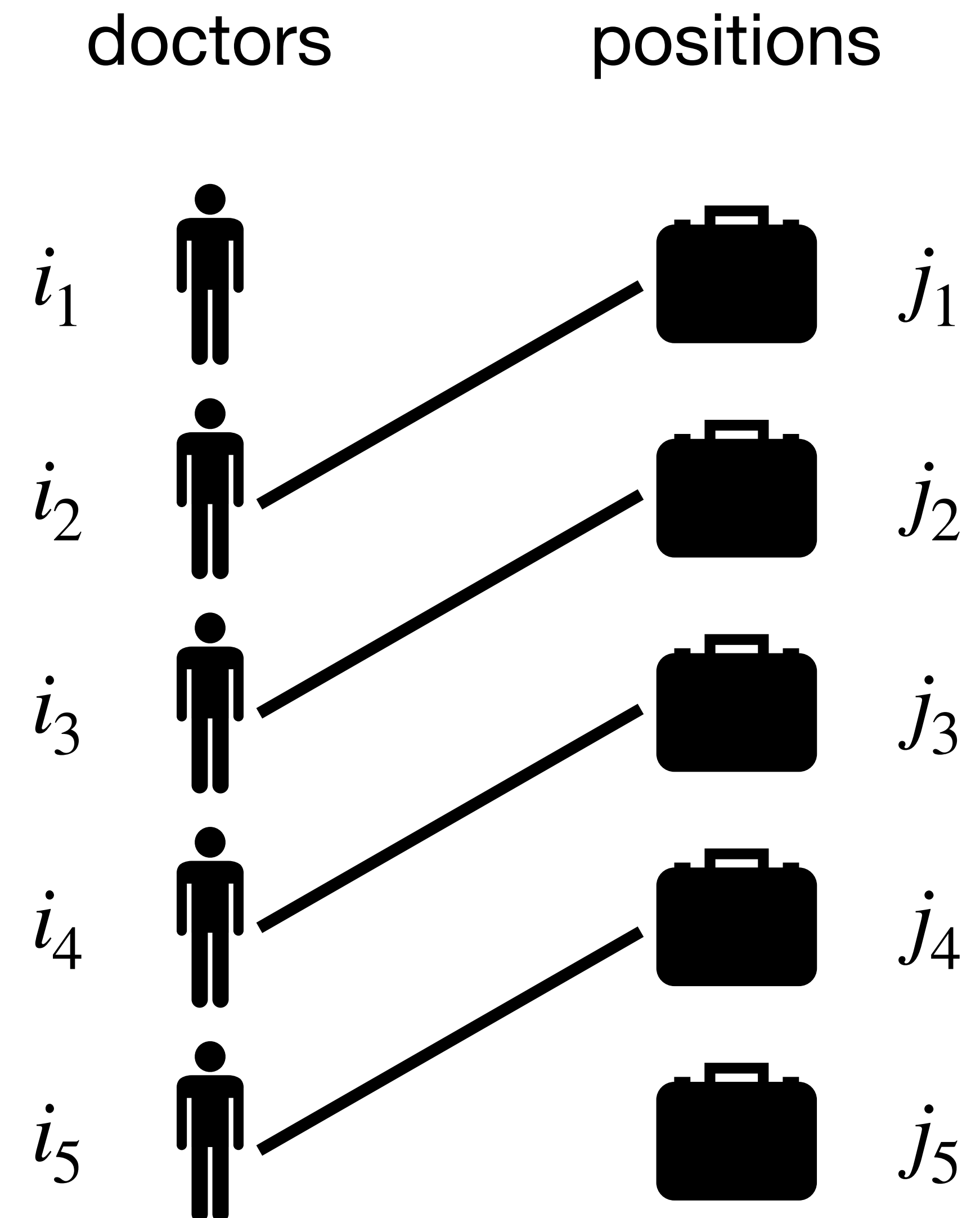
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payoffs when unmatched

$$u_i = \Phi_{i,0} \quad \text{if } d_{ij} = 0 \text{ for all } j$$

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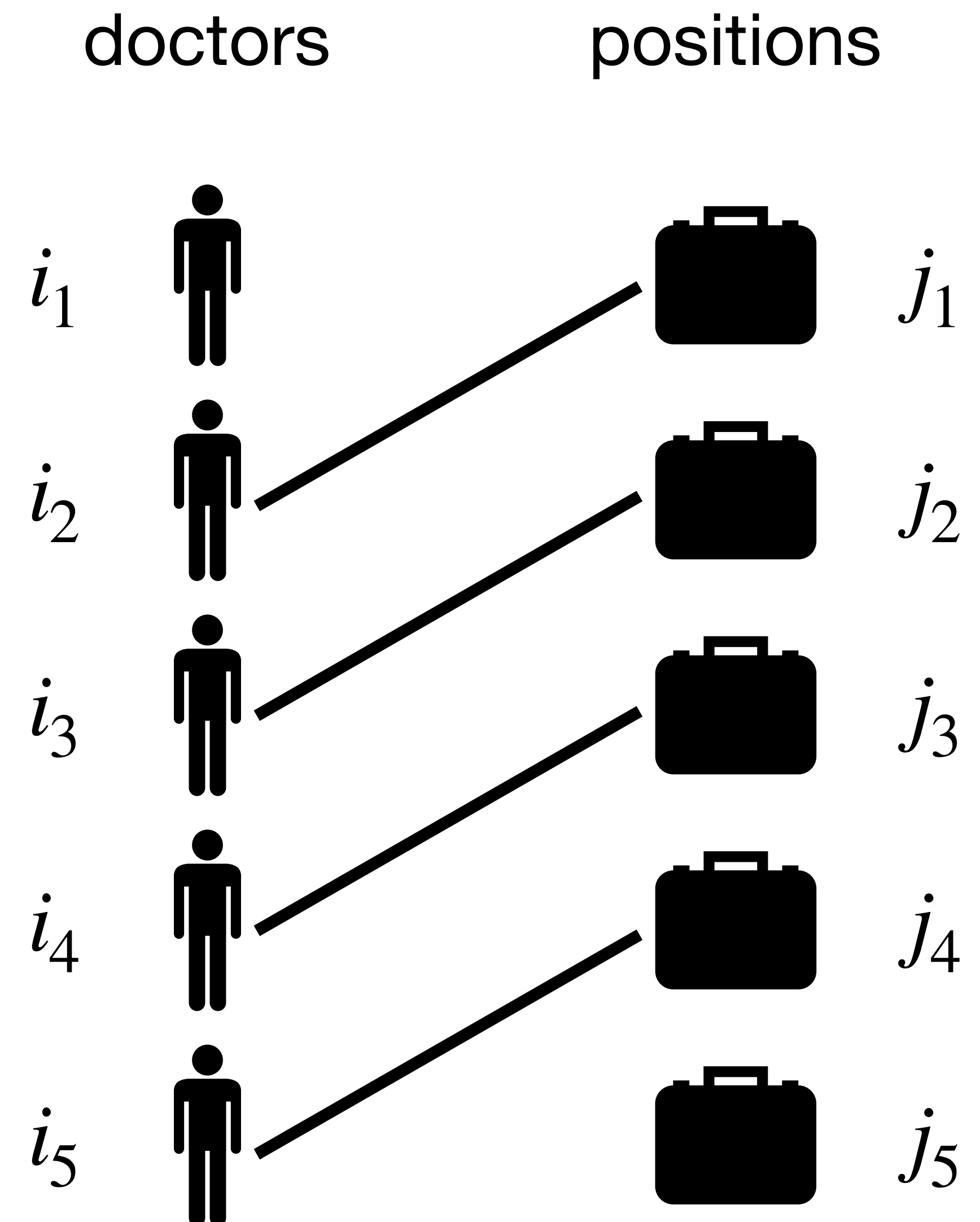
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doctor i and position j **block** the matching if

$$u_i + v_j < \Phi_{ij}$$

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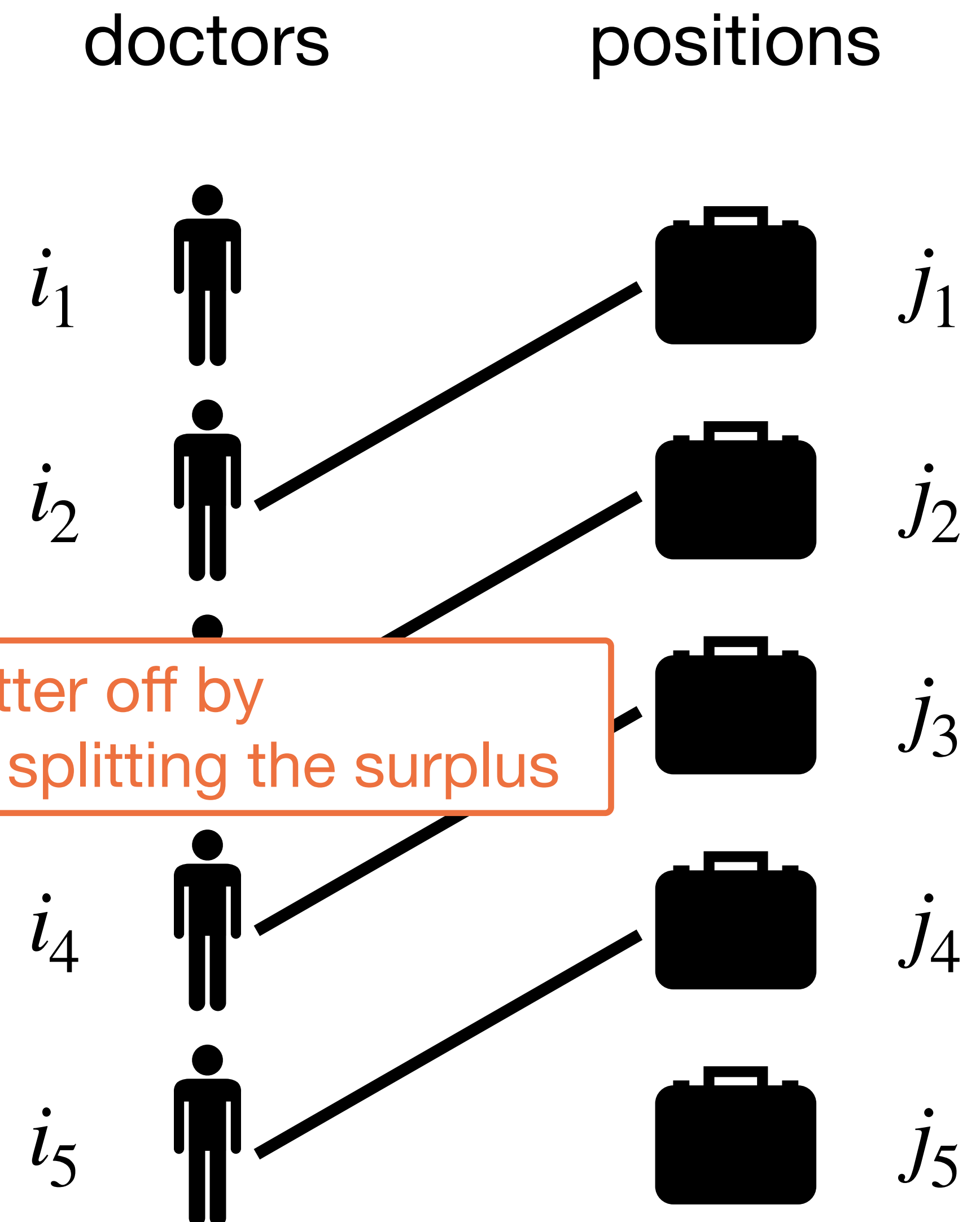
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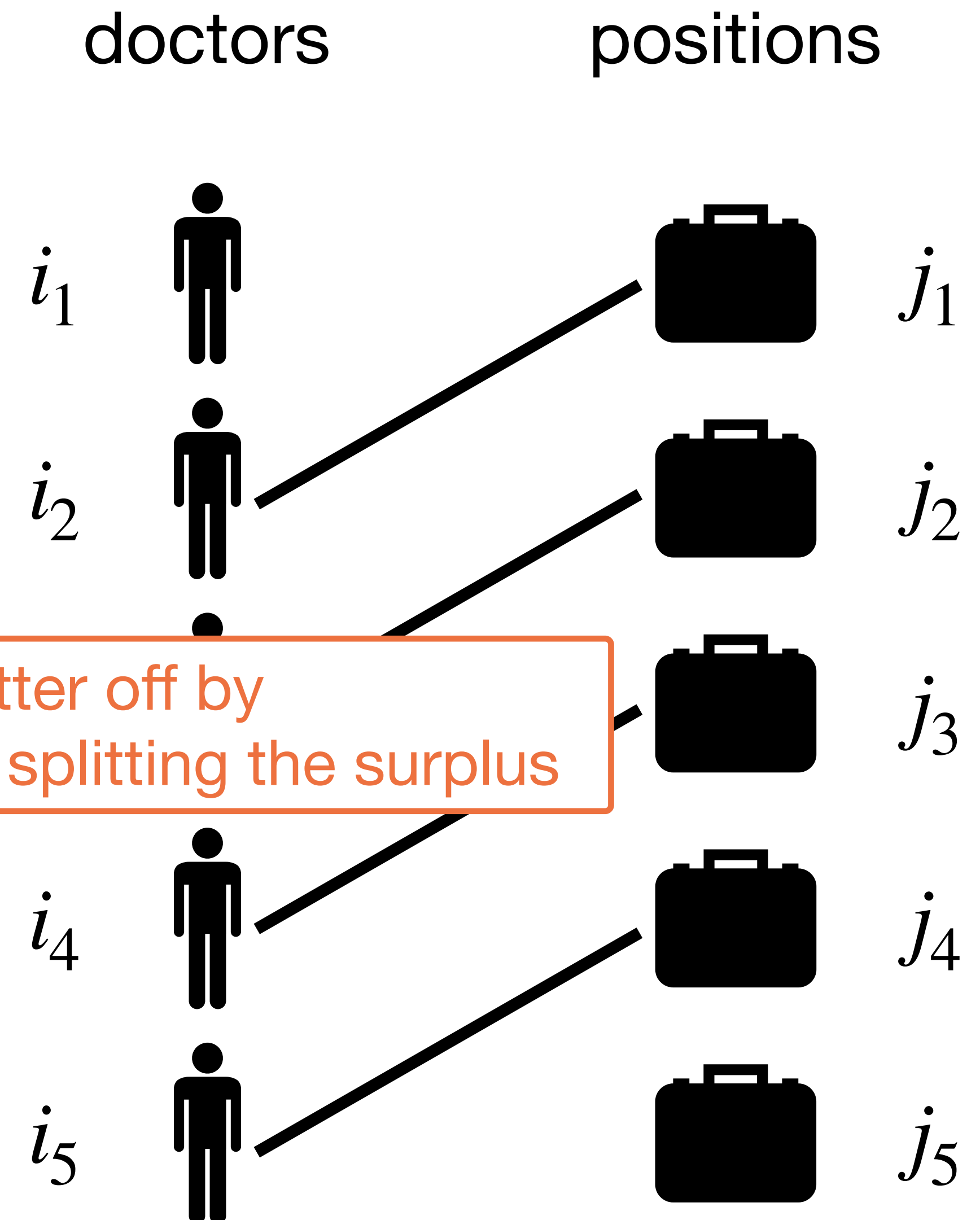
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$$u_i + v_j = \Phi_{ij} \quad \text{if } d_{ij} = 1$$

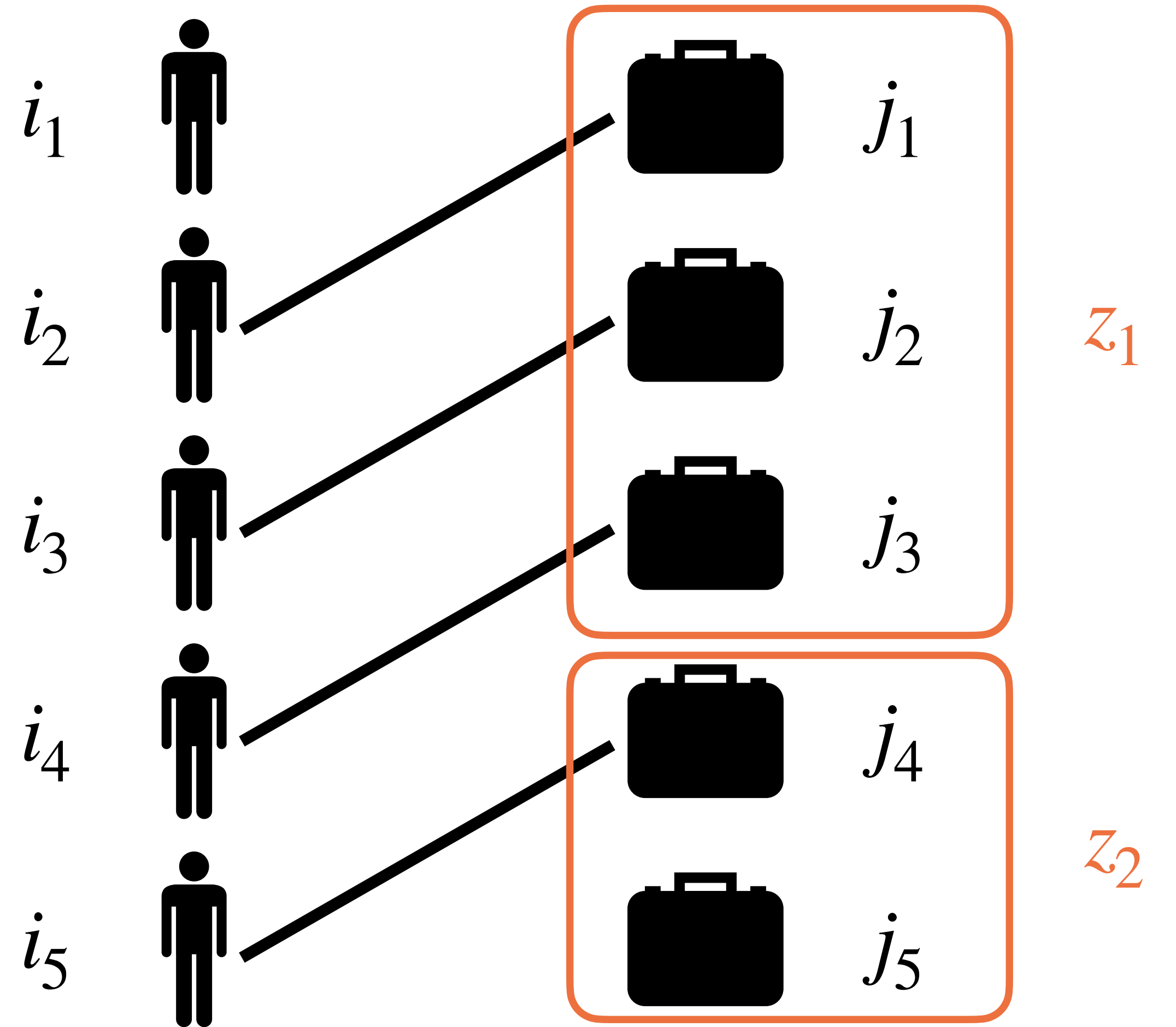


polycymaker's problem

doctors

positions

- each position belongs to a region $z \in Z$

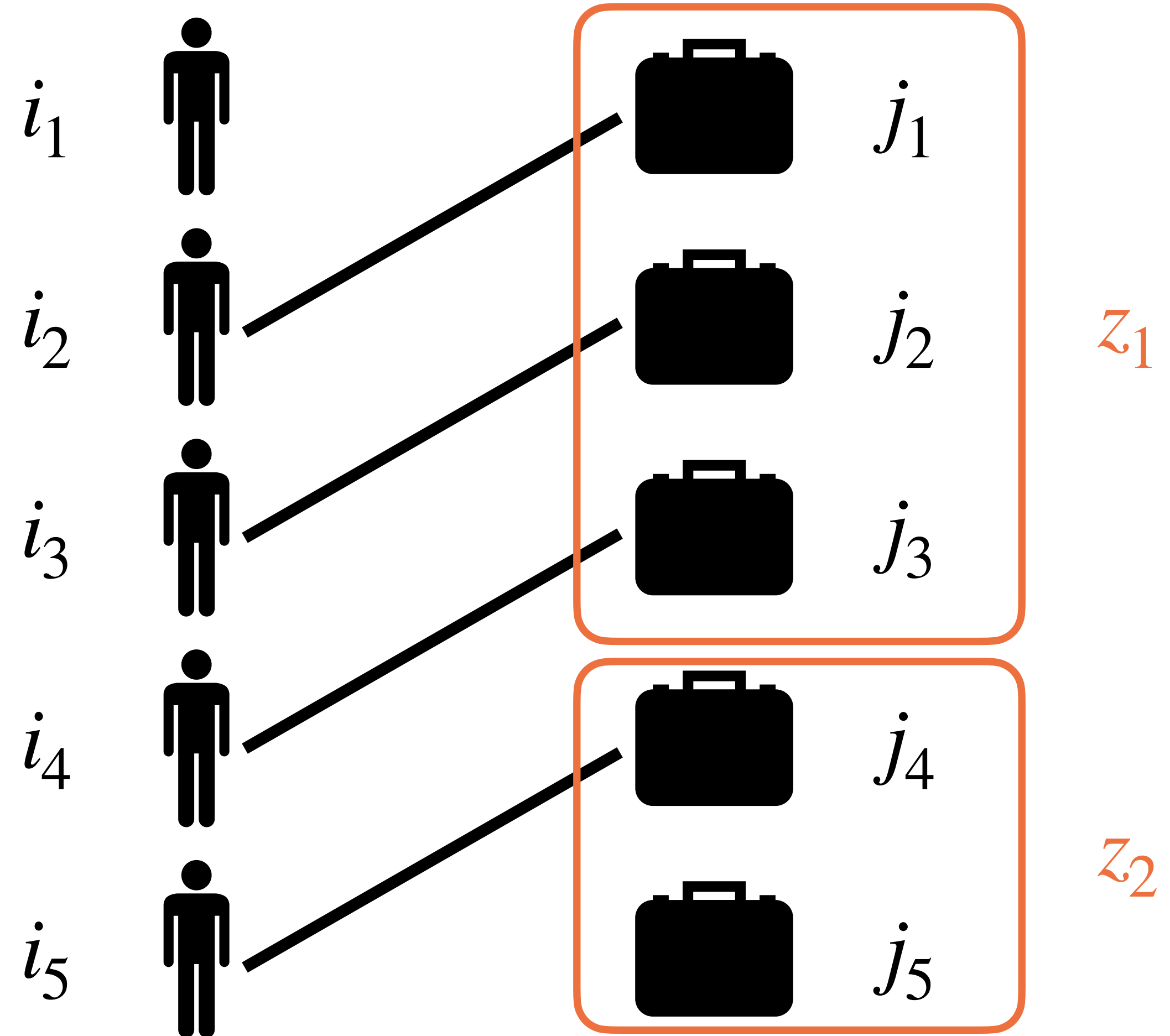


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- policymaker (PM) faces exogenous **regional constraints**
- **lower and upper bounds** on # of matches in each region

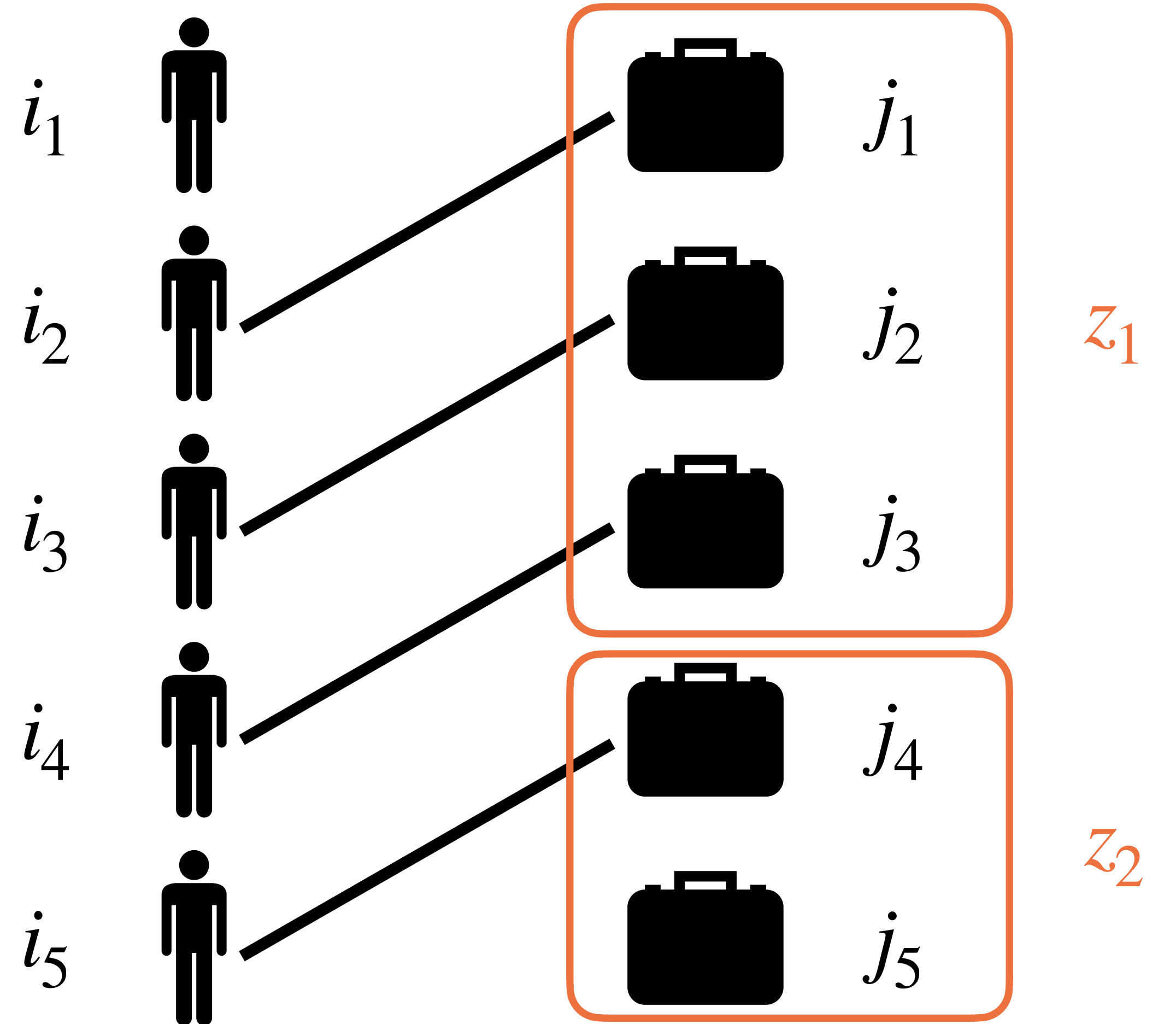


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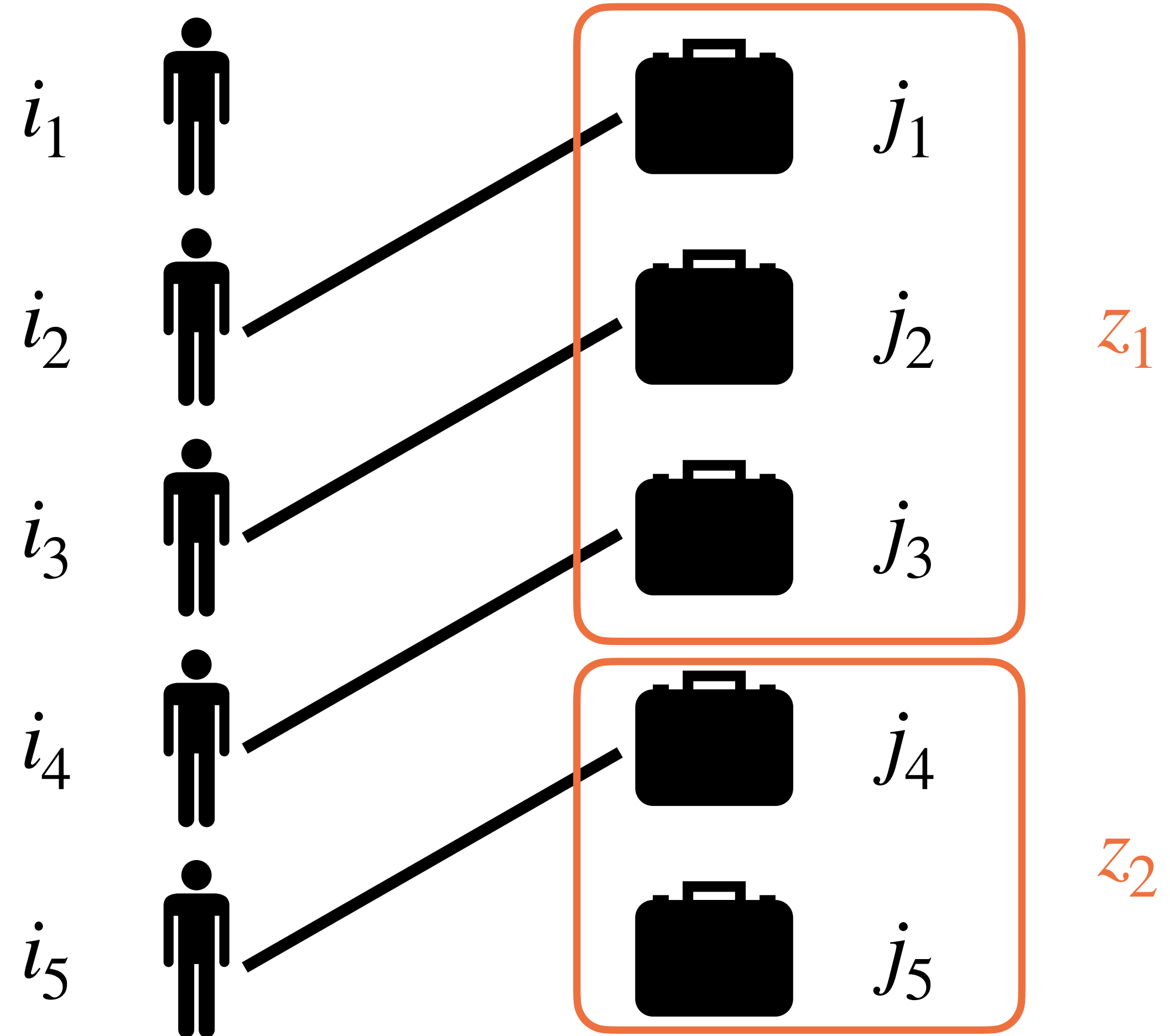
of matches in $z_2 \geq 2$

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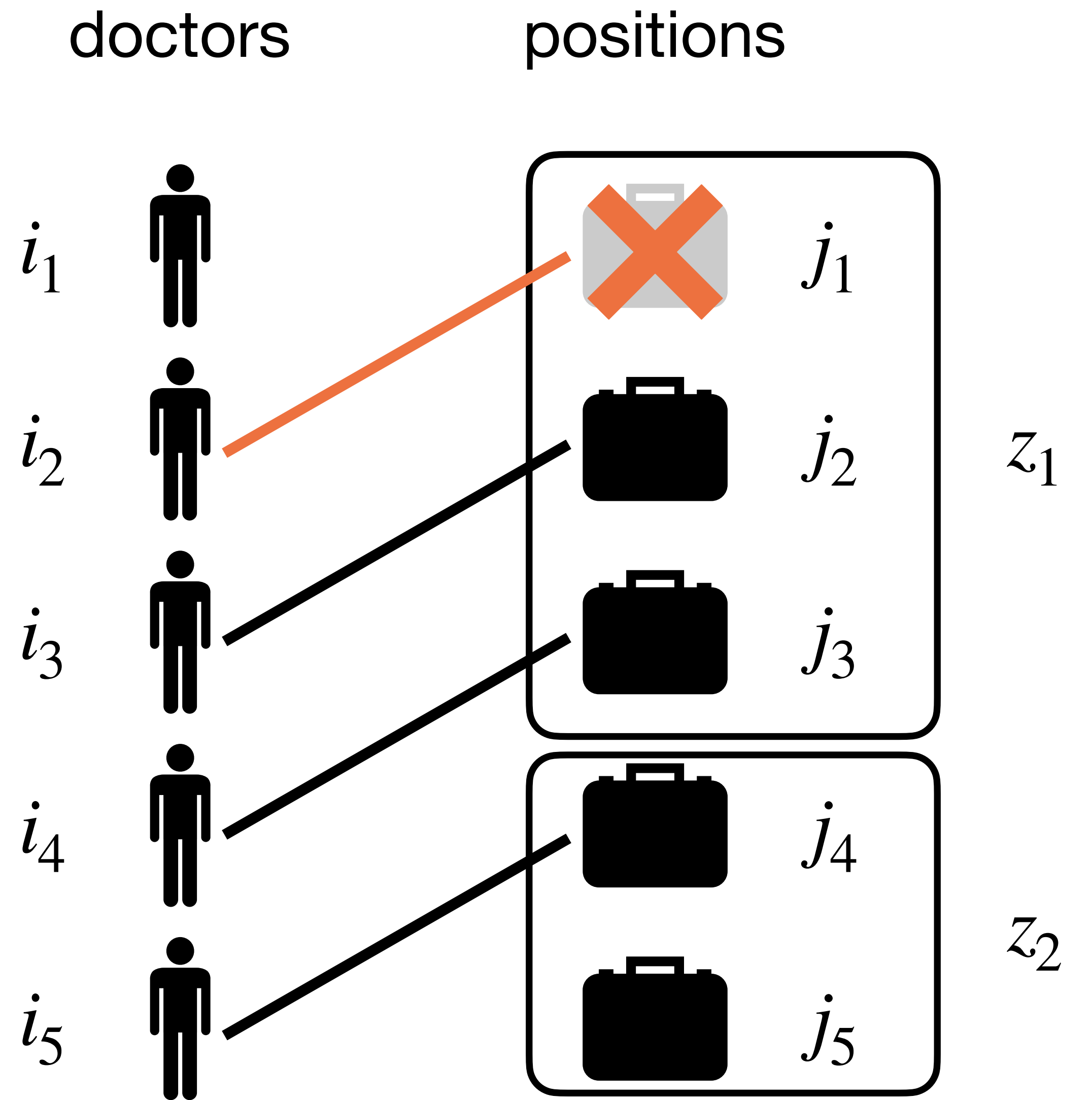
- each position belongs to a **region** $z \in Z$
- policymaker (PM) faces exogenous **regional constraints**
 - **lower and upper bounds** on # of matches in each region
- without intervention, the matching formed by the agents may not satisfy regional constraints



of matches in $z_2 \geq 2$

cap-based policy

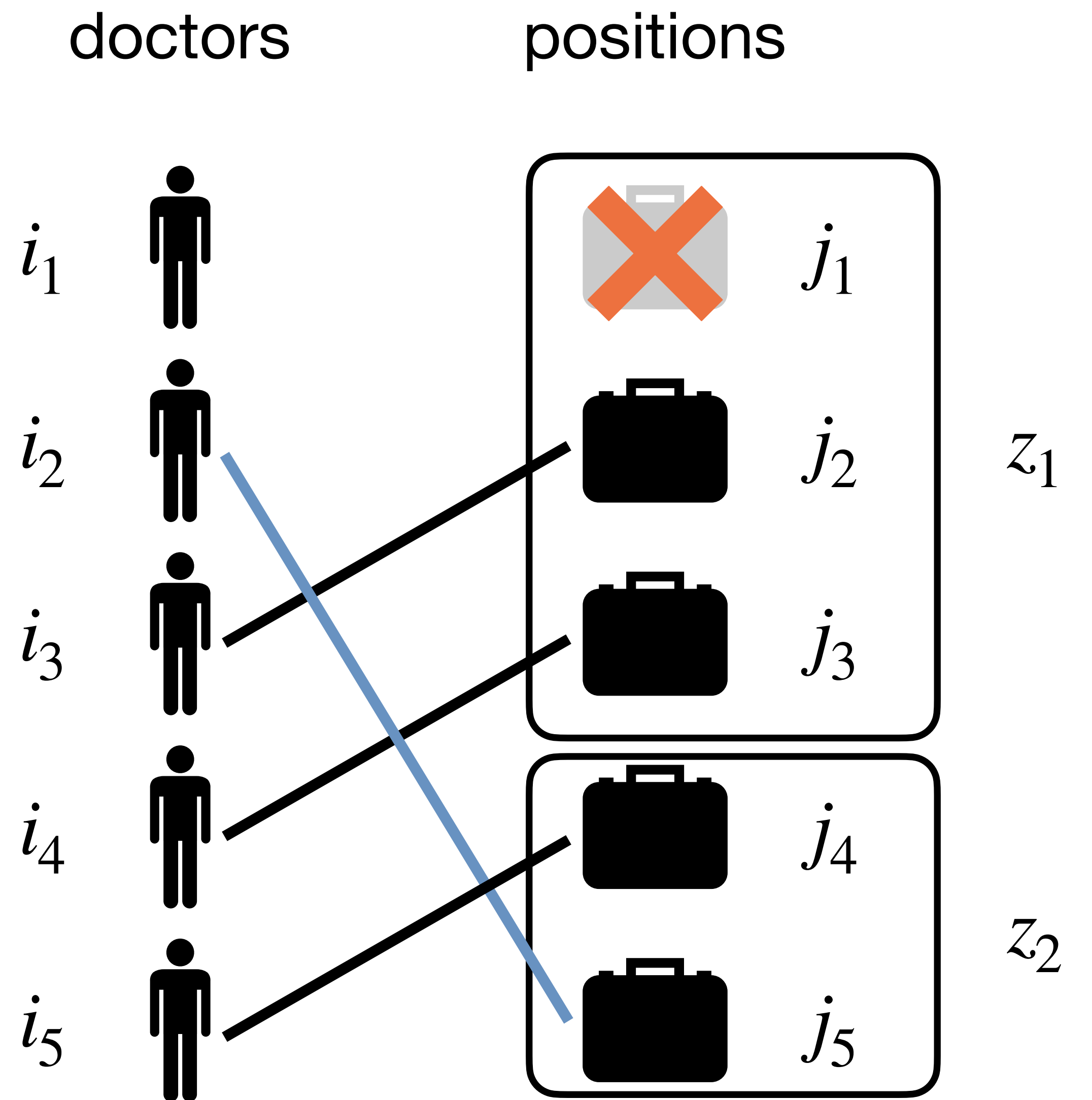
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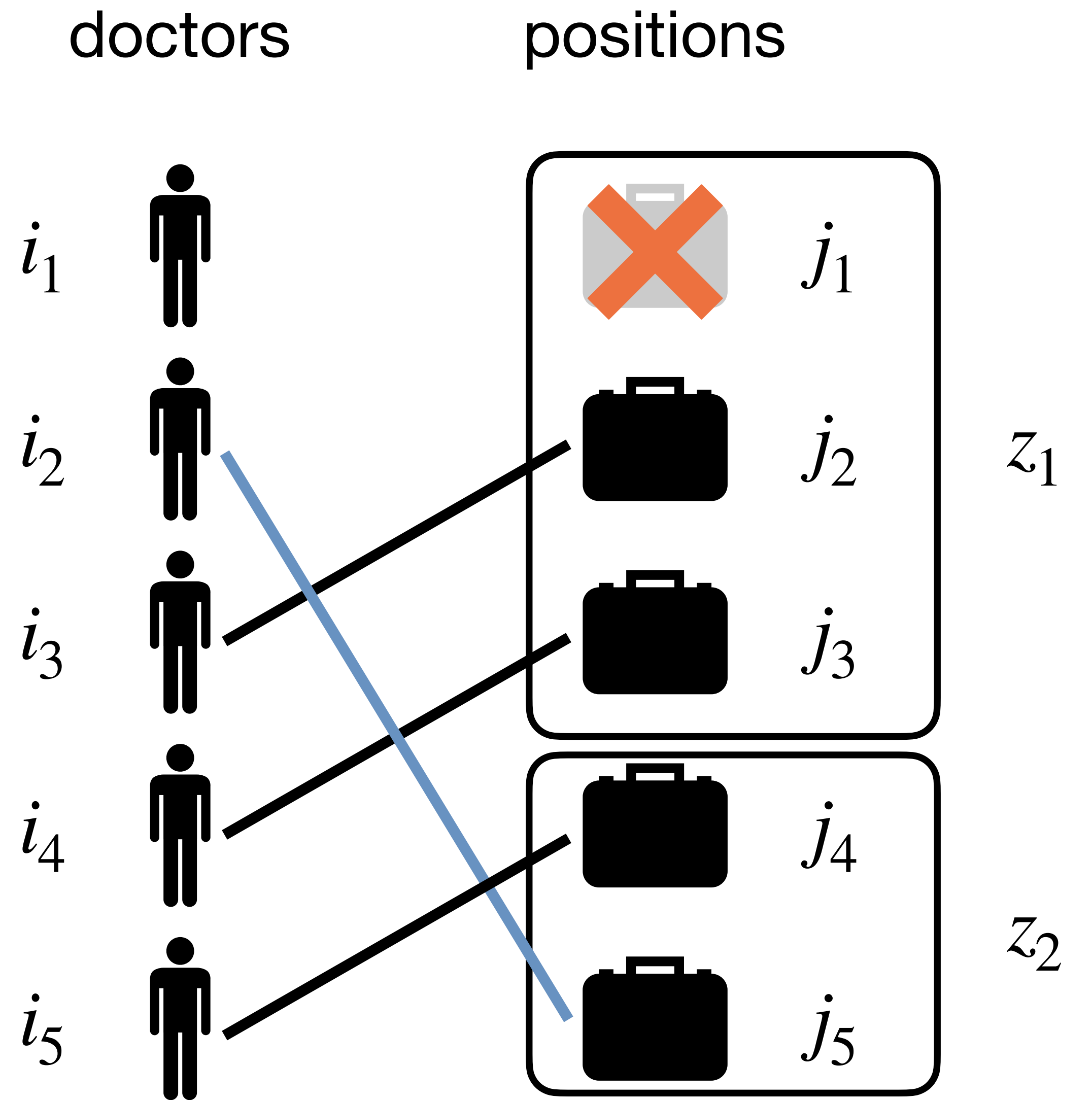
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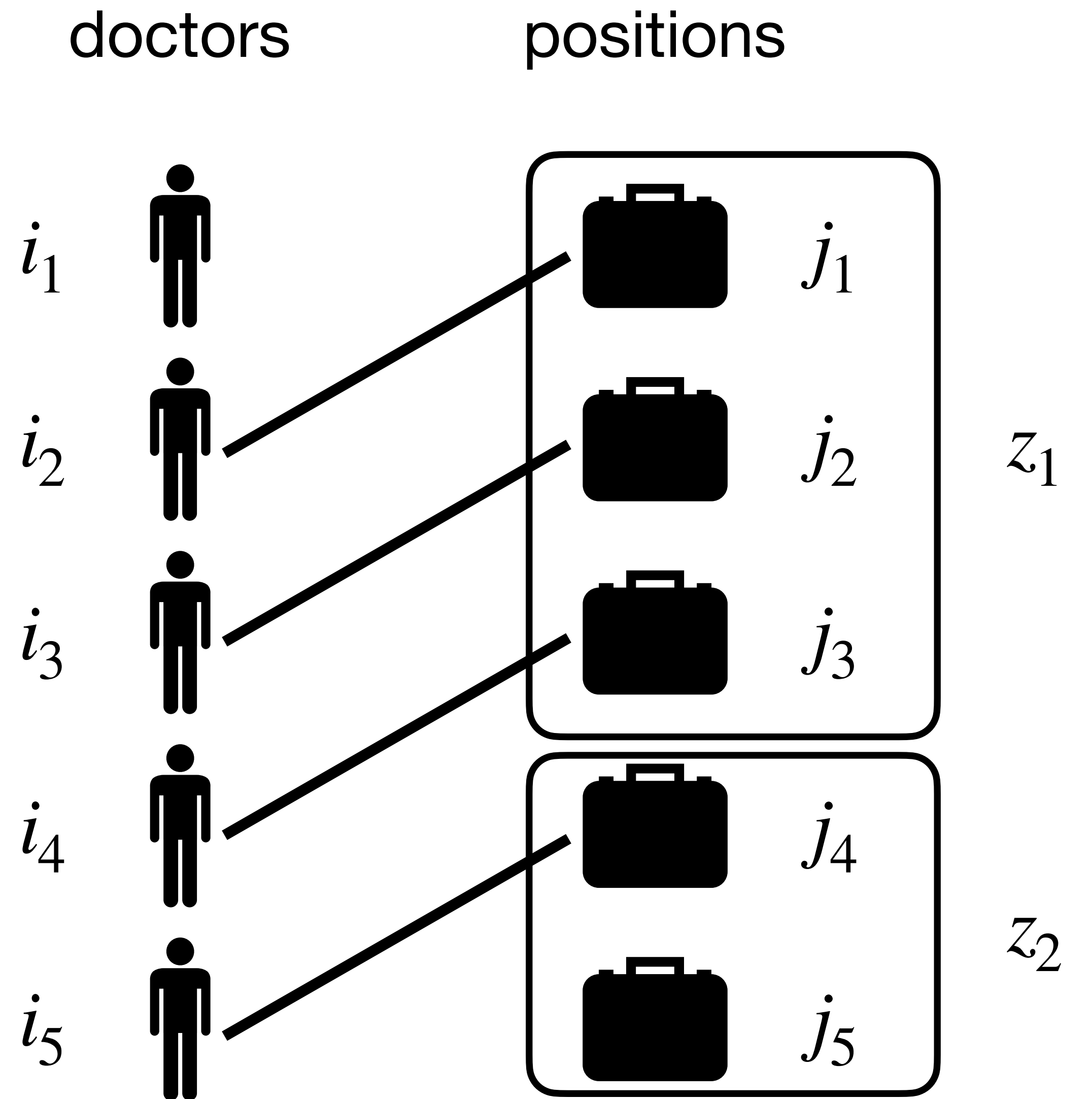
- **cap-based policy** removes positions from high-demand regions to encourage inflow into low-demand regions
- agents form a stable outcome over the remaining slots



of matches in $z_2 \geq 2$

taxation policy

- alternative: **taxation policy**
 - a **tax** $w_z \in \mathbb{R}$ is applied uniformly to all matches in region z

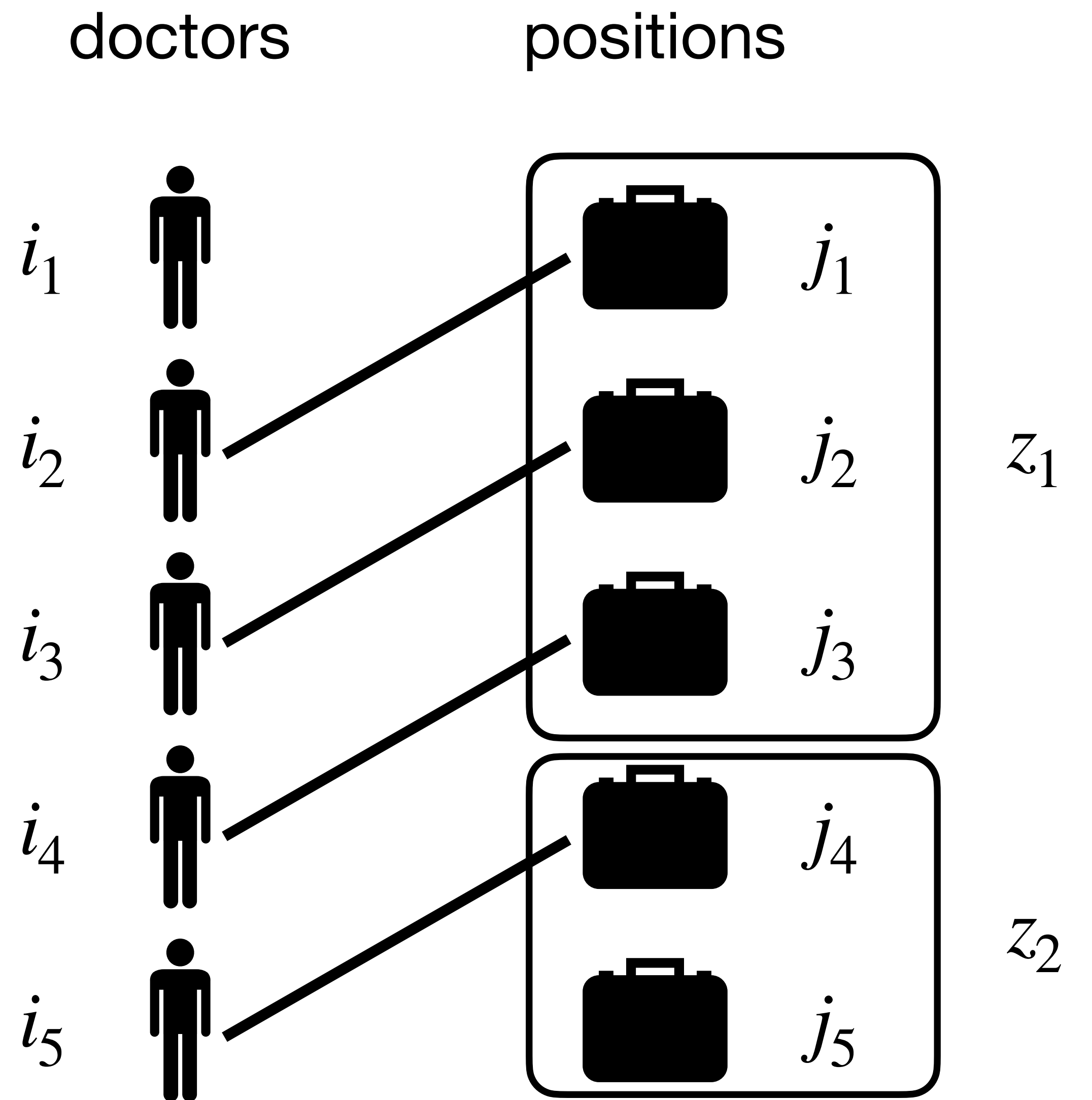


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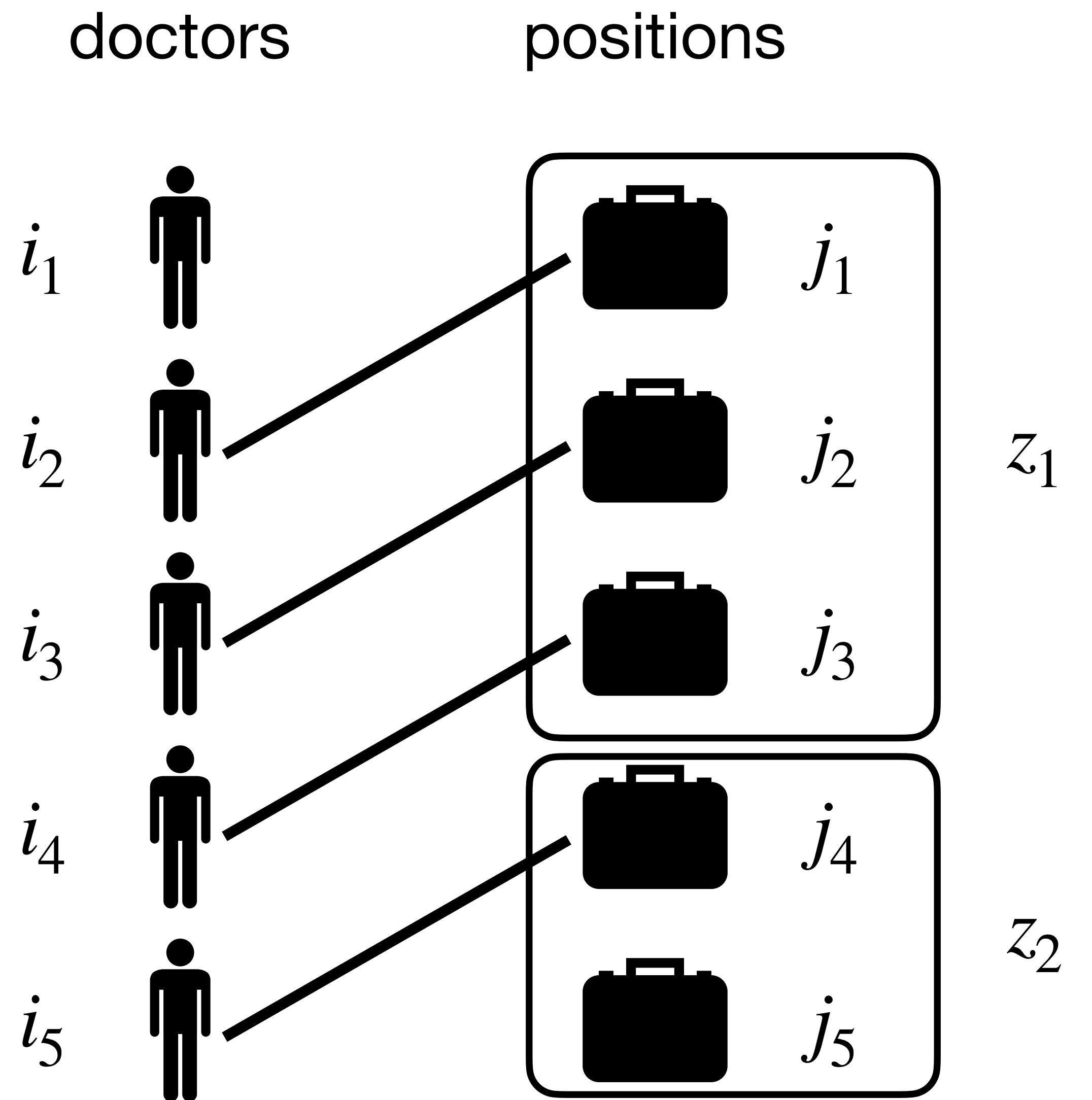
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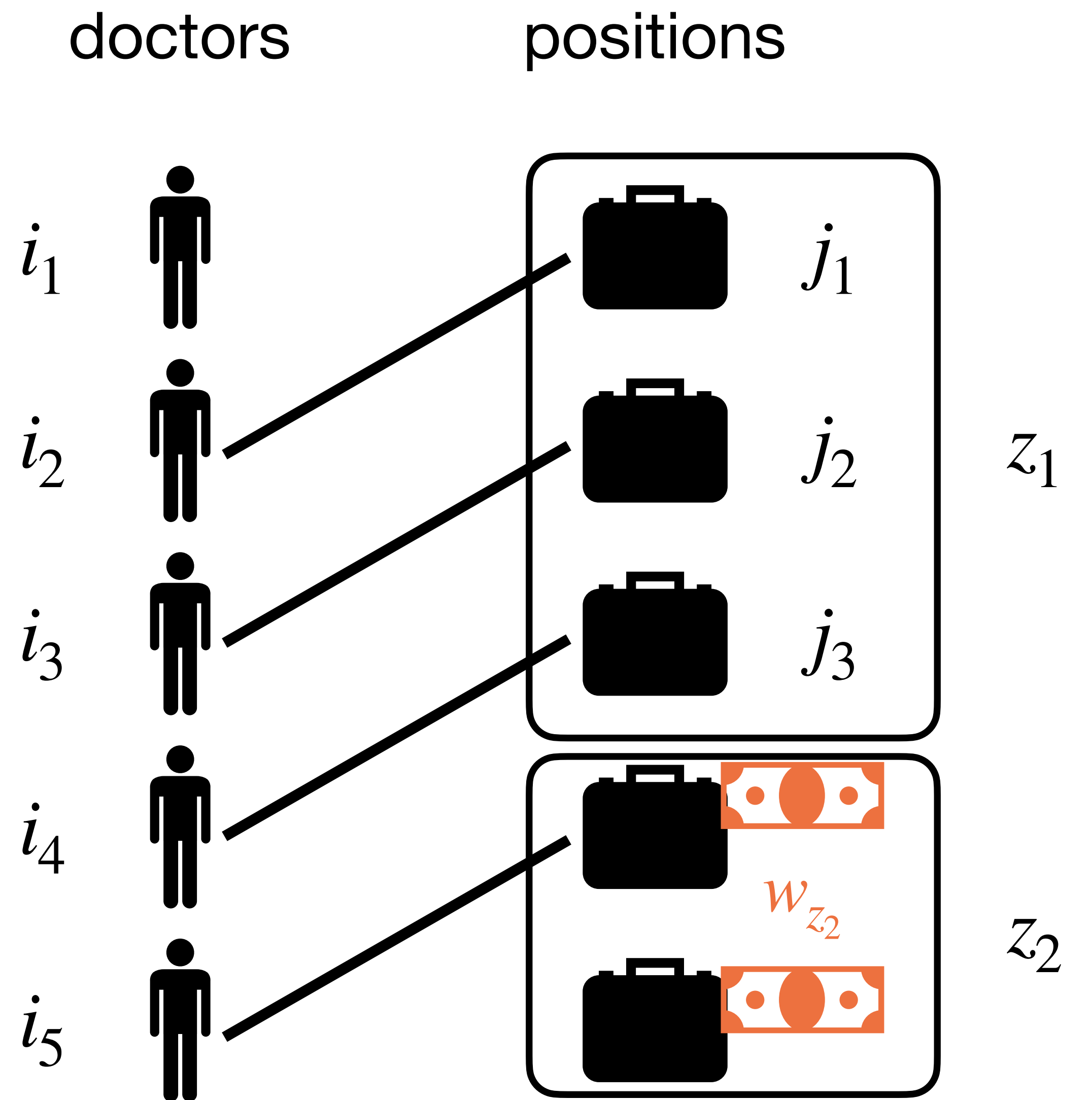
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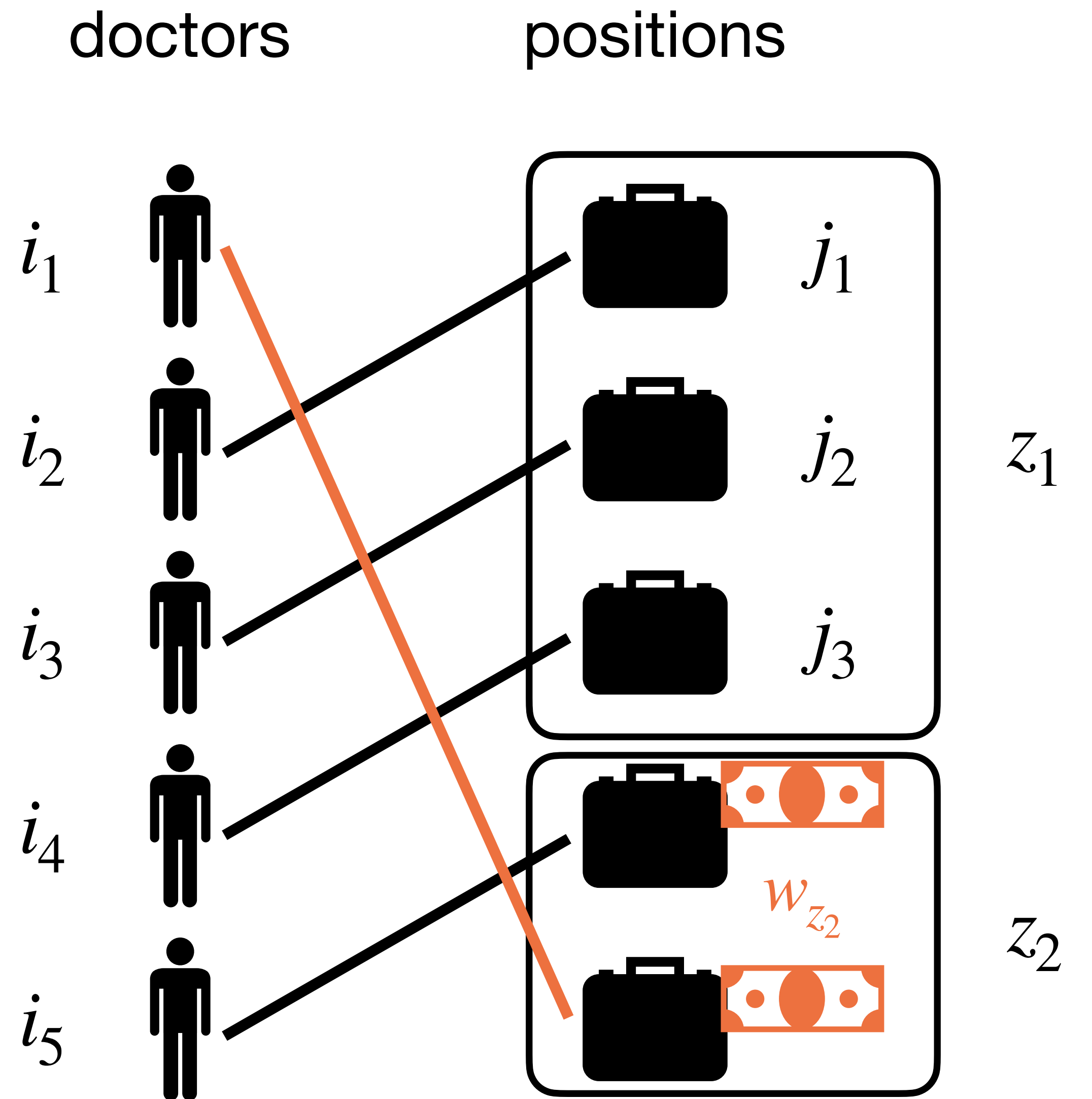
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polycymaker's goal

design a policy that achieves high **social surplus** while satisfying regional constraints

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social surplus := doctor surplus + position surplus - government expenditure

= the sum of the generated (non-adjusted) joint surplus $\sum_{i,j} \Phi_{ij} d_{ij}$



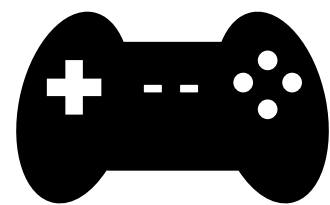
model



theoretical results



estimation



simulation

outline

1. **ideal world:** PM perfectly knows agents' preferences
PM can compute the optimal taxation policy w^* .
2. **reality:** PM cannot compute w^* .
alternative taxation policy w^A under more realistic assumptions on PM's knowledge
3. **large market approximation:**
 w^* and w^A are approximately the same in large markets

warm-up: property of stable outcomes

Fact (Shapley and Shubik, 1972): (d, u, v) is a stable outcome if and only if d is an integral solution to (P), and (u, v) is a solution to (D).

primal (P)

$$\left[\begin{array}{ll} \max_{d \geq 0} & \sum_{i,j} \Phi_{ij} d_{ij} \\ \text{s.t.} & \sum_j d_{ij} \leq 1 \quad (i \in I) \\ & \sum_i d_{ij} \leq 1 \quad (j \in J) \end{array} \right.$$

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there exists an integral optimal solution d^*

$$\left[\sum_i d_{ij} \leq 1 \quad (j \in J) \right.$$

dual (D)

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warm-up: property of stable outcomes

Fact (Shapley and Shubik, 1972): (d, u, v) is a stable outcome if and only if d is an integral solution to (P), and (u, v) is a solution to (D).

primal (P)

$$\begin{cases} \max_{d \geq 0} & \sum_{i,j} \Phi_{ij} d_{ij} & \text{social surplus} \\ \text{s.t.} & \sum_j d_{ij} \leq 1 & (i \in I) \\ & \sum_i d_{ij} \leq 1 & (j \in J) \end{cases} \text{feasibility constraints}$$

dual (D)

$$\begin{cases} \min_{u,v \geq 0} & \sum_i u_i + \sum_j v_j \\ \text{s.t.} & u_i + v_j \geq \Phi_{ij} & (i \in I, j \in J) \end{cases}$$

Corollary: matching d under a stable outcome maximizes social surplus among all feasible matchings

optimal taxation policy: benchmark case

Thm 1: Fix any regional constraints.

If PM knows (Φ_{ij}) , she can compute a taxation policy $w^* = (w_z^*)_z$ such that

- w^* implements a matching d^*
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d^* is part of a stable outcome (d^*, u^*, v^*)
under w^*

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-
- w^* is the optimal taxation policy

proof sketch

$$\Phi_{i,0} = \Phi_{0,j} = 0$$

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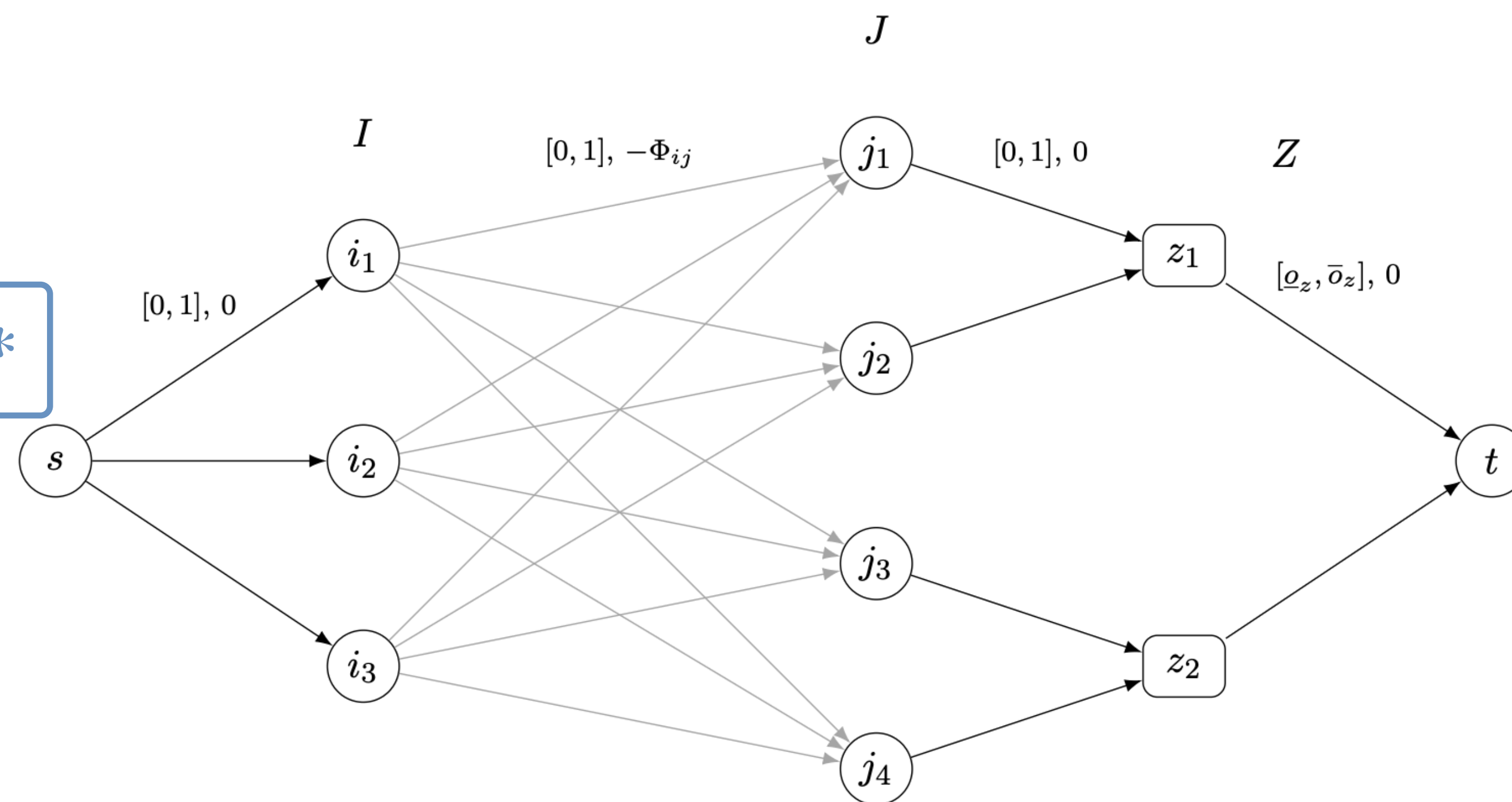
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- solutions d^* and $(u^*, v^*, \bar{w}, \underline{w})$
 - $\bar{w}_z, \underline{w}_z \geq 0$: Lagrange multipliers for the regional constraints
 - by complementary slackness, at most one of them is strictly positive

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$$\Phi_{ij} - w_{z(j)}^*$$

- solutions d^* and $(u^*, v^*, \bar{w}^*, \underline{w}^*)$
- define the taxation policy $w_z^* := \bar{w}_z^* - \underline{w}_z^*$
 - $w_z^* = \bar{w}_z^* > 0$ if the cap binds (tax)
 - $w_z^* = -\underline{w}_z^* < 0$ if the floor binds (subsidy)

proof sketch

- WTS: (d^*, u^*, v^*) forms a stable outcome under taxation policy w^*

proof sketch

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- a stable outcome under w^* is characterized by solutions to the following LPs:

adjusted joint surplus

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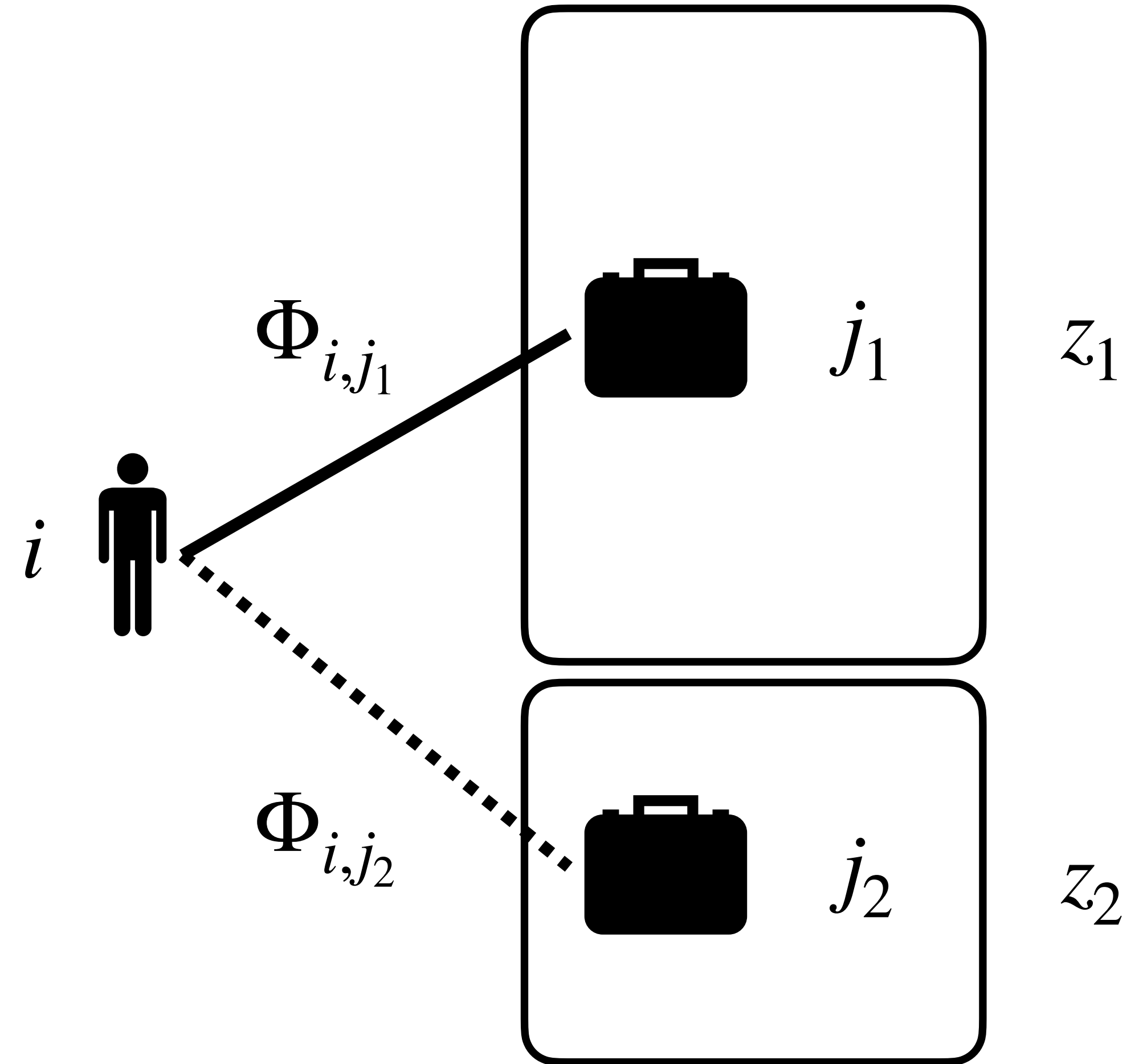
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- taxation policy w^* implements the planner's optimal solution d^*

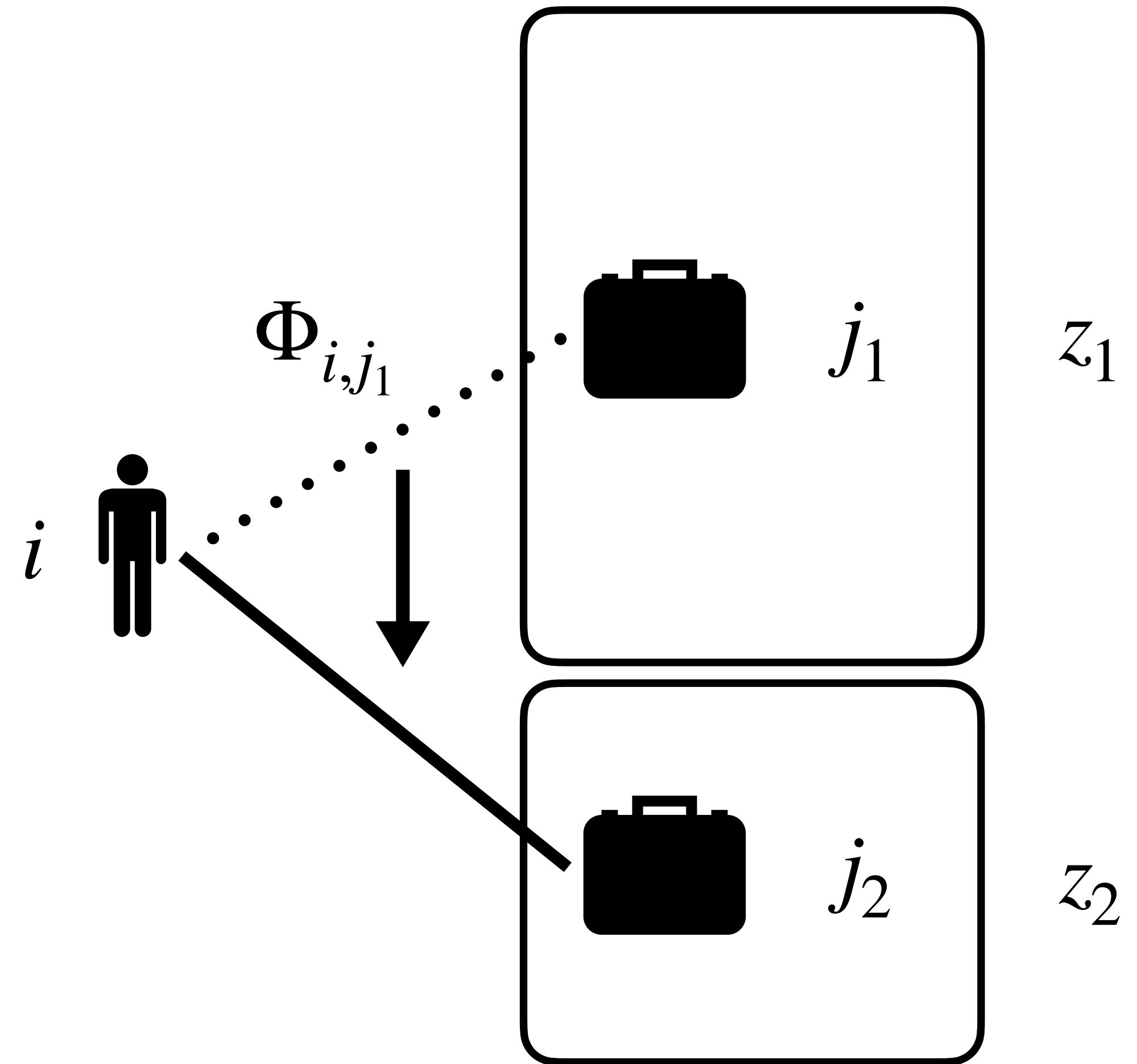
properties of optimal taxation policy

- w_z^* : shadow prices of the regional constraints



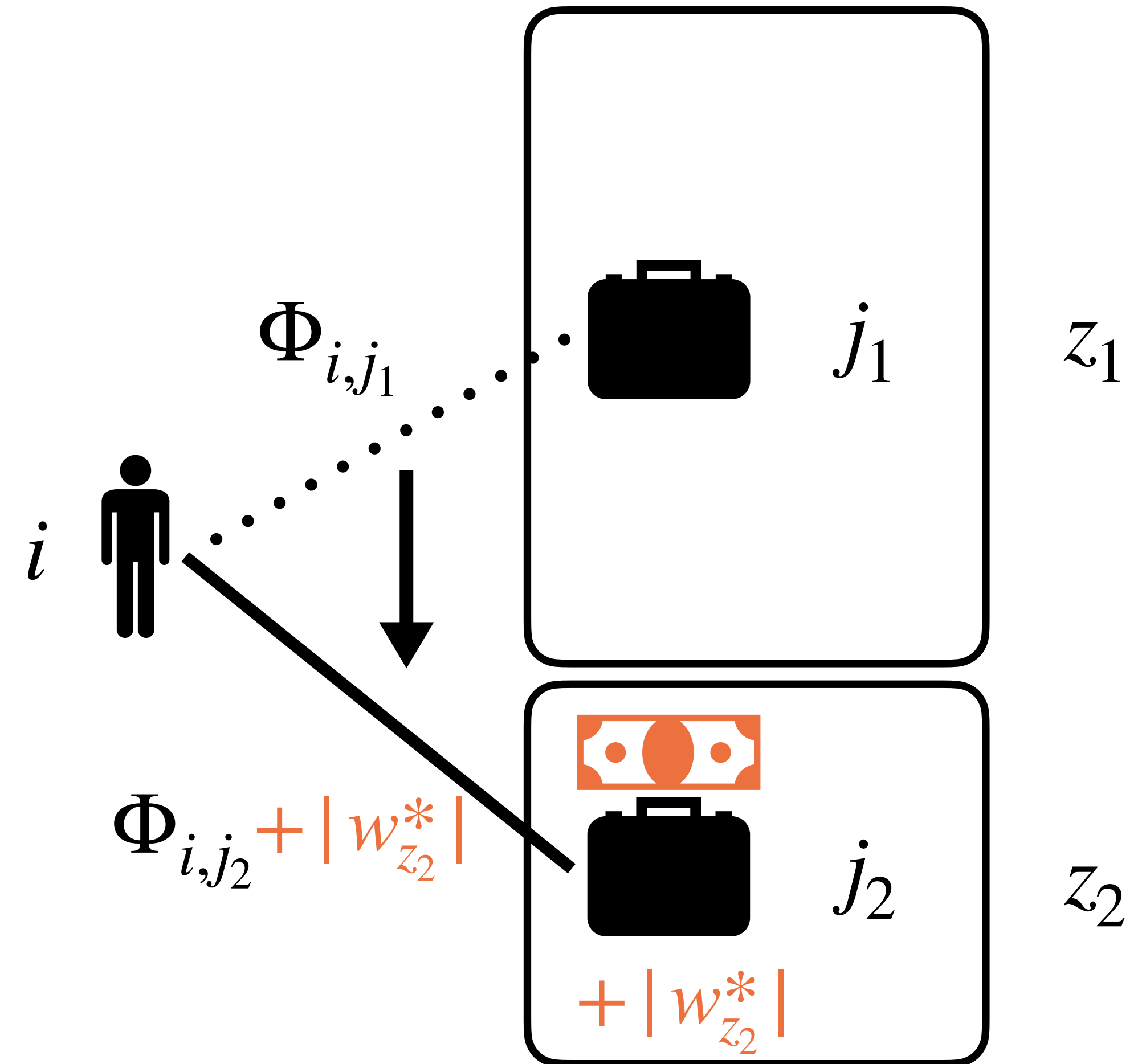
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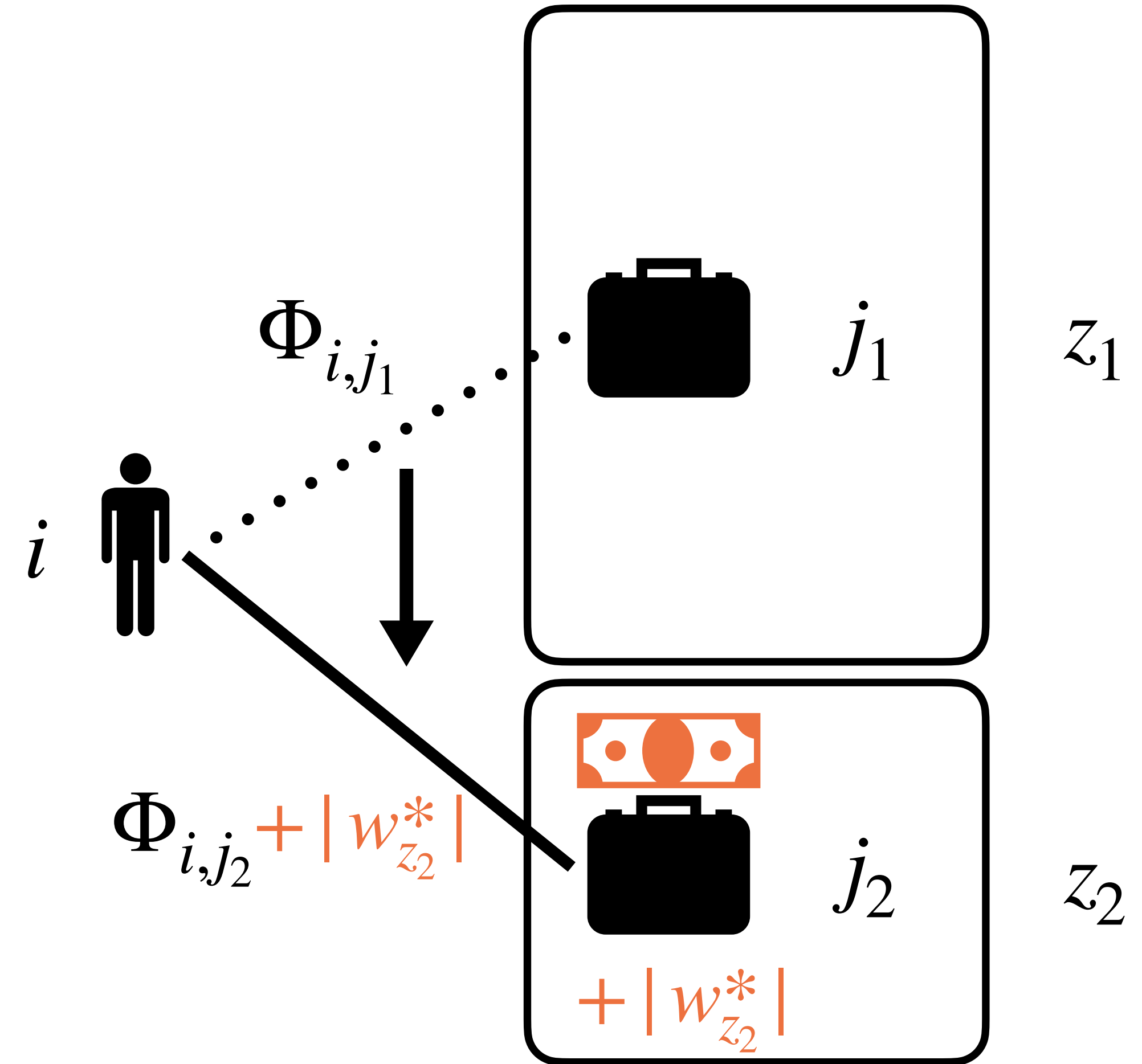
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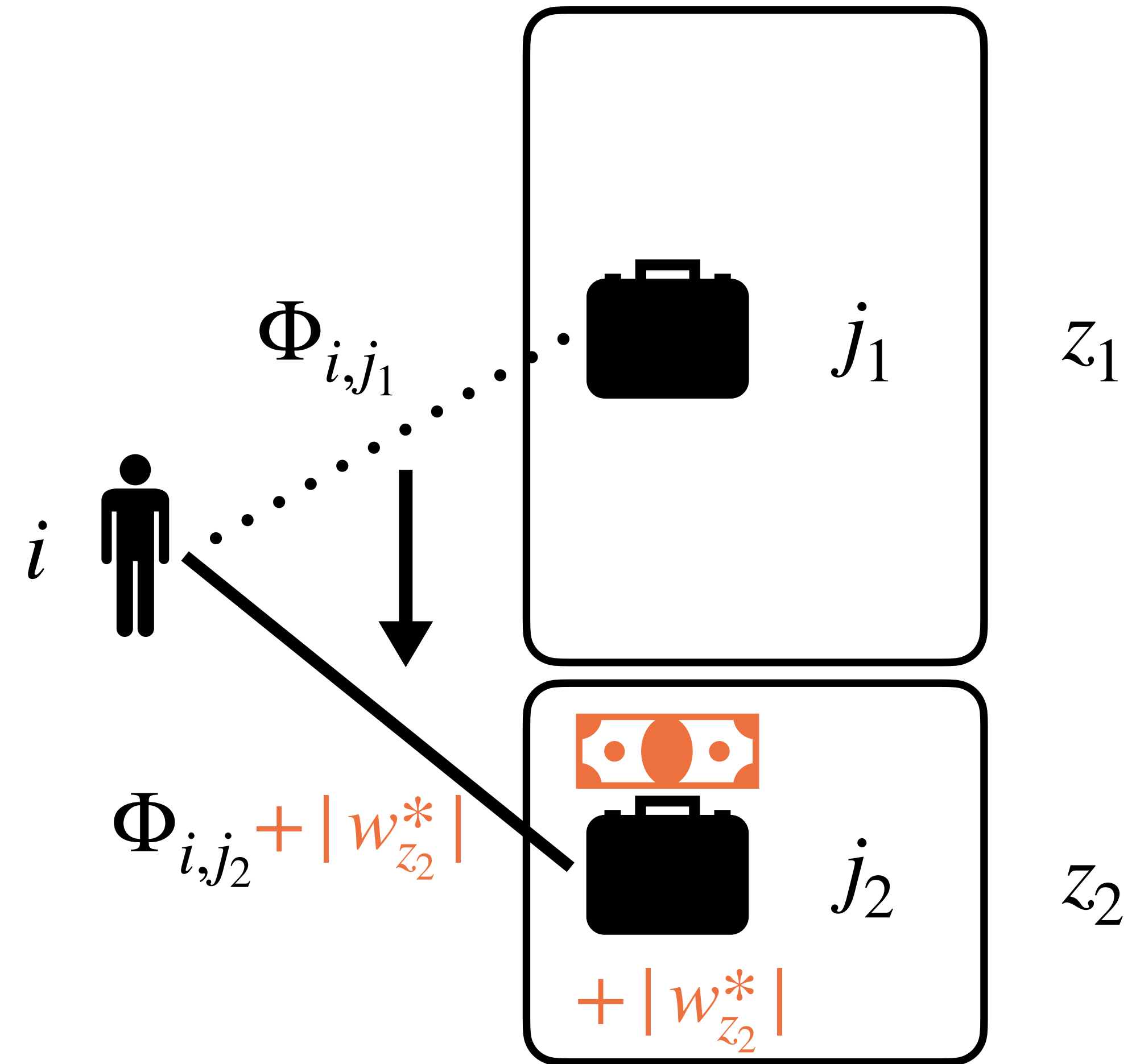
$$\Phi_{i,j_2} + |w_{z_2}^*| = \Phi_{i,j_1}$$



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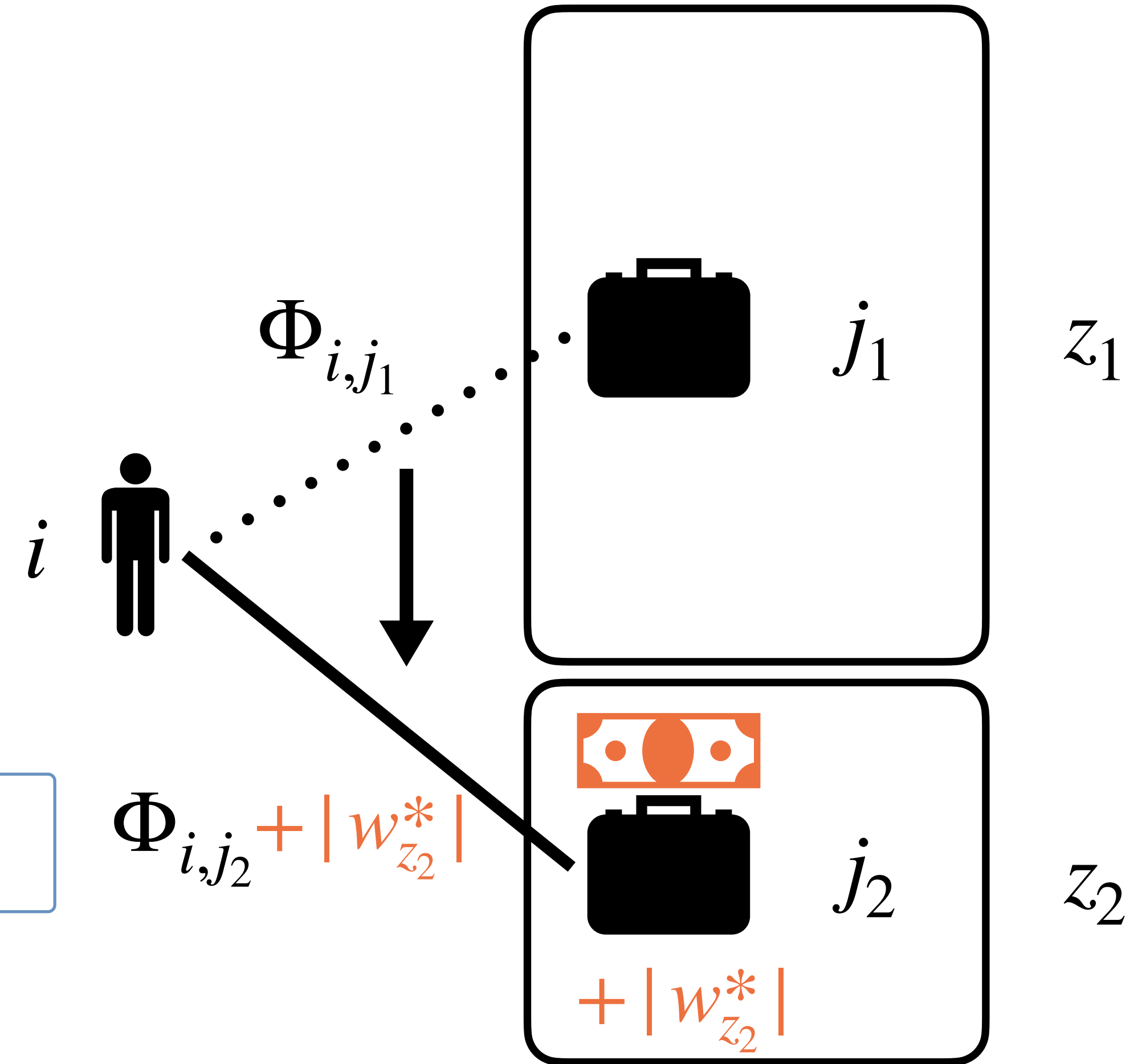


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generated (non-adjusted) joint surplus is reduced by $|w_{z_2}^*|$

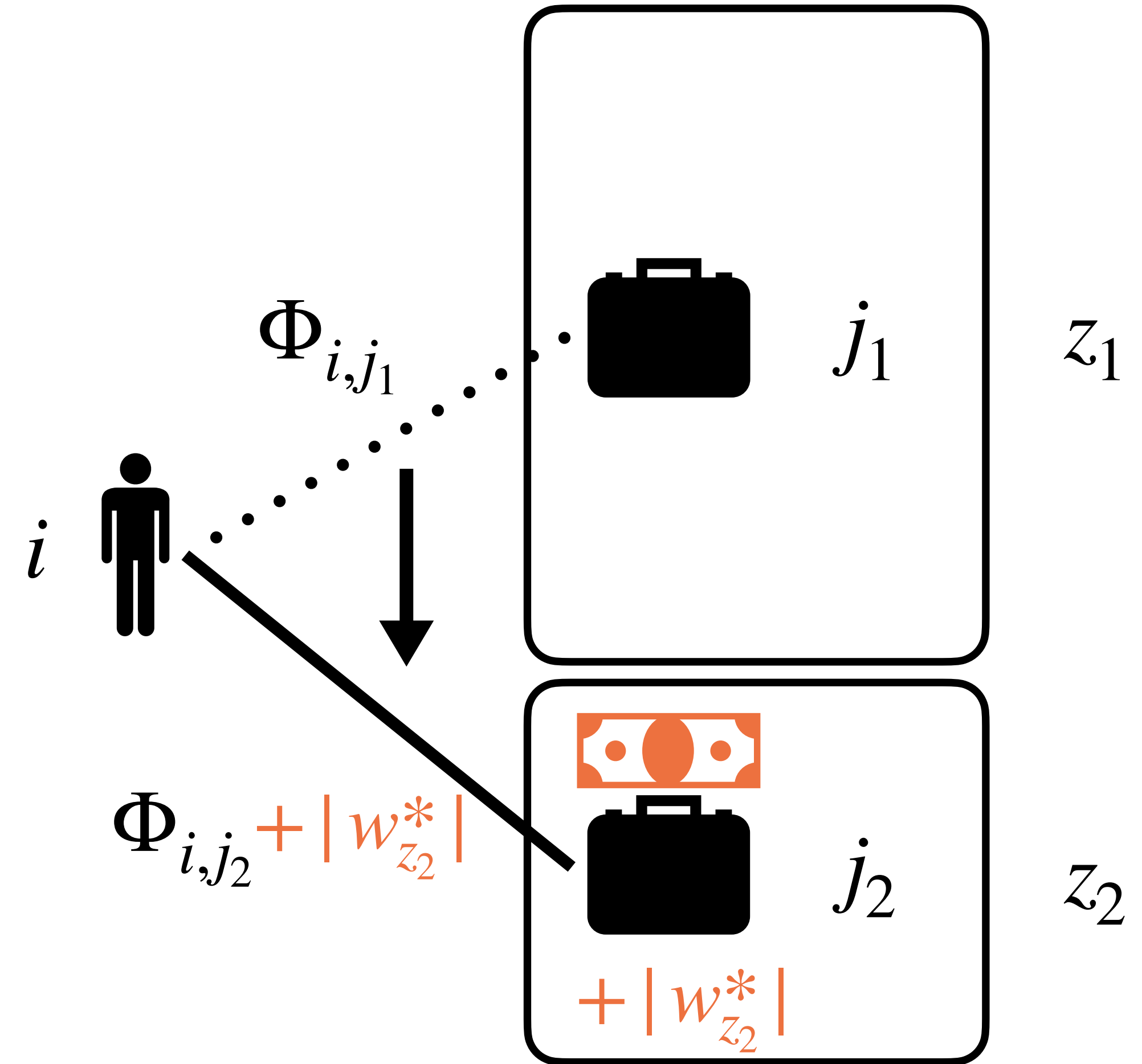


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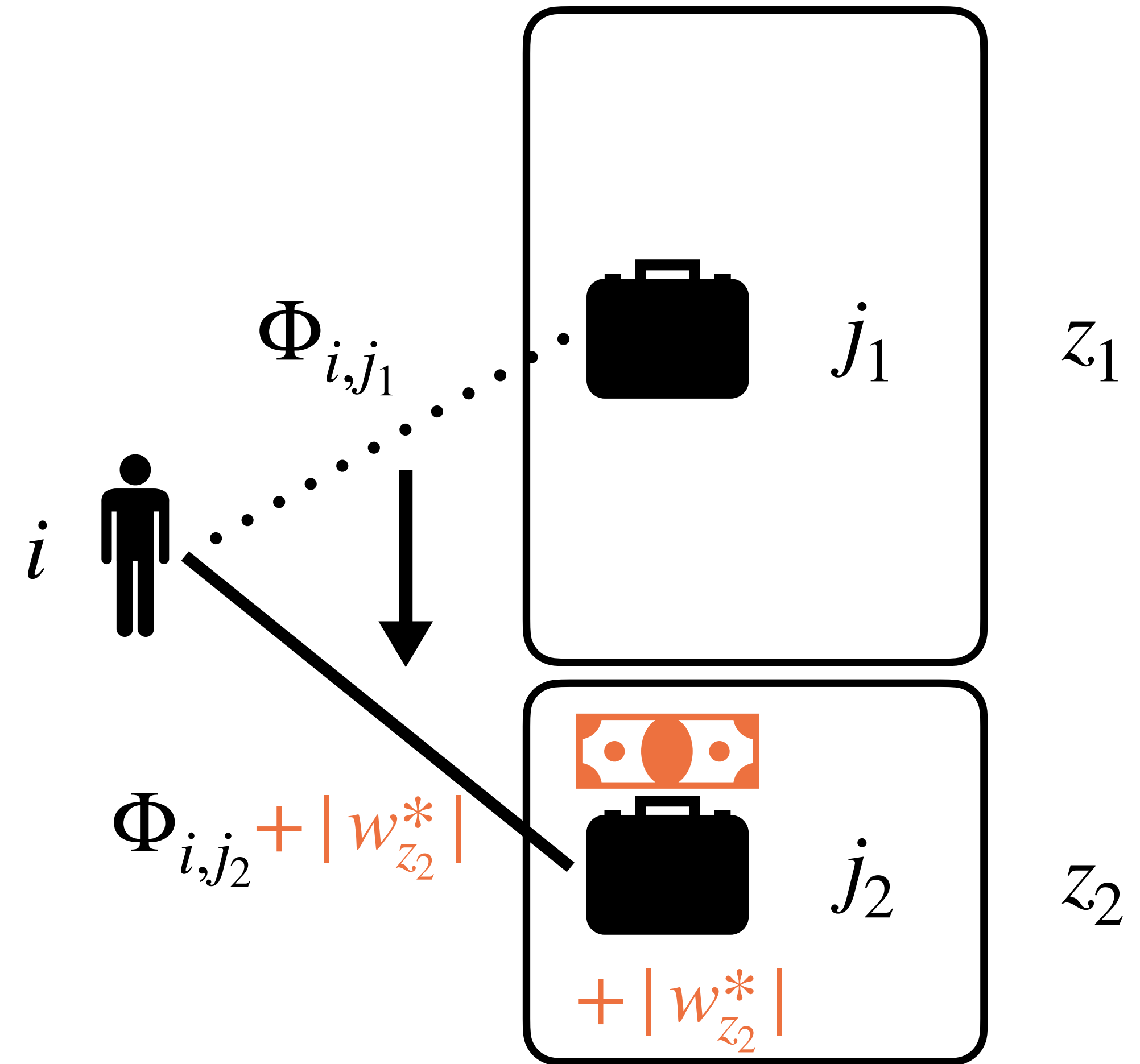
$$|w_{z_2}^*| = \Phi_{i,j_1} - \Phi_{i,j_2}$$

amount of subsidy = difference in joint surplus for the marginal doctor



properties of optimal taxation policy

- w_z^* : shadow prices of the regional constraints
 - suppose that $w_{z_2}^* < 0$ (i.e., subsidize $|w_{z_2}^*|$)
 - recruit an extra doctor for region z_2
- assuming a uniform tax within the same region is WLOG
 - having $w_{ij}^* \neq w_{ij'}^*$ for $j, j' \in z$ cannot increase social surplus
 - useful for practical implementation



PM's challenge: unobserved heterogeneity

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 - each doctor has type $s \in S$ (school)
 - each position has type $h \in H$ (hospital)
- can we still implement the optimal taxation policy? under what conditions?

key structural assumption

- **additive separability:** joint surplus Φ_{ij} is generated as follows:
there exists a matrix $(\Phi_{sh})_{s,h}$ such that for all $i \in s, j \in h$,

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- error vectors $((\varepsilon_i)_i, (\eta_j)_j)$ are independent

assumptions on PM's knowledge

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- GS2021: $(\Phi_{sh})_{s,h}$ can be estimated from aggregate-level match data $\mu = (\mu_{sh})_{s,h}$
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- **next goal:** design a taxation policy computable with this knowledge

discrete choice representation

Lemma (GS2021)

- suppose that (u, v) is an equilibrium payoff profile under a stable outcome
- let

$$U_{sh} := \min_{i \in s} \{u_i - \varepsilon_{ih}\}$$

- then, under additive separability, for any $i \in s$,

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(analogous result for positions also holds)

toward large market approximation

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$$u_i = \max_{h \in H \cup \{0\}} \{U_{sh} + \varepsilon_{ih}\}$$

- rewrite doctors' surplus:

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$$G(U) := \sum_{s \in S} n_s E_{\varepsilon_i \sim P_s} \left[\max_{h \in H \cup \{0\}} \{U_{sh} + \varepsilon_{ih}\} \right]$$

taxation policy with unobs. heterogeneity

- to define a taxation policy, we construct an optimization problem that corresponds to the previous LP

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- PM can formulate and solve these problems given $(\Phi_{sh})_{s,h}$, P , and Q

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- PM can formulate and solve these problems given $(\Phi_{sh})_{s,h}$, P , and Q
- $\mathcal{E}(\mu) := -G^*(\mu) - H^*(\mu)$,
where G^* and H^* are the Legendre-Fenchel transforms of G and H , resp.
 - captures the contribution of unobserved heterogeneity (error terms) to social surplus

taxation policy with unobs. heterogeneity

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Thm 2: under certain regularity conditions on the error distributions, these optimization problems have a unique solution μ^A and $(U, V, \bar{w}^A, \underline{w}^A)$

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full support + abs. conti. wrt Lebesgue measure

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Thm 2: under certain regularity conditions on the error distributions, these optimization problems have a unique solution μ^A and $(U, V, \bar{w}^A, \underline{w}^A)$

- define the **aggregate-level taxation policy** by

$$w_z^A := \bar{w}_z^A - \underline{w}_z^A$$

large market approximation: setup

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- consider a sequence of markets indexed by market size $N = |I^N| + |J^N|$

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$$\frac{n_s^N}{N}, \frac{m_h^N}{N}, \frac{\bar{o}_z^N}{N}, \frac{o_z^N}{N}$$

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share of type- s doctors

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share of type- h positions

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normalized regional constraints

large market approximation: result

Thm. 3 (informal): under regularity conditions,

- the two policies asymptotically coincide:

$$\|w_N^A - w_N^*\|_\infty \rightarrow 0, \quad \text{a.s.} \quad (N \rightarrow \infty)$$

- main outcomes under these policies (e.g., **per-capita social surplus** and **the share of matches for each type pair**) also asymptotically coincide.

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- main outcomes under these policies (e.g., **per-capita social surplus** and **the share of matches for each type pair**) also asymptotically coincide.

- in large markets, with the structural assumptions, the PM can approximately implement the optimal taxation policy if she knows $(\Phi_{sh})_{s,h}$, P , and Q

applicability of our framework

- applicable to other problems by reinterpreting **types** and **regions**
- in our problem:
 - **type** of a position = hospital
 - **region**: prefecture (one geographic area)
- in other settings:
 - **type**: occupation subcategory (e.g., registered nurse, physician assistant)
 - **region**: broader occupational category (e.g., healthcare)
 - PM's goal: achieve a balanced distribution across occupations



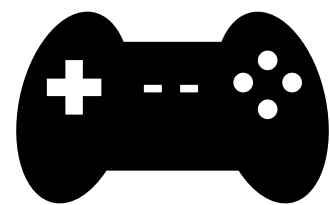
model



theoretical results



estimation



simulation

available data

from 2016 to 2019

- **aggregate-level matching outcomes**
 - # of matches for each school-hospital pair
 - # of positions offered in each hospital
 - # of applicants from each school
- **salary**
 - monthly salary paid to residents by each program
- **characteristics of hospitals and schools**
 - **hospital:** hospital type (e.g., university-affiliated/government), # of beds, location
 - **school:** public/private, T-score (a measure of entrance exam difficulty)
national-exam pass rate, location
 - **pair:** distance, # of previous matches, affiliation

hospital size

students' quality

two-step procedure

- **goal:** to estimate agents' preferences and evaluate them in monetary terms

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$$u_i = U_{ij}^{\text{base}} + \tau_i$$

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base utility

utility that doctor i derives from the match with position j without transfer

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equilibrium payoff
(actual payoff) base utility transfer

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two-step procedure

- **goal:** to estimate agents' **preferences** and evaluate them in monetary terms

$$u_i = U_{ij}^{\text{base}} + \tau_i$$

equilibrium payoff (actual payoff) **base utility** transfer

- we conduct estimation in two steps:
 1. estimate **equilibrium payoffs**
 2. estimate the parameters in the **base utilities and transfers**

why two steps?

1. estimate equilibrium payoff
2. estimate the parameters in the base utilities and transfers

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- **step 1** estimates aggregate-level objects $(U_{sh}, V_{sh}, \Phi_{sh})$ using observed match data
 - we can apply the method of Galichon and Salanié (2021)
 - this is sufficient to set up the optimization problem and compute $(w_z^*)_z$

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- **step 2** deals with these issues

step 1: estimate equilibrium payoff

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equilibrium payoff (actual payoff) base utility transfer

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- with unobserved heterogeneity, individual-level eqm payoff u_i is not identifiable
- we can still estimate "**aggregate-level equilibrium payoff**" U_{sh}
- Galichon and Salanié (2021) propose nonparametric identification results
 - eqm matching can be seen as a result of "two-sided discrete choice" problems
- we estimate a parametric version using polynomials

(see the paper for details)

step 2: estimate agents' preferences

$$u_i = U_{ij}^{\text{base}} + \tau_i$$

equilibrium payoff
(actual payoff) base utility transfer

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- impose two structural assumptions for **base utilities**:

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equilibrium payoff (actual payoff) base utility transfer

- impose two structural assumptions for **base utilities**:

- **additive separability**: $U_{ij}^{\text{base}} = U_{sh}^{\text{base}} + \varepsilon_{ih} \quad (j \in h)$

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- linearity:** $U_{sh}^{\text{base}} = X_U^{\top} \beta_U$
parameters

aggregate-level base utility

step 2: measurement model for transfer

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equilibrium payoff
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- for transfers, we assume that agents' utilities are **quasi-linear** in monetary transfers

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- the transfer term may reflect multiple components:
 - salary, **workload, experience, risk of medical accidents**, etc.

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unobservable

step 2: estimating equation

$$\sum_s \omega_{sh} \hat{U}_{sh} = \gamma_{0,U} + \gamma_{1,U} S_h + \sum_s \omega_{sh} \left((X_{sh}^{U,\text{base}})^\top \beta_U \right) + \psi_h^U \quad (h \in H)$$

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parameters of interest

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- we estimate coefficients $(\gamma_{1,U}, \beta_U)$ using **IVs**

(we conduct analogous estimation for hospitals)

estimation results

- geography matters
- students prefer closer and larger hospitals
 - 10% decrease in the distance \approx gain of **\$33/month**
 - 10% increase in hospital beds \approx gain of **\$53/month**
 - same prefecture match \approx gain of **\$1,655/month**
(but the point estimate may be imprecise)
- hospitals favor closer, **public-school, and higher-T-score** students
(but the point estimates may be imprecise)

higher quality



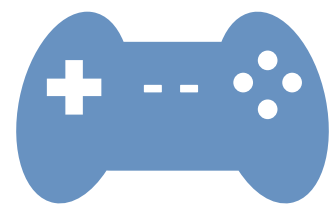
model



theoretical results



estimation



simulation

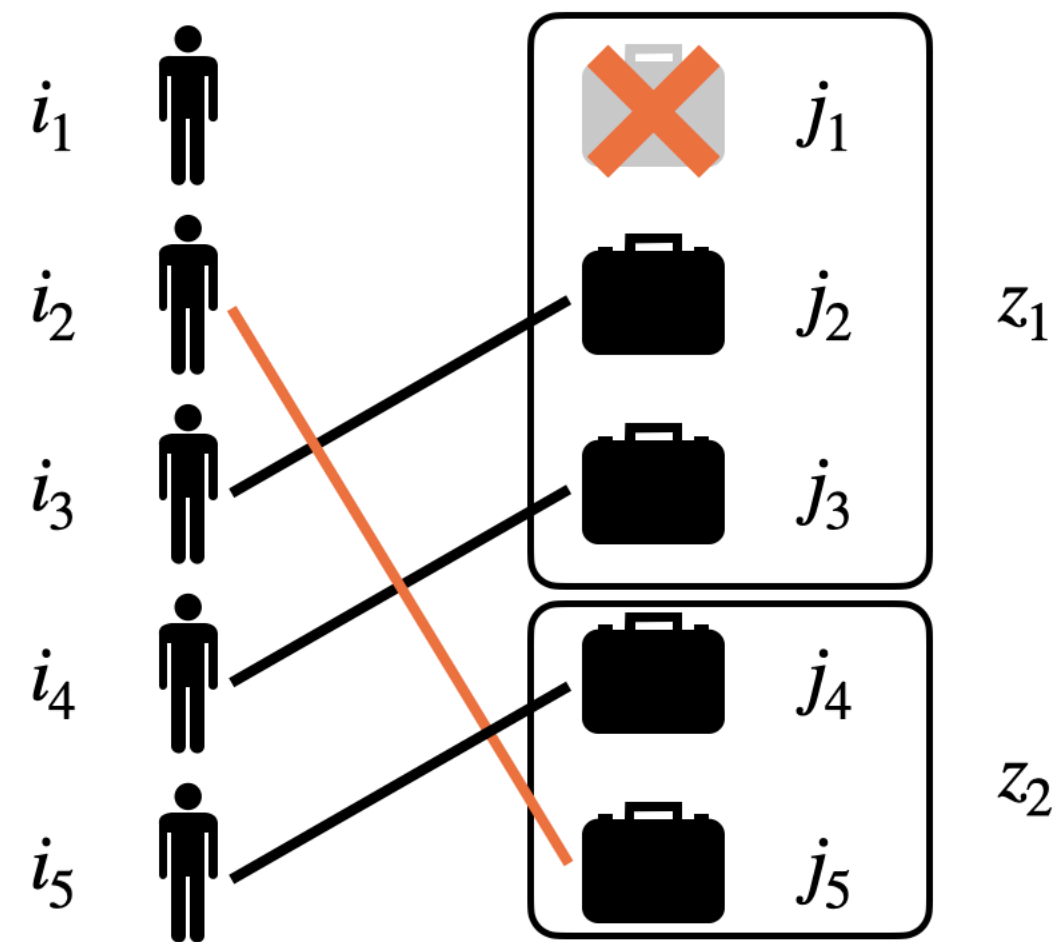
simulation setup

- we simulate the JRMP market in 2019 using the estimated model
- compare three different policies:

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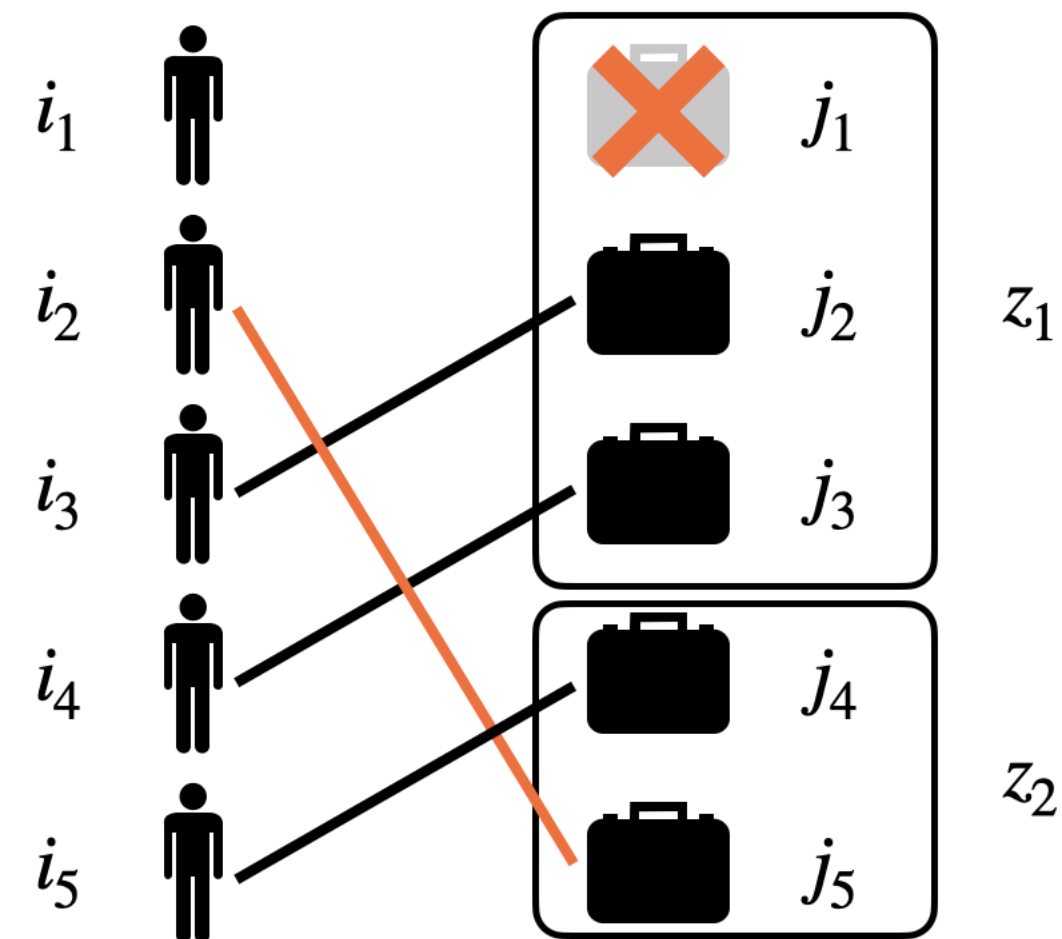
Artificial Caps (AC) (cap on urban areas)



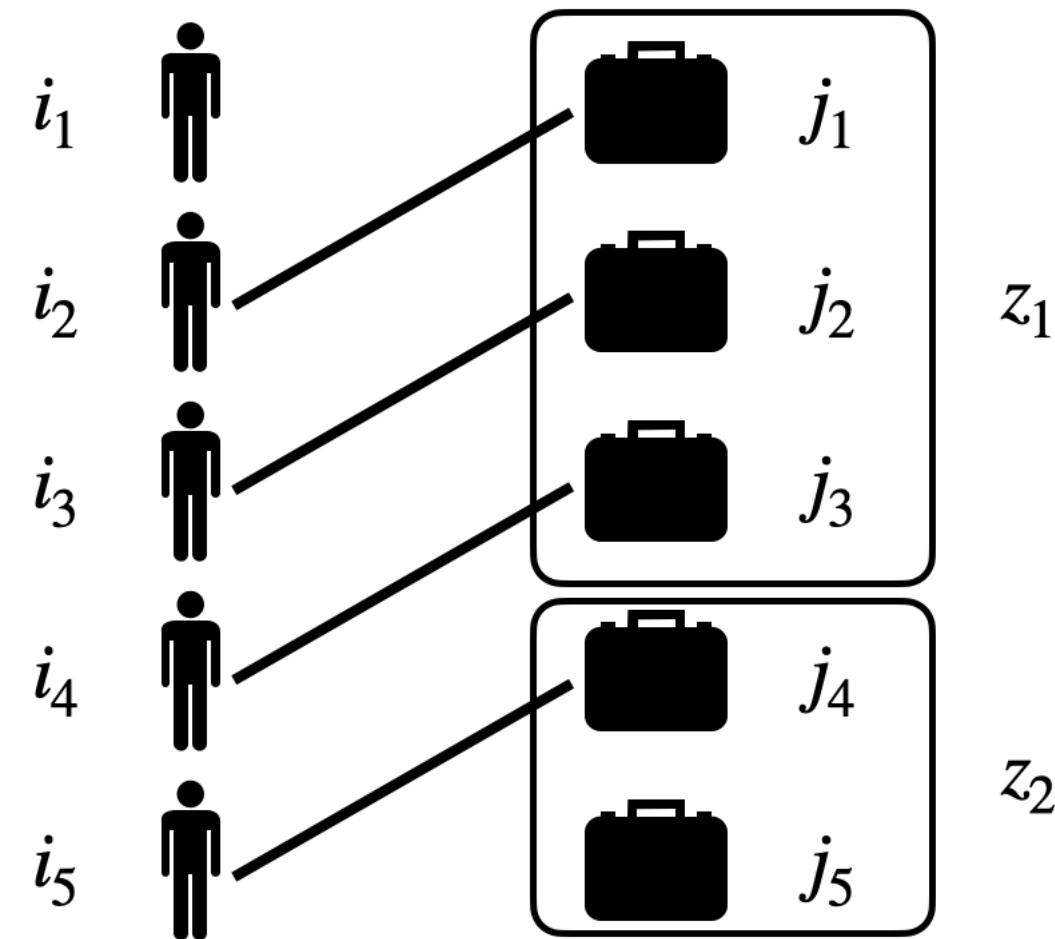
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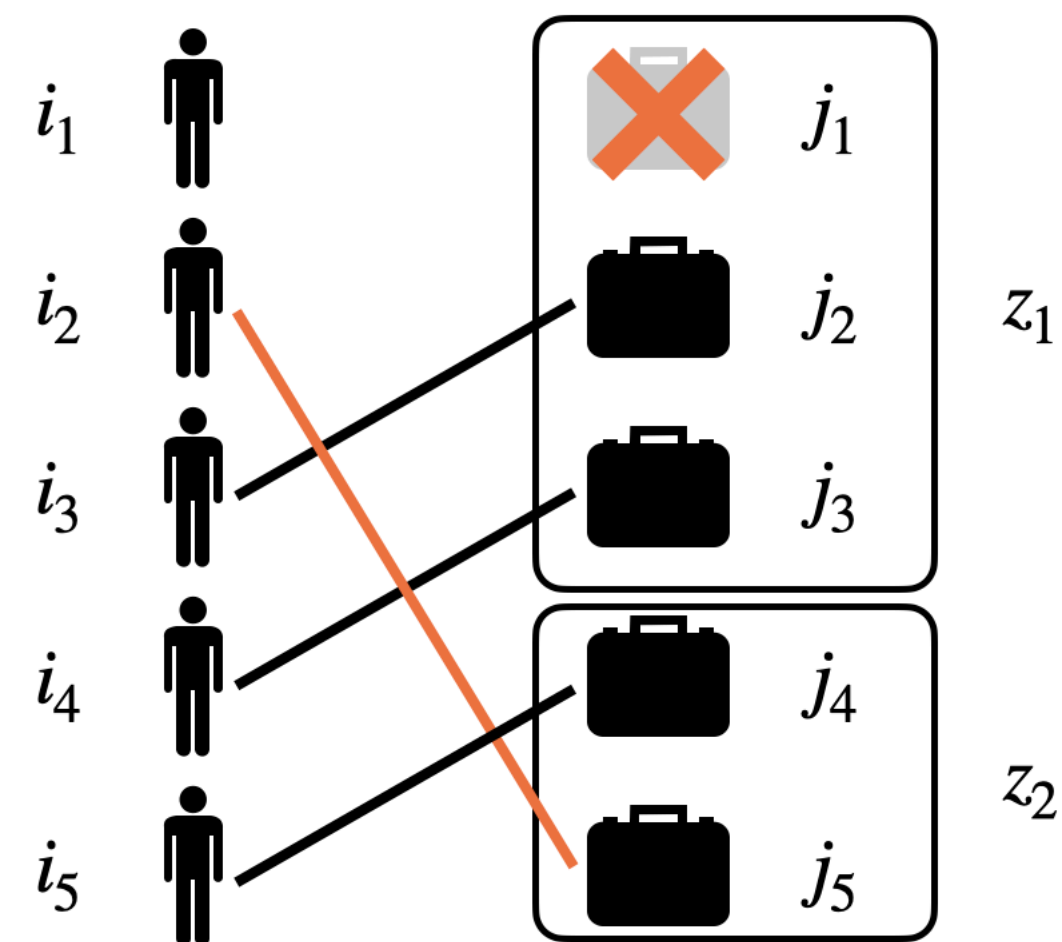
No Cap Tightening (NC)
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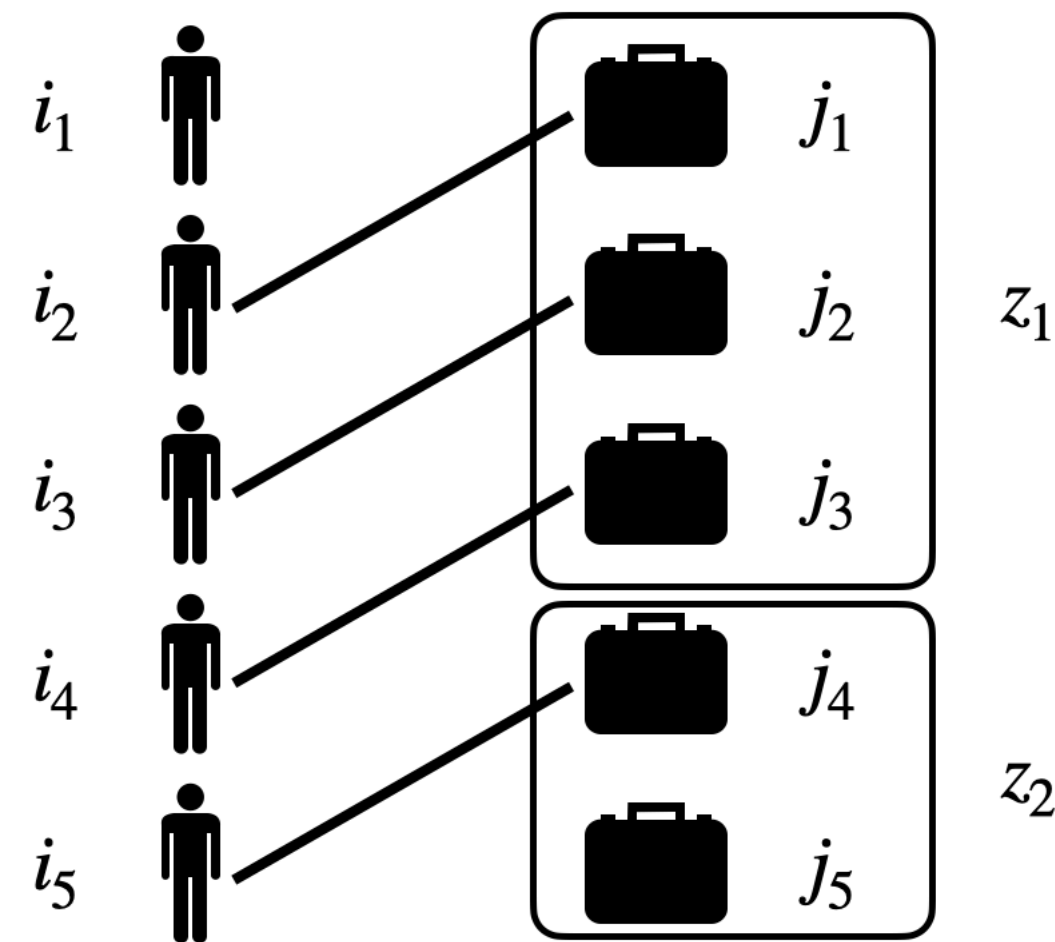
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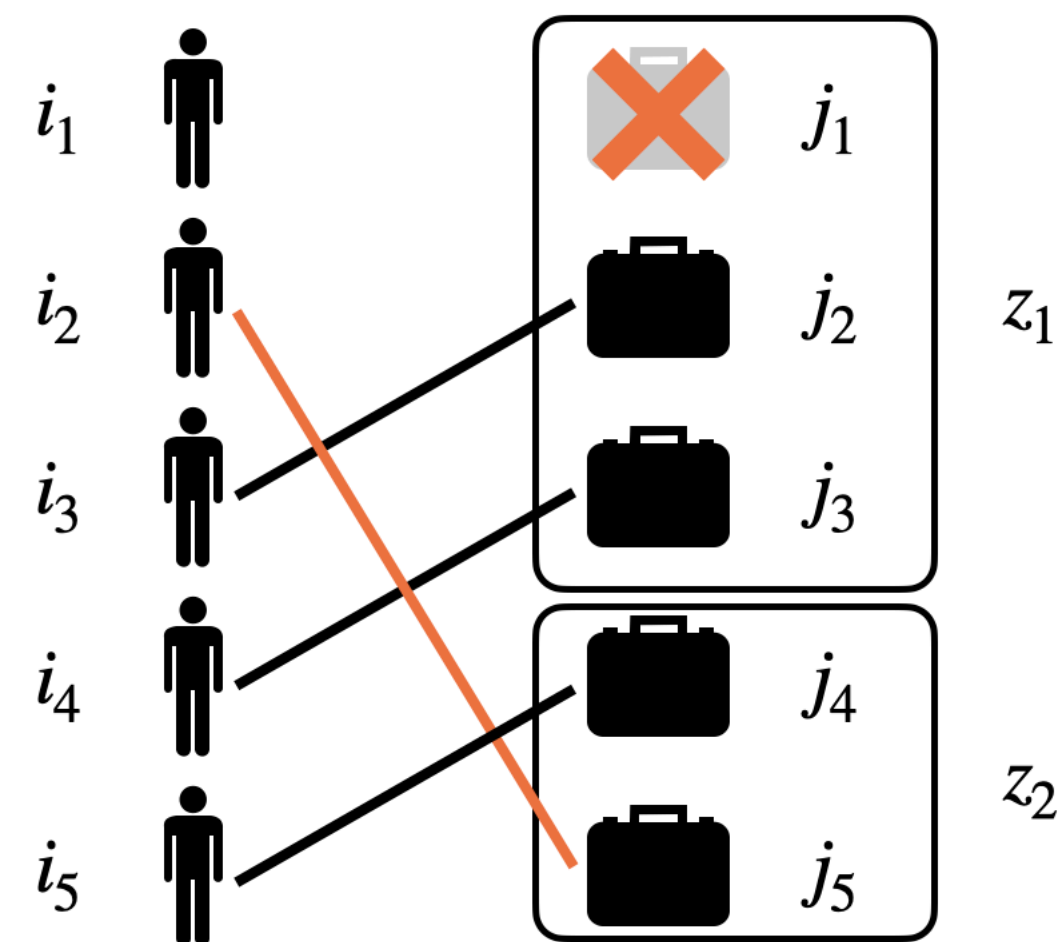


for each hospital, we define its **true capacity** as the maximum number of positions it offered up to 2019

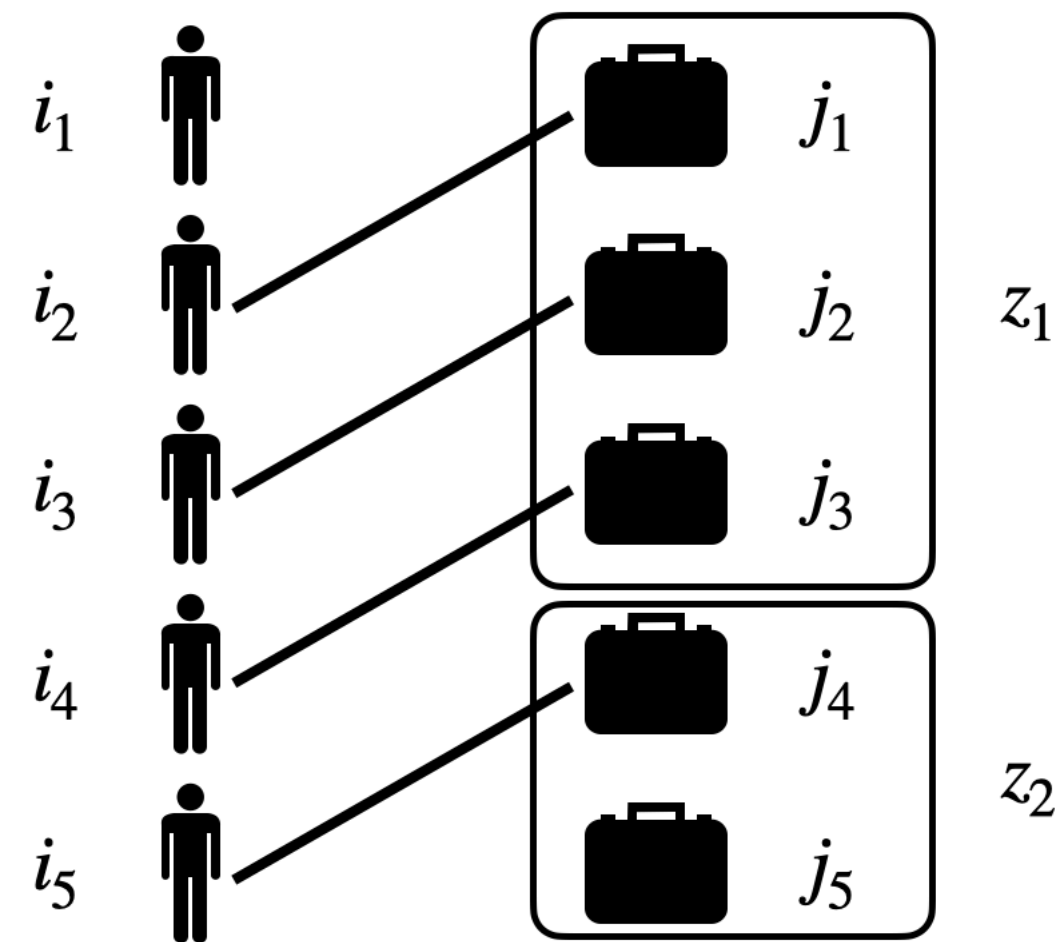
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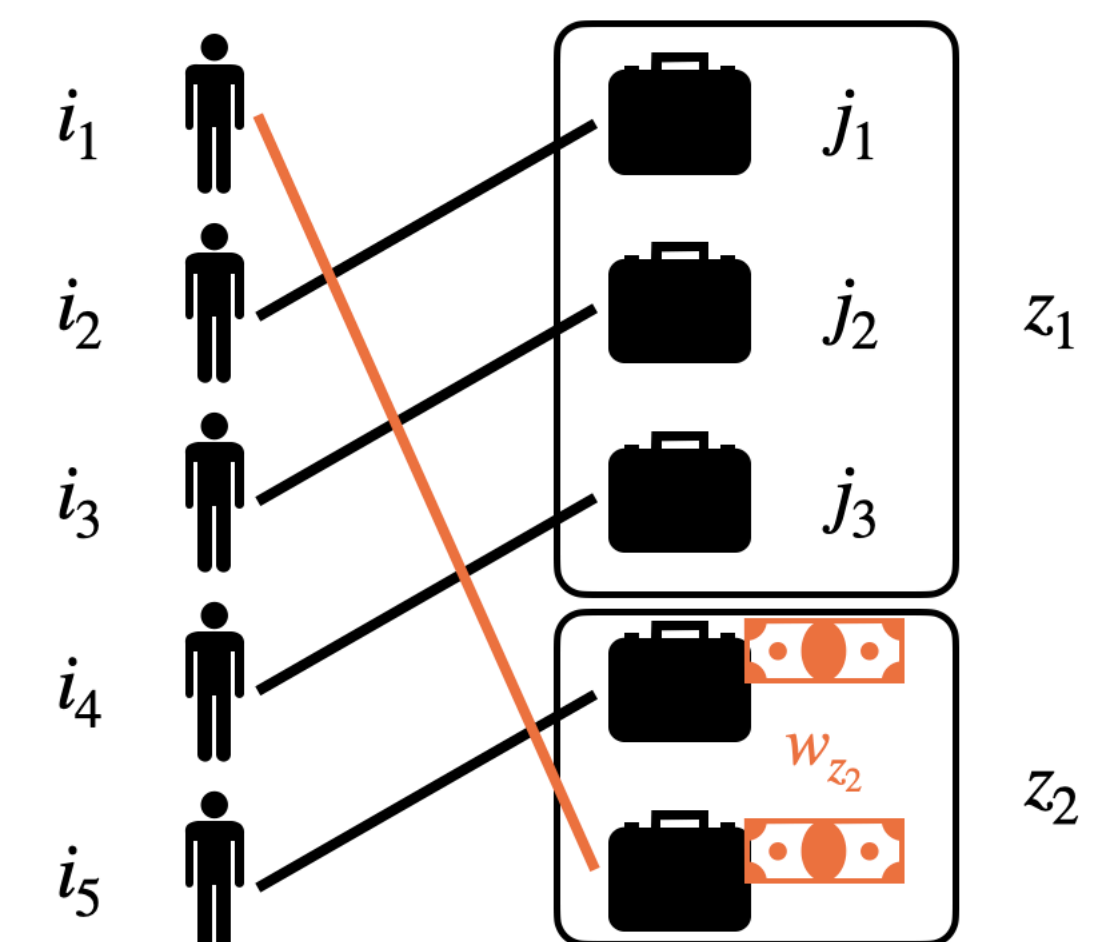
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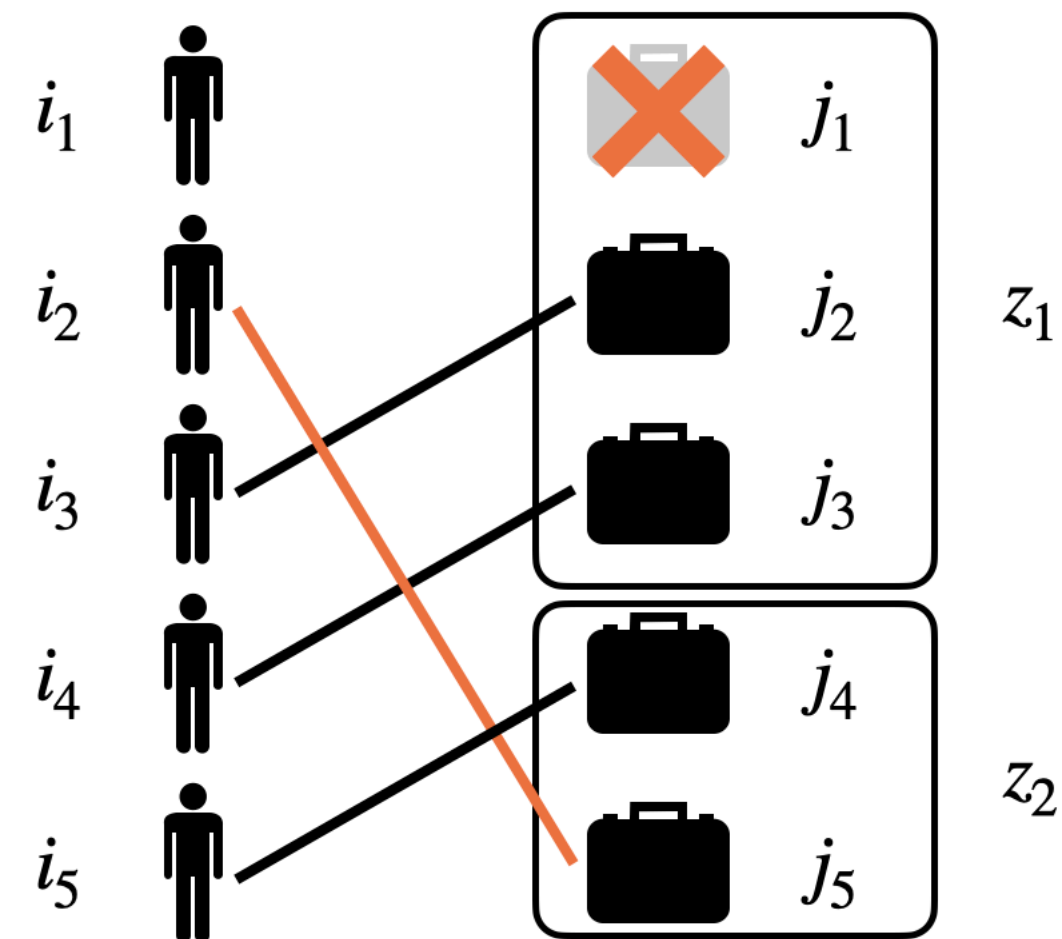
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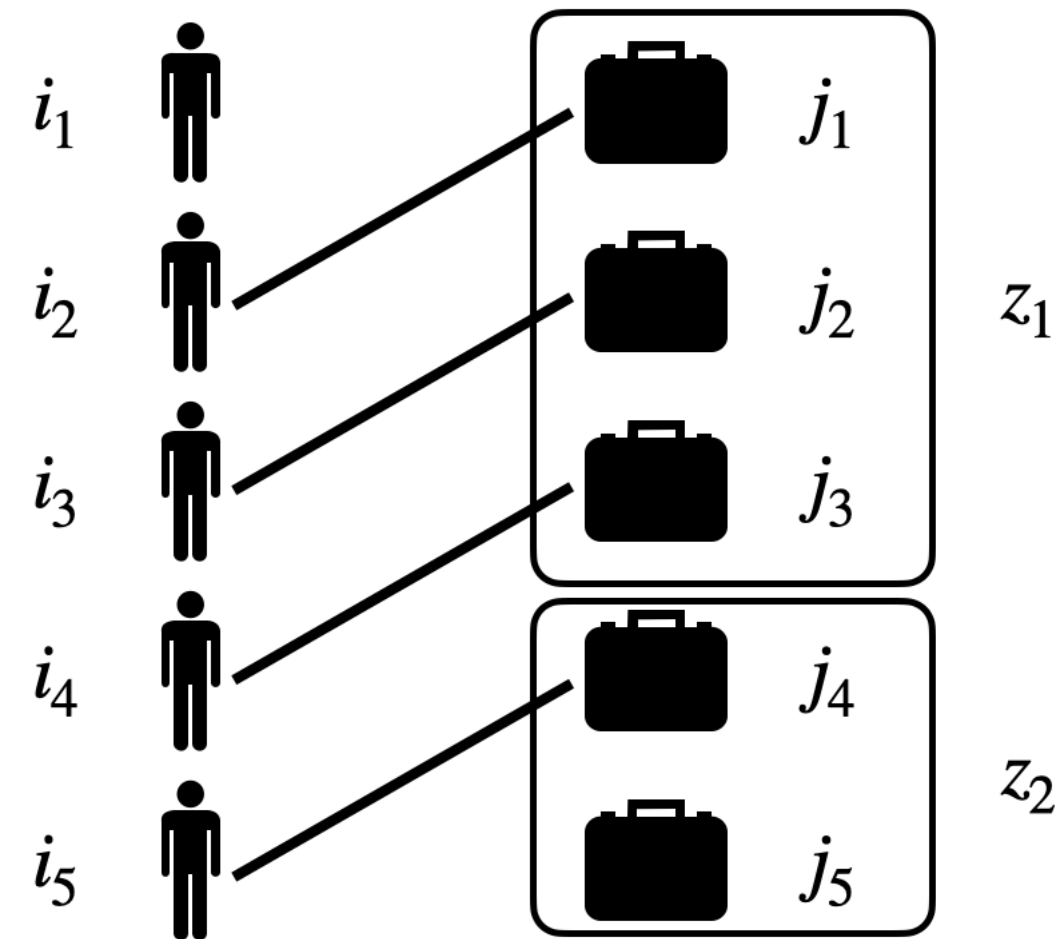
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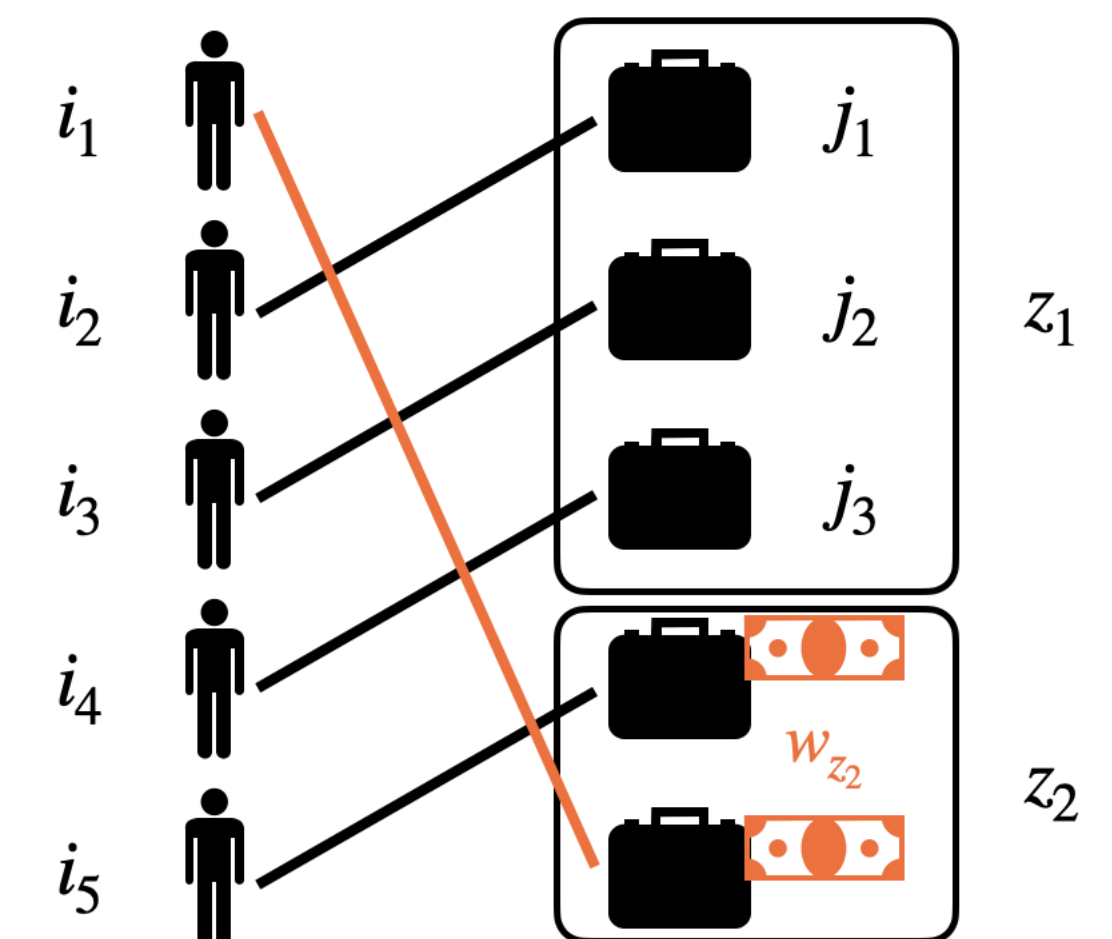
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regional constraints: 15 rural prefectures receive at least as many residents as they did under the AC

welfare ranking

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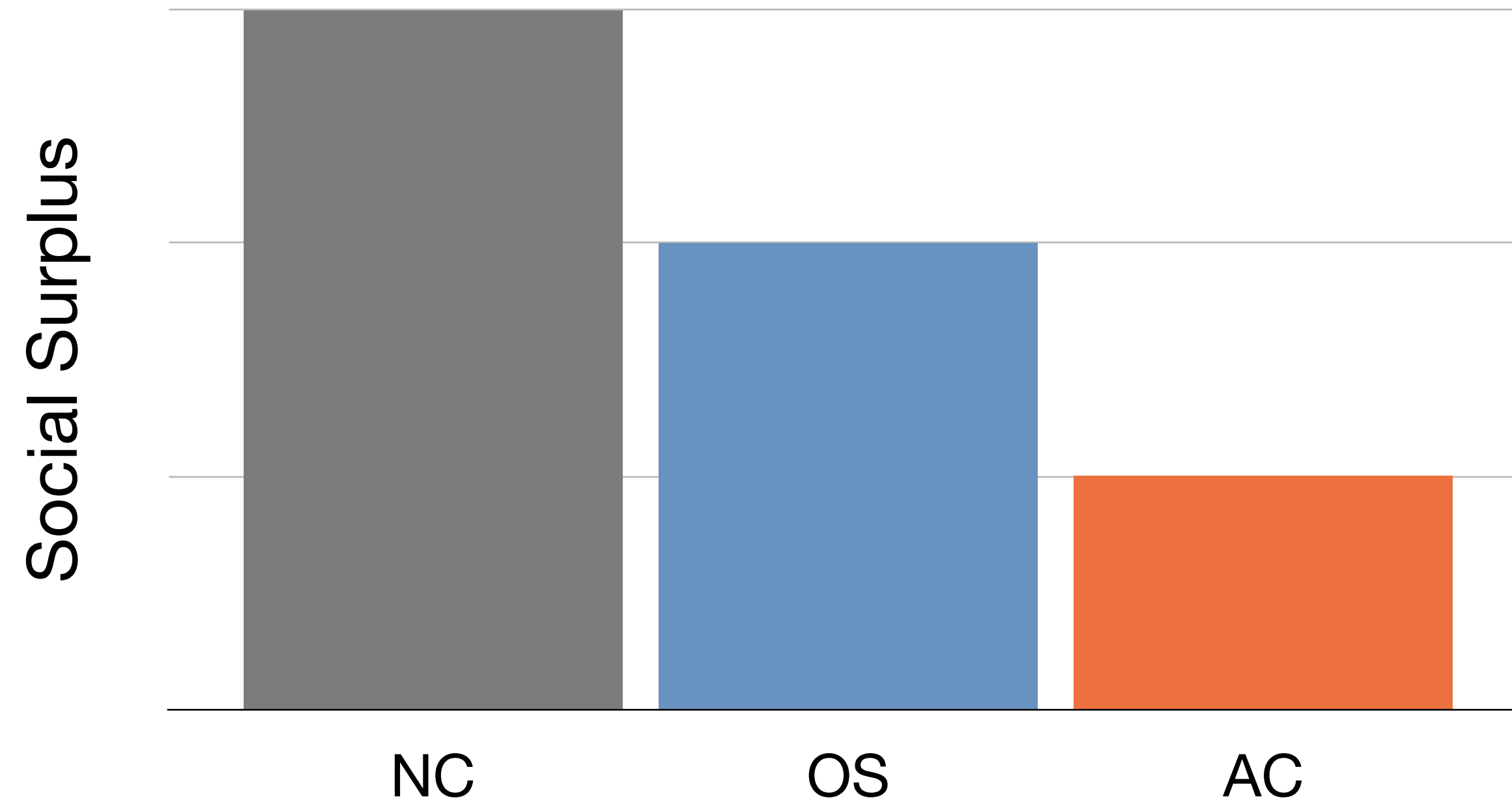
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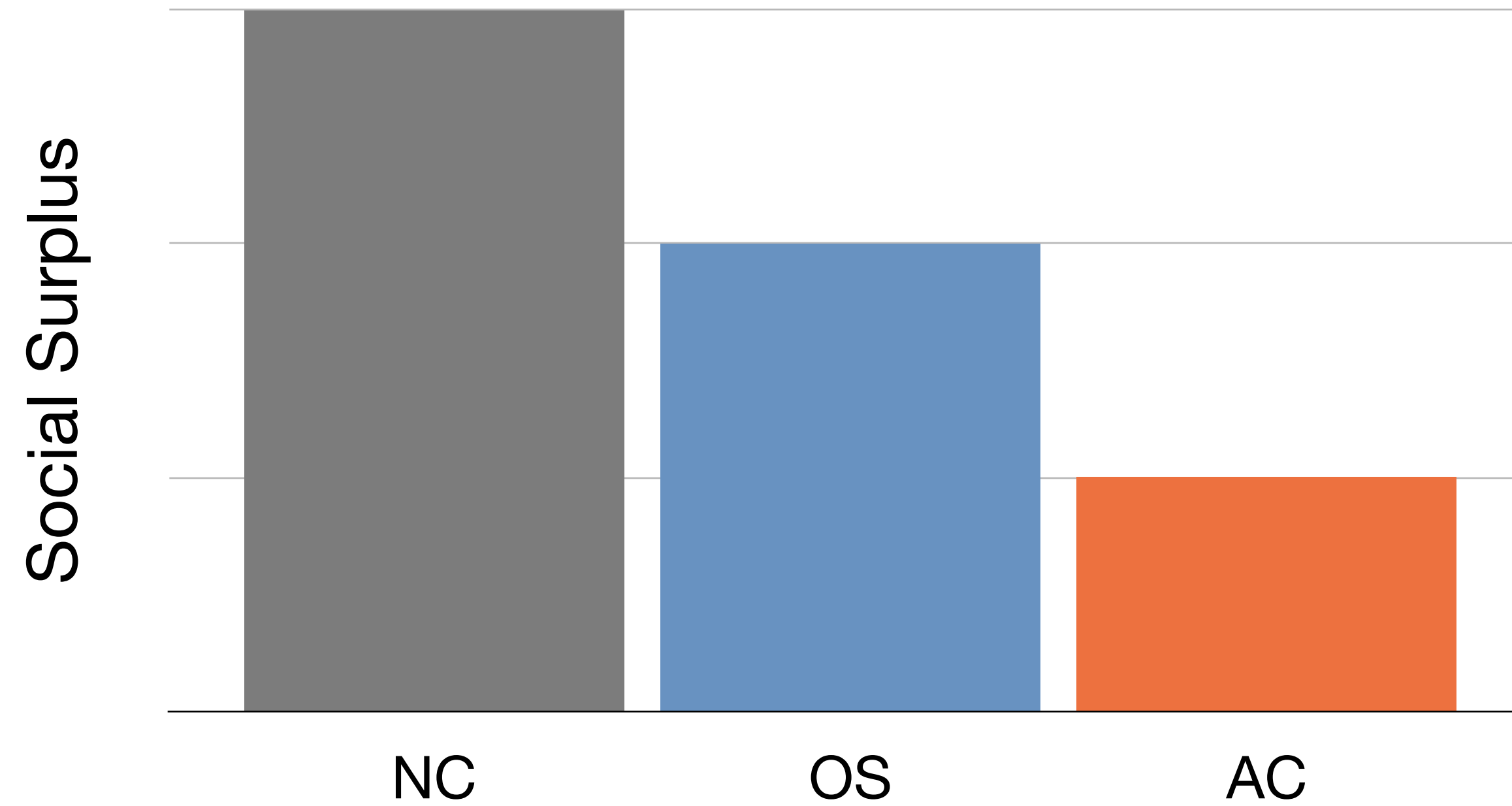
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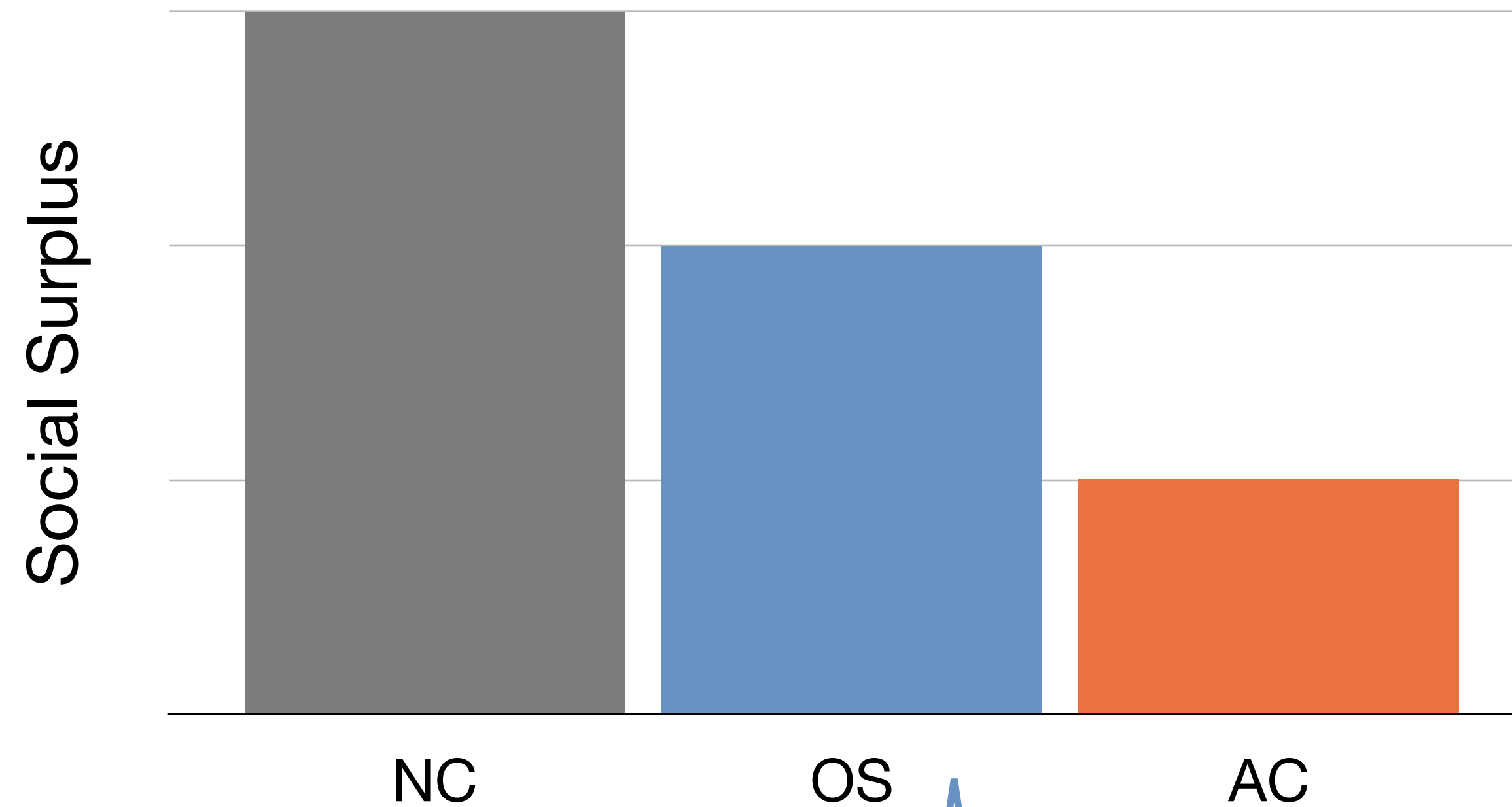
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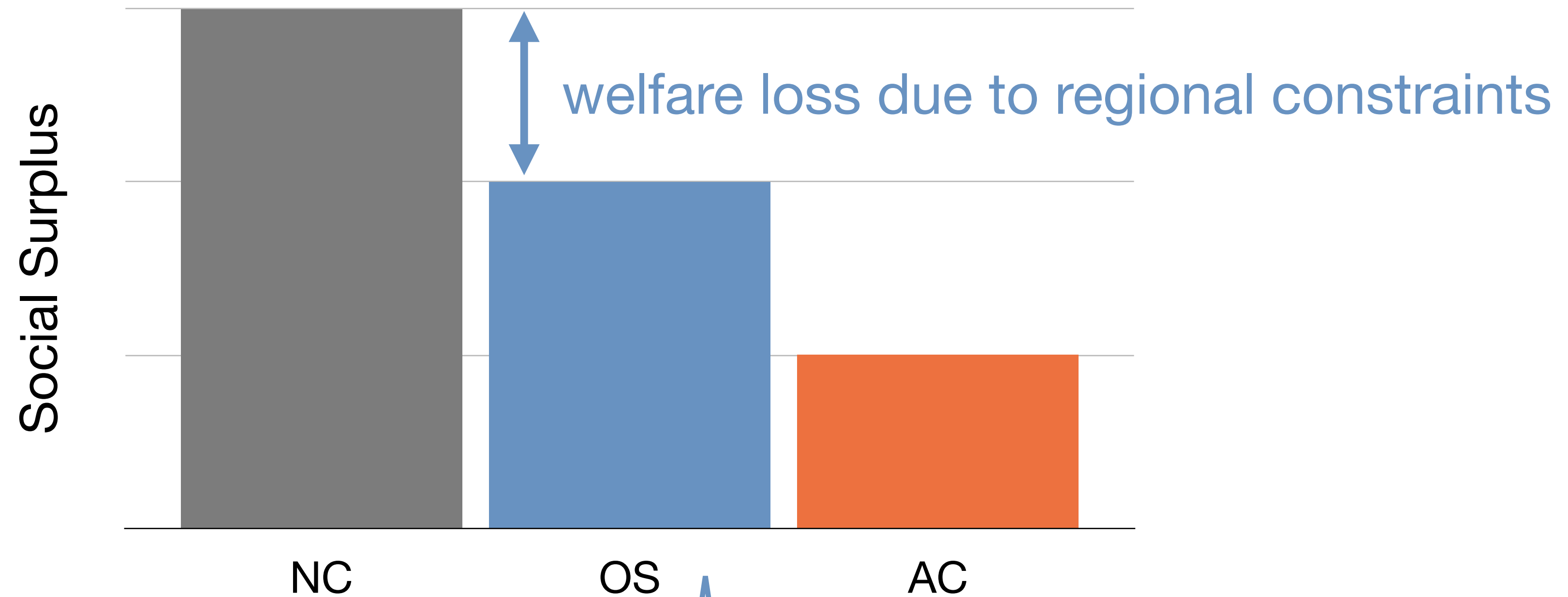
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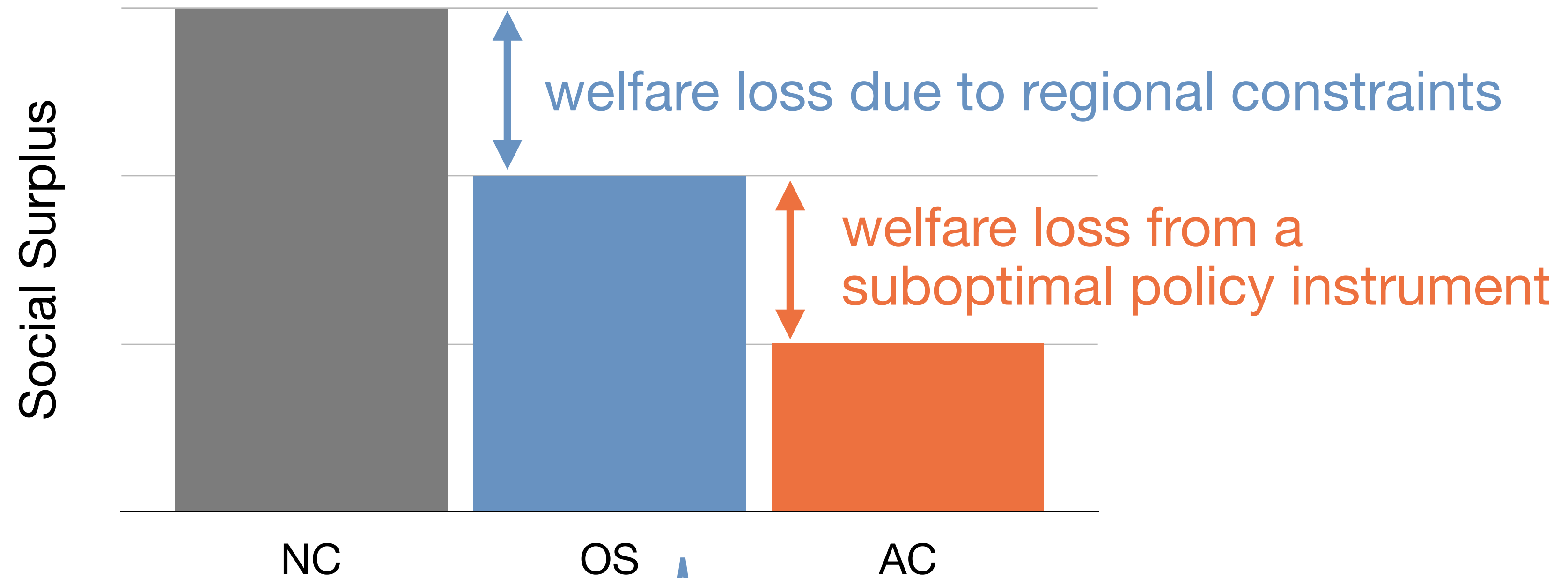
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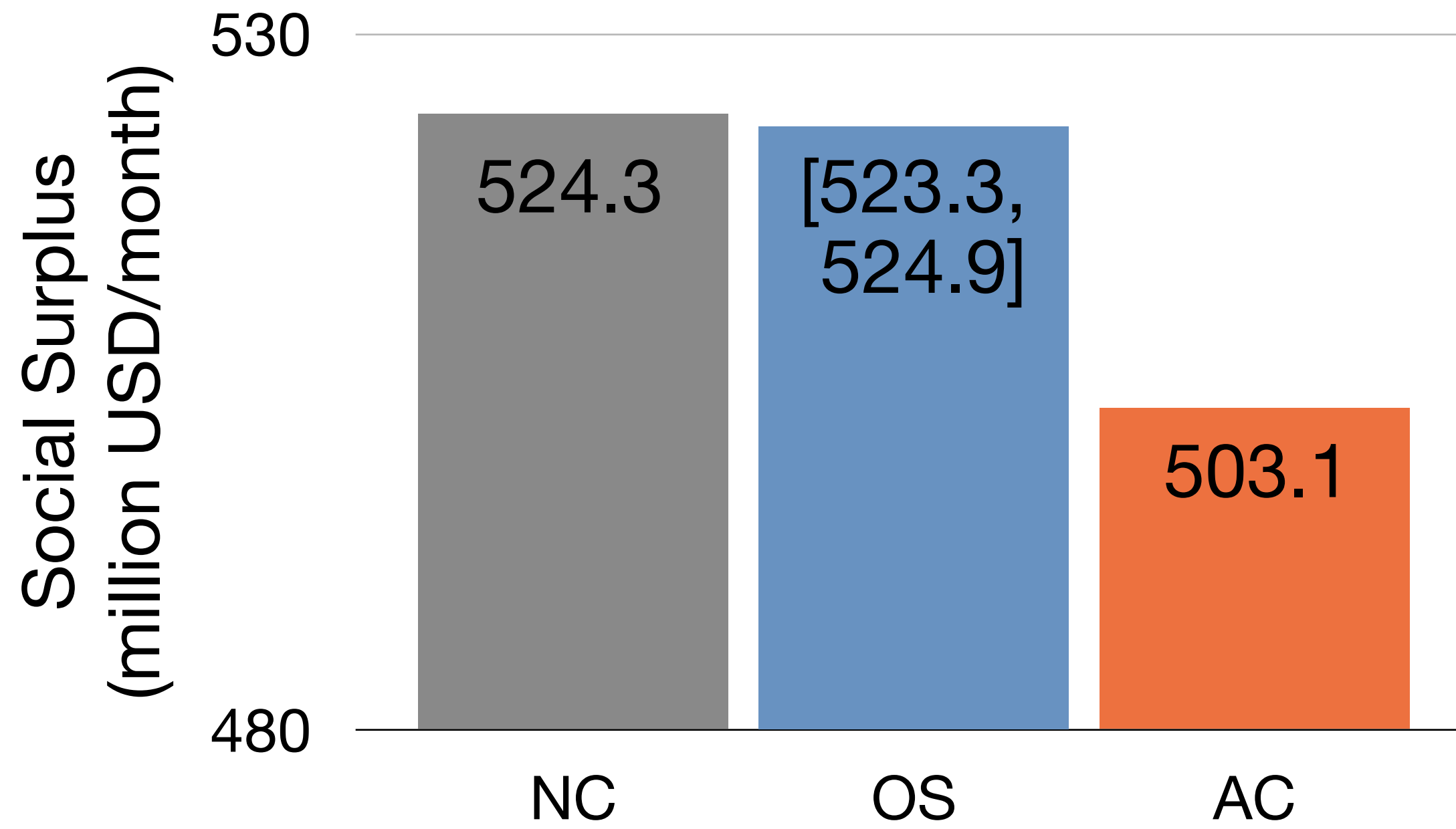
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simulation results

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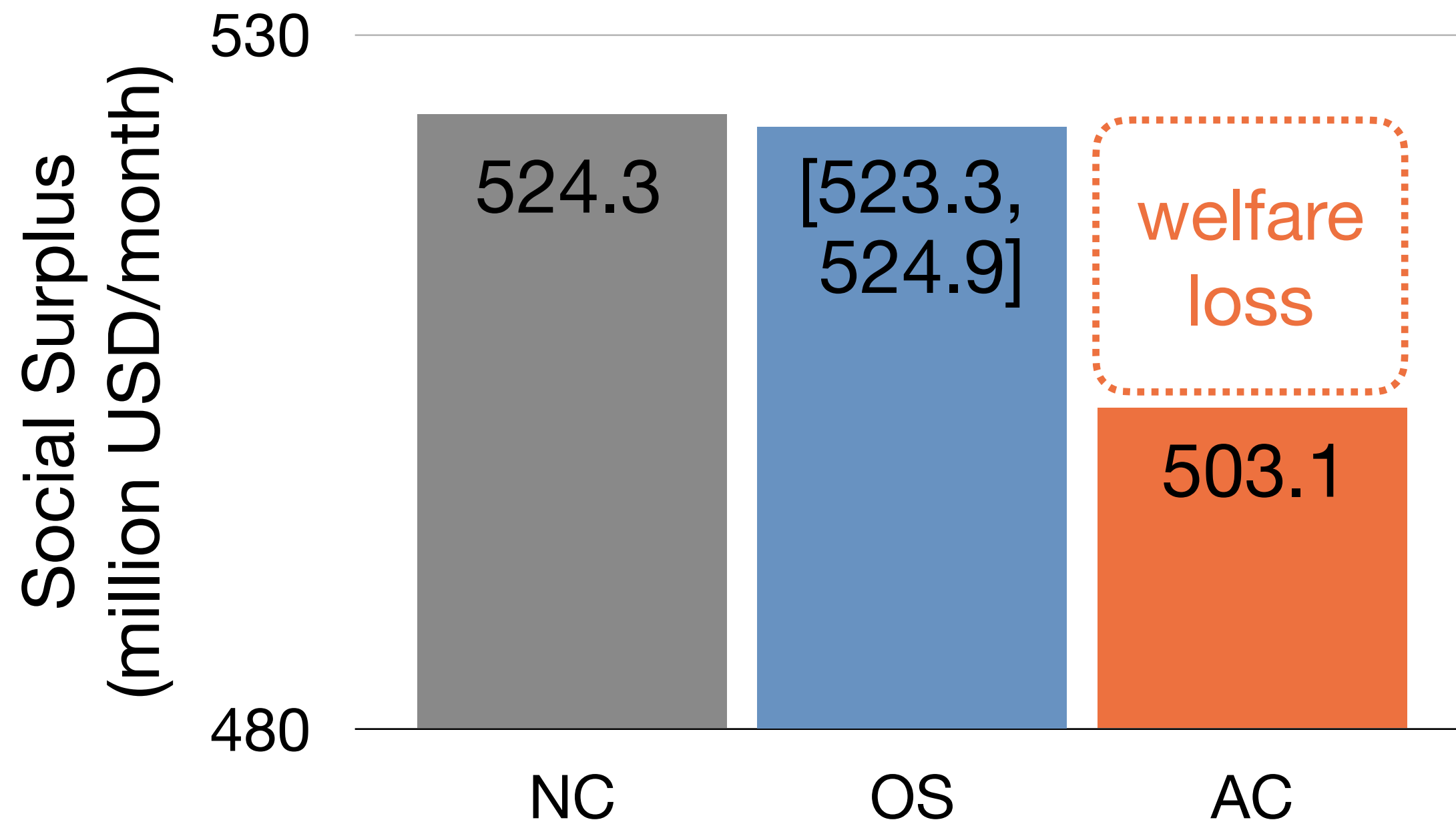


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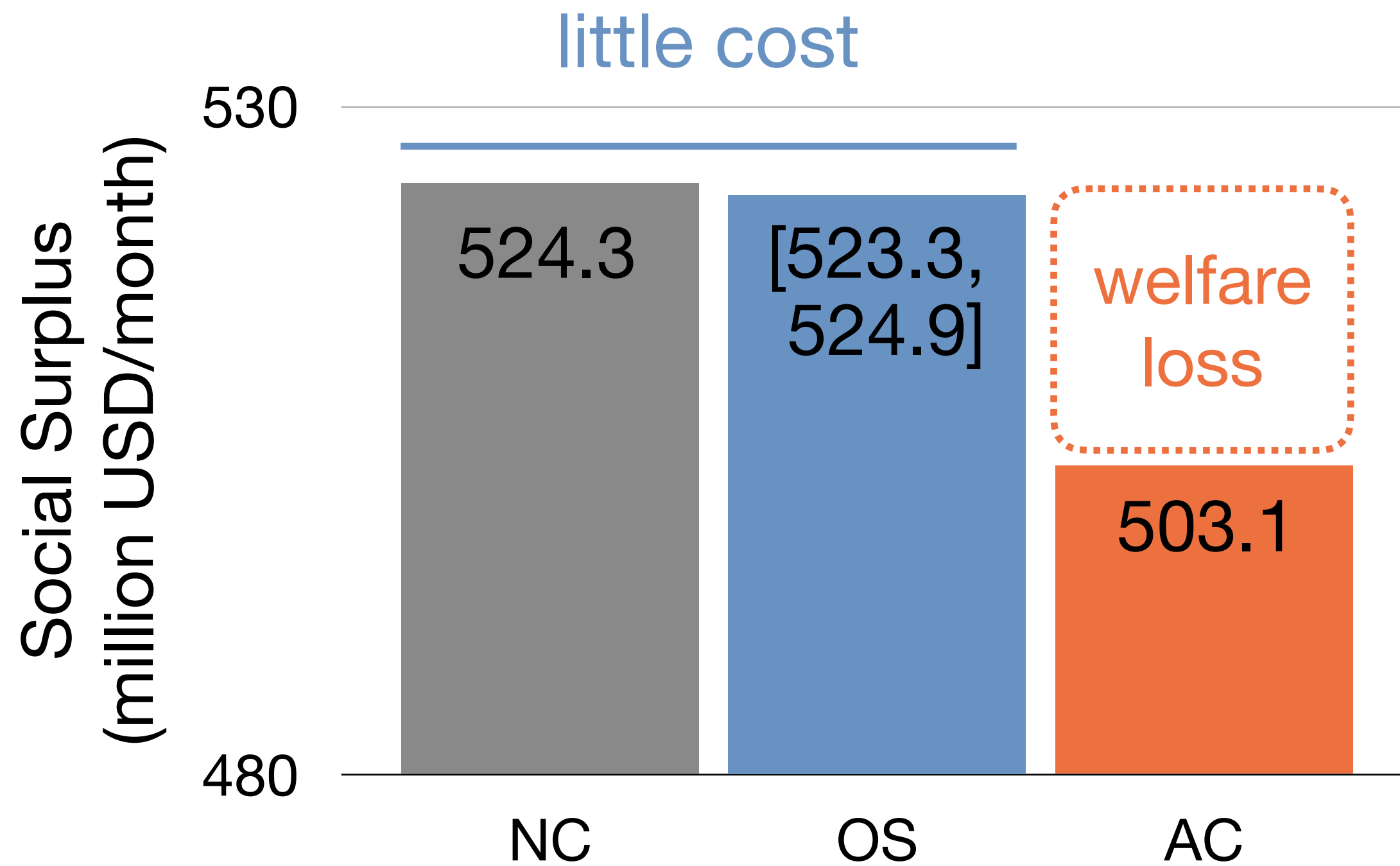
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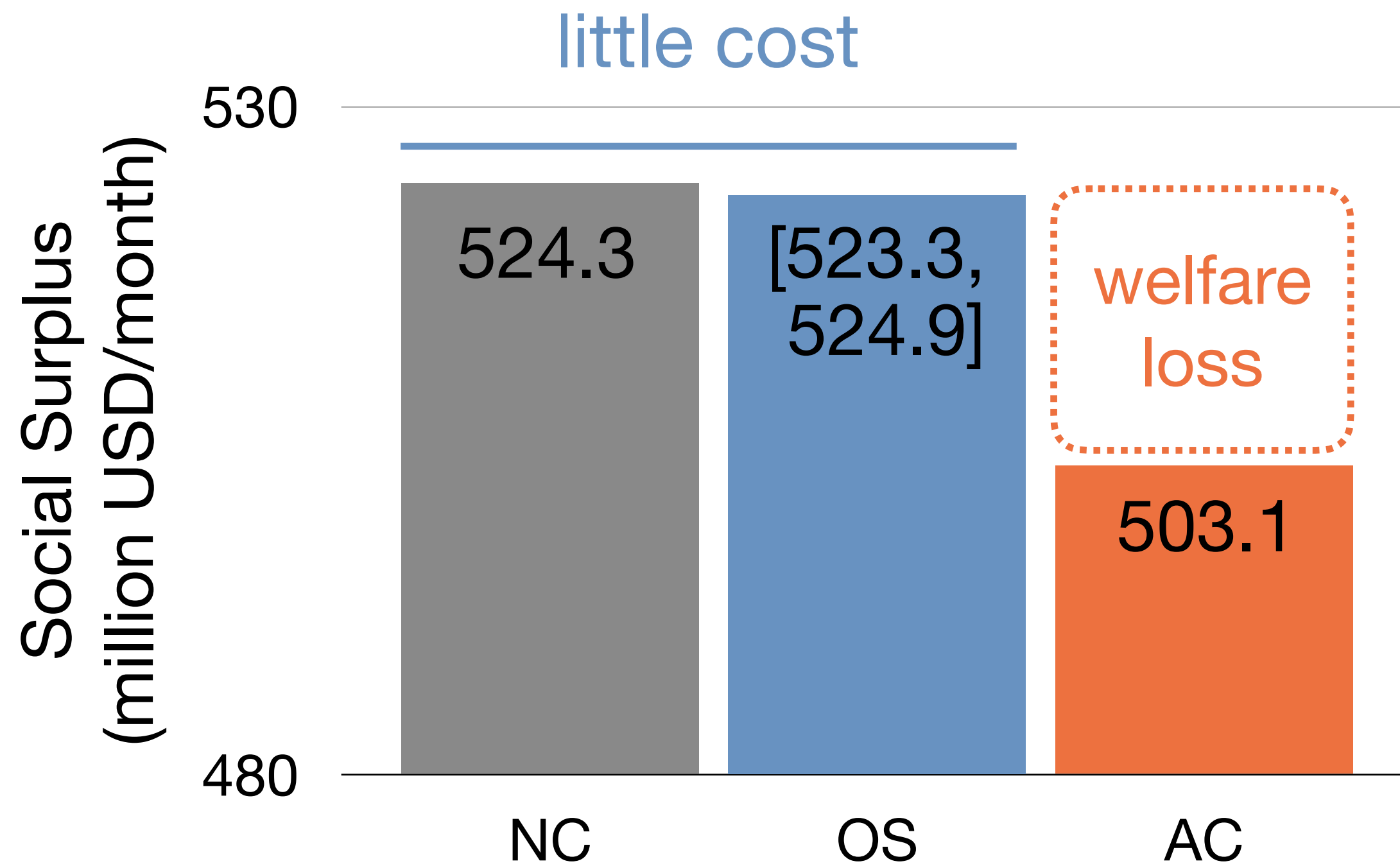
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- same distributional outcome can be achieved by the optimal subsidy policy with little welfare loss from regional constraints
- subsidy cost: \$[0.60M, 2.20M] per month
 - \$[48.6, 178.3] per student
 - \$[497.1, 1824.9] per recipient
- substantial, but comparable to existing policies

mechanism

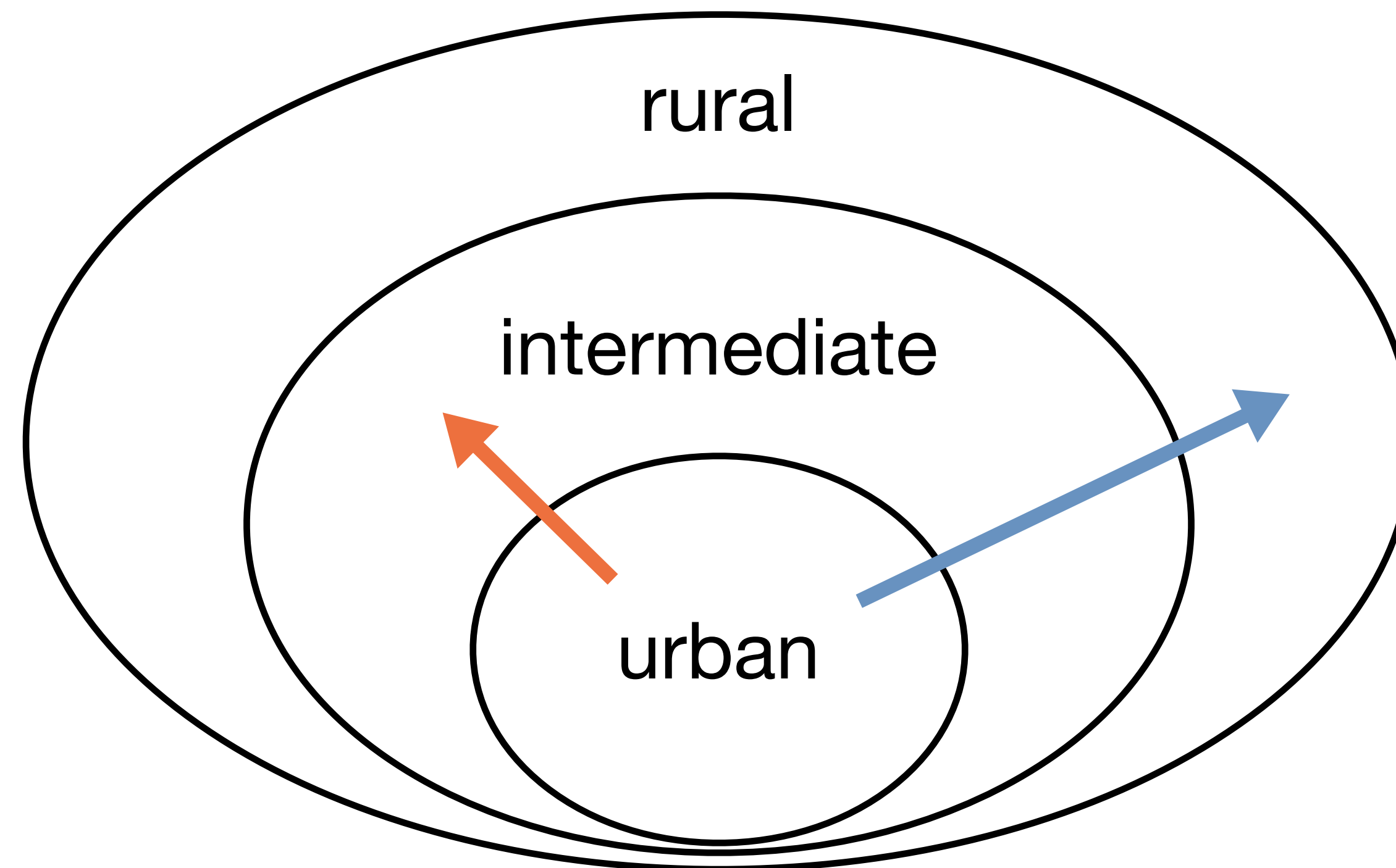
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$$\begin{array}{cc} & \text{urban} \quad \text{rural} \\ \begin{array}{c} i_1 \\ i_2 \end{array} & \begin{bmatrix} 100 & 10 \\ 20 & -10 \end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

mechanism

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	urban	rural
i_1	100	10
i_2	20	-10

social surplus:

- NC: 100

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social surplus:

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	urban	rural ≥ 1
i_1	100	20
i_2	20	0

+10

social surplus:

- NC: 100
- AC: 10
- OS: 90 (subsidy $w_{\text{rural}} = 10$)

mechanism

- why is the subsidy effective in this application?
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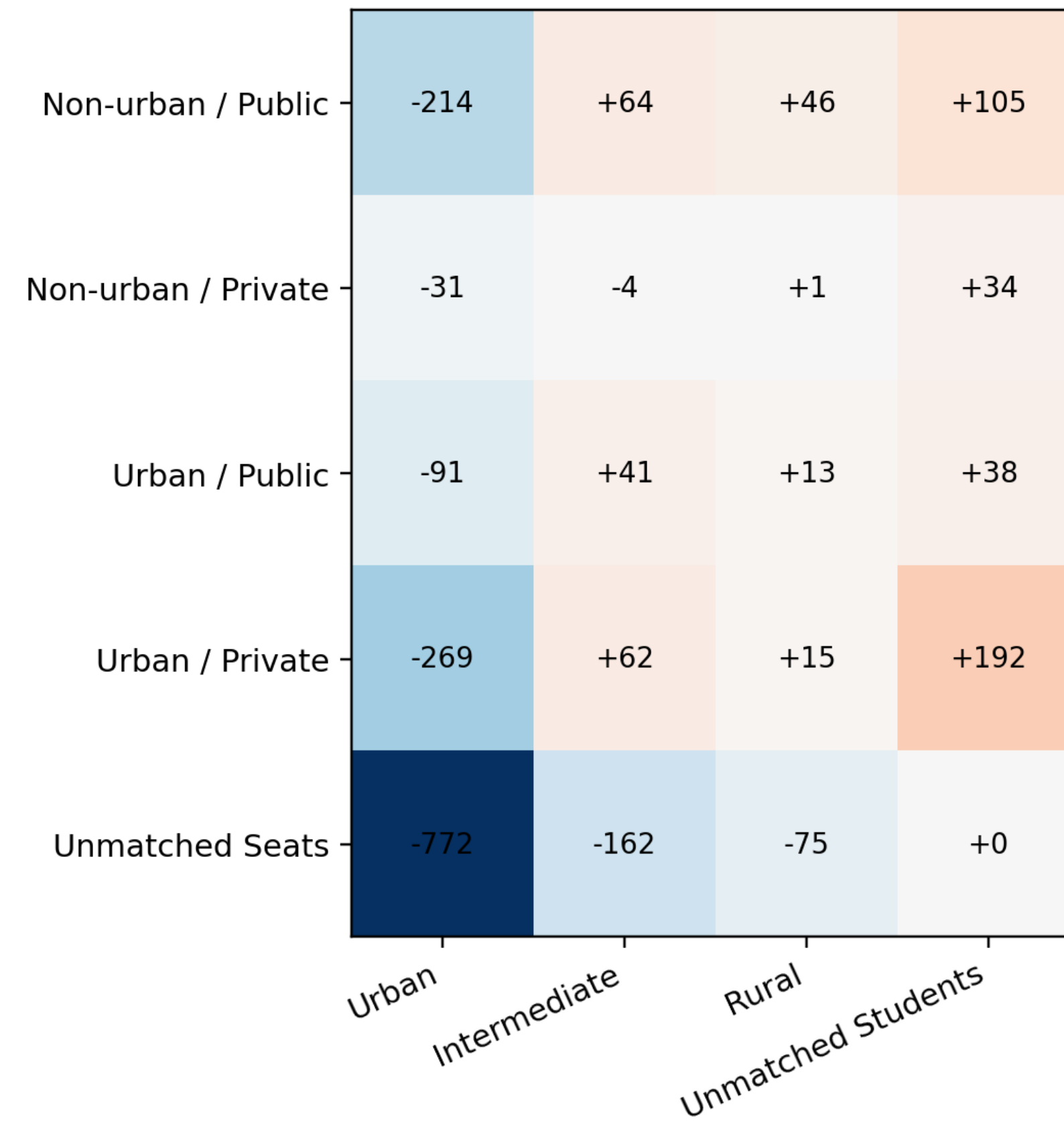
social surplus:

- NC: 100
- AC: 10
- OS: 90 (subsidy $w_{\text{rural}} = 10$)

- a targeted subsidy can affect marginal participants with little welfare losses

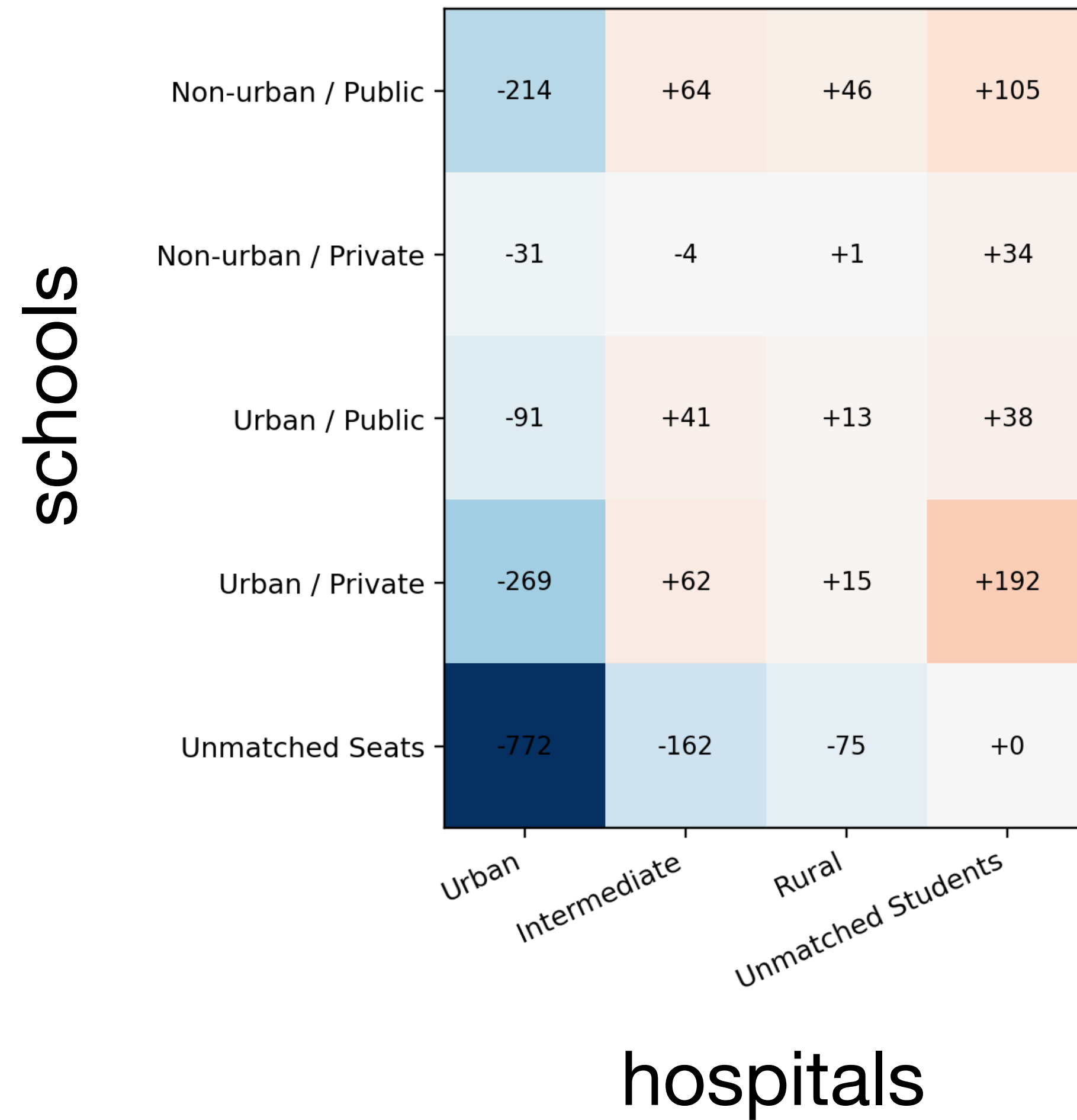
change in matching patterns

AC - NC (2019)

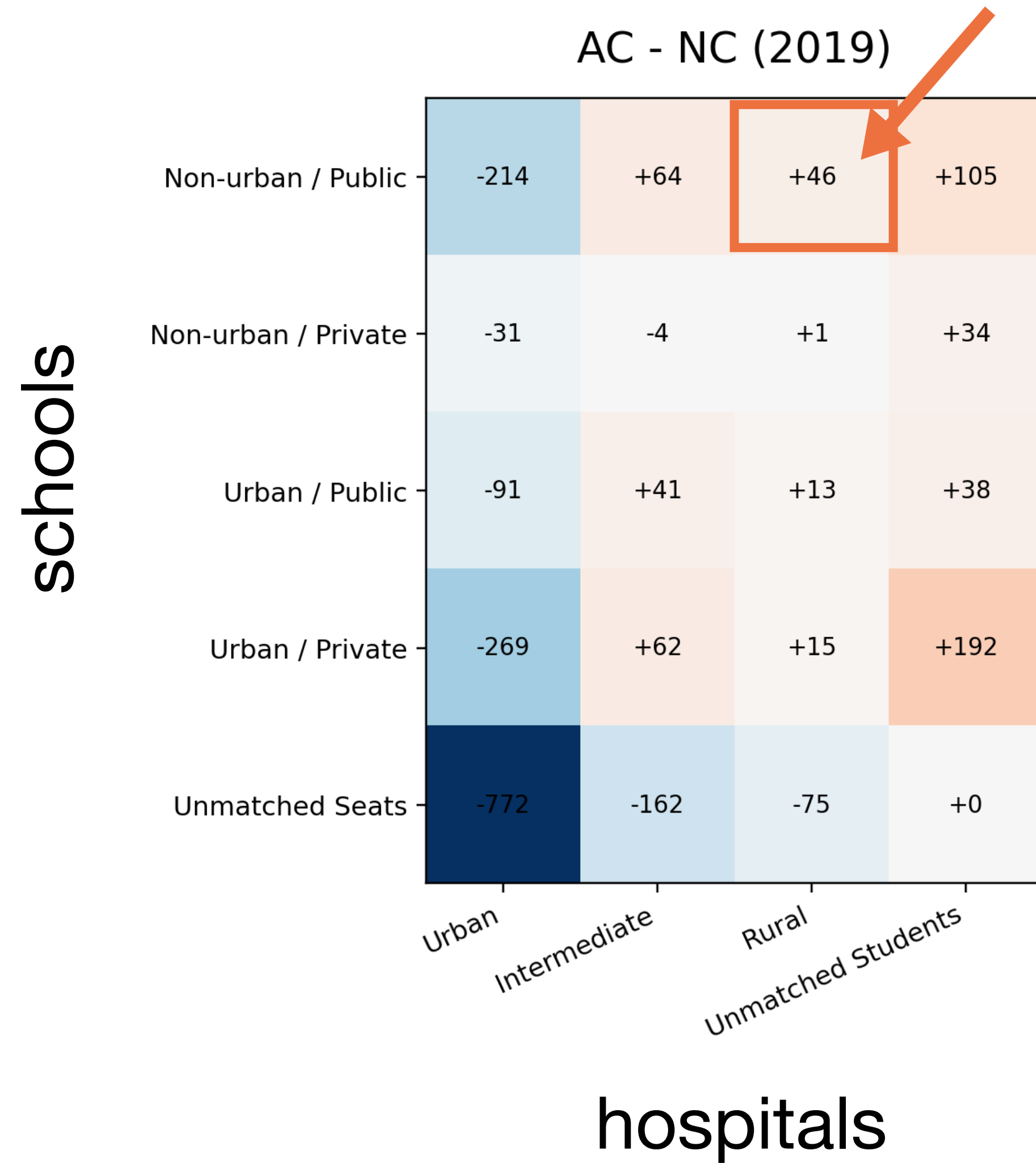


change in matching patterns

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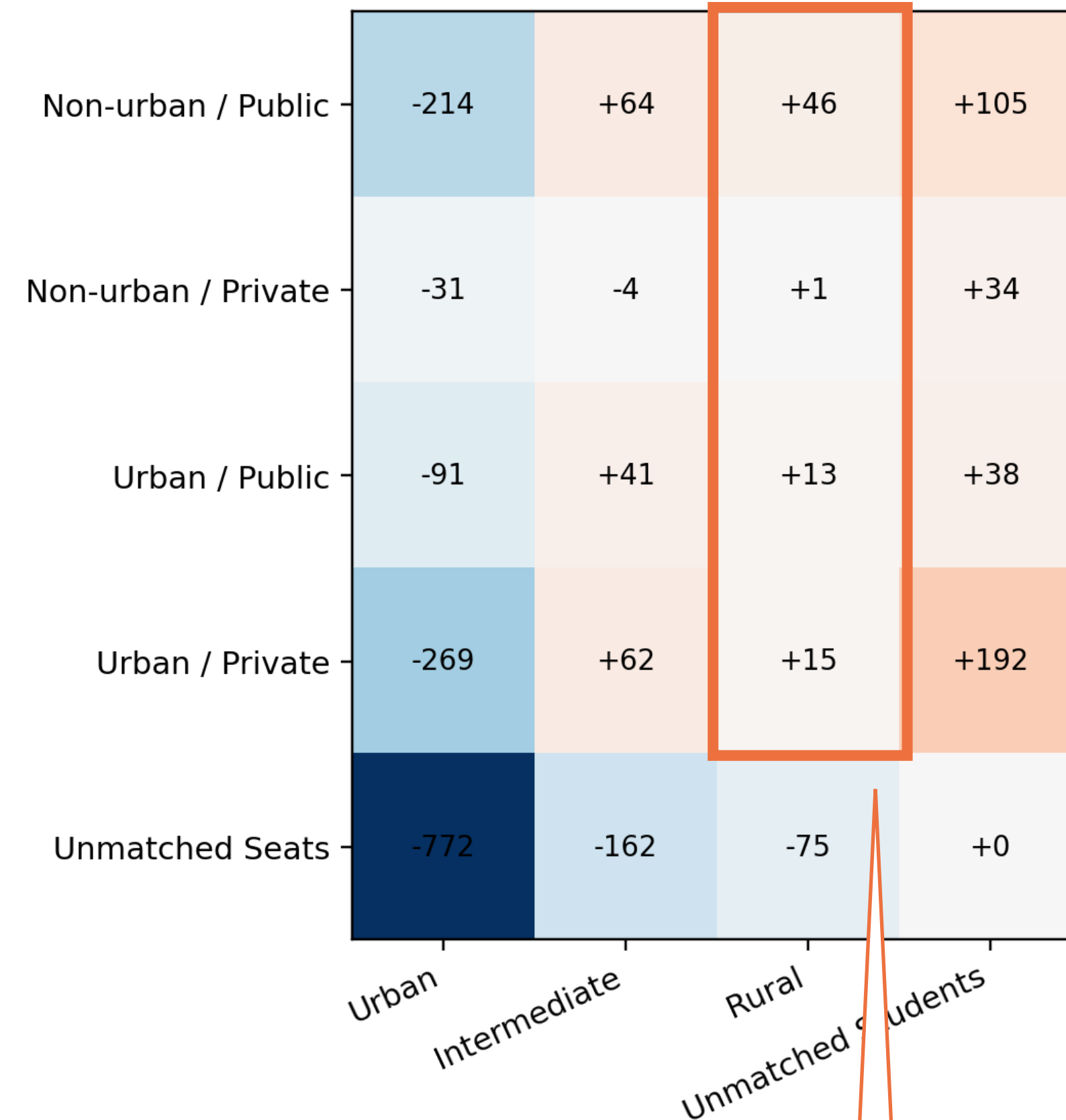


change in matching patterns



change in matching patterns

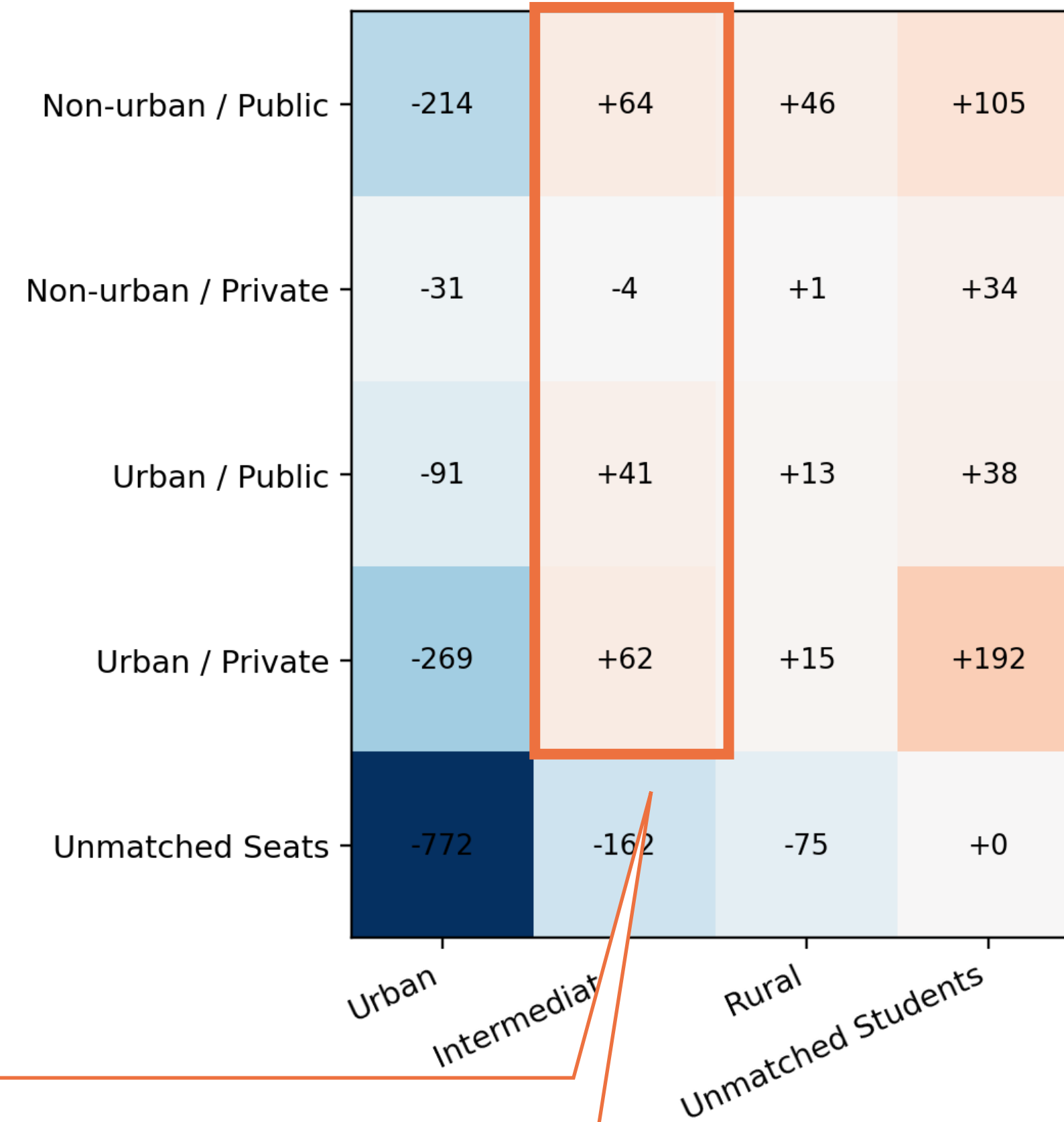
AC - NC (2019)



matches in rural areas
certainly increases

change in matching patterns

AC - NC (2019)



significant spillover to intermediate regions

change in matching patterns

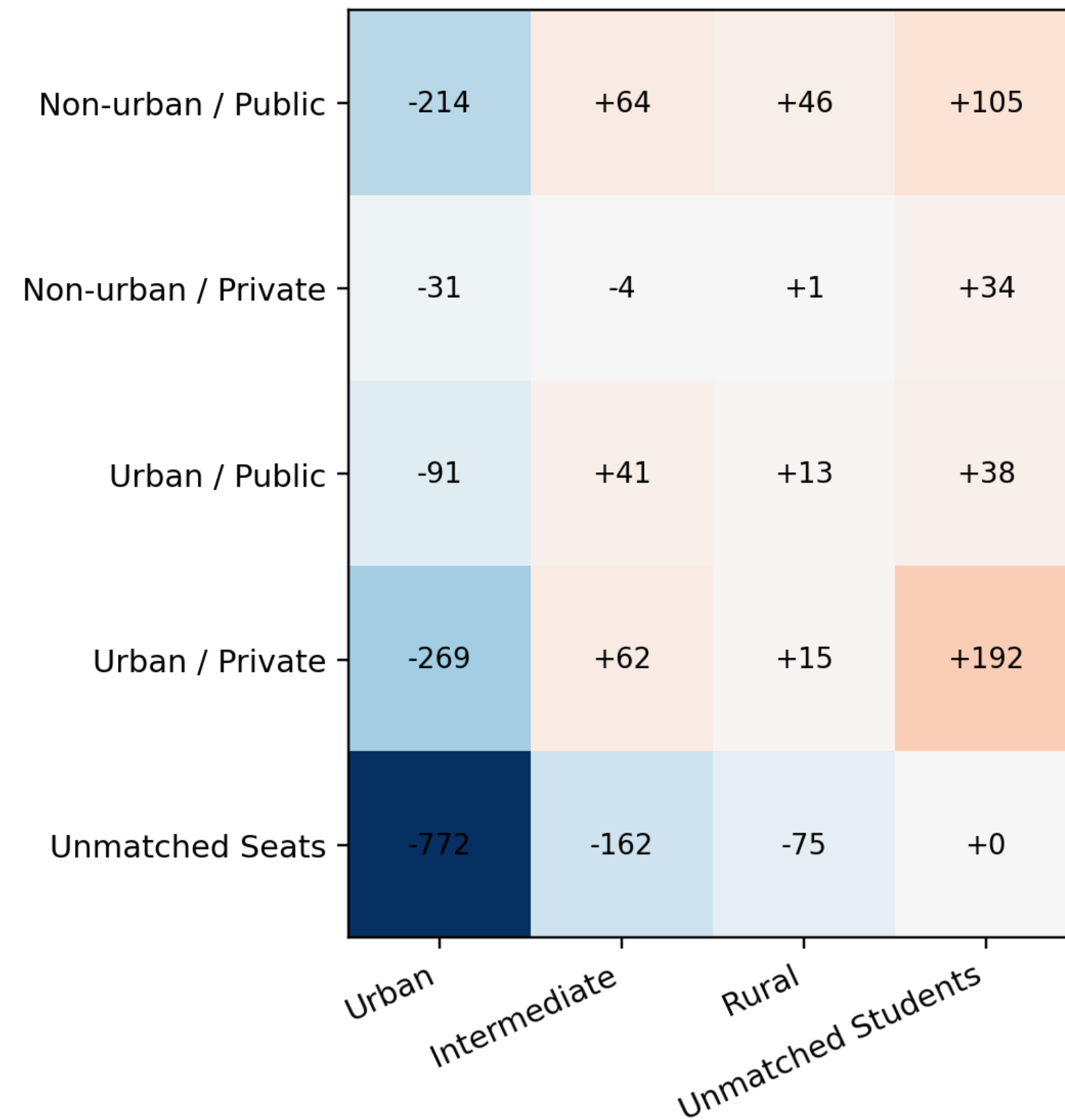
AC - NC (2019)

Non-urban / Public	-214	+64	+46	+105
Non-urban / Private	-31	-4	+1	+34
Urban / Public	-91	+41	+13	+38
Urban / Private	-269	+62	+15	+192
Unmatched Seats	-772	-162	-75	+0
	Urban	Intermediate	Rural	Unmatched Students

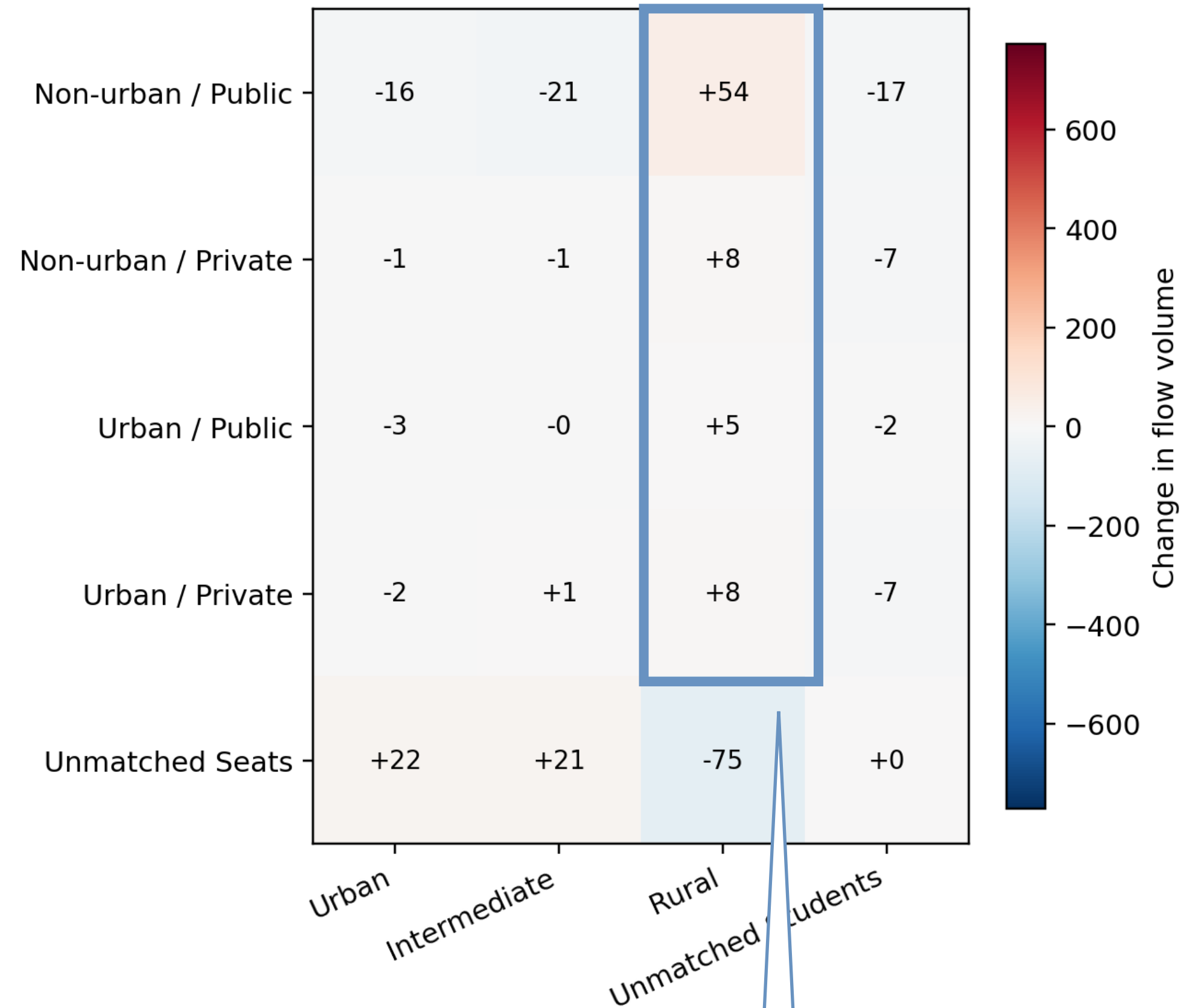
of unmatched increases

change in matching patterns

AC - NC (2019)



OS - NC (2019)

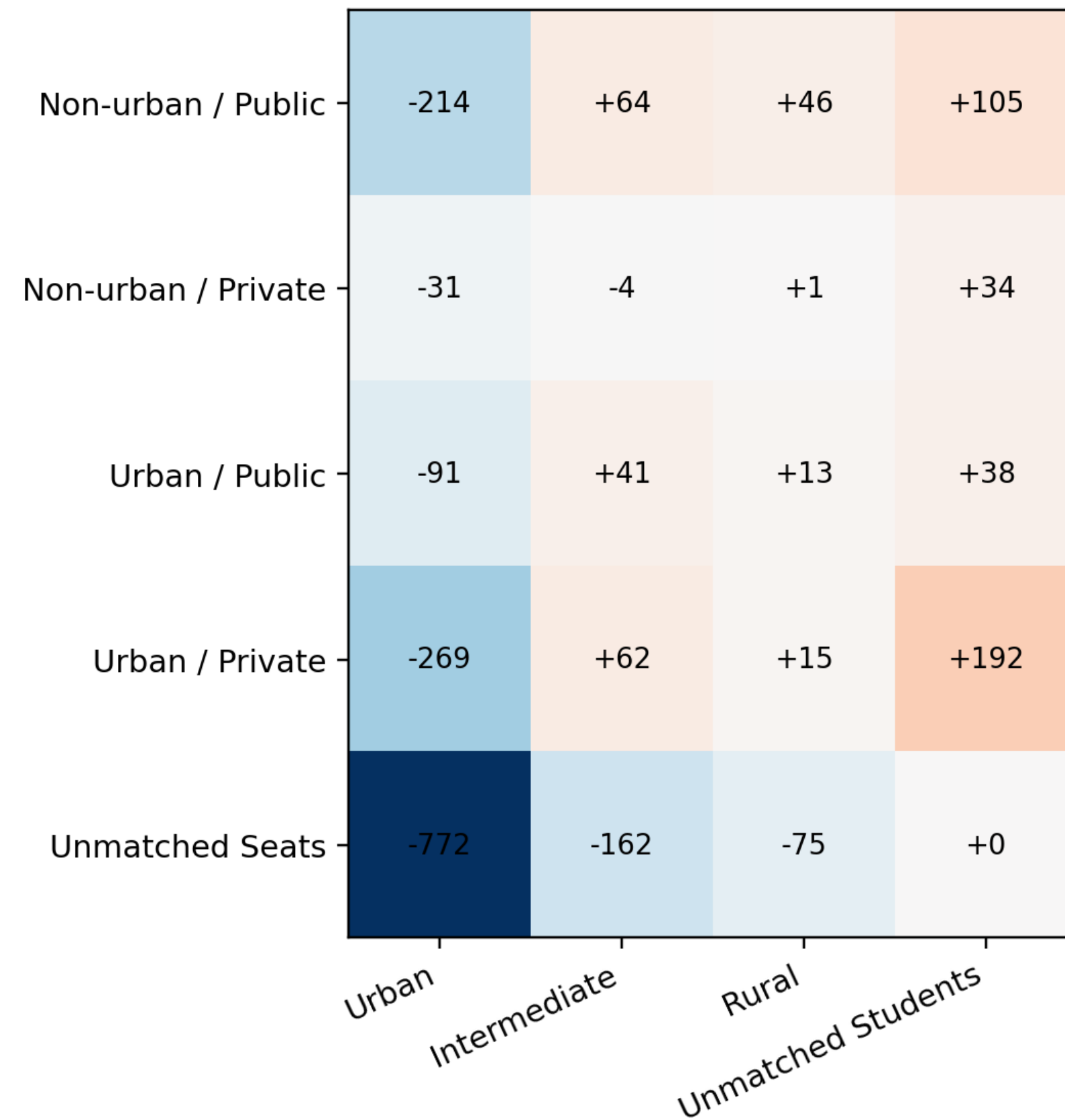


precisely target rural areas

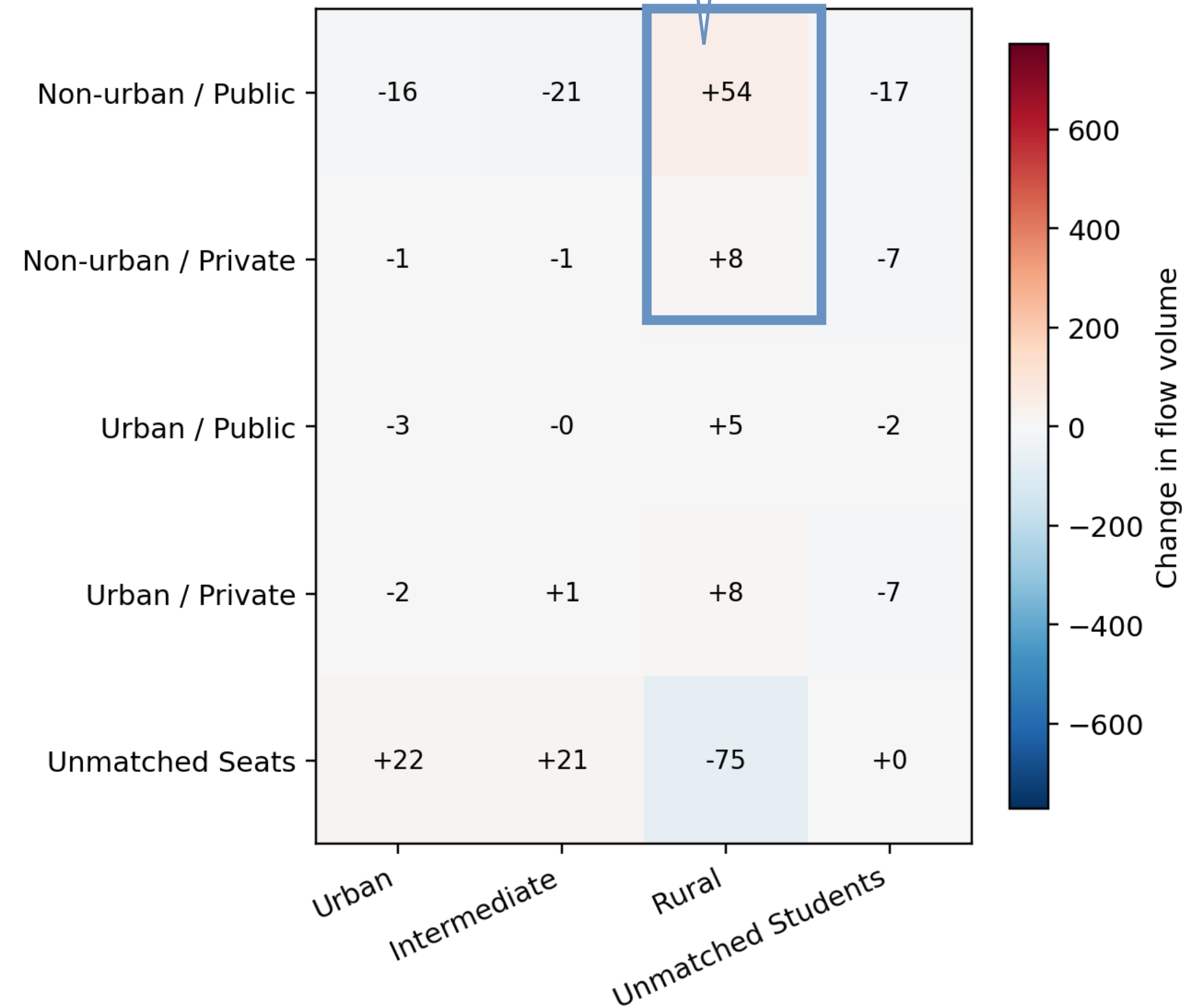
change in matching patterns

target students from nearby areas who are less costly to incentivize

AC - NC (2019)



OS - NC (2019)



conclusion

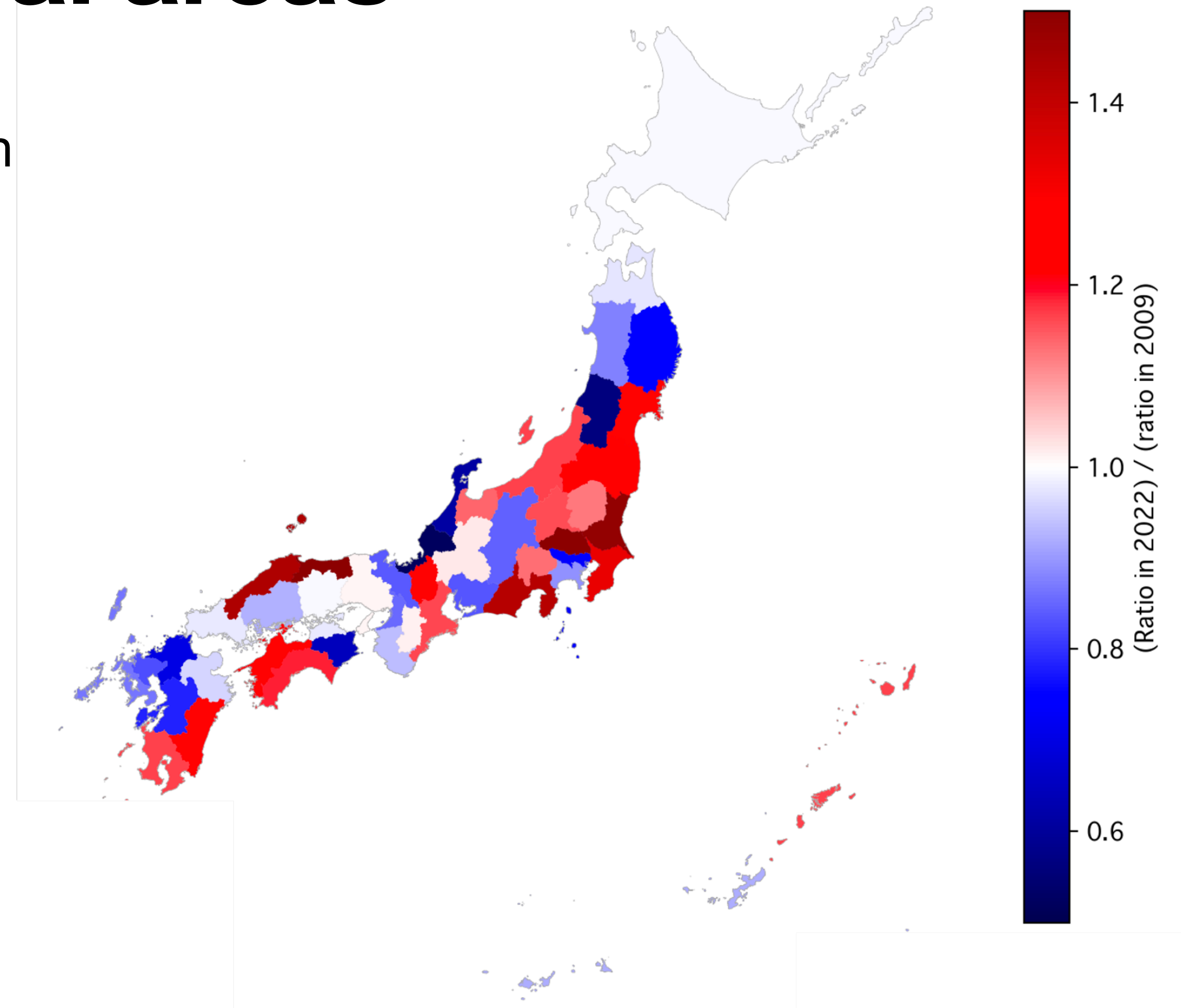
- we develop a framework to evaluate the efficiency of policies in matching markets with distributional constraints
 - **optimal taxation policy** can be approximately implemented from observed data
- we apply the framework to **JRMP** data:
 - current cap-based policy generates a significant welfare loss
 - caps are blunt instruments that **fail to account for preferences intensities**
 - moderate subsidy can address distributional imbalances, improving social welfare

thank you 😊

questions or comments?

unequal impact on rural areas

- cap-based policy has an unequal impact on rural prefectures
- change in **share of national matches by prefecture** from 2009 to 2022
- the share **increases** in
 - prefectures around Tokyo
 - some rural areas
- the share **decreases** in
 - the 6 urban prefectures
 - **some rural areas**
(north Tohoku, Hokuriku, north Kyushu)

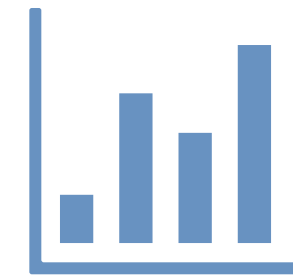


IVs

- number of university hospitals within a 10km radius
 - number of government hospitals within a 10km radius
 - ave. number of beds in hospitals within a 10km radius
 - ave. dist. to the medical schools of students matched under AC, for hospitals within a 10km radius
 - ave. number of past matches with those schools under AC, for hospitals within a 10km radius
 - ave. number of affiliations with those schools under AC, for hospitals within a 10km radius
-
- When setting salaries, hospitals can take into account observable local conditions like those listed above.
 - In contrast, the non-salary portion of the transfer (the unobserved component, program-specific features) is fixed and cannot be adjusted.

comments on TU stability assumption

- in our paper, we provide a justification for its use for the JRMP market
 - consider a game that mimics the JRMP process
 - positions first propose wages
 - doctors and positions submit rank-ordered lists
 - DA algorithm determines the final match
 - under certain conditions,
 - any pure NE in this game induces a stable outcome in the TU model
 - any stable outcome in the TU model can be supported as a pure NE



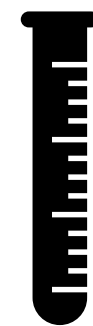
institutional background



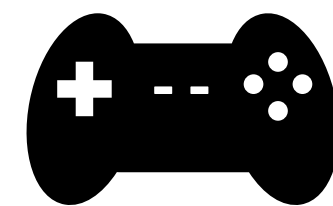
model



theoretical results

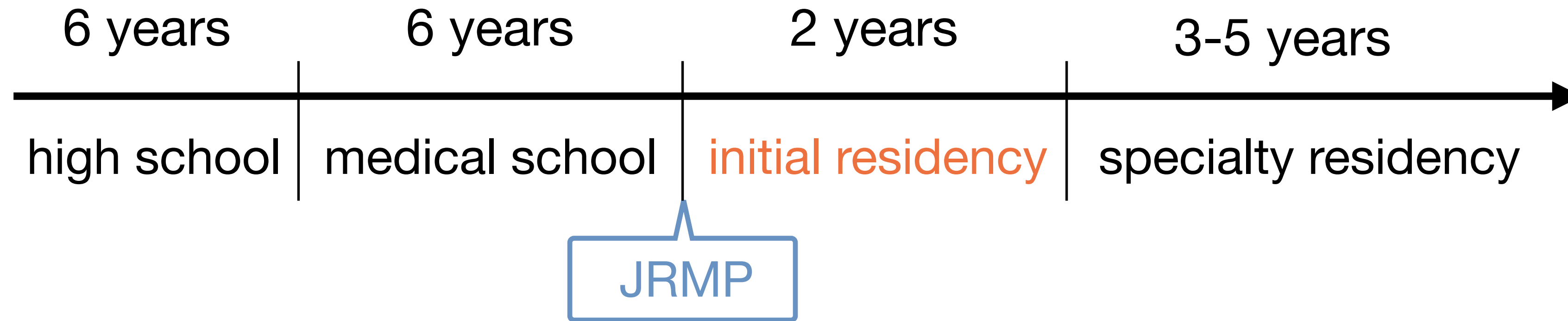


estimation



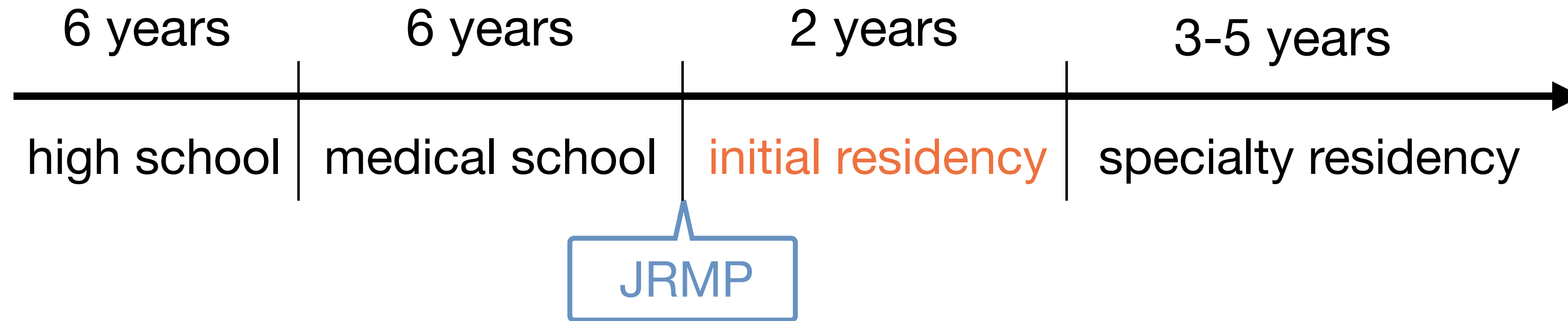
simulation

medical training in Japan



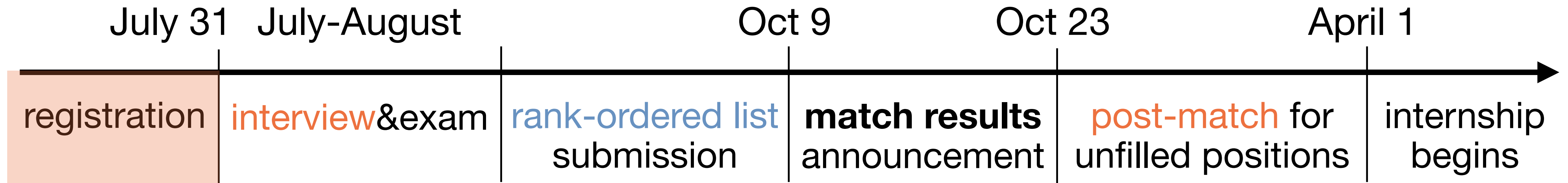
- in Japan, students enter a six-year medical program directly from high school
 - admission is highly competitive, based on entrance examinations

medical training in Japan

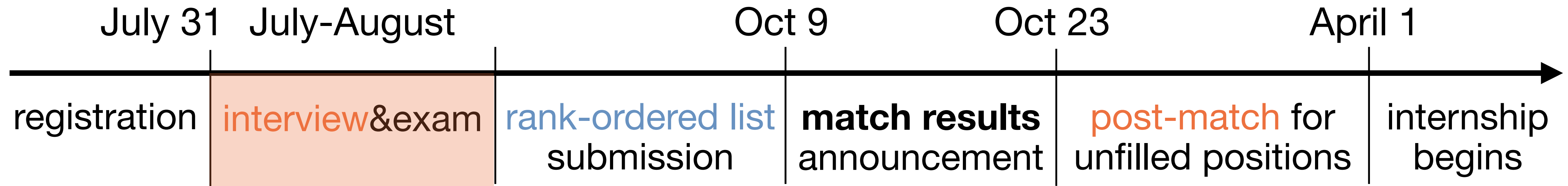


- in Japan, students enter a six-year medical program directly from high school
 - admission is highly competitive, based on entrance examinations
- **two-year initial residency training** starts immediately after graduation
 - it became mandatory in **2004**, when medical training in Japan was reformed
 - as part of the reform, **JRMP** was introduced to centralize the matching process

JRMP timeline

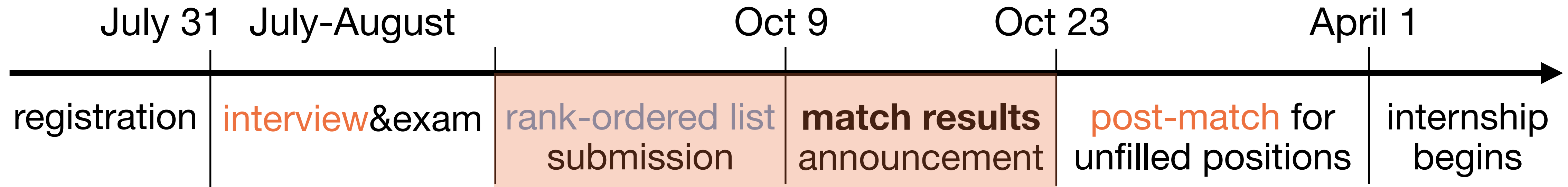


JRMP timeline



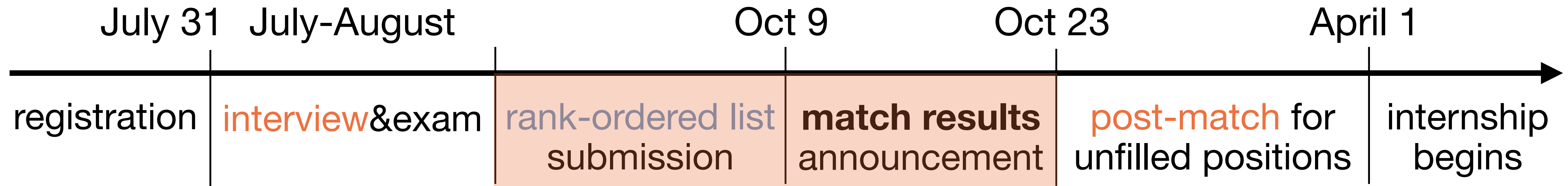
- students must complete **interviews** with the programs they wish to include in their preference list
 - median length of the list is 4 in 2024

JRMP timeline



- students must complete **interviews** with the programs they wish to include in their preference list
 - median length of the list is 4 in 2024
- students and programs submit their **rank-ordered lists** to JRMP
- **DA algorithm** determines the matching using the submitted lists

JRMP timeline



- students must complete **interviews** with the programs they wish to include in their preference list
 - median length of the list is 4 in 2024
- students and programs submit their **rank-ordered lists** to JRMP
- **DA algorithm** determines the matching using the submitted lists
- medical students evaluate programs based on a range of factors
 - e.g., location, salary, university affiliation, quality of training, work-life balance, etc.

debates on JRMP

- following the introduction of JRMP, researchers and Japanese media have reported that the **distributional disparity** of physicians has **worsened**
 - **before:** a majority of students did their residency at the **univ. hospital** affiliated with their schools
 - **after:** with the centralized matching system, medical students can **freely express their preferences**, leading to a concentration of applicants in **non-university** and/or **urban** programs
- JRMP introduced regional caps starting in **2010**
 - [total # of residency positions] := [# students] × [constant] decreasing over time
(1.22 in 2015 → 1.05 by 2025)
 - positions are allocated across prefectures, reducing urban positions disproportionately
 - **rationale:** encourage students to pursue training in rural areas, expecting them to remain there

evidence of endogenous transfer

- there is a **large variation in salary** among different programs
- **rural hospitals offer higher salaries** to attract students
- these suggest that hospitals are **strategically choose salaries in response to the market conditions**
- difficult to capture within the NTU framework

	min (USD/month)	max (USD/month)	std/mean
Japan (2017-2019)	1241	5896	0.26
U.S. (2010)	2583	5147	0.06

	mean (USD/month)	std (USD/month)
overall	2665	686
rural hospitals	2813	679
	∨	
urban hospitals	2381	603