## **Repeat Applications in College Admissions**

#### Yeon-Koo Che<sup>1</sup>, Jinwoo Kim<sup>2</sup> and Youngwoo Koh<sup>3</sup>

**KER** Conference

today

- Matching markets: medical residency match, public school allocations, labor markets, college admissions.
- Many markets involve "repeat applicants" and matching is not a static game.
  - Reentering job markets for professionals.
  - Repeat taking civil service exams in Japan, Korea, US.
  - Reapplying (or transferring) colleges in China, France, Japan, Korea, Turkey, US

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- Economic implications of repeat applications and their welfare consequences are not well understood, however.
- In this paper, we will
  - model repeat applications problems;
  - analyze equilibrium properties and welfare implications; and

- draw some policy implications
- in the context of college admissions.

### Repeat applications in college admissions

- Repeat applicants:
  - Korea: 23% of 3,057,983 applicants for four-year colleges were repeat applicants in 2016.
  - France: more than two years in CPGE ("prépa school") for Grandes Ecoles
  - US: 18% of 119,408 applicants in UCLA; 3% of 31,671 applicants in Duke are transfer students in 2016.
- It is costly to repeat apply.
  - Additional preparation, opportunity cost of staying behind a year
  - $\bullet\,$  Korea: private tutoring institution \$750  $\sim$  \$2,800 per month.
  - US: transfer students can "lose" credits when they move to the new school and typically attend for an extra year or more.

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- Sorting effect:
  - Students self-select whether to repeat apply.
  - High type students are more likely to repeat apply, and they pursue better college.
  - Repeat applications enable better matching.
- Congestion effect:
  - College admission is a situation in which individuals compete for fixed resources (i.e., "good" colleges).
  - Repeat application enlarges a pool of applicants at any given time and thereby increases competition, which causes future students to repeat apply, and so on...
  - Reapplicants do not take into account for (negative) externality of taking away seats from others, which causes repeat application to be excessive.

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- Avery and Levin (2010), Lee (2009), Che and Koh (2016)
  - Colleges' admission strategies.
- Chade and Smith (2006), Chade, Lewis and Smith (2011)
  - Students' application decisions with application cost.
- Frisancho, Krishna, Lychagin and Yavas (2016), Krishna, Lychagin and Frisancho (2018)
  - Retaking university entrance exam/repeat applications in Turkey.
- Vigdor and Clotfelter (2003), Törnkvist and Henriksson (2004)
  - Retaking SAT and Swedish-SAT.

### Model

- A unit mass of students with type (ability) θ ∈ [0, 1], according to a distribution G(·).
  - Each of type-heta student draws score  $s \in [0,1]$  from  $F(\cdot| heta)$
  - The density  $f(\cdot|\theta)$  satisfies MLRP, i.e., for s < s' and  $\theta < \theta'$ ,

$$\frac{f(s'|\theta')}{f(s|\theta')} > \frac{f(s'|\theta)}{f(s|\theta)}.$$

- Two colleges, 1 and 2, each with capacity  $\kappa_i$  and quality  $q_i$ .
  - Type- $\theta$  student obtains payoff  $q_i \theta$  from attending college *i*.
  - $q_1 > q_2 > 0$ ,  $\kappa_1 < 1$  and  $\kappa_2$  is sufficiently large.
  - If a student doesn't attend 1 or 2, he goes to the "null" college, ø, and gets zero payoff.

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- Students can apply to at most one college.
  - Limiting applications is not unusual (Che and Koh, 2016).
  - E.g. Korea (at most one in each group), Japan (at most two public universities)
  - Later, we will study multiple applications.
- Timing (in each year)
  - Students observe their types and decide which college they apply to (with no cost for application).
  - Scores are observed and colleges admit students whose scores are above some cutoffs.
  - Students who fail to get into a (desired) college can take another year to repeat apply.
  - (a) When reapplying, type  $\theta$  student draws another score from  $F(\cdot|\theta)$  and pays reapplication cost c.

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#### Focus on stationary equilibrium

- College *i* employs the same cutoff  $\hat{s}_i$  and admits students with  $s \geq \hat{s}_i$  for each year.  $(\hat{s}_1 > 0 = \hat{s}_2)$
- The set of types (repeat) applying to each college remains the same in each year.
- Students' payoffs for a given  $\hat{s} = (\hat{s}_1, \hat{s}_2)$ ,
  - $u_i(\theta; \hat{s}) := q_i \theta (1 F(\hat{s}_i | \theta))$  is the static payoff from applying to *i*.
  - u<sub>ij</sub>(θ; ŝ) := u<sub>i</sub>(θ) + F(ŝ<sub>i</sub>|θ)(u<sub>j</sub>(θ) − c) is the payoff from applying to i and reapplying to j.
  - If j = Ø, u<sub>ij</sub>(θ; ŝ) ≡ u<sub>i</sub>(θ; ŝ) is the payoff from applying to i and do not reapply.

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• A stationary equilibrium consists of  $\hat{s}$  and  $\alpha$  such that

(i) For all  $\theta \in [0,1]$ ,

$$\alpha(\theta) = (i,j) \in \argmax_{k,\ell \in \{1,2\} \times \{1,2,\emptyset\}} u_{k\ell}(\theta;\hat{s}).$$

(ii) For each school *i*,  $m_i \leq \kappa_i$  (with equality if  $\hat{s}_i > 0$ ).

• Mass of students enrolling in college *i*,

$$m_i = \int_{\alpha(\theta)=(i,j)} (1 - F(\hat{s}_i | \theta)) dG(\theta) + \sum_{j \in \{1,2\}} \int_{\alpha(\theta)=(j,i)} F(\hat{s}_j | \theta) (1 - F(\hat{s}_i | \theta)) dG(\theta)$$

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# (Unique) Equilibrium without reapplications: $c \geq \overline{c}$

• There is  $\overline{c}$  such that for  $c > \overline{c}$ ,  $u_i(\theta) < c$  for all  $\theta$ , where i = 1, 2.



- No reapplications.
- $\hat{\theta}$  is indifferent between 1 and 2 in terms of static payoffs.
- High types take risk to enjoy higher q.

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## Equilibrium with reapplications-Case 1: $c \in [\hat{c}, \overline{c})$



$$\alpha(\theta) = \begin{cases} (1,1) & \text{for } \theta \in [\hat{\theta}_R, 1] \\ (1, \emptyset) & \text{for } \theta \in [\hat{\theta}, \hat{\theta}_R) \\ (2, \emptyset) & \text{for } \theta \in [0, \hat{\theta}) \end{cases}$$

- $\hat{\theta}_R$  is indifferent between reapplying and not.
- $u_{11}(\theta) = u_1(\theta) + F(\hat{s}_1|\theta)(u_1(\theta) c) > u_1(\theta)$  for  $\theta > \hat{\theta}_R$ .
- High types have incentive to reapply to 1.

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$$\alpha(\theta) = \begin{cases} (1,1) & \text{for } \theta \in [\hat{\theta},1] \\ (1,2) & \text{for } \theta \in [\hat{\theta}_R,\hat{\theta}) \\ (2,\emptyset) & \text{for } \theta \in [0,\hat{\theta}_R) \end{cases}$$

•  $u_{12}(\theta) = u_1(\theta) + F(\hat{s}_1|\theta)(u_2(\theta) - c) > u_2(\theta)$  iff  $\theta > \hat{\theta}_R$ .

- Except for low types  $(E_{2\phi})$ , students have incentive to reapply.
- Middle types  $(E_{12})$  consider it worthwhile to take a chance on 1.

• High types  $(E_{11})$  keep pursuing college 1.

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### **Existence of Equilibrium**

- Characterization so far based on a fixed  $\hat{s} = (\hat{s}_1, \hat{s}_2)$ .
- Associate the equilibrium with a fixed point in the cutoff score under a map Φ.
  - Fix any cutoff scores  $\hat{s} = (\hat{s}_1, \hat{s}_2)$ .
  - Pin down  $\alpha(\theta)$  as constructed above.
  - This in turn determines the mass of applicants to each college at any given score profile s = (s<sub>1</sub>, s<sub>2</sub>).

$$egin{aligned} m_i(s;\hat{s}) &= \int_{\{ heta|lpha( heta;\hat{s})=(i,j)\}} (1-F(s_i| heta)) dG( heta) \ &+ \sum_{j\in\{1,2\}} \int_{\{ heta|lpha( heta;\hat{s})=(j,i)\}} F(s_j| heta) (1-F(s_i| heta)) dG( heta) \end{aligned}$$

• Equating them to capacities yields new cutoff scores  $\tilde{s} = (\tilde{s}_1, \tilde{s}_2)$ .

- The map  $\Phi$  from  $\hat{s}$  to  $\tilde{s}$  admits a fixed point by Brouwer.
  - Show that  $\hat{s}$  lies within a compact set
  - Show that  $\Phi$  is continuous.
- Each step of the proof requires subtle care.
  - Need to rule out the possibility that mass of students are indifferent between any two application strategies.

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## **Comparative Statics**

#### • Equilibrium cutoffs:



Parameters:  $q_1 = 10$ ,  $q_2 = 7$ ,  $\kappa_1 = 0.4$ ,  $F(s|\theta) = s^{\theta+1}$ ,  $G(\theta) = \theta$ 

- As it becomes more costly to repeat apply  $(c \uparrow)$ ,
  - Less students reapply  $(\hat{\theta}_R \uparrow) \Rightarrow$  make college 1 less competitive  $(\hat{s}_1 \downarrow) \Rightarrow$  lowers the lowest applicant type  $(\hat{\theta} \uparrow)$ .

### Welfare Analysis

Social welfare

$$SW := Q - C = (q_1v_1 + q_2v_2) - c m_R$$

- $Q := q_1v_1 + q_2v_2$  captures "matching quality," where  $q_iv_i$  is the value generated from matching students with college *i*.
  - For instance, if  $c \in [\hat{c}, \overline{c})$ ,

$$v_{1} = \int_{\hat{\theta}}^{1} \theta \big( 1 - F(\hat{s}_{1}|\theta) \big) dG(\theta) + \int_{\hat{\theta}_{R}}^{1} \theta F(\hat{s}_{1}|\theta) \big( 1 - F(\hat{s}_{1}|\theta) \big) dG(\theta)$$

•  $C := c m_R$  is the total cost of repeat applications, where  $m_R$  is the mass of reapplicants, where

$$m_R := \int_{\hat{ heta}_R}^1 F(\hat{s}_1| heta) dG( heta)$$

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•  $m_R$  is decreasing in c ( $\hat{\theta}_R$  is increasing and  $\hat{s}_1$  is decreasing in c).

## Sorting effect



- Q is maximized when an interior fraction of students reapplies.
- For sorting, it is not good for everybody to repeat apply or for nobody to repeat apply.

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- When  $c = \overline{c} \downarrow c'$   $E_{2\emptyset}$   $E_{1\emptyset}$   $\widehat{\theta}'$   $E_{1\emptyset}$   $\widehat{\theta}'_{R} E_{11}'^{1}$ 
  - $[\hat{\theta}'_R, 1]$  replace lower types.
  - No higher types negatively affected by increased score.
  - Q is increasing as  $c = \overline{c} \downarrow c'$ .



- $[0, \hat{\theta}'_R]$  are replaced by higher types.
- All above types are positively affected by  $\hat{s}'_1 < \hat{s}_1$ .
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- Ignoring the sorting effect, college admissions is like a "zero sum game" (when you win college 1, somebody else loses).
- Excessive reapplications
  - Private benefit from repeat application exceeds social benefit
    ⇒ Excessive reapplication at the individual level.

#### Positive feedback

• More people in one cohort repeat apply  $\Rightarrow$  college 1 becomes more selective,  $\hat{s}_1 \uparrow \Rightarrow$  induces even more people in the next cohort to repeat apply  $\Rightarrow \ldots$ 

• Negative externalities are amplified by the chain reaction.

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#### Congestion effect: positive feedback

- Consider two costs c > c', and reduce c to c' permanently.
  - E.g. online tutoring, less weights on high school GPA, and so on..
  - $(\hat{s}_1^*, \hat{\theta}^*, \hat{\theta}_R^*)$  and  $(\hat{s}_1^{*'}, \hat{\theta}^{*'}, \hat{\theta}_R^{*'})$ : steady state cutoffs at c and c'.



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•  $c \downarrow c'$  at t = 0

⇒ more students repeat apply  $(\hat{\theta}_R^{(0)} < \hat{\theta}_R^* \text{ and } m_R^{(0)} > m_R)$ ⇒ college 1 becomes more selective  $(\hat{s}_1^{(1)} \uparrow)$ 

 $\Rightarrow$  even more students are rejected and forced to reapply  $(m_R^{(1)} > m_R^{(0)})$ , although repeat application becomes less attractive  $(\hat{\theta}_R^{(1)} > \hat{\theta}_R^{(0)})$ 

 $\Rightarrow \cdots$  $\Rightarrow \hat{s}_{1}^{(t)} \uparrow \hat{s}_{1}^{*'}, \hat{\theta}_{D}^{(t)} \uparrow \hat{\theta}_{D}^{*'}, m_{D}^{(t)} \uparrow m_{D}^{*'} \text{ as } t \to \infty.$ 

### Policy Implication: Imposing tax

- Tax on repeat application:  $c + \tau$ .
- At  $\tau = 0$ , raising tax raises  $\hat{\theta}_R$  and lowers  $\hat{s}_1$ .
- If the tax rate is slight,
  - private welfare loss is second order (because marginal types are making optimal decisions)
  - but the benefit from reducing negative externalities is first order.

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- Excessive reapplication comes from that students want to enroll in 1. Reducing quality gap, q<sub>1</sub> - q<sub>2</sub>, mitigates such desires.
- Suppose  $q_i$  changes by  $\Delta q_i$ , i = 1, 2, such that

$$\Delta q_1 \leq 0 < \Delta q_2$$
 and  $\Delta q_2 \geq -rac{v_1}{v_2}\Delta q_1.$ 

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- This makes college 1 less attractive, alleviating the congestion problem. Hence, SW increases.
- NB.  $\Delta q_1 < 0 = \Delta q_2$  doesn't work since this lowers matching quality, while  $\Delta q_1 = 0 < \Delta q_2$  works well.

# **Multiple Applications**

• Students can apply to both colleges in the baseline model.

• Since there is no application cost, it is a weak dominant strategy for students to apply to both colleges.

#### • The equilibrium allocation is stable.

- Students are always admitted by college 2 because  $\kappa_2$  is large.
- There is a cutoff score š₁ such that students with s ≥ š₁ are admitted by college 1.
- Students with score above  $\check{s}_1$  attend college 1 and the remaining students attend college 2.

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• Each type  $\theta$  reapplies if and only if

$$u_{\mathcal{M}}( heta) := q_1 heta ig(1 - \mathcal{F}(\check{\mathtt{s}}_1| heta)ig) + q_2 heta \mathcal{F}(\check{\mathtt{s}}_1| heta) - c > q_2 heta$$

- $u_M(\theta)$  is the expected payoff from reapplication.
- $u_2(\theta) = q_2 \theta$  is the current payoff.
- There exists  $\check{\theta}_R$  such that  $u_M(\theta) > q_2\theta$  if and only if  $\theta > \check{\theta}_R$ .

#### Welfare and policy implications

- Both sorting effect and congestion effect.
- The same policy implications as before.

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#### Observable score

- Consider the baseline model with single application regime.
- Suppose that students observe their scores before applying to colleges and make reapplication decisions before knowing their reapplication scores.
- Transfers
  - Students try to transfer from college 2 to college 1 with cost c.
  - They can go back to college 2 if they fail to transfer to college 1.

# Conclusion

• First theoretical work that analyzes repeat applications in the matching literature.

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- Provide a tractable framework for analyzing
  - How students make (re)application decisions.
  - Welfare consequences of repeat applications.
  - Some policy implications.
- Further works
  - Empirical evidence.
  - Learning through repeat applications.
  - Designing admissions standards.