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CHOOSING YOUR POND:  
REVEALED-PREFERENCE ESTIMATES OF RELATIVE INCOME CONCERNS

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### **ABSTRACT**

We provide a unique revealed-preference test of the hypothesis that, in addition to their absolute level of consumption, individuals care about their relative consumption. We study the decisions of senior medical students participating in the National Residency Match Program (NRMP). They must choose between programs that offer similar nominal income, but in cities with different costs of living and income distributions. As a result, they face trade-offs between absolute consumption and relative consumption. We conducted a survey experiment with 1,100 NRMP participants. We elicited their perceptions about cost of living and income distribution in the cities that they are considering living in, as well as their rank order submissions. To assess the direction of causality, we embedded an information-provision experiment that generates exogenous variation in perceptions. We find that, holding absolute consumption constant, the average individual prefers higher relative consumption. Moreover, we find substantial and meaningful heterogeneity in relative concerns by relationship status.

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# 1 Introduction

Classical economists from Adam Smith to Arthur Pigou emphasized that individuals, in addition to caring about their absolute consumption levels, care about their relative consumption (Luttmer 2005). Incorporating these relative concerns in a wide range of economic models has substantial importance because they can improve the ability of models to explain behavior. In addition, they have significant policy implications. For instance, relative consumption concerns create positional externalities that one can correct for via consumption or income taxes (Boskin and Sheshinski 1978; Frank 1985).

However, identifying and quantifying the preferences for relative consumption is challenging. The existing evidence relies mainly on decisions in laboratory experiments (e.g., Solnick and Hemenway 1998) or on happiness data (e.g., Luttmer 2005–). In this paper, we offer unique revealed-preference estimates based on a survey of 1,100 medical students participating in the National Residency Match Program (NRMP).

An ideal context for studying relative consumption concerns would be one in which individuals have to choose from a list of cities with differing combinations of relative and absolute consumption. In such a setting, one would compare how individuals make trade-offs between these two attributes. However, such datasets do not exist. Although some datasets identify individuals moving from one neighborhood to another,<sup>1</sup> they do not include sufficient information to reconstruct the choice set; that is, they do not present alternative combinations of absolute and relative consumption that the individual could have chosen.

We collect this ideal data by taking advantage of a unique context. Graduating US medical students have to rank their preferred residency programs for the NRMP, and this information is used to match students to the residency programs that will employ them for roughly 5 years. The students have to choose between programs that, among other things, differ in two key characteristics: the absolute consumption (defined as the nominal earnings divided by the cost of living index) and the relative consumption (defined as the individual’s rank in the distribution of absolute consumption in the same metro area).

Several features of the NRMP setting make it uniquely apt for this type of revealed-preference analysis (Benjamin, Heffetz, Kimball and Rees-Jones, 2014). First, an identifiable moment exists when the decision becomes irreversible (i.e., the deadline to submit the rank order). Second, we can effectively identify the choice set faced by these individuals (i.e., which programs an individual was choosing from). Third, because of the incentive-compatible matching algorithm used by the NRMP (Dubins and Freedman 1981; Roth 1982), which students are largely aware of (Rees-Jones 2017), we are able to observe preferences directly

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<sup>1</sup>For instance, the National Survey of Families and Households (Luttmer, 2005), or the United States Postal Service’s National Change of Address (Perez-Truglia, 2017).

without having to estimate a full structural model that relies on additional assumptions. Fourth, the decision is a high-stakes choice. The students devote ample time and attention to it—indeed, the decision is arguably one of the most important choices made by these individuals both in terms of their careers and their personal lives.

We conducted a survey with 1,100 senior medical students participating in the 2017 main residency match. The survey asked participants to list their top two favorite programs among the ones they were considering. Deciding between these two choices represents the most important aspect of the rank choice, given that most applicants are matched to their number one ranked program. We elicited perceptions about two aspects of the cities in which these two programs were located: the cost of living and the earnings rank (i.e., the position in the distribution of earnings in the city). Variation in these two perceptions can identify preferences over absolute and relative consumption: with the nominal earnings held constant, decreasing the cost of living increases the expected absolute consumption without affecting the relative consumption. And with the nominal earnings held constant, increasing the earnings rank increases the expected relative consumption without affecting the absolute consumption.

After eliciting the subject’s perceptions, we measured each subject’s expected rank submission. With these data on perceptions and choices, we estimate how city differences in absolute and relative consumption affect location choices. However, one potential concern is that perceptions about relative and absolute consumption may be correlated with unobservable attributes of the choices, which can generate omitted-variable biases.

To deal with omitted-variable bias, we provide two robustness checks. First, we control for a number of observable characteristics of the program and the city. Second, we exploit an information-provision experiment. Right after eliciting perceptions about cost of living and earnings rankings, we provided all individuals with statistics about these two measures, and again asked individuals for their perceptions. In order to generate exogenous variation in these final perceptions, we randomized the value of the feedback given to the individual in a nondeceptive way by randomizing the data source used to compute these statistics. For instance, an individual who is considering earning \$55,000 in Champaign-Urbana, IL may be randomly allocated to one of two possible feedback messages: that his or her earnings rank will be 71.4% in that city, according to data from the Current Population Survey, or that his or her rank will be 62.7%, according to data from the American Community Survey. This source-randomization experiment creates exogenous variation in perceptions that we can use to estimate the causal effect of perceptions on choice by means of an instrumental variables model.

Our baseline estimates, which are not limited to the experimental variation and are thus

more precise, suggest that perceptions about both cost of living and income rank influence an individual’s expected rank order submission. A 1 percentage point increase in absolute consumption increases the probability that a program is chosen by 0.204 percentage points (i.e., a behavioral elasticity of 0.204). The fact that these subjects have materialistic concerns is not surprising given data indicating that roughly half of pre-med students self-report that money was the primary motivation for their career choice (Daniel and O’Brien 2008).

Most important, our baseline estimates suggest that individuals also care about relative consumption: a 1 percentage point increase in relative consumption increases the probability that a program is chosen by 0.185 percentage points (i.e., a behavioral elasticity of 0.185). These baseline estimates suggest that individuals give roughly the same importance to relative consumption as to absolute consumption.

Furthermore, these average parameters mask meaningful heterogeneity in preferences. While non-single individuals (i.e., married or in a long-term relationship) prefer to be richer than their neighbors, single individuals have the opposite preferences. This difference in preferences is large in magnitude, highly statistically significant ( $p = 0.002$ ), and consistent with prior evidence from the happiness literature. For example, Luttmer (2005) finds that the positive effects of relative income on happiness is driven entirely by married and cohabiting individuals. One simple explanation for this finding is that single individuals want richer neighbors because they want to date from a pool of richer individuals. In this sense, the evidence suggests that at least part of the concerns for relative consumption are instrumental rather than purely hedonic (Benabou and Tirole 2006).

We perform a number of robustness checks. First, we show that the estimates are robust to the inclusion of a number of control variables, such as residency characteristics (e.g., program rank) and location characteristics (e.g., amenities). Second, we show that the preferences for relative consumption, although less precisely estimated, are robust when exploiting the experimental variation created by our information provision experiment. Additionally, to disentangle spurious from real effects of the information, we conducted a follow-up survey right after the submission deadline. We also find that the information provided before the submission deadline had a long-lasting effect on the final rank submitted to the NRMP. However, the estimated preference for absolute consumption is weaker under these alternative specifications. Thus, if anything, our baseline estimates seem to underestimate the importance of relative concerns.

Our paper is related to several bodies of research, including the literature on the effect of relative income on subjective well-being. Since the seminal contribution by Easterlin (1974), several studies have shown that, with own income held constant, subjective well-being increases with the relative income in the area of residence (van de Stadt, Kapteyn, and

van de Geer 1985; Clark and Oswald 1996; Luttmer 2005; Ferrer-i-Carbonell 2005; Perez-Truglia 2015).<sup>2</sup> Our contribution to this literature is twofold: we estimate preferences for absolute and relative consumption using revealed-preference rather than well-being data, and we disentangle the direction of causality using an experimental design.

Our estimates are not directly comparable to those from the happiness literature because of differences in contexts and in model specifications. With that caveat in mind, our baseline revealed-preference estimates suggest that relative consumption concerns are somewhat weaker than the relative concerns estimated with happiness data in Luttmer (2004); however, our estimates lack sufficient precision to reject the possibility that these two estimates are equal. Additionally, our results shed light on an important aspect that is impossible to study with happiness data: even if we assume that happiness depends on relative consumption, it is unclear whether individuals are aware of the externalities brought by neighbors (Luttmer 2004). Our findings suggest that, as revealed by their decision-making, individuals are indeed aware of these externalities.

Our paper is also related to studies that use surveys that ask individuals to choose between pairs of hypothetical scenarios that encompass trade-offs between income and status or between positional and nonpositional goods. These studies find that individuals are sometimes willing to give up absolute income in exchange for higher status (e.g., Solnick and Hemenway 1998; Johansson-Stenman, Carlsson, and Daruvala 2002; Yamada and Sato 2013; Clark, Senik, and Yamada 2016). We contribute to this literature by estimating these trade-offs in a real-world context that has high stakes.

Our study also contributes to a growing literature showing that individuals have substantial misperceptions of their own income rank (e.g., Cruces, Perez-Truglia, and Tetaz 2013; Karadja, Mollerstrom, and Seim 2017). While this literature shows that correcting these misperceptions has significant effects on stated preferences for redistribution, there is no evidence that these misperceptions have a significant effect on behavior. We fill this gap in the literature by showing that misperceptions about relative consumption can have meaningful economic consequences.

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 introduces the research design and the survey. Section 4 presents implementation details and descriptive statistics. Section 3 presents the econometric model. Section 5 presents results on the distribution of perceptions and learning. Section 6 shows the main results on preferences over absolute and relative consumption. The last section concludes.

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<sup>2</sup>These studies often use a slightly different specification: holding own income constant, well-being decreases with the average income in the group of reference. It must be noted that some studies find the opposite effect (Senik, 2004) or mixed evidence (Clark, Kristensen and Westergård-Nielsen, 2009). For an extensive review of the literature, see Clark, Frijters and Shields (2008).

## 2 Survey Design

### 2.1 Timing of Surveys

To become a *Medicinae Doctor* (MD), students have to complete a residency after graduating from medical school. A residency usually lasts from 3 to 8 years, after which individuals may obtain their medical license. During the fall semester of their fourth year of medical school, students start their participation in the residency match by submitting applications to residency programs. Later in the semester, they are interviewed by some of the programs to which they applied.<sup>3</sup> After all interviews are completed, the students must submit their rank order lists to the NRMP.

We follow Benjamin et al. (2014) in using this context to study preferences. They conducted a survey of medical students after the students had submitted their rankings to the NRMP. The survey measured the choice rankings submitted to the algorithm as well as the perceived rank of many aspects of the programs, such as life satisfaction, happiness, and sense of control. In that study, Benjamin et al. (2014) measure and compare the preferences inferred from rank choices to those inferred from subjective well-being. We follow the survey collection method from Benjamin et al. (2014) closely, but we change the survey itself to test a different hypothesis, that is, whether individuals make a trade-off between absolute and relative consumption. In doing so, we deviate from the survey design in an important aspect: we collect our baseline survey before subjects submit their rank choices to the algorithm. We also embed an information-provision experiment, which allows us to address concerns on causality.

The submission window for rank order lists opens on January 15 and closes on February 22. We conducted a baseline survey early in the submission period, which we describe first. We also conducted a follow-up survey after the submission window closed, which is described in Section 2.7.

### 2.2 General Structure of Baseline Survey

Appendix A.1 shows the full questionnaire of the baseline survey. This survey starts and ends with some background questions, such as the subject’s medical school and marital status. The core of the survey comprises the following group of questions, in the order listed below:

1. Choice Set: Elicit the names of the two favorite programs that the individual was considering for his or her order rank submission.

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<sup>3</sup>In 2015, the median number of applications submitted was 30 and the median number of interviews 16 (NRMP, 2015).

2. Prior Beliefs: Elicit perceptions about the cost of living and the earnings rank in the cities where these two programs are located.
3. Feedback: Provide subjects with feedback related to their perceptions.
4. Posterior Beliefs: Re-elicite perceptions about the cost of living and the earnings rank.
5. Rank Choice: Elicit the individual's expected rank submission (between the two programs).

The following sections provide more details about each of these main modules as well as the follow-up survey.

## 2.3 Choice Set

The survey asks individuals to list their top two preferred programs from a user-friendly list of all the available programs organized by state and metro area. Even though individuals can be interviewed by several programs and can submit preferences for several programs, the most important aspect of their decision is how to rank their top choices. Similar to previous years, 50.9% of the participants in the 2017 match were assigned to their first choice and 16.6% were assigned to their second choice. We limited the survey to two programs because otherwise it would have been too cognitively taxing. We concentrated on the participants' top two programs rather than a random pair of programs because most participants expect to be matched to one of their top-ranked choices and we wanted to study the decisions with the highest stakes and to which individuals were paying the most attention.

When asking about the second program, we required respondents to make a selection from a different city because otherwise no differences would be present in absolute and relative consumption across choices. This requirement means that for a small number of respondents, the comparison was between two of their top programs but not necessarily the top two.<sup>4</sup>

## 2.4 Perceptions about Cost of Living and Earnings Rank

One important feature of the residency match process is that salaries are relatively homogeneous across the different programs, especially within specialties.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, each program offers the same salary to all its candidates (and that salary is often publicly available on the

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<sup>4</sup>The survey platform that we used did not record which individuals were forced to change this second option. However, anecdotally this seems to be a rare situation – indeed, the top two programs are rarely even from the same state (17.2%), let alone the same metro area.

<sup>5</sup>Even though there are no large income differences across residencies, there can be large differences after finishing the residencies, especially across specialties.



program’s website). Since incomes are quite homogeneous, and since we cannot generate exogenous variation in incomes, exploiting income differences to identify preferences for relative and absolute consumption would not have been possible. Instead, we exploit differences in costs of living and earnings distributions in the cities that the individual is considering living in. This approach generates variation in the absolute and relative levels of consumption that individuals expect in different programs.<sup>6</sup>

With incomes held constant, the cost of living in a metro area affects absolute consumption without affecting relative consumption. If the cost of living decreases in an area, it increases one’s absolute consumption level because one can afford more goods with the same nominal income. However, it also increases the absolute consumption level of everyone else in the city, leaving one’s relative consumption rank unchanged. In contrast, with the cost of living held constant, a change in the distribution of the earnings in a metro area affects one’s relative consumption, but it does not affect one’s absolute consumption.

We asked two questions about cost of living (one for each city) and two questions about the earnings rank (one for each city), in that order. For the cost of living question, we provided the following brief introduction: “You probably noticed that the average prices of goods and services are different across different cities. As a result, with the same income, you would be able to buy more things in some cities and less in other cities.” After this introduction, we asked individual how much more or less expensive each metro area was, relative to the US average. To make answering the question as easy as possible, we separated it into two questions. The first question was “Imagine that you chose to work in the [Metro Name] metro area. Would you expect your cost of living in this city to be cheaper or more expensive than the US average?” The respondents could choose either “cheaper” or “more expensive.” The follow-up question was “How much [cheaper/more expensive] is the [Metro Name] metro area than the US average?” Respondents could answer this second question with a drop-down menu ranging from 0% to 50%, in 1 percentage point increments.

The introduction to the earnings rank question was “Now we want to ask you about your expected earnings rank. This rank is defined as the share of the working individuals of a city who earn less than you. You probably noticed that the distribution of earnings is different across different cities. As a result, with the same earnings, you may be relatively rich in some cities but relatively poor in other cities. Imagine that you chose to work in [Metro Name].” This introduction was followed by the question: “With your individual annual earnings of \$[Salary], you would be richer than what percentage of [Metro Name]’s individual earners?” Respondents could select their answer from a drop-down menu that ranges from “Richer than

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<sup>6</sup>Even though some programs may try to adjust wages to compensate for differences in costs of living and earnings distributions, these efforts are not nearly close to full compensation.

1% of individual earners” to “Richer than 100% of individual earners,” in 1 percentage point increments.

## 2.5 Rank Submission Choices

The survey asked respondents to indicate which program they expected to rank higher in the NRMP submission: “As of this moment: of the two programs discussed so far, which one would you expect to rank higher for the NRMP?” Individuals could indicate their ranking on a 6-point scale ranging from “Very likely [Program 1] (in [Metro 1])” on one side to “Very likely [Program 2] (in [Metro 2])” on the other. In the baseline results we look at the binary choice of whether they expect to rank Program 1 over Program 2 because a comparison with the ex post submission choices is more straightforward. Nevertheless, results are quite similar when using the full likelihood scale (see Appendix D.5).

The algorithm used by NRMP was designed by Roth and Peranson (1999) to be 100% resistant to attempts of “strategic behavior,” meaning that is optimal for both students and programs to report their true rank order preference.<sup>7</sup> The vast majority of students believe this to be the case. For instance, using survey data, Benjamin et al. (2014) and Rees-Jones (2017) report that only 5% of participants attempted to misreport their true preferences with a strategic motive.<sup>8</sup> As a result, one may safely assume that the rank choices are accurate representations of the individuals’ true preferences.

Since most of the evidence on relative concerns is based on the happiness literature (e.g., Luttmer 2005), we want to compare preferences inferred from choice data with respect to the preferences inferred from happiness data, in the spirit of Benjamin et al. (2012, 2014). For this purpose, we included the following question about happiness rank: “If assigned to it, in which of the two programs would you expect to live a happier life?” Responses used the same likelihood scale as for rank.

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<sup>7</sup>In addition, the NRMP has established rules prohibiting programs from contacting candidates to ask or coordinate their rank orders. In 2017, 27,048 U.S. graduating medical students participated in the match and 95% of them were matched. All matches generated by the NRMP are binding and backing out from a match entails serious sanctions. For example, applicants with confirmed violations of NRMP policies are subject to a one year bar from accepting or starting a position in any program sponsored by a Match-participating institution, from one year to a lifetime bar from participation in future NRMP Matches, and from one year to a lifetime identification in the matching system as a match violator (Source: <http://www.nrmp.org/policies/the-match-commitment/>).

<sup>8</sup>Given that this is such a small share of the subjects, we decided not to include questions about attempts of rankings manipulation. These results are consistent with other surveys: e.g., a 2015 survey indicates that 92% of participants submitted their true preferences to the program (NRMP, 2015).

## 2.6 Information-Provision Experiment

One limitation with using perceptions is the potential for an omitted-variable bias. For instance, conditional on income and perceptions about cost of living, perceptions about relative consumption may happen to be correlated with perceptions about other characteristics of the area, such as the crime rate, amenities, public goods, and so forth. To address this concern, we generate exogenous variation in the perceptions about cost of living and earnings rank by embedding an information-provision experiment in the survey.

Immediately after respondents provided their prior beliefs on both measures, they were shown two messages: one page with statistics about the cost of living in the two cities being considered and a second page with statistics about the earnings rank in each of the two cities, in that order.

The feedback page about cost of living included a message similar to the following: “Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA metro area is 17.0% more expensive than the US average. The Champaign-Urbana, IL metro area is 6.6% cheaper than the US average.” The feedback page about the earnings rank included a message along the lines of the following: “With your individual annual earnings of \$62,000, you would be richer than 64.6% of Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA’s population. With your individual annual earnings of \$60,000, you would be richer than 61.2% of Champaign-Urbana, IL’s population.” In both of these messages, individuals were asked to “take a moment to review the information carefully (Note: this information is only shown once and you will not be able to come back to it).” They could not continue to the next page until at least 10 seconds had elapsed.<sup>9</sup>

After individuals finished reviewing the feedback, we re-elicited their perceptions about cost of living and earnings rank, which we denote as the posterior beliefs. Given that our feedback entailed many numbers for participants to remember and process, we wanted to make it easier for individuals to compare the options. Therefore, after eliciting respondent’s posterior beliefs, we gave subjects a third page of feedback that used their posterior beliefs, with the following message: “We understand this is a lot of information to process, so we will help you make the comparison simpler. According to your final answers about incomes, cost of living and earnings rank: If you chose to live in Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, you would be able to afford 17.9% less than if you chose to live in Champaign-Urbana, IL. If you chose to live in Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, your earnings rank would be 6.6% higher than if you chose to live in Champaign-Urbana, IL.”<sup>10</sup> As with the other

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<sup>9</sup>The median length of time spent in the feedback page was 18.5 seconds.

<sup>10</sup>The difference in absolute consumption was calculated as  $100 \cdot \left( \frac{w_1}{w_2} \frac{COL_2}{COL_1} - 1 \right)$ , where  $w_i$  is the nominal wage for city  $i$  and  $COL_i$  is their posterior belief about cost of living (from 50 to 150). The difference in earnings rank was calculated as  $100 \cdot \left( \frac{ER_1}{ER_2} - 1 \right)$ , where  $ER_i$  is the posterior belief about earnings rank in

feedback, 10 seconds had to elapse before respondents could move to the next page.<sup>11</sup>

We computed the statistics shown to the subjects using two alternative data sources, and we cross-randomized which of the two sources were shown to each individual. The sources were randomized between individuals; that is, we used the same cost of living source for the two cities being considered by each individual, and the same earnings data source for the two cities. As a result, individuals were randomly assigned to one of four information treatment groups.

The following is a brief summary of the construction of the statistics shown to the subjects (more details are available in Appendix C). When designing the survey, we were constrained to using metropolitan areas rather than other geographical levels of aggregation (e.g., commuting zones) because the sources of data on cost of living are not collected at a finer level than the metro area. For cost of living estimates, the two sources used were the Regional Price Parity (RPP) data by the Bureau of Economic Analysis and the Cost of Living Index (COLI) data compiled by the Council for Community and Economic Research. For the earnings rank feedback, the two sources used were the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Current Population Survey, both conducted by the US Census Bureau.

A substantial amount of exogenous variation existed in signals created by this source randomization.<sup>12</sup> For instance, the correlation of the pairwise difference in cost of living shown to the respondents versus the corresponding pairwise difference from the alternative source is 0.656; the corresponding correlation for the earnings rank is 0.649. These differences across sources arise from a combination of several factors, most notably sampling variation and data definitions. For instance, the sample variation in cost of living is because the data track the prices of a limited number of goods and services, and the sample variation in earnings rank is because the estimates are based on a limited number of survey respondents. The variation in definitions arise because different cost of living indices give different weights to expenditure categories, and because the earnings rank measures are based on surveys with significant differences in the survey method and the phrasing of the questions used to elicit total annual earnings.

For the sake of transparency and to ensure the validity of the information, the individuals were debriefed in the feedback messages on the name of the source of the information that they received. We would not expect the source name to have an effect in and of itself, given that the individuals did not have expertise on the data, and even experts may have only a weak preference on which source is more trustworthy. Indeed, we find that the reaction of individuals to the information was orthogonal to the name of the information source (see

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city  $i$ .

<sup>11</sup>The median duration on the post feedback page was 19.5 seconds.

<sup>12</sup>For more details, see Appendix C.

Appendix D.2).

## 2.7 Follow-Up Survey

Shortly after the NRMP rank submission window closed, we conducted a follow-up survey with the subjects that responded to the baseline survey. First, this survey elicited the beliefs about cost of living and earnings rank, which allows us to measure the persistence of the information learned in the information-provision experiment. Second, this survey collected data on the final rank orders submitted to the algorithm, to measure if the effects on expected choice translated into the final rank order. Third, at the end of the survey we included additional questions that were designed to aid in the analysis. For instance, we included a few questions intended to measure personality traits that could potentially explain cross-individual variation in the degree of relative concerns, such as a measure of the degree of materialism (Richins and Dawson 1992) and a measure of the degree of competitiveness (Smither and Houston 1992).

## 3 Econometric Model

### 3.1 Baseline Model

With data about perceived cost of living, perceived earnings rank and rank submission we can estimate preferences over absolute and relative consumption. Let  $i$  index subjects and  $j \in \{1, 2\}$  denote the two programs being considered by the subject. We define  $ER_j^{i,posterior}$  and  $COL_j^{i,posterior}$  as the posterior beliefs for earnings rank and cost of living for program  $j$  in the baseline survey.

Let  $ER_{1,2}^{i,posterior} = ER_1^{i,posterior} - ER_2^{i,posterior}$  be the perceived difference in earnings rank between the two programs. Similarly, let  $COL_{1,2}^{i,posterior} = COL_1^{i,posterior} - COL_2^{i,posterior}$  be the perceived difference in cost of living between the two programs. Let  $Program_1 \succ_i Program_2$  denote that individual ranks program 1 over program 2, and let  $I(\cdot)$  be an indicator function. The regression specification is:

$$I(Program_1 \succ_i Program_2) = I\left(\beta^{relative} \cdot ER_{1,2}^{i,posterior} - \beta^{absolute} \cdot COL_{1,2}^{i,posterior} + \theta X^i + \varepsilon_i \geq 0\right), \quad (1)$$

where  $X^i$  is a vector of control variables,  $\theta$  is the corresponding vector of coefficients and  $\varepsilon_i$  is the error term, which is normally distributed in the the baseline Probit specification.

The vector  $X^i$  always includes a constant and the log-difference of nominal incomes as control variables. Conditional on the difference in nominal wage, a higher value of  $ER_{1,2}^{i,posterior}$  implies a higher relative consumption in option 1 relative to option 2, while leaving absolute consumption unchanged. Thus, the parameter  $\beta^{relative}$  measures preferences for relative consumption, with a positive coefficient indicating that individuals prefer higher relative consumption. On the other hand, a higher value of  $COL_{1,2}^{i,posterior}$  implies lower absolute consumption in option 1 relative to option 2, while leaving relative consumption unchanged. Since absolute consumption is decreasing in the cost of living, the model specification lets  $\beta^{absolute}$  multiply  $-COL_{1,2}^{i,posterior}$  instead of  $COL_{1,2}^{i,posterior}$ , so that a positive  $\beta^{absolute}$  represents that individuals prefer higher absolute consumption.

In the baseline specification, we include an additional set of controls consisting of pairwise differences in some residency and location characteristics: residency program rank (from Dximity), quality of life inferred from compensating differentials (Albouy, 2016), population size, population density, share of African-American residents, and share of Democrat residents.<sup>13</sup> In robustness checks, we present results for alternative sets of control variables.

### 3.2 Instrumental Variables Model

The second model exploits directly the source-randomization experiment to estimate the causal effects of perceptions on choice. Let  $ER_{1,2}^{i,shown}$  be the information randomly chosen to be shown to the individual, and  $ER_{1,2}^{i,alt}$  be the alternative information that could have been shown to the individual but was not chosen. Let  $\Delta ER_{1,2}^i = ER_{1,2}^{i,shown} - ER_{1,2}^{i,alt}$  be the difference between the information shown and the alternative information that could have been shown. We estimate an IV-Probit model that uses  $\Delta ER_{1,2}^i$  and  $\Delta COL_{1,2}^i$  as instrumental variables. In other words, this model uses the variation introduced by the random assignment of sources to estimate the effect of perceptions on choice:

$$I(Program_1 \succ_i Program_2) = I(\beta^{relative} \cdot ER_{1,2}^{i,posterior} - \beta^{absolute} \cdot COL_{1,2}^{i,posterior} + \lambda_1 \cdot ER_{1,2}^{i,alt} + \lambda_2 \cdot COL_{1,2}^{i,alt} + \theta X^i + \varepsilon_i \geq 0)$$

$$ER_{1,2}^{i,posterior} = \gamma_1^{ER} \cdot \Delta ER_{1,2}^i + \gamma_2^{ER} \cdot \Delta COL_{1,2}^i + \gamma_3^{ER} \cdot ER_{1,2}^{i,alt} + \gamma_4^{ER} \cdot COL_{1,2}^{i,alt} + \gamma_5^{ER} X^i + \epsilon_{1,i}$$

$$COL_{1,2}^{i,posterior} = \gamma_1^{COL} \cdot \Delta ER_{1,2}^i + \gamma_2^{COL} \cdot \Delta COL_{1,2}^i + \gamma_3^{COL} \cdot ER_{1,2}^{i,alt} + \gamma_4^{COL} \cdot COL_{1,2}^{i,alt} + \gamma_5^{COL} X^i + \epsilon_{2,i}$$

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<sup>13</sup>The source for the demographic characteristics is the 2011-2014 American Community Survey. For the share of Democrat residents, we use voting results data to construct the share of Obama voters between all voters in the 2008 Presidential Elections.

There is a simple way to understand the intuition behind this instrumental variables approach. In a deceptive design, we would have shown subjects the statistic from a certain source, add a random noise to this statistic, and then only exploit the variation in beliefs generated by the random noise. In our context,  $\Delta ER_{1,2}^i$  and  $\Delta COL_{1,2}^i$  play the role of the random noise added to the feedback, only that they are generated in a non-deceptive manner.

## 4 Implementation Details and Summary Statistics

Our recruitment strategy is similar to that of Benjamin et al. (2014). During December 2016 we contacted the Associate Dean of Student Affairs at all 135 accredited medical schools in the United States by email to ask for permission to invite fourth year students intending to apply to the 2017 Main Residency Match to participate in our study. (A sample of the invitation email is shown in Appendix A.3). We followed up with the deans by email and phone. Of the 79 schools that answered our invitation, 27 agreed to participate. The main reason given by the schools that declined to participate was that they wanted to avoid bothering students during this busy time in their lives. As discussed in more detail in Appendix B, our sample of participating schools includes 22 of the 50 US states, and it is quite representative of the whole sample of 135 accredited medical schools. We do not find statistically significant differences in observable characteristics such as total enrollment, average MCAT scores, undergraduate GPA at admission, acceptance rates. and U.S. News rank.

For confidentiality reasons, we were not given email lists to directly invite students to participate in our study. Instead, the deans agreed to forward our invitation email containing the link to the survey to eligible students (i.e., seniors participating in the NRMP). This email invitation, a sample of which is shown in Appendix A.4, invited students to participate in a confidential survey about the Main Residency Match for a study on how medical students select residency programs. The message mentioned that the survey would take less than 10 minutes to complete and respondents would be sent a \$10 Amazon gift card by email as a token of appreciation. Finally, the email stressed the eligibility criteria for participating in the survey: being a graduating medical student participating in the Main Residency Match who has not yet submitted his or her rank to the NRMP.<sup>14</sup>

The only reason why we excluded individuals who had previously submitted their ranks was because we wanted individuals who were still deciding and thus prone to using the signals from the information-provision experiment. However, this concern is not important in the sense that submissions can be modified anytime before February 22. Even if some students

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<sup>14</sup>There are a number of alternative matches for some specialties that have different deadlines than the Main Residency Match.

had already submitted their rank at the time of responding to the survey, they would still be able to log back in and modify their rank. In any case, the vast majority of our subjects responded to the baseline survey quite early in the submission period.

We took several measures to minimize the chance that noneligible students would participate in the survey. First, deans were asked to carefully forward the invitation to senior students participating in the Main Residency Match. This request was not an issue since such a mailing lists already existed; targeted announcements were already being sent to this group during the semester regarding the Match. Second, individuals were reminded of these restrictions in the invitation email and on the consent page of the survey. Third, the first questions of the surveys acted as filters; we asked what match the respondent was participating in and whether they had already submitted their ranks. If they responded with a match other than the Main Residency or “yes” to already submitting their rank, the survey ended there, and they were excluded from taking the survey again.<sup>15</sup>

Last, at the end of the survey, respondents were required to submit their university email address to “sign” a statement claiming that they were medical students participating in the NRMP and they understood that we reserved the right to verify their status before making a payment. We asked some schools to verify the list of survey respondents, and they confirmed the validity of 100% of the respondents. Given all the measures taken and the evidence obtained, we are confident that the survey data are of high quality.

The invitation emails were sent to students in a staggered way, with the first round of invitations sent on January 6, 2017, and the last round of invitations and reminders sent on February 7, 2017. We estimated that the student invitations were forwarded to around 3,676 students in total, with 1,080 finishing the baseline survey, implying an overall response rate of 29.38%. The median survey completion time was almost 9 minutes. At the end of the baseline survey we included an attention check question that was passed by 96.4% of respondents. For the sake of transparency, we do not drop the group that did not pass the attention check – indeed, we do not drop any other group from the baseline sample.<sup>16</sup>

On February 23, 2017, the day after the NRMP rank submission deadline, we sent respondents who participated in our baseline survey an invitation to participate in the follow-up survey. We offered participants an additional \$5 Amazon gift card for participating in this shorter follow-up survey. We closed the follow-up survey on March 12, one day before Match Week started (i.e., the time when the students find out where they are matched). The

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<sup>15</sup>The survey platform blocks users from taking the survey again by using their I.P. address and cookies, although students could circumvent this restriction by opening the survey link from a different device.

<sup>16</sup>Upon inspection of the data, the 3.6% of respondents who failed the attention check seem to have answered the survey as consistently as everyone else. And, as reported in Appendix Table D.4, the results are virtually the same if we drop this 3.6% of the sample.



response rate to the follow-up survey was 90.62%. Moreover, the characteristics of the individuals who responded to the follow-up survey are similar to the characteristics of individuals who did not respond to the follow-up.<sup>17</sup>

Figure 1 presents the distribution of dates when subjects responded to the baseline survey, when they responded to the follow-up survey, and when they submitted their ranks to the NRMP (for those who provided this information in the follow-up survey). On average, students responded to the baseline survey 24.5 days (sd 12.9) before submitting their ranks, and responded to the follow-up survey 13.9 days (sd 11.8) after submitting their ranks.

Figure 2 shows the geographic distribution of the metropolitan areas in which students' top-two programs are located. This figure shows that there is a broad geographical coverage of the U.S. territory.

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the key variables used in the analysis. Column (1) corresponds to all respondents to the baseline survey. Around 48% of respondents were male, the average age was 27 years, 35.33% of respondents were single, 23.92% were married, and 40.75% were in a long-term relationship. On average, students were offered a salary of \$54,000 for the first year of their residency – this salary would make them richer than 56% of earners in the average metro area. Of course, this sample is not representative of the general U.S. population of adults: most notably, our subject pool is younger and more educated. Nevertheless, our subject pool is close to the U.S. average in terms of nominal waged and gender composition.<sup>18</sup>

To verify that randomization was successful, Table 1 breaks down the descriptive statistics by each treatment group. This table also reports the p-value for the test of the null hypothesis that the means are equal across the four treatment groups. First, this table shows that the number of respondents was almost identical number of respondents across all groups. Second, this table shows that the differences in individual characteristics are economically small and statistically insignificant across the treatment groups, thus confirming that the random assignment was successful.

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<sup>17</sup>Results presented in Appendix Table B.

<sup>18</sup>For more details, see Appendix Table B.4.

## 5 Results: Distribution of Perceptions and Learning

### 5.1 Variation in Nominal Income, Cost of Living and Earnings Rank

We start by showing that enough variation is present in absolute and relative consumption to allow for the estimation of the key parameters. Given that we do not observe the “true” cost of living or earnings rank, but imperfect estimates based on different data sources, the following results use our “baseline” estimates: the RPP measure of cost of living and the ACS measure of earnings rank (using the alternative data sources yield similar results).

Figure 3 shows an scatterplot of the pairwise differences in cost of living vs. the differences earnings rank. First, the substantial dispersion in the x-axis suggests that there are large differences in cost of living across the pairs of cities that the individuals must choose from. Second, the substantial dispersion in the y-axis suggests that there are large differences in earnings rank across the pairs of cities that the individuals must choose from. Furthermore, because all residencies offer basically the same nominal income, most of these differences in cost of living and earnings rank orthogonal to differences in nominal income.<sup>19</sup>

Last, Figure 3 shows an scatterplot of the pairwise differences in cost of living and in earnings rank. The statistically significant slope of  $-0.664$  suggests that, on average, more expensive cities tend to have a higher distribution of nominal earnings. However, the  $R^2$  has a low value (0.22), suggesting that substantial orthogonal variation exists between absolute and relative consumption. This orthogonal variation will be important to disentangle between preferences for relative consumption and preferences for absolute consumption.

### 5.2 Distribution of Prior Beliefs

To the best of our knowledge, ours is the first paper to measure perceptions about cost of living and earnings ranks across different US cities. To get a sense of how informed individuals are about these aspects of their decision-making, we start by comparing their prior beliefs (that is, perceptions prior to the feedback) to the baseline statistics: the RPP measure of cost of living and the ACS measure of earnings rank.

Figure 4.a shows respondents’ prior beliefs about cost of living along with the corresponding RPP estimates. If answers are completely accurate, we would expect to see all responses on the 45 degree line. Interestingly, respondents seem to have a relatively good idea of the cost of living in the cities they are considering. On average, prior beliefs overestimate the

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<sup>19</sup>See see Appendix D.1 for details.

baseline estimate by just 4 percentage points, and the prior belief and RPP estimates are positively correlated, with an  $R^2$  of 0.550.

Figure 4.b plots prior beliefs about earnings rank against the ACS estimates. Individuals are substantially less well informed about their earnings ranks. On average, individuals underestimate earnings ranks by almost 16 percentage points, and the prior belief and ACS estimates are positively correlated, but with an  $R^2$  of just 0.029. This finding suggests that, while prior evidence suggests that individuals have significant biases when assessing their position in the national income distribution (Cruces, Perez-Truglia, and Tetaz 2013; Karadja, Mollerstrom, and Seim 2017), these biases are even more substantial when it comes to placing oneself in the local income distribution.

One potential problem is that respondents may have a poor idea of the levels of cost of living and earnings rank, but they may have a better understanding of relative differences—ultimately the relevant statistic in decision making. We repeat our previous analysis, plotting the pairwise differences instead in Figure 4.c for cost of living and Figure 4.d for earnings rank. Although the results for cost of living are almost identical, prior beliefs about earnings ranks are somewhat more accurate with pairwise differences. For example, the slope coefficient increases to 0.793, while the  $R^2$  increases to 0.15 (5 times larger than in levels). In any case, even under this alternative specification, the accuracy of prior beliefs about earnings rank remain far less accurate than those for cost of living.

### 5.3 Learning from Statistics

We next examine whether respondents learned from the information we provided. To do this, we examine the relationship between the initial perception gap of respondents (i.e., the difference between the feedback they received and their prior belief) and the extent to which they revise their responses (the difference between the posterior belief and the prior belief). If respondents learn from the information provided, we would expect a negative relation between respondent’s perception gap and their revisions; that is, respondents who originally overestimated would revise their beliefs downwards, while those who underestimated would revise in the opposite direction.

Indeed, the slope between the perception gaps and revisions can be used to quantify the degree of learning from information (Armantier, Nelson, Topa, van der Klaauw and Zafar, 2016). Let  $b_k^{prior}$  denote the mean of the prior belief  $k$ ,  $b_k^{signal}$  the signal about  $k$ , and  $b_k^{posterior}$  the mean of the corresponding posterior belief. When priors and signals are normally distributed, Bayesian learning implies that the mean of the posterior belief should be a weighted average between the signal and the mean of the prior belief:

$$b_k^{posterior} = \alpha_k \cdot b_k^{signal} + (1 - \alpha_k) \cdot b_k^{prior}$$

The degree of learning can be summarized by the weight parameter  $\alpha_k$ . This parameter can take values from 0 (individuals ignore the signal) to 1 (individuals fully adjust to the signal). We can rearrange the previous equation:

$$b_k^{posterior} - b_k^{prior} = \alpha_k \cdot (b_k^{signal} - b_k^{prior})$$

Which implies that we can estimate the learning rate ( $\alpha_k$ ) by estimating a regression of the revision ( $b_k^{posterior} - b_k^{prior}$ ) on the perception gap between the prior and the signal ( $b_k^{signal} - b_k^{prior}$ ).

Figures 5 and 6 present the reduced-form effects of information for cost of living and earnings rank, respectively. Figures 5.a and 6.a present the short-term effect, that is, the revision made by respondents directly after being given the information. We can clearly see that respondents incorporated the information strongly, revising their beliefs in the expected direction.

The short-term learning rate is 0.879 (se 0.010) for the cost of living and 0.873 (se 0.011) for the earnings rank. These learning rates are remarkably close to 1, statistically significant, and precisely estimated, and we cannot reject the null hypothesis that they are equal to each other (p-value 0.754). One limitation with this evidence is that individuals may have revised their beliefs towards the truth regardless of the feedback we provided because they took extra time to think about the question and then provided a more accurate response. The source experiment was designed to test this specific hypothesis. We construct two variables: the information actually shown and the “alternative” information that could have been shown. If the alternative information had any effect beyond the information shown, that would be evidence that part of the revisions were due to reversion to the truth rather than reversion to the information provided. Figures 5.b and 6.b show the relation between the alternative information and the revision adjusted for the information actually shown. The alternative information indeed has no effect: the coefficients are close to zero ( $-0.006$  for cost of living and  $0.001$  for earnings ranking) and precisely estimated.

Another concern is the possibility of information spillovers in learning. For example, respondents may use the feedback on cost of living to inform beliefs regarding earnings rank, or vice versa. We examine cross-learning in Figures 5.c and 6.c, which show the relation between the perception gap for earnings rank (cost of living) and the revision for cost of living (earnings rank) adjusted for the information actually shown. As in the alternative feedback case, spillover effects are close to zero ( $-0.015$  for cost of living and  $-0.019$  for

earnings ranking), statistically insignificant, and precisely estimated.

In survey experiments, one main concern is that instead of inducing genuine learning, the information provided in the experiment may elicit spurious reactions. For instance, if an individual is told that the cost of living in a city is “10% more expensive than the US average” and then later asked about the cost of living in the same city, he or she may report a cost of living that is closer to “10% more expensive than the US average” for spurious reasons, such as unconscious numerical anchoring (Kahneman and Tversky 1972).

Under the assumption that these effects are temporary, we can disentangle genuine from spurious learning by looking at the reaction to the information provided in the experiment that persisted over time (Cavallo, Cruces and Perez-Truglia, 2017). In particular, we look at the persistence between the time participants responded to the baseline and follow-up surveys, which was 38.4 days on average.

Figures 5.d and 6.d show the relation between the initial perception gap and the long-term revision based on beliefs reported in the follow-up survey (i.e.,  $b_k^{posterior,LT} - b_k^{prior}$ ). There is substantial persistence in learning induced by the experiment: the estimated slope for the initial perception gap and the long-term revision (i.e., the difference between long-term belief and the initial prior belief) for cost of living is 0.752 (se 0.016), while for earnings rank it is 0.626 (se 0.020). These longer-term revisions are slightly weaker than the short-term revisions, but that result is expected given that individuals gathered more information in the time between the two surveys. Indeed, the overall persistence of beliefs suggests that these individuals were still incorporating a lot of relevant information during this period of time; for example, increasing the (posterior) belief about the cost of living by 1 percentage point in the baseline survey is associated with an increase in the follow-up survey of 0.84 percentage points.<sup>20</sup>

## 6 Results: Preferences for Relative Consumption

### 6.1 Average Preferences

We start with the baseline estimates of the effects of relative and absolute consumption on expected rank submissions. The baseline specification uses the Probit model from Section 3. The Probit coefficients are presented in Table 2. Column (1) presents the results for the full sample, while columns (2) through (7) present results by demographic subgroups.

The estimated  $\beta^{absolute}$  from column (1) is positive and statistically significant (p-value=0.026), suggesting that the average individual prefers programs with higher absolute consumption.

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<sup>20</sup>The corresponding effect for relative earnings is 0.46. For more details see Figure D.3 of the Appendix.

Most important, the estimated  $\beta^{relative}$  from column (1) is positive and statistically significant (p-value=0.067), suggesting that, with absolute consumption held constant, the average individual prefers to live in a city where he or she is richer than his or her neighbors.

To better understand the magnitude of these Probit coefficients, we can transform them into the corresponding marginal effects.<sup>21</sup> According to the parameters estimated in column (1) of Table 2, increasing absolute consumption by 1 percentage point at Program 1’s location increases the probability of choosing that program by 0.202 percentage points (which can be interpreted as a behavioral elasticity of 0.202), and increasing the relative consumption at Program 1’s location by 1 percentage point increases the probability of choosing that program by 0.185 percentage points (for a behavioral elasticity of 0.185). Both of these elasticities are not only statistically significant, but also economically significant and similar to each other in magnitude.<sup>22</sup>

The fact that absolute and relative consumption during residency is taken into account when choosing residencies is consistent with the view that although money is not the only motivation for becoming a doctor, it is certainly a main motivation. For instance, according to a 2008 survey, 49% of pre-med students self-reported being primarily motivated by money in their career choice, in comparison to 71% of pre-law students (Daniel and O’Brien 2008).<sup>23</sup>

Although our research design was not conceived to disentangle between different mechanisms, we can provide some potential explanations to the preferences for relative consumption based on existing theories.<sup>24</sup> Broadly speaking, two groups of potential explanations exist: the hedonic models and the instrumental models.

The hedonic models propose that the consumption of peers enters directly into the utility function. For instance, individuals could get a boost in happiness merely from looking around and seeing that they are doing better than their neighbors. Individuals could also form consumption aspirations based on the consumption of peers. For example, while an individual living in a middle-class neighborhood may not feel the “need” to own a luxury car, this good could feel like a necessity if everyone else in the neighborhood owns a luxury car too.

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<sup>21</sup>The results for the marginal effects are presented in Table D.1 from the Appendix.

<sup>22</sup>The ratio  $\frac{\beta^{relative}}{\beta^{absolute}} = 0.816$  represents the marginal rate of substitution between relative and absolute consumption. This estimated value indicates that the average individual would be indifferent between an increase of 0.816 percentage points in absolute consumption or a 1 percentage points increase in relative consumption. We must take this ratio with a grain of salt, however, because it is imprecisely estimated: the 90% confidence interval is [-0.072, 1.703].

<sup>23</sup>This survey results are based on responses from 461 takers of the Kaplan MCAT test in February 2008 and 453 takers of the Kaplan LSAT test in February 2008.

<sup>24</sup>There is limited evidence about the relative importance between these two models. For instance, Bursztyn et al. (2017) show suggestive evidence that, in the context of demand for premium credit cards, at least some of the demand for conspicuous signals operates through the hedonic channel. On the other hand, Cullen and Pakzad-Hurson (2017) show suggestive evidence that, in the context of an online work platform, concerns for relative wages operate through the instrumental channel.

The instrumental models suggest that individuals care about their relative consumption indirectly because individuals with higher relative consumption are more likely to get non-market goods and services (Cole et al. 1992). For instance, a higher relative consumption may increase an individual’s chances of acquiring nonmarket goods such as being invited to a date, a business venture, or a club. Indeed, evidence shows that individuals tend to discriminate in favor of richer peers: driving a more expensive car makes other drivers more patient (Doob and Gross 1968), and wearing an expensive shirt makes someone more persuasive (Fennis 2008) and more likely to be recommended for a job (Nelissen and Marijn 2011). Moreover, some evidence suggests that individuals purposefully overspend in highly visible goods to appear richer in the eyes of their peers (Charles et al. 2009; Heffetz 2011; Bursztyn et al. 2017).

## 6.2 Heterogeneity in Preferences

Columns (2) through (7) of Table 2 present results by demographic subgroups. Column (2) shows the effect for non-single individuals (i.e., the 65% of the sample who are married or in a long-term relationship) and column (3) for the sample of single individuals (35% of the sample).<sup>25</sup> It is important to note that by non-single we only refer to their relationship status, not to whether the respondent participates in a dual match, which is a special regime used by a small minority of applicants (7%)—indeed, the results are similar if we drop subjects with dual matches.<sup>26</sup>

Regarding the coefficient on relative consumption, large differences exist with respect to relationship status. According to columns (2) and (3) of Table 2, the estimated  $\beta^{relative}$  is highly significant and more than double in magnitude (2.195) compared with the entire sample (0.989). However, the effect of relative consumption is negative and statistically significant (coefficient of  $-1.527$ ) for the sample of single individuals. Moreover, the difference in  $\beta^{relative}$  between non-singles and singles is highly statistically significant (p-value=0.001). Indeed, this substantial heterogeneity in relative concerns across relationship status is consistent with Luttmer (2005), who found that the effect of relative income on happiness was driven entirely by non-single individuals.

Contrary to the case of preferences for relative consumption, the relationship status does not seem to affect the preferences for absolute consumption. According to columns (2) and (3) of Table 2, the estimated  $\beta^{absolute}$  is 1.095 for non-singles and 1.042 for singles, with the difference being statistically insignificant (p-value=0.957).

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<sup>25</sup>Appendix D.3 report results where we break down the non-single individuals into married and in a long-term relationship, and find similar relative concerns between these two groups.

<sup>26</sup>See Table D.4 for more details.

These estimates suggest that while non-single individuals prefer to live in poorer ponds, single individuals would rather live in richer ponds. Although the preferences of non-single individuals can be rationalized by status models, the preferences of single individuals cannot be rationalized by such models. One possible explanation for the preferences of single individuals may lie in the dating market. These are singles at their prime dating age, and thus they are likely to be looking for long-term partners during the same time period of their residency. Given the evidence that individuals prefer marrying richer individuals (Hitsch et al. 2010), it seems rational that they would prefer to live in a richer pond, where they can more easily find affluent partners.<sup>27</sup> In particular, although these individuals make close to the median salary during the duration of their residency, their permanent incomes will be substantially higher, which would enable them to attract individuals from more affluent ponds.

To assess the importance of the heterogeneity by relationship status, columns (4) through (7) present heterogeneity by other subgroups. Columns (4) and (5) present heterogeneity by gender. The coefficients are similar by gender and statistically indistinguishable:  $\beta^{relative}$  is 1.034 for females and 0.898 for males, and  $\beta^{absolute}$  is 0.961 for females and 1.440 for males. Columns (6) and (7) present heterogeneity by specialty, splitting the sample in specialties with above and below median postresidency average salaries (\$229,000). Again, the differences in coefficients are small and statistically insignificant:  $\beta^{relative}$  is 1.411 for below-median specialties and 0.780 for above-median specialties, and  $\beta^{absolute}$  is 0.691 for below-median specialties and 1.232 for above-median specialties.

We also computed heterogeneity by other characteristics, including those measured in the follow-up survey, such as the extent to which individuals were classified as being materialistic or competitive using measures from psychology and consumer research (Richins and Dawson 1992; Smither and Houston 1992). None of these dimensions are nearly as important as relationship status for predicting heterogeneity in preferences for relative consumption, both in terms of magnitude and statistical significance.<sup>28</sup> Because of the magnitude of the heterogeneity by relationship status, we also report estimates separately for non-single and single respondents in the remainder of the paper, in addition to providing estimates for the entire sample.

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<sup>27</sup>Additionally, Appendix D.2 presents suggestive evidence that this negative effect of relative consumption among the single individuals may be disproportionately driven by single women, which is consistent with prior evidence that a higher relative income is detrimental to the marriage prospects of women (Bertrand, Kamenica and Pan, 2015; Bursztyn, Fujiwara and Pallais, 2017).

<sup>28</sup>Results reported in Table D.3 from the Appendix.



### 6.3 Robustness Checks: Controlling for Other Observable Characteristics

The baseline specification exploits all the available variation in posterior beliefs. Part of that variation was generated by the source-randomization experiment and can presumably be treated as exogenous. However, the remaining variation could potentially be endogenous, thereby introducing omitted-variable biases in  $\beta^{relative}$  and  $\beta^{absolute}$ . For instance, if places where an individual expects higher earnings rank (i.e., poorer metro areas) are systematically worse in terms of quality of life, then failing to control for quality of life would introduce a negative bias in  $\beta^{relative}$ , thus making relative concerns look weaker than they actually are.

To assess the potential scope of omitted-variable biases, Table 3 presents the baseline estimates using alternative sets of control variables. Each row corresponds to a different regression, with a different set of control variables. The first row presents results for our baseline specification, but without including any control variables for the characteristics of the program or the metro area. The second row corresponds to the baseline specification from Table 2, which includes the five additional controls described in Section 3.1 (e.g., residency program quality, quality of life in metro area). The results in the first two rows of Table 3 indicate that  $\beta^{relative}$  and  $\beta^{absolute}$  are qualitatively and quantitatively similar between the baseline specification and the specification without controls.

The third through last rows of Table 2 include different sets of additional controls. These controls were selected based on attributes that could potentially be relevant for the choices of the subjects and at the same time may be correlated to the earnings rank. We estimated specifications with the following set of controls: demographic characteristics (population, population density, percentage urban population, percentage same gender, percentage age 25 to 34, share of college graduates, share foreign, share Hispanic, and share black); amenities [quality of life from Albouy (2015), per capita spending on local public goods, per capita spending on education and health, overall crime rate and violent crime rate, share of registered Democrat voters in the 2012 election]; geography (distance of program to city where they grew up, distance of program to current medical school); economic factors (estimated income taxes, federal and state income taxes, local sales tax, rent prices, and the Gini coefficient); a set of state dummies; objective program characteristics (residency program rank from Doximity, dummies for university hospitals and for community hospitals), and subjective program characteristics (the subjective rank in prestige, purpose, and prospect, as reported in the follow-up survey).

According to the pseudo- $R^2$  reported in panel C of Table 2, including these variables increases the explanatory power of our model to some degree. For the full sample, the pseudo-

$R^2$  increases from 0.015 in the specification with no additional controls to a minimum of 0.017 with controls for objective program characteristics and a maximum of 0.123 with controls for subjective programs characteristics.

Comparing the results across rows of  $\beta^{relative}$  and  $\beta^{absolute}$  of Table 2 suggests that these estimates are robust to the choice of control variables, both in terms of statistical significance and economic significance. Of course, small differences occur in the point estimates across specifications. For instance, relative to the baseline  $\beta^{relative}$  of 1.022, the  $\beta^{relative}$  ranges from a minimum of 0.873 without controls to a maximum of 1.199 with demographic controls. However, these differences are always statistically insignificant.

## 6.4 Robustness Checks: Experimental Estimates

In this section we present results from two robustness checks. The first robustness check addresses any remaining concerns about omitted-variable bias by exploiting the exogenous variation in beliefs generated by the source-randomization experiment. The second robustness test is intended to address potential concerns about spurious effects.

The main potential source of spurious effects is salience. By asking individuals questions about the cost of living and earnings rank, the baseline survey makes those aspects salient and thus individuals overweight them in their decision-making. However, if any salience effects exist, they would be expected to inflate both  $\beta^{relative}$  and  $\beta^{absolute}$ .

A second potential source of spurious effects arises from the experimenter-demand effect. By providing individuals with information about cost of living and earnings rank, the experimenter may be putting pressure on the individuals to use this information in their expected choice. We are less worried about the role of experimenter-demand effects for at least two reasons. First, our survey was conducted confidentially and online, which reduces the scope for this social desirability bias (van Gelder et al. 2010). Second, any experimenter-demand effect would probably shrink  $\beta^{relative}$  towards zero because individuals do not want to reveal to others that they have relative concerns (Shigeoka and Yamada 2016).<sup>29</sup>

We address the potential for spurious effects by providing an alternative experimental estimate, based on the long-term effects of the experiments, that is, the effects of the information provision on the final rank submission, which takes place 35 days after the information provision on average. This can be achieved by using the same instrumental variable model, but instead using the final submission rank (elicited in the follow-up survey) rather than the expected submission rank (elicited in the baseline survey) as the dependent variable. If the effects are spurious due to salience or experimenter-demand effect, we would expect that the

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<sup>29</sup>Additionally, it would be difficult to reconcile the experimenter-demand channel with the finding that the earnings rank had a positive effect on non-singles and a negative effect on singles.

information provided in the experiment would not have any effect on the final submission.

Results are presented in Table 4. To make the estimates directly comparable when we present long-term effects, we restrict the sample to individuals who responded to the follow-up survey. The first row presents the observational estimates (i.e., the baseline specification). The second row presents the experimental estimates based on the short-term effects. Finally, the third row presents the experimental estimates based on the long-term effects.

Panel A of Table 4 presents the results for  $\beta^{relative}$ . For each of the subgroups of single and non-single respondents, shown in columns (2) and (3), the results are qualitatively robust: the coefficients have the same sign and are always statistically significant. For non-singles, the magnitude of the effect remains roughly the same. However, for singles, the coefficient becomes twice as large in magnitude in the experimental specifications. As a result, the average preference parameter, reported in column (1), moves towards zero in the experimental specifications and becomes statistically insignificant. However, the experimental estimates are less precisely estimated, because they only use a portion of the observational variation in beliefs. As a result of this imprecision, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the experimental and non-experimental parameters from column (1) are equal.

Panel B of Table 4 presents the results for  $\beta^{absolute}$ . These coefficients are not robust in the experimental specifications. All the coefficients (for the entire sample, singles and non-singles) move towards zero. These coefficients are sometimes negative, are imprecisely estimated, and are mostly statistically insignificant. This outcome does not mean that individuals do not prefer higher absolute consumption—indeed, since the experimental estimates are not precisely estimated, we cannot rule out large positive values for  $\beta^{absolute}$ , and in most cases we cannot even reject that the experimental coefficients are equal to the observational coefficients. Also, the experimental coefficient identifies a local average preference, which does not need to be equal to the average preferences.<sup>30</sup> However, the experimental estimates being smaller in magnitude is at least suggestive evidence that the baseline estimates may overestimate the importance of absolute consumption.

The Appendix presents some additional results. In all the instrumental variable specifications, we find that the instruments are highly significant, and we can rule out the possibility of weak instruments bias. Also, the learning rates implied by the first-stage coefficients are always close to 1, and for that reason the instrumental variables estimates are similar to the

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<sup>30</sup>The IV model estimates the effect of beliefs about cost of living for individuals who were affected by the information provision. It is plausible that our source-randomization disproportionately affected those individuals who were the most unsure about their priors beliefs about cost of living, who likely are those who care the least about cost of living. So even though these individuals may have updated their priors significantly, it would not affect their behavior. On the other hand, this may not have been an issue for relative consumption, given that all individuals, including those who care the most about relative consumption, seemed to be largely uninformed about the earnings rank.

reduced form estimates.<sup>31</sup>

A last concern is that individuals may react to feedback about earnings ranks not because they care about earnings ranks directly, but because they use it as a signal of other unobserved characteristics of the city, such as the quality of public goods or the crime rate. There are at least two reasons why this possibility may be an unlikely explanation. First, richer places would be expected to have better unobservable characteristics, such as public goods and safety, so, if anything, this mechanism would go against our findings. Second, the information about earnings ranks did not spill over to posterior beliefs about a closely related aspect, the cost of living, and it is thus unlikely that it spilled over to other beliefs.<sup>32</sup>

## 6.5 Comparison to Happiness Studies

We can compare our revealed-preference measures of relative concerns to the estimates from other studies that use subjective data. We start with Luttmer (2005), which is the most comparable because it uses data for the United States. His baseline estimates, based on the subgroup of non-single individuals, imply that most of the utility from consumption goes through relative consumption rather than through absolute consumption. On average, non-single individuals would be willing to give up 1 percent of absolute consumption in order to decrease the median consumption of neighbors by 0.22%.<sup>33</sup>

According to the estimates from column (2) of Table 2, non-single individuals are willing to give up 1 percent of their absolute consumption in order to decrease the median consumption of their peers by 1.06% (with a 90% confidence interval of  $-0.91\%$  to  $2.27\%$ ).<sup>34</sup> The comparison of these two estimates, 1.06% vs. 0.22%, indicates that, relative to Luttmer (2005), our estimates suggest a weaker role for relative concerns. However, because of the imprecision of our estimates, this difference is not statistically significant.<sup>35</sup> Assuming that Luttmer (2005) measures the true extent to which people care about relative concerns, our estimates suggest that individuals may anticipate, at least partially, the negative externalities

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<sup>31</sup>Reduced-form and first-stage estimates are presented in Appendix Table D.6.

<sup>32</sup>As additional suggestive evidence that individuals care directly about their consumption rank, we included a couple of hypothetical questions at the end of the follow-up survey – these results are presented in Appendix D.4.

<sup>33</sup>Appendix D.10 provides the details for this calculation.

<sup>34</sup>This result arises because, for the average individual in the sample, we would need to decrease the median earnings in the area by 1.06% to allow the individual to climb up 0.60 ( $= 1/1.672$ ) percentage points in the earnings rank.

<sup>35</sup>Of course, part of the difference may be due to differences in the subject pools: i.e., senior medical students having weaker preferences for relative concerns than the average U.S. resident. Also, any differences in the trade-offs measures with happiness and choice data would not imply that one of the two results are wrong: e.g., it is possible that the happiness estimates reflect the true extent to which people care about relative concerns, but when deciding where to live, individuals under-estimate how much their well-being will depend on relative consumption.

from richer neighbors.

The results are similar when we compare our estimates to estimates from other papers using subjective data.<sup>36</sup> Also, for a more direct comparison between happiness and choice data, we can exploit the survey responses on expected happiness (Benjamin et al. 2014). We find that the marginal rates of substitution inferred by happiness are statistically indistinguishable from the marginal rates of substitution inferred by choice; however, due the precision of the happiness estimates, we cannot rule out substantial discrepancies.<sup>37</sup>

## 7 Conclusions

We presented results from a survey with 1,100 medical students participating in the NRMP. These data provide unique revealed-preference evidence that individuals care about their relative consumption in addition to their absolute consumption level. Furthermore, we found that individuals can differ dramatically in their preferences for relative consumption. While non-single individuals want to be among the richest in the area, single individuals would rather live in a location where other people are richer than they are.

A first avenue for future research is to find other contexts in which this revealed-preference method could be used to estimate preferences for relative consumption. For instance, even though the setting is not as clear-cut as for the medical residency, graduates from J.D., Ph.D., and M.B.A. programs face similar choice sets as medical school graduates, with job opportunities in different cities. Using a broader subject pool will help to generalize the findings from this study, and it will also provide more room to study heterogeneity in preferences.

Future research should also aim at understanding the precise mechanisms why individuals care about relative consumption. For instance, understanding the relative importance of instrumental versus hedonic mechanisms would be useful. And even within the hedonic mechanisms, it would be interesting to disentangle whether individuals care mostly about their own perceptions of relative consumption (i.e., self-image) or their beliefs about the perceptions of peers (i.e., social image). These additional hypotheses can be explored by using the same empirical framework proposed in this paper, but with additional treatment arms designed to test some specific mechanisms.

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<sup>36</sup>See the results in Appendix D.10.

<sup>37</sup>Results presented in Appendix D.8.

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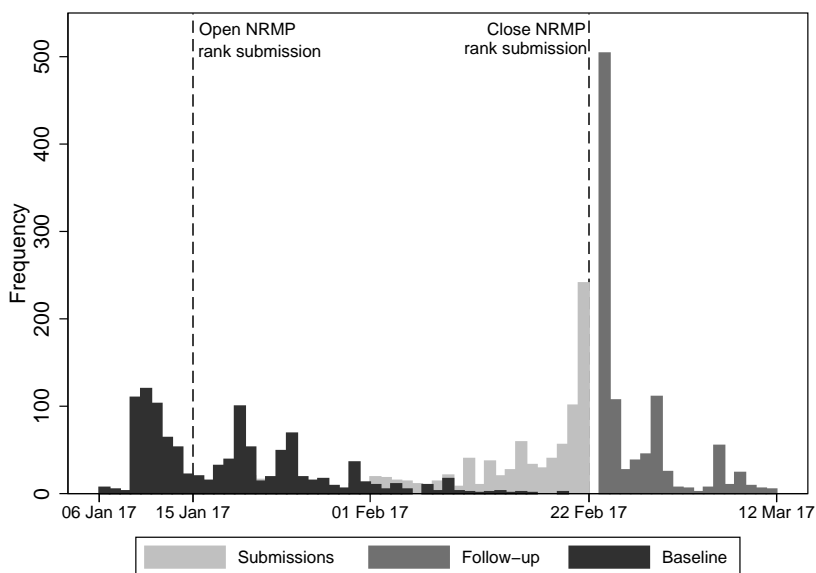
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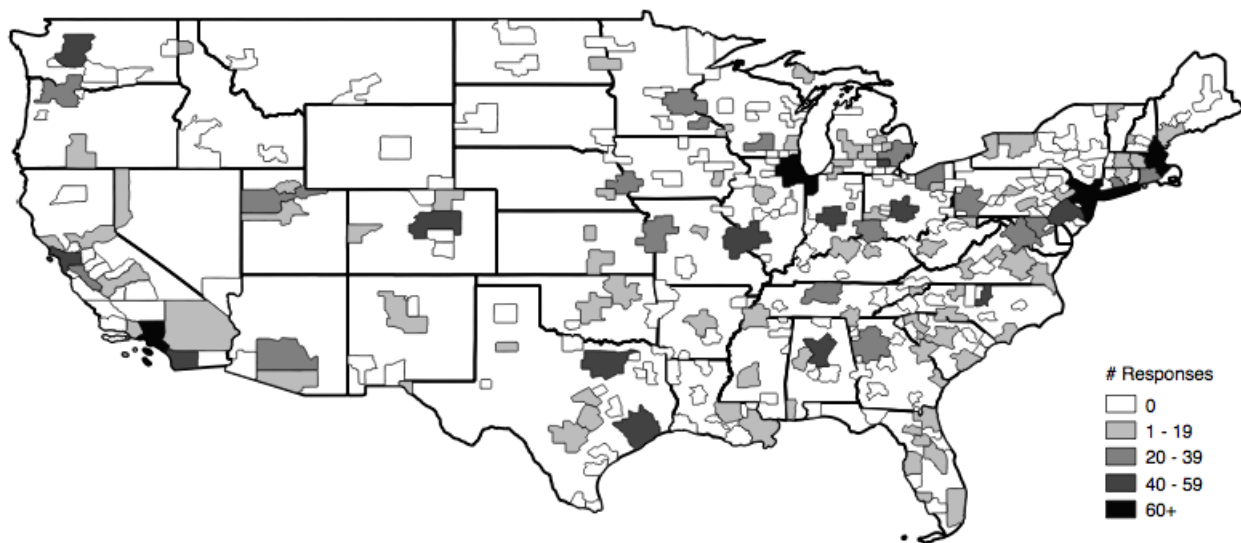
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Figure 1: Distribution Over Time of Survey Responses and NRMP Rank Submissions



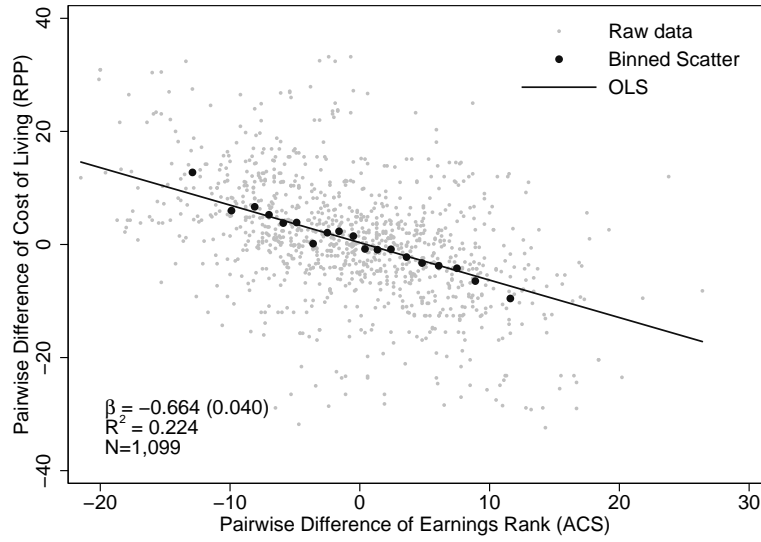
Notes: Distribution of timing of responses to Baseline and Follow-up Surveys, and NRMP rank submission dates (as reported by respondents in the follow-up survey).

Figure 2: Geographic Distribution of Choice Set



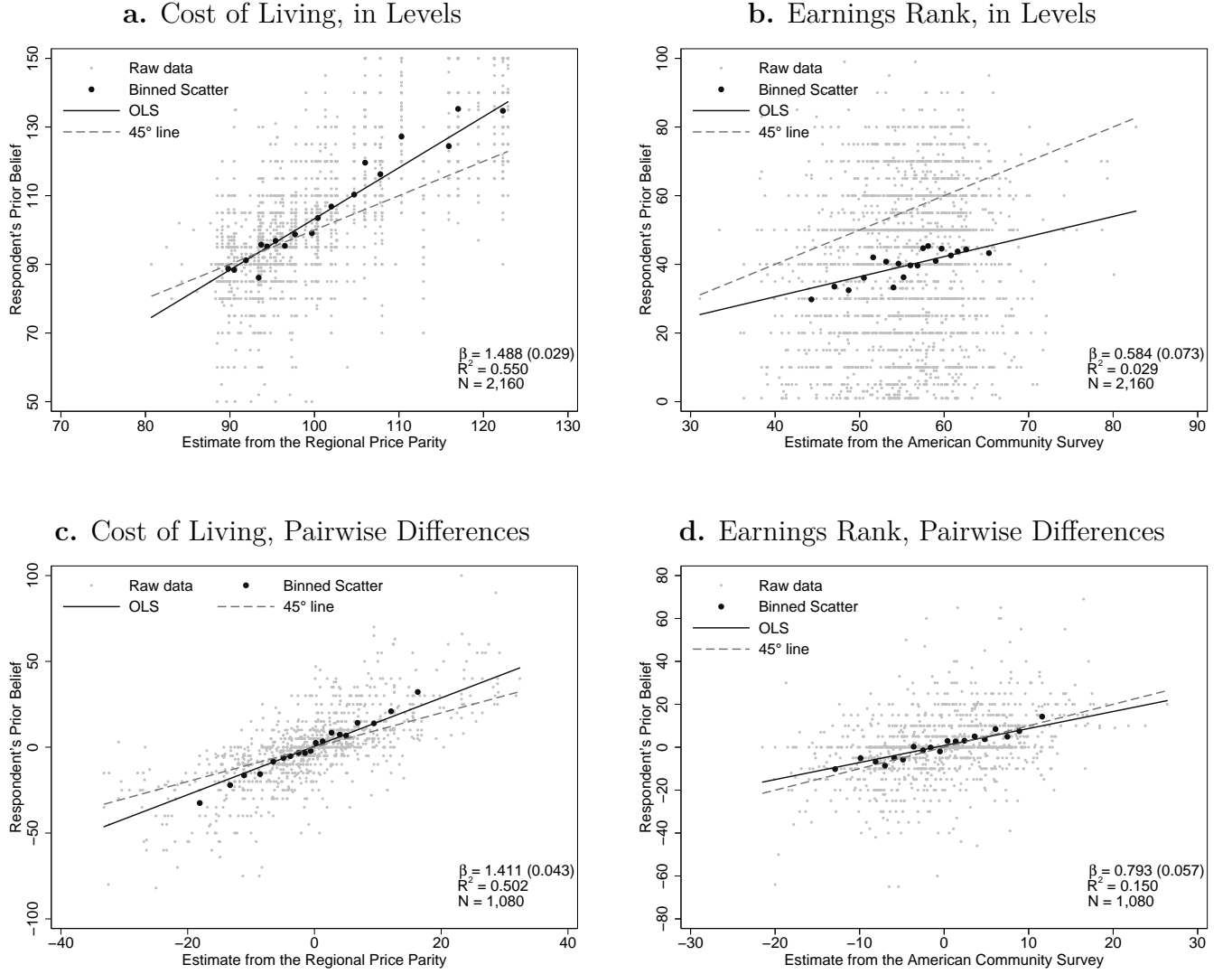
Notes: Geographical distribution of metropolitan areas where top-2 residency programs of respondents are located, for the continental United States. No responses were located in Hawaii, while Alaska only has 2 responses. Only metropolitan areas with a residency program participating in the 2017 NRMP are displayed (279 in total).

Figure 3: Variation in Cost of Living and Earnings Rank



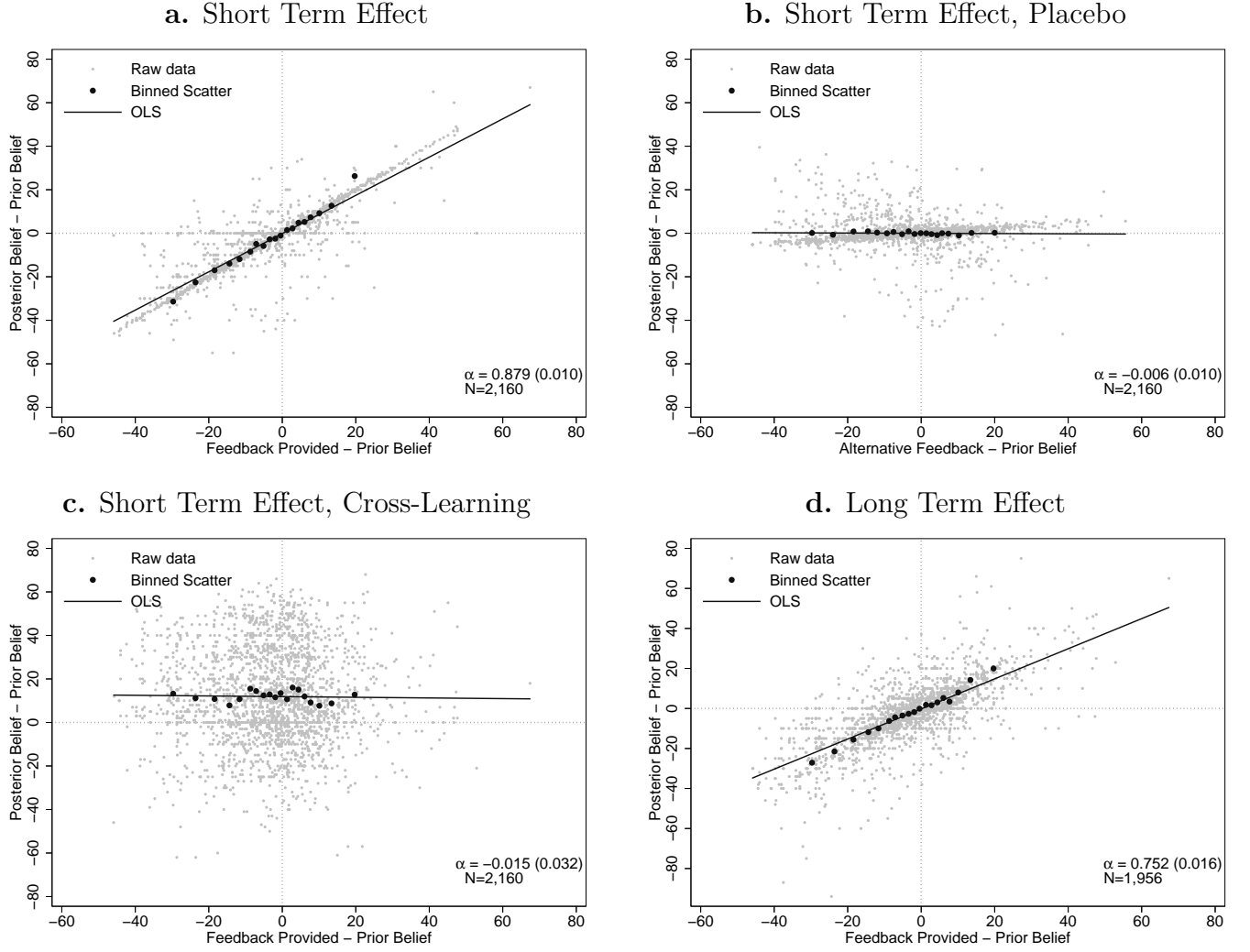
Notes: The gray dots correspond to the raw scatterplot, and the darker dots correspond to the binned-scatterplot based on 20 bins. Slopes ( $\beta$ , with robust standard errors in parentheses) and  $R^2$  are based on a linear regression. All variables for x-axis and y-axis correspond to pairwise differences across the two cities that the subject is considering submitting to the algorithm. Data from survey responses, the Regional Price Parity Index (for cost of living) and the American Community Survey (for earnings rank).

Figure 4: Comparison Between Prior Beliefs and Statistics



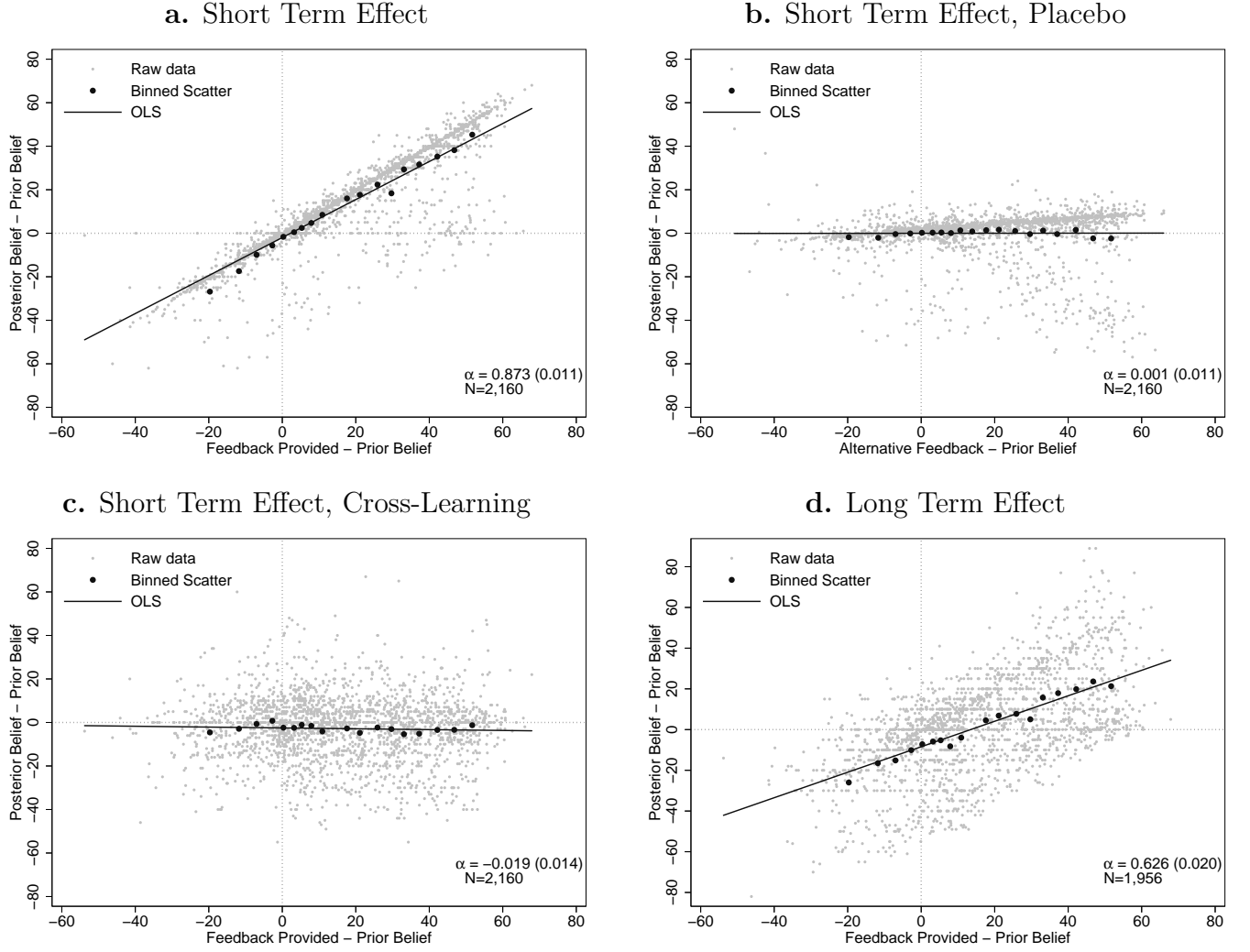
Notes: Comparison between respondent's perceptions before the information provision (i.e., prior beliefs) and statistics. The gray dots correspond to the raw scatterplot, and the darker dots correspond to the binned-scatterplot based on 20 bins. Panels a and b present data in levels (i.e., two observations per individual, one for each of their choices). Panels c and d present pairwise differences between an individual's choices (i.e., value for first choice minus that of the second choice). The slope ( $\beta$ , with robust standard errors in parentheses) and  $R^2$  are based on a linear regression.

Figure 5: Learning from the Experimental Feedback: Cost of Living



Notes: Comparison between the difference in statistics and respondent's perceptions before the information provision (i.e., prior beliefs), and difference in respondent's perceptions after the information provision (i.e., posterior beliefs) and prior beliefs. The gray dots correspond to the raw scatterplot, and the darker dots correspond to the binned-scatterplot based on 20 bins. Panel b shows a placebo test where we compare the difference between the alternative feedback and prior belief to the difference between the posterior and prior beliefs, adjusting for the shown statistic. Panel c shows the extent to which respondents adjust their perceptions on earnings rank as a result in their perception gap in cost of living (adjusting for the perception gap in earnings rank). Panel d uses respondent's perceptions measured in the follow-up survey as posterior belief. The slope ( $\alpha$ , with robust standard errors in parentheses) is based on a linear regression.

Figure 6: Learning from the Experimental Feedback: Earnings Rank



Notes: Comparison between the difference in statistics and respondent's perceptions before the information provision (i.e., prior beliefs), and difference in respondent's perceptions after the information provision (i.e., posterior beliefs) and prior beliefs. The gray dots correspond to the raw scatterplot, and the darker dots correspond to the binned-scatterplot based on 20 bins. Panel b shows a placebo test where we compare the difference between the alternative feedback and prior belief to the difference between the posterior and prior beliefs, adjusting for the shown statistic. Panel c shows the extent to which respondents adjust their perceptions on cost of living as a result in their perception gap in earnings rank (adjusting for the perception gap in cost of living). Panel d uses respondent's perceptions measured in the follow-up survey as posterior belief. The slope ( $\alpha$ , with robust standard errors in parentheses) is based on a linear regression on a linear regression.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Randomization Balance

|                      | All               | RPP; ACS          | RPP; CPS          | COLI; ACS         | COLI; CPS         | F-test<br>P-value |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Male (=1)            | 0.481<br>(0.015)  | 0.452<br>(0.030)  | 0.491<br>(0.031)  | 0.481<br>(0.031)  | 0.502<br>(0.030)  | 0.688             |
| Age                  | 27.091<br>(0.083) | 27.092<br>(0.164) | 27.104<br>(0.165) | 26.985<br>(0.145) | 27.181<br>(0.187) | 0.863             |
| Nr Kids              | 0.132<br>(0.014)  | 0.125<br>(0.027)  | 0.164<br>(0.033)  | 0.104<br>(0.026)  | 0.137<br>(0.029)  | 0.553             |
| Single (=1)          | 0.354<br>(0.015)  | 0.401<br>(0.030)  | 0.312<br>(0.028)  | 0.343<br>(0.029)  | 0.358<br>(0.029)  | 0.189             |
| Dual Match (=1)      | 0.074<br>(0.008)  | 0.077<br>(0.016)  | 0.059<br>(0.014)  | 0.104<br>(0.019)  | 0.055<br>(0.014)  | 0.157             |
| US News Rank         | 58.81<br>(0.787)  | 58.849<br>(1.612) | 59.104<br>(1.560) | 58.604<br>(1.568) | 58.683<br>(1.565) | 0.996             |
| Prior: $COL_{2,1}^i$ | -0.409<br>(0.640) | -0.445<br>(1.364) | 0.238<br>(1.134)  | 0.567<br>(1.308)  | -1.982<br>(1.303) | 0.506             |
| Prior: $ER_{1,2}^i$  | 0.394<br>(0.467)  | 0.162<br>(0.903)  | 0.71<br>(0.925)   | -0.526<br>(0.906) | 1.221<br>(0.999)  | 0.595             |
| Observations         | 1,080             | 272               | 269               | 268               | 271               |                   |

Notes: Individual characteristics obtained from baseline survey. Column (1) corresponds to all respondents, and columns (2) through (4) correspond to each of the four treatment groups given by all the possible combinations from the source-randomization experiment. RPP and COLI are the two sources used to compute the cost of living feedback (corresponding to the Regional Price Parity Index and the Cost of Living Index, respectively). ACS and CPS are the two sources used to compute the earnings ranking feedback (corresponding to the American Community Survey and the Current Population Survey, respectively). The final column presents p-value for test of the null hypothesis that the mean characteristic is equal across all four treatment groups. All variables constructed from the survey data, except for the U.S. News Rank which was taken from the U.S. News rank of medical schools for 2016.

Table 2: Preference for Relative Consumption: Baseline Estimates

|                    |                    | By Relationship Status |                    | By Gender        |                   | By Specialty Salary     |                      |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
|                    | All<br>(1)         | Non-Single<br>(2)      | Single<br>(3)      | Female<br>(4)    | Male<br>(5)       | $\leq \$229,000$<br>(6) | $> \$229,000$<br>(7) |
| $\beta_{relative}$ | 0.989*<br>(0.540)  | 2.195***<br>(0.670)    | -1.527*<br>(0.875) | 1.034<br>(0.757) | 0.898<br>(0.784)  | 1.411*<br>(0.730)       | 0.780<br>(0.797)     |
| $\beta_{absolute}$ | 1.080**<br>(0.484) | 1.095*<br>(0.658)      | 1.042<br>(0.750)   | 0.961<br>(0.671) | 1.440*<br>(0.752) | 0.691<br>(0.701)        | 1.232*<br>(0.684)    |
| Diff. P-value:     |                    |                        |                    |                  |                   |                         |                      |
| Relative           |                    | 0.001                  |                    | 0.900            |                   | 0.559                   |                      |
| Absolute           |                    | 0.957                  |                    | 0.635            |                   | 0.580                   |                      |
| Pseudo $R^2$       | 0.025              | 0.046                  | 0.026              | 0.042            | 0.032             | 0.028                   | 0.032                |
| Observations       | 1,080              | 698                    | 382                | 560              | 520               | 549                     | 531                  |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Raw Probit coefficients. Each column corresponds to a different Probit regression of expected rank order submission on posterior beliefs about cost of living and earnings rank, from the baseline survey, including the baseline controls listed in section 3. Columns (2) through (7) show estimates when restricting sample to different subgroups: columns 2 and 3 by Non-Single (i.e., married or in a long-term relationship) or Single, columns 4 and 5 by gender, columns 5 and 7 by expected salary of specialty after residency (over and below the median value of \$229,000). P-values corresponds to the test of the null hypothesis that the coefficients are equal between the two sub-groups.



Table 3: Preference for Relative Consumption: Robustness to Alternative Control Variables

|                      | Panel A: $\beta^{relative}$ |                     |                     | Panel B: $\beta^{absolute}$ |                    |                     | Pseudo $R^2$ |                   |               |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|
|                      | All<br>(1)                  | Non-Single<br>(2)   | Single<br>(3)       | All<br>(4)                  | Non-Single<br>(5)  | Single<br>(6)       | All<br>(7)   | Non-Single<br>(8) | Single<br>(9) |
| No Controls          | 0.873*<br>(0.531)           | 1.961***<br>(0.663) | -1.480*<br>(0.841)  | 0.894**<br>(0.382)          | 0.812<br>(0.523)   | 1.131*<br>(0.589)   | 0.015        | 0.032             | 0.017         |
| Baseline             | 1.022*<br>(0.542)           | 2.195***<br>(0.669) | -1.485*<br>(0.895)  | 1.106**<br>(0.484)          | 1.095*<br>(0.658)  | 1.140<br>(0.746)    | 0.026        | 0.046             | 0.034         |
| Demographic          | 1.172**<br>(0.588)          | 2.313***<br>(0.722) | -0.987<br>(1.003)   | 1.359***<br>(0.465)         | 1.231**<br>(0.625) | 1.677**<br>(0.701)  | 0.031        | 0.054             | 0.045         |
| Amenities            | 0.958*<br>(0.538)           | 2.056***<br>(0.669) | -1.381<br>(0.853)   | 0.898*<br>(0.481)           | 0.718<br>(0.630)   | 1.265<br>(0.816)    | 0.018        | 0.037             | 0.022         |
| Geography            | 1.001*<br>(0.593)           | 2.064***<br>(0.733) | -1.551<br>(1.004)   | 1.572***<br>(0.461)         | 1.626**<br>(0.652) | 1.783***<br>(0.646) | 0.039        | 0.059             | 0.054         |
| Economic             | 0.946*<br>(0.566)           | 1.914***<br>(0.684) | -1.191<br>(0.941)   | 0.868*<br>(0.498)           | 0.467<br>(0.670)   | 1.647**<br>(0.812)  | 0.019        | 0.036             | 0.047         |
| State Dummies        | 1.084*<br>(0.555)           | 2.901***<br>(0.703) | -1.943**<br>(0.907) | 0.968*<br>(0.502)           | 1.090<br>(0.671)   | 1.219<br>(0.939)    | 0.049        | 0.105             | 0.149         |
| Obj. Program Chars.  | 0.964*<br>(0.541)           | 1.985***<br>(0.686) | -1.366<br>(0.857)   | 0.942**<br>(0.385)          | 0.866<br>(0.527)   | 1.289**<br>(0.589)  | 0.019        | 0.037             | 0.028         |
| Subj. Program Chars. | 1.199**<br>(0.605)          | 2.222***<br>(0.730) | -1.320<br>(1.040)   | 1.277***<br>(0.425)         | 1.210**<br>(0.587) | 1.678***<br>(0.619) | 0.123        | 0.142             | 0.137         |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Raw Probit coefficients. Each row corresponds to a separate specification of a Probit regression of expected rank order submission on posterior beliefs about cost of living and earnings rank, from the baseline survey. All regressions include as controls the log difference in nominal income and a constant. The first row does not include any additional controls. The second row includes the baseline controls listed in section 3. The third to last rows use different sets of additional controls, listed in section 6.3. Results are based on 1,080 individual responses (698 from non-singles and 382 from singles), except for the last row, which is restricted to the follow-up sample (978 responses, 595 from non-singles and 311 from singles).

Table 4: Preference for Relative Consumption: Experimental Estimates

|                         | Panel A: $\beta^{relative}$ |                     |                      | Panel B: $\beta^{absolute}$ |                    |                   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                         | All<br>(1)                  | Non-Single<br>(2)   | Single<br>(3)        | All<br>(4)                  | Non-Single<br>(5)  | Single<br>(6)     |
| Observational           | 1.130*<br>(0.578)           | 2.337***<br>(0.703) | -1.666*<br>(0.995)   | 1.271**<br>(0.529)          | 1.230*<br>(0.739)  | 1.401*<br>(0.780) |
| Experimental            | 0.858<br>(1.150)            | 2.955**<br>(1.332)  | -4.984**<br>(1.950)  | -0.653<br>(0.880)           | -0.336<br>(1.163)  | -1.660<br>(1.288) |
| Experimental, Long Term | -0.055<br>(1.072)           | 1.946*<br>(1.183)   | -5.279***<br>(1.986) | -1.068<br>(0.822)           | -1.723*<br>(1.001) | -0.250<br>(1.357) |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Raw Probit (or IV-Probit) coefficients. All regressions include the baseline controls listed in section 3. The independent variables are the posterior beliefs about cost of living and earnings rank, from the baseline specification. The first row corresponds to the baseline Probit specification. The second through third row correspond to IV-Probit regressions, using the variation in perceptions generated by the source-randomization experiment as instrumental variables. The first and second rows use the expected rank order submission (from the baseline survey) as dependent variable. The third row uses the final rank order submission (from the follow-up survey) as dependent variable. All results based on the sample of individuals who completed the follow-up survey (978 responses, 595 from non-singles and 311 from singles).

# Online Appendix: For Online Publication Only

## A Snapshots of Invitations and Surveys

Here we include snapshots with a sample of the baseline survey (A.1) and follow-up survey (A.2). Additionally, this Appendix also includes a snapshot of an invitation sent out to the deans (A.3), the invitation sent out to the medical students to participate in the baseline survey (A.4), the invitation sent out to students inviting them to the follow-up survey (A.5), and a snapshot of the project's website.

## A.1 Sample Questionnaire: Baseline Survey

This survey has the objective of understanding how participants of the 2017 NRMP make their ranking decisions. Even though it may not benefit you directly, the results from this survey may benefit the medical students participating in future years.

**We anticipate that this survey will take between 8 to 10 minutes to complete. Eligible participants completing the entire survey will be paid \$10 in the form of an Amazon Gift Card (note: you must have a .edu email address).**

Your participation is voluntary, and is greatly appreciated. You may withdraw from the study at any time. Your responses will be used solely for research purposes and will be kept strictly confidential, used only by the Principal Investigators. For more details about this survey, including contact information, please visit the [project's website](#).

To be eligible to participate in this survey, **you must be a medical student participating in the 2017 Main Residency Match and not yet submitted your rankings.**

☒ YES, I am participating in the 2017 Main Residency Match and would like to complete the survey

>>

**NOTE:** Please answer questions carefully, it is not possible to go back and change an answer.

Where are you attending Medical School?

State

Illinois

Medical School

University of Illinois

Which **match** will you be participating in?

*(Note: this is referring to the match, not necessarily your specialty)*

Main Residency (Opens Jan 15)

Will you register with the NRMP for a dual match?

☐ Yes

☒ No

Did you already submit your ranking to the NRMP?

☐ Yes

☒ No

>>

In the next couple of weeks you will be submitting your rankings to the Main Residency Match.

Please tell us (in no particular order) the top two Residency Programs you are thinking about ranking in the Main Residency Match.

Enter information for first program.

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| State             | California                                    |
| Metropolitan Area | Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA            |
| Program           | Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center |

Specialty:

|                        |
|------------------------|
| Internal Medicine (IM) |
|------------------------|

What is the annual salary you are being offered here? (pre-tax, in dollars)

|       |
|-------|
| 62000 |
|-------|



Enter information for second program.

|                   |                           |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| State             | Illinois                  |
| Metropolitan Area | Champaign-Urbana, IL      |
| Program           | Carle Foundation Hospital |

Specialty:

|                        |
|------------------------|
| Internal Medicine (IM) |
|------------------------|

What is the annual salary you are being offered here? (pre-tax, in dollars)

|       |
|-------|
| 60000 |
|-------|



Now, we want to ask you a couple of questions about the two cities you are considering living in.

Let's start with the expected cost of living. You probably noticed that the average prices of goods and services are different across different cities. As a result, with the same income, you would be able to buy more things in some cities and less in other cities.

Imagine that you chose to work in the **Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA** metro area. Would you expect your cost of living in this city to be cheaper or more expensive than the U.S. average?

- ☐ cheaper
- ☒ more expensive

How much more expensive is the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA metro area than the U.S. average?

10% 


>>



Imagine that you chose to work in the **Champaign-Urbana, IL** metro area. Would you expect your cost of living in this city to be cheaper or more expensive than the U.S. average?

- ☒ cheaper
- ☐ more expensive

How much cheaper is the Champaign-Urbana, IL metro area than the U.S. average?

7% 

>>

Now we want to ask you about your expected earnings ranking. This ranking is defined as the share of the working individuals of a city who earn less than you. You probably noticed that the distribution of earnings is different across different cities. As a result, with the same earnings, you may be relatively rich in some cities but relatively poor in other cities.

Imagine that you chose to work in **Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA**. With your individual annual earnings of **\$ 62000**, you would be richer than what percentage of **Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA**'s individual earners?

Richer than 37% of individual earners ▾

>>

Imagine that you chose to work in **Champaign-Urbana, IL**. With your individual annual earnings of **\$ 60000**, you would be richer than what percentage of **Champaign-Urbana, IL**'s individual earners?

Richer than 52% of individual earners ▾

>>

Now, we want to share some information with you, related to the characteristics of the two cities that you are considering living in. Please take a moment to review the information carefully.

**Note:** *this information is only shown once and you will not be able to come back to it.*

First, find below some estimates of the cost of living:

The **Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA** metro area is **17.0% more expensive** than the U.S. average.

The **Champaign-Urbana, IL** metro area is **6.6% cheaper** than the U.S. average.

*Source: based on most recent data from the Bureau of Economic Analysis.*

>>

Second, find below some estimates of the earnings ranking:

With your individual annual earnings of **\$ 62000**, you would be richer than **64.6%** of **Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA**'s population.

With your individual annual earnings of **\$ 60000**, you would be richer than **61.2%** of **Champaign-Urbana, IL**'s population.

*Source: based on most recent data from the Current Population Survey.*

>>

That was all the information that we wanted to share with you. Now that you have reviewed this information, we would like to ask you again about your expected cost of living and earning rankings.

Let's start with the cost of living:

Imagine that you chose to work in the **Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA** metro area. Would you expect your cost of living in this city to be cheaper or more expensive than the U.S. average?

- ☐ cheaper
- ☒ more expensive

How much more expensive is the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA metro area than the U.S. average?

17% 

>>

Imagine that you chose to work in the **Champaign-Urbana, IL** metro area. Would you expect your cost of living in this city to be cheaper or more expensive than the U.S. average?

- ☒ cheaper
- ☐ more expensive

How much cheaper is the Champaign-Urbana, IL metro area than the U.S. average?

7% ▾

>>

Imagine that you chose to work in **Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA**. With your individual annual earnings of **\$ 62000**, you would be richer than what percentage of **Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA**'s individual earners?

Richer than 64% of individual earners ▾

>>



Imagine that you chose to work in **Champaign-Urbana, IL**. With your individual annual earnings of **\$ 60000**, you would be richer than what percentage of **Champaign-Urbana, IL**'s individual earners?

Richer than 62% of individual earners ▾

>>

We understand this is a lot of information to process, so we will help you make the comparison simpler. According to your final answers about incomes, cost of living and relative earnings:

**- If you chose to live in Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, you would be able to afford 17.9% less than if you chose to live in Champaign-Urbana, IL.**

**- If you chose to live in Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA, your earnings ranking would be 3.2% higher than if you chose to live in Champaign-Urbana, IL.**

>>

As of this moment: of the two programs discussed so far, which one do you expect to **rank higher** for the NRMP?

- ☐ Very likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center (Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA)
- ☐ Likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Likely Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Very likely Carle Foundation Hospital (Champaign-Urbana, IL)

>>

If assigned to it, in which of the two programs would you expect to **live a happier life**?

- ☐ Very likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center (Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA)
- ☐ Likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Likely Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Very likely Carle Foundation Hospital (Champaign-Urbana, IL)

>>

To get a general picture of the people answering this survey, we would like to ask you a few things about yourself. Please remember that your answers are confidential and that your name is not collected as part of this study. Please indicate your gender:

- ☐ Female  
☒ Male

How old are you?

30

What is your relationship status?

- ☐ Single  
☐ In a long-term relationship  
☒ Married

How many children do you have?

None

Recent research on decision making shows that choices are affected by the context in which they are made. Differences in how people feel, in their previous knowledge and experience, and in their environment can influence the choices they make. To help us understand how people make decisions, we are interested in information about you, specifically whether you actually take the time to read the instructions; if you don't, some results may fail to tell us very much about decision making in the real world. To help us confirm that you have read these instructions, please ignore the question below about how you are feeling and instead check only the "none of the above" option. Thank you very much.

- |                                     |                                       |   |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Interested | <input type="checkbox"/> Enthusiastic | <input type="checkbox"/> Inspired                     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Distressed | <input type="checkbox"/> Proud        | <input type="checkbox"/> Determined                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Excited    | <input type="checkbox"/> Irritable    | <input type="checkbox"/> Attentive                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Scared     | <input type="checkbox"/> Alert        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> None of the above |

>>

Thank you so much for completing the survey! As a token of our appreciation, we want to send you a \$10 Amazon Gift Card. Please note that you may only participate once.

We need your official university email address (.edu) to be able to: (i) email you the Amazon gift card; and (ii) verify that you are a medical student participating in the 2017 NRMP.

I certify that I am a medical student participating in the 2017 NRMP match.

*Please sign with your university (.edu) email address:*

As a reminder, your email address and survey responses will be kept strictly confidential.

A dark gray rectangular button with rounded corners containing the text ">>" in white, indicating a next step or continuation.

## A.2 Sample Questionnaire: Follow-Up Survey

Thank you for volunteering to participate in our follow-up survey! Remember that your responses will be used solely for research purposes and will be kept strictly confidential. You may withdraw from the survey at any time.

**We estimate that it will take you around 5 minutes to complete the survey. As a token of our appreciation, we will send you a \$5 Amazon gift card for completing this survey.**

For more details about the survey, including contact information, please visit the [project's website](#).

>>

On what date did you submit your preference ranking to the 2017 Main Residency Match?

Feb 18 ▾

>>



In the initial survey you listed two of your favorite programs.

When you submitted your preference ranking to the 2017 Main Residency Match on Feb 18, which of these two programs did you **rank higher**?

- ☐ Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center (Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA)
- ☐ Carle Foundation Hospital (Champaign-Urbana, IL)

>>

If assigned to it, in which of the two programs would you expect to **live a happier life**?

- ☐ Very likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center (Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA)
- ☐ Likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Likely Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Very likely Carle Foundation Hospital (Champaign-Urbana, IL)

>>

Now, we want to ask you a couple of questions about the two cities where you may live. When you took the survey a month ago, we asked these same questions. We are asking them again to see if your perceptions have changed.

Let's start with the expected cost of living. You probably noticed that the average prices of goods and services are different across different cities. As a result, with the same income, you would be able to buy more things in some cities and less in other cities.

Imagine that you chose to work in the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA metro area. Would you expect your cost of living in this city to be cheaper or more expensive than the U.S. average?

- ☐ cheaper
- ☒ more expensive

How much more expensive is the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA metro area than the U.S. average?


17% ▾

>>

Imagine that you chose to work in the Champaign-Urbana, IL metro area. Would you expect your cost of living in this city to be cheaper or more expensive than the U.S. average?

- ☒ cheaper
- ☐ more expensive

How much cheaper is the Champaign-Urbana, IL metro area than the U.S. average?

7% 

>>

Now we want to ask you about your expected earnings ranking. This ranking is defined as the share of the working individuals of a city who earn less than you. You probably noticed that the distribution of earnings is different across different cities. As a result, with the same earnings, you may be relatively rich in some cities but relatively poor in other cities.

Imagine that you chose to work in Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA. With your individual annual earnings of \$ 62000, you would be richer than what percentage of Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA's individual earners?

Richer than 64% of individual earners ▾

>>

Imagine that you chose to work in Champaign-Urbana, IL. With your individual annual earnings of \$ 60000, you would be richer than what percentage of Champaign-Urbana, IL's individual earners?

Richer than 62% of individual earners ▾

>>

Now we want to ask you to compare other aspects of these two programs.

In which program do you expect to have a greater sense of purpose in life?

- ☐ Very likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center (Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA)
- ☐ Likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Likely Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Very likely Carle Foundation Hospital (Champaign-Urbana, IL)

Which program do you think will give you higher prestige and status?

- ☐ Very likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center (Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA)
- ☐ Likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Likely Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Very likely Carle Foundation Hospital (Champaign-Urbana, IL)

Which program do you think will give you better future career prospects?

- ☐ Very likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center (Los Angeles-Long Beach-Anaheim, CA)
- ☐ Likely Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Los Angeles County-Harbor-UCLA Medical Center
- ☐ Leaning Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Likely Carle Foundation Hospital
- ☐ Very likely Carle Foundation Hospital (Champaign-Urbana, IL)

>>

From 1 (most important) to 5 (least important): How would you rank the following aspects of life? *(no ties)*

|                        | 1                     | 2                     | 3                     | 4                     | 5                     |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Happiness              | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Health                 | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Sense of purpose       | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Spirituality           | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Control over your life | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |





When you submitted your preference ranking to the 2017 Main Residency Match on Feb 18, how many programs did you rank in total?



Now we want to ask you a few more questions about your background, your beliefs and your values.

Did you grow up in the United States?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

>>

More precisely, in which of the following did you spend the most time while growing up?

State

Metro area

>>

Imagine that you face the following situation. You earn \$50,000 per year and have an earnings ranking of 50% (that is, you earn more than 50% of the individuals living in your same city). Now consider the following two events:

**EVENT A:** The cost of living in this city decreases by 10%, so you and all other individuals in the city would be able to afford 10% more consumption. After this event, you think you would be:

- ☐ Better off
- ☐ Slightly better off
- ☐ The same
- ☐ Slightly worse off
- ☐ Worse off

**EVENT B:** Your own income and your own cost of living do not change, so your own consumption stays the same. However, all other individuals in the city face an income reduction. As a result, your earnings ranking increases from 50% to 60%. After this event, you think you would be:

- ☐ Better off
- ☐ Slightly better off
- ☐ The same
- ☐ Slightly worse off
- ☐ Worse off

>>

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

|   | Strongly<br>disagree  | Somewhat<br>disagree  | Neither agree<br>nor disagree | Somewhat<br>agree     | Strongly<br>agree     |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| I like competition                            | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I am a competitive individual                 | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I enjoy competing against an opponent         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I don't like competing against other people   | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I get satisfaction from competing with others | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I find competitive situations unpleasant      | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

>>

We are almost done, this is the last question of the survey. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

|  | Strongly disagree     | Somewhat disagree     | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat agree        | Strongly agree        |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes     | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>      | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| The things I own say a lot about how I'm doing in life         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>      | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Buying things gives me a lot of pleasure                       | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>      | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I like a lot of luxury in my life                              | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>      | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| My life would be better if I owned certain things I don't have | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>      | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I'd be happier if I could afford to buy more things            | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>      | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

>>

### A.3 Sample Invitation Email to Deans

Dear Dean X,

I am a Graduate Student in Economics at the University of Illinois. Along with Ricardo Perez-Truglia (Economics Professor at University of California Los Angeles, Anderson School of Management), we are working on a research project about how people make important life decisions. I am writing you in your capacity as Dean in the hope that you would allow us to survey the students at University X about their choices in the National Residency Matching Program next January, before the ranking submission window opens.

Completing the online survey would take the students less than 10 minutes, and as a token of appreciation, we will send each respondent a \$10 Amazon gift card. I have attached a draft of the survey for your reference. The questions are non-controversial, responses will remain strictly confidential, and we are open to incorporating your feedback into the survey.

The NRMP provides a perfect context to study important life decisions. We hope that the results from our study could provide useful information and insights to future generations of medical students applying to residency programs, and provide new insights to residency programs.

If you have any questions about the survey, we would be happy to answer them over e-mail or schedule a time for a brief phone conversation. We will be surveying students from medical schools around the country, and would love to add University X to our list of participating medical schools. Can we please count with your collaboration?

Best regards,

## A.4 Sample Email to Students with Invitation to Baseline Survey

Dear graduating medical student,

We would like to invite you to participate in a brief, confidential survey about the Main Residency Match. **It takes less than 10 minutes to complete the survey and, as a token of our appreciation, respondents will be sent a \$10 Amazon gift card by email.**

To participate in the survey, you must be registered in the 2017 Main Residency Match. If you want to participate, you must fill out the survey before you submit your rankings to the NRMP.

The survey can be accessed here: [LINK]

The results of this study will provide better information on how medical students select residency programs, and can assist in the advising and preparation of future generations of students.

We thank you and deeply appreciate your time and participation,

Ricardo Perez-Truglia, University of California, Los Angeles

Nicolas Bottan, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[Project's URL]



## A.5 Sample Email to Students with Invitation to Follow-Up Survey

Dear graduating medical student,

Thank you for participating in our study! We wanted to invite you to participate in a very short follow-up survey. Your participation is voluntary and all responses will be kept strictly confidential. **It takes less than 5 minutes to complete the survey, and, as a token of our appreciation, we will send you a \$5 Amazon gift card by email.**

**Follow this link to the Survey:** [LINK]

Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: [URL]

After you complete this follow-up survey, your contact information will be erased and we will not contact you again.

We thank you again and deeply appreciate your time and participation,

Ricardo Perez-Truglia, University of California, Los Angeles

Nicolas Botton, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[Project's URL]

[Unsubscribe LINK]

## A.6 Project's Website

**UCLAAnderson**  
SCHOOL of MANAGEMENT

[APPLY](#) | [FOR COMPANIES](#) | [GIVE](#)

**Global Economics and Management**  
[Overview](#)  
▸ [Faculty](#)  
[Courses](#)  
[University of California GEM-BPP Research Workshop](#)  
▸ [GEM Seminar](#)  
[Student Workshop](#)  
[Ph.D. Program](#)  
[Ph.D. Students](#)  
[Ph.D. Placements](#)  
[Working Papers](#)  
[FAQ](#)  
[Contacts](#)

### Details about the Residency Survey

We have been authorized by administrators in your medical program to invite you to participate in our survey that has the objective of better understanding how residency applicants form their NRMP rankings.

This study was approved by the UCLA Institutional Review Board. Your participation is voluntary, and is greatly appreciated: while it will not benefit you personally, it will help inform our research on the important process of deciding how to rank medical programs, which may benefit other medical students and medical programs in the future. You may withdraw from the study at any time.

Your privacy is very important to us. When information is transferred online there is a possibility that it may be viewed by a third party. To reduce the risk that an outside party could identify you or observe your responses, this survey employs Transport Layer Security (TLS) encryption for all transmitted data. As a result, we anticipate that your participation in this survey presents no greater risk than everyday use of the Internet. Your responses will be used solely for research purposes and will be kept strictly confidential, shared only with the researchers named below.

This study is being conducted by Ricardo Perez-Truglia (Assistant Professor at University of California, Los Angeles) and Nicolas Bottan (Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Illinois). If you have any questions or concerns about this survey, please contact us at: [ricardo.truglia@anderson.ucla.edu](mailto:ricardo.truglia@anderson.ucla.edu) or [bottan2@illinois.edu](mailto:bottan2@illinois.edu).

If you have questions about your rights while taking part in this study, or you have concerns or suggestions and you want to talk to someone other than the researchers about the study, please call the OHRPP at (310) 825-7122 or write to: UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program, 11000 Kinross Avenue, Suite 211, Box 951694, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1694 (Ref: project 16-001968).

To be eligible to participate in this survey, you must be a medical student participating in the 2017 Main Residency Match and have not submitted your ranking order. Participants completing the entire survey will be paid \$10 in the form of a Amazon Gift Card, that will be sent by email as soon as possible (Note: to receive payment, you must have a .edu email address).

Thank you for your attention,

Ricardo Perez-Truglia and Nicolas Bottan (The Research Team)

**FOR VISITORS**  
campus tour  
maps & directions  
master calendar  
facility use

**FOR COMPANIES**  
recruit an mba  
post a job  
consulting teams  
for GAP companies

**FOR THE NEWS MEDIA**  
media relations  
ucla anderson forecast  
anderson in the news  
faculty directory  
faculty directory (pdf)  
fact sheet

directory  
site index  
portal  
library  
UCLA  
feedback  
© UC Regents

## B Information about the Subject Pool

We recruited 27 of the 135 accredited medical schools in the U.S. to participate in our study. In order to compare school characteristics from our sample with those not participating in our study, we obtained data from U.S. News (that is best known for compiling data and publishing ranks for universities and hospitals). We present descriptive statistics for the universe of medical schools, non-participating and participating schools in Table B.2. Medical schools participating in our study have slightly higher enrollment, lower average MCAT score, and are a little lower ranked on average than non-participating schools. However, none of these differences are statistically significant at conventional levels. The only statistically significant difference we do find is that the faculty to student ratio in participating schools is lower than in non-participating schools. Overall, it seems that participating medical schools are fairly representative of the overall universe of schools and not substantially different from non-participating schools.

Next, in Table B.1, we present the list of participating medical schools, along with the estimated size of the senior cohort, number of finished surveys and response rates. Around half of the schools reported the exact number of senior students who were participating in the Main Residency Match. For the remaining schools, we imputed the values of these variable using the average for the reporting schools (22% of the total enrollment). The overall response rate was almost 30%. Note that in the table we are excluding 20 observations that were deemed invalid either because answers to key questions were missing or feedback did not display correctly. These issues were due to technical difficulties most likely due to using a outdated internet browser without the proper Javascript support required to display and interact correctly with the survey. We have significant variation in response rates across medical schools. The response rate at Penn State is particularly low due to the fact that instead of forwarding the invitation by email, fliers were posted in the student lounge.

The day after the rank order submission deadline to the NRMP, we sent email invitations to the follow-up survey directly to respondents who had participated in the baseline survey. In Table B.3, we present descriptive statistics for our entire sample, and by whether respondents participated in the follow-up or not. The overall response rate to the follow-up was 90.6%. We do not find any statistically significant differences between the follow-up and non-follow-up respondents for all variables with the exception for single, where it appears that single students were less likely to participate in the follow-up survey. Additionally, participants to the follow-up survey reported slightly higher prior beliefs in cost of living than non-follow-up respondents. However, they were similarly “accurate” in their prior belief of cost of living.

Figure B.1: Distribution of Medical Schools in the US



Notes: Each dot represents one of the 135 accredited medical schools contacted to participate in the study (excluding one in Hawaii). Dots do not denote exact location since they were moved to avoid overlap. Dark dots denote medical schools that agreed to participate in our study.

Table B.1: Survey Participation

| State          | University                              | Est. Senior Cohort | Nr Finished Surveys | Est. Response Rate (%) |
|----------------|---|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Alabama        | University of Alabama                   | 174                | 47                  | 27.0                   |
| Alabama        | University of South Alabama             | 73                 | 21                  | 28.8                   |
| Arizona        | University of Arizona                   | 72                 | 18                  | 25.0                   |
| California     | UC San Diego                            | 124                | 39                  | 31.5                   |
| Connecticut    | Yale University                         | 121                | 24                  | 19.8                   |
| Florida        | University of Florida                   | 135                | 52                  | 38.5                   |
| Illinois       | Loyola University                       | 145                | 66                  | 45.5                   |
| Illinois       | University of Illinois                  | 20                 | 8                   | 40.0                   |
| Indiana        | Indiana University                      | 345                | 89                  | 25.8                   |
| Massachusetts  | Tufts University                        | 194                | 42                  | 21.6                   |
| Michigan       | Michigan State University               | 183                | 76                  | 41.5                   |
| Missouri       | Saint Louis University                  | 165                | 70                  | 42.4                   |
| Missouri       | University of Missouri (Kansas City)    | 101                | 34                  | 33.7                   |
| Nebraska       | University of Nebraska                  | 125                | 46                  | 36.8                   |
| New Mexico     | University of New Mexico                | 97                 | 27                  | 27.8                   |
| New York       | Stony Brook University                  | 126                | 16                  | 12.7                   |
| New York       | University of Rochester                 | 103                | 37                  | 35.9                   |
| Ohio           | Ohio State University                   | 172                | 61                  | 35.5                   |
| Oklahoma       | University of Oklahoma                  | 147                | 47                  | 32.0                   |
| Pennsylvania   | Pennsylvania State University           | 139                | 4                   | 2.9                    |
| Rhode Island   | Brown University                        | 126                | 34                  | 27.0                   |
| South Carolina | University of South Carolina            | 90                 | 21                  | 23.3                   |
| Texas          | Baylor                                  | 180                | 44                  | 24.4                   |
| Texas          | Paul L. Foster School of Medicine (TTU) | 89                 | 30                  | 33.7                   |
| Vermont        | University of Vermont                   | 105                | 39                  | 37.1                   |
| Virginia       | Virginia Commonwealth University        | 215                | 65                  | 30.2                   |
| West Virginia  | West Virginia University                | 110                | 23                  | 20.9                   |
| Total          |   | 3,676              | 1,080               | 29.38                  |

Notes: 20 responses were excluded because they were deemed invalid (e.g., they did not received feedback due to a technical issue with their Internet Browser). Estimated senior cohort based on actual cohort size for schools that reported, and estimated as 22% of total enrollment for those that did not report cohort size (where 22% is the average proportion of seniors to total enrollment for schools that reported senior cohort size).

Table B.2: Comparison of Characteristics between Participating and Non-Participating Medical Schools

|                       | All schools              | Non-Participants          | Participants              | P-value |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------|
| Enrollment            | 630.98<br>(23.117)       | 619.338<br>(24.891)       | 671.727<br>(57.213)       | 0.398   |
| NR                    | 0.267<br>(0.038)         | 0.287<br>(0.044)          | 0.185<br>(0.076)          | 0.245   |
| Avg. MCAT             | 32.222<br>(0.252)        | 32.364<br>(0.293)         | 31.727<br>(0.475)         | 0.253   |
| NR                    | 0.267<br>(0.038)         | 0.287<br>(0.044)          | 0.185<br>(0.076)          | 0.245   |
| Undergrad GPA         | 3.735<br>(0.009)         | 3.734<br>(0.010)          | 3.737<br>(0.019)          | 0.902   |
| NR                    | 0.267<br>(0.038)         | 0.287<br>(0.044)          | 0.185<br>(0.076)          | 0.245   |
| Acceptance rate       | 0.066<br>(0.003)         | 0.067<br>(0.004)          | 0.062<br>(0.005)          | 0.458   |
| NR                    | 0.274<br>(0.039)         | 0.296<br>(0.044)          | 0.185<br>(0.076)          | 0.206   |
| US News Ranking       | 45.451<br>(2.784)        | 43.478<br>(3.309)         | 51.636<br>(4.872)         | 0.166   |
| NR                    | 0.326<br>(0.040)         | 0.361<br>(0.046)          | 0.185<br>(0.076)          | 0.049   |
| Tuition               | 51,404.98<br>(1,097.842) | 51,333.526<br>(1,193.139) | 51,651.818<br>(2,689.180) | 0.913   |
| NR                    | 0.274<br>(0.039)         | 0.296<br>(0.044)          | 0.185<br>(0.076)          | 0.206   |
| Faculty per student   | 2.363<br>(0.221)         | 2.518<br>(0.279)          | 1.827<br>(0.177)          | 0.039   |
| NR                    | 0.274<br>(0.039)         | 0.296<br>(0.044)          | 0.185<br>(0.076)          | 0.206   |
| Peer Assessment score | 3.14<br>(0.076)          | 3.139<br>(0.093)          | 3.145<br>(0.106)          | 0.961   |
| NR                    | 0.222<br>(0.036)         | 0.231<br>(0.041)          | 0.185<br>(0.076)          | 0.59    |
| Observations          | 135                      | 108                       | 27                        |         |

Notes: Data for 135 accredited medical schools contacted by authors to participate in study. Data obtained from US News for 2016. NR indicates the proportion of observations for which the statistic was either not published or missing. P-value in final column for the difference in means between participating and non-participating medical schools. Standard deviations reported in parenthesis.

Table B.3: Comparison of Characteristics between Respondents to Baseline and Follow-Up Surveys

|                                    | All               | No Follow-up      | Follow-up         | P-value |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------|
| Male (=1)                          | 0.481<br>(0.015)  | 0.500<br>(0.049)  | 0.480<br>(0.016)  | 0.691   |
| Age                                | 27.091<br>(0.083) | 26.885<br>(0.246) | 27.113<br>(0.088) | 0.382   |
| Nr Kids                            | 0.132<br>(0.014)  | 0.077<br>(0.038)  | 0.138<br>(0.015)  | 0.132   |
| Single (=1)                        | 0.354<br>(0.015)  | 0.500<br>(0.049)  | 0.338<br>(0.015)  | 0.002   |
| Dual match (=1)                    | 0.074<br>(0.008)  | 0.077<br>(0.026)  | 0.074<br>(0.008)  | 0.909   |
| RPP treatment (=1)                 | 0.499<br>(0.015)  | 0.519<br>(0.049)  | 0.497<br>(0.016)  | 0.666   |
| ACS treatment (=1)                 | 0.500<br>(0.015)  | 0.481<br>(0.049)  | 0.502<br>(0.016)  | 0.680   |
| Average Residency Salary (\$1000s) | 0.013<br>(0.013)  | 0.028<br>(0.043)  | 0.011<br>(0.013)  | 0.707   |
| Relative residency percentile      | 0.025<br>(0.007)  | 0.019<br>(0.025)  | 0.025<br>(0.007)  | 0.827   |
| Pass Attention Check (=1)          | 0.964<br>(0.006)  | 0.952<br>(0.021)  | 0.965<br>(0.006)  | 0.544   |
| Prior $ER_{1,2}$                   | 0.004<br>(0.005)  | 0.006<br>(0.013)  | 0.004<br>(0.005)  | 0.894   |
| Prior $COL_{2,1}$                  | -0.004<br>(0.006) | 0.004<br>(0.016)  | -0.005<br>(0.007) | 0.602   |
| Posterior $ER_{1,2}$               | -0.009<br>(0.003) | -0.011<br>(0.008) | -0.008<br>(0.003) | 0.720   |
| Posterior $COL_{2,1}$              | -0.010<br>(0.004) | -0.012<br>(0.014) | -0.010<br>(0.004) | 0.850   |
| Observations                       | 1,080             | 104               | 976               |         |

Notes: Standard deviations reported in parenthesis. P-values correspond to the test of the null hypothesis of equal means between follow-up and non-follow-up samples. Relative residency percentile based on residency quality ranks computed by Doximity. All variables constructed with data from the baseline survey.

Table B.4: Comparison of Characteristics between Experimental Subjects and U.S. Population of Earners

|                     | Survey                | ACS 2015               |
|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
|                     | Med. Students         | Adult Earners          |
| Age                 | 27.091<br>(2.725)     | 41.258<br>(12.330)     |
| % Male              | 0.481<br>(0.500)      | 0.515<br>(0.500)       |
| % Married           | 0.240<br>(0.427)      | 0.531<br>(0.499)       |
| Wage                | 54,203.4<br>(3,447.0) | 50,877.0<br>(56,438.8) |
| US Born             | 0.950<br>(0.218)      | 0.809<br>(0.393)       |
| % More than College | 1<br>(0.000)          | 0.125<br>(0.331)       |

Notes: Data from 2015 American Community Survey PUMS for the subsample of adults in between 21 and 65 years of age and who receive positive wage income.



## C Estimation of the Feedback Provided to Subjects

### C.1 Earnings Rank

To provide feedback on the earnings rank of each metropolitan and wage offered at the location, we used data for the American Community Survey (ACS) at the metro area level for 2015 and the latest data from the Current Population Survey (CPS), as stated in the debriefing message.<sup>38</sup> From the data we estimated the parameters ( $\mu$  and  $\sigma$ ) for fitting a log-normal distribution. In the ACS we based this on the proportion of total full-time year round workers with earnings in each earnings bin, over which we estimated the parameters of fitting a log-normal distribution using maximum-likelihood for each metropolitan area. For the CPS, we combined weekly earnings with overtime earnings in order to obtain as close a measure as possible to that in the ACS. We obtained the parameters for fitting a log-normal distribution by estimating, for each metro area, a right-censored Tobit of annualized log earnings on the intercept. In the ACS, only 2% of metro areas were missing, while 20% of metro areas were missing for the CPS. Most of the metro areas with missing values from the ACS were imputed using the corresponding values obtained from the 2011-2015 5-year ACS.<sup>39</sup> The missing values in the CPS were imputed using the state-averages.

From these parameters, given a wage in dollars, it is easy to calculate the percentile using a simple formula:  $\Phi(\log(wage_j) - \mu_j)/\sigma_j$ . This way it was possible to provide personalized feedback according to different wages reported in the survey. For our sample of metro areas, the average percentile rank for earnings of \$55,000 is 59.2% and 68.9% for the ACS and CPS, and the correlation is 0.91.

Although both sources are very similar in levels, there is plenty of exogenous variation between them when comparing pairwise differences of chosen locations. We show this variation in Figure C.1.a, where the R-squared of regressing the pairwise differences for the ACS on the pairwise differences for the CPS is 0.430.

### C.2 Cost of Living

To provide feedback on cost of living in the metropolitan areas we use the Regional Price Parity Index (RPP) compiled by the Bureau of Economic Analysis and the Cost of Living Index (COLI). The Cost of Living Index has been published since 1968 (formerly known as ACCRA) and has been used extensively in academic research. For the Regional Price Parity Index we used their final index for 2014 (the latest available at the time we conducted the

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<sup>38</sup>At the time, the latest two months available were September and October of 2016.

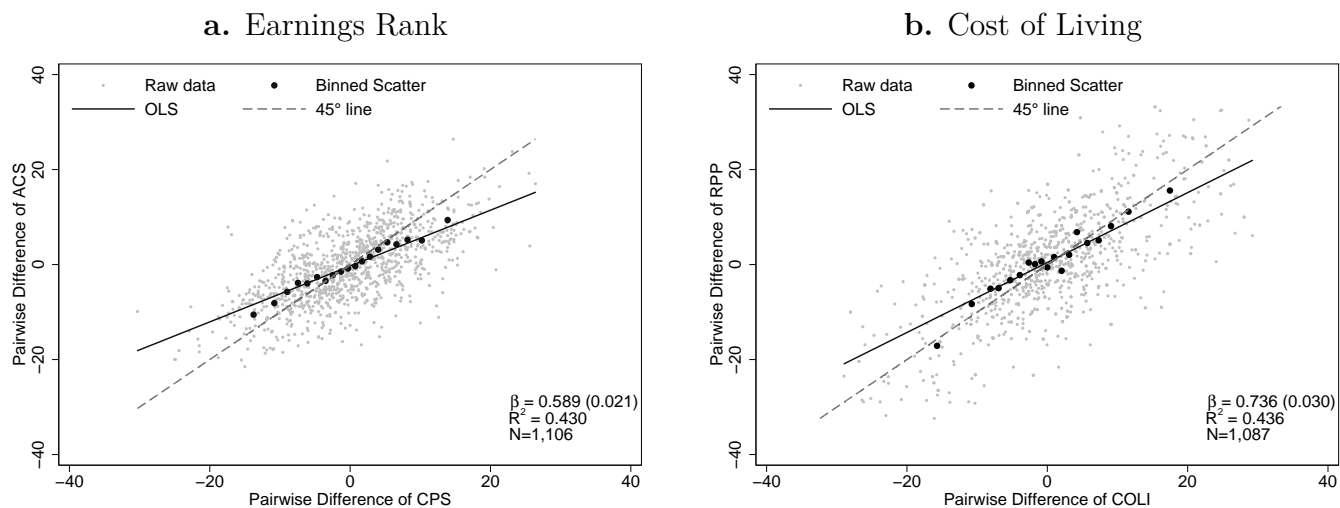
<sup>39</sup>Only 3 metro areas were still missing for which we imputed with the average values for the country.

survey), and for the Cost of Living Index we used their raw data for the first quarter of 2016, and calculated our own index by computing a weighted average over the expenditure categories grocery, utilities, transport, health, and miscellaneous (excluding housing).

Both sources are quite similar: for the sample of potential metro areas that respondents can choose from based on the residency programs available, the mean cost of living for the RPP and COLI are 102.4 and 110.2, while the correlation between levels is 0.95. Note that the original indices have an average of 100. However, our sample of metro areas only include those for which there was a potential residency program to apply to. Therefore only 286 metro areas are included in our sample. These are mostly large and more expensive metro areas, which explains why the average is larger than 100. Additionally, 37 and 117 metro areas were imputed for RPP and COLI, respectively. We imputed values using predictions based on OLS regressions that included metro area census characteristics such as population, average household size, income, population density, racial and educational composition, housing characteristics and state dummies. The  $R^2$  for those regressions was 93% and 86%. In our survey, less than 1% of metro choices receiving RPP feedback were imputed, while only 11% of COLI feedback metro choices were imputed.

Even though both sources are very similar when comparing them in levels, there is substantial exogenous variation when comparing the pairwise differences between chosen locations. The variation is presented in Figure C.1.b, where the R-squared for regressing the pairwise differences of RPP on COLI is only 0.436.

Figure C.1: Comparison of Statistics between the Two Different Data Sources



Notes: Pairwise differences of statistics from different sources of cost of living and earnings rank based on cities and wages indicated by respondents in the survey. The gray dots correspond to the raw scatterplot, and the darker dots correspond to the binned-scatterplot based on 20 bins. The sources in Panel a correspond to ACS (American Community Survey) and CPS (Current Population Survey). The sources from Panel b correspond to RPP (Regional Price Parity Index) and COLI (Cost of Living Index). The slope ( $\beta$ , with robust standard errors in parentheses) and  $R^2$  are based on a linear regression.

## D Additional Results

### D.1 Variation in Nominal Income, Cost of Living and Earnings Rank

Residency programs do not compensate for differences in cost of living or earnings rank through wages. Figure 3.a presents a scatterplot of the the costs of living versus the (log) nominal residency income. The strength of the association between these two variables represent the degree to which residencies compensate for local cost of living. The low value of the  $R^2$  (0.115) shows that residencies compensate only partially, leaving substantial orthogonal variation between cost of living differences and differences in nominal income.

In a similar spirit, Figure 3.b explores the extent to which programs compensate for differences in the distribution of income through their nominal wages. This figure shows a scatterplot of the earnings rank at the residency income versus the nominal income. The strength of the association indicates how much of the differences in earnings rank are generated by differences in nominal income. Again, the low value of the  $R^2$  (0.011) indicates that the vast majority of the variation in earnings rank is orthogonal to the nominal income.

### D.2 Learning Rates by Information Source

One concern with our experimental design is that individuals may have updated their beliefs differentially depending on the source used. For example, if respondents believe one source to be less trustworthy than another they may disregard that feedback. We explore the extent to which this could have happened by separately examining learning by the information source used. In Figures D.2 we present the same figures as in section 5.3 by information source. Learning rates for cost of living and earnings ranking are almost identical between sources, showing that respondent's reactions to information did not depend on the source.

### D.3 Persistence of Beliefs

Since posterior beliefs on cost of living and earnings ranking were elicited directly after providing respondents feedback, we are interested in examining how persistent these beliefs are a month later. We show that posterior beliefs are persistent for both cost of living and earnings rank in Figure D.3. The persistence in cost of living is twice as large as that of earnings rank (correlation of 0.844 versus 0.464), most likely due to respondents reverting to their prior beliefs over time and the fact that their priors were significantly more accurate for cost of living than earnings rank.

## D.4 Complementary Evidence: Hypothetical Questions

To provide some additional suggestive evidence that individuals care about their consumption rank, we included a couple of hypothetical questions at the end of the follow-up survey (for the exact wording of this question, see Questionnaire Appendix A.2).

In the first scenario, we elicited the subjects' preferences for a reduction in absolute consumption while holding constant the relative consumption. More precisely, we asked the respondents whether they would be better off, the same, or worse off if their own consumption and the consumption of all other individuals in the city went up by 10%. Figure D.4.a shows the distribution of responses. Consistent with preferences for absolute consumption, 80% of respondents answered that they would be better off with this change, with 19% reporting that they would be the same and less than 1% responding that they would be worse off.

In the second scenario, we elicited the subjects' preferences for an increase in relative consumption, while holding constant the absolute consumption. To do so, we asked the respondents whether they would be better off, the same, or worse off if their own income and cost of living stayed the same but all other individuals in the city faced an income reduction of 10%. Because of the social desirability bias, individuals may not want to "confess" so directly that they care about relative consumption, and thus these responses probably lead to an underestimation of concerns for relative consumption. Figure D.4.b shows the distribution of responses. Consistent with individuals having direct preferences over relative consumption, 44% of individuals responded that they would be either better or worse off, with significant heterogeneity. While 31% of individuals reported that they would be better off with the poorer neighbors, 13% of individuals reported that they would be worse off.

## D.5 Marginal Effects

Given that it is not possible to directly interpret coefficients from Probit regressions, in Table D.1 we present estimates from columns (1) to (6) from Table 2 along with their corresponding marginal effects at the average. For example, the coefficient in column (2) of panel a implies that an increase of 1 percentage point in relative consumption in location 1 would increase the probability of choosing that location by 0.185 percent (or, in other words, an implied behavioral elasticity of 0.185).

## D.6 Preference Heterogeneity

In this section we explore additional heterogeneity over preferences for relative and absolute consumption. We first decompose the results of heterogeneity by relationship status in two ways. In columns (1) and (2) of Table D.2, we show that within non-single respondents,

preferences over relative consumption are similar for married or long-term relationship respondents. However, it seems that preferences for absolute consumption are mostly driven by married respondents (though the difference is borderline insignificant,  $p\text{-value}=0.121$ ). In columns (3) to (6) of Table D.2, we estimate preferences by gender, within relationship status. Preferences over relative consumption seem to be stronger for females in general, though the difference is not statistically significant for non-singles or singles.

In addition to the dimensions explored in the paper, we present results for heterogeneity across different dimensions in Table D.3. In columns (1) to (4) we explore heterogeneity according to differences in hypothetical choices of changes in absolute and relative consumption. Interestingly, we find that those who believe they would be better off if absolute consumption were to increase care significantly more about relative consumption than respondents who claimed they would be the same or worse off. However, we do not find any significant differences for the hypothetical question of a change in relative consumption.

Next, we explore whether there is preference heterogeneity across different individual traits, such as degree of materialism, competitiveness or life dimensions valued the most. The materialism index is based on questions that typically reflect status from consumption (see follow-up survey questionnaire in Appendix A.2, based on Richins and Dawson, 1992). Even though we do not find statistically significant difference in the effects in columns (5) and (6), the point estimates are different and reflect that those who are classified as more “materialistic” (or in other words, those most concerned by the signaling value of material goods) care more about relative consumption, while those who are less “materialistic” care more about absolute consumption. In columns (7) and (8) we explore heterogeneity by the degree of competitiveness using commonly used indices in psychology (Smither and Houston, 1992). We do not find any significant differences across these traits. Finally, in columns (9) and (10) we explore heterogeneity according to a principal component score of the rank of different life dimensions by importance (happiness, health, sense of purpose, spirituality, control over life). We do not find any statistically significant differences in these dimensions.

## D.7 Sensitivity to Dropping Specific Subgroups

In this section we explore the sensitivity of our baseline results to dropping specific subgroups that may potentially attenuate our estimates for preferences over relative and absolute consumption. In Table D.4.a we report the baseline estimates. In Table D.4.b, we re-estimate the model dropping respondents that did not successfully answer a question at the end of the baseline survey designed to test whether they were paying attention and reading the questions carefully. In this question we describe how emotions can play a role in influencing responses and respondents have a menu of emotions to choose from. However, at the end

of the paragraph we instruct respondents to only select the option “none of the above” (see Appendix A.1 for the full question). Only 3.6% of respondents failed to answer this question correctly. Estimates do not change much when dropping these respondents – if anything, the coefficients are slightly larger in magnitude.

One additional concern is that respondents may not choose according to their own preferences but define it jointly with their spouse when they are both participating as a dual match. In Table D.4.c we drop respondents who are participating in a dual match (7.4% of the sample). Again, the results are similar when we drop these respondents.

## **D.8 Binary Probit Vs. Ordered Probit**

In the baseline survey we asked respondents about their intention to rank using a likelihood scale, that we later converted in to a binary variable in order to directly compare it to their final rank submission in the follow-up survey. However, we could also exploit the full variation of using the likelihood scale by means of estimating an ordered Probit model. The results for both choice and happiness are presented in Table D.5. Overall, the results between using the binary or likelihood variables are quite similar when considering the choice outcome.

## **D.9 Instrumental Variable Regression**

In this section, we break down the Instrumental Variables regression into the reduced-form and first-stage regressions. Table D.6.a presents the same experimental estimates as those found in the second row of Table 4. In the next panel we focus on the first stages. As discussed in section 5.3, respondents learn from our information provision experiment, where learning rates are close to 1 for both earnings rank and cost of living. It does not seem that weak instruments are a problem overall. However, the instruments are substantially weaker for the sample of singles compared to the non-singles, where the Cragg-Donald F-statistic drops from 172 to 43. In the final panel of Table 4 we show that the reduced form estimates are very similar to those obtained by IV.

## **D.10 Comparison to Studies using Subjective Data**

We are interested in comparing our results to those obtain in previous studies based on happiness surveys or hypothetical choices. It is important to note that these other studies measure relative concerns in a slightly different way. They compare the effects of own consumption versus the mean consumption of peers. They present an econometric model along the following lines:

$$U = a \cdot \log(y) - b \cdot \log(\bar{y})$$

Where  $y$  is the individual's own income and  $\bar{y}$  is the average income in the individual's reference group. With parameters  $a$  and  $b$ , we can calculate the trade-off between absolute and relative income. The effect of absolute income is given by  $a - b$ : i.e., what would happen if increase my income by 1% if I am also increasing by 1% the incomes of everyone else. The effect of relative income is just  $b$ : i.e., what happens if you increase by 1% the income of everyone else while leaving my own income unchanged. An individual with parameters  $a$  and  $b$  should be indifferent between a 1% increase in her absolute consumption and a  $\frac{a-b}{b}$  decrease in her relative consumption. Table D.7 shows the estimates of  $a$  and  $b$  reported in other studies, and the resulting estimate of  $\frac{a-b}{b}$ .<sup>40</sup>

Section 6.5 compares our estimates with respect to the findings from Luttmer (2005). In this section, we provide comparisons with respect to other studies. According to our baseline estimates (column (1) of Table 2), the average individual is willing to give up 1 percent of her absolute consumption to decrease the median consumption of her peers by 4.35%.<sup>41</sup> The other studies that use happiness data suggest a corresponding trade-off of 0.89% (Clark, Senik and Yamada, 2016) and 1.02% (Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2005); while the studies using hypothetical choices suggest a corresponding trade-off of 1.85% (Johansson-Stenman et al., 2002) and 1.18% (Yamada and Sato, 2013). All of these estimates are below our own estimate of 4.35%, implying that, relative to these other studies, our estimates suggest a weaker role for relative concerns.

Last, we must note that some studies find the opposite effect. For instance, Senik (2004) and Clark, Kristensen and Westergård-Nielsen (2009) find that life satisfaction is increasing in the mean income of the reference group. And Shigeoka and Yamada (2016) show estimates from a hypothetical choice experiment with mixed results: while the U.K. respondents prefer poorer peers, the opposite is true for their U.S. respondents.

## D.11 Comparing Happiness and Choice Trade-Offs

We can also exploit a different outcome variable, the happiness rank between the options, to compare the preferences inferred from choice versus happiness. Consistent with Benjamin et al. (2014), we observe a significant correlation (0.456) between the choice ranks and happiness

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<sup>40</sup>The table does not include standard errors or confidence intervals because we do not have sufficient information to compute those ( $\frac{a-b}{b}$  is a non-linear function, and thus it does not suffice with the standard errors of  $a$  and  $b$ ).

<sup>41</sup>This result arises because, for the average individual in the sample, we would need to decrease the median earnings in the area by 4.35% to allow the individual to climb up 1.240 (= 1/0.806) percentage points in the earnings rank.

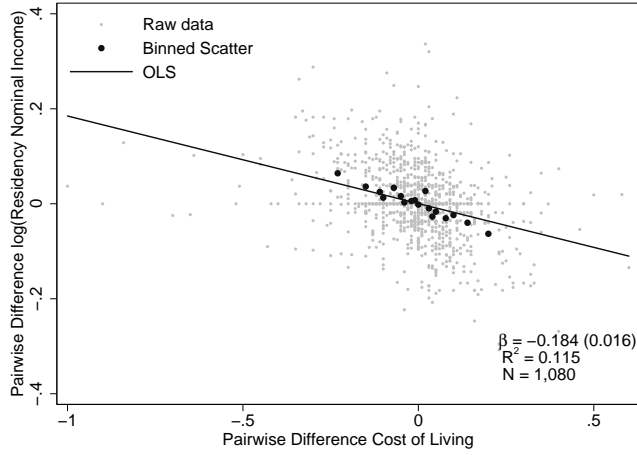


ranks of these individuals. However, this association is far from perfect, which suggest that individuals are not choosing to maximize their happiness only. As a result, it is not obvious that preferences inferred from choice will be similar to preferences inferred from happiness.

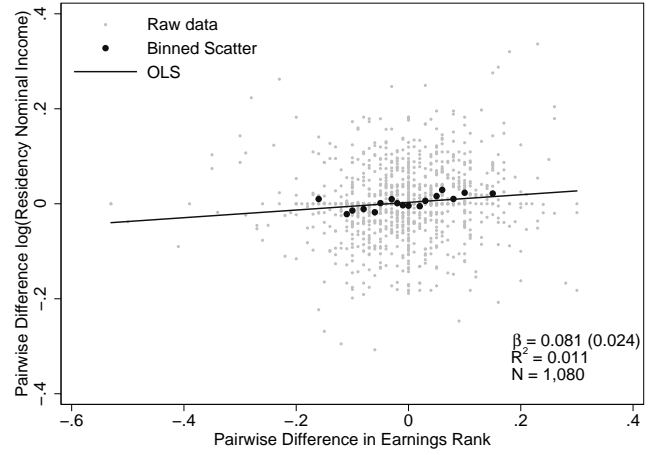
Table D.8 presents results using happiness as outcome variables. These coefficients are of course not directly comparable to those of choice, because they are based on different dependent variables with different distributions. The baseline preferences are roughly consistent. For instance, for the full sample,  $\beta^{relative}$  is 0.989 (s.e. 0.539) for choice and 0.802 (s.e. 0.484) for happiness; while  $\beta^{absolute}$  is 1.090 (s.e. 0.483) for choice and 0.329 (s.e. 0.430) for happiness. We cannot reject the null hypotheses that these two pairs of coefficients are equal (p-value = 0.288). This evidence suggests that the happiness and choice trade-offs may be similar – however, given the precision of the estimates, we cannot reject the possibility of substantial discrepancies.

Figure D.1: Variation in Nominal Income, Cost of Living and Earnings Rank

**a.** Cost of Living vs. Nominal Income

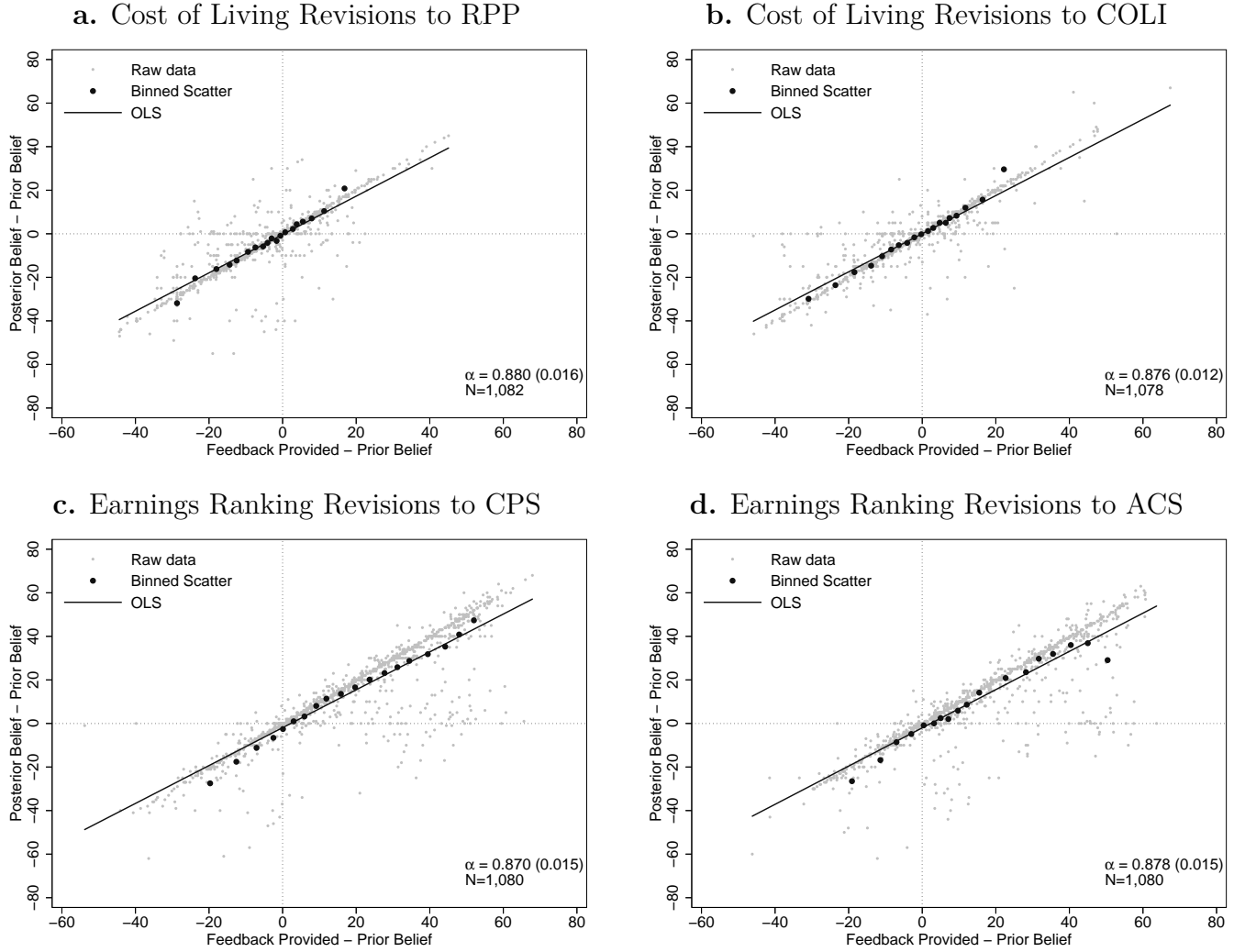


**b.** Earnings Rank vs. Nominal Income



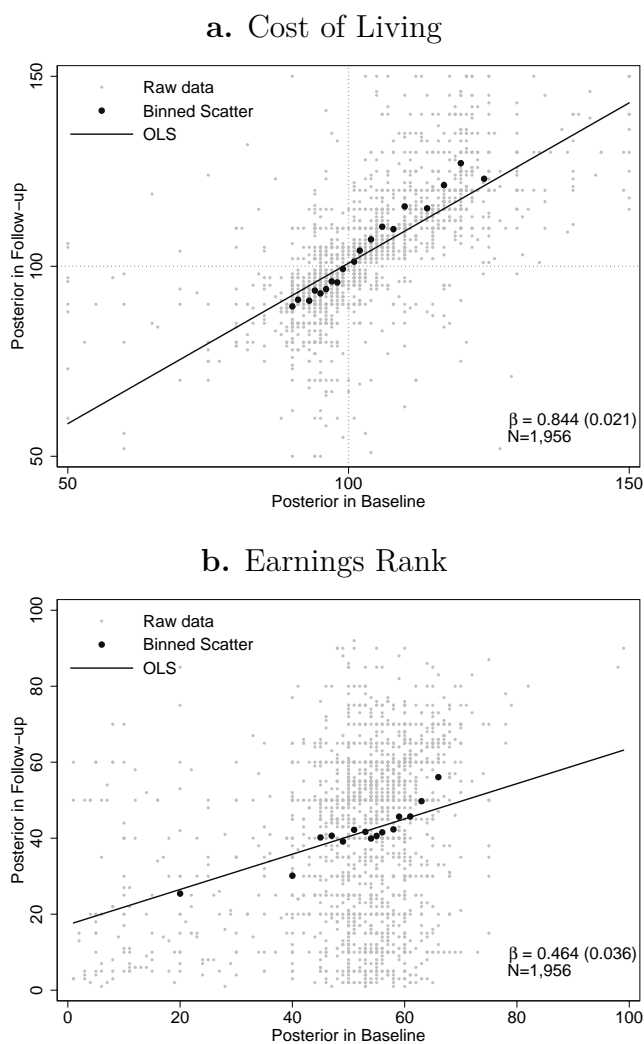
Notes: The gray dots correspond to the raw scatterplot, and the darker dots correspond to the binned-scatterplot based on 20 bins. Slopes ( $\beta$ , with robust standard errors in parentheses) and  $R^2$  are based on a linear regression. All variables for x-axis and y-axis correspond to pairwise differences across the two cities that the subject is considering submitting to the algorithm. Data from survey responses, the Regional Price Parity Index (for cost of living) and the American Community Survey (for earnings rank).

Figure D.2: Reduced-Form Evidence of Learning in the Information-Provision Experiment by Feedback Source



Notes: Comparison between the difference in statistics and respondent's perceptions before the information provision (i.e., prior beliefs), and difference in respondent's perceptions after the information provision (i.e., posterior beliefs) and prior beliefs. The gray dots correspond to the raw scatterplot, and the darker dots correspond to the binned-scatterplot based on 20 bins. Panels a and b show cost of living revisions to statistics from RPP (Regional Price Parity Index) and COLI (Cost of Living Index). Panels c and d show earnings rank revisions to statistics from CPS (Current Population Survey) and ACS (American Community Survey). The slope ( $\alpha$ , with robust standard errors in parentheses) is based on a linear regression.

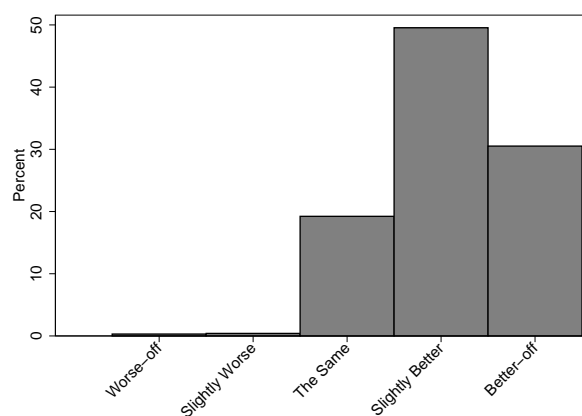
Figure D.3: Correlation between (Posterior) Beliefs in Baseline and Follow-Up Surveys



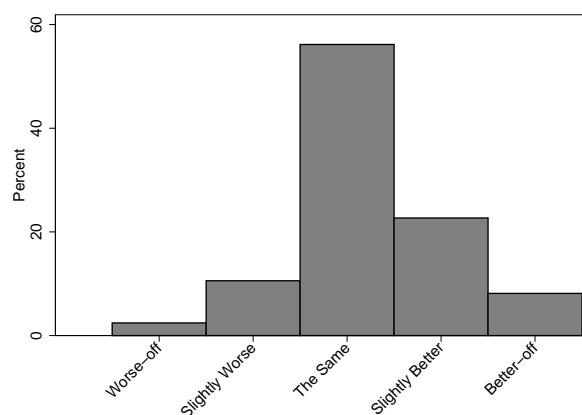
Notes: The gray dots correspond to the raw scatterplot, and the darker dots correspond to the binned-scatterplot based on 20 bins. Panels a and b present data in levels (i.e., two observations per individual, one for each of their choices). The slope ( $\beta$ , with robust standard errors in parentheses) and  $R^2$  are based on a linear regression.

Figure D.4: Survey Responses, Preferences over Hypothetical Changes to Absolute and Relative Consumption

**a. Hypothetical Increase in Absolute Consumption**



**b. Hypothetical Increase in Relative Consumption**



Notes: Distribution of responses to hypothetical choice questions included in follow-up survey. Panel a corresponds to the question labeled “Event A”, while panel b corresponds to the question labeled “Event B” in the questionnaire to the follow-up survey in Appendix A.2.

Table D.1: Probit Marginal Effects

|                     | Baseline Sample      |                           | Follow-up Sample     |                           |
|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
|                     | Raw<br>Probit<br>(1) | Marginal<br>Effect<br>(2) | Raw<br>Probit<br>(3) | Marginal<br>Effect<br>(4) |
| Panel A: All        |                      |                           |                      |                           |
| $\beta_{relative}$  | 0.989*<br>(0.540)    | 0.185*<br>(0.100)         | 1.130*<br>(0.578)    | 0.201**<br>(0.102)        |
| $\beta_{absolute}$  | 1.080**<br>(0.484)   | 0.202**<br>(0.090)        | 1.271**<br>(0.529)   | 0.226**<br>(0.093)        |
| Panel B: Non-Single |                      |                           |                      |                           |
| $\beta_{relative}$  | 2.195***<br>(0.670)  | 0.412***<br>(0.125)       | 2.337***<br>(0.703)  | 0.419***<br>(0.126)       |
| $\beta_{absolute}$  | 1.095*<br>(0.658)    | 0.206*<br>(0.123)         | 1.230*<br>(0.739)    | 0.221*<br>(0.132)         |
| Panel C: Single     |                      |                           |                      |                           |
| $\beta_{relative}$  | -1.527*<br>(0.875)   | -0.265*<br>(0.154)        | -1.666*<br>(0.995)   | -0.255*<br>(0.154)        |
| $\beta_{absolute}$  | 1.042<br>(0.750)     | 0.181<br>(0.130)          | 1.401*<br>(0.780)    | 0.214*<br>(0.119)         |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Raw Probit coefficients and corresponding marginal effects at the mean. Each column corresponds to a different Probit regression of expected rank order submission on posterior beliefs about cost of living and earnings rank, from the baseline survey, including the baseline controls listed in section 3.

Table D.2: Preference Heterogeneity with Respect to Marital Status: Additional Results

|                    | Non-Single |                 | Non-Single |         | Single  |         |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|---------|---------|---------|
|                    | Married    | LT Relationship | Female     | Male    | Female  | Male    |
|                    | (1)        | (2)             | (3)        | (4)     | (5)     | (6)     |
| $\beta^{relative}$ | 1.999*     | 2.271***        | 2.693***   | 1.729*  | -2.372* | -1.022  |
|                    | (1.180)    | (0.843)         | (0.956)    | (0.975) | (1.287) | (1.315) |
| $\beta^{absolute}$ | 2.401**    | 0.396           | 1.111      | 1.369   | 0.670   | 1.631   |
|                    | (0.999)    | (0.821)         | (0.993)    | (0.949) | (0.804) | (1.295) |
| Diff. P-value:     |            |                 |            |         |         |         |
| Relative           |            | 0.851           |            | 0.480   |         | 0.463   |
| Absolute           |            | 0.121           |            | 0.851   |         | 0.528   |
| Pseudo $R^2$       | 0.093      | 0.045           | 0.072      | 0.052   | 0.054   | 0.027   |
| Observations       | 259        | 439             | 360        | 338     | 200     | 182     |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Each column corresponds to a separate Probit regression. Coefficients for Probit regressions of expected rank submission (at baseline) on relative and absolute consumption (measured by posterior beliefs in baseline survey), and controls (e.g. relative wage, etc.) as defined in section 3.

Table D.3: Preference Heterogeneity with Respect to Other Individual Characteristics

|                    | Hypothetical increase<br>absolute consumption |                       | Hypothetical increase<br>relative consumption |                       | By Materialism     |                     | By Competitiveness  |                   | By Life Dimension |                    |
|--------------------|---|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
|                    | Better off<br>(1)                             | Same/Worse off<br>(2) | Better off<br>(3)                             | Same/Worse off<br>(4) | High<br>(5)        | Low<br>(6)          | High<br>(7)         | Low<br>(8)        | High<br>(9)       | Low<br>(10)        |
| $\beta_{relative}$ | 1.688**<br>(0.670)                            | -0.684<br>(1.186)     | 1.800*<br>(1.017)                             | 0.884<br>(0.731)      | 1.698**<br>(0.708) | 0.719<br>(0.931)    | 1.229*<br>(0.665)   | 0.835<br>(1.216)  | 1.657*<br>(0.908) | 0.637<br>(0.788)   |
| $\beta_{absolute}$ | 1.198**<br>(0.585)                            | 1.486<br>(1.154)      | 1.698**<br>(0.807)                            | 1.113<br>(0.715)      | 0.638<br>(0.756)   | 2.239***<br>(0.746) | 1.659***<br>(0.606) | -0.079<br>(0.930) | 1.027<br>(0.747)  | 1.928**<br>(0.858) |
| Diff. P-value:     |   |                       |   |                       |                    |                     |                     |                   |                   |                    |
| Relative           |   | 0.081                 |   | 0.464                 |                    | 0.402               |                     | 0.776             |                   | 0.396              |
| Absolute           |   | 0.824                 |   | 0.587                 |                    | 0.132               |                     | 0.117             |                   | 0.428              |
| Pseudo $R^2$       | 0.042   | 0.070                 | 0.131   | 0.031                 | 0.036              | 0.061               | 0.043               | 0.043             | 0.046             | 0.059              |
| Observations       | 782   | 194                   | 299   | 677                   | 516                | 460                 | 750                 | 226               | 508               | 468                |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Each panel corresponds to a separate Probit regression. Coefficients for Probit regressions of expected rank submission (at baseline) on relative and absolute consumption (measured by posterior beliefs in baseline survey), and controls (e.g. relative wage, etc.) as defined in section 3. All controls are interacted with indicator variable for heterogeneity variable indicated in panel. In panels c and d, respondents are classified as high/low using the median scores for the competitiveness index (16/30) and materialism index (21/30). Life dimension is based on a principle-component index of rank 5 life dimensions (happiness, health, sense of purpose, spirituality, control over life) that was divided at the median.



Table D.4: Robustness to Sample Definition

|                               | All<br>(1)         | Non-Single<br>(2)   | Single<br>(3)      |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Panel A: Baseline Results     |                    |                     |                    |
| $\beta^{relative}$            | 0.989*<br>(0.540)  | 2.195***<br>(0.670) | -1.527*<br>(0.875) |
| $\beta^{absolute}$            | 1.080**<br>(0.484) | 1.095*<br>(0.658)   | 1.042<br>(0.750)   |
| Pseudo $R^2$                  | 0.025              | 0.046               | 0.026              |
| Observations                  | 1,080              | 698                 | 382                |
| Panel B: Pass Attention Check |                    |                     |                    |
| $\beta^{relative}$            | 1.072**<br>(0.543) | 2.205***<br>(0.682) | -1.373<br>(0.891)  |
| $\beta^{absolute}$            | 1.091**<br>(0.496) | 0.942<br>(0.673)    | 1.266<br>(0.776)   |
| Pseudo $R^2$                  | 0.027              | 0.044               | 0.030              |
| Observations                  | 1,041              | 678                 | 363                |
| Panel C: Drop Dual Matches    |                    |                     |                    |
| $\beta^{relative}$            | 1.001*<br>(0.551)  | 2.125***<br>(0.699) | -1.300<br>(0.850)  |
| $\beta^{absolute}$            | 1.122**<br>(0.493) | 1.091<br>(0.664)    | 1.117<br>(0.772)   |
| Pseudo $R^2$                  | 0.027              | 0.044               | 0.026              |
| Observations                  | 1,000              | 641                 | 359                |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Coefficients for Probit regressions of expected rank submission (at baseline) on relative and absolute consumption (measured by posterior beliefs in baseline survey), and controls (e.g. relative wage, etc.) as defined in section 3. Columns 1 to 3 show estimates for baseline sample, while columns 4 to 6 restricts to respondents who participated in follow-up survey. Panel A restricts sample to respondents who pass the attention check question in baseline survey. Panel B restricts sample to respondents who are not participating as dual match.

Table D.5: Binary Probit vs. Ordered Probit

|                    | Panel A: Choice    |                     |                    |                   |                     |                   |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
|                    | Probit             |                     |                    | Ordered-Probit    |                     |                   |
|                    | All<br>(1)         | Non-Single<br>(2)   | Single<br>(3)      | All<br>(4)        | Non-Single<br>(5)   | Single<br>(6)     |
| $\beta^{relative}$ | 0.989*<br>(0.540)  | 2.195***<br>(0.670) | -1.527*<br>(0.875) | 0.728*<br>(0.373) | 1.336***<br>(0.475) | -0.305<br>(0.596) |
| $\beta^{absolute}$ | 1.080**<br>(0.484) | 1.095*<br>(0.658)   | 1.042<br>(0.750)   | 0.568*<br>(0.310) | 0.841**<br>(0.401)  | 0.088<br>(0.490)  |
| Observations       | 1,080              | 698                 | 382                | 1,080             | 698                 | 382               |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Panel a presents results for choice outcomes. Panel b presents results for happiness outcomes. Columns 1 to 3 present coefficients for Probit estimates given that the dependent variables are a dummy variables that equal 1 if respondent intends to select program 1 (panel a) or would live a happier life in location 1 (panel b); columns 4 to 6 present estimates for ordered-Probit estimates where the dependent variable is either choice (panel a) or happiness (panel b) measured by the likelihood scale. All regressions include controls (e.g. relative wage, etc.) as defined in section 3. Non-single refers to respondents who identified as married or in a long-term relationship. Residency perceptions are standardized measures of relative prestige, purpose and prospects. Standard errors for the trade-offs between relative and absolute consumption are calculated using delta method.

Table D.6: IV, First Stage, and Reduced Form Estimates

|                              | All<br>(1)          | Non-Single<br>(2)   | Single<br>(3)       |
|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Panel A: IV-Probit Estimates |                     |                     |                     |
| $\beta^{relative}$           | 0.858<br>(1.150)    | 2.955**<br>(1.332)  | -4.984**<br>(1.950) |
| $\beta^{absolute}$           | -0.653<br>(0.880)   | -0.336<br>(1.163)   | -1.660<br>(1.288)   |
| Panel B: First Stage         |                     |                     |                     |
| Dep. Var.: $ER_{1,2}^i$      |                     |                     |                     |
| $\Delta ER_{1,2}^i$          | 0.796***<br>(0.045) | 0.854***<br>(0.055) | 0.687***<br>(0.081) |
| $\Delta COL_{2,1}^i$         | -0.013<br>(0.039)   | -0.021<br>(0.049)   | -0.007<br>(0.064)   |
| Dep. Var.: $COL_{2,1}^i$     |                     |                     |                     |
| $\Delta ER_{1,2}^i$          | 0.058<br>(0.037)    | 0.101***<br>(0.036) | -0.036<br>(0.087)   |
| $\Delta COL_{2,1}^i$         | 0.928***<br>(0.048) | 0.893***<br>(0.064) | 0.985***<br>(0.070) |
| Wald test of exog. p-val.    | 0.062               | 0.334               | 0.004               |
| Cragg-Donald F-stat.         | 207.402             | 172.225             | 42.998              |
| Panel C: Reduced Form        |                     |                     |                     |
| $\Delta ER_{1,2}^i$          | 0.655<br>(0.918)    | 2.484**<br>(1.153)  | -3.512**<br>(1.577) |
| $\Delta COL_{2,1}^i$         | -0.711<br>(0.845)   | -0.485<br>(1.067)   | -1.768<br>(1.385)   |
| Observations                 | 978                 | 647                 | 331                 |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Coefficients for IV-Probit estimates of final rank submission (reported in follow-up) on relative and absolute consumption (measured by average beliefs in baseline and follow-up surveys, weighted by distance to rank submission date), and controls (e.g. relative wage, etc.) as defined in section 3. The endogenous variables are instrumented by  $\Delta ER_{1,2}^i$  and  $\Delta COL_{2,1}^i$ , that are the difference between the shown and alternative statistics given to respondents as feedback (as described in section 6.3).

Table D.7: Preference Estimates from Other Studies with Happiness and Hypothetical Data

| Reference                                       | Evidence     | Country | Parameters       | Source                | $\frac{a-b}{b}$ |
|---|--------------|---------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Luttmer (2005)                                  | Happiness    | U.S.A.  | a=0.361, b=0.296 | Column (3) of Table 1 | 0.22            |
| Ferrer-i-Carbonell (2005)                       | Happiness    | Germany | a=0.456, b=0.226 | Column (1) of Table 2 | 1.02            |
| Clark, Senik and Yamada (2016)                  | Happiness    | Japan   | a=0.290, b=0.153 | Column (1) of Table 3 | 0.89            |
| Johansson-Stenman, Carlsson and Daruvala (2002) | Hypothetical | Sweden  | b/a=0.35         | Page 373              | 1.85            |
| Yamada and Sato (2013)                          | Hypothetical | Japan   | a=0.048, b=0.022 | Column (1) of Table 4 | 1.18            |

Notes: Authors calculations based on the regression coefficients reported in the papers.

Table D.8: Preferences Inferred from Happiness vs. Choice

|                         | Panel A: $\beta^{relative}$ |                     |                   | Panel B: $\beta^{absolute}$ |                   |                   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|                         | All<br>(1)                  | Non-Single<br>(2)   | Single<br>(3)     | All<br>(4)                  | Non-Single<br>(5) | Single<br>(6)     |
| Observational           | 0.957*<br>(0.517)           | 1.512**<br>(0.629)  | 0.012<br>(0.948)  | 0.401<br>(0.478)            | 0.772<br>(0.618)  | -0.398<br>(0.766) |
| Experimental            | 1.752*<br>(0.965)           | 2.968***<br>(1.083) | -1.648<br>(2.017) | -0.474<br>(0.792)           | -0.066<br>(1.041) | -1.300<br>(1.243) |
| Experimental, Long Term | 1.314<br>(0.976)            | 2.831***<br>(1.067) | -2.232<br>(2.171) | 0.039<br>(0.761)            | -0.729<br>(0.946) | 1.169<br>(1.217)  |

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ . Coefficients for Probit regressions of variable indicating that respondent would live happier life at location 1 (at baseline, or at follow-up for “long term”) on relative and absolute consumption (measured by posterior beliefs in baseline survey), and controls (e.g. relative wage, etc.) as defined in section 3.