

HEARINGS ON THE HILL

Good public policy in a democracy relies on efficient and accurate information flows between individuals with firsthand, substantive expertise and elected legislators. While legislators are tasked with the job of making and passing policy, they are politicians and not substantive experts. To make well-informed policy, they must rely on the expertise of others. *Hearings on the Hill* argues that partisanship and close competition for control of government shape the information that legislators collect, providing opportunities for party leaders and interest groups to control information flows and influence policy. It reveals how legislators strategically use committees, a central institution of Congress, and their hearings for information acquisition and dissemination, ultimately impacting policy development in American democracy. Marshaling extensive new data on hearings and witnesses from 1960 to 2018, this book offers the first comprehensive analysis of how partisan incentives determine how and from whom members of Congress seek information.

Pamela Ban is an assistant professor of political science at the University of California San Diego. Her research focuses on legislative politics, interest groups, information in policymaking, and the interbranch relationship between Congress and the bureaucracy. Her research has received the Congressional Quarterly Press Award and has been used by policymakers at the state and federal levels.

Ju Yeon Park is an assistant professor of political science at the Ohio State University. Her research examines legislators' competing incentives and how they shape their legislative activities and public speeches. Her research on congressional hearings won the Congressional Quarterly Press Award and received media attention from Bloomberg, FiveThirtyEight, *Roll Call*, and the *Washington Post*.

Hye Young You is an associate professor of the Department of Politics and the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. Her research focuses on how interest groups influence democratic representation in the US. She has been recognized by five discipline-wide Best Paper awards from the American Political Science Association.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INSTITUTIONS AND DECISIONS

Series Editors

Jeffrey Frieden, *Harvard University*
 John Patty, *Emory University*
 Elizabeth Maggie Penn, *Emory University*

Founding Editors

James E. Alt, *Harvard University*
 Douglass C. North, *Washington University of St. Louis*

Other books in the series

- Faisal Ahmed, *Conquests and Rents: A Political Economy of Dictatorship and Violence in Muslim Societies*
- Alberto Alesina and Howard Rosenthal, *Partisan Politics, Divided Government and the Economy*
- Lee J. Alston, Thrainn Eggertsson and Douglass C. North, eds., *Empirical Studies in Institutional Change*
- Lee J. Alston and Joseph P. Ferrie, *Southern Paternalism and the Rise of the American Welfare State: Economics, Politics, and Institutions, 1865–1965*
- James E. Alt and Kenneth Shepsle, eds., *Perspectives on Positive Political Economy*
- Josephine T. Andrews, *When Majorities Fail: The Russian Parliament, 1990–1993*
- Jeffrey S. Banks and Eric A. Hanushek, eds., *Modern Political Economy: Old Topics, New Directions*
- Yoram Barzel, *Economic Analysis of Property Rights*, 2nd edition
- Yoram Barzel, *A Theory of the State: Economic Rights, Legal Rights, and the Scope of the State*
- Robert Bates, *Beyond the Miracle of the Market: The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya*
- Jenna Bednar, *The Robust Federation: Principles of Design*
- Adam Bonica and Maya Sen, *The Judicial Tug of War: How Lawyers, Politicians, and Ideological Incentives Shape the American Judiciary*
- Charles M. Cameron, *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power*
- Erin Baggott Carter and Brett L. Carter, *Propaganda in Autocracies: Institutions, Information, and the Politics of Belief*
- Kelly H. Chang, *Appointing Central Bankers: The Politics of Monetary Policy in the United States and the European Monetary Union*
- Tom S. Clark, *The Supreme Court: An Analytical History of Constitutional Decision Making*
- Mark Copelovitch and David A. Singer, *Banks on the Brink: Global Capital, Securities Markets, and the Political Roots of Financial Crises*
- Peter Cowhey and Mathew McCubbins, eds., *Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States: An Institutionalist Approach*

- Gary W. Cox, *The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England*
- Gary W. Cox, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral System*
- Gary W. Cox, *Marketing Sovereign Promises: Monopoly Brokerage and the Growth of the English State*
- Gary W. Cox and Jonathan N. Katz, *Elbridge Gerry's Salamander: The Electoral Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution*
- Adam Dean, *Opening Up by Cracking Down: Labor Repression and Trade Liberalization in Democratic Developing Countries*
- Tine De Moore, *The Dilemma of the Commoners: Understanding the Use of Common-Pool Resources in Long-Term Perspective*
- Adam Dean, *From Conflict to Coalition: Profit-Sharing Institutions and the Political Economy of Trade*
- Mark Dincecco, *Political Transformations and Public Finances: Europe, 1650–1913*
- Mark Dincecco and Massimiliano Gaetano Onorato, *From Warfare to Wealth: The Military Origins of Urban Prosperity in Europe*
- Raymond M. Duch and Randolph T. Stevenson, *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*
- Jean Enslinger, *Making a Market: The Institutional Transformation of an African Society*
- David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran, *Delegating Powers: A Transaction Cost Politics Approach to Policy Making under Separate Powers*
- Kathryn Firmin-Sellers, *The Transformation of Property Rights in the Gold Coast: An Empirical Study Applying Rational Choice Theory*
- Sean Gailmaid, *Agents of Empire: English Imperial Governance and the Making of American Political Institutions*
- Clark C. Gibson, *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa*
- Daniel W. Gingerich, *Political Institutions and Party-Directed Corruption in South America*
- Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*
- Jeffrey D. Grynviski, *Partisan Bonds: Political Reputations and Legislative Accountability*
- Stephen Haber, Armando Razo and Noel Maurer, *The Politics of Property Rights: Political Instability, Credible Commitments, and Economic Growth in Mexico, 1876–1929*
- Ron Harris, *Industrializing English Law: Entrepreneurship and Business Organization, 1720–1844*
- Anna L. Harvey, *Votes Without Leverage: Women in American Electoral Politics, 1920–1970*
- Seth J. Hill, *Frustrated Majorities: How Issue Intensity Enables Smaller Groups of Voters to Get What They Want*
- Shigeo Hirano and James M. Snyder, Jr., *Primary Elections in the United States*
- Murray Horn, *The Political Economy of Public Administration: Institutional Choice in the Public Sector*

- John D. Huber, *Rationalizing Parliament: Legislative Institutions and Party Politics in France*
 Jack Knight, *Institutions and Social Conflict*
 Sean Ingham, *Rule of Multiple Majorities: A New Theory of Popular Control*
 John E. Jackson, Jacek Klich and Krystyna Poznanska, *The Political Economy of Poland's Transition: New Firms and Reform Governments*
 Jack Knight, *Institutions and Social Conflict*
 Michael Laver and Kenneth Shepsle, eds., *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government*
 Michael Laver and Kenneth Shepsle, eds., *Making and Breaking Governments: Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies*
 Michael Laver and Kenneth Shepsle, eds., *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government*
 Margaret Levi, *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*
 Brian Levy and Pablo T. Spiller, eds., *Regulations, Institutions, and Commitment: Comparative Studies of Telecommunications*
 Leif Lewin, *Ideology and Strategy: A Century of Swedish Politics (English Edition)*
 Gary Libecap, *Contracting for Property Rights*
 John Londregan, *Legislative Institutions and Ideology in Chile*
 Arthur Lupia and Mathew D. McCubbins, *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?*
 C. Mantzavinos, *Individuals, Institutions, and Markets*
 Mathew D. McCubbins and Terry Sullivan, eds., *Congress: Structure and Policy*
 Anne Meng, *Constraining Dictatorship: From Personalized Rule to Institutionalized Regimes*
 Gary J. Miller, *Above Politics: Bureaucratic Discretion and Credible Commitment*
 Gary J. Miller, *Managerial Dilemmas: The Political Economy of Hierarchy*
 Ilia Murtazashvili, *The Political Economy of the American Frontier*
 Monika Nalepa, *After Authoritarianism: Transitional Justice and Democratic Stability*
 Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*
 Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*
 Sonal S. Pandya, *Trading Spaces: Foreign Direct Investment Regulation, 1970–2000*
 John W. Patty and Elizabeth Maggie Penn, *Social Choice and Legitimacy*
 Daniel N. Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*
 J. Mark Ramseyer, *Odd Markets in Japanese History: Law and Economic Growth*
 J. Mark Ramseyer and Frances Rosenbluth, *The Politics of Oligarchy: Institutional Choice in Imperial Japan*
 Stephanie J. Rickard, *Spending to Win: Political Institutions, Economic Geography, and Government Subsidies*
 Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, *The Fruits of Revolution: Property Rights, Litigation, and French Agriculture, 1700–1860*
 Michael L. Ross, *Timber Booms and Institutional Breakdown in Southeast Asia*
 Meredith Rolfe, *Voter Turnout: A Social Theory of Political Participation*

- Shanker Satyanath, *Globalization, Politics, and Financial Turmoil: Asia's Banking Crisis*
- Alberto Simpser, *Why Governments and Parties Manipulate Elections: Theory, Practice, and Implications*
- Norman Schofield, *Architects of Political Change: Constitutional Quandaries and Social Choice Theory*
- Norman Schofield and Itai Sened, *Multiparty Democracy: Elections and Legislative Politics*
- Alastair Smith, *Election Timing*
- Pablo T. Spiller and Mariano Tommasi, *The Institutional Foundations of Public Policy in Argentina: A Transactions Cost Approach*
- David Stasavage, *Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State: France and Great Britain, 1688–1789*
- Charles Stewart III, *Budget Reform Politics: The Design of the Appropriations Process in the House of Representatives, 1865–1921*
- George Tsebelis and Jeannette Money, *Bicameralism*
- Georg Vanberg, *The Politics of Constitutional Review in Germany*
- Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979–1999*
- Stefanie Walter, *Financial Crises and the Politics of Macroeconomic Adjustments*
- John Waterbury, *Exposed to Innumerable Delusions: Public Enterprise and State Power in Egypt, India, Mexico, and Turkey*
- David L. Weimer, ed., *The Political Economy of Property Rights Institutional Change and Credibility in the Reform of Centrally Planned Economies*

HEARINGS ON THE HILL

The Politics of Informing Congress

PAMELA BAN

University of California San Diego

JU YEON PARK

Ohio State University

HYE YOUNG YOU

Princeton University

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-009-53409-3 — Hearings on the Hill
 Pamela Ban , Ju Yeon Park , Hye Young You
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
 New Delhi – 110025, India
 103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
 a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
 education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009534093

DOI: 10.1017/9781009534048

© Pamela Ban, Ju Yeon Park and Hye Young You 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
 of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
 place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

When citing this work, please include a reference to the
 DOI 10.1017/9781009534048

First published 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Ban, Pamela, author. | Park, Ju Yeon, author. | You, Hye Young, author.

Title: Hearings on the Hill : the politics of informing Congress / Pamela
 Ban, University of California, San Diego; Ju Yeon Park, Ohio State
 University; Hye Young You Princeton University, New Jersey.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge
 University Press, 2024. | Series: Political economy of institutions and
 decisions | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024020387 | ISBN 9781009534093 (hardback) |
 ISBN 9781009534048 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Legislative hearings – United States. | Legislative
 process – United States. | United States. Congress Senate – Committees. |
 United States. Congress House – Committees.

Classification: LCC KF4935 .B36 2024 | DDC 328.73/0765–dc23/eng/20240729
 LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024020387>

ISBN 978-1-009-53409-3 Hardback
 ISBN 978-1-009-53407-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
 or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this
 publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
 remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-53409-3 — Hearings on the Hill
Pamela Ban , Ju Yeon Park , Hye Young You
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

To our parents

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> xiii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvii
1 Members of Congress Are Politicians, Not Experts	I
2 Committee Hearings and Information Provision in Congress	I 2
3 Who Testifies in Congress? New Data on Congressional Hearings and Witnesses	29
4 Not All Information Is Equal: How Witnesses Vary in What They Provide to Congress	53
5 When Committees Seek Out Information for Policy Development	78
6 How Control of Government Shapes Information Exchange	98
7 Congressional Capacity and the Search for Specialized Information	I 22
8 Conclusion: A Partisanly Informed Congress	I 40
<i>Appendix A</i>	I 53
<i>References</i>	I 75
<i>Index</i>	I 87

Figures

2.1	An example of the Truth in Testimony Disclosure Form	page 27
3.1	The list of witnesses in hearing transcripts: Example	32
3.2	Number of hearings and witnesses in Congress over time	38
3.3	Number of total words in witness testimonies over time — House	39
3.4	The number of witnesses in House standing committees over time	39
3.5	The number of witnesses in Senate standing committees over time	40
3.6	Number of hearings by type of hearing	40
3.7	Witness affiliations over time	43
3.8	Witness affiliations by House standing committee	45
3.9	Witness affiliations by Senate standing committee	45
3.10	The composition of witness affiliations by majority party	46
3.11	Witness gender over time	48
3.12	Witness gender by committee	49
4.1	Over time changes in individual witnesses' speaking patterns	61
4.2	Changes in witness testimonies by Congress	61
4.3	Proportion of keywords by witness type	65
4.4	Number of keywords by witness type	67
4.5	Proportion of keywords by committees	67
4.6	Proportion of keywords by the gender of witnesses	69
4.7	Proportion of keywords by government type and the majority party	69
4.8	Topics of testimony by witness categories — Total number of statements	71
4.9	Topics of testimony by witness categories — Proportion of statements	71
4.10	An example of research cited in a written statement	73

List of Figures

5.1	Frequency of legislative hearings – House, 1961–2016	85
5.2	Share of referral hearings across a congressional term – House	85
5.3	The effect of referral hearings on witness invitations – House	87
5.4	The effect of referral hearings on witness invitations – Senate	89
5.5	The effect of referral hearings on witness invitations by different periods – House	91
5.6	The effect of referral hearings on witness invitations in policy committees	93
5.7	The effect of referral hearings on witness invitations in constituent committees	93
5.8	Referral hearings and inviting expert witnesses by issue areas	95
5.9	Referral hearings and inviting group witnesses by issue areas	95
6.1	Ratio of bureaucratic witness over time	109
6.2	Ratio of bureaucratic witness across issues	109
6.3	Number of legislative hearings by executive departments	110
6.4	Number of legislative hearings by independent agencies	110
6.5	The effect of divided government on witness invitations – House	113
6.6	The effect of divided government on witness invitations – House	114
6.7	The effect of divided government on witness invitations – Senate	115
6.8	The effect of divided government on witness invitations by different periods – Senate	115
6.9	The effect of divided government on inviting bureaucrats as witnesses by presidential issue priorities – House	118
6.10	The effect of divided government on inviting bureaucrats as witnesses by presidential issue priorities – Senate	119
7.1	OTA Annual Report to the Congress, 1974	128
7.2	OTA Annual Report to Congress, 1992	130
7.3	Number of OTA request by House committees, 1990–1995	130
7.4	OTA elimination on the change in the number of witnesses	134
7.5	OTA elimination on the change in research witness share	135
7.6	Changes in the number of committee staff in the House	137
A1	Number of hearings by type of hearing – House	153
A2	Number of hearings by type of hearing – Senate	153
A3	Number of witnesses by type – House	154
A4	Number of witnesses by type – Senate	155
A5	Witness gender composition by issue areas – House	156
A6	Witness gender composition by issue areas – Senate	156
A7	Research witness shares	173

Tables

3.1	Types of witness affiliations	<i>page</i> 35
3.2	Structure of hearings and witness dataset	37
3.3	Average number of witnesses per hearing by types of hearings	41
3.4	Witness categories by types of hearings	44
3.5	Gender composition by witness affiliation	50
4.1	Examples of witness testimonies containing varying levels of analytical information	59
4.2	Hearing characteristics and witness testimonies	63
4.3	Examples of the most and least analytical testimony	66
4.4	Distribution of reference sources	74
4.5	Top sources for citation	74
4.6	Witness types and citation patterns	76
5.1	Number of legislative hearings and proportions of referral hearings by committee	92
5.2	Number of legislative hearings and proportions of referral hearings by issue	94
6.1	Bureaucratic witnesses under divided vs. unified government	111
6.2	Top issue in the State of the Union address by Congress	117
7.1	Changes in witness invitations before and after the 1995 reform – House	133
7.2	Number of committee staff and witness invitations, 95th–114th Congresses	136
A1	The featured words of each topic	159
A2	Regression results for divided government and Democratic majority	162
A3	Committee intent and witness invitation patterns – House	163
A4	Committee intent and witness invitation patterns – Senate	165
A5	Mean share of expert and group witnesses by issue	167
A6	Summary statistics of the variables	167

List of Tables

A7	Institutional characteristics and witness invitation patterns – House	168
A8	Institutional characteristics and witness invitation patterns – Senate	170
A9	Divided government, President’s issue priority, and bureaucrats as witnesses – House	172
A10	Divided government, President’s issue priority, and bureaucrats as witnesses – Senate	172
A11	OTA elimination on the number of invited witness	173
A12	OTA elimination on the invitation of research witness	174

Acknowledgments

In the summer of 2019, little did we know that the world would soon face an unprecedented pandemic. It was during this time that the three of us embarked on a project focused on congressional hearings. This book stands as the culmination of our efforts, forged through countless Zoom meetings spanning three different time zones: Pam in San Diego, Ju Yeon in Essex in the UK, and Hye Young in New York City.

The realization of this book wouldn't have been possible without the generosity and insights of our colleagues. We owe our deepest gratitude to Seth Hill, Jaclyn Kaslovsky, Shiro Kuriwaki, Julia Payson, Jon Rogowski, Jim Snyder, and Jan Stuckatz. They were the first to read the work that laid the groundwork for this book and graciously shared their invaluable feedback. Their input was pivotal in shaping the course of this book.

Being first-time authors, we are immensely grateful for the guidance of our mentors throughout this process: Jim Curry, Frances Lee, and Sean Theriault. Renowned scholars in congressional politics and seasoned authors, they not only imparted invaluable knowledge on how to navigate the book publication process but also offered crucial feedback on our manuscript. Their unwavering support and encouragement have been instrumental in cheering us on throughout this journey. Gwyneth McClendon, Julia Payson, Molly Ritchie, and Sharece Thrower shared their own book prospectuses, provided feedback on ours, and introduced us to editors. We thank Brandon Bartels, Sarah Binder, and Forrest Maltzman for feedback at a book roundtable. Frances Lee, Nolan McCarty, and Anthony Taboni's suggestions helped us develop and think through the last step, our title. We are grateful for the support of all these colleagues as they guided us through the book publication process.

We've had the privilege of engaging with various scholarly communities that generously welcomed us to share our work, providing us with invaluable insights. Among these, we extend our deepest gratitude to Craig Volden and Alan Wiseman for their invitations to the Center

Acknowledgments

for Effective Lawmaking Annual Research Conference. Their support allowed us to exchange ideas and gather invaluable perspectives among scholars and practitioners, enriching our scholarly journey.

We have benefited from excellent research assistance from Matt Asare, Hope Chow, Jack Dwekc, Isabel Feng, Ria Coen Gilbert, Maggie Jia, Annapurna Johnson, Sophia Jordan, Mariah Kallhoff, Victoire Legrand, Jessica Lieban, Cameron Maglio, Kamden Martin, Carlos Paredes, Anna Pelz, and Alan Sun. We are also deeply grateful to two anonymous readers who provided thorough feedback that substantially improved the framing and writing of our book. We thank Robert Dreesen at Cambridge University Press for leading us through the publication process.

The origin of this book project can be traced back years before its first word was officially written. We would like to thank a number of people who have inspired, mentored, and supported us along our academic careers.

My (Pam) time in political science started when Jim Snyder at Harvard introduced me to political science research when I was an undergraduate. Thank you, Jim, for treating me as a serious scholar from the beginning and inspiring me to pursue graduate study with you; your influence throughout my PhD has shaped the course of my academic career. Once I arrived at the University of California San Diego as a new assistant professor, I was welcomed by a department strongly dedicated to making sure junior faculty succeed and benefited from expert mentorship on the book publication process and my academic career in general from Dan Butler, Seth Hill, and Thad Kousser. Thank you to my fellow colleagues Sam Elgin, Sean Ingham, Federica Izzo, Gareth Nellis, and Ben Noble for talking with me about my work and offering help at the drop of a hat. We made a loud and animated junior faculty family that kept our hallways a party and our engagement with each other lively.

My (Pam) academic career and this book was made possible by the unwavering support and love from my husband, Michael, and our dear cat Finn. Michael, you put up with all the hours I spent at the computer, ensured I ate food that wasn't just Chipotle, and always made me laugh no matter what else was going on. I am so lucky that we crossed paths on our mountain bikes and love our little family.

I (Ju Yeon) owe so much love and guidance to my dearest advisor, the late Rebecca Morton, and dissertation committee members, Chris Dawes, Eric Dickson, and Jonathan Woon, who believed in my ability as a scholar and provided unconditional support. My postdoctoral fellowship at Washington University in St. Louis was a breakthrough in my academic career and redefined me as a congressional scholar and data

Acknowledgments

scientist. I am deeply grateful to my postdoctoral advisor, Jacob Montgomery, for his continued guidance and support. Thank you to Kevin Esterling, Sean Theriault, and Steven Smith for always being welcoming, inspiring, and generous with their time and advice. My gratitude also goes to Craig Volden and Alan Wiseman for inviting me to be part of the Legislative Effectiveness research community, where I met scholars who would become my lifelong academic friends.

My (Ju Yeon) tenure-track career began at the University of Essex. I would like to thank Royce Carroll and Shane Martin for their mentorship during my time at Essex. I have recently moved to the Ohio State University with great excitement. I am extremely grateful to Janet Box-Steffensmeier, Sarah Brooks, Gregory Caldeira, Vladimir Kogan, Marcus Kurtz, William Minozzi, Michael Neblo, and Thomas Nelson for their guidance and support in my various academic pursuits. Thank you to my colleagues, especially Alex Acs, Erin Lin, Molly Ritchie, and Nicole Yadon, for making my new home feel like a home I have known for years. Finally, I give my greatest love and thanks to my husband, Kye Yun Lee, for supporting my academic career in every way possible and always being there for me through thick and thin, and to my little sunshine, Elise Lee, for making my life full of love and joy every day.

I (Hye Young) am immensely grateful to my dissertation committee members Jeffry Frieden, Ken Shepsle, and Jim Snyder at Harvard University, who provided invaluable insights, unwavering support, and scholarly mentorship throughout my academic journey. I am deeply grateful for my colleagues at Vanderbilt University: Larry Bartels, Josh Clinton, Marc Hetherington, Dave Lewis, and Alan Wiseman were exceptionally generous with their time as mentors; Allison Anoll, Brenton Kenkel, Emily Nacol, Cecelia Mo, and Sharece Thrower made my journey as a junior faculty member filled with fun. I also met Mike Sances and Molly Ritchie at Vanderbilt, who became collaborators and friends, and a significant influence on my academic journey.

I (Hye Young) began my time at New York University with Gwyneth McClendon and Julia Payson, which was akin to winning the lottery. Even more colleagues made NYU and the city feel like home: Amy Catalinac, Chris Dawes, Pat Egan, Sandy Gordon, Rakeen Mabud, John Marshall, Carlo Prato, Pablo Querubín, Arturas Rozenas, Cyrus Samii, Shanker Satyanath, Melissa Schwartzberg, Tara Slough, and David Stasavage, all contributed immensely to my professional and personal life in New York. My academic journey and this book would not have been possible without the support and love of my husband, Inkeun Song. I ask myself every day how lucky I am to have him by my side.

Acknowledgments

Finally, all three of us would like to express our deepest gratitude to our parents: Chunsheng Eric Ban, Hong Vicky Wan, Ke Lim Park, Myoung Youl Kim, Young Soo Noh, and Jung Mok You. We have carried their unconditional and unfailing love, encouragement, and confidence with us throughout our careers and lives. We dedicate this book to you.