

Expertise vs. Bias in Evaluation: Evidence from the NIH

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Expertise vs. Bias in Evaluation: Evidence from the NIH *

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Abstract

Evaluators with expertise in a particular field may have an informational advantage in separating good projects from bad. At the same time, they may also have personal preferences that impact their objectivity. This paper develops a framework for separately identifying the effects of expertise and bias on decision making and applies it in the context of peer review at the US National Institutes of Health (NIH). I find evidence that evaluators are biased in favor of projects in their own area, but that they also have better information about the quality of those projects. On net, the benefits of expertise tend to dominate the costs of bias. As a result, policies designed to limit reviewer biases may also reduce the quality of funding decisions.

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1 Introduction

A key debate in the economics of innovation focuses on what mechanisms are most effective for encouraging the development of new ideas and products: while patents may distort access to new knowledge ex post, a concern with research grants and other R&D subsidies is that the public sector may make poor decisions about which projects to fund ex ante.

In the United States, the vast majority of public funding for biomedical research is allocated by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), through a system of peer review in which applications are evaluated by committees of scientists working on similar issues. The collective opinion of these scientists is responsible for consolidating thousands of investigator-initiated submissions into a publicly-funded research agenda.

But how much should we trust their advice? While reviewers may have valuable information about the potential of projects in their research areas, advice in this setting may also be distorted precisely because reviewers have made so many investments in acquiring their domain expertise. For example, in a guide aimed at scientists describing the NIH grant review process, one reviewer highlights his preference for work related to his own: *“If I’m sitting in an NIH study section, and I believe the real area of current interest in the field is neurotoxicology [the reviewer’s own speciality], I’m thinking if you’re not doing neurotoxicology, you’re not doing interesting science.”*¹ Alternatively, reviewers may be biased against applicants in their own area if they perceive them to be competitors.

This paper examines the impact of intellectual proximity between reviewers and applicants (hereafter “proximity” or “relatedness”) on the quality of funding decisions. In particular, I develop a framework for separately identifying the effects of expertise and bias on decision making and provide an empirical estimate of the efficiency trade-off between the two. To accomplish this, I assemble a new, comprehensive dataset linking almost 100,000 NIH grant applications to the committees in which they were evaluated.

My analysis requires two key ingredients: 1) a source of exogenous variation in the intellectual proximity between grant applicants and the more influential members of their review committees and 2) a measure of quality for grant applications, including that of unfunded applications. Given these, the intuition underlying my empirical work is as follows: if intellectual proximity improves information about the quality of grant applicants, then the effect of working in the same area as

¹See http://www.clemson.edu/caah/research/images/What_Do_Grant_Reviewers_Really_Want_Anyway.pdf.

a more influential reviewer should differ for high- and low-quality applicants. Strong applicants should benefit from being evaluated by influential reviewers who can more accurately assess their quality, but weak applicants should be hurt for the same reason. I should then observe a stronger correlation between an application’s quality and its funding outcome, among more proximate candidates. If proximity promotes bias, then related applicants should be more (or less) likely to be funded regardless of their quality. This would translate into a level difference in funding likelihood.² I now provide more detail about my proximity and quality measures in turn.

I begin with a baseline measure of the intellectual proximity of individual applicants and reviewers: whether a reviewer has cited an applicant’s work in the five years prior to the committee meeting. This captures whether the applicant’s work has been of use to the reviewer, but is likely to be correlated with quality because better applicants are more likely to be cited. To identify exogenous variation proximity between candidates and review committees, I take advantage of the distinction between “permanent” and “temporary” members in NIH review committees.³ I show that while permanent and temporary reviewers have similar qualifications as scientists, permanent members have more influence within the committee. I therefore define intellectual proximity to the review committee as the number of *permanent* reviewers that have cited an applicant’s work—controlling for the total number of such reviewers. This identifies the effect of being related to a more influential set of reviewers, under the assumption that the quality of an applicant is not correlated with the composition of reviewers who cite her.⁴

Using this measure of proximity allows me to identify the causal impact of being evaluated by a more influential set of proximate reviewers. To further separate the role of bias and expertise, I require information on application quality. The primary challenge in measuring application quality is doing so for *unfunded* applications; it is natural, after all, to think that the research described in unfunded applications does not get produced and thus cannot be evaluated. At the NIH, however, this is not the case. Rather, standards for preliminary results for large research grants are so high that researchers often submit applications based on nearly completed research. As a result, it is common to publish the work proposed in an application even if the application itself goes unfunded.

²This empirical strategy allows me to separately identify the role of bias and expertise without attempting to directly measure or proxy for either. I further show in Appendices B and C that this approach is micro-founded in a formal model of decision-making with a biased expert.

³“Permanent” members are not actually permanent; they serve four-year terms. See Sections 2 and 4.1 for a discussion of permanent versus temporary reviewers.

⁴I also show that my results do not rely on the distinction between permanent and temporary reviewers by using applicant fixed effects to compare outcomes for the same applicant across meetings in which she is cited by different numbers of reviewers. This alternative specification identifies the effect of being related to an *additional* reviewer under the assumption that the time-variant unobserved quality of an application is not correlated with proximity.

To find these related publications, I use a text-matching approach that links grant application titles with the titles and abstracts of semantically related publications by the same applicant. I further restrict my analysis of application quality to articles published soon enough after grant review to not be directly affected by any grant funds. For consistency, I use this same approach to measure the quality of funded applications as well.

I present three key findings. First, proximity leads to bias: applicants related to more influential committee members are systematically more likely to be funded, regardless of their quality. Being proximate to an additional permanent reviewer increases an application's chances of being funded by 3.2 percent. While this may seem like a small effect, it is substantial when viewed relative to reviewers' sensitivity to application quality: being evaluated by an additional permanent member in one's own area increases an application's chances of being funded by as much as would be predicted by a one standard deviation increase in the quality of the application itself. This extremely large effect suggests that when quality is difficult to assess, reviewer preferences play a comparably large role in funding decisions. Further, the fact that I find a positive bias demonstrates that even in a competitive setting such as life sciences research, reviewers are more likely to perceive research in their area as complements to their own, rather than as substitutes.

Second, I show that proximity improves information. There is a stronger relationship between application quality and funding likelihood for candidates who are related to influential committee members: committees are almost twice as responsive to improvements in the quality of applications from intellectually proximate applicants.

Finally, I show that the gains associated reviewer expertise dominate the losses associated with bias. Enacting a policy that restricts close intellectual ties would reduce the quality of the NIH-supported research portfolio, as measured by future citations and publications. This result holds for quality as measured by publications, citations, and hit publications.

These results have implications for how organizations treat conflicts of interest. In many settings, personal preferences develop alongside expertise, as a result of individuals self-selecting and making investments into a particular domain. These biases are particularly challenging to address: in contrast with race or gender discrimination, eliminating bias stemming from intellectual ties can directly degrade the quality of information that decision makers have access to. For instance, the NIH currently prohibits collaborators, mentors, and those from the same institution from serving as an applicant's reviewer; the results in this paper show that these policies necessarily entail efficiency trade-offs.

The question of how organizations should use information from potentially conflicted experts has been of long-standing theoretical interest (Crawford and Sobel 1982; Li, Rosen, and Suen, 2001; Garfagnini, Ottaviano, and Sorenson, 2014), but has remained relatively understudied empirically. Emerging work shows that these issues are relevant in many empirical settings ranging from financial regulation to judicial discretion to academic promotion and publication.⁵ In these and other settings, it is often challenging to attribute differences in the treatment of connected individuals to either better information or bias because it is difficult to observe the counterfactual quality of decisions that are not made. This paper contributes by studying these issues in the context of public investments in R&D, a setting that is both independently important, and in which various empirical challenges can be more readily overcome.

Finally, there is currently little empirical evidence on how—and how successfully—governments make research investments, and existing studies in this area find mixed results.⁶ This paper contributes directly to this literature by showing that the value of expert advice in this setting outweighs the costs of bias.

2 Context

2.1 Grant Funding at the NIH

The NIH plays an outsized role in supporting biomedical research. Over 80% of basic life science laboratories in the US receive NIH funding and half of all FDA approved drugs, and over two-thirds of FDA priority review drugs, explicitly cite NIH-funded research (Sampat and Lichtenberg, 2011). The decision of what grants to support is made by thousands of scientists who act as peer reviewers for the NIH. Each year, they collectively read approximately 20,000 grant applications and allocate over 20 billion dollars in federal grant funding. During this process, more than 80 percent of applicants are rejected even though, for the vast majority of biomedical researchers, winning and renewing NIH grants is crucial for becoming an independent investigator, maintaining a lab, earning tenure, and paying salaries (Stephan, 2012; Jones, 2010).

The largest and most established of these grant mechanisms is the R01, a project-based, re-

⁵See, for instance, Kondo (2006), Fisman, Paravisini, and Vig (2012), Bagues and Zinovyeva (2015), Blanes i Vidal, Draca, and Fons-Rosen (2012), Brogaard, Engleberg, and Parsons (2012) and Laband and Piette (1994).

⁶See Acemoglu, 2008; Kremer and Williams, 2010; Griliches, 1992; and Cockburn and Henderson, 2000 for surveys. Li and Agha (2015) document a positive correlation between scores and outcomes, but Boudreau, et. al (2012) and Azoulay, Graff-Zivin, and Manso (2011) raise concerns about the ability to support recognize and foster novel research.

newable research grant that constitutes half of all NIH grant spending and is the primary funding source for most academic biomedical labs in the United States. There are currently 27,000 outstanding awards, with 4,000 new projects approved each year. The average size of each award is 1.7 million dollars spread over three to five years.

Because R01s entail such large investments, the NIH favors projects that have already demonstrated a substantial likelihood of success. As evidence of how high this bar is, the NIH provides a separate grant mechanism, the R21, for establishing the preliminary results needed for a successful R01 application. The fact that R01 applications are typically based on research that is already very advanced makes it possible to measure the quality of unfunded grants, which is a key part of my empirical strategy.⁷ See Section 5.1 for a detailed discussion.

To apply for an R01, the primary investigator submits an application, which is then assigned to a review committee (called a “study section”) for scoring and to an Institute or Center (IC) for funding. The bulk of these applications are reviewed in one of about 180 “chartered” study sections, which are standing review committees organized around a particular theme, for instance “Cellular Signaling and Regulatory Systems” or “Clinical Neuroplasticity and Neurotransmitters.”⁸ These committees meet three times a year in accordance with NIH’s funding cycles and, during each meeting, review between 40 to 80 applications. My analysis focuses on these committees.

Study sections are typically composed of 15 to 30 “permanent” members who serve four-year terms and 10 to 20 “temporary” reviewers who are called in as needed. Within a study section, an application is typically assigned up to three reviewers who provide an initial assessment of its merit. Permanent members are responsible for performing initial assessments on 8 to 10 applications per meeting, compared to only 1 to 3 for temporary members. The division of committees into permanent and temporary members plays an important role in my identification strategy: I need to demonstrate that permanent reviewers have more influence over the scores that applications are assigned, but that they are otherwise similar to temporary members in terms of their scientific credentials. In Section 4.1, I discuss why this might be the case and provide empirical evidence.

The process of assigning applications to study sections and reviewers is nonrandom. In practice, applicants are usually aware of the identities of most permanent study-section members,

⁷This emphasis on preliminary results was one point of critique that the NIH peer review reform of 2006 was designed to address; under the new system, the preliminary results section has been eliminated to discourage this practice. My data come from before the reform but, anecdotally, it is still the norm to apply for R01s. For a satirical take from 2011, see <http://www.phdcomics.com/comics/archive.php?comicid=1431>.

⁸The NIH restructured chartered study sections during my sample period and my data include observations from 250 distinct chartered study sections. These changes do not affect my estimation because I use within-meeting variation only.

suggest a preferred study section, and usually get their first choice (subject to the constraint that, for most applicants, there are only one or two study sections that are scientifically appropriate). Study-section officers, meanwhile, assign applications to initial reviewers on the basis of intellectual fit. I will discuss the implications of this nonrandom selection on my identification strategy in Section 4.1.

Once an application has been assigned to a study section, it is assigned to three initial reviewers who read and score the application on the basis of five review criteria: *Significance* (does the proposed research address an important problem and would it constitute an advance over current knowledge?), *Innovation* (are either the concepts, aims, or methods novel?), *Approach* (is the research feasible and well thought out?), *Investigator* (is the applicant well-qualified?), and *Environment* (can the applicant's institution support the proposed work?). Based on these scores, weak applications (about one-third to one-half) are "triaged" or "unscored," meaning that they are rejected without further discussion. The remaining applications are then discussed in the full study-section meeting. During these deliberations, an application's initial reviewers first present their opinions, and then all reviewers discuss the application according to the same five review criteria. Following these discussions, all study-section members anonymously vote on the application, assigning it a "priority score," which, during my sample period, ranged from 1.0 for the best application to 5.0 for the worst, in increments of 0.1. The final score is the average of all member scores. This priority score is then converted into a percentile from 1 to 99.⁹ In my data, I observe an application's final score (records of scores by individual reviewers and initial scores are destroyed after the meeting).

Once a study section has scored an application, the Institute to which it was assigned determines funding. Given the score, this determination is largely mechanical: an IC lines up all applications it is assigned and funds them in order of score until its budget has been exhausted. When doing this, the IC only considers the score: NIH will choose to fund one large grant instead of two or three smaller grants as long as the larger grant has a better score, even if it is only marginally better. The worst percentile score that is funded is known as that IC's payline for the year. In very few cases (less than four percent), applications are not funded in order of score; this typically happens if new results emerge to strengthen the application. Scores are never made public.¹⁰

⁹At the NIH, a grant's percentile score represents the percentage of applications from the same study section and reviewed in the same year that received a better priority score. According to this system, a lower score is better, but, for ease of exposition and intuition, this paper reports inverted percentiles (100 minus the official NIH percentile, e.g., the percent of applications that are *worse*), so that higher percentiles are better.

¹⁰For more details on the NIH review process, see Gerin (2006).

Funded applications may be renewed every three to five years, in which case they go through the same process described above. Unfunded applications may be resubmitted, during the period of my data, up to two more times. My analysis includes all applications that are reviewed in each of my observed study-section meetings, including first-time applications, resubmitted applications, and renewal applications.

2.2 Expertise and Bias Among Reviewers

How likely is it that reviewers have better information about the quality of applications in their own area? The majority of scientists I interviewed have more confidence in their assessments of related proposals; for many, this translates into speaking with greater authority during deliberations. Reviewers are also more likely to be assigned as initial reviewers for applications in their area, forcing them to evaluate the proposal in more detail. Even when they are not assigned as initial reviewers, many reviewers said they were more likely to carefully read applications in their own area. These mechanisms suggest that reviewers may have greater “expertise” about related applications, either because they know more to begin with or because they pay more attention.

How likely is it that reviewers in my setting are biased? NIH reviewers have little to no financial stake in the funding decisions they preside over, and conflict of interest rules bar an applicant’s coauthors, advisers or advisees, or colleagues from participating in the evaluation process.¹¹

Yet, there is often significant scope for reviewers to have preferences based on their intellectual connections with applicants. Because NIH support is crucial to maintaining a lab, reviewers are well aware that funding a project in one research area necessarily means halting progress in others. Many of the reviewers I spoke with reported being more enthusiastic about proposals in their own area; several went further to say that one of the main benefits of serving as a reviewer is having the opportunity to advocate for more resources for one’s area of research. These preferences are consistent with the idea that reviewers have a taste for research that is similar to theirs, or that they perceive this research to be complementary to their own. On the other hand, some study section members also mentioned that other reviewers—not they—were strategic in terms of evaluating proposals from competing labs.¹² This concern is also supported by research indicating that labs regularly compete over scarce resources such as journal space, funding, and scientific

¹¹For this reason, I cannot study the impact of these more social connections on funding outcomes.

¹²I conducted 16 informal interviews with current and past members of NIH study sections. These interviews were off the record but subjects agreed that interested readers could contact the author for more details of these conversations as well as for a full list of the interviewees.

priority (Pearson 2003).

3 Data

The goal of this paper is to 1) identify how intellectual proximity to influential reviewers affects an applicant's chances of being funded and 2) to separately identify the role of expertise and bias in funding decisions.

In order to accomplish this, I construct a new dataset describing grant applications, review-committee members, and their relationships for almost 100,000 applications evaluated in more than 2,000 meetings of 250 chartered study sections. My analytic file combines data from three sources: NIH administrative data for the universe of R01 grant applications, attendance rosters for NIH peer-review meetings, and publication databases for life-sciences research. Figure 1 summarizes how these data sources fit together and how my variables are constructed from them.

I begin with two primary sources: the NIH IMPAC II database, which contains administrative data on grant applications, and a series of study section attendance rosters obtained from NIH's main peer-review body, the Center for Scientific Review. The application file contains information on an applicant's full name and degrees, the title of the grant project, the study-section meeting to which it was assigned for evaluation, the score given by the study section, and the funding status of the application. The attendance roster lists the full names of all reviewers who were present at a study-section meeting and whether a reviewer served as a temporary member or a permanent member. These two files can be linked using meeting-level identifiers available for each grant application. Thus, for my sample grant applicants, I observe the identity of the grant applicant, the identity of all committee members, and the action undertaken by the committee.

My final sample consists of 93,558 R01 applications from 36,785 distinct investigators over the period 1992-2005. This sample is derived from the set of grant applications that I can successfully match to meetings of study sections for which I have attendance records, which is about half of all R01 grants reviewed in chartered study sections. Of these applications, approximately 25 percent are funded and 20 percent are from new investigators, those who have not received an R01 in the past. Seventy percent of applications are for new projects, and the remainder are applications to renewal existing projects. All of these types of applications are typically evaluated in the same study section meeting. Table 1 shows that my sample appears to be comparable to the universe of R01 applications that are evaluated in chartered study sections.

There are three components to these data: 1) a measure of intellectual proximity between applicants and review committees; 2) a measure of application quality; 3) various measures of other applicant characteristics. Sections 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 first describe how I measure proximity, application quality, and applicant characteristics, respectively. I describe how my empirical strategy uses these measures later in the text, in Sections 4 and 5

3.1 Measuring proximity

I measure the intellectual proximity between an applicant and his or her review committee as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited an applicant's work in the five years prior to the meeting, conditional on the total number of such reviewers. This is a measure of how intellectually connected applicants are to the more influential members of their review committees.

I construct proximity in this way for two reasons. First, using citations to measure proximity has several benefits. Citations capture a form of proximity that, as demonstrated by the quote in the introduction, may strongly influence a reviewer's personal preferences: reviewers may prefer work that they find useful for their own research. Citations also capture this form of intellectual connection more finely than other measures, such as departmental affiliation, allowing for more informative variation in proximity. Further, using data on whether the reviewer cites the applicant (as opposed to the applicant citing the reviewer) reduces concerns that my measures of proximity can be strategically manipulated by applicants. Finally, one may also consider more-social measures of proximity, such as coauthorship or being affiliated with the same institution. These ties, however, are often subject to NIH's conflict-of-interest rules; reviewers who are coauthors, advisors, advisees, or colleagues, etc. are prohibited from participating in either deliberations or voting. Intellectual proximity is a connection that likely matters for grant review but which is not governed by conflict-of-interest rules.

Second, I focus on being cited by permanent reviewers in order to generate variation in proximity that I will argue is unrelated to an applicant's quality. This is because the total number of reviewers who cite an applicant is likely to be correlated with quality: better applicants may be more likely to be cited and may, independently, submit higher-quality proposals. By controlling for the total number of reviewers who cite an applicant, I compare applicants that differ in their proximity to more influential reviewers, but not in the quality of their work. I discuss this strategy and provide evidence for its validity in Section 4.1.

Table 2 describes the characteristics of the sample study sections. In total, I observe 18,916

unique reviewers. On average, each meeting is attended by 30 reviewers, 17 of whom are permanent and 13 temporary. The average applicant has been cited by two reviewers, one temporary and one permanent. The average permanent and average temporary reviewer both cite four applicants.

3.2 Measuring Quality

I measure application quality using the number of publications and citations that the research it proposes produces in the future. The key challenge to constructing this measure is finding a way to use ex post publication data to assess the ex ante quality of applications. For example, how does one measure the quality of applications that are unfunded if publications do not acknowledge grants that do not exist? Similarly, suppose that two scientists submit proposals that are of the same ex ante quality. One scientist is related to a reviewer and is funded because of bias. The funding, however, allows her to publish more articles, meaning that an econometrician that examines ex post outcomes may mistakenly conclude that her proposal was better than the other scientist's to begin with.

To address these concerns, I develop a way to identify publications associated with research described in the preliminary results section of an application. As discussed in Section 2, this is possible because it is extremely common for scientists to submit grant proposals based on nearly completed research, especially for the large R01 grants that I study. To find these publications, I first identify all research articles published by a grant's primary investigator. I then use a text-matching technique to identify articles on the same topic as the grant application. This is done by comparing each publication's title and abstract with the title of the applicant's grant proposal. For instance, if I see a grant application titled "Traumatic Brain Injury and Marrow Stromal Cells" reviewed in 2001 and an article by the same investigator entitled "Treatment of Traumatic Brain Injury in Female Rats with Intravenous Administration of Bone Marrow Stromal Cells," I label these publications as related. In my baseline specifications, I require that publications share at least 4 substantive (e.g. with articles and other common words excluded) overlapping words with the grant project title. Because grant project titles have on average 10 substantive words, this is a restrictive threshold. I describe the text-matching process I use in more detail in Appendix A, and show robustness to alternative matching thresholds.

Text matching limits the set of publications I use to infer application quality to those on the same topic as the grant. This reduces the possibility that my measure of application quality is contaminated by unrelated research. Funding itself, however, may also increase the number of

publications on the same topic as the grant. To address this concern, I also restrict my quality calculations to articles published within one year of grant review. These articles are likely to be based on research that was already completed or underway at the time the application was written, and are thus unlikely to be directly supported by the grant.¹³

This procedure is designed to isolate the set of publications based on the ideas outlined within a grant application. I then use citation information to assess the quality of these ideas. Specifically, for each application, I count the the total number of publications, the total number of citations these publications receive through 2012, and the number of “hit” publications, where a hit is defined as being in the 90th, 95th, and 99th percentiles the citation distribution relative to all other publications in its cohort (same field, same year). Because my sample begins in 1992 and my citation data go through 2008, I can capture a fairly long run view of quality for almost all publications associated with my sample grants (citations for life-sciences articles typically peak one to two years after publication). This allows me to observe whether a project becomes important in the long run, even if it is not initially highly cited.

Figure 2 shows that my matching approach is able to identify research associated with unfunded applications. In fact, using the measure of quality described above, I find that unfunded grants propose research that goes on to generate just as many citations and publications in the near term. Table 1 shows that the mean grant application in my analytic sample is associated with 0.3 publications on the same topic, within the first year, and 10 citations to these publications. In Section 5.1, I provide additional details about my quality measure and show how it can be used to distinguish reviewer bias from expertise.

3.3 Measuring applicant characteristics

Finally, I construct detailed measures of applicant demographics, grant history, and prior publications. Using an applicant’s first and last name, I construct probabilistic measures of gender and ethnicity (Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian).¹⁴ I also search my database of grant applications to build a record of an applicant’s grant history as measured by the number of new and renewal

¹³To compute the appropriate window, I consider funding, publication, and research lags. A grant application is typically reviewed four months after it is formally submitted, and, on average, another four to six months elapse before it is officially funded. See http://grants.nih.gov/grants/grants_process.htm. In addition to this funding lag, publication lags in the life sciences typically range from three months to over a year. It is thus highly unlikely that articles published up to one year after grant review would have been directly supported by that grant. My results are robust to other windows.

¹⁴For more details on this approach, see Kerr (2008). Because Black or African American names are typically more difficult to distinguish, I do not include a separate control for this group.

grants an applicant has applied for in the past and the number he has received. This includes data on all NIH grant mechanisms, including non-R01 grants, such as post-doctoral fellowships and career training grants. To obtain measures of an applicant’s publication history, I use data from Thomson-Reuters Web of Science (WoS) and the National Library of Medicine’s PubMed database. From these, I construct information on the number of research articles an applicant has published in the five years prior to submitting her application, her role in those publications (in the life sciences, this is discernible from the author position), and the impact of those publications as measured by citations. In addition to observing total citations, I can also identify a publication as “high impact” by comparing the number of citations it receives with the number of citations received by other life-science articles published in the same year. Sample descriptives for these variables are also provided in Table 1.

4 Identifying the casual impact of proximity

The first part of my empirical analysis estimates the effect of intellectual proximity to more influential committee members:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Decision}_{icmt} = & a_0 + a_1 \text{Proximity to Permanent}_{icmt} + a_2 \text{Total Proximity}_{icmt} \\ & + \mu X_{icmt} + \delta_{cmt} + e_{icmt}. \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

Decision_{icmt} is a variable describing the committee’s decision (either the funding status, score, or whether an application was scored at all) related to applicant i whose proposal is evaluated by committee c in meeting m of year t . $\text{Proximity to Permanent}_{icmt}$ is the number of permanent reviewers who have cited an applicant’s work in the 5 years prior to the committee meeting, and $\text{Total Proximity}_{icmt}$ is the total number of such reviewers. The covariates X_{icmt} include indicators for sex; whether an applicant’s name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian; quartics in an applicant’s total number of citations and publications over the past five years; indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D.; and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for the number to which she has applied. The δ_{cmt} are fixed effects for each committee meeting so that my analysis compares outcomes for grants that are reviewed by the same reviewers in the same meeting. Standard errors are clustered at the committee-fiscal-year level.

My coefficient of interest is a_1 . a_1 compares the funding outcomes of scientists whose applications are reviewed in the same meeting, who have similar past performance, and who, while close to the same total number of reviewers, differ in their proximity to permanent reviewers. I interpret this as the causal impact of proximity to influential members.

4.1 Impact of Proximity: Identifying Conditions

In order for a_1 to identify the causal effect of proximity to influential reviewers, I need to show that 1) proximity to permanent reviewers is not correlated with an applicant's quality, conditional on proximity to all reviewers and 2) that permanent reviewers are more influential within a study section. I now provide more evidence for these claims.

One may be concerned that being cited by permanent reviewers signals higher quality than being cited by temporary reviewers. To refute this, I begin by showing that permanent and temporary members are similar in terms of their quality as scientists. Figure 3 and Table 3 show that permanent and temporary reviewers have similar publication records. Figure 3, in particular, shows that the distribution of their scientific merit, as measured by previous publications and citations, is essentially identical. The bottom panel of Table 3 suggests why this may not be surprising: permanent and temporary reviewers are often the same people; 35 percent of permanent reviewers in a given meeting will be temporary reviewers in a future meeting and 40 percent of temporary reviewers in a given meeting will be permanent reviewers in the future.

Even if permanent and temporary members are identical as scientists, there may still be concerns arising from the fact that reviewers are not randomly assigned to applications. This selection is nonrandom in two ways. First, rosters listing the permanent (but not temporary) reviewers associated with a study section are publicly available, meaning that applicants know who some of their potential reviewers may be at the time they submit their application. The scope for strategic submissions in the life sciences, however, is small: for most grant applicants, there are only one or two intellectually appropriate study sections and, because winning grants is crucial for maintaining one's lab and salary, applicants do not have the luxury of waiting for a more receptive set of reviewers. Another way in which assignment is nonrandom is that study-section administrator assigns it to initial reviewers on the basis of 1) intellectual match and 2) reviewer availability. If, for instance, not enough permanent reviewers are qualified to evaluate a grant application, then the study section administrator may call in a temporary reviewer. Temporary reviewers may also be called if the permanent members qualified to review the application have already been assigned

too many other applications to review.

This process may raise concerns for my identification. For example, suppose that two applicants, one better known and higher quality, submit their applications to a study section that initially consists of one permanent reviewer. The permanent reviewer is more likely to be aware of the work of the better-known applicant and thus there would be no need to call on a related temporary member. To find reviewers for the lesser-known applicant, however, the administrator calls on a temporary reviewer. Both applicants would then be related to one reviewer in total but, in this example, the fact that one applicant works in the same area as a temporary member is actually correlated with potentially unobserved aspects of quality.

I deal with this and other similar concerns in two ways. First, I provide direct evidence that the characteristics of applicants and the quality of their applications do not appear to be related to the types of reviewers who cite an applicant. Table 4 describes the demographic characteristics and publication records of applicants separately by the number and types of reviewers they have been cited by. It shows that applicants who have been cited by more reviewers in total tend to be more established: they have stronger publication records and are less likely to be new investigators. Conditional on total proximity, however, there appear to be few differences among applicants: applicants cited by one permanent reviewer are virtually identical to those cited by one temporary reviewer. Among applicants cited two reviewers, there do not appear to be differences among applicants cited by two permanent reviewers or one of each. Those cited by two temporary reviewers appear to have slightly fewer past publications, consistent with the concern raised above, but this difference is less than five percent of a standard deviation. Approximately 75 percent of my sample fall into the categories reported in Table 4, but this pattern holds for applicants cited by three or more reviewers.

Figure 4 provides further evidence that type of reviewers who cite applicants is not correlated with quality by examining the quality of the submitted application itself. The upper-left-hand panel shows the distribution of application quality (as defined in the previous section) for applicants cited by exactly one reviewer. The solid line shows the distribution of quality among applicants cited by one permanent reviewer and the dotted line does so for those cited by one temporary reviewer. These distributions are essentially identical. Similarly, the upper-right-hand panel shows the same, but with quality measured using the number of publications associated with a grant. The bottom two panels of Figure 4 repeat this exercise for applicants who have been cited by a total of two reviewers. In this case, there are now three possibilities: the applicant has been cited

by two temporary reviewers, two permanent, or one of each. In all of these cases, the distribution of applicant quality is again essentially identical.

Having provided evidence that ties to permanent members is not indicative of quality, controlling for total proximity, I now discuss how permanent members nonetheless have more influence over funding decisions. There are many reasons why this is the case. Most basically, these reviewers do more work. As discussed in Section 2, reviewers are responsible for providing initial assessments of a grant application before that application is discussed by the full committee. These initial assessments are extremely important for determining a grant application's final score because they 1) determine whether a grant application even merits discussion by the full group and 2) serve as the starting point for discussion. Study sections also evaluate 40 to 80 applications per meeting, meaning that it is unlikely that reviewers have had a chance to carefully read proposals to which they have not been officially assigned. In many study sections, moreover, there is also a rule that no one can vote for scores outside of the boundaries set by the initial scores without providing a reason.

While I do not have data on who serves as one of an application's three initial reviewers, permanent reviewers are much more likely to serve as an initial reviewer; they are typically assigned eight to ten applications, compared with only one or two for temporary reviewers. In addition, permanent members are required to be in attendance for discussions of all applications; in contrast, temporary members are only expected to be present when their assigned grants are discussed, meaning that they often miss voting on other applications. Finally, permanent members work together in many meetings over the course of their four-year terms; they may thus be more likely to trust, or at least clearly assess, one another's advice, relative to the advice of temporary reviewers with whom they are less familiar.

To test whether permanent members seem to have more influence, I use the fact that I observe almost 5,000 unique reviewers in meetings in which they are permanent and in meetings in which they are temporary. For each of these reviewers, I find the set of applicants they have cited and show that a larger proportion of those applicants are funded when the reviewer is permanent rather than temporary. These regressions include controls for applicant characteristics and reviewer fixed effects, meaning that similarly qualified applicants cited by the same reviewer are more likely to be funded when that reviewer is permanent than when the reviewer is temporary. These results are presented in Table 5.

4.2 Impact of Proximity: Results

Table 6 considers the effect of intellectual proximity on funding and scores. The first column reports the raw within-meeting association between proximity to permanent reviewers and an applicant’s likelihood of being funded. Without controls, each additional permanent reviewer who has cited an applicant is associated with a 3.3 percentage point increase in the probability of funding, from an overall average of 21.4 percent. This translates into a 15.4 percent increase. Most of this correlation, however, reflects differences in quality; better applicants are more likely to be cited by reviewers, as was seen in Table 4. Column 2 adds controls for applicant characteristics such as past publication and grant history. This reduces the effect of proximity to an additional permanent reviewer to 1.8 percentage points, or 8.4 percent. Even with these controls, the number of permanent members an applicant is cited by may still be correlated with some unobserved aspect of application quality. To address this concern, I use proximity to all reviewers to control for remaining differences in the quality of applicants that may be correlated with their proximity to permanent reviewers. Once I do this, my identifying variation comes from changes to the *composition* of the reviewers who have cited an applicant—effectively the impact of switching the reviewers an application is related to from temporary to permanent. In Column 3, I compare two scientists with similar observables, who are both cited by the same total number of reviewers but by different numbers of permanent reviewers. I find that switching a related reviewer from temporary to permanent increases an applicant’s chances of being funded by 0.7 percentage points, or 3.3 percent. This is my preferred specification because it isolates variation in proximity that is independent of an application’s quality.

Columns 6 and 9 report estimates of the impact of proximity to permanent reviewers on the score that an application receives and whether an application is scored at all. I find a statistically significant but economically small effect of proximity in scores: switching to a proximate permanent reviewer increases—holding total proximity constant—an applicant’s score by 0.27 points or about 1 percent of a standard deviation. I also find a small impact for whether an applicant is scored at all; the same experiment increases the probability that an applicant is scored by 0.5 percentage points or just under 1 percent. This suggests reviewers are more likely to advocate when it matters most, and not when applicants are far from the funding threshold. The next section discusses the potential mechanisms for this effect, and considers the economic significance of its magnitude.

5 Expertise vs. Bias

So far, I have shown that applicants who work in the same area as more influential committee members are more likely to be funded. Is this a problem for peer review? Not necessarily. Reviewers may advocate for candidates in their area simply because they are more confident in their assessments; receiving more precise signals about related applicants allows reviewers to form higher posterior expectations about their quality. This will lead to a greater proportion of related applicants falling above the funding bar even in the absence of bias. Because this type of behavior improves the quality of peer review, while biases do not, it is important to distinguish between the two explanations.

To do so, I examine the relationship between funding and quality for different types of applicants. If reviewers are biased toward proximate candidates, then these candidates should be more likely (or less, in the event of a negative bias) to be funded regardless of the quality their application. This would lead to a level difference in funding likelihood between candidates who work in the same areas as more influential reviewers, and those who do not. If reviewers have better information about candidates in their area, then we would expect to see that their funding decisions should be more sensitive to quality for these candidates; high quality candidates should benefit from being evaluated by reviewers in their area while low quality candidates should be hurt. This would lead to a steeper slope between quality and funding for related candidates.

In Appendix B, I formalize this intuition with a model of misaligned incentives with strategic communication derived from Crawford and Sobel (1982). In this model, a reviewer has better information about the quality of applications in his own area but also derives a personal payoff (either positive or negative) from funding that application, independent of its quality. I show that, in equilibrium, bias increases (or decreases) the level probability that intellectually proximate candidates are funded, and expertise increases the slope of the relationship between quality and funding for candidates in the same area.

I implement this test empirically as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 D_{icmt} = & a_0 + a_1 \text{Proximity to Permanent}_{icmt} + a_2 \text{Proximate to Permanent}_{icmt} \times \text{Quality}_{icmt} \\
 & + a_3 \text{Quality}_{icmt} + a_4 \text{Total Proximity}_{icmt} + a_5 \text{Total Proximity}_{icmt} \times \text{Quality}_{icmt} \quad (2) \\
 & + \mu X_{icmt} + \delta_{cmt} + \varepsilon_{icmt}.
 \end{aligned}$$

I am interested in the coefficients a_1 and a_2 . Proximity to Permanent $_{icmt}$ is defined as the number of permanent reviewers that cite an applicant’s prior work. a_1 captures the effect of proximity on funding that is attributable to bias: does being cited by permanent reviewers, conditional on total proximity, affect an applicant’s likelihood of being funded for reasons unrelated to quality? Bias is identified as the change in the *level* probability that a proximate applicant is funded. Meanwhile, Proximate to Permanent $_{icmt} \times$ Quality $_{icmt}$ is the interaction of an application’s quality with an indicator for whether an applicant has been cited by a permanent reviewer. The coefficient a_2 captures the role of expertise: it asks whether there is a steeper *slope* in the relationship between quality and funding for applicants with intellectual ties to more influential reviewers. Appendix C shows how Equation (2) can be derived from my underlying theoretical model and provides formal conditions under which the coefficients a_1 and a_2 identify reviewer bias and expertise, respectively.

The remaining variables in Equation (2) control for potentially contaminating variation. I control for the level of effect of application quality, total proximity to all reviewers, as well as the interaction between these two terms. Controlling for these terms means that the coefficient of interest a_1 and a_2 are estimated from applicants who have been cited by the same total number of reviewers, but who differ in their ties to permanent reviewers. I also control for a variety of past publication and demographic characteristics, X_{icmt} , described in Section 4.

Finally, the model in Appendix B that motivates Equation (2) also requires that I include controls for the degree of selectivity in a committee. When committees a very small percentage of applicants, the correlation between funding and quality will be low even in the absence of bias or differential information because the marginal unfunded application is already very high-quality. In my empirical implementation, I proxy for selectivity using the percentile pay line of the committee and include a level control for pay line (this is absorbed in the meeting fixed effect). I also control for the interaction of proximity and the payline. This ensures that proximity is not credited for changing the correlation between funding and quality simply by lowering the threshold at which grants are funded. My results are not affected by either the inclusion or exclusion of these variables.

In estimating Equation (2), it is important to have a measure of quality for unfunded applications. Without this information, I would not be able to include unfunded applications in this regression, making it impossible to examine the impact of proximity on the extensive margin of whether an application is funded. Even on the intensive margin—the score which an application receives—observing quality for funded candidates only would likely bias my estimates. Figure 5 illustrates a stylized example of this problem for the case in which reviewers are biased in favor of

proximate applicants but not any better informed. The dotted lines identify the true relationship between scores and quality, while the solid lines illustrate the relationship I would estimate on the truncated subsample of funded applicants. In this case, at any given level of true quality, we are more likely to observe related applicants in the funded sample, compared with unrelated applicants. Because of this, I would underestimate the true extent of bias: at any given quality, I would compare scores for related and unrelated candidates, observing only the unrelated candidates who received high enough scores to be funded. Similarly, the estimated slope between scores and quality would likely be steeper for the set of related applicants, relative to the same slope for unrelated applicants, because the latter excludes more low scores for low quality candidates.

5.1 Expertise vs. Bias: Identifying Conditions

In Section 4.1, I discussed the identifying conditions for estimating the causal effect of intellectual proximity. In this section, I discuss the conditions needed to further disentangle the effect of proximity on funding that operates through bias from the effect that operates through better information. These assumptions are derived from a formal theoretical and statistical model, which is presented in Appendices B and C. Here, I state these conditions intuitively.

1. Conditional on covariates, quality is uncorrelated with proximity to permanent reviewers.
2. Conditional on covariates, measurement error in quality is mean zero.
3. Conditional on covariates, measurement error in quality is uncorrelated with proximity to permanent reviewers.

Condition 1 states that proximity to permanent reviewers must be unrelated to quality, conditional on proximity to all reviewers and other covariates. To see why Condition 1 is necessary, suppose that I could observe an application’s true quality without error. In this case, I would not need exogenous variation in proximity because I could still identify bias by controlling for quality perfectly. In practice, however, there will always be measurement error in my estimates of quality, meaning that the coefficient a_3 in Equation (2) is likely to be attenuated. If quality and proximity were correlated, this may have spillover effects on my estimate of bias, as captured by the coefficient a_1 . Condition 1 ensures that this is not a concern. Condition 1 is the same condition needed to identify the causal impact of proximity in Section 4.1. As such, please see that section for a discussion of evidence supporting this condition.

Condition 2 allows my quality measure to be noisy, but states that it cannot systematically differ from the committee’s objective. Were this not the case, I may mistakenly conclude that committees are biased when they are in fact prioritizing something completely different. While there is no way to test this assumption because I cannot observe the committee’s objective function, I address this concern in several ways. First, as described in Section 3.2, I construct a variety of measures of application quality. These measures are based on many years, often even a decade, of forward citations. Thus, if reviewers are using their expertise to maximize a welfare function based on long-run impact or the number of hit publications, my quality measure would capture this. Second, I include detailed controls for many applicant or application characteristics—probabilistic gender and ethnicity, education, and past publication characteristics. This allows my framework to identify bias even if, for instance, committees take diversity preferences into account when assessing quality. Finally, even if Condition 2 were violated, my estimates will still consistently identify bias *with respect to* maximizing the number of citations and hit publications produced by the NIH (see Section 7). This in itself is a metric of decision making quality that is relevant for policy.

Condition 3 requires that my measure of quality be consistently measured for candidates who are cited by more permanent members versus candidates who are cited by more temporary members. This may be violated if proximity to permanent reviewers increases an applicant’s chances of being funded (as documented in Section 4), and funding in turn impacts my measure of quality. For example, suppose that two scientists apply submit proposals that are of the same quality, but that the related scientist is funded because of bias. The funding, however, allows her to publish more articles, meaning that my measure of quality—future citations—may mistakenly conclude that her proposal was better than the other scientist’s to begin with. Mismeasurement of ex ante grant quality makes it *less* likely that I would find an effect of bias.

In order to satisfy Condition 3, I must show that quality is consistently measured for funded and unfunded applications, and that it is not affected by grant funding itself. I provide direct evidence for this claim using variation in whether grants with the same score are funded. At the NIH, grant applications given the same score in by the same review committee in the same meeting can nonetheless have different funding outcomes. This occurs for two main reasons. First, grants evaluated by the same committee meeting can be assigned to different NIH funding bodies with different budgets. A cancer grant application may get funded even when a diabetes application with the same score is not if the National Cancer Institute has a larger budget. Second, even if both the funding bodies have the same budget, grants with the same score can face different

funding outcomes depending on how other grant applications are ranked. For example, a cancer application may be funded if it is ranked relatively higher among all applications received by the National Cancer Institute than a diabetes application with the same score but which is relatively weaker than other diabetes applications that year. If funding has a direct impact on my measure of quality, then I should mistakenly attribute higher quality to funded applications than to unfunded ones with the same score. Figure 6 shows this is not the case. Each dot represents the mean number of citations associated with *funded* applications that receive a particular score, regression-adjusted to account for differences across meetings; the crosses represent the same for *unfunded* applications. The dots do not lie systematically above the crosses, meaning that measured quality for funded grants does not appear to be systematically higher than for unfunded grants with the same score.

The accompanying statistical test is reported in Table 7. I compare measured quality for funded and unfunded grant applications with similar scores from the same meeting. Funding status can vary because pay lines at different ICs differ within the same year. Column 1 shows that, in general, funded grants have higher measures of quality than unfunded grants. Controlling for a quartic in scores, however, eliminates this effect. Column 3 includes further controls for NIH Institute (e.g. funding body) by year fixed effects. IC by year fixed effects controls for differences in overall budgets so that the remaining variation in whether two applications with the same score are funded comes from differences in how they rank relative to other grants. Again, we see that a grant’s actual funding status does not impact my measure of its quality. Together with Figure 6, this finding mitigates concerns that my measure of quality is directly affected by funding.

5.2 Expertise vs. Bias: Results

Table 8 reports my estimates of Equation (2), decomposing the effects of bias and expertise. Columns 1, 3, and 5 reproduce the estimates of the level effect of proximity on funding and scores from Table 6. Column 2 reports estimates of the coefficients from Equation (2) for funding status. The positive and significant coefficients on the level effect of proximity (0.0068) indicates that reviewers are biased in favor of applicants and the positive and significant coefficients on the interaction of proximity with quality (0.076) indicate that reviewers also have more expertise about related applications.

The magnitudes I find are sizable. To assess the extent of bias, compare the coefficient 0.0068 on proximity to the coefficient, 0.0136, on grant quality itself. The effect of being cited by an additional permanent reviewer (holding quality constant) is half the size of the effect of submitting

an application that eventually generates 100 more citations. This means that bias helps an applicant get funded by as much as would be expected from a 50 citation (or 1 standard deviation) increase in quality. These figures suggest that review committees have a hard time discerning the quality of applications, meaning that reviewer preferences end up playing a comparably large role in funding decisions.

Reviewers, however, also do a better job of discerning quality of related applicants. Consider a 1 standard deviation (51 citations) increase in the quality of a grant application: for an applicant cited by a single permanent reviewer, my estimates imply that this change would increase her chances of funding by $(0.0136 + 0.0176 - 0.0005) * 0.51 * 100 = 1.6$ percentage points or $1.6/21.4=7.5$ percent. If, instead, this applicant has been cited by a single temporary reviewer, the same increase in quality would only increase her chances of funding by $(0.0136 - 0.0005) * 0.51 * 100 = 0.7$ percentage points or 3.3 percent. Committees are twice as responsive to changes in the quality of applications in the subject area of permanent members.

Figure 7 demonstrates this point non-parametrically. Each point represents the mean number of citations associated with applications that receive a particular score: the dots represent applications by scientists related to permanent reviewers and the crosses represent applications from scientists who are not. The scores and quality measures I plot are regression-adjusted for committee meeting by number of total proximate reviewer fixed effects. These fixed effects take out any systematic differences in scores or quality that can be attributed to differences in total proximity or in the timing or subject matter of the proposal. What is plotted, then, is the relationship between scores and quality for applicants evaluated by the same committee meeting, who have been cited by the same total number of reviewers. The steeper slope for applicants cited by permanent members means that scores are more indicative of quality when reviewers are familiar with an applicant's work. A good scientist, for instance, has a better chance of being funded when evaluated by reviewers in her area—not only because of bias—but because the reviewers are more likely to recognize the quality of her work. This increased sensitivity to quality, however, cuts both ways: Figure 7 also shows that, for sufficiently low-quality applications, committees give *lower* scores to proximate applicants. This means that expertise can partially undo the average impact of bias: a bad scientist simply has a harder time hiding the quality of her application from reviewers in her area.

One additional finding to note (row 5, across all columns) is that the coefficient on the interaction between total proximity and application quality is negative: among applicants cited by

more reviewers, there is a lower correlation between scores and quality on average. While this may seem puzzling at first, it makes sense when one remembers that the total number of reviewers who cite an applicant is likely to be correlated with unobserved aspects of her quality. In this case, the negative coefficient says that scores are less indicative of quality when an applicant is already higher quality.

These results alleviate the potential concern that I may label reviewers as biased if they are maximizing some unobserved aspect of application quality that is systematically different from my citation-based measure.¹⁵ If, for example, reviewers are better at identifying “undervalued” research in their own area, then they may be more likely to fund low-citation related research over higher-citation unrelated research—not because of bias, but because of better information about the true quality of related projects. This behavior, however, would tend to *decrease* the correlation between citations and funding likelihood for related applicants, relative to unrelated applicants. The fact that reviewers appear to be more sensitive to citation-based counts of quality for applicants in their own area provides some evidence that citation counts convey useful information about the kind of quality that reviewers care about.

These findings are also unlikely to be driven by the Matthew Effect, a sociological phenomenon wherein credit and citations accrue to established investigators simply because they are established (see Merton, 1986 and Azoulay, Stuart, and Wang, 2011). Were this the case, more established applicants would be more likely to be funded and, separately, also more likely to receive citations regardless of the true quality of their work: bias in the scientific community at large would obscure my ability to detect bias in the review committee. However, my specifications control for many applicant characteristics that may be potentially correlated with prominence: publication and grant history. If obtaining NIH grants improves grantsmanship or increases prestige, this should not affect my estimates because I compare applicants with comparable CVs. Further, I also control for scientific esteem as measured by proximity to all reviewers: there is no reason to believe that applicants cited by permanent members are more prominent than those cited by temporary members.

Tables 6 and 8 also consider the impact of proximity on an application’s percentile score and its likelihood of being scored at all (e.g., rejected early in the process due to low initial evaluations), respectively. In both cases, I find a similar pattern, though an economically smaller effect. Being related to a more influential set of reviewers increases an applicant’s score by a quarter of a percentile and her likelihood of being scored by just over half a percent. The magnitudes of these estimates

¹⁵This would violate Condition 2, that measurement error in quality is conditionally mean zero.

suggest that reviewers both pay more attention to quality for applications at the margin of being funded and are more likely to exercise their bias when this bias might be pivotal for funding. Finally, the results in Tables 6 and 8 report the linear effect of proximity and quality on funding decisions. In Appendix D, I show that these findings are robust to non-parametric and non-linear specifications as well.

6 Alternate Identification Strategy

In my main specification, I identify the effect of proximity to more influential reviewers (permanent vs. temporary). This approach relies on the assumption that controlling that the total number of reviewers who cite an applicant is an adequate control for unobserved differences in quality that may be correlated with whether an applicant is cited by a permanent reviewer. A different approach would be to use applicant fixed effects to control for quality, compare the funding outcomes of applications from the *same* applicant across meetings in which the applicant is cited by different total numbers of reviewers.¹⁶ The downside of this approach is that applicant fixed effects only control for time-invariant unobserved quality. If there are aspects of the quality of an applicant’s proposal that are not controlled for with information on past publications and grant histories, then this may bias my results.

This second approach also captures a slightly different causal effect: the effect of being related to an additional reviewer, as opposed to being related to a more influential reviewer. The relative magnitudes of these effects are theoretically ambiguous: if only permanent reviewers have influence, then the effect of being related to a permanent reviewer (conditional on total proximity) will be larger than the effect of being related to an additional member (because that additional member may be temporary and thus, in this example, inconsequential). If, on the other hand, temporary members have as much influence as permanent ones, then the composition of related reviewers would not matter, but the number would. Table 9 reports estimates from this alternative identification strategy. My results are similar: due to bias, an additional proximity reviewer increases an applicant’s chances of being funded by 0.68 percentage points or 3.3 percent, identical to the main estimate. I also find a stronger relationship between quality and funding among applicants with

¹⁶In my alternative specification using applicant fixed effects, the analogous regression equation is given by:

$$\begin{aligned}
 D_{icmt} &= a_0 + a_1 \text{Total Proximity}_{icmt} + a_2 \text{Quality}_{icmt} \times \text{Total Proximity}_{icmt} \\
 &+ a_3 \text{Quality}_{icmt} + \mu X_{icmt} + \delta_i + \varepsilon_{icmt}.
 \end{aligned}$$

greater intellectual proximity; a 1 standard deviation (51 citation) increase in quality has essentially no effect on an applicant's likelihood of being funded (conditional on applicant FEs), when that applicant has not been cited by any member of the review committee. When one reviewer has cited the applicant, this same change in quality translates into a 2.6 percentage point or a 12 percent increase in funding likelihood.

7 Additional Robustness Checks

The Appendix discusses a variety of robustness and specification checks, which I outline here.

Appendix Tables A through E examine the robustness of my results to alternative measures of grant quality: restricting to authors with very rare names to improve the quality of publication matches; varying my text-matching process; changing the time window I use to measure publications associated with a grant; and restricting only to publications in which the PI has played a primary role.

For example, not receiving a grant may slow down a scientist's research by requiring her to spend additional time applying for funding. If this is the case, then a grant can directly impact the research quality of funded vs. non-funded applicants even before any funding dollars are disbursed. To address this concern, I estimate an alternative specification focusing on publications on the same topic that were published one year *prior* to the grant-funding decision; these articles are likely to inform the grant proposal, but their quality cannot be affected by the actual funding decision. This is described in Appendix Table C.

My next set of results describe broader tests of the logic of my empirical strategy. Appendix Table F, for instance, reports a different test of the validity of my quality measure. If my results were driven by changes in measured grant quality near the payline, I would find no effect of proximity for applications that share the same funding status. To test for this, I examine the impact of proximity on application scores for the subset of applications that are either all funded or all unfunded. In both of these subsamples, I find evidence that being proximate to a permanent member increases scores and increases the correlation between scores and quality. Because proximity cannot affect actual funding status in these subsamples, the effect I find cannot be driven by differences in how well quality is measured.

Another potential concern with my quality measure is that text-matching may eliminate publications on topics different from that described in the grant application but which review

committees care about. It is common for grant funding to subsidize research on future projects that may not be closely related to the original grant proposal; even though reviewers are instructed to restrict their judgements to the merits of the research proposed in the grant application, it is possible that they may attempt to infer the quality of an applicant's future research pipeline and that related reviewers might have more information about this. To test whether my results are robust to this possibility, I use data on grant acknowledgements to match grants to *all* subsequent publications, not just to the research that is on the same topic or which is published within a year of grant review. Because grant acknowledgment data exist only for funded grants, this specification can only examine whether proximity impacts the scores that funded applicants receive. In Appendix Table G, I show that results using data on grant acknowledgments are largely similar.

Finally, Appendix Tables H and I show that my results are robust to allowing for nonparametric and nonlinear effects of proximity and quality on funding decisions.

8 How Does Proximity Affect the Efficiency of Grant Provision?

My main results show that 1) applicants who are related to study-section members are more likely to be funded, independent of quality, as measured by the number of citations that their research eventually produces; and 2) the correlation between eventual citations and funding likelihood is higher for related applicants, meaning that study-section members are better at discerning the quality of applicants in their own area.

Next, I embed my analysis of the effect of relationships on decisions into a broader analysis of their effect on overall efficiency. Assessing the efficiency consequences of related experts requires taking a stand on the social welfare function that the NIH cares about; without one, it would be impossible to assess whether distortions arising from the presence of related experts brings the the grant review process closer to or further from the social optimum.

In this section, I assume that policymakers care about maximizing either the number or impact of publications and citations associated with NIH-funded research. An important disclaimer to note is that an efficiency calculation based on this measure of welfare may not always be appropriate. If, for instance, the NIH cares about promoting investigators from disadvantaged demographic or institutional backgrounds, then a policy that increases total citations may actually move the NIH further from the goal of encouraging diversity. It may also be that part of the value that intellectually close reviewers bring is that they are able to identify good research that may not be highly

cited; an efficiency calculation based on citation counts would naturally miss this contribution.¹⁷

Yet, while citations need not be the only welfare measure that the NIH cares about, there are compelling reasons why policy-makers should take citation-based measures of quality in account when assessing the efficacy of grant review. In addition to being a standard measure of quality used by both economists when studying science and by scientists themselves, citations can also be used to construct, as discussed in Section 3, flexible metrics that capture both high-quality normal science and high-impact work. My citation data, moreover, extend beyond my sample period, allowing me to observe the quality of a publication as judged in the long run. This alleviates concerns that citations may underestimate the importance of groundbreaking projects that may not be well cited in the short run.

Finally, an efficiency calculation should also take into account the marginal utility of funding to an applicant’s research. Applicants who may receive funding elsewhere would benefit less from NIH funding. Because I do not have information about their outside options, this is difficult to assess. That said, the vast majority of life science academics in the US rely almost exclusively on NIH funding to support their research programs.

Given these caveats, I begin by comparing the actual funding decision for an application to the counterfactual funding decision that would have been obtained in the absence of relationships. Specifically, I define

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Decision}_{icmt}^{\text{Benchmark}} &= \text{Decision}_{icmt} \text{ (actual funding)} \\ \text{Decision}_{icmt}^{\text{No Relationship}} &= \text{Decision}_{icmt} - \hat{a}_1 \text{Total Related}_{icmt} \\ &\quad - \hat{a}_2 \text{Quality}_{icmt} \times \text{Related to permanent}_{icmt}, \end{aligned}$$

where \hat{a}_1 and \hat{a}_2 are estimated from Equation (2) of Section 4.¹⁸ The counterfactual funding decision represents what the committee would have chosen had applicants related to permanent members been treated as if they were unrelated.

I summarize the effect of relationships by comparing the quality of the proposals that would have been funded had relationships not been taken into account with the quality of those that actually are funded. Specifically, I consider all applications that are funded and sum up the number

¹⁷Though if this were the case, we might expect a lower correlation between citations and funding outcomes among applicants working in the same areas as reviewer; as shown in Table 8, this is not the case.

¹⁸Even though $\text{Decision}_{icmt}^{\text{No Relationship}}$ is constructed using estimates from Equation (2), it does not rely on the model to interpret those coefficients.

of publications and citations that accrue to this portfolio. This is my benchmark measure of the quality of NIH peer review. I then simulate what applications would have been funded had relationships not been taken into account. To do this, I fix the total number of proposals that are funded in each committee meeting but reorder applications by their counterfactual funding probabilities. I sum up the number of publications and citations that accrue to this new portfolio of funded grants. The difference in the quality of the benchmark and counterfactual portfolio provides a concrete, summary measure of the effect of relationships on the quality of research that the NIH supports.

8.1 Results

Table 9 estimates the effect of relationships on the quality of research that the NIH supports. In effect, I ask what the NIH portfolio of funded grants would have been had committees treated applicants who are related to permanent members as if they were not, holding all else fixed. In my sample, I observe 93,558 applications, 24,404 of which are funded. Using this strategy, I find that 2,500, or 2.7 percent, of these applications change funding status under the counterfactual.

On average, working in the same area as influential reviewers helps an applicant obtain funding; ignoring this intellectual connection would decrease the number of proximate applicants who are funded by 3.0 percent. The quality of applications funded when intellectual proximity is taken into account, however, is higher. The overall portfolio of funded grants under the counterfactual produces two to three percent fewer citations, publications, and high-impact publications. To take account of the fact that some grants are funded and others are not, I use my standard funding-purged measure of grant application quality—text-matched publications within one year of grant review, and citations to those publications—as the measure of grant output used for this analysis. This has the benefit of allowing me to compare the benchmark NIH portfolio with counterfactual results, holding constant the effect of actual funding status. However, a downside of this approach is that the stringent matching requirement will undercount the total number of publications (and therefore citations) associated with these grants. This exercise should thus be used to compare the percentage difference between the benchmark and counterfactual no-proximity cases, rather than to discern the level of NIH output.

9 Conclusion

This paper develops a conceptual and statistical framework for understanding and separately identifying the effects of bias and expertise in grant evaluation. My results show that, as a result of bias, being related to a more influential member of a review committee increases an application's chances of being funded by 3.3 percent. This shows that even though scientists compete for scarce resources such as funding and scientific priority, they nonetheless favor applications in their own area, suggesting that they view the research of others as compliments to their own. Viewed in terms of how committees respond to increases in application quality, this bias increases the chances that an application will be funded by the same amount as would be predicted by a 2 standard deviation change in quality. This very large figure suggests that committees have a hard time predicting quality, and, by comparison, reviewer bias has a large effect on outcomes.

The expertise that reviewers have about research in their own area, however, also improves the quality of review: working in the same area as a permanent committee member doubles the responsiveness of review committees to application quality. On net, ignoring relationships reduces the quality of the NIH-funded portfolio as measured by numbers of citations and publications by two to three percent.

My results suggest that there may be scope for improving the quality of peer review. For example, current NIH policy prohibits reviewers from evaluating proposals from their own institution. In the past, the National Bureau of Economic Research was considered a single institution, meaning that economists often recused themselves from evaluating the work of other economists.¹⁹ The findings in this paper demonstrate why relaxing such policies may lead to improved evaluation.

¹⁹Current conflict of interest policies apply to members of the same NBER program.

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FIGURE 1: DATA SOURCES AND VARIABLE CONSTRUCTION

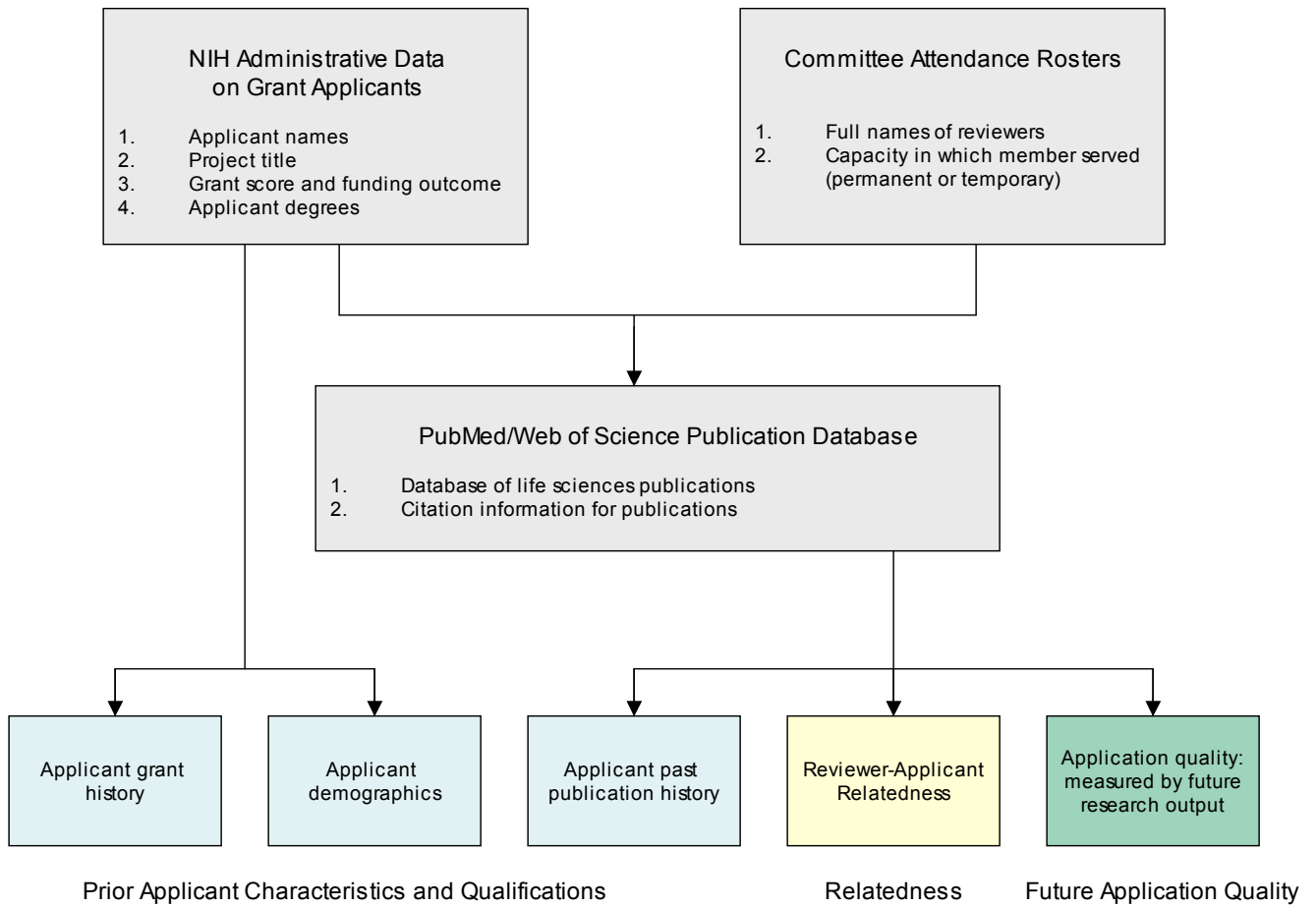
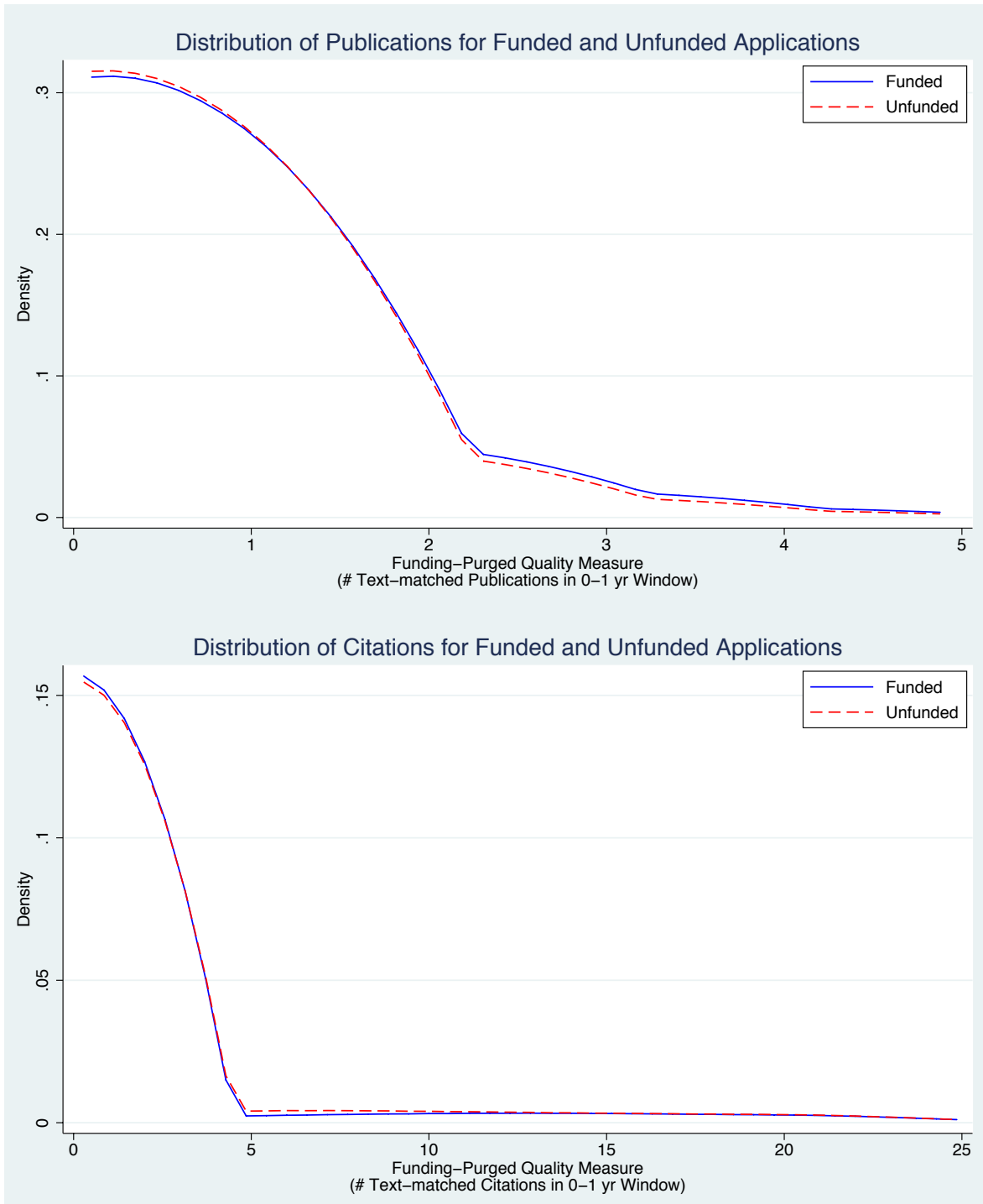
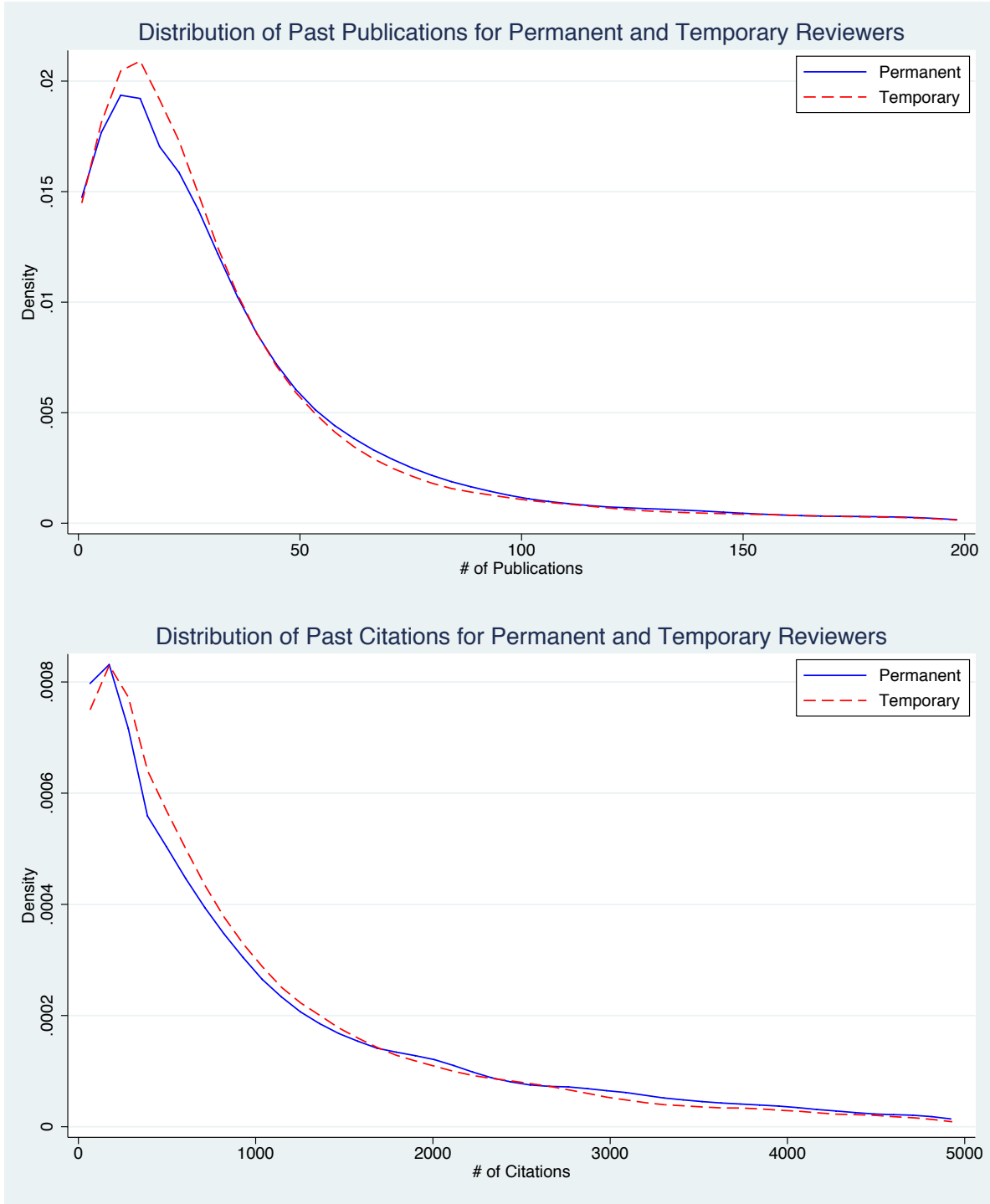


FIGURE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF APPLICATION QUALITY: FUNDED AND UNFUNDED GRANTS



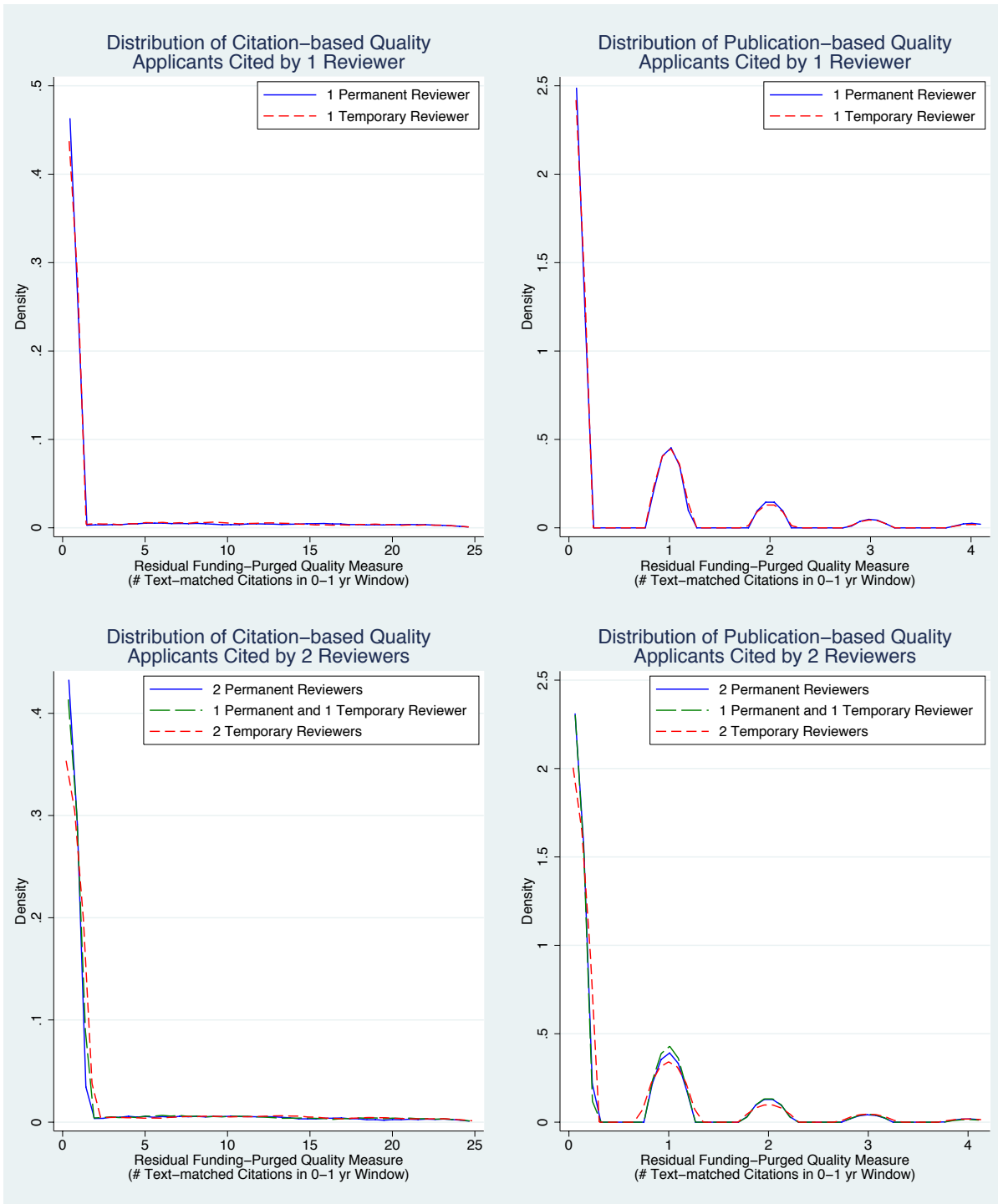
Note: This is the density of the quality of funded and unfunded applications. Application quality is constructed as described in the text. See Section 3.2 for details.

FIGURE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF PAST CITATIONS: PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY REVIEWERS



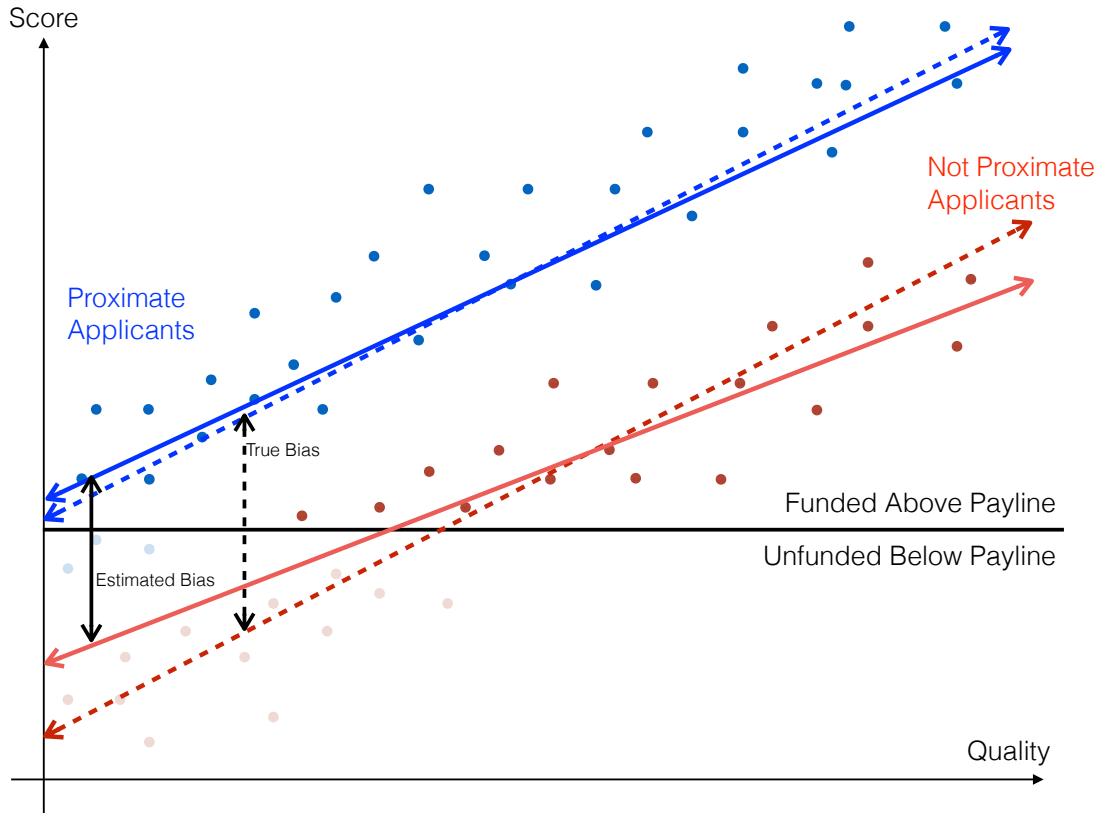
Note: This plots the density of past publications and citations for temporary and permanent reviewers based on research published in the five years prior to the grant review meeting in which the reviewer is observed.

FIGURE 4: APPLICATION QUALITY CONDITIONAL ON TOTAL RELATED REVIEWERS



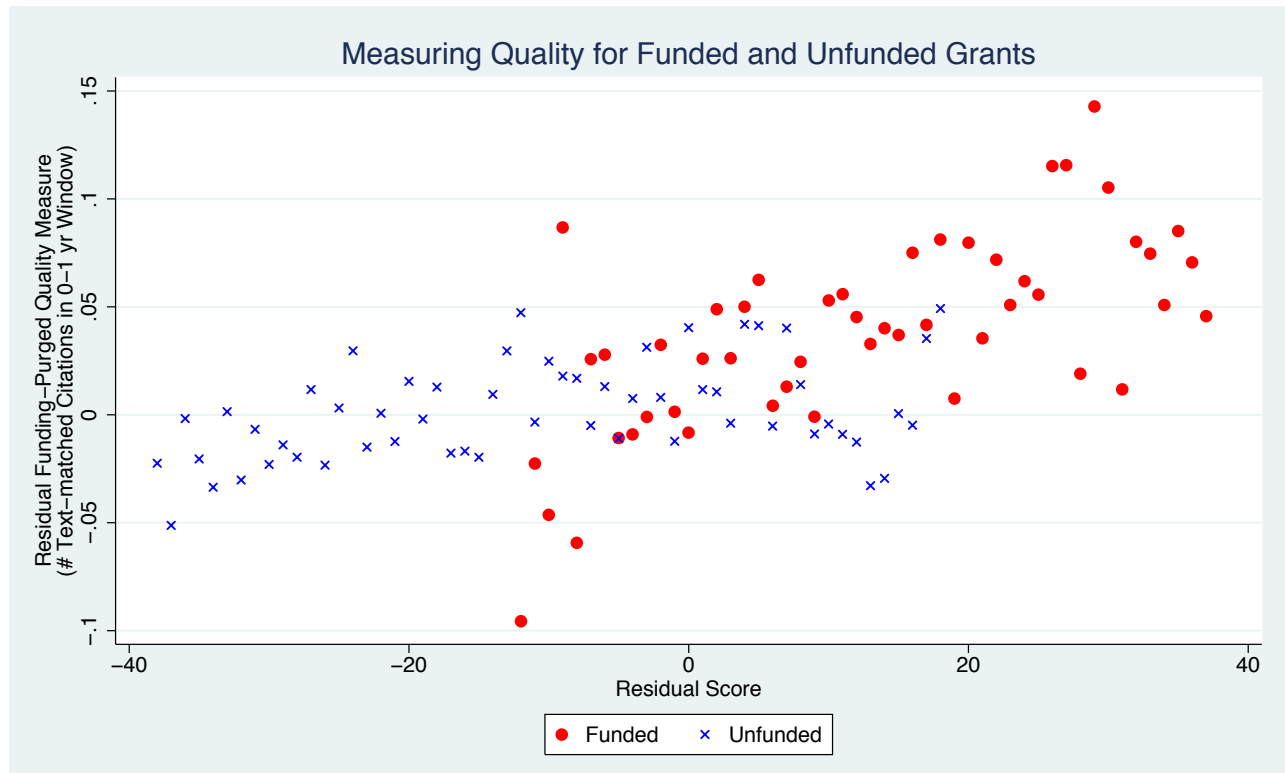
Note: This is the density of past publications and citations for applicants related to the same total number of reviewers but to different numbers of temporary and permanent reviewers. Quality is measured as described in Section 3.2. The top panels graph quality measures for applicants related to one total reviewer; the bottom panel repeat this exercise for applications related to two total reviewers.

FIGURE 5: EXAMPLE OF TRUNCATION BIAS WITH UNFUNDED APPLICANTS



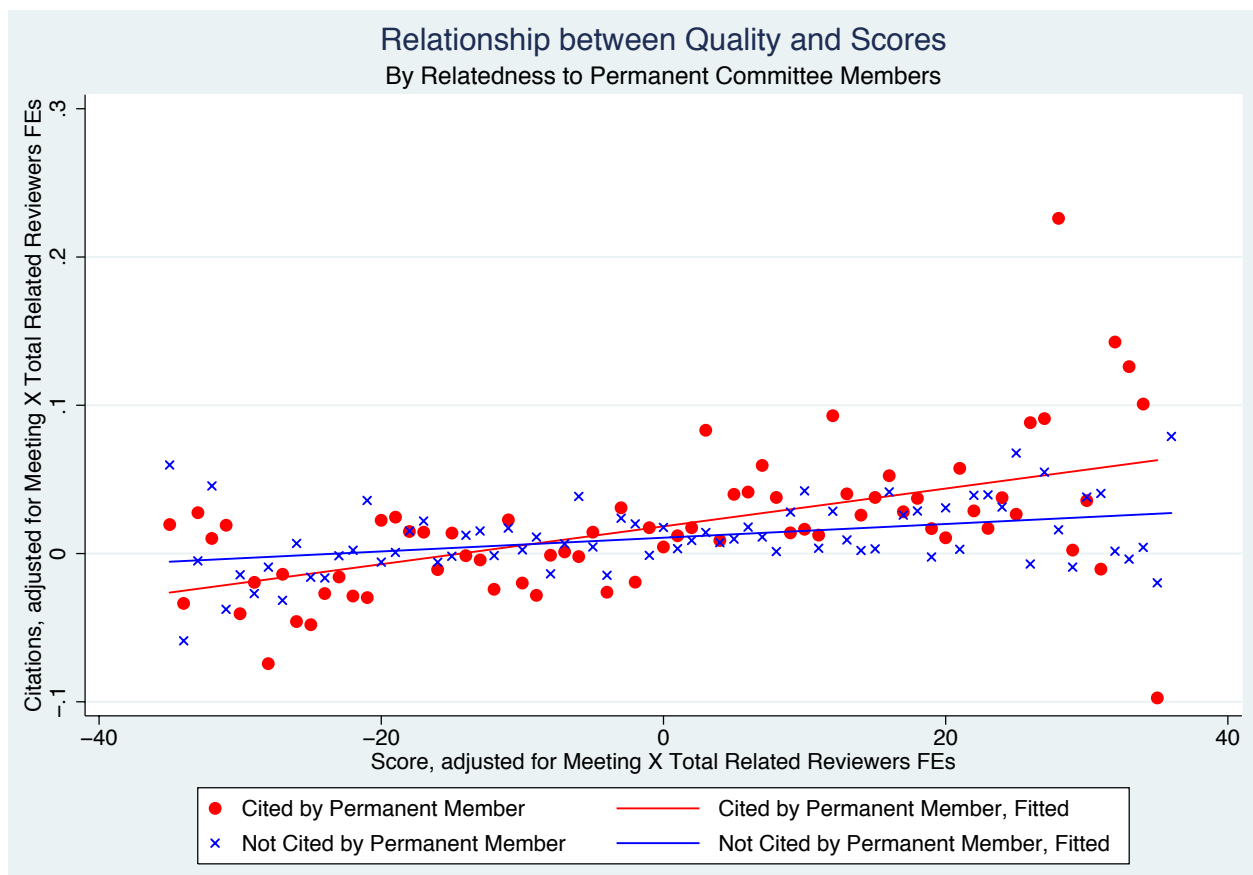
Note: This figure plots an applicant’s study section score against the quality of his or her application. The blue dots represent applicants who are cited by more permanent reviewers, conditional on total proximity. The red dots represent applicants who are cited by fewer permanent reviewers, conditional on total reviewers. The black horizontal line is the payline: grants with scores above this line are funded, while those that are below are not. In this stylized example, reviewers are biased—for the same quality application, proximate applicants receive higher scores—but reviewers are not better informed—the slope of the relationship between quality and scores is the same for both types of applicants. If I were only able to observe quality for funded applicants, all the dots below the payline (the faded dots) would not be in my sample. A regression line through these data, would identify the solid regression lines. In this case, my estimate of bias would be smaller than true bias. Similarly, in this example, being unable to observe the quality of all applicants would lead me to under estimate the relationship between scores and quality, especially for the more truncate sample of unrelated applicants.

FIGURE 6: MEAN APPLICATION QUALITY BY SCORE: FUNDED AND UNFUNDED GRANTS



Note: The x -axis represents the score an application receives, net of meeting fixed effects; the y -axis represents application quality, also net of meeting effects. Each dot represents average quality for applications with a given score, rounded to the ones digit. See Section 5.1 for more details.

FIGURE 7: QUALITY AND SCORES BY PROXIMITY TO PERMANENT REVIEWERS



Note: The x -axis represents the score an application receives, net of meeting by number of related reviewer fixed effects; the y -axis represents application quality, also net of the same effects. Each dot represents average quality for applications with a given score, rounded to the ones digit. See the text in Section 5.2 for more discussion.

TABLE 1: GRANT APPLICATION DESCRIPTIVES

	Roster-Matched Sample		Full Sample	
Sample Coverage		Std. Dev.		Std. Dev.
# Grants	93,558		156,686	
# Applicants	36,785		46,546	
Years	1992-2005		1992-2005	
# Study Sections	250		380	
# Study Section Meetings	2,083		4,722	
Grant Application Characteristics				
% Awarded	26.08		30.48	
% Scored	61.58		64.04	
% New	70.31		71.21	
Percentile Score	70.05	18.42	71.18	18.75
# Publications (text-matched, in first year after grant review)	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.8
# Citations (up to 2008, to text-matched publications in first year after grant review)	10	51	11	55
Applicant (PI) Characteristics				
% Female	23.21		22.58	
% Asian	13.96		13.27	
% Hispanic	5.94		5.79	
% M.D.	28.72		29.26	
% Ph.D.	80.46		79.69	
% New investigators	19.70		20.02	
# Publications, past 5 years	15	60	15	55
# Citations, past 5 years	416	1,431	423	1,474

Notes: The analytic sample includes new or competing R01 grants evaluated in chartered study sections from 1992 to 2005, for which I have study section attendance data, with social science study sections dropped. The quality of grant applications is measured as follows: # Publications refers to the number of research articles that the grant winner publishes in the year following the grant which share at least one salient word overlap between the grant project title and the publication title. # Citations refers to the total number of citations that accrue to this restricted set of publications, from the time of publication, to the end of my citation data in 2008. Applicant characteristics are measured as follows: female, Asian, and Hispanic are all defined probabilistically based on full name. A new investigator is one who has never previously been a PI on an NIH grant. Past publications include any first, second, and last authored articles published in the five years prior to applying for the grant. # Citations include all citations to those publications, to 2008. Investigators with common names are dropped as are any for which the covariates are missing.

TABLE 2: COMMITTEE DESCRIPTIVES

	Roster Matched Sample	
		Std. Dev.
# Reviewers	18,916	
# Applications	53.73	17.31
Composition		
# Permanent reviewers per meeting	17.23	4.52
# Temporary reviewers per meeting	12.35	7.44
# Meetings per permanent reviewer	3.69	3.03
# Meetings per temporary reviewer	1.78	1.30
Relatedness		
# Reviewers who cite applicant	1.94	2.81
# Permanent reviewers who cite applicant	1.11	1.73
# Permanent reviewers cited by applicants	4.12	5.32
# Temporary reviewers cited by applicants	4.12	5.09

Notes: The analytic sample includes new or competing R01 grants evaluated in chartered study sections from 1992 to 2005, for which I have study section attendance data. Future publications refers to the number of research articles that the grant winner publishes in the year following the grant which share at least one salient word overlap between the grant project title and the publication title. Past publications include any first, second, and last authored articles published in the five years prior to applying for the grant. Investigators with common names are dropped as are any for which the covariates are missing. Social science study sections are dropped.

TABLE 3: CHARACTERISTICS OF PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY REVIEWERS

	Permanent	Temporary	Pr(Diff!=0)	
# Reviewers	9,371	14,067		
Reviewer Characteristics				
% Female	31.68	24.28	0.00	
% Asian	14.99	13.08	0.00	
% Hispanic	6.40	5.05	0.00	
% M.D.	27.42	25.85	0.00	
% Ph.D.	79.45	80.99	0.00	
# Publications, past 5 years (median)	22	21	0.81	
# Citations, past 5 years (median)	606	590	0.22	
Reviewer Transitions (1997 to 2002 subsample)				
	% Permanent in the Past	% Permanent in the Future	% Temporary in the Past	% Temporary in the Future
Current Permanent Members	61.87	63.71	38.11	35.45
Current Temporary Members	16.25	41.30	32.73	50.13

Notes: Observations are at the reviewer-study section meeting level. The sample includes all reviewers in chartered study sections from 1992 to 2005, for which I have study section attendance data. # Reviewer publications include any first, second, and last authored articles published in the five years prior to the study section meeting date for which the reviewer is present. # Citations refers to all citations accruing to those publications, to 2008. Reviewer transitions are calculated based on whether a reviewer is present in the roster database during the full sample years from 1992 to 2005. The set of reviewers used in this calculation are those present in meetings from 1997 to 2002 in order to allow time to observe members in the past and future within the sample.

TABLE 4: APPLICANT CHARACTERISTICS, BY # AND COMPOSITION OF RELATED REVIEWERS

Cited by 0 Reviewers			
% Female	27.50		
% Asian	15.35		
% Hispanic	6.88		
% M.D.	25.40		
% Ph.D.	82.73		
% New investigators	27.22		
# Publications, past 5 years (median)	9		
	<i>(31)</i>		
# Citations, past 5 years (median)	172		
	<i>(713)</i>		
N	37,757		
Cited by 1 Reviewer Total	1 Permanent	1 Temporary	
% Female	22.24	23.97	
% Asian	13.51	15.09	
% Hispanic	5.79	5.57	
% M.D.	27.11	26.71	
% Ph.D.	81.63	82.24	
% New investigators	19.34	19.76	
# Publications, past 5 years (median)	15	15	
	<i>(49)</i>	<i>(52)</i>	
# Citations, past 5 years (median)	442	443	
	<i>(1102)</i>	<i>(1080)</i>	
N	10,980	7,049	
Cited by 2 Reviewers Total	2 Permanent	1 Each	2 Temporary
% Female	20.26	20.89	22.93
% Asian	12.54	13.17	13.69
% Hispanic	5.14	5.02	5.82
% M.D.	28.64	29.28	28.53
% Ph.D.	79.88	80.02	81.04
% New investigators	15.88	16.25	17.06
# Publications, past 5 years (median)	18	18	17
	<i>(31)</i>	<i>(50)</i>	<i>(45)</i>
# Citations, past 5 years (median)	563	556	510
	<i>(1336)</i>	<i>(1233)</i>	<i>(1050)</i>
N	4,841	5,094	2,403

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details of the sample. Applicant characteristics are measured as follows: female, Asian, and Hispanic are all defined probabilistically based on full name. A new investigator is one who has never previously been a PI on an NIH grant. Past publications include any first, second, and last authored articles published in the five years prior to applying for the grant. # Citations include all citations to those publications, to 2008.

TABLE 5: DO PERMANENT REVIEWERS HAVE MORE INFLUENCE?

	Proportion of Proximate Applicants who are Funded	Average Score of Proximate Applicants
	(1)	(2)
Proximate Applicant is Permanent	0.003*** <i>(0.001)</i>	0.336** <i>(0.144)</i>
Observations	15871	15870
R-squared	0.954	0.571
Reviewer FE	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X

Notes: This examines how outcomes for applicants cited by reviewers vary by whether the citing reviewer is serving in a permanent or temporary capacity. The sample is restricted to 4909 reviewers who are observed both in temporary and permanent positions. An applicant is said to be proximate if a reviewer has cited that applicant in the 5 years prior to the study section meeting in which the reviewer and applicant are matched. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.

TABLE 6: WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF BEING RELATED TO A REVIEWER ON FUNDING OUTCOMES?

	1(Score is above the payline)			Score			1(Scored at all)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410			Mean = 71.18, SD = 18.75			Mean = 0.640, SD = 0.480		
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.0328*** (0.001)	0.0175*** (0.001)	0.0072*** (0.002)	1.1067*** (0.054)	0.6107*** (0.054)	0.2736*** (0.094)	0.0500*** (0.002)	0.0263*** (0.001)	0.0047** (0.002)
Total Proximity			0.0076*** (0.001)			0.2512*** (0.061)			0.0160*** (0.001)
Observations	93,558	93,558	93,558	57,613	57,613	57,613	93,558	93,558	93,558
R-squared	0.0630	0.0930	0.0935	0.1186	0.1423	0.1426	0.0775	0.1297	0.1312
Meeting FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics		X	X		X	X		X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions (above payline, score, or scored at all) on the number of permanent members related to an applicant, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited any of the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.

TABLE 7: DOES BEING FUNDED AFFECT MY MEASURE OF APPLICATION QUALITY?

Grant Application Quality			
(# of citations to text-matched publications within 1 year of grant review)			
Subsample of Scored Applications			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1(Grant is funded)	0.0457*** <i>(0.005)</i>	0.0096 <i>(0.009)</i>	0.0091 <i>(0.009)</i>
Observations	57,613	57,613	57,613
R-squared	0.0570	0.0575	0.0608
Meeting FEs	X	X	X
Quartics of Score		X	X
Institute X Year FEs			X

Notes: Coefficients are reported from a regression of grant quality on an indicator for whether the grant was funded and meeting fixed effects. Columns 2 and 3 include controls for quartics in the applicant score: these effectively compare grant applications with the same score, evaluated in the same meeting, but which differ in funding status. Scores are available only for applications that were not triaged.

TABLE 8: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?

	1(Score is above the payline)		Score		1(Scored at all)	
	Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410		Mean = 71.18, SD = 18.75		Mean = 0.640, SD = 0.480	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.0072*** (0.002)	0.0068*** (0.002)	0.2736*** (0.094)	0.2590*** (0.095)	0.0047** (0.002)	0.0043** (0.002)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality		0.0176** (0.008)		0.2739 (0.325)		0.0162* (0.009)
Grant Application Quality		0.0136** (0.006)		0.5568** (0.261)		0.0305*** (0.008)
Total Proximity	0.0076*** (0.001)	0.0078*** (0.001)	0.2512*** (0.061)	0.2565*** (0.061)	0.0160*** (0.001)	0.0165*** (0.001)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Quality		-0.0005 (0.001)		-0.0043 (0.049)		-0.0036*** (0.001)
Observations	93,558	93,558	57,613	57,613	93,558	93,558
R-squared	0.0935	0.0949	0.1426	0.1431	0.1312	0.1322
Meeting FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions (above payline, score, or scored at all) on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application within 1 year of grant review, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.

TABLE 9: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS? APPLICANT FIXED EFFECTS

	1(Score is above the payline)		Score		1(Scored at all)	
	Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410		Mean = 71.18, SD = 18.75		Mean = .640, SD = .480	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total Proximity	0.0061*** (0.001)	0.0068*** (0.001)	0.2678*** (0.058)	0.2639*** (0.058)	0.0111*** (0.001)	0.0110*** (0.001)
Total Proximity × Grant Application Quality		0.0260** (0.012)		0.2895 (0.469)		0.0187** (0.009)
Grant Application Quality		-0.0136 (0.011)		-0.0829 (0.468)		-0.0069 (0.009)
Observations	93,558	93,558	57,613	57,613	93,558	93,558
R-squared	0.4525	0.4646	0.5451	0.5451	0.5635	0.5636
Applicant FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance and Past Grants	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions (above payline, score, or scored at all) on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for individual applicant fixed effects. Total Proximity is defined as the number of reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application within 1 year of grant review, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance and Past Grants" include indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to. Demographic variables are absorbed in the applicant FE.

TABLE 9: WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF PROXIMITY ON THE QUALITY OF THE NIH PORTFOLIO?

	Benchmark	No Proximity
Number of Funded Grants	24,404	24,404
Number of Grants that Change Funding Status	2,500	2,500
Total # Citations <i>(% change relative to benchmark)</i>	584,124	566,284 <i>(3.05)</i>
Total # Publications <i>(% change relative to benchmark)</i>	11,149	10,851 <i>(2.67)</i>
Total # in Top 99% of Citations <i>(% change relative to benchmark)</i>	590	572 <i>(3.05)</i>
Total # in Top 90% of Citations <i>(% change relative to benchmark)</i>	10,239	9,925 <i>(3.07)</i>
Total # Related Applicants Funded <i>(% change relative to benchmark)</i>	18,666	18,113 <i>(2.96)</i>

Notes: Benchmark refers to characteristics of grants ordered according to their predicted probability of funding, using the main regression of funding status on proximity and grant application quality. "Benchmark" figures are the grant quality measures for a grants that would be funded if we used the predicted ordering from the regression of funding likelihood on relatedness and quality estimated in Column 2 of Table 8. "No relationships" refers to the predicted ordering of grants under the same regression, but under the assumption that relatedness to permanent members and relatedness to permanent members interacted with quality do not matter (their coefficients are set to zero). To take account of the fact that some grants are funded and others are not, we use our standard funding-purged measure of grant application quality: text-matched publications within one year of grant review, and citations to those publications. The number of projects that are funded is kept constant within meeting. See text for details.

APPENDIX MATERIALS

A Measuring Grant Application Quality

This paper uses data from three sources: NIH administrative data for the universe of R01 grant applications, attendance rosters for NIH peer-review meetings, and publication databases for life-sciences research. Figure 1 and Section 3 summarizes how these data sources fit together and provide details on how applicant characteristics are measured, and how proximity is measured. In this section, I provide additional details on the more complicated process of defining the quality of grant applications.

A.1 Match Process

For each grant application, I have information on the name of the applicant, the title of the grant project and, in some cases, location identifiers for the applicant. I also have data from Thomson Reuters ISI Web of Science (ISI), containing information on publication titles, abstracts, and author names. To match these, I restrict to life science journal articles (e.g. excluding reviews, comments, etc.) in ISI with the same author name, published within 1 year of the study section meeting date. I have full name information in the NIH grant data, but publications are listed by last name and first and middle initial only. This results in some cases in which several authors can have the same initials (e.g. Smith, TA). In my baseline specifications, I exclude PIs with common names, defined as those last name, first initial, middle initial combinations shared by more than two individuals in PubMed. This amounts to about 7% of the sample being removed.

After removing common names and proceeding with an initial name and publication year match, I am left with a set of 16,134,500 possible grant-publication matches for 158,099 project titles and 3,274,225 possible publications. From this set, I compare the content of the grant project title with that of the publication title and publication abstract. I first remove a list of common stop words using the standard MySQL full test stop words list (available at <http://dev.mysql.com/doc/refman/5.5/en/fulltext-stopwords.html>). After doing so, the average grant project title has 4.87 semantic words (SD 1.10). The average publication title has 8.90 words (SD 3.38); the average abstract has 52.1 words (SD 36.9). 11.58% of potential pairs have at least one overlapping word between the grant and publication titles. 18.08% of potential pairs share a common semantic word. These comparisons are made from raw words only so that “mice” and “mouse” or “males” and “male” would not match.

In our main specifications, we say that a publication and grant application are text-matched to each other if they share at least 4 semantic words in either the publication title or abstract. Consider the following example from my data.

In 1999, the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Disease funded grant number 1R01AI045057-01 from the applicant John C Boothroyd at Stanford University. The grant project title was titled “Genetics of Invasion and Egress in Toxoplasma.” This grant shows up in my raw data as follows:

Grant ID	Grant Year	Grant Title	PI Name
1R01AI045057-01	1999	<u>Genetics of Invasion</u> and <u>Egress in Toxoplasma</u>	Boothroyd, JC

Next, I search for life science publications by authors with the initials JC Boothroyd published in the first year after grant review (1999 and 2000). This yields 10 publications, of which I am excerpting the following five for illustrative purposes

The first publication clearly seems related to the subject of the grant. It has 2 overlapping words in the title and 4 overlapping words in the abstract (the 4th word, “invasion,” shows up later and is not reproduced here). My text matching algorithm will link this publication as related. The second publication does not seem like it has much overlap with the subject of the grant. My algorithm will not link this publication. The following three publications are more ambiguous. All of them are about “toxoplasma,” which is a key word in the grant project title. The third publication only has one overlapping word (“toxoplasma”) while the second has two overlapping words (“toxoplasma” and “invasion”), and the final has one overlapping word (“toxoplasma”) and a close second (“invasion” vs. “invade”).

If we examine the list of publications actually acknowledged by the grant (this is available for funded applications only), this list includes 3 publications: the first, the third, and the fourth; the fifth publication, which looks similar in terms of word overlap, is not acknowledged. In the interest of being conservative, my main approach will match only the first publication.

Pub. ID	Pub. Year	Pub. Title	Pub. Abstract
000168366100029	2000	Ionophore-resistant mutants of <u>Toxoplasma gondii</u> reveal host cell permeabilization as an early event in <u>egress</u>	<u>Toxoplasma gondii</u> is an obligate intracellular pathogen within the phylum Apicomplexa. <u>Invasion</u> and <u>egress</u> by this protozoan parasite....
000165702100018	2000	Trans-spliced L30 ribosomal protein mRNA of <u>Trypanosoma brucei</u> is not subject to autogenous feedback control at the messenger RNA level	The regulation of gene expression in trypanosomes is poorly understood but it is clear that much of this regulation, particularly of developmentally controlled genes, is post-transcriptional....
000089249600007	2000	Lytic cycle of <u>Toxoplasma gondii</u>	<u>Toxoplasma gondii</u> is an obligate intracellular pathogen within the phylum Apicomplexa. This protozoan parasite is one of the most widespread, with a broad host range including many birds and mammals and a geographic range that is nearly worldwide....
0000167020000075	2000	<u>Toxoplasma gondii</u> homologue of plasmodium apical membrane antigen 1 is involved in <u>invasion</u> of host cells	Proteins with constitutive or transient localization on the surface of Apicomplexa parasites are of particular interest for their potential role in the <u>invasion</u> of host cells....
000079956900015	2000	A <u>Toxoplasma</u> lectin-like activity specific for sulfated polysaccharides is involved in host cell infection	<u>Toxoplasma gondii</u> is one of the most widespread parasites of humans and animals. The parasite has a remarkable ability to invade a broad range of cells....

A.2 Robustness to alternative processes

Given the ambiguity involved in the matching process, I explore the following forms of robustness to my primary text-matching process:

1. Appendix Table A: Varying criteria for uniqueness of names
2. Appendix Table B: Varying the threshold for word overlap used to associate publications with grants
3. Appendix Tables C and D: Varying the time window for publications to be associated with grants

4. Appendix Table E: Varying the prominence of the author’s contribution to a publication.

Appendix Table A explores the robustness of my results to different restrictions on the types of applicant names that I include in my analysis. In my main specifications, I exclude all names with more than two individuals in PubMed who share the same last name, first and middle initial combination. The results in Appendix Table A show that my results do not change when I include all these names or when I am more restrictive, allowing only for unique last name and first and middle initial combinations.

Appendix Table B considers 8 different ways of changing threshold for how I choose whether a grant is matched to a publication. In my main specifications, I require that at least 4 semantic words be matched in either the publication title or abstract. As was discussed earlier, this may lead to cases in which publications on the same topic are missed (e.g., the third and fourth publications in the example table above.) Appendix Table B considers whether my results change when I apply different standards, both more and less stringent. Columns 1 through 4 detail results where text matching requires that X number of words overlap between both the grant project title and publication titles and the grant project title and abstract, where $X = 1, 2, 3,$ or 4 . Because there are on average only 4.87 semantic words (SD 1.10) in the grant project title, I examine up to 4 words maximum. Columns 5 through 8 repeat this exercise, with match defined as whether a grant project title shares X words with the publication title or the publication abstract (the main result is replicated in Column 5). The results show that, regardless of the exact threshold I use, my resulting estimates are similar: I still find that intellectual proximity leads to both bias in grant review, as well as a higher correlation between funding and outcomes for intellectually proximate applications.

Appendix Tables C and D vary the time windows used to match grants to publications. Appendix Table C addresses concerns that funding may directly influence the number of citations produced by a grant by, for example, freeing up an investigator from future grant writing so that he can concentrate on research. Instead of including articles published after the grant is reviewed, Appendix Table C restricts my analysis to articles published one year before a grant is reviewed. These publications are highly likely to be based off research that existed before the grant was reviewed, but cannot have been influenced by the grant funds. Using this metric, I find nearly identical measures of bias and information. Appendix Table D addresses the opposite concern, that a one-year window after review may be insufficient to assess the quality of grant applications. Instead, I use a five year window following review and find that my results are both qualitatively

and quantitatively similar.

Finally, the next set of results explores the validity of my quality measures more broadly. The goal of my quality measures is to capture the quality of the research written into the grant application at the time of grant review. One possible concern with examining all publications by an author is that some of these publications may be ones for which the author made few substantive intellectual contributions, and which might not reflect his or her research program. Life science articles often have many authors and collaborators on a project may receive authorial credit for minor contributions such as sharing equipment or making figures. To address this, Appendix Table E restricts my match process to publications for which the grant applicant was the first, second, or last author. In the life sciences, contributions can be inferred from authorship position with earlier authors deserving more credit, and the last author being the primary investigator. This does not materially affect my findings and, if anything, the magnitude of both my bias and information measures is larger.

B Theoretical Model

This section presents a formal model of expertise and bias in decision-making, as well as a statistical framework for identifying expertise and bias in my data. The purpose of the formal model is to 1) define expertise and bias and 2) show how these unobserved parameters and signals impact the equilibrium relationship between observable funding decisions, proximity to applicants, and realized grant quality. In Appendix C, I present a statistical framework is to show how I can consistently identify the presence and effect of expertise and bias in the data I gather.

A grant application has some true quality Q^* and, if approved, the committee receives a payoff of Q^* . If the application is rejected, the committee receives its outside option U , where $U > E(Q^*)$. Applications either work in the same area as the reviewer (“proximate,” given by $P = 1$) or not ($P = 0$). This model makes the simplifying assumption that committees can observe whether an application is related to a reviewer. I allow the application’s proximity to be unknown to the committee and show that all the same qualitative features of this model continue to hold. See the end of this section for a proof. Neither the committee nor the reviewer observes Q^* , but the reviewer observes a signal Q_P about Q^* . I assume that a related reviewer has greater expertise, meaning that Q_1 gives a more precise signal than Q_0 .²⁰

²⁰For simplicity, I assume that the signals Q_P are real numbers with continuous unconditional distributions such that $E(Q^*|Q_P)$ is increasing in Q_P .

After observing the signal, the reviewer sends a message to the committee about the application's quality and the committee then decides whether to approve the grant. When determining what message to send, a reviewer considers his payoffs: for an unrelated application, this is identical to that of the committee, but for a related application, the reviewer now receives $Q^* + B$ if the application is funded and U otherwise. The term B represents his bias. The timing is as follows:

1. An application with true quality Q^* is assigned to a reviewer.
2. The application's type ($P = 1$ or $P = 0$) is determined and is publicly observed.
3. The reviewer observes the signal Q_P .
4. The reviewer sends a costless and unverifiable message M to the committee from some message space \mathbf{M} .
5. The committee, observing M , makes a decision $D \in \{0, 1\}$ of whether to fund the grant.
6. True quality is revealed and the reviewer and committee both receive their payoffs.

Proposition 1 describes the perfect Bayesian equilibria of this game.²¹

Proposition 1 *The equilibria of the game is summarized by the following two cases:*

CASE 1: $P = 0$. *There exists a unique informative equilibrium in which*

1. *The reviewer reports a message Y if $E(Q^*|Q_0) > U$ and N otherwise.*²²
2. *The committee funds the grant if and only if the message is Y .*

CASE 2: $P = 1$. *There exists a level of bias $B^* > 0$ such that for bias $B \leq B^*$ there is a unique informative equilibrium such that*

1. *The reviewer reports a message Y if $E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B$ and N otherwise.*
2. *The committee funds the grant if and only if the message is Y .*

When $B > B^$, only uninformative equilibria exist and the grant is never funded.*

Proof See the end of this Section, B.1, for proofs.

²¹There are always uninformative equilibria in which messages are meaningless and the grant is never funded. This proposition therefore focuses on informative equilibria, i.e. those in which the committee's decision depends on the reviewer's message. An informative equilibrium is unique if all other informative equilibria are payoff-equivalent for the parties.

²²I assume there are at least two elements in the message space \mathbf{M} which, without loss, I call Y and N .

Proposition 1 says that when bias is sufficiently small, review committees are willing to take the advice of the reviewer because they value her expertise, in spite of the her bias. The committee's decision rule in the informative equilibria of this model is given by

$$\begin{aligned}
 D = & \underbrace{\mathbb{I}(E(Q^*|Q_0) > U)}_{\text{baseline for unrelated}} + \underbrace{[\mathbb{I}(U > E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B)]}_{\text{bias for proximate (+)}} P \\
 & + \underbrace{[\mathbb{I}(E(Q^*|Q_1) > U) - \mathbb{I}(E(Q^*|Q_0) > U)]}_{\text{additional information for proximate (+/-)}} P.
 \end{aligned} \tag{3}$$

The first term of Equation (3) indicates that committees listen to advice about unrelated applications. The middle term represents the impact of bias on funding decisions. In particular, lower quality applications (those with $U > E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B$) will be funded if the applicant is related. The final term represents the impact of information. $\mathbb{I}(E(Q^*|Q_1) > U)$ is the decision that an unbiased reviewer would make, given the lower variance signal of the proximate reviewer. $\mathbb{I}(E(Q^*|Q_0) > U)$ is the decision she actually makes; the difference represents the change in funding outcomes that is due only to better information. Bias decreases the expected quality of funded applications while expertise increases it. The net effect of proximity on the quality of decisions is thus ambiguous.

Equation (3) demonstrates why differences in funding likelihood among applicants with the same quality need not be due to bias. In particular, the difference in the expected likelihood of funding between related and unrelated applications of the same quality is given by

$$\begin{aligned}
 E[D|Q^*, P = 1] - E[D|Q^*, P = 0] = & \Pr(U > E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B) \\
 & + \Pr(E(Q^*|Q_1) > U) - \Pr(E(Q^*|Q_0) > U).
 \end{aligned}$$

This expression will be non zero even if reviewers are unbiased ($B = 0$). This is because reviewers can more confidently attest to the quality of intellectually related applications, meaning that committees update more following a favorable review. Distinguishing between bias and information driven explanations is important because they have different implications for whether proximity enhances the quality of peer review.

B.1 Proof of Proposition 1

A perfect Bayesian equilibrium for this game is characterized by a message strategy for the reviewer, a set of beliefs about Q^* by the committee for each message, and a decision strategy for the committee. Having defined the equilibrium concept, I proceed with the proof of Proposition 1.

CASE 1. Suppose that the reviewer reports her exact posterior and the committee to believes it. In this case, the committee maximizes its utility by funding the proposal if and only if $Q_0 > U$. The reviewer has no incentive to deviate from this strategy because she is receiving her highest payoff as well.

Suppose, now, that there were another informative equilibrium. Each message $M \in \mathbf{M}$ induces a probability of funding $D(M)$. Let the messages be ordered such that $D(\mathbf{M}_1) \leq \dots \leq D(\mathbf{M}_K)$ where \mathbf{M}_i are the set of messages M_i that induce the same probability of funding $D(M_i)$. For reviewers of type $E(Q^*|Q_0) > U$, the reviewer strictly prefers that the grant be funded. She thus finds it optimal to send the message \mathbf{M}_K that maximizes the probability that the grant is funded. Call this set Y . For $E(Q^*|Q^* + \varepsilon_0) < U$ the reviewer strictly prefer $E(Q^*|Q_0) = U$. Because the distribution of Q_P is assumed to be continuous on \mathbb{R} and such that $E(Q^*|Q_P)$ is increasing in Q_P , this occurs with probability zero. Thus, with probability one, the space of possible messages is equivalent to $\mathbf{M} = \{Y, N\}$. For this equilibrium to be informative, it must be that $D(N) < D(Y)$. Given this, the committee's optimal reaction is to fund when $M = Y$ and to reject otherwise.

If the we allow uninformative equilibria, $D(\mathbf{M}_1) = \dots = D(\mathbf{M}_K)$ and any reviewer message is permissible. It must be that $D(M_i) = 0$ for all M_i because the outside option U is assumed to be greater than the committee's prior on quality.

CASE 2. Now consider the case of a reviewer evaluating a related application. As in Case 1, the set of messages is equivalent, with probability one, to $\mathbf{M} = \{Y, N\}$. In this case, however, reviewers of type $E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B$ send $M = Y$ and reviewers of type $E(Q^*|Q_1) < U - B$ send $M = N$. The only reviewer who sends any other message is one for which $E(Q^*|Q_1) = U - B$.

Given this messaging strategy, a committee's expectation of Q^* given $M = N$ is $E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q_1) < U - B)$. Since this is less than U , the grant goes unfunded. The committee's expectation of Q^* given $M = Y$ is $E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B)$. When this is larger than U , the committee listens to the reviewer's recommendation and we can verify that $D(Y) > D(N)$. When

$E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q^* + \varepsilon_1) < U - B) < U - B < U$, the grant is never funded: $D(Y) = D(N) = 0$. In this case, only babbling equilibria exist.

If the we allow uninformative equilibria, $D(\mathbf{M}_1) = \dots = D(\mathbf{M}_K)$ and any reviewer message is permissible. It must be that $D(M_i) = 0$ for all M_i because the outside option U is assumed to be greater than the committee's prior on quality.

Unobserved proximity: Next, I consider a modification of Proposition 1 where the committee cannot observe whether the application is related to the reviewer.

Proposition A.2 *Assume that p is the probability that an application is related to a reviewer. Then, for every p , there exists a level of bias, B^* , such that for $B < B^*$ there is a unique informative equilibrium:*

The reviewer reports a message Y if his posterior, $E(Q^|Q_1)$, is greater than $U - B$ and N otherwise.*

1. *An unrelated reviewer reports a message Y if his posterior, $E(Q^*|Q_0)$, is greater than U and N otherwise.*
2. *A related reviewer reports a message Y if his posterior, $E(Q^*|Q_1)$, is greater than $U - B$ and N otherwise.*
3. *The committee funds the grant if and only if the message is Y .*

For $B \geq B^$, only uninformative equilibria exist and the grant is never funded.*²³

Proof In this case, the reviewer's messaging strategy remains the same as in Proposition 1: because reviewers themselves know whether they are proximate, they form, with probability one, strict preferences about whether an application should be funded. Proximate reviewers for which $E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B$ send $M = Y$ and those for which $E(Q^*|Q_1) < U - B$ send $M = N$. Similarly, unrelated reviewers of type $E(Q^*|Q_0) > U$ send $M = Y$ and unrelated reviewers of type $E(Q^*|Q_0) < U$ send $M = N$.

The committee, however, does not observe the proximity and, as such, forms the following expectation of quality conditional on observing $M = Y$:

$$K [E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q_0) > U)] + (1 - K) [E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B)]$$

²³Again, in all cases where an informative equilibrium exists, there also exist uninformative equilibria where the grant is never funded.

The first term $E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q_0) > U)$ is the committee's expectation of quality if it knows that the $M = Y$ message is sent by an unrelated reviewer. Similarly, the second term $E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B)$ is the committee's expectation of quality if it knows that the message is sent by a related reviewer. The term K is the probability that the committee believes a Y message comes from an unrelated reviewer, that is, $K = E(P = 0|M = Y)$. By Bayes' Rule, this is given by $K = E(P = 0|M = Y) = \frac{E(P=0, M=Y)}{E(M=Y)}$. The overall probability of a Y message is thus given by

$$E(M = Y) = (1 - p)(E(Q^*|Q_0) > U) + p(E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B)$$

Similarly, the probability that the message is Y and the reviewer is unrelated is given by $(1 - p)(E(Q^*|Q_0) > U)$. As such, we have

$$K = \frac{(1 - p)(E(Q^*|Q_0) > U)}{(1 - p)(E(Q^*|Q_0) > U) + p(E(Q^*|Q_1) > U - B)}$$

and for

$$K [E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q^* + \varepsilon_0) > U)] + (1 - K) [E(Q^*|E(Q^*|Q^* + \varepsilon_1) > U - B)] > U$$

the committee funds the application. Again, we can verify that $D(Y) > D(N)$. For any fixed p , the threshold B^* can be defined to set this expression equality. There also exist uninformative equilibria where all grants are rejected. This term is less than U , then the grant is never funded: $D(Y) = D(N) = 0$. In this case, only babbling equilibria exist.

C Statistical framework

The decision rule described by Equation (3) in the theoretical model can be thought of as a data generating process for the funding decisions I observe. To make this more tractable, I make the following simplifying assumptions: for $P = 0, 1$, the reviewer's signal Q_P can be written as $Q_P = Q^* + \varepsilon_P$ where $\varepsilon_P \sim U[-a_P, a_P]$ and $E(Q^*|Q_P)$ can be approximated by λQ_P for some constant λ_R . Given this, an application's conditional likelihood of funding can be expressed as²⁴

$$\begin{aligned}
E[D|Q^*, P] &= \Pr(\lambda_0(Q^* + \varepsilon_0) > U) + \Pr(U > \lambda_1(Q^* + \varepsilon_1) > U - B)P \\
&\quad + [\Pr(\lambda_1(Q^* + \varepsilon_1) > U) - \Pr(\lambda_0(Q^* + \varepsilon_0) > U)] P \\
&= \frac{a_0 - U/\lambda_0 + Q^*}{2a_0} + \frac{B}{2a_1\lambda_1}P + \left[\frac{a_1 - U/\lambda_1 + Q^*}{2a_1} - \frac{a_0 - U/\lambda_0 + Q^*}{2a_0} \right] P \\
&= \frac{1}{2} + \underbrace{\frac{1}{2a_0}}_{\text{Quality corr.}} Q^* + \underbrace{\frac{B}{2a_1\lambda_1}}_{\text{Bias term}} P + \underbrace{\left[\frac{1}{2a_1} - \frac{1}{2a_0} \right]}_{\text{Add. corr. for proximate}} PQ^* \\
&\quad - \frac{U}{2a_0\lambda_0} + \left[\frac{1}{2a_0\lambda_0} - \frac{1}{2a_1\lambda_1} \right] PU. \tag{4}
\end{aligned}$$

This expression shows how I separately identify the role of bias and expertise. In particular, consider the regression analogue of Equation (4):

$$D = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Q^* + \alpha_2 P + \alpha_3 PQ^* + \alpha_4 U + \alpha_5 PU + X\beta + \epsilon, \tag{5}$$

where X includes other observable I can condition on.

Here, α_2 , the coefficient on proximity P , tests for bias: it is nonzero if and only if $B \neq 0$, where B is the bias parameter from the model. Second, the coefficient on PQ^* tests for expertise. To see this, notice that α_1 captures, for unrelated applicants, how responsive funding decisions are to increases in quality. In the model, this is determined by the precision of the reviewer's signal of quality for unrelated applications. The coefficient on PQ^* , meanwhile, captures the additional correlation between quality and funding for related applicants. A high coefficient on PQ means that a committee is more sensitive to increases in the quality of related applicants than to increases in the quality of unrelated applicants. In the model, this is determined by the difference in the

²⁴The limited support of the error distribution means that if an application is extremely high (low) quality, the committee will choose to approve (reject) it regardless of what the reviewer says. As such, Equation (4) is valid for candidates with quality such that $Q^* + \varepsilon_P$ cannot be greater than U or less than U for all possible ε_P .

precision of signals for related and unrelated applications.

The intuition for separately identifying bias and expertise is the following: if I find that related applications are more (or less) likely to be funded regardless of their quality, then this is a level effect of proximity that I attribute to bias in the NIH funding process. If I find that quality is more predictive of funding among related rather than unrelated applicants, then I conclude that study sections have better information about proposals from related applicants. I do not make any assumptions about the presence, extent, or direction of any potential biases nor do I assume that reviewers necessarily have better information about related applications. Rather, this statistical framework is designed to estimate this.²⁵

Finally, the terms U and PU control for funding selectivity; for high cutoffs U , the correlation between funding and quality will be low even in the absence of bias or differential information because the marginal unfunded application is already very high-quality. The RU term, meanwhile, ensures that relationships are not credited for changing the correlation between funding and quality simply by lowering the threshold at which grants are funded.

Equation (4) says that, as long as Q^* is perfectly observed, exogenous variation in proximity is not needed to identify the presence of bias. This is because exogenous variation in proximity is necessarily only when aspects of an application’s quality are potentially omitted; if quality were observed, one could directly control for any correlation between proximity and quality.

In practice, however, I do not observe an application’s true quality Q^* . Instead, I observe a noisy signal $Q = Q^* + v$. Thus, instead of estimating Equation (5), I estimate

$$D = a_0 + a_1Q + a_2R + a_3RQ + a_4U + a_5RU + Xb + e. \quad (6)$$

Measurement error in quality can potentially pose problems for identification. Proposition 2 describes the conditions that must be met in order to consistently estimate bias from observed data.

Proposition 2 *Given observed quality $Q = Q^* + v$, the bias parameter α_2 in Equation (5) is consistently estimated by a_2 in Equation (6) when the following conditions are met:*

1. $Cov(P, Q^*|U, PU, X) = 0$ and $Cov(P^2, Q^*|U, PU, X) = 0$,
2. $E(v|U, PU, X) = 0$,

²⁵These predictions hold when reviewers and committees are in an informative equilibrium. If the equilibrium were not informative, then advice from related reviewers would not be taken; I would find no effect of bias and a lower correlation between funding and quality for related applications. My results are not consistent with a non-informative equilibrium.

3. $Cov(v, P|U, PU, X) = 0$.

Proof : See Appendix C.1.

Condition 1 requires that my measure of proximity, P , be uncorrelated, conditional on observables, with true application quality. If this were not the case, any mismeasurement in true quality Q^* would bias estimates of α_2 through the correlation between Q^* and P . Thus, in my study, exogenous variation in proximity is required only to deal with measurement error.

Condition 2 requires that measurement error be conditionally mean zero. This means that, after controlling for observable traits of the application or applicant, my quality measure cannot be systematically different from what committees themselves are trying to maximize. Otherwise, I may mistakenly conclude that committees are biased when they are actually prioritizing something I do not observe but which is not mean zero different from my quality measure.

Finally, Condition 3 requires that the extent of measurement error not depend, conditional on observables, on whether an applicant is related to a reviewer. This may not be satisfied if related applicants are more likely to be funded and funding itself affects my measure of quality.

C.1 Proof of Proposition 2

Measurement error in Q^* can potentially affect the estimation of α_2 in Equation (5). The presence of U , PU , and X , however, will not affect consistency; for simplicity, I rewrite both the regression suggested by the model and the actual estimating equation with these variables partialled out. The remaining variables should then be thought of as conditional on U , PU , and X

$$D = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Q^* + \alpha_2 P + \alpha_3 P Q^* + \epsilon$$

$$\begin{aligned} D &= a_0 + a_1 Q + a_2 P + a_3 P Q + e \\ &= a_0 + W + a_2 P + e, W = a_1 Q + a_3 P Q \end{aligned}$$

The coefficient a_2 is given by:

$$a_2 = \frac{\text{Var}(W)\text{Cov}(D, P) - \text{Cov}(W, P)\text{Cov}(D, W)}{\text{Var}(W)\text{Var}(P) - \text{Cov}(W, P)^2}$$

Consider $\text{Cov}(W, P)$:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Cov}(W, P) &= \text{Cov}(a_1(Q^* + v) + a_3P(Q^* + v), P) \\ &= a_1\text{Cov}(Q^*, P) + a_1\text{Cov}(v, P) + a_3\text{Cov}(PQ^*, P) + a_3\text{Cov}(Pv, P)\end{aligned}$$

Under the assumption that P and Q^* are conditionally independent, this yields:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Cov}(W, P) &= a_3\text{Cov}(PQ^*, P) + a_3\text{Cov}(Pv, P) \\ &= a_3 [E(P^2Q^*) - E(PQ^*)E(P)] + a_3 [E(P^2v) - E(Pv)E(P)] \\ &= a_3 [E(P^2)E(Q^*) - E(P)^2E(Q^*)] + a_3 [E(P^2)E(v) - E(P)^2E(v)] \\ &= a_3 [E(P^2)0 - E(P)^20] + a_3 [E(P^2)0 - E(P)^20] \\ &= 0\end{aligned}$$

With this simplification, the expression for the estimated coefficient on a_2 becomes:

$$\begin{aligned}a_2 &= \frac{\text{Var}(W)\text{Cov}(D, P) - \text{Cov}(W, P)\text{Cov}(D, W)}{\text{Var}(W)\text{Var}(P) - \text{Cov}(W, P)^2} \\ &= \frac{\text{Var}(W)\text{Cov}(D, P)}{\text{Var}(W)\text{Var}(P)} \\ &= \frac{\text{Cov}(D, P)}{\text{Var}(P)} \\ &= \frac{\text{Cov}(\alpha_0 + \alpha_1Q^* + \alpha_2P + \alpha_3PQ^* + \varepsilon, P)}{\text{Var}(P)} \\ &= \frac{\alpha_2\text{Var}(P) + \alpha_3\text{Cov}(PQ^*, P)}{\text{Var}(P)} \\ &= \frac{\alpha_2\text{Var}(P) + \alpha_3 [E(P^2)E(Q^*) - E(P)^2E(Q^*)]}{\text{Var}(P)} \\ &= \alpha_2\end{aligned}$$

D Additional robustness checks

This section provides broader tests of my empirical specifications.

A key identifying assumption is that my measure of quality is not affected by whether individuals are actually funded. Figure 6 provides my primary evidence that this is the case. Another test of my assumption that citations are not directly affected by funding is to ask whether I find bias in the review of inframarginal grants, that is grants that are well above or well below the funding

margin. All grants in either group have the same funding status so any bias estimate cannot be attributed to differences in funding. Because I hold funding status constant, I can only assess the impact that related permanent members have on an applicant's score not on an applicant's funding status. Appendix Table F reports these results. Columns 1 and 2 reproduce my main estimates from the scoring regression. In Columns 3–4 and 5–6, I report estimates of the effect of bias and information in the sample of funded and unfunded grants, respectively. In both cases, I still find evidence that bias exists. The magnitudes are somewhat smaller than in my main regression; because these are subsamples, there is no reason to expect that the magnitude of the effect of relationships should be the same for high- and low-quality grants as it is for the entire sample.

Another potential concern is that committees may defy instructions and evaluate grant applications not on the basis of the specific research in the proposal, but on the quality of projects that reviewers suspect the grant funding may cross subsidize. In this case, by using text-matching to restrict my main quality measure to be based on articles that are closely related to the grant proposal topic, I am potentially missing other research that reviewers might be anticipating when they evaluate a grant proposal. To test whether this is the case, I use grant acknowledgement data recorded in the National Library of Medicine's PubMed database to match funded grants to all the articles that it produces, regardless of topic or date of publication. Because this process requires that a grant application actually be funded, I am only able to examine the impact of proximity on scores, rather than on funding likelihood or the likelihood of being scored. For the set of funded grants, Appendix Table G reruns my core regressions using citations to publications that explicitly acknowledge a grant as my measure of quality, and scores as my outcome measure. I find results that are consistent with my primary findings, though of a slightly smaller magnitude.²⁶

Finally, Appendix Tables H and I show that my results in Tables 6 and 8 are robust relaxing linearity assumptions. Appendix Table H estimates Equation (1), but replacing the linear coefficients for the number of permanent reviewers and the total number of reviewers with a full set of indicator variables for the composition of reviewers that an applicant is related to (e.g. separate indicators for being related to (m permanent, n temporary) reviewers). Since there are at most 38 related permanent and 26 related temporary reviewers, we include $38 \times 26 = 988$ possible indicators.

²⁶This analysis differs slightly from my main results using citations because general citations cannot be computed for publications in PubMed. A limited set of citations can, however, be computed using publications in PubMed Central (PMC). PMC contains a subset of life sciences publications made available for free. While this is not as comprehensive a universe as that of Web of Science, it contains, for recent years, all publications supported by NIH dollars. Undercounting of publications would, further, not bias my result as long as it does not vary systematically by whether an applicant is related to a permanent or to a temporary member.

Because there are so many indicators, I report only coefficients related to being related to one reviewer (one permanent or one temporary) and being related to two reviewers (two permanent, one of each, or two temporary). The first row reports the coefficient on the dummy for being related 1 permanent and 0 temporary and the coefficient on the dummy for 0 permanent and 1 temporary from a regression of being above the payline on all 988 proximity indicators, meeting fixed effects, and full demographic controls. The omitted category is the indicator for being unrelated to any reviewers, so that a significant coefficient means that that reviewer is treated differently from unrelated applicants. I report the F-test for whether these two indicators are identical: e.g. whether treatment differs based on the composition of reviewers an applicant is related to, not the total number. Similarly, the first row of the section on being related to two reviewers reports the coefficients on 2 permanent and 0 temporary, 1 permanent and 1 temporary, and 0 permanent and 2 temporary from the same regression that the row 1 coefficients are estimated from. This table shows that, in the majority of cases, applicants related to reviewers are more likely to be funded than those who are not; and, conditional on the number of related reviewers, applicants related to more permanent reviewers receive higher scores and are more likely to be funded.

Appendix Table I adds nonlinearity to Equation (2) in order to show that my results are robust to the assumption in my statistical framework (see Appendix C) that $Q_R = Q^* + \varepsilon_R$ for ε_R uniform and $E(Q^*|Q_R) \approx \lambda_R Q_R$. Without these assumptions, the association between proximity and quality would, in general, be nonlinear. To show that this does not make a material difference for my results, I allow for the effects of quality and proximity to vary flexibly by including controls for cubics in Q , as well as cubics of Q interacted with whether an applicant is related to a permanent member. I find similar results, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

APPENDIX TABLE A: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?
 ROBUSTNESS TO ALTERNATIVE NAME-FREQUENCIES

	Main Estimate (Table 8)		No Restrictions on Frequency		Unique Names Only	
	Dependent Variable: 1(Score is above the payline)					
	Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410		Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410		Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.0072*** (0.002)	0.0068*** (0.002)	0.0068*** (0.002)	0.0064*** (0.002)	0.0067*** (0.002)	0.0063*** (0.002)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality		0.0176** (0.008)		0.0173** (0.008)		0.0138* (0.008)
Grant Application Quality		0.0136** (0.006)		0.0143** (0.006)		0.0167*** (0.006)
Total Proximity	0.0076*** (0.001)	0.0078*** (0.001)	0.0080*** (0.001)	0.0082*** (0.001)	0.0073*** (0.001)	0.0075*** (0.001)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Quality		-0.0005 (0.001)		-0.0007 (0.001)		-0.0006 (0.001)
Observations	93,558	93,558	98,494	98,494	86,486	86,486
R-squared	0.0935	0.0949	0.0913	0.0927	0.0949	0.0961
Meeting FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application within 1 year of grant review, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to. Columns 1 and 2 restrict to last name and first and middle initial combinations that are associated with at most 2 individuals in Pubmed. Columns 3 and 4 place no such restrictions; Columns 5 and 6 require unique name combinations.

*** p<0.1, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

APPENDIX TABLE B: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?
 ROBUSTNESS TO ALTERNATIVE TEXT-MATCHING WORD THRESHOLDS

Dependent Variable: 1(Score is above the payline)								
Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410								
	> X Overlapping Words in Title AND Abstract				> X Overlapping Words in Title OR Abstract			
	4 Words	3 Words	2 Words	1 Word	4 Words	3 Words	2 Words	1 Word
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.0073*** (0.002)	0.0072*** (0.002)	0.0066*** (0.002)	0.0055** (0.002)	0.0068*** (0.002)	0.0064*** (0.002)	0.0055*** (0.002)	0.0050** (0.002)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality	0.0230 (0.026)	0.0208** (0.010)	0.0139*** (0.005)	0.0100*** (0.002)	0.0176** (0.008)	0.0103*** (0.004)	0.0090*** (0.002)	0.0058*** (0.001)
Grant Application Quality	0.0152 (0.019)	0.0105 (0.008)	0.0149*** (0.004)	0.0102*** (0.002)	0.0136** (0.006)	0.0143*** (0.003)	0.0111*** (0.003)	0.0086*** (0.002)
Total Proximity	0.0077*** (0.001)	0.0079*** (0.001)	0.0082*** (0.001)	0.0085*** (0.001)	0.0078*** (0.001)	0.0081*** (0.001)	0.0083*** (0.001)	0.0088*** (0.001)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Quality	-0.0015 (0.004)	-0.0029** (0.001)	-0.0015** (0.001)	-0.0007** (0.000)	-0.0005 (0.001)	-0.0009 (0.001)	-0.0006 (0.000)	-0.0005** (0.000)
Observations	93,558	93,558	93,558	93,558	93,558	93,558	93,558	93,558
R-squared	0.0940	0.0941	0.0953	0.0967	0.0949	0.0959	0.0974	0.0976
Meeting FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application within 1 year of grant review, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.

*** p<0.1, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

APPENDIX TABLE C: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?
GRANT QUALITY MEASURED FROM ARTICLES PUBLISHED 1 YEAR BEFORE GRANT REVIEW

	1(Score is above the payline)		Score		1(Scored at all)	
	Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410		Mean = 71.18, SD = 18.75		Mean = .640, SD = .480	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.0072*** (0.002)	0.0069*** (0.002)	0.2736*** (0.094)	0.2560*** (0.094)	0.0047** (0.002)	0.0044** (0.002)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality (based on articles 1 year before review)		0.0203* (0.012)		0.4167 (0.486)		0.0172 (0.014)
Grant Application Quality (based on articles 1 year before review)		0.0198** (0.009)		0.9258** (0.375)		0.0331*** (0.009)
Total Proximity	0.0076*** (0.001)	0.0078*** (0.001)	0.2512*** (0.061)	0.2584*** (0.061)	0.0160*** (0.001)	0.0164*** (0.001)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Quality (based on articles 1 year before review)		-0.0002 (0.002)		-0.0115 (0.060)		-0.0036* (0.002)
Observations	93,558	93,558	57,613	57,613	93,558	93,558
R-squared	0.0935	0.0949	0.1426	0.1433	0.1312	0.1319
Meeting FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions (above payline, score, or scored at all) on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application the 1 year before grant review, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.

APPENDIX TABLE D: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?
 GRANT QUALITY MEASURED FROM ARTICLES PUBLISHED 0-5 YEARS AFTER GRANT REVIEW

	1(Score is above the payline)		Score		1(Scored at all)	
	Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410		Mean = 71.18, SD = 18.75		Mean = .640, SD = .480	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.0072*** (0.002)	0.0066*** (0.002)	0.2736*** (0.094)	0.2567*** (0.094)	0.0047** (0.002)	0.0043** (0.002)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality (<i>based on articles within 5 years of review</i>)		0.0107*** (0.004)		0.1551 (0.158)		0.0078* (0.004)
Grant Application Quality (<i>based on articles within 5 years of review</i>)		0.0121*** (0.003)		0.4525*** (0.125)		0.0217*** (0.004)
Total Proximity	0.0076*** (0.001)	0.0079*** (0.001)	0.2512*** (0.061)	0.2567*** (0.061)	0.0160*** (0.001)	0.0165*** (0.001)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Quality (<i>based on articles within 5 years of review</i>)		-0.0001 (0.001)		0.0018 (0.021)		-0.0018*** (0.000)
Observations	93,558	93,558	57,613	57,613	93,558	93,558
R-squared	0.0935	0.0958	0.1426	0.1436	0.1312	0.1328
Meeting FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions (above payline, score, or scored at all) on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application within 5 years of grant review, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.

*** p<0.1, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

APPENDIX TABLE E: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?
GRANT QUALITY MEASURED FROM FIRST, SECOND, AND LAST AUTHORSHIP POSITION ARTICLES

	1(Score is above the payline)		Score		1(Scored at all)	
	Mean = 0.214, SD = 0.410		Mean = 71.18, SD = 18.75		Mean = 0.640, SD = 0.480	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.0104*** (0.003)	0.1571*** (0.018)	0.3403** (0.133)	3.6126*** (0.774)	0.0071*** (0.003)	0.0149 (0.016)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality (1st, 2nd, Last Positions)		0.0212*** (0.008)		0.4142 (0.337)		0.0175** (0.007)
Grant Application Quality (1st, 2nd, Last Positions)		0.0196*** (0.005)		0.6012*** (0.220)		0.0344*** (0.007)
Total Proximity	0.0139*** (0.002)	0.0153*** (0.002)	0.4807*** (0.093)	0.5167*** (0.094)	0.0253*** (0.002)	0.0263*** (0.002)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Quality (1st, 2nd, Last Positions)		-0.0037* (0.002)		-0.0549 (0.081)		-0.0076*** (0.002)
Observations	93,558	93,558	57,613	57,613	93,558	93,558
R-squared	0.0987	0.0966	0.1478	0.1488	0.1360	0.1375
Meeting FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions (above payline, score, or scored at all) on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application within 1 year of grant review, in the 100s unit, and for which the PI is the first, second, or last author. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.

*** p<0.1, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

APPENDIX TABLE F: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?
 INFRAMARGINAL GRANT APPLICATIONS

Score: Mean = 71.18, SD = 18.75						
	All Applications		Funded Applications		Unfunded Applications	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.2736*** (0.094)	0.2590*** (0.095)	0.1522** (0.074)	0.1421* (0.074)	0.1776** (0.090)	0.1719* (0.090)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application		0.2739 (0.325)		0.3663 (0.247)		0.0879 (0.376)
Grant Application Quality		0.5568** (0.261)		-0.0398 (0.187)		0.1459 (0.284)
Total Proximity	0.2512*** (0.061)	0.2565*** (0.061)	0.0230 (0.046)	0.0313 (0.046)	0.1518*** (0.058)	0.1475** (0.058)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Quality		-0.0043 (0.049)		-0.0358 (0.028)		0.0123 (0.060)
Observations	57,613	57,613	24,395	24,395	33,218	33,218
R-squared	0.1426	0.1431	0.1743	0.1745	0.1875	0.1876
Meeting FEs	X	X	X	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee score on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application within 1 year of grant review, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to. Columns 1 and 2 reproduce Columns 3 and 4 from Table 8. Columns 3 and 4 restricted to funded applications only. Columns 5 and 6 restrict to unfunded applications. All regressions exclude applications that are not scored.

APPENDIX TABLE G: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?
EXPLICIT GRANT ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FOR THE SAMPLE OF FUNDED GRANTS

	Score	
	Mean = 71.18, SD = 18.75	
	(1)	(2)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.1521** (0.074)	0.1369* (0.074)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality (<i>based on articles that acknowledge grant project #</i>)		0.1483 (0.192)
Grant Application Quality (<i>based on articles that acknowledge grant project #</i>)		0.9851*** (0.137)
Total Proximity	0.0230 (0.046)	0.0253 (0.048)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Quality (<i>based on articles that acknowledge grant project #</i>)		-0.0207 (0.024)
Observations	24,395	24,395
R-squared	0.1743	0.1810
Meeting FEs	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X

Notes: Sample is funded grants only. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee score on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that explicitly acknowledge funding from a grant, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.

APPENDIX TABLE H: WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF PROXIMITY? NON-PARAMETRIC SPECIFICATION WITH INDICATORS FOR COMPOSITION OF RELATED REVIEWERS

Related to 1 Reviewer	F-Test	1 Permanent	0 Permanent	
1(Score above Payline)	1.21	0.019*** (0.004)	0.013** (0.005)	
Score	3.81	0.623** (0.270)	-0.080 (0.294)	
1(Scored)	4.16	0.035*** (0.005)	0.050*** (0.007)	
Related to 2 Reviewers		2 Permanent	1 Permanent	0 Permanent
1(Score above Payline)	3.69	0.047*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.007)	0.022** (0.009)
Score	5.11	1.701*** (0.347)	0.294 (0.340)	0.490 (0.509)
1(Scored)	0.65	0.087*** (0.007)	0.088*** (0.008)	0.075*** (0.010)
N		93,558	93,558	93,558

Notes: This table reports coefficients from a regression of the outcome variable on indicators for the relatedness composition of applicants. For instance, if an applicant is related to 1 permanent and 2 temporary reviewers, this applicant receives a dummy equal to one for this. Since there are at most 38 related permanent and 26 related temporary reviewers, we include 38x26=988 possible indicators. Because we have three outcome variables, this table reports coefficients related to three regressions. Row 1, for instance, reports the coefficient on the dummy for 1 permanent and 0 temporary and the coefficient on the dummy for 0 permanent and 1 temporary from a regression of 1(score above payline) on all 988 relatedness indicators, meeting fixed effects, and full demographic controls. The omitted category is the indicator for being unrelated to any reviewers. The reported F-test is a test of whether these two indicators are identical. Similarly, row 12 reports the coefficients on 2 permanent and 0 temporary, 1 permanent and 1 temporary, and 0 permanent and 2 temporary from the same regression that the Row 1 coefficients are estimated from. The F-test there is a test that those three coefficients are different.

APPENDIX TABLE I: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EXPERTISE VS. BIAS?
NONLINEAR CONTROLS FOR QUALITY AND PROXIMITY

	1(Score is above the payline) (1)	Score (2)	1(Scored at all) (3)
Proximity to Permanent Reviewers	0.0064*** (0.002)	0.2413** (0.095)	0.0041* (0.002)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality	0.0462*** (0.013)	1.6683** (0.783)	0.0202 (0.014)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality ² (100s)	-0.0063* (0.003)	-0.3394 (0.289)	0.0009 (0.003)
Proximate to Permanent Reviewers × Grant Application Quality ³ (100s)	0.0002 (0.000)	0.0135 (0.022)	-0.0000 (0.000)
Grant Application Quality (100s)	0.0089 (0.010)	0.4378 (0.677)	0.0678*** (0.011)
Grant Application Quality ² (100s)	0.0027 (0.003)	0.0565 (0.273)	-0.0081*** (0.002)
Grant Application Quality ³ (100s)	-0.0001 (0.000)	-0.0040 (0.021)	0.0002** (0.000)
Total Proximity	0.0078*** (0.001)	0.2541*** (0.061)	0.0164*** (0.001)
Total Proximity X Grant Application Qualitys (100s)	0.0000 (0.001)	0.0145 (0.047)	-0.0026*** (0.001)
Observations	93,558	57,613	93,558
R-squared	0.0953	0.1434	0.1330
Meeting FEs	X	X	X
Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics	X	X	X

Notes: See notes to Table 1 for details about the sample. Coefficients are reported from a regression of committee decisions (above payline, score, or scored at all) on relatedness and quality measures, controlling for meeting level fixed effects. Proximity to permanent reviewers is defined as the number of permanent reviewers who have cited the applicant's research in the 5 years prior to grant review. "Grant Application Quality" is defined as the number of citations up to 2008, for all publications that are text-matched to the grant application within 1 year of grant review, in the 100s unit. "Past Performance, Past Grants, and Demographics" include indicators for sex and whether an applicant's name is Hispanic, East Asian, or South Asian, indicator variables for deciles of an applicant's total number of citations and publications over the past 5 years, indicators for whether an applicant has an M.D. and/or a Ph.D., and indicators for the number of past R01 and other NIH grants an applicant has won, as well as indicators for how many she has applied to.