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Economic Research Citations at Liberal Arts Colleges*

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1. Motivation

Liberal arts colleges in the United States place a high premium on the quality of the teaching provided by their faculty members. While complementarities between teaching and research exist, the high demand for premium teaching can be expected to reduce research output among liberal arts college faculty. Many liberal arts colleges have nevertheless come to recognize that in order to attract talented teachers and to provide the type of education desired by the best undergraduates, it is important to offer faculty an attractive research environment. Accordingly, liberal arts colleges have sought to promote high standards in research among their faculty by making it an important criterion for tenure and promotion, and by actively recruiting faculty who are expected to excel in both teaching and research.

The trend towards rising standards in research has resulted in many of the top ranked liberal arts colleges having assembled academic departments whose research is comparable in quality to those of well regarded departments residing in traditional research universities. The rising quality of research among liberal arts colleges has been reflected in various measures, such as quality adjusted publication counts.¹

We argue that measures such as publication counts may understate the rapid rise in the quality of research experienced at liberal arts colleges. While publication counts generally adjust for quality by weighting publication pages by the quality ranking of the journal in which they appear, these measures nevertheless primarily emphasize the quality adjusted *quantity* of research. The high premium placed on quality of teaching imposes time constraints on faculty, who then might be expected to respond by exercising relatively more care in choosing the research projects to which they devote their time. Faculty subject to these constraints might be expected to choose a different mix of “quality and quantity” in their research production. In evaluating the research output of such faculty, it is important to include measures that directly reflect the quality of research output produced. Such a measure would ideally be relatively neutral to quantity effects and could then be used alongside or in lieu of the more traditional quantity-based measures of output.

Needless to say, concepts and measures of quality are necessarily subjective and fraught with difficulties. It is not our intention here to discuss the relative merits of different quality concepts. Rather, we note that one often used concept, namely the impact of research as measured by citations to that research in the professional literature, has the attractive feature of being relatively neutral to quantity effects as compared to measures such as quality adjusted publication counts. This is due to the nature of citations. Considering the entire spectrum of published papers, most have relatively minor impact on other researchers, and are never cited. Research papers that succeed in having a large impact on the literature often receive large

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See Kalaitzidakis et. al. (2003) for an example of a study that produces a world wide ranking of all economics departments, including those in liberal arts colleges, based on quality adjusted faculty publications.

numbers of citations. Consequently, although it is possible to add to a citation count through sheer quantity, the effect is relatively small, since additional publications are likely to add only a few citations if they are not successful in terms of impact.

Since liberal arts faculty are constrained in the quantity of research that they can produce relative to their counterparts located in research universities, one can expect that rising standards for research will be better reflected in quality measures that are relatively neutral to quantity. The premise of this study is that when viewed from this perspective, one can see that the quality of research at the top liberal arts colleges is comparable to that of well ranked middle tier universities. This fact is obscured by traditional quality adjusted publication counts, but becomes apparent when citation counts are used. For those interested in comparing the faculty at liberal arts colleges, it may be more revealing to use a citation-based measure of research output that more naturally reflects the constraints and choices likely to be made by the best faculty at such institutions.

To examine this premise, we tabulate the citation counts generated by the research of the economics department faculty at four liberal arts colleges that are frequently ranked among the best nationally, and compare them to a sampling of four economics departments located in research universities.

2. Data and Methodology

The data for this study is based on the Social Sciences Citation Index. Specifically, the ISI Web of Science interface was used to conduct a cited reference search of the Index for individual faculty members of eight different economics departments. Among these departments, results were tabulated for current regular tenure track faculty in the field of economics, as listed on the department web pages in the early winter of 2008. This included all such tenure track faculty who were resident or on leave. It excluded faculty listed as visitors, lecturers, adjuncts or other non-tenure track faculty. It also excluded emeritus and other retired faculty, as well as economics department faculty serving in full time senior administrative positions (e.g. at the level of dean, provost or president). For tenure track faculty listed with joint appointments with one or more other departments, a determination was made as to whether the faculty member's primary academic publication record was in the field of economics or in a field associated with the other appointment.²

The Web of Science cited references searches were conducted by a research assistant hired by the Economics Department at Williams College, under the supervision of faculty members of the Department. The searches used for the final tabulations were conducted in a consistent manner

² These criteria lead us to exclude four tenure track faculty from the sample (affiliation and reasons in parentheses): Vohra, (Brown, Dean of Arts and Sciences), Schapiro (Williams, President of the College), Asher (C-MC, joint appointment with Department of Government, Ph.D. in Political Science, all publications are outside economics journals), Hess (C-MC, Dean of Faculty).

for all faculty during the period of the study, from January to March of 2008. Special care was taken in the process of tabulating individual faculty citation counts to ensure that citations to individuals with similar names were not inadvertently counted.

The Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) records only citations appearing in published academic journals. Accordingly, citations appearing in unpublished working papers do not appear in the SSCI and are consequently not included in these counts. This is to be distinguished from published citations of unpublished work (usually working paper versions of research that is subsequently published), which are recorded in the SSCI and accordingly included in these counts. We did choose to exclude one form of published citation that is recorded in the SSCI, namely citations of textbooks. It would be tempting to include these, since proportionally more textbook publishing appears to occur among liberal arts faculty than among their counterparts at traditional universities, and textbooks occasionally receive large citation counts. However, we felt that textbook publications did not for the most part reflect original research, and therefore should be excluded in measures of citations of academic research (as attributed to the faculty authoring the textbook, rather than the research described in the textbook).

For the department comparisons, we chose four liberal arts colleges that are consistently ranked among the top liberal arts colleges in the nation, namely Amherst, Claremont-McKenna, Swarthmore and Williams, as well as four research universities of varying rank that are located in the Northeast, namely Brown, Rutgers, SUNY Albany, and U. Mass. This resulted in a total of 175 tenure track faculty, of which 69 were located in liberal arts colleges and 106 were located in universities. In the interest of time, we restricted our attention to eight departments and did not tabulate citation counts for any other departments. We leave a more systematic study of a broader range of institutions to future research.

3. Results and Discussion

We have summarized the results of these tabulations in a series of tables. The first, table I, reports research citations by department. Column 3 reports the totals that were obtained by summing the citations of all tenure track faculty. Column 4 reports the total number of tenure track faculty included for each department (see previous footnote 2), and the subsequent columns 5 through 8 show the breakdown of tenured faculty by rank, in the order of assistant professor, associate professor, unnamed full professors, and what we refer to as “named” full professors. The “named” full professors are those who have been distinguished, usually by chaired positions which carry the name of the endowment source.³

³ The titles for this distinction varies somewhat across institutions in the sample, particularly among public state universities. For example at SUNY Albany, the title “Distinguished Professor” is used, and at Rutgers the title “Professor II” is used for the comparable level of distinction.

Table I. Citations by Department

	<u>average citations</u>		total cites	<u>number of faculty</u>					name ratio
	tenured	all		total	asst	assc	full		
1 Brown	718.2	481.3	14439	30	10	3	12	5	0.33
2 Williams	222.4	144.3	3174	22	8	7	3	4	0.36
3 Rutgers	171.7	149.9	4646	31	4	7	17	3	0.13
4 U. Mass	162.6	136.6	3416	25	4	5	15	1	0.16
5 Amherst	146.8	87.9	967	11	5	0	3	3	0.45
6 Swarthmore	132.8	111.2	1335	12	2	2	4	4	0.17
7 C.MC.	128.0	96.6	2318	24	6	7	3	8	0.25
8 SUNY Albany	111.8	77.0	1539	20	7	6	6	1	0.35

Notes: Column 1: Average number of citations for tenured faculty. Column 2: Average number of citations for all tenure track faculty. Column 3: Total departmental citations of tenure track faculty. Column 4: Total number of tenure track faculty. Column 5: Number of non-tenured assistant professors. Column 6: Number of tenured associate professors. Column 7: Number of full non-named professors. Column 8: Number of full named professors. Column 9: Fraction of tenure track faculty who are assistant professors. See text for further discussion.

Since lifetime citations are cumulative, the breakdown by rank is useful, because, *ceteris paribus*, more senior faculty will tend to have higher citation counts. Consequently, the seniority profile of the department can have a substantial impact on the departmental citation count. This is particularly relevant when tenure track faculty at the assistant professor rank are included, since assistant professors typically have very few citations relative to tenured faculty, and in many cases have almost no citations. This can have also have an important consequence for citation comparisons between departments located in liberal arts colleges versus research universities. This is due to the fact that, relative to research universities, liberal arts colleges tend to hire much more exclusively in the new Ph.D. market, so that the proportion of untenured assistant faculty tends to be higher in liberal arts colleges. For example, in our sample the fraction of tenure track faculty who are at the untenured assistant professor level ranges from 0.13 at Rutgers University to more than triple this proportion at Amherst College, where the fraction of untenured faculty at the assistant professor rank is 0.45.

Therefore, to avoid the effect that the proportion of untenured faculty have on departmental citation counts, particularly in light of the fact that even the most successful untenured faculty tend to have very few citations, we believe the best measure for comparison is the average number of citations among the tenured faculty of the department. Accordingly, column 1 reports the average number of citation among tenured faculty for each department, while column 2 reports the average number of citations among all tenure track faculty.

Table IIa. Liberal Arts Faculty Citations

		<u>Citations</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Academic Rank</u>
1	Westphal, L	587	Swarthmore	Full (named)
2	Pedroni, P	510	Williams	Associate
3	Kuttner, K	439	Williams	Full
4	Mulherin, J	411	C.MC.	Full (named)
5	Montiel, P	400	Williams	Full (named)
6	Caprio, G	356	Williams	Full
7	Rivkin, S	351	Amherst	Full
8	Zimmerman, D	274	Williams	Full
9	Dee, T	262	Swarthmore	Associate
10	Burdekin, R	246	C.MC.	Full (named)
11	Wright, C	244	C.MC.	Full (named)
12	Sheppard, S	235	Williams	Full (named)
13	Meulbroek, L	228	C.MC.	Full (named)
14	Brainerd, E	227	Williams	Associate
15	Gentry, W	222	Williams	Associate
16	Helland, E	195	C.MC.	Full
17	Gollin, D	194	Williams	Associate
18	Hollister, R	164	Swarthmore	Full (named)
19	Woglom, G	161	Amherst	Full (named)
20	Lambertini, L	158	C.MC.	Associate

Table IIb. University Faculty Citations

		<u>Citations</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Academic Rank</u>
1	Levine, R	3510	Brown	Full (named)
2	Weil, D	1654	Brown	Full
3	Welch, I	1592	Brown	Full
4	Galor, O	1584	Brown	Full
5	Howitt, P	1390	Brown	Full (named)
6	Loury, G	1125	Brown	Full (named)
7	Pitt, M	846	Brown	Full
8	Bordo, M	818	Rutgers	Full (named)
9	Folbre, N	715	U. Mass	Full
10	Putterman, L	668	Brown	Full
11	Henderson, V	552	Brown	Full (named)
12	Lahiri, K	432	SUNY Albany	Full (named)
13	Brimmer, A	430	U. Mass	Full (named)
14	Boyce, J	414	U. Mass	Full
15	Killingsworth, M	404	Rutgers	Full
16	Perry, M	355	Rutgers	Full
17	Foster, A	349	Brown	Full
18	Klein, R	291	Rutgers	Full
19	Mirer, T	291	SUNY Albany	Associate
20	McLean, R	288	Rutgers	Full

A few comparisons are worth noting regarding the average citation counts. First, Brown clearly dominates all other schools in the sample by a substantial margin, if not literally an order of magnitude. We included a top ranked research department as an illustration of the fact that average tenured faculty citation counts are indeed associated with top ranked research departments. For the remainder of the sample, it is interesting to note that, although Williams is by far the best ranked among the liberal arts colleges, all of the liberal arts colleges do quite well in comparison to the fairly well ranked and well regarded economics departments located in the research universities of our sample. For example, by this measure Williams ranks above all of the remaining research universities in our sample, and the other liberal arts colleges, Amherst, Swarthmore and CMC are not far behind U. Mass, and are better ranked than SUNY Albany.

The fact that the liberal arts colleges are all ranked far below Brown should not come as a surprise to anyone. But the fact that by these measures the liberal arts colleges are comparable or better in rank as compared to mid tier research universities such as Rutgers, U. Mass and SUNY Albany may come as a surprise to anyone who has not followed the rapidly rising standards in research that have occurred in recent years for liberal arts colleges.

In delving further into the details, it is interesting to consider comparisons across these institutions by composition of faculty on various dimensions such as rank and research field. Table II reports the citation counts for the 20 most frequently cited faculty among the economics departments at liberal arts colleges and universities of our sample.⁴ The first feature to notice is that average departmental citation counts tend to be driven heavily by the mass at the right tail of the distribution of individual faculty citation counts. For example, among the liberal arts colleges of our sample, 3 of the top 5 ranked faculty are located at Williams, and 9 of the top 20 are located at Williams. Among the universities of our sample, all of the top 5 ranked faculty are located at Brown, and 10 of the top 20 are located at Brown. Indeed, the top ranked faculty citation counts at Brown are considerably higher than at any other institution included in our sample.⁵ In comparing between the liberal arts college and universities of our sample, the top 3 ranked liberal arts college faculty would rank in positions 11th through 13th if they were included in the university sample. If we were to exclude Brown from the sample, the top three liberal arts faculty would rank in positions 3rd through 5th, when included with faculty from the remaining universities in our sample.

Another interesting comparison that can be made readily with our data sample is to consider faculty by academic rank. Since citation counts accumulate over ones career, *ceteris paribus*, one expects citation counts to be higher among more senior faculty, and the most highly cited

⁴ The full set of results for all individual faculty included in our sample is available separately upon request. The numbers for the top 5 in Table II-a were rechecked a second time toward the end of the study.

⁵ To put these numbers into perspective, the most frequently cited author among universities in our sample, Ross Levine, is consistently ranked among the top 10 most cited economists world wide.

**Table III. Citations by Associate and Assistant Ranks
(Universities and Liberal Arts Colleges Combined)**

<u>Associates</u>	<u>cites</u>	<u>school</u>	<u>Assistants</u>	<u>cites</u>	<u>school</u>
1 Pedroni, P	510	Williams	1 Ishii, J	73	Amherst
2 Mirer, T	291	SUNY Albany	2 Kwon, I	48	SUNY Albany
3 Dee, T	262	Swarthmore	3 Aizer, A	36	Brown
4 Brainerd, E	227	Williams	4 Rai, A	32	Williams
5 Gentry, W	222	Williams	5 Rubinstein, Y	30	Brown

faculty tend to be in the full professor ranks, and to hold named positions. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that departments that have a disproportionately higher number of full professorship positions, and especially named full professorship positions, tend to have higher average citation counts among tenured faculty. Table III reports the citation counts for the 5 most frequently cited faculty by academic rank across both liberal arts colleges and universities for associate and assistant professors. Not surprisingly, based on table II we can see that among the full professorship ranks, the most highly cited faculty are all located at research universities. From table III it is interesting to note however that at lower academic ranks, this is not the case. At the associate professorship rank 4 of the top 5 faculty are located at liberal arts colleges, and at the assistant professorship rank 2 of the top 5 faculty are located at liberal arts colleges. Although it is difficult to infer based on the relatively small sample sizes, one possible explanation for this pattern is that mobility among academic ranks is greater at research universities, so that faculty with highly visible research are promoted more quickly through the academic ranks.

Finally, another useful comparison that can be made with our data is to consider faculty by academic field. Since citation counts tend to vary by field according to the size of the field (both in terms of number of active researchers and number of journals) this is a potentially important factor when comparing average tenured citation counts for departments in liberal arts colleges versus universities. Economics departments located in liberal arts colleges may be more heavily represented in certain economic fields relative to departments located in universities.

Although a systematic study of these patterns is beyond the scope of this study, casual experience suggests that, *ceteris paribus*, citation counts tend to be higher in macro fields than in micro fields, and lowest in econometric fields, particularly in the right tail of the distribution for individual faculty. Our sample is also consistent with this pattern. For example Table IV shows the dramatic differences in the citation count numbers for the right tail of the distribution for

Table IV. Citations by Field
(Universities and Liberal Arts Colleges Combined)

BY MACRO FIELDS:				
	<u>cites</u>	<u>school</u>	<u>rank</u>	
1	Levine, R	3510	Brown	Full (named)
2	Weil, D	1654	Brown	Full
3	Galor, O	1584	Brown	Full
4	Howitt, P	1390	Brown	Full (named)
5	Bordo, M	818	Rutgers	Full (named)
BY MICRO FIELDS:				
	<u>cites</u>	<u>school</u>	<u>rank</u>	
1	Welch, I	1592	Brown	Full
2	Loury, G	1125	Brown	Full (named)
3	Pitt, M	846	Brown	Full
4	Folbre, N	715	U. Mass	Full
5	Putterman, L	668	Brown	Full
BY ECONOMETRICS FIELDS:				
	<u>cites</u>	<u>school</u>	<u>rank</u>	
1	Pedroni, P	510	Williams	Associate
2	Lahiri, K	432	SUNY Albany	Full (named)
3	Klein, R	291	Rutgers	Full
4	Kleibergen, F	221	Brown	Full
5	Kinal, T	105	SUNY Albany	Full

individual faculty between the fields of macro, micro and econometrics.⁶ These patterns no doubt play a role when comparing the average citation counts between liberal arts colleges and universities to the extent that liberal arts colleges tend to have proportionately more faculty in micro based fields than their counterparts in research universities.

4. Further Considerations and Concluding Remarks

It is worth mentioning a few other considerations that are beyond the scope of this study. Ideally, to gain a sense of the impact of the current research conducted in liberal arts colleges,

⁶ Needless to say, faculty often pursue research in more than one of these three subfield classification. For the purposes of table IV, we placed faculty into the classification for which the predominance of the citations occurred. In almost all cases, this was straightforward. The one case that was not straightforward was Welsch (Brown), whose primary area of research is finance. In table IV we listed this individual under microeconomics, although a case could also be made for listing him under macroeconomics, or alternatively, under neither of the three subfield classifications for economics.

one could consider placing greater importance on citations that have occurred more recently, since presumably citations that occurred 20 years ago are less indicative of current research impact than are citations that have occurred in the past 5 or 10 years. This could be accomplished either by making a strict cut-off, or by down-weighting citations based on the number of years since the citation occurred. To the extent that improvements in research have occurred more recently in liberal arts colleges, such an adjustment to the citation count would tend to better reflect the current research impact of liberal arts colleges.

Ideally one might also wish to weight the citation counts according to the number of authors in the study that is cited. For example if a paper has three authors, then it might make sense for a third of the total citations to the paper to be attributed to each of the three authors. This would accomplish two objects. First, it might more accurately reflect the research impact of the individual faculty in the various departments rather than reflecting the research impact of the coauthors of the faculty. Secondly, it would avoid the problem of double counting citations, so that conceptually, the sum of total citations would equal the sum of citations attributed to faculty. This could be particularly relevant if there is substantial co-authorship within a given department. Without properly weighting the citations by authorship numbers, co-authorship within a department implies that the same citations are being counted multiple times when computing the average faculty citations for the department. *Ceteris paribus* one would expect intra-departmental co-authorship to occur more frequently in larger departments. Consequently, adjusting citations by authorship numbers would also tend to better reflect the research impact of smaller sized liberal arts colleges relative to large research universities. Against these considerations one might observe that the choice to undertake coauthored research projects is another strategy that might be chosen by relatively time-constrained liberal-arts faculty in the production of scholarship. Therefore comparison between liberal arts departments or understanding the process of research production in liberal arts colleges might warrant use of total citation counts such as those presented above.

Most ambitious of all, one might wish to weight the citations according to the journal in which they have appeared. Presumably, the justification would come from the notion that citations in better ranked journals would tend to come from research which is likely to have more impact in the future, as reflected in future citations of that work. Conceptually, this becomes a proxy for measuring not only the first generation impact, but also the anticipated second generation impact of research. Alternatively, if one prefers to avoid the difficulty of assigning journal weights one could imagine collecting information on the second generation impact directly by tracking the citations made to each of the papers that cite the original research.

Each of these suggestions are feasible with the I.S.I. Web of Science interface for the Social Sciences Citation Index. The first suggestion can be accomplished by restricting the cited reference search. The second suggestion can be accomplished by displaying the reference that is being cited. The last, more ambitious suggestion can be accomplished by displaying the actual citation. Finally, it is worth repeating that it would also be relatively straightforward to extend the study to include a greater sample of liberal arts colleges and universities.

References

Kalaitzidakis, P., T. Mamuneas and T. Stengos (2003) "Rankings of Academic Journals and Institutions in Economics," *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 1, 1346-66.

Social Sciences Citation Index, ISI, Thomson Scientific.