# A review of economic perspectives on collaboration in science

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### Agenda



- Introduce economic perspectives on collaboration in science
- Explain 2 key facts about collaboration:
  - what draws scientific collaborators together?
  - why has collaboration increased recently?
- Issues
  - Views of teaming from labor economics
  - Calculus from a researcher's perspective
    - benefits/incentives
    - costs coordination & credit
  - Open questions

## Background notes on economic perspectives on scientific collaboration



- No single view or canonical model of scientific collaboration
  - much work in economics of science draws on sociology of science (e.g., Merton, Zuckerman, etc.)
- Four core features of economics of science
  - 1. knowledge accumulates
    - standing on the shoulders of giants" drives economic growth
  - 2. science is a competitive enterprise
    - both at level of individual and institution
  - **3**.it anticipates that incentives, benefits, and costs that individuals & institutions face will shape their behavior
    - policies assumed to operate through those mechanisms to change behavior (though researcher preferences, especially for autonomy also matter)
  - *4.it cares about causality & wants to measure it precisely*!



### Teaming & Collaboration in labor economics



- Labor economics models of teaming & collaboration = basis for perspectives in economics of science
  - not designed for economics of science
  - but applicable
  - esp. Becker & Murphy (1992) & Lazear (1998 & 1999)
- Literature highlights tension between
  - benefits
    - task, skill, & knowledge complementarities (role for diversity)
    - specialization of labor
  - costs
    - direct costs of coordinating
    - incentive problems (e.g., free riding, increased monitoring, etc.)

## The burden of knowledge & The death of the Renaissance Man

- Ben Jones (Kellogg) unified explanation for increasing collaboration & specialization in knowledge production
- Knowledge frontier is ever-expanding
  - in world of limited knowledge...
    - getting to frontier requires genius and some time
    - it is possible to be expert in multiple fields
  - in world of substantial knowledge
    - getting to frontier requires genius & substantial time
    - it is difficult to be an expert in even a single field
- As "burden of knowledge" grows...
  - researchers require longer learning periods before making contributions (unless educational productivity expands more rapidly)
  - researchers become expert in increasingly narrow arenas
  - → must **specialize** & **collaborate** to contribute at frontier of knowledge

#### Evidence

- increasing ages of Nobel Prize winners & 1<sup>st</sup> contribution to innovation
- mass influx of Soviet scientists  $\rightarrow$  collaboration (Agrawral et al., 2013)





## Researcher's calculus: Incentives for / benefits of scientific collaboration



- Complementarity
  - skills, tasks, resources, knowledge bases
  - gains to specialization
  - *limited inquiry in economics of science* (likely due to difficulty in measuring concepts in large scale data)
  - creativity (more work in OT & psych)
  - racing & collusion
- Economies of scale & scope
  - fixed costs
    - equipment, materials data
    - spread across multiple projects
  - Big Science
    - Manhattan Project, Apollo, CERN
  - labs

- Attention & networks of impact
  - can increase quality
  - more connections → more diffusion
  - legitimacy (Matthew Effect)
  - "ghost authorship"
- Credit arbitrage
  - Bikard, Gans, & Murray (2013) if reputational boost of collaboration rises > cost of decreased credit
  - "guest authorship"
- Institutional incentives & subsidies
  - NIH P01 grants, Glue Grants
  - EU Framework Programs
  - Catch-up incentives for publishing

## Researcher's calculus: Costs of scientific collaboration

- Direct costs
  - Communication costs and costs of negotiation & disagreement
    - organizational costs
  - Distance & costs
    - falling over time
      - e.g., BITNET (Agarwal & Goldfarb + Azoulay et al.)
    - but face-to-face still important
      - Ganguli et al, 2013
      - micro-geography matters (Catalini, 2013)
        - » UPMC-Sorbonne
        - » lab co-location → 3-5x more collaboration
        - » x-field :: cites & var 🛧

- Other costs
  - Credit [Gans & Murray w Bikard (2013)]
    - individual credit for contribution to project as # of team members rises
      - ▶ 1-author = 100%
      - > 3-author = 40%? 33%? 20%?
    - this function is not clear to
      - researchers ex ante
      - institutions ex post
      - policy-makers
  - Incentives
    - e.g., free-riding
    - not extensively studied, but anecdotal evidence strong
  - Potential for false science
    - pr(errors & fraud) may rise





### **Open Questions**



#### Causality question

- selection vs. treatment
  - does collaboration cause high research impact? or
  - does high impact research require collaboration?
- experimental approaches?
- natural experiments?

#### Policy questions

- should public policies → collaboration?
  - what is market failure?
  - what does evidence suggest?
  - is diffusion a valuable goal of pro-team policies?

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#### Additional questions

- who works with whom?
  - are there frictions that inhibit optimal matching? (e.g., Fleming, discovered penicillin, but lacked chemical engineers to scale up)
  - is there a role for policy (funding) in supporting matching
- how can we usefully measure cross-field research & assess causal impact of doing such work?
- how does the collaboration imperative shape (for better or worse) research agendas & output?
  - e.g., individual researchers may have different risk preferences than combination of researchers
  - long-term vs. short-term goals (Azoulay et al., 2011)