Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

# **Research Policy**

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/respol

# Being together in place as a catalyst for scientific advance

Eamon Duede <sup>a,b,g,\*</sup>, Misha Teplitskiy <sup>c,e</sup>, Karim Lakhani <sup>a,d,e</sup>, James Evans <sup>f,g,h,\*\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Digital, Data, and Design Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138, United States of America

<sup>b</sup> Embedded EthiCS, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138, United States of America

<sup>c</sup> University of Michigan School of Information, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, United States of America

<sup>d</sup> Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138, United States of America

<sup>e</sup> Laboratory for Innovation Science at Harvard, Boston, MA 02134, United States of America

<sup>f</sup> Sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60607, United States of America

<sup>g</sup> Knowledge Lab, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60607, United States of America

<sup>h</sup> Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, NM 87501, United States of America

#### ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Intellectual influence Geographical distance Citations Survey experiments Word embeddings Regression analysis

# ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic necessitated social distancing at every level of society, including universities and research institutes, raising essential questions concerning the continuing importance of physical proximity for scientific and scholarly advance. Using customized author surveys about the intellectual influence of referenced work on scientists' own papers, combined with precise measures of geographical and semantic distance between focal and referenced works, we find that being at the same institution is strongly associated with intellectual influence on scientists' and scholars' published work. However, this influence increases with intellectual distance: the more different the referenced work done by colleagues at one's institution, the more influential it is on one's own. Universities worldwide constitute places where people doing very different work engage in sustained interactions through departments, committees, seminars, and communities. These interactions come to uniquely influence their published research, suggesting the need to replace rather than displace diverse engagements for sustainable advance.

# 1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic necessitated social distancing at every level of society (Venkatesh and Edirappuli, 2020), raising essential questions concerning the importance of place and proximity. Universities substituted face-to-face instruction, mentorship, faculty meetings, and research seminars with video conferences, not replacing but displacing interactions that otherwise lead to spill-over conversations and unintentional connections, which, in turn, spark innovative scientific and scholarly ideas and collaboration. With university laboratories only partially staffed, seminar rooms empty, workshops closed to outsiders, and conferences made either hybrid or virtual, delayed, or indefinitely rain checked, questions arise regarding the effect that this social distancing had and will have on scientists' knowledge of emerging ideas and findings, and their ability to influence and be influenced by one another on the path to discovery and collective advance (Akour et al., 2020). With many organizations still operating in a mostly 'hybrid' or fully remote manner, while others are in the process of returning or have fully returned to the office, unique, natural experiments are currently underway that will add critical insight to these questions (Rosen, 2021; Brucks and Levav, 2022).

Researchers have examined the effect of geographical distance on the practice of both science and invention. Ubiquitous digitization, virtual classrooms, workshops, and conferences have led some to declare a "death of distance" not only in the world but also in science (Cairncross, 1997; Friedman, 2006). Recent experience and employee interest have led many businesses and institutions to announce that they plan to make remote work a more permanent feature of their organizational structure. But does the collapse of distance with advances in transportation and communication technology remove the geographic agglomeration that has always characterized the production and consumption of complex scientific and technical knowledge (Collins, 1974; Jaffe et al., 1993; Evans, 2010; Murata et al., 2014)? Recent high-profile commentary argues that there is no support for creative contributions catalyzed by

E-mail addresses: eduede@g.harvard.edu (E. Duede), jevans@uchicago.edu (J. Evans).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.respol.2023.104911

Received 19 November 2021; Received in revised form 11 October 2023; Accepted 22 October 2023 Available online 2 December 2023 0048-7333/© 2023 The Authors. Published by Elsevier B.V. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).





<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding to: E. Duede, Digital, Data, and Design Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138, United States of America.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Correspondence to: J. Evans, Sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60607, United States of America.

being together in place (Miller, 2021) or that findings are mixed (Mors and Waguespack, 2021). Yet new research implies that geography may still matter.

Distance has been found to be a significant factor in conditioning collaboration (Olechnicka et al., 2018; Morgan, 2004; Olson and Olson, 2000; Adams, 2013; Fernández et al., 2016; Catalini, 2018; Criscuolo and Verspagen, 2008). In a recent study involving tens of thousands of information workers at a major technology company, remote work during COVID-19 shutdowns resulted in a more siloed, static, and asynchronous collaboration network, with fewer bridges between disparate parts of the firm network to facilitate rapid information flow (Yang et al., 2021). These findings suggest that geographical co-location is an important factor in linking individuals whose immediate intellectual agendas are relatively distant, and motivates our investigation into the interaction of geographical and intellectual distances. While there is some evidence that regional scales affect knowledge spillovers with scholarly citation decreasing with distance (Matthiessen et al., 2002; Börner et al., 2006), most research on distance has tended to focus on inventive activity where patent citing practices remain distinct from those in science (Criscuolo and Verspagen, 2008). All of this work suggests that distance matters for increasing awareness of relevant research, but these studies also suggest that what it means to be "close" can be as far as the same country, region, or within hundreds of miles. Not very close. If this diffuse geographic influence were all to the story, then the dissipation of concrete university settings into clouds would be less cause for concern.

Attempts have been made to "zoom in" on micro, hyper-local scales, with a focus on particular institutions and even buildings. While macro distances seem to play an important role in determining what prior knowledge scientists are more likely to cite, micro distances have been shown to reorient research directions and productivity (Rawlings and McFarland, 2011), catalyze the consummation of research relationships (Kabo et al., 2015), facilitate the transfer of skills and tacit knowledge (Collins, 1974; Collins and Harrison, 1975), and promote the consolidation of distinct and diverse epistemic cultures (Cetina, 2009). From this work, we learn that researchers are more likely to be productive when they learn and adopt best practices from their peers, that shared interactions are more likely to lead to proposed innovations, and that universities can encourage this by promoting collaboration among researchers (Rawlings and McFarland, 2011; Kabo et al., 2015). In a more recent study, researchers found that co-location within an institution has the most substantial distance-related effect on the probability of citation, that sharing an institution improves the probability that intellectually distant works will be cited, and that research practice is learned informally, through interactions with advisors (Wuestman et al., 2019; Leahey, 2006).

Yet, it remains unclear whether the physically proximate, nearby work we are more likely to cite is vital for influencing our own work, or simply a curious but ornamental allusion. Moreover, while paths of possible collaborators are likely to cross more often in buildings and on campuses, how do the partnerships that emerge from those face-to-face interactions rank in importance and influence relative to those formed online and across longer distances?

Estimates of the probability of citation tell us something about the ways in which institutions facilitate access to scholarship, but they do not tell us enough about the impact of co-location on intellectual influence to shape policy. Institutions are faced with a costly decision for which current literature gives them little guidance. Does the probability of citation under- or overestimate the probability of influence? Depending on the answer to this question, a cost-benefit analysis may recommend enhanced virtualization or a wholesale return to physical co-location. As we show in this article, misspecifying the relationship between citation and influence could have substantial effects on innovative capacity moving forward.

The limitation of prior work in this area is that it focuses on how distance affects the probability of citation or collaboration, but leaves us

in the dark about what it means for intellectual influence. Not all references denote intellectual impact (Bornmann and Daniel, 2008; Mac-Roberts and MacRoberts, 1996; Nicolaisen, 2007). With some citations indicating meaningful influence and others denoting obligatory signals of membership within an intellectual community or the flex of intellectual control (Teplitskiy et al., 2022), attempts to observe the effect of distance on scholarship that rely primarily on the probability of citation cannot disentangle influence from exposure.

Moreover, observational and experimental studies of face-to-face versus virtual interaction suggest potential mechanisms for the difference between local, regional, or global engagement and collaboration. Virtual interactions limit the flow of subtle but important influences in online settings. Face-to-face interactions have been shown to amplify the impact of collective motivation on team performance (Kirkman et al., 2004). Direct experimentation with the use of video-conferencing in natural and controlled settings demonstrates how virtual interaction curbs collective creativity compared with face-to-face collaboration by focusing participants on a single channel of interaction—the screen (Brucks and Levav, 2022).<sup>1</sup> While no controlled studies have examined the effect of virtual interactions on sustained intellectual influence at scale, existing studies suggest the importance of examining the relative effects of interactions over distances that would facilitate face-to-face versus computer-mediated interaction.

Our research design seeks to directly assess intellectual influence and knowledge transmission using publication data from Clarivate's *Web of Science* and surveyed author reports as in (Teplitskiy et al., 2022). Here, we initially summarize the process, then detail each step in the Methods section below. We began by randomly sampling seed articles from 15 diverse fields drawn from the physical sciences, life sciences, social sciences, and humanities. For each field, we randomly selected focal articles that cited these seed papers. We selected two references from each focal paper and surveyed corresponding authors of the focal papers regarding how much each referenced paper influenced the author of the focal paper, how well they knew it, as well as how and where they first discovered it (e.g., database, colleague, presentation). This yielded measurements of the intellectual influence, knowledge, and provenance of two referenced works for a total of 12,008 works (with some works rated by multiple respondents).

To understand how intellectual influence and knowledge transmission are related to physical proximity, we gathered information on the organizational and geographic locations of the home institutions for focal and referenced papers. To understand how intellectual influence is related to intellectual distance, we measured the intellectual (scientific and semantic) distance between referenced and focal papers with semantic precision by encoding a rich trace of the content (e.g. title and abstract) in a geometric embedding space using one of the unsupervised machine learning models that have come to exhibit human-level sensitivity in natural language tasks (Mikolov et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2014; Peters et al., 2018; Devlin et al., 2018). Our analysis then involved regressing intellectual influence and knowledge on organizational and intellectual distance measurements to identify the relationship between organizational proximity and influence.

### 2. Methods

#### 2.1. Sampling

We used data from Clarivate's complete *Web of Science* (WoS) database to systematically sample the scholarly literature and survey the scientific community across the following 15 fields indexed by WoS:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scholarship by boosters of communication technologies argue that there are few differences *in theory* between what virtual and face-to-face communication can achieve (Rhoads, 2010), but these speculations are at variance with the empirical effects (e.g., Brucks and Levay, 2022).

biochemistry & molecular biology, physical chemistry, economics, endocrinology & metabolism, energy & fuels, electrical & electronic engineering, history & philosophy of science, immunology, linguistics, nanoscience & nanotechnology, oncology, pharmacology & pharmacy, applied physics, psychology, and telecommunications. Fields were chosen to provide broad disciplinary coverage and make our results as generalizable as possible. We selected the fields in the following way. WoS attributes journals to fields that fall under six major subjects - Arts & Humanities, Clinical, Pre-clinical & Health, Engineering & Technology, Life Sciences, Physical Sciences, and Social Sciences. We selected fields with large coverage by WoS from each of these major subject areas. We further selected on the extent to which citation-based metrics were meaningful for these fields by averaging the CiteScore (Elsevier's journal impact metric) for each field's top five journals in 2016, then ranking fields according to this average. Together, this ensured broad topical coverage with substantial citation attention.

Data were collected in 2018 via a personalized Qualtrics survey to randomly sampled corresponding authors of papers published in 2015 in the WoS database. The year 2015 was chosen because, when we initially designed the study, it was the most recent year of data in our version of the database. For each of 15 focal fields, we identified all research articles published in 2000, 2005, and 2010 (to provide substantial temporal variation) and, for each year separately, ranked them according to the number of citations they had accrued through 2015. From each percentile of the resulting year-specific citation distribution, we randomly selected five referenced papers. We then identified all papers citing these cited papers in 2015, and from this list of "citing" papers selected five at random. If a cited paper did not have five citing papers in our database in 2015, we selected another paper from the same citation percentile and repeated the procedure until we accrued 25 citing papers for that percentile for that year. In 2018, we contacted the corresponding author of each focal paper with a personalized survey and asked them about two references in this paper. We sought two references from each citing paper to enable analyses with author fixed-effects. If a second reference (cited paper) matching the criteria was not available, we relaxed the matching constraints until a reference could be found. (Teplitskiy et al., 2022) provides additional details on the sampling and survey.

# 2.2. Data on intellectual influence and knowledge

Our survey focuses on identifying our two core dependent variables: how much a referenced paper influenced the citing author in writing their focal paper, and how well they know it ('influence' and 'knowledge', respectively). We measured how influential a referenced paper was to the focal paper with the question, "How much did this reference influence the research choices in your paper?" Answer choices ranged from 1 (very minor influence: paper would have been very similar without this reference) to 5 (very major influence: motivated the entire project). We measured how well the respondent knew the content of the referenced paper with the question, "How well do you know this paper?" Answer choices ranged from 1 (not well: only familiar with main findings) to 5 (extremely well: know it as well as my own work). This approach yields a direct measure of the intellectual influence that a particular referenced work had on an author's own work, and how well authors know the referenced papers they cited in their own work. These two variables serve as central dependent variables in our analysis (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics of these variables). The response rate for the personalized survey was measured by clicks on the personalized survey link. The rate varied significantly among different disciplines, with oncology having the lowest rate at 12.9 % and history and philosophy of science having the highest rate at 34.1 %. The response rate for this survey was significantly higher than those obtained by other recent (Myers et al., 2020; Radicchi et al., 2017) email-based surveys of researchers, ranging from 50 % to 1000 % larger. The number of completed surveys varied by field, yielding 1060 responses from

biochemistry & molecular biology, 1361 from physical chemistry, 1078 from economics, 589 from endocrinology & metabolism, 1419 from energy & fuels, 688 from electrical & electronic engineering, 209 from history & philosophy of science, 622 from immunology, 421 from linguistics, 497 from nanoscience & nanotechnology, 701 from oncology, 834 from pharmacology & pharmacy, 864 from applied physics, 1096 from psychology, and 569 from telecommunications.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.3. Data on geographical proximity

In order to analyze how intellectual influence relates to geographical proximity, we gathered information on the geographic location of host institutions for focal and referenced papers.<sup>3</sup> To accomplish this, we first extracted institutional addresses for each paper's corresponding author recorded in the *Web of Science*. Next, we geocoded these addresses using the Google Maps API to resolve their precise latitude and longitude, as well as city, country, and institutional information. Additionally, we extracted the institution and department names from the WoS database and cross-checked the institution with the Maps API. Finally, we calculated the shortest geodesic distance between the institutions of each focal paper and its corresponding referenced paper in kilometers.

When evaluating the effect of continuous distance on intellectual influence, we found that effects were prominent when distances between focal and referenced papers were near zero. Fig. 1 reveals that these effects are highly nonlinear, with local effects washed out by long distances. To model these organizationally relevant distances, we discretized geographical proximity into five categories: "same academic department," "same institution," "same city," and "same country." Descriptive statistics for data on physical distance are also presented in Table 1.

### 2.4. Data on reference discovery

Additionally, we gathered information on how respondents found their referenced papers. Survey respondents were given the following options to indicate the pathway by which they found the referenced paper: 'I know the author personally', 'The reference was recommended by a colleague', 'I found the reference via a presentation', 'I found the reference via another paper', 'I found the reference via database search', 'Not sure', and 'Other'. We present descriptive statistics on pathways by which respondents discovered referenced papers in Table 1.

## 2.5. Data on intellectual distance

In order to analyze how intellectual influence relates to intellectual distance, we measured the intellectual distance between referenced and focal papers with semantic precision. To do this, we encoded a rich trace of article content (title and abstract) in a word embedding model using one of the unsupervised machine learning approaches that have transformed modern natural language processing (Mikolov et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2014; Peters et al., 2018; Devlin et al., 2018). Word embedding models draw on large-scale text corpora and "discover" semantics from local linguistic context, validating the distributional hypothesis that words occurring in the same contexts tend to have similar meanings (Harris, 1954) by performing at human-level on analogy tests

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive non-response analysis of the data used in this study, see (Teplitskiy et al., 2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In geographical studies, 'institutional distance' and 'proximity' often denotes differences in national institutions or varying institutional backgrounds, such as in university-industry partnerships. In this paper, are focus is primarily on universities which are commonly referred to as "institutions". Throughout, where ambiguity might arise, we adopt the locution "organizational proximity", but otherwise use the terms "institution" and "organization" interchangeably to refer primarily to institutions of higher learning: universities.

# Table 1

Descriptions and summary statistics of variables.

Variable	Count	Mean	std	Source	Definition
influence	12,309	2.48	1.05	Survey	Survey response value for how influential the focal paper was on the citing paper (1–5)
knowledge	12,285	2.93	1.09	Survey	Survey response value for how well the respondent knows the content of the focal paper $(1-5)$
geo_distance	10,649	5787.97	4674.98	Google maps	Calculated geodesic distance between the focal paper's institution and citing paper's institution
intellectual distance	12,309	0.82	0.17	Language model	Cosine similarity between focal and citing paper abstract in vector space representation
same department	12,309	0.15	0.36	Web of science	Indicator variable for whether focal and citing paper share an academic department
same institution	12,309	0.02	0.14	Web of science	Indicator variable for whether focal and citing paper share an institution
same city	12,309	0.01	0.11	Google maps	Indicator variable for whether focal and citing paper share a city
same country	12,309	0.16	0.42	Google maps	Indicator variable for whether focal and citing paper share a country
know personally	12,149	0.14	0.35	Survey	Survey Boolean response variable indicating whether the respondent knows a focal paper author personally
colleague	12,149	0.10	0.30	Survey	Survey Boolean response variable indicating whether the respondent learned of the focal paper from a colleague
presentation	12,149	0.05	0.23	Survey	Survey Boolean response variable indicating whether the respondent learned of the focal paper from a presentation
another paper	12,149	0.25	0.43	Survey	Survey Boolean response variable indicating whether the respondent learned of the focal paper from another paper
database search	12,149	0.64	0.48	Survey	Survey Boolean response variable indicating whether the respondent learned of the focal paper from a database
not sure	12,149	0.04	0.20	Survey	Survey Boolean response variable indicating that the respondent is unsure of how they learned of the focal paper
other	12,149	0.07	0.25	Survey	Survey Boolean response variable indicating whether the respondent learned of the focal paper from some other source

# Influence and Knowledge vs. Geographic Distance



Fig. 1. Scatter plot of influence and knowledge as a function of continuous geographical proximity. The blue and red curves are Lowess curves for influence and knowledge, respectively. (For interpretation of the references to color in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

(Mikolov et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2014), question answering (Peters et al., 2018; Devlin et al., 2018), and a wide range of language understanding tasks. It has been demonstrated that embedding texts produced by persons in given times and places can replicate surveyed associations among people from those same times and places (Kozlowski et al., 2019; Caliskan et al., 2017; Lewis and Lupyan, 2019; Garg et al., 2018). Here, we use a popular word and document embedding algorithm, the Gensim implementation of Doc2Vec (Le and Mikolov, 2014), and calculate the inverse of intellectual distance as the cosine similarity between fixed-length feature vector representations encoding each referenced and focal paper. Cosine similarity is calculated as

similarity(AB) = 
$$\frac{A \cdot B}{\|A\| \|x\| \|B\|} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} A_i \times B_i}{\sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^{n} A_i^2} \times \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^{n} B_i^2}}$$

where vectors *A* and *B* are focal and reference document vectors, and values closer to 1 represent more similar documents. This approach produces estimates of greater semantic similarity than bibliometric approaches for assessing the co-citation of articles or journals (Hamers and Others, 1989), while not assuming that compared works frame themselves with respect to the same prior work.

All papers in our evaluation sample are ones our respondents cited. However, in order to render the semantic space in such a way as to capture the intellectual search space respondents might have used when selecting papers to read and cite, we also gathered a 10 % sample of all papers published in each of the years between 2010 and 2015. From this pool, we drew a 10 % random sample with replacement. As a result, our embedding space contains the abstracts of 543,936 documents. Each vector in the space represents a document's concatenated 'title + abstract'. We used the following hyperparameters for training the Doc2Vec model:  $min_count = 10$ , dm = 0,  $dbow_words = 0$ , window = 10, sample = 0.000001, negative = 5,  $vector_size = 300$ .

Similarity between pairs of focal and referenced documents in our corpus is right skewed (Fig. 2), meaning that most referenced papers are very similar to the papers in which they are cited, as is to be expected. While we ultimately find that more intellectually distant works confer greater influence, here we observe the obvious: one cannot cite random



Fig. 2. Probability distribution of cosine similarities between focal and reference paper pairs in our sample.

papers. As a result, seemingly small movements in the direction of similarity or dissimilarity result in meaningfully large deviations from mean influence. As an added validation of the reliability of our embedding, we hand evaluated the 20 most similar and 20 least similar document pairs to ensure that comparisons were reasonable. We present descriptive statistics on intellectual distances between focal and referenced papers in Table 1.

We represent the correlations between all variables used in the study in Appendix C, Table C2, where we observe that being at the same institution, influence, and knowledge of the referenced paper are each most positively correlated with 1) knowing the author personally, 2) having the author as a colleague, and 3) learning of the paper through a presentation or seminar. By contrast, being at the same institution, influence and knowledge of the paper are most negatively correlated with finding the referenced paper through a scholarly database, another paper, or not remembering how the paper was found.

In Fig. 3, we further graphically explore the complex relationship between intellectual distance and the same or different institution. In that figure the red hand of each "clock" is fixed and represents the intellectual influence (thickness) and intellectual distance (length) of papers cited from other institutions relative to the focal paper at center. The blue hand represents the intellectual influence and distance of papers from the same institution, and the angle between red and blue is the intellectual distance between cited papers from the same and other institutions (90° indicates no semantic relation). For every field studied, articles cited from the same institutions are more distant and more influential. The inset above each clock face is a 2-dimensional UMAP projection (McInnes et al., 2018) of the position of focal papers relative to the papers they cite from other institutions (ends of the red line) and relative to those from the same institution (ends of the blue line.) Numbers orthogonal to each blue line are percentage increases in the intellectual influence of papers from the same relative to other institutions, and numbers along the blue line are percentage increases in the intellectual distance of papers from the same relative to other institutions in the uncompressed 300-dimensional semantic space in which they were embedded. Again, we clearly see that in every field studied, same institution is both associated with greater intellectual distance and influence.

These and other associations presage many of the findings in our analyses below, but because correlations cannot enable author and paper fixed effects, our analyses below offer far greater quasiexperimental control.

# 2.6. Modeling the structure of influence

We initially evaluate the linear impact of our discrete measures of geographical proximity on influence and knowledge with the following specification:

$$y_{ij} = lpha_i + eta_0 + eta X_{ij} + arepsilon_{ij}$$

where *y* represents influence or knowledge, and the vector of independent indicator variables **X** represents the discrete distance measures (e. g., same department, same institution, same city, same country, and same world). Indices *i* and *j* enumerate authors and referenced papers, respectively. Author-fixed effects  $\alpha_i$  denote author-specific intercepts and allow us to control for all (stable) differences between authors, including their fields. The results of this regression (Table 2 and Fig. 5) show that sharing an institution has the highest impact on influence and knowledge.

We also regressed intellectual influence and knowledge of each referenced paper on the distinct pathways through which the author of the focal paper found the reference using ordinal logistic regressions. We use the following specification for influence and knowledge:

$$logit(P(y_{ij} \leq k)) = \alpha_i + \beta_{k0} + \beta \mathbf{X}_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ijk}$$



6

Fig. 3. Influence and Intellectual Distance of Papers from same versus other institutions. (For interpretation of the references to color in this figure, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

#### Table 2

Regression of influence and knowledge on geo-institutional proximity.

	Dependent Variable:				
	influence	knowledge			
	(1)	(2)			
	Estimate (std error)	Estimate (std error)			
Independent Variables					
same department	0.238** (0.089)	0.212* (0.086)			
same institution	0.764*** (0.134)	0.810*** (0.129)			
same city	0.600*** (0.141)	0.413** (0.135)			
same country	0.261** (0.087)	0.268** (0.084)			
same world	0.110 (0.094)	-0.044 (0.091)			
Observations	12,309	12,285			
R <sup>2</sup>	0.016	0.031			
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	-1.466	-1.431			
F statistic	15.652*** (df = 5; 4912)	31.302*** (df = 5; 4896)			

Note: + p < .1, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001.

where *y* represents influence or knowledge, and the vector of independent indicator variables **X** represent the various channels through which a paper was found (e.g., personal connection, a colleague, a presentation, another paper, a database search, and so on). Indices *i* and *j* enumerate authors and referenced papers, respectively. Author-fixed effects  $\alpha_i$  denote author-specific intercepts and allow us to control for all (stable) differences between authors, including their fields. In this way, we quantify the relationship between how a referenced paper was found and the influence that paper had on the research decisions of the respondent in writing the focal paper. Coefficients are detailed in Table 3, all of which are consistent with the correlations presented below in Fig. 4.

Next, we assembled a Structural Equation Model (SEM) to put these two classes of effect together. Through this structure, we simultaneously evaluate how geographical author proximity shaped the sources through which responding authors discovered referenced papers and how these sources, in turn, shaped the ultimate outcomes of knowledge about referenced papers and their influence on the focal work. The assembled SEM is estimated by the R package "lavaan" (Rosseel, 2012) and has the structure indicated by Fig. 3.

Given that all of our variables are observed, our SEM contains no latent variables. The body of individual regressions that make up the SEM are as follows:

#### Table 3

Ordinal	logistic	regression	of	influence	and	knowledge	on	channels	throug	h
which a	uthors fo	ound refere	nce	e papers.						

	Dependent Variable:	
	influence	knowledge
	(1)	(2)
	Estimate (std error)	Estimate (std error)
Independent Variables		
know personally	0.805*** (0.064)	1.172*** (0.053)
colleague	0.621*** (0.071)	0.241*** (0.342)
presentation	0.641*** (0.090)	0.631*** (0.074)
another paper	0.365*** (0.051)	0.142*** (0.041)
database	0.137* (0.054)	-0.030 (0.044)
not sure	-0.423*** (0.114)	-0.790*** (0.093)
other	0.319*** (0.073)	0.570*** (0.076)
threshold coefficients:		
1   2	-1.401 (0.060)	-1.861 (0.050)
2   3	0.558 (0.058)	-0.518 (0.046)
3   4	2.360 (0.067)	1.088 (0.047)
4   5	4.471 (0.088)	3.053 (0.058)
Observations	12,149	12,128

Note: + p < .1, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001.

know\_personally  $\sim \alpha_{kp_i} + \text{same\_department}_{ij} + \text{same\_institution}_{ij}$ + same\_city<sub>ii</sub> + same\_country<sub>ii</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{kp_i}$ 

colleague  $\sim \alpha_{c_{-i}} + \text{same\_department}_{ij} + \text{same\_institution}_{ij}$ + same\_city<sub>ii</sub> + same\_country<sub>ii</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{c_{-i}}$ 

presentation  $\sim \alpha_{p_{-i}}$  + same\_department<sub>ij</sub> + same\_institution<sub>ij</sub> + same\_city<sub>ij</sub> + same\_country<sub>ii</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{p_{-i}}$ 

another\_paper  $\sim \alpha_{ap_i}$  + same\_department<sub>ij</sub> + same\_institution<sub>ij</sub> + same\_city<sub>ij</sub> + same\_country<sub>ii</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{ap_i}$ 

database  $\sim \alpha_{d\_i} + \text{same\_department}_{ij} + \text{same\_institution}_{ij} + \text{same\_city}_{ij}$ + same\\_country<sub>ij</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{d\_i}$ 

not\_sure  $\sim \alpha_{ns\_i}$  + same\_department<sub>ij</sub> + same\_institution<sub>ij</sub> + same\_city<sub>ij</sub> + same\_country<sub>ij</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{ns\_i}$ 

other  $\sim \alpha_{o_i}$  + same\_department<sub>ij</sub> + same\_institution<sub>ij</sub> + same\_city<sub>ij</sub> + same\_country<sub>ii</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{o_i}$ 

influence  $\sim \alpha_{inf_i} + \text{know_personally}_{ij} + \text{colleague}_{ij} + \text{presentation}_{ij}$ 

+ another\_paper<sub>ij</sub> + database<sub>ij</sub> + not\_sure<sub>ij</sub> + other<sub>ij</sub>

+ same\_department<sub>ij</sub> + same\_institution<sub>ij</sub> + same\_city<sub>ij</sub>

+ same\_country<sub>ij</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{inf_ij}$ 

knowledge  $\sim \alpha_{k_{-}i} + \text{know}_{-}\text{personally}_{ij} + \text{colleague}_{ij} + \text{presentation}_{ij}$ 

+ another\_paper<sub>ij</sub> + database<sub>ij</sub> + not\_sure<sub>ij</sub> +  $other_{ij}$  + same\_department<sub>ij</sub>

+ same\_institution<sub>ij</sub> + same\_city<sub>ij</sub> + same\_country<sub>ij</sub> +  $\varepsilon_{k_{-ij}}$ 

where each intercept is author-specific, and each error is author and paper-specific. This within-respondent SEM is well specified, and the estimation procedure converged quickly (180 iterations).

We use the results of this model (reported in Table 4) to select relevant variables for the reduced form fixed-effects interaction model with which we demonstrate how the interaction between sharing an institution and document similarity between focal and reference paper most significantly predicts influence and knowledge. SEM coefficient estimates, detailed below in the results, indicate that the pathway exerting the largest, most significant effect from collocation to discovery to influence and knowledge moves from sharing an institution with the author of the referenced paper, through finding the paper via personal familiarity with the author, to the influence that paper had on the focal paper and the knowledge the respondent has of its content. This confirms and adds specificity to the reduced form models detailed above and allows us to remove auxiliary, insignificant pathways from the model.

Finally, we designed a reduced form ordinal logistic regression and linear mixed models (reported in Table C1 in Appendix C) to quantify the interactive effect of institutional and intellectual distance on the respondent's (1) knowledge of the content of referenced papers, as well as (2) the extent to which the references influenced research choices reflected in the focal paper. We use the following specification for measuring influence and knowledge:

 $\operatorname{logit}(P(y_{ij} \le k)) = \alpha_i + \beta_{k0} + \beta_1 x_{1ij} + \beta_2 x_{2ij} + \beta_3 (x_{1ij} * x_{2ij}) + \varepsilon_{ijk}$ 

where *y* represents influence or knowledge,  $x_1$  is an indicator variable for shared institution and  $x_2$  represents intellectual similarity. As above, the indices *i* and *j* enumerate authors and referenced papers, respectively. Author fixed-effects  $\alpha_i$  denote author-specific intercepts and

# Discovery Source Geographic Proximity Know Personally Same Department Colleague Same Institution Another Paper Same City Database Same Country Other Not Sure

Fig. 4. SEM concept.

Table 4

Structural equation model results.

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Estimate	Std. Err	z-Value	<i>p</i> (> z )
	same_department	0.358***	0.037	9.655	0.000
	same_institution	1.580***	0.085	18.576	0.000
	same_city	1.469***	0.104	14.064	0.000
know_personally $\sim$	same_country	0.555***	0.035	15.808	0.000
	same_department	0.139***	0.042	3.329	0.001
	same_institution	0.417***	0.100	4.192	0.000
	same_city	0.450***	0.120	3.762	0.000
colleague ~	same_country	0.172***	0.041	4.228	0.000
	same_department	0.066.	0.051	1.296	0.195
	same_institution	0.324***	0.117	2.766	0.006
	same_city	0.172	0.160	1.075	0.283
presentation $\sim$	same_country	0.276***	0.046	5.948	0.000
	same_department	-0.059+	0.035	-1.702	0.089
	same_institution	-0.77***	0.125	-6.186	0.000
	same_city	-0.416***	0.129	-3.229	0.001
another_paper $\sim$	same_country	-0.062+	0.034	-1.817	0.069
	same_department	-0.207***	0.032	-6.461	0.000
	same_institution	$-1.398^{***}$	0.099	-14.150	0.000
	same_city	-0.968***	0.108	-8.944	0.000
database ~	same_country	$-0.281^{***}$	0.031	-8.948	0.000
	same_department	-0.119+	0.061	-1.949	0.051
	same_institution	-0.49*	0.232	-2.115	0.034
	same_city	-0.464+	0.277	-1.677	0.094
not_sure ~	same_country	-0.030	0.057	0.533	0.594
	same_department	0.094*	0.048	1.976	0.048
	same_institution	0.621***	0.100	6.212	0.000
	same_city	0.498***	0.130	3.843	0.000
other $\sim$	same_country	0.248***	0.044	5.610	0.000
	know_personally	0.186***	0.015	12.504	0.000
	colleague	0.143***	0.016	8.984	0.000
	presentation	0.189***	0.019	10.068	0.000
	another_paper	0.078***	0.013	5.944	0.000
	database	-0.061***	0.012	-5.081	0.000
	not_sure	-0.140***	0.019	-7.191	0.000
	other	0.010	0.017	0.603	0.547
	same_department	-0.012	0.030	-0.400	0.689
	same_institution	-0.116	0.094	-1.230	0.219
	same_city	-0.031	0.105	-0.295	0.768
influence ~	same_country	-0.230***	0.031	-7.522	0.000
	know_personally	0.372***	0.015	24.269	0.000
	colleague	0.09^^^	0.017	5.363	0.000
	presentation	0.280***	0.021	12.394	0.000
	anomer_paper	0.100***	0.014	3.502	0.000
	database	-0.109***	0.012	-8.959	0.000
	not_sure	-0.243***	0.020	-12.00/	0.000
	ouici same department	0.062	0.017	1 969	0.000
	same institution	-0.002+	0.035	-1.803	0.003
	same_institution	-0.241	0.104	-2.524	0.020
knowledge	same country	-0.34	0.120	-7.628	0.008
Knowicuge	same_country	-0.239	0.034	-7.020	0.000

enable us to control for all (stable) differences between authors, including their fields. This approach accounts for the possibility that the composition of authors varies significantly across the citation distribution of references. For example, different authors may have different standards for "influence." This model allows us to focus our attention, and statistical tests, on the interactions that our theory and empirical patterns of influence justify.

# 3. Results

Our first model explores the relationship between geo-organizational proximity, the likelihood that a referenced paper will have influence on a focal study, and the author's intimate knowledge with the referenced study. We find that when scientists share an organization, the chances they will report having been influenced by other scholars is maximized. Moreover, the chances that the referenced paper they are influenced by is more intellectually distant is significant. Intellectual distance is only meaningfully significant for paper pairs that share an organization. When geographical proximity between authors increases from within an organization to within a city, and to within a country, influence falls precipitously. In Fig. 4 and Table 2, we present the estimated effect of a respondent fixed-effects linear regression relating discrete geographical distances with influence.

These findings suggest that institutions matter not only for access to ideas, but also for facilitating the transfer and influential absorption of those ideas. While it is significantly more likely that authors will cite works from other institutions, the works they encounter at their home institutions are the ones that influence them most. Notably, however, when authors of focal papers and reference papers share a department within the same institution, the influence they confer upon one another falls to roughly the same level as sharing a country. This is likely because colleagues within a department share enough background (Chu and Evans, 2021) that their work cannot surprise and so is less likely to substantially influence.

Next, we use ordinal logistic regression models to quantify the relationship between a referenced paper's influence and an author's knowledge of it with the referenced paper's source. This model design allows us to account for the outcome variables having discrete, Likert-scale values. Results suggest that across respondents, influence and knowledge were most strongly associated with knowing the author of the referenced paper personally, learning of the paper through a presentation, and receiving it from a colleague, respectively. If we convert the coefficients into odds ratios through exponentiation, we see that knowing the author personally is associated with an increase in the odds of an additional unit of influence (on the 1–5 Likert scale) by 2.24 times and a unit of knowledge by more than 3 times. Influence and knowledge

of the paper were, unsurprisingly, most negatively associated with not knowing how the respondent discovered the paper and discovering it through database search.

We also allowed respondents to provide free text information on "other" ways they found referenced papers. In analyzing these selfdescribed "other" channels, we sorted responses by the amount of influence the referenced paper had on the focal paper. Reading through responses for those that imparted a high degree of influence, we found that a much higher proportion describe personal relationships. Consider the following responses: "[M]y supervisor was the co-author [of the referenced paper]"; the author of the referenced paper is the "[f]ormer Ph.D. advisor of my co-author"; "[t]he first author [of the referenced paper] has collaborated on other projects with me." In contrast, text responses describing other ways of finding referenced papers that confer little influence tend to evince confusion and impersonal pathways. Many respondents state plainly, "I don't remember" or "I would assume that my coauthor learned about this paper via normal database search"; "searched for relevant papers, and [the referenced article] was one that came up"; or the referenced article was "suggested by a referee", signifying that, when reviewers suggest a paper, focal paper authors feel obliged to add the paper to the reference list. They do not, as a result, reimagine the project, remeasure the phenomenon, or remodel their critical outcomes.

We assembled these prior models into a structural equation model (SEM) that simultaneously estimates geo-organizational proximity and its influence on the source through which authors became aware of referenced papers. Findings from the SEM are visualized in Fig. 5 and detailed in Table 4. The fitted parameters establish the link from geographical proximity, through discovery, to influence and knowledge



**Fig. 5.** Effect (with std. error bars) on influence of papers at nested categorical distances from the focal paper. The first point is the effect ( $\sim$ 5 %) of intellectual influence of work cited from an author's own department(s); second the influence of work cited from an author's organizations(s) but not same department ( $\sim$ 15 %); third the influence of work cited from an author's same city but not same organization ( $\sim$ 11 %); fourth the influence of work cited from an author's same country but not same city ( $\sim$ 5 %); and finally the influence of work cited from outside the author's country (no effect). The greatest influence is from the author's organization, but not from their department or field. Being at the same organization as cited work is blue, and being at other organizations is red. Note: +p < .1, \*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001. (For interpretation of the references to color in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)



Fig. 6. SEM links omitted for non-statistically significant effects. Dashed lines represent negative effects.

explicitly. The model establishes reasonable relationships between proximity and discovery. Being at the same organization has the highest impact on finding a referenced paper through personal acquaintance with its author or a live presentation, and the lowest on finding it through another paper, a database, or not remembering at all. In turn, finding a paper through personal knowledge or a presentation have the highest impact on that paper's influence and an author's knowledge of it. When entire pathways are considered together, the path most responsible for influence runs from sharing an institution, through personal acquaintance with the referenced paper's author(s), to influence and knowledge (Fig. 6).

As a function of our SEM findings and that the only significant correlation between geo-organizational proximity and intellectual distance is shared organization, we regressed intellectual influence on selected organizational and intellectual distance measurements to identify the relationship between organizational proximity and influence. As detailed in Methods above, we perform ordinal logistic regressions to quantify the relationship between a focal paper's distances (organizational and intellectual) from its references and its influence on the corresponding author's knowledge of it and its influence on research choices, incorporating author fixed effects. We use author fixed effects for both dependent variables of Influence and Knowledge, with coefficients represented in Table 5 (see Appendix C for equivalent linear model). Both within and across individual scientists, being at the same institution with the author of research that is maximally different from your own is associated with a marked, statistically significant increase in its likelihood of influence and knowledge. The effect of sharing an institution on influence and knowledge is similarly strong.

If we convert the coefficients into odds ratios through exponentiation, we see that being at the same institution is associated with an increase in the odds of an additional unit of influence (on the 1–5 Likert scale) by 14.7 times and a unit of knowledge by 20.4 times. The effect of document similarity (in isolation) on influence varies between the ordinal and linear models (slightly increasing influence by 1.4 times in

Table 5

Regression results from ordinal logistic regression on sharing and institution, increasing document similarity, and the interaction effect (indicated by ':') of sharing an institution and increasing document similarity on influence and knowledge.

	Dependent Variable:			
	influence	knowledge		
	(1)	(2)		
	Estimate (std error)	Estimate (std error)		
Independent Variables				
same institution	2.686*** (0.546)	3.017*** (0.627)		
document similarity	0.337* (0.132)	0.135 (0.140)		
same institution: document similarity	-2.132** (0.664)	-1.577* (0.755)		
threshold coefficients:				
1   2	-1.455 (0.114)	-2.479 (0.125)		
2   3	0.458 (0.111)	-0.814 (0.119)		
3   4	2.207 (0.114)	1.232 (0.119)		
4   5	4.271 (0.126)	3.512 (0.127)		
Observations	12,309	12,285		

Note: + p < .1, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001.

the ordinal model; and slightly decreasing it in the linear model), which does not affect the claims of this paper. Being at the same institution and having more document similarity strongly decreases the likelihood of influence by a factor of 8.4 and knowledge by a factor of 4.8, suggesting that a likely path to influence and knowledge involves being at the same institution and sharing less document similarity.

These results explain the observed increase in influence within institutions when moving from pairs of papers that share an academic department to pairs that do not (Fig. 4). Universities and research institutes matter because they connect people beyond departments, whose work is intellectually distant from one another. Institutions facilitate influentially distant and often chance intellectual encounters-such as showing up at an unexpected presentation on campus-underlying a disproportionate share of scientific and scholarly advance.

### 4. Discussion

In summary, we find that for all fields, when focal paper authors share an institution with the author of a reference paper, the more intellectually distant the reference paper, the more influence that paper has on the focal paper. Moreover, scientists and scholars are significantly more likely to find those intellectually distant papers at their home institutions. This provides strong evidence that physical institutions like universities and research institutions play an outsized role in the catalysis of cross-disciplinary knowledge discovery and influence.

Our study has natural limitations. For one, we use self-reports of intellectual influence and familiarity. Nevertheless, the design of the sampling and solicitation process reduces self-selection and reporting biases: we explicitly compare randomly sampled citations from the same paper, the respondent was not free to select the paper(s) or citations they report on, and we confirm that they cited and remembered cited papers, adding a layer of explicit verification atop self-reported citations. This improves upon the established survey approach of asking respondents to identify an instance of a phenomenon in question (e.g., a case of discrimination, influence, etc.) and then answer questions relevant to that case, which otherwise leads to a focus on extreme or subjectively salient instances. By contrast, we randomly sample from the space of acknowledged influences, validate their recognition of that cited influence, and ask details about it relative to another sampled, cited influence from the same source. An obvious limitation of this sampling strategy is that it cannot select papers respondents read but did not cite. While the degree to which each researcher is susceptible to influence and how they interpret the survey questions may be different, we control for this by asking respondents about two referenced papers and perform regressions with respondent fixed-effects where possible. These "withinauthor" models ensure that observed differences are not confounded by endogenous citing tendencies or idiosyncratic definitions of "influence." Finally, in this paper, we focus on the general effect of sharing an institution with researchers with diverse intellectual backgrounds. While this effect is observed across the 15 fields represented in our study, an evaluation and exploration of field level variation is beyond the scope of this paper, and represent both promising and interesting areas for exploration in future work.

Recent scholarship suggests that allowing for geographic flexibility via remote work leads to increases in output and employee satisfaction (Choudhury et al., 2021; Bloom et al., 2014; Möhring et al., 2021; Barrero et al., 2021), but this misses the importance of influence and knowledge transfer for innovative advance as observed in (Yang et al., 2021). Our investigation demonstrates why. Sharing an institution is a critically important meso-scale for intellectual exposure and influence between the micro-scale of sharing an office, hallway, or department and the macro-scale of sharing a city, state, or country. While Wouden and Youn (2023) observe that co-location increases learning in collaboration, we observe that co-location increases both learning and influence regardless of whether co-located individuals collaborate.

Research Policy 53 (2024) 104911

other we examine for facilitating the transfer of influence in science. Organizations matter by promoting occasions for interaction between diverse intellectual viewpoints through committees, seminars, gyms, and dining halls-the work of the university and the often insular communities that serve them (Owen-Smith, 2018). At the micro-scale of the office next door and the macro-scale of the international scientific congress, researchers interact with others more intellectually similar to themselves. The value of critical meso-scales has been observed in online communities like Wikipedia, where the institutional constraint of a single article for a single topic-the work of producing an encyclopedia-necessitates interaction between diverse viewpoints, which is in turn associated with higher quality encyclopedia articles (Shi et al., 2019). At the micro- and macro-scales of the internet as a whole, we see the opposite, with ideological echo chambers serving as the paradigm of what can happen when proper institutional constraints for the promotion of sustained, diverse interactions are not in place (Bishop, 2009; Sunstein, 2001; Bail et al., 2018). Our work builds on and theorizes prior work by (Rawlings and McFarland, 2011; Kabo et al., 2015) that finds that researchers are more likely to be productive when they learn and adopt best practices from their peers, and that shared interactions are more likely to lead to proposed innovations and how universities can encourage this by promoting research collaboration. Finally, our work both extends and clarifies the findings of (Wuestman et al., 2019; Leahey, 2006). Here, we discover that the optimal distance for influence, while a form of co-location, is at the organizational, not the departmental level.

In particular, our work suggests that when researchers learn from their most intellectually distant peers, such pedagogical encounters are the most efficacious for unleashing flows of intellectual influence. This result helps to not only theorize but provide an antidote to the observed tension between the opportunity cost of being geographically distant and the dampening effect on innovation from being too geographically close (Esposito and Rigby, 2018). As a result, geographical proximity associated with universities (Owen-Smith, 2018) is a core ingredient in producing not only influence, but sustainable innovation by exposing scientists to intellectually distant ideas. The importance of this ingredient can easily be missed with more blunt instruments such as citation counts, but becomes clear when we focus directly on what such instruments attempt to capture-influence.

Being physically proximate to others that do very different-apparently unrelated-research at one's own university dramatically increases the likelihood that their work comes to influence and potentially drive one's published discoveries. In recent years, the importance of place has been enshrined within built infrastructure for interdisciplinary engagement (Mäkinen et al., 2020), but comparable investments have been made in inter-institutional research networks and distributed "centers" of excellence around the world.

Our findings alongside recent scholarship contradict recent commentary in the popular press, as in the New York Times, where an investigative piece asked the question "Do Chance Meetings at the Office Boost Innovation?" and answered, "There's No Evidence of It." The piece quoted, at length, a scholar of workplace interaction and transparency who stated, "there's credibility behind the argument that if you put people in spaces where they are likely to collide with one another, they are likely to have a conversation, but is that conversation likely to be helpful for innovation, creativity, useful at all for what an organization hopes people would talk about? There, there is almost no data whatsoever. All of this suggests to me that the idea of random serendipity being productive is more fairy tale than reality" (Miller, 2021). Our findings provide data that suggest the innovative power of in-place encounters for science. They demonstrate that sharing a space leads researchers to discover papers by those with whom they share it, that these papers are more likely to be intellectually distant, and that they, in turn, confer greater influence and knowledge.

The meso-level of organizational collocation matters more than any

The results presented in this study document the value of fostering sustained diversity in place. In this age of continuing COVID-19 care and ongoing debate over the importance of being physically together, if we hope to continue to fuel the engine of innovation, we will need to replace, and not simply displace, this essential but underappreciated mechanism of influence operating within our physical universities. We need to find new ways to consistently engage with potential influences that may seem unrelated, but could be crucial for sustaining our continued research and understanding of the natural and social world.

## Funding

James Evans, Eamon Duede reports financial support was provided by Air Force Office of Scientific Research. AFOSR (#FA9550-19-1-0354), NSF (#SBE-1829366), NSF (#2022023), Division of Research and Faculty Development, Harvard Business School, The MacArthur Foundation.

# CRediT authorship contribution statement

Eamon Duede: Conceptualization, Investigation, Methodology,

Visualization, Writing – original draft, Software. **Misha Teplitskiy:** Investigation, Writing – review & editing. **Karim Lakhani:** Investigation, Resources, Writing – review & editing. **James Evans:** Conceptualization, Investigation, Methodology, Visualization, Writing – original draft.

#### Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

# Data availability

The data that has been used is confidential.

# Appendix A. Survey materials

The following text and figures illustrate the survey flow. Fig. A1 displays the (anonymized) recruitment email.

	x
Harvard Laboratory for Innovation Science Unsubscribe	11:25 AM (1 minute ago) 🙀 🔶
to me 🕶	
Dear	
The Laboratory for Innovation Science at Harvard would like to invite you to take part in a quick (5-1 when writing papers. Although citations and related metrics like the <i>h</i> -index are widely used in acad decisions on which they are based are poorly understood.	0 minute) survey about how researchers reference existing work emia to evaluate research and allocate resources, the referencing
Consequently, we have selected your paper."	' and wan
you about two energies references within it. Your input will bein us and the broader scientific commun	the second the second life in the second sec
you about two specific references within it. Tour input will help us and the broader scientific commun	hity assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
ranking scientific works, and possibly develop superior alternatives.	nty assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
Follow this link to the Survey:	iny assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
and a solution of period electric solutions in the real inportant resp of and the product solution common anking scientific works, and possibly develop superior alternatives. Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey	nty assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
you about the specific vertex enterest which in too inport with the position the or value is defined common ranking scientific works, and possibly develop superior alternatives. Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey Or conv and paste the URL below into your internet browser:	nty assess the valicity and ilmitations of existing ways of evaluating
Tanking scientific works, and possibly develop superior alternatives. Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: https://harvard.az1.qualitics.com/jfe/form	ity assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: https://harvard.az1.qualifics.com/jfe/form	ity assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
Tanking scientific works, and possibly develop superior alternatives. Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: <a href="https://harvard.azl.gualtrics.com/fe/form">https://harvard.azl.gualtrics.com/fe/form</a> Many thanks, <a href="https://harvard.azl.gualtrics.com/fe/form">https://harvard.azl.gualtrics.com/fe/form</a> Many thanks,	nty assess the valicity and ilmitations of existing ways of evaluating
Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey: Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form Wany thanks, _aboratory for Innovation Science at Harvard :tlingsurvey@iq.harvard.edu	ity assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
Tanking scientific works, and possibly develop superior alternatives. Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: <a fe="" form"="" harvard.az1.gualtrics.com="" href="https://harvard.az1.gualtrics.com/fe/form_line/com/fie/form_line/com/fie/form_line/com/fe/form_line/com/fe/form_line/com/fie/form_line/com/fe/form_line/com/fe/form_line/com/fie/for&lt;/td&gt;&lt;td&gt;ity assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating&lt;/td&gt;&lt;/tr&gt;&lt;tr&gt;&lt;td&gt;So about the specific verses, and possibly develop superior alternatives.  Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: &lt;a href=" https:="">https://harvard.az1.gualtrics.com/fe/form</a> Many thanks, <a href="https://harvard.az1.gualtrics.com/fe/form">https://harvard.az1.gualtrics.com/fe/form</a> Many thanks, <a href="https://harvard.az1.gualtrics.com/fe/form">https://harvard.az1.gualtrics.com/fe/form</a> Follow the link to opt out of future emails:	ity assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form Many thanks, Laboratory for Innovation Science at Harvard citingsurvey@iq.harvard.edu Follow the link to opt out of future emails: Click here to unsubscribe	ity assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating
you about the operative electrices what in room input winner of a first the ordered scientific common ranking scientific works, and possibly develop superior alternatives. Follow this link to the Survey: Take the Survey Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/fe/form. Many thanks, Laboratory for Innovation Science at Harvard citingsurvey@iq.harvard.edu Follow the link to opt out of future emails: Click here to unsubscribe	nty assess the validity and ilmitations of existing ways of evaluating
you about the specific vertices which in four input with the provided solehulic contrast ranking scientific works, and possibly develop superior alternatives. Follow this link to the Survey: The survey Or copy and paste the URL below into your internet browser: https://harvard.az1.gualtrics.com/jfe/form. Many thanks, Laboratory for Innovation Science at Harvard Citingsurvey@iq.harvard.edu Follow the link to opt out of future emails: Click here to unsubscribe	ity assess the validity and limitations of existing ways of evaluating

Fig. A1. Sample recruitment email.

After clicking on the link, respondents proceeded to confirm that the paper was indeed theirs and read IRB information. Next, they proceeded to a randomized page, the two versions of which are displayed in Fig. A2. The control (panel A) and treatment (panel B) versions are identical except that treatment includes the reference's citation information.



Fig. A2. Two forms used for the reach signal experiment. 85 % of randomly assigned respondents saw the control form (Panel A), which does not show any citation information, and 15 % saw the treatment form (Panel B), which displays the true citation count and percentile.

Next, respondents answered questions about their knowledge of the reference, how much it influenced them, which aspects of their work were influenced (Fig. A3). To account for ordering effects in answer choices, respondents were randomized into two forms with identical questions but reversed answer choice order. Form A's answer choices ranged from smallest/least to biggest/most, while form B had the opposite ordering. Next, respondents rated the reference on various dimensions of quality (Fig. A4), described their expertise in the reference and how/when they first discovered it (Fig. A5). Lastly, respondents provided some demographic information.

refere	ence string
ĝo	
w well do you know this paper?	
Extremely well (know it as well as my own work	()
Very well (familiar with all findings, data & metho	ods, all limitations and critiques)
Well (familiar with all findings, data & methods, s	some limitations)
Slightly well (familiar with all findings, data & me	ethods)
Not well (only familiar with main findings)	
w much did this reference influence t	the research choices in your paper?
Very major influence (motivated the entire proje	ect)
Major influence (influenced a core part of paper	r, e.g. choice of theory or method)
Moderate influence (influenced an important pa	art of the paper, e.g. additional analysis)
Minor influence (influenced a small part of pape	er, e.g. added sentence(s) to Discussion)
Very minor influence (paper would've been ver	y similar without this reference)
Not sure	
nich aspects of your paper did this re	ference influence? (Mark all that apply)
Only minor influence	
Торіс	
Theory or conceptualization	
Data	
Methods	
Other, Please explain	1

Fig. A3. Screenshot illustrating questions about the author's knowledge of the reference and its impact on the author. Randomly assigned half of the respondents saw this ordering of answer choices, while another half saw the reverse ordering.



Fig. A4. Panel of questions about perceived quality of the reference. The attribute in the last position was randomized to be "Canonical" or "Prominent." Data from this last position is not included in the present analyses due to its indirect relationship with quality, but is available from the authors upon request.

15

#### How much expertise do you have in the topic(s) of this reference?

- Very high expertise (inside my core research area)
- High expertise
- Moderate expertise (at the boundary of my research area)
- Some expertise
- Very little expertise (outside my research area)
- Not sure

How did you (or the co-author who added this reference) first learn about this reference? (Mark all that apply)

Self-citation

- Know the author personally
- Recommended by a colleague
- Database search (e.g. Google Scholar)
- Saw in a list of references of another paper
- Saw in a conference, presentation, or class
- Not sure
- Other. Please explain

When did you (or the co-author who added this reference) first learn about this reference?

- Before the project started
- O During the project's early stages (e.g. design, data collection)
- O During the project's middle stages (e.g. analysis)
- During the project's late stages (e.g. drafting the manuscript)
- During review/publication process
- Not sure

Fig. A5. Questions about respondent's expertise in the topic(s) of the reference, and how and when the respondent first learned about the reference.

# Appendix B. Response analysis

# B.1. Disciplines

Response rates were measured by clicks on the personalized survey link. Rates varied substantially across disciplines. The lowest response rate came from oncology (12.9 %) and the highest (34.1 %) from history and philosophy of science. The number of completed responses and response rates by discipline are displayed in Fig. B1.



Fig. B1. Response counts and response rates by discipline. Each response, if filled out completely, provides data on two references. The dotted line shows the mean response rate.

#### Table B1

Responses that included data on 'Influence' and 'Knowledge'. Degree of survey completion varied with some respondents failing to answer certain questions. Responses to questions concerned with Influence and Knowledge represented in this table are included in the results reported in the paper.

Discipline	Responses on Influence & Knowledge
Economics	1078
Psychology	1096
Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	1060
Applied Physics	864
Physical Chemistry	1361
Pharmacology & Pharmacy	834
Energy & Fuels	1419
Engineering, Electrical & Electronic	688
Immunology	622
Linguistics	421
Endocrinology & Metabolism	589
Oncology	701
Nanoscience & Nanotechnology	497
Telecommunications	569
History and Philosophy of Science	209

For self-selection and non-response analysis, see (Teplitskiy et al., 2022) from which response data used in this study are derived.

# Appendix C. Influence, knowledge & source

Respondents were asked how they found the papers that they surveyed them about. The options are represented in Fig. C1, below.

How did you (or the co-author who added this reference) first learn about this reference? (Mark all that apply)

- Self-citation
- Know the author personally
- Recommended by a colleague
- Database search (e.g. Google Scholar)
- Saw in a list of references of another paper
- Saw in a conference, presentation, or class
- Not sure
- Other. Please explain

Fig. C1. Survey question recording responses on how respondents first learned of the references.

Complete correlation table of all variables used in this study. Influence Knowledge Geographic

Intellectual

Same dept Know

Table C2

18

		distance	distance	personally	paper		institution	country	world
Influence	1.0***								
Knowledge	0.544*** 1.0***								
Geographic distance	-0.002 -0.062*	** 1.0***							
Intellectual distance	0.032*** 0.003	-0.025*	1.0***						
Same dept	0.038*** 0.053*	** -0.037***	-0.011	1.0***					
Know personally	0.125*** 0.235*	** -0.203***	0.006	0.083*** 1.0***					
Colleague	0.085*** 0.056*	** -0.058***	-0.001	0.03 0.057***	1.0***				
Presentation	0.09*** 0.115*	** -0.048***	0.003	0.013 0.157***	0.044*** 1.0***				
Another paper	0.05*** 0.024*	* 0.036***	0.028**	-0.013 -0.056***	-0.013 0.047*** 1.0***				
Database	$-0.058^{***}$ $-0.1^{***}$	0.127***	-0.019*	-0.055*** -0.309***	$-0.235^{***}$ $-0.142^{***}$ $-0.209^{***}$	1.0***			
Not sure	-0.058*** -0.105*	** 0.003	-0.001	$-0.016+$ $-0.072^{***}$	$-0.059^{***}$ $-0.041^{***}$ $-0.079^{***}$	$-0.221^{***}$ $1.0^{***}$			
Other	0.01 0.072*	** -0.062***	-0.02*	0.017+ 0.004	$-0.053^{***}$ $-0.037^{***}$ $-0.106^{***}$	-0.263*** -0.032*** 1.0**	k sk		
Same institution	0.053*** 0.1***	$-0.161^{***}$	$-0.042^{***}$	-0.059*** 0.193***	$0.037^{***}$ $0.025^{**}$ $-0.054^{***}$	-0.136*** -0.018* 0.06*	*** 1.0***		
Same city	0.047*** 0.055*	** -0.148***	0.009	0.016+ 0.142***	$0.034^{***}$ $0.007$ $-0.027^{**}$	$-0.08^{***}$ $-0.015+$ $0.034$	4*** -0.015+	1.0***	
Same country	-0.013 0.028*	* -0.457***	-0.007	0.047*** 0.14***	$0.038^{***}$ $0.056^{***}$ $-0.016+$	-0.079*** 0.005 0.05*	*** -0.005	-0.049*** 1.0***	
Same world	-0.034*** -0.085*	** 0.401***	0.02*	$-0.638^{***}$ $-0.218^{***}$	-0.059*** -0.05*** 0.042***	$0.139^{***}$ $0.016 + -0.067$	7*** -0.208***	$-0.167^{***}$ $-0.652^{***}$	1.0***

Colleague Presentation Another

Database Not sure Other

Same

Same city Same

Same

Note: + p < .1, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001.

In addition to the ordinal logistic regression presented in Table 5 in the main body of the article, here we model the effect and interaction of sharing an institution and increasing document similarity on influence and knowledge using linear panel data models with respondent specific fixed-effects:

influence<sub>ij</sub> =  $\alpha_i + \beta_0$  same institution +  $\beta_1$  document similarity +  $\beta_3$  (same institution\*document similarity) +  $\epsilon_{ij}$ 

knowledge<sub>ii</sub> =  $\alpha_i + \beta_0$  same institution +  $\beta_1$  document similarity +  $\beta_3$  (same institution\*document similarity) +  $\epsilon_{ij}$ 

We observe that both within and across individual scientists, being at the same institution with the author of research that is maximally different from your own is associated with an increase in its likelihood of influence by roughly 63 % - 33 % linked to being at the same institution, 8 % linked to being dissimilar in content, and 27 % linked to both being at the same institution *and* having dissimilar content. Moreover, being at the same institution is associated with an increase in knowledge of cited content by nearly 19 % while reading dissimilar content is linked to increasing knowledge of that content by roughly 7 %.

#### Table C1

Effect and interaction effect of sharing an institution and increasing document similarity on influence and knowledge.

	Dependent Variable:				
	influence	knowledge			
	(1)	(2)			
	Estimate (std error)	Estimate (std error)			
Independent Variables					
same institution	1.654*** (0.334)	0.949*** (0.323)			
document similarity	-0.422*** (0.155)	-0.329** (0.140)			
same institution: document similarity	-1.372** (0.420)	-0.207 (0.407)			
Observations	12,309	12,285			
R2	0.012	0.013			
Adjusted R2	-1.475	-1.474			
F Statistic	19.597*** (df = 3; 4914)	22.242*** (df = 3; 4898)			

Note: + p < .1, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001.

#### References

- Adams, Jonathan, 2013. Collaborations: the fourth age of research. Nature 497 (7451), 557–560.
- Akour, Amal, Al-Tammemi, Ala'a B., Barakat, Muna, Kanj, Rama, Fakhouri, Hussam N., Malkawi, Ahmad, Musleh, Ghadeer, 2020. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and emergency distance teaching on the psychological status of university teachers: a cross-sectional study in Jordan. Am. J. Trop. Med. Hyg. 103 (6), 2391–2399.
- Bail, Christopher A., Argyle, Lisa P., Brown, Taylor W., Bumpus, John P., Haohan Chen, M.B., Hunzaker, Fallin, Lee, Jaemin, Mann, Marcus, Merhout, Friedolin, Volfovsky, Alexander, 2018. Exposure to opposing views on social media can increase political polarization. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U. S. A. 115 (37), 9216–9221.
- Barrero, Jose Maria, Bloom, Nicholas, Davis, Steven J., 2021. Why Working From Home Will Stick. In: Working Paper Series. National Bureau of Economic Research. https:// doi.org/10.3386/w28731.
- Bishop, Bill, 2009. The Big Sort: Why the Clustering of Like-minded America Is Tearing Us Apart. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Bloom, Nicholas, Liang, James, Roberts, John, Ying, Zhichun Jenny, 2014. Does working from home work? Evidence from a Chinese experiment. Q. J. Econ. 130 (1), 165–218.
- Börner, Katy, Penumarthy, Shashikant, Meiss, Mark, Ke, Weimao, 2006. Mapping the diffusion of scholarly knowledge among major U.S. research institutions. Scientometrics 68 (3), 415–426.
- Bornmann, Lutz, Daniel, Hans-dieter, 2008. What do citation counts measure? A review of studies on citing behavior. J. Doc. 64 (1), 45–80.
- Brucks, Melanie S., Levav, Jonathan, 2022. Virtual communication curbs creative idea generation. Nature 605 (7908), 108–112.
- Cairncross, Frances, 1997. The Death of Distance: How the Communications Revolution Will Change Our Lives. Harvard Business School Press.
- Caliskan, Aylin, Bryson, Joanna J., Narayanan, Arvind, 2017. Semantics derived automatically from language corpora contain human-like biases. Science 356 (6334), 183–186.
- Catalini, Christian, 2018. Microgeography and the direction of inventive activity. Manag. Sci. 64 (9), 4348–4364.
- Cetina, Karin Knorr, 2009. Epistemic Cultures: How the Sciences Make Knowledge. Harvard University Press.
- Choudhury, Prithwiraj (raj), Foroughi, Cirrus, Larson, Barbara, 2021. Work-fromanywhere: the productivity effects of geographic flexibility. Strateg. Manag. J. 42 (4), 655–683.
- Chu, Johan S.G., Evans, James A., 2021. Slowed canonical progress in large fields of science. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U. S. A. 118 (41) https://doi.org/10.1073/ pnas.2021636118.

- Collins, H.M., 1974. The TEA set: tacit knowledge and scientific networks. Sci. Stud. 4 (2), 165–185.
- Collins, H.M., Harrison, R.G., 1975. Building a TEA laser: the caprices of communication. Soc. Stud. Sci. 5 (4), 441–450.
- Criscuolo, Paola, Verspagen, Bart, 2008. Does it matter where patent citations come from? Inventor vs. examiner citations in European patents. Res. Policy 37 (10), 1892–1908.
- Devlin, Jacob, Chang, Ming-Wei, Lee, Kenton, Toutanova, Kristina, 2018. BERT: Pretraining of Deep Bidirectional Transformers for Language Understanding. arXiv [cs. CL]. arXiv. http://arxiv.org/abs/1810.04805.
- Esposito, Christopher R., Rigby, David L., 2018. Buzz and pipelines: the costs and benefits of local and nonlocal interaction. J. Econ. Geogr. 19 (3), 753–773.
- Evans, James A., 2010. Industry collaboration, scientific sharing, and the dissemination of knowledge. Soc. Stud. Sci. 40 (5), 757-791.
- Fernández, A., Ferrándiz, E., León, M.D., 2016. Proximity dimensions and scientific collaboration among academic institutions in Europe: the closer, the better? Scientometrics 106 (3), 1073–1092.
- Friedman, Thomas L., 2006. The World Is Flat [Updated and Expanded]: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century. Macmillan.
- Garg, Nikhil, Schiebinger, Londa, Jurafsky, Dan, Zou, James, 2018. Word embeddings quantify 100 years of gender and ethnic stereotypes. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U. S. A. 115 (16), E3635–E3644.
- Hamers, Lieve, Others, And, 1989. Similarity measures in scientometric research: the Jaccard index versus Salton's cosine formula. Inf. Process. Manag. 25 (3), 315–318.
- Harris, Zellig S., 1954. Distributional structure. Word World 10 (2–3), 146–162. Jaffe, A.B., Trajtenberg, M., Henderson, R., 1993. Geographic localization of knowledge
- spillovers as evidenced by patent citations. Q. J. Econ. 108 (3), 577–598.
- Kabo, Felichism, Hwang, Yongha, Levenstein, Margaret, Owen-Smith, Jason, 2015. Shared paths to the lab: a sociospatial network analysis of collaboration. Environ. Behav. 47 (1), 57–84.
- Kirkman, Bradley L., Rosen, Benson, Tesluk, Paul E., Gibson, Cristina B., 2004. The impact of team empowerment on virtual team performance: the moderating role of face-to-face interaction. Acad. Manag. J. 47 (2), 175–192.
- Kozlowski, Austin C., Taddy, Matt, Evans, James A., 2019. The geometry of culture: analyzing the meanings of class through word embeddings. Am. Sociol. Rev. 84 (5), 905–949.
- Le, Quoc, Mikolov, Tomas, 2014. Distributed representations of sentences and documents. In: International Conference on Machine Learning. PMLR, pp. 1188–1196.
- Leahey, Erin, 2006. Transmitting tricks of the trade: advisors and the development of research knowledge. Teach. Sociol. 34 (2), 93–110.
- Lewis, Molly, Lupyan, Gary, 2019. What are we learning from language? Associations between gender biases and distributional semantics in 25 languages. https://psyarxiv.com/7qd3g/download?format=pdf.

#### E. Duede et al.

MacRoberts, M.H., MacRoberts, Barbara R., 1996. Problems of citation analysis. Scientometrics 36 (3), 435–444.

Mäkinen, Elina I., Evans, Eliza D., McFarland, Daniel A., 2020. The patterning of collaborative behavior and knowledge culminations in interdisciplinary research centers. Minerva 58 (1), 71–95.

Matthiessen, Wichmann, Christian, Annette Winkel, Schwarz, and Søren Find., 2002. The top-level global research system, 1997–99: centres, networks and Nodality. An analysis based on bibliometric indicators. Urban Stud. 39 (5–6), 903–927.

McInnes, Leland, Healy, John, Melville, James, 2018. UMAP: Uniform Manifold Approximation and Projection for Dimension Reduction. arXiv [stat.ML]. arXiv. htt p://arXiv.org/abs/1802.03426.

Mikolov, Tomas, Chen, Kai, Corrado, Greg, Dean, Jeffrey, 2013. Efficient Estimation of Word Representations in Vector Space. arXiv [cs.CL]. arXiv. http://arxiv.org/abs/ 1301.3781.

Miller, Claire Cain, 2021. Do chance meetings at the office boost innovation? There's no evidence of it. In: New York Times, The Upshot edition (June 23, 2021).

Möhring, Katja, Naumann, Elias, Reifenscheid, Maximiliane, Wenz, Alexander, Rettig, Tobias, Krieger, Ulrich, Friedel, Sabine, Finkel, Marina, Cornesse, Carina, Blom, Annelies G., 2021. The COVID-19 pandemic and subjective well-being: longitudinal evidence on satisfaction with work and family. Eur. Soc. 23 (sup1), S601–S617.

Morgan, Kevin, 2004. The exaggerated death of geography: learning, proximity and territorial innovation systems. J. Econ. Geogr. 4 (1), 3–21.

Mors, Marie Louise, Waguespack, David M., 2021. Fast success and slow failure: the process speed of dispersed research teams. Res. Policy 50 (5), 104222.

Murata, Yasusada, Nakajima, Ryo, Okamoto, Ryosuke, Tamura, Ryuichi, 2014. Localized knowledge spillovers and patent citations: a distance-based approach. Rev. Econ. Stat. https://doi.org/10.1162/rest a 00422.

Myers, Kyle R., Tham, Wei Yang, Yin, Yian, Cohodes, Nina, Thursby, Jerry G., Thursby, Marie C., Schiffer, Peter, Walsh, Joseph T., Lakhani, Karim R., Wang, Dashun, 2020. Unequal effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on scientists. Nat. Hum. Behav. 4 (9), 880–883.

Nicolaisen, Jeppe, 2007. Citation analysis. Annu. Rev. Inf. Sci. Technol. 41 (1), 609–641. Olechnicka, Agnieszka, Ploszaj, Adam, Celińska-Janowicz, Dorota, 2018. The Geography of Scientific Collaboration. Routledge.

Olson, Gary M., Olson, Judith S., 2000. Distance matters. Hum. Comput. Interact. 15 (2–3), 139–178. Owen-Smith, Jason, 2018. Research Universities and the Public Good: Discovery for an Uncertain Future. Stanford University Press.

Pennington, Jeffrey, Socher, Richard, Manning, Christopher, 2014. Glove: global vectors for word representation. In: Proceedings of the 2014 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing (EMNLP), pp. 1532–1543.

Peters, Matthew E., Neumann, Mark, Iyyer, Mohit, Gardner, Matt, Clark, Christopher, Lee, Kenton, Zettlemoyer, Luke, 2018. Deep Contextualized Word Representations. arXiv [cs.CL]. arXiv. http://arxiv.org/abs/1802.05365.

Radicchi, Filippo, Weissman, Alexander, Bollen, Johan, 2017. Quantifying perceived impact of scientific publications. J. Inf. Secur. 11 (3), 704–712.

Rawlings, Craig M., McFarland, Daniel A., 2011. Influence flows in the academy: using affiliation networks to assess peer effects among researchers. Soc. Sci. Res. 40 (3), 1001–1017.

Rhoads, Mohja, 2010. Face-to-face and computer-mediated communication: what does theory tell us and what have we learned so far? J. Plan. Lit. 25 (2), 111–122. Rosen, Julia, 2021. Pandemic upheaval offers a huge natural experiment. Nature.

https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-021-02092-7.

- Rosseel, Yves, 2012. Lavaan: an R package for structural equation modeling. J. Stat. Softw. 48 (May), 1–36.
- Shi, Feng, Teplitskiy, Misha, Duede, Eamon, Evans, James A., 2019. The wisdom of polarized crowds. Nat. Hum. Behav. (March) https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-019-0541-6.

Sunstein, Cass R., 2001. Republic.com. Princeton University Press.

Teplitskiy, Misha, Duede, Eamon, Menietti, Michael, Lakhani, Karim R., 2022. How status of research papers affects the way they are read and cited. Res. Policy 51 (4), 104484.

Venkatesh, Ashwin, Edirappuli, Shantal, 2020. Social distancing in COVID-19: what are the mental health implications? BMJ 369, m1379.

Wouden, Frank van der, Youn, Hyejin, 2023. The impact of geographical distance on learning through collaboration. Res. Policy 52 (2), 104698.

Wuestman, Mignon L., Hoekman, Jarno, Frenken, Koen, 2019. The geography of scientific citations. Res. Policy. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.respol.2019.04.004.

Yang, Longqi, Holtz, David, Jaffe, Sonia, Suri, Siddharth, Sinha, Shilpi, Weston, Jeffrey, Joyce, Connor, et al., 2021. The effects of remote work on collaboration among information workers. Nat. Hum. Behav. (September) https://doi.org/10.1038/ s41562-021-01196-4.