

Klingemann, Hans-Dieter

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Ranking the graduate departments in the 1980s: toward objective qualitative indicators

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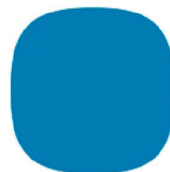
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controversial. It may provide the profession with useful feedback about how well given organizations are performing, but the task is complex and almost certain to provoke criticism.

The most recent illustration of this fact is the reception accorded to the *Assessment of Research-Doctorate Programs in the United States* (CBARC, 1982). Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Council on Education, the National Research Council and the Social Science Research Council, acting together as the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils (CBARC), this study measured 16 different aspects of the doctoral programs in the social sciences in the United States. In the field of political science, the findings that received the greatest attention were the rankings of the 40 top departments, based on a reputational rating of "the scholarly quality of the faculty" of the given departments.

In the 1981 survey, Yale ranked first, followed by Harvard, California, Michigan and Chicago, with the other political science departments ranking as indicated in Table 1. In one sense, the results seemed reliable, since they were generally consistent with results from earlier reputational surveys, registering some interesting shifts but with continuity much more prevalent than change. But these findings raise the question, "How good are reputational rankings?" Do they measure anything more than outdated stereotypes which are consistent over time simply because they feed upon themselves?

This article will present empirical evidence that provides rather strong external validation for reputational ratings: they *do* seem to reflect something more than traditional images. At the same time, our findings provide support for the assertion that reputational ratings tend to be a "lagging indicator" (Rudder, 1983): the scholarly quality of given departments changes from year to year, making

Ranking the Graduate Departments in the 1980s: Toward Objective Qualitative Indicators

Hans-Dieter Klingemann
Freie Universität Berlin

Any attempt to measure the quality of Ph.D.-granting departments is likely to be

Hans-Dieter Klingemann is professor of political science at the Freie Universität Berlin. He is currently President of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP).

TABLE 1
Reputational Ranking of Graduate Departments of Political Science, 1981
(Based on respondents' ranking of "scholarly quality of faculty")*

Rank	Department	Rank	Department
1	Yale University	19	Ohio State University
2	Harvard University	22	Johns Hopkins University
2	California/Berkeley	23	University of Iowa
4	University of Michigan	23	University of Hawaii
4	University of Chicago	23	CUNY—Graduate School
6	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	26	Rutgers University
7	Stanford University	26	University of Texas
7	University of Wisconsin	26	University of Washington
9	Princeton University	29	California/San Diego
10	University of Minnesota	29	University of Massachusetts
10	Cornell University	29	University of Pennsylvania
12	University of Rochester	32	Michigan State University
13	University of North Carolina	32	University of Pittsburgh
13	Northwestern University	32	Vanderbilt University
13	Columbia University	32	University of Virginia
16	Indiana University	36	University of Oregon
16	California/Los Angeles	36	University of Maryland
18	Duke University	36	California/Santa Barbara
19	Washington/St. Louis	39	University of Kentucky
19	University of Illinois	40	Syracuse University

*Based on 1981 survey of 152 political scientists, carried out by the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils (CBARC). Only Ph.D.-granting departments were rated. Adapted from Rudder (1983).

the situation considerably more fluid than the reputational rankings of a given moment might seem to indicate. Indeed, evidence presented here suggests that the reputational rankings gathered in 1981 may already be out of date in some important respects.

The validity of reputational rankings has been under criticism for some time. Thus, Robey (1979) developed a measure of productivity, based on the number of articles published by members of given departments from 1968 to 1977. Noting substantial discrepancies between reputational rankings and his index of productivity, he questioned the adequacy of reputational rankings.

The CBARC study itself provides additional evidence of discrepancies between productivity and reputation, since it also counted the number of journal articles published by the faculties of the given departments. Though Yale and Harvard ranked first and second respectively in reputation, they ranked 3rd and 14th

respectively in the number of articles published from 1978 to 1980.

Welch and Hibbing (1983) carried this approach a step farther. They argued, persuasively enough, that the sheer number of articles published might be too crude an indicator of a department's productivity, since it fails to take the *quality* of publications into account. Thus, instead of giving all articles equal weight, whether they appeared in highly selective journals, or in-house publications subject to little or no outside refereeing, Welch and Hibbing counted only those articles that appeared in ten relatively selective political science and international relations journals. Their results show even larger discrepancies between reputation and productivity than those in the CBARC study: for example, by this measure of productivity, Yale ranked 9th and Harvard 13th—far below their reputational rankings in both cases. The reputational ratings are subjective and open to suspicion. Until they obtain external

validation, it will be unclear how much credibility, if any, they deserve—and up to this point, the gap between subjective and objective indicators seems alarmingly wide. Do the reputational rankings provide a grossly inaccurate indication of the true scholarly quality of a given department's faculty?

The validity of reputational rankings has been under criticism for some time.

Not necessarily. We believe that Welch and Hibbing were on the right track in endeavoring to give more weight to qualitative differences between publications; but that we need to move farther in this direction.

For we hypothesize that the departments' reputations among their peers reflect the intellectual impact the given group of scholars have had, rather than the sheer quantity of their output. If this is true, then one extremely insightful publication might well carry more weight than a score of average ones. The problem, of course, is: How do we identify the former?

One relatively straightforward way to do it is by counting, not the number of articles produced, but the number of times given articles (and books) get cited. If we assume that the publications an author cites are those that have provided him or her with significant information or intellectual stimulation, then those books and articles that get cited repeatedly, by many different writers, are likely to be the most important contributions to the discipline—and the ones that do most to establish a department's reputation. In effect, this approach utilizes a jury consisting of all the people who write social science articles—and indicate, in the process, who has had a significant impact on their work. This approach, clearly, is not infallible; but it seems likely to provide a more accurate way of identifying significant contributions than we would get by simply counting the number of articles produced. If our reasoning is correct, then the number of citations pro-

duced by given departments should give a close approximation of their reputational rankings (except insofar as reputation lags behind the current state of affairs).

The *Social Sciences Citation Index* (SSCI) publishes an annual compendium showing all publications cited in thousands of social science journals; it provides a convenient way to measure the frequency with which given books or articles, by given individuals or groups of individuals, have been cited. This data base is also available for on-line computer analysis, and our original plan was to obtain frequency counts via computer, in order to perform content analyses of frequently-cited pieces. Experimentation with this method revealed that it is quite expensive, when dealing with large numbers of authors. An even more decisive problem, however, was our discovery that it is difficult to obtain an accurate computer count of the number of citations to a given individual; a certain amount of human judgment is required. Partly, this results from the fact that the SSCI does not give full names, but only surnames plus initials. For example, 29 different persons named Dahl are cited in the index. All the citations to "R. A. Dahl" seem attributable to Robert A. Dahl. So do most (but not all) of the citations to "R. Dahl," and most of those to "Dahl." A few of the latter, however, were obviously not political science publications and were not counted. Our policy was, "when in doubt, count it," but if the publication appeared in the *Journal of Dermatology*, for example, or the *Review of Slavic Linguistics*, it was omitted. On

Welch and Hibbing were on the right track in endeavoring to give more weight to qualitative difference between publications.

the other hand, some publications credited to "R. F. Dahl" or even to "P. Dahl" were political science works identical with ones cited under the name "R. A. Dahl"—and these were credited to

Robert A. Dahl. A computer algorithm could be developed to handle such problems, but to our knowledge it is not yet available.

Using the *APSA Guide to Graduate Study, 1984* as a source, we measured the number of citations attributed to all

Expert ratings seem to reflect information about the external world, and not just the predispositions of the informants.

persons currently active in a department having a Ph.D. program in political science (an N of well over 3,000). We excluded those persons listed with an emeritus title; and those in interdisciplinary Ph.D. programs who were not political scientists. Somewhere between 80 and 90 percent of the cases were perfectly unambiguous, but a number of cases, involving names like "Johnson" or "Cohen," required detective work that could not readily have been performed by the existing computer search system. An additional problem with the latter is the fact that the citation count it generates does not identify the number of publications by a given author that get cited by a given source: if, in a given article, writer "X" cites one work by Robert Dahl or six of his works, the computer search counts it as one citation. The published volumes of the SSCI, on the other hand, list each publication that gets cited, giving the citing source first and then one line for each publication that gets cited (repeated citation of the same publication counting as one citation). It seems extremely likely that a given author has had more impact on writer X if the latter cites several of his publications than if he cites just one; and the system we use reflects this assumption: it is based on the number of lines of citations that appear in the printed volumes of the SSCI, rather than the "one citation per citing source" principle.

The tabulations that follow are based on the citations of the work of approximately 3,200 political scientists, in the SSCI volumes covering the years 1981,

1982, 1983, 1984 and the supplements covering January 1985 through August 1985 (the volume covering 1985 as a whole will be available sometime during the summer of 1986, and a five-year cumulative volume covering 1981 through 1985 will appear about two years later). Our count was made by measuring the number of centimeters of citations for each author, a much faster process than counting each line individually. We then converted these totals into the corresponding number of lines, multiplying by the appropriate constant (7.05 lines per centimeter). We report the number of lines of citations for each author because this has an intuitively clearer meaning than does the number of centimeters.

Before presenting our findings we should mention one additional problem that concerned us in using the SSCI: the fact that multiply-authored publications are credited to the first listed author only, on the assumption that the first author made the most important contribution. Thus, Almond gets sole credit for works listing their authors as Almond and Verba. On the other hand, Verba gets sole credit for works listed as written by Verba, Nie and Kim, or by Verba and Nie. The assumption, of course, is that the first author is the senior author, and that in the long run the second (and third and fourth) authors

Citation frequency is a more accurate indicator of the scholarly quality of faculty than is the number of articles published.

will get credit for other publications. In the long run, perhaps they will—but in the short run, this reduces the accuracy of this indicator. Even in the long run, this could be a serious problem if it causes some authors (and hence, some departments) to be systematically underestimated. For the order in which multiple authors are listed does not always reflect senior versus junior authorship: sometimes two authors have made equal contributions and are simply listed in alphabetic order. If so, it is advantageous

to have a name that appears early in the alphabet.

We made an empirical check on the impact of alphabetical order, comparing the number of citations credited to those in our sample whose names appear in the first half of our alphabetic ordering, with those whose names appear in the second half. We found that those in the first half

In general, there is a remarkably close fit between reputation and citation frequency.

got approximately 52 percent of the total citations. There is some advantage, it seems, in having a name that appears early in the alphabet—but it's a marginal one. Its impact seems to be kept within reasonable bounds by the fact that (1) most political science publications are not multiply authored; and (2) the fact that when Verba has done most of the work, he will usually be listed first.

Having dwelt on these problems connected with using the SSCI, it seems only proper to state that on the whole, the compilers of this data base have done an extremely impressive job. They have produced an index that brings together, in convenient form, the citations to *all* works cited in a given year in thousands of social science journals, including almost all of the most important ones; plus the citations from thousands of selected books. The scope of the undertaking is immense, encompassing publications from throughout the western world and some nonwestern sources. The task is performed with precision and impressive speed, so that the publications from any given year are compiled and available for use within less than a year. It provides an immense amount of information, of which this article only presents one small facet. Let us now examine our results, and see what they tell us about the current state of the profession.

Table 2 shows the total number of lines of citations for the faculties of the 70 most-cited departments listed in the *APSA Guide to Graduate Study, 1984*. A

few individuals were affiliated with two departments; their citations were credited to both institutions. Since 141 Ph.D.-granting departments are listed in this source, Table 2 presents roughly the top half of the distribution.

The most significant feature of these results is the striking similarity between the rank order of the top departments in Table 1 and Table 2. With only one exception, the top ten departments in citation frequency are also among the top ten departments in the 1981 reputational rankings; and the sole exception (Columbia University) ranked 13th in the reputational ratings. At the top of the reputational ratings in 1981 were Yale and Harvard. Though they ranked as low as 13th or 14th place in measures of productivity based on the number of articles published, they rank second and first in intellectual impact, as measured by the frequency with which work by the faculty members of these departments was cited in 1981-1985. Expert ratings, such as those obtained from the 152 political scientists who participated in the CBARC study, seem to reflect information about the external world and not just the predispositions of the informants. The remarkable convergence between these two indicators—one subjective and the other objective—suggests that citation frequency is a more accurate indicator of the scholarly quality of faculty than is the number of articles published; and that the survey-based reputational method does measure the intellectual impact of a given group of scholars with reasonable accuracy.

Reputations of Southwestern schools in general tend to be underrated in relation to their citation frequencies.

Having said this, let us emphasize the contrast between "scholarly quality," as operationalized by this indicator, and the concept of a more or less immutable prestige ranking. For although there is an overall similarity between the citation-

frequency rankings and the reputational rankings, a close examination of the details of Table 2, together with Table 3 below, suggests that these rankings are very much open to change.

Starting at the top, for example, we note that Yale ranked first in the 1981 reputational ratings, with Harvard and the University of California at Berkeley tied for second place. In the 1981-1985 citation

frequencies, Harvard ranks first by a comfortable margin. The 1981 reputational rankings may have lagged somewhat behind reality. We suspect that during the decade from 1965 to 1975, Yale probably did rank ahead of Harvard in citation frequency, as well as reputation. But various changes, particularly shifts in personnel, probably contributed to the fact that by 1981, Harvard ranked first on this indicator. Reversing the ranks of

TABLE 2
The Top 70 Political Science Departments, Ranked According to
Citations in Social Sciences Citation Index, 1981-1985
(Figure shown is number of lines of citations for faculty of given department)

Rank	Department	Lines of Citations	Rank	Department	Lines of Citations
1	Harvard Univ.	9,362	36	Michigan State Univ.	1,347
2	Yale Univ.	7,219	36	Florida State Univ.	1,347
3	Univ. of Michigan	6,444	38	Univ. of Georgia	1,325
4	Stanford Univ.	6,352	39	Univ. of Arizona	1,304
5	California/Berkeley	5,203	40	Univ. of Minnesota	1,297
6	Univ. of Chicago	3,645	41	New York Univ.	1,248
7	Columbia Univ.	3,553	42	Calif./Santa Barbara	1,227
8	Massachusetts Inst. of Technology	3,250	43	Univ. of Kentucky	1,191
9	Wisconsin/Madison	3,243	44	Claremont Grad. School	1,184
10	Princeton Univ.	3,229	45	Calif. Institute of Technology (CIT)	1,149
11	California/Los Angeles	2,594	46	Georgetown Univ.	1,135
12	Johns Hopkins Univ.	2,573	47	American Univ.	1,114
13	Rutgers Univ.	2,284	48	Univ. of Washington	1,100
14	Cornell Univ.	2,235	49	Univ. of Pittsburgh	1,058
15	California/Irvine	2,150	50	SUNY/Buffalo	1,015
16	Univ. of Rochester	2,136	51	Wisconsin/Milwaukee	980
17	California/San Diego	2,052	51	Univ. of Massachusetts	980
18	CUNY—Grad. School	1,967	53	Univ. of Denver	924
18	Indiana Univ.	1,967	54	Univ. of Florida	917
19	Univ. of So. California	1,939	55	Illinois/Chicago	888
20	Duke Univ.	1,932	56	Fletcher School	885
21	Northwestern Univ.	1,889	57	Temple Univ.	867
22	Illinois/Champaign	1,854	58	Univ. of Kansas	860
23	Univ. of Hawaii	1,840	59	Univ. of Pennsylvania	846
24	Ohio State Univ.	1,727	59	Univ. of Notre Dame	846
25	Brandeis Univ.	1,713	61	Univ. of Oregon	776
26	Univ. of Maryland	1,572	62	Boston Univ.	754
27	Carnegie-Mellon Univ.	1,565	63	Univ. of Syracuse	747
28	Washington/St. Louis	1,495	64	California/Davis	726
29	Univ. of Texas/Austin	1,473	65	Univ. of Nebraska	712
30	Univ. of Virginia	1,424	66	SUNY/Albany	705
31	Univ. of North Carolina	1,403	67	SUNY/Binghamton	684
31	Univ. of Houston	1,403	68	Univ. of South Carolina	670
31	Arizona State Univ.	1,403	69	Northern Illinois Univ.	663
34	Univ. of Iowa	1,389	70	Catholic Univ.	656
35	Univ. of Connecticut	1,368			

Source: Social Sciences Citation Index (Philadelphia: Institute for Scientific Information). Based on the volumes covering 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984 and the supplements covering January-August, 1985. Only those departments offering a Ph.D. in political science are ranked.

TABLE 3
Strength in Specific Fields, 1981-1985

Lines of Citations			Lines of Citations		
Rank	Scholar	Department	Rank	Scholar	Department
1. Positive Theory and Political Thought					
1	Robert A. Dahl	Yale	9	Nelson W. Polsby	Berkeley
2	Charles E. Lindblom	Yale	10	Walter D. Burnham	MIT
3	Reinhard Bendix	Berkeley	10	David O. Sears	UCLA
4	William H. Riker	Rochester	12	Richard F. Fenno	Rochester
5	Steven J. Brams	N.Y.U.	13	Edward R. Tufte	Yale
6	David Easton	Chicago & Cal/Irvine	14	Fred I. Greenstein	Princeton
7	Edward C. Banfield	Harvard	15	Jack L. Walker	Michigan
8	Giovanni Sartori	Columbia	15	Arthur H. Miller	Iowa
9	Jon Elster	Chicago	17	Heinz Eulau	Stanford
10	John A. Ferejohn	Stanford	18	Warren E. Miller	Arizona State & Michigan
11	Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick	Georgetown	19	M. Kent Jennings	Cal/Santa Barbara & Michigan
12	Richard D. McKelvey	CIT	20	Lester W. Milbrath	SUNY/Buffalo
13	Gerald H. Kramer	CIT	3. Comparative Politics		
14	Harry H. Eckstein	Cal/Irvine	1	Seymour Martin Lipset	Stanford
15	Sheldon S. Wolin	Princeton	2	Sidney Verba	Harvard
16	David Apter	Yale	3	Ronald Inglehart	Michigan
17	Fred W. Riggs	Hawaii	4	Arend Lijphart	Cal/San Diego
18	Hannah F. Pitkin	Berkeley	5	Ted R. Gurr	Northwestern
19	John S. Saul	York	6	Phillippe C. Schmitter	Stanford
20	Vincent Ostrom	Indiana	7	Theda Skocpol	Chicago
2. American Politics and Political Behavior					
1	Philip E. Converse	Michigan	8	Jerry F. Hough	Duke
1	Norman H. Nie	Chicago	9	Hugh Heclo	Harvard
3	Morris P. Fiorina	Harvard	10	Adam Przeworski	Chicago
4	Everett C. Ladd	Connecticut	11	Wayne A. Cornelius	Cal/San Diego
5	Douglas A. Hibbs	Harvard	12	Walter Laqueur	Georgetown
6	Murray Edelman	Wisconsin	13	James C. Scott	Yale
7	Robert E. Lane	Yale	14	Walter D. Connor	Boston University
8	Daniel J. Elazar	Temple	15	Guillermo O'Donnell	Notre Dame
			16	Lucian W. Pye	MIT
			17	Chalmers Johnson	Berkeley

TABLE 3 (continued)

Rank	Scholar	Lines of Citations	Department	Rank	Scholar	Lines of Citations	Department
18	Juan Linz	317	Yale	1	James G. March	1,361	Stanford
19	Paul R. Abramson	282	Michigan State	2	James Q. Wilson	1,121	Harvard
20	Robert W. Jackman	275	Michigan State	3	Theodore J. Lowi	790	Cornell
				4	Michel Crozier	698	Cal./Irvine
				5	Frances Fox Piven	627	CUNY
				6	Graham T. Allison	620	Harvard
				7	Thomas R. Dye	592	Florida State
				8	Eric A. Hanushek	515	Rochester
				9	Robert T. Golembiewski	444	Georgia
				10	Glendon Schubert	416	Hawaii
				11	Ira Sharkansky	345	Wisconsin
				12	Michael Lipsky	338	MIT
				13	Richard E. Neustadt	289	Harvard
				14	Michael D. Cohen	275	Michigan
				15	Stuart S. Nagel	268	Illinois
				16	Herbert Jacob	261	Wisconsin
				17	Duncan MacRae	261	North Carolina
				18	Malcolm M. Feeley	240	Wisconsin
				19	Sheldon Goldman	233	Massachusetts
				20	Robert L. Lineberry	226	Kansas
4. International Relations							
1	Samuel P. Huntington	1,072	Harvard				
2	Raymond Vernon	818	Harvard				
3	Ole Holsti	592	Duke				
4	Louis Henkin	564	Columbia				
5	Bruce M. Russett	508	Yale				
6	J. David Singer	494	Michigan				
7	Rudolph J. Rummel	486	Hawaii				
8	Alexander George	423	Stanford				
9	Robert Axelrod	465	Michigan				
10	Robert O. Keohane	409	Harvard				
11	Zbigniew Brzezinski	395	Columbia				
12	Robert Jervis	395	Columbia				
13	Stephen D. Krasner	324	Stanford				
14	Kenneth N. Waltz	324	Berkeley				
15	Morton H. Halperin	310	Yale				
16	Stanley Hoffmann	303	Harvard				
17	Richard Falk	303	Princeton				
18	James N. Rosenau	296	Southern California				
19	Ernst Haas	289	Berkeley				
20	Seweryn Blaler	247	Columbia				

Source: *Social Sciences Citation Index* (Philadelphia: Institute for Scientific Information), based on the volumes covering 1981 through August 1985. Only persons affiliated with a department offering a Ph.D. in political science, in the United States or Canada, are included in our sample.

the top two out of 140 departments does not constitute a gross error in the reputational rankings; but it does suggest that reputation may tend to be a lagging indicator.

In general, there is a remarkably close fit between reputation and citation frequency. Michigan, Stanford, Berkeley and Chicago occupy the third through sixth places in citation frequency; and they all ranked among the top seven departments by reputation. But let us examine the implications of another discrepancy between citation frequency and reputational ranking—a minor discrepancy in overall perspective, but one that suggests another possible weakness in reputational ratings.

The University of California at Berkeley ranked in a tie for second place in the reputational ratings—but fifth in citation frequency. But other divisions of the University of California, particularly those at Irvine and San Diego, rank much higher on citation frequencies than they did on reputational rankings. Administratively, they *all* are part of the University of California, and there may be some marginal tendency to assimilate their reputations to that of the oldest and best-known department, the University of California at Berkeley. In any event, while the reputation of Berkeley seems to be slightly overrated in comparison with its 1981-1985 citation frequency, the reputations of San Diego, Irvine, and UCLA tend to be substantially under-rated.

This is also part of a broader phenomenon, however. For the reputations of Southwestern schools in general tend to be underrated in relation to their citation frequencies. Three of the top 20 schools in reputation are located in California; but six of the top 20 schools in citation frequency are in that state. Similarly, neither Arizona nor Arizona State were ranked among the top 40 in reputation, but they both rank among the top 40 in citation frequency. The reputational rankings do not seem to be drastically wrong; but the data suggest that they may lag somewhat behind the massive shift of population, resources and talent that was moving toward the Southwest during the 1970s and early 1980s.

While overall rankings are interesting, it is significant to identify the specific sub-fields of the profession in which the strength of given departments is concentrated. Table 3 shows the 20 most frequently cited scholars in each of five major areas, based on the specialization attributed to each scholar in the *APSA Guide to Graduate Study, 1984*, or the *APSA Membership Directory, 1985* if no field was designated in the former source.

In the area of Positive Theory and Political Thought, Yale emerges as the leading department, having three of the top 20 scholars in citation frequency. Berkeley, Chicago, California/Irvine and California Institute of Technology also show considerable strength, each having two of the top 20 scholars, but in relative numbers of citations, Yale's lead is absolutely overwhelming.

At the same time, however, examination of these detailed results demonstrates the potential mutability of the overall rankings in Table 2. In the present instance, for example, a large share of Yale's strength is concentrated in two giants, Dahl and Lindblom. Both of them have reached an age at which most of their colleagues have already retired. Other things being equal, their retirement would reduce Yale's citation total by enough to allow Michigan, Stanford and Berkeley to move ahead of Yale in the overall rankings. Other things probably will *not* remain equal; one may assume that Yale will endeavor to replace these figures with scholars of major stature. The point is not that any given department is necessarily going to undergo a substantial decline or rise—but simply that such changes *could* occur, even at the highest rungs of the ladder.

Turning to the field of American Politics and Political Behavior, Michigan is the leading department, with four of the 20 most-cited scholars (though two of them also have appointments with schools in the Southwest). Harvard and Yale each have two of the top 20 scholars, with the remaining strength widely spread. We should note at this point that we have knowingly underreported the citations for Norman Nie: taking all his SSCI citations

into account, Nie could constitute the 13th ranking department by himself. But a majority of these citations are for various editions of the *SPSS Manual*. While this unquestionably is a major contribution to political science, and to science in general, we concluded that it was not primarily a political science publication. Arbitrarily, we assign him a position in tie for first place in his field, hoping that he will forgive us. He would rank among the top 20 in his field even with no credit at all for SPSS (or for work by Verba and Nie); and on the other hand, assigning full credit for all of his SPSS citations would narrow, but not quite close the gap between Chicago and Berkeley, in Table 2. A few other political scientists were heavily cited for statistical or methodological works, but Nie's case was by far the most extreme, and the only instance in which we have knowingly underreported citations.

Moving to the Comparative Politics area, no department emerges as clearly paramount. The 20 most-cited scholars are spread over 14 different departments, with no department having more than two of them. In quantity of citations, Stanford holds first rank, largely because Seymour Martin Lipset is by far the most frequently cited scholar in this field (and in the profession in general). He is followed by scholars from Harvard, Michigan, California at San Diego, and Northwestern—and then a colleague from Stanford.

In International Relations, Harvard and Columbia compete for the lead, with Harvard having the greatest total number of citations, but Columbia having 4 of the top scholars, as compared to Harvard's 3. Michigan, Yale and Berkeley follow, in that order.

The last of the five fields into which we have divided the profession is the area of public policy, public administration and public law. Harvard tends to lead in this area, with three of the top 20 scholars and the greatest total of citations, but Wisconsin also claims three of the 20 most-cited people. The remaining top positions are distributed across 14 different departments.

Let us close by reporting an interesting

but problematic finding. The *APSA Guide to Graduate Study, 1984*, from which our sample was drawn, included most Canadian as well as U.S. political science departments; and the SSCI is world wide in scope. Consequently, our data enable us to rank Canadian doctoral departments. In terms of citation frequency, only five Canadian departments would rank among the top 60 in the United States and Canada, and only one would rank in the top 40: York University, with a total of 1,311 lines of citations in 1981-1985, would rank 39th; it would be followed fairly closely by Carleton, Toronto, Dalhousie and the University of British Columbia, in that order.

It is surprising to find that no Canadian department ranks higher than 39th place, and we have no ready explanation for the finding. Canadian colleagues have suggested it may reflect the fact that the pressures to publish or perish are much weaker in Canadian universities than in the United States. In part, we suspect, Canadian political scientists are plugged into a different communications network from that of the Americans. Though they read and cite publications in American journals, they tend to publish in Canadian journals—which the vast majority of their American colleagues do not read or cite. This finding seems potentially significant, and we report it here in the hope that it may lead to a more conclusive interpretation.

Though this last finding was unexpected, the overall pattern of empirical results does seem clear. The evidence seems to indicate that departmental reputations reflect the intellectual impact made by scholars in that department. Both the reputational technique and the citation-frequency approach seem to measure this characteristic with reasonable accuracy, and with generally converging results.

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