We Should Do More Direct Replications in Science

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Despite an arguable reproducibility crisis in many scientific fields, some have questioned the value of performing or funding direct replications of prior studies. Their reasoning is that direct replications add little to our knowledge, and that we should focus on performing new studies. I argue, to the contrary, that direct replications are essential to scientific progress. Without direct replication, we have much less ability to know which prior scientific findings are actually worth trying to extend. As well, only direct replication can help us figure out puzzling anomalies about which contextual factors are actually important to a given scientific result.

# Introduction

As we have seen over the past several years, there are problems with replicating the academic literature in many fields. The Reproducibility Project in Psychology [found](https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.aac4716) that only around 40% (give or take) of psychology experiments in top journals could truly be replicated. The Reproducibility Project in Cancer Biology [similarly looked](https://www.cos.io/rpcb) at studies from top journals in that field, and found that the replication effect was only about 15% as big as the original effect (for example, if an original study found that giving cancerous mice a particular drug made them live 20 days long, a typical replication experiment found that they lived 3 days longer). Many pharmaceutical companies have said that they can barely replicate the academic literature, despite the fact that they have a huge incentive to carry forward successful experiments into further drug development (see [here](https://www.nature.com/articles/nrd3439-c1) and [here](https://www.nature.com/articles/483531a)).

Due to these results and many others, one [current proposal](https://goodscience.substack.com/p/why-we-need-more-quality-control) is that science funders such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the National Science Foundation (NSF) – which will spend nearly $60 billion this year, collectively – should dedicate at least 1/1000th of their budgets to doing more replication studies. Even just $50 million a year would be transformative, and would ensure that we can have higher confidence in which results are reliable and worth carrying forward into future work.

Oddly enough, not everyone agrees that directly replicating studies is a high-value activity. Indeed, when I was at a [National Academies workshop](https://www.nationalacademies.org/event/03-14-2023/experimentation-in-federal-funding) recently, someone fairly high up at NIH told me that they weren’t in favor of doing more replications (it was a personal conversation, so I won’t name and shame the individual in question).

The gist of this person’s view:

“What do we really learn from trying to replicate experiments exactly? No experiment is ever going to be perfect, and we’ll find some discrepancies, but who cares? What really matters is whether the finding is robust in different contexts, so instead of funding exact replications, we should just fund new work that extends it in a new direction.”

This NIH official isn’t the only one who is skeptical of the value of replication. Back when the Reproducibility Project in Psychology was finishing up in 2014, Jason Mitchell (of the Social, Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience Lab at Harvard) famously wrote a short piece in 2014 called “[On the Evidentiary Emptiness of Failed Replications](https://bpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/websites.harvard.edu/dist/2/77/files/2022/05/Mitchell_failed_science_2014.pdf).”

Mitchell’s major claim is that it can be very hard to elicit a positive effect, and there are many more ways to mess up than to get things right. Moreover, there is a ton of tacit and unwritten knowledge in the fields of psychology and neuroscience (and, one presumes, other fields as well). By analogy, he says, if you take a recipe and follow it to the letter, but you don’t actually know what “medium heat” means or how to thinly slice an onion, you might not get the same results as an expert cook. But that doesn’t mean the recipe is wrong, it just means that you don’t have enough tacit knowledge and skill. Thus, he suggests, unless the replicators do everything perfectly, a “failed replication” is uninformative to the readers.

These points are all well taken. Nonetheless, I think that direct replication of experiments in psychology, medicine, biology, economics, and many other fields, is highly useful and often essential to make progress. This is true for several reasons.

First, by doing direct replications (or at least *trying* to do so), at a minimum you learn how good a field is at disclosing its methods such that anyone else would be able to build upon a prior study.

With the Reproducibility Project in Cancer Biology (caveat: I funded that while in philanthropy), we saw that literally [zero percent of the time](https://elifesciences.org/articles/67995) was it even possible to ***try*** to replicate a study.

This wasn’t because of tacit knowledge or because the original experimenters had some highly nuanced skill that the replicators lacked. Instead, it was because of obvious steps in the study that had to have happened, but that hadn’t been documented very well at all.

For one example, “many original papers failed to report key descriptive and inferential statistics: the data needed to compute effect sizes and conduct power analyses was publicly accessible for just 4 of 193 experiments. Moreover, despite contacting the authors of the original papers, we were unable to obtain these data for 68% of the experiments.” In other words, they couldn’t even figure out the magnitude of the effect they were supposed to be replicating. This is utterly basic information that ought to be included in any study.

Perhaps worse, “none of the 193 experiments were described in sufficient detail in the original paper.” In every single case, the team had to reach out to the original lab, which often was uncooperative or claimed not to recall what had actually happened in the study. For the 41% of the time that the original lab *was* cooperative, the answer was always, "You’ll need more materials and reagents than we mentioned."

That’s why the entire project took longer, cost more, and completed fewer experiments than the project investigators had originally proposed when I funded this work while at the Laura and John Arnold Foundation. The quality of the literature was so low that it was impossible for anyone to fathom just how much effort and expense it would take even to *try* to replicate studies.

Clearly, the scientific literature can do better than this. All the top scientific journals should commit to publishing a truly *comprehensive* description of methods for every relevant study (including video as much as possible), so that others can more readily understand exactly how studies were conducted.

Second, if a study *is* successfully replicated, then you learn that you can have more confidence in that line of work. With so much irreproducibility and even fraud, it's good to know what to trust.

For example, last year *Science* published a [lengthy story](https://www.science.org/content/article/potential-fabrication-research-images-threatens-key-theory-alzheimers-disease) detailing how a [prominent Alzheimer’s study](https://www.nature.com/articles/nature04533) from 2006 was likely fraudulent. To quote from the *Science* article:

The authors “appeared to have composed figures by piecing together parts of photos from different experiments,” says Elisabeth Bik, a molecular biologist and well-known forensic image consultant. “The obtained experimental results might not have been the desired results, and that data might have been changed to … better fit a hypothesis.”

Nobel Laureate Thomas Sudhof (a neuroscientist at Stanford) told *Science* that the “immediate, obvious damage is wasted NIH funding and wasted thinking in the field because people are using these results as a starting point for their own experiments.”

A systematic replication project in Alzheimer’s might have turned up that fact long before now. As a result, researchers in that field would have a better idea as to which studies to trust, and where to try to explore further.

Third, there’s always the possibility that a study can’t be replicated very well or at all. Let’s take a specific example from the Repro. Project in Cancer Biology. The [bottom-line results](https://www.cos.io/rpcb) were that “50 replication experiments from 23 of the original papers were completed, generating data about the replicability of a total of 158 effects. . . . Replication effect sizes were 85% smaller on average than the original findings. 46% of effects replicated successfully on more criteria than they failed. Original positive results were half as likely to replicate successfully (40%) than original null results (80%).”

Contrary to Harvard’s Jason Mitchell and to the NIH official who spoke with me, I do think you can learn a lot from “failed” replications. There are at least three possibilities.

1. Yes, it is possible that the replication team just isn't very good, or doesn’t have enough tacit knowledge, or made a simple mistake somewhere. That is possible. But it doesn’t seem likely to be true in all cases. Indeed, the replicators might often be more skilled than the original investigators. And when we know that so many pharma companies can't replicate more than 1/3rd of the academic literature -- despite highly-qualified teams who have every incentive to come up with a successful replication so that the program can move forward -- it seems like we have bigger problems than "replicator incompetence."
2. Another possibility is that the original study can't be fully trusted for any number of reasons. Perhaps there was improper randomization, improper treatment of outliers, questionable use of statistics, publication bias, outright fraud, or just a fluke. To be sure, we don’t *know* any of that just because of one failed replication. But we do have a reason to suspect that further investigation might turn up improper practices.
3. Perhaps the original study and the replication are *both* correct, but there is some subtle difference in context, population, etc., that explains the difference. Consider [this classic paper](https://www.cell.com/cell-reports/fulltext/S2211-1247(14)00121-1?_returnURL=https%3A%2F%2Flinkinghub.elsevier.com%2Fretrieve%2Fpii%2FS2211124714001211%3Fshowall%3Dtrue#supplementaryMaterial), in which two labs on opposite coasts of the US tried to work together on an experiment characterizing breast cancer cells, but found themselves stymied for a year or so during which their results were inconsistent. By traveling to each others’ labs, they finally figured out that, unbeknownst to anyone in the field, the rate of stirring a tissue sample could change the ultimate results. They would never have known that the rate of stirring was important unless they had been trying to exactly duplicate each other’s results. Thus, it seems hugely important to know which seemingly insignificant factors can make a difference--otherwise someone trying to extend a prior study might easily attribute a change in results to the wrong thing.

Thus, we have many reasons to think that direct replication of a scientific study (or of a company’s data analysis) is actually important. A direct replication can expose flaws in how the original analysis was reported, can expose faulty practices (or even fraud), can help us know how to extend a prior study to new areas, and at a minimum can help us know which results are more robust and trustworthy.

As to federal funding, my conclusion is this: Let’s say that we spend X on new science and R&D every year. A system that puts 99.9% of X towards new research, and 0.1% of X on replication studies, will be more reliable, productive, innovative, and will lead to more pharmaceutical cures, than a system that funds the whole 100% of X on new research.

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