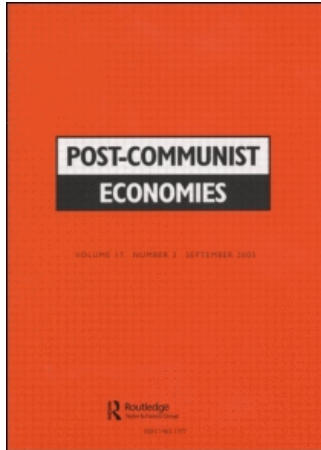


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Post-Soviet studies and the transition: the case of the Russian economy

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The disintegration of the Soviet Union meant that an essential object of study for research analysing centralised planning disappeared and the reference point for a lot of work dealing with the comparison of economic systems was lost. It could be assumed that such a structural alteration might lead to reduced interest in Russian studies and a crisis for the scientific community involved. The purpose of this study is to test this idea and to show how the scientific community interested in post-Soviet studies has changed during the transition period.

At the end of 1991 the Soviet Union disintegrated and a new economic phenomenon appeared, the transition, and a new country, Russia, was its primary heir. This change meant the end of one of the world superpowers and the liquidation of one of the most important models for centralised economic planning. An essential object of study for research analysing centralised planning disappeared and the reference point for a lot of work dealing with the comparison of economic systems was lost. It could be assumed that such a structural alteration might lead to reduced interest in Russian studies and a crisis for the scientific community involved. In fact, at the very beginning of the transition, some articles appeared which could lead to the interpretation that there was a severe crisis in Soviet studies (Breslauer 1992, Remington 1992, Schroeder 1995). These articles were complemented with other work that cast doubt on the technical capacity for work related to Soviet studies and their legacy (Cohen 1999, 2001, Fish 2001, Haynes and Machold 2002, Gans-Morse 2004, Hanson and Ruble 2005). Other work was published that might also have called into question the ability to evaluate the Soviet economy from the point of view of Western countries, and therefore the reliability of Soviet studies with regard to the scope of its analysis (Becker 1994). Thus, such qualitative indicators might be an indication of a loss of interest in post-Soviet studies, and in particular the Russian economy, in the academic world.

The purpose of this article is to test the idea that, as a consequence of the transition, interest in post-Soviet studies, and in particular, those related to the Russian economy, has declined. The scientific interest in the transition compared with that in the Soviet period will be assessed through one of the most important manifestations of research, published articles. Given the methodology used, some conclusions might be additionally drawn regarding how the scientific community interested in post-Soviet studies has changed, and whether there are indeed indications of a crisis.¹

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First, the methodological requirements for the study will be examined, and the empirical material analysed will be specified. Second, the results of the studies on the Russian transition will be analysed by means of the journals in which the completed research has been published. Then, the results obtained will be explained by considering the origin of the scientific interest in this type of study. This will be done by means of an analysis of the institutions where the research was done and the authors who carried it out. From this latter part, the results will be extracted regarding the characteristics of the scientific community specialising in these studies. Finally, the way the contents of the papers changed during the 15 years under consideration will be analysed. The last section will present the conclusions drawn.

Methodology

For this study's bibliographical analysis of the evolution of research on Russia and the Soviet Union, either of the two most important bibliographical databases in the field could have been used: the *Social Science Citation Index* or the *Econlit*. The main features of the two databases are the following.

The *Social Science Citation Index* (SSCI) is a database published by the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI). It contains bibliographical references of published articles and collects the citations made within these articles. For a publication's contents to be included in the SSCI, a set of standards relating to the publication's basic characteristics must be upheld. Additionally, the Institute states a minimum ratio of citations received per publication (impact factor, published in the *Journal Citation Reports* – JCR), in such a way that a journal might go in or come out of the database contents according to whether or not it fulfils the established requirements. For this reason, one very important characteristic of this database is that it contains associated bibliometric indicators (Lubrano *et al.* 2003, Kalaitzidakis *et al.* 2003).

Econlit is another large database and is published by the American Economic Association. The selection of journals whose contents are included in this database is decided according to its economic content, whether there is a certain assessment of the articles, and whether they present a summary in English. Until 1992 only the articles that could be found in the *Journal of Economic Literature* indexes were indexed in *Econlit*, though since then more journals have been added (Forteza and Rossi 2004). Additionally, even though books, book chapters and working papers are collected in *Econlit*, they present the problem of a lack of systematisation, as well as the fact that the process for evaluating this material, at least in certain cases, can be called into doubt.

On analysing the two databases, we found that, compared with the SSCI, *Econlit* had the crucial disadvantage of lacking detailed bibliometric indicators. In addition, the bibliographical coverage of the area of economic transition in the SSCI is more exhaustive than that in *Econlit*.² In fact, the latter did not include the journal *Europe-Asia Studies* (previously *Soviet Studies*) or *Ekonomicky Casopis*, and it only includes the *Revue d'Etudes comparatives Est-Ouest* from 1998 on, and *Eurasian Geography and Economics* (with its prior titles) from 1996 on. Additionally, it does not include other journals that have devoted significant attention to the Russian economic transition, on the basis that they are not economic journals. In addition to this problem, it must be noted that *Econlit* sometimes does not contain all the articles from the journals in question (Guimaraes 2001). Also, the existence of some technical problems related to the information gathered by *Econlit* must be noted. These affect certain errors or omissions appearing in the articles' affiliation to institutions, which makes analysis and the establishing of rankings difficult in this respect (Coupé 2003).

Therefore, we decided that the contents of bibliographical articles would be limited to the SSCI database because the publications under consideration had a certain guarantee for quality in the published work, the coverage on aspects of economic transition was relatively good, and it was endowed with very useful complementary information for this analysis.

As a consequence of the transition, various state, private and international organisations have promoted studies on the changes that have taken place in Russia. The scientific community specialising in Soviet studies has therefore focussed its attention on these organisations. During the 1990s, therefore, it would be logical to expect that a part of the research carried out would take the form of reports. Such a situation may cause problems when comparing bibliographies before and after 1991.

The publications under study were subdivided into two groups: first, the ones specialising in economic transition, all of which were included; and second, the non-specialised ones, from which a selection was taken based on a search strategy by subject matter. From the resulting records, those that met the following requirements were selected:

- (1) All the articles from the journals included in the JCR in the economy section and specialising in economic transition. The ones related to Russia or the Soviet Union were understood to be those studies where the Russian–Soviet case was analysed in isolation, that is, they had to be considered to be the central object of the article or part of a comparative study in which a maximum of two other countries were compared. The reason for limiting it to a maximum of three countries (including Russia or the Soviet Union) was that in the articles in which a greater number of countries were analysed, there was a loss of focus in the conclusions on the specific case under study. For this reason, the articles that analysed large geographical areas were excluded, such as group analyses of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe or those referring to Socialist Countries.
- (2) In the rest of the journals in the JCR in the economy section and not specialising in economic transition, all the articles related to Russia and the Soviet Union were considered. In this case as well, the articles included were the ones in which, at most, up to three countries were compared together, including Russia (USSR).
- (3) In the rest of the journals, the articles considered were those related to the Russian (Soviet) economy, provided that it had some relevance within the article (that is to say with comparative studies of up to three countries, including Russia).

The final result led to a selection of 2807 articles that were distributed among 269 journals and these constituted the base for this analysis. These journals are located in almost all areas of the social sciences (economics, politics, demography etc.).

The period under analysis extends from 1989 to 2003, both inclusive. Therefore, the last three-year period in the existence of the USSR is included, which serves as a reference in evaluating the evolution of post-Soviet studies. It must be noted that during the entire transition period studied, work has appeared on the Soviet Union, as both comparisons with Russia and analyses on economic history. In these cases, the Soviet Union has been treated as an aspect linked to Russia, frequently as studies on economic history.

With respect to the assigning of a scientific institution to each article, the one corresponding to the first author listed has been the one taken. In general, this is the criterion used in the SSCI base. Nevertheless, in certain cases in the database the institution

information, that is, the (first) author's work affiliation, does not appear. For this reason, a complementary search process was performed in order to assign a work affiliation to the article. In the cases in which no direct information on the author was found in the article itself, an institution was assigned to the (first) author as long as the complementary information was contemporary with the published article. In this way it was possible to assign a single exact affiliation in 68.5% of the total number of articles.

An author's institutional affiliation has two relevant parts for the analysis in this study: first, the country of the author's work, and second, the research centre. It should be highlighted that there are articles for which a country has not even been assigned for the (first) author. In this respect, 49 articles state 'anonymous' as an author reference. In general, this is an issue of work selected by the journal's publishers that consists of official documents, abstracts of technical reports, compiled material deriving from round tables and similar work. Such work constitutes articles, though they have certain specific peculiarities. In only 19 articles with an explicitly stated author has it not been possible to associate it with even a single country (nor with an institution, naturally) with the previously noted requirements. The second step in the affiliation is the assignment of institutions. At this point, a problem arose where some articles named only the city and country of the authors, but without any specific institution; 52 cases were found with this situation. Therefore, complete affiliation could be assigned for 2687 articles, which is a large enough percentage of the articles to be representative and with which relevant conclusions can be drawn.

As far as the affiliation institutions are concerned, the main academic organisation has been selected, in general universities, and little importance has been given to the centres, departments or specific institutes, nor even the campus within the universities themselves (this characteristic stands out in particular in the case of the USA). The assignments to Russia also require a special mention. Three qualifications must be made in this respect. First, many centres or organisations have changed names since the disappearance of the USSR. In this case the present-day name has been used. Second, with respect to the institutions belonging to the USSR, the countries resulting after the break up of the USSR were assigned according to the city where the researcher is located. Third, many researchers are members of the Academy of Sciences. This institution has been considered as long as the first researcher listed in the article has not been found to be a member of any specific research centre. For this reason, within the Russian Academy of Sciences, researchers appear who are strictly ascribed to one institution, but others who are listed as such but have not stated their specific research centre. The absence of an indication of research centre for the researcher was a relatively widespread practice while the Soviet Union existed, but it has progressively faded out of practice. Therefore, the Academy of Sciences presents a relatively large volume of ascribed authors, but few conclusions can be drawn about its content.

To systematise the content of the articles, they were assigned subjects following the *EconLit* Subject Descriptors. However, given the specific nature of this area of study, some *ad hoc* modifications were introduced in the classification system so that the results would be more meaningful. In general, it was a question of assigning approximately two main subjects to each article, which roughly matched the corresponding broad topics in the *EconLit* Subject Descriptors. These subjects were then generally given two secondary subjects, which explain the main subjects.

With respect to the content of the classifiers assigned, the usual meaning was attributed to each, although with some refinements. Among these, one that stands out is that aggregate overviews of the Russian economy have been included in *Macroeconomics*:

both the descriptive type, such as the application of reforms, and references to centralised Soviet planning. Analyses of privatisation have been included in *Public Economics*, given that they deal with a reorganisation of the public sector. *Welfare* incorporates aspects related not only to health and education but also to income distribution and poverty. Topics relating to the labour market and demographics were considered separately. Studies analysing the external behaviour of businesses and the relationships among them (for example, competition or shadow economy) have been grouped together in *Market Structure*. Articles which refer to intra-business aspects (internal business aspects, such as financing, investment, marketing etc.) have been classified under the *Business Administration* descriptor. *Environmental Economics* has been considered a separate descriptor. It should be pointed out that a significant number of articles appear in the sections *Economic History* and *Other Topics*, given that a variety of journals specialising in the transition have devoted space to these articles, despite the fact that, in certain cases, they are outside the strictly economic sphere. In particular, many articles have been included in *Other Topics* which analyse political and cultural aspects.

Overall analysis

An analysis of the Russian economic transition can be approached by studying the complete set of published articles. During the period 1989–91, which constitutes a sampling of the publications during the Soviet era, the annual average number of published articles came to 175. In 1992 173 articles were published and from this point on the number increased until it reached a peak of 226 in 1994. Additionally, if we bear in mind that the average number of articles published in 1995–99 was 210, two conclusions can be drawn. First, that the number of articles is clearly greater in the transition years than that published during the Soviet period, and second, that there was a certain stabilisation in the number of articles published during 1995–99, although at a lower level than that of the immediately preceding years.

From 1999 on there was a steady decline in the number of articles until 2002, when 144 were published. Nevertheless, if one considers the average of the last two years under study (151 articles), it is practically equal to that for 2001. From 2000 on the decline slowed down and article production stabilised.

The connection between Soviet and Russian studies requires a qualification. The fact of not considering articles devoted to the Soviet Union modifies the progression only in the first three years of the transition, given that they reached values for the period 1992–94 of 115, 45 and 31 articles respectively, that is, 64.2%, 23.2% and 14.2% of the total published. However, from this moment on, the production of articles on the Soviet Union was more residual, and oscillated between 12.6% of the articles published in 1996 and 5.6% in 1998. Furthermore, it must be noted that in the second half of the 1990s and in the following decade the articles about the Soviet Union are markedly historical in nature. Thus, from the beginning of the transition, the trend in article publication essentially follows that for Russia and it can therefore be stated that there was a recycling of the research oriented to the study of the Soviet Union to studies dealing with Russia.

From the overall data presented the first impression is that it cannot be said that there was a drop in Russian studies because of the disappearance of the Soviet Union. However, a decline does clearly appear starting in 2000. Nevertheless, this kind of initial conclusion, and especially the drop experienced around 2000, must be qualified with additional information coming from the grouping together of articles according to the journal in which they were published.

Distribution of articles by journal

An initial analysis according to journal type can be carried out by grouping them together using the information from the *JCR* and the journals' own statements of their field of interest. In this way, two groups of journals can be established (Table 1).

- Journals specialising in economic transition, which are found in the economy section of the *JCR*, and which come to a total of 14 titles. These journals published 1890 articles during the entire period, which was 67.3% of the total. Therefore, the specialised journals are not only important in quantitative terms but also determine the trend for the total set of published work.
- The rest of the journals (a total of 255 journals). This group of journals contained 32.7% of the articles published. In this group, it is important to note the trend, given that, with the transition the number of articles published increased with respect to the Soviet three-year period. In fact, while the annual average number of articles published for the Soviet period was 43, the average for the transition (the remaining years) was 76. That is, increasing interest in the case of Russia among journals not specialising in economic transition is demonstrated more clearly than it is for the previous group.

Some further clarification can be obtained by explicitly considering the composition of the journals specialising in economic transition. Within this group, four sub-groups can be distinguished according to the number of articles published on the Russian economy. In the first sub-group, a single journal is included: *Problems of Economic Transition*. This was responsible for 36.1% of the articles published during the entire period by journals specialising in economic transition, a total of 682 works. It must be kept in mind that this journal is a monthly one and contains articles published in Russian journals, translated into English, and was no longer considered in the *SSCI* from mid-2000. Therefore, it is a relatively important journal within the studies of transition, not only for the number of articles published but also because its content is made up of primary sources of information (information coming from journals published in Russia).

The second sub-group is made up of journals with a significant number of published articles. In this group appear *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Revue d'Etudes Comparatives Est-Ouest* and *Post-Communist Economies*. These five journals included 57.1% of the publications of the journals specialising in economic transition. The third sub-group includes journals that publish articles on the Russian transition with a certain regularity, but in a relatively minor way. These were *Journal of Comparative Economics*, *Economics of Transition* and *Economics of Planning*. In the fourth sub-group there are the journals on economic transition specialising in Eastern European countries or China. Here can be found *Acta Oeconomica* (Hungary), *China Economic Review* (China), *Eastern European Economics* (Eastern European countries), *Ekonomicky Casopis* (Slovakia), and *Politicka Ekonomie* (The Czech Republic). These journals have the peculiarity of rarely, if ever, publishing articles on Russia.

With this classification as background and given the importance of the journal *Problems of Economic Transition*, it might be supposed that its disappearance signifies a distortion in the overall vision presented above. In fact, if the articles in the journal are taken into account directly, then the overall total of works published on the Russian economy was 212 in 2000, 212 in 2001, 176 in 2002 and 183 in 2003.

Therefore, for the entire period, it can be stated that there was an increase in interest in post-Soviet studies (Russian). However, it should be emphasised that two indicators exist

Table 1. Number of articles published by journal type.

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Total																
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%																
Economic transition journals	115	68.5	125	76.6	160	82.5	121	69.9	129	65.2	143	63.3	152	71.0	146	70.5	138	72.3	155	66.8	156	75.4	119	66.1	77	50.7	72	50.0	82	52.2	1890	67.3
Other journals	53	31.5	39	23.4	34	17.5	52	30.1	69	34.8	83	36.7	62	29.0	61	29.5	53	27.7	77	33.2	51	24.6	61	33.9	75	49.3	72	50.0	75	47.8	917	32.7
Total	168	100.0	164	100.0	194	100.0	173	100.0	198	100.0	226	100.0	214	100.0	207	100.0	191	100.0	232	100.0	207	100.0	180	100.0	152	100.0	144	100.0	157	100.0	2807	100.0

that might point to a certain drop in this interest. First, in qualitative terms, the dropping of the journal *Problems of Economic Transition*, which was one of the primary sources of information for the scientific community. Second, in quantitative terms, the growth in the number of journals specialising in economic transition (*Post-Communist Economies*, *Economics of Planning* and *Economics of Transition*), combined with a stagnation in the number of articles published, might be interpreted as a slowdown in interest in the Russian transition or as indicating that interest in the Russian economy reached its peak at the end of the 1990s.

These considerations have been derived from analysing how the results of the scientific community's research have been published. Nevertheless, if the scientific community related to post-Soviet studies has not increased its activity even though more outlets for publication have appeared, then there is no reason for the growth in the number of publications. Therefore, the conclusions presented up to now must be qualified with a complementary analysis of how this scientific community has changed. This last issue might be dealt with by taking as a reference the countries and institutions from which the articles came, as well as the specific authors who wrote them.

Analysis by institutions

Our first approach in the analysis is to highlight the country of origin of the articles. Specifically, the origin has been considered to be the country of the institution to which the first author of the published article is ascribed. The result has been the identification of 45 countries where there are institutions that have devoted attention to the economic transition in Russia. However, the greatest concentration of published articles is shown to be in the USA and Russia (Table 2). The imbalance that appears when comparing the USA with Western Europe (which includes 15 countries) must be pointed out: in the former 35.4% of the articles were published, and 24.9% in the latter. This asymmetry becomes patently clear as one takes into consideration the fact that half the articles published in Western Europe were written in the UK. In fact, even greater geographical concentration can be observed: only five countries stand out from the group, that is, the USA, Russia, the UK, France and Germany.

On close attention to the evolution in the annual number of publications, we see the first important element is the reduction in those coming from Russia. In this respect, it is important to look at two periods when the number of publications diminished. The first, 1995–96, reflects the structural imbalance that the Russian scientific world suffered as a consequence of the economic crisis, derived from the systemic change the country underwent. From this two-year period on there was a slight recovery, which only partially made up the volume of publications reached in 1994. The second period when there was an important contraction in the number of articles published is 2000–01, though this situation is explicable because starting in the second half of 2000 the SSCI ceased to consider the journal *Problems of Economic Transition*. When the Russian publications appearing in this journal are excluded, there is an increase in the number of publications in 1993–94, when they exceeded 30 articles, though it was followed by a drop that hit bottom in 1996 with the publication of 16 articles. From this point on it might be considered that there was a stabilising trend in the number of articles published, which oscillated around 22 works per year. This stabilisation in the Russian publications demonstrates stability in the Russian scientific community after the more critical moments of the transition in Russia but, furthermore, shows that, despite the opening up of the country, the Russian researchers stayed on the margin of the trends to be projected abroad.

Table 2. Number of articles published by countries.

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Total	% (total)
Russia	68	55	85	83	92	95	79	64	65	73	74	42	16	19	22	952	34.8
USA	39	47	61	59	51	68	82	73	75	68	48	59	74	69	71	944	34.5
UK	11	14	14	15	15	20	15	28	21	28	43	33	16	27	32	332	12.1
France	6	0	4	0	15	8	10	11	4	8	13	6	10	5	8	108	3.9
Germany	8	4	6	2	5	3	5	4	5	13	6	8	4	5	2	80	2.9
Other countries	16	17	24	12	17	26	17	20	18	32	20	30	33	19	22	323	11.3
Total	148	157	194	171	195	220	208	200	188	222	204	178	153	144	157	2739	100.0

With respect to the four Western countries leading in publications, a growing interest was seen in the Russian economy with the beginning of the transition. Indeed, for the first three years under study, the yearly average number of published articles was 71, while the average for the remaining years was 104 articles. With regard to the USA, there is a slightly increasing trend in the number of articles published. During the entire period analysed, the interest in the Russian transition has been greater than the interest aroused by the Soviet Union, and it seems that the interest has even been increasing slightly since the beginning of the Putin era. In the UK, from the beginning of the period under study there was a clear increase in the number of published articles. However, this trend ended in 1999 when the level of publications reached its peak and from then on there has been a drop, though in the last two years an increase in the number of articles published was recorded. In France, interest in Russia compared with the Soviet Union increased, as can be clearly observed in the first three-year period: 10 articles were published then while afterwards, in each of the later three-year periods, 23–27 articles were published. Germany was the only country in which the level of published articles was lower in the transition than in the Soviet period (an annual average of six articles for the Soviet period and of five for the 12 years of transition). Nevertheless, Germany has had a rather residual weight when compared with the other three countries.

This analysis by country of origin must be supplemented by an analysis of the specific institutions where the research was carried out. These constitute the source of the published articles. On grouping together all the articles for which an institution could be assigned, we found that 759 institutions had published articles on Russia.

The institution heading the ranking has 85 published articles. Nevertheless, many of the institutions contribute very few articles. In order to clarify the analysis, attention has been focused on those surpassing a certain limit. Therefore, if for the period of 15 years only the institutions contributing at least five articles are considered, the number is reduced to 125 institutions. That is, with this limit, 16.7% of the institutions are left, which generate 64.9% of the published articles. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a great degree of concentration in research activity by institutions.

For the list of institutions the information has been broken down into three five-year periods. When five-year periods are analysed, in order to avoid the inclusion of institutions where articles on the Russian transition are published only sporadically, the criterion has been introduced that they must have published at least four articles during any of these sub-periods. The introduction of this more restrictive criterion with respect to the 15 year period has been additionally supported by the expectation that at least 50 institutions would be explicitly considered in each five-year list. If a single list of institutions is made up by adding the results of each one of the five-year periods (as long as they have more than five published articles in total), then a ranking of the most active institutions in the publication of articles on the Russian economy would be obtained and would contain 109 institutions. This listing provides information on the trend in article publication by the institutions under study.

These two lists contain a group of institutions that are found in the top positions and are the same in both lists. They are institutions that for the entire period have published nine or more articles in total, and by publishing in more five-year periods combine quantity (nine) and regularity (more than four in any of the five-year periods). In this way, in the annual (125 institutions) and/or in the five-year period (109 institutions) list, the first 66 institutions are left, which define the group of most active organisations (Table 3).

Within this list, we can make out three groups.

Table 3. Ranking of scientific institutions by number of articles published.

Academic institution	Country	1989–93	1994–98	1999–2003	Total
1. Inst Econ	Russia	46	29	10	85
2. Inst World Econ & Int Relat (IMEMO)	Russia	31	27	9	67
3. Univ Calif	USA	19	22	11	52
4. Univ Birmingham	UK	8	24	12	44
5. Cent Econ Math Inst (TsEMI)	Russia	19	16	7	42
6. Harvard Univ	USA	12	18	10	40
7. World Bank	USA	4	16	20	40
8. Lomonosov State Univ	Russia	26	7	6	39
9. Univ London	UK	5	14	17	36
10. Academy of Sciences	Russia	30	4	0	34
11. Inst Econ Transit	Russia	3	23	7	33
12. Stanford Univ	USA	10	11	8	29
13. Inst Econ & Org Ind Prod	Russia	17	6	5	28
14. Inst Int Econ & Polit Studies	Russia	12	15	1	28
15. Minist Econ of RF	Russia	2	18	8	28
16. Univ Glasgow	UK	13	9	6	28
17. Southern Methodist Univ	USA	4	11	11	26
18. Univ Oxford	UK	6	5	15	26
19. Univ Warwick	UK	7	7	11	25
20. State U–Higher School of Econ	Russia	2	8	11	21
21. Indiana Univ	USA	3	6	10	19
22. Inst Market Problem	Russia	13	5	1	19
23. Inst Natl Econ Forecasting	Russia	5	12	2	19
24. Univ Nottingham	UK	5	6	8	19
25. Ecole Hautes Etud Sci Sociales (EHESS)	France	2	8	9	19
26. Inst Sociol	Russia	7	2	7	16
27. Michigan State Univ	USA	0	8	8	16
28. Calif State Univ	USA	1	9	5	15
29. Univ N Carolina	USA	3	5	7	15
30. Univ Wisconsin	USA	3	6	6	15
31. Univ Illinois	USA	5	6	4	15
32. Columbia Univ	USA	2	9	3	14
33. Planecon Inc	USA	1	10	3	14
34. Inst Geog	Russia	9	2	3	14
35. Ohio State Univ	USA	0	5	8	13
36. Univ Amsterdam	Netherlands	3	2	8	13
37. Univ Pittsburgh	USA	2	4	7	13
38. Inst Socioecon Problems Populat (ISEPP)	Russia	4	2	6	12
39. Northeastern Univ	USA	2	4	6	12
40. Univ Michigan	USA	3	8	1	12
41. CNRS	France	2	5	5	12
42. Fed Inst E European & Int Studies	Germany	4	6	1	11
43. Princeton Univ	USA	3	4	4	11
44. Stockholm Sch Econ	Sweden	5	0	6	11
45. Univ Edinburgh	UK	5	4	2	11
46. Univ Houston	USA	5	2	4	11
47. Acad Natl Econ	Russia	4	3	3	10
48. Duke Univ	USA	5	4	1	10
49. George Washington Univ	USA	2	1	7	10
50. Inst of Econ Analysis	Russia	0	7	3	10
51. MIT	USA	1	4	5	10
52. Public Opinion and Market Research Inst	Russia	9	1	0	10
53. Univ Essex	UK	2	3	5	10
54. Carnegie Endowment Int Peace	USA	0	5	4	9

Table 3 – *continued*

Academic institution	Country	1989–93	1994–98	1999–2003	Total
55. Cent Intelligence Agcy (CIA)	USA	5	4	0	9
56. Florida Int Univ	USA	1	5	3	9
57. Fridtjof Nansen Institute	Norway	2	2	5	9
58. Hitotsubashi Univ	Japan	0	7	2	9
59. Inst Employment Problems	Russia	7	2	0	9
60. Inst Natl Etud Demog (INED)	France	4	3	2	9
61. Int Monetary Fund	USA	1	3	5	9
62. Manchester Metropolitan Univ	UK	0	4	5	9
63. State Planning Comm (Gosplan) of RF	Russia	6	3	0	9
64. Univ Cambridge	UK	1	6	2	9
65. Univ Pennsylvania	USA	2	4	3	9
66. Univ Virginia	USA	5	2	2	9

- Group 1. The first nine institutions account for more than 36 articles over the entire period and record four or more articles published in all the five-year periods. These nine institutions produced 445 articles, that is, 15.9% of the total. This represents, therefore, the leading block of institutions. This group makes up the most active centre of this kind of post-Soviet studies.
- Group 2. The institutions located in positions 10–31. These are the institutions that have produced more than 15 articles during the entire period, that is, at least an average of one article per year. This group reflects research activity comparatively more modest than the previous one, and though in certain cases they are some five-year periods with low activity, in the other two they always have four or more articles. This group has generated 493 articles, which represent 17.6% of the published work. Therefore, this group and the previous one make up the most dynamic motors that propel post-Soviet studies on the Russian economy.
- Group 3. The institutions occupying positions 32–66 (the rest of the list). In general, these institutions usually show strong productivity in one five-year period, and relatively low activity in others, or a relatively small number of publications in all the five-year periods (this characteristic is seen more clearly in the institutions located at the bottom of this list). This group generated 371 articles, which make up 13.2% of the published articles.

Apart from allowing the classification of academic bodies according to their importance, the ranking mentioned in the text also provides information on the change in the internal structure of the group of research centres. To demonstrate the existence of such a change, the Wilcoxon test, which evaluates the homogeneity of two groups, can be used. Specifically, each of these groups can be identified with the group of scientific organisations that are the leaders in their countries (Russia, USA and UK) and, in order to compare the level of homogeneity (the similar nature of their structures), each of the five-year periods in Table 3 can be used (see Appendix).

If the test is applied to the 15 most important Russian scientific bodies (groups 1, 2 and the top half of 3), when their structure during the first two periods is compared, the level of significance of the test is 28%, which is to say that it is similar. Nevertheless, between the second and third periods, the level of significance is 2.3% and, therefore, it cannot be claimed that the corresponding structures of the scientific centres are similar. Between the first and third five-year periods, of course, the structures are very different as is shown

by a level of significance of 1.7%. Among Russian institutions the Institute for the Economy in Transition and the State University–Higher School of Economics should be pointed out, as they are changing into highly relevant, influential academic bodies in Russia. They are new organisations, whose volume of publication in the first five-year period was very low, but whose contribution has been substantial in the other two periods (Russian transition). A different case is that of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which is no longer of importance nor enjoys prestige as, once the Soviet period was over, authors clearly preferred to join one specific organisation. In fact, in the last five-year period the Academy published no piece of work at all. The organisations that produced a limited number of publications in the last five-year period find themselves in a similar situation, thus clearly showing the crisis through which these long-standing scientific institutions from the Soviet period are going. In this group can be found the Institute of International Economy and Political Studies or the Institute of National Economic Forecasting. Third, there exists another group of organisations which have brought out a number of relevant publications during every five-year period. These are still at the forefront and they are the Institute of Economics, IMEMO, TsEMI, Lomonov University and the Institute of the Economics and Organisation of Industrial Production. However, all of them saw a reduction in the number of articles published at the beginning of the transition, which is thus leading to a restructuring of the system of Russian research organisations.

When the top 16 North American centres are tested, the level of significance between the first and second periods was found to be 0%, which is to say that the structure of the group of centres under consideration had changed (rejection of hypothesis of homogeneity). When the variation in the structures of the leading North American centres between the second and third periods is considered, the level of significance is 27.7% and, therefore, it is accepted that the structure has not changed. Between the first and third periods, the level of significance of the test is 2.1%, showing the structure to be different. Breaking this down, during the Soviet years the leading academic institutions were clearly California and Harvard Universities, followed by Stanford University. In all three cases the number of publications rose during the second five-year period (transition period), but experienced a significant drop in the last period. Traditionally in a privileged position at the head of the field, they have clearly been overtaken not only by the World Bank but also by other research centres that have become much more active, until now they are practically on a par with the three earlier leading centres. From these institutions, we can point to Southern Methodist University, Indiana University and Michigan State University, but North Carolina, Wisconsin and Ohio State Universities are also of importance.

When the six leading UK institutions are tested, no change in the structure of importance can be said to have taken place, as, when comparing periods 1–2, 1–3 and 2–3 the level of significance is 5%, and so it can be accepted that the respective institutional structures are homogeneous. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that with a level of significance of 10% it could not be assumed that the structure of the British institutions had remained constant between the Soviet period and the final years of the Russian transition. This change could be explained by the steady decrease in importance of the University of Glasgow, together with the fact that the University of Birmingham is not now as important as it once was, both of these now being on a par with or even lagging behind centres such as the Universities of Oxford and Warwick.

To sum up, the research activity seems to be heavily concentrated in specific centres which promote studies of the Russian economy. Furthermore, if we refer to the research being carried out, it can be said that, in general, the institutions that stood out during the Soviet period are

being caught up and, at times, overtaken by other organisations, which leads to a change in the structure of a country's research centres in line with the transition. Likewise, it should be made clear that the structure of the leading research centres adjusted differently from country to country. In Russia a great deal of activity ceased and so the structure of the leading centres during the first few years simply survived. However, when the transition was more consolidated, a lot of adjustment took place. In the USA, meanwhile, and to a certain extent in the UK, the change in the structure of the scientific centres took place more quickly when the USSR disappeared and the Cold War came to an end.

Analysis by author

The result of adding up the total number of authors participating in the published articles is 2446. However, in most cases, the contributions are sporadic. If we assume as relevant those authors who have published five or more articles, then 114 authors stand out, that is 4.7% of the total, belonging to 13 different countries and who have participated in the writing of 864 articles, or 30.8% of all the articles. At the head of the list we find one author who has published 26 articles and at the bottom end there are 35 authors who record five works (Table 4).³

In general, the less an institution contributes, the more dependant that institution is on a single author.⁴ But this pattern is also found in the institutions to which the most articles are assigned. For example, if the 50 most productive authors are taken into consideration (the top part of the author rankings) and they are ascribed to one institution (when the author has worked in various institutions during the period he/she has been assigned to the one at which the greatest number of articles were written), then in 31 institutions the production of the institution depends on a single author, in eight institutions two are the driving force behind the publications, and one institution supports three researchers. Thus, the results of the scientific production of an institution are found to be very concentrated among very few people.

After analysing the trend of the articles published by this group of leading authors, it is clear there was an undeniable increase in publications during the Russian transition compared with the Soviet period. Specifically, the total number of articles published by this group of authors in the first three-year period (Soviet period) was 114, while during the following three-year periods, the increase in the number of publications is unquestionable, that is 158, 212, 215 and 165 respectively. It must be pointed out again that the sharp drop in the last three-year period is an effect of the disappearance of *Problems of Economic Transition*. That is, during the entire transition process, it is patently clear there is much greater interest in Russia than there was in the Soviet Union.

If the pace of authors' production is studied, very interesting changes can also be detected. In particular, within the group of the 114 most productive authors, 56 of them produced articles during the first three-year period (the strictly Soviet period). However with the transition, the number of authors visibly increases, which is very clear when highlighting the following four three-year periods; the number of authors included in this list was 72, 87, 90 and 75. That is, despite the change in system, the authors who were very involved in scientific production of Russian studies continuously increased. The reduction in the last three-year period can again be explained by the disappearance of *Problems of Economic Transition*, though the number is still greater than the number of authors recorded in the first three-year period.

Additionally, complementary information on the generational change in post-Soviet studies related to the Russian economy is obtained by highlighting which authors did not

Table 4. Ranking of the most productive authors.

	Author	Nationality	Total articles
1.	Wegren, S.K.	USA	26
2.	Sagers, M.J.	USA	19
3.	Filatotchev, I.	UK	18
4.	Abalkin, L.A.	Russia	14
5.	Buck, T.	UK	14
6.	Kirkow, P.	UK	14
7.	Aslund, A.	Sweden/USA	13
8.	Breslauer, G.W.	USA	13
9.	Clarke, S.	UK	13
10.	Radaev, V.V.	Russia	12
11.	Treisman, D.	USA	12
12.	White, S.	UK	12
13.	Wright, M.	UK	12
14.	Yakovlev, A.A.	Russia	12
15.	Alexeev, M.	USA	11
16.	Hanson, P.	UK	11
17.	Linz, S.J.	USA	11
18.	Rosefelde, S.	USA	11
19.	Gimpel'son, V.E.	Russia	10
20.	Hendley, K.	USA	10
21.	Berkowitz, D.	USA	9
22.	Bond, A.R.	USA	9
23.	Yasin, E.G.	Russia	9
24.	Mau, V.A.	Russia	9
25.	McCarthy, D.J.	USA	9
26.	Nove, A.	UK	9
27.	Puffer, S.M.	USA	9
28.	Rowland, R.H.	USA	9
29.	Bradshaw, M.J.	UK	8
30.	Colton, T.J.	USA	8
31.	Craumer, F.	USA	8
32.	Ellman, M.	Netherlands	8
33.	Gregory, P.R.	USA	8
34.	Heleniak, T.	USA	8
35.	Illarionov, A.	Russia	8
36.	Ioffe, G.V.	Russia/USA	8
37.	Khanin, G.I.	Russia	8
38.	Kontorovich, V.	USA	8
39.	Leksin, V.	Russia	8
40.	Nefedova, T.G.	Russia	8
41.	Sapir, J.	France	8
42.	Tompson, W.	UK	8
43.	Gaidar, E.	Russia	7
44.	Gidadhubli, R.G.	India	7
45.	Glaz'ev, S.I.	Russia	7
46.	Harrison, M.	UK	7
47.	Ickes, B.W.	USA	7
48.	Kim, B.Y.	UK	7
49.	Kuznetsov, A.	UK	7
50.	McFaul, M.	USA	7
51.	Nikiforov, L.	Russia	7
52.	Petrakov, N.Y.	Russia	7
53.	Rimashevskaya, N.M	Russia	7
54.	Shvetsov, A.	Russia	7

Table 4 – *continued*

	Author	Nationality	Total articles
55.	Struyk, R.J.	Russia/USA	7
56.	Sukhotin, I.V.	Russia	7
57.	Winston, V.	USA	7
58.	Aukutsionek, S.P.	Russia	6
59.	Clem, R.S.	USA	6
60.	Dejong, D.N.	USA	6
61.	Dienes, L.	USA	6
62.	Evstigneeva, L.P.	Russia	6
63.	Gaddy, C.G.	USA	6
64.	Gerber, T.P.	USA	6
65.	Johnson, S.	USA	6
66.	Kuznetsova, O.	UK	6
67.	Lapidus, G.W.	USA	6
68.	Lokshin, M.	USA	6
69.	Noren, J.H.	USA	6
70.	Ordeshook, P.C.	USA	6
71.	Popov, V.	Russia/Canada	6
72.	Ryterman, R.	USA	6
73.	Schroeder, G. E.	USA	6
74.	Shlapentokh, V.	USA	6
75.	Shleifer, A.	USA	6
76.	Sinel'nikov-Murilev, S.G.	Russia	6
77.	Slider, D.	USA	6
78.	Tabata, S.	Japan	6
79.	Trofimov, G.Y.	Russia	6
80.	Backman, C.A.	Austria/Canada	5
81.	Barnett, V.	UK	5
82.	Bater, J.H.	Canada	5
83.	Brooks, K.M.	USA	5
84.	Delyagin, M.G.	Russia	5
85.	Earle, J.S.	USA	5
86.	Eklof, J.A.	Russia	5
87.	Goldman, M.I.	USA	5
88.	Gotz, R.	Germany	5
89.	Hahn, J.W.	USA	5
90.	Hough, J.F.	USA	5
91.	Kanet, R.E.	USA	5
92.	Kirichenko, V.	Russia	5
93.	Kolchin, S.	Russia	5
94.	Kryukov, V.A.	Russia	5
95.	Kuboniwa, M.	Japan	5
96.	Kulikov, V.V.	Russia	5
97.	Loginov, V.	Russia	5
98.	McAllister, I.	UK	5
99.	Michneck, B.	USA	5
100.	Moe, A.	Norway	5
101.	Murrell, P.	USA	5
102.	Myagkov, M.G.	USA	5
103.	O'Brien, D.J.	USA	5
104.	Pallot, J.	UK	5
105.	Patsiorkovski, V.V.	Russia	5
106.	Rakitskaya, G.	Russia	5
107.	Rakitsky, B.	Russia	5
108.	Remington, T.F.	USA	5

Table 4 – *continued*

	Author	Nationality	Total articles
109.	Ryvkina, R.V.	Russia	5
110.	Sanchez-Andres, A.	Spain	5
111.	Shama, A.	USA	5
112.	Shishkov, I.V.	Russia	5
113.	Twigg, J.L	USA	5
114.	Vishnevsky A.G.	Russia	5

publish any articles in the Soviet three-year period. In particular, half the group of leading authors (a total of 58) did not publish any articles during the first three-year period and, what is more, one third of these authors did not do so in the first five-year period (a total of 35). It can be assumed that these authors were then in training and, despite the change in system, their interest remained steady and even increased. It can be affirmed that those authors, in so far as they appear among the leaders of this field of post-Soviet studies, make up a solid base and the essential motor in the development of this field of knowledge. This generational refill gains more strength when we bear in mind that during the last five-year period under study, only 19 authors (17%) did not have any publications. It might thus be suggested that there was a generational shift, which gives renewed support to Russian (post-Soviet) economic studies.

Analysis by contents

A complementary analysis of the evolution of the transition can be made by content, and particularly whether there has been a change in the subjects analysed by the scientific community during the 15 years under consideration here. As a first approximation, three groups of subjects can be distinguished according to their importance by number of published articles (Table 5). First there are Macroeconomics, Public Economics, Regional Economics and Industrial Economics, which have more than 200 articles published during the entire period in question, with an average of more than 20 articles published per year. Second are the five subjects next in importance, which registered at least 125 published articles and a yearly average equal to or greater than 10 works per year. In this group are the subjects International Economics, Business Administration, Labour Economics, Financial Economics, Economic History and Market Structure. Third is the group of subjects to which the smallest number of articles are assigned, in decreasing order: Welfare, Agriculture, Economic Thought, Demography, S&T, Services, Microeconomics, Environmental Economics and Law. The relative importance of these subjects does not alter as much if articles from the JCR journals are included as it does if those from *Problems of Economic Transition* from the year 2000 on are included.

During the Soviet phase and the first years of the transition, macroeconomic aspects make up the most analysed thematic area. In fact, during the first two three-year periods, these studies made up more than 20%⁵ of the articles published. However, from that point on, a reduction in such studies took place, so that in the final three-year period considered, this subject was the third-place topic, and only made up a little more than 9% of the economic studies on Russia.

Within the macroeconomic field and during the Soviet period, analyses of economic planning and its reforms stand out. However, with the disappearance of the USSR, both

Table 5. Number of articles published by subjects.

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Total
Economic Thought	16	9	9	13	18	18	6	5	2	2	0	1	2	4	6	111
Microeconomics	4	8	1	3	0	1	2	2	4	3	4	4	4	4	5	49
Macroeconomics	30	45	54	46	59	60	38	49	46	37	36	37	25	24	15	601
International Economics	32	7	14	15	16	13	21	14	15	17	12	13	13	13	14	229
Financial Economics	1	1	0	6	5	9	8	18	14	19	30	16	10	4	6	147
Public Economics	35	17	24	24	29	23	28	33	26	22	29	34	29	27	23	403
Welfare	11	7	4	7	9	7	4	8	8	14	23	9	9	11	11	142
Demography	6	7	4	2	4	7	14	5	5	12	5	5	5	6	5	92
Labour Economics	9	4	8	17	15	14	11	6	14	12	17	6	10	15	13	171
Agriculture	10	10	12	11	6	14	9	10	6	3	12	9	3	7	10	132
Industry	7	9	16	8	19	32	42	23	20	34	21	31	14	16	13	305
Services	5	7	5	2	2	6	1	7	4	10	1	6	1	5	1	63
S&T	2	3	5	8	4	10	9	5	6	11	4	1	1	1	1	71
Market Structure	8	10	8	3	5	7	9	6	17	16	6	11	18	10	14	148
Business Administration	4	3	2	8	6	11	12	19	19	19	15	19	20	11	25	193
Regional Economics	11	14	5	12	14	19	41	27	29	39	41	20	23	23	30	348
Economic History	10	10	10	11	12	17	8	17	7	5	12	10	7	12	14	162
Environmental Economics	1	7	5	3	0	3	3	2	1	5	4	2	2	5	6	49
Law	1	3	1	3	5	3	3	1	4	2	1	5	3	3	1	39
Others	29	30	47	31	42	34	30	28	27	33	38	30	43	25	20	487

types of studies died out and were replaced with articles about overall economic policies, such as those related to analysing shock therapy. Nevertheless, during the first moments of the transition period, these studies did not completely supplant the former for two reasons: first, interest in overall analyses was waning, and second, interest was growing in more specific aspects of economic policy. In particular, in the first years of the transition there was an increase in the number of articles analysing concrete aspects of taxes, state expenditure, fiscal questions or budgeting problems. Moreover, these particular studies maintained their importance in the final three-year period considered, though at a lower level compared with the situation in the mid-1990s, when such analyses reached their greatest importance. In the specific case of studies on monetary policy, some works appeared in the first three-year period but, although their number in absolute terms did not change, their weight relative to the whole of economic studies went down. So in the course of the transition interest in overall applied economic policy diminished, explainable in part by the reorientation of these studies in the direction of more specific aspects of economic policy.

Of those receiving the most attention, the second topic area is Public Economics. During the 1990s the number of these studies grew compared with the Soviet period, although it should be pointed out that they lost relative weight within economic studies. Nevertheless, in the final three-year period considered, even though the number of public economics studies decreased, this field occupied first place within economic studies. Among the most-studied aspects are relations with government. However, it should be mentioned that just as during the Soviet period such analysis concentrated on the structure of the state (components of the state, the role of the bureaucracy etc.), so aspects related to federalism and, to a certain extent, the influence of economic agents on governmental decisions became more interesting later. Within public economics, the second most important aspect to receive attention is privatisation. In the first three-year period (the Soviet period), the first works already appeared, echoing the surge in new private initiative, but this reached its maximum when the mass privatisation in the first years of the transition in Russia was carried out. From that time on it has continued to receive attention, although to a progressively decreasing extent. It should be emphasised that, as the size of the public business sector diminished, studies have been continually adjusted in the direction of analysing businesses in the new economic context (collected under the subject market structure) and the internal functioning of production units (collected under the subject business administration).

Industrial analyses progressively continued to grow until, in the late 1990s, there were triple the number that there were during the Soviet period. It should be pointed out that in the final three-year period such analyses experienced a significant drop-off, in both absolute and relative terms, although scientific output remained clearly above the level registered at the end of the Soviet period. A substantial part of these studies concentrated on sector-related aspects. One of the more exceptional areas of study has been the defence industry. In the first years of the transition these studies grew in number compared with the Soviet period (specifically, from 19 to 35 articles), although at the end of the decade of the 1990s a clear contraction in this type of works began, which was accentuated in the following decade (when only 11 works were published). It should be pointed out that one of the aspects to receive a fair amount of attention was the conversion of the defence industry, which became one of the most remarkable aspects in the first three-year period of the transition. However, with the confirmation of the failure of this economic phenomenon towards the middle of the 1990s research in this area practically died out in the final three-year period considered.

The second relevant industrial sector has been the energy sector. The number of these studies continued to grow from the beginning of the 1990s until the end of the decade, and in the final three-year period the number had practically doubled compared with the Soviet period. It should be pointed out that the studies deal essentially with oil, although from the mid-1990s on research referring explicitly to gas assumed greater relevance.

The industrial crisis of the 1990s, which is reflected in a decline in studies related to the defence industry and growth in those on the energy sector, led to a simplification of the Russian industrial fabric, which calls into question the scientific-technological base of the country. The country's technological crisis is clearly reflected in the disappearance of these studies, starting in the late 1990s, just as it is shown in the growth of articles published under the heading of science and technology.

Articles related to Market Structure appeared fairly frequently during the Soviet years, but during the early years of the transition these were reduced, in large part due to uncertainty about the economic change taking place. Nevertheless, from that moment on this type of study grew continuously. The two topics that stand out the most were those having to do with business strategies under the conditions of the transition and the black economy. This last type of work has continued to grow since the first moments of the transition and makes up a relatively important part of the analyses carried out from the late 1990s on, and many of the attempts to explain the specific conditions under which Russian businesses developed.

The articles on Business Administration are those which have undergone the greatest increase in number since the Soviet period; in fact, from nine works in the first three-year period, the number increased to 56 in the last three years considered. Interest has focused on discovering the characteristics of the new Russian management and the new forms of business administration.

Studies of Regional Economics have also increased substantially since the Soviet years, and since the mid-1990s these constitute the second largest area of Russian economic studies. These studies have focused on analysing specific cases and, particularly, how regions and cities have adapted to the process of transition.

These last three types of subjects do not provide an overall economic vision but instead develop more fragmentary aspects. In the Soviet phase, this grouping of studies represented about 10% of all economics articles, while in the final three-year period they came to represent almost a quarter of all such studies.

Among the subjects receiving an average amount of attention are those related to International Economics, Financial Economics, Labour Economics, Welfare and Economic History. There has been a decrease in the weight of studies related to International Economics during the transition period compared with the Soviet phase. However, they can be considered to have stabilised during the transition period and maintain an importance of about 6% of Russian studies. During the Soviet phase these studies were focused on commercial aspects, but those related to foreign investment and international financing progressively gained importance until finally, during the last three years of the whole period considered, they were equivalent in number to the former.

Studies on Financial Economics practically constituted a new area during the transition compared with the Soviet period. Nevertheless, the spectacular growth of these studies took place in the heat of the financial crises which Russia suffered, particularly that of 1998. In fact, in the three-year period 1998–2000 70 articles were published, which represented 8.5% of all articles about Russian economics. However, subsequently these came to represent a little more than 3%, a share equivalent to that reached in the first three-year period of the transition.

Interest in Labour Economics increased with the transition, and this tendency seems to have particularly consolidated at the end of the period considered. Within this topic, studies on employment and salaries are the most prominent since they continued increasing in weight, particularly in recent years, when they were the topics most often studied. It should be pointed out that studies on unemployment have been residual.

Articles on Welfare have undergone a certain amount of stabilisation, although with a relative drop in interest during the first years of the transition; however, as the transition advanced, these aspects increased in relative weight within Russian economic studies. The most widely studied aspects, which have increased significantly with the transition, were related to income distribution and poverty, especially in the two most recent three-year periods.

Historical studies have increased slightly during the transition compared with the Soviet period. Essentially, these results highlight the fact that a group of scholars exists who are interested in these aspects and who continue their research in a regular fashion;⁶ this is also shown by the fact that the volume of output has been maintained, especially in the three most recent three-year periods, in the range of 30–35 works. In this respect, it should be pointed out that the studies focus on the Stalinist period and analyses dealing specifically with repression in that period appear frequently.

In the more secondary studies, such as those included in Microeconomics, Demography, Services, Environment and Agriculture, the beginning of the transition brought about a drop in interest in these aspects, which were overshadowed by the broader macroeconomic analyses dealing with reforms or large economic transformations, such as privatisation.⁷ However, as those first years passed, interest in these aspects began to rise again. It should be pointed out that, first, towards the end of the overall period considered such studies acquired a level of interest equal to that reached in the Soviet period, with the exception of agriculture – scientific output on which fell continuously in absolute terms – and especially services, in which, on the one hand, there was a tendency to lose interest, and second, marginalisation compared with other lines of interest in economic analysis continues.

Studies of Economic Thought require a separate mention. While these works represent about 6–7% during the first two three-year periods, their weight in the following periods decreased until they represented, at most, 2% of economic studies. That is to say, this type of analysis has run dry. Since articles which refer to forms of economic analysis and systematic thought fall under this subject, such a reduction highlights the fact that the scientific community assumes that a market economy has been created in Russia, and it is therefore irrelevant to reflect either on the general foundation of a market economy or on the possibility that a market economy might not have been created, an element which could have led to comparisons between two different systems. This situation calls into question the traditional position of comparative economic studies.

As regards this last matter, it should be pointed out that 50 articles were found on institutional issues from the entire period analysed. Of these, nine were published during the Soviet period, and they generally analysed the relationships between plan and market within the framework of the reforms put into practice by Gorbachev. However, during the next five years, when the influence of shock therapy was at its greatest, there were substantially fewer institutional studies: in the period 1992–96, an average of 1.8 reports was published each year. From 1997 the number of studies focusing on institutional issues rose, so that until 2003 the average number of articles published a year was 4.5. It should be noted that the intention of some of these articles is to highlight the specificity of the ‘new’ Russian economy due to the existence of informal economic relationships, the great volume of barter, the demonetisation of the economy etc. Thus it can be seen that after

shock therapy there was a kind of renaissance in studies that analyse the institutional characteristics of the Russian transition economy. The increase in this type of analysis may form a base upon which comparative studies can be redirected, thereby avoiding the crisis of identity pointed out by Millar (1995) which can be found in these studies after the end of the Cold War. That is to say, such pieces of research may give a singularity to post-Soviet studies and contribute to the formation of a sub-field of specific economics.

Apart from the considerations that have just been discussed on the content of post-Soviet studies, there has also been a change in the type of methodology used, in particular as regards the greater use of mathematical and statistical models. In the 1970s and 1980s the appearance of this tendency had already been noted (Millar 1980, pp. 324–326), and coincided with more general economic tendencies in place at that time (mainstream economics) (Solow 1997, Kreps 1997). In the 1990s there was a greater quantity of more formal studies due to the fact that authors from other branches of economics produced pieces of work in which the transition was considered as an area in which theories coming from other branches of economics or mainstream economics could be applied. This has two important consequences. First, if we refer to the mathematical and statistical models used, the post-Soviet studies are quickly becoming more homogeneous with other branches of economics. Second, the appearance of pieces of work carried out by researchers not specialised in Soviet and post-Soviet studies shows that the monopoly once enjoyed by the specialists in this area has been lost. However, although this tendency implies a change in post-Soviet studies, it does not mean that they are of less importance. In the case of Russia, it can be seen that the number of studies has even increased. As Millar himself pointed out:

The irony is that the invasion from mainstream economics and the development of local, native upstart economists is likely to give the field, for a few years at least, better coverage and perhaps higher quality analysis than we have had in the past, but this very process (dialectically?) may obliterate the field as a distinct entity. (1995, p. 233)

Conclusions

From the analysis carried out it can be concluded that, with the beginning of the transition, there was an increase in academic interest in the Russian compared with the Soviet economy. However, this result can be qualified by highlighting, first, that there was a drop in the use of specialised journals, and second, that the appearance of other new journals in the field of transition economics did not cause an increase in publications on the Russian economy.

In light of these considerations, two stages in the transition period can be distinguished regarding interest in the Russian economy. In the first stage, which affects the 1990s, there was an unquestionable increase in interest in the Russian economy. In the second stage, when shock therapy and its effects had finally concluded and the economic stabilisation of the Putin period had begun, interest in the study of the Russian economy diminished slightly, and since then has leveled out.

When we look closely at the origin of the articles published, it can be stated that the number of countries where there was the greatest interest in Russia is very small, and this remained true during the entire period analysed. Among those countries the USA and the UK stand out, countries which will be structurally crucial in the future of this type of study. It should be noted that an increase in research published in important journals coming out of Russia is predicable as the economic situation of the country is normalised and its scientific activity is projected abroad. Therefore, Russia makes up one of the main invigorating motors for the future for this type of study.

When the (leading) authors who have generated the published articles are considered, they have steadily increased and a generational renewal was brought about in the 1990s, which seems to have led to a stabilisation in the scientific community specialising in post-Soviet studies at the end of the period under study. The consolidation of this new generation of researchers has taken place in centres different from the ones where the leaders were in the Soviet period, an issue that demonstrates a diversification in the sources (institutions) that are generating the research. Therefore, it can be concluded that there has been an expansion compared with the time during which the Soviet Union existed, and a consolidation of the scientific community specialising in this kind of study. Such conditions sustain the idea that there was stabilisation in interest in the Russian economy with the beginning of the Putin reforms.

From analysing the contents of the published works it can be concluded that during the transition macroeconomic studies were progressively abandoned in favour of studies which analysed specific parts of the economy (whether in business or regional terms). Additionally, studies on the nature of the economy in transition have practically disappeared. That is to say, a consensus is apparently being reached among this scientific community that, in effect, a market economy has been created in Russia. In these conditions, comparative studies are faced with an important dilemma. On one hand, if a market economy has been created, then the problem arises that there is nothing to make comparisons with, and so traditional comparative studies lose meaning. On the other hand, case-specific analyses necessitate a change in focus on the part of comparative economics to achieve relevant results. In either case new challenges for comparative economics have arisen, and its expectations for the future depend on their resolution.

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Notes

1. An interesting view of the characteristics and changes of the scientific community most closely linked to Soviet studies is to be found in Millar's work (1980, 1995). It should be pointed out that these pieces of work analyse the Soviet period and the first few years of the transition, as well as concentrating on the studies carried out in the USA. Likewise, as reference, the methodology uses doctoral theses, as well as surveys carried out on members of the scientific community of Soviet specialists. Therefore, although the aims and methodology are different, it can be considered that the present work falls, to a certain extent, within the line of research opened by Millar.
2. It must be pointed out in *Econlit's* favour that it does completely cover *Economics of Planning* for the entire period under study here and *Economics of Transition* starting in 1993 and *Communist Economies and Economic Transformation* starting in 1992. It has also continuously covered *Problems of Economic Transition* to the present day.
3. It must be pointed out that, given the type of methodology used, there is no need for the people who appear in the list of authors to be economists in the strict sense of the word or to have specialised in economics. This is due to the fact that, although they are included in the economics section of the JCR, the journals taken as reference admit articles sometimes only marginally related to economic matters, and, on other occasions, not economically related at all.
4. These results coincide with what Millar reported in his works (1980, 1995). In the USA, specifically, each institution only hires one specialist in (post-)Soviet studies and, for this reason, each institution depends on that one specialist.

5. The percentages in this section relate to the totality of economic subjects; the weight represented by 'other subjects' is excluded. This is justified, first, because it does not change the structure of the other subjects while at the same time it makes clearer the differences between subjects, and second, because this subject includes articles that have little or no economic content, though it is derived from the methodology of the selection of journals used.
6. It should be pointed out that the interest of this group of researchers was given impetus by the opening of part of the Soviet archives during the transition. This opened up a new source of information which was supported by the appearance of articles.
7. Although, from an orthodox point of view, structural reforms are not included within the subject of macroeconomics, in the cases where the transition has been from a planned economy, privatisation and the liberalisation of prices have a wide-reaching effect on the economy as a whole, and, therefore, can be considered macroeconomic. For this reason, this study has also included part of these transformations within the subject of macroeconomics, as was pointed out in the first section of this article.

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Appendix**Wilcoxon signed-rank test**

The Wilcoxon test is a non-parametric test which takes into account not only the sign of the variables but also their size. This non-parametric test is based on ranks and is commonly used to compare pairs of data. The distribution of the differences is taken to be symmetrical and the aim is to contrast the null hypothesis that this distribution is centred around 0 with an alternative bi-lateral hypothesis. First, the centred pairs are eliminated because the difference between them is 0; then the absolute values of the remaining differences are used to calculate the ranges in increasing order of size. Subsequently, the sums of the positive and negative ranges are calculated and the smaller of these sums constitutes the Wilcoxon statistic. The null hypothesis will be rejected if Z is lower than or equal to the established value of significance.

Table A1. Russian institutions (15 centres).

	(1994–98)–(1989–93)	(1999–03)–(1989–93)	(1999–03)–(1994–98)
Z	– 1.080 ^(a)	– 2.388 ^(a)	– 2.276 ^(a)
Asymptotical significance (bi-lateral)	0.280	0.017	0.023

Note: ^aWith positive ranks.

Table A2. USA institutions (16 centres).

	(1994–98)–(1989–93)	(1999–03)–(1989–93)	(1999–03)–(1994–98)
Z	– 3.523 ^(a)	– 2.306 ^(a)	– 1.087 ^(b)
Asymptotical significance (bi-lateral)	0.000	0.021	0.277

Note: ^aWith negative ranks. ^bWith positives ranks.

Table A3. UK institutions (six centres).

	(1994–98)–(1989–93)	(1999–03)–(1989–93)	(1999–03)–(1994–98)
Z	– 1.436 ^(a)	– 1.687 ^(a)	– 0.153 ^(a)
Asymptotical significance (bi-lateral)	0.151	0.092	0.878

Note: ^aWith negative ranks.