



## Is Swedish research in economic history internationally integrated?

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## Debate article

# Is Swedish Research in Economic History Internationally Integrated?

### ABSTRACT

*This paper presents empirical evidence of the international integration of Swedish economic historians. Contrary to the claims of a recent national evaluation of the discipline, the Swedish shares of international publications and conference presentations are robustly below available cross-country and cross-discipline benchmarks. Also considering levels of research inputs, the relative underperformance of the Swedish field is alarming. Four main explanations to this situation are forwarded: 1) being among the largest economic history communities in the world, Sweden has become self-sufficient and almost independent of the international arena; 2) the dominating research language is Swedish; 3) the dominating publication format is the monograph (in Swedish); and 4) Swedish economic historians are reluctant to use modern economic theories and statistical analysis to complement the traditionally dominant qualitative research methods.*

### Introduction

During 2002–2003 a commission appointed by the Swedish Agency for Higher Education (*Högskoleverket*) conducted a comprehensive evaluation of economic history in Sweden.<sup>1</sup> Its primary objective was to audit the quality of the educational programmes at Swedish universities, but the commission also made several judgments about the quality of the research in the discipline. It described the research in highly positive terms as being of “high international standards” as shown by the “very high activity at international conferences and in international publications since the 1960s”.<sup>2</sup> This favourable characterisation influenced the Agency’s official comments and the University Chancellor’s final statement about the overall status of the discipline.<sup>3</sup>

1 The evaluation commission consisted of the following Nordic scholars: Lars Engwall (chair), Per Boje, Kristine Bruland, Riita Hjerpe, Hans Christian Johansen, Eva Lindgren and Daniel Nyberg.

2 This statement occurs in several places in the report. See *Utvärdering av ämnet ekonomisk historia vid svenska universitet*. Stockholm: Swedish Agency for Higher Education (*Högskoleverket*), 2003, 5f, 34f, 81, downloadable at <http://www.hsv.se/sv/FileServlet/doc/1195/0311R.pdf> (2004-11-27).

3 *Utvärdering av ämnet ekonomisk historia*, 5 and 9.

A closer look at the evidence underlying the commission's claims revealed, however, an almost complete lack of empirical backing of any kind. The commission presents no compilations of international publications or cites any other studies that contain such compilations. While this lack of empirical evidence is remarkable, no conclusions can be drawn about the true output levels. These unfounded claims are, however, cited uncritically by the highest public authority supervising the quality of Swedish university education, and this has accorded them the status of the "working truth" for academics, students and policymakers.

The purpose of this study is to fill this information gap by presenting comprehensive data on the international publication and conference activities of Swedish economic historians from 1970 to the present. To my knowledge, this evidence has never before been systematically compiled or analysed before. Following the explicit focus in the national evaluation, I examine only the output Swedish economic historians active at Swedish economic history departments, leaving out the Swedish researchers active in other disciplines (predominantly in economics), who have published in international economic history journals and books. My analysis starts with a count of article authorship in eighteen of the largest international economic history journals, covering more than 9200 articles, which constitute the bulk of (mostly) peer-reviewed international economic history research. Publication in any of these journals is therefore the single most important evidence of internationally viable research production. To broaden the assessment, I also examine journal publications in other fields such as history, economics, sociology, political sciences as well as the complete list of all international publications (journal articles, books and chapters in books) by the 40 currently active professors and associate professors of economic history at Swedish universities. Conference participation is examined by checking the programmes of 23 major international economic history conferences in recent years.

To put the observed output shares into perspective, I compare them with other countries, especially the Nordic ones and the U.K. and the U.S., and with other Swedish academic disciplines. Most of these comparisons are based on newly assembled information due to the general lack of benchmark data from previous studies.

The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 discusses the methods used, data and some important methodological problems. Sections 3 and 4 present the findings for publications and conference attendance, respectively. In section 5, all results are related to various benchmarks. Section 6 offers some explanations to the observed patterns. Section 7 concludes.

## Method, data and problems

The overall empirical method used in this study is counting the number of appearances of Swedish economic historians in various international journals and books or as presenters at conferences. These numbers are then compared with their equivalents for other Nordic and foreign economic historians or scholars in other academic disciplines. Citations and other impact-related data are left out of the analysis since they are available only for a small number of publications in the field.

To qualify the analyses, I classify the journals and books in groups to distinguish roughly between higher- and lower-ranked publications. The economic his-

tory journals are divided into one "top-4" group and one "others" group based on available rankings and listings (see further below). Books and book chapters are similarly classified in three groups: "ranked international", "other international" and "Swedish" (mostly university-associated publishers). I define the first group generously by including publications at the Cambridge, Oxford and MIT University Presses, Edward Elgar (not reprints in the "Reference Collection" series), Routledge, Sage, Kluwer, Macmillan and Springer.<sup>4</sup> Given the broad subject nature of economic history research, I also broaden the journal coverage by including several journals from other academic disciplines in the human, natural and social sciences. I define journal articles as including shorter papers and comments but not debate articles, conference proceedings, book reviews or editorial notes as articles. I also separate between non-invited and invited articles, which are basically two different kinds of publications.<sup>5</sup> Co-authorship is weighted when possible by giving an author  $1/n$  publications for articles with  $n-1$  co-authors.<sup>6</sup> The Appendix lists all journal articles (both invited and non-invited) by Swedish and Nordic economic historians for the period 1970–2004.

Data on international journal publications come to a large extent from the well-known *Science Citation Index*, *Social Sciences Citation Index* (SSCI) and *Arts and Humanities Citation Index*. These databases contain primarily English-language journals and cover the period since 1986. Unfortunately they do not cover most economic history journals, thus the bulk of my data (including books and book chapters by Swedish faculty members) is collected manually from other disparate sources.<sup>7</sup>

Some problems with the analysis need special attention. First, it is well known that most journal article databases are dominated by English-language publications largely ignoring the sizeable literature in other languages (e.g., French or German).<sup>8</sup> Although this study indeed predominantly examines publications in English, the journal sample actually contains several journals that either belong to a clearly non-English sphere or are simply not written in English.<sup>9</sup> Besides, nothing in my coverage of all non-Swedish publications of Swedish senior academics (section 3.4 below) indicates a structural propensity to publish relatively

4 These were the publication houses that appeared in the Swedish data, but naturally there are other university presses and private publishers belonging to the high-ranked group, but Swedes never published there.

5 Invited articles in special issues can at times be preceded by more restrictive and critical selection procedure than non-invited articles in normal issues, but the opposite is arguably the more typical case.

6 See, e.g., Lindqvist, Tobias, *Nationalekonomisk forskning i Sverige – publiceringar och ranking av forskare*, *Ekonomisk Debatt*, vol. XXXI, 2003:3, 21–32.

7 Sources were Econlit (EBSCOhost), LIBRIS (the Swedish library catalogue), home pages of journals, departments and scholars as well as the Internet sites of Stuart Jenks and Dieter Rübsamen (eds) *Magazine stacks* at [http://www.phil.uni-erlangen.de/~p1ges/zfhm/zfhm\\_na.html](http://www.phil.uni-erlangen.de/~p1ges/zfhm/zfhm_na.html) and Istituto internazionale di storia economica "Francesco Datini" at <http://www.istitutodatinini.it/biblio/riviste/htm/elenco.htm> (both as of 2005-03-04).

8 See, e.g., Sandelin, Bo and Nikias Sarafoglou, *Language and scientific publication statistics*, *Language Problems & Language Planning*, vol. XXVII, 2004:1, 1–10.

9 As for economic history journals, both the *Journal of European Economic History* and the *History of Economic Ideas* are published in Italy and are clearly dominated by Italian authors. The history journal sample (from SSCI) contains the French *Mouvement Social* and the German *Zeitgeschichte*.

more in non-English foreign languages. Finally, recent bibliometric research shows that scholars from small countries with English as a second language (i.e., Nordic scholars) are relatively well represented in the English-speaking literature, both in science and many social sciences.<sup>10</sup>

A second problem concerns the dominant focus on journal articles, especially in databases such as SSCI, while books and chapters in books receive much less attention. According to recent estimates by Diana Hicks, books may comprise about 50% of the relevant literature in social and human sciences. This suggests severe sample selection biases when evaluating total output based on only article sources.<sup>11</sup> In my study, I try to circumvent parts of this problem by examining the all publications of the higher faculties in Sweden. Moreover, if publication patterns within disciplines are the same across countries, my output shares for economic history are not affected by this problem at all. Hicks and others also note that the increasing globalisation of social science research steadily increases the share of articles over books, which means that the articles databases become more and more representative.<sup>12</sup>

Thirdly, merely presenting output numbers and shares without linking them to impact-related information or measures of inputs (number of faculties, size of research budgets, etc) makes interpretation difficult. Due to a lack of data for all journals outside the Thomson ISI universe, this problem cannot be solved without building a massive database. I do incorporate some reference points in terms of publications by foreign economic historians and other Swedish scholars and section 5 also presents some tentative input estimates of both Swedish economic history and economics. One must though bear in mind that this study is a first attempt to explore and analyse Swedish and international research production in economic history.

The fourth problem is to evaluate adequately past research carried out under different historical contexts and institutional prerequisites. In the Swedish case, much of the research in economic history was conducted within large-scale projects run by a few leading professors. These projects aimed primarily to explore central themes and institutions in Sweden's industrialisation, such as the iron industry (in the so-called "Fagersta project") or the standard of living (in the "the Welfare project").<sup>13</sup> Counting the number of international journal articles produced by these projects could be a problematic evaluation method if these projects never aimed to publish abroad. On the other hand, the founding father of Swedish economic history, Eli F. Heckscher, already published actively in international economics and economic history journals in the 1930s and 1940s. Judging from his

10 See Sandelin and Sarafoglou, Language and scientific publication, and Ingwersen, Peter, The international viability and citation impact of Scandinavian research articles in selected Social Science fields: The decay of a myth, *Scientometrics*, vol. XLIX, 2000:1, 39–61.

11 Hicks, Diana, The difficulty of achieving full coverage of international social science literature and the bibliometric consequences, *Scientometrics*, vol. XL, 1999:2, 193–215.

12 This is emphasized by Ingwersen, The international viability, and Kyvik, Svein, Changing trends in publishing behavior among university faculty, 1980–2000, *Scientometrics*, vol. LVIII, 2003:1, 35–48.

13 These and other projects are described in, e.g., Hildebrand, Karl-Gustaf, Swedish economic history before the 1980s, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. XXXVIII, 1990:2, 31–40, and Olsson, Ulf, Fluctuat nec mergitur: Economic history in Sweden at the turn of the century 2000, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. L, 2002:3, 68–82.

undisputed reputation among past and present economic historians, that was hardly a neglected or disrespected publication alternative.

## International publications by Swedish economic historians

### *Articles in the "top-4" economic history journals*

Among the most important arenas for international economic history publications are the large international journals with a general subject focus. Based on the available citation-based journal rankings I have selected the following four journals with such focus for a group called "top-4": the *Journal of Economic History* (JEH), run by the Economic History Association in the U.S.; *Explorations in Economic History* (EEH), published by Elsevier; the *Economic History Review* (EHR) run by the Economic History Society in the U.K. and the *European Review of Economic History* (EREH), run by the European Historical Economics Society.<sup>14</sup> The first three have long publishing traditions and always appear in the top group of economic history journals. Several people have advocated EREH as a strong contestant in recent years. Since it is also publishing all sub-fields I include it in this top group as well. Note that the selection relies on an economics-based ranking and using a more history-related ranking (if one exists) could well include other journals (but also most of the ones in the "top-4").<sup>15</sup>

The results for Sweden and the other Nordic countries are shown in Figures 1 and 2 and Tables 1 and 2. At a first glimpse, the absence of publications in the 1970s and 1980s for all Nordic countries and also the 1990s for Sweden is remarkable. Over the entire period since 1970, Swedes wrote 8.33 of the more than 3800 non-invited articles in the "top-4" journals, representing 0.22%. Including invited articles does not change this result (the share is 0.24%). The other Nordic countries, primarily Denmark and Norway, wrote 19 (0.5%) non-invited articles. The situation improved in the late 1990s, particularly thanks to the launching of the EREH. Swedish output shares in 1998–2004 increased to 1.07% (1.23%) whereas other Nordic scholars wrote 1.9% (not disclosed in the table).

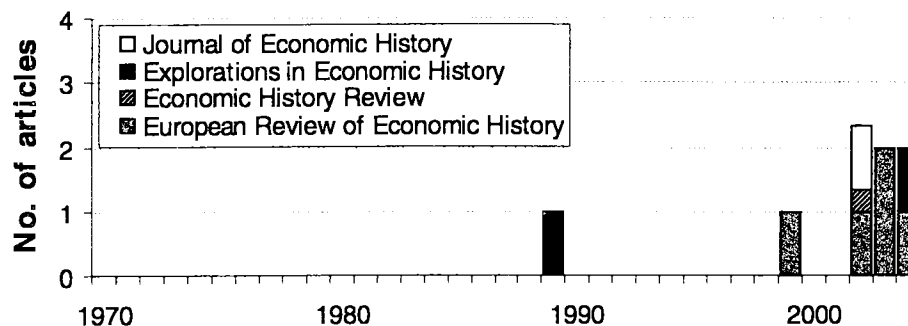
Table 2 presents an explicit comparison for many Western countries for 1986–2004, both counting the "top-4" shares and when the *Business History Review* and *Business History* (also in SSCI) are also included. For the "top-4" only, the Swedish share is 0.6% whereas Denmark (0.5%), Norway (0.3%) and Finland (0.1%) have smaller shares. Anglo-Saxon countries, particularly the U.S. the U.K., vastly outperform all others while continental Europe lags behind. Adding the business history journals flattens the distribution somewhat, but not significantly. Overall, these figures confirm the bibliometric findings of Sandelin and Sarafoglou in their analysis of article authorship and nationality.<sup>16</sup>

14 Kalaitzidakis, Pantelis, Theofanis P. Mamuneas and Thanasis Stengos, Rankings of academic journals and institutions in economics, *Journal of the European Economic Association* vol. 1, 2003:6, 1346–1366.

15 See, e.g., Clausen, Aage R., Social Science History: Citation Record, 1976–1985, *Social Science History*, vol. XII, 1988:2, 197–215, showing that the SSCI-based journal rankings of "History of Social Sciences" and "History" contain quite different journals.

16 Sandelin and Sarafoglou, Language and scientific publication.

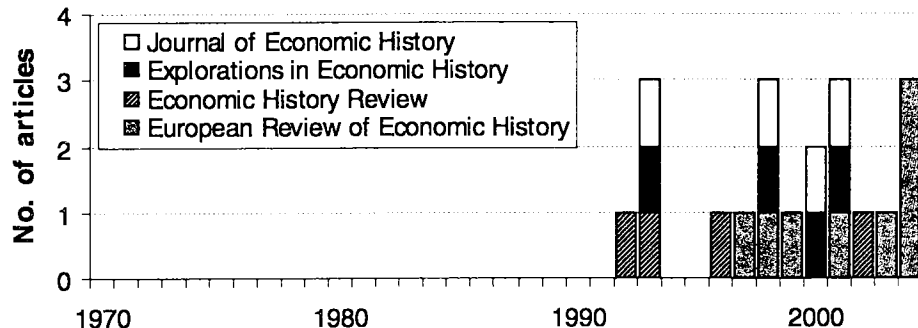
**Figure 1** Articles in top-4 journals by Swedish economic historians, 1970–2004



Source: Author's calculations.

Note: Only non-invited articles are included.

**Figure 2** Articles in top-4 journals by other Nordic economic historians, 1970–2004



Source: Author's calculations.

Note: The "other Nordic" countries are Denmark, Finland, Norway and Iceland. Only non-invited articles are included

### Swedish articles in other economic history journals

The Swedish output in other international economic history journals besides the "top-4" group modifies the picture somewhat. The journals are selected to cover most sub-fields, e.g., history of economic ideas, financial history, business history, labour history or transport history, and it is my impression that they represent some of the best-known journals in economic history. Adding journals would perhaps improve the representativeness but would not affect the analysis of the Swedish output shares, if so probably only downward. Included in this group are also the two Scandinavian journals, *Scandinavian Economic History Review* (SEHR) and *Economy and History* (EH, ceased in 1980), which both publish articles from all sub-fields. They were at times explicitly aiming to publish predominantly Nordic research.

Table 1 lists the Swedish output in the eighteen economic history journals in the full sample (including the "top-4") divided into two periods, 1970–2004 and 1998–2004, and between excluding and including special issues. Over the longer period, Swedes wrote 0.28% of all non-invited articles and 0.54% of all articles,

**Table 1** Articles by Swedes in international economic history journals, 1970–2004

Journal name	Longer period	Excl. special issues		Incl. special issues		Recent period	Excl. special issues		Incl. special issues					
		Total	Swedish %	Total	Swedish %		Total	Swedish %	Total	Swedish %				
<i>Journal of Economic History</i> <i>Explorations in Economic History</i> <i>Economic History Review</i> <i>European Review of Economic History</i>	1970–2004	1869	1	0.1	1873	1	0.1	1998–2004	334	1	0.3	338	1	0.3
	1970–2004	730	2	0.3	730	2	0.3	1998–2004	124	1	0.8	124	1	0.8
	1970–2004	1155	0.33	0.0	1155	0.33	0.0	1998–2004	125	0.33	0.3	125	0.33	0.3
	1997–2004	113	5	4.4	102	6	5.9	1998–2004	101	5	5.0	90	6	6.7
Sum "top-4"		3867	8.33	0.22	3860	9.33	0.24		684	7.33	1.07	677	8.33	1.23
<i>Accounting, Business &amp; Financial History</i> <i>Business History</i> <i>Business History Review</i> <i>Economy and History (EH)</i> <i>Enterprise &amp; Society</i> <i>European Journal of the History of Economic Thought</i> <i>Financial History Review</i> <i>History of Economic Ideas</i> <i>History of Political Economy</i> <i>Journal of European Economic History</i> <i>Journal of the History of Economic Thought</i> <i>Journal of Transport History</i> <i>Labour History Review</i> <i>Scandinavian Economic History Review (SEHR)</i>	1990–2004	142	0	0.0	218	0	0.0	1998–2004	69	0	0.0	103	0	0.0
	1970–2004	478	0	0.0	666	13	2.0	1998–2004	131	0	0.0	166	0	0.0
	1970–2004	536	0	0.0	604	0	0.0	1998–2004	91	0	0.0	102	0	0.0
	1970–1980	70	29	41.4	70	29	41.4							
	2000–2004	73	0	0.0	73	0	0.0	1998–2004	73	0	0.0	73	0	0.0
	1994–2004	213	2	0.9	244	2	0.8	1998–2004	136	1	0.7	136	1	0.7
	1993–2004	96	0.33	0.3	96	0.33	0.3	1998–2004	56	0	0.0	56	0	0.0
	1993–2004	162	0	0.0	246	0	0.0	1998–2004	98	0	0.0	131	0	0.0
	1970–2004	852	3	0.4	1041	3	0.3	1998–2004	103	2	1.9	217	2	0.9
	1972–2004	873	3.5	0.4	881	3.5	0.4	1998–2004	112	0.5	0.4	120	0.5	0.4
1998–2004	181	2	1.1	181	2	1.1	1998–2004	181	2	1.1	181	2	1.1	
1971–2004	265	0	0.0	306	0	0.0	1998–2004	50	0	0.0	57	0	0.0	
1998–2004	101	0	0.0	101	0	0.0	1998–2004	101	0	0.0	101	0	0.0	
1970–2004	596	70	11.7	675	70	10.4	1998–2004	142	17	12.0	173	17	9.8	
Sum other 14		4638	109.83	2.37	5402	122.83	2.27		1343	22.5	1.68	1616	22.5	1.39
Sum other 12 (excluding SEHR and EH)		3830	10.83	0.28	4439	23.83	0.54		1132	5.5	0.49	1340	5.5	0.41
Total sum		8505	118.16	1.39	9262	132.16	1.43		2027	29.83	1.47	2293	30.83	1.34
Total sum (excluding SEHR and EH)		7697	19.16	0.25	8299	33.16	0.40		1816	12.83	0.71	2017	13.83	0.69

Notes and sources: Swe = authors active at Swedish economic history departments. In some cases, the total number of articles was approximated and could marginally deviate from the true number. Also note that some journals have a censored time period due to lacking data availability. For sources see the text. The information in the table was last updated on March 2, 2005.



**Table 2** Numbers and shares of articles in the "top-4" economic history journals across countries, 1986–2004

Country	<i>JEH</i>	%	<i>EEH</i>	%	<i>EHR</i>	%	<i>EREH</i>	%	<i>BH</i>	%	<i>BHR</i>	%	All	%
USA	506	76.1	219	59.5	62	13.8	22	23.9	161	70.3	37	9.6	1007	46.0
UK	58	8.7	56	15.2	293	65.3	14	15.2	27	11.8	238	62.0	686	31.4
Canada	50	7.5	53	14.4	20	4.5	5	5.4	10	4.4	10	2.6	148	6.8
Australia	11	1.7	16	4.3	28	6.2	2	2.2	5	2.2	23	6.0	85	3.9
Germany	2	0.3	5	1.4	6	1.3	10	10.9	2	0.9	12	3.1	37	1.7
Spain	9	1.4	3	0.8	12	2.7	4	4.3	1	0.4	6	1.6	35	1.6
Ireland	8	1.2	7	1.9	8	1.8	5	5.4	0	0.0	4	1.0	32	1.5
Netherlands	7	1.1	3	0.8	5	1.1	3	3.3	2	0.9	9	2.3	29	1.3
France	8	1.2	8	2.2	6	1.3	2	2.2	2	0.9	1	0.3	27	1.2
Japan	4	0.6	1	0.3	4	0.9	0	0.0	2	0.9	13	3.4	24	1.1
Italy	5	0.8	7	1.9	4	0.9	4	4.3	1	0.4	2	0.5	23	1.1
Japan	4	0.6	1	0.3	4	0.9	0	0.0	2	0.9	13	3.4	24	1.1
Sweden	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	6	6.5	0	0.0	11	2.9	20	0.9
Denmark	1	0.2	1	0.3	4	0.9	2	2.2	1	0.4	2	0.5	11	0.5
Norway	1	0.2	1	0.3	0	0.0	2	2.2	0	0.0	4	1.0	8	0.4
Switzerland	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.2	1	1.1	1	0.4	2	0.5	7	0.3
Portugal	0	0.0	1	0.3	3	0.7	2	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	0.3
Belgium	1	0.2	1	0.3	2	0.4	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	0.2
Finland	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.2	0	0.0	1	0.3	3	0.1
Iceland	0	0.0	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0
India	1	0.2	0	0.0	3	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0
All articles	665		368		449		92		229		384		2187	

*Notes and sources:* Except for the bottom row ("All articles"), the numbers in this table are not corrected for co-authorship. Sources are Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) for *JEH*, *EEH* and *EHR* and own calculations for *EREH* (everything as of 2005-03-02).

disregarding the *SEHR* and *EH*. In the recent period, these shares were 0.48% and 0.41%, respectively, which indicates both an increased activity over time but also that many publications before 1998 appeared in special issues. Comparing the output shares in different sub-fields, the history of economic ideas field seems to be the most active one whereas business history produced above average only over the long period and when including special issues (and not at all when the all-Swedish *Business History* issue in 1993 is excluded). These results, however, are driven by a change in only a handful of articles, and the numbers are too small numbers to allow the drawing of firm conclusions. The two Scandinavian journals represent, as expected, vast outliers both in terms of number and share of Swedish articles. There is no tendency of increasing shares. A somewhat surprising fact, however, is that Swedes only wrote a sixth of all *SEHR* articles since 1970 although roughly 95% of all *SEHR*'s articles during this period were written by Nordic scholars.

#### *Swedish articles in the journals of other disciplines*

Since economic historians often relate their research to various neighbouring academic disciplines, it is reasonable to search for articles by Swedish economic his-

torians in other field journals. Specifically, I first examine the 28 journals listed in SSCI's two categories "History" and "History of Social Sciences" between 1986 and 2004. Of the total 8543 articles in these journals, 29 (0.34%) were written by Swedish scholars and of these 3 (0.04%) were by economic historians. When I add the coverage of four journals in which I knew beforehand that Swedish economic historians had published, the shares increase to 1.06% and 0.14%, respectively.<sup>17</sup> Finally, searching in *all* other human, natural and social science journals in the entire Thomson ISI databases, I found 20 articles by Swedish economic historians, primarily in economics and medicine journals. These searches clearly show no signs of considerable publication activity of Swedish economic historians in journals outside their core field, which I interpret as corroborating the overall findings of the study.

#### *International publications by current Swedish professors*

Based on the well-known critique of the journal article-bias prevalent in the SSCI and other similar sources, this section analyzes all international publications (articles as well as books and book chapters) of the 40 current professors and associate professors (*docenter*) of economic history at Swedish universities.<sup>18</sup> The group is selected for practical reasons but is naturally biasing the results to pick the arguably most productive subset of scholars. Table 3 presents the results in aggregate form.

On average, Swedish higher academics have published 2.35 non-invited, refereed articles throughout their career ( $0.90+1.17+0.28$ ), which, when dividing by the number of years as a graduated scholar (second last row) gives 0.14 articles per year, i.e., one article every 7 years (*including* articles in the *SEHR* and *EH*). Adding invited articles in "special issues" does not change this picture (with numbers 2.85 and 0.17, respectively) and counting medians gives even lower numbers. Including non-edited books and chapters in books (including editorial introductions) increases the average annual output per year as Ph.D. to 0.36 (with median 0.24), corresponding to one international publication every three (four) years.

The distribution of publications across the faculty is significantly skewed towards the top end, meaning that there is a small group of scholars with relatively many publications whereas several have not a single one in some categories.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the parentheses in the right column of Table 3 show that ten scholars (nine when including special issue-articles) have never published an international journal article whereas four of these have never published internationally at all in their entire career!

<sup>17</sup> All journals are listed on the Thomson ISI homepage. The four added journals are *Continuity and Change*, *Journal of Family History*, *Scandinavian Journal of History* and *Technology and Culture*.

<sup>18</sup> The sample is based on lists at departmental web pages at the universities of Gothenburg, Linköping, Lund, Stockholm, Umeå, Uppsala and SLU (in Ultuna) and the Stockholm School of Economics.

<sup>19</sup> The skewness of the average publications across scholars is 1.848, corresponding to 4.4 "standard errors of skewness". This confirms that a few large observations at the top end greatly dominate the average.

**Table 3** Internationally published books, book chapters and journal articles by Swedish professors and associate professors of economic history

	<i>Sum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Max (N)</i>	<i>Min (N)</i>
1. <i>Books (not edited)</i>					
a) Ranked international	1.66	0.04	0	1 (1)	0 (37)
b) Other international	5	0.13	0	2 (1)	0 (36)
c) Swedish	4	0.10	0	1 (4)	0 (36)
2. <i>Chapters in books</i>					
a) Ranked international	55.83	1.40	0.25	13.5 (1)	0 (20)
b) Other international	48.16	1.20	1	5 (1)	0 (15)
c) Swedish	11.83	0.30	0	2.33 (1)	0 (32)
<i>Articles:</i>					
3. Any international journal (non-econ. history)	36.16	0.90	0.17	5.5 (1)	0 (20)
4. Scandinavian journals ( <i>SEHR</i> and <i>EH</i> )	46.33	1.17	1	5 (1)	0 (18)
5. International economic history journals	11.33	0.28	0	3 (1)	0 (32)
<b>Sum of 1,2,3,4 and 5</b>	<b>223.3</b>	<b>5.52</b>	<b>4.25</b>	<b>22.83</b>	<b>0 (4)</b>
<b>No. of articles (3+4+5) per year as Ph.D.</b>		<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.88</b>	<b>0 (10)</b>
<b>No. of publications (1+2+3+4+5) per year as Ph.D.</b>		<b>0.34</b>	<b>0.21</b>	<b>1.96</b>	<b>0 (4)</b>

*Note and sources:* The total number of professors (23) and associate professors (17) is 40. *Max(N)* and *Min(N)* denotes the number of scholars with the highest and lowest number of publications in each category. The bottom row is calculated by adding together each individual's own statistic. All figures are corrected for co-authorship and forthcoming publications are included when reported. See text for classification details. All information comes from personal homepages, Econlit, SSCI and LIBRIS as of 2005-03-02 and is available from the author upon request.

## Swedish activity at international economic history conferences

Participating in the international research community also concerns attending and organising conferences. Based on the evaluation commission's claim that Swedish economic historians have long been highly active at international conferences, this section examines conference programmes from 23 major international conferences in recent years, counting the number of papers presented by Swedish, (non-Swedish) Nordic and (non-Nordic) European scholars. The sample was selected to span both general meetings and most sub-fields, both in the Americas and Europe. Local Swedish or Nordic meetings were left out since their focus is purely local and they attract exclusively domestic scholars presenting in local languages.<sup>20</sup>

According to the results in Table 4, Swedes wrote 31 (1.7%) of the 1811 papers presented but only in 7 of the 23 conferences examined. Scholars from the other Nordic countries presented 2.8% of all papers and other Europeans presented 50%. This last number also shows that the sample seems fairly balanced between the two continents in terms of participating nationalities. Not disclosed in the table, but still notable, is that almost all Swedish papers were written by senior academ-

<sup>20</sup> Naturally, these local meetings may still fulfil many important duties within the local context. According to Ulf Olsson they attract many scholars (Olsson, *Fluctuat nec mergitur*, 81).

**Table 4** Nationality of presenters at international economic history conferences

	Swedish		Other Nordic		Other European		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
XIII Economic History Congress, Argentina, 2002	11	2	12	3	284	63	450
EHA Annual Meeting, San José, CA, USA, 2004	0	0	0	0	9	23	40
EHA Annual Meeting, Nashville, TN, USA, 2003	0	0	0	0	12	31	39
EHA Annual Meeting, St Louis, MS, USA, 2002	0	0	0	0	4	11	36
EHA Annual Meeting, St Louis, MS, USA, 2002	0	0	0	0	6	14	42
EHS Annual Conference, London, UK, 2004							
"– New researchers"	0	0	0	0	34	87	39
"– Academic"	0	0	1	1	58	82	71
EHS Annual Conference, Durham, UK, 2003							
"– New researchers"	0	0	0	0	22	96	23
"– Academic"	0	0	1	2	37	70	53
EBHS, Anaheim, CA, USA, 2004	0	0	1	2	9	16	56
EBHS, Memphis, TN, USA, 2003	0	0	1	2	6	10	58
EBHS, Chicago, IL, USA, 2002	0	0	0	0	6	14	43
EBHS, Albany, NY, USA, 2001	0	0	1	2	2	4	46
EBHS, San Diego, CA, USA, 2000	0	0	0	0	1	2	48
EBHS, San Antonio, TX, USA, 1999	0	0	0	0	4	8	53
50th BHC Annual Meeting, Le Creusot, France, 2004	2	2	2	2	57	43	133
8th EBHA Annual Congress, Barcelona, Spain, 2004	3	3	2	2	102	93	110
51st BHC & 7th EBHA Annual Congress, Lowell, MA, USA, 2003	2	2	9	8	60	51	118
6th EBHA Annual Congress, Helsinki, Finland, 2002	7	7	14	14	70	70	100
Fifth EHES Conference, Madrid, Spain, 2003	2	6	0	0	28	82	34
Fourth EHES Conference, Oxford, UK, 2001	2	5	3	7	30	70	43
Third EHES Conference, Lisbon, Portugal, 1999	2	7	3	10	23	77	30
5th World Congress of Cliometrics, Venice, Italy, 2004	0	0	0	0	19	33	57
4th World Congress of Cliometrics, Montreal, Canada, 2000	0	0	0	0	14	32	44
3rd World Congress of Cliometrics, Munich, Germany, 1997	0	0	1	2	17	38	45
Sum:	31	1.7	51	2.8	914	50	1811

*Notes and sources:* EHA = Economic History Association, EHS = Economic History Society, EBHS = Economic & Business Historical Society, BHC = Business History Conference, EBHA = European Business History Association, EHES = European Historical Economics Society. Counting papers at the 2002 Buenos Aires congress was not easy, as several of the 89 sessions did not disclose any papers while others listed dozens. All information was found at web pages of the individual conferences or societies.

ics, suggesting even lower participation rates for Swedish graduate students, which is worrying in the long run.

## Relating the output shares with others and with input levels

To be able to interpret the descriptive statistics presented thus far as being "high" or "low", one must relate them to some kind of benchmarks or input measures

for other countries and/or disciplines. This section does this in two steps: first by comparing them with world output shares of other Swedish disciplines and then by relating them to input levels and comparing with both U.K. and U.S. economic history and with Swedish economics. At the first step, recent figures from the Swedish Research Council (*Vetenskapsrådet*) show that Swedish scientific publications as a share of the total European output in the 1980s and 1990s was for social sciences about 3.5%–4%, medicine 7%–8% and technology 4%–5%.<sup>21</sup> Economic history was not presented separately, but using the data underlying Tables 1 and 2 shows an increase from 0% in the 1980s to about 1%–2% in the late 1990s. Another source is Thomson ISI's *National Science Indicators*, which recently presented data on Swedish shares of the world journal articles during 1999–2003.<sup>22</sup> Sweden's overall share was 2.03% and among the few disciplines presented separately, immunology had the lead with 3.60%, economics and business had 1.86%, and social sciences had 1.79%. Again economic history was not presented separately, but if one only takes the economic history journals in the SSCI databases also examined here in Table 1 (i.e., *BH*, *BHR*, *EEH*, *EHR* and *JEH*), the Swedish share is 0.46% (2 of 432). When considering all economic history journals in Table 1, for the slightly longer period 1998–2004, the shares are 1.47% (1.34%) or 0.71% (0.69%) depending on whether the *SEHR* and only non-invited (all) articles are counted. Note that none of these studies included human sciences but if that were done their output shares would surely have been even lower than those of economic history. Altogether, when comparing output shares with other countries and scientific disciplines, Swedish economic history is a little or much below the rest of the social science community (but maybe not below many of the human sciences), regardless of period and sample size.

Turning to research inputs, perhaps the most relevant way to assess relative research performance, I use two of the most relevant measures of inputs: numbers of practicing scholars (with a Ph.D.) and sizes of research funds (in annual budgets) and compare the first of them with U.K. and the U.S. economic history and both with Swedish economics. Swedish economic history has today 126 researchers with a Ph.D. at economic history departments.<sup>23</sup> The three largest are Uppsala, Lund and Stockholm with about 30 scholars each. At the most recent Swedish national economic history meeting in 2003, 73 papers were presented and about 120 participants were registered.<sup>24</sup> As for the U.K., I have not found aggregate numbers of all economic historians active at the universities, but looking at the three largest economic history departments, LSE tops with 18 researchers with a Ph.D., followed by Glasgow with 16 and Edinburgh with 14. The EHS conference in 2003 had 76 papers (including student papers) and about registered 200 participants. For the U.S., I counted everyone listing "economic history" as a research interest at the 50 highest-ranked economics departments (according to the

21 The Swedish share of social science publications by Western European countries was around 4% during this period, and with the U.S. this should be approximately half that level (*Vetenskapsrådet, En stark grundforskning för Sverige. Vetenskapsrådets forskningsstrategi 2005–2008*. Stockholm, 2004, 14f).

22 Downloadable at [http://in-cites.com/research/2004/september\\_6\\_2004-2.html](http://in-cites.com/research/2004/september_6_2004-2.html) (2004-12-01).

23 This listing also includes Linköping University and the Stockholm School of Economics.

24 I thank Joakim Appelquist at Lund University for supplying me with these numbers.

list in Kalaitzidakis *et al.*) and found 86 scholars in all. Similarly, the 2003 EHA meeting had 40 papers (plus 16 poster sessions) and about 220 participants.<sup>25</sup> Hence, Swedish economic history is almost as large as in the U.K. and U.S. in terms of department size (the three largest economic history departments in the world are probably Swedish!) and number of practicing scholars (in seven Swedish departments there are almost 1.5 times more economic historians than in 50 high-ranked U.S. economics departments!). Naturally, some of these numbers are not perfectly comparable (e.g., the meetings vary in frequency). Still, it is my conjecture that if one would take any other European country, in particular another Nordic one, Sweden's relative size would appear even more prominently.

In a comparison with Swedish economics departments, the picture is roughly the same. There are 254 graduated economists at the large universities, which is about twice as many as equivalent economic historians. Similarly, looking at the research financing received in three large universities in 2003, economic history received about half as much total funding as did economics.<sup>26</sup> Publicly available publication statistics of international journal articles and non-Swedish working papers from the same departments show that the economics departments produced more than 20 times the output of economic history departments, despite enjoying only 2 times the relevant inputs (funding and number of scholars).

## Explaining the observed patterns

So far the paper has dealt with compiling, presenting and comparing empirical data and the main message is that the past international research output of Swedish economic historians is low, both internationally and domestically. The next step is to understand why this arguably undesirable situation has emerged. In the following, I present four explanations that all describe how the incentives of Swedish economic historians are tilted towards writing thick books, free from explicit economic modelling or econometrics, for a local, history-dominated readership. Most of these explanations are coupled with supportive empirical evidence.

a) *Abundant research resources.* As already argued at length, Swedish economic history is a well-supplied discipline in terms of both absolute and relative financial resources for research.<sup>27</sup> Ulf Olsson argues that two important explanations for this relative abundance are a long-standing political support from social democratic government authorities in sympathy with this "progressive" academic discipline, and also that many economic historians, while trying to survive outside the established core subjects, have developed "considerable expertise in applying for external funds to finance research projects and secure the own livelihood".<sup>28</sup> In terms of research output, the Swedish relative wealth has allowed the discipline to become nationally self-sufficient and almost independent of the interna-

25 These numbers were collected from the conference organisers directly.

26 I only found complete statistics for the universities of Stockholm, Umeå and Uppsala. The comparisons concern unweighted averages of the ratio economic history/economics (0.45 for internal (i.e., university) funding, 1.80 for external (foundation) funding and 0.60 for total funding).

27 The extremely successful track record in attracting funding is discussed by the evaluation commission (*Utvärdering av ämnet ekonomisk historia*, 47–48).

28 Olsson, *Fluctuat nec mergitur*, 69, 72.

**Table 5** English-language dissertations in economic history and economics at Swedish universities, 1970–2004 (numbers and shares of total)

	1970–79	1980–94	1995–2004	Ongoing 2003
<b>Economic History</b>				
Gothenburg	1 of 12 (8%)	3 of 15 (20%)	1 of 18 (6%)	3 of 11 (27%)
Lund	7 of 17 (41%)	10 of 20 (50%)	20 of 31 (65%)	10 of 32 (31%)
Stockholm	1 of 4 (25%)	1 of 12 (8%)	3 of 19 (16%)	8 of 27 (30%)
Umeå	0 of 2 (0%)	0 of 13 (0%)	3 of 11 (27%)	4 of 14 (29%)
Uppsala	1 of 13 (8%)	1 of 13 (8%)	8 of 35 (23%)	3 of 33 (9%)
<i>All economic history</i>	<i>10 of 48 (21%)</i>	<i>15 of 73 (21%)</i>	<i>33 of 114 (31%)</i>	<i>28 of 117 (24%)</i>
<b>Economics</b>				
Gothenburg	2 of 2 (100%)	40 of 50 (80%)	81 of 82 (99%)	
Lund	7 of 13 (54%)	31 of 38 (82%)	64 of 64 (100%)	
Stockholm	12 of 19 (63%)	41 of 44 (93%)	64 of 64 (100%)	
Umeå	0 of 4 (0%)	19 of 28 (68%)	23 of 23 (100%)	
Uppsala	3 of 6 (50%)	45 of 38 (92%)	61 of 61 (100%)	
<i>All economics</i>	<i>24 of 44 (55%)</i>	<i>176 of 198 (89%)</i>	<i>286 of 287 (100%)</i>	

Sources: Departmental web pages and LIBRIS (for economic history in Stockholm), as of March 2, 2005. For ongoing projects, see Evaluation commission (2003, pp. 113ff).

tional arena, which has reduced the incentives to publish in the international journals. Secondly, alongside successes in fundraising comes a diminished competitive pressure within the rich field, which also could lead to lower research output.

*b) Writing in a local language (Swedish).* Although Swedish history may be most easily written in Swedish, anyone interested in reaching out beyond the tiny group of local scholars is forced to write in a foreign language. Specifically, English has for decades been the undisputed international science language and since Sweden is a "language taker" on the international research market, English is arguably the foreign language to use. Writing in English would then imply no extra costs of translation and re-writing when submitting research papers to international conferences and journals. Despite these advantages, however, Swedish economic historians write predominantly in Swedish as evidenced by the dissertations published since 1970, listed in Table 5. The shares of English-written theses have been about a fourth for the whole period and the listings of ongoing dissertation projects indicate no changes on this issue. In comparison, the neighbouring economics field has gone from equal shares of Swedish- and English-language theses in the 1970s to being solely written in English today.<sup>29</sup> These different degrees of internationalisation and the lack of convergence suggest that economic historians both seem uninterested in and provide few incentives for international publications. This persistent lingual provincialism also risks influencing the choice of research topics, analytical tools or even background literature, which in turn

29 This development is well known (Ranki, Sinimaaria and Bo Sandelin, Internationalization or Americanization of Swedish economics, *European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, vol. IV, 1997:2, 248–257.

creates a narrow domestic focus and an overall depreciated explanatory power.<sup>30</sup> In a recent study of dissertations in Swedish business administration, education, sociology and psychology, Lennart Sjöberg finds a similar lingual provincialism as well as little improvement over time in internationalisation for all except the last field.<sup>31</sup> Altogether, the urge to write in the local language could well explain much of the low rates of international publications.

c) *Writing monographs.* Examining all 68 Swedish dissertations in economic history finished in 2000–2004 reveals that 87% were monographs (62% in Swedish and 25% in English) and 13% were article collections (3% in Swedish and 10% in English). Sjöberg found roughly the same numbers for three of his four analysed behavioural sciences.<sup>32</sup> Given the costs of transforming a monograph into separate articles (rewriting, rearranging) the observed numbers indicate another likely reason for the low rates of international publications of Swedish economic history.

d) *Different method and theory approaches.* Swedish economic history was founded by people from the history discipline, which strongly influenced the research approach and methodological focus on qualitative methods, inductive reasoning, source-criticism and so forth.<sup>33</sup> Today the historical emphasis is evident in Swedish graduate programmes in economic history with practically no training in quantitative and economic theoretical skills (apart from some courses at the very basic level).<sup>34</sup> This dominance emerged in the mid-century as the first professors in the field were themselves trained as historians and saw historical "source-criticism" as the most viable empirical approach. In the 1960s and 1970s, most Swedish economic historians accordingly dismissed the historical economics, or New Economic History, that Robert Fogel, Douglass North and others started in the U.S. with an emphasis on economic modelling and econometric testing alongside the traditional qualitative and contextual historical approaches. Apart from its criticism of what it perceived as a "relaxed attitude to source-criticism", the Swedish resistance was perhaps most connected with the strong Marxist currents influencing much of the field. The emancipatory ideologies have, since the Marxist entry in the 1960s, been an integral part of Swedish economic history.<sup>35</sup>

30 The overly domestic focus in Swedish economic history text books is criticised by Andersson-Skog, Lena and Olle Krantz, Swedish economic history writing – national self-sufficiency or recognition of the international context?, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. LI, 2003:1, 75–87.

31 Sjöberg, Lennart, How international is Swedish behavioral science?, mimeo, Center for Risk Research, Stockholm School of Economics, 2004.

32 Sjöberg finds that the shares of monograph theses in Business Administration, Education and Sociology were 97%, 93% and 88%, respectively (Sjöberg, How international is Swedish behavioral science?).

33 This draws on Olsson, *Fluctuat nec mergitur*; Olsson, Ulf, Att skriva historia eller pröva teorier? Ett trettioårigt perspektiv på ekonomisk historia i Sverige, *Kungl. Vitterhets och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok* 1995. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International and Hettne, Björn, *Ekonomisk historia i Sverige: En översikt av vetenskaplig produktion och forskningsinriktning, Forskarutbildningen resultat, 1890–1975*. UHÄ 1980.

34 The courses are listed in *Utvärdering av ämnet ekonomisk historia*, 109ff.

35 Some of these efforts are discussed by Olsson, *Fluctuat nec mergitur*, 70, 75ff.



The contrast with economic history in many other countries is stark, with far fewer obvious ideological preconceptions and different balances between economics and history. For example, in the U.S. and Canada the field has since decades been practically equivalent to economics, albeit with much of the context-based historical approaches retained.<sup>36</sup> The situation in Europe is different with more equal balance between economics and history, although the Europeans publishing most actively in the "top-4" journals in recent years are clearly more likely to be economists than historians. There are also other active strands in European economic history research, e.g., business history, but these scholars are more active in their own specific journals than in the general "top-4" journals. Regardless of the relative activities, however, it is my personal view that many in the younger generations of European economic historians are today increasingly requiring training in economics and quantitative skills.

There is hence a methodological discrepancy between Swedish and much of international economic history, but can it explain the low degree of Swedish international publications? The answer depends partly on which international journals one looks at. For example, in the social or business history journals the need for explicit economic reasoning and use of quantitative analysis may not be acute. Looking at the *JEH*, *EEH*, *EHR*, *EREH* and some other journals, however, the vast majority of the submitting authors must be able to at least read the historical economics literature, since this is what these journals mostly publish (though not exclusively!). The lack of individual data on journal submissions, acceptance rates and method use makes it unfeasible to fully explore this issue, but of the 8.33 Swedish papers published in the "top-4" journals most (6) clearly practice quantitative methods and most of them also explicitly relate to economic concepts.

Another piece of evidence is that preliminary comparisons across Swedish departments suggest a positive correlation between the use of economic theory and quantitative analysis and publications of international journal articles and books.<sup>37</sup> Somewhat surprisingly, Swedes does not seem to be overrepresented in social or business history journals (according to Tables 1 and 2 and section 3.3) despite the comparative advantage (in terms of interest, at least) relative to other countries.<sup>38</sup> This finding actually suggests that the effect of methodology on publication behaviour across methodologies is a non-linear one. Taken together, both the actual articles published and average output across departments with different method profiles indicates that Swedish economic historians practicing historical economics are more internationally integrated than those using other methods. Adding to this the strong dominance of Anglo-Saxon countries in journal publications and the dominance of economics within these countries, there are

<sup>36</sup> See, e.g., Field, Alexander J. (ed.), *The Future of Economic History*. Amsterdam: Kluwer Nijhoff or Romer, Christina D., *The End of Economic History*, *Journal of Economic Education*, vol. XXV, 1992:1, 49–66. An interesting critical view of the past tensions in U.S. economic history is given by Coclanis, Peter and David Carlton, *The Crisis in Economic History*, *Challenge*, vol. XLIV, 2001:6, 93–103.

<sup>37</sup> This statement is based on comparing the output of Swedish senior academics (same data as underlying Table 3), where the arguably most economics-oriented department, the one in Lund, is clearly above average for Sweden.

<sup>38</sup> For business history, this true only when the special issues of *BH* (especially the all-Swedish 1993 issue) is not counted. If they were, the representation is clearly above average as also shown in Table 2.

strong reasons to believe that the documented methodological wedge can explain much of the low Swedish international research output.

Against this background, it seems hard to motivate a continued one-sided methodological focus in Swedish graduate programmes that train economic historians as pure historians often leaving them less knowledgeable in economics and statistics than the average undergraduate economist. This system prevents them from critically reviewing any advanced quantitative analyses or detecting crucial statistical measurement errors in the writings of other economic historians, and how does this go together with the highly cherished practice of "source-criticism"?<sup>39</sup> Recently some Swedish and Nordic economic historians have started to highlight some of these problems, e.g., Lars Magnusson criticising the arguments underlying people's unwillingness to learn and use modern economic theory, and similarly Ola H. Grytten, arguing for a more active use of quantitative methods alongside the already predominantly used qualitative techniques.<sup>40</sup> Proposals to change the current graduate programmes to incorporate more "theory" and quantitative methods have also been forwarded, but whether these attempts signal the start of a groundbreaking reform process or are merely advanced window-dressing remains to be seen.<sup>41</sup>

## Concluding remarks

This paper has presented empirical evidence on the international research activities of Swedish economic historians. Contrary to the claims made by the recent national evaluation commission, the Swedish shares of international journal and book publications and conference presentations are clearly below available cross-country and cross-discipline benchmarks. These findings are robust when using either only non-invited or all articles as well as different periods. When relating the output shares with available measures of research inputs (numbers of active scholars and size of funding) and comparing with foreign economic historians or scholars in other Swedish disciplines, the results are outright alarming as signals of a systematic underperformance and a waste of resources.

The study also presents some explanations to these observed patterns. Firstly, a relatively large supply of funding has made the Swedish field basically self-sufficient and almost independent of what is going on at the international arena. Secondly, there is a clear propensity to write in the local language, Swedish, which both makes it more difficult to submit papers to and signals a clear disinterest in international journals and conferences. Thirdly, a majority of the researchers writes

39 Similar problems due to methodological one-sidedness are discussed in the case of economic geography by Sjöberg, Örjan and Fredrik Sjöholm, Common ground? Prospects for integrating the economic geography of geographers and economists, *Environment and Planning A*, vol. XXXIV, 2002:3, 467–486.

40 Magnusson, Lars, Between micro and macro – what economic history can learn from modern economics, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. LI, 2003:2, 14–22; and Grytten, Ola H. Beyond quantitative and qualitative, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. LI, 2003:2, 23–32

41 Lindgren, Håkan, Scandinavian business history at the end of the 1990s: its prior development, present situation and future, *Business History around the World*, Amatori, F. and Jones, G. (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003. It should be noted that although Lindgren does not specify what he means by "theory", he is probably referring not only to modern economic theory.

books instead of papers, as evidenced by the composition of dissertations in recent years, which also increases the costs of submissions to journals and conferences. Fourthly, and finally, Swedish economic historians receive insufficient training in quantitative methods and economic theory, which has made them both unable and probably less motivated to take an active part in the scholarly work of foreign economic historians.

At a time when national research budgets are slashed and the competition for funding is sharpened, producing research on the international frontier becomes crucial. Some Swedish economic historians already do this today.<sup>42</sup> The established organisations and abundant research resources in place offer Swedish economic history a good chance to become internationally more productive and competitive. Without reformed graduate programmes, efforts to make people write papers in English, and an increased use of historical economics, however, this development will not take place – as the historical evidence clearly shows.

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<sup>42</sup> See, e.g., Allen, Robert C., Tommy Bengtsson and Martin Dribe (eds), *Living Standards in the Past. New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005 and the numerous volumes on historical accounts by Lennart Schön, Jonas Ljungberg, Olle Krantz and their colleagues.

## Appendix

### Nordic publications in economic history journals, 1970–2004

\* denotes invited article in a special issue or debate article, N denotes (non-Swedish) Nordic authors and S Swedish scholars from other academic disciplines. Book reviews are excluded. For SEHR and EH, only authors at Swedish economic history departments are listed.

#### *Business History* (1970–2004)

- N Knutsen, Sverre and Einar Lie, "Financial Fragility, Growth strategies and Banking Failures: The major Norwegian Banks and the Banking Crisis, 1987–92", vol. XLII, 2002:2, 88–111.
- S Boldt-Christmas, Martin, Fagerland Jacobsen, Siv, Tschöegl, Adrian E., "The International Expansion of the Norwegian Banks", vol. XLIII, 2001:3, 79–104.
- N Hansen, Per H., "Bank Regulation in Denmark from to World War Two: Public Interests and Private Interests", vol. XLIII, 2001:1, 43–68.
- \* ("Special issue") Sjögren, Hans, "Financial Reconstruction and Industrial Reorganisation in Different Financial Systems: A Comparative View of British and Swedish Institutions during the Inter-War Period", vol. XXXIX, 1997:4, 84–105.
- N \* ("Special issue") Knutsen, Sverre, "Post-War Strategic Capitalism in Norway: A Theoretical and Analytical Framework", vol. XXXIX, 1997:4, 106–127.
- N Amdam, Rolv Petter and Ove Bjarnar, "Regional Business Networks and the Diffusion of American Management and Organisational Models to Norway, 1945–65", vol. XXXIX, 1997:1, 72–90.
- \* ("Special issue") Sjögren, Hans and Sven Jungerhem, "Small Firm Financing in Sweden, 1960–95", vol. XXXVIII, 1996:3, 27–47.
- \* ("Special issue") Ottosson, Jan and Anders Lundgren, "AB Gust Carlsson, 1880–1990: Networks and Survival in the Swedish Printing Industry", vol. XXXVIII, 1996:3, 117–126.
- N Amdam, Rolv Petter, "Foreign Influence on the Education of Norwegian Business Managers, before World War II", vol. XXXVI, 1996:4, 79–94.
- \* ("Special issue") Ullenhag, Kersti, "Introduction", vol. XXXV, 1993:2, 1–10.
- \* ("Special issue") Göransson, Anita, "Gender and Property Rights: Capital, Kin and Owner Influence in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Sweden", vol. XXXV, 1993:2, 11–32.
- \* ("Special issue") Boje, Per, "A Career Approach to Entrepreneurship: The Case of Thomas B. Thrige", vol. XXXV, 1993:2, 33–44.
- \* ("Special issue") Anell, Barbro, "Timing is All: On the Roles of Owners and Managers in Expanding and Contracting Corporate Activities", vol. XXXV, 1993:2, 45–54.
- \* ("Special issue") Modig, Hans, "Management of Public Enterprises: A Special Type of Managerial Capitalism? The Swedish Case", vol. XXXV, 1993:2, 55–67.
- \* ("Special issue") Ullenhag, Kersti, "Those in Power: On the Role of Owners in Swedish Business", vol. XXXV, 1993:2, 68–86.
- \* ("Special issue") Johansson, Alf, "Structures, Managers and Owners: The Case of the Post-War Swedish Paint Industry", vol. XXXV, 1993:2, 87–98.
- \* ("Special issue") Glete, Jan, "Swedish Managerial Capitalism: Did It Ever Become Ascendant?", vol. XXXV, 1993:2, 99–110.
- \* ("Special issue") Sjögren, Hans, "Long-Term Contracts in the Swedish Bank-Oriented Financial System during the Inter-War Period", vol. XXXIII, 1991:3, 119–137.
- N \* ("Special issue") Møller, A. M., "Consular Reports: The Danish Monarchy, 1794–1904", vol. XXIII, 1981:2, 276–278.

- \* ("Special issue") Högberg, Staffan, "Consular Reports to the Swedish Board of Trade", vol. XXIII, 1981:2, 294–299.

*Economic History Review (1970–2004)*

- Evans, Chris, Owen Jackson and Göran Rydén, "Baltic Iron and the British Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century", vol. LV, 2002:4, 642–665.  
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