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German economics - from national to global The development of German economic science over the past century and a half is, in a sense, a typical example of the evolution of the communities of economists in European countries, but at the same time it differs in many respects from them. At the end of the XIX century. Germany was a leader in the institutionalization of economic science: suffice it to recall that the American Economic Association was created in many ways "in the image and likeness" of the German Union for Social Policy. At the same time, German scientists enjoyed significant international recognition.

After World War II, the German scientific community, on the other hand, was cut off from world economic science (the center of which was the United States): partly as a result of the remaining elements of the influence of the German historical school (primarily in the field of methodology (Barkai, 1996), and partly as a result of organizational and institutional characteristics (Hesse, 2005). This isolation found expression, firstly, in the content of the research of German economists, their methodology and the style of theorizing, and secondly, in the intensity of information exchange between Germany¹ and the "big world". German economists rarely published in international peer-reviewed journals - in general, the small scale of the German community of economists (which will be discussed below) fundamentally prevented the formation of any large "magazine industry". As a result, monographs, yearbooks and collections of scientific papers have become the dominant form of publication - almost always in German. Undertaken from time to time or attempts to publish collections in English translation, as a rule, attracted significant interest.

However, over the past decades, German science has undergone a fundamental shift, and today it is possible to speak about the "national specificity" of German science - content (Freyetal., 2007) and organizational - only in the past tense. The German scientific community is fully integrated into the global system (Raucher, Ursprung, 2008). Even the few magazines that had existed in Germany began to publish in English: perhaps the most striking example is the transformation of the Zeitschrift fuer die gesamte Staatswissenschaft, which had

more than a century of history, into the Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics²... New magazines (German Economic Review, Kyklos) in the German-speaking space are usually published in English from the very beginning. Permanent journals in German (Perspektiven der Wirtschaftspolitik, Zeitschrift für Wirtschaftspolitik) focus on applied policy issues and “specific” discussions of interest only to the German community.

However, even English-language journals published in Germany (German Economic Review) meet limited interest from German researchers, who have almost completely accepted the existing hierarchy of journals in the world community.³... Monographs and publications in collections of scientific works, which were once the main method of scientific communication twenty years ago, are almost completely “withering away.” Even a doctoral dissertation, traditionally carried out in the form of a “book”, is today increasingly “cumulative”: a collection of three or four articles on similar topics, focused on publication in journals⁴... Today, many young German economists have never published in German, and, moreover, they often do not even teach in German - if in the baccalaureate that emerged in Germany as a result of the Bologna process, many courses are taught in German, then the magistracy, as a rule, is already completely switching to English.

The above observations to some extent confirm the quantitative indicators, among which the most interesting is the publication activity of German scientists in international peer-reviewed journals, which can be considered the best indicator of their international integration. Of course, since the process of qualitative transformation was completed in the second half of the 2000s, then, most likely, the available data underestimate the performance of German economists and, more importantly, the requirements imposed by the community on economists (which sooner or later will “grow” into real publications) ... But some conclusions can still be drawn.

First of all, a number of studies (Kalaizidakis et al., 1999; Kocher, Sutter, 2001; Combes, Linnemer, 2003; Kocher et al., 2006) conduct a comparative analysis of the number and “quality” of international publications by researchers from individual countries.⁵... Other works (Combes, Linnemer, 2003; Kalaitzidakis, 2003; Lubrano et al., 2003) use the same approach to compare the level of individual universities. Here, the results are mostly disappointing: at the beginning of the 2000s (namely, this period was mainly studied in the literature) Germany was noticeably lagging behind English-speaking and many small European countries (and also known for Israel's highly effective results) in terms of the number and quality of international publications. The effect persists even if

the US, with its absolute dominance in economics, is excluded from the analysis. This applies to the publications of both researchers working permanently in Germany and those who have received their doctorates in Germany. The situation in Austria and Switzerland was somewhat better according to separate studies. In addition, as shown in (Hodgson, Rothman, 1999), in 1995, only seven out of more than seven hundred (!) members of the editorial boards of the leading 30 international journals worked in Germany. At the same time, even here one can find some evidence of an improvement in the situation: for example, we are talking about the evolution of universities in the Southwest of Germany in the 2000s (Combes, Linnemer, 2003).

The reasons for this lag (as well as its gradual overcoming) are clearly visible if we turn to the list of journals in which German researchers preferred to publish. As noted in (Combes, Linnemer, 2003), in Germany such for 1971–2000, there were exclusively German-language editions: *Jahrbuecher für Nationaloekonomie und Statistik* (JNS), *Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften*, as well as the *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* (JITI), which has been translated into English. The top five also includes two magazines on business economics (*Kredit und Kapital* and *Zeitschrift für Betriebswirtschaft*), as well as the more applied magazine *ifo Studien*6... According to (Lubrano et al., 2003), for all journals included in the E-JEL database since the early 1970s, Germany has one of the lowest places in Europe in terms of the share of publications in leading publications (11% - less only in Greece, Ireland and Italy - compared with 66% of California universities in the US), but 66% of publications are in “national journals” (more only in France, Italy and Spain). However, already at the end of the 1990s (more precisely, 1993–1999), according to (Wittenhager et al., 2001), the situation changed for the better. Although the leaders in terms of the number of articles with German participation remain *Kyklos*, the *Review of World Economics* (formerly the *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, published in Kiel) and *JITE*, *Zeitschrift für Nationaloekonomie*, but already the fourth and fifth places are occupied by very strong *Economics Letters* and *European Economic Review*, in ninth place - by the *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, and in tenth - by the *Journal of Public Economics*.

Also controversial are the results of works that directly analyze the dynamics of publication activity in Germany and other countries. If, according to estimates (Eichenberger et al., 2000), Germany's position in terms of the array of publications has remained practically unchanged, then the report (Wittenhager et al., 2001) gives a more optimistic picture. Although the share of Germany on

average in publication activity in 1981-1999. remained insignificant, the authors clearly record a constant growth of this indicator in the structure of new publications: from 1.2% in 1981 to 2% in 1989 and 3.3% in 1999. Taking into account the slowness of the academic publication process, the situation looks far from so bad. We abstract from international comparisons and focus on internal dynamics: the changes will turn out to be even more impressive. The study (Beckmannand Schneider, 2009) provides data characterizing the publication activity of German researchers in the 1980s – 2000s. According to this work, until 1987, publications in international journals remained the preserve of a small number of researchers (the distribution is determined by "outstanding values"). Even for later periods, zero is still included in the confidence interval for the average number of points that the average German researcher gains per year. Nevertheless, one can clearly see an improvement in the situation, both on average (the average researcher began to publish, and he is publishing more and more actively), and for outstanding values (the level of which has slightly increased compared to the 1980s). characterizing the publication activity of German researchers in the 1980s – 2000s. According to this work, until 1987, publications in international journals remained the preserve of a small number of researchers (the distribution is determined by "outstanding values"). Even for later periods, zero is still included in the confidence interval for the average number of points that the average German researcher gains per year. Nevertheless, one can clearly see an improvement in the situation, both on average (the average researcher began to publish, and he is publishing more and more actively), and for outstanding values (the level of which has slightly increased compared to the 1980s). publications in international journals remained the domain of a small number of researchers (distribution is determined by “outstanding values”). Even for later periods, zero is still included in the confidence interval for the average number of points that the average German researcher gains per year. Nevertheless, one can clearly see an improvement in the situation, both on average (the average

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The growth of publication activity in international journals is also recorded by the data of the work (Graberetal., 2008), which investigates the productivity of individual age cohorts of German scientists. The results show that researchers who later enter the community (become full professors) are significantly more productive. Within the youngest group (professors who received positions in 1997-2006), about 40% of researchers gain about 0.5 points per year (where one point is assigned for an article in the European Economic Review); cohort 1988-1996 receives an average of only 20% per year, the 1979-1987 cohort. - 5%, and the older cohort, which received positions during the boom of new faculties in 1970–1978, publishes practically nothing. The same conclusion is confirmed by the data (Raucher, Ursprung, 2008).

Publications are also becoming an increasingly important feature in the selection of new faculty and researchers. Graber et al. (2008) provide data on the average number of publications by professors who have received a position since 1975 in the year of appointment (again, in terms of an article in the European Economic Review). The analysis revealed a clear trend towards a constant increase in the demand for publications: from less than one in 1975 to about three in 1990 and more than six in 2006 (see also (Schulze at al., 2008), where there is a close result). If we try to forecast the situation for the coming years (after 2010) by discipline, we can expect that in the field of microeconomics and public finance the requirements will reach 10 equivalents of the article in the European Economic Review for the year of appointment.

To summarize, the trend towards integration into the global scientific community is evident. Even if Germany did not become a leader in the global market (frankly, this is hardly possible: in the foreseeable future, the absolute dominance of the United States as a center of economic research is beyond doubt), it, in any case, can be considered an integral part of it.

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