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Understanding Pluralism in Brazilian Economics: Historically Conditioned and Institutionally Secured

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RESUMO: O descrédito e marginalização da economia heterodoxa na comunidade acadêmica de economia global não se reproduz no Brasil, haja vista o caráter excepcionalmente pluralista ciência econômica neste país. Neste ensaio, argumentamos que essa peculiaridade brasileira se baseia em dois domínios: o histórico e o institucional. No nível histórico (discutido na Seção 1), revisamos a história da economia acadêmica no Brasil para mostrar como diferentes perspectivas e correntes do pensamento econômico encontraram espaço para florescer e como isso contribuiu para a pluralidade atual. No campo institucional (discutido nas Seções 2 e 3), discutimos como o pluralismo histórico se consolidou nas principais instituições que controlam a economia acadêmica do país e evoluiu para um tipo de pluralismo institucionalizado.

Palavras-chave: Pluralismo na Economia; Economia Heterodoxa; Qualis; Economia Mainstream.

ABSTRACT: The discrediting and marginalization of heterodox economics in the global economics academic community does not reproduce in Brazil, given the exceptionally pluralistic nature of its economics. In this essay, we argue that this Brazilian peculiarity is based on two domains: the historical and the institutional. At the historical level (discussed in Section 1), we review the history of academic economics in Brazil to show how different perspectives and currents of economic thought found room to flourish and how this contributed to the current plurality. In the institutional field (discussed in Section 2 and 3), we discuss how historical pluralism was consolidated in the main institutions that control the country's academic economics and evolved for a type institutionalized pluralism.

Keywords: Pluralism in Economics; Heterodox Economics; Qualis; Mainstream Economics



Introduction

Starting from Sheila Dow (2008), pluralism in Brazilian academic economics refers to the principles that guide economic practice in this context. This pluralism manifests itself mainly in the institutions responsible for organizing the country's economy. These institutions perform several functions, such as distributing funds to finance research, evaluating the quality of publications and scientific journals, organizing important scientific congresses and conferences, and recognizing the research conducted.

These principles, however, do not emerge spontaneously or randomly. On the contrary, they are the result of the complex Brazilian historical process, whether in the context of the economic discussions that preceded the establishment of a robust academic economy in the country, or even in the very trajectory of the academic economy in this territory. In the early years of the Republican period, the "paperists" and "metalists" helped to reproduce the historical debate over British monetary policy by confronting the advocates of fiat money (a widely heterodox current at the time) with the enthusiastic orthodoxy of the gold standard. In the 1930s and 1940s, Brazil was the scene of the famous "planning controversy" between Roberto Simonsen, an advocate of state interventionism to promote the industrialization of the country, and Eugênio Gudin, a liberal and vehement opponent of Simonsen's ideas. In the late 1950s, the accelerated rise of inflation brought the "monetarist" currents, led by Gudin, Bulhões and Campos, into conflict with the "structuralist" currents, represented by Celso Furtado and Rangel, who opposed the understanding and strategies to deal with price imbalances, contrasting orthodox and heterodox ideas.

When the subject of economics was finally institutionalized in Brazil, there was already a wide range of perspectives in the economic debate. These perspectives, along with the development of essentially pluralists who continued to regulate academic economics in the country, have helped explain the current pluralistic state of economics in this country.

The plurality in Brazilian academic economics has been discussed in several recent papers. Geoffrey Hodgson laments in his controversial book "Is There a Future



for Heterodox Economics?" (2019), in Chapter 4, the "lack of development of alternative positions of power within academia" by the "heterodox community." Referring to the debate surrounding his book, Hodgson adds that "Brazil is one of the few important countries where heterodox economics is relatively strong" (HODGSON, 2021, p. 612). David Dequech (2018), in applying the four criteria proposed by Dequech (2007) to determine a dominant paradigm in economics, highlights the contrasts in relation to academic economics in the United States in the Brazilian context. Fernandez and Suprinyak (2018) examine the relationship between the creation of the National Association of Graduate Studies in Economics (ANPEC) and the promotion of pluralism of approaches in Brazilian academic economics, which is associated with the pioneering role of foreign agencies in funding postgraduate studies. -degree in economics in Brazil. The same authors continue the theme and present a discussion of pluralism in Brazil, examining the institutional perspective (FERNANDEZ and SUPRINYAK, 2019).

Compared to the existing literature, which tends to explain pluralism in the Brazilian economics in the historical or institutional realm, the main contribution of this essay lies in an approach that considers both realms. Secondly, the paper deals with the collection, analysis and processing of quantifiable data on the current level of pluralism in Brazil, which allows for a more comprehensive and accurate view of the phenomenon.

1. Brief history of pluralism in Brazilian economics

This section looks at the history of pluralism in the Brazilian economics and examines its evolution over time. Subsection 1.1 explore the emergence of economics in Brazil, from the first attempts to establish an academic discipline to its development in the 20th century. Subsection 1.2, in turn, examines the creation of the National Association of Postgraduate Centers in Economics (ANPEC) and how it promoted pluralism in Brazilian economics. The goal is to understand how the plurality of economic ideas has been valued and promoted in the country and how this has been reflected in academic practice. Finally, subsection 1.3 briefly discusses the evolution of



the representativeness of heterodox economics in the global academic economics community and in Brazilian academic economics.

1.1 Emergence of economics in Brazil

According to Favero (2006), there was not a single college in Brazil until 1920. In 1921, the University of Rio de Janeiro (later renamed the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) was founded. Starting in the 1930s, although college degrees in economics became available at some business schools, they were considered far less prestigious than the traditional professions of law, medicine, and engineering. (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018).

With the aim of supporting the modernization of the Brazilian public administration by training a qualified workforce to fill important public positions, the Getúlio Vargas Foundations- FGV began its activities in 1944 (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018). At the beginning of its history, FGV was a pure research institution and did not offer undergraduate courses, although some of its affiliated researchers were professors at the College of Brazil (TAVARES, 1996). A few years later, in the biennium 1945-1946, graduate courses in economics were opened at the University of Brazil and the University of São Paulo, the two most prestigious Brazilian universities of the time (Ibidem). Five years later, in 1951, the profession of economist was recognized and regulated in the country (SAES et al., 2014). In this context, Fernandez & Suprinyak (2018) document that most professors who taught economics in these courses had no training in economics and worked only part-time, sharing the teaching job with other professions, usually lawyers and accountants.

The remainder of the 1950s was still to focus on important advances: While the creation of the so-called "Executive Groups" and the creation of the National Bank for Economic Development, both in 1953, brought together a good portion of the country's most prominent minds in highly technical groups specializing in economic discussions, whose output was to reach its peak during the tenure of Juscelino Kubitschek, the Getúlio Vargas Foundation established important contacts with traditional economic teaching centers abroad. According to Loureiro (1977), this made possible the visit of several renowned economists to Brazil in the same decade.



Among them were representatives of both orthodoxy and heterodoxy, for example: Gottfried Haberler, Nicholas Kaldor, Gunnar Myrdal, Ragnar Nurkse, Raúl Prebisch, and Jacob Viner. In the early 1960s, mainly under the influence of Getúlio Vargas Foundation, the view spread that the quality of economics education and the training of economists urgently needed to be improved through greater international integration (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018). The authors show that among the 'developmentalists' the main destination was Santiago, Chile, where the ECLAC Graduate School was located; while the more orthodox professionals began to attend the recently established Center for the Improvement of Economists, associated with the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, which served as a preparation and gateway to graduate programs in economics in the United States (BACHA, 1996).

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1966 is certainly the most important year for academic economics in its initial phase in Brazil. First, in that year the University of São Paulo inaugurated its master's program and the Getúlio Vargas Foundation inaugurated its master's and Phd programs, which were pioneering in Brazil. In addition, in 1966, the Itaipava Economists Meeting was held, sponsored by the Ford Foundation. He brought together a number of distinguished economists from various institutions to talk about the current state of economic education in the nation (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINIYAK, 2018).

Participants in the Itaipava seminar agreed on the low level of education of undergraduate business students in Brazil, which was described as "very weak" and



"quantitatively abundant but qualitatively deficient" (SIMONSEN apud FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018, p. 317). The programs have been criticized for offering a large number of courses in areas such as law and accounting, making them more comparable to business schools than to academic centers of business. In order to "modernize" the profession, it was necessary to establish a minimum curriculum that covered the essential parts of modern economic theory and to seek collaboration with foreign professors (ITAIPAVA apud FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018, p. 317). De Almeida & Almeida (2018) point out other consequences of the meeting. Among them: (i) the closure of schools that were considered inferior, (ii) the creation of new economics schools, and (iii) the elimination of the oversupply of law and accounting classes.

1968 marks the beginning of the institutionalization of the economics in Brazil. This is because the schollar reform that took place that same year gave impetus to the desires of the Itaipava Congress and promoted profound changes in the pedagogical basis of economics (De ALMEIDA & De SOUZA ALMEIDA, 2018). Fernandez and Suprinyak (2018 and 2019) show that the progress achieved during this period was closely linked to the structural changes promoted in the Brazilian educational system by the so-called MEC-USAID agreements. According to the authors, these agreements aimed to transform all levels of education and expand technical training to create a skilled workforce and meet the demand for skilled labor generated by efforts to promote economic development. To this end, the reform relied on technical assistance and funding from the United States.

The expansion of academic economics in Brazil began in 1969, when the Integrated Master's Degree in Economics and Sociology (PIMES) was created at the Federal University of Pernambuco with the support of the Ford Foundation. In the early 1970s, the Ford Foundation began offering scholarships to five universities outside the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo axis: In addition to PIMES in Federal University of Pernambuco, were created the Center for the Improvement of Economists of the Northeast (CAEN) in Federal University of Ceará, the University of Brasília (UNB), the Center for Regional Development and Planning (Cedeplar) in Federal University of



Minas Gerais, and the Center for Advanced Studies in the Amazon (NAEA) in Federal University of Pará (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018).

Citing Ford Foundation archives, Fernandez & Suprinyak (2018) show that the foundation's board of directors was very pleased with the results of regionalizing the economics in Brazil. Given this success, the Foundation's leadership sought to establish an "effective institutional network to link grantees through which high-level national centers could foster the development of their smaller regional counterparts" (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018, p. 321). Accordingly, meetings were held between beneficiary centers of USAID-Ford partnerships between 1971 and 1972 with the goal of discussing common interests. The first meeting was attended by Pastore from University of São Paulo (USP), Edmar Bacha representing UNB, Haddad and Thompson Almeida Andrade for CEDEPLAR, Renato Duarte for PIMES, Maurício Filchtiner representing IEPE-Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, and José Hamilton Gondim from CAEN (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018). Getúlio Vargas Foundation did not send any representatives despite being invited (Ibidem). This was the nucleus of ANPEC, which would be founded in 1973.

1.2 Foundation of ANPEC's Association and promotion of pluralism

The creation of the National Association of Graduate Centers in Economics (ANPEC) was initially aimed at centralizing the awarding of fellowships under the partnership between USAID and the Ford Foundation, but shortly after its creation its functions changed, as the Foundation was given two important tasks: (i) sponsoring an annual meeting of Brazilian researchers and (ii) conducting a uniform entrance examination for candidates applying for vacancies in one of its affiliated programs (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2018). Regarding the last point, the unified exam was also important because it provided a clear signal of the content that should be covered in undergraduate teaching (Ibidem, p.325).

Since its inception, ANPEC has maintained its pluralistic stance. According to Fernandez & Suprinyak (2019), this was strongly related to the Ford Foundation's concern for its image against the backdrop of the military dictatorship in Brazil:



According to SUPRINYAK and FERNANDEZ (2018), the New York office of the Ford Foundation had significant worries about the potential impact of certain programs on the organization's public image and the values it aimed to promote. This concern arose in the context of the Foundation's involvement in applied social science research, which became more complicated due to its association with an increasingly unfavorable military regime. Consequently, the Ford Foundation became particularly attentive to the political and ideological consequences of its activities in Brazil. While in the 1960s the Foundation focused on supporting research that was "policy-relevant" and could address the challenges faced by the Brazilian economy and society, by the 1970s, its representatives began to express a growing concern for preserving spaces that allowed for the "free interplay of ideas" (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2019, p.762-763).

ANPEC's creation is an important milestone in the process of institutionalizing economics and promoting a pluralism of approaches in Brazil. Fernandez and Suprinyak (2019) point out that the crucial episode in ANPEC's decision to adopt a pluralist and conflict-mediated stance occurred in its first year of existence, when ANPEC decided to host the heterodox program at the State University of Campinas (Unicamp), despite the threat of boycott and withdrawal by one of its most prestigious members, Getúlio Vargas Foundation. On 26 December 1973, Simonsen wrote a letter to ANPEC announcing the Getúlio Vargas Foundation's decision to withdraw. Among the reasons justifying his decision was the "divergence between the analytical orientation of EPGE [Brazilian School of Economics and Finance] and that conveyed in the programs recently promoted by the Association". According to Fernandez and Suprinyak (2019), the "recently promoted" alluded to the economics department of the State University of Campinas, which had been admitted to ANPEC earlier this year.

Unicamp's economics research program was born quite aligned with Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) structuralist ideas (the critical stance towards ECLAC would only come a few years later). The first team of researchers to join the teaching staff was made up of professors and former students from the ECLAC course held in São Paulo in 1966. Wilson Cano, Ferdinando



Figueiredo, and Lucas Gamboa were hired for this first screening. Among the former students, João Manuel Cardoso de Mello, Carlos Eduardo Gonçalves, Osmar Marchese and Luiz Gonzaga Belluzzo were selected (DOS SANTOS, 2018). Together, these figures instituted a pioneering heterodox research program in Brazil, centered on Marxist, Keynesian, and Schumpeterian approaches. When the teaching staff was expanded the following year, the heterodox bias was accentuated¹.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Unicamp's was already one of the most prestigious universities in the country, with a department of Economics formed mainly by heterodox economists. With the expansion of the number of universities in Brazil, it did not take long for the heterodox pioneering spirit of the "Campinas School" to radiate. Many students who graduated from Unicamp's Department (later Institute) of Economics began teaching at other universities in Brazil, taking heterodox ideas with them, underscoring the prominent role of this department in the spread of heterodox economics in Brazil between the 1980s and the early 2000s (MEARMAN et al. 2019, p. 269).

2. Institutions and actors of pluralism in Brazilian economics

This section addresses the issue of the institutions and actors of pluralism in the Brazilian economics, highlighting three relevant subsections. First, the legal guarantee of pluralism (2.1) is discussed, which includes the inclusion of pluralistic content in economics curricula through guidelines established by the Ministério da Educação (In English: Ministry of Education). Second, the presence of pluralism in numbers (2.2) is addressed, highlighting the diversity of actors and institutions that promote different theoretical and methodological approaches in Brazilian economics.

2.1 Legal guaranteed pluralism

¹ Eolo Pagnani, who had arrived shortly after the first signatures, was joined by Antônio Barros de Castro, Carlos Lessa, Jorge Miglioli and Maria da Conceição Tavares. From France came Sérgio Silva and from the United States Luciano Coutinho. From Chile came Liana Aureliano, Carlos Alonso Barbosa de Oliveira, José Carlos Braga and Paulo Baltar. Frederico Mazzucchelli was another important reinforcement (DOS SANTOS, 2018).



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This In Brazilian Economics, in addition to basic neoclassical education, undergraduate courses usually include the disciplines of industrial organization, post-Keynesian and Marxist economics, economic history, history of economic thought, and economic methodology. The history of economic thought has even been part of the mandatory curriculum for undergraduate students since its first formulation in 1945 (DE ALMEIDA & ALMEIDA, 2018). At the graduate level, the first model for graduate curricula proposed by Simonsen included HET as an elective (SIMONSEN, 1966). Currently, several prestigious universities have specialized programs in economic history and HET (including the State University of Campinas, the University of São Paulo, and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro).

This broad training allows economists to develop different theoretical perspectives and approaches, including heterodox approaches. Moreover, this diversity of disciplines and theoretical perspectives is not limited to one or a few universities, but is present in all leading universities in the country, which may also contribute to the high participation of heterodox economists in the Brazilian academic community.

Also worth mentioning is Law 10.861 of April 14, 2004, which established ENADE (acronym in Portuguese for: National Student Achievement Examination), based on which questionnaires are used to evaluate students' abilities. Heterodox subjects are also covered in economics. In accordance with the ENADE, pluralism was consolidated on July 13, 2007, when the Ministry of Education (MEC) published Resolution CNE/CES nº 4/2007, which established the National Curriculum Guidelines for the Basic Course in Economics (MEC, 2007 apud FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2019). From this, it appears that the elaboration of a pedagogical project for an undergraduate course in economics must meet a series of requirements, including "methodological pluralism, which corresponds to the plural character of economics, characterized by different currents of thought and paradigms. several" (MEC, 2007, p. 02). Considering how important the ENADE results are in determining the reputation of undergraduate programs and the impact it has on attracting prospective students, educational institutions are highly motivated to incorporate this material into their course offerings. (FERNANDEZ & SUPRINYAK, 2019).



In the field of postgraduate studies, there are several signs of the institutionalization of pluralism. One of the most important is probably the fact that the majority of postgraduate research funding in Brazil, especially at the master's and doctoral levels, makes no distinction between theoretical approaches. This means that researchers who identify with more mainstream approaches or follow a particular heterodox school of thought have equal access to funding.

Currently, the main funding agencies at the federal level are CAPES - Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (in English: Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) and CNPq - Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico - (In English: National Council for Scientific and Technological Development). At the state level, it is worth highlighting the foundations that promote research: FAPESP - Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo - (In English: São Paulo Research Foundation), FAPERJ - Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro - (In English: Rio de Janeiro Research Foundation) and FAPEMIG - Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Minas Gerais - (In English: Minas Gerais Research Foundation) are the most important, although foundations of this type exist in most of the 26 states that make up the Brazilian territory.

Together, these institutions are responsible for virtually all graduate scholarships for economics majors. They are also the source of most funding for research projects, for presenting the work of academics at national or international professional meetings, and for organizing academic events in the country. The procedures for the publication of journals, the research of Brazilian academics abroad, the visits of foreign academics to Brazil, and the purchase of notebooks and desktop computers are also financed by these funds (See: DEQUECH, 2018).

While the national funding agencies (CAPES and CNPq) do not evaluate the research projects to be funded, but are only responsible for allocating funds to postgraduate programs that have autonomy in distributing funds (generally based on the ranking of candidates in the selection process), the approach at the state level is partially different. In these cases, the main state agencies evaluate projects for grant awards, while most of them follow the lead of the national agencies and allocate funds only to



postgraduate programs. Within the agencies that evaluate projects there may or may not be a bias in the approach, although the few data about the projects do not allow a clear statement.²

2.2 Pluralism in Numbers

Another signs of the institutionalization they are in the conventions (See: Dequech, 2012) of what is understood in Brazil as quality research, which includes both mainstream and dissident/heterodox approaches. Let us see how this can be observed with some data from the academic economics in Brazil.

In one of the canonical references on pluralism in Brazilian economics, Fernandez & Suprinyak (2019) were dedicated to the quantitative assessment and classification of the presence of pluralism in postgraduate economics in Brazil. To this end, the authors classified each professor at each ANPEC-affiliated center as orthodox or heterodox based on a curriculum analysis and direct interviews, and assigned each institution to one of the three categories: orthodox, heterodox, and plural. The same

² FAPESP funds (as of June 2022) 17 research projects in the field of economics, 8 of which are at the postdoctoral level, 7 at the Ph.D. level, and 1 at the master's level. Regarding the institutional affiliation of the project authors, the Unicamp Institute of Economics (IE /Unicamp) and the Insper are at the top of the funded projects with 4 ongoing projects, closely followed by the São Paulo School of Economics (EESP/FGV- SP.) and the Faculty of Economics and Administration at USP (FES/USP- SP) with 3. The list is completed by two projects related to the Institute of Geosciences at Unicamp (IG/Unicamp) and one project in the field of economic history related to the Faculty of Philosophy, Literature, and Human Sciences at USP (FFLCH/USP- SP). In most cases, the analysis of the project summaries was inconclusive concerning the theoretical framework, orthodoxy, or heterodoxy of the projects. A strategy to circumvent this problem is to stick to the institutional affiliation of the researchers considered and assume, as a hypothesis, that the greater the number of projects institutionally associated with plural or heterodox graduate programs, the more likely they are to be used. On this basis, the analysis shows that the participation of work aligned with orthodox economics is likely to be the majority. FAPERJ and FAPEMIG complete the list of major government sources of research funding. Currently (June 2022), FAPERJ has 11 projects under grade 10, of which 5 are doctoral and 6 master's, with a predominance of institutional affiliations with the Brazilian School of Economics and Finance (EPGE/FGV-RJ) and the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), with 4 projects each. The two remaining projects are related to Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) (FAPERJ, 2022a; 2022b), while FAPEMIG currently funds 14 projects, 10 at the master's level and 4 at the doctoral level, with the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) predominating with 6 projects and the Federal University of Uberlândia with 4 projects. The Federal University of Viçosa (UFV) and the Federal University of Alfenas (UNIFAL) complete the list with 2 each (FAPEMIG, 2022). Neither foundation discloses information on project titles or summaries. Based on institutional affiliation, it can be said that Rio de Janeiro is likely to have more orthodox works, given the broad spectrum of FGV/EPGE and PUC-Rio, which are traditionally associated with the U.S. mainstream. In the case of Minas Gerais, a pluralistic institution dominates in terms of the number of projects funded, making any conclusion difficult.



reasoning was applied to the academic environment as a whole, which is considered plural if the sum of plural and minority institutions is greater than the number of orthodox or heterodox majors. To be considered pluralistic, the graduate programs studied had to meet a "plurality threshold" (i.e., the minority group must exceed a certain minimum percentage). Programs were individually classified as: (i) "orthodox" if heterodox academics comprised between 0 and 25% of the faculty; (ii) "plural" if heterodox academics comprised between 25 and 75% of the faculty; and (iii) "heterodox" if more than 75% of the faculty could be so characterized.

Study results (summarized in Fernandez & Suprinyal, 2019, p.) show that the most orthodox programs represent only 27% of all graduate courses in economics in Brazil. These include the programs of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (EPGE and EESP), the programs of the University of São Paulo (USP-Sp and USP-Rp), the programs of the Federal Universities of Pernambuco (PIMES), Ceará (UFC), Pelotas (UFPEL), Juiz de Fora (UFJF), the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and the Catholic University of Brasilia. The predominantly heterodox group is slightly more represented at 32.7%. These include programs at the State University of Campinas (economic theory and economic development), the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, the Federal Fluminense University, the São Paulo State University, and the federal universities of Bahia (UFBA), Uberlândia (UFU), São Paulo (Unifesp), Mato Grosso (UFMT) Espírito Santo (UFES) and Pará (UFPA), as well as the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUCSP). Plural graduate programs make up the majority with 40.4%, including the University of Brasília, the Federal University of Minas Gerais, the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul and others. The 67.86% obtained from the sum of heterodox and plural graduate programs indicates that the probability of admission of an economist with heterodox education in a university is high, especially compared to the chances that a professional with the same profile would have in other countries (COLANDER et al. 2007; COLANDER et al. 2004).

A second group of data that gives us interesting information is the academic awards given in the national territory. According to Dequech (2007), an economic approach that enjoys prestige and relevance in the professional world is expected to be



reflected in the granting of significant awards. The main awards for research in economics in Brazil are presented in Table 01.

The method used to analyze the theoretical framework of the awarded works included the study of the works at four levels, moving from one to another whenever the previous level was inconclusive. These are (i) title, abstract, and keywords of the works; (ii) analysis of the literature review and working methodology; (iii) analysis of the references used in the works (if published in mainstream, heterodox, or pluralistic journals). The works that declare their exclusive theoretical and/or methodological orientation towards heterodox economics were classified as works with a heterodox approach, while the others were considered pluralistic (if they combine orthodox and heterodox theories and methods) and orthodox if they declare their orientation towards so³.

Table 01: Main awards of the Brazilian Economics

Award	Category	Organizer	Períod
Haralambos Simeonidis	Articles; Theses and Books	Associação Nacional de Pós Graduação em Economia (In English: National Association of Graduate Centers in Economics)	2001-2021
BNDE/BNDES	Dissertations and Theses	Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social (In English: Brazilian Development Bank)	2001-2021
CAPES	Theses	Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (In English: Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel)	2006-2021
Prêmio Brasil de Economia	Books	Conselho Federal de Economia (In English: Federal Economics Council)	2009-2020

Source: Outlined by the author.

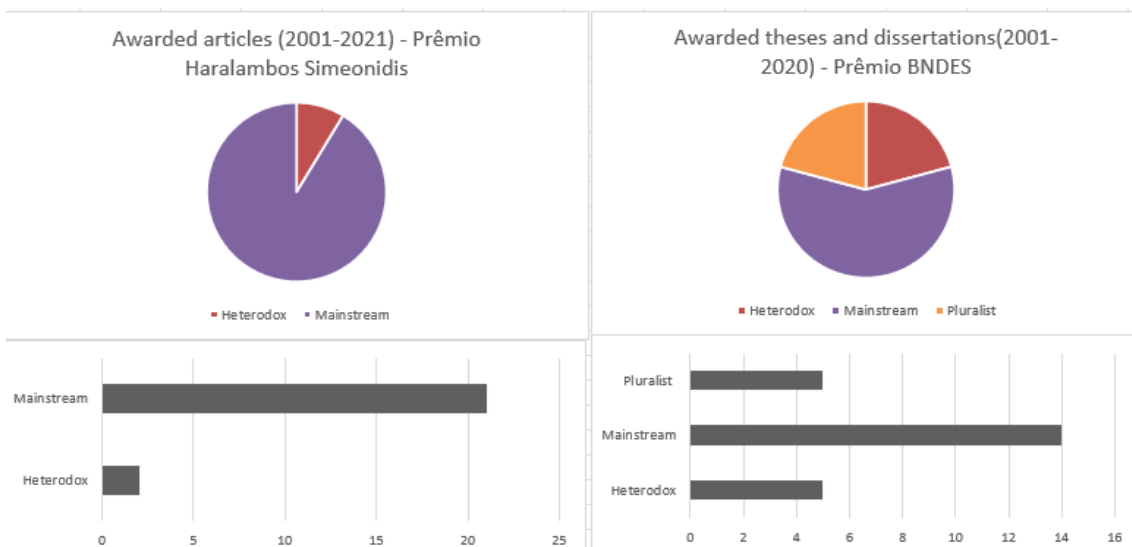
³ For the purposes of this work, a heterodox economic theory approach was considered to be one that belongs to at least one of the 21 approaches that integrate heterodoxy according to Lavoie (2014). These are: Post-Keynesian economics, radical Marxist and Marxist economics, original institutional economics, evolutionary political economy, feminist economics, social and humanist economics, socio-ecological economics and green economics, structuralist approach to development, Schumpeterian economics, evolutionary economics, French school of regulation, convention economics, original behavioral economics, Polanyi economics, Gesellian economics, Ghandian economics, Georgian economics, Austrian economics, agent-based modeling, and economics of dynamic systems.

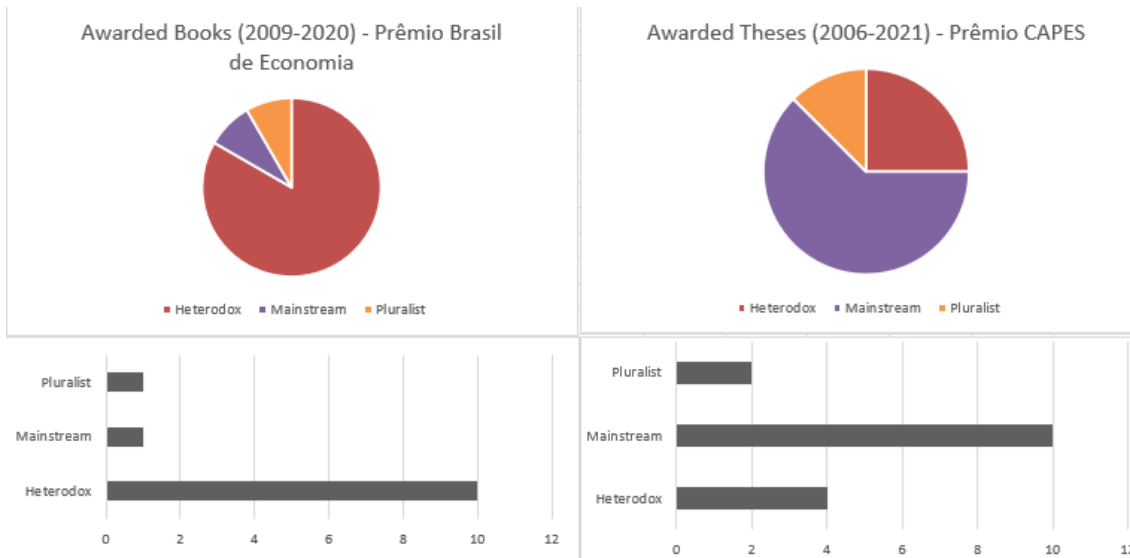


The comprehensive findings of the analysis of the winning works are depicted in Figure 02. In contrast to what has been seen so far, examination of the test for the "awards" criterion shows a wide range of approaches consistent with an mainstream orientation.

The major exception was in the category of "Best Economics Book," where most works awarded in recent years (about 83%) have heterodox approaches. Among the award-winning books, two groups stand out: (i) works critical of the current Brazilian development model (Cano, 2008; Oreiro, 2009; Oliveira, 2009; Costa, 2012; Gonçalves, 2013; Rossi, 2016; Carvalho & Gala, 2020); and (ii) theoretical works on keynesian and post-keynesian macroeconomics (Carvalho, 2014). outside the subject area, the book by Kon (2017), which deals with several heterodox perspectives in the field of industrial economics, was selected as the winner. concerning the haralambos simeonidis prize, it is noteworthy that it is accessible to papers with heterodox approaches. in the dissertations category, not a single paper on heterodox economics has been awarded in the last 20 years. in the case of essays, there are only two, one in the field of economic history (Boianovsky, 2012) and another in the field of post-Keynesian dynamic macroeconomics (LIMA and SETTERFIELD, 2010).

Figure 02: Distribution of Main Awards in Brazilian Economics





Source: Outlined by the author.

Finally, this can be observed in the productivity scholarships offered by the CNPq to Brazilian academic economists who are considered prominent according to objective criteria. This is a combination of a monthly monetary amount granted to the grantee for three or more years, depending on the amount of the grant, and the payment of a monthly amount for the same duration, which must be used to fund a research project. Productivity grants from the CNPq are a way to promote scientific and technological research in Brazil by providing financial support to researchers and scientists who demonstrate a high level of academic productivity.

General requirements for proposal evaluation include the applicant's affiliation with a postgraduate level research or teaching institution in administration, accounting, or related fields. In addition, the applicant is required to have completed Phd at least three years of for Level 2 and eight years for Level 1 (CNPq, 2023). The applicant's role in training human resources at this postgraduate level will also be considered. The technical and scientific value of the research project is also a general requirement.



As for the evaluation of each proposal, the ranking is based on the comparison of pairs, also taking into account the number of available grants. Scholars are evaluated based on a reference period of five years for Stage 2 and ten years for Stage 1 (Ibidem).⁴

Category 1 establishes a four-level classification (A, B, C, or D) for researchers based on peer comparison and a ten-year reference period. The purpose of this classification is to evaluate the contribution of researchers in administrative, accounting, or similar fields, as well as their national and international involvement, participation in scientific management activities, and attendance at academic events.

At the 1D level, researchers are expected to have made a significant contribution to the training of human resources and the production of intellectual output in the above areas. In addition, it is desirable that they progressively expand their contributions at the national and/or international level and provide specialized scientific advice as needed. In moving to Level 1C, researchers must meet the criteria of the previous level and also have an increasing impact on human resource training and intellectual production. They are also expected to have actively contributed to the organization of research groups and/or networks, demonstrating their commitment and active involvement in scientific management.

At Level 1B, researchers must consistently contribute to the training of human resources and the production of intellectual output. In addition to the requirements of Level 1C, researchers at this level should also be members of national research funding agencies and have experience on scientific editorial boards or in the leadership of relevant scientific associations in their respective fields. As with Level 1A, the highest classification level, researchers must have demonstrated continued excellence in human resource training, intellectual production, and leadership of research groups and/or networks. In addition to meeting the requirements of Level 1B, they are expected to

⁴ The criteria used for grading are: **Research project, with a weighting of 10%:** The relevance, originality, feasibility and methodology of the proposed project will be evaluated; **Intellectual production, with a weighting of 50%:** Intellectual production is considered to be the publication of work in scientific journals, books, book chapters, congress articles, and other relevant intellectual contributions; **Training of human resources, with a weighting of 20%:** Activities related to the supervision of dissertations and theses, participation in examination boards, and supervision of internships are analyzed; **Coordination, leadership and scientific recognition, with a weighting of 20%:** It is about coordination of research projects, participation in scientific committees, leadership of research groups, scientific awards received and recognition in the academic community (CNpQ, 2022).



have conducted similar activities and to demonstrate significant leadership in their specific research area. Furthermore, these researchers should have the ability to promote research in economics or related fields both within Brazil and internationally.

Currently (April 2023), there are 238 researchers with a current CNPq productivity scholarship in economics in Brazil, 58 at the PQ-1 level and 180 at the PQ-2 level (CNPq, 2023). From the analysis of the academic curriculum of all researchers, it was found that representation of heterodox approaches is quite restrained regardless of level. Among level PQ-2 grantees, economists working with heterodox approaches make up 20.55% of the grantees (37 researchers), while among level PQ -1 grantees they make up 22.41% (13 researchers). Within level 1, this corresponds to half of PQ -1A grantees, 25% of PQ-1B grantees, and 18.18% of beneficiaries at the PQ-1D level. It is worth noting that the only level of productivity exchange that does not have a heterodox economist is PQ-1C.

. Most Brazilian heterodox economists who receive CNPq productivity grants have devoted themselves to research and contributed to the post-Keynesian paradigm. In addition, non-Post Keynesian perspectives can also be observed in studies on macroeconomics, the economics of industrial organization, and economic history. On the other hand, researchers who contribute to mainstream economics tend to identify with research methods rather than with particular schools of thought. The most common approaches used by these researchers relate to theoretical and applied econometrics, general equilibrium, agricultural economics, and regional and urban economics. Figure 03 illustrates the theoretical approaches of the productivity scholars.



Figure 03: Approaches and number of guests

Mainstream Scholarships Approach		Heterodox Scholarships Approach	
Econometrics	21	Post-Keynesian	19
Applied Economics	19	No Post-Keynesian Macroeconomics	6
General Equilibrium	17	Industrial Economics	6
Financial Economics	17	Institutional Economics	5
Agricultural Economics	14	Economic History	5
Macroeconomics	12	International Economics	3
Regional and Urban Economics	12	Regional and Urban Economics	1
Public Economics	11	Political Economy	1
Health Economics	9	Marxist	1
Environmental Economics	8	Complexity Economics	1
Microeconomics	8	Agricultural Economics	1
International Economics	7		
International Economics	7		
Labor Economics	7		
Behavioral Economics	6		
Education	4		
Industrial Economics	4		
Energy Economics	2		
Banking Economics	1		
Complexity Economics	1		
Criminal Economics	1		
Cultural Economics	1		
Development Economics	1		
EconoPhysics	1		
Game Theory	1		
Law and Economics	1		
Machine Learning	1		

Source: Outlined by the author.

3. Fostering Pluralism in “Qualis” journal evaluation system

The establishment of standards to evaluate the quality of information in scientific articles has been a concern in Brazil since the 1960s (FERREIRA & KRZYZANOWSKI, 2003). The Qualis journal evaluation system, established in 1998, is still responsible for this task. In its fields, intellectual production is indirectly evaluated based on the analysis of the quality of the dissemination media, i.e., journals.



Qualis is used as an evaluation criterion by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (in English: Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) – CAPES –, the government agency responsible for evaluating degree programs in Brazil. The result is a list with the classification of the tools used by postgraduate programs to disseminate their production, with journals classified by quality levels. The complete list can be consulted by anyone who wishes to do so on the official Internet platform.

Qualis index is composed of objective indicators - CiteScore (Scopus base), the Impact Factor - FI (Web of Science base - Clarivate) and h5 (Google Scholar base) - and subjective indicators for each field of knowledge, especially those that take into account the opinions of researchers and specialists from different research segments about the most important journals for a given field, among others.

According to the latest official document, the main objective of Qualis is to provide a tool for assessing the intellectual production of graduate programs. The document states that CAPES neither indicates nor is responsible for Qualis being used as a source for classifying the quality of scientific journals, researchers, research groups, or for any purpose other than the evaluation of postgraduate programs (CAPES, 2023). However, in Brazilian institutional environment where the financing of graduate programs in economics depends almost exclusively on public resources, this is difficult to verify in practice. In fact, the result of the Qualis evaluation is the first of five criteria that are taken into account in the CAPES four-year evaluation⁵, which is responsible for assigning grades to postgraduate programs in Brazil. These grades are used as a reference for the distribution of funds. At the end of the evaluation, programs receive scores from 3 to 7. Programs that receive a score of 6 or 7 are considered excellent programs and therefore have access to more resources.

When it comes to pluralism in the Brazilian economics, the Qualis system exerts great influence on this issue. Qualis divides journals into different tiers (A1, A2, A3, A4, B1, B2, B3, B4, and C) based on criteria such as impact, editorial quality, and thematic relevance. Unlike the way journal quality is evaluated in most parts of the

⁵The other criteria are: (i) program proposal; (ii) faculty; (iii) student body (theses and dissertations); and (iv) social interaction.



world, the Brazilian system takes into account not only citation criteria (which result in heterodox journals being ranked at very low positions), but also the importance of the journal in each specific area. In this sense, heterodox journals have received much prestige and reached high strata (the evolution of the classification of heterodox journals in the Qualis assessment can be found in Appendix 01 at the end of this paper.)

Let us take as a starting point the last three evaluations of economics journals conducted in qualis to assess the prestige gain of heterodox economics over time. In the classification valid for 2010-2012, there were already examples of journals privileging heterodox approaches in the highest tier (Cambridge Journal of Economics, Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, Journal of Economic Methodology, and History of Political Economy), but the majority of heterodox journals were classified in lower prestige classes (e.g., categories B3, B4, and C): Review of International Political Economy (B4), Development and Change (B3), Journal of the History of Economic Thought (B3), Ecological Economics (B1), CEPAL Review (B2), Intervention: European Journal of Economics and Economic Policy (B3), to name a few. However, in the last evaluation periods, several heterodox journals were able to maintain or improve their rankings over time, moving up to higher categories such as A1 and A2. In addition, some journals for which rankings were not originally available have achieved higher rankings more recently.

The main practical effect of using Qualis, then, is to smooth out the discrepancies between journals specializing in heterodox economics and mainstream economics. Looking first at the ranges of this metric, we find that well-known journals such as the Quarterly Journal of Economics, American Economic Review, and Econometrica, three of the most internationally renowned economics journals, rank the same as journals below the 500th position in RePEc, ie, whose impact factor is significantly lower and whose subject area is marginalized in mainstream academic economics, as in the case of the Journal of Post Keynesian Economics (538th), History of Political Economy (857th), and New Political Economy (696th). In this context, it is worth noting that of the top 50 heterodox journals, 15 received the highest rating (A1), despite the fact that they do not have comparable prestige in international academic economics



Final Considerations

In this essay, we combine historical and institutional factors to understand the elements that generated and strengthened pluralism in the Brazilian economics. To this end, we examine the evolution of academic economics in Brazil, noting that these pluralistic principles did not emerge spontaneously, but are the result of a complex historical process influenced by controversial economic debates over time and by the evolution of the field. It was shown that when institutions responsible for regulating economics in Brazil were established, the pre-existing pluralist base conditioned the development of essentially pluralist institutions that were responsible for consolidating pluralism in the academic and scientific environment of Brazilian economics.

In addition, data from various official sources were compiled and analyzed to provide an overview of the impact of pluralistic development on the Brazilian economy. It was found that most postgraduate centers of economics in Brazil have a pluralistic approach (about 37.5%), while centers with a predominantly heterodox approach account for about 30.4%. This indicates that researchers dedicated exclusively to the heterodox research direction have an opportunity in most postgraduate economics programs in Brazil (about 67.85% in total).

Finally, this paper has shown that access to funding is pluralistic and does not favor specific approaches, thanks to the equitable distribution of grants by the main research funding agencies such as CNPQ and CAPES, based on the evaluation of programs. However, the excellence grants awarded by the government research funding agencies go mostly to projects developed in centers with orthodox tendencies, such as PUC-Rio and EPGE/FGV-RJ in the case of FAPERJ, and mainly to centers with orthodox tendencies in the case of FAPESP. Regarding the evaluation of publications and the quality of research in Brazil, it was found that the Qualis system plays a balancing role, bringing mainstream and heterodox journals closer together.

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Appendix 01: evaluation of heterodox journals in the last three Qualis evaluations

HJQS Ranking	Heterodox Journals	2010-20 12	2013- 2016	2017-20 20
1°	Cambridge Journal of Economics	A1	A1	A1
2°	Journal of Economic Issues	A2	A1	A1
3°	Journal of Post Keynesian Economics	A1	A1	A1
4°	Review of Radical Political Economics	A2	A2	A2
5°	Economy and Society	B1	B4	-
6°	Development and Change	B3	A2	A1
7°	Review of Political Economy	A2	A2	A2
8°	Review of International Political Economy	B4	-	-
9°	Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization	A2	A1	A1
10°	International Labour Review	B3	-	-
11°	American Journal of Economics and Sociology	-	-	-
12°	Capital and Class	B3	-	A3
13°	Metroeconomica	B1	A2	A1
14°	European Journal of the History of Economic Thought	-	B1	A2
15°	Review of Social Economy	B3	-	A2
16°	Journal of the History of Economic Thought	B3	A2	A3
17°	Science and Society	B3	B1	-
18°	Feminist Economics	-	-	-
19°	Journal of Evolutionary Economics	B1	-	A1
20°	Rethinking Marxism	-	-	-
21°	Journal of Development Studies	B1	A1	A1
22°	Journal of Economic Methodology	A1	A1	-
23°	History of Political Economy	A1	A1	A1
24°	Structural Change and Economic Dynamics	B1	A1	A1
25°	International Review of Applied Economics	B2	A2	A2
26°	Economics and Philosophy	B1	-	-
27°	International Journal of Social Economics	B1	A2	A1
28°	Capitalism, Nature, Socialism	C	-	-
29°	International Journal of Political Economy	B3	B1	A2
30°	New Left Review	A2	A2	-
31°	Contributions to Political Economy	B5	-	B2
32°	New Political Economy	B2	-	A1
33°	Journal of Socio-Economics	B5	B1	-
34°	Journal of Institutional Economics	B4	A2	-
35°	Constitutional Political Economy	-	-	-
36°	Antipode	-	-	-



37º	Review of Austrian Economics	-	-	-
38º	Historical Materialism	-	-	-
39º	History of Economics Review	-	-	B2
40º	Journal of Income Distribution	B4	-	-
41º	Oxford Development	B2	A2	A2
42º	Ecological Economics	B1	A1	A1
43º	Cepal Review	B2	B1	A1
44º	Studies in Political Economy	B4	-	-
45º	Review of African Political Economy	-	-	A2
46º	Brazilian Journal of Political Economy	B1	B1	A1
47º	Forum for Social Economic	-	B1	A3
48º	Econ Journal Watch	-	-	-
49º	Economic Systems Research	B4	A2	A2
50º	Journal of Australian Political Economy	-	-	-
51º	Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics	-	-	A4
52º	Critical Sociology	-	-	-
53º	Research in the History of Economic Thought and Methodology	-	-	A4
54º	Organization and Environment	-	-	-
55º	Advances in Austrian Economic	-	-	-
56º	Work, Employment and Society	-	-	-
57º	Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics	B5	-	A3
58º	International Journal of Green Economics	B4	-	
59º	Intervention: European Journal of Economics and Economic Policy	B5	B1	A2
60º	Review of Black Political Economy	B3	A2	B1
61º	Critical Perspectives on International Business	C	-	-
62º	Debatte	-	-	-