

*Daglas Nort*

*Nobelova nagrada za 1993.*



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# VELIKAN EKONOMSKE MISLI 20. VEKA

## Rezime

Daglas Nort i Robert Fogel dobili su Nobelovu nagradu iz ekonomije 1993. godine za obnavljanje istraživanja ekonomske istorije uz primenu ekonomske teorije i kvantitativnih metoda u cilju objašnjenja ekonomske i institucionalne promene. Daglas Nort se rodio 1920. godine u Kembridžu, Masačusets, SAD. Završio je Kalifornija univerzitet u Berkliju. Studirao je političke nauke, filozofiju i ekonomiju, a doktorirao na Vašingtonskom univerzitetu. Šezdesetih godina prošlog veka pokrenuo je dodiplomske studije ekonomske istorije na Univerzitetu Vašington u Sijetlu, gde će kao profesor ostati sve do 1983. godine, kada prelazi na Vašingtonski univerzitet u Sent Luisu. Prelazak na drugi fakultet pokazao se kao dobar poslovni potez jer ga je tu sačekala grupa mladih politikologa i ekonomista koji su pokušavali da razviju nove modele političke ekonomije. Uz njihovu pomoć stvorio je Centar za političku ekonomiju, koji i danas funkcioniše kao kreativni istraživački centar. Nort je jedan od najznačajnijih ekonomista 20. veka, čiji uticaj i doprinos ekonomskoj misli nije ništa manji ni u ovom 21. veku.

**Ključne reči:** Daglas Nort, Nobelova nagrada, ekonomija, Kalifornija, univerzitet, Berkli, Vašingtonski univerzitet, Sent Luis, neoklasicizam, društvo, informacija, kreativnost, konkurencija

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*Douglass North*

*Nobel Prize for 1993*

# GREAT ECONOMIC THINKER OF THE 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

*scientific  
review  
article*



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## Summary

Douglass North and Robert Fogel won the 1993 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for having renewed research in economic history by applying economic theory and quantitative methods in order to explain economic and institutional change. Douglass North was born in 1920 in Cambridge, Massachusetts (USA). He graduated from the University of California at Berkeley. He studied political science, philosophy and economics, and gained his PhD at the University of Washington. In the 1960s he launched an undergraduate program for economic history studies at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he taught as a professor until 1983, when he moved to Washington University in St. Louis. The shift to another university turned out to be a felicitous move given that there he met a group of young political scientists and economists who were attempting to develop new models of political economy. With their help, he established the Center in Political Economy, which continued to be a creative research center. North is one of the most significant economists in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, his contribution to the economic thought being just as great in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Key words:** Douglass North, Nobel Prize, economics, California University, Berkley, University of Washington, St. Louis, neoclassicism, society, information, creativity, competition.

**JEL:** B31, B52, D70, O43

**D**aglas Nort i Robert Fogel dobili su Nobelovu nagradu iz ekonomije 1993. godine za obnavljanje istraživanja ekonomske istorije uz primenu ekonomske teorije i kvantitativnih metoda u cilju objašnjenja ekonomske i institucionalne promene.

## Biografija

Porodica Nort živila je nadomak Kembridža (Masačusets, SAD) gde se 1920. godine rodio Daglas. Naime, Daglasov otac bio je direktor osiguravajućeg društva Metropoliten i sa porodicom se zbog posla mnogo selio. Daglas, treće najmlađe dete u porodici, promenio je zbog toga više škola. Osnovnu školu je pohađao u Konektikatu, Otavi (Kanada), Lozani (Švajcarska), Njujorku i Long Ajlendu, a srednju školu je završio u Konektikatu. U srednjoj školi počeo je da se bavi fotografisanjem, a veliki podstrek su mu bile nagrade koje je dobijao za svoje fotografije. Na njegova buduća interesovanja i obrazovanje najviše je uticala majka, inteligentna, interesantna i radoznala osoba, potom tetka i teča, koji su ga uveli u svet klasične muzike. Tetka i danas zauzima posebno mesto u Daglasovom životu.

Studirao je političke nauke, filozofiju i ekonomiju na Kalifornija univerzitetu u Berkliju gde će postati ubeđeni marksista angažujući se u mnogim studentskim aktivnostima ove političke opcije. Bio je osrednji student koji je želeo da studije nastavi na pravnom fakultetu, ali ga je u tome omeo Drugi svetski rat. Tada dolazi do razlaza sa komunistima jer je bio protiv rata i ubijanja. Zbog toga se, kada je završio Berkli, opredelio za mornaricu gde je ostao tri godine.



Zavoleo je brodski život, a slobodno vreme provodio u čitanju, pre svega štiva iz ekonomije. Uz ova angažovanja bavio se i fotografisanjem migranata. Radio je sa Doroteom Lange koja je bila rukovodilac sektora za fotografiju pri Administraciji za bezbednost u poljoprivredi, i koja ga je ubeđivala da njegova životna preokupacija treba da ostane fotografija dok je njen muž, koji je radio na Ekonomskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Kaliforniji, smatrao da Daglas treba da postane ekonomista. Nort se opredelio za ovu drugu opciju i upisao postdiplomske studije ekonomije na Berkliju. Želja mu je bila da uz pomoć ekonomske nauke dođe do napretka društva. Verovao je da će spoznajom šta određuje uspešnost privrede kroz vreme poboljšati njen učinak. Taj cilj nikada nije izgubio iz vida.

Najveći uticaj na Daglasa kao postdiplomca imali su profesori Robert Brejdi, Leo Rogin i M. M. Najt. Daglasov mentor bio je M. M. Najt, profesor sa izvrsnim poznavanjem činjenica, ali i velikim iskustvom iz ekonomske istorije. Tokom ovih studija Daglas je naučio mnogo činjenica, ali nije u potpunosti spoznao suštinu ekonomske teorije. Kada se zaposlio na Vašington Univerzitetu u Sijetlu, svoje slobodno vreme je provodio igrajući šah sa Donom Gordonom, briljantnim mladim teoretičarem. Za tri godine svakodnevnog igranja šaha Daglas kaže: "Možda sam tukao Dana u šahu, ali me je on naučio ekonomskoj teoriji i tome kako da razmišljam kao ekonomista, veštini koja je možda najznačajnije umeće koje sam stekao." Svoju disertaciju posvetio je istoriji životnog osiguranja u SAD.

Daglas je postao stipendista Saveta za istraživanja u oblasti društvenih nauka. Sledeće godine su mu bile veoma produktivne, kada je imao uspešnu saradnju sa poznatim svetskim ekonomistima Jozefom Šumpeterom, Sajmonom Kuznjecovim i mnogim drugim. Od 1956 do 1957. godine radio je kao naučni saradnik u Nacionalnom birou za ekonomska istraživanja, da bi 1966. i 1967. godinu proveo kao stipendista na Ford fakultetu u Ženevi. Tih šezdesetih godina

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## Biography

The North's family lived in the vicinity of Cambridge (Massachusetts, USA), where Douglass was born in 1920. Douglass's father was a manager at the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and as a result of his business the family moved a number of times. The third, youngest child in the family, Douglass changed several schools due to this. He attended elementary school in Connecticut, Ottawa (Canada), Lausanne (Switzerland), New York and Long Island, and completed his high school education in Connecticut. It was at high school that he became interested in photography, and the prizes he won for his photographs served as a major encouragement. His future interests and education were mostly influenced by his mother, an intelligent, exciting and intellectually curious person, but also by his aunt and uncle, who introduced him to the world of classical music. His aunt continues to play a very special role in Douglass's life even today.

Douglass studied political science, philosophy and economics at the University of California at Berkeley, where he became a convinced Marxist and engaged in a variety of student activities concerning this political option. He was a mediocre student who hoped to go to law school, but this was thwarted by the outbreak of the Second World War. It was then that he parted with the communists, because he had strong feelings against the war and killing. This was why, after he graduated from Berkley, he joined the Merchant Marine, where he spent three years.

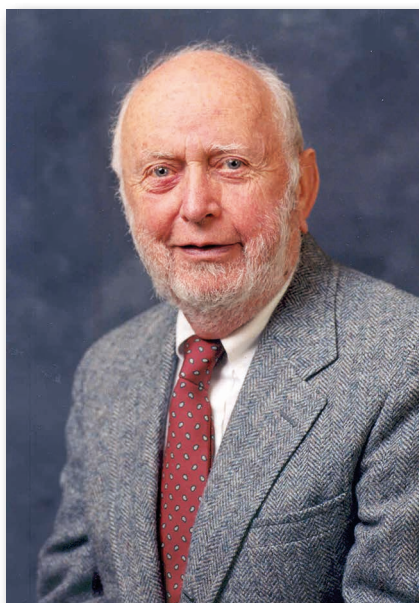
He enjoyed the life at sea, and spent his free time reading, mostly books in the field of economics. In addition, Douglass dealt with photographing migrants. He worked with Dorothea Lange, head of the photographic division of the Farm Security Administration, who tried to persuade him to choose photography as his life preoccupation, whereas her husband, working in the economics department at the University of California, thought that Douglass should become an economist. North chose the latter option, and enrolled at the postgraduate studies of economics at Berkley. His intention was to improve societies by means of economic science. He believed that the understanding of what determined the performance of economies through time can actually improve their

performance in the future. He has never lost sight of that objective.

Douglass's most influential professors were Robert Brady, Leo Rogin and M. M. Knight. M. M. Knight was his mentor, a professor with exquisite knowledge of the facts, but also with huge experience in economic history. During his studies, Douglass learned a lot of facts, but he did not acquire a real understanding of economic theory. When he got a job at the University of Washington in Seattle, he

spent his free hours playing chess with Don Gordon, a brilliant young theorist. In the three years of playing chess every day, as Douglass himself says: "...I may have beaten Don at chess, but he taught me economics and how to reason like an economist, and that skill is still perhaps the most important set of tools that I have acquired." Douglass dedicated his PhD dissertation to the history of life insurance in the United States.

Soon he was granted a Social Science Research Council Fellowship. The following years were rather productive, and Douglass developed successful cooperation with the leading world economists, including Joseph Schumpeter, Simon Kuznets, and many





pokrenuo je dodiplomske studije ekonomske istorije na Univerzitetu Vašington u Sijetlu, gde će kao profesor ostati sve do 1983. godine, kada prelazi na Vašingtonski univerzitet u Sent Luisu. Prelazak na drugi fakultet pokazao se kao dobar poslovni potez jer ga je tu sačekala grupa mladih politikologa i ekonomista koji su pokušavali da razviju nove modele političke ekonomije. Uz njihovu pomoć osnovao je centar političke ekonomije koji i danas funkcioniše kao kreativni istraživački centar.

Daglas Nort se prvi put oženio 1944. godine. U tom braku dobio je tri sina: Daglasa, Kristofera i Malkolma, koji su rođeni u periodu 1951-57. godine. Kada su deca krenula u školu, njegova žena je počela da se bavi politikom i postala uspešna u tom poslu u državi Vašington. Drugi brak sklopio je 1972. godine sa Elizabetom koja je postala njegov životni pratilac, ali i partner u projektima i programima, kritičar i urednik.

Život Daglasa Norta, međutim, nije ispunjen samo naučnim radom i istraživanjima, iako oni jesu njegova osnovna preokupacija. Strastan je fotograf, lovac i ribolovac, okrenut prijateljima sa kojima uživa u nabrojanim hobijima. Osim toga, obožava muziku, koja je uvek bila vrlo važna u njegovom životu, dobru hranu i vino. U jednom periodu svog života imao je i avion, te mu je i pilotiranje bio jedan od brojnih hobija.

## Naučni rad

Daglas Nort je jedan od najznačajnijih ekonomista 20. veka čiji uticaj i doprinos ekonomskoj misli nije ništa manji ni u ovom 21. veku. Odlučujući intelektualni preokret kod Norta desio se sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka kada je počeo da shvata da neoklasična teorija ne može da objasni promene koje su se desile u evropskim zemljama od srednjeg veka. Korak dalje u preispitivanju neoklasike učinio je u koautorskoj knjizi sa Lensom Dejvisom *Institucionalne promene i ekonomski razvoj u Americi* (1971.) i sa koautorom Robertom Tomasom *Uspon Zapada: Nova ekonomska istorija* (1973.). Osam godina kasnije, u knjizi *Strukture i promene kroz ekonomsku istoriju*, Nort napušta stav da su ustanove po definiciji efikasne i proučava zašto se u nekim zemljama održavaju neefikasna pravila i ustanove. U tumačenjima koja je davao provejavali su elementi neoklasike

sa čijom teorijom je Nort sporo i teško raskidao. Tek je sa knjigom *Institucije, institucionalne promene i ekonomski učinak*, iz 1990. godine, Nort sasvim napustio neoklasičnu doktrinu.

Po Nortovom mišljenju, društva se međusobno udaljavaju tokom istorijskog razvoja umesto da konvergiraju zato što različita društva imaju različita pravila igre. Vlade u skladu sa raznim običajima, ideologijama i interesima stvaraju različita pravila igre u okviru kojih su različite mogućnosti da se (ne) poštuju: život, vlasnička prava, sloboda ugovora, trgovinsko sudstvo, arbitraže. Državna potrošnja u zemljama ima različitu visinu, što utiče na visinu transakcionih troškova. Zemlje trećeg sveta su siromašne zato što institucionalna ograničenja definišu skup ishoda za političku/ekonomsku aktivnost koja ne podstiču produktivnu aktivnost.

"Ideje, dogme, običaji i ideologije oblikuju subjektivna mentalna stanja i procese, koje pojedinci koriste da bi protumačili pojave sa kojima se suočavaju i da bi napravili sopstvene izbore. Proces učenja je, prema Nortu, funkcija dve stvari. Prvo, načina na koji struktura

**GF:** *Gledajući svet danas, šta vas najviše uznemirava?*

**DN:** ... Optimistično verujem da postoje rešenja za naše probleme, samo nisam optimista po pitanju toga da li ćemo ta rešenja pronaći i sprovesti. Čini se da Vlada (SAD) nije toliko inventivna. Mediji su dvosekli mač, koji podjednako informišu i dezinformišu. Ekonomija je danas dosadna. Postoje neki novi glasovi u oblasti institucionalne ekonomije, ali većina istraživanja je veoma formalna i bazirana na matematici. Ne bavi se pitanjem kako pronaći dalji put.

Ne znamo šta bi moglo da uspe, jer nismo živeli u svetu kao što je ovaj. Svet koji je otvoren za konkurenciju je nesiguran svet. Ljudskom biću se ne dopada da bude nesigurno i zbog toga preduzima mere da odstrani nesigurnost, što ima efekat smanjenja kreativnosti.

*(Iz intervjua Gejl Fosler Grupacije sa Daglasom Nortom pod naslovom "Kuda dalje?", objavljenog 16.11.2010.)*

others. In 1956-1957 he worked as a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research, and in 1966-1967 he went off to Geneva as a Ford Faculty Fellow. In the 1960s he launched an undergraduate program for economic history studies at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he taught as a professor until 1983, when he moved to Washington University in St. Louis. The shift to another university turned out to be a felicitous move given that there he met a group of young political scientists and economists who were attempting to develop new models of political economy. With their help, he established the Center in Political Economy, which continued to be a creative research center.

Douglass North married for the first time in 1944. He and his wife had three sons, Douglass, Christopher and Malcolm, born between 1951 and 1957. After the boys were in school, his wife became a successful politician in the Washington State. In 1972 Douglass married again, to Elisabeth Case, who continues to be his life companion, but also a partner in the projects and programs, critic and editor.

**GF:** *In looking at the world of today, what disturbs you most?*

**DN:** ... I am optimistic that there are solutions to our problems; I am just not optimistic that we will find and implement them. The (US) Government seems to be less innovative. The media is a two-edged sword, both informing and dis-informing. Economics is boring at the moment. There are a few voices in the new institutional economics field, but most of the research is highly formalistic and mathematical. It doesn't address the issues of how we find our way forward.

We don't know what is going to work because we have never lived in a world like this. The world that is open to competition is an insecure world. Human beings dislike being insecure and, therefore, take actions to cut off insecurity, which has the effect of reducing creativity.

*(From the Gail Fosler Group interview with Douglass North, titled "Where Do We Go From Here", published on 16.11.2010)*

The life of Douglass North, however, has not been filled just by scientific work and research, although that has been the fundamental focus of his life. In addition, he is a photographer, hunter and fisherman, enjoying his many hobbies with his friends. He also loves music, which has always been an important part of his life. He enjoys good food and wine. At one point of his life, he had an airplane, and learning how to fly it was also on the list of his hobbies.

## Scientific Work

North is one of the most significant economists in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, his contribution to the economic thought being just as great in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The decisive intellectual shift in North's thinking occurred in the 1970s, when he started to realize that neo-classical economic theory cannot explain the changes that had characterized European economies from medieval times onward. A step further in researching neo-classicism were his two books: co-authored with Lance Davis, *Institutional Change and American Economic Growth* (1971), and, co-authored with Robert Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (1973). Eight years later, in his book *Structure and Change in Economic History*, North abandoned his view that institutions are, by definition, efficient, and started investigating why in some economies inefficient rules and institutions persist. The interpretations he provided contained some traces of neo-classical elements, showing that the break-up with this theory was slow and difficult for North. It was only in his book *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, published in 1990, that North completely abandoned the neo-classical doctrine.

According to North's opinion, instead of converging, societies mutually diverge in the course of historic development, because different societies have different rules of the game. In line with various customs, ideologies and interests, the governments create different rules of the game, within which there are different possibilities to (dis)respect: life, ownership rights, freedom of contract, mercantile courts, arbitrages. Public consumption varies in different economies, which in turn affects the

usvojenih verovanja filtrira informacije koje se stižu iskustvom. Drugo, različitih iskustava sa kojima se pojedinci susreću u raznim društvima i raznim vremenima. Mentalni procesi počinju na nivou pojedinca, ali ako su pojedinci na nekoj teritoriji izloženi čudnim shvatanjima i skučenim mogućnostima izbora, oni će kao društvo težiti da donose odluke koje imaju dalekosežne loše posledice. Naravno, oni suočeni sa permissivnijim okruženjem i liberalnijom percepcijom imaju mnogo bolje šanse. U osnovi odatle, od neformalnih ustanova počinju da se grade društveni izbori koji mogu biti uspešne priče, katastrofe ili nešto između...

Ako u društvima ne dolazi do nužnih promena i inovacija, to je stoga što institucionalna i organizaciona struktura tih društava na daje podsticaje za takvo nešto. Ta društva će stagnirati ili propadati sve dok se pravila igre ne promene, tako da stimulišu rad, inovaciju i uspeh, a kažnjavaju nerad, mediokritetstvo i neuspeh. Naravno, ponekad mogu proteći vekovi dok se takve promene ne dese, što se lepo vidi iz mnogih Nortovih, ali i ne samo iz njegovih analiza." (M. Prokopijević).

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2. [www.nobelprize.org](http://www.nobelprize.org)
3. The Gail Fosler Group LLC: Douglass C. North
4. The Gail Fosler Group LLC: Where Do We Go From Here, Gail Fosler, 16.11.2010.

transaction costs. The third-world countries are poor because the institutional limitations define a group of outcomes (payoffs) for political/economic activity that do not encourage production activity.

“Ideas, dogmas, customs and ideologies shape the subjective mental states and processes, used by individuals to interpret the phenomena they are facing and to make their own choices. The learning process, according to North, is a function of two things. Firstly, the manner in which the structure of adopted beliefs filters information gained through experience. Secondly, various experiences which individuals acquire in different societies and different times. Mental processes start at the level of an individual, but, if the individuals in a certain territory are exposed to weird beliefs and limited possibilities of choice, they, as a society, will tend to make decisions with

generally bad repercussions in the long run. Naturally, those faced with a more permissive environment and more liberal perception will stand a much better chance. Therefore, it is from informal institutions that the social choices begin to be constructed, either as successful stories, catastrophes, or something in between...

If societies do not experience the necessary changes and innovations, this is due to the fact that institutional and organizational structure of these societies does not encourage such line of developments. Such societies will stagnate or deteriorate until the rules of the game are changed, so as to stimulate labour, innovation and success, and penalize idleness, mediocrity and failure. Naturally, sometimes it may take centuries for these changes to take place, which is easily seen from many analyses conducted by economists, including North.” (M. Prokopijevic)