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After the "New Economics," pragmatist turn?

William Milberg¹

Introduction

were ad hot and could be used to model any pre-determined outcome. the models. Equally important was the growing sentiment that the models ness was a problem for those interested in drawing policy conclusions from general equilibrium models of the previous era had been. The lack of robustmarkets, the New Economics became more relevant but less robust than the generation process from a strict hypothetico-deductive formula to a creeping technology and strategic behavior by firms and states to the analysis of inductivism, and adding imperfect competition, increasing returns to scale assumptions. The New Economics was a response to the widely perceived set of prices and quantities which appealed to successively weaker sets of which economic knowledge was understood to progress through mathematirrelevance of the general equilibrium approach. By reversing the hypothesis ical proofs of the existence, stability and uniqueness of a general equilibrium New Economics was itself a reaction to the era of general equilibrium, in reaction against the "New Economics" that developed in the late 1970s. The In the past five years there has been an empiricist turn in economic research, a

today an array of tendencies in economics - both within and outside the broadening of the acceptable criteria for hypothesis generation. There exist narrow deductivist criterion for the generation of hypotheses has created a array of otherwise differing theoretical tendencies. The gradual erosion of the simply naïve falsificationism. Inductivism is not necessarily pragmatism, but pragmatist considerations have resurfaced in research methodology across an up the issue of whether this turn constitutes an embrace of pragmatism or turn is its de-emphasis of theory, and in the conclusion of the chapter I take by Burns and Mitchell in the 1940s that was attacked by Koopmans (1947) as economic logic, intuition, or even as a response to current events, and "Measurement without Theory." One reading of the current methodological ables and the correlations among them. The move is reminiscent of the work emphasis is placed instead on the sophistication of the measurement of variwas an empirical turn. In this era, hypotheses are often rooted in simple The response to the weaknesses of the New Economics in the late 1990s

argue that it is not obvious which of these tendencies, if any, will become the mainstream - each of which claims as a strength its pragmatist methodology. I headed for a more pluralist era, in which debates over the most appropriate mainstream of a future economics but that, in any case, economics may be torm of pragmatism figure prominently.

of general equlibrium analysis Knowledge from mathematical generalization: the case

of a strict hypothetico-deductive method followed an era of theoretical programming and operations research methods for the purposes of wartime has been attributed to the rise of scientism generally, the success of linear pluralism in which institutionalism had a prominent place. The rise of mathe-Kenneth Arrow, Paul Samuelson and Gerard Debreu.⁴ Interestingly, this rise dency in academic circles was spearheaded by Americans, most significantly, dominant among economists until after the Second World War.3 Its ascengiven and heterogenous, subjective individual preferences, the general equilibof 1871 ushered in the utilitarian problem of the simultaneous satisfaction of Quesnay's "Tableau Economique" of 1758.2 While the marginalist revolution some accounts to the writings of the Physiocrats, exemplified by François planning, and the increasingly free-market ideological climate during the matical formalism and general equilibrium analysis in economics at this time rium approach to the theory of prices and resource allocation did not become General equilibrium analysis has a long tradition in economics, dating back in

Axiom-based hypothesis generation

implication showing the optimality of the decentralized market system. rium's uniqueness and stability. But equally important was the welfare equilibrium was of course a prerequisite to any attempt to prove the equilibobjective functions and all markets clear. Proof of the existence of such an commodity prices and quantitities such that all agents are optimizing their markets and with complete information, and derives the properties of a set of behavior of rational individual agents operating in perfectly competitive General equilibrium analysis begins with a set of axioms describing the

functions, then a proof that assumed preferences to be quasi-concave constituted progress in knowledge. Similarly, the assumption of weakly transitive abiding proof of the existence of general equilibrium relied on concave utility assumptions than did existing proofs of that same result. For example, if the provided a proof of a known result, but required weaker, that is more general, That is, an economic model was understood to generate new knowledge if it of general equilibrium with appeal to successively weaker sets of assumptions. stood to progress through repeated proofs of existence, uniqueness and stability In the era of general equilibrium analysis, economic knowledge was under-

> is another example of how the robustness of the knowledge increased instead of transitive, individual preferences in a proof of existence or optimality

(Weintraub 1998: xx) neoclassical economics. Applied economics is also mathematical and rigorous" the dominance of axiomatics, not rigor per se, that characterizes modern "'mathematization' of economics is not quite the right description. ... It was to dominate the development of theory. According to E. Roy Weintraub: which a particular mathemematics - based on the axiomatic method - came one of the greater use of mathematics in economic modeling, but one in its emphasis on mathematical formalization. However, the era was not simply era of the dominance of general equilibrium analysis is often characterized by mathematical generality with theoretical progress, it is not surprising that the robustness, of its proofs. 6 Given the general equilibrium school's equation of establishing the progress of knowledge - increased mathematical generality, or The great strength of this methodology was the clarity of its criterion for

tion," in which the generation of testable hypotheses was the prime role of Mark Blaug (1980) critically referred to this era as one of "innocuous falsificaeconomic research and journals did not consider such testing to be important. usually not specified) of its deductively generated hypotheses. But academic edge in economics hinged on the testing (verification or falsification was economic research. process. Economics textbooks during this era continued to insist that knowlbecause empirical evidence did not figure in the knowledge-generation progress in this era has, so far, not referred at all to empirical testing. This is deductive approach to knowledge. Our description of knowledge and its The axiomatic method followed a narrowly construed, hypothetico-

ciently rigorous. He states: equilibrium had been approached by others in the past, they were insuffihim a Nobel Prize, Gerard Debreu states that while the problem of general the rigor of the project. In the preface to his 1959 monograph, The Theory of Value: An Axiomatic Analysis of Economic Equilibrium, which would later earn historical detail. The insulation was conscious and was considered essential to its implications, but from its aridity, that is, its insulation from institutional and modeling methodology resulted not directly from its failure to empirically test The demise of competitive general equilibrium analysis as the dominant

contemporary formalist school of mathematics. ... Allegiance to rigor strict sense, is logically entirely disconnected from its interpretations. dictates the axiomatic form of the the analysis where the theory, in the The theory of value is treated here with the standards of rigor of the

(Debreu 1959; x)⁷

"interpretations" could be found in the early work of the marginalists, in ings of actual market economies. The separation of "logic" from "Interpretations" would typically refer to how the model relates to the work-

economics for the common businessman. As Robert Heilbroner writes: Alfred Marshall's insistence on merging theory and application into an Arguably, the initial phase of acceptance of neoclassical economics was due to marginalists until the arrival of the American general equilibrium school. 1954 [1871]: 71). The distinction would not have been emphasized by the the pure theory of economics, it must precede applied economics" (Walras system of the division of labor" (Walras 1954 [1871]: 76). For Walras, "given exchange" and the latter relating to "the organization of industry under a particular in Walras' distinction between "pure" and "applied" analysis, the former referring to the "natural science" of the determination of "value in

the interest of those who see in the economy a subject that may have lawalways for the best from the viewpoint of logical clarity, but unfailingly to word, moral. Throughout the text the two approaches intertwine, not counterpart in the world to which science directs its gaze. like "natural" attributes, but which also possess a core for which there is no conception of economics as intrinsically sociological, or, to say the dreaded tions of great importance. The second is a very un-, even anti-marginalist of them is unquestionably that of marginalism, to which he made contribu-Marshall gives voice simultaneously to two approaches to economics. One

(Heilbroner 1996: 228)

on to criticize general equilibrium theory for being hermetically sealed off: which actual and "imperfect" economies could be assessed. Coddington went ideal, fully decentralized, private enterprise system, useful as a standard against theory to the understanding of actual economies to "the contribution of flatness Alan Coddington (1975) compared the contribution of general equilibrium soon after Arrow and Hahn's (1972) broadening of the concise presentation in contributions were in the area of partial equilibrium analysis - would come defense of general equilibrium theory that it represented a benchmark of an to mountaineering." This sarcastic comment was a response to the standard Debreu's 1959 monograph. In a review essay of the Arrow and Hahn book, approach would not come until after the Second World War, and from American academics. Criticism of the general equilibrium project - Marshall's The intellectual crystallization and professional dominance of the Walrasian

structure of general equilibrium; to consider the arguments not on their the general equilibrium framework. own merits, but only to the extent that they can be reformulated within [W]e can see clearly the Procrustean temptations that are held out to the

(Coddington 1975: 555)

as part of the cause of the decline: demise of this technically powerful paradigm. Blaug identifies misplaced rigor Recently, historians of economic thought have attempted to explain the

> a research program that has run into the sands. solved either rigorously or sloppily. General equilibrium theory is simply exist, while the extremely relevant "stability problem" has never been applied to a virtual economy that can be imagined but could not possibly Debreu turns general equilibrium theory into a mathematical puzzle, [T]he most rigorous solution of the existence problem by Arrow and

(Blaug 2001: 160)

Colander (2000) notes that the demise of general equilibrium theory was its inability to lead to applied analysis. He writes:

Arrow/Debreu general equilibrium work was not going to get to the application of that science. By the 1970s economists recognized that the pure science of economics would progress in tandem with the practical the existence of a general equilibrium in 1957, there was hope that the guided by general equilibrium theory. Thus, when Arrow/Debreu proved promised land, In the 1950s and 1960s, it was hoped that practical models would be

(Colander 2000)

stream group of economists, are representative of the views of the profession as they evolved over the last quarter of the twentieth century. with general equilibrium theory" (Colander 2000). The criticisms from Coddington, Blaug and Colander, an ideologically diverse but largely main-"freed economists to deal with practical policy models that were inconsistent not the core, guiding principle. He writes that the new generation of theory to a new generation of economic models for which general equilibirum was Colander notes that this disgruntlement with general equilibrium theory led

Creeping inductivism and the "New Economics"

including international economics, labor economics, industrial organization and macroeconomics.⁹ the "New Economics" - arose in a series of sub-fields in the profession, equilibrium analysis. This development - what I will refer to in this chapter as growing perception of irrelevance of the hypotheses generated by general approach to economics began to develop in the late 1970s in response to a "context of discovery" as opposed to the "context of justification." A new stage prior to prediction, that of hypothesis generation itself - that is, in the equilibrium analysis must be found elsewhere.8 The answer seems to be at a economics, and the reason for the professional decline in status of general Poor predictive power has never led to the demise of a dominant paradigm in

competition), asymmetric information (rather than symmetric information) including an emphasis on imperfect market competition (rather than perfect These new approaches had some common features across sub-fields,

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tion and hypothesis, that is in the accepted conventions for producing the beginning of a reversal of the direction of the relation between observathe New International Economics, that the New Economics did not cause an vaguely construed inductivism. It became increasingly recognized that the strict hypothetico-deductivism of general equilibrium analysis and toward a New Keynesianism actually increased it - see footnote 9), but it constituted questions being raised by general equibrium theory were out of touch with methodologically speaking, the important shift was the move away from the are typically identified as the chief characteristics of the New Economics, scale), on strategic behavior by firms and governments (as opposed to option increasing returns to scale technology (rather than constant returns to abandonment of rational choice mathematical modeling (and in the case of "real world" concerns 10 I will show in the next section, using the example of mization independent of rival behavior). While these new sets of assumptions

The New International Economics

effects of "strategic trade policy." tions mentioned above about intra-industry trade and the welfare-enhancing technology, strategic interaction among firms or even among governments the "New International Economics" was able to logically derive the predicassuming the prevalance of imperfect competition, increasing returns to scale competition, Pareto-optimal general equilibrium model - for example, by oping the hypotheses to test. By assuming deviations from the perfect international trade. Thus the established theory was of little use even in develthe lines of export-oriented industrial policy, especially in Japan and South Korea. In fact, the issue goes beyond predictive failure. These developments in trade began over twenty years ago, partly in response to the model's failure to Procrustean nature of the established, general equilibrium-based theory of the international economy in the 1970s were not imaginable given the intra-industry trade and the cases of successful government intervention along predict some commonly observed phenomena such as the large volume of The demise of the neoclassical general equilibrium model of international

models of casually observed phenomenon was important mainly to the sented an inward turn of research: providing rational, microeconomic utility- and profit-maximizing microeconomic agents. In this sense it repreaerospace industries - could now be rooted in the "rigorous" rationality of economists themselves. generating system of subsidies and trade protections, subsidy competition Germany's simultaneous import and export of automobiles, Korea's export-Phenomena casually observed but inexplicable with the traditional model be used to "explain" almost anything. This was initially seen as a strength. between the US and EU governments in support of their respective An important feature of the new models was their flexibility: they could

> reality. 11 of its lack of robustness, the theory could not effectively be applied in position of most economists, and some economists responded that because Such a policy stance, however, was at odds with the longstanding free-trade and political scientists making the case for interventionist trade policies. economists, the theory was used as intellectual support by policy makers could raise national welfare. Much to the horror of the new international (e.g. subsidy or quota) in international trade or technology development increasing returns and imperfect competition showed that state intervention "Outward" embrace of the theory proved a disaster. The models of

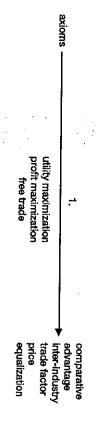
conditions, 12 vention that depended on the particular demand or technological tradition. The rents resulted from the market power created by clever internations' firms or governments, representing a distinct break from the Paretian rents by national firms or governments, sometimes at the expense of other structurally impossible. Welfare analysis focused increasingly on the capture of nology, proofs of Pareto optimality became mathematically intractable or Because of the particular functional forms assumed on preferences and tech-This generation of economic models had another important feature.

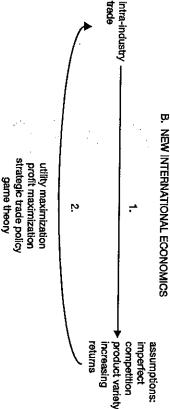
contradict standard theory. outcome was based on an observation of a phenomenon that appeared to thus the model served to explain the rationale for the policy. 14 Sometimes the of the New Economics, "rigorous" or "casual" observation could serve as the initial basis for a prediction. Sometimes the observation related to policy, and in which the name itself characterized the outcome under scrutiny, in the era particular, what outcomes would be deemed acceptable? Or, put differently, outcome. 13 This raised some important questions for the scope of research. In from where should hypotheses come? Unlike the era of general equilibrium of the New Economics were ad hoc and could be used to model any The slip side of the slexibility was the growing sentiment that the models

described, he asserts, as "Ad hoc modelers, or eclectic modelers" (Colander modeling." The economists of the New Economics would be best general equilibrium period. The shift is a change "in the nature of the "applied policy models" as distinct from the "pure theory models" of the toward formal modeling. He describes this era as one dominated by For Colander, what distinguishes this era of economics is not its tendency nomics consists of a grab bag of models with a model for every purpose." modeling. According to Colander (2000), "Modern applied microecostylized model structures. This led to a sense of ad hocery in economic forced to adopt particular, as opposed to general, assumptions, and highly With a wide range of outcomes to "predict," economic modelers were

change in a single assumption often led to a completely different robustness: because of the stylized mathematical structure of the models, a Closely related to the ad hocery of the models was their distinct lack of







ular assumptions in order to deductively reconstruct the original hypothesis Economics, the inductive basis of hypotheses created the need for particthe general equilibrium era, assumptions led to hypotheses. In the New New International Economics. It shows how this relation was reversed: in approach to international trade (Heckscher-Ohlin-Samuelson) and the assumptions and predictions in the traditional general equilibrium distinction is depicted in Figure 20.1 which compares the relation between model constructed precisely in order to generate the hypothesis. The contrast, the hypothesis was often identified in an ad hoc manner and the robustness of the hypothesis. In the New International Economics, by tradition. Progess of knowledge was synomymous with the increasing generality, had been the hallmark of the general equilibrium, marginalist prediction. 15 As I have argued, robustness, in the sense of mathematical

the utility function assumed in the general equilibrium tradition: or even functional forms. Consider the completely general functional form of the need for very particular assumptions on behavior, conjectural variations, The reversal of the relation between prediction and assumptions created

> where U = utility $U = U(x_1, x_2, x_3, ..., x_n)$ $x_i = good i and i = 1,..., n$

International Economics, the so-called Dixit-Stiglitz utility function: Now consider the utility function that dominated theory in the New

 $U = (\Sigma x_i^{\theta})^{1/\theta},$

for another in response to a change in their relative price. ticity of substitution, that is the consumer's willingness to substitute one good where U and x_i are defined as above and θ is a parameter reflecting the elas-

rium in Sec. III below." He goes on: which appears to be necessary if the model is to have a steady-state equilib-International Economics, noted that "This is a restrictive functional form Paul Krugman (1979), in one of the early and pioneering works in the New that all goods are equally substitutable in consumption with all other goods. implies that utility rises with more product variety, even though it also implies The Dixit-Stiglitz utility function dominated the literature because it

economies producing many goods. goods equally good substitutes for one another. The only justification for the assumption is its simplifying power which allows us to analyze assumes away all differences in substitutability among goods, making all mopeds and toothbrushes should have identical demand functions. It also demand symmetrically, this is clearly unrealistic: There is no reason why Something should also be said about the assumption that all goods enter

(Krugman 1979: 256)

ness had replaced robustness as the criterion for the choice of functional form. It appears that in the New International Economics, mathematical tractable-

compelling to give a sense of broad empirical support for the models. 16 on calibration to benchmark data. Neither of these techniques was sufficiently Researchers turned instead to simple correlation analysis and simulations based difficult to operationalize in a standard multiple regression framework. hypotheses. The peculiarities of the model specifications made the models forced by the difficulty economists had in conducting empirical tests of their The ad hocery and unrobustness of the New Economics models was rein-

rium tradition and the New Economics tradition are methodologically not a generalization of the assumption of perfect competition and increasing constant returns to scale as a special case. To argue that the general equilibreturns to scale is not a general representation of technology that comprises methodological significance of the New Economics. Imperfect competition is by firms and states. 17 This is both wrong and an understatement of the erations of market power, non-constant returns to scale and strategic behavior generalization of the existing general equilibrium tradition, adding in consid-One interpretation of the New Economics is that it represents a further

A CONTRACTOR OF THE CONTRACTOR

concern with general equilibrium that it should not even be characterized as he calls the era of "applied policy models") breaks so completely from the by traditional theory." Colander (2000) argues that the New Economics (what about issues - including important policy issues - which cannot be handled Krugman (1983: 346) offers that the new theory is "of some use for thinking respectively - both in terms of model construction and hypothesized results. "neoclassical economics." break from competitive equilibrium analysis of trade and macroeconomics, Greenwald and Stiglitz (1987) both argue that their work constitutes a distinct distinct break from the general equilibrium trajectory. Krugman (1983) and tion. Beyond the philosophical criticisms of the symmetry thesis (see Blaug 1980: 5-7), economists themselves have viewed the New Economics as a identical is to accept the symmetry thesis concerning prediction and explana-

falsificationism? The move to empiricism: pragmatist turn or naïve

analysis do appear, however, and these are research methods acceptable for ular theory. Sophisticated and careful variable construction and statistical as an answer to the research question posed do not necessarily "test" a particpublication in leading mainstream economics journals. 18 do not even appear in these works, and the specific empirical results provided racy associated with higher wages (Rodrik 1999)? Utility and cost functions US wage inequality (Feenstra and Hanson 1997; Slaughter 2000)? Is democtries (Aitken et al. 1996)? Does international outsourcing by US firms raise them. For example: Does trade liberalization raise employment (Levinsohn relevant questions, and apply sophisticated statistical techniques to answer economists, for example, may now ask simple, open-ended, experientially 1999)? Does foreign direct investment raise wages in host developing coun-Economics has opened a new era in mainstream economics. International inductivist pursuit of economic knowledge. The legitimacy crisis of the New for its hypothetico-deductive foundations and to gradually legitimate the Economics has been to discredit any claims its practitioners may have made The result of the perceived ad hocery and unrobustness of the New

equilibrium tradition in its "context of discovery" and the emprical turn concern. However, the New Economics had already broken from the general justification," in particular an insistence on rational choice microfoundations. The recent empirical move constitutes a break from this methodological Economics and general equilibrium theory shared a common "context of niques used to show correlations between and among variables. The New instead on the sophistication of the measurement of variables and the techin simple economic logic, intuition, or current events, and emphasis is placed insistence on rational choice microfoundations. Hypotheses are often rooted inductivism identified in the New Economics to a new level. There is less The new, empiricist, wave of economic research carries the creeping

> characterizes the new trend. cationism, we consider briefly some examples of recent research that Before we assess whether the new trend is pragmatist or simply naïve falsificontext of discovery, is forming, with a clear, if unconscious, pragmatist bent. research.20 In sum, there appears to be a further loosening of the already loose set of criteria for hypothesis generation. A new set of rules, a new and introspection - rather than axiomatics - have also motivated the recent very simple supply and demand theory, but casual empiricism, common sense including completely a posteriori observation. 19 Some economists appeal to defined by broader criteria for the generation of relevant hypotheses, New Economics. Both the New Economics and the recent empircism are described here grew as an extension of this tendency that began with the

Gordon Hanson on subsidies and foreign investment

sight accounts. While data on subsidies are presented for descriptive purposes, the analysis relies on no statistics to come to its unambiguous and industry trade journals, newspaper and magazine accounts, and published ondirect investment." The source of information for the case studies is mainly subsidies - for Ford Motors and General Motors in Brazil and Intel in Costa Rica - that Hanson concludes that "there is little basis for subsidizing foreign investment are warranted. But it is on the basis of three case studies of actual model to develop a list of conditions under which subsidies to foreign direct bottom" that they may spur. Hanson does rely on a formal microeconomic - their prominence is central to the debate over a possible "race to the by the observation that subsidies are commonly used to attract foreign capital subsidies, in the form of tax breaks or subsidized credit, are effective in the University of Michigan, on the question of whether or not government for its evidence and conclusions (Hanson 2000). The question is motivated inducing transnational corporations to invest, relies heavily on case studies An important research paper by Gordon Hanson, Professor of Economics at

Dani Rodrik on democracy and wages

"it is possible that the political context in which labor markets operate shapes behavior in these markets and influences wage outcomes" (1999: 708). The States. If productivity is not a good predictor of wages, then, Rodrik proposes, deviates from wages to a much greater extent in Mexico than in the United observation that labor productivity - the standard predictor of wage levels country relates to its wage levels. This grand question is motivated by the economists today. His 1999 article, "Democracies pay higher wages" in the in the world - takes up the question of how the level of political freedom in a Quarterly Journal of Economics - one of the most prestigious economics journals Dani Rodrik of Harvard University is one of the leading development

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second section of the paper, following the introduction, is "Data Sources." Not only does the paper not contain a mathematical model – microeconomic or macroeconomic – developing the idea, the hypothesis in the paper is not linked in any but the loosest way to traditional economic theory. Only after the statistical correlation between democracy and wages is established does Rodrik ask "Why does democracy matter to wages?" He sets up a simple (one equation) game theoretic framework, but provides only "the intuitive solution" (Rodrik 1999: 727), and turns quickly to regression analysis of wages with political competition and participation as independent variables – an exercise largely delinked from the game theory intuition. Rodrik concludes that "it would be desirable to sort out some of the causality issues in greater detail. Is there perhaps a two-way relationship between wages and democracy?"

Alan Krueger on class size and student performance

Alan Krueger of Princeton University has produced a series of highly regarded research papers in which formal economic models play almost no role. In 1995 he co-authored a book entitled Myth and Measurement: The New Economics of the Minimum Wage (Card and Krueger 1995), which provided a highly detailed test of the relation between the minimum wage and employment based on evidence from the fast food industry in New Jersey. The book contains enormous detail on the statistical relation between these two variables, but the theoretical model tested is the same supply and demand diagram shown in all first-year economics textbooks. And the authors' intent is to show the irrelevance of that diagram, not to provide support for it. Only in the last chapter do the authors seek a theoretical explanation for the 354 pages of evidence preceding this chapter that refute the received view. As with Rodrik's work discussed earlier, the hypotheses offered at the end are heavily influenced by the authors' understanding of the evidence from New Jersey's fast food industry.

More recently, Krueger has produced two papers – one in the Quarterly Journal of Economics and one a working paper of the National Bureau of Economic Research – on the question of whether class size matters to student performance (Krueger 1999; Krueger and Whitmore 2000). While the question implies an attempt to determine the conditions for maximum student performance, the hypothesis is not generated with appeal to utility-maximizing agents, or by any formal economic model. Instead, Krueger is interested in testing the commonly held view that smaller class size allows teachers to give more attention to each student, thus raising student performance. Beyond this intuition, there is no prior economic theory about the relation between class size and student performance. The work is also motivated by the availability of a large database on an experiment with various class sizes for kindergarten through third grade performed in Tennessee between 1985 and 1989. In fact, the main claim for the originality of the

research is the "well-designed experiment" (Krueger 1999: 528) that produced the data set and the statistical techniques used to capture the benefits of smaller classes. There is almost no attempt, beyond the intuition described above, to explain the relation between class size and student performance. Krueger (1999: 529) concludes that "more research is needed to develop an appropriate model of student learning."

Krueger's work on class size and student performance also gives a new twist to the fears of economics as "imperialism" in the social sciences. ²¹ This imperialist tendency is often attributed to the adoption of a methodological individualist rational choice model for the study of phenomena outside the standard scope of economic inquiry – Gary Becker's study of marriage being the classic example. It now appears that economics' imperialism may result instead from its pragmatism, that is its willingness to ask intuitively appealing questions and apply sophisticated statistical analysis to answer those questions.

"Measurement without theory" or revival of pragmatism?

regression analysis remains the main statistical technique used in published rics, as Leamer (1983) put it in his widely-read article. Still, multivariate been no broad agreement on how to remove the sense of "con" in econometthe merits and demerits of data mining has clarified some issues, but there has which only selective empirical tests are performed or presented. A debate over not overcome the sense, among both economists and non-economists, that common adoption of vector autoregression techniques), economists have still In particular, economists have not resolved the issue of "data mining," in regression results are simply not compelling enough to settle an argument. 23 tegration analysis) and a retreat from unfounded claims of causality (with the case studies. Despite advances in times series analysis (with the advent of coinand thus greater acceptance of other types of empirical evidence, including but there is also heightened awareness of the limitations of regression analysis skills and computing techniques have improved considerably since the 1940s, including broad attempts to find regularities, and careful empirical filling out of well-developed accounting or taxanomic schemes. 22 Empirical research tion and falsification. The recent empirical turn, while not consciously pragmatist, shares some features of the Burns and Mitchell research project, pragmatist considerations of description and explanation rather than predicheavily influenced, as was much of American institionalist economics, by that was criticized by Koopmans (1947) in his paper "Measurement without Theory." Burns and Mitchell's work on business cycles has been understood as The recent empiricist turn is reminiscent of the work by Burns and Mitchell

Does the new trend in mainstream research constitute a pragmatist turn or simply a naïve empiricism? Pragmatism would indicate a deeper inductivism than currently practiced in today's mainstream empirical research. But the recent research has, unconsciously perhaps, embraced the pragmatist notion

according to Hirsch (1998: 101): contemporary work than simple deduction or induction. Deweys' logic abduction more aptly describes the hypothesis generation process in some begun to conceive the observation process itself more broadly.²⁴ Peircean that observation is central to hypothesis formation. A few researchers have

encouraged reasoning from observed facts to formulated theoretical observation is considered desirable in this way of thinking because Dewey are available or seem to be called for by the observations. Such extensive encourages extensive observation, using whatever theoretical frameworks

sophisticated measurement and statistical analysis. It is not obvious that this makes no appeal to a formal mathematical model but moves quickly into was concerned with the ex post construction of rational individual choice be addressed with the techniques of marginalism. While the New Economics molded in the confines of a mathematical model of rational individual choice. economic questions because the scope of such questions has been narrowly see in the next, and concluding, section. emergence at this time is neither an accident, nor an isolated move, as we will new trend will continue, much less grow to dominate the mainstream. Still, its theoretic foundations, 25 much of the recent mainstream work I have cited Silberberg (1982), for example, defines "economic questions" as those that can In the neoclassical tradition, observation plays little role in formulating equilibrium form and, I have argued, even from its New Economics variant. The new research constitutes a clear break from neoclassicism in its general

The coming fight for the mantle of pragmatism

economics. 27 scene. In this concluding section, I briefly review each of these views of a American institutionalists, have long identified themselves as the representatives of pragmatist thought within the field of economics. Others, including sophical foundation.²⁶ Some groups, including Friedmanian monetarists and pragmatist economics and then speculate on the outcome of this sudden when a number of other schools of thought claim pragmatism as their philocoincidence feminist economists and complexity theorists, are relative newcomers on the In fact, the tendency to pragmatism in mainstream economics comes at a time of. multiple, self-proclaimed pragmatist approaches

seen a resurgence of late, inspired in part by a growing mainstream search to the rise of neoclassicism after the Second World War. But institutionalism has formation of the American Economics Association) and fell out of favor with its founders, Veblen, Ayres and Commons. Institutionalism dominated the American economics profession in the early twentieth century (including the Institutional economics was born out of a commitment to pragmatism by

> by European economists of the ideas of institutionalism. understand economic evolution and institutional change and by an embrace

principle of working back "from observed regularities taken to be implicaof Friedman's work. They argue that Friedman's greatest contributions (to tions to hypothetical premises." They continue: economics and to pragmatism) come from his adherence to the Deweyan hypothetico-deductive tradition of general equilibrium marginalism. And grounded theoretical school of Alfred Marshall rather than the Hirsch and DeMarchi (1989) explain at length the pragmatist foundations Hammond (1995: 34), for example, identifies Friedman with the wellwork of Milton Friedman and other old Chicago school economists. 28 includes research that is heavily influenced by pragmatism, especially the vidual rational choice methodology. Others argue that the mainstream also wrote passionately on the incompatibility of pragmatism with the indithe true practitioners of pragmatism in economics. Veblen, for example, American institutionalists, perhaps justifiably, have long claimed to be

and observed implications and thereby derive theory whose implications is diffincult to make the connection between the hypothesized premises can be meaningfully tested with further data. unobservables - like permanent income and utility functions - and that it hypotheses that suggest themselves in the process of inquiry involve What we learn from Friedman's working experience is that many of the

(Hirsch and DeMarchi 1989: 147)

In this view, "reality" is not objectively given or even fixed, but a function of subjective experience. Knowledge, in this case, embodies values as well as facts. Nelson writes: science/value split and call on new empirical methods involving experience. standing, which involves an alternative ontology that would remove the made their claims. Nelson (2003) argues that feminist economics requires a pragmatist approach to knowledge, a "feminist-process view" of underclaimed the pragmatist mantle. But two theoretical newcomers have also Institutionalism and old Chicago neoclassicism have both resurfaced and

world, for better or for worse. Science is, thus, intrinsically a matter of same fabric as science and economics; not merely incidental. ... The world, as unfinished and evolving, and sees knowledge adding to that reframed. Our knowledge is not just about reality, in process thought. feminist-process view ... sees the world, including the economic Rather, it creatively adds to reality ... Values and morals are of the In a universe conceived as open, the question of knowledge must be

(Nelson 2003: 11, 24)

Notes

socially, and psycho-sexually associated with masculinity" (Nelson 2003: 2) widely dismissed: they are "in conflict with ideals that have been historically, pragmatism, process-oriented knowledge and institutionalism have been so the same time, a feminist perspective also provides an explanation for why Feminist economics, then, draws on a pragmatist conception of knowledge. At

writes that around the turn of the millennium economics saw "the fall of describing the evolution of economic thought to that year, Colander (1999: 6) and insightful article written from the perspective of the year 2050 and complexity-based economics as the next dominant paradigm. In an amusing coincidental rise in economics is of note. Colander (1999, 2000) sees argues, shares feminism's resistance to reductionism. Thus, she points out, their loose-fitting positivism and the rise of pragmatism." Colander writes: tially create explosive or chaotic outcomes. Complexity thinking, Nelson models and embrace instead nonlinearities and path dependencies that potenbecause of its resistance to techniques that give simple closure to economic pragmatism is so-called complexity theory, which gets its name precisely Finally, the other emerging school of thought that seems influenced by

economics rely much more heavily on empirically determined economic patterns. ... Economic models will be "grown" from observations, rather work and economic modelling built on generally accepted observed patterns that have developed through simulation work, experimental with these sorts of models. [I]n New Millennium economics, "proofs" in way to a belief that underlying reality is too complex to be understood In 2050, the belief of economists in derived analytical models has given

(Colander 1999: 9, 11)

instructions on what constitutes pragmatist economic research. Bernstein economics is impressive since I can think of no pure methodological argu-Moreover, the writings of classic pragmatism provide no single set of ment that has ever brought a significant change in economic thinking. (2001) notes that "pragmatism provides no blueprint for how to do social disciples of aposteriorism." Hirsch's faith in methodological discussion in nale of aposteriorism in a way which makes sense even to those who are not Hirsch (1998) proposes that "Dewey can help us ... to formulate the ratio-

economic research.29 In any case, it is clear that an opening has been ential in molding the future of economic thought. created and, consciously or not, a pragmatist sensibility is likely to be influpragmatism will serve as a loose methodological core for varieties of most of the other pragmatist tendencies and it is not hard to imagine that emerge. The new mainstream economic research is quite compatible with nate economic research in the future, or if a new era of pluralism will It is unclear which of these pragmatist tendencies will come to domi-

- 1 I am grateful to Elias Khalil, Michael Lawlor, Ahmet Tonak, and James Webb for comments on the first draft and to Luca Fiorito, Duncan Foley, Stephen Gelb, Wade Hands, Geoff Hodgson, Ann Mayhew, and Michael Piore for general discussion of the issues addressed here. All remaining errors are mine.
- See Walsh and Graham 1980.
- My colleague Robert Heilbroner recalls that as an undergraduate economics than one or two passing references to the work of the earlier, general equilbrium, librium analysis of markets. Utilitarian at its core, Marshall's book makes no more major at Harvard in the mid-1930s, he was assigned the textbook by Alfred Marshall - the 1898 Principles of Economics, best known for its detailed partial equimarginalists.
- Debreu 1959; Arrow and Debreu 1954; Samuelson 1965.
- Morgan and Rutherford's 1998 volume, From Intervar Pluralism to Postwar Neodassitism, contains a superb collection of essays exploring this subject. Mirowski (2002) focuses on the role of computerization, both as a method for research and increasingly as a model of rationality. Spiegel (1994) attributes the Milberg (2001a), I argue that the post-war appeal of neoclassical general equilibmathematization to the multi-ethnicity of American culture at the time. In rium theory resulted from its allegorical role as an ideal of ethnic assimilation.
- This criterion of the generality of a proof was slightly different from that evoked by Keynes in his General Theory of 1936. Keynes claimed theoretical superiority previous theories. He argued that his distinct theory gave a more general result, not because his more general set of assumptions gave the same result as did
- that is, in which the previously held result was a special case.

 7 Weintraub and Mirowski (1994) trace this tendency to extreme abstraction to the influence of Bourbakism.
- 8 Here I am referring not to prediction of the future, but of any "if, then" hypothesized relation.
- typically understood as a response not to the failure of general equilibrium theory but to the lack of rational choice microfoundations in Keynesianism. I would argue that while this interpretation is valid, the New Keynesian economics fits the On the New International Economics, see the next section. Industrial organizamethodological pattern of the other sub-fields in terms of the shift within the context of discovery, stream has moved in this direction. The New Keynesian macroeconomics is economics already had a strong inductivist tradition, although now even its maintion theory was transformed more narrowly along the lines of game theory although it has also been influenced by the "complexity" school. And labor
- 10 Colander (2000) writes that "shedding some light on a problem is all that the practical track of modern economics requires." Robert Solow writes that "modelbuilding economists tend to be natural-born, loose-fitting positivists." See Solow (1997: 50).
- 11 On the "inward turn," see Heilbroner and Milberg (1995). For the debate over "international competitiveness" in Foreign Affairs, see Krugman (1994), and subse-13 See Milberg (2001b). quent responses in that journal as well as my discussion in Milberg (1996).
- Greenwald and Stiglitz (1987: 131), for example, write that the choice of model assumptions "must be dictated by the phenomenon to be studied."
- 15 Thus Colander (2000) refers to this method as rooted in "data mining In fact this feature was one reason given by the New International Economics the models. The other reason given was that governments were not sufficiently theorists themselves to oppose the actual adoption of the policy conclusions of

17 I am grateful to Michael Piote for raising this as a possible interpretation of the

18 Stephen Gelb has pointed out in discussion that at the same time that there has growth, consumer price inflation) and of the notion of causality underlying multiple regression techniques (i.e. with the rise in use of vector autoregression). heightened debates over the measurement of basic economic variables (e.g. GDP been a decline in the status of hypothetico-deductivism, there have occurred

9 With the introduction of non-convexities in functional forms in the New variables should be the foucs of study. variable. According to Wade Hands, this is reminiscent of the work on business cycles by Geoffrey Moore and others in the 1940s, in which it was unclear which tendency has created a parallel looseness in the criteria for choice of outcome attainment, with only a tacit understanding of their role as proxy for welfare. This rium and some New Economics analysis), including wages, productivity and skills outcome variables (as opposed to axiomatically given behavior in general equilib-Pareto optimality. This quiet disappearance of the traditional criteria for social welfare has led to the adoption of intuitively appealingly proxics for welfare as Economics, there was less ability to generate traditional welfare results based on

20 See, for example, Card and Krueger (1995), regarding employment effects of changes in the minimum wage; Feenstra (1998); Levinsohn (1999), regarding the effects of trade on relative labor demand.

22 For a discussion, see Harcourt (1978).

For example, see Rodrik (1999) on investment and economic development, on the control of forces driving trade growth or Slaughter (2000) on the relative importance of forces driving trade growth or Slaughter (2000) trade and wage shares,

 23 Mirowski and Sklivas (1991) show the enormous variation across estimates of in the field - as the most compelling form of empirical argument. the simple time series data presentation in Friedman and Schwartz's Monetary settling a debate is made eloquently by Summers (1991) who, interestingly, cites economic "constants." The point about the effectiveness of econometrics in History of the United States - now viewed by some as a classic pragmatist work

24 NBER Working papers now include a number of case studies and of course experimental economics has attracted attention from mainstream theorists.

23 Krugman (1995) goes further, arguing that knowledge does not exist in economics until it is established within a mathematical model.

Renewed interest in pragmatism goes beyond economics. The Dewey conference ology. I have argued here that in economics the motivation is different, although in economic thought. there may be an analogy if the New Economics is read as a postmodern moment Hands (2001) makes this case for pragmatism in the field of economic methodmiddle ground between modernist foundationalism and postmodernist relativism is testament to the renewed interest in pragmatism among philosophers. This extends to law and cultural studies as well. In these fields it is seen as a potential

27 In fact, economic methodologists seem in disagreement over the relation between tism in American institutionalism as one of the few alternative "philosophical of scientific explanation. Hands (1998: 377), on the other hand, identifies pragmamatism (along with the Vienna Circle) as important to the creation of this model pragmatism and the hypothetico-deductive methodology that defines general equilibrium analysis, Blaug (1980: 2), on the one hand, identifies American pragvisions" to positivism in the history of economics. Both are no doubt correct

> example, the discussion of Peirce versus Dewey in Mounce 1997. since pragmatism has had multiple and even contradictory influences. See, for

28 Those seeking to rehabilitate Milton Friedman based on his pragmatist methodothers in the old Chicago school. McCloskey and others) with the pragmatism of Friedman, Stigler, Knight and McCloskey's rhetorical interpretation of economics has been associated (by ology include Hirsch and DeMarchi (1989) and Hammond (1995). Even

29 Similarly in the field of economic methodology, Hands (2001) sees the opening of a new eclectic era in which the "Received View" of hypothetico-deductivism no and more diverse set of methodological tools. longer serves as a criterion for theory appraisal, but is replaced instead by a looser

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