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Annette Hurrelmann

Agricultural Land Markets

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Preface of the Editors

...Although economists claim to study the working of the market, in modern economic theory the market itself has an even more shadowy role than the firm. ... In the modern textbook, the analysis deals with the determination of market prices, but the discussion of the market itself has entirely disappeared" (Coase 1988: 7). Today, seventeen years after Coase's hortatory observation, there is evidence to suggest that the market itself has re-entered economic theory and modern economic textbooks (e.g. Mas-Colell, Whinston, and Green 1995; Bowls 2003). In particular the textbooks of New Institutional Economics (NIE) (e.g. Furubotn and Richter 1998; Aoki 2001a) pay significant attention to the institutional structure of markets. How market transactions are characterised by information and investment problems and how these affect resource allocation and lead to private contracting, market organisation and public regulation these questions have recently gained high priority in economic research. In this context, some of the most interesting studies result from theoretically based empirical research done at the edge between economics and sociology, like Abolafia (1997, 2005) and Fafchamps (2004).

The book at hand by Annette Hurrelmann adds significantly to this line of research and the current lively debate about the "nature of the market". Hurrelmann studies agricultural land markets, which seem to be particularly well suited for analysing the relationship between allocation, contracting, organisation and institutions. It may be no coincidence that important seminal papers in NIE have emerged from efforts to understand sharecropping and rental contracts in agriculture (Cheung 1968, 1969b; Stiglitz 1974; Murell 1982; Allen and Lueck 1992). However, like neoclassical economics fall short by focusing only on prices and quantities, NIE tends to limit its scope on dyadic contractual relationships, often ignoring some broader issues of market organisation and institutions. Attempts to analyse a market in its entirety lead to questions of how markets as a whole can be approached, modelled and analysed? Such are the questions to which the study by Hurrelmann seeks to provide answers.

To approach agricultural land markets, Hurrelmann applies the four level scheme of social analysis by Williamson (2000). It provides a suitable framework since it integrates the neo-classical market model in a broader institutional framework and clarifies crucial research dimensions in a systematic way, such as level of analysis, research focus, time horizon, economising options and theoretical approaches. Using the framework to review the literature on land markets, Hurrelmann identifies several blind spots and new opportunities for further research that may lead to a more complete model of land markets, e.g. a systematic analysis of the organisation of land markets. In order to develop such a market model, she integrates elements of NIE with New Economic Sociology (NES). The latter follows the main idea that markets are networks of actors em-

bedded in larger social relationships. According to Hurrelmann a combination of NIE and NES elements can enrich the market model if markets are analysed as organisations constituted by relational contracts between potential participants. In conclusion, her market model assumes that market transactions are shaped by the institutional environment in which they operate, the personal and more formal relational contracts that exist between the market participants, the properties of the transactions and the characteristics of the resources, goods or services traded.

Hurrelmann applies this model to analyse agricultural land markets in Poland, a case that is interesting for at least two reasons. First, Poland has a diverse agricultural structure and various land market settings ranging from purely private land ownership to large shares of state ownership. Second, agricultural land markets are a sensitive policy issue in Poland due to the failed attempt of compulsory collectivisation of agriculture during socialism which has resulted in a strong affection of farmers to ownership of land. Against this background, Hurrelmann investigates three "underresearched" and "undertheorised" research questions. First, she examines if land markets can be analysed as organisations that have some boundaries, members and objectives. Second, she explores the decision on renting-in vs. buying/renting-out vs. selling, and third, she investigates the influence of the institutional environment and the properties of transactions on the contracting behaviour of farmers. For all three research issues, Hurrelmann produces substantial advances in knowledge, thus contributing to a better understanding of Polish land markets. Analysing land markets as organisations helps to discover some important elements of market microstructure and reveals that relational contracts can vary substantially from setting to setting. Renting-in vs. buying/renting-out vs. selling cannot be explained by transaction costs reasoning alone. Instead, Hurrelmann shows that the full opportunity costs of exchange have to be taken into account. Finally, it is revealed that the institutional environment can have a profound impact on land market contracts, sometimes overruling the effects of the properties of the transactions.

There is no doubt that the research undertaken in the Polish agricultural land market could fruitfully be extended to other land market settings and to other markets as well. Indeed, more studies like this are needed in order to foster the discussion on markets themselves, like Coase has demanded. How are different markets organised, how do they emerge and disappear, what are the interconnections between different sub-markets that differ in their contracting structure, what are interrelations between institutional environment and properties of the transaction? Based on the approach outlined by Hurrelmann, these and further questions could be studied systematically in different settings contributing step by step to the stock of knowledge that may once enter into modern textbooks.

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