# The Economics of Urban Property Markets

An institutional economics analysis

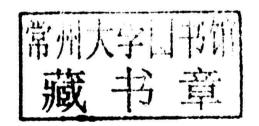
Paschalis A. Arvanitidis



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## The Economics of Urban Property Markets

This book examines the relationship between the property market and the urban economy. The stimulus for this work was provided by the seemingly ever-accelerating process of urban economic change and the noticeable failure of existing studies to adequately explore the pivotal role that the property market plays in this process.

Drawing on institutional economics, the central argument of this book is that the property market as an institution is a mediator through which urban economic potential can be realised and served. In developing this argument, the book provides a critical realist ontological framework that advances understanding of the institutional structure of the economy and the complex interrelation between the institutional environment and human agency, as well as a holistic theoretical framework of urban economic change, where appropriate emphasis is placed on the specific mechanisms, processes and dynamics through which the built environment is provided. Arvanitidis also explores an institutional conceptualisation of property market efficiency, defined in terms of the ability of the market institution to adapt its structure and to provide the outcomes that the economy requires. To inform empirical research on the developed concepts, the book also offers a generic analytical approach specifying appropriate research methods and techniques for investigation along with a specific research design providing an operational framework that translates developed theory into empirical practice.

The book's primary contribution therefore lies in its delineation of a holistic research programme to conceptualise the property market as an institution and to explore its role within the urban economy.

**Paschalis A. Arvanitidis** is Assistant Professor of Institutional Economics at the Department of Economics, University of Thessaly, Greece.

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To Dana, Martha and Kostantis, ... for being more than tolerant and supportive.

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#### **Preface**

Real estate, real property, or, simply, property constitutes a major part of 'individual wealth' and is a substantial driver of the economy. This is because every activity needs space (property) for its setting and operation. Moreover, the property sector is so closely linked to the other sectors of the economy (e.g. the financial and construction sectors) that its performance greatly affects their performance and success, something that was made very clear in the recent economic crisis that afflicted the world.

However, limited research has been devoted to an understanding of the property market and to its relationship with the local economy. In attempting to do so, it is essential to consider not only property market outcomes, but also the property market process which gives rise to them. This is because it is through this process that property values are specified, information is generated and becomes available, legal interests are defined and enforced, uses are allocated and development and redevelopment are stimulated; thus, in general terms, the property market works to provide the spatial structures (real property) and legal interests (property rights) required for economic development. Developing a profound understanding of this process necessitates consideration of the institutional characteristics of the property market and the way these emerge, develop and evolve in relation to wider institutional structures and dynamics.

This book therefore sets out to explore in depth the relationship between the property market and the urban economy. The stimulus for this work comes from the seemingly ever-accelerating process of urban economic change and the noticeable failure of conventional economics to adequately explore the pivotal role that the property market as an institution plays in this process. Drawing on institutional economics, the central argument of this book is that the property market institution is a mediator through which local economic potential can be realised and served.

Owing to major philosophical and theoretical deficiencies in this field, the focus of this book is centred on the establishment of an appropriate philosophical framework, the development of a new theory and the specification of a research design for empirical investigation of the issues. The book's primary contribution lies in the development of a holistic research programme to

#### xiv Preface

conceptualise the property market as an institution and to explore its role and location within the urban economy.

Critical realist principles provide the basis for the development of the philosophical position of the study. These are combined with institutionalist insights to construct a three-layer ontological framework that advances understanding of the institutional structure of the economy and the complex interrelation between the institutional environment and human agency. The study then lays down a rich theory of urban economic organisation, placing explicit emphasis on the institutional mechanisms, processes and dynamics through which property is provided. The interrelation between property market process and the wider institutional environment is explored, particularly in terms of efficiency in providing the appropriate market institutions and property outcomes to support urban economic potential. From this discussion the institutionalist concept of 'property market purpose efficiency' is developed. Building on the philosophical and conceptual frameworks, the study explicitly addresses requirements for concrete analysis. To do this, it first lays down a generic analytical approach specifying appropriate research methods and techniques for investigation, and, second, sets up a research design providing an operational framework through which developed theory is translated into an agenda for empirical research. This research design provides a blueprint for prospective empirical studies.

### Acknowledgements

Every text that finds a place in the pages of a book has a history. The text in this book has grown gradually over a number of years. Much of it was part of my PhD thesis at the University of Aberdeen (UK). Other parts have matured through my post-doctoral work and the teaching experience I have had, particularly here in the University of Thessaly (Greece). Traces of my previous work abound in this manuscript.

Although the book has undergone extensive revisions since I finished my doctorate, immense gratitude is owed to Geoff Keogh, my academic mentor and good friend, whose intellectual curiosity, unlimited patience and constructive comments have steered me through very difficult and testing times. Another person who deserves special mention is another dear friend, George Petrakos, who trusted my academic skills and generously supported me at the beginning of my academic career here in Greece, something he continues to do.

Many other people have influenced my thinking in diverse and often subtle ways; sometimes through a perceptive comment, sometimes through discussion. It is always difficult to single out particular individuals, but I should try, even at the peril of significant omissions. I therefore want to thank Craig Watkins, Robert McMaster, Alan Evans, John Finch, Bryan MacGregor, Karen Sieraki, Norman Hutchison, Ioannis Theodossiou, Kostas Lalenis, Michel Zouboulakis, Christos Kollias, Nikos Kyriazis, Xenothon Paparrigopoulos and Apostolos Arvanitis. Needless to say, I must take full responsibility for any remaining errors, confusion or misunderstandings in the ideas presented here.

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The book reveals my academic debt to a number of scholars, but especially to Geoff Hodgson and Tony Lawson, who, unknowingly, initiated me into the intellectual richness of original institutionalism and critical realism, respectively. I only hope that the book does not (overly) misrepresent their ideas.

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Paschalis Arvanitidis Volos, Greece

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#### 1 Introduction

#### 1.1 The research problem

This book sets out to examine the complex, but indisputably significant, relationship between the property market and the urban economy. The stimulus for this work lies in the seemingly ever-accelerating process of urban economic change and the noticeable failure of existing studies to explore adequately the pivotal role that the property market plays in this process.

Over the last three decades or so, cities in Europe have witnessed a remarkable structural transformation at the economic, social and spatial levels, fuelled by changes in production relationships, developments in (tele)communication and transportation technologies, and European economic and political integration. In this environment, it became apparent that urban areas had to reinforce existing strengths and at the same time to develop new qualities to cope successfully with the often traumatic problems of structural adjustment and to maintain a secure basis for local economic development.

This process of urban economic change and spatial reorganisation has been examined by a wide range of studies in search of answers to the 'urban questions'. Using a number of philosophical, conceptual and methodological frameworks, these studies have offered a variety of interpretations and solutions to urban transformation. However, despite the fact that every socio-economic activity takes place on land or within a built structure, very limited research has been carried out to explore the relationship between urban economic change and the dynamics of property markets. The vast majority of studies either treat the built environment as a passive backdrop to economic change, or acknowledge the interrelationship between economic and spatial structures but simplify and underplay the complex institutional mechanisms that account for the provision of the built environment.<sup>2</sup>

Clearly, the nature of inquiry and the resulting explanations depend on the theoretical viewpoint adopted. Mainstream urban and property economics (e.g. DiPasquale and Wheaton, 1996; Harvey, 1996) stress the importance of market mechanisms, assuming that they operate in a more or less efficient way to bring supply and demand into a state of equilibrium. Trade defines property prices that can be taken as meaningful representations of value, and the built environment is