

CONTRACTS AS ORGANIZATIONS

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Empirical studies of contracts have become more common over the past decade, but the range of questions addressed by these studies is narrow, inspired primarily by economic theories that focus on the role of contracts in mitigating ex post opportunism. We contend that these economic theories do not adequately explain many commonly observed features of contracts, and we offer four organizational theories to supplement—and in some instances, perhaps, challenge—the dominant economic accounts. The purpose of this Article is threefold: first, to describe how theoretical perspectives on contracting have motivated empirical work on contracts; second, to highlight the dominant role of economic theories in framing empirical work on contracts; and third, to enrich the empirical study of contracts through application of four organizational theories: resource theory, learning theory, identity theory, and institutional theory. Outside economics literature, empirical studies of contracts are rare. Even management scholars and sociologists who generate organizational theories largely ignore contracts. Nevertheless, we assert that these organizational theories provide new lenses through which to view contracts and help us understand their multiple purposes.

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INTRODUCTION

Though lawyers draft most written contracts, legal scholars rarely study contracts themselves, and focus instead on the legal rules governing contracts. Despite this neglect, empirical studies of contracts have become more common over the past decade.¹ However, the range of questions addressed by these studies is narrow, inspired primarily by economic theories² that focus on the role of contracts in mitigating various forms of advantage taking by contracting parties.³ We believe that legal scholars have something important to add to this scholarly discussion—namely a deep knowledge of contract language, drafting norms, and judicial interpretations—and we contend that economic theories of contracting do not adequately accommodate these potential insights. In this Article, we offer four organizational theories to supplement—and in some instances, perhaps, challenge—the economic accounts provided by neoclassical economics, agency theory, and incomplete contract theory. The purpose of this Article is threefold: first, to describe how theoretical perspectives on contracting from law and economics have motivated empirical work on contracts; second, to highlight the dominant role of economic theories in framing empirical work on contracts; and

1. In a 1991 article, Glenn Hubbard and Robert Weiner observe, “The role of contractual arrangements—while important in many markets for commodities and industrial products—has not received much attention in empirical work.” R. Glenn Hubbard & Robert Weiner, *Efficient Contracting and Market Power: Evidence from the U.S. Natural Gas Industry*, 34 J.L. & ECON. 25, 26 (1991).

2. We use the term “economic theories” to describe the three pillars of the economic theory of contracts: agency theory, transaction cost theory, and property rights theory. Following Bolton and Dewatripont, we refer to transaction cost theory and property rights theory together as “incomplete contract theory.” PATRICK BOLTON & MATHIAS DEWATRIPOINT, *CONTRACT THEORY* 490–91 (2005). We discuss each of these economic theories and their implications for the empirical study of contracts in Part I, *infra*.

We do not intend to imply that the four organizational theories described in Part III are “non-economic” in any fundamental way. Rather, the basis for the distinction between “economic theories” and “organizational theories” is the disciplinary origin of each of the theories. Economic theories were developed in economics journals, and organizational theories were developed in strategy and management journals.

3. What we call “advantage taking” has various permutations in economics scholarship. For example, Oliver Williamson has drawn substantial attention to the concept of “opportunism.” Williamson famously defined opportunism as “self-interest seeking with guile.” OLIVER E. WILLIAMSON, *THE ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS OF CAPITALISM* 47 (1985). Other economists refer to “moral hazard,” which is often viewed as a form of opportunism. See PAUL MILGROM & JOHN ROBERTS, *ECONOMICS, ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT* 167 (1992) (defining moral hazard as a “form of postcontractual opportunism that arises because actions that have efficiency consequences are not freely observable and so the person taking them may choose to pursue his or her private interests at others’ expense”). “Moral hazard” tends to be associated with agency theory, and “opportunism” is generally associated with incomplete contract theory, and though we vary our usage according to that custom, we view both terms as species of advantage taking.

third, to enrich the empirical study of contracts through application of four organizational theories.⁴

Organizational theories attempt to explain why organizations do what they do. By “organizations,” we mean collectives that pursue specific goals and establish relatively formal rules to govern relationships among participants.⁵ Contracts are a worthy object of study using organizational theories because contracts often are created by organizations and, in turn, each contract creates a new organization.⁶ Our focus on contracts should not imply the primacy of contracts over other forces—markets, norms, statutes, regulations, common law, etc.—that determine the structure and governance of contractual relationships, but we believe that the role of contracts has been slighted, especially in legal scholarship.

Contracts are a particular kind of social artifact that “symbolize social categories and influence and constrain social action.”⁷ By imposing a legal expectation of performance, contracts provide an impetus for sustained collective organizing. In short, contracts make organizations possible. Thus, analyzing contracts allows us to tell different theoretical stories about organizations. Empirically examining contracts using different theoretical perspectives, legal scholars, management scholars, and sociologists gain useful insights into the social and economic processes that motivate organizational behavior. This empirical examination should create a greater understanding of the context in which contracts are negotiated, maintained, adapted, and enforced.

In Part I, we trace the development of legal and economic theories of contract, paying special attention to the nature of the empirical work generated by these theories. Having laid the theoretical foundations for the empirical study of contracts, we report in Part II on our survey of recent empirical work on contracts in leading journals of economics, financial economics, law and economics, strategy and management, sociology, and law. These studies rely heavily on economic theory, and the questions addressed by the studies almost inevitably revolve around the potential for ex post advantage-taking.

In Part III, we present four organizational perspectives on contracts. While space does not permit a complete examination of any of the organizational perspectives in a specific contractual context, we offer several potential applications of each organizational perspective to real-world contracts.

4. Robert Gibbons points to resource theory and learning theory as having “mouth-watering potential implications” for the study of firms. Robert Gibbons, *Four Formal(izable) Theories of the Firm?*, 58 J. ECON. BEHAV. & ORG. 200, 202 (2005).

5. Cf. W. RICHARD SCOTT, ORGANIZATIONS: RATIONAL, NATURAL, AND OPEN SYSTEMS 29 (5th ed. 2003) (“Organizations are collectivities oriented to the pursuit of relatively specific goals and exhibiting relatively highly formalized social structures.”).

6. Cf. Nicholas S. Argyres et al., *Complementarity and Evolution of Contractual Provisions: An Empirical Study of IT Services Contracts*, 18 ORG. SCI. 3, 6 (2007) (“[C]ontracts are similar to organizations in that they are mechanisms for organizing and governing business activity . . .”).

7. Beth Bechky, *Object Lessons: Workplace Artifacts as Representations of Occupational Jurisdiction*, 109 AM. J. SOC. 720, 724 (2003).

I. LEGAL AND ECONOMIC CONCEPTIONS OF CONTRACTING

Contract law comprises a set of technical rules that, among other things, prescribe the requirements of contract formation,⁸ provide certain bases for avoiding performance of contracts,⁹ and describe various legal and equitable remedies for breach of contract.¹⁰ Economic analysis of contract law strives “to provide an explanation of existing legal rules, and to provide a basis for criticizing or defending those rules.”¹¹ For present purposes, we are not interested in the doctrinal content of contract law per se, nor are we interested in economic analysis of contract law.¹² Instead, we are interested in the conceptions of contracting that undergird both legal doctrine and economic theory. We also believe that paying more attention to the behavioral and social dynamics of contracting will inform our understanding of the motivations that actors bring to contracts and of the varying purposes for which contracts are used. In the following Sections, we describe briefly the development of those conceptions and the effect of that development on empirical studies of contracts.¹³

We begin with a description of classical and neoclassical contract law and their affinity with neoclassical economics. The prototypical contract under all of these theories was the spot contract, a contract for immediate exchange of a commodity where the most important variables are quantity, quality, and price. In such contracts, “no relation exists between the parties apart from the simple exchange of goods.”¹⁴ As one would expect given the absence of any ongoing relationship, these theories did not inspire empirical research that would be of interest to organizational scholars.

The initial motivation for empirical research on contractual relationships arose not from a desire to understand contracts themselves, but rather from a desire to show that contracts were embedded in social relations. Relational contract theory developed as a reaction to the unrealistic portrayal of contracts in classical and neoclassical contract law and neoclassical economics. Relational contract

8. RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF CONTRACTS chs. 2–5 (1979).

9. *Id.* at chs. 6–8, 11–12.

10. *Id.* at ch. 16.

11. Eric A. Posner, *Economic Analysis of Contract Law After Three Decades: Success or Failure?*, 112 YALE L.J. 829, 831 (2003).

12. Economic analysis of contract law is one of many theoretical approaches to the subject. For a useful survey of contemporary theories of contract law, see STEPHEN A. SMITH, *CONTRACT THEORY* (2004). *See also* Nathan Oman, *Unity and Pluralism in Contract Law*, 103 MICH. L. REV. 1483, 1485 (2005) (presenting a “strategy for reconciling the values of autonomy and efficiency into a single theory”).

13. Generally speaking, theory motivates empirical work. We observe this rather starkly in empirical studies of contracts. Often, when scholars encounter a puzzle, they assume that the solution lies in economic theory. *See, e.g.*, Robert Daines & Michael Klausner, *Do IPO Charters Maximize Firm Value? Antitakeover Protection in IPOs*, 17 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 83, 85 (2001) (“Under the assumption that IPO-stage charters maximize firm value, the widespread use of [anti-takeover provisions] suggests that [such provisions] are often efficient. We therefore look for such an efficiency explanation.”).

14. IAN R. MACNEIL, *THE NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT: AN INQUIRY INTO MODERN CONTRACTUAL RELATIONS* 10 (1980).

theory emphasizes the importance of social context in the governance of contractual relationships. Though empirical work on relational contract theory has flourished, the focus of this work is on the *noncontractual* attributes of contractual relationships, rather than on the contracts themselves.

Ironically, interest in the empirical study of contracts was inspired, in part, by relational contract theory. By rejecting the image of contracts as complete embodiments of an agreement, relational contract theory made the form and structure of contracts interesting. We conclude this Part by describing the development of the three pillars of the economic theory of contracts—agency theory, transaction cost theory, and property rights theory—each of which attempts to explicate the mechanisms used by contracting parties to protect against advantage-taking.

A. Classical and Neoclassical Contract Law and Neoclassical Economics

Classical contract law comprised a set of general principles from which rules governing specific cases could be derived.¹⁵ Though the development of classical contract law was a group effort, it is most closely associated with Samuel Williston. Through his renowned treatise¹⁶ and his later work on the first *Restatement of Contracts*,¹⁷ Williston constructed a system under which contracting parties with more-or-less equal bargaining power engaged in arm's-length bargaining over discrete transactions. In this system, obligations of the parties were expressed in documents, which memorialized completely the agreed-upon terms of the deal.

Williston and his cohorts were formalists,¹⁸ though their formalism was borne of pragmatism.¹⁹ They believed that contract law should serve as a “rough-and-ready device to help practical people achieve their commercial goals with elementary justice.”²⁰ Like most students of contract law, however, the formalist

15. Readers may recognize this as the oft-told tale of “conceptualism” in American law. For much fuller descriptions, see generally Felix S. Cohen, *Transcendental Nonsense and the Functional Approach*, 35 COLUM. L. REV. 809 (1935); Thomas C. Grey, *Langdell's Orthodoxy*, 45 U. PITT. L. REV. 1 (1983); and Roscoe Pound, *Mechanical Jurisprudence*, 8 COLUM. L. REV. 605 (1908).

16. SAMUEL WILLISTON, *THE LAW OF CONTRACTS* (1920).

17. RESTATEMENT OF CONTRACTS (1932).

18. See Richard H. Pildes, *Forms of Formalism*, 66 U. CHI. L. REV. 607, 608–09 (1999) (“To the classical formalists, law meant . . . a scientific system of rules and institutions that were complete in that the system made right answers available in all cases; formal in that right answers could be derived from the autonomous, logical working out of the system; conceptually ordered in that ground-level rules could all be derived from a few fundamental principles; and socially acceptable in that the legal system generated normative allegiance.”).

19. Mark L. Movsesian, *Rediscovering Williston*, 62 WASH. & LEE L. REV. 207, 213–14 (2005) (“For [Williston,] formalism’s appeal lies in the fact that it promotes the important everyday benefits of simplicity, predictability, and comprehensibility.”).

20. *Id.* at 216.

method for ensuring the relevance of their work to real-world contracts might best be described as *casual empiricism*.²¹

Neoclassical contract law is associated with the legal realists, most importantly Arthur Corbin²² and Karl Llewellyn, and is embodied in Corbin's celebrated treatise,²³ the *Restatement (Second) of Contracts*,²⁴ and the *Uniform Commercial Code*.²⁵ The distinguishing attributes of neoclassical contract law

21. Movsesian describes Williston's views on empirical legal scholarship as follows:

[W]hile he shows no inclination to do empirical work himself, Williston has surprisingly good things to say about law in action. Williston argues that empirical research, particularly on procedural issues, can provide "necessary information on which the development of the law may properly proceed." . . .

Still, Williston thinks that practical problems inherent in empirical scholarship counsel caution. "It is generally impossible to obtain a controlled experiment of the effect of a legal rule," he writes. "So many factors enter into the ultimate result that reasonable certainty as to the effect of the rule is hard to obtain." That does not mean that empirical work should cease, only that scholars should be wary of relying too heavily on studies that are frequently ambiguous. Fortunately, he believes, some of the practical benefits of traditional legal analysis do not require scientific confirmation. Common sense suggests that, all things being equal, simplicity, predictability, and logical coherence in law promote social welfare. As a result, Williston argues, the burden is on the Progressives. Unless empirical work clearly shows that traditional legal reasoning leads to bad social results, jurisprudence should stick to standard doctrinal arguments.

Id. at 271–72.

22. Corbin was generally treated by the Realists as one of their own. *See, e.g.*, Karl Llewellyn, *Some Realism About Realism—Responding to Dean Pound*, 44 HARV. L. REV. 1222, 1234 n.35 (1931); *see also* WILLIAM TWINING, KARL LLEWELLYN AND THE REALIST MOVEMENT 26–40 (1973). However, Corbin is sometimes portrayed as outside the movement. For example, Friedrich Kessler observed that Corbin "was rather critical of [the Realist Movement's] tenets, and particularly of the position that decisions were not determined by rules and principles." Friedrich Kessler, *Commentary, Arthur Linton Corbin*, 78 YALE L.J. 517, 519 (1969).

23. ARTHUR L. CORBIN, *CORBIN ON CONTRACTS* (1952).

24. *See* RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF CONTRACTS (1979). This work was begun in 1962 and completed in 1979. Corbin died in 1967 at the age of ninety-three, but he served as a "Special Advisor and Reporter on Remedies" on the Restatement. *Foreword to* RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF CONTRACTS. His influence is widely acknowledged, including by the Reporters. *See* Robert Braucher, *Freedom of Contract and the Second Restatement*, 78 YALE L.J. 598, 616 (1969); E. Allan Farnsworth, *Ingredients in the Redaction of the Restatement (Second) of Contracts*, 81 COLUM. L. REV. 1, 3 (1981); *see also* RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF CONTRACTS VII (1981) (ALI Director Herbert Wechsler, noting that the reporters had "elaborate written notes" from Corbin).

25. Karl Llewellyn was the Chief Reporter for the *Uniform Commercial Code* and the principal drafter of Articles 1 (General Provisions) and 2 (Sales). Many histories of the drafting of the *Uniform Commercial Code* have been written. For a recent effort, *see* generally Allen R. Kamp, *Downtown Code: A History of the Uniform Commercial Code*

include the doctrine of unconscionability, the duty of good faith, trade usage, and the increased use of reliance as a basis for liability.²⁶ Each of these innovations suggests a more socialized conception of contract than appears in classical contract law.²⁷ Nevertheless, both classical and neoclassical contract law rely heavily on a stylized image of exchange involving two roughly equal parties.²⁸

This image also appears in neoclassical economics, in which the paradigmatic exchange is exemplified by the Edgeworth Box.²⁹ In this model, two parties allocate two goods between themselves, and the box is used to represent those allocations graphically. Though any point within the box is a feasible allocation, the purpose of the box is to illustrate the set of exchanges that are Pareto optimal, that is, the set of exchanges that improve the welfare of one of the parties without reducing the welfare of another.³⁰ The exchanges represented in the Edgeworth Box do not allow for uncertainty or asymmetric information. As a result, contracts are viewed as complete. Not surprisingly, this view of exchange relationships did not encourage empirical study of contracts.

B. Relational Contract Theory

When Stewart Macaulay began teaching Contracts at the University of Wisconsin Law School in 1957, he was twenty-six years old.³¹ He had never practiced law, and he did the sensible thing by adopting the casebook used by his more experienced colleagues: Lon Fuller, *Basic Contract Law*.³² Macaulay's father-in-law—Jack Ramsey, the retired General Manager of S.C. Johnson & Son—was not impressed with the casebook. According to Macaulay, Ramsey “thought that much of it rested on a picture of the business world that was so distorted that it was silly.”³³

To assist Macaulay in gaining real-world perspectives on contracts, Ramsey arranged for a series of meetings with corporate executives that became the basis of Macaulay's seminal article, *Non-Contractual Relations in Business: A*

1949–1954, 49 BUFF. L. REV. 359 (2001); Allen R. Kamp, *Uptown Act: A History of the Uniform Commercial Code: 1940–49*, 51 SMU L. REV. 275 (1998).

26. See, e.g., Robert A. Hillman, *The Crisis in Modern Contract Theory*, 67 TEX. L. REV. 103, 104 (1988) (“[M]odern contract law is also tempered both within and without its formal structure by principles, such as reliance and unjust enrichment, that focus on fairness and the interdependence of parties rather than on parties' actual agreements.”).

27. See FRIEDRICH KESSLER & GRANT GILMORE, *CONTRACTS: CASES AND MATERIALS* 1118 (2d ed. 1970) (“The most striking feature of nineteenth century contract theory is the narrow scope of social duty which it implicitly assumed. In our own century we have witnessed what it does not seem too fanciful to describe as a socialization of our theory of contract.”).

28. See, e.g., Jay M. Feinman, *The Significance of Contract Theory*, 58 U. CIN. L. REV. 1283, 1287–88 (1990).

29. See NICHOLAS MERCURO & STEVEN G. MEDEMA, *ECONOMICS AND THE LAW: FROM POSNER TO POST-MODERNISM* 27–31 (1997).

30. See *id.*

31. Stewart Macaulay, *Crime and Custom in Business Society*, 22 J.L. SOC'Y 248, 248 (1995).

32. LON L. FULLER, *BASIC CONTRACT LAW* (1947).

33. Macaulay, *supra* note 31, at 249.

Preliminary Study.³⁴ As indicated by the title, Macaulay focused on *noncontractual* relations—how parties regulated their behavior without the assistance of written contracts. Despite Macaulay’s focus on noncontractual relations, he did not argue that contracts are irrelevant. Indeed, he observed that “many business exchanges reflect a high degree of planning” through formal contracts.³⁵ Nevertheless, during the course of his interviews, he found that “many, if not most, exchanges reflect no planning, or only a minimal amount of it, especially concerning legal sanctions and the effect of defective performances.”³⁶ If problems arose, the parties often negotiated a solution without relying explicitly on the written contracts or threats of legal sanctions.³⁷

Ian Macneil later referred to Macaulay’s famous article³⁸ as a “demolition effort” that cleared the way for relational contract theory.³⁹ When Macaulay and Macneil first met at a summer workshop for young Contracts teachers held at New York University in 1962, Macaulay already had written *Non-Contractual Relations in Business*,⁴⁰ and Macneil’s work on relational contracts was still in the future.⁴¹ Macneil’s renowned work on “relational contracts” did not begin to emerge for several years,⁴² with the earliest pieces emanating from his work in Africa⁴³ and

34. Stewart Macaulay, *Non-Contractual Relations in Business: A Preliminary Study*, 28 AM. SOC. REV. 55 (1963).

35. *Id.* at 60.

36. *Id.*

37. *Id.* at 61.

38. Fred R. Shapiro, *The Most-Cited Law Review Articles Revisited*, 71 CHI.-KENT L. REV. 751, 765 tbl.1 (1996) (ranking the article fifteenth on the list of “Most-Cited Law Review Articles of All Time”).

39. Ian R. Macneil, *Relational Contract: What We Do and Do Not Know*, 1985 WIS. L. REV. 483, 509.

40. Macaulay presented the paper at a meeting of the American Sociological Association held in Washington, D.C. immediately following the NYU workshop. E-mail from Stewart Macaulay to D. Gordon Smith (Feb. 10, 2009, 08:34:CST) (on file with authors).

41. In the early 1960s, Macneil developed a “general dissatisfaction with the classical law” of contracts. David Campbell, *Ian Macneil and the Relational Theory of Contract*, in THE RELATIONAL THEORY OF CONTRACT: SELECTED WORKS OF IAN MACNEIL 6 (David Campbell ed., 2001).

42. Ian R. Macneil, *Relational Contract Theory: Challenges and Queries*, 94 NW. U. L. REV. 877, 877 (2000) (referring to “the work I have been doing with relational contracts since the mid-1960s”). In the meantime, Macaulay continued to work on the socio-legal study of contractual relationships. *See, e.g.*, Stewart Macaulay, *Changing a Continuing Relationship Between a Large Corporation and Those Who Deal with It: Automobile Manufacturers, Their Dealers, and the Legal System*, 1965 WIS. L. REV. 483; Stewart Macaulay, *Private Legislation and the Duty to Read—Business Run by IBM Machine, the Law of Contracts and Credit Cards*, 19 VAND. L. REV. 1051 (1966).

43. IAN R. MACNEIL, CONTRACTS: INSTRUMENTS FOR SOCIAL COOPERATION—EAST AFRICA (1968); Ian R. Macneil, *The Tanzania Hire-Purchase Act*, 2 E. AFR. L.J. 84 (1966).

his “first systematic formulation”⁴⁴ of relational contract theory appearing in 1974.⁴⁵

The essential elements of relational contract theory are fairly simple to summarize, albeit at the loss of much nuance.⁴⁶ According to Macneil, “contracts” are “relations among people who have exchanged, are exchanging, or expect to be exchanging in the future.”⁴⁷ This is not a *theory of relational contracts*, but rather a *relational theory of contracts*. The difference is intended to suggest that “[a]ll exchange occurs in relations.”⁴⁸

Contractual relations occur “in various patterns along a spectrum ranging from highly discrete to highly relational.”⁴⁹ In placing contractual relationships along this spectrum, the primary determinants are: duration of the relationship; thickness of future ties between the contracting parties; and the clarity of future rights and obligations. Regardless of the position on the spectrum, every contractual relation comprises certain behaviors, and the patterns of behavior across many relationships give rise to norms.⁵⁰

44. Ian R. Macneil, *Relational Contract Theory as Sociology: A Reply to Professors Lindenberg and de Vos*, 143 J. INST. & THEORETICAL ECON. 272, 273 n.4 (1987).

45. Ian R. Macneil, *The Many Futures of Contracts*, 47 S. CAL. L. REV. 691 (1974). Macneil continued to develop relational contract theory after 1974, partly in response to critiques of the 1974 article, but in 1987, Macneil wrote, “None of these changes alters the fundamental nature of the theory, and I would worry more if there had been no changes.” Macneil, *supra* note 44, at 273 n.4.

46. Macneil described relational contract theory time and again, usually making adjustments along the way. An excellent introduction to his work is provided by IAN R. MACNEIL, *THE RELATIONAL THEORY OF CONTRACT: SELECTED WORKS OF IAN MACNEIL* (David Campbell ed., 2001).

47. Macneil, *supra* note 44, at 274.

48. *Id.* With regard to this point, David Campbell has observed:

There is a sharp contrast between the profundity of Macneil’s work and the, as he himself recognises, still disappointing reception of that work. So far as this is an intellectual matter, it can largely be put down to the widespread interpretation of Macneil that he claims there is a separate “relational” category of contracts. This is, at best, thought to be a claim about a perhaps interesting but certainly marginal category or contracts other than classical or discrete contracts. Macneil is widely thought to have described a “spectrum” on which relational contracts are placed at the opposite pole to classical or discrete contracts. But though there certainly is warrant for this interpretation of Macneil, the main intended thrust of his work is not so much to distinguish the relational from the discrete contract but to reveal the relational constitution of all contracts.

Campbell, *supra* note 41, at 5.

49. Macneil, *supra* note 44, at 275.

50. The creation of norms by contracting parties takes place against a background “social matrix,” which consists of “the common sociality essential for all human activity [including shared meanings and language] and the political limits to self-interest which prevent economic competition from decaying into war . . . or parasitism.” Campbell, *supra* note 41, at 14.

Legal scholars were slow to embrace Macaulay and Macneil.⁵¹ When the derivative legal scholarship began to emerge, much of it focused on the implications of relational contracting theory for legal doctrine, and not on empirical studies of contracts.⁵² Though Macneil described his method in vaguely empirical terms,⁵³ his relational contract theory was highly abstract and did not

51. Robert Gordon once referred to the work of Macaulay and Macneil as “remarkable, if up until now rather lonely, accomplishments.” Robert W. Gordon, *Macaulay, Macneil, and the Discovery of Solidarity and Power in Contract Law*, 1985 WIS. L. REV. 565, 579. As suggested by this comment, work on relational contract theory prior to 1985 was sparse, and Stewart Macaulay has observed, “It is my impression that writers in our field have paid much more attention to Ian’s work since Gordon wrote, and, in my view, people should not attempt to write about contracts until they have studied Macneil.” Stewart Macaulay, *Relational Contracts Floating on a Sea of Custom? Thoughts About the Ideas of Ian Macneil and Lisa Bernstein*, 94 NW. U. L. REV. 775, 776 (2000).

52. Papers published in the *Northwestern University Law Review* in connection with the symposium entitled “Relational Contracting Theory: Unanswered Questions” reveal the dedicated interest in legal doctrine among those who write about relational contracts. See, e.g., Jay M. Feinman, *Relational Contract Theory in Context*, 94 NW. U. L. REV. 737, 737 (2000) (“I want to situate Macneil’s relational contract theory within the story of the development of contract law”); Eric Posner, *A Theory of Contract Law Under Conditions of Radical Judicial Error*, 94 NW. U. L. REV. 749, 751 (2000) (“If Macneil is right, and courts cannot resolve contractual disputes by discovering initial contractual intentions on the basis of documents and other evidence, cannot use such intentions (even if they exist) to guide behavior late in the life of a relational contract, cannot enforce contracts in a way that maximizes their value ex ante, cannot fill in gaps by imagining the hypothetical bargain—then what should the courts do?”); Robert E. Scott, *The Case for Formalism in Relational Contract*, 94 NW. U. L. REV. 847, 847 (2000) (“[T]he central task in developing a plausible normative theory of contract law is to specify the appropriate role of the state in regulating incomplete contracts.”); Richard E. Speidel, *The Characteristics and Challenges of Relational Contracts*, 94 NW. U. L. REV. 823, 838 (2000) (“[A] continuing challenge is for courts to recognize the special characteristics of relational contracts and to develop a set of default rules that are more responsive to the problems that those characteristics generate.”).

Macneil planted the seeds of this doctrinal research agenda in the “Postscript” to *The Many Futures of Contracts*, *supra* note 45, at 805. Provoked by several readers of a late draft of the article, Macneil offered some preliminary thoughts on possible connections between relational contract theory and the “real world.” *Id.* at 806. He framed the issue in terms of the “legal implications of the proposed theoretical analysis,” and he used two legal rules as illustrations. *Id.* at 807, 811.

Macneil acknowledged, “it is quite plain that acceptance of this analysis as a jurisprudential framework would work no general overthrow of present transactional contract doctrines.” *Id.* at 813. Indeed, as noted by Melvin Eisenberg, “there is no law of relational contracts.” Melvin A. Eisenberg, *Why There Is No Law of Relational Contracts*, 94 NW. U. L. REV. 805, 805 (2000). Eisenberg makes more than a descriptive claim. He concludes: “What relational contract theory has not done, and cannot do, is to create a law of relational contracts.” *Id.* at 821.

53. Ian R. Macneil, *Relational Contract Theory: Challenges and Queries*, 94 NW. U. L. REV. 877, 879 (2000) (“[Macneil] was simply exploring and trying to make sense of reality, the reality of what people are actually doing in the real-life world of exchange.”).

explicitly include any contracts as primary data.⁵⁴ To the extent that relational contract theory inspired empirical work among law professors, that work tended to focus on the noncontractual dimensions of contractual relationships discussed by Macaulay.⁵⁵ The overarching lesson from these studies was that “[l]egal doctrine and legal recourse often matter very little . . . since most transactions are governed, in practice, by informal community norms, enforced by informal social sanctions.”⁵⁶

Not surprisingly, Macaulay’s and Macneil’s sociological approaches found an audience beyond the legal academy among economic sociologists and management scholars.⁵⁷ Scholars utilized relational contract theory to understand how relational attributes, such as trust and reciprocity, enhanced inter-firm cooperation and improved the performance of partnering firms.⁵⁸

54. For additional important works in the development of relational contract theory, see Ian R. Macneil, *Bureaucracy and Contracts of Adhesion*, 22 OSGOODE HALL L.J. 5 (1984); Ian R. Macneil, *Contracting Worlds and Essential Contract Theory*, 9 SOC. & LEGAL STUD. 431 (2000); Ian R. Macneil, *Contracts: Adjustment of Long-Term Economic Relations Under Classical, Neoclassical, and Relational Contract Law*, 72 NW. U. L. REV. 854 (1978) [hereinafter Macneil, *Contracts*]; Ian R. Macneil, *Economic Analysis of Contractual Relations: Its Shortfalls and the Need for a “Rich Classificatory Apparatus,”* 75 NW. U. L. REV. 1018 (1981) [hereinafter Macneil, *Economic Analysis*]; Ian R. Macneil, *Exchange Revisited: Individual Utility and Social Solidarity*, 96 ETHICS 567 (1986).

55. For important early works, see ROBERT C. ELLICKSON, *ORDER WITHOUT LAW: HOW NEIGHBORS SETTLE DISPUTES* (1991); Lisa Bernstein, *Opting Out of the Legal System: Extralegal Contractual Relations in the Diamond Industry*, 21 J. LEGAL STUD. 115 (1992); Keith J. Crocker & Scott E. Masten, *Pretia ex Machina? Prices and Process in Long-Term Contracts*, 34 J.L. & ECON. 69 (1991).

Now such studies are commonplace. See, e.g., Lisa Bernstein, *Private Commercial Law in the Cotton Industry: Creating Cooperation Through Rules, Norms, and Institutions*, 99 MICH. L. REV. 1724 (2001); Carl J. Circo, *Contract Theory and Contract Practice: Allocating Design Responsibility in the Construction Industry*, 58 FLA. L. REV. 561 (2006); Nestor M. Davidson, *Relational Contracts in the Privatization of Social Welfare: The Case of Housing*, 24 YALE L. & POL’Y REV. 263 (2006); George Dent, *Lawyers and Trust in Business Alliances*, 58 BUS. LAW. 45 (2002); Carol A. Heimer, *Responsibility in Health Care: Spanning the Boundary Between Law and Medicine*, 41 WAKE FOREST L. REV. 465 (2006); Pauline T. Kim, *Bargaining with Imperfect Information: A Study of Worker Perceptions of Legal Protection in an At-Will World*, 83 CORNELL L. REV. 105 (1997); Ronald J. Mann, *Verification Institutions in Financing Transactions*, 87 GEO. L.J. 2225 (1999).

56. Mark C. Suchman, *The Contract as Social Artifact*, 37 LAW & SOC’Y REV. 91, 96 (2003).

57. See, e.g., John P. Esser, *Institutionalizing Industry: The Changing Forms of Contract*, 21 L. & SOC. INQUIRY 593 (1996); Mark Granovetter, *Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness*, 91 AM. J. SOC. 481, 496–97 (1985); Siegwart Lindenberg, *Contractual Relations and Weak Solidarity: The Behavioral Basis of Restraints on Gain-maximization*, 144 J. INSTITUTIONAL & THEORETICAL ECON. 39 (1988); Brian Uzzi, *The Sources and Consequences of Embeddedness for the Economic Performance of Organizations: The Network Effect*, 61 AM. SOC. REV. 674 (1996).

58. See, e.g., Jeffrey H. Dyer & Harbir Singh, *The Relational View: Cooperative Strategy and Sources of Interorganizational Competitive Advantage*, 23 ACAD. MGMT. REV. 660 (1998); Brian Uzzi, *Social Structure and Competition in Interfirm Networks: The*

Sociologists explain social action,⁵⁹ and they typically have viewed contracts as an exogenous variable in the analysis of social action.⁶⁰ That is, sociologists often treat contracts as the “law on the books,” while the behavior of the contracting parties is analyzed as the “law in action.” Implicit in this dichotomy is the assumption that the “law on the books” is secondary to other forces in explaining human behavior.⁶¹ Therefore, we should not be surprised to find that sociologists largely ignore contracts.⁶²

C. Agency Theory

When economists speak of “relational contracts,” they imagine “self-enforcing” agreements, meaning that “some credible future punishment threat [other than judicial enforcement] in the event of noncompliance induces each party to stick to agreed terms.”⁶³ Agency theory is not relational in the same sense, but

Paradox of Embeddedness, 42 ADMIN. SCI. Q. 35 (1997); Akbar Zaheer & N. Venkatraman, *Relational Governance as an Interorganizational Strategy: An Empirical Test of the Role of Trust in Economic Exchange*, 16 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. 373 (1995).

59. See MAX WEBER, *THE THEORY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION* 88 (1947) (defining sociology as “a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects”).

60. In this regard, contracts are treated like legal sanctions, reputational threats, social bonds, or any other control mechanism.

61. See Stewart Macaulay, *An Empirical View of Contract*, 1985 WIS. L. REV. 465, 467 (“Contract planning and contract law, at best, stand at the margin of important long-term continuing business relations.”).

62. Cf. Argyres et al., *supra* note 6, at 3 (speculating that the lack of empirical work on contracts in the strategy or management literature “may be due in part to the heavy emphasis in the management literature on the role of trust in interorganizational relationships, which follows from Macaulay’s (1963) classic work on noncontractual relations in business, and the corresponding skepticism about the importance of business contracts in governing interorganizational relationships”).

Mark Suchman recently outlined a “multipronged artifactualist research agenda” that would emphasize the “serious scholarly consideration of contracts as *things*.” Suchman, *supra* note, 56 at 92–93. His “contract-as-artifact” approach “would ask what we might learn about social structure and exchange relations if we were to think of these documents as significant social artifacts in their own right.” *Id.* at 96.

63. BOLTON & DEWATRIPONT, *supra* note 2, at 461–62. Of course, agreements of this sort need not be “contracts” at all in a legal sense. See RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF CONTRACTS § 1 (1981) (“A contract is a promise or a set of promises for the breach of which the law gives a remedy, or the performance of which the law in some way recognizes as a duty.”). Economists typically use the term “formal contracts” when they wish to impart the notion of legal enforceability. See, e.g., George P. Baker et al., *Relational Contracts and the Theory of the Firm*, 117 Q. J. ECON. 39, 70 (2002) (distinguishing relational contracts from “formal contracts (i.e., contracts that can be enforced by a court)”). Lawyers and legal scholars typically use the term “formal contract” to denote written, fully integrated contracts. See, e.g., Alan Schwartz & Robert E. Scott, *Precontractual Liability and Preliminary Agreements*, 120 HARV. L. REV. 661, 664 (2007). “Informal contracts,” by contrast, are incomplete agreements, but they are still enforceable. Otherwise, they would not be “contracts.” This distinction between formal and informal contracts in legal discourse traces back at least to Williston. See Movsesian, *supra* note 19, at 263.

contemplates an economic relationship that is more complex than the simple exchange of goods or services of neoclassical economics. In simplest terms, agency theory highlights problems that arise in relationships between economic principals and agents.⁶⁴

Legal scholars tend to associate agency theory with the concept of “agency costs” as described in the oft-cited article by Jensen and Meckling,⁶⁵ but the heavy lifting of formalizing agency theory was performed by Bengt Holmström, Paul Milgrom, and Jean Tirole.⁶⁶ Agency theory focuses on the incentives of agents to act in ways that maximize the value of their contractual relationships. Under this view, the role of contracts is to adjust the agent’s incentives,⁶⁷ usually by structuring compensation to vary within a range of potential outcomes or by creating myriad “monitoring” or “bonding” mechanisms to ensure the fidelity and effort of an agent.⁶⁸ The primary obstacle to this incentive structuring is the potential for “moral hazard”⁶⁹—the risk that agents will under-invest time, energy, or assets (“shirking”), or that an agent will appropriate

Four forces encourage relational exchange: reputation, continuity, trust, and history. Though economists often emphasize the calculative motives for action (reputation and continuity), the other forces (trust and history) are seen by sociologists as more important. See Stephen J. Carson et al., *Uncertainty, Opportunism, and Governance: The Effects of Volatility and Ambiguity on Formal and Relational Contracting*, 49 ACAD. MGMT. J. 1058, 1060 (2006).

64. Robert Gibbons calls agency theory an “accidental theory of the firm” because “[i]nstead of focusing on the make-or-buy problem that motivated [incomplete contract theory], this work focuses on an incentive problem between a principal and an agent.” Gibbons, *supra* note 4, at 206.

65. Michael C. Jensen & William H. Meckling, *Theory of the Firm: Managerial Behavior, Agency Costs, and Ownership Structure*, 3 J. FIN. ECON. 305, 308–10 (1976).

66. Bengt Holmström, *The Firm as Subeconomy*, 15 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 74, 75–76 (1999); Bengt Holmström & Paul Milgrom, *The Firm as an Incentive System*, 84 AM. ECON. REV. 972, 972 (1994); Bengt Holmström & Paul Milgrom, *Multitask Principal-Agent Analyses: Incentive Contracts, Asset Ownership, and Job Design*, 7 J.L. ECON. & ORG. (SPECIAL ISSUE) 24 (1991); Bengt Holmström & Jean Tirole, *Transfer Pricing and Organizational Form*, 7 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 201 (1991).

67. Benito Arruñada et al., *Contractual Allocation of Decision Rights and Incentives: The Case of Automobile Distribution*, 17 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 257, 260 (2001) (“the main role of the contract is to articulate mechanisms to ensure that the [agent’s] choices are more consistent with the maximization of the entire network value”).

68. For a description of “monitoring” and “bonding,” see Jensen & Meckling, *supra* note 65, at 308.

69. Bengt Holmström, *Moral Hazard in Teams*, 13 BELL J. ECON. 324 (1982). For early work on moral hazard, see Kenneth J. Arrow, *Uncertainty and the Welfare Economics of Medical Care*, 53 AM. ECON. REV. 941 (1963); Michael Spence & Richard Zeckhauser, *Insurance, Information and Individual Action*, 61 AM. ECON. REV. 380 (1971).

assets belonging to the principal.⁷⁰ Stated another way, moral hazard “suggests that people cannot be counted on to do what they say they are going to do.”⁷¹

“Adverse selection” is a second fundamental problem facing principals who act through agents. Adverse selection occurs when the principal chooses an agent who is not capable of performing up to the principal’s standards.⁷² Principals make this sort of mistake because some attribute of an agent is unobservable to the principal.⁷³ As a result, adverse selection is sometimes characterized as an information problem, while moral hazard is cast as an incentive problem.⁷⁴ This is slightly misleading, of course, because moral hazard is also an information problem that arises because the agent’s actions are unobservable to the principal.⁷⁵ The most important point for present purposes, however, is that adverse selection is best addressed through ex ante measures—screening by the prospective principal or signaling by the prospective agent⁷⁶—whereas moral hazard is best addressed through ex post incentive alignment. Contracts may perform both of these functions.

Empirical work on agency theory is extensive and includes some studies of actual contracts.⁷⁷ For present purposes, the most interesting feature of these studies is the attempt to show that some aspect of contract design is motivated by the desire to reduce agency costs. Agency costs travel under myriad aliases, including “transaction costs,”⁷⁸ and economists distinguish between these costs

70. See, e.g., James A. Brickley, *Incentive Conflicts and Contractual Restraints: Evidence From Franchising*, 42 J.L. & ECON. 745 (1999) (analyzing the underinvestment incentive in franchising).

71. Armen A. Alchian & Susan Woodward, *The Firm is Dead, Long Live the Firm: A Review of Oliver E. Williamson’s The Economic Institutions of Capitalism*, 26 J. ECON. LIT. 65, 68 (1988).

72. Gordon Smith has characterized this as a problem of “incompetence.” See D. Gordon Smith, *Corporate Governance and Managerial Incompetence: Lessons from Kmart*, 74 N.C. L. REV. 1037, 1041–42 (1996); D. Gordon Smith, *Venture Capital Contracting in the Information Age*, 2 J. SMALL & EMERGING BUS. L. 133, 137–38 (1998).

73. See generally George A. Akerlof, *The Market for “Lemons”: Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism*, 84 Q.J. ECON. 488 (1970).

74. Bolton and Dewatripont refer to adverse selection as a problem of “hidden information” and moral hazard as a problem of “hidden action.” BOLTON & DEWATRIPONT, *supra* note 2, at 15.

75. See James A. Mirrlees, *The Theory of Moral Hazard and Unobservable Behaviour: Part I*, 66 REV. ECON. STUD. 3, 3–4 (1999).

76. See BOLTON & DEWATRIPONT, *supra* note 2, at 47–127 (discussing the economics of adverse selection).

77. See, e.g., Brickley, *supra* note 70; Darlene C. Chisholm, *Profit-Sharing Versus Fixed-Payment Contracts: Evidence from the Motion Pictures Industry*, 13 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 169 (1997); Marcel Kahan & David Yermack, *Investment Opportunities and the Design of Debt Securities*, 14 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 136 (1998); Kenneth Lehn & Annette Poulsen, *Contractual Resolution of Bondholder-Stockholder Conflicts in Leveraged Buyouts*, 34 J.L. & ECON. 645 (1991).

78. See Douglas W. Allen, *What are Transaction Costs?*, 14 RES. L. & ECON. 1, 4 (1991). Allen defines “transaction costs” as follows:

Transaction costs are the resources used to establish and maintain property rights. They include the resources used to protect and capture

and the “frictional costs that are associated only with production (e.g., transportation costs).”⁷⁹ In simplest terms, agency costs are costs incurred in an attempt to exploit or prevent exploitation of incomplete information.⁸⁰ So understood, agency costs are not “simply ordinary costs that enter the cost function like all others.”⁸¹ Instead, agency costs are the costs associated with moral hazard and opportunism. Agency theory and incomplete contract theory, discussed in the next Section, are united by their placement of these costs at the center of their respective accounts of contractual relationships.

D. Incomplete Contract Theory

Though Macaulay and Macneil have been persistent critics of economic analysis of contracts,⁸² they may have played an important role in the development of economic theory. In the mid-1970s, economist Oliver Williamson noticed Ian Macneil’s work on relational contracts, which Williamson described as “much more expansive, nuanced, and interdisciplinary (mainly combining law and sociology) than any I had seen previously.”⁸³ Williamson had been thinking about “markets and hierarchies”⁸⁴—terms that roughly parallel Macneil’s spectrum of discrete and relational contracts⁸⁵—and over the course of a decade or so, along with Benjamin Klein⁸⁶ and others, Williamson embraced relational contract theory

(appropriate without permission) property rights, plus any deadweight costs that result from any potential or real protecting or capturing.

Id. at 3.

79. *Id.*

80. Allen claims that transaction costs, so defined, arise in three situations: (1) “coerced exchanges—better known as theft”; (2) expenditures designed to deter theft (“locks, guard dogs, and hand guns”) or commit theft (“picks, mace, and more hand guns”), as well as “efforts to prevent or take advantage of appropriable rents”; and (3) “effort to capture the wealth of others and to prevent one’s own wealth from being taken,” which effort is present in every voluntary exchange. *Id.* at 4.

81. *Id.* at 12. For this reason, Allen asserts, “Associating transaction costs with taxes is just plain wrong.” *Id.*

82. See, e.g., MACNEIL, *supra* note 14, at xii–xiii (observing that the “aged hoariness” of relational contract “is merely obscured by the temporary brilliance of its mutated cousins, the contract of classical and neoclassical economics and the classical contract law of Pothier, Langdell, Pollock, Holmes, and Williston”); Stewart Macaulay, *Contracts, New Legal Realism, and Improving the Navigation of the Yellow Submarine*, 80 TUL. L. REV. 1161, 1177 (2006) (referring disparagingly to the “cave of high-powered methods and statistics”); Macneil, *Economic Analysis*, *supra* note 54.

83. OLIVER E. WILLIAMSON, *THE MECHANISMS OF GOVERNANCE* 355 (1996) (referring to Macneil’s treatment of contracts in his article *The Many Futures of Contracts*, 47 S. CAL. L. REV. 691 (1974)).

84. See Oliver E. Williamson, *Hierarchical Control and Optimum Firm Size*, 75 J. POL. ECON. 123 (1967); Oliver Williamson, *Markets and Hierarchies: Some Elementary Considerations*, 63 AM. ECON. REV. 316 (1973); Oliver E. Williamson, *The Vertical Integration of Production: Market Failure Considerations*, 61 AM. ECON. REV. 112 (1971).

85. Macneil, *Contracts*, *supra* note 54, at 862–65.

86. See, e.g., Benjamin Klein, *Contracting Costs and Residual Claims: The Separation of Ownership and Control*, 26 J.L. & ECON. 367, 367–68 (1983); Benjamin Klein & Keith B. Leffler, *The Role of Market Forces in Assuring Contractual Performance*, 89 J. POL. ECON. 615 (1981); Benjamin Klein, *Transaction Cost Determinants of “Unfair”*

and laid the foundations of transaction cost economics (TCE) through informal theoretical arguments.⁸⁷

That relational contract theory would appeal to Williamson is not at all surprising. Just as Macneil attempted to break away from classical and neoclassical contract law, Williamson attempted to break away from neoclassical economics. For inspiration, Williamson turned to Ronald Coase's famous question: "Why is there any organization?"⁸⁸ Answers to that question are described as "theories of the firm," though they might more accurately be cast as "theories of relational contracting."⁸⁹ In this Section, we couple TCE with the property rights theory of the firm, developed formally by Sanford Grossman, Oliver Hart, and John Moore,⁹⁰ and refer to these two theories together as "incomplete contract theory."⁹¹ While TCE and the property rights theory are meaningfully different,⁹² they both depend on the notion that contracts are inevitably incomplete, and they both depend on control rights to mitigate ex post opportunism.⁹³

In their excellent synthesis of economic theories of contract, Patrick Bolton and Mathias Dewatripont refer to incomplete contract theory as "both a

Contractual Arrangements, 70 AM. ECON. REV. 356, 361–62 (1980); Benjamin Klein et al., *Vertical Integration, Appropriable Rents, and the Competitive Contracting Process*, 21 J.L. & ECON. 297, 308–10 (1978). Benjamin Klein has applied TCE in several specific contractual relationships. See, e.g., Roy W. Kenney & Benjamin Klein, *The Economics of Block Booking*, 26 J.L. & ECON. 497 (1983); Benjamin Klein & Lester F. Saft, *The Law and Economics of Franchise Tying Contracts*, 28 J.L. & ECON. 345 (1985).

87. Despite his sympathy for Macneil's work, Williamson has been criticized for producing an "undersocialized" view of transactions. See Granovetter, *supra* note 57, at 495–99.

88. Ronald H. Coase, *The Nature of the Firm*, 4 ECONOMICA 386 (1937), reprinted in R.H. COASE, *THE FIRM, THE MARKET, AND THE LAW* 33, 36 (1988).

89. See, e.g., Ronald H. Coase, *The Nature of the Firm: Meaning, in THE NATURE OF THE FIRM: ORIGINS, EVOLUTION, AND DEVELOPMENT* 48, 56 (Oliver E. Williamson & Sidney G. Winter eds., 1991) ("A number of economists have said in recent years that the problem of the firm is essentially a choice of contractual arrangements. I have never thought otherwise.")

90. See Sanford J. Grossman & Oliver D. Hart, *The Costs and Benefits of Ownership: A Theory of Vertical and Lateral Integration*, 94 J. POL. ECON. 691 (1986); Oliver Hart & John Moore, *Incomplete Contracts and Renegotiation*, 56 ECONOMETRICA 755 (1988) [hereinafter Hart & Moore, *Incomplete Contracts*]; Oliver Hart & John Moore, *Property Rights and the Nature of the Firm*, 98 J. POL. ECON. 1119 (1990).

91. In this regard, we follow the lead of Patrick Bolton and Mathias Dewatripont. See BOLTON & DEWATRIPONT, *supra* note 2, at 490–91.

92. Robert Gibbons describes the property rights theory as the "inverse" of TCE: "where [TCE] envisions socially destructive haggling ex post, the property-rights theory assumes efficient bargaining, and where [TCE] is consistent with contractible specific investments ex ante, the property-rights theory requires non-contractible specific investments." Gibbons, *supra* note 4, at 205.

93. See BOLTON & DEWATRIPONT, *supra* note 2, at 491 (Under TCE, "[t]he need for a long-term contract . . . arises as a way of protecting the buyer's ex ante investment against ex post 'opportunism' by the seller."); *id.* at 499 (According to the property rights theory, "the owner of a firm has the right . . . to exclude others from using the firm's assets[, which] serves as a protection against ex post opportunism.").

substantive and methodological break” from agency theory.⁹⁴ Where agency theory focuses on fitting compensation to particular outcomes, incomplete contract theory focuses on decisionmaking procedures and institutional design. This shift in focus is necessitated by the assumption that all contracts are incomplete in the sense that they do not specify the obligations of the contracting parties for all potential outcomes.⁹⁵ The source of incompleteness is “bounded rationality,”⁹⁶ a somewhat malleable term that includes an inability to negotiate future plans because parties “have to find a common language to describe states of the world and actions with respect to which prior experience may not provide much of a guide.”⁹⁷ Thus, bounded rationality might include an inability to write contracts in such a way that they can be enforced by a third party.⁹⁸

Under incomplete contract theory, the most important implication of incomplete contracting is the potential for “holdup.”⁹⁹ Holdup occurs when one

94. *Id.* at 489. *Cf.* WILLIAMSON, *supra* note 83, at 171 (observing that agency theory and transaction-cost economics are “mainly complementary”).

95. *See* Herbert A. Simon, *A Formal Theory of the Employment Relationship*, 19 *ECONOMETRICA* 293 (1951).

96. *See* Herbert A. Simon, *A Behavioral Model of Rational Choice*, 69 *Q. J. ECON.* 99 (1955); Herbert A. Simon, *Rationality as Process and as Product of Thought*, 68 *AM. ECON. REV.* 1, 10 (1978); Herbert A. Simon, *Theories of Decision-Making in Economics and Behavioral Science*, 49 *AM. ECON. REV.* 253 (1959).

97. OLIVER HART, *FIRMS, CONTRACTS & FINANCIAL STRUCTURE* 23 (1995). The degree to which contracts are incomplete is not completely foreordained, but depends in part on the tradeoff between the anticipated hazards of *ex post* opportunism and the costs of *ex ante* design. *See* Keith J. Crocker & Kenneth J. Reynolds, *The Efficiency of Incomplete Contracts: An Empirical Analysis of Air Force Engine Procurement*, 24 *RAND J. ECON.* 126, 127 (1993):

Were contracting costless, it would be possible in principle to design arrangements complete enough to circumscribe all surplus-eroding redistributive tactics and intricate enough to mitigate investment distortions. In practice, however, the costs of identifying contingencies and devising responses increase rapidly in complex or uncertain environments, placing economic limits on the ability of agents to draft and implement elaborate contractual agreements. When designing a contract, the parties may mitigate *ex post* opportunism and investment distortions by the use of more complete agreements, but at the cost of increased resources dedicated to crafting the document *a priori*. As a consequence, environmental characteristics that generate increased contracting costs should result in efficient contracts being less complete, whereas conditions that exacerbate the potential for *ex post* inefficiencies should lead to more exhaustive agreements.

Id.

98. HART, *supra* note 97, at 23. More recent work in the field explores the possibility of strategic incompleteness. B. Douglas Bernheim & Michael D. Whinston, *Incomplete Contracts and Strategic Ambiguity*, 88 *AM. ECON. REV.* 902 (1998). This sort of behavior relies on the possibility of contract modification. For a proposal to make certain contracts nonmodifiable, see Christine Jolls, *Contracts as Bilateral Commitments: A New Perspective on Contract Modification*, 26 *J. LEGAL STUD.* 203 (1997).

99. The literature on holdups is voluminous, and substantial activity revolves around the case of Fisher Body and General Motors, first discussed in Klein et al., *supra*

contracting party threatens another with economic harm unless concessions are granted by the threatened party.¹⁰⁰ The potential for holdup exists only within contractual relationships, not in initial contract negotiations, and it results from the investment of relationship-specific assets by one of the parties. Anticipation of holdup is said to motivate the structure of contractual relationships. In particular, the potential for holdup is said to encourage contracting parties to enter into long-term relationships or vertically integrate.

Incomplete contract theory helps scholars generate testable predictions about contractual relationships. These predications typically are based on the “discriminating alignment hypothesis,” which holds that the contracts governing different transactions can be explained by the fact that the main purpose of contracts is to economize on transaction costs.¹⁰¹ When motivated by this hypothesis, empirical studies of contracts attempt to identify and measure differences in the underlying transactions and to match those differences with governance structures. These studies address a range of organizational forms, from vertically integrated firms (hierarchy) to contracts between firms (market), as well as hybrid relationships, such as alliances and joint ventures.

Empirical work on incomplete contract theory has blossomed over the past several decades,¹⁰² and the theory has spawned an extensive literature in law reviews regarding appropriate judicial responses to incomplete contracts.

note 86, at 308–10. The subsequent debate over Fisher Body has been spirited. See Ramon Casadesus-Masanell & Daniel F. Spulber, *The Fable of Fisher Body*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 67 (2000) (merger of GM and Fisher Body was not motivated by a desire to avoid holdup); R. H. Coase, *The Acquisition of Fisher Body by General Motors*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 15, 15 (2000) (no evidence of holdup in relationship between GM and Fisher Body); Robert F. Freeland, *Creating Holdup Through Vertical Integration: Fisher Body Revisited*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 33, 35 (2000) (no evidence of holdup in relationship between GM and Fisher Body until after the acquisition); Benjamin Klein, *Fisher-General Motors and the Nature of the Firm*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 105, 106 (2000) (evidence of holdup in relationship between GM and Fisher Body exists and fear of holdup motivated the acquisition). The latest contribution by Ronald Coase to that debate has descended into allegations of professional misconduct. See Ronald Coase, *The Conduct of Economics: The Example of Fisher Body General Motors*, 15 J. ECON. & MGMT. STRATEGY 255, 255 (2006) (discussing “what it is about the conduct of economics that led so many able economists to choose error rather than truth”).

100. The term “holdup” is sometimes used synonymously with “opportunism.” Conrad S. Ciccotello et al., *Research and Development Alliances: Evidence from a Federal Contracts Repository*, 47 J.L. ECON. 123, 127 (2004). Masten et al. suggest the possibility of holdup in the absence of asset specificity. They use the term “temporal specificity” to describe a situation in which “timely performance is critical, [and] delay becomes a potentially effective strategy for exacting price concessions.” Scott E. Masten et al., *The Costs of Organization*, 7 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 1, 9 (1991).

101. Oliver E. Williamson, *Comparative Economic Organization: The Analysis of Discrete Structural Alternatives*, 36 ADMIN. SCI. Q. 269, 277 (1991).

102. For an excellent survey, see Jeffrey T. Macher & Barak D. Richman, *Transaction Cost Economics: An Assessment of Empirical Work in the Social Sciences*, 10 BUS. & POL. 1 (2008). For earlier, but still useful, surveys, see Paul L. Joskow, *Asset Specificity and the Structure of Vertical Relationships: Empirical Evidence*, 4 J. L. ECON. & ORG. 95 (1988); Howard A. Shelanski & Peter G. Klein, *Empirical Research in Transaction Cost Economics: A Review and Assessment*, 11 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 335 (1995).

Prominent streams within this literature include work on default rules¹⁰³ and judicial interpretation.¹⁰⁴

Incomplete contract theory primarily addresses the risk of advantage taking by the contracting parties.¹⁰⁵ Though the implications of advantage taking vary between agency theory and incomplete contract theory, the take-home lesson for present purposes is that under both of these economic theories, the central purpose of contracting is to address the risk of advantage taking by the contracting parties. As we will see in Part II, that fundamental assumption drives almost all empirical studies of contracts.

II. SURVEY OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF CONTRACTS: 1990–2006

In this Part we describe our survey of empirical studies of contracts from 1990 through 2006. Although the empirical study of contracts did not begin in 1990,¹⁰⁶ the purpose of this survey is not to develop a comprehensive account of extant learning on contracts. Instead, our purpose is to reveal the sorts of questions that researchers ask about contracts in empirical studies. Not surprisingly, we have discovered that economic theories dominate the framing of empirical work on contracts.

103. See, e.g., Ian Ayres & Robert Gertner, *Filling Gaps in Incomplete Contracts: An Economic Theory of Default Rules*, 99 YALE L.J. 87 (1989); Ian Ayres & Robert Gertner, *Strategic Contractual Inefficiency and the Optimal Choice of Legal Rules*, 101 YALE L.J. 729 (1992); Alan Schwartz & Robert E. Scott, *Contract Theory and the Limits of Contract Law*, 113 YALE L.J. 541, 584 (2003).

104. See, e.g., Eric A. Posner, *The Parol Evidence Rule, the Plain Meaning Rule, and the Principles of Contractual Interpretation*, 146 U. PA. L. REV. 533 (1998); Richard A. Posner, *The Law and Economics of Contract Interpretation*, 83 TEX. L. REV. 1581 (2005).

105. Juliet P. Kostritsky, *Taxonomy for Justifying Legal Intervention in an Imperfect World: What to Do When Parties Have Not Achieved Bargains or Have Drafted Incomplete Contracts*, 2004 WIS. L. REV. 323, 327 (developing “a model of legal intervention that focuses on structural barriers that make it difficult for parties to solve a key problem of contracting: opportunism”).

106. Empirical studies of contracts prior to 1990 include Paul L. Joskow, *Price Adjustments in Long-Term Contracts: The Case of Coal*, 31 J.L. & ECON. 47 (1988); Victor P. Goldberg & John R. Erickson, *Quantity and Price Adjustment in Long-Term Contracts: A Case Study of Petroleum Coke*, 30 J.L. & ECON. 369 (1987); R. Glenn Hubbard & Robert J. Weiner, *Regulation and Long-Term Contracting in U.S. Natural Gas Markets*, 35 J. INDUS. ECON. 71 (1986); J. Harold Mulherin, *Complexity in Long-term Contracts: An Analysis of Natural Gas Contractual Provisions*, 2 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 105 (1986); James M. Acheson, *The Maine Lobster Market: Between Market and Hierarchy*, 1 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 385 (1985); Paul L. Joskow, *Vertical Integration and Long-term Contracts: The Case of Coal-Burning Electric Generating Plants*, 1 J. L. ECON. & ORG. 33 (1985); Scott E. Masten & Keith J. Crocker, *Efficient Adaptation in Long-Term Contracts: Take-or-Pay Provisions for Natural Gas*, 75 AM. ECON. REV. 1083 (1985); Thomas M. Palay, *Avoiding Regulatory Constraints: Contracting Safeguards and the Role of Informal Agreements*, 1 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 155 (1985); Lee J. Alston et al., *Tenancy Choice in a Competitive Framework with Transaction Costs*, 92 J. POL. ECON. 1121 (1984); Thomas M. Palay, *Comparative Institutional Economics: The Governance of Rail Freight Contracting*, 13 J. LEGAL STUD. 265 (1984); James A. Wilson, *Adaptation to Uncertainty and Small Number Exchange: The New England Fresh Fish Market*, 11 BELL J. ECON. 491 (1980).

For purposes of this survey, our conception of “empirical studies” is artificially narrow. We include only actual contracts and case studies that use actual contracts as a primary data source.¹⁰⁷ We omit studies of contracts that are based exclusively on surveys,¹⁰⁸ interviews, press releases or newspaper accounts,¹⁰⁹ industry publications,¹¹⁰ government data, experimental methods, and other secondary sources.¹¹¹ We also exclude articles—found frequently in law journals—in which the authors used stylized contract terms,¹¹² illustrative contracts,¹¹³ or contracts in judicial opinions.¹¹⁴ Thus, studies that focus on the external effects of forming certain contractual relationships, rather than on the

107. See, e.g., Victor Fleischer, *Brand New Deal: The Branding Effect of Corporate Deal Structures*, 104 MICH. L. REV. 1581 (2006); Joseph C. Mullin & Wallace P. Mullin, *United States Steel's Acquisition of the Great Northern Ore Properties: Vertical Foreclosure or Efficient Contractual Governance?*, 13 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 74 (1997).

108. See, e.g., Shannon W. Anderson & Henri C. Dekker, *Management Control for Market Transactions: The Relation Between Transaction Characteristics, Incomplete Contract Design, and Subsequent Performance*, 51 MGMT. SCI. 1734 (2005); Loren Brandt & Arthur J. Hosios, *Credit, Incentives, and Reputation: A Hedonic Analysis of Contractual Wage Profiles*, 104 J. POL. ECON. 1172 (1996); Stefano DellaVigna & Ulrike Malmendier, *Contract Design and Self-Control: Theory and Evidence*, 119 Q. J. ECON. 353 (2004); Thomas N. Hubbard, *Contractual Form and Market Thickness in Trucking*, 32 RAND J. ECON. 369 (2001); Yadong Luo, *Contract, Cooperation, and Performance in International Joint Ventures*, 23 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. 903 (2002); Xueguang Zhou et al., *Embeddedness and Contractual Relationships in China's Transitional Economy*, 68 AM. SOC. REV. 75 (2003).

109. See, e.g., Dovev Lavie & Lori Rosenkopf, *Balancing Exploration and Exploitation in Alliance Formation*, 49 ACAD. MGMT. J. 797 (2006).

110. See, e.g., Ranjay Gulati, *Does Familiarity Breed Trust? The Implications of Repeated Ties for Contractual Choice in Alliances*, 38 ACAD. MGMT. J. 85 (1995).

111. As a result of our decision to restrict our survey to studies of actual contracts, we excluded many worthy studies of contracts, including two of Francine Lafontaine's excellent studies of franchising. See Francine Lafontaine, *Contractual Arrangements as Signaling Devices: Evidence from Franchising*, 9 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 256 (1993); Francine Lafontaine & Kathryn L. Shaw, *The Dynamics of Franchise Contracting: Evidence from Panel Data*, 107 J. POL. ECON. 1041 (1999). We wish to emphasize that our decision to exclude these studies, and many others, was not based on reservations about the quality of the data, but rather our attempt to limit the survey in a way that best accomplished our limited purpose.

112. See, e.g., Jesse M. Fried & Mira Ganor, *Agency Costs of Venture Capitalist Control in Startups*, 81 N.Y.U. L. REV. 967 (2006); Mark P. Gergen, *The Use of Open Terms in Contract*, 92 COLUM. L. REV. 997 (1992); Avery Wiener Katz, *The Option Element in Contracting*, 90 VA. L. REV. 2187 (2004).

113. See, e.g., Alan Schwartz & Robert E. Scott, *Contract Theory and the Limits of Contract Law*, 113 YALE L.J. 541, 574–84 (2003).

114. See, e.g., Joseph F. Brodley & Ching-to Albert Ma, *Contract Penalties, Monopolizing Strategies, and Antitrust Policy*, 45 STAN. L. REV. 1161 (1993); Mark P. Gergen, *Liability for Mistake in Contract Formation*, 64 S. CAL. L. REV. 1 (1990); Judith L. Maute, *Peavyhouse v. Garland Coal & Mining Co. Revisited: The Ballad of Willie and Lucille*, 89 NW. U. L. REV. 1341 (1995); Robert E. Scott, *A Theory of Self-Enforcing Indefinite Agreements*, 103 COLUM. L. REV. 1641, 1652–61 (2003); D. Gordon Smith, *Independent Legal Significance, Good Faith, and the Interpretation of Venture Capital Contracts*, 40 WILLAMETTE L. REV. 825 (2004).

contracts themselves, are excluded.¹¹⁵ Dispute resolution in various contractual settings is a popular topic of study, but articles in this genre generally are excluded from this survey on the ground that the researchers focus on legal process rather than on the content of contracts.¹¹⁶

We do not deny that data sources other than actual contracts are important for the empirical study of contractual relationships,¹¹⁷ especially given the difficulties that researchers often encounter in gaining access to private agreements. Nevertheless, we believe that our narrower conception of relevant empirical work is justified, given our modest goal for this survey.

In conducting this survey, we reviewed forty top journals in six disciplines or sub-disciplines: economics, financial economics, law and economics, strategy and management, sociology, and law. A list of the journals appears in Appendix I. Our review covered all articles published in the selected journals from 1990 through 2006.¹¹⁸ Many of the journals did not publish even one qualifying article. If more scholars studied contracts empirically, we would have focused on a narrower range of years. At it stands, we located fifty-two empirical studies of contracts, which are listed in Appendix II.

Most of the empirical studies in the survey were conducted by economists or scholars who have embraced economic analysis of contracts. Lawyers draft contracts, but our survey shows that law professors rarely attempt to study the contracts themselves.¹¹⁹ Of the fifty-two articles identified for the survey, forty-eight asked questions motivated by one or more of the economic theories discussed in Part I.¹²⁰ Parsing the economically oriented articles, we found that thirty-one

115. See, e.g., Gustavo E. Bamberger et al., *An Empirical Investigation of the Competitive Effects of Domestic Airline Alliances*, 47 J.L. & ECON. 195 (2004); Allen N. Berger & Gregory F. Udell, *Some Evidence on the Empirical Significance of Credit Rationing*, 100 J. POL. ECON. 1047 (1992); David Card, *Unexpected Inflation, Real Wages, and Employment Determination in Union Contracts*, 80 AM. ECON. REV. 669 (1990).

116. See, e.g., Amy Farmer et al., *The Causes of Bargaining Failure: Evidence from Major League Baseball*, 47 J.L. & ECON. 543 (2004).

117. See Macher & Richman, *supra* note 102, at 9–10.

118. We did not include student comments and notes in law reviews in our survey.

119. The survey of empirical studies contained in Part II of this Article shows that among the twenty law reviews, only five empirical studies of contracts have been published since 1990. Three of these studies appeared in the *Stanford Law Review*. The law review articles identified in the survey are the following: Lucian Arye Bebchuk et al., *The Powerful Antitakeover Force of Staggered Boards: Theory, Evidence and Policy*, 54 STAN. L. REV. 887 (2002); Fleischer, *supra* note 107; Gillian K. Hadfield, *Problematic Relations: Franchising and the Law of Incomplete Contracts*, 42 STAN. L. REV. 927 (1990); Hugh T. Scogin, Jr., *Between Heaven and Man: Contract and the State in Han Dynasty China*, 63 S. CAL. L. REV. 1325 (1990); and D. Gordon Smith, *The Exit Structure of Venture Capital*, 53 UCLA L. REV. 315 (2005). Several law professors have published empirical studies of contracts in law and economics journals. See, e.g., Daines & Klausner, *supra* note 13; Marcel Kahan & David Yermack, *Investment Opportunities and the Design of Debt Securities*, 14 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 136 (1998).

120. Some of these articles argue against the economic theories. For example, Casadesus-Masanell and Spulber contend that the purpose of GM's acquisition of Fisher

relied primarily on incomplete contract theory,¹²¹ twelve relied primarily on agency theory,¹²² and five relied substantially on both economic theories.¹²³ Of the four articles that did not rely on either of the economic theories, three were published in law reviews,¹²⁴ and one was published in a sociology journal.¹²⁵

Some of the articles in the survey focus on one type of provision and attempt to show that the selected provision is consistent with the predictions of the economic models.¹²⁶ Other studies compare the efficacy of contracts with other

Body was not to combat opportunism. Casadesus-Masanell & Spulber, *supra* note 99, at 68. Also, Andrew Hanssen challenged the transaction-cost explanation for block-booking of motion pictures, which appears in Roy W. Kenney & Benjamin Klein, *The Economics of Block Booking*, 26 J.L. & ECON. 497 (1983). F. Andrew Hanssen, *The Block Booking of Films Reexamined*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 395 (2000). For a response by Kenney and Klein, see Roy W. Kenney & Benjamin Klein, *How Block Booking Facilitated Self-Enforcing Film Contracts*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 427 (2000).

121. We evaluated each article qualitatively to determine the motivating theory. In addition, we examined citations to prominent theorists. With respect to the thirty-one articles relying primarily on incomplete contract theory, twenty-eight cited at least one of Oliver Williamson's works on transaction cost economics and twenty-six cited Benjamin Klein. Of the three articles that did not cite Williamson, two cited Klein, and one cited Oliver Hart, who garnered only thirteen citations among the thirty-one articles.

122. With respect to the twelve articles relying primarily on agency theory, seven cited the influential work of Bengt Holmström, and only four cited the well-known article by Jensen & Meckling.

123. See Arruñada et al., *supra* note 67; Pierre Azoulay & Scott Shane, *Entrepreneurs, Contracts, and the Failure of Young Firms*, 47 MGMT. SCI. 337 (2001); Chong-En Bai et al., *Revenue Sharing and Control Rights in Team Production: Theories and Evidence from Joint Ventures*, 35 RAND J. ECON. 277, 283 (2004); Paul Gompers & Josh Lerner, *The Use of Covenants: An Empirical Analysis of Venture Partnership Agreements*, 39 J.L. ECON. 463 (1996); J. Harold Mulherin et al., *Prices are Property: The Organization of Financial Exchanges from a Transaction Cost Perspective*, 34 J.L. & ECON. 591 (1991).

124. Bebchuk et al., *supra* note 119; Fleischer, *supra* note 107; Scogin, *supra* note 119.

125. John F. Padgett & Paul D. McLean, *Organizational Invention and Elite Transformation: The Birth of Partnership Systems in Renaissance Florence*, 111 AM. J. SOC. 1463 (2006). This article and Scogin, *supra* note 119, are historical pieces characterized largely by description.

126. See, e.g., Azoulay & Shane, *supra* note 123, at 355 (showing that new franchise chains that grant exclusive territories to franchisees are more likely to survive than chains that do not grant exclusive territories); Chisholm, *supra* note 77, at 196 (demonstrating that share contracts are positively correlated with contract length, actor's experience, revenue-generating ability, and prior collaborations, thus "demonstrat[ing] that contract choice may be influenced, in part, by disincentive effects arising from moral hazard"); Srikant Datar et al., *Earnouts: The Effects of Adverse Selection and Agency Costs on Acquisition Techniques*, 17 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 201 (2001) (arguing that earnouts alleviate moral hazard in acquisitions, and provide incentives for the target owners after the acquisition); Keith B. Leffler & Randal R. Rucker, *Transaction Costs and the Efficient Organization of Production: A Study of Timber-Harvesting Contracts*, 99 J. POL. ECON. 1060, 1060-61 (1991) (explaining the choice between lump-sum and per-unit payment provisions in private timber-harvesting contracts); Thomas P. Lyon & Steven C. Hackett, *Bottlenecks and Governance Structures: Open Access and Long-Term Contracting in*

mechanisms for mitigating advantage taking¹²⁷ or assess the efficacy of different contract provisions.¹²⁸

A small number of studies attempt to describe and analyze an entire system of rights allocation.¹²⁹ Generally speaking, however, the studies in the survey appeared less concerned with explaining a particular set of contracts than with extending or refining the underlying economic theories.¹³⁰

As evidenced by the foregoing discussion, the economic theories discussed in Part I play a dominant role in framing empirical work on contracts. Nonetheless, we were pleased to find three articles motivated at least in part by the organizational theories discussed in Part III below. Kyle Mayer and Robert Salomon examined 405 service contracts from a single information technology firm in an attempt to show “how the resource-based view can complement the standard TCE approach to governance.”¹³¹ Victor Fleischer’s study of “branding effects” in the Google initial public offering (IPO) and other transactions is included in our discussion of identity theory.¹³² Finally, Kyle Mayer and Nicholas S. Argyres draw on learning theory to inform their case study of a series of eleven

Natural Gas, 9 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 380, 396 (1993) (arguing that open access requirements in the natural gas industry have reduced the threat of pipeline opportunism).

127. See, e.g., Douglas W. Allen & Dean Lueck, *The “Back Forty” on a Handshake: Specific Assets, Reputation, and the Structure of Farmland Contracts*, 8 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 366, 368 (1992) (surmising that relationships with uncomplicated contracts rely on reputation and common law as governance mechanisms); Lehn & Poulsen, *supra* note 77, at 648–49 (concluding that bondholders seek protection against the risks associated with leveraged buyouts through explicit contract provisions rather than through convertible bonds or cross ownership of bonds and stocks); Raji Srinivasan & Thomas H. Brush, *Supplier Performance in Vertical Alliances: The Effects of Self-Enforcing Agreements and Enforceable Contracts*, 17 ORG. SCI. 436 (2006) (contending that “self-enforcing agreements prove more valuable for suppliers than enforceable contracts in pursuing close ties with buyers”).

128. See, e.g., Brickley, *supra* note 70, at 766–68 (finding that certain provisions of franchise agreements are complements); Kyle J. Mayer et al., *Are Supply and Plant Inspections Complements or Substitutes? A Strategic and Operational Assessment of Inspection Practices in Biotechnology*, 50 MGMT. SCI. 1064, 1065 (2004) (concluding that supply inspections and plant inspections are sometimes substitutes and sometimes complements).

129. See, e.g., Arruñada et al., *supra* note 67; Hadfield, *supra* note 119; Smith, *supra* note 119.

130. For example, Joanne Oxley’s work on strategic alliances identified an important form of contractual hazard that was new to the transaction-cost literature. See Joanne E. Oxley, *Appropriability Hazards and Governance in Strategic Alliances: A Transaction Cost Approach*, 13 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 387 (1997).

131. Kyle J. Mayer & Robert M. Salomon, *Capabilities, Contractual Hazards, and Governance: Integrating Resource-Based and Transaction Cost Perspectives*, 49 ACAD. MGMT. J. 942, 942 (2006).

132. Fleischer, *supra* note 107, at 1600–05.

contracts concluded between the same two firms in the personal computer industry.¹³³

These examples illustrate the utility of drawing on organizational theories to enhance our understanding of the various functions and purposes of contracts in organizations and markets. Although few in number, the studies point to the potential influence that organizational theory may soon have on the empirical study of contracts. The empirical study of contracts is still a fledgling enterprise, and we hope that these new avenues of research will find an audience among contracts scholars to the same extent that agency theory and incomplete contract theory have done.

III. ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON CONTRACTS

The economic theories discussed in Part I do not purport to provide a comprehensive account of contracts.¹³⁴ Most of the empirical studies of contracts surveyed in Part II focus on the incentive structure or governance of contracts, leaving other provisions unexamined. In this Part, we draw on various organizational theories to enrich our understanding of contracts sometimes supplementing and sometimes challenging the accounts provided by the economic theories.

We use organizational theories to analyze contracts because “organizations are a prominent, if not the dominant, characteristic of modern societies.”¹³⁵ Contracts often are created by organizations, and, in turn, each contract creates a new organization. The four theories highlighted here—resource theory, learning theory, identity theory, and institutional theory—represent different views of why organizations and their members do what they do. We

133. Kyle J. Mayer & Nicholas S Argyres, *Learning to Contract: Evidence from the Personal Computer Industry*, 15 *ORG. SCI.* 394 (2004). For a more recent paper in which the same authors draw again on learning theory, see Argyres et al., *supra* note 6, at 3.

134. Cf. Mayer & Salomon, *supra* note 131 (“Although contracting hazards have been shown to play a key role in governance . . . , they are not the only factors that stand to influence such decisions. Firm capabilities can also play a role.”).

Many of the studies in our survey suggested that contract choice was a function of both opportunism and other considerations. See, e.g., Chisholm, *supra* note 77, at 196–98 (concluding that share contracts for actors are positively correlated with contract length, actor’s experience, revenue-generating ability, and prior collaborations, thus “demonstrate[ing] that contract choice may be influenced, in part, by disincentive effects arising from moral hazard,” but also showing that contract choice also may be affected by liquidity concerns); Paul L. Joskow, *The Performance of Long-Term Contracts: Further Evidence From Coal Contracts*, 21 *RAND J. ECON.* 251, 251–52 (1990) (“A major challenge in structuring long-term coal supply contracts involves the specification of price and quantity adjustment provisions that both guard against opportunistic behavior and provide for flexibility to adapt to changing market conditions as the contractual relationship plays itself out over time . . .” (citations omitted)); Rachele C. Sampson, *The Cost of Misaligned Governance in R&D Alliances*, 20 *J.L. ECON. & ORG.* 484, 486 (2004) (“Collaborative benefits are diminished most by selection of governance that imposes excessive bureaucracy rather than governance that allows excessive opportunism hazards.”).

135. SCOTT, *supra* note 5, at 3.

believe that contracts often carry the fingerprints of one or more of the processes discussed in these theories.

A. Resource Theory

The resource-based view (RBV) may be the dominant theoretical approach of organizational strategy scholarship, which examines factors that enable firms to secure abnormally high rates of return. RBV scholars assess how organizations use tangible and intangible resources to gain sustained competitive advantages vis-à-vis their rivals.¹³⁶ With regard to the study of contracts, RBV suggests that lawyers serve as strategic advisors, helping organizations to explore and acquire resources that (potentially) create value. RBV focuses scholarly research of contracts on the kinds of resources used to create and capture value and the various ways that firms might use contracts in these endeavors. In contrast to incomplete contract theory, which emphasizes advantage-taking by the contracting parties, RBV provides insights into the various ways that firms may design contracts to use and deploy resources critical to the creation or maintenance of competitive advantages.

Under RBV, resources are assumed to be distributed heterogeneously within industries, creating opportunities for firms to differentiate themselves and capture value.¹³⁷ As resources become more idiosyncratic and inimitable, they become more valuable to a firm and more crucial to the firm's competitive advantage.¹³⁸ An important ambition of RBV, therefore, is to identify the mechanisms that inhibit competitors from imitating a firm's resource base and that allow firms to develop competitive advantages.

RBV is different from the economic theories discussed in Part I. While those economic theories treat incentive alignment or governance as the primary motivation for contracts, RBV emphasizes resource use and deployment.¹³⁹ Under

136. See, e.g., Janice A. Black & Kimberly B. Boal, *Strategic Resources: Traits, Configurations, and Paths to Sustainable Competitive Advantage*, 15 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. 131 (1994); Margaret A. Peteraf, *The Cornerstones of Competitive Advantage*, 14 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. 179 (1993).

137. Jay Barney, *Firm Resources and Sustained Competitive Advantage*, 17 J. MGMT. 99, 100–01 (1991).

138. Barney lists four resource attributes that contribute to competitive advantage: (1) value, “in the sense that it exploit[s] opportunities and/or neutralizes threats in a firm's environment”; (2) rareness; (3) “imperfectly imitable”; and (4) nonsubstitutability. *Id.* at 105–06. Barney suggested three types of resources: physical capital (e.g. plant and equipment), human capital, and organizational capital. *Id.* at 101. The latter kind of capital constitutes resources embedded in firms' routines, leadership structure, or other design-oriented features. With respect to the topic of contracts, organizational capital includes the formal and informal relations formed by firms.

139. Kathleen R. Conner, *A Historical Comparison of Resource-Based Theory and Five Schools of Thought within Industrial Organization Economics: Do We Have a New Theory of the Firm?*, 17 J. MGMT. 121 (1991). Scholars have begun to explore ways in which technological capabilities affect governance, leading Mayer and Salomon to suggest that RBV may “complement the standard transaction cost approach to governance.” Mayer & Salomon, *supra* note 131, at 944.

RBV, the main function of contracts is to secure resources,¹⁴⁰ thereby allowing the firm to capture future rents.¹⁴¹ Thus, while incomplete contract theory focuses on the governance attributes of joint ventures and strategic alliances,¹⁴² RBV emphasizes their strategic importance. These perspectives are not mutually exclusive, but contracts scholars who relied exclusively on incomplete contract theory would miss important insights about the strategic purpose of contracts by ignoring RBV. Contracts are often used in situations where managers are setting and implementing strategic decisions about how to use and get value out of their resources (e.g., strategic alliances). Consequently, contract design should meet the strategic needs of the parties involved, rather than merely mitigate potential agency problems. Scholars have identified three isolating mechanisms that make resources inimitable and, therefore, advantageous to the firm: path dependence, causal ambiguity, and property rights.¹⁴³ We discuss each of these mechanisms in turn.

The path dependence of competitive advantage implies that a firm has a long experience with a particular set of resources.¹⁴⁴ Developing new strategic capabilities can be risky, so firms tend to build on existing competencies rather than try to acquire new competencies.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, rivals find it very difficult to

140. GM's acquisition of Fisher Body is typically portrayed as motivated by the potential for opportunism. See Klein, *supra* note 99. Casadesus-Masanell and Spulber take a different tack, however, arguing that the merger was designed "to assure GM adequate supplies of auto bodies, to synchronize the two companies' operations, and to provide GM with access to the executive talents of the Fisher brothers." Casadesus-Masanell & Spulber, *supra* note 99, at 68. This is a nice illustration of RBV.

141. An economic rent is a return on investment that exceeds the return available in a competitive environment. Another way of stating the same idea is that an economic rent is the amount earned in excess of the amount that would be required to prevent assets from being redeployed to a different use. See Armen A. Alchian, *Rent*, in 4 THE NEW PALGRAVE: A DICTIONARY OF ECONOMICS 141 (John Eatwell et al. eds., 1987).

142. Gulati, *supra* note 110, at 89 ("[F]irms use equity alliances when the transaction costs associated with an exchange are too high to justify a quasi-market, nonequity alliance."); Oxley, *supra* note 130, at 388 ("In choosing among different interfirm alliance types, the logic of transaction cost economics suggests that more 'hierarchical' alliances will be chosen for transactions where contracting hazards are more severe.").

143. Richard P. Rumelt, *Towards a Strategic Theory of the Firm*, in COMPETITIVE STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT 556 (Robert B. Lamb ed., 1984).

144. Ingemar Dierickx and Karel Cool, *Asset Stock Accumulation and Sustainability of Competitive Advantage*, 35 MGMT. SCI. 1504-11 (1989); see also Margaret A. Peteraf, *The Cornerstones of Competitive Advantage: A Resource-Based View*, 14 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. 179-91 (1993). Path dependence implies that a firm's competencies are situated historically in events (sometimes chance events) and cannot be easily acquired or developed by competitors.

145. The notion that firms should enhance their current competencies is sometimes referred to as exploitation, while searching for new potential competencies is exploration. See James G. March, *Exploration and Exploitation in Organizational Learning*, 2 ORG. SCI. 71-74 (1991) (arguing that firms should seek a balance of exploitation and exploration).

duplicate specific advantages, because resources are learned, developed, or acquired over time.¹⁴⁶

Firms that seek to build new competencies often acquire them from other firms. Given the risks associated with strategic change, however, firms typically seek to obtain substantial information before committing to new strategic ventures or developing new competencies. Firms may use contracts as a mechanism for acquiring information and experimenting with new capabilities. For example, Kim and Mahoney argue that organizations use joint ventures to search for and assess information about potential long-term relationships with other firms.¹⁴⁷ Joint ventures and strategic alliances are (relatively) low-cost contractual arrangements that facilitate testing for compatibility of resources and exploring of potential synergies. RBV's insight is that firms often design contracts like joint ventures and strategic alliances to experiment creatively with new resource arrangements.

Resources may also be inimitable because of causal ambiguity. In other words, rivals may find it difficult to identify the precise source of a firm's competitive advantage.¹⁴⁸ Rivals may attempt to copy the wrong resources or try to acquire less effective capabilities with the belief that those resources or capabilities contribute to the leading firm's performance. Sometimes the exact source of a firm's advantage may be invisible to outsiders, as is the case with trade secrets.¹⁴⁹ At other times, the complexity of resource and capability combinations may make it difficult, if not impossible, for competitors to replicate an advantage.¹⁵⁰

Firms may try to devise contracts that make resource contributions to the firm more ambiguous and therefore more difficult to replicate. Contracts may omit certain details in the interest of preventing firm-specific resources from escaping and spreading. For instance, some scholars have argued that knowledge is a crucial organizational resource that leads to the earning of rents.¹⁵¹ Liebeskind notes that knowledge is difficult to protect with patents or copyrights, and it is not always easy to detect illegal imitation.¹⁵² Knowledge transfers from one organization to

146. The flip side of this, however, is that firms with competitive advantages may suddenly lose that advantage in a changing environment.

147. See Jongwook Kim & Joseph T. Mahoney, *How Property Rights Economics Furthers the Resource-based View: Resources, Transaction Costs, and Entrepreneurial Discovery*, 1 INT'L. J. STRATEGIC CHANGE MGMT. 40, 46–48 (2006); see also Massimo G. Colombo, *Alliance Form: A Test of the Contractual and Competence Perspectives*, 24 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. 1209 (2003).

148. For an economic treatment of firm heterogeneity due to causal ambiguity, see S. A. Lippman & R. P. Rumelt, *Uncertain Imitability: An Analysis of Interfirm Differences in Efficiency under Competition*, 13 BELL J. ECON. 418, 418 (1982).

149. See, e.g., Julia Porter Liebeskind, *Knowledge, Strategy and the Theory of the Firm*, 17 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. 93, 96 (1996).

150. For a longer list of various forms of causal ambiguity, see generally Joseph T. Mahoney & J. Rajendran Pandian, *The Resource-Based View within the Conversation of Strategic Management*, 13 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. 363 (1992).

151. Sidney Winter, *Knowledge and Competence as Strategic Assets*, in *THE COMPETITIVE CHALLENGE: STRATEGIES FOR INDUSTRIAL INNOVATION AND RENEWAL* (David J. Teece ed., 1990).

152. Liebeskind, *supra* note 149, at 93–94.

another occur in a fairly invisible, and sometimes unintentional, fashion. Firms may try to limit knowledge sharing through employee conduct rules, but given the common ability to transfer knowledge without detection, firms may need to put in additional organizational restrictions that are not apparent in the contract. More pertinent to our argument, contracts may be designed to obscure the resource contribution of the transaction (e.g., making it difficult to identify what firms are contributing to a joint venture).

Ultimately, the value of protecting knowledge and other intangible resources may depend, as noted above, on uncertainty in the environment. Firms in rapidly-shifting environments may find it in their best interest to loosen the constraints of employee contracts and allow them to share knowledge freely with competitors and potential collaborators.¹⁵³ By making the employment contract more flexible, firms, in turn, make their resource base more adaptive to sudden shifts in the market that require on-the-fly innovation. Thus, in highly uncertain and rapidly-changing industries, advantage-taking may be firms' last priority when designing employee contracts.

The final isolating mechanism associated with RBV is property rights. By creating legal barriers to imitation (e.g., patents), firms attempt to protect prized resources.¹⁵⁴ Property rights tend to be most important when a resource is easily observable and replicable. Property rights allow firms to extract rents more easily from tangible resources, such as technological innovations. This final mechanism is most commonly associated with contracts. Firms, after all, secure long-term commitments to resources through legal contracts. But RBV also encourages us to consider the other resource considerations of making contracts.

For example, the importance of property rights in securing critical resources may depend on the amount of uncertainty in the organization's environment.¹⁵⁵ As uncertainty increases (associated with technological and competitive instability), a firm should rely less on legal means of protecting resources in an attempt to become more flexible and adaptive. According to this thesis, contracts—as a means of capturing the value of resources—should be less vital to a firm's competitive advantage in markets characterized by high uncertainty.¹⁵⁶ Thus, RBV offers insights regarding the completeness of contracts. Incomplete contracts do not specify all relevant contingencies, given the possibility for a variety of different outcomes and the difficulty of predicting

153. Walter W. Powell, *Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization*, 12 RES. ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAV. 295, 324 (1990).

154. For organizational economists, property rights are one of the most fundamental ways that firms secure competitive advantages. See Mahoney & Pandian, *supra* note 150, at 370.

155. Danny Miller & Jamal Shamsie, *The Resource-Based View of the Firm in Two Environments: The Hollywood Film Studios from 1936 to 1965*, 39 ACAD. MGMT. J. 519, 539 (1996).

156. Evidence supports their proposition. In an analysis of film studios over a thirty-year time period, Miller and Shamsie find that long-term contracts with film actors led to improved performance during a period of relative industry stability, but long term contracts became a detriment to studio performance during a period of greater uncertainty.

outcomes.¹⁵⁷ When resource uncertainty is high, the incompleteness of contracts may contribute to the competitive advantage of the firm for a reason that has nothing to do with advantage taking. On the other hand, when uncertainty is low firms should find more value in specifying more contingencies and securing the long-term commitment of particular sets of resources.

1. Organizational Learning

Organizational theorists have created an impressive literature on organizational learning,¹⁵⁸ which is related to, but distinct from, individual learning.¹⁵⁹ Among other things, this literature explores the use of routines to capture the lessons of organizational learning. By bringing learning theory to bear on contracts, we emphasize the role of lawyers as participants in a long-term learning process, assisting firms to routinize certain transactions and design repositories of organizational knowledge. In this role, lawyers are an important conduit of experience and knowledge. Learning theory also suggests that we consider contracts as both inputs to learning processes and outcomes of learning. As inputs, contracts may assist organizations in developing incremental changes in their structure. As outcomes, contracts are routines that are learned through experience with relational contracting and that contribute to organizational inertia.

Many organizational theorists conceive of organizational learning as organizational change.¹⁶⁰ In adaptive learning systems, firms address uncertainty by developing standard operating procedures. The efficacy of these procedures is tested through experiences that lead to incremental change: effective procedures are retained, and ineffective procedures are modified. Following the work of Richard Cyert and James March, scholars distinguished incremental and radical change.¹⁶¹ Whereas incremental change focuses on local outcomes, radical change affects an organization's fundamental commitments.

157. For more discussion of incomplete contracts, see Hart & Moore, *Incomplete Contracts*, *supra* note 90.

158. For a useful description of the origins and development of research in organizational learning, see Anne S. Miner & Stephen J. Mezias, *Ugly Duckling No More: Pasts and Futures of Organizational Learning Research*, 7 *ORG. SCI.* 88, 88–89 (1996).

159. See Daniel H. Kim, *The Link Between Individual and Organizational Learning*, 35 *SLOAN MGMT. REV.* 37, 37 (1993) (observing that “organizations ultimately learn via their individual members. Hence, theories of individual learning are crucial for understanding organizational learning.”).

160. See, e.g., CHRIS ARGYRIS & DONALD SCHÖN, *ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING: A THEORY OF ACTION PERSPECTIVE* (1978).

161. This distinction travels under various labels. See, e.g., *id.* at 2–3 (1978) (distinguishing between single-loop learning, which “permits the organization to carry on its present policies or achieve its present objectives,” and double-loop learning, which “involve[s] the modification of an organization’s underlying norms, policies and objectives”); Mark Dodgson, *Technology, Learning, Technology Strategy and Competitive Pressures*, 2 *BRITISH J. MGMT.* 132, 139–40 (1991) (distinguishing tactical learning, “which has an immediate problem-solving nature,” from strategic learning, which “extends beyond immediate issues and involves firms developing skills and competences which provide the basis for future, perhaps unforeseen, projects”); C. Marlene Fiol & Marjorie A. Lyles, *Organizational Learning*, 10 *ACAD. MGMT. REV.* 803, 807–08 (1985) (distinguishing lower-

Contracts may contain the evidence of learning. Kyle Mayer and Nicholas Argyres' study of interfirm contracts in the personal computer industry provides evidence that firms use contracts as "repositories of knowledge" about the working relationship between partnering firms.¹⁶² Past problems experienced in the interfirm relationship led to an altering of the contract. Over time the contract becomes a record of lessons learned and obstacles overcome.¹⁶³

The development of the modern franchise agreement by Ray Kroc and McDonald's Corporation is a paradigmatic example of incremental learning through contractual changes.¹⁶⁴ Some features of McDonald's innovative franchise structure were forced upon Kroc by the McDonald brothers, Dick and Mac. For example, when the McDonald brothers insisted that Kroc limit the initial franchise fee to \$950 and the ongoing royalty to 1.9% of franchisee sales, Kroc realized that he could not make money as other franchises had through the mere sale of franchise rights. While Kroc initially dreamed of making money through the sale of shake mixers to his franchisees,¹⁶⁵ "the beginning of real income for McDonald's" lay in the leasing and subleasing of stores to franchisees.¹⁶⁶ Kroc eventually introduced many innovations to franchising, including the paradigm-shifting QSC (Quality, Service, Cleanliness) program; contractual rights of first refusal instead of exclusive territories;¹⁶⁷ and prohibitions on transfer of the

level learning, which "leads to the development of some rudimentary associations of behavior and outcomes," and higher-level learning, which "aims at adjusting overall rules and norms rather than specific activities or behaviors").

162. Mayer & Argyres, *supra* note 133, at 405.

163. One implication of this analysis is that contracts often deviate from the results predicted by economic theory. See Oliver E. Williamson, *Strategizing, Economizing, and Economic Organization*, 12 STRATEGIC MGMT. J. (SPECIAL ISSUE) 75, 78-79 (1991) ("[I]f economic organization is formidably complex, which it is, and if economic agents are subject to very real cognitive limits, which they are, then failures of alignment will occur routinely.").

164. For a captivating history of McDonald's, see JOHN F. LOVE, MCDONALD'S: BEHIND THE ARCHES (1989). See also William L. Killion, *Franchisor Vicarious Liability—The Proverbial Assault on the Citadel*, 24 FRANCHISE L.J. 162, 163 (2005) ("Ray Kroc did not invent fast food franchising; he revolutionized it.").

165. Killion, *supra* note 164, at 164.

166. LOVE, *supra* note 164, at 88.

167. See *Schupack v. McDonald's Sys., Inc.*, 264 N.W.2d 827, 830-31 (Neb. 1978):

At first McDonald's would occasionally grant exclusive territories to a franchisee, which would give the franchisee an absolute right to any new stores opened in the territory. This practice, however, proved to be detrimental to McDonald's growth because if the holder of the exclusive territory was satisfied with a certain number of units, McDonald's growth in that area would come to standstill. A change was made from exclusive territories to a Right of First Refusal. The Right was better suited to McDonald's desire to expand since they could still build a unit and offer it to another party, if the holder of the Right refused the new store.

Id. Azoulay and Shane claim that McDonald's policy of nonexclusivity was appropriate to the mature franchise, but not to the young franchise. Azoulay & Shane, *supra* note 123, at 354.

franchise without the franchisor's consent.¹⁶⁸ Many of these innovations were embedded in the McDonald's franchise agreements or in the operations manual, which is incorporated by reference into the franchise agreements.¹⁶⁹

Of course, the fact that organizations learn from their experiences and incorporate that learning into their contracts hardly seems revolutionary for the empirical study of contracts.¹⁷⁰ For present purposes, the more important lesson from learning theory is that contracts, through years of experience and adapting, become routine solutions to common problems faced by organizations. Rather than pursuing a negotiated settlement to a particular circumstance, contracts often are formalized routines created without much thought to concerns about advantage taking.

The routinization of contracts may seem like an effective solution to the costliness of creating situational contracts. Writing each contract *sui generis* expends resources that the firm might better use elsewhere. But routinization also creates hidden costs that are incurred when actors choose to depart from established routines. Routines build interdependence with other components of the organization.¹⁷¹ As an organization creates more and more routines, those routines become increasingly layered and interconnected, such that a change in one routine necessitates changes in other routines in the organization. Considering contracts as a particular type of routine helps us understand why changing contracts or adapting them to specific circumstances can be a very difficult and costly action.¹⁷² If the contract's form is intertwined with dozens of other organizational processes, then it is conceivable that over time a particular contract form will become increasingly rigid and subject to inertia.¹⁷³

These insights may help to explain why some franchisors have difficulty adapting to changes in their environments. The canonical case here is Chicken Delight, whose business model called for the sale of paper products and cooking

168. See *Schupack*, 264 N.W.2d at 831–32 (noting that the first appearance of restrictions on transfer in McDonald's franchise agreements appeared in 1962).

169. See Roger D. Blair & Francine Lafontaine, *Understanding the Economics of Franchising and the Laws that Regulate It*, 26 *FRANCHISE L.J.* 55, 60 (2006) (quoting the McDonald's Franchise Agreement, as included in the company's Uniform Franchise Offering Circular (2003)).

170. Many contracts scholars have argued that contracts are subject to evolutionary forces. For an example in the franchising context, see Azoulay & Shane, *supra* note 123, at 340 (“[T]hose contracts that are more consistent with economic theory will survive, while those that are less consistent will be selected out.”).

171. See, e.g., JAMES G. MARCH & HERBERT A. SIMON, *ORGANIZATIONS* (1958); Herbert A. Simon, *The Architecture of Complexity*, 106 *PROC. AM. PHIL. ASSOC.* 467 (1962).

172. Olav Sorenson, *Interdependence and Adaptability: Organizational Learning and the Long-Term Effect of Integration*, 49 *MGMT. SCI.* 446, 447–48 (2003). Sorenson argues that interdependence prohibits firms from optimizing routines independently of one another: “[C]hanges in one activity of the organization might require concomitant changes in other activities. Interdependence, therefore, fosters bureaucratic inertia within the organization.” *Id.* at 448.

173. For a more thorough discussion of inertia, see Michael T. Hannan & John Freeman, *Structural Inertia and Organizational Change*, 49 *AM. SOC. REV.* 149 (1984).

equipment to the franchisees. Shortly after those sales were held to be an illegal tie for purposes of antitrust law,¹⁷⁴ the Chicken Delight franchise system in the United States folded. We suspect that Chicken Delight failed to adapt after the court ruling because its entire system of production was based on interdependent routines tied in with the specific franchising contract. When that contract was ruled illegal, the costs of adapting the system to a new franchising arrangement were too high for the organization, forcing it to close its doors.

Pierre Azoulay and Scott Shane provide a more systematic examination of this problem in their study of exclusive territory provisions in franchise agreements:

Despite the benefits of exclusive territories, some entrepreneurs fail to adopt this policy. The reason is not that they face higher costs of adoption. Rather, their limited knowledge of contracting leads them to overlook the importance of the franchisor encroachment problem when designing their contracts. Because franchise agreements are sticky, and bounded rationality prevents these entrepreneurs from identifying the payoffs associated with adoption, we often observe nonexclusive arrangements persisting until failure.¹⁷⁵

Firms may also develop specific contractual provisions as an outcome of collective learning. "Population-level learning" results from the interaction of organization-level learning, imitation, and selection mechanisms.¹⁷⁶ As a certain routine emerges within an organization, peer organizations may imitate that routine, especially if it appears to solve a commonly-faced problem, which spreads the routine throughout the population. If the diffused routine contributes to the survival and success of adopting organizations, we can say that the population collectively learned an effective attribute.

Just as routines may ossify within a single organization, "boilerplate" contract provisions may have an inertial effect on population-level activities.

174. See generally Siegel v. Chicken Delight, Inc., 448 F.2d 43 (9th Cir. 1971).

175. Azoulay & Shane, *supra* note 123, at 356. Azoulay and Shane attribute the "stickiness" of franchise agreements to bounded rationality and transaction costs:

Entrepreneurs will often persist with initially selected routines until they fail. First, entrepreneurs cannot change their routines unless they first recognize that those routines are flawed. This recognition requires an understanding of the cause-effect relationship between organizational design and firm performance, which many entrepreneurs lack, up to and even after the time of their failure. Second, even if an entrepreneur recognizes that a routine is flawed, he or she may be unable to change it. The changing of contract provisions involves incurring significant transaction costs that make the provisions sticky to adjustment.

Id. at 340 (citation omitted).

176. Anne S. Miner & Philip Anderson, *Industry and Population Level Learning: Organizational, Interorganizational, and Collective Learning Processes*, 16 ADVANCES STRATEGIC MGMT. 1 (1999); Anne S. Miner & Pamela R. Haunschild, *Population Level Learning*, 17 RES. ORG. BEHAVIOR 115 (1995).

Marcel Kahan and Michael Klausner have described the “network benefits” of boilerplate.¹⁷⁷ Such network benefits may result in suboptimal “boilerplate” provisions that are used widely by firms in the same industry.¹⁷⁸

Thus, another lesson from organizational learning theory is that contracts are not always optimally designed. In fact, as a contract becomes accepted as routine, over time it may become less and less optimal. Yet the reason for their persistence is that contracts, at least originally, help organizations find solutions to common problems faced by the organization. Organizations fight a continual battle to find routines that enhance their predictability and reproducibility while not threatening their long-term adaptability.

B. Organizational Identity

Social identity theory was developed to explore issues of intergroup discrimination among individuals.¹⁷⁹ Organizational theorists have extended social identity theory to the organizational context,¹⁸⁰ where identity is generally understood to be the central, enduring, and distinctive character of an organization.¹⁸¹ Identity theory frames contracting as an activity that reinforces or establishes organizational identity, encouraging us to think about how contracts are used to designate certain identity characteristics of the organization and to communicate images that the organization wishes to establish among particular audiences. Thus, contracts are as much symbols as they are instruments to obtain

177. See, e.g., Marcel Kahan & Michael Klausner, *Standardization and Innovation in Corporate Contracting (or “the Economics of Boilerplate”)*, 83 VA. L. REV. 713, 725–27 (1997); Michael Klausner, *Corporations, Corporate Law, and Networks of Contracts*, 81 VA. L. REV. 757, 774–89 (1995).

178. See, e.g., Michelle E. Boardman, *Contra Proferentum: The Allure of Ambiguous Boilerplate*, 104 MICH. L. REV. 1105 (2006); Stephen J. Choi & G. Mitu Gulati, *Innovation in Boilerplate Contracts: An Empirical Examination of Sovereign Bonds*, 53 EMORY L.J. 929, 937 (2004) (“Change not only takes time, but also comes in stages—as we describe it, there is first an interpretive shock, then a lengthy period of adjustment, and only then a big shift in terms.”); Smith, *supra* note 114, at 839–40.

179. See Henri Tajfel & John C. Turner, *The Social Identity Theory of Inter-group Behavior*, in *THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS* 7 (Stephen Worchel & William G. Austin eds., 2d ed. 1986).

180. See, e.g., Blake E. Ashforth & Fred Mael, *Social Identity Theory and the Organization*, 14 ACAD. MGMT. REV. 20 (1989). Organizations are social artifacts. See generally HOWARD E. ALDRICH & MARTIN RUEF, *ORGANIZATIONS EVOLVING* (2d ed. 2006). One implication of this insight is that organizations do not possess “assigned characteristics” of identity, such as race, gender, birth order, etc. See ROY F. BAUMEISTER, *IDENTITY: CULTURAL CHANGE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF* 21–23 (1986). Nevertheless, organizations may become functionally equivalent to individuals through the selection of organizational forms. See David A. Whetten & Alison Mackey, *A Social Actor Conception of Organizational Identity and Its Implications for the Study of Organizational Reputation*, 41 BUS. & SOC. 393, 398 (2002).

181. Stuart Albert & David A. Whetten, *Organizational Identity*, in 7 RESEARCH IN ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR 263, 265 (L. L. Cummings & B. M. Staw eds., 1985). But see Dennis A. Gioia et al., *Organizational Identity, Image and Adaptive Instability*, 25 ACAD. MGMT. REV. 63, 63–64 (2000) (arguing that organizational identity is “actually relatively dynamic and that the apparent durability of identity is somewhat illusory”).

certain ends. Effective lawyers draft contracts that accurately reflect their clients' identities, develop and maintain their clients' brands, and nurture their clients' reputations.

Organizational identity has profound implications for organizational behavior, not the least of which is facilitating coordination, communication, and learning within the organization.¹⁸² Formulating a coherent identity is also essential to any organization's survival. While individuals may be able to survive with a confused or mistaken identity, organizations with incoherent identities may be unrecognizable to consumers and others in the marketplace. Formulating "who we are" as an organization, then, is a necessity for any successful organization.¹⁸³

The most significant challenge in studying identity, whether individual or organizational, is that identity is unobservable.¹⁸⁴ As a result, identity scholars have embraced the assumption that "identity is what identity does."¹⁸⁵ Evidence of identity is found in the "categorical self-descriptors used by social actors to satisfy their identity requirements."¹⁸⁶ The categorical self-descriptors that organizations use may be found in their choice of organizational form¹⁸⁷ or in their preference for certain organizational practices, including contracting practices.

Contracts offer organizations a unique opportunity to express their primary identity requirements: continuity and distinctiveness.¹⁸⁸ Given the importance of a clearly-defined identity for survival, organizations may use contracts to express identity, stating not only what they are but also what they are not. In other words, contracts afford organizations the opportunity to stake out their identity and defend their claims to distinctiveness.

Many high-profile mergers, for example, contain apparent identity provisions. In connection with their merger, Disney and Pixar created a set of

182. Bruce Kogut & Udo Zanger, *What Firms Do? Coordination, Identity, and Learning*, 7 *ORG. SCI.* 502, 507–11 (1996). Kogut and Zander rely on identity as the centerpiece of their provocative theory of the firm: "What makes a firm's boundaries distinctive is that the rules of coordination and the process of learning are situated not only physically in locality, but also mentally in identity." *Id.* at 515.

183. Barbara Czarniawska advances the imperative of identity coherence. She argues that identity is not just a metaphor; rather, it represents the most essential organizing feature of the organization. BARBARA CZARNIAWSKA, *NARRATING THE ORGANIZATION: DRAMAS OF INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY* 46 (1997).

184. *Id.*

185. Whetten & Mackey, *supra* note 180, at 396.

186. *Id.*

187. *Id.* at 398 ("In identity terms, the selection of organizational forms makes up a self-categorization process whereby the organization's memberships in identity categories or groups are declared.")

188. Jane E. Dutton et al., *Organizational Images and Member Identification*, 39 *ADMIN. SCI. Q.* 239, 244 (1994). According to Whetten and Mackey, identity is best conceived as "those things that enable social actors to satisfy their inherent needs to be the same yesterday, today, and tomorrow and to be unique actors or entities." Whetten & Mackey, *supra* note 180, at 396.

“Policies for Management of the Feature Animation Businesses.”¹⁸⁹ The primary purpose of the two-page document seems to be the maintenance of Pixar’s identity. Indeed, one of the provisions establishes a committee whose purpose is “to help maintain the Pixar ‘culture.’”¹⁹⁰ In addition, Pixar is to retain its name and headquarters, and “[t]he Pixar sign at the gate shall not be altered.”¹⁹¹

A striking manifestation of identity in contractual form is the modern use of dairy cooperatives. In the summer of 2006, for example, several dairy families in Monticello, Wisconsin, purchased the Edelweiss Creamery and, along with two of the prior owners of the creamery, formed the Edelweiss Graziers Cooperative (“Edelweiss”).¹⁹² The dairy families produce milk using an innovative grazing method,¹⁹³ and the cheesemaker uses that milk to create Emmentaler cheese using a traditional Swiss copper vat.¹⁹⁴ But what is most intriguing about Edelweiss for present purposes is that it was the first business organized as an “unincorporated cooperative association” under a Wisconsin statute adopted in 2006.¹⁹⁵

Following the lead of four other states,¹⁹⁶ Wisconsin created the unincorporated cooperative association statute to allow outside equity investors in cooperative enterprises.¹⁹⁷ This new business form, sometimes referred to as a “Cooperative LLC,” has attracted the interest of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, which has formed a drafting committee for the purpose of creating a uniform statute.

Why would these dairy farmers organize as an unincorporated cooperative association rather than a limited liability company or some other organizational form? The antitrust exemptions normally associated with cooperatives have no potential utility for a small business like Edelweiss.¹⁹⁸ And

189. See Walt Disney Co., Principles for Management of the Feature Animation Businesses, (Form 8-K Ex. 99.1) (Jan. 24, 2006), available at <http://www.secinfo.com/d14D5a.vbpt.b.htm>.

190. *Id.*

191. *Id.*

192. *Three Dairy Grazier Families Form Edelweiss Co-op to Manufacture Grass-Based Cheese*, CHEESE REP., July 14, 2006, at 14, available at <http://www.cheesereporter.com/Company%20Profiles/EdelweissCoop.pdf>.

193. The method is known as Management-Intensive Grazing. See Edelweiss Graziers Co-op, <http://www.edelweissgraziers.com/aboutus.html> (last visited Feb. 20, 2009).

194. See Edelweiss Creamery, <http://www.edelweisscreamery.com> (last visited Feb. 20, 2009).

195. WIS. STAT. § 193 (2007).

196. In the order in which the statutes were adopted: Wyoming, WYO. STAT. ANN. § 17-10 (2006); Minnesota, MINN. STAT. § 308B (2005); Tennessee, TENN. CODE ANN. § 43-38 (2006); and Iowa, IOWA CODE § 501A (2005).

197. Traditional cooperatives may issue preferred stock at a rate not to exceed 8% of par value per year. WIS. STAT. § 185.21(2)(c) (2007).

198. See 7 U.S.C. §§ 291–92 (2006) (corresponds to Capper-Volstead Act of 1922, ch. 57, § 1, 42 Stat. 388); see also, U.S. DEP’T AGRIC., RURAL BUS. COOP. SERV., COOP. INFO. REPORT NO. 59 ANTITRUST STATUS OF FARMER COOPERATIVES: THE STORY OF THE CAPPER-VOLSTEAD ACT 154 (2002), available at <http://www.rurdev.usda.gov/rbs/pub/cir59.pdf>.

any tax advantages available under Subchapter T of the Internal Revenue Code would be equally available to a limited liability company.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, the traditional transaction-cost explanations for agricultural cooperatives suggest that their attractiveness lies in the homogeneity of the owners,²⁰⁰ a feature that is conspicuously absent in unincorporated cooperative associations. Although the cooperative form may have some positive branding effects, the broader development and use of cooperatives in Wisconsin suggests that use of the cooperative form is, in large part, a statement of identity.²⁰¹

This understanding of the formation of Edelweiss was confirmed by Bert Paris, who serves as the organization's president. Paris says the cooperative elected to organize in this way because, "[i]t kind of creates a nice sound with what you're doing. Co-ops kind of fit together with artisanal thinking . . . I like the idea of trying to share the wealth. . . . The whole idea of a co-op really appeals to me."²⁰²

Organizations may use contracts to transmit their identity to important stakeholders. By relaying certain messages about the identity of the firm via

199. Under Subchapter T, a qualifying firm may elect for taxation at either the entity level or the member level. I.R.C. §§ 1381–88 (West Supp. 2008). Limited liability companies have a similar election under the “check the box” regulation. Treas. Reg. § 301.7701–3(b)(1) (2006).

200. HENRY HANSMANN, *THE OWNERSHIP OF ENTERPRISE* 136–38 (1996).

201. See Marc Schneiberg, *What's on the Path? Path Dependence, Organizational Diversity and the Problem of Institutional Change in the US Economy, 1900–1950*, 5 *SOCIO-ECON. REV.* 47, 70–71 (2007):

We all “know” that populism failed in the US, that agrarian protest was decisively defeated, and that struggles against “trusts” and corporate combination only hastened their coming. We all “know” that movements for alternatives—public ownership, producer- or regional-republicanism, a cooperative commonwealth—met their demise over a century ago, falling decisively before the modernizing visions of system building, corporate liberalism and progressive era regulation. We all “know” that all of these matters were settled long ago, whether with the collapse of Populism and the Farmers Alliance in the mid-1890s, the great merger wave of 1898–1904, or the FTC and Clayton Acts of 1914. But even in their failures and defeats, these struggles, experiments with other possibilities and movements for alternatives left elements of those abandoned orders strewn about that path, here in the form of 3,500 insurance mutuals, there in the form of agricultural cooperatives or municipal utility companies. And in the end, those elements of organizational and social life—those cooperatives, networks, cooled-out holdovers of hotter times, and legacies of previous struggles lost or partly won—constituted platforms and building blocks for subsequent struggles against the corporation, for renewed efforts to organize alternatives, and for the construction of an increasingly well-developed, cooperative and publicly based pathway within American “liberal market” capitalism.

Id.

202. Interview with Bert Paris, President, Edelweiss, in Monticello, Wis. (Feb. 20, 2008).

contract, agents may intend contracts to create loyalty and identification with the organization. In particular, employment contracts often contain identity messages that employers hope to inculcate in employees.²⁰³ Contracts are an initial stage of identity-formation for the employee. They not only tell the employee a great deal about the organization's identity, but they also indicate what kind of identity the employee should try to cultivate when working under the auspices of the organization and generate reciprocal obligations between employer and employee.²⁰⁴ Similarly, contracts may be designed to communicate images to a wider audience. In his case studies of the Google IPO and other deals,²⁰⁵ for example, Victor Fleischer describes the "branding effect" of legal infrastructure.²⁰⁶

C. Legitimacy and Isomorphism

Institutional theory posits that organizational behavior is often generated by the need to be seen as legitimate and engaged in socially appropriate behavior.²⁰⁷ Some of the predictions of institutional theory overlap with those of identity theory—for example, organizations may symbolically adopt certain behaviors to appear legitimate to key stakeholders—but institutional theory's unique contribution is to specify mechanisms that allow organizations to enhance their legitimacy. Typically, organizations gain legitimacy by conforming to accepted standards and norms, which, in turn, leads to increasing similarity or isomorphism.

Institutional theory suggests that contracts represent attempts by organizations to achieve legitimacy in a highly rationalized, corporate world. In seeking legitimacy, organizations adopt certain contractual elements that conform to developing standards of rational organizational behavior. Thus, contractual elements tend to change in a fad-like fashion. Lawyers are an important

203. Jeffery A. Thompson & J. Stuart Bunderson, *Violations of Principle: Ideological Currency in the Psychological Contract*, 28 ACAD. MGMT. REV. 571, 574–76 (2003). Thompson and Bunderson similarly argue that some organizations may try to transform the employment relationship by invoking ideological commitments (i.e., identity): "In an ideology-infused contract, therefore, there is the assumption that the employee is willing to contribute extrarole behaviors such as voluntary helping or advocacy, perhaps outside the organization, in order to support the pursuit of the espoused cause." *Id.* at 576. Similarly, we argue that in many instances organizations use contracts to infuse employees with particular individual identities. See also Denise M. Rousseau & Judi McLean Parks, *The Contracts of Individuals and Organizations*, 15 RES. ORG. BEHAV. 1 (1993).

204. Denise M. Rousseau, *Psychological and Implied Contracts in Organizations*, 2 EMP. RESPS. & RTS. J. 121, 121 (1989); The "psychological contracts" literature also emphasizes the changing nature of these mutual obligations. Importantly, the initial employment contract defines the baseline on which future perceptions of obligation and identity build. See Sandra L. Robinson et al., *Changing Obligations and the Psychological Contract: A Longitudinal Study*, 37 ACAD. MGMT. REV. 137, 137–39 (1994).

205. See Fleischer, *supra* note 107. See also Victor Fleischer, *The MasterCard IPO: Protecting the Priceless Brand*, 12 HARV. NEGOT. L. REV. 137 (2007).

206. For an evaluation of Fleischer's idea, see D. Gordon Smith, *The "Branding Effect" of Contracts*, 12 HARV. NEGOT. L. REV. 189 (2007).

207. For a broad review of institutional theory, see W. RICHARD SCOTT, *INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS* (2d ed. 2001).

professional audience that establishes the boundaries of appropriateness that govern organizational contracting. Lawyers are not only helping firms to make legitimate contracts, they also define appropriate contracts.

Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell's classic article on isomorphism sought to explain "why there is such startling homogeneity of organizational forms and practices."²⁰⁸ To explain this tendency, they identified three main types of institutional isomorphism: coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism.²⁰⁹ Coercive isomorphism involved the adoption of similar practices due to forced constraint by some external organization upon which other organizations depend for resources. Mimetic isomorphism occurs when organizations are uncertain about how to accomplish certain goals, which leads them to look to peer organizations as models for behavior. Normative isomorphism occurs as organizations adopt practices defined as appropriate by a governing or norm-setting body, such as a professional association.

The development of modern venture capital contracts illustrates each of the three forms of isomorphism. These contracts—typified by the use of convertible preferred stock—were developed by Silicon Valley lawyers in the late 1970s and early 1980s.²¹⁰ The product of much experimentation, venture capital investments coalesced around convertible preferred stock for a combination of advantageous governance features (such as staged financing and other control rights)²¹¹ and regulatory features (such as favorable tax treatment).²¹² While this development has generally been viewed as a form of "competitive isomorphism,"²¹³ the effect of the taxation system on these contracts is a form of coercive isomorphism.

The Silicon Valley lawyers who developed the form of modern venture capital contracts "acted first to transmit norms and typifications among otherwise isolated clients, then to formulate and sponsor a variety of competing prescriptions for practice, and ultimately to export the emerging 'Silicon Valley model' beyond

208. Paul J. DiMaggio & Walter W. Powell, *The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields*, 48 AM. SOC. REV. 147, 148 (1983).

209. DiMaggio and Powell distinguish "competitive" isomorphism and "institutional" isomorphism. The former "emphasizes market competition, niche change, and fitness measures," while the latter acknowledges that "[o]rganizations compete not just for resources and customers, but for political power and institutional legitimacy." *Id.* at 149–50.

210. Mark C. Suchman, *On Advice of Counsel: Law Firms and Venture Capital Funds as Information Intermediaries in the Structuration of Silicon Valley* (1994) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University).

211. See generally Smith, *supra* note 119.

212. See Ronald J. Gilson & David M. Schizer, *Understanding Venture Capital Structure: A Tax Explanation for Convertible Preferred Stock*, 116 HARV. L. REV. 874, 877 (2003) ("Venture capital structure thus performs double duty, addressing standard contracting concerns (which are the grist of the existing academic literature) while also reducing taxes.").

213. On competitive isomorphism, see generally Michael T. Hannan & John Freeman, *The Population Ecology of Organizations*, 82 AM. J. SOC. 929, 939–46 (1977).

the community's borders."²¹⁴ The legal profession, therefore, became a de facto standard-setting body for the venture capital industry. This suggests normative isomorphism.

The influence of the Silicon Valley model of venture capital contracting has not been limited to the United States. The fact that convertible preferred stock is used in many other countries, which do not share important regulatory features of the U.S. system, may suggest the overriding importance of the governance features of convertible preferred stock. Or it may suggest the presence of mimetic isomorphism.

A major contribution of this literature is to point out that organizations may adapt to their environment not to achieve technical-rational ends, but to be seen as legitimate. Routines, structures, and other organizational features develop as formal responses to societal myths about rationality.²¹⁵ Externally, organizations adopt these routines to appear legitimate, even though these same routines may be decoupled from actual practice.²¹⁶

One implication of institutional theory is that contracts may have become another ritualized aspect of the organization that represents an organization's need for legitimacy. While contracts clearly have instrumental purposes, as so neatly described by neoclassical economics, TCE and RBV, contracts also have a ceremonial function. When organizations offer contracts to second parties, they often do so as a symbolic gesture of legitimacy, demonstrating that they play by the same rules of rationality that the rest of the modern world abides. Thus, contracts come to represent a symbolic rite of passage into the modern world of corporate business.

214. Mark C. Suchman & Lauren B. Edelman, *Legal Rational Myths: The New Institutionalism and the Law and Society Tradition*, 21 LAW & SOC. INQUIRY 903, 935 (1996). In the hands of East Coast venture capital lawyers, however, the forms changed. Where the West Coast versions seemed to emphasize the possibility of upside gains, the East Coast versions were focused on downside protections. See NAT'L VENTURE CAPITAL ASS'N, MODEL VENTURE CAPITAL FINANCING DOCUMENTS, AMENDED & RESTATED CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION, 31 n.53 (July 2007) http://www.nvca.org/model_documents/model_docs.html/Certificate_of_Incorporation_V5.doc (observing that "[r]edemption provisions are more common in East Coast venture transactions than in West Coast venture transactions"); Anne Marie Borrego, *East vs. West: Location, Location, Location*, INC.COM, Dec. 1999, <http://www.inc.com/articles/1999/12/15732.html> (last visited Dec. 29, 2008) (quoting an entrepreneur to the effect that "[t]he questions and the terms with East Coast VCs were more focused on the downside").

215. John W. Meyer & Brian Rowan, *Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony*, 83 AM. J. SOC. 340, 340 (1977).

216. Adopting particular attributes to achieve legitimacy is not the same thing as "signaling." According to Spence's formulation, the costs of attaining an effective signal must be negatively correlated with the quality of the adopter. Thus, higher quality organizations find it less costly to adopt the signal. In contrast, attributes that organizations adopt to enhance legitimacy are highly imitable, and thus can quickly diffuse to organizations of various types. If the attribute diffuses widely, adoption of the attribute may become mandatory to be seen as a recognizable or legitimate organization. For information on signaling, see generally MICHAEL A. SPENCE, MARKET SIGNALING: INFORMATIONAL TRANSFER IN HIRING AND RELATED SCREENING PROCESSES (1974).

Institutional theory also suggests that contracts may evolve over time as organizational actors collectively seek solutions to common problems. As organizations face similarly uncertain situations, they may try to find rational solutions to these problems by looking to those organizations that have the most prestige.²¹⁷ Mimicry of high-status organizations' contractual elements soon leads to a diffusion of a new contractual form among organizations in an entire industry (or field, as institutional theorists describe it). Thus, one implication of institutional theory is that adaptation of contracts over time may proceed in a fad-like fashion, with lower-status firms continually conforming to new standards set by higher-status firms.

CONCLUSION

In his well known article introducing the concept of the business lawyer as a "transaction cost engineer,"²¹⁸ Ron Gilson suggests that "the tie between legal skills and transaction value is the business lawyer's ability to create a transactional structure which reduces transaction costs and therefore results in more accurate asset pricing."²¹⁹ In the foregoing Parts, we have suggested that business lawyers may be doing much more than transaction cost economization.

The organizational theories discussed above reveal the diverse purposes of contracts and the various roles that lawyers play when drafting contracts. Lawyers are more than "transaction cost engineers." RBV suggests that lawyers serve as strategic advisors, helping organizations to explore and acquire resources that (potentially) create value. Learning theory emphasizes the role of lawyers as participants in a long-term learning process, assisting firms to routinize certain transactions and design repositories of organizational knowledge. In this role, lawyers are an important conduit of experience and knowledge. Identity theory frames contracting as an activity that reinforces or establishes organizational identity. Effective lawyers draft contracts that accurately reflect their clients' identities, develop and maintain their clients' brands, and nurture their clients' reputations. Finally, institutional theory highlights the extent to which contracts communicate legitimacy to a broader set of stakeholders. Lawyers are an important professional audience that establishes the boundaries of appropriateness that govern organizational contracting. Lawyers are not only helping firms to make legitimate contracts, they also normatively define appropriate contracts.

217. An important strand of institutional theory examines diffusion processes of change. See David Strang & Sarah A. Soule, *Diffusion in Organizations and Social Movements: From Hybrid Corn to Poison Pills*, 24 ANN. REV. SOC. 265 (1998). Some scholars have argued that diffusion is often initiated as low status actors mimic the actions of high status actors. See, e.g., David Strang & Michael W. Macy, *In Search of Excellence: Fads, Success Stories, and Adaptive Emulation*, 107 AM. J. SOC. 147, 148 (2001).

218. Ronald J. Gilson, *Value Creation by Business Lawyers: Legal Skills and Asset Pricing*, 94 YALE L.J. 239, 243 (1984).

219. *Id.* at 255. For an interesting test of the value added by lawyers, see C.N.V. Krishnan & Paul A. Laux, *Legal Advisors: Popularity Versus Economic Performance in Acquisitions* 29 (Weatherhead Sch. of Mgmt. Research Papers, 2007), available at http://www.som.cwru.edu/academics/departments/banking-and-finance/Documents/Legal_advisorsandMA.pdf ("The market for M&A advisory services does not exhibit evidence of Gilson's conjecture, at least as reflected in stock returns.").

APPENDIX I: JOURNALS REVIEWED²²⁰*Economics*

American Economic Review, vols. 80–96 (1990–2006)

Econometrica, vols. 58–74 (1990–2006)

Journal of Political Economy, vols. 98–114 (1990–2006)

Quarterly Journal of Economics, vols. 105–21 (1990–2006)

Review of Economic Studies, vols. 57–73 (1990–2006)

Review of Economics & Statistics, vols. 72–88 (1990–2006)

Financial Economics

Journal of Finance, vols. 45–60 (1990–2006)

Journal of Financial Economics, vols. 26–81 (1990–2006)

Review of Financial Studies, vols. 3–19 (1990–2006)

Law

California Law Review, vols. 78–94 (1990–2006) (Mar. 2006)

Columbia Law Review, vols. 90–106 (1990–2006) (June 2006)

Cornell Law Review, vols. 75–91 (1990–2006) (May 2006)

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Harvard Law Review, vols. 103–19 (1990–2006) (June 2006)

Michigan Law Review, vols. 88–104 (1990–2006) (May 2006)

Minnesota Law Review, vols. 75–90 (1990/1991–2006) (May 2006)

New York University Law Review, vols. 65–81 (1990–2006) (Apr. 2006)

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Southern California Law Review, vols. 63–79 (1990–2006) (Mar. 2006)

Stanford Law Review, vols. 42–58 (1990–2006) (Feb. 2006)

Texas Law Review, vols. 68–84 (1990–2006) (May 2006)

UCLA Law Review, vols. 37–53 (1990–2006) (Apr. 2006)

University of Chicago Law Review, vols. 57–73 (1990–2006) (Spring 2006)

220. These twenty law reviews are taken from a recent ranking by Ronen Perry. Ronen Perry, *The Relative Value of American Law Reviews: Refinement and Implementation*, 39 CONN. L. REV. 1 (2006).

University of Pennsylvania Law Review, vols. 138–154 (1990–2006) (May 2006)

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William and Mary Law Review, vols. 31–47 (1990–2006) (Apr. 2006)

Yale Law Journal, vols. 99–115 (1990–2006) (May 2006)

Law & Economics

The Journal of Law & Economics, vols. 33–47 (1990–2004)

The Journal of Law, Economics & Organizations, vols. 6–20 (1990–2004)

Rand Journal of Economics, vols. 21–37 (1990–2006)

Sociology

American Journal of Sociology, vols. 95–111 (1995–2004)

American Sociological Review, vols. 55–71 (1995–2004)

Journal of Law and Society, vols. 22–31 (1995–2004)

Strategy & Management

Academy of Management Journal, vols. 33–49 issue 5 (1990–2006)

Administrative Sciences Quarterly, vols. 35–51 (1990–2006)

Management Science, vols. 36–52 (1990–2006)

Organization Science, vols. 1–17 (1990–2006)

Strategic Management Journal, vols. 11–27 (1990–2006)

APPENDIX II: EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF CONTRACTS IN TOP JOURNALS: 1990–2006

Daniel A. Akerberg & Maristella Botticini, *Endogenous Matching and the Empirical Determinants of Contract Form*, 110 J. POL. ECON. 564 (2002).

Douglas W. Allen & Dean Lueck, *The “Back Forty” on a Handshake: Specific Assets, Reputation, and the Structure of Farmland Contracts*, 8 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 366 (1992).

Douglas W. Allen & Dean Lueck, *The Role of Risk in Contract Choice*, 15 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 704 (1999).

Benito Arruñada et al., *Contractual Allocation of Decision Rights and Incentives: The Case of Automobile Distribution*, 17 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 257 (2001).

Pierre Azoulay & Scott Shane, *Entrepreneurs, Contracts, and the Failure of Young Firms*, 47 MGMT. SCI. 337 (2001).

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- James A. Brickley, *Incentive Conflicts and Contractual Restraints: Evidence From Franchising*, 42 J.L. & ECON. 745 (1999).
- Stephen J. Carson et al., *Uncertainty, Opportunism, and Governance: The Effects of Volatility and Ambiguity on Formal and Relational Contracting*, 49 ACAD. MGMT. J. 1058 (2006).
- Ramon Casadesus-Masanell & Daniel F. Spulber, *The Fable of Fisher Body*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 67 (2000).
- Darlene C. Chisholm, *Profit-Sharing Versus Fixed-Payment Contracts: Evidence from the Motion Pictures Industry*, 13 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 169 (1997).
- Conrad S. Ciccotello et al., *Research and Development Alliances: Evidence from a Federal Contracts Repository*, 47 J.L. & ECON. 123 (2004).
- Ronald H. Coase, *The Acquisition of Fisher Body by General Motors*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 15 (2000).
- Kenneth S. Corts & Jasjit Singh, *The Effect of Repeated Interaction on Contract Choice: Evidence from Offshore Drilling*, 20 J.L. ECON. & ORG. 230 (2004).
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- Keith J. Crocker & Thomas P. Lyon, *What Do "Facilitating Practices" Facilitate? An Empirical Investigation of Most-Favored-Nation Clauses in Natural Gas Contracts*, 37 J.L. & ECON. 297 (1994).
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- Robert F. Freeland, *Creating Holdup Through Vertical Integration: Fisher Body Revisited*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 33 (2000).
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- F. Andrew Hanssen, *The Block Booking of Films Reexamined*, 43 J.L. & ECON. 395 (2000).
- R. Glenn Hubbard & Robert Weiner, *Efficient Contracting and Market Power: Evidence from the U.S. Natural Gas Industry*, 34 J.L. & ECON. 25 (1991).
- Paul L. Joskow, *The Performance of Long-Term Contracts: Further Evidence from Coal Markets*, 21 RAND J. ECON. 251 (1990).
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- Kyle J. Mayer et al., *Are Supply and Plant Inspections Complements or Substitutes? A Strategic and Operational Assessment of Inspection Practices in Biotechnology*, 50 MGMT. SCI. 1064 (2004).
- Kyle J. Mayer & Robert M. Salomon, *Capabilities, Contractual Hazards, and Governance: Integrating Resource-Based and Transaction Cost Perspectives*, 49 ACAD. MGMT. J. 942 (2006).
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- D. Gordon Smith, *The Exit Structure of Venture Capital*, 53 UCLA L. REV. 315 (2005).
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