

are particularly important in explaining behavior in social dilemmas: these attributes include [1] the expectations individuals have about others's behavior (trust), [2] the norms individuals learn from socialization and life's experiences (reciprocity), and [3] the identities individuals create that project their intentions and norms (reputation) (Ostrom, 1998: 14). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) Institutional arrangements are relevant solutions that can and often do outperform government regulation and market regulation. Ostrom's contribution goes well beyond recognizing the limits of models and acknowledging what is theoretically feasible. While it is important to understand Ostrom's concerns about model-induced myopia, it is equally if not more important to appreciate how she responded to those concerns. In *Governing The Commons: The Evolution Of Institutions For Collective Action*, for example, Ostrom (1990) explained how models such as the tragedy of the commons lead to myopic analysis of solutions and policy prescriptions. She suggested that neither the Leviathan (government regulation) nor Privatization (market regulation) is a panacea, and that model-induced myopia leads analysts to ignore alternative institutional arrangements that may be more effective tools for governance. But that is merely the beginning literally, chapter one of the book (Ostrom, 1990). Ostrom was a scientist. Her response to concerns about model-induced myopia was to do the scientific work of systematically studying actual resource systems and governance institutions. Over decades, Ostrom demonstrated through a rich empirical program how self-organized community governance often is an effective alternative for a wide range of shared resources. In some contexts, communities can and do solve tragedy of the commons, collective action, and other related resource management problems without (turning to) government regulation or market-driven allocation as a panacea. They do so in a variety of ways, often relying on informal mechanisms for coordinating behavior. Community solutions do not always succeed or always fail; they sometimes succeed and sometimes fail. The temptation to seek out regulatory panaceas based on universal models, whether through private property, state action, or even notions of community, must be resisted in favor of a more nuanced approach (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 676). Context matters. Recognizing that people sometimes cooperate effectively and build institutions to enable sustainable shared use of common pool resources opened up the solution space and focused scholarly attention on complexity, context, communities, and institutions. This broader field of vision not only brought informal institutions into view and encouraged their systematic study, but it also improved our understanding of formal institutions by revealing the many different ways that government, market, and community institutions depend on each other to be successful. And it yielded two significant lessons, one substantive and one methodological.

Ostrom's Substantive Lesson:

As explored in a recent book, Ostrom's vision allows us to appreciate that government regulation of shared environmental resources does not replace or eliminate the commons altogether for that would be the true tragedy! Rather, in many cases, government regulation constructs a semi-commons where a narrow range of resource users/uses are constrained in order to sustain freedom in the commons for a wide range of other resource users/uses (Frischmann, 2012). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of

Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) \n\n \n7 \n\n \n\nEmbrace complexity and context\u2014or simply, reality. There is tremendous value in \n\nsystematically studying actual contexts that present potential tragedies and institutional \n\narrangements aimed at averting tragedies. \n\nBe wary of model-induced myopia, supposed panaceas, and binary thinking. The deep problem \n\nwith Hardin\u2019s tragedy of the commons allegory is not the allegory itself or its translation into a \n\nmodel or even a theory about how people might externalize costs in specific settings. The deep \n\nproblem is the myopia that the model induced and the binary government-or-market thinking \n\nthat followed. We consistently make the mistake of thinking in binary terms, individual or social, \n\nprivate or public, market or government. This leads to great distortions in our perceptions about \n\nthe world and the plans we make. Reality is much more complicated. \n\nStanding alone, this lesson may be underwhelming, or perhaps even offensive to the scholar. You \n\nmight be thinking, \u201cThis is not a lesson. We all know that studying reality beats studying fictitious \n\nscenarios that do not match reality.\u201d Naturally, the next question is how should one go about \n\nstudying reality? This leads to the second lesson. \n7 \n\n \n\nOstrom\u2019s Methodological Lesson: \n\nEmbrace systematic, evolutionary learning through various interdisciplinary methodologies, \n\ntheories, and empirical approaches, including case studies. There is tremendous value in a \n\nresearch framework that facilitates such learning while itself being subject to adaptation and \n\nrefinement over time. \n\nOstrom did not presume community based institutions were successful or ubiquitous. \n\nCommunity based institutions required systematic study. To facilitate research on these \n\ninstitutions across diverse resource systems, Ostrom worked for decades on developing a \n\nscientific approach to studying and evaluating institutions. She devoted incredible energy to \n\nmethodology, bridging disciplines, and enabling systematic, collaborative social science. \n\nTo systematize research, she developed the Institutional Analysis and Development (\u201cIAD\u201d) \n\nframework. \n8 \n\n It encourages interdisciplinary research and seeks to avoid path dependencies from \n\n \n7 The risk of model-induced myopia that Ostrom identified also provides a strong basis for taking a pluralistic \n\napproach to thinking about, and teaching, economics, especially if one cannot go out and study reality as Ostrom \n\ndid. \n8 I discuss the IAD framework as a prominent example, but the reader should understand that Ostrom extended her \n\nideas to the development of a more complex framework for the analysis of Social-Ecological Systems (Ostrom, \n\n2009). Moreover, even when applying the IAD framework, the specific context shaped the research protocols. For \n\nexample, as reported in Hayes and Ostrom (2005), Ostrom and colleagues associated with the Center for the Study \n\nof Institutions, Population, and Environmental Change (CIPEC) and the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy \n\nAnalysis, both at Indiana University, developed a complex question-based framework tailored for analyzing forests: \n\n \n\n\u201cOur research team spent two years developing a series of ten protocols,\u201d that \u201cenable scholars to examine the \n\nimpact of diverse ways of owning and governing forests (such as individual ownership, joint ownership by a \n\nElectronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133>\n\n \n\nJournal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) \n\n \n8 \n\n \n\n \n\ndisciplinary or methodological blinders, problems akin to the model-induced myopia discussed \n\nabove. The IAD framework structures a common set of research questions to apply across \n\n \n\ndiverse contexts. Ostrom (2005: 28-29) explained the relationships between a research \n\nframework, theories, and models: \n\nThe development and use of a general

framework helps to identify the elements (and the relationships among these elements) that one needs to consider for institutional analysis. Frameworks . . . provide the most general set of variables that should be used to analyze all types of settings relevant for the framework. . . . The development and use of theories enable the analyst to specify which components of a framework are relevant for certain kinds of questions and to make broad working assumptions about these elements. Thus, theories focus on parts of a framework and make specific assumptions that are necessary for an analyst to diagnose a phenomenon, explain its processes, and predict outcomes. . . . Microeconomic theory, game theory, transaction cost theory, social choice theory, public choice, constitutional and covenantal theory, and theories of public goods and common-pool resources are all compatible with the IAD framework (Ostrom, 2006). The development and use of models make precise assumptions about a limited set of parameters and variables. Logic, mathematics, game theory models, experimentation and simulation, and other means are used to explore the consequences of these assumptions systematically on a limited set of outcomes. Multiple models are compatible with most theories. . . . The framework-driven approach is functionalist. It seeks to integrate theoretical and empirical research in coherent manner. Critically, Ostrom did not reject theories or models, but instead embraced the idea that different theories and models could work better for some observed phenomena than for others. The IAD framework aims to systematize research efforts by facilitating a more rigorous evaluation by matching and testing of theories and models with observed phenomena, and most generally, enable learning over time (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 678). It depends heavily on empirical data, and consequently, on a systematic approach to gathering data. The IAD framework identifies the most general set of variables that should be used to analyze all types of settings relevant for the framework and divides the investigation of such variables into groups. The first group is exogenous variables and includes biophysical characteristics, community attributes, and rules-in-use (or governance mechanisms). With respect to the community, and different forms of government ownership) on investment, harvesting, protection, and managing activities and their consequences on forest conditions, including biodiversity (Hayes and Ostrom, 2005: 603-604). She did reject the idea of a one-size-fits-all theory. The following four paragraphs are adapted from Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg (2010a: 678-680). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) . . . analysis of a particular situation, these attributes of a commons are fixed. In the case of the lobster fishery, for example, these attributes might include the relevant biological characteristics of lobsters, such as the rates at which they age and reproduce; attributes of the community of fishermen, such as the proximity in which they live to others, the existence of familial relationships, and the skill sets needed for lobster fishing; and the rules explicit or informal that govern fishing. The second group is the action arena, which refers to the social space where participants with diverse preferences interact, exchange goods and services, solve problems, dominate one another, or fight (among the many things that individuals do in action arenas) (Ostrom, 2005: 14). In other words, the action arena is the context in which the exogenous variables combine in particular

instances, leading over time to observed patterns of interactions and outcomes.

Ostrom's work emphasizes the diversity of possible combinations of exogenous variables that determine what actually happens in particular instances and, hence, the outcomes that result. The rules governing lobster fishing contribute to the activity's long-term sustainability, for example, but the patterns of interaction actually observed depend on the richness of the particular environment for lobsters, the degree to which rules are actually enforced, seasonal factors such as weather, and interaction with outside influences such as pollution and the state of the larger economy. Understanding the observed success or failure of a commons enterprise such as a lobster fishery may require accounting for all of these factors, even though it may turn out that outcomes are relatively impervious to some of them.

The foundation of the framework-driven analysis is structuring questions in clusters about the exogenous variables, the action arena, and the patterns of interactions and outcomes. This approach aims to systematize data gathering across complex, diverse phenomena while remaining amenable to diverse disciplinary perspectives and empirical methodologies.

One interesting aspect of the IAD framework is its accommodation of and heavy reliance on case studies. Case studies are an important component to the research program because case studies provide rich, detailed descriptions of institutional arrangements in context. In addition, case studies provide feedback for the research framework itself.

Of course, case studies also slow

To implement the IAD framework, Ostrom and her collaborators employed a three-pronged approach: First, they engaged in a broad range of case studies of natural resource commons to form a basis for a bottom-up practice-based taxonomy of successful and unsuccessful approaches to resource management. Second, they developed a framework, based on the initial case studies, for identifying the variables that are significant in determining the success or failure of a commons enterprise and of the viability of institutions in particular contexts. Third, they preserved flexibility in their framework so that it could be adapted and revised in response to learning derived from the case studies. Based on the information obtained by applying their framework to structured case studies, they developed theories and models for particular commons situations, designed experiments to test those theories, and advanced a set of design principles for successful natural resource commons (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 676-677).

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things down, making the empirical work more laborious, contentious, and incremental. Arguably, this is a virtue. Good (social) scientific research often takes time. A framework-driven approach is particularly attractive for studying the complex interactions between ecological and social (institutional) systems because of the many different disciplines and methodologies that must be brought to bear if progress is to be made (Ostrom, 2009).

Ostrom's embrace of complexity goes further than studying reality and adopting a framework to accommodate different theories and methodologies. She also embraced collaboration among different people, disciplines, and cultures. She worked hard to establish a common ground in the fractured academic world of the natural and social sciences (Becker and Ostrom, 1995: 114). Her work was forcefully interdisciplinary, and throughout her career, she called on various disciplines to remove their disciplinary blinders. In her Presidential Address to the American Political Science Association, for

example, Ostrom called for expansion of the \u201ctype of research \u201d methods regularly used in political science\u201d and suggested that more understanding is required \u201dnacross the social and biological sciences (Ostrom, 1998). \u201c

Ostrom recognized that studying commons requires a kind of commons of its own, an interdisciplinary community for sharing skills, knowledge, research, and experience. So she \u201dbuilt one.\u201d With \u201dan ad hoc group of scholars including political scientists, anthropologists, \u201ceconomists, historians, and natural resource managers\u201d she founded the International Association \u201nfor the Study of the Commons.\u201d She was the first President of the IASC. The IASC\u2019s three \u201ngoals are \u201d

- \u201d1. to encourage exchange of knowledge among diverse disciplines, areas, and \u201dresource types;
- \u201d2. to foster mutual exchange of scholarship and practical experience; and
- \u201d3. to promote appropriate institutional design.

In pursuit of these goals, the IASC hosts major international conferences, publishes The \u201cCommons Digest and the International Journal of the Commons, and engages in many other \u201dactivities that promote knowledge sharing and build social capital and connections among those \u201dconcerned with commons.\u201d Ostrom\u2019s legacy is most vividly seen in the thousands of people \u201daround the world, in many different disciplines and professional settings, who consider \u201dthemselves a part of the research commons she helped construct. \u201c

Actually, she built many. Of particular note, with her husband Vincent Ostrom, also a renowned political \u201dscientist, she founded the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis. The Workshop is an autonomous \u201dresearch center at Indiana University dedicated to the interdisciplinary, collaborative, and comparative study of \u201dinstitutions (see Indiana University Bloomington, 2008). In honor of the couple, IU renamed the workshop, The \u201cVincent and Elinor\u201d

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approaches. First, I discuss Ostrom's work on environmental commons. I illustrate the two lessons through a discussion of the tragedy of the commons. Next, I explain how the two lessons play a significant role in recent efforts to extend Ostrom's work on environmental commons to knowledge/cultural commons. I draw a parallel between the tragedy of the commons allegory and the free rider allegory, and show how many of the problems Ostrom explored in the environmental context are manifest in the cultural environmental context. I discuss an ongoing research project that follows the path that Ostrom blazed and systematically studies commons in the cultural environment.

Elinor Ostrom taught many lessons, as an amazing mentor, teacher, scholar, and human being. She had a profound influence on me, and I am honored to offer this tribute to her. Like many others, I was inspired by Ostrom's design principles for natural resource commons and the demonstrated feasibility of community-based management for shared resources, and I tried to follow her lead. In fact, my first academic talk was about lessons from the literature on environmental commons that map to the study of other types of resource commons, such as information and Internet commons. I will return to the theme of that talk here. I will not discuss her theoretical or empirical contributions as such; many others have done so and will continue to do so, and for good reason. Instead, I will discuss two enduring lessons Ostrom taught about social science research.

The two lessons can be summarized as follows:

- The author wishes to thank the editor-in-chief, two anonymous referees, Michael Burstein, Daniel Cole, Michael Madison, Al Roundtree, Charles Schweik, Alex Stein, and Katherine Strandburg for their constructive comments and suggestions. The usual disclaimer applies.
- Throughout this article, I refer to contributions made by Ostrom and do not list all of her many collaborators nor people who also made related contributions. But I want to be clear that she collaborated with many others and she readily acknowledged the independent contributions of many others working on similar issues.

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- Substantive Lesson: Embrace complexity and context or simply, reality; avoid distorting reductionism and overstated gains from simple models.
- Methodological Lesson: Embrace systematic, evolutionary learning through various interdisciplinary methodologies, theories, and empirical approaches, including case studies; be aware of, and try to avoid, path dependencies from disciplinary or methodological blinders.

The first lesson leads to the second. Anyone can say that one should embrace complexity and study reality, and many people do. What makes Elinor Ostrom incredibly special is that she worked tirelessly to develop a robust framework for doing it, and she did it, time and again, and in a collaborative way that built an international interdisciplinary community.

In Part I, I discuss Ostrom's work on environmental commons. I illustrate the two lessons in the environmental context with a discussion of the tragedy of the commons. Ostrom's theoretical and empirical contributions probably are best recognized in the environmental context. Her contributions extend much further, as the Nobel Prize Committee recognized when it awarded her the 2009 prize along with Oliver Williamson. Still, there is plenty of work to be done in exploring and extending her contributions in other contexts. In Part II, I focus on that exploration and explain how the two lessons play a significant role in recent efforts to extend Ostrom's work on

environmental commons to knowledge/cultural commons. I draw a parallel between the tragedy of the commons allegory and the free rider allegory, and then show how many of the problems Ostrom identified and explored in the environmental context are manifest in the cultural environmental context. I briefly discuss an ongoing research project that aims to follow the path that Ostrom blazed and systematically study commons in the cultural environment. I. Two Lessons from Ostrom's Work on Environmental Commons Elinor Ostrom's pioneering work challenged the notion that rational human beings would be helplessly trapped in social dilemmas. Much of her work focused on environmental commons and confronted the then-dominant and still powerful concept of the tragedy of the commons. The term "commons" generally conjures up the notion of a shared community resource, such as a public park or a common pasture. The term gained considerable notoriety among economists, political scientists, and other social scientists after the publication of Garrett Hardin's essay The Tragedy of the Commons in Science (1968). Hardin (1968: 1244) described the tragedy of the commons as follows: Picture a pasture open to all. It is to be expected that each herdsman will try to keep as many cattle as possible on the commons. As a rational being, each herdsman seeks to maximize his gain. Explicitly or implicitly, more or less consciously, he Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) "What is the utility to me of adding one more animal to my herd?" This utility has one negative and one positive component. 1) The positive component is a function of the increment of one animal. Since the herdsman receives all the proceeds from the sale of the additional animal, the positive utility is nearly +1. 2) The negative component is a function of the additional overgrazing created by one more animal. Since, however, the effects of overgrazing are shared by all the herdsmen, the negative utility for any particular decision-making herdsman is only a fraction of -1. Adding together the component partial utilities, the rational herdsman concludes that the only sensible course for him to pursue is to add another animal to his herd. And another; and another.... But this is the conclusion reached by each and every rational herdsman sharing a commons. Therein is the tragedy. Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all. 3) Hardin's formulation has been the subject of extensive analysis and critique. At its core, the tragedy of the commons allegory illustrates a standard externality problem each individual rationally maximizes his or her private welfare without accounting for external costs, i.e., the costs imposed on others. 4) Avoiding tragedy seems to require collective action to manage use of the shared resource. Simply put, unconstrained consumption is not sustainable, and thus, constraints must be introduced if the resource is to be sustained. What should the constraints consist of? Hardin recognized two (top-down) solutions: government regulation and privatization. Government can constrain consumption by directly managing or regulating use of the shared resource. Alternatively, government can establish a system of private property rights delineating ownership of the resource. The former presumes that the government will take into account the aggregate effects and manage use of the resource efficiently over time, and the latter presumes that well-defined private

property rights will facilitate market exchanges and lead to an efficient allocation of access and use rights, and consequently, efficient management of the resource over time (Demsetz, 1967). Both approaches eliminate the commons; no longer do commoners freely choose for themselves how to manage a shared resource, for such freedom, Hardin claims, brings ruin to all. Both approaches rely on collective action through government to introduce constraints. The approaches differ substantially in terms of the manner in which ongoing (month-to-month, day-to-day, minute-to-minute) resource allocation decisions are made.

I include the block quote because it is useful to see what Hardin actually said. Paraphrasing Hardin often leads to adjustments that obscure or improve Hardin's simple story. In Coasian terms, it is a joint cost problem (Coase, 1960). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133>

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The tragedy of the commons allegory became the starting point for examining common pool resource problems and solutions. Many analysts assumed the tragedy of the commons model described a normal problem (at least for common pool resources) and a binary solution set followed: To avoid tragedy, society must turn to government command-and-control (micro-management) or private property-enabled markets. Economists, political scientists, and many others analyzed and debated how well these two types of regulatory solutions work. Will command-and-control regulation by government lead to efficient outcomes or would society be better off relying on private ordering by markets? Elinor Ostrom challenged the entire enterprise at its roots by asking two foundational sets of questions: First, how well does the tragedy of the commons allegory describe reality? Is it a useful theory for making predictions about real-world behavior of individuals sharing common pool resources? Does it describe a normal or exceptional situation? Does it provide a useful basis for choosing or designing regulatory solutions? Second, does the binary choice between government command-and-control regulation and private property-enabled markets reflect the full range of options? Are there alternative (bottom-up) institutions and/or means for collective action? Critically, the two sets of questions are related, particularly when one begins with the tragedy of the commons allegory. Hardin blurred resource system with resource management. In his allegory, the shared resource system is the pasture, and open access sharing among herders is the resource management or governance regime. As did many social scientists, Hardin made a series of assumptions with respect to both resource and resource management that limit the generalizability of his allegory. As Ostrom (2007: 15183) explained: Hardin envisioned a pasture open to all in which each herder received a direct benefit from adding animals to graze on the pasture and suffered only delayed costs from overgrazing. Translating his metaphor into a theory requires five assumptions: (i) the resource system is a pasture; (ii) no governance system is present related to the resource system; (iii) the mobile individual resource units (the animals grazing on the pasture) can be identified and are the property of their owners and, when fattened, can be sold for cash; (iv) a sufficient number of users, given the size of the pasture, are using the pasture to adversely affect its long-term productivity; and (v) the resource users independently make decisions to maximize their own short-term returns. These five assumptions lead to a theoretical prediction of very high harvesting of the pasture grasses and severe overharvesting or destruction of the ecological

\n\nsystem. \n\n \n\n* * * \n\nElectronic copy available at:
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 (forthcoming 2013) \n\n \n\n5 \n\n \n\nSituations characterized by these assumptions,
 in which individuals independently \n\nmake anonymous decisions and primarily focus on
 their own immediate payoffs, do \n\nntend to overharvest open-access resources.
 Researchers have repeatedly generated a \n\n\u201ctragedy of the commons\u201d in
 experimental laboratories when subjects make \n\nindependent and anonymous decisions
 in a common-pool resource setting. \n\n \n\nMaking one small change \u2026 in the
 structure of laboratory experiments, a change \n\nthat is predicted by game theory to
 make no difference in the predicted outcome, \n\nhas repeatedly had major impacts on
 interactions and outcomes. Simply enabling \n\nsubjects to engage in face-to-face
 communication between decision rounds enables \n\nthem to approach socially optimal
 harvesting levels rather than severely \n\noverharvesting the commons. In the face-to-
 face discussions, participants tend to \n\ndiscuss what they all should do and build
 norms to encourage conformance.⁵ \n\n \n\nNote that when the assumptions hold and
 fully describe the resource setting, the theory\u2019s \n\npredictions may be useful.
 But this is exceptional. Reality is considerably more complex. The \n\ntragedy of
 the commons allegory rarely describes shared resource settings in a sufficiently
 \n\ncomplete manner as to qualify as a useful theory for making predictions or
 prescribing regulatory \n\nsolutions. More is needed. \n\nOf course, it may be
 convenient to work within the confines of the allegory or model\u2014and \n\nperhaps
 to assume that reality conforms to those confines\u2014because doing so makes analysis
 \n\ntractable and leads to a well-defined problem and possible solutions to compare
 and evaluate. \n\nBut this is a fundamental mistake and an example of distorting
 reductionism. It can lead the \n\nanalyst to miss what is most important and focus on
 what is least relevant. \n\nAs Ostrom (2007) explained in the quote above, a slight
 change, which takes you outside the \n\nconfines of the model, gives rise to solutions
 that completely escaped attention and would not be \n\npredicted to be relevant.
 Relaxing one of the assumptions, or just recognizing that some other \n\nfactor is
 relevant to the situation, can change everything; cooperation to avoid tragedy becomes
 \n\ntheoretically feasible without resort to one of the two \u201csolutions.\u201d As
 is now well understood in \n\nthe field of institutional economics generally,
 community management, social norms, and other \n\n
 \n5 Ostrom (2000) also critiqued reliance on the rational actor model when analyzing
 collective action and social \n\ndilemmas. After establishing a series of \u201cwell-
 substantiated facts\u201d about human behavior based on extensive \n\nfieldwork:
 \u201cI believe that one is forced by these well-substantiated facts to adopt a more
 eclectic (and classical) view \n\nof human behavior\u201d (Ostrom, 2000: 141). She
 developed a \u201csecond-generation model of rationality\u201d in which \n\nhumans are
 \u201ccomplex, fallible learners who seek to do as well as they can given the
 constraints that they face and \n\nwho are able to learn heuristics, norms, rules, and
 how to craft rules to improve achieved outcomes\u201d (Ostrom, 1998: \n9). The
 second-generation model of rationality predicts that reciprocity, reputation, and
 trust as \u201ccore relationships\u201d \n\ncan lead to increased net benefits (Ostrom,
 1998: 13). This theoretical model identifies \u201cindividual attributes\u201d that
 \n\nare particularly important in explaining behavior in social dilemmas: these
 attributes include \u201c[1] the expectations \n\nindividuals have about others'
 behavior (trust), [2] the norms individuals learn from socialization and life's
 \n\nexperiences (reciprocity), and [3] the identities individuals create that project

their intentions and norms (reputation) (Ostrom, 1998: 14). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) Institutional arrangements are relevant solutions that can and often do outperform government regulation and market regulation. Ostrom's contribution goes well beyond recognizing the limits of models and acknowledging what is theoretically feasible. While it is important to understand Ostrom's concerns about model-induced myopia, it is equally if not more important to appreciate how she responded to those concerns. In *Governing The Commons: The Evolution Of Institutions For Collective Action*, for example, Ostrom (1990) explained how models such as the tragedy of the commons lead to myopic analysis of solutions and policy prescriptions. She suggested that neither the Leviathan (government regulation) nor Privatization (market regulation) is a panacea, and that model-induced myopia leads analysts to ignore alternative institutional arrangements that may be more effective tools for governance. But that is merely the beginning literally, chapter one of the book (Ostrom, 1990). Ostrom was a scientist. Her response to concerns about model-induced myopia was to do the scientific work of systematically studying actual resource systems and governance institutions. Over decades, Ostrom demonstrated through a rich empirical program how self-organized community governance often is an effective alternative for a wide range of shared resources. In some contexts, communities can and do solve tragedy of the commons, collective action, and other related resource management problems without (turning to) government regulation or market-driven allocation as a panacea. They do so in a variety of ways, often relying on informal mechanisms for coordinating behavior. Community solutions do not always succeed or always fail; they sometimes succeed and sometimes fail. The temptation to seek out regulatory panaceas based on universal models, whether through private property, state action, or even notions of community, must be resisted in favor of a more nuanced approach (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 676). Context matters. Recognizing that people sometimes cooperate effectively and build institutions to enable sustainable shared use of common pool resources opened up the solution space and focused scholarly attention on complexity, context, communities, and institutions. This broader field of vision not only brought informal institutions into view and encouraged their systematic study, but it also improved our understanding of formal institutions by revealing the many different ways that government, market, and community institutions depend on each other to be successful. And it yielded two significant lessons, one substantive and one methodological.

Ostrom's Substantive Lesson:

As explored in a recent book, Ostrom's vision allows us to appreciate that government regulation of shared environmental resources does not replace or eliminate the commons altogether for that would be the true tragedy! Rather, in many cases, government regulation constructs a semi-commons where a narrow range of resource users/uses are constrained in order to sustain freedom in the commons for a wide range of other resource users/uses (Frischmann, 2012). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) Embrace complexity and context for simply, reality. There is tremendous value in systematically studying actual contexts that present potential tragedies and institutional arrangements aimed at averting tragedies. Be wary of model-induced myopia,

supposed panaceas, and binary thinking. The deep problem with Hardin's tragedy of the commons allegory is not the allegory itself or its translation into a model or even a theory about how people might externalize costs in specific settings. The deep problem is the myopia that the model induced and the binary government-or-market thinking that followed. We consistently make the mistake of thinking in binary terms, individual or social, private or public, market or government. This leads to great distortions in our perceptions about the world and the plans we make. Reality is much more complicated. Standing alone, this lesson may be underwhelming, or perhaps even offensive to the scholar. You might be thinking, "This is not a lesson. We all know that studying reality beats studying fictitious scenarios that do not match reality." Naturally, the next question is how should one go about studying reality? This leads to the second lesson.

Ostrom's Methodological Lesson: Embrace systematic, evolutionary learning through various interdisciplinary methodologies, theories, and empirical approaches, including case studies. There is tremendous value in a research framework that facilitates such learning while itself being subject to adaptation and refinement over time. Ostrom did not presume community based institutions were successful or ubiquitous. Community based institutions required systematic study. To facilitate research on these institutions across diverse resource systems, Ostrom worked for decades on developing a scientific approach to studying and evaluating institutions. She devoted incredible energy to methodology, bridging disciplines, and enabling systematic, collaborative social science. To systematize research, she developed the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework. It encourages interdisciplinary research and seeks to avoid path dependencies from

The risk of model-induced myopia that Ostrom identified also provides a strong basis for taking a pluralistic approach to thinking about, and teaching, economics, especially if one cannot go out and study reality as Ostrom did. I discuss the IAD framework as a prominent example, but the reader should understand that Ostrom extended her ideas to the development of a more complex framework for the analysis of Social-Ecological Systems (Ostrom, 2009). Moreover, even when applying the IAD framework, the specific context shaped the research protocols. For example, as reported in Hayes and Ostrom (2005), Ostrom and colleagues associated with the Center for the Study of Institutions, Population, and Environmental Change (CIPEC) and the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, both at Indiana University, developed a complex question-based framework tailored for analyzing forests:

Our research team spent two years developing a series of ten protocols, that enable scholars to examine the impact of diverse ways of owning and governing forests (such as individual ownership, joint ownership by a

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interdisciplinary or methodological blinders, problems akin to the model-induced myopia discussed above. The IAD framework structures a common set of research questions to apply across

diverse contexts. Ostrom (2005: 28-29) explained the relationships between a research framework, theories, and models: The development and use of a general framework helps to identify the elements (and the relationships among these elements) that one needs to consider for institutional analysis. Frameworks . . . provide the most general set of variables that should be used to analyze all types of settings relevant for the framework. . . . The development and use of

theories enable the analyst to specify which components of a framework are relevant for certain kinds of questions and to make broad working assumptions about these elements. Thus, theories focus on parts of a framework and make specific assumptions that are necessary for an analyst to diagnose a phenomenon, explain its processes, and predict outcomes. . . . Microeconomic theory, game theory, transaction cost theory, social choice theory, public choice, constitutional and covenantal theory, and theories of public goods and common-pool resources are all compatible with the IAD framework (Ostrom, 2006). The development and use of models make precise assumptions about a limited set of parameters and variables. Logic, mathematics, game theory models, experimentation and simulation, and other means are used to explore the consequences of these assumptions systematically on a limited set of outcomes. Multiple models are compatible with most theories. . . . The framework-driven approach is functionalist. It seeks to integrate theoretical and empirical research in coherent manner. Critically, Ostrom did not reject theories or models, but instead embraced the idea that different theories and models could work better for some observed phenomena than for others. The IAD framework aims to systematize research efforts by facilitating a more rigorous evaluation by matching and testing of theories and models with observed phenomena, and most generally, enable learning over time (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 678). It depends heavily on empirical data, and consequently, on a systematic approach to gathering data. The IAD framework identifies the most general set of variables that should be used to analyze all types of settings relevant for the framework and divides the investigation of such variables into groups. The first group is exogenous variables and includes biophysical characteristics, community attributes, and rules-in-use (or governance mechanisms). With respect to the

community, and different forms of government ownership) on investment, harvesting, protection, and managing activities and their consequences on forest conditions, including biodiversity (Hayes and Ostrom, 2005: 603-604). She did reject the idea of a one-size-fits-all theory. The following four paragraphs are adapted from Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg (2010a: 678-680). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) In the analysis of a particular situation, these attributes of a commons are fixed. In the case of the lobster fishery, for example, these attributes might include the relevant biological characteristics of lobsters, such as the rates at which they age and reproduce; attributes of the community of fishermen, such as the proximity in which they live to others, the existence of familial relationships, and the skill sets needed for lobster fishing; and the rules explicit or informal that govern fishing. The second group is the action arena, which refers to the social space where participants with diverse preferences interact, exchange goods and services, solve problems, dominate one another, or fight (among the many things that individuals do in action arenas) (Ostrom, 2005: 14). In other words, the action arena is the context in which the exogenous variables combine in particular instances, leading over time to observed patterns of interactions and outcomes. Ostrom's work emphasizes the diversity of possible combinations of exogenous variables that determine what actually happens in particular instances and, hence, the outcomes that result. The rules governing lobster fishing contribute to the

activity's long-term sustainability, for example, but the patterns of interaction actually observed depend on the richness of the particular environment for lobsters, the degree to which rules are actually enforced, seasonal factors such as weather, and interaction with outside influences such as pollution and the state of the larger economy. Understanding the observed success or failure of a commons enterprise such as a lobster fishery may require accounting for all of these factors, even though it may turn out that outcomes are relatively impervious to some of them. The foundation of the framework-driven analysis is structuring questions in clusters about the exogenous variables, the action arena, and the patterns of interactions and outcomes. This approach aims to systematize data gathering across complex, diverse phenomena while remaining amenable to diverse disciplinary perspectives and empirical methodologies. One interesting aspect of the IAD framework is its accommodation of and heavy reliance on case studies. Case studies are an important component to the research program because case studies provide rich, detailed descriptions of institutional arrangements in context. In addition, case studies provide feedback for the research framework itself.

Of course, case studies also slow

To implement the IAD framework, Ostrom and her collaborators employed a three-pronged approach: First, they engaged in a broad range of case studies of natural resource commons to form a basis for a bottom-up practice-based taxonomy of successful and unsuccessful approaches to resource management. Second, they developed a framework, based on the initial case studies, for identifying the variables that are significant in determining the success or failure of a commons enterprise and of the viability of institutions in particular contexts. Third, they preserved flexibility in their framework so that it could be adapted and revised in response to learning derived from the case studies. Based on the information obtained by applying their framework to structured case studies, they developed theories and models for particular commons situations, designed experiments to test those theories, and advanced a set of design principles for successful natural resource commons (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 676-677). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013)

Things down, making the empirical work more laborious, contentious, and incremental. Arguably, this is a virtue. Good (social) scientific research often takes time. A framework-driven approach is particularly attractive for studying the complex interactions between ecological and social (institutional) systems because of the many different disciplines and methodologies that must be brought to bear if progress is to be made (Ostrom, 2009). Ostrom's embrace of complexity goes further than studying reality and adopting a framework to accommodate different theories and methodologies. She also embraced collaboration among different people, disciplines, and cultures. She worked hard to establish a common ground in the fractured academic world of the natural and social sciences (Becker and Ostrom, 1995: 114). Her work was forcefully interdisciplinary, and throughout her career, she called on various disciplines to remove their disciplinary blinders. In her Presidential Address to the American Political Science Association, for example, Ostrom called for expansion of the type of research methods regularly used in political science and suggested that more understanding is required across the social and biological sciences (Ostrom, 1998).

Ostrom recognized that studying commons requires a kind of commons of its own, an

interdisciplinary community for sharing skills, knowledge, research, and experience. So she built one. With an ad hoc group of scholars including political scientists, anthropologists, economists, historians, and natural resource managers she founded the International Association for the Study of the Commons. She was the first President of the IASC. The IASC's three goals are 1. to encourage exchange of knowledge among diverse disciplines, areas, and resource types; 2. to foster mutual exchange of scholarship and practical experience; and 3. to promote appropriate institutional design. In pursuit of these goals, the IASC hosts major international conferences, publishes The Commons Digest and the International Journal of the Commons, and engages in many other activities that promote knowledge sharing and build social capital and connections among those concerned with commons. Ostrom's legacy is most vividly seen in the thousands of people around the world, in many different disciplines and professional settings, who consider themselves a part of the research commons she helped construct.

Actually, she built many. Of particular note, with her husband Vincent Ostrom, also a renowned political scientist, she founded the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis. The Workshop is an autonomous research center at Indiana University dedicated to the interdisciplinary, collaborative, and comparative study of institutions (see Indiana University Bloomington, 2008). In honor of the couple, IU renamed the workshop, The Vincent and Elinor Ostrom Center for Advanced Studies in Political Theory and Policy Analysis. The file is too long and its contents have been truncated.

"cloud_doc_url": null, {"matched_text": "\u0009source", "start_idx": 2288, "end_idx": 2298, "alt": null, "type": "file", "name": "Week 1_Beyond the Tragedy of the Commons.pdf", "id": "file-kY5KZqqCLsf87fkcfF02e0Bt", "source": "my_files", "snippet": "Contents lists available at ScienceDirect Energy Research & Social Science journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/erss Perspectives Beyond the tragedy of the commons: Reframing effective climate change governance Anthony Patt ETH Z\u00fcrich, Switzerland ARTICLE INFO Keywords: Climate policy Tragedy of the commons Global commons problem Technological transitions ABSTRACT The tragedy of the commons provides a powerful narrative for a class of environmental problems, and serves to frame them in a way that allows people to identify effective solution strategies. But the problem frame also rests on a set of factual and value-based assumptions, and is inappropriate to guide decision-making when these assumptions are violated. The climate change mitigation challenge 2013 reducing greenhouse gas emissions, mainly from the energy sector, to limit global warming to less than 1.5 or 2 \u00b0C 2013 violates these assumptions. Climate change requires us not to reduce, but to completely prohibit greenhouse gas emissions. Before any such prohibition is feasible, it is first essential to develop a clean energy system that can meet our basic needs. The main barriers to this are not economic, but rather are associated with evolving knowledge, networks, and institutions. Framing climate change in evolutionary terms can help us to appraise policy options more effectively, and ultimately identify those that get us where we need to go. 1. The tragedy of the commons The biologist and ethnic nationalist Garrett Hardin wanted society to restrict people's reproductive freedom, and believed that only those parents who would raise their children the right way should be entitled to have babies [1,2]. To support this politically charged belief, Hardin developed an argument based on the idea of the tragedy of the

commons, a game theoretic model involving farmers letting their cows graze on the communally owned village green [3]. Every farmer obtains the full benefit of placing an extra cow on the commons to graze, while suffering only a small share of the cost to the community as a whole, in terms of less grass being available to the other cows. Overgrazing is the inevitable equilibrium, unless the community as a whole steps in. Limiting the number of cows, and ideally allocating them to those farmers who can manage them most profitably, is the obvious solution. The lesson transferred well to the point Hardin was trying to make about people in his now famous article. Today, few would use a tragedy of the commons framing, or related terms such as commons problem, common pool resource problem, or externalities problem, to describe the issue of human population growth. This is largely because the world has witnessed birth rates falling globally, on most continents to below replacement levels, as a result of factors Hardin didn't consider: the education of women, reductions in infant mortality, and urbanization [4,5]. But most analysts do use Hardin's idea to describe other environmental problems, most notably climate change, and based on this framing suggest a strategy similar to what Hardin advocated [6]. The framing may be appropriate for some of these problems, fisheries management being an example that comes to mind. But it is not appropriate for climate change, and the sooner we stop framing climate change in this way, the better. As a starting point, it is worth considering what the key aspects of a commons problem actually are. Hardin himself described four, and these are as valid today as they were then. First, of course, there needs to be a common pool resource, such as the grass on a village green, or the global carrying capacity for people. Second, there needs to be a use of that resource, or an activity that depletes it, that is legitimate and valuable, accepted by society at large. In Hardin's model, we do want cows to graze on the village green, as long as they do so productively, just as we do want a planet that is home to people. In fact, because the use is so valuable, we want to ensure that it takes place in a manner that is both optimal and sustainable. Third, the common-pool nature of the resource has to be the thing that leads people to overuse or over-deplete the resource, to the point that is clearly suboptimal, perhaps even exceeding its sustainable limits. Fourth, there cannot be a technical solution. By this, Hardin meant that it is not possible to use technology to expand the resource in order to continually accommodate the growing use. The tragedy of the commons acts a problem frame. The effect of a problem frame is to take a complex issue which affects multiple values and can be considered from a variety of perspectives and to simplify it around one particular conceptualization, leading to one particular solution strategy [7]. In the case of this framing, it is the third

aspect
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 listed in the paragraph above that is crucial. The common-pool ownership structure, meaning that agents do

not pay the full cost of their use, is seen as the driving force behind their overuse. Framing a problem as a tragedy of the commons automatically implies that if one could privatize the ownership structure, or make the agents pay the full costs to society of their use of the resource, then an optimal outcome would be achieved. In the case of a village green, the easy solution is to divide it up with fences, and have each subdivided plot belong to a single farmer. In the case of a resource that cannot be subdivided so easily, like the global carrying capacity for humans, then the solution is only slightly more complicated. Either one has to establish a limited number of rights to use the resource, and allocate these to people in advance, or one has to charge people ex post for their use of the resource. An important feature of the model is that the solution increases the resource's overall productivity. And that means that as long as the allocation mechanism or tax is fair, then reaching an agreement to privatize the use rights or internalize their costs should be politically feasible.

But the usefulness of such policy guidance depends on the underlying applicability of the problem frame. The presence of a common pool resource does not guarantee that Hardin's solution strategy is the best; the problem frame ceases to provide useful guidance if any of the other three criteria are violated. A case that illustrates failure on the second of the four criteria is the act of murdering one's neighbor. This depletes the common pool resource of public safety, but murder is not an activity that we want, so we don't solve it by imposing a tax or allocating a limited number of permits. We prohibit it. To illustrate failure on the third criterion, drinking alcohol is a behavior that we tolerate in moderation, and even encourage in some situations, but when people get drunk and start breaking things, they become a public nuisance. Yet we don't believe that internalizing the cost of drunken behavior will get the person on the verge of intoxication to say no to another drink. So we address it by other means, including charging bartenders with cutting people off, and providing treatment programs for alcoholism. To illustrate failure on the fourth criterion, the local public school may be overcrowded, but we can solve this by enlarging the building and hiring more teachers. So we do that, rather than limiting the number of places available or imposing high school fees.

Failure on any of these criteria matters. Climate change fails on all three.

2. Why climate change fails the tragedy of the commons criteria

Many people see the 2015 Paris Agreement as representing a turning point in climate governance, but in fact the events that foreshadowed Paris occurred a decade prior to then, culminating in 2007. It was then that the idea of the 2 °C target gained popularity, based on risk management arguments, and was incorporated into a global action plan agreed to in Bali, Indonesia, at the closing of a failed set of negotiations to extend or replace the Kyoto Protocol [8]. Paris built on this decision, and added an additional level of ambition by suggesting the desirability of limiting climate change to 1.5 °C. More importantly, Paris set up a process that could help countries to take the steps to achieve one or the other, in terms of a regular global stocktake, as well as a set of mechanisms to provide financial and capacity-building support to developing countries.

The one thing that the Paris Agreement does not include is a set of negotiated binding national targets, of the kind that are the heart of the Kyoto Protocol. In fact, the failed desire to include such binding targets is what led to the eight-year delay, starting in Bali. And yet this failure should not surprise us, for a simple reason. The tragedy of the commons framing suggests that negotiating binding targets should be

politically infeasible, with the main hurdle being the identification of a mutually acceptable allocation rule for the net benefits. But this presupposes that the global target is one that will maximize the value to society of whatever activity it is that degrades the common pool resource. Partial decarbonization as per Kyoto could take place by eliminating inefficiencies in the energy system, and arguably could deliver immediate net economic benefits; negotiating the allocation rule took less than two years. Achieving the Paris targets of 2 °C or 1.5 °C, however, requires that net anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere cease entirely in the second half of this century [11].

Finding immediate net benefits to allocate that are associated with a complete halting of emissions is more or less impossible, and so negotiating such an agreement required convincing people to pay attention to large benefits anticipated in the future, in some cases centuries hence [12,8]. So the temperature target qualitatively changed the character of negotiations, making them far more difficult, arguably impossible. More fundamentally, the need to eliminate emissions entirely, essentially as soon as possible, makes those emissions something that society will no longer tolerate. So climate change fails the second of the four criteria Hardin identified, just like murder.

There has been another major change since about 2007, and that is the recognition that the medium-term costs of eliminating greenhouse gas emissions are likely to be trivial, and may in fact be negative, even before considering the long-term benefits from avoided climate impacts [13,14]. What drove this recognition was the realization from the field of evolutionary economics that policies to expand renewable energy also make them cheaper [15,16]. This fact has become especially salient lately, as the costs of supplying energy from some renewable resources have fallen to below those of fossil fuels [17], especially if one takes into account local environmental effects such as air pollution or water demand [18]. A study in the United States, for example, examined the avoided local and regional environmental impacts associated with installing wind and solar power instead of new coal capacity, and found the value of those impacts to be far larger than the difference in cost between the two technologies [19]. As another example, the costs to own and drive an electric car charged by wind or solar power are approaching parity with those of a conventional gasoline model, at least under some conditions [20].

These trends suggest two additional ways in which the tragedy of the commons framing fails for climate change. First, there is no longer a necessary misalignment of incentives between the emitters of greenhouse gases and society at large. Every country, with the possible exception of major oil and gas exporters, has reason to mitigate climate change and transform its national energy sector away from fossil fuels, regardless of what other countries may do. Every household will soon have a financial incentive to stop burning oil and gas, regardless of what their neighbors do. So if fossil fuels are still in business, it will not be because of an unjust cost advantage, born from the existence of an externality. Climate change is like the example of public drunkenness: internalizing the cost will not change anything qualitatively. Second, it now appears that a technical solution does exist for climate change. Integrated assessment models suggest that by switching to non-fossil energy sources, we can continue to see global economic activity grow, at roughly the same pace, even as greenhouse gas emissions come to a halt [21]. Climate change is like enlarging the public school.

3. Framing today's challenge in evolutionary terms

But we still have a problem needing to be solved. Using electric cars as an example, a

household may soon have a financial incentive to switch over from their gasoline model, but it will not do so unless there is a dense network of charging stations where they want to take long trips. At the same time, there is no business case to install such a network as long as the number of electric cars on the road remains low. This is a chicken and egg problem: you need a chicken to get an egg, but an egg to get a chicken. Similar problems exist across the energy sector. At the most general level, we need to prohibit greenhouse gas emissions, which almost certainly means prohibiting fossil fuels. But which comes first: prohibition, or clean energy? Before prohibition can be politically and socially feasible, we need a clean energy system that is. A. Patt Energy Research & Social Science 34 (2017)

1332 is good enough to sustain us. Yet given more than a century already spent improving and optimizing an energy system based on fossil fuels, the first steps towards a clean energy system are necessarily expensive, clumsy, and unreliable. Most of the improvements to the clean energy system built around new knowledge, networks, and institutions only come once we start relying on it. Progress can occur, but without policy intervention, it will be slow. It took millions of years to get a chicken when the starting point was a dinosaur. Accelerating evolution is the key challenge for climate policy. Just as the tragedy of the commons framing offered clear guidance in terms of the appropriate policy instruments, so too does an evolutionary framing, based on insights from the emerging scientific study of socio-technical transitions [22]. Our policy instruments need to be those that build the new knowledge, networks, and institutions that will enable a clean energy system to function smoothly and affordably, which is a prerequisite to phasing out fossil fuels. When we think about all of the policies that support renewable energy innovation and deployment state-sponsored R & D, tax credits or feed-in tariffs for project developers, and streamlined permitting processes for green infrastructure that is exactly what is going on. As they create a new system that is viable, these policies lay the groundwork for a second generation of sectoral regulations, already beginning to appear, which prevent new investment into fossil fuel infrastructure. If you frame climate change as an evolutionary problem, it is this sequence of policy instruments that makes the most sense [23]. The issue of how we frame climate change mitigation is important, precisely because the two framings point us in different directions with respect to policy. When there is a true tragedy of the commons, then neo-classical economics and game theory provide a solid basis to favor market-based instruments, those that allocate limited rights to deplete the resource or internalize the costs of doing so [24]. Confusion can arise, however, because proponents of market-based instruments also suggest that these will provide the needed stimulus for innovation, promoting systemic change [25,26]. But just because these instruments are the best solution to one kind of problem does not mean they are very good or effective with respect to another. In fact, a growing literature shows that they aren't, and that the effective policies to stimulate a transition are those that directly support the development of new knowledge, networks, and institutions, directly addressing the barriers to systemic change [27]. The choice of how we frame climate change dictates the terms by which we evaluate the relative strengths and weaknesses of the different possible solution strategies. Judged by the appropriate criteria, market instruments are generally a poor fit. The tragedy of the commons framing made sense at a time when we believed that people needed to adjust the energy system at the margins, and believed that the cost

of doing so would be high. We no longer believe these things. The atmosphere may be a common pool resource, but using it as a place to put our greenhouse gas emissions is no longer something for which we have any long-term rights to allocate. To prohibit dumping our greenhouse gases there, we first need to accelerate a technological transition towards non-fossil sources of energy, for which the main barriers have to do with knowledge and networks, rather than an inherent difference in cost. Policies providing active and indirect governmental support for new technologies and technological systems can change the conditions that hold the new technologies back. In fact they have already done a great deal; they have led to a dramatic decline in the costs of key energy technologies, and contributed to the possibility that global emissions have already peaked. There is still more work to be done, and we can solve climate change if we build on what we have learned. At all costs, we should resist the temptation to reverse course because the policies don't fit one man's convenient story of too many cows on a village green.

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Cardozo School of Law \u00b7 Yeshiva University \nJacob Burns Institute for Advanced
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Frishmann\l \nBenjamin N. Cardozo School of Law \nYeshiva University \nNew York, NY \nfrischma@yu.edu \nAbstract: This article is a tribute to
Elinor Ostrom. It explores two enduring lessons she taught: a substantive lesson
that involves embracing complexity and context, and a methodological lesson
that involves embracing a framework-driven approach to systematic, evolutionary learning
through various interdisciplinary methodologies, theories, and empirical
approaches. First, I discuss Ostrom's work on environmental commons. I
illustrate the two lessons through a discussion of the tragedy of the commons.
Next, I explain how the two lessons play a significant role in recent efforts to
extend Ostrom's work on environmental commons to knowledge/cultural commons.
I draw a parallel between the tragedy of the commons allegory and the free rider
allegory, and show how many of the problems Ostrom explored in the environmental
context are manifest in the cultural environment. I discuss an ongoing
research project that follows the path that Ostrom blazed and systematically
studies commons in the cultural environment.

Elinor Ostrom taught many lessons, as an amazing mentor, teacher, scholar,
and human being. She had a profound influence on me, and I am honored to offer
this tribute to her. Like many others, I was inspired by Ostrom's design
principles for natural resource commons and the demonstrated feasibility of
community-based management for shared resources, and I tried to follow her lead.
In fact, my first academic talk was about lessons from the literature on

environmental commons that map to the study of other types of resource commons, such as information and Internet commons. I will return to the theme of that talk here. I will not discuss her theoretical or empirical contributions as such; many others have done so and will continue to do so, and for good reason. Instead, I will discuss two enduring lessons Ostrom taught about social science research.

The two lessons can be summarized as follows:

The author wishes to thank the editor-in-chief, two anonymous referees, Michael Burstein, Daniel Cole, Michael Madison, Al Roundtree, Charles Schweik, Alex Stein, and Katherine Strandburg for their constructive comments and suggestions. The usual disclaimer applies.

Throughout this article, I refer to contributions made by Ostrom and do not list all of her many collaborators or people who also made related contributions. But I want to be clear that she collaborated with many others and she readily acknowledged the independent contributions of many others working on similar issues.

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Substantive Lesson: Embrace complexity and context or simply, reality; avoid distorting reductionism and overstated gains from simple models.

Methodological Lesson: Embrace systematic, evolutionary learning through various interdisciplinary methodologies, theories, and empirical approaches, including case studies; be aware of, and try to avoid, path dependencies from disciplinary or methodological blinders.

The first lesson leads to the second. Anyone can say that one should embrace complexity and study reality, and many people do. What makes Elinor Ostrom incredibly special is that she worked tirelessly to develop a robust framework for doing it, and she did it, time and again, and in a collaborative way that built an international interdisciplinary community.

In Part I, I discuss Ostrom's work on environmental commons. I illustrate the two lessons in the environmental context with a discussion of the tragedy of the commons. Ostrom's theoretical and empirical contributions probably are best recognized in the environmental context. Her contributions extend much further, as the Nobel Prize Committee recognized when it awarded her the 2009 prize along with Oliver Williamson. Still, there is plenty of work to be done in exploring and extending her contributions in other contexts. In Part II, I focus on that exploration and explain how the two lessons play a significant role in recent efforts to extend Ostrom's work on environmental commons to knowledge/cultural commons. I draw a parallel between the tragedy of the commons allegory and the free rider allegory, and then show how many of the problems Ostrom identified and explored in the environmental context are manifest in the cultural environmental context. I briefly discuss an ongoing research project that aims to follow the path that Ostrom blazed and systematically study commons in the cultural environment.

I. Two Lessons from Ostrom's Work on Environmental Commons

Elinor Ostrom's pioneering work challenged the notion that rational human beings would be helplessly trapped in social dilemmas. Much of her work focused on environmental commons and confronted the then-dominant and still powerful concept of the tragedy of the commons.

The term commons would generally conjure up the notion of a shared community resource, such as a public park or a common pasture. The term gained considerable notoriety among economists, political scientists, and other social scientists after the publication of Garrett Hardin's essay The Tragedy of the Commons in Science (1968). Hardin (1968: 1244) described the tragedy of the commons as

follows: Picture a pasture open to all. It is to be expected that each herdsman will try to keep as many cattle as possible on the commons. 2026. As a rational being, each herdsman seeks to maximize his gain. Explicitly or implicitly, more or less consciously, he Electronic copy available at:

<https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) 3 asks, "What is the utility to me of adding one more animal to my herd?" This utility has one negative and one positive component. 1) The positive component is a function of the increment of one animal. Since the herdsman receives all the proceeds from the sale of the additional animal, the positive utility is nearly +1. 2) The negative component is a function of the additional overgrazing created by one more animal. Since, however, the effects of overgrazing are shared by all the herdsmen, the negative utility for any particular decision-making herdsman is only a fraction of -1. Adding together the component partial utilities, the rational herdsman concludes that the only sensible course for him to pursue is to add another animal to his herd. And another; and another.... But this is the conclusion reached by each and every rational herdsman sharing a commons. Therein is the tragedy. Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all. 3 Hardin's formulation has been the subject of extensive analysis and critique. At its core, the tragedy of the commons allegory illustrates a standard externality problem each individual rationally maximizes his or her private welfare without accounting for external costs, i.e., the costs imposed on others. 4 Avoiding tragedy seems to require collective action to manage use of the shared resource. Simply put, unconstrained consumption is not sustainable, and thus, constraints must be introduced if the resource is to be sustained. What should the constraints consist of? Hardin recognized two (top-down) solutions: government regulation and privatization. Government can constrain consumption by directly managing or regulating use of the shared resource. Alternatively, government can establish a system of private property rights delineating ownership of the resource. The former presumes that the government will take into account the aggregate effects and manage use of the resource efficiently over time, and the latter presumes that well-defined private property rights will facilitate market exchanges and lead to an efficient allocation of access and use rights, and consequently, efficient management of the resource over time (Demsetz, 1967). Both approaches eliminate the commons; no longer do commoners freely choose for themselves how to manage a shared resource, for such freedom, Hardin claims, brings ruin to all. 201d Both approaches rely on collective action through government to introduce constraints. The approaches differ substantially in terms of the manner in which ongoing (month-to-month, day-to-day, minute-to-minute) resource allocation decisions are made. I include the block quote because it is useful to see what Hardin actually said. Paraphrasing Hardin often leads to adjustments that obscure or improve Hardin's simple story. 4 In Coasian terms, it is a joint cost problem (Coase, 1960). Electronic copy available at:

<https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) 4 The tragedy of the commons allegory became the starting point for examining common pool resource problems and solutions. Many

analysts assumed the tragedy of the commons model \n\ndescribed a normal problem (at least for common pool resources) and a binary solution set \n\nfollowed: To avoid tragedy, society must turn to government command-and-control (micro-\n\nmanagement) or private property-enabled markets. Economists, political scientists, and many \n\nothers analyzed and debated how well these two types of regulatory solutions work. Will \n\ncommand-and-control regulation by government lead to efficient outcomes or would society be \n\nbetter off relying on private ordering by markets? \n\nElinor Ostrom challenged the entire enterprise at its roots by asking two foundational sets of \n\nquestions: First, how well does the tragedy of the commons allegory describe reality? Is it a \n\nuseful theory for making predictions about real-world behavior of individuals sharing common \n\npool resources? Does it describe a normal or exceptional situation? Does it provide a useful basis \n\nfor choosing or designing regulatory solutions? Second, does the binary choice between \n\ngovernment command-and-control regulation and private property-enabled markets reflect the full \n\nrange of options? Are there alternative (bottom-up) institutions and/or means for collective \n\naction? \n\nCritically, the two sets of questions are related, particularly when one begins with the tragedy of \n\nthe commons allegory. Hardin blurred resource system with resource management. In his \n\nallegory, the shared resource system is the pasture, and open access sharing among herders is the \n\nresource management or governance regime. As did many social scientists, Hardin made a series \n\nof assumptions with respect to both resource and resource management that limit the \n\ngeneralizability of his allegory. As Ostrom (2007: 15183) explained: \n\nHardin envisioned a pasture open to all in which each herder received a direct \n\nbenefit from adding animals to graze on the pasture and suffered only delayed costs \n\nfrom overgrazing. Translating his metaphor into a theory requires five assumptions: \n\n(i) the resource system is a pasture; \n\n(ii) no governance system is present related to the resource system; \n\n(iii) the mobile individual resource units (the animals grazing on the \n\npasture) can be identified and are the property of their owners and, when \n\nfattened, can be sold for cash; \n\n(iv) a sufficient number of users, given the size of the pasture, are using the \n\npasture to adversely affect its long-term productivity; and \n\n(v) the resource users independently make decisions to maximize their own \n\nshort-term returns. \n\nThese five assumptions \u2026 lead to a theoretical prediction of very high harvesting of \n\nthe pasture grasses and severe overharvesting or destruction of the ecological \n\nsystem. \n\n* * * \n\nElectronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> \n\nJournal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) \n\nSituations characterized by these assumptions, in which individuals independently \n\nmake anonymous decisions and primarily focus on their own immediate payoffs, do \n\ntend to overharvest open-access resources. Researchers have repeatedly generated a \n\ntragedy of the commons \n\nin experimental laboratories when subjects make \n\nindependent and anonymous decisions in a common-pool resource setting. \n\nMaking one small change \u2026 in the structure of laboratory experiments, a change \n\nthat is predicted by game theory to make no difference in the predicted outcome, \n\nhas repeatedly had major impacts on interactions and outcomes. Simply enabling \n\nsubjects to engage in face-to-face communication between decision rounds enables \n\nthem to approach socially optimal harvesting levels rather than severely \n\noverharvesting the commons. In the face-to-face discussions, participants tend to \n\ndiscuss what they all should do and build norms to encourage conformance.⁵ \n\nNote that when the assumptions hold and

fully describe the resource setting, the theory's predictions may be useful. But this is exceptional. Reality is considerably more complex. The tragedy of the commons allegory rarely describes shared resource settings in a sufficiently complete manner as to qualify as a useful theory for making predictions or prescribing regulatory solutions. More is needed. Of course, it may be convenient to work within the confines of the allegory or model and perhaps to assume that reality conforms to those confines because doing so makes analysis intractable and leads to a well-defined problem and possible solutions to compare and evaluate. But this is a fundamental mistake and an example of distorting reductionism. It can lead the analyst to miss what is most important and focus on what is least relevant. As Ostrom (2007) explained in the quote above, a slight change, which takes you outside the confines of the model, gives rise to solutions that completely escaped attention and would not be predicted to be relevant. Relaxing one of the assumptions, or just recognizing that some other factor is relevant to the situation, can change everything; cooperation to avoid tragedy becomes theoretically feasible without resort to one of the two solutions. As is now well understood in the field of institutional economics generally, community management, social norms, and other

Ostrom (2000) also critiqued reliance on the rational actor model when analyzing collective action and social dilemmas. After establishing a series of well-substantiated facts about human behavior based on extensive fieldwork: I believe that one is forced by these well-substantiated facts to adopt a more eclectic (and classical) view of human behavior (Ostrom, 2000: 141). She developed a second-generation model of rationality in which humans are complex, fallible learners who seek to do as well as they can given the constraints that they face and who are able to learn heuristics, norms, rules, and how to craft rules to improve achieved outcomes (Ostrom, 1998: 9). The second-generation model of rationality predicts that reciprocity, reputation, and trust as core relationships can lead to increased net benefits (Ostrom, 1998: 13). This theoretical model identifies individual attributes that are particularly important in explaining behavior in social dilemmas: these attributes include [1] the expectations individuals have about others's behavior (trust), [2] the norms individuals learn from socialization and life's experiences (reciprocity), and [3] the identities individuals create that project their intentions and norms (reputation) (Ostrom, 1998: 14). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) 6 Institutional arrangements are relevant solutions that can and often do outperform government regulation and market regulation. Ostrom's contribution goes well beyond recognizing the limits of models and acknowledging what is theoretically feasible. While it is important to understand Ostrom's concerns about model-induced myopia, it is equally if not more important to appreciate how she responded to those concerns. In *Governing The Commons: The Evolution Of Institutions For Collective Action*, for example, Ostrom (1990) explained how models such as the tragedy of the commons lead to myopic analysis of solutions and policy prescriptions. She suggested that neither the Leviathan (government regulation) nor Privatization (market regulation) is a panacea, and that model-induced myopia leads analysts to ignore alternative institutional arrangements that may be more effective tools for governance. But that is merely the beginning literally, chapter one of the book (Ostrom,

(1990). Ostrom was a scientist. Her response to concerns about model-induced myopia was to do the scientific work of systematically studying actual resource systems and governance institutions. Over decades, Ostrom demonstrated through a rich empirical program how self-organized community governance often is an effective alternative for a wide range of shared resources. In some contexts, communities can and do solve tragedy of the commons, collective action, and other related resource management problems without (turning to) government regulation or market-driven allocation as a panacea. They do so in a variety of ways, often relying on informal mechanisms for coordinating behavior. Community solutions do not always succeed or always fail; they sometimes succeed and sometimes fail. The temptation to seek out regulatory panaceas based on universal models, whether through private property, state action, or even notions of community, must be resisted in favor of a more nuanced approach (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 676). Context matters. Recognizing that people sometimes cooperate effectively and build institutions to enable sustainable shared use of common pool resources opened up the solution space and focused scholarly attention on complexity, context, communities, and institutions. This broader field of vision not only brought informal institutions into view and encouraged their systematic study, but it also improved our understanding of formal institutions by revealing the many different ways that government, market, and community institutions depend on each other to be successful. And it yielded two significant lessons, one substantive and one methodological.

Ostrom's Substantive Lesson:

As explored in a recent book, Ostrom's vision allows us to appreciate that government regulation of shared environmental resources does not replace or eliminate the commons altogether for that would be the true tragedy! Rather, in many cases, government regulation constructs a semi-commons where a narrow range of resource users/uses are constrained in order to sustain freedom in the commons for a wide range of other resource users/uses (Frischmann, 2012).

Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) 7 Embrace complexity and context for simply, reality. There is tremendous value in systematically studying actual contexts that present potential tragedies and institutional arrangements aimed at averting tragedies. Be wary of model-induced myopia, supposed panaceas, and binary thinking. The deep problem with Hardin's tragedy of the commons allegory is not the allegory itself or its translation into a model or even a theory about how people might externalize costs in specific settings. The deep problem is the myopia that the model induced and the binary government-or-market thinking that followed. We consistently make the mistake of thinking in binary terms, individual or social, private or public, market or government. This leads to great distortions in our perceptions about the world and the plans we make. Reality is much more complicated. Standing alone, this lesson may be underwhelming, or perhaps even offensive to the scholar. You might be thinking, This is not a lesson. We all know that studying reality beats studying fictitious scenarios that do not match reality. Naturally, the next question is how should one go about studying reality? This leads to the second lesson. Ostrom's Methodological Lesson: Embrace systematic, evolutionary learning through various interdisciplinary methodologies, theories, and empirical approaches, including case studies. There is tremendous value in a

research framework that facilitates such learning while itself being subject to adaptation and refinement over time. Ostrom did not presume community based institutions were successful or ubiquitous. Community based institutions required systematic study. To facilitate research on these institutions across diverse resource systems, Ostrom worked for decades on developing a scientific approach to studying and evaluating institutions. She devoted incredible energy to methodology, bridging disciplines, and enabling systematic, collaborative social science. To systematize research, she developed the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework. It encourages interdisciplinary research and seeks to avoid path dependencies from

The risk of model-induced myopia that Ostrom identified also provides a strong basis for taking a pluralistic approach to thinking about, and teaching, economics, especially if one cannot go out and study reality as Ostrom did. I discuss the IAD framework as a prominent example, but the reader should understand that Ostrom extended her ideas to the development of a more complex framework for the analysis of Social-Ecological Systems (Ostrom, 2009). Moreover, even when applying the IAD framework, the specific context shaped the research protocols. For example, as reported in Hayes and Ostrom (2005), Ostrom and colleagues associated with the Center for the Study of Institutions, Population, and Environmental Change (CIPEC) and the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, both at Indiana University, developed a complex question-based framework tailored for analyzing forests:

Our research team spent two years developing a series of ten protocols that enable scholars to examine the impact of diverse ways of owning and governing forests (such as individual ownership, joint ownership by a community, etc.). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) interdisciplinary or methodological blinders, problems akin to the model-induced myopia discussed above. The IAD framework structures a common set of research questions to apply across diverse contexts. Ostrom (2005: 28-29) explained the relationships between a research framework, theories, and models: The development and use of a general framework helps to identify the elements (and the relationships among these elements) that one needs to consider for institutional analysis. Frameworks . . . provide the most general set of variables that should be used to analyze all types of settings relevant for the framework. . . The development and use of theories enable the analyst to specify which components of a framework are relevant for certain kinds of questions and to make broad working assumptions about these elements. Thus, theories focus on parts of a framework and make specific assumptions that are necessary for an analyst to diagnose a phenomenon, explain its processes, and predict outcomes. . . Microeconomic theory, game theory, transaction cost theory, social choice theory, public choice, constitutional and covenantal theory, and theories of public goods and common-pool resources are all compatible with the IAD framework (Ostrom, 2006). The development and use of models make precise assumptions about a limited set of parameters and variables. Logic, mathematics, game theory models, experimentation and simulation, and other means are used to explore the consequences of these assumptions systematically on a limited set of outcomes. Multiple models are compatible with most theories. . . The framework-driven approach is functionalist. It seeks to integrate theoretical and empirical research in coherent manner. Critically, Ostrom did not reject theories or models, but instead

embraced the idea that different theories and models could work better for some observed phenomena than for others. The IAD framework aims to systematize research efforts by facilitating a more rigorous evaluation by matching and testing of theories and models with observed phenomena, and most generally, enable learning over time (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 678). It depends heavily on empirical data, and consequently, on a systematic approach to gathering data. The IAD framework identifies the most general set of variables that should be used to analyze all types of settings relevant for the framework and divides the investigation of such variables into groups. The first group is exogenous variables and includes biophysical characteristics, community attributes, and rules-in-use (or governance mechanisms). With respect to the

community, and different forms of government ownership) on investment, harvesting, protection, and managing activities and their consequences on forest conditions, including biodiversity (Hayes and Ostrom, 2005: 603–604). She did reject the idea of a one-size-fits-all theory. The following four paragraphs are adapted from Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg (2010a: 678–680). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013) analysis of a particular situation, these attributes of a commons are fixed. In the case of the lobster fishery, for example, these attributes might include the relevant biological characteristics of lobsters, such as the rates at which they age and reproduce; attributes of the community of fishermen, such as the proximity in which they live to others, the existence of familial relationships, and the skill sets needed for lobster fishing; and the rules explicit or informal that govern fishing. The second group is the action arena, which refers to the social space where participants with diverse preferences interact, exchange goods and services, solve problems, dominate one another, or fight (among the many things that individuals do in action arenas) (Ostrom, 2005: 14). In other words, the action arena is the context in which the exogenous variables combine in particular instances, leading over time to observed patterns of interactions and outcomes. Ostrom's work emphasizes the diversity of possible combinations of exogenous variables that determine what actually happens in particular instances and, hence, the outcomes that result. The rules governing lobster fishing contribute to the activity's long-term sustainability, for example, but the patterns of interaction actually observed depend on the richness of the particular environment for lobsters, the degree to which rules are actually enforced, seasonal factors such as weather, and interaction with outside influences such as pollution and the state of the larger economy. Understanding the observed success or failure of a commons enterprise such as a lobster fishery may require accounting for all of these factors, even though it may turn out that outcomes are relatively impervious to some of them. The foundation of the framework-driven analysis is structuring questions in clusters about the exogenous variables, the action arena, and the patterns of interactions and outcomes. This approach aims to systematize data gathering across complex, diverse phenomena while remaining amenable to diverse disciplinary perspectives and empirical methodologies. One interesting aspect of the IAD framework is its accommodation of and heavy reliance on case studies. Case studies are an important component to the research program because case studies provide rich, detailed descriptions of institutional arrangements in context. In

addition, case studies provide feedback for the research framework itself. Of course, case studies also slow

To implement the IAD framework, Ostrom and her collaborators employed a three-pronged approach: First, they engaged in a broad range of case studies of natural resource commons to form a basis for a bottom-up practice-based taxonomy of successful and unsuccessful approaches to resource management. Second, they developed a framework, based on the initial case studies, for identifying the variables that are significant in determining the success or failure of a commons enterprise and of the viability of institutions in particular contexts. Third, they preserved flexibility in their framework so that it could be adapted and revised in response to learning derived from the case studies. Based on the information obtained by applying their framework to structured case studies, they developed theories and models for particular commons situations, designed experiments to test those theories, and advanced a set of design principles for successful natural resource commons (Madison, Frischmann and Strandburg, 2010a: 676-677). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2252133> Journal of Institutional Economics (forthcoming 2013)

Things down, making the empirical work more laborious, contentious, and incremental. Arguably, this is a virtue. Good (social) scientific research often takes time. A framework-driven approach is particularly attractive for studying the complex interactions between ecological and social (institutional) systems because of the many different disciplines and methodologies that must be brought to bear if progress is to be made (Ostrom, 2009). Ostrom's embrace of complexity goes further than studying reality and adopting a framework to accommodate different theories and methodologies. She also embraced collaboration among different people, disciplines, and cultures. She worked hard to establish a common ground in the fractured academic world of the natural and social sciences (Becker and Ostrom, 1995: 114). Her work was forcefully interdisciplinary, and throughout her career, she called on various disciplines to remove their disciplinary blinders. In her Presidential Address to the American Political Science Association, for example, Ostrom called for expansion of the type of research methods regularly used in political science and suggested that more understanding is required across the social and biological sciences (Ostrom, 1998).

Ostrom recognized that studying commons requires a kind of commons of its own, an interdisciplinary community for sharing skills, knowledge, research, and experience. So she built one. With an ad hoc group of scholars including political scientists, anthropologists, economists, historians, and natural resource managers she founded the International Association for the Study of the Commons. She was the first President of the IASC. The IASC's three goals are 1. to encourage exchange of knowledge among diverse disciplines, areas, and resource types; 2. to foster mutual exchange of scholarship and practical experience; and 3. to promote appropriate institutional design. In pursuit of these goals, the IASC hosts major international conferences, publishes The Commons Digest and the International Journal of the Commons, and engages in many other activities that promote knowledge sharing and build social capital and connections among those concerned with commons.

Ostrom's legacy is most vividly seen in the thousands of people around the world, in many different disciplines and professional settings, who consider themselves a part of the research commons she helped construct.

\n\n
 \n12 Actually, she built many. Of particular note, with her husband Vincent Ostrom, also a renowned political \n\nscientist, she founded the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis. The Workshop is an autonomous \n\nresearch center at Indiana University dedicated to the interdisciplinary, collaborative, and comparative study of \n\ninstitutions (see Indiana University Bloomington, 2008). In honor of the couple, IU renamed the workshop, The \n\nVincent and Elinor\n\nThe file is too long and its contents have been truncated.\n", "cloud_doc_url": null}, {"matched_text": "\u30109\u2020source\u3011", "start_idx": 3990, "end_idx": 4000, "alt": null, "type": "file", "name": "Week 1_Beyond the Tragedy of the Commons.pdf", "id": "file-kY5KZqqCLsf87fkcfF02e0Bt", "source": "my_files", "snippet": "\nContents lists available at ScienceDirect\n\nEnergy Research & Social Science\n\njournal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/erss\n\nPerspectives\n\nBeyond the tragedy of the commons: Reframing effective climate change\ngovernance\n\nAnthony Patt\nETH Z\u00fcrich, Switzerland\n\nA R T I C L E I N F O\n\nKeywords:\nClimate policy\nTragedy of the commons\nGlobal commons problem\nTechnological transitions\n\nA B S T R A C T\n\nThe tragedy of the commons provides a powerful narrative for a class of environmental problems, and serves to\nframe them in a way that allows people to identify effective solution strategies. But the problem frame also rests\non a set of factual and value-based assumptions, and is inappropriate to guide decision-making when these\nassumptions are violated. The climate change mitigation challenge \u2013 reducing greenhouse gas emissions, mainly\nfrom the energy sector, to limit global warming to less than 1.5 or 2 \u00b0C \u2013 violates these assumptions. Climate\nchange requires us not to reduce, but to completely prohibit greenhouse gas emissions. Before any such\nprohibition is feasible, it is first essential to develop a clean energy system that can meet our basic needs. The\nmain barriers to this are not economic, but rather are associated with evolving knowledge, networks, and\ninstitutions. Framing climate change in evolutionary terms can help us to appraise policy options more\neffectively, and ultimately identify those that get us where we need to go.\n\n1. The tragedy of the commons\n\nThe biologist and ethnic nationalist Garrett Hardin wanted society\nto restrict people\u2019s reproductive freedom, and believed that only those\nparents who would raise their children the right way should be entitled\nto have babies [1,2]. To support this politically charged belief, Hardin\ndeveloped an argument based on the idea of the tragedy of the commons,\na game theoretic model involving farmers\u2019 letting their cows graze on\nthe communally owned village green [3]. Every farmer obtains the full\nbenefit of placing an extra cow on the commons to graze, while\nsuffering only a small share of the cost to the community as a whole,\nin terms of less grass being available to the other cows. Overgrazing is\nthe inevitable equilibrium, unless the community as a whole steps in.\n\nLimiting the number of cows, and ideally allocating them to those\nfarmers who can manage them most profitably, is the obvious solution.\n\nThe lesson transferred well to the point Hardin was trying to make\nabout people in his now famous article.\n\nToday, few would use a tragedy of the commons framing, or related\nterms such as commons problem, common pool resource problem, or\nexternalities problem, to describe the issue of human population growth.\n\nThis is largely because the world has witnessed birthrates falling\nglobally, on most continents to below replacement levels, as a result\nof factors Hardin didn\u2019t consider: the education of women, reductions in\ninfant mortality, and urbanization [4,5]. But most analysts do use\nHardin\u2019s idea to describe other environmental

problems, most notably climate change, and based on this framing suggest a strategy similar to what Hardin advocated [6]. The framing may be appropriate for some of these problems, fisheries management being an example that comes to mind. But it is not appropriate for climate change, and the sooner we stop framing climate change in this way, the better. As a starting point, it is worth considering what the key aspects of a commons problem actually are. Hardin himself described four, and these are as valid today as they were then. First, of course, there needs to be a common pool resource, such as the grass on a village green, or the global carrying capacity for people. Second, there needs to be a use of that resource, or an activity that depletes it, that is legitimate and valuable, accepted by society at large. In Hardin's model, we do want cows to graze on the village green, as long as they do so productively, just as we do want a planet that is home to people. In fact, because the use is so valuable, we want to ensure that it takes place in a manner that is both optimal and sustainable. Third, the common-pool nature of the resource has to be the thing that leads people to overuse or over-deplete the resource, to the point that is clearly suboptimal, perhaps even exceeding its sustainable limits. Fourth, there cannot be a technical solution. By this, Hardin meant that it is not possible to use technology to expand the resource in order to continually accommodate the growing use. The tragedy of the commons acts a problem frame. The effect of a problem frame is to take a complex issue which affects multiple values and can be considered from a variety of perspectives and to simplify it around one particular conceptualization, leading to one particular solution strategy [7]. In the case of this framing, it is the third

aspect
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 listed in the paragraph above that is crucial. The common-pool ownership structure, meaning that agents do not pay the full cost of their use, is seen as the driving force behind their overuse. Framing a problem as a tragedy of the commons automatically implies that if one could privatize the ownership structure, or make the agents pay the full costs to society of their use of the resource, then an optimal outcome would be achieved. In the case of a village green, the easy solution is to divide it up with fences, and have each subdivided plot belong to a single farmer. In the case of a resource that cannot be subdivided so easily, like the global carrying capacity for humans, then the solution is only slightly more complicated. Either one has to establish a limited number of rights to use the resource, and allocate these to people in advance, or one has to charge people ex post for their use of the resource. An important feature of the model is that the solution increases the resource's overall productivity. And that means that as long as the allocation mechanism or tax is fair, then reaching an agreement to privatize the use rights or internalize their costs should be politically feasible. But the usefulness of such policy guidance depends on the underlying applicability of the problem frame. The presence of a

common pool resource does not guarantee that Hardin's solution strategy is the best; the problem frame ceases to provide useful guidance if any of the other three criteria are violated. A case that illustrates failure on the second of the four criteria is the act of murdering one's neighbor. This depletes the common pool resource of public safety, but murder is not an activity that we want, so we don't solve it by imposing a tax or allocating a limited number of permits. We prohibit it. To illustrate failure on the third criterion, drinking alcohol is a behavior that we tolerate in moderation, and even encourage in some situations, but when people get drunk and start breaking things, they become a public nuisance. Yet we don't believe that internalizing the cost of drunken behavior will get the person on the verge of intoxication to say no to another drink. So we address it by other means, including charging bartenders with cutting people off, and providing treatment programs for alcoholism. To illustrate failure on the fourth criterion, the local public school may be overcrowded, but we can solve this by enlarging the building and hiring more teachers. So we do that, rather than limiting the number of places available or imposing high school fees. Failure on any of these criteria matters. Climate change fails on all three.

2. Why climate change fails the tragedy of the commons criteria

Many people see the 2015 Paris Agreement as representing a turning point in climate governance, but in fact the events that foreshadowed Paris occurred a decade prior to then, culminating in 2007. It was then that the idea of the 2 °C target gained popularity, based on risk management arguments, and was incorporated into a global action plan agreed to in Bali, Indonesia, at the closing of a failed set of negotiations to extend or replace the Kyoto Protocol [8]. Paris built on this decision, and added an additional level of ambition by suggesting the desirability of limiting climate change to 1.5 °C. More importantly, Paris set up a process that could help countries to take the steps to achieve one or the other, in terms of a regular global stocktake, as well as a set of mechanisms to provide financial and capacity-building support to developing countries.

The one thing that the Paris Agreement does not include is a set of negotiated binding national targets, of the kind that are the heart of the Kyoto Protocol. In fact, the failed desire to include such binding targets is what led to the eight-year delay, starting in Bali. And yet this failure should not surprise us, for a simple reason. The tragedy of the commons framing suggests that negotiating binding targets should be politically infeasible, with the main hurdle being the identification of a mutually acceptable allocation rule for the net benefits. But this presupposes that the global target is one that will maximize the value to society of whatever activity it is that degrades the common pool resource. Partial decarbonization as per Kyoto could take place by eliminating inefficiencies in the energy system, and arguably could deliver immediate net economic benefits; negotiating the allocation rule took less than two years. Achieving the Paris targets of 2 °C or 1.5 °C, however, requires that net anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere cease entirely in the second half of this century [11].

Finding immediate net benefits to allocate that are associated with a complete halting of emissions is more or less impossible, and so negotiating such an agreement required convincing people to pay attention to large benefits anticipated in the future, in some cases centuries hence [12,8]. So the temperature target qualitatively changed the character of negotiations, making them far more difficult, arguably impossible. More fundamentally, the need to eliminate emissions entirely,

essentially as soon as possible, makes those emissions something that society will no longer tolerate. So climate change fails the second of the four criteria Hardin identified, just like murder.

There has been another major change since about 2007, and that is the recognition that the medium-term costs of eliminating greenhouse gas emissions are likely to be trivial, and may in fact be negative, even before considering the long-term benefits from avoided climate impacts [13,14]. What drove this recognition was the realization from the field of evolutionary economics that policies to expand renewable energy also make them cheaper [15,16]. This fact has become especially salient lately, as the costs of supplying energy from some renewable resources have fallen to below those of fossil fuels [17], especially if one takes into account local environmental effects such as air pollution or water demand [18]. A study in the United States, for example, examined the avoided local and regional environmental impacts associated with installing wind and solar power instead of new coal capacity, and found the value of those impacts to be far larger than the difference in cost between the two technologies [19]. As another example, the costs to own and drive an electric car charged by wind or solar power are approaching parity with those of a conventional gasoline model, at least under some conditions [20].

These trends suggest two additional ways in which the tragedy of the commons framing fails for climate change. First, there is no longer a necessary misalignment of incentives between the emitters of greenhouse gases and society at large. Every country, with the possible exception of major oil and gas exporters, has reason to mitigate climate change and transform its national energy sector away from fossil fuels, regardless of what other countries may do. Every household will soon have a financial incentive to stop burning oil and gas, regardless of what their neighbors do. So if fossil fuels are still in business, it will not be because of an unjust cost advantage, born from the existence of an externality. Climate change is like the example of public drunkenness: internalizing the cost will not change anything qualitatively. Second, it now appears that a technical solution does exist for climate change. Integrated assessment models suggest that by switching to non-fossil energy sources, we can continue to see global economic activity grow, at roughly the same pace, even as greenhouse gas emissions come to a halt [21]. Climate change is like enlarging the public school.

3. Framing today's challenge in evolutionary terms

But we still have a problem needing to be solved. Using electric cars as an example, a household may soon have a financial incentive to switch over from their gasoline model, but it will not do so unless there is a dense network of charging stations where they want to take long trips. At the same time, there is no business case to install such a network as long as the number of electric cars on the road remains low. This is a chicken and egg problem: you need a chicken to get an egg, but an egg to get a chicken. Similar problems exist across the energy sector.

At the most general level, we need to prohibit greenhouse gas emissions, which almost certainly means prohibiting fossil fuels. But which comes first: prohibition, or clean energy? Before prohibition can be politically and socially feasible, we need a clean energy system that

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is good enough to sustain us. Yet given more than a century already spent improving and optimizing an energy system based on fossil fuels, the first steps towards a clean energy system are necessarily expensive, clunky, and unreliable. Most of the improvements to the clean energy system built around new knowledge, networks, and institutions only come once we start relying on

it. Progress can occur, but without policy intervention, it will be slow. It took millions of years to get a chicken when the starting point was a dinosaur. Accelerating evolution is the key challenge for climate policy. Just as the tragedy of the commons framing offered clear guidance in terms of the appropriate policy instruments, so too does an evolutionary framing, based on insights from the emerging scientific study of socio-technical transitions [22]. Our policy instruments need to be those that build the new knowledge, networks, and institutions that will enable a clean energy system to function smoothly and affordably, which is a prerequisite to phasing out fossil fuels. When we think about all of the policies that support renewable energy innovation and deployment — state-sponsored R & D, tax credits or feed-in tariffs for project developers, and streamlined permitting processes for green infrastructure — that is exactly what is going on. As they create a new system that is viable, these policies lay the groundwork for a second generation of sectoral regulations, already beginning to appear, which prevent new investment into fossil fuel infrastructure. If you frame climate change as an evolutionary problem, it is this sequence of policy instruments that makes the most sense [23]. The issue of how we frame climate change mitigation is important, precisely because the two framings point us in different directions with respect to policy. When there is a true tragedy of the commons, then neo-classical economics and game theory provide a solid basis to favor market-based instruments, those that allocate limited rights to deplete the resource or internalize the costs of doing so [24]. Confusion can arise, however, because proponents of market-based instruments also suggest that these will provide the needed stimulus for innovation, promoting systemic change [25,26]. But just because these instruments are the best solution to one kind of problem does not mean they are very good or effective with respect to another. In fact, a growing literature shows that they aren't, and that the effective policies to stimulate a transition are those that directly support the development of new knowledge, networks, and institutions, directly addressing the barriers to systemic change [27]. The choice of how we frame climate change dictates the terms by which we evaluate the relative strengths and weaknesses of the different possible solution strategies. Judged by the appropriate criteria, market instruments are generally a poor fit. The tragedy of the commons framing made sense at a time when we believed that people needed to adjust the energy system at the margins, and believed that the cost of doing so would be high. We no longer believe these things. The atmosphere may be a common pool resource, but using it as a place to put our greenhouse gas emissions is no longer something for which we have any long-term rights to allocate. To prohibit dumping our greenhouse gases there, we first need to accelerate a technological transition towards non-fossil sources of energy, for which the main barriers have to do with knowledge and networks, rather than an inherent difference in cost. Policies providing active and direct governmental support for new technologies and technological systems can change the conditions that hold the new technologies back. In fact they have already done a great deal; they have led to a dramatic decline in the costs of key energy technologies, and contributed to the possibility that global emissions have already peaked. There is still more work to be done, and we can solve climate change if we build on what we have learned. At all costs, we should resist the temptation to reverse course because the policies don't fit one man's convenient story of too many cows on a village green.

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drew you to this program, and what you hope to learn or gain as a skill set in this
course. Why is sustainable resource management important to you? Is there a specific
issue or sectoral focus that you would like to apply this learning to? What are the
underlying values and perspectives on resource use and community vs. individualism
that undergird the theories of Hardin\u2019s \u2018tragedy of the commons\u2019 vs.
Ostrom\u2019s \u2018community governance\u2019? What assumptions did Hardin make and
explain why you agree or disagree? What are the different systems \u2018controls\u2019
(i.e., regulation, policy, community engagement) used in each of these types of
ideology?\n\n\nDoes the passage below adequately answer the prompt above? \n\nMy name
is Alexis, and I am deeply interested in sustainable resource management in an
observational capacity. This interest led me to the Claremont Lincolns Organizational
Leadership Master the holistic learning practices align well with my own thoughts,
beliefs and philosophy towards living and working in community. I have always been
particularly fascinated by the politics and interplay of personalities and egos that
occur when an individual begins to influence a process towards a common goal or
objective (Northouse, 2019). The mechanics of this influence process, especially in
the context of sustainable resource management, sparks my interest and curiosity
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greatly. . \n Values and Perspectives on Resource Use\nGarrett Hardin's
'Tragedy of the Commons' posits that individuals acting independently and
rationally according to each one's self-interest behave contrary to the whole
group's long-term best interests by depleting a common resource. This theory is
undergirded by the values of individualism and the assumption that resources are
limited and must be protected from overuse by individual actors. Hardin's
approach often suggests regulatory or privatization solutions to manage
resources.\nElinor Ostrom's 'Community Governance' counters the tragedy
by showing how local communities can successfully manage resources without external
controls or privatization, through collective action and self-governance. Her theory
is grounded in values of community, mutual benefits, and adaptability, demonstrating
that collective, context-specific solutions can sustainably manage
resources.\nAssumptions in Hardin's Theory\nHardin assumes that:\nRational
Individuals: People act independently based on rational self-interest, leading
inevitably to resource overuse.\nLimited Resources: Resources are finite and must be
either regulated or privatized to prevent depletion.\nNecessity of External
Intervention: External authorities or privatization are needed to manage resources
sustainably.\nWhile I find Hardin's view helpful in understanding certain
dilemmas like pollution or overfishing, I also recognize its limitations in accounting
for the complexities of human behavior and the potential for cooperative governance
seen in Ostrom's work. Ostrom's approach, on the other hand, acknowledges
the capabilities of communities to create rules and institutions that manage resources
effectively without external enforcement. I respect both these theories and believe
that a balanced discussion on them will enrich our understanding of sustainable
resource management.\nSystems of Controls\nHardin's Solutions: Often involve top-
down regulations or privatizing resources to align individual incentives with societal
good.\nOstrom's Solutions: Focus on bottom-up, community-based management where
rules are adapted to specific local conditions and resource systems, demonstrating
flexibility and adaptability."}], "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": null,
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provided does a good job of introducing the individual, their motivations for joining
the program, and their interest in sustainable resource management. It also
effectively outlines the fundamental differences and underpinning values of
Hardin's 'Tragedy of the Commons' and Ostrom's 'Community
Governance' theories, as well as the assumptions of each and the types of
controls they advocate. Here's a breakdown of how well it addresses each
component of the prompt:\n\n1. **Introduction and Motivation**: Alexis introduces
herself and explains her interest in the program and sustainable resource management.
However, she could elaborate more specifically on what skills or knowledge she hopes
to gain from the program.\n\n2. **Values and Perspectives on Resource Use**: The
response clearly delineates the contrasting values between Hardin and Ostrom. It
highlights individualism and communal approaches, effectively setting the stage for
discussing their implications on resource management.\n\n3. **Hardin's

Assumptions**: The passage succinctly outlines Hardin's assumptions about rational self-interest and the necessity of external interventions like regulation or privatization. Alexis mentions her agreement with some of Hardin's points but also acknowledges the theory's limitations, which is a balanced approach.

4. **Systems of Controls**: Both Hardin's and Ostrom's preferred systems of controls are explained, illustrating the difference between top-down regulatory approaches and bottom-up community-based approaches. This part of the response effectively contrasts the operational ideologies of both theorists.

5. **Application of Learning**: This is one area where the response could improve. Alexis mentions her interest in the politics and personality interplay in resource management but does not specify a particular sector or issue where she aims to apply her learning. Clarifying this could strengthen her narrative and show a direct application of her anticipated learning.

6. **Underlying Values and Community vs. Individualism**: The passage mentions the underpinning values of both theories but could delve deeper into how these values impact the theories' feasibility and effectiveness in different contexts. Discussing specific scenarios or case studies could enhance this section.

7. **Agreement or Disagreement with Hardin**: Alexis does a good job of stating why she both agrees and disagrees with Hardin's assumptions, providing a nuanced view that recognizes the complexity of sustainable resource management.

Overall, the passage adequately answers the prompt but could be enhanced by more explicitly stating the skills Alexis hopes to develop, detailing the specific applications of her learning, and providing examples to further illustrate the practical implications of Hardin's and Ostrom's theories in real-world scenarios."}], "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": true, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"finish_details": {"type": "stop", "stop_tokens": [100260]}, "citations": [], "gizmo_id": null, "is_complete": true, "message_type": null, "model_slug": "gpt-4", "default_model_slug": "gpt-4", "pad": "AAAAA", "parent_id": "aaa21c6e-18f8-48f8-be06-0ba352fa6004", "request_id": "87e14f5b5c07bb05-MXP", "timestamp": "absolute"}, "recipient": "all", "channel": null, "parent": "aaa21c6e-18f8-48f8-be06-0ba352fa6004", "children": []}, "moderation_results": [], "current_node": "47868233-2443-4e14-a517-dbb68d0f5bbc", "plugin_ids": null, "conversation_id": "861a93ed-53ff-487d-a46a-aecd76c81009", "conversation_template_id": null, "gizmo_id": null, "is_archived": false, "safe_urls": [], "default_model_slug": "gpt-4", "conversation_origin": null, "voice": null, "async_status": null, "id": "861a93ed-53ff-487d-a46a-aecd76c81009", {"title": "Olive Oil Sustainability Summit", "create_time": 1714746761.642918, "update_time": 1714749114.275024, "mapping": {"b3716243-e69a-4ac2-8b72-a8869cd41a16": {"id": "b3716243-e69a-4ac2-8b72-a8869cd41a16", "message": {"id": "b3716243-e69a-4ac2-8b72-a8869cd41a16", "author": {"role": "system", "name": null, "metadata": {}}, "create_time": null, "update_time": null, "content": {"content_type": "text", "parts": [""]}, "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": true, "weight": 0.0, "metadata": {"is_visually_hidden_from_conversation": true}, "recipient": "all", "channel": null, "parent": "aaal8757-bef6-4524-84e6-54271ad3bela", "children": ["aaa2e1c0-428c-4518-b62b-41885f09edcb", "aaa201b3-3b78-4c7b-8eae-ec5fcdabc3d7b"]}, "aaal8757-bef6-4524-84e6-54271ad3bela": {"id": "aaal8757-bef6-4524-84e6-54271ad3bela", "message": null, "parent": null, "children": ["b3716243-e69a-4ac2-8b72-a8869cd41a16"]}, "aaa2e1c0-428c-4518-b62b-41885f09edcb": {"id": "aaa2e1c0-428c-4518-b62b-41885f09edcb", "message": {"id": "aaa2e1c0-428c-4518-b62b-41885f09edcb", "author": {"role": "user", "name": null, "metadata": {}}, "create_time":

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development.

Moderator: And finally, Ms. Legis, how would you argue for the implementation of these sustainability measures?

Ms. Legis: It's not just about the environment or ethical production; it's about future-proofing an entire industry. Italy's reputation for quality olive oil can be enhanced with a strong commitment to sustainability, appealing to a global market that increasingly values these practices. The government should support this transition through subsidies and tax incentives to ease the financial burden on producers.

Moderator: Thank you all for your insightful contributions. It's clear that while challenges exist, the path to sustainability in the Italian olive oil industry is not only necessary but also beneficial for all stakeholders involved.

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\n"Currently, the sustainability rating of the Italian olive oil sector varies. While some producers adhere to organic and sustainable practices, others lag behind due to cost and complexity. Key areas for improvement include reducing water consumption, minimizing pesticide use, and ensuring fair labor conditions."\n\n**[Interview clip with a producer discussing sustainable practices]**\n\n**Producer:** \n"Implementing sustainable practices is not just about environmental responsibility; it's about securing the future of our industry and our communities."\n\n**[Cut to scenes of bottling and labeling in a factory]**\n\n**Narrator:** \n"Making a case for further sustainability measures involves weighing benefits against potential burdens. Enhanced sustainability can lead to better soil health, reduced water usage, and a stronger global reputation for quality and responsibility."\n\n**[Graphical representation of potential systems changes, like water recycling systems and organic certification processes]**\n\n**Narrator:** \n"However, these changes come with complexities and costs. Transitioning to fully sustainable systems may involve significant investment in new technologies and training for farmers. The enforcement of these measures would require robust certification processes and regulatory oversight."\n\n**[Closing shot of a family enjoying a meal with a bottle of olive oil on the table]**\n\n**Narrator:** \n"The question remains: Do the environmental and social benefits of advancing sustainability in olive oil production outweigh the challenges? And how can we, as a global community, support these transitions?"\n\n**[Fade out with text on screen inviting viewers to discuss]**\n\n**Narrator:** \n"Join the discussion in our course forum. Share your views on how Italy's olive oil industry can evolve sustainably. Your insights can help shape the future of sustainable resource management."\n\n---\n\nThis script aims to engage students by providing a balanced view of the current state of sustainability in olive oil production in Italy, the challenges of implementing further measures, and the potential benefits of such changes.']],

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challenge of enhancing sustainability. While some producers have adopted organic and sustainable practices, there is still considerable variability across the industry. Key areas for improvement include reducing water usage, minimizing the use of pesticides, and ensuring fair labor practices. These changes are essential not only for environmental health but also for preserving the industry's longevity and reputation globally.

Implementing additional sustainability measures, however, involves a complex balance of benefits against potential burdens. On one hand, adopting more sustainable practices could lead to improved soil health, reduced environmental footprint, and enhanced market positioning for Italian olive oil as a product of ethical production. On the other hand, the transition requires significant investment in new technologies and systems, as well as training for farmers to adapt to new sustainable methods. The costs and complexities associated with these changes pose a significant challenge for many producers, especially smaller operations.

The enforcement of these sustainability measures would likely require a robust framework of certification and regulation. While the initial costs and effort to shift toward complete sustainability are considerable, the long-term environmental and social benefits could outweigh these challenges. It is crucial to consider how these measures can be effectively enforced and supported by both national policies and international cooperation to ensure a successful transition for the industry. The discussion now turns to how we can collectively support these changes and ensure that the benefits of sustainable practices reach all stakeholders involved. "}], "status":

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these ideas succinctly in 7 slides or less: \n\nGPT\nValues and Perspectives on
Resource Use\nGarrett Hardin's Tragedy of the Commons; posits that
individuals acting independently and rationally according to each one's self-
interest behave contrary to the whole group's long-term best interests by
depleting a common resource. This theory is undergirded by the values of individualism
and the assumption that resources are limited and must be protected from overuse by
individual actors. Hardin's approach often suggests regulatory or privatization
solutions to manage resources.\n\nElinor Ostrom's Community Governance;
counters the tragedy by showing how local communities can successfully manage
resources without external controls or privatization, through collective action and
self-governance. Her theory is grounded in values of community, mutual benefits, and
adaptability, demonstrating that collective, context-specific solutions can
sustainably manage resources.\n\nAssumptions in Hardin's Theory\nHardin assumes
that:\n\nRational Individuals: People act independently based on rational self-

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interest, leading inevitably to resource overuse.

Limited Resources: Resources are finite and must be either regulated or privatized to prevent depletion.

Necessity of External Intervention: External authorities or privatization are needed to manage resources sustainably.

I would argue that while Hardin's view helps understand certain dilemmas like pollution or overfishing, it does not account for the complexities of human behavior and the potential for cooperative governance seen in Ostrom's work. Ostrom's approach acknowledges the capabilities of communities to create rules and institutions that manage resources effectively without external enforcement.

Systems of Controls

Hardin's Solutions: Often involve top-down regulations or privatizing resources to align individual incentives with societal good.

Ostrom's Solutions: Focus on bottom-up, community-based management where rules are adapted to specific local conditions and resource systems, demonstrating flexibility and adaptability."}], "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": null, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"request_id": "87e0e29e5bad0e61-MXP", "timestamp_": "absolute", "message_type": null}, "recipient": "all", "channel": null}, "parent": "0c668ce2-86c9-4bac-a705-5977ded7c462", "children": ["635fa523-eb8a-4710-89ec-dbca83068b01", "844aa9f8-efd3-41d0-ac0d-5d368a12d537"]}, "635fa523-eb8a-4710-89ec-dbca83068b01": {"id": "635fa523-eb8a-4710-89ec-dbca83068b01", "message": {"id": "635fa523-eb8a-4710-89ec-dbca83068b01", "author": {"role": "assistant", "name": null, "metadata": {}}, "create_time": 1714745791.967094, "update_time": null, "content": {"content_type": "text", "parts": ["Hello! Excited to bring your visions to life? Start your creative journey with Canva. What will we design together today?"]}, "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": false, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"finish_details": {"type": "stop", "stop_tokens": [100265]}, "citations": [], "gizmo_id": "g-alKfVrz9K", "is_complete": true, "message_type": null, "model_slug": "gpt-4", "default_model_slug": "gpt-4", "pad": "AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA", "parent_id": "aaa2c810-c8fe-48a2-9214-a79275959875", "request_id": "87e0de4b58a2ba80-MXP", "timestamp_": "absolute"}, "recipient": "all", "channel": null}, "parent": "aaa2c810-c8fe-48a2-9214-a79275959875", "children": ["2140b135-7712-4722-8363-0241859df81d"]}, "2140b135-7712-4722-8363-0241859df81d": {"id": "2140b135-7712-4722-8363-0241859df81d", "message": {"id": "2140b135-7712-4722-8363-0241859df81d", "author": {"role": "assistant", "name": null, "metadata": {}}, "create_time": 1714745791.971628, "update_time": null, "content": {"content_type": "code", "language": "json", "response_format_name": null, "text": "<div>query</div>: <div>PowerPoint presentation on Tragedy of the Commons vs Community Governance, 7 slides</div>,
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["GPT\nValues and Perspectives on Resource Use\nGarrett Hardin's 's 'Tragedy of
the Commons' posits that individuals acting independently and rationally
according to each one's self-interest behave contrary to the whole group's
long-term best interests by depleting a common resource. This theory is undergirded by
the values of individualism and the assumption that resources are limited and must be
protected from overuse by individual actors. Hardin's approach often suggests
regulatory or privatization solutions to manage resources.\n\nElinor Ostrom's
'Community Governance' counters the tragedy by showing how local communities
can successfully manage resources without external controls or privatization, through
collective action and self-governance. Her theory is grounded in values of community,
mutual benefits, and adaptability, demonstrating that collective, context-specific
solutions can sustainably manage resources.\n\nAssumptions in Hardin's
Theory\nHardin assumes that:\n\nRational Individuals: People act independently based
on rational self-interest, leading inevitably to resource overuse.\nLimited Resources:
Resources are finite and must be either regulated or privatized to prevent
depletion.\nNecessity of External Intervention: External authorities or privatization
are needed to manage resources sustainably.\nI would argue that while Hardin's
view helps understand certain dilemmas like pollution or overfishing, it does not
account for the complexities of human behavior and the potential for cooperative
governance seen in Ostrom's work. Ostrom's approach acknowledges the
capabilities of communities to create rules and institutions that manage resources
effectively without external enforcement.\n\nSystems of Controls\nHardin's

Solutions: Often involve top-down regulations or privatizing resources to align individual incentives with societal good.

Ostrom's Solutions: Focus on bottom-up, community-based management where rules are adapted to specific local conditions and resource systems, demonstrating flexibility and adaptability.

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conditions for a U.S. brand of clothing) and research their sustainability measures,
transparency, and supply chain management. Do they have a sustainability or ethical
production rating? Where could they improve their production or manufacturing? Make an
argument for or against implementing additional sustainability measures. Would the
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production in the Italian olive oil industry, addressing the key points required by your assignment. Here's a proposed outline for the presentation:

1. Introduction

- Overview of the olive oil production industry in Italy.
- Importance to Italy's agriculture and economy.
- Brief on sustainability and ethical challenges.

2. Sustainability Measures in the Italian Olive Oil Industry

- Description of organic farming practices.
- Use of modern irrigation systems.
- Impact on biodiversity and environmental conservation.

3. Ethical Production and Regulations

- EU regulations on environmental protection and labor rights.
- Importance of PDO and PGI certifications.
- How these certifications support ethical production.

4. Current Challenges and Areas for Improvement

- Carbon footprint of packaging and distribution.
- Need for greater transparency in supply chains.

5. Arguments for Additional Sustainability Measures

- Potential environmental and social benefits.
- How these measures could support rural communities and preserve cultural heritage.

6. Enforcement of Sustainability Measures

- Role of national regulations and EU policies.
- Potential involvement of industry associations like Assitol.

7. Economic Considerations

- Costs associated with adopting sustainable technologies.
- Discussion of potential long-term gains and government incentives.

8. System Change Challenges

- Challenges faced by small-scale farms.
- Benefits of cooperative models and shared resources.

9. Conclusion

- Summary of the benefits of enhancing sustainability in the industry.
- Reflection on the balance of costs and benefits.
- Potential impact of adopting Elinor Ostrom's community governance approach.

10. Questions and Discussion

This structure will provide a comprehensive view of the sustainability practices in the Italian olive oil industry, touching on the required aspects of your assignment. Let's go ahead and create the presentation with this structure. Shall I proceed?"]

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Introduction to sustainability and ethical production issues.\n2. **Sustainability Measures and Ethical Production**\n - Highlighting organic farming, modern irrigation systems, and the role of PDO and PGI certifications.\n\n3. **Challenges and Areas for Improvement**\n - Discussion on the carbon footprint, need for transparency, and supply chain management.\n\n4. **Arguments for Additional Sustainability Measures**\n - Environmental and social benefits of proposed sustainability measures.\n - Enforcement mechanisms and the role of industry associations.\n\n5. **Economic and System Change Considerations**\n - Cost implications and potential long-term economic benefits.\n - Challenges for small-scale farms and solutions.\n\n6. **Conclusion**\n - Summarizing the benefits and advocating for increased sustainability measures.\n\nThis revised outline should suit your needs for a concise presentation that covers essential aspects and provides you with clear talking points. Shall I go ahead and prepare the presentation with this outline?"}, {"status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": true, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"finish_details": {"type": "stop", "stop_tokens": [100260]}, "citations": [], "gizmo_id": "g-Vklr0BddI", "is_complete": true, "message_type": null, "model_slug": "gpt-4", "default_model_slug": "gpt-4", "pad": "AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA", "parent_id": "aaa24efa-a352-41ad-a261-d66b96f51f03", "request_id": "87deba63199a5273-MXP", "timestamp_": "absolute"}, "recipient": "all", "channel": null}, {"parent": "aaa24efa-a352-41ad-a261-d66b96f51f03", "children": ["aaa29fad-39e2-4bee-91fd-215ff416077d", "aaa23743-8637-4d58-b051-f65bc8aa13d8"]}, {"parent_id": "aaa29fad-39e2-4bee-91fd-215ff416077d", "message": {"id": "aaa29fad-39e2-4bee-91fd-215ff416077d", "author": {"role": "user", "name": null, "metadata": {}}, "create_time": 1714723358.153533, "update_time": null, "content": {"content_type": "text", "parts": ["yes"]}, "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": null, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"request_id": "87debad9cc4a5273-MXP", "timestamp_": "absolute", "message_type": null}, "recipient": "all", "channel": null}, {"parent": "4180ba9b-491b-40b5-ac50-511d79de51d1", "children": ["dd7de8d9-a7ab-4421-8e5d-a2b5916e341c"]}, {"parent_id": "dd7de8d9-a7ab-4421-8e5d-a2b5916e341c", "message": {"id": "dd7de8d9-a7ab-4421-8e5d-a2b5916e341c", "author": {"role": "assistant", "name": null, "metadata": {}}, "create_time": 1714723371.954764, "update_time": null, "content": {"content_type": "code", "language": "json", "response_format_name": null, "text": "<\/code><\/pre>
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Italy's cultural heritage.

Enforcement

Sustainability measures can be enforced through national regulations that align with EU policies, coupled with incentives for farmers to adopt sustainable practices. Industry associations like Assitol could play a critical role in promoting these practices through education and certification programs.

Complexity and Cost

Adopting advanced sustainable technologies and practices might involve high initial costs, but these can be offset by long-term gains such as increased efficiency, improved product quality, and access to markets that value sustainability. Costs might also be mitigated by government subsidies and EU funding aimed at promoting sustainable agriculture.

System Change Challenges

Transitioning to more sustainable production involves overcoming challenges like the small scale of many olive farms, which can make it difficult to invest in new technologies. However, cooperative models and shared resources among small producers can facilitate this transition.

Conclusion

The Italian olive oil industry's move towards increased sustainability and ethical production is not only feasible but beneficial both environmentally and socially. While challenges exist, particularly in terms of cost and complexity, the long-term benefits of such initiatives significantly outweigh these difficulties. The application of Elinor Ostrom's community governance approach could be particularly effective here, leveraging local knowledge and collective action to manage resources sustainably while preserving the cultural heritage of Italian olive oil production.

that answers these questions;

Choose a real-world example in industry, manufacturing, or in a specific sector (i.e., agricultural company producing palm oil or foreign labor conditions for a U.S. brand of clothing) and research their sustainability measures, transparency, and supply chain management. Do they have a sustainability or ethical production rating? Where could they improve their production or manufacturing? Make an argument for or against implementing additional sustainability measures. Would the benefits to the environment or to people outweigh the burden of implementing these measures? How would they be enforced? Describe briefly, the complexity or cost that may be involved in the systems change necessary to bring the company or sector into sustainability.

And follows this outline more or less :

Introduction

Brief overview of the Italian olive oil industry and its significance.

Introduction to sustainability and ethical production issues.

Sustainability Measures and Ethical Production

Highlighting organic farming, modern irrigation systems, and the role of PDO and PGI certifications.

Challenges and Areas for Improvement

Discussion on the carbon footprint, need for transparency, and supply chain management.

Arguments for Additional Sustainability Measures

Environmental and social benefits of proposed sustainability measures.

Enforcement mechanisms and the role of industry associations.

Economic and System Change Considerations

Cost implications and potential long-term economic benefits.

Challenges for small-scale farms and solutions.

Conclusion

Summarizing the benefits and advocating for increased sustainability measures."}], "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": null, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"request_id": "87dec469bf4ebb2b-MXP", "timestamp_": "absolute", "message_type": null}, "recipient": "all", "channel": null}, "parent": "449aa507-cb74-4161-b97f-d5ea28ecff0c", "children": [{"id": "1cfee6dc-f08f-4c8f-a159-998257aa0e18"}], [{"id": "1cfee6dc-f08f-4c8f-a159-998257aa0e18": {"id": "1cfee6dc-f08f-4c8f-a159-998257aa0e18", "message": {"id": "1cfee6dc-f08f-4c8f-a159-998257aa0e18", "author": {"role": "assistant", "name": null, "metadata": {}}, "create_time": 1714723759.69584, "update_time": null, "content": {"content_type": "text", "parts": ["Hello! Excited to bring your visions to life? Start your creative journey with Canva. What will we

design together today?\n\nLet's craft a professional PowerPoint presentation based on your detailed outline about the Italian olive oil industry and its strides towards sustainability and ethical production. I'll get started on generating a design that captures this informative and critical narrative.\n\nPlease hold on for a moment while I work on your request."]], "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": false, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"finish_details": {"type": "stop", "stop_tokens": [100265]}, "citations": [], "gizmo_id": "g-alKfVrz9K", "is_complete": true, "message_type": null, "model_slug": "gpt-4", "default_model_slug": "gpt-4", "pad": "AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA", "parent_id": "aaa23f4e-f25c-4c4b-b349-36a6e82ada8f", "request_id": "87dec469bf4ebb2b-MXP", "timestamp": "absolute"}, "recipient": "all", "channel": null}, {"parent": "aaa23f4e-f25c-4c4b-b349-36a6e82ada8f", "children": [{"73b10108-bee0-422c-b268-c589b3c1f07f"}], "73b10108-bee0-422c-b268-c589b3c1f07f": {"id": "73b10108-bee0-422c-b268-c589b3c1f07f", "message": {"id": "73b10108-bee0-422c-b268-c589b3c1f07f", "author": {"role": "assistant", "name": null, "metadata": {}}, "create_time": 1714723759.700104, "update_time": null, "content": {"content_type": "code", "language": "json", "response_format_name": null, "text": ""query"; "PowerPoint presentation on Italian olive oil industry sustainability and ethical production. Includes overview, sustainability measures like organic farming, modern irrigation, PDO, PGI certifications, challenges like carbon footprint, transparency, supply chain management, additional sustainability arguments, economic considerations, and conclusion."; "locale"; "en-US""}}, "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": false, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"finish_details": {"type": "stop", "stop_tokens": [100265]}, "citations": [], "gizmo_id": "g-alKfVrz9K", "is_complete": true, "message_type": null, "model_slug": "gpt-4", "default_model_slug": "gpt-4", "parent_id": "1cfee6dc-f08f-4c8f-a159-998257aa0e18", "request_id": "87dec469bf4ebb2b-MXP", "timestamp": "absolute"}, "recipient": "chatgpt_plugin_canva_com__jit_plugin.generateDesigns", "channel": null}, {"parent": "1cfee6dc-f08f-4c8f-a159-998257aa0e18", "children": [{"ec234cdb-5d90-4443-8459-d146577cedd5"}], "ec234cdb-5d90-4443-8459-d146577cedd5": {"id": "ec234cdb-5d90-4443-8459-d146577cedd5", "message": {"id": "ec234cdb-5d90-4443-8459-d146577cedd5", "author": {"role": "tool", "name": "chatgpt_plugin_canva_com__jit_plugin.generateDesigns", "metadata": {}}, "create_time": 1714723759.705683, "update_time": 1714723759.6456523, "content": {"content_type": "text", "parts": [""], "status": "finished_successfully", "end_turn": null, "weight": 1.0, "metadata": {"jit_plugin_data": {"from_server": {"type": "confirm_action", "body": {"domain": "chatgpt-plugin.canva.com", "is_consequential": false, "privacy_policy": "https://www.canva.com/policies/ai-product-terms/", "method": "get", "path": "/designs", "operation": "generateDesigns", "params": {"query": "PowerPoint presentation on Italian olive oil industry sustainability and ethical production. Includes overview, sustainability measures like organic farming, modern irrigation, PDO, PGI certifications, challenges like carbon footprint, transparency, supply chain management, additional sustainability arguments, economic considerations, and conclusion.", "locale": "en-US"}, "actions": [{"name": "allow", "type": "allow", "allow": {"target_message_id": "73b10108-bee0-422c-b268-c589b3c1f07f"}}, {"type": "always_allow", "always_allow": {"target_message_id": "73b10108-bee0-422c-b268-c589b3c1f07f", "operation_hash": "d31ba0b633e06a0c572ac7726124ca77ba69b996"}}, {"name": "decline", "type": "deny", "deny": {"target_message_id": "73b10108-bee0-422c-b268-c589b3c1f07f"}]}]}}, "gizmo_id": "g-alKfVrz9K", "message_type": null, "model_slug": "gpt-4", "default_model_slug": "gpt-4", "pad": "AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA",

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blems that have arisen in each of these functional realms and the boundary disputes that have broken out as nonprofit organizations have been drawn into competition and collaboration with government and business. In exploring the multiple roles of nonprofit organizations, I argue that the long-term health and viability of nonprofit organizations depend on the achievement of balance among the four functions, so that no one function is allowed to dominate the other three. This has not always been achieved in recent years and the results have been painfully clear: charges of politicization, vendorism, commercialism, and particularism have plagued nonprofit organizations. The argument developed here is that only when nonprofits achieve important successes in each of their functions will they receive and sustain the financial support and public acceptance that they need to continue to grow. In tackling these broad and complex issues, I have aimed to provide a perspective on nonprofit activity that will be relevant to scholars and students approaching the topic from a wide array of backgrounds and levels of familiarity.

The intellectual debts I have accumulated over the years are very large. From the very first moment I joined the faculty of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and began to work on this book, I have benefited greatly from the good counsel and insightful criticisms of Mark Moore and Christine Letts, who together helped launch the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, where I have been a faculty affiliate. I am grateful to both of them for creating a place where it is possible to do serious work within a community of scholars and students.

My faculty colleagues at the Hauser Center and within the broader Kennedy School of Government have all contributed directly or indirectly to the completion of this book. Through numerous seminar presentations, e-mail exchanges, and hallway discussions over the years, their active and sometimes aggressive questioning has led me to sharpen and improve my arguments. I owe a special debt to Peter Dobkin Hall, who read and commented on the entire manuscript and generously shared with me his encyclopedic knowledge of all things nonprofit. My understanding of the nonprofit sector has been substantially enriched by friendships, conversations, and collaborations over the years with Joseph Galaskiewicz, Paul Light, Steven Rathgeb Smith, Brint Milward, Barry Karl, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, Marion Fremont-Smith, Allen Grossman, Elizabeth Keating, Donald Haider, David Reingold, and William Ryan.

One of the real pleasures of working at the Kennedy School of Government has been the opportunity to teach and work with a group of superb doctoral students, including especially Alice Andre-Clark, Gabriel Kaplan, and Mark Kim. For several years, Kennedy School students in my class on the nonprofit sector patiently listened and questioned me as the ideas in this book were formed and developed. From the start, my Preface

Shawn Bohan has expertly managed the Hauser Center's work and growth and, with great humor and patience, helped me navigate the serpentine world of Harvard rules, regulations, and budgets, while also providing the kind of advice and help that was necessary for seeing many projects to completion. Jennifer Johnson provided wonderful research assistance throughout the writing of the book and helped bring the manuscript to final form. Michael Aronson at Harvard University Press guided this book from an idea to a manuscript, arranged helpful reviews, patiently explained the publishing process to me, and made the whole process appear less mysterious.

Behind the scenes of much of my research, a group of generous supporters have allowed me to pursue ideas wherever they led. It is a pleasure to thank the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Claude Rosenberg of NewTithing Group, Patricia Brown of the Burton

G. \nBettingen Corporation, Ted Halstead of New America Foundation, and \nMark Abramson of the PriceWaterhouseCoopers Endowment for the \nBusiness of Government, all of whom supplied critical financial sup-\nport for elements of my broader research agenda. Within the Kennedy \nSchool, Alan Altshuler, Ron Heifetz, and Fred Schauer furthered the \nproject at critical stages, and I am grateful for their help. \n\nFinally, my greatest debt is to my wife, Elizabeth, who encouraged me \nfrom my first day of graduate school and through all my subsequent re-\nsearch. Her unstinting support has made everything seem possible. \n\nPreface vii \n\n\n\n\nContents \n\n1 The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector 1 \n\n2 Civic and Political Engagement 29 \n\n3 Service Delivery 64 \n\n4 Values and Faith 96 \n\n5 Social Entrepreneurship 129 \n\n6 Balancing the Functions of Nonprofit and \nVoluntary Action 163 \n\nNotes 183 \n\nIndex 209 \n\n\n\n\n\n\nThe Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector \n\n\n1 \n\n\nThe Idea of a Nonprofit \nand Voluntary Sector \n\n\nThe nonprofit and voluntary sector is the contested arena between the \nstate and the market where public and private concerns meet and where \nindividual and social efforts are united. Nonprofit and voluntary action \nexpresses a complex and at times conflicting desire to defend the pursuit \nof private individual aspirations, while at the same time affirming the \nidea of a public sphere shaped by shared goals and values. For this \ndifficult balancing act to work, participation in the sector demands a \ncommitment to, among other things, expression, engagement, entrepre-\nneurship, and service. Constituted by both legally chartered nonprofit \norganizations and myriad informal groups and voluntary associations, \nthis sector occupies an increasingly critical and visible position in our \npolitical, social, and economic life.1 Yet despite its size and perceived \ninfluence, there is considerable uncertainty and confusion about its \nboundaries. The lines delimiting the sector have frequently been subject \nto challenge and revision, as funds and responsibilities have shifted back \nand forth among business, nonprofit, and government organizations. \nReaching consensus on the very definition of the nonprofit and volun-\ntary sector is difficult because many of the core features and activities of \nnonprofits increasingly overlap and compete with those of business and \ngovernment. \n\n\nThus, the nonprofit and voluntary sector is at once a visible and com-\npelling force in society and an elusive mass of contradictions. On the \none hand, the rise of nonprofits is thought to have contributed to de-\nmocratization around the world, opening up societies and giving people \na voice and a mode of collective expression that has in too many cases \n\n\n\n\n\n\nbeen suppressed.2 In the United States, nonprofit and voluntary organi-\nzations are seen as playing a central role in generating, organizing, and \nemboldening political opposition, working through national networks \nand building international linkages. Nonprofit and voluntary organiza-\ntions have also acted as practical vehicles for the delivery of a broad \nspectrum of community services, ranging from affordable housing to \ntheater performances to vocational training to health care. The nonprofit \nsector appears, therefore, to be a real and identifiable group of tax-ex-\nempt organizations that encourage political engagement and produce \nservices. The sector is in fact a documented economic powerhouse that \nemploys millions of people and accounts for a significant portion of the \nnation \u2019s gross domestic product. All of which makes the nonprofit sector \na strong and compelling concept that appears grounded in economic, \npolitical, and legal reality. \n\n\nOn the other hand, the nonprofit and voluntary sector is home to \nsuch a wide range of organizations that grouping them together into one \nentity is highly problematic. From the largest hospitals and universi-\nties (which fund their

operations by collecting fees or tuition) to small mentoring programs and avant-garde arts organizations (which survive on charitable contributions), nonprofits span a tremendous range of organizational forms. Many of these forms are stable and lasting, while others are fragile and transient. Some of the organizations that are considered part of the nonprofit sector, such as religious congregations and private membership organizations, operate without government funding. Other nonprofit organizations, particularly those that service the elderly and poor, could not survive without the steady flow of funds from federal, state, and local government. Beyond differences in funding, the organizations within the sector are balkanized by legal status, level of professionalization, and underlying purpose.

Thus, any exploration of the nonprofit and voluntary sector would do well to begin by acknowledging its fundamentally contested nature. This chapter reviews the difficulties in defining the central characteristics of nonprofit and voluntary organizations, the conflicting nature of the words we use to describe this part of our world, and the evolving place the sector occupies in America's fragmented and polarized political sphere. Throughout, the tensions inherent in the very idea of organizations operating between the state and the market emerge again and again. All of which leads to the analytic framework that guides this book.

The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector

In its exploration of the overarching functions of the nonprofit and voluntary sector.

Three Features of Nonprofit and Voluntary Organizations

Attempting to define the fundamental features of the disparate entities that constitute the nonprofit and voluntary sector is a complex and daunting task. Yet there are at least three features that connect these widely divergent entities: (1) they do not coerce participation; (2) they operate without distributing profits to stakeholders; and (3) they exist without simple and clear lines of ownership and accountability. Taken together, these three features might make nonprofit and voluntary organizations appear weak, inefficient, and directionless, but nothing could be further from the truth. In reality, these structural features give these entities a set of unique advantages that position them to perform important societal functions neither government nor the market is able to match.

Perhaps the most fundamental of the three features is the sector's noncoercive nature. Citizens cannot be compelled by nonprofit organizations to give their time or money in support of any collective goal. This means that, in principle at least, nonprofits must draw on a large reservoir of good will. This noncoercive character is also what most starkly differentiates the sector from government, which can levy taxes, imprison violators of the law, and regulate behavior in myriad ways. The power of coercion that the public sector possesses is a powerful tool for moving collectivities toward common ends, but it is also a source of strife and contention. Trust in government is now low,³ making the effective use of state power more and more difficult as its legitimacy fades.

For nonprofit and voluntary organizations, these issues do not arise. Free choice is the coin of the realm: donors give because they choose to do so. Volunteers work of their own volition. Staff actively seek employment in these organizations, often at lower wages than they might secure elsewhere. Clients make up their own minds that these organizations have something valuable to offer. Though they stand ready to receive, nonprofit and voluntary organizations demand nothing. As a consequence, nonprofits occupy a moral high ground of sorts when compared to public sector organizations that have the ability to compel action and coerce those who resist.

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3 In some ways, the noncoercive character of the

nonprofit and voluntary sector situates it closer to the market than to government. Business depends on the free choice of consumers in a competitive market where alternatives are often plentiful and where no firm has the capacity to compel anyone to purchase its goods or services. Similarly, nonprofit organizations cannot coerce participation or consumption of their services. The sector makes choices available, rather than deciding for others. When it comes to the mobilization of funds, the parallel between business and nonprofits is equally clear. Just as no one forces anyone to buy shares or invest in enterprises, no one forces anyone to give or volunteer in the nonprofit world. The flow of resources to a nonprofit depends entirely on the quality and relevance of its mission and its capacity to deliver value. To the extent that a business firm or a nonprofit organization is performing well, investors and donors will be attracted to it. Should things take a turn for the worse, investment funds and philanthropic funds usually seek out other options quickly.

The second feature of nonprofit and voluntary organizations sharply differentiates them from business firms, however. While corporations are able to distribute earnings to shareholders, nonprofit and voluntary organizations cannot make such distributions to outside parties. Rather, they must use all residual funds for the advancement of the organization's mission.⁴ By retaining residuals rather than passing them on to investors, nonprofit organizations seek to reassure clients and donors that their mission takes precedence over the financial remuneration of any interested parties. The nondistribution constraint has been seen as a tool that nonprofits can use to capitalize on failures in the market. Since there are certain services, such as child care and health care, that some consumers feel uncomfortable receiving if the provider is profit driven, nonprofits are able to step in and meet this demand by promising that investors will benefit by cutting corners or by delivering unnecessary services.

While the noncoercive feature of nonprofits brings nonprofits closer to business and separates them from government, the nondistribution constraint pushes nonprofits closer to the public sector and away from the private sector. Government's inability to pay out profits from the sale of goods or services is related to its need to be perceived as impartial and equitable.⁵ With nonprofits, the nondistribution constraint also builds legitimacy and public confidence, though this does not mean that special powers are vested in these organizations. In both sectors, the nondistribution constraint strongly reinforces the perception that these entities are acting for the good of the public.

The third feature of nonprofit and voluntary organizations is that they have unclear lines of ownership and accountability.⁶ This trait separates these entities from both business and government. Businesses must meet the expectations of shareholders or they risk financial ruin. The ownership question in the business sector is clear and unambiguous: shareholders own larger or smaller amounts of equity in companies depending on the number of shares held. Similarly, government is tethered to a well-identified group of individuals, namely voters. Executive and legislative bodies and the public agencies they supervise at the federal, state, and local levels must heed the will of the electorate if they are to pursue public purposes effectively and retain the support and legitimacy needed to govern. There is also a long tradition in the United States of conceiving government as belonging to citizens, though the ways in which this ownership claim can be exercised are severely limited. In the nonprofit sector, clear lines of ownership

and accountability are absent.⁷ Nonprofit and voluntary organizations must serve many masters, none of which is ultimately able to exert complete control over these organizations. Donors, clients, board members, workers, and local communities all have stakes, claims, or interests in nonprofit and voluntary organizations. Yet none of these parties can be clearly identified as the key ownership group. The relative strength of these ownership claims depends on how an organization is funded and on its chosen mission.⁸ Nonprofit organizations that depend heavily on charitable contributions are often held closely accountable by their donors, some of whom believe that as social investors they have a real stake in the organizations to which they contribute. Nonprofits that are largely driven by service fees or commercial revenues are in a different position. While these more commercial organizations do not have donors asserting claims over them, social entrepreneurs and professional staff may view themselves as the key stakeholders in these more businesslike organizations. Often, however, the lines of ownership and accountability are rendered more complex by the fact that many nonprofit organizations combine funding from multiple sources—foundations, corporations, and government—with earned income, making it hard to point to any particular party as the key stakeholder to whom these special institutions owe. The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector 5 must answer.⁹ One might be tempted to point out that nonprofit and voluntary organizations are almost always governed by boards, and to propose this as a solution to the ownership and accountability issue. Unfortunately, board members are not owners. They are stewards who are held responsible for the actions of their organization. In the end, nonprofit and voluntary organizations are authorized to act in the public interest by the communities in which they operate, though the lines of accountability are weaker than those in the public sector and the lines of ownership far more obscure than in the business sector. These three features of nonprofit organizations are not without controversy and contention. In fact, each has been called into question in recent years. First, the noncoercive nature of the sector has been challenged by the growing tendency to mandate community service or volunteer work. In the case of welfare reform, many states have required aid recipients to complete a community service requirement in order to continue receiving their monthly support payments.¹⁰ A growing number of high schools now make volunteering with a local organization a condition for graduation. In addition, there have long been parts of the nonprofit landscape where strong norms are enforced on those who have committed to membership. Within professional associations, licenses to practice medicine, law, and other callings are granted and denied by nonprofit entities.¹¹ Within many religions, the behavior of adherents is severely constrained by doctrine. In some neighborhoods, independent community groups have been granted the power to plan and constrain future development by residents. The exercise of power may be subtle in some cases. For example, many private funders exercise considerable influence over the recipients of their grants. This influence can take the form of a gentle suggestion or a condition of support that programs be revamped.¹² Although the constraints imposed in each case follow a decision to participate and join, the power of some nonprofits over groups of individuals is considerable. In each and all such instances,¹³ the noncoercive character of these organizations is called into question. Second, the nondistribution constraint of nonprofit organizations has likewise been under assault from a number of different directions. In recent years, increased scrutiny of the high salary levels of many nonprofit executives has

led some to ask whether the \u201cprofits\u201d or, more accurately, the increased program revenues are not in fact being routinely distributed to staff in the form of generous compensation and benefit.

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14 In the area of capitalization, large nonprofit organizations have been aggressive in raising funds through bond offerings, which do not offer investors the ownership stake that stock offerings do, but which have the effect of opening up major capital flows into the nonprofit sector. The accumulation of capital in the form of large endowments has also called into question the boundary between business and nonprofit organizations: endowment funds, by their nature, are not used to fulfill an organization's immediate needs. Instead, they are invested in stocks, real estate, and other speculative investments designed in the long run to maximize financial return. This is a strategic move that some have characterized as contrary to the public purposes of nonprofit organizations. 15 Making the boundary between nonprofits and business firms even more opaque, at least one study has argued that the nondistribution constraint does not significantly increase consumer confidence in the trustworthiness of nonprofits compared to business firms. 16 Third, the ownerless character of nonprofit and voluntary organizations has come under fire as the legal claims of nonprofit stakeholders have evolved. The courts have held that only members (in the case of a membership organization), trustees or directors, and the attorney general in the state where the nonprofit is located have legal standing to contest the action of a charitable corporation. Over the years, however, the power of trustees and directors has grown substantially, not to the point where they can claim ownership of the assets of a nonprofit, but to the point where boards now have tremendous leeway in the way they operate a charitable organization. 17 While these claims have rarely come to equal those of ownership, the lines of accountability have been drawn more sharply, particularly as questions about the transfer of assets have come up when nonprofit organizations have attempted to convert to for-profit status. 18 The ultimate result of these debates and trends is that the defining features of nonprofit organizations are evolving and are the subject of considerable debate. The notion that there is some simple and unambiguous test that can be developed to decide what sector an organization belongs to is no longer reasonable. While the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and the states have developed statutes and rules that define and regulate these special institutions, a different and far more complex reality has emerged. The legal code is often of limited value in the effort to determine which organizations are really nonprofit and voluntary in their operation.

The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector

Composition of the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector

In the United States today, there are more than one and a half million registered nonprofit organizations, as well as several million informally organized community groups. The formally registered organizations fall into two broad and porous categories: those that serve the public and those that serve members. The public-serving organizations, classified under section 501(c)(3) of the IRS code, operate in almost every imaginable field of human endeavor, and include, among countless others, social service agencies helping children, the elderly, and the poor; independent schools and private colleges; community clinics and hospitals; think tanks; environmental organizations; cultural groups such as museums, theaters, and historical societies; and a range of international assistance organizations. They are the most visible and recognizable part of this organizational universe. But substantial resources are concentrated in the member-

serving or mutual benefit organizations, which include credit unions, business leagues, service clubs, veterans' organizations, and trade associations. They tackle problems ranging from the most complex issues of business policy to the most prosaic challenges of small-town life. Also included in the sector (though not filing forms annually with the IRS) is a vast array of churches, synagogues, and mosques that form the foundation of the nation's religious life. While we tend to think of congregations as membership organizations, they are treated differently by government and are not subject to the same forms of oversight as other member-serving nonprofits.

While the largest and better-financed nonprofit organizations receive the bulk of public attention, important work is done by the army of less visible associations, clubs, networks, and groups through which communities come together and act.¹⁹ There is considerable dispute as to whether the legally chartered nonprofit organizations share enough traits with informal voluntary associations to justify including both groups in one sector.²⁰ However, leaving these grassroots associations out of the picture grants far too much deference to the tax treatment of nonprofits and ignores the fact that informal associations and formal nonprofits both eschew the distribution of profits, are noncoercive, and have no owners.

Public awareness of the sector is rapidly increasing, though surprisingly little is known about the underlying purposes and values that animate the Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector. The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector is a mature nonprofit and voluntary action or the vehicles through which these values and purposes are channeled. In part, this is because these activities reflect a sometimes confusing agglomeration of strongly held private values, as well as a set of complex public purposes. The sector can thus be conceived as a tent covering public-serving charities, member-serving organizations, and a range of informal organizations, including voluntary and grassroots associations (see Figure 1.1).

This diverse and at times contradictory group of entities comprises organizations and associations that are neither part of the state nor fully engaged in the market. The sector's solutions to community and public problems at times represent a conscious disavowal of commercial markets and a realization that some exchanges are simply better conducted under terms of mutuality and trust than under the strict dictate of caveat emptor.²¹ Using charitable contributions, many nonprofit and voluntary organizations can deliver services to clients who are unable to pay. At other times, nonprofit and voluntary action represents an attempt to move beyond government action to find solutions to public problems that a majority of citizens are unable or unwilling to support.

Nonprofits

The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector

9.1.1 Elements of the nonprofit and voluntary sector.

The nonprofit and voluntary sector is a member-serving nonprofits Voluntary associations Public-serving nonprofits. It can and does speak to community needs that lie outside the priorities of the median voter. But the position of this group of organizations in relation to the market and the state is far more complex and changeable than these simple claims of differentiation might lead one to believe. In some fields of activity within the sector, intense commercialism has eroded the moral high ground of these organizations and transformed nonprofits into shadow businesses that compete actively for clients able to pay for the services they offer. In other fields, nonprofits have lost their autonomy from government and have come to serve as dutiful implementers of public sector programs and priorities. The lack of clarity in the identity of nonprofit and voluntary organizations in relation to business and

government becomes ever more evident as soon as one considers the range of names used to speak about these entities. What's in a Name? The process of arriving at a single term to designate this sphere of activity has been long and conflicted. Although the term nonprofit and voluntary sector is common today, many other terms have been devised over the years. The long-standing confusion over terminology can be traced to the diversity of activities that need to be covered by whatever term is chosen.²² Programs are delivered through both formal and informal organizations, carried out by both salaried and volunteer staff, and supported through donations, contracts, and commercial revenues. As a consequence, the formal organizations that constitute the sector have at various times and for various reasons been called the tax-exempt sector, the nongovernmental sector, the independent sector, the third sector, the civil society sector, the commons, the charitable sector, the voluntary sector, the nonproprietary sector, and the nonprofit sector. The terminological debate continues today. Each of the many terms that has emerged over time has had its own historical and political baggage. A brief review of these terms will illustrate the scope of the sector, even if a definitive defense of any particular term is impossible. One of the earliest names attached to these organizations was in some ways the narrowest and the most descriptively accurate: tax-exempt. After the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the establishment of the national income tax in 1913, Congress The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector granted tax-exempt status to those organizations that were specifically organized and operated exclusively for charitable, scientific, and educational purposes. Later additions included a long series of very specific purposes, including prevention of cruelty to children or animals (1918), community chest, fund, or foundation (1921), and testing for public safety (1954). The categories of tax-exemption have shifted over time; today there are more than twenty different specific categories of tax-exempt organizations delineated under the Internal Revenue Code. The arbitrariness of these narrow categories can best be seen today in the fact that international sports organizations are specifically recognized, whereas health organizations are not. But this is of little consequence, since the vast majority of public-serving nonprofits file today under the catch-all category 501(c)(3). For a time, the moniker tax-exempt organizations was widely used inside government and within the legal community because it pointed for at least appeared to point to the black letter of government regulation. Yet because this approach did not capture the huge number of clubs, associations, and groups that have never been formally registered with the IRS, it fell out of favor and was replaced with others. In the 1970s, efforts to find a broader and more inclusive term led to a whole series of names that aimed at positioning the sector in opposition to government. Today, the term nongovernmental organization (NGO) remains popular around the world. It is used to denote the array of organizations that pursue public purposes through largely private means. It covers both indigenous organizations working within particular countries overseas and international organizations that work around the world. While not specifically limited to a particular field of activity, when the term nongovernmental organization is used today, it usually denotes an organization that works to promote such things as rural development, education, environmental quality, and community health. What

is interesting about the term "nongovernmental" is that it defines these independent organizations in opposition to government, rather than in opposition to business firms. One possible explanation for the popularity of this term internationally is the power and dominance that the state enjoys in many developing countries and the relative absence of organized opposition. The sector is thus defined as that which is not part of the state, rather than that which is not oriented toward profit-making. This choice also implicitly reflects the oppositional role of the Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector.¹¹ nongovernmental organizations, which do in fact challenge governments and hold them accountable. In some countries, small, informal organizations within the broader NGO sector are at times termed "people's organizations" and "community-based organizations," as a way of differentiating them from larger, more formal institutions. The label "nongovernmental" remains firmly entrenched in current usage, particularly when Americans seek to distinguish between American nonprofit organizations and international NGOs. The term "independent sector" came into popular usage in the 1980s and can be traced to a particular event—namely, the founding of Independent Sector, the national trade association representing both grant-making and grant-receiving organizations.²³ Founded in 1979, the group consolidated two existing associations and sought to unify the motley world of foundations and nonprofit organizations. By advancing the use of the term "independent sector," organizers of the association wanted to emphasize the capacity of these organizations to devise solutions free from the market and political pressures. The only problem with this term is that over time it became increasingly obvious that nonprofits were neither independent from government nor free from the pressures of the marketplace. As government funding for social service and health nonprofits has risen sharply, many have come to view nonprofit organizations as engaged in important collaborative relationships with government. Independence from government has come to be seen as more of a wish than a reality. Similarly, the idea that nonprofit organizations operate independently from the market has been called into question by the growing number of cross-sector partnerships, joint marketing agreements, and nonprofit commercial ventures. At times, the term "third sector" has been in vogue. Popularized by several early researchers in the field of nonprofit and voluntary action,²⁴ this term had the advantage of covering both formally constituted nonprofit organizations and the countless informal grassroots organizations that populate the sector. The idea that nonprofit and voluntary action was somehow third in line after government and business rubbed some people the wrong way, however. It seemed to imply a kind of inferiority and subsidiarity that few in the sector were willing to concede. While the term "third sector" is still sometimes used in the research community, the practitioner community rarely uses it. Like "nonprofit" and "nongovernmental," the term "third sector" seems to define these organizations in isolation from the other sectors. The term "civil society" was coined by the classic writers of political theory, and has regained currency of late. The modern idea of civil society plays a prominent role in the work of Hobbes, Montesquieu, and Hegel, who used it to refer to the broad private realm outside the state. One of the problems with using the term today is that "civil society" traditionally encompassed everything from the family to the church to the business corporation. Still, the term

is acquiring popularity both in the United States and internationally, and it has lately come to refer to something more concrete than the huge and abstract private realm outside the state. In practice, it has come to denote a set of voluntary mediating institutions that invite individuals to come together to pursue shared interests, values, and commitments. Over the past decade, civil society organizations have come to compete with nongovernmental organizations among people interested in indigenous social movements around the world, ranging from small local organizations to large international institutions. More recently, yet another solution to the name game was proposed. Instead of a term that either defined the essential characteristic of these organizations or that situated these organizations in relation to government and the market, a new form of reference was proposed: the commons. Advocates for the term argued that the vast landscape of nonprofit and voluntary action constitutes a special terrain of shared concerns.²⁵ The commons was intended to solve some of the problems associated with previous attempts at naming the sector. It denoted the vast array of relationships between benefactors, intermediaries, and beneficiaries that constitutes a space in which associative communities can operate freely. Linked to the Greek term *koinonia*, the commons emphasizes free participation, common purpose, shared goods, a sense of mutuality, and a commitment to fairness.²⁶ A critical part of what distinguishes the commons from other attempts to delineate the nonmarket and nonstate realm of activity is that the definition focuses not just on what kinds of purposes are accomplished, but also on the ways in which they are accomplished. By pointing to the features of *koinonia*, the commons defines the boundary of the sector in ethical terms. In several European countries today, the dominant term is the charity. The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector¹³ table sector, which captures the critical philanthropic character of these organizations and their activities. The very use of the term charity, however, harks back to Victorian England, the settlement house movement, and the class elitism associated with poor aid and calms giving. Because self-help and community empowerment have become rallying points for the sector, the idea of calling this part of society charitable offends some people because it puts the spotlight on the contributions of elite patrons and donors, not on the efforts of activists, caregivers, and clients. The term also implies that much of the work of the sector is funded through private gifts, when in reality government funding and earned income now fuel large parts of the sector. The voluntary sector has been in use intermittently for decades, both in the United States and abroad. One clear advantage of the term is that it focuses on the vast landscape of formal and informal organizations that work for the public good. It is a way of including the millions of neighborhood-based groups that operate without legal recognition. Yet the name has been criticized at times for obscuring the growing professionalism of nonprofit activity, a subject of considerable sensitivity. As part of the process of receiving more and more funding from public sector agencies through contractual relationships, many nonprofit managers now take great pride in the fact that they have removed all vestiges of amateurism associated with volunteerism and have replaced it with the professional work of highly trained people. Most recently, some people dissatisfied with the existing alternatives have begun using the term nonproprietary organizations in order to highlight the ownerless character of these entities. In contrast to business firms that are proprietary,

nonproprietary organizations are not linked to a clear owner or ownership group. This alternative has been advanced because the term "nonprofit" obscures the fact that many "nonproprietary" do in fact generate surplus revenue, though they do not directly distribute their earnings to shareholders or owners. While this term has the benefit of drawing a clear line between business firms and nonprofits, it does not resolve the question of what differentiates nonprofits from government agencies, which are also nonproprietary. Of the many competing options, the term "nonprofit sector" has been the most widely used over time. Rather than defining these organizations in terms of the special privilege they enjoy of being free from taxation, the term points in a different and less contentious direction by emphasizing the benevolent character of the sector. Though there is some question as to when exactly the term "nonprofit sector" came into use, the consensus is that it is a product of the 1950s and 1960s. The term "nonprofit" focuses on one of the three defining features mentioned above, namely, that these organizations are not intended to generate profits and distribute them to investors. Since this term distinguishes nonprofit organizations from business corporations, some observers have argued that it was actually designed to confer a kind of legitimacy and trustworthiness.²⁷ In recent years, the substantial increase in commercial revenues and executive salaries within the nonprofit sector has led many to question just how unprofitable the sector truly is. Still, the label "nonprofit sector" has the benefit of currency and simplicity. Because the sector comprises both legally chartered nonprofit organizations and countless informal groups and voluntary associations, I will use the somewhat cumbersome though descriptively accurate "nonprofit and voluntary sector" to denote the organizations occupying an increasingly critical and visible position in our political, social, and economic life. Though not perfect, the term points accurately to the target population of organizations that are emerging as critical actors even though they operate without coercion, profits, or owners. This is a compromise solution that many researchers working in this field use, though some fall back on "nonprofit sector" for brevity's sake. Though it does not please everyone, the term does meet the requirement of being broad enough to cover the range of organizations and groups that are acting privately for some collective good. Underlying all the names that have been used to describe these entities is the fact that even when agreement is reached on a single appropriate name, it is not entirely clear that this complex and varied set of organizations constitutes a single coherent societal sector.²⁸ In many ways, the word "sector" is just as problematic as "independent," "third," "nongovernmental," and all the terms that have preceded it. An important part of the problem is the lack of consistency across the organizations that are said to be part of this sector. After all, the sector includes organizations that cater to the narrow needs and desires of their members, as well as organizations that have broad public service missions.²⁹ The sector is also home to highly institutionalized organizations with millions of dollars in revenues and informally organized groups with little or no money. The sector includes political parties that exist to shape public policy and service delivery organizations that depend on the political process to deliver needed funds. The sector counts as its constituents both foundations that give away money³⁰ and a multitude of

organizations that seek grants, as well as a growing number of organizations that depend on fees and commercial revenues. Thus, given the great diversity of formal and informal structures, the varieties of purposes pursued, and the range of financing systems used to support these organizations, the very use of the word "sector" is troublesome because it implies far more consistency than may be present. Some scholars of nonprofits thus maintain that the idea of a coherent sector may be an invention, which has begun to outlive its usefulness and now merely provides cover for a large and diverse group of organizations that have little in common.³¹ Yet, by defining a set of activities that are neither part of government nor part of the market,³² we acknowledge that there is a sphere where coercion is not used, where profits are not the principal motive, and where lines of ownership are not clearly drawn. Why nonprofit and voluntary organizations exist and what functions they perform are among the central topics of this book. Before presenting a framework for thinking about these issues, it is important to recognize some of the political cleavages that the very idea of a nonprofit and voluntary sector creates.

The Politics of the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector

The nonprofit and voluntary sector occupies an ambiguous and at times contentious position in the current American political scene. Just as few people agree on the right name to use to describe these organizations, Americans are likewise engaged in heated debate about the sector's underlying politics. Today, for quite different reasons, nonprofit and voluntary organizations are embraced by both conservatives and liberals. How can this be? The answer lies in the fact that the sector comprises a great number of complex, multidimensional organizations that appeal simultaneously to many constituencies. The fact that both sides of the political spectrum applaud and see the potential of nonprofit and voluntary organizations, far from revealing some underlying weakness, ultimately reflects the sector's strength and enduring relevance.

For at least three reasons, nonprofit and voluntary organizations have, particularly from the 1960s forward, represented a tremendous resource

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and ally to liberals. First, a natural affinity between liberals and nonprofit workers quickly became apparent, since those willing to toil in often low-paying or voluntary positions and frequently in difficult circumstances constitute a self-selected group of socially committed individuals dedicated to the idea of making a difference and initiating change. As membership in labor unions declined, thus eroding one of the traditional bases of the Democratic party, the rise of nonprofit social service agencies in the 1970s came at a very opportune moment. Not only could nonprofit organizations serve as new channels through which social programs could be delivered, but they also represented a new and important space in which potential supporters of progressive policies might well be located.³³

The second reason liberals were attracted to the sector as a whole was more operational. Nonprofit organizations were seen as an ideal and untainted partner to government, one that could most effectively deliver needed services to the most disadvantaged populations. As concern over the impact of Great Society programs grew and as distrust of government increased, nonprofits came to be seen as neutral and legitimizing forces with the capacity to give large human service initiatives a more diverse, pluralistic face.³⁴ The funding crunch that most nonprofit organizations face on a continuing basis appeared to put government in a position to use its substantial resources, in the form of contracts and grants, to gain control over a whole new range of community actors and problems. At the same time,

nonprofits represented an ideal \u201cbottom-up\u201d ap-\nproach to implementation, one that empowered the grassroots level and\ntthat gave government tremendous leverage for each dollar spent.\n\nThird and finally, liberals were attracted by the political activity of\nmany nonprofits and their ability to mobilize groups around issues and\nconcerns in a distinctive way. Unlike corporations, which are beholden\nto shareholders and the bottom line, and unlike government, which is\nbound by the limits of the Constitution and the pressures of public opin-\nion, nonprofit organizations have a great deal more freedom to oper-\nate. This flexibility lends itself well, in principle, to the pursuit of pro-\ngressive, alternative agendas. Moreover, since many advocacy nonprofits\nseek to give voice to populations that have long been excluded from the\npolitical debate, liberals continue to view the broader nonprofit sector as\na means to exert pressure for social change and justice.³⁵\n\nChanges in the national political climate since the 1980s coincided\n\nThe Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector 17\n\n\nwith a very different set of ideas about the nonprofit sector. Instead of\nconsidering nonprofits a potential source of political and social change,\nconservatives were attracted by three completely different features of\nnonprofits. First, they believed that nonprofit organizations might well\nrepresent an appealing alternative to direct public expenditures on so-\ncial programs that conservatives believed had not produced results.³⁶\n\nQuestions about whether the War on Poverty had failed were in the air,\nespecially in the early 1980s. By encouraging private charities to take\nresponsibility for local community needs, conservatives believed they\ncould make an effective argument for shrinking government. After all, if\nchurches and community groups were able to function with voluntary\ncontributions of time and money, the need for an ever-growing number\nof public spending programs would surely be diminished. Compared to\ntaxation and national spending, private charity and volunteerism were\nseen as preferred means of solving social problems because they permit-\nted greater individual freedom and choice. A strong and vital nonprofit\nand voluntary sector fit well with the emerging ideas of both devolution\nand privatization, two mantras of the conservative movement. As gov-\nernment functions were pushed \u201cdown\u201d from the federal level to the\nstate and local levels, and transferred \u201cout\u201d of government to private\nproviders through contracting, nonprofits were ideally situated to de-\nliver services that once had been the province of \u201cbureaucrats\u201d in the na-\ntion\u2019s capital.³⁷\n\nSecond, conservatives also argued that nonprofits, particularly faith-\nbased nonprofits, were in a position to bring to social programs some-\nthings that public entitlements had long lacked\u2014namely, a moral or spir-\nitual component.³⁸ Faith-based nonprofits were seen as willing to make\ndemands on the recipients of charity and require a change of character\nand behavior in exchange for assistance. At the same time, given that\nmany nonprofits are fueled by volunteer labor and private contributions,\nconservatives were attracted to the idea of nonprofits because they rep-\nresented the ideal of self-help and independence. This was a powerful\nfeature that, conservatives argued, was perilously missing from public\nassistance programs.³⁹ For those who believed that public entitlements\nbred dependence and complacency, the idea of delivering not just a\ncheck but a moral and spiritual message was a very strong attraction.\n\nFinally, for conservatives, nonprofit organizations were also a poten-\ntial wellspring of innovation, representing a plurality of local solutions\n\n18 The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector\n\n\nto social problems and a powerful alternative to the ongoing search for\nuniform national solutions to public problems. Grounded in an ethos

of self-help and respecting regional cultural variations, voluntary action fit well with a growing sense among conservatives that a broad range of alternatives to an expanding state needed to be actively cultivated. By giving local organizations a chance to try their hand at program implementation, conservatives believed that good ideas would percolate up from communities. Conservatives argued that expenditures on federal social welfare and education programs should not be increased. Instead, funds could be used most effectively and creatively when channeled through local groups that were more in touch with the diverse and changing needs of the people. Nonprofit organizations thus represented a way of breaking through the red tape of Washington to find new approaches to longstanding problems. Nonprofits, conservatives maintained, could serve as a battering ram for policy innovation.⁴⁰

At first blush, it might appear that the capacity of nonprofit and voluntary organizations to speak to both liberals and conservatives implies neither a split and conflicted identity or a simple lack of political scruples. In reality, the sector is a remarkably complex entity, one that is capable of evoking a broad range of reactions and interpretations. Because it simultaneously supports the autonomy of the private individual actor while affirming the importance of shared and public purposes, the politics of nonprofit and voluntary action can take on many different meanings. The ability to speak across, or rather above, traditional political boundaries has become one of the most powerful features of the sector, and this trait has led to its growth and popularity, particularly among young people.

The Two Dimensions of Nonprofit and Voluntary Action

Given the confusion over what to call this sector and the complex and at times confused politics that have surrounded it, the goal of this small book is to help shape our understanding of the many different ways one can approach the core functions of these independent organizations. To make this task easier, I organize my exposition of the central functions of voluntary and nonprofit organizations along two broad conceptual distinctions. The first critical distinction concerns how the sector is explained; the question is whether nonprofit and voluntary activity is

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driven primarily by demand or by supply—that is, whether it can best be understood as a response to unmet demands or whether it is taken to be an important supply function that creates its own demand. The second distinction concerns how the sector is justified; here the issue is whether the value of nonprofit and voluntary action is seen as residing in the instrumental character of the outcomes that are generated for society or in the inherently expressive quality of the activities themselves that reward those who undertake them. These are complex and difficult distinctions, which will be discussed in turn and then brought together to form the conceptual framework for the analysis that constitutes the core of the book.

Starting with the distinction between demand and supply, it is easy to see nonprofit and voluntary action as responding to two quite different but important forces.⁴¹ The demand-side perspective starts with the premise that the sector exists by virtue of the broader social context within which it is embedded and that its activities are responsive to the demands of the public or its members. Thus, nonprofits exist because they are able to meet important social needs. Urgent public problems such as illiteracy, drug addiction, and violence demand solutions, and the nonprofit sector exists to respond to the powerful pull of such issues. The demand-side approach to nonprofit activity has both descriptive and normative dimensions. Descriptive demand-side theories focus on patterns of nonprofit formation and growth. In the 1970s, researchers proposed detailed economic

models and explanations for nonprofits' behavior,⁴² most of which started with the assumption that nonprofits fulfill important demands that for one reason or another the market and government are unable or unwilling to meet. This led to the broad and popular belief that nonprofits were really gap-filling entities that historically have arisen when public needs were sufficiently strong. On a more normative level, the demand-side approach to nonprofit organizations has spawned a literature focusing on the social and political responsibilities of nonprofit organizations defined in relation to the demands of the neediest members of society. Starting with the claim that the tax exemption accorded these institutions conveys an obligation to help, many people have made the normative argument that nonprofit organizations should seek to assist the most disadvantaged and empower the most disenfranchised members of society. Accordingly, the success or failure of the sector can and should be judged by how well or how

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poorly it meets society's needs. The demand for nonprofit and voluntary action leads neatly to a set of prescribed activities, including greater advocacy work within the sector, and the empowerment and mobilization of those left out of the political process. The demand for nonprofit activity thus brings with it the expectation that these institutions will help give voice and opportunity to those who have been marginalized by the market economy and the political process.

The idea of a demand-driven nonprofit and voluntary sector dominates much of the research that is conducted in this field. Yet a central claim of this book is that the demand-side approach captures but one aspect of this broad social phenomenon. An alternative, supply-side position argues that the sector is impelled by the resources and ideas that flow into it—resources and ideas that come from social entrepreneurs, donors, and volunteers.⁴³ This is a more controversial perspective because it has led to some strong claims about how nonprofit organizations should be managed and operated. Rejecting many of the preceding arguments about the needs that pull on the sector, the supply-side perspective holds that nonprofit and voluntary organizations are really all about the people with resources and commitment who fire the engine of nonprofit and voluntary action. Drawn to the sector by visions and commitments, social entrepreneurs bring forward agendas that often operate independently of immediately obvious and enduring community needs.

This supply-side theory of nonprofits, like the demand-side approach, has both descriptive and normative elements. On the descriptive side, this approach emphasizes the entrepreneurial quality of nonprofit activity. Instead of starting with the demand of clients, positive supply-side theories of the nonprofit sector draw attention to the way various forms of entrepreneurship fuel innovation within the sector and how an emerging class of new social enterprises increasingly led by a new generation of social entrepreneurs is challenging old models of nonprofit management. Seen from the supply side, nonprofit organizations have a logic that is far more complex than a simple response to a gap in government service or the failure of the market to meet a particular demand. The entrepreneur, donor, and volunteer take on a much greater role in this model, since it is the supply of new ideas, charitable dollars, and volunteer commitments that is the real driving force behind the sector. This means that the task of explaining the emergence of nonprofit and voluntary organizations

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requires studying and developing typologies of social entrepreneurs who use the nonprofit form to pursue their private visions of the public good. The supply-

side approach has an important normative component, which holds that we must reassess the moral claims that needy clients have on nonprofit programs. Instead of asking that a nonprofit meet a test of moral stewardship that is ultimately decided by the level and quality of service provided to those in need, the supply-side approach advises that society should look to and protect the private interests and values of the critical actors who are fueling nonprofit and voluntary action, including philanthropic donors, volunteers, and social entrepreneurs. In order to ensure the continued flow of charitable inputs, the interests and values of these actors should be the first priority of those who seek an enlarged role for nonprofits. This means recognizing that the satisfaction of donors and the preservation of their intent constitute a critical normative task for the sector. Arguing that donors, volunteers, and social entrepreneurs should be the centerpiece of the sector is a controversial position because it unabashedly diminishes the claims that needy populations have on the charitable resources. Supply-siders counter this complaint with the argument that if one is truly committed to helping the needy, then constructing a sector that recognizes, protects, and encourages action by the private parties who control the resources should be an obvious priority.

Distinguishing between the demand and supply sides of the nonprofit and voluntary sector is a primary task when it comes to sorting through the arguments that have emerged in recent years. Yet we must also develop a second dimension for our conceptual framework. As soon as we begin to consider the broad number of important projects and causes to which the sector is dedicated, it becomes clear that nonprofit and voluntary organizations rest on two different ideas about what justifies and gives meaning to the work that is carried out in the sector.

First, nonprofit and voluntary action is an important instrument for the accomplishment of tasks that communities view as important. Nonprofit service agencies and volunteer helping organizations play an important role in the delivery of critical services in a broad array of fields. Nonprofits can be the principal means through which job training, arts education, shelter for the homeless, health care, neighborhood cleanups, firefighting, crime patrols, and countless other functions are accomplished. The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector is accomplished. When the sector works to accomplish popular social purposes, it acquires powerful instrumental value. It becomes a concrete tool to achieve some collective purpose that society considers important. The sector's instrumental value is measured in terms of its concrete outcomes. In the search for validation and learning, the programmatic outcomes of nonprofit and voluntary action are increasingly being measured and evaluated using metrics borrowed from the business and public sectors. The growing emphasis on performance has led to a vast new literature on nonprofit management, which is aimed at making these organizations more efficient and useful instruments for the accomplishment of public purposes.⁴⁴ The idea that nonprofit and voluntary organizations are valuable because they can be useful tools for the accomplishment of public purposes constitutes the core of what I will term the instrumental dimension of the nonprofit and voluntary sector.

Second, the sector can be seen as valuable because it allows individuals to express their values and commitment through work, volunteer activities, and donations. By committing to broad causes that are close to the heart or by giving to an effort that speaks directly to the needs of the community, nonprofit and voluntary action answers a powerful expressive urge. For donors, volunteers, and particularly staff, the very act of attempting to address a need or fight for a cause can be a

satisfying end in itself, regardless of the ultimate outcome. The value that is created may be entirely psychic and may arise simply from the act of expressing commitment, caring, and belief. The expressive quality of the sector has led some to conclude that the narrow focus on the financial resources available to nonprofit organizations and on the level of services delivered has detracted from the deeper meaning of nonprofit and voluntary action, which derives from the fellowship and self-actualization experienced by those who give or volunteer. This is what I will refer to as the expressive dimension of nonprofit and voluntary action.⁴⁵ The expressive and instrumental dimensions of nonprofit and voluntary action can compliment each other or they can create tensions. In the best cases, the moral energy that motivates those who deliver services can be harnessed to produce better and more effective programs. In some ways, this connection seems obvious: a committed volunteer or social entrepreneur is more likely to work hard to create value through his activities than someone who holds a job merely to earn a paycheck. In some cases, however, values and personal expression can be out of sync with instrumental goals and may lead to trouble. On the one hand, if strong expressive desires draw people to causes and community problems without adequate structure or planning, frustration can easily set in and group cohesion may be threatened. On the other hand, if too much focus is placed on improving a charitable organization's bottom line and maximizing the instrumental efficiency of its operations, an organization runs the risk of dimming the expressive flame of its staff, volunteers, and supporters. The managerial challenge, of course, is to bring the expressive and instrumental dimensions into alignment. The contrast between the supply and demand sides and the opposition of the expressive and instrumental dimensions give us a basis for thinking systematically about the functions of nonprofit and voluntary action. We can construct a matrix that depicts, on one side, the nature of the value produced by the sector (instrumental versus expressive) and, on the other side, the underlying animus or force (demand versus supply). This book is organized around the four cells generated by this matrix (see Figure 1.2), which have come to represent the four underlying functions of the nonprofit and voluntary sector: encouraging civic and political engagement, delivering needed services, enacting private values and religious convictions, and providing a channel for social entrepreneurship. The book works through and elaborates current debates relating to each of these four functions. Chapter 2 considers the role nonprofit organizations play in fostering civic and political engagement. Local nonprofits contribute in important ways to community cohesiveness, social solidarity, and what some call social capital, which is constituted by the norms, networks, and forms of trust that make communities work. These ties prepare people to play an active role in civic life and democracy. Grassroots community organizations also have the capacity to harness this community spirit and generate social and political change.⁴⁶ Using the protection afforded by the First Amendment, these advocacy and organizing efforts are a critical ingredient in our national political life. In fields ranging from environmental protection to world peace, nonprofit and voluntary organizations have begun to exercise considerable political power. Nonprofits play a powerful role in setting the terms of many public debates, in mobilizing key constituencies, and in coordinating grassroots campaigns to effect change at the local, state, national, and transnational levels.²⁴ The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Chapter 3 considers how nonprofits

represent an effective and powerful tool for responding to concrete public needs that the market and the state fail to meet. On the questions of why nonprofit organizations come into being and what role they play in society, a strong line of argument has emerged. Starting in the 1970s and continuing into the 1980s, theories about nonprofits focused heavily on the idea of government and market failure. Researchers proposed the idea that nonprofit provision of particular services arises when either government is unable to meet demand or when consumers are resistant to purchasing a given service in the for-profit marketplace. This positive theory of nonprofits embraced the subtle assumption that nonprofits were really just government's partners, charged with helping to deliver needed services. Since government and nonprofit organizations were thought to have the same basic goals and values, collaboration between sectors was seen as largely unproblematic. Some of the progenitors of this early, foundational perspective.

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2.2 The four functions of nonprofit and voluntary action.

- Expressive rationale**
- Instrumental rationale**
- Demand-side orientation**
- Supply-side orientation**
- Service delivery**
- Provides needed services and responds to government and market failure**
- Social entrepreneurship**
- Provides a vehicle for entrepreneurship and creates social enterprises that combine commercial and charitable goals**
- Values and faith**
- Civic and political engagement**
- Mobilizes citizens for politics, advocates for causes, and builds social capital within communities**
- Allows volunteers, staff, and donors to express values, commitments, and faith through work**

A perspective argue that the future of the nonprofit sector lies in its capacity to cooperate and collaborate effectively with government, even though tensions between sectors appear to be rising. Chapter 3 presents the nearly models of nonprofit production, while raising new practical questions about the interaction of nonprofits with government and the market. Chapter 4 considers the essentially private character of nonprofit and voluntary action that makes the sector an ideal vehicle for the expression of personal values and spiritual beliefs. Nonprofit and voluntary organizations are places where believers of all sorts are welcome, some of whom are motivated by faith, others by commitment to issues, and still others by strongly held private values and norms. The value component of nonprofit work which goes beyond the rational, purposive function of that work is part of what defines the sector and attracts donors, volunteers, and entrepreneurs to nonprofit and voluntary action. The values that animate nonprofit and voluntary action can often be important sources for innovation and experimentation, as private visions of the common good are tested and refined. The discussion covers the controversial normative position that has evolved in recent years from this positive analysis, which holds that the special visions of donors and entrepreneurs not the growing demands of the recipient organizations and their clients should define and shape nonprofit activity. It is important to note that when one shifts the focus of the normative analysis from recipients to donors, volunteers, and social entrepreneurs, the evaluative criteria for the sector change radically. Instead of measuring outputs and outcomes for clients, evaluation looks at the subjective experience of those funding and delivering the services. Because it flies in the face of the more progressive ideas that have dominated thinking about the sector, this particular part of the supply-side vision represents a way of seeing nonprofit and voluntary activity that challenges some of our comfortable assumptions about nonprofit organizations. Chapter 5 tracks one of most important changes in the sector over

the past two decades namely, the growth of a new kind of social entrepreneurship and the rise of commercial activities as a way of financing aggressive growth agendas. Rather than waiting for donors to support initiatives with charitable dollars, more and more nonprofit managers are exposing their organizations to market forces. The rise of entrepreneurship in nonprofit organizations is manifest in many different ways, including the creation of new kinds of hybrid organizations, the influx of a generation of younger, more business-oriented managers, and a willingness to rethink the traditional boundaries between for-profit and not-for-profit enterprises. Many of the new entrepreneurial nonprofits explicitly start out with the intention of producing social innovations that will in turn create their own demand. This marks a major change from the traditional idea of delivering services for which there is already a demand. To finance this start-up strategy, some social entrepreneurs have developed funding plans that rely heavily on revenues from commercial ventures of all kinds, not just charitable contributions or government grants. Chapter 5 looks at both the theory and practice of nonprofit entrepreneurship. After reviewing the four core functions of the sector, Chapter 6 explores emerging challenges connected to the sector's rapid growth and identifies a few significant consequences that flow from seeing the sector as a diverse and pluralistic realm. The chapter, and the book as a whole, advances a message connected to both the management of individual nonprofit organizations and the direction of the sector as a whole: each of the four functions of nonprofit activity is important in itself. But when pursued in isolation and in excess, any of the functions can lead to imbalance, at both the organizational level and the sectoral level. If individual nonprofits and the sector as a whole are seen as only engaging in political organizing and advocacy, charges of excessive politicization are likely to arise sooner or later. If the sole focus of nonprofit activity is the inefficient delivery of publicly funded services, concerns about independence and vendorism will never be far away. If nonprofits do nothing but enact private values and interests, worries about particularism will almost certainly arise. If nonprofit activity comes to be focused too much on the creation of income-generating ventures, objections related to commercialism will be difficult to counter. Balance and a plurality of purposes thus turn out to be critical to sustaining nonprofit organizations and to the sector's continued growth and success. At a time when nonprofit and voluntary activity has been the subject of increasing public attention and academic study, the breadth and depth of our understanding of this phenomenon has been severely constrained by the lack of a clear statement of the sector's core activities, rationales, and dimensions. This book strives to respond to this need by presenting four critical functions that the sector performs. While it does not pretend that these functions entirely exhaust the range of purposes and rationales that guide nonprofit and voluntary action, the book argues that many of the most essential conceptual and policy problems within the sector can be usefully captured with this framework. The normative argument of the book is simply that the sector cannot survive and garner financial, political, and volunteer support if it swings too far in the direction of any particular function. In the long run, balance, achieved through the fulfillment of a diversity of functions, is ultimately essential within the vast range of nonprofit organizations and across the sector as a whole. Nonprofit and voluntary action can be a powerful force for good in society. Yet a good many myths

have grown up around these private organizations that fulfill public purposes. In searching for the core functions of the nonprofit and voluntary sector, the book challenges some of these myths and suggests that the nonprofit and voluntary sector is an evolving and at times contradictory realm that now faces a number of significant challenges to its continued growth and legitimacy. Rather than attempting to smooth over and resolve these tensions, the exposition here deliberately brings them out into the open. Ultimately, it is the diversity of purposes and rationales embodied in nonprofit and voluntary organizations that make them increasingly visible and exciting vehicles for the pursuit of common social goals. And it is the sector's diversity and flexibility that may well help nonprofit organizations to solve some of the pressing challenges they now confront.

The Idea of a Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector

Civic and Political Engagement

Civic and Political Engagement

Nonprofit and voluntary organizations respond to the deeply rooted need of individuals to be part of something bigger than themselves. As an antidote to atomistic individualism, nonprofit and voluntary activity at the local, state, national, and transnational levels brings people out of their isolation and puts them in touch with others who share their concerns and interests. The connections forged when people are drawn into civic space can be used to respond to community concerns, needs, and demands. By virtue of their emphasis on expressive, associational activity, nonprofits allow individuals and communities to transform their commitment into concrete collective action. When nonprofits speak directly to important public needs and lead collectivities to devise effective solutions to public problems, these diverse organizations ranging from block clubs to national membership groups help overcome some of the cynicism and distrust that stifle civic and political engagement. The special ability of nonprofit and voluntary activity to mobilize and connect individuals clearly has significant direct and indirect political implications.

Nonprofit and voluntary organizations are linked with the political process in six different ways, which range in character from nonpartisan to very partisan. First, nonprofits build trust, cohesion and social capital in communities. Through church groups, veterans' clubs, PTAs, and many other kinds of organizations and associations, individuals find connections to one another and build a sense of community and solidarity that leads to greater enthusiasm for community life. This trust, or social capital, represents a critical reservoir of good will and serves as a catalyst for civic and political engagement. Second, nonprofits promote civic engagement directly by offering individuals a door that opens onto the public square and a tool for demonstrating commitment to something greater than narrow self-interest. Civic engagement skills are learned and honed through nonprofit and voluntary action. Third, nonprofits translate trust and civic engagement into direct political action by organizing people at the grassroots around interests and causes, by registering voters and spurring them to get out the vote, and by organizing town hall meetings and a host of other participation and empowerment activities aimed at bringing the individual into the public sphere. Fourth, nonprofits are linked to politics through advocacy work. Organized around broad issues and concerns, nonprofits play an important role in informing and educating the public and policymakers. Advocacy efforts take place at the local, state, national, and transnational levels. Fifth, nonprofits engage in direct lobbying around specific legislative issues. Almost every time government moves forward with a