defined. 2. Proportional equivalence between benefits and costs. Rules specifying the amount of resource products that a user is allocated are related to local conditions and to rules requiring labor, materials, and/or money inputs.

1. Clearly defined boundaries. The boundaries of the resource system (e.g., irrigation system or fishery) and the individuals or households with rights to harvest resource units are clearly

- 3. Collective-choice arrangements. Many of the individuals affected by harvesting and protection rules are included in the group that can modify these rules.
- 4. Monitoring. Monitors, who actively audit biophysical conditions and user behavior, are at least partially accountable to the users and/or are the users themselves.
- 5. **Graduated sanctions.** Users who violate rules-in-use are likely to receive graduated sanctions (depending on the seriousness and context of the offense) from other users, from officials
- accountable to these users, or from both. 6. Conflict-resolution mechanisms. Users and their officials have rapid access to low-cost, local action situations to resolve conflict among users or between users and officials.
- 7. **Minimal recognition of rights to organize.** The rights of users to devise their own institutions are not challenged by external governmental authorities, and users have long-term tenure rights to the resource

For resources that are parts of larger systems: 8. **Nested enterprises.** Appropriation, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution,

and governance activities are organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises.