

Office of Research and the University Graduate School

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Research & Creative Activity

INDIANA UNIVERSITY



Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis



Twentieth Anniversary

Research, both pure and applied, and creative activities are ongoing and essential aspects of life on the campuses at Indiana University. The quality of instructional education at any institution is tremendously enhanced if based upon and continuously associated with research and creative inquiry. It is significant, therefore, that the emphasis at IU not only is placed upon fundamental and basic research but also is directed toward developmental activities designed to discover those applications of research that characterize the efforts of many of our faculty in the arts and sciences as well as the professional schools.

As an overview of the diverse and interesting programs of research, scholarship, and creative activities conducted at Indiana University, *Research & Creative Activity* offers its readers an opportunity to become familiar with the professional accomplishments of our distinguished faculty. We hope the articles that appear in *Research & Creative Activity* continue to be intellectually stimulating to readers and make them more aware of the great diversity and depth of the research and artistic creativity underway at Indiana University. A full and exciting life is being created here, now and for the future. From our readers we welcome suggestions for topics for future articles in *Research & Creative Activity* that will demonstrate further the scholarly activity at Indiana University.

Research & Creative Activity

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Volume XVI Number 3
January 1994

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From the Editor

In this issue of *Research & Creative Activity* we have chosen to feature the work done at the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, as the Workshop participants prepare to celebrate its twentieth anniversary. It was almost twenty years ago, in 1975, that the Workshop officially became one of Indiana University's research centers. With funding from the Office of Research and the University Graduate School, the College of Arts and Sciences, the National Science Foundation, and the Tocqueville Endowment for the Study of Human Institutions, the Workshop has compiled a record that has been nationally and internationally recognized.

Elinor Ostrom's recent book, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), brought the following comment from Bruno S. Frey of University of Zurich, "This is modern institutional analysis at its best. One could only wish that more books of this type be written and published. Ostrom's book constitutes a significant advance in economists' knowledge and provides many new insights well worth teaching to students."

The Workshop's early studies on police organizations (done mostly in the 1970s) led to 7 books, over 80 articles, and 14 dissertations while involving 250 undergraduates and graduate students in fieldwork in Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Chicago. Chief of Police of University City, Missouri, Col. James P. Damos, wrote, "In my judgment, their [the Workshop] programs have provided the law enforcement profession with much needed information which, potentially, can be utilized to further improve the operations of law enforcement agencies nationwide. Without hesitation, I can state that much of the information provided by their projects and publications has had an impact on the operations of the University City Police Department. For this I shall be eternally in debt to Dr. Elinor Ostrom and her most talented colleagues."

Within the framework of the Workshop, Co-Directors Arthur F. Bentley Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Vincent Ostrom, and Arthur F. Bentley Professor of Political Science, Elinor Ostrom, have worked diligently to provide a home for experienced and not so experienced scholars to critically examine ideas, evaluate their scientific merit, perform the experiments, and then disseminate the results for the benefit of many. According to Vincent, the Workshop is involved in theoretical problems that have numerous practical applications, "We are interested in such things as why don't schools work better? Why do some roads deteriorate so rapidly? How do you reduce crime? How do you get better water quality?" All very important and practical questions not only for the postdoctoral scholars but undergraduates and graduate students.



Over the years the Workshop has expanded to include researchers from throughout the United States, Canada, Western and Eastern Europe, Latin America, countries of the former Soviet Union, Africa, the Middle East, India, Nepal, and east Asia. This has allowed the Workshop to provide a multidisciplinary, multinational perspective on their three central areas of research: common-pool resources, large-scale political order (on national and international regimes), and institutional arrangements, which include its original research in police studies and more recent addition of metropolitan governance.

The presence of national and international scholars allows Workshop students a unique opportunity to learn from other cultures as they present and defend their arguments. Sue Crawford, currently a graduate student in the Department of Political Science, summarized the teaching aspects of the Workshop well when she stated, "There is a real sense in which students who participate in classes and other discussion in the Workshop are treated as professionals. It's given me experience in being a colleague in a research environment outside of the ordinary experience that you get in the classroom."

With the variety of subjects that are studied, and the number of disciplines that come together in the Workshop, a highly specialized and a unique library collection is being compiled. The library, which is open to the public, already contains twenty-thousand items that include books, journals, reprints, working papers, newsletters, reports, and several databases.

We congratulate Vincent and Elinor Ostrom, their many colleagues, several whom are discussed in this issue, and their hundreds of students on this, their twentieth anniversary. And we thank them for providing us all with a wealth of knowledge and for making the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis such a success.

P. Sarita Soni
Professor of Optometry
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Guest Editorial

The problems of the cultural and social sciences are more difficult than we could have imagined twenty years ago. On the one hand, we are more conscious of the limits of our own knowledge. On the other hand, the intelligence that people in everyday life mobilize in coping with the circumstances they face never ceases to amaze us. Those of us in the university face a challenge and lots of hard work in coming to understand what is problematic in the lives of people. We need to understand the structure of the situations in which people find themselves, and how their understanding is articulated in ways of thinking and ways of living.

Once we understood the logic of the use of land and water in paddy agriculture, for example, we came to appreciate the marvel of hillside terraces in Nepal and elsewhere that would justify their being considered among the Wonders of the World. In a contrary way, intelligent people can perversely reduce urban landscapes to rubble. How people think of themselves, structure their relationships with others, and pursue the opportunities that they see as available to them may make the difference between a sustainable and meaningful way of life and one reduced to rubble. Working with others to gain mutual advantage under changing conditions of life requires substantial use of knowledge, moral sensitivity, skills, and intelligence in the exercise of self-organizing and self-governing capabilities.

A great difficulty in the cultural and social sciences is learning how to sort out ideas for their scientific merit. Allusions to ideas as ideologies, associated with false consciousness, do not help in establishing the connection between ideas and what gets done. The rhetoric used to appeal to voters and followers need not stand critical scrutiny in winning elections and gaining followers. The scientific merit of ideas turns not only upon logical coherence but also upon how ideas work in practice. Experiments need to work; and experimenters need to know what they are doing. Meeting such standards is more difficult in field settings than in laboratory settings.

Dismissing ideas out of hand is a mistake. Instead, they need critical consideration in light of experience. Establishing the merit of ideas in the cultural and social sciences requires us to understand the way incentives influence actions and what gets done in human societies. The logic of functioning in market relationships is quite different from the logic of family life with its intergenerational cycle of life. Both are essential to human societies. Organizing to participate in community activities, to mediate and resolve conflicts, and to carry on other activities that are constitutive of life in human societies depend upon the use of the logics of situations to establish organizing principles. We need to learn how to work with ideas in the context of prototypical situations and to be critically aware of their limitations and how they work. In a world where rapid and interactive communication is becoming a technological fact of life, it is too easy to assume that everyone is like oneself without considering the problems of crossing the thresholds of



diverse language communities associated with different cultures and ways of life. The exercise of problem-solving capabilities requires a sense of mutual regard for each other and a willingness to draw upon what people can learn from one another in building levels of common knowledge and shared communities of understanding that are constitutive of emerging ways of life.

Effective working relationships among communities of scholars, professionals, and practical problem-solvers in a world of interactive communication will also require quite different types of institutional arrangements within universities and within communities of people preoccupied with the resolution of problems in the realms of public affairs. We need to think about "workshops in the academy" and "academies in the workplace" that allow for the critical examination of ideas and what is viable, workable, and sustainable over time. Libraries are critically important in the academy, but it is just as important that both students and mature scholars from different linguistic and cultural traditions learn to work together in developing and pursuing common research agendas. What we have learned from our experience of working with students and colleagues at the Workshop is that work as it unfolds can be immensely stimulating and productive. Each achievement is the beginning of new adventures. Research and teaching are essential complements; and working with colleagues concerned with practical problems in public affairs is a basic challenge in establishing the worth of what we have to profess.

Elinor Ostrom
Arthur F. Bentley Professor of Political Science
Co-Director
Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis

Vincent Ostrom
Arthur F. Bentley Professor Emeritus of Political Science
Co-Director
Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis

A Foundation for Collaboration



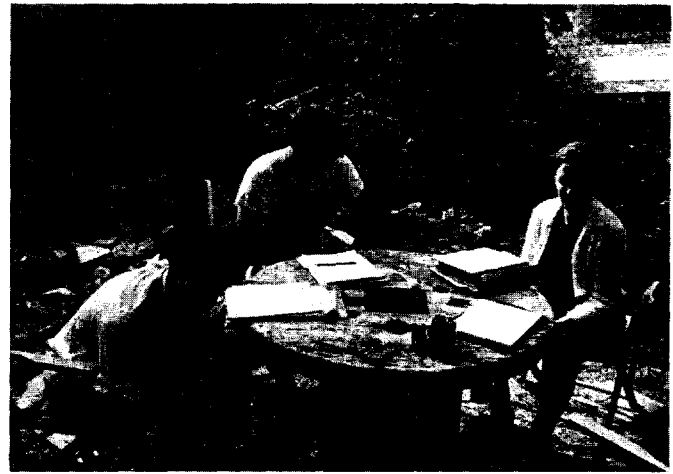
Under the guidance of a local cabinetmaker, Vincent and Elinor (Lin) Ostrom learned much about woodworking and helped create some beautiful furniture. Their teacher, Paul Goodman, had a deep understanding of principles, says Lin, and he applied them repeatedly in many different ways. "We saw problems through the eyes of a master craftsman."

The Ostroms found the notion of mastery a fitting metaphor to describe what they hoped the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis would become: a center where students and scholars could master the craft of using political and economic theory as an analytical tool, not only in the design and conduct of empirical research but in the study of public policy problems. The Ostroms formed the Workshop in 1973. They and a generation of colleagues are now celebrating its twentieth anniversary.

"The graduate students at the Workshop are like Vincent and I were in the cabinet shop," says Lin, "interested and informed." But the goal of graduate school, she says, is to train students to be autonomous. "So they have to advance from apprentice to journeyman. You don't expect Ph.D.s who are wet behind the ears to be masters of their craft, but you do expect them to be qualified to set up their own shop."

To be autonomous, says Vincent, scholars have to know more than what is in their specialized disciplines. They also need to resist the tendency, found in the social sciences and humanities, simply to accumulate credit hours to earn a degree. "Our assumption is that people who are taking courses ought to be engaged in elements of productive scholarship, so that when they get to the point of passing their comprehensive examinations, they already have pretty well in mind the kinds of problems they want to study, and have acquired the skills appropriate to those problems." Therefore, the question of a minor field becomes important, as does the additional skills that need to be learned.

Suppose that one day these students, now with their doctorates, find themselves analyzing some aspect of a municipal water supply project. Their major field of study



The Ostroms (left) at their summer writing retreat, a log cabin they built on Manitoulin Island in Ontario, Canada, in 1968.

Indiana alumni, John Stokes and Gordon Whitaker, now a professor at the University of North Carolina, and Lin Ostrom (from left to right) discuss the study of community organization in Black neighborhoods in Chicago while working at the Ostrom's summer writing retreat in 1972. The discussions that took place here are pre-Workshop, but formulated the foundations for the research programs that were carried out at the Workshop in the 1970s.

may have been political science, says Vincent, but they could very well need to know something about law, about economics, about engineering, or about public and environmental affairs. They certainly will need to know whether the project is technically feasible and whether it is economical: whether it is worth doing, both from a monetary point of view and from a political or social point of view. They will have to deal with surveys and draftsmanship and will need to ask the right questions to the engineers planning the project. They will, like the Ostrom's cabinetmaker, need to apply the principles of their craft in many different ways.

The idea for a Workshop arose in response to what Lin calls a "happening." The Ostroms had come to the IU Department of Political Science from the University of California at Los Angeles in the mid-1960s. In 1969 Lin taught a graduate seminar on measuring the output of public goods. The research project for the seminar was to study different kinds of police organizations in the Indianapolis area. More specifically, Lin and her students wanted to find out if it made a difference for neighborhoods that were essentially similar to be served by suburban police rather than metropolitan police.

At the same time, students in Lin's undergraduate honors seminar were saying: "Can't we do something different?" By mutual consent, the graduates and undergraduates worked together on the research project. They were trained in interviewing techniques, gathered data in Indianapolis,

Speedway, Beech Grove, and Lawrence, and helped with the analysis. There was no money for the project, says Lin, but "the students were really enthusiastic. You don't need money [so much as] you need resources, and human resources are very important."

After the seminar project was completed, several black students came to Lin and asked: "What about black communities, and the police departments there?" Find some black communities that are independently incorporated and receptive to our research, said Lin. So the students did. The pattern of the first seminar was repeated, this time in Chicago and its environs, in a course offered through the Afro-American Studies Program. The student interviewers were welcomed into the communities by local officials and the Workshop made a commitment to furnish reports on the survey if requested.

"The students were not being used like a bunch of gofers to do something the faculty wanted to do," says Lin. "They were very much involved in the design of the project, although not everything a student suggested went on the interview form: they were not yet masters of their craft."

This pattern of student involvement in research has been repeated numerous times at the Workshop in subsequent years. The important point to remember, says Lin, is that the impetus for the involvement came from the students themselves. "This was a happening. We thought it was a good happening and we began to build on it." Lin started applying for grants to fund the research and, of necessity, had to explain the nature of the "organization" she represented. "At that point, we realized that for strategic reasons we needed to set up some kind of enterprise that was identifiable."

The Ostroms' proposal for an identifiable organization was made on November 1, 1972. The form of the organization was to be that of a "workshop," a term borrowed from the Workshop on Federalism at the University of Chicago. Officially a part of the political science department, the Workshop would encourage faculty members to collaborate on research efforts and would have only a rudimentary internal structure, the details of which were to be arranged by its members. It was, in other words, to be self-governing.

The importance given to self-governance within the Workshop was a commitment by the Ostroms to democratic principles at the most fundamental level. They recognized that these principles apply to a small research organization just as much as they apply to an entire nation. "I don't see how you can have a democratic society that is run from the center and still maintain long-term viability," says Vincent. "People have to have some understanding of what it means to be their own governors."

"We attempt," says Lin, "to take the very understanding that we get from [our research] and build it into the way we operate the Workshop." The result, according to Librarian Charlotte Hess, is a research center that operates in a truly unique manner. The usual division between faculty and staff does not exist at the Workshop. Decisions on projects and daily operations are arrived at cooperatively and not simply sent down through a hierarchical chain of command. "People who work here love working here," says Hess, "because they

are given a lot of independence and numerous opportunities to be creative."

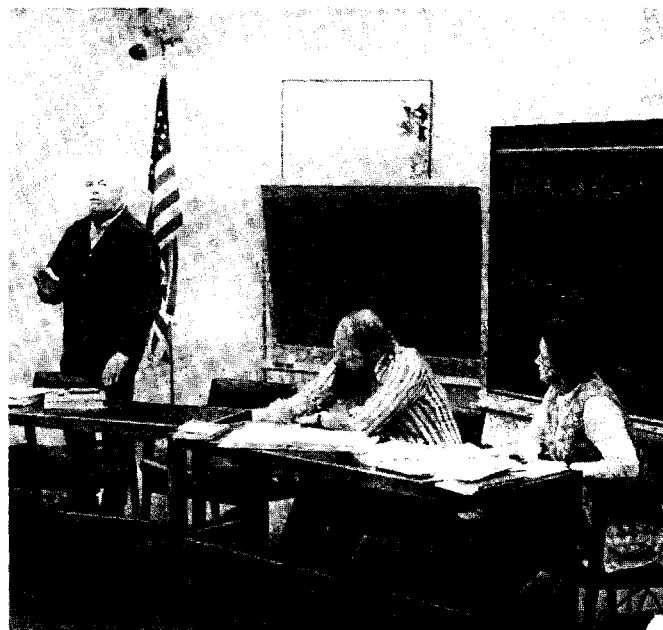
The Ostroms' proposal listed several definite goals for the new Workshop. It was to facilitate grant applications so that outside funding could be sought more effectively. It was to provide a backdrop against which the continuity of research by faculty and students would stand out. And it was to publish working papers, hold a weekly colloquium, and invite presentations by scholars from other institutions.

The Workshop was intended, says Vincent, as a forum in which scholars could deal with theoretical problems that have practical applications, thus avoiding the danger of academic abstraction. "If you want a lot of preaching about political philosophy, you can do it without research. But the problems that philosophers and political theorists like David Hume, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Thomas Hobbes were addressing were problems in human societies. If you simply engage in a kind of ad hominem speculation [about ideas], it doesn't take you very far."

This emphasis on the relationship of theory to practical analysis is one of the Workshop's primary organizing principles. "We are interested in such things as: Why don't schools work better? Why do some roads deteriorate so rapidly? How do you reduce crime? How do you get better water quality?"

The colloquium series emerged from the Ostroms' desire to continue their own training in the craft of scholarship and to contribute to that of their colleagues. The goal was to create a forum in which people would enjoy giving presentations, in which they could be sure of useful feedback

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Robert Bish (center), now a professor at the University of Victoria in British Columbia, works with Lin and Vincent at a seminar on community organization. The seminar was held at the University of New Hampshire just after the Workshop began in 1974.

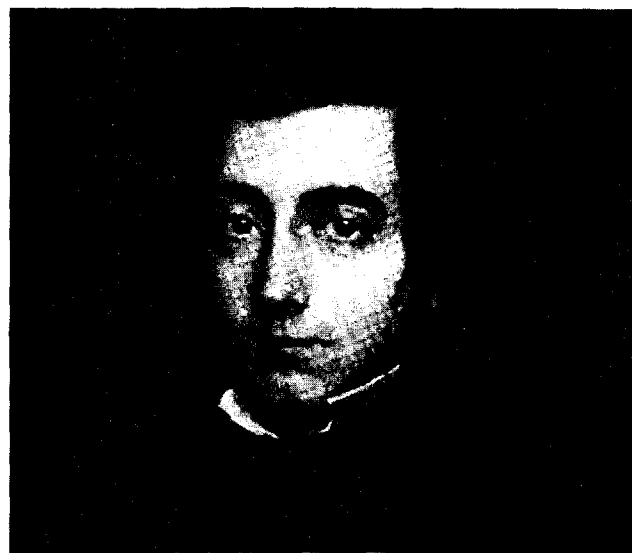
Loaves and Fishes

An infinite amount of research is waiting to be done, according to Lin Ostrom, and a university never has enough money to pay for it all. So, the problem for a research center becomes like that of the loaves and the fishes: how do you stretch the funds available to cover the work you think is essential? Until recently the Workshop has had two sources of funding: the university and outside grants. "But that is a very precarious way of living," she says, "because [while the university budget is reasonably predictable] some grants are awarded for relatively short periods," leaving little time for planning and requiring grant proposals as often as every six months.

The Workshop began life without any separate university budget, as part of the Department of Political Science. After it became an official research center, it was responsible to, and received a budget from, the Office of Research and the University Graduate School (RUGS). The support from RUGS, and that received from the College of Arts and Sciences, has been absolutely essential, says Ostrom.

Yet these offices cannot afford to fund the Workshop entirely, a fact in which Ostrom sees a certain propriety. "A university wants to know that you are successfully running the gauntlet of peer review [that is, successfully competing for non-university funds]. We've always had funding from the National Science Foundation, for example, even though it is tough to get. If we were not to have NSF money for a while, I would think we had lost our edge. And I would think that the deans would begin to wonder if we were working at the forefront of research." But problems arise—besides the short life span of most grants—when a research center relies on outside funding to pay for what the university budget cannot. "Something can emerge from a grant-financed project that is a great idea but you don't have the money for it. Or you learn of a visitor who would add significantly to a program, yet you can't get immediate funding from the outside." It is also more difficult to get grant money now than it was twenty years ago. Budgets at the NSF and at other funding organizations are tighter, the number of grants turned away is greater, and the amounts awarded are all too frequently much less than requested.

In addition, says Ostrom, any research center that seeks outside funding faces a potential risk to its autonomy. "We have tried hard not to become a contract research firm." These private groups act as consultants, doing research for contract, and sometimes they are forced to work in areas outside their main interest to survive. "What we've tried to do has been a very delicate task. How do we search for funds to do the things we think are really important—and that the funding organizations think are important—but with our own direction of inquiry as the major focus?"

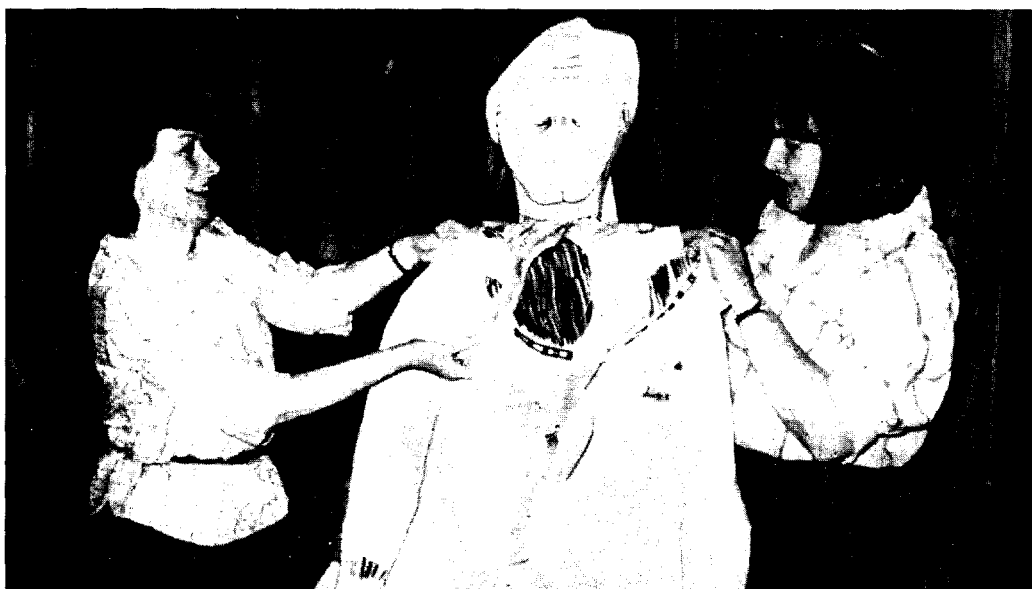


*Alexis de Tocqueville, a statesman and diplomat who lived in the 1800s, wrote *Democracy in America* and *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, two of the required texts for all students who study at the Workshop.*

So that it would not have to depend solely on a combination of university budget and outside funding, so that it would have three sources of income rather than just two, the Workshop established in 1984 the Tocqueville Endowment for the Study of Human Institutions. The endowment has been supported primarily by Workshop faculty and research associates and by former students. Earnings from the endowment, says Ostrom, will be used as a discretionary source of income. The intention is to cushion the Workshop from the fluctuations of grant monies, to keep the postdoctoral program funded, to finance smaller research projects (including undergraduate research), and to help underwrite Workshop publications.

The endowment is named for Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), a French scholar and the author of *Democracy in America*. The work of de Tocqueville, according to Vincent Ostrom, "has become a 'model'—an exemplary form of scholarship—to guide inquiries concerned with the constitution of order in human societies." De Tocqueville's personal hopes for the great experiment of American democracy are reflected in the endowment's official purpose: "to support the study of institutions and how they can be modified to facilitate self-governance and development in human societies."

The immediate financial goal for the endowment is \$1 million. The Ostroms believe that with the help of contributors beyond those directly associated with the Workshop this goal can be reached during the twentieth anniversary year. They hope to see it doubled soon afterward. The endowment is the Workshop's own non-miraculous way of multiplying the loaves and the fishes.
—Tom Tierney



The dressing of this mockup of Vincent occurred at a roast honoring him for receiving the Arthur F. Bentley professorship in 1985. The courtiers are Linda Sproule-Jones, spouse of Professor Mark Sproule-Jones, and then Assistant Professor Roberta Herzberg, now on the faculty at Utah State University.

and confident that they were part of a community that shared critical concerns. "We do this every single Monday at noon," says Lin, "and have done so since day one of the Workshop. This is teaching in a way that not only builds knowledge for all of us but builds it in the intellectual community." This kind of forum, for people with interdisciplinary interests like those of the Ostroms, did not exist before 1973. "So, we have colleagues from political science, from economics, from business, from SPEA, from anthropology, and from sociology, plus our own graduate students and other graduate students who find our topics interesting."

The Workshop officially became a research center in 1975, the year after moving its offices from Woodburn Hall to Morgan Hall. Another move followed in 1978, this time to a former fraternity house on East Third Street. Then, in 1981, the Ostroms spent a year in Germany as participants in a multidisciplinary and multinational research group, a year destined to become a watershed in the Workshop's history.

Working at the Center for Interdisciplinary Research at Bielefeld University, the research group studied guidance, control, and performance evaluation in the public sector. "The focus was on public sector problems, writ large," says Vincent, who still marvels at the extraordinary circumstance of studying with scholars from so many different countries and so many different backgrounds. Vincent became increasingly aware that there were long-standing traditions in European sociology, in Austrian economics, in German theory of order, in continental game theory, and in the use of experimental methods of research—all of which emphasized quite different approaches from those describing behavioral regularities associated with causal determinants as distinguished from creative artisanship.

As a result of the year at Bielefeld the emphasis of the Workshop changed in many ways. It began to focus more explicitly on problems that were broadly comparative and not confined to the United States. To make this transition possible, the nature of the Workshop's collaborations had to change. "I came to the conclusion," says Vincent, "that if we

were to understand anything about the different areas of the world, we had to have people from those areas sitting around the table in our regular conversations."

The Workshop, in other words, began to expand into what it has become today: an international network of collaborating scholars. That network now includes, besides researchers from throughout the United States and Canada, scholars from western and eastern Europe, Latin America, the former Soviet Union, Africa, the middle East, India, Nepal, and east Asia. Beginning in 1983, as a corollary to its new, international focus, the Workshop shifted much of its attention to research and instruction at the postdoctoral level. This meant it had to establish an organized program for visiting scholars. "We came home from Bielefeld with the sense that there was real value in a postdoctoral program in advanced studies," says Lin.

The change was necessary, agrees Vincent. "There isn't a bright student from whom I can't learn something," he says. "On the other hand, if, for example, I'm going to be dealing with the [former] Soviet system, I would prefer to work with a mature Russian scholar, with whom I can engage in conversation over an extended period. I can get a much deeper understanding of the problems of Russian society in that way."

While an extensive postdoctoral program was not part of the original vision, there were some visiting scholars at the Workshop during its first ten years. At about the time the Workshop moved to its present location, at 513 North Park Avenue, the Ostroms realized that with a statement of intent and a procedure for application, a more active program could be created.

"We now have anywhere from six to ten visiting scholars in any one year," says Lin, "most of them from outside the U.S. Some come as new Ph.D.s and some as master scholars in possession of a named chair." In 1984 the Workshop began preparing for an external review of its operations. The task, says Lin, was to organize a coherent description of their work. "We saw coherence, but we had never articulated it." It became clear that the Workshop's research had expanded

Vincent in Igbomina, Nigeria, with a local chief and his wife, in 1987. During a lecture series to the civil services of Kware State in Nigeria, Vincent visited several villages to understand local life.



considerably during the previous decade and could now be described as occurring at three distinct, though interrelated, levels.

At the microinstitutional level, research focuses on small-scale units in which much of the organization is done by the participants themselves. One of the principal thrusts of this research has been the examination of local governance issues related to what are known as common-pool resources: natural or manufactured resources that benefit people sharing a common location. Research on common-pool resources (or CPRs) has been conducted through formal economic analysis, social experiments in the laboratory, and in such field settings as groundwater basins in California, irrigation systems in Nepal, and forest reserves in Uganda. Another thrust of research at this level has dealt with formal and experimental investigations of the dynamics of voting rules and internal organization on the activities of committees.

At the macroinstitutional level, researchers focus on large-scale political orders: on national and international regimes. Study at this level frequently has meant trying to explain the observed tendency for great experiments in human governance to become monumental disasters. Workshop researchers have published studies on a variety of such disasters, including the collapse of the communist system in the former Soviet Union, the tyranny of military regimes in South America, and the failure of centralized states in Africa.

The third level of research examines institutional arrangements that are intermediate in scope. Falling into this grouping is the police study and its successor investigations into the delivery of other services in urban areas and metropolitan governance more generally. More recently,

Workshop researchers have expanded their investigations of service delivery overseas to the problems of providing education or maintaining infrastructure in developing nations.

What unites research at all three levels and gives it coherence is the application of a common approach or framework for understanding diverse social phenomena. The basic building blocks of the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework are the presumptions that people make decisions and act based on the incentives they face in a particular situation and that those incentives are rooted in part upon human nature, shared communities of understanding, and the rules that people make to govern their lives.

For example, suppose that researchers at the Workshop needed to find out why, in one of the developing countries, newly-built highways are reduced to rubble within five or ten years. The institutional analysis they would perform would begin with understanding the motivations of those involved on the belief, says Lin, that the explanation for the problem rests ultimately on individual people. Those individuals—members of the highway department, local politicians, construction workers, people who use the roads, and others—all have motives for their behavior. What makes it complicated is that the motivations are not all the same.

The researchers would next consider where the differing incentives came from. It could be that engineers in the highway department are more highly rewarded for constructing sleek new highways than fixing potholes. It could be that local users have no authority for limiting the access of oversized or overweight trucks. It could be that the construction contract so emphasized cost savings that quality

suffered. Or it could be that there was little incentive for maintenance because the international donors who financed the roads would blindly agree to rebuild them whenever asked. "Our presumption is that the fault could be anywhere," says Lin. "We have trained ourselves to ask questions in a systematic way in order to find it." Obviously institutional analysis is applied in different ways depending on the particular problem or level of investigation. That is hard enough, but the real challenge for Workshop researchers is to understand the interrelationships between the levels.

The current challenge for the Workshop, in this anniversary year, is to make a critical assessment of what has been learned in the past two decades and to provide a synthesis of that work. With this goal in mind, the colloquium series for 1993-94 will bring in scholars from around the world who have played a central role in past Workshop research. There will also be a "Workshop on the Workshop," in June of 1994, for the presentation of papers

and panel discussions on the Workshop's progress. Finally, in 1994-95, internal and external panels will review the Workshop, with the goal of helping it prepare for future research, education, and service.

All of these efforts are part of the Workshop's original challenge: to master the principles of political theory and public policy analysis and to apply these principles in the creation of knowledge. This is an active approach to the craft of scholarship. It is fundamental to the Workshop's vision.

—Tom Tierney

Investigating the Police

In 1971 Lin Ostrom received a small grant to study police organization, as an outgrowth of earlier undergraduate and graduate seminar projects. This grant, and the research it supported, formed the foundation for a significant body of study in the Workshop. After the Workshop was established, twenty-two graduate students came to participate in this productive, evolving research over the next eighteen years. Fourteen students completed dissertations on police organization. Workshop members received twelve grants totalling over \$3 million from numerous funding sources, including the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the National Institute of Justice. The primary researchers published seven books and over 80 articles. Over 250 undergraduate and graduate students participated in the fieldwork in Indianapolis, St. Louis, Chicago, and other major metropolitan areas.

The initial inquiry concerned the effects of police force size and professional training upon the quality of urban police services to different neighborhoods. A comprehensive report of one of the main studies was *Patterns of Metropolitan Policing* by Lin Ostrom, Roger Parks, and Gordon Whitaker (Ballinger Press, 1978). In a review of the book that appeared in *Public Administration Review*, Louis Weschler wrote: "The major finding is that there is no one most effective, efficient, equitable, and responsive mode of police organization. Design, reform, and change of organizations should be tailored to the community and regional setting . . . This finding is hardly radical, until one compares it with the traditional prescriptions of studies based upon the largest of our national municipal and metropolitan police systems.

The research work is very carefully done and the findings are persuasive."

Besides doing fieldwork and publishing their results with academic presses, the Workshop members were committed to disseminating relevant information to public officials who could benefit from the findings. Long before the Indianapolis study (completed in 1973) was published as a monograph by Sage Publications, the Workshop sent a mimeographed version of the report to public officials in the Indianapolis area and to all citizens who were respondents and had requested a copy of the study. The Workshop adopted a similar strategy for a project in Chicago. In the St. Louis study (completed in 1978), they drafted individual reports for each of the twenty-nine police chiefs whose departments were included in the study. In this study, they sent out over seven hundred reports to those who requested a copy of the study. Another dissemination tool was their newsletter "Workshop Reports." It was sent to over two-thousand police and public officials throughout the country.

Workshop members also shared theoretical considerations and research findings by participating on advisory boards and review panels, providing in-service training, speaking to audiences and delivering papers at professional meetings. It was at this time that the Workshop began its unique library collection. Researchers gathered documents relating to local jurisdictions in the two-hundred metropolitan areas studied in the 1975 Police Services Study. The library thus enabled them to provide better research support for present and future scholars.

—Charlotte Hess

Determining the Rules of the Game

Since 1960, geysers have been a significant geothermal power source in northern California. Fed by groundwater and combined with geothermal heat, geysers produce steam energy harnessed by electrical turbines at ground level. Because of northern California's increased energy demands, the demand for steam exceeds the natural supply. The geysers are drying up and will almost certainly be destroyed by the end of the century. Extinction of this common-pool resource precludes its use by future generations. How can this problem and others similar to it, referred to by social scientists as the tragedy of the commons, be avoided? How can people motivated by individual self-interest cooperate to use and, more important, preserve resources they hold in common?

Since he defined the concept in a landmark article (*Science*, 1968), Garrett Hardin's "tragedy of the commons" has come to symbolize the degradation of the environment to be expected whenever many individuals own a scarce resource in common. As Aristotle long ago observed, "what is common to the greatest number has the least care bestowed upon it. Everyone thinks chiefly of his own, hardly at all of the common interest." An interdisciplinary team of scholars at the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis is in the business of developing solutions to these kinds of problems. The team, which among others, includes Professor of Political Science and co-director of the Workshop, Lin Ostrom and Professors of Economics Roy Gardner and Jimmy Walker, explores the conditions under which the tragedy of the commons is inexorable. Indeed, the Workshop team is ultimately challenging the generally accepted assumption that communities will not organize to regulate the self-interested, albeit rational, actions of individuals who own a scarce resource collectively.

In an article titled "Covenants With and Without a Sword," Ostrom, Walker, and Gardner address the statement that Hobbes made in the *Leviathan* that "Covenants without the sword are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all." Current political theory also advances the assumption that individuals cannot make credible commitments where substantial temptations exist to break the rules unless such commitments are enforced by an external agent. The researchers at the Workshop are dedicated to the proposition that people can craft alternatives which enable self-governing communities to cope with the commons problem themselves without becoming subject to some form of autocratic rule.

Lin Ostrom notes that "so much social science has been [devoted to] grand visions that have not been grounded in critical scrutiny, equivalent to the physicist's lab." Given the scale and nature of common-pool resource problems, it is not difficult to understand how grand visions might prevail over substantial conclusions. The Workshop team, however, is committed to bringing together theories of behavior with empirical observation and then testing those observations to develop axioms about how people behave toward common-pool resources. Their primary goal is not merely to provide



Joseph Bahati and Pius Kizito from the Department of Forestry in Kampala Uganda, and C. Dustin Becker, faculty member in the School of Public and Environmental Affairs at Indiana University (from right to left) are waiting to talk to the villagers of Mbazzi in September of 1993. They were preparing a site report to the owners of nearby Namungo's Forest.

answers; it is to develop strategies for enabling people to formulate rules for constructive self-governance.

The Workshop team believes in the time-honored economic principle of the division of labor. Each member's input, whether that member is a recognized authority in the field or a graduate research assistant, is based on the individual researcher's interests and specializations. Ostrom and her colleagues conduct empirical research in the field; Gardner, the game theorist, formulates theoretical propositions that can be tested in laboratory environments; and Walker and his associates operationalize those theories in the lab with subjects. Their book, *Rules, Games, and Common-Pool Resources* is forthcoming from the University of Michigan Press.

Gardner, Ostrom, and Walker's collaboration enables them to identify a framework for analysis, construct theories about strategies of behavior operative within that framework, and then test those theories in a lab and in the field. The notions of framework, theory, and model are broad variables present in any and all of the work conducted at the Workshop. Frameworks, or paradigmatic ways of looking at the world, enable the social scientist to identify a kind of problem in political economies. Over the last decade, colleagues at the Workshop have employed the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework as a method for identifying how attributes of a physical world interact with

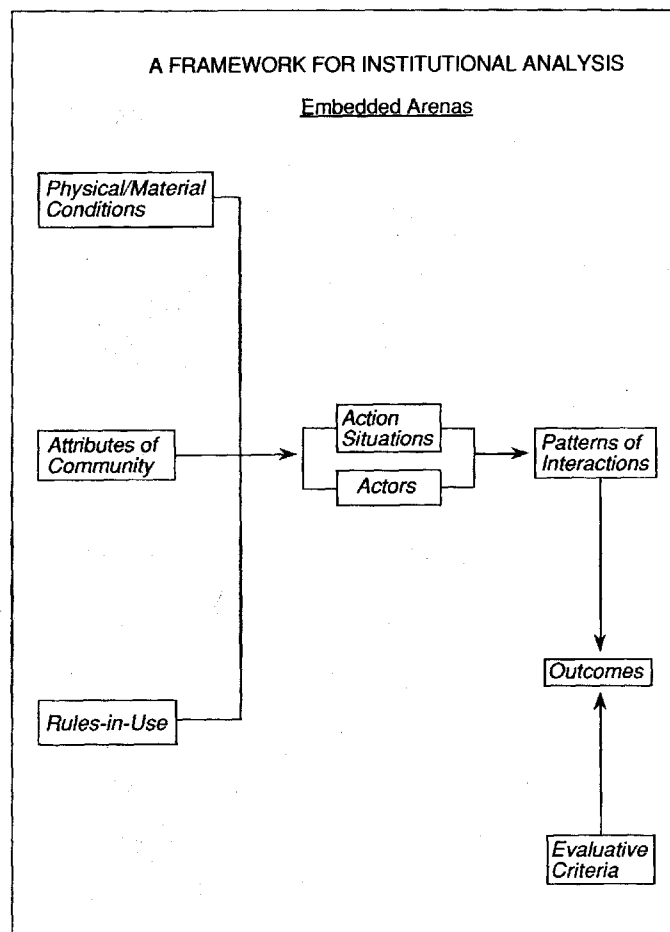
those of the general cultural setting and for analyzing how the specific rules-in-use affect the incentives facing individuals in particular situations. The IAD framework is useful for predicting the likely outcomes of such interaction. It is distinct from many other frameworks closely tied to a single academic discipline primarily because it demands that all situations under analysis be viewed as being composed of the same set of elements. Thus, while harvesting timber or thatch differ in many important ways, these diverse situations can all be described by identifying and analyzing how particular elements, which constitute the situations at hand, lead to patterns observed. These elements include asking and analyzing responses to the following questions:

- Who are the participants?
- What are the positions held?
- What actions can they take?
- What information do they possess?
- What outcomes can occur?
- How are actions and outcomes linked?
- What benefits and costs are assigned to actions and outcomes?

As field researchers, Ostrom and her part of the team observe how theories that predict human behavior play themselves out in real life. She says she "picks prototypic situations like a biologist picks *E. coli*." She goes on to explain, "there is nothing very exciting about *E. coli* except that it reproduces very fast; it happens to be a very simple little critter, and it's the source of an immense amount of human misery. And so it turns out to be the prototype that is worked on. Well, common-pool resources are our prototypical equivalent to 'biological organisms.'"

The "organisms" studied by the Workshop team range in scale from in-shore fisheries to irrigation systems and forest resources. Their defining characteristics are captured by the economic principles of rivalry in consumption (i.e., what one person consumes, the other cannot) and excludability (i.e., excluding individuals from having access to the common resource is not generally considered economically or constitutionally feasible). These characteristics lead to a social dilemma often referred to as the "free-rider" problem: users of a common-pool resource have strong motivation to take benefits out of a cooperatively owned resource, but they may have little motivation to expend energy maintaining it. Because the users of the system see it as a "free ride," no one feels responsible for its upkeep and the initial investment falls to waste.

Irrigation systems have proven to be very useful prototypic situations for Ostrom and her colleagues. She and her research associates have devoted three years' work to the study of irrigation systems in Nepal and other developing countries. Their field observations have included exploration of circumstances in developing countries where international donors spend billions of dollars constructing massive irrigation systems that work far below projected efficiencies five years later. Ostrom and numerous colleagues are currently beginning a large project that will result in the compilation of an international database on different kinds of institutions people have developed to govern the use and maintenance of forests. Besides studying forests in the U. S. and Canada, researchers will investigate ways forest use is



A schematic used in the Workshop to illustrate the major working parts of Institutional Analysis.

organized in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. A database that indexes alternative methods of governing forest commons has significant implications for environmental strategies aimed at reducing deforestation and the subsequent global warming which results from it. Ostrom says she has chosen forests as her current empirical focus in part because they have many characteristics of common-pool resources and physically are a more complex resource problem than irrigation.

In addition to field research, the research on common-pool resources utilizes methodologies based on game theory and laboratory experimentation. Ostrom says the team uses game theory "as an approach that helps them to press a framework hard on the theoretical side to axiomize patterns of behavior and then get predictable results out of a theory." Experiments designed for the lab enable the researcher to verify and test precisely certain propositions about ways of governing common-pool resources. For example, Gardner and Walker developed a game structure they refer to as the "destruction" game and tested two treatments of this game in the laboratory. The treatments were designed to determine if subjects would act to maximize their own self-interest at the expense of others in their group and at the risk of destroying the resource itself. Utilizing the NovaNet

This example of terraced agriculture is a part of a farmer-organized irrigation system in Sindhu Palchok, Nepal, where the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Sciences is working jointly with the Workshop in analyzing institutional performance.



computer system at IU, the experiments used student volunteers recruited primarily from Indiana University economics classes. Subjects earned money based upon their own investment decisions and on those of the others in their experimental group.

In the first treatment, in which the subjects were *not* allowed to communicate, even minimal resource exploitation resulted in some probability of destruction of the resource. There was no pure safe zone within which subjects could reliably use the resource without some probability of destroying it. The second scenario also precluded communication among the subjects. Gardner explains: "we gave them this great world where if they would just back off a few percent [from an optimal profit margin], they could have an absolutely beautiful, risk-free world." The clear-cut safe zone for resource exploitation in this experiment was an interval which allowed for near-optimal profit. However, the group did not sustain this equilibrium. In the end, subjects' use of the resource exceeded the safe zone and the resource was destroyed. Reflecting on the results of the experiment, Gardner says that giving subjects opportunities for timeout and/or debate, or requiring participants to post a bond that would be forfeited upon the destruction of the CPR, poses viable institutional alternatives that may eliminate such inefficiencies in resource use.

Confidence in the ability of individuals to establish local, regional, or national institutions that facilitate reflection and productive individual choice underlies all of the Workshop's projects. Ostrom explains: "There is a dominant view that comes out of work in biology and economics where people have modeled the world and the model is logically true. Because the model is logically true and they can find

empirical instances, they overgeneralize and say, 'Therefore, that model applies to a whole array of situations.' And our kind of step-by-step careful work has been trying to say, 'Oh, now wait a minute. That model doesn't apply to everything.' Our work reveals a great deal of capacity to self-organize. The dominant theory is that you need a large-scale use of force. We are both showing that democracy and self-governance can work and demonstrating why it is difficult. It takes a critical self-awareness of a substantial kind to have a democratic society."

Observation of situations in which people have successfully avoided the tragedy of the commons without recourse to strong central government interventions and private property rights allows the Workshop team to make recommendations about the rules people can use to develop institutions tailored to their own needs and circumstances. Fishermen in a Turkish coastal village designed a lottery to determine who would be entitled to first use of the prime catch areas in the waters they fish in common. Eventually, each of the fishermen will rotate in and out of these areas. Homespun allocation schemes like this one are facilitating the economic health of inshore fisheries on the coast of Turkey.

In arid southern California, the sustained annual overdraft (more water being withdrawn than was replaced each year) of water basins underlying Los Angeles and adjacent to the Pacific Ocean threatened destruction of this essential resource either through depletion or through salt-water intrusion. Increases in population and industrial development during the 1930s and 1940s exacerbated the problem, so that by the end of World War II, the many water producers who pumped from West Basin faced a genuine

"Commons Dilemma." The large number of participants and the absence of an established forum to facilitate development of enforceable joint production strategies implied that as the water level fell, the basin would be destroyed by salt-water intrusion in a matter of a few years. But this is a success story: West Basin is in better shape today than it was forty years ago. Users took the initiative by establishing a voluntary private association—the West Basin Water Association—to enable face-to-face dialogue about their common problems. Subsequent discussions resulted in negotiation of a contingent contract by which users agreed to limit production if, and only if, 80 percent of the other producers also limited their withdrawal of water from the basin. The contract circumvented the problem of a user who voluntarily limited use from being "played for a sucker."

In this instance, discussion—what Hobbes referred to as "frail words"—rather than the intervention of Leviathan, resulted in a solution to a potentially tragic social trap. Dialogue enabled participants to think about, formulate, and select a different way of structuring a choice situation, with the productive consequence that users expanded their orientation toward individual rational self-interest and

created rules that promoted group rationality. It is this orientation which is essential to the development and maintenance of democratic societies.

Developing common languages and facilitating rational dialogue is the primary business of the community of scholars at the Workshop. As Lin Ostrom observes, "If you combine theory and some important policy issues so that the problems in the policy world drive the use of theoretical analysis, you can do good theoretical work at the forefront of the social sciences, and that theory can be the foundation for conceptualizing alternatives that allow for informed choice."
—Susan Moke



Seeing the Forest for the People

The Institutional Analysis and Design (IAD) framework can be applied to farmers' common use of irrigation systems or to their problems of governing and managing common grazing or forest lands. In Nepal many local farmers have successfully overcome problems of collective action with the help of results from an earlier database on institutions and irrigation systems. The results of research on irrigation institutions led Marilyn Hoskins of the Forest, Trees, and People program at the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to ask the Workshop to build a database that related forest resources and institutions so that better policy making about issues such as deforestation and global warming could be made in the future.

A central puzzle prompts this research: why are some forests around the world disappearing at the reported overall rate of seventeen million hectares a year, while other forests are being protected or harvested in a sustainable manner? Use of this common-pool resource (which provides lumber, firewood, animal foraging, and the indirect products of shade, soil fertility, water supply, clean air, and genetic diversity of flora and fauna) entails intricate relationships between village groups and local institutions; between individuals and the laws that govern the forest; and between governments and villages. Tucked away in towns and villages around the world are lessons of successful, traditional methods of governing forests as commons. Exploring how these lessons provide alternatives to strict government regulation or privatization is crucial to understanding how we can solve the pressing environmental problems of global proportion which now confront us.



Anne Nakawesi from the Department of Forestry at Makerere University is preparing a forest lot for measurement.



The International Forestry Resources and Institutions research team from Makerere and Indiana Universities gather for this photograph at the end of their fieldwork in Uganda in September 1993.

The International Forestry Resources and Institutions (IFRI) research program's groundbreaking research features the development of an empirical database designed to explain and predict what types of institutional arrangements are most likely to lead to the establishment of sustainable forest systems in a diversity of physical and cultural settings. For funding agencies and government-developed offices, as well as other scholars, the database will provide an empirical foundation for systematic analysis about

- how institutions affect the incentives facing forest users;
- how these incentives encourage forest users to engage in sustainable development or destructive use of forests;
- how forest users establish their own effective governance arrangements or continue to pursue independent strategies; and
- how forest users are affected by government-driven development activities and policies.

Project coordinator Mary Beth Wertheim, Lin Ostrom, and many students and staff developed structured data collection forms which were pretested in Bolivia, Mali, Nepal, and Uganda. Sharon Huckfeldt, database administrator, and her staff have created a complex, relational database that will store the data once collected. A cluster of regional collaborating research centers will be established in all regions of the world. The Workshop will serve as the designer of research instruments and advanced analysis techniques, the central archive for all of the data, and the coordinator of the network of collaborating centers.

The major intent of the IFRI project is to take a series of conceptual snapshots of a forest, the users of a forest, and the rules used to govern and manage a forest at different points in time. These linked snapshots will extend our vision of how we can best sustain and preserve this globally common resource.

—Susan Moke

Challenging the Conventional Wisdom

Workshop folk have never hesitated to go to the sources for original data," says Roger Parks, a long-time research associate at the Workshop and now Professor of Public and Environmental Affairs. Parks' fifteen-year collaboration with Lin Ostrom and others has not been an "ivory tower" study of urban policing services: "If we wanted to know about police organization, we went to the departments themselves and dug through their files. If we wanted to know what officers did on patrol, we and our students went out to ride with them [and] observe behavior over extended periods of time. If we wanted to know how governments worked in metropolitan areas, we went to those areas and spent hours with people involved in local government there."

The Police Services Study, a kind of research on public economies, was a dominant focus during the Workshop's early years. That research enabled Workshop scholars to challenge effectively conventional wisdom about the organization of "public economies," systems of local governments responsible for providing and producing public goods and services for those citizens living within their jurisdiction. "Provision" technically refers to the decisions by local governments which determine what public goods and services will be made available to a community. "Production" refers to how those goods and services are actually produced and delivered. For example, members of

a local community may decide that they want the provision of trash collection twice a week and are willing to pay for it. The local government could then plan for the production of this service in one of two ways: it could operate its own trash collection service, or it could contract with another government or a private company to pick up the trash.

Over the last thirty years public administrators have appealed to the assumption that bigger is better. This model of metropolitan government assumes that economies of scale result in greater efficiency both for decisions about which public goods and services local governments should provide in contrast to produce and distribute those goods and services. It is the same basic principle that allows McDonald's to sell Big Macs at a profit.

Tijp Walker, a graduate of the John F. Kennedy School of Public Administration at Harvard, and now a Ph.D. student and researcher at the Workshop, lays out the history of the currently dominant mode of American municipal administration: "Back in the early 60s there was a very powerful movement in public administration circles toward consolidation. You would find townships, little incorporated areas of various sorts, all of whom might have their own police departments, their own sanitation arrangements, and so on. There was a sort of general presumption that this was an inefficient way of organizing municipal services. There was this move throughout the country to try to consolidate.



One of the Workshop's activities over the last three years has been to assist the North West Cooperative Association (NWCA) in Cameroon to carry out an internal restructuring. The aim of the restructuring is to reintroduce concepts of member accountability and control into all levels of the provincial marketing cooperative after twenty years of government interference. A major element in this process has been the Annual Review, where progress and problems with the restructuring program are presented to the member/owners. In this photograph the President of NWCA's Board of Directors, Simon Achidi-Achu (center), enters the meeting flanked by other board members. Mr. Achidi-Achu is currently serving as Cameroon's Prime Minister.



For the last four years, Workshop colleagues have been involved in a USAID-financed program to reform the marketing of arabica coffee in Cameroon. Arabica, the high-grade coffee prized by roasters, is the country's forthleading export. However, unless coffee farmers carefully harvest and handle their crop, much of the quality and the price premium that goes with it is lost. Therefore, one component of the Workshop's efforts has been to introduce incentives to reward farmers who produce high-quality produce. Here farmers are using a machine to pulp the "cherries" quickly to remove the outer coating before fermentation starts.

[There was] also an effort to depoliticize the process and to establish day-to-day managers. Unigov [which enabled] Indianapolis to extend its jurisdiction to the boundaries of Marion County was an example."

To Vincent Ostrom this argument about efficiency was an unexamined hypothesis. Vincent demands that we see governmental policies as propositions to be tested and examined. He and Lin have devoted a lot of time challenging, on theoretical and empirical grounds, the assumption that consolidation and centralization necessarily create efficiency.

Twenty years ago, with his book, *The Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration* (University of Alabama Press, 1973), Vincent challenged the supposition that "efficiency will be enhanced by eliminating overlapping jurisdictions and fragmentation of authority." When the American Society for Public Administration surveyed its membership for a list of the ten books they thought had exerted the greatest influence on public administration, Vincent's was included. They noted that it presents an "alternative paradigm of

'democratic administration' [that appears to be] substantially closer to reality than does the traditional, dominant one in public administration" (*Public Administration Review*, 1990). The selection of his book by public administrators and scholars is particularly interesting because Vincent's book was the only one in the group which challenged the view promulgated in most schools of public administration: that public administrators should be trained to manage *for* rather than work *with* the public. Tjip Walker notes that "although there is a fair amount of lip service paid to the importance of citizen participation, there still is a very strong argument for the overriding value of expertise."

By way of addressing the problem of overlapping jurisdictions, Lin Ostrom, Roger Parks, and a cadre of research associates—many of them students—conducted extensive studies of urban police services. Parks explains: "When we began our series of studies back in 1970, 'everybody knew' that THE way to improve policing in America was to eliminate thousands of small and medium-sized police departments by merging them into large departments. This was the conventional wisdom among the academic and practitioner community about such things. Evidence from our studies showed repeatedly that small and medium-sized departments were as effective and efficient as larger departments and frequently were more effective, more efficient. Our evidence accumulated from study to study to the point that IT has become the conventional wisdom for at least a significant portion of the academic/practitioner community. At least it is [now] a part of 'what everyone knows' and must be addressed head-on by anyone arguing for consolidation/merger today."

Parks and another long-time research associate, Ron Oakerson (now Professor of Political Science at Houghton College in New York) have spent the last eight years studying complexly organized metropolitan areas around St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and DuPage County, Illinois. The many units of local government in these areas and the multiple linkages among them comprise "local public economies" organized by citizens, administrators, and elected officials. Parks and Oakerson have documented many desirable features of local public economies in publications of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and journals such as *Urban Affairs Quarterly* and *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*. Their work draws attention to the importance of citizen voice and representation in decision making, as well as multiple forums for discussions among citizens, administrators, and elected officials as contributors to metropolitan governance. Contrary to prescriptions of traditional public administration, Parks and Oakerson find that the presence of multiple, overlapping units of government contributes significantly to problem-solving capabilities and effective governance of metropolitan areas.

The Workshop's consistent goal has been to challenge assumptions that inhibit self-governance and to identify ways people can organize effectively and creatively to get a job done. A fundamental belief in the creativity and intelligence of individuals willing to work together to solve their own problems underlies all of the Workshop's projects. This belief is central to the research on common-pool resources, to theoretical and empirical work on public

economies, and to the ongoing dialogue about constitutional order and the formation of governments at national levels.

Certain essential questions motivate research into alternate ways of structuring regional public administration: "Does centralized, consolidated authority administered by professional managers facilitate or undermine the democratic process?" "Does bureaucratic organization encourage the 'free-rider' problem or does it give citizens clear channels of participation in the maintenance of their own community institutions?" As with the Workshop's common-pool resources emphasis, investigation of centralized management and control systems is conducted at national and international sites.

Tjip Walker's work in the development of viable market economies in African nations is a case in point. His dissertation in progress, titled *Markets: Institution or Miracle? The Political Economy of Privatization in Africa*, reflects his

intimate involvement with a market reform project jointly sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Government of Cameroon. He managed the USAID program on site in Cameroon for two and a half years and is currently engaged in research on developing alternatives to pervasive state control of economies in African nations.

According to Walker, there is a general presumption that to bring about rapid development in countries with a relatively small, trained workforce, relatively little capital, and minimal infrastructure, the state must be heavily involved in economic management. In Africa, Walker notes, state control has gotten out of hand and is impeding entrepreneurship. Throughout the 60s and 70s (the first two decades after most African countries became independent) there was a great expansion of the role of the state. The new states got involved in owning and operating various kinds of factories, establishing price controls, monitoring the control

Strategies for Sustainability

In October 1988, the Workshop embarked on the Decentralization: Finance and Management Project (DFM) in collaboration with a consulting firm, Associates in Rural Development (ARD), and the Metropolitan Studies Program of Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. This five-year project, sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID) Bureau for Research and Development, has recently been extended for an additional two years.

The original purpose of DFM entailed assisting USAID overseas missions as they investigated a vital question: "Why have so many USAID rural infrastructure projects proven to be unsustainable?" USAID was particularly concerned about the deterioration of massive investments in roads and irrigation systems. Lin Ostrom, Larry Schroeder, a public finance economist at Syracuse University, and Susan Wynne, an IU political scientist, have just published a book, entitled *Institutional Incentives and Sustainable Development* (Westview Press), which summarizes the best of the current knowledge about this question. They found that simply investing in physical infrastructure—roads, irrigation projects, electricity, water supply, schools, and other public buildings—is insufficient as a stimulus for enhancing development. Without a similar investment in social infrastructure—the ways that individuals organize and relate to one another—physical infrastructure deteriorates rapidly. No one has an incentive to maintain or enhance performance.

As part of this project, a report by Lin Ostrom on *Crafting Institutions for Self-Governing Irrigation Systems* (ICS Press, 1992) was written for citizens and public officials as a guide to the kinds of design principles used in successful irrigation projects. In those systems that have operated productively for long periods of time, the farmers served by the irrigation systems actively

participate in the design of the rules for allocating water and for assigning responsibility to keep systems in good repair. Investment in maintenance activities is monitored and infractions are sanctioned. Benefits and costs are assigned in a roughly proportional manner. The report has been translated into Spanish. A thirty-minute video has been produced by ICS Press (in English and in Spanish) that is widely used in North and South America as citizens and public officials attempt to reverse the downward spirals of deterioration resulting from several decades of neglect of the institutional aspects of infrastructure investment.

Considerable research on roads in Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Zaire has also been conducted by Schroeder, Louis Siegel, and David Green at ARD, and Ed Connerley, a long-term associate of the Workshop. A variety of small-scale experiments have been adopted in Indonesia to ascertain the effectiveness of different ways of mobilizing resources to keep roads in good repair. Many of the experiments involve devolution of authority over roads to local governments, to cooperatives, and, in some cases, to private owners. How to keep contractors efficient, effective, and honest has been a concern of this research also.

While the Workshop's approach to policy problems has much in common with other institutional approaches, it stresses the significance of working rules whether the reference is to the constitutions of nations or smaller organizations at a village level. The Workshop approach draws upon bodies of theory that point out alternatives to large-scale, top-down bureaucratic organization. With the recent collapse of countries in the Second and Third Worlds that have relied heavily on large-scale bureaucratic organization, development agencies such as USAID have shown increasing interest in the alternatives suggested by Workshop scholarship.

of agricultural commodities, and imposing heavy restrictions on the movement of goods in and out of the country. The government became the biggest industry in these countries.

"This kind of pervasive government regulation," says Walker, "takes things to the

point where even the private sector, to the extent that there is one, interacts more with the government than with anything else." Requiring a government license to do something as simple as move goods from one province to another also creates considerable opportunity for corruption. Civil servants are happy to have all these rules and regulations because they provide a plethora of opportunities for under-the-table deals. In many African countries, being a senior civil servant is considered one of the best jobs one can have. Maybe the official salaries are not large, but the jobs entail lots of "bonuses."

In 1988 Walker and his USAID colleagues began working in Cameroon on a set of market reforms. Their reforms focused on the importation and distribution of fertilizer—a process the government both controlled and subsidized. Walker notes that "the system was rife with both inefficiency and corruption and everybody knew it." Largely because of deteriorating economic circumstances, the Cameroonian government realized that it could no longer afford either the inefficiency or the sizeable subsidy. USAID had been strongly encouraging a change in policy because the country is reliant on fertilizer to increase yields. After considerable struggle, the program has achieved a measure of success. It has also provided strong evidence for the increase in efficiency of privatized economies by demonstrating a savings of 30% of the usual importation and internal distribution costs in one year. Market forces are thus beginning to work in more productive directions.

Walker says he first learned about the Workshop shortly after joining USAID/Cameroon. One of the Mission staff, Bob Shoemaker, had visited the Workshop for several weeks and had come away excited by the potential applications of institutional analysis to development issues. Shoemaker shared his understanding of the Workshop approach and his enthusiasm for it with Walker. Already having had some exposure to institutional thinking, though not to the Ostroms' IAD framework, Walker was intrigued. He subsequently invited Workshop associates Ron Oakerson and Susan Wynne to come to Cameroon to demonstrate the utility of the IAD framework by applying it to the fertilizer reform program he was managing at the time. Wynne and Oakerson visited the USAID/Cameroon Mission in October 1989 and many of the USAID staff, Walker among them, were impressed by the work that resulted.

The initial favorable response to the application of the Workshop's IAD framework to development issues led in two directions. One direction involved Oakerson, Wynne, and another Workshop associate, Sheldon Gellar being invited to assist the mission in designing a policy reform program on arabica coffee marketing. This program has

"Does centralized, consolidated authority administered by professional managers facilitate or undermine the democratic process?"

been in operation for three years and has resulted in some considerable achievements. Oakerson, who still monitors the coffee policy reform program, returns to Cameroon three times a year and conducts reviews with USAID/Cameroon and a cross-section of Cameroonians to

ensure that the institutional design is faithfully followed.

Recognizing the dramatic results of the fertilizer reform, USAID asked the Workshop to compare the way that USAID conducted policy reform with those procedures typically followed by the World Bank and the European Community. This project has involved the collaboration of several Workshop associates—Oakerson, Walker, and Daniel Green, a recent IU political science Ph.D. At the heart of the research lies another piece of conventional wisdom. Whereas the World Bank and the Europeans have generally subscribed to the view that policy reform is essentially "self-implementing," USAID did not. At issue is the question of whether changes in laws or regulations alone are sufficient to bring about more efficient activity or whether it is also necessary to facilitate the transition from state-dominated to private, market-dominated institutions.

Walker says he came to IU specifically "to develop a deeper understanding of the Ostroms' brand of institutional analysis." The Workshop approach prompts scholars associated with it to look for institutional arrangements that provide necessary services and guidance that cannot be produced in the private sector. They adopt the view that less government is usually better and advance the proposition that government is necessary to the extent that it provides an environment in which people can believe that they have the initiative, creativity, and responsibility to solve their own problems.

Walker says that for him one of the most poignant parts of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835)—a touchstone for most Workshop associates—is the author's assertion that he sees democracy as a fragile kind of organization. Tocqueville discusses the circumstances under which democracy can spin out of control and become something else. By way of illustration, he describes a republic that still holds democratic elections but no longer actively engages its citizens in governance. Those citizens have turned their responsibilities over to a centralized authority. This, Tocqueville asserts, amounts to a "gentle slavery."

Walker feels that Tocqueville's analysis aptly describes our current situation. In too many instances, governmental policies and organization prompt us to surrender our sense of local, immediate responsibility and turn that responsibility over to public administrators who have made government their business. If, in fact, it is the business of the policy analysts at the Workshop to challenge the conventional wisdom, they do so motivated by desire to preserve democracy's fragile organization and to discover institutional arrangements that enable a sense of local responsibility and initiative to flourish.

—Susan Moke

A Matter of Dialogue

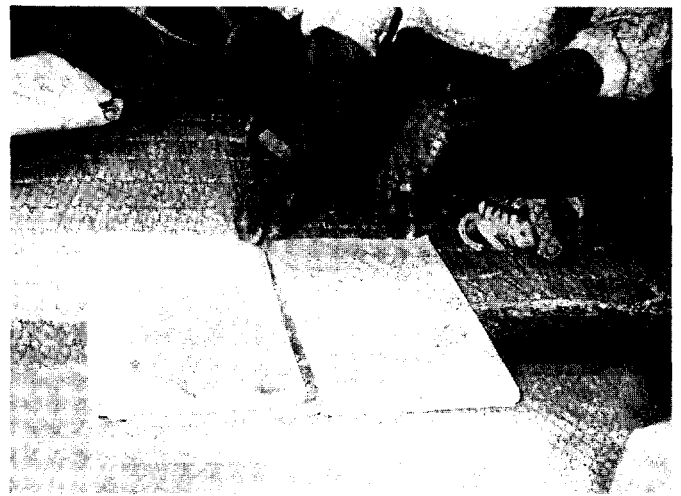


Members of a recently formed farmer-organized irrigation system in Sindhu Palchok district of Nepal are discussing their local constitution.

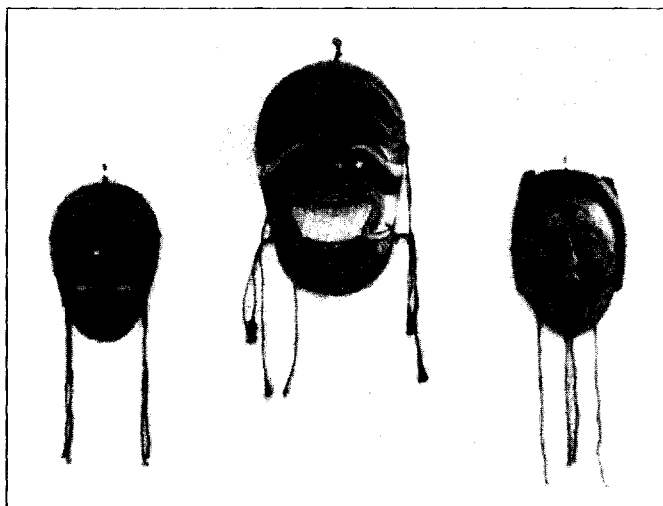
Town meetings," Tocqueville wrote in 1835, "are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within people's reach, they teach [citizens] how to use and how to enjoy it." The ongoing dialogue about constitutional order at the Workshop could be considered a meeting of a global village. This meeting of scholarly minds and political ideas takes as its primary concern the issue of how governments enable or limit their citizens' enjoyment of liberty. Theoretically and empirically oriented research into ways of constituting order on local, regional, national, and international scales proceed in an exchange of knowledge and ideas. Dialogue among an international community of scholars facilitates an understanding of the American experiment as one of many constitutional experiments undertaken in other parts of the world.

Vincent Ostrom and Associate Professor of Political Science Michael McGinnis claim work on constitutional orders as their principal interest. Ostrom's commitment to dialogue is immediately evident in the way he meets and sustains one's attention as he talks. Neither confrontational nor uncomfortable, his gaze merely invites engagement.

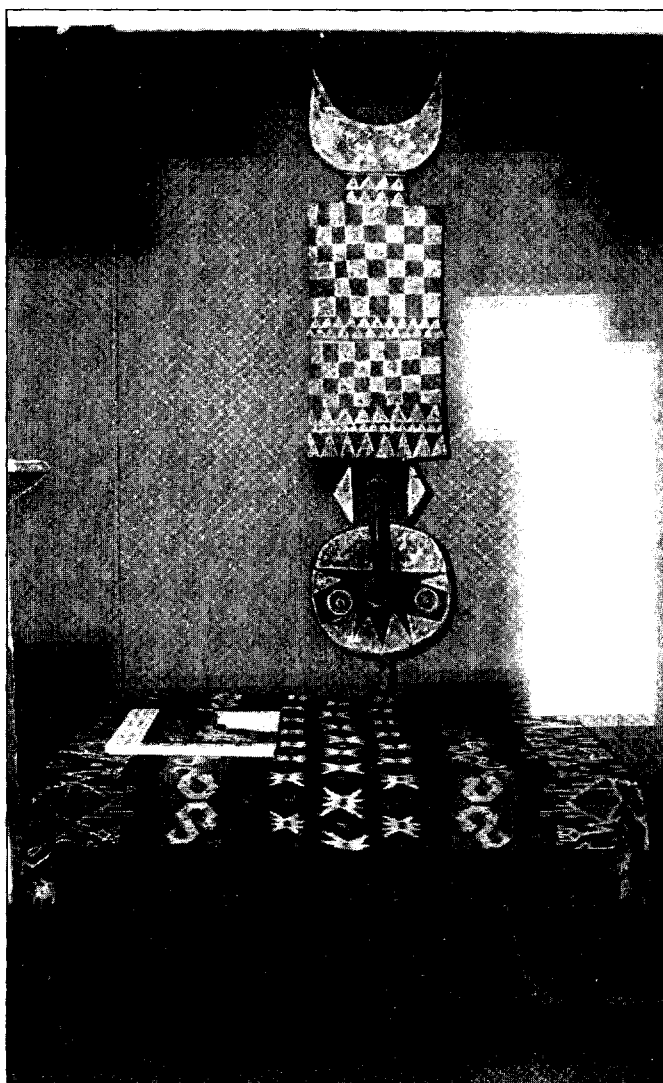
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The President of the farmer-organized irrigation system in Sindhu Palchok shows the handwritten constitution to the IU research team. The marks around the edges of the work are thumbprints indicating agreement by members.



Korean theater masks



An Indonesian cloth and a Bwa mask

Global Ambience

The Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis occupies a three-story limestone building on a quiet brick-paved street. This former fraternity house now serves as the center of fellowship and community of a more international character. The living room immediately alerts visitors to the Workshop's global outlook: a six-foot tall wooden carving—an elongated, plank rising above a highly stylized face with a projection that may represent a bird's beak—hangs on the wall over a table. An equally stunning length of orange, indigo, and cream, ikat-dyed fabric spread on the table offers a pleasing counterpoint to the carving's surface design: a painted checkerboard scheme of grey and white.

The beautiful fabric is Indonesian; the imposing sculpture is really a mask. Both reflect the wide-ranging scope of Workshop projects. A group of agriculturalists called the Bwa, who live in Mali and Burkina Faso in the loop of the Black Volta River, produced the mask. The Bwa use abstract masks like this one to represent supernatural forces that act on behalf of the clans that own them. Used for important community occasions, the masks appear at such rites as initiation of youths, funerals, and harvest celebrations.

At the top of the wide walnut staircase, smaller masks with hinged jaws and more recognizably human features adorn the wall space above a bookshelf. These Korean theater masks were gifts from parents of a Korean student. A small weaving Vincent Ostrom brought back from a trip to Yugoslavia where he visited a former Workshop fellow covers the bookshelf below these arresting wooden faces. A side trip to Lin Ostrom's office will reveal tapestries she found while working on a recent research project in Peru. The carefully crafted wool tapestries present an array of muted shades of violets, green, rose, and amber that natural vegetable dyes produce.

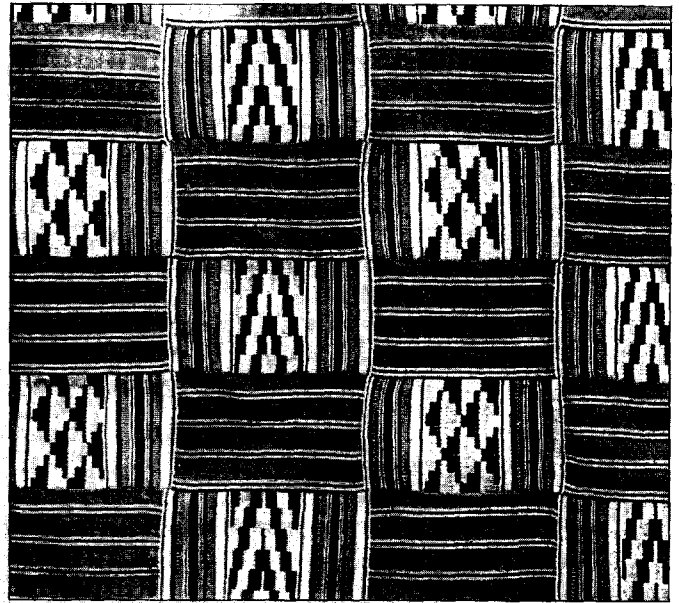
The Workshop's well organized and extensive library surrounds a large, lidded African basket perched on the intersection of two tall bookshelves. Successive coils of umber, rose, and tan colored grasses reveal the labor-intensive process of its construction. Another treasure, of one of Lin's and Vincent's collection of Native American weaving, is a large and startlingly lovely red, white, and black Navajo weaving incorporating thunderstorm images. The visual centerpiece of the library, however, is a collection of Bambara Antelope masks—four feet tall headdresses (or top-masks) with triangular faces and gracefully curving horns—which are displayed in a spacious bay window overlooking the street. Hamidou Magassa, at one time a visiting scholar at the Workshop, was able to provide Workshop folk with some background on the headdresses. The chi wara, as they are called, come from Mali and are used by the Mandingo people to act out dramas that instruct children about their relation to the universe in which they live.



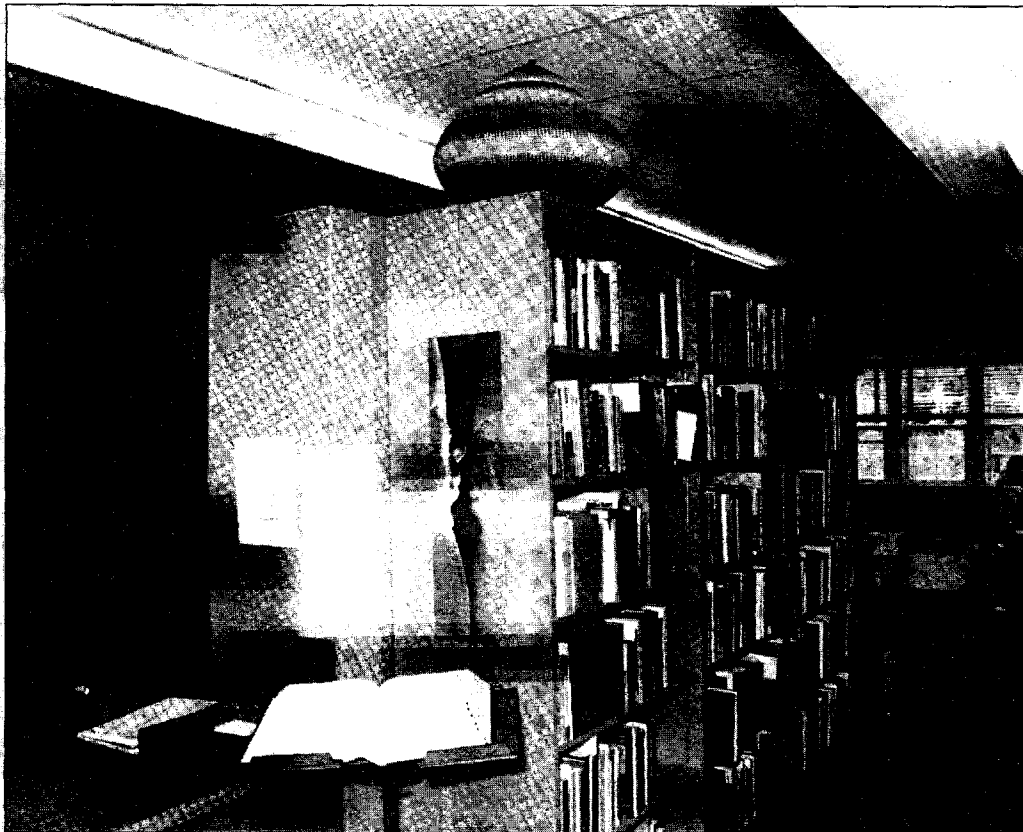
Bambara Antelope head masks (chi wara)

The Workshop's physical environment reflects a strong appreciation for artisanship. Like a Navajo weaver who interprets the dominant images of her world in a tapestry motif, Workshop scholars craft interpretations of the political institutions that we use to govern our lives. Often this process involves an interweaving of national perspectives that can only be accomplished by extensive dialogue.

—Susan Moke



A Ghanaian kente cloth



African basket sitting atop some of the Workshop bookshelves in the library.



George Varughese (second from right), a doctoral student in the joint Ph.D. program in the Department of Political Science/School of Public and Environmental Affairs, works with members of the forest protection committee in the Dhading District of Nepal. The man on the left is pointing to an area of new growth forest after three years of monitoring and protection. Notice the rocky terrain and poor soil conditions on the right where the forest has not been protected.

McGinnis's enthusiasm for his subject is so genuine that one is hard pressed to imagine how any of his students or his colleagues could fail to share it.

Ostrom identifies the essential question of research and scholarship on constitutional order: "If we consider the question of the citizen's relation to government we must ask who establishes the terms and conditions of that relationship. This has been a basic issue since the Mayflower Compact. We have to look at the extent to which the rules of association are constitutional in character." Other salient concerns include questions about what underlying suppositions guide the way political activities are carried out (e.g., what sorts of rules are followed in conflict resolution); how the economy is related to the political structure; and what property rights are protected. For example, the constitution of property poses a big problem now in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. Governments that had been operating according to concepts of state ownership of most farms, factories, etc., are now faced with the task of establishing a sense of private and communal property.

For the purposes of analysis, Vincent Ostrom often discusses national governments as political experiments. Indeed, he is currently working on a book tentatively titled *Beyond Great Experiments and Monumental Disasters*. In his method of analysis it is important to ask "whether it is possible to reflect critically upon the conduct of 'great experiments' as they apply to the constitution of order of societies as a whole . . . It is the potential availability of alternative ways of conceptualizing political orders and treating these alternatives as possibilities that is essential to choice."

Fieldwork in this area of research involves creating an international community of scholars who can generate and maintain discussions that enable learning to accrue. Forums

are provided by correspondence, collaborative work on publications, frequent conferences held at the Workshop, and the more regular occasions for dialogue offered by the Workshop's weekly colloquium and seminar meetings which faculty, students, and visiting scholars attend.

Ostrom comments that it is important for Workshop scholars to have colleagues from the "socialist" world with whom they can engage in basic discussions about underlying problems: "Our efforts to articulate the larger character of constitutional order in national polities have depended on drawing upon people from all parts of the world who can come here and raise questions about basic issues." Visiting scholars from many countries have entered the international dialogue that takes place around the Workshop's seminar and colloquium tables.

Branko Smerdel, now a professor of constitutional law at the University of Zagreb in Croatia, first came to Indiana University as a Fulbright scholar to investigate how some aspects of the American constitutional system might apply to possible future developments in what was then Yugoslavia. "Certainly," says Ostrom, "neither he nor we anticipated the extreme tragedy that is going on [in the former Yugoslavia] today." Smerdel dropped by the Workshop and engaged Vincent Ostrom in a conversation that prompted a subsequent flurry of memoranda. Ostrom and Smerdel shared their views with the result that Smerdel joined the ongoing seminar. After he returned to Zagreb, Smerdel became involved in drafting a new electoral law that governed the transition in Croatia from a party-controlled regime to one permitting competitive elections. He is currently designing a seminar in constitutional law that will be guided by the Workshop's approach to institutional analysis.

Antoni Kaminski, a professor of sociology at the University of Warsaw, had been concerned for a period of at least fifteen years with trying to understand how the Soviet system worked. Ostrom explains Kaminski's association with the Workshop: "After we had engaged in some discussions over constitutional analysis and the larger problem of macro ordering [through correspondence], I raised the question of whether, if we could get support, he might come and undertake his effort to write a book for which he already had a couple of essays." Kaminski's book, *An Institutional Theory of Communist Regimes* (ICS Press, 1992), which explores the logic and consequences of Leninist doctrine, turned out to be a first-rate study. And, Ostrom notes with a slightly embarrassed chuckle, "if you read the acknowledgements, you will see that he says that I responded to virtually every sentence." Kaminski is now Director of the Department of Strategic Studies in Warsaw which addresses basic policy problems in the Polish defense establishment.

Amos Sawyer is probably the most renowned of the Workshop's recent visiting scholars. Sawyer had served on the political science faculty and as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Liberia's principal university in Monrovia when the military coup that brought Samuel Doe to power occurred. During Sergeant Doe's regime, Sawyer had participated in the drafting of a new constitution that would govern Liberia following the reestablishment of civilian rule. Sawyer ran as an opposition candidate for

Mayor of Monrovia and became *persona non grata* with the regime. Sawyer's conversations and collaborations with Workshop associates resulted in *The Emergence of Autocracy in Liberia: Tragedy and Challenge* (ICS Press, 1992) which, notes Ostrom, prompted some of the most stimulating discussions that have occurred at the Workshop. Sawyer returned to serve as president of Liberia.

In addition to establishing dialogue about alternative ways of organizing national polities, the research on constitutional orders at the Workshop also involves investigation into the important phenomenon of how international rivalry systems influence the ways governments are structured. Mike McGinnis and IU colleague John Williams, also Associate Professor of Political Science, share an interest in the implications the arms race had for American and Soviet public policy.

McGinnis admits that he is "fascinated by rivalry." When statistical analysis failed to substantiate the action/reaction process that everyone assumed existed, McGinnis and Williams approached the issue from a different standpoint. Rather than seeing each action as a reaction, McGinnis and Williams believe the actions were simultaneous, self-reinforcing responses to imagined events. The U.S. and the Soviets were able to gather so much information about what the "enemy" was likely to do that each is basing expenditures and guiding weapons development in anticipation of possible weapons development by their adversary. Many arguments for building weapons systems (Star Wars included) followed this approach to the problem of defense.

"We came to see rivalry systems as another form of political order that no one really intended to design," says McGinnis. His work with Williams expanded beyond the Soviet/American rivalry system to include comparative studies of the rivalry between Germany and Great Britain before World War I and of the ongoing rivalry between India and Pakistan. Their analysis emphasizes the costs and influence the Soviet/American rivalry system had

for domestic policy in both countries. McGinnis explains, "we spent all this money primarily by privileging the development of the military industrial complex, while Japan's and Germany's economies grew faster than ours. The Soviet economy was smaller and less efficient than ours, so that although they managed to keep up with us for 40 years, they came close to bankrupting themselves doing it."

Naturally McGinnis is fascinated by the extent to which our political process and debate were "fundamentally altered by the collapse of the Soviet Union." He points out that the 1992 presidential campaign was almost exclusively about domestic policy. Although there was little debate about foreign policy, Bush, still caught in the rivalry system mindset, was trying to find new enemies out there to combat. "This really is a new world order," McGinnis asserts. "Most of the people who have been trained in international relations are really at a loss at this point." Americans have for so long defined themselves as the antithesis of Soviet Communists that they are now experiencing a national crisis of identity.

This Manichean or good vs. evil world view is, McGinnis believes, at base very religious. Questions about secular versus religious orientations have significant implications for ongoing international negotiations. The Arab/Israeli conflict in which the two sides define themselves and their interactions according to two different religious formulations constitutes a case in point. "There are deep-seated ways in which people can be motivated to hate each other," McGinnis says. "There are people who are looking around for a new enemy. Some people in the press and in the military have been arguing that Iran is our new enemy. It could either be Iran or the Japanese for economic reasons, but somehow seeing Japan as the economic enemy isn't as compelling."

Monitoring the pulse of current events, Workshop members are thus continually drawn to new areas of research. So Vincent Ostrom, while still fundamentally concerned with the constitutional ordering of American democracy, is now examining the contemporary language of public affairs. Language, strongly influenced by the media, affects the democratic process. In an essay titled "The Problem of Newspeak," Vincent builds on George Orwell's satire about language related to "doublethink." The corruption of public language calls for new approaches to problem solving, new modes of inquiry. These, in turn, require a common and precise language rather than "newspeak," intended merely to rehearse the slogans of political theater.

For Vincent Ostrom and his colleagues at the Workshop, the artisanship involved in crafting alternative forms of national polities and of learning from modes used in past "great experiments" requires the use of one essential tool: precise language that considers actual human circumstances rather than political abstractions. There is no place for slogans here. Self-governance and participatory democracy are primarily a matter of careful, concrete dialogue.

—Susan Moke



Breaking the Traditional Teacher/Student Hierarchy

The Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis is a place where scholars do research, discuss their work with other interested scholars, and publish. In other words, it is a place for learning. And that means it is also a place for teaching. But teaching at the Workshop takes place outside of the traditional teacher/student hierarchy.

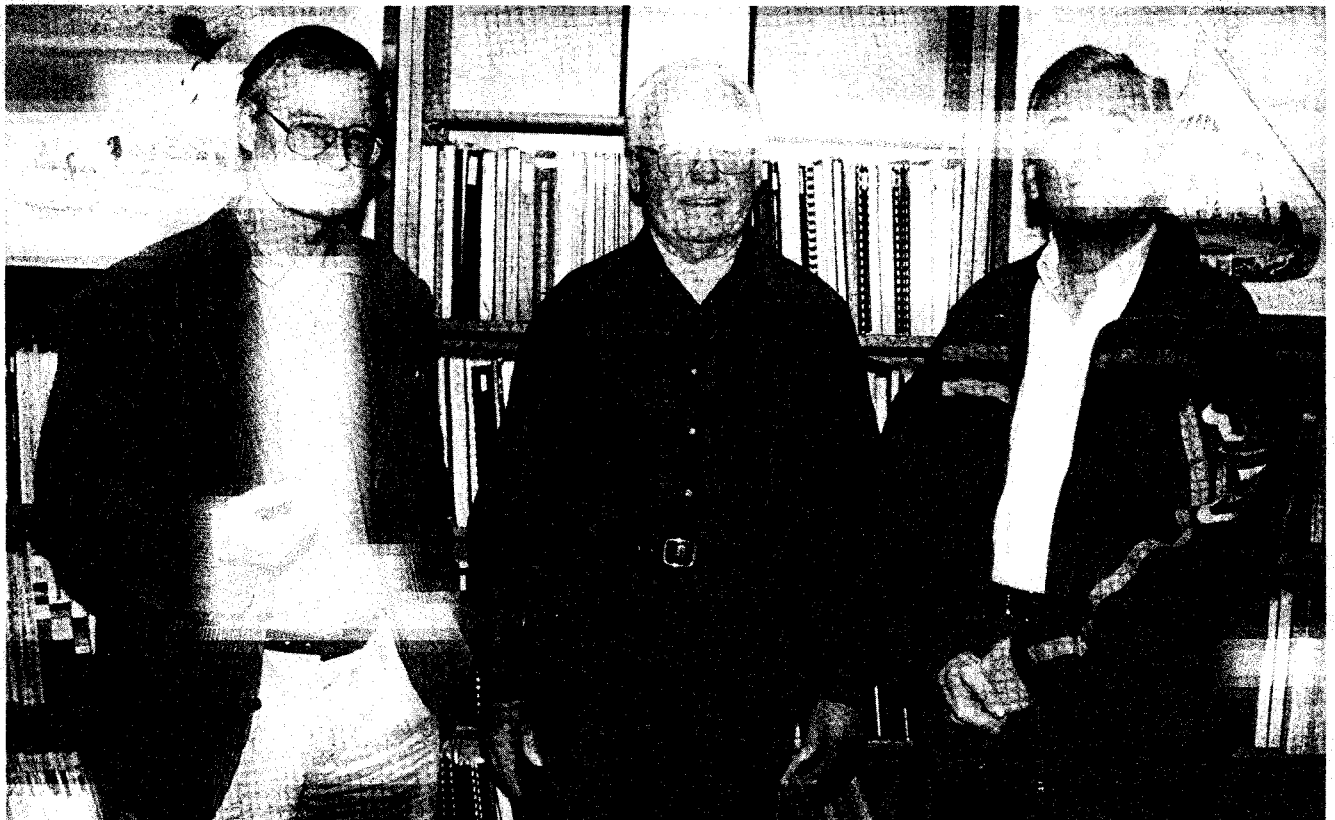
The Workshop, founded with the idea that teaching and research must blend together, is based on the idea that we are both learners and teachers. Lin Ostrom explains, "There are times when someone with more experience will argue points and expect that there will be some recognition that experience counts for something. But people who are just starting out also have good ideas and need the experience of articulating them and fighting for them." Thus faculty, staff, and students work together.

As Vincent Ostrom notes, "In dealing with problems in the practical world, we have to draw upon diverse threads of knowledge and learn how to bring those together. If you're going to clarify what it is that's involved in doing research and in learning, you have to go beyond listening

to lectures. It's not that lectures aren't important—they are—but you must be willing to carry on serious discussions beyond the classroom about how problems are solved." So the Workshop must provide both a place and an environment for those discussions to take place. "We try," says Vincent, "to think of the Workshop as a problem solving mode in which both researchers and students can pursue their own independent research and at the same time maintain patterns of active conversations with each other."

For graduate student Sue Crawford, the Workshop means a guided step into the professional community. "There's a real sense in which students who participate in classes and other discussions in the Workshop are treated as professionals," she says. "It's given me experience in being a colleague in a research environment outside of the ordinary experience that you get in typical classrooms." And the experience is also experience with other people from other disciplines from other regions of the world.

Another veteran Workshop participant, Bill Blomquist, teaches political science at Indiana University Purdue



Audun Sandberg, Associate Professor at Nordland University Center in Mørkved, Bodø, Norway (left), Vincent, and Thráinn Eggertsson, on the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration at the University of Iceland in Reykjavik.

University Indianapolis. From 1982 until 1987, Blomquist, then a graduate student at Bloomington, began his research career under the auspices of the Workshop; today, he is one of several faculty outside of Bloomington who continue to contribute to Workshop dialogue, and to use the Workshop philosophy in their teaching. For Blomquist, the Workshop has had a central influence on his scholarship and teaching: "If anybody had told me, when I started graduate school, that I would wind up writing on groundwater systems in southern California, I would have told them they were crazy. I thought I'd be writing about a more traditional political science topic, such as public policy."

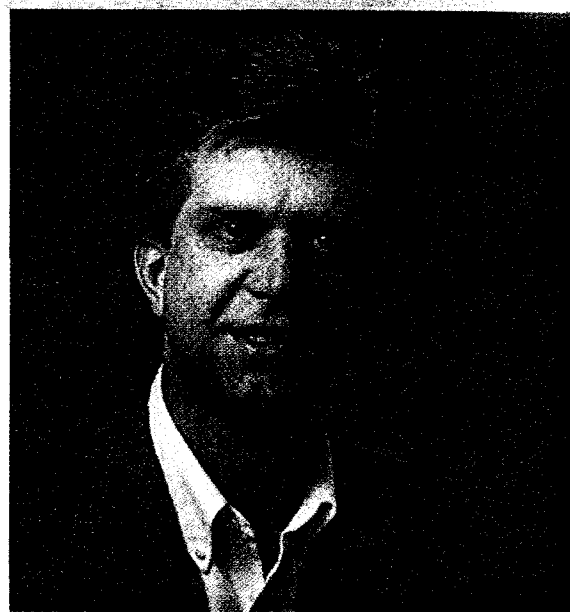
But the Workshop has changed Blomquist's approach to thinking and teaching about government and organizations. "I teach an introductory course in American politics," he says. "And that's where the impact [of the Workshop] is most obvious. This is the first serious government course that most of the students have encountered. I try to explain how institutions work as individual people try to accomplish certain goals. When you think about people pursuing careers within institutions that encourage or discourage certain types of behaviors, then their actions become understandable."

In this way, Blomquist's students get a head start on a very difficult lesson—that ultimately, social groups are dependent on the actions of individuals. "I was at the Workshop as a graduate student for five years," he says. "It took me three of those five years to get it—to really get it. The first three years, I did everything—participated in the seminar, got good grades—but I still thought in terms of top down."

In the Workshop, teaching is something that happens in and out of the classroom. "We have project meetings regularly, and we have work that we do together," says Lin Ostrom. "Right now I meet with two doctoral students once a week. That doesn't officially count as teaching—after all, I'm on sabbatical this year—but is it not?"

Workshoppers are dedicated to recreating teacher/student relationships even in more traditional classroom settings. Workshop students and faculty participate in a year-long seminar called "Institutional Analysis and Development." While this course is an official university seminar, it remains true to the title "Workshop." The seminar room, once the dining room in the old fraternity that houses the Workshop, affords plenty of space for people to gather around a large table. There you won't hear any lectures or see any students madly scribbling down everything the professor says. They may be taking notes, but it will be about the ideas that everyone contributes.

The Institutional Analysis and Development seminar is offered every year as a graduate-level course. One of the unique things about the seminar, though, is the range of participants. Workshop staff, post-doctoral students, visiting scholars, and undergraduates all take part. The course is divided into two semesters. During the first semester, students study macro political orders. Participants read, write about and discuss diverse ways of structuring governments for nations and other large political organizations. Readings and discussions during the second, micro semester, led by Lin Ostrom or other faculty members, focus on much smaller units such as work teams, families,



Bill Blomquist, Associate Professor of Political Science at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis

or people who use the same resource. "During the micro semester," says Lin, "we look at small units where you can start thinking about individuals interacting. Then we can do field research on the operation of those units."

The year-long seminar provides students with another practical experience of academic professional life. At the end of each semester, students participate in a two-day mini-conference. Papers are presented by participants other than the author, and then criticized and discussed. "They have to take criticism, and they have to give it, and they have to engage in good analytical discourse," says Lin. "There are many faculty who attend the mini-conference. It is very serious. It means that your work is taken very seriously, and there's a real discussion about it. You really learn something."

The exchange of papers does not mean that a graduate student presents another graduate student's paper, an undergraduate another undergraduate's paper, and so on. "The emphasis is on horizontal interchange of ideas," says Workshop librarian and seminar participant Charlotte Hess. So a first-year student might be asked to present a paper of a distinguished visiting scholar, or a senior scholar at the Workshop might present a staff member's paper.

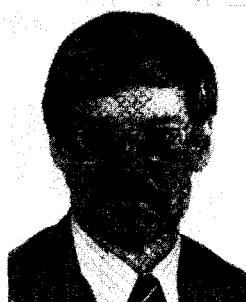
The exchange results in something that Hess calls "thinking by critiquing." For example, Hess, a full-time librarian, reviewed the paper of a first-year SPEA graduate student at a mini-conference during the semester when she participated in the seminar. Not only did the student learn from Hess' critique and the subsequent discussion of the paper, Hess learned as well. She says, "The experience gave me the opportunity to see libraries as institutions and the library profession from a completely new—and challenging—perspective."

The Common Thread

In 1973-74 Vincent Ostrom with two visiting scholars developed a seminar, "Institutional Analysis and Design," that laid the groundwork for much of the future Workshop study of institutional analysis. It also laid the foundation of scholarly ties that have lasted over twenty years. Ostrom's seminar had a significant influence on the thinking and research of graduate students Vernon Greene, Brian Loveman, Ronald Oakerson, Filippo Sabetti, and James Thomson. Today, all are pursuing their own professional careers, but all are still vital members of the Workshop network. Their participation will be essential in the twentieth anniversary conference "The Workshop on the Workshop." As Vincent Ostrom wrote to Sabetti recently "... we need to make the attempt to engage in a critical reflection about what we have done over the last twenty years. We have as much to learn from where we were wrong as when we were on the right path."

Montreal and his 1984 book, *Political Authority in a Sicilian Village*, is still recommended reading around the Workshop and many other academic centers. Jamie Thomson is now Senior Associate at the Associates in Rural Development, Burlington, Vermont and his recently published *A Framework for Analyzing Institutional Incentives in Community Forestry* (1992) by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations is a full elaboration of the Workshop framework to resource governance and management in Africa. From their participation in an IU seminar in 1973, these scholars are now located in many parts of North America doing research that focuses on Latin America, Europe, and on problems that are of crucial importance in all parts of the world.

Besides basic collegiality and the enthusiasm for intellectual exchange, the common theoretical thread among Workshop scholars remains the focus on



James Thomson



Vernon Greene



Brian Loveman



Ron Oakerson



Filippo Sabetti

Today Vernon L. Greene is the Director of the All-University Gerontology Center at Syracuse University and has published widely on policy questions related to major changes in demographic patterns. Brian Loveman who is now Professor of Political Science at San Diego State University, has received special recognition for his teaching abilities and his book, *The Constitution of Tyranny: Regimes of Exception in Spanish America*, is being published by University of Pittsburgh Press. Ronald Oakerson is now Professor of Political Science at Houghton College in Houghton College in New York. His 1987 monograph, *The Organization of Local Public Economies*, published by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, gave national recognition to a tradition of work that has been pursued at the Workshop over the years. Filippo Sabetti is now a Professor of Political Science at McGill University in

institutional analysis. One of the most important volumes of Workshop scholarship, *Rethinking Institutional Analysis and Development: Issues, Alternatives, and Choices*, has been translated into Chinese, Arabic, and French and has been republished in a revised 1993 edition by the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco. The introduction to the book summarizes the core goals of the Workshop: "Institutions embody the basic rules that govern all public and private actions—from individual property rights to the ways in which communities deal with public goods. They affect distribution of income, efficiency of resource allocation, and the development of human resources . . . It is becoming increasingly clear that supporting productive human development will require that we pay more attention to the art of crafting institutions . . ."

—Charlotte Hess



Professor Ivan Grdesic from the University of Zagreb in Croatia, confers with Charlotte Hess, Workshop librarian, on doing a search of the Workshop's massive database on its holdings related to institutional analysis and all areas of the Workshop's applied interests.

Many of the papers presented at these mini-conferences are subsequently revised and published in journals. Most of the Workshop's doctoral students publish articles in their fields before they graduate. Ostrom explains, "They've been through the whole process of drafting something, going through the several revisions, sending it off, getting rejected, resubmitting, and so on. So when they're young faculty and they're pre-tenure and they're scared to death, it's not the first time they've been through the process of getting something published."

With such a strong emphasis on research at the Workshop, Charlotte Hess' role as librarian is essential. With the variety of subjects and disciplines that come together, researchers cannot simply rely on traditional bibliographic searching methods. Hess' goal is to build a highly specialized and unique library collection and to assist users in innovative ways of finding research materials. This service is an essential ingredient in Workshop productivity.

The Workshop Research Library contains over twenty thousand items, including books, journals, reprints, working papers, newsletters, and reports. The holdings are available on a library computer database with full citations with keywords, tables of contents, and some abstracts. The diverse collection reflects the Workshop interest in institutional analysis and present and past Workshop research, such as constitutional analysis and federalism, common-pool resources and forestry, state and local governance, and service delivery. The library also offers two public computers containing the Workshop Database, encyclopedias, dictionaries, and an atlas as well as connections to Indiana University's main database, other national and international library catalogs, and the many resources available through searches conducted via Internet on the holdings at other universities.

Hess explains, "The premise is that if you expect scholars to consider a wider breadth of fields and literature in their analysis and research, then you must help them in the interdisciplinary jungle by identifying the primary and secondary sources." Workshoppers and visitors to the Workshop come to Hess for individual reference assistance, including CD-ROM and online database searching and training, navigating the electronic networks, tours of Bloomington Campus library facilities, and research-specific bibliographies.

Bibliographies, both on-line and on-paper, fill in the gaps in interdisciplinary research. The librarian for the Political Science Department and former Workshop librarian, Fenton Martin, has published two large bibliographies on Common-Pool Resources and Collective Action. Hess is in the process of compiling two additional bibliographies: one on Forestry Resources and the other is volume three of the Common-Pool Resources bibliography.

Many Workshop participants complement their library research with field research. Students have ample opportunities to experience field research during their stay at the Workshop. Lin says, "Part of what we're trying to do is understand the theories of micro-institutional behavior and do research in the experimental lab about it. That research includes fieldwork and teaching."

Fieldwork might mean accompanying metropolitan police in patrol cars and sitting at dispatch desks. Or it might involve a trip to Nepal, Uganda, or Bolivia. "We have colleagues doing survey work in Nepal, interviewing officials and farmers about irrigation systems," explains Ostrom. Currently, Workshop participants are engaged in a large forestry project. As part of this project, several students and staff members from the Workshop will travel to diverse areas of the world. Once there, they will closely study the indigenous institutions which have evolved to manage



Sue Crawford, a graduate student in the IU Department of Political Science, at a meeting with Matthew Olu Okotoni, an Assistant Lecturer at the Department of Public Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University in Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

forestry systems. Interviews with local forest users will include physical measures of the forest, as well as descriptions of the rules devised by users.

Although students may find themselves engaged in various types of fieldwork, they receive some basic training that they can take with them to any field or urban jungle. To complement the core seminar there are methods courses. One example is an experimental methods course, taught every spring by economist Jimmy Walker, which gives social science students a chance to learn scientific methodology. Students first read about experiments and then run their own experiments in a lab. Lin explains, "People presume that you can't do experiments in the social sciences that you can do in biology or in physics or other hard sciences. But in situations where the problem is well defined and precise, as some of our research areas are, you can experiment. All it takes is a mathematical model and a series of equations."

Not only do Workshop participants go overseas to do fieldwork, they come to Indiana University to engage in discourse. One Workshop participant, Arun Agrawal, has smoothly made the transition from student to colleague. A native of India, Agrawal received his doctorate from Duke University after spending a year at the Workshop. Lin Ostrom served on his dissertation committee. He is now teaching at the University of Florida in Gainesville, but he'll be working with the Workshop faculty on the forestry project, doing the first data collection in India.

Other scholars also travel from research institutions to participate in the Workshop environment. Piotr Chmielewski, an anthropologist and sociologist from Warsaw University, spent two years at the Workshop, beginning in 1991. He returned to Poland in the spring of 1993. He is now teaching a seminar based on Workshop philosophy.

Chmielewski found the Workshop environment welcoming. "I planned to leave in early May of 1992," he says. "But Vincent talked me into staying until June, and then until August." While at the Workshop, Chmielewski finished the first draft of a book tentatively titled *Language, Culture, and Change*. The book, which is about the evolution of language, grew out of discussions with other Workshop participants, including the year-long seminar.

Chmielewski found a useful framework for his own scholarship and teaching in the Workshop's emphasis on self-governance and responsibility. "Some of the ideas that people have elaborated here," he explains, "are appropriate, after adaptation, in different countries." But, he says, ideas and methods can't simply be transposed from one country to another. He explains, "Every culture is very, very complicated and a very interrelated domain. There are many different kinds of social orders, and the social order in Poland and in Europe is very different from the United States." Nevertheless, Chmielewski has taken his Workshop experience home with him. "I've proposed a program of seminars for my students that's modeled upon the Workshop," he says. "I was living in the country of monologue. People in the Workshop believe that dialogue, in the sense of exchanging views, can bring some results. And maybe, when you think this way, things can change."

The Workshop also offers a space for students closer to home to grow. As Lin Ostrom explains, "A large university offers many assets that you can't find in any other place. You then have to create interstices in it. We've tried to create an enterprise that isn't so large that people relate to each other as strangers." And the Workshop is one way to solve that dilemma. Adds Vincent, "We need to find ways to provide an intellectual working milieu where faculty and students and visiting colleagues can work together on problems that plague people around the world." Workshopppers teach, most of all, that individuals can make a difference by articulating and sharing ideas.

And that articulation and sharing of ideas help Workshopppers to break through the traditional teacher/student hierarchy. As individuals articulate and share ideas, they act not only as teachers but as artisans. Just as a potter makes pots, individuals craft their lives and institutions.
—Reneé Despres



Two of the many key staff people who hold the Workshop together. Linda Smith (left) has been with Indiana University for twenty-eight years and Patty Dalecki has been with the Workshop since January 1976.

Recent Books

by colleagues associated with the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis

Blomquist, William. *Dividing the Waters: Governing Groundwater in Southern California*. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1992.

Kaminski, Antoni. *An Institutional Theory of Communist Regimes: Design, Function, and Breakdown*. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1992.

Netting, Robert McC. *Smallholders, Householders: Farm Families and the Ecology of Intensive, Sustainable Agriculture*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Ostrom, Elinor. *Crafting Institutions for Self-Governing Irrigation Systems*. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1992. (Video productions—English and Spanish languages—based on the book also available from ICS Press.)

Ostrom, Elinor. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Ostrom, Vincent, David Feeny, and Hartmut Picht, eds. *Rethinking Institutional Analysis and Development: Issues, Alternatives, and Choices*. 2d ed. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1993.

Ostrom, Elinor, Larry Schroeder, and Susan Wynne. *Institutional Incentives and Sustainable Development: Infrastructure Policies in Perspective*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993.

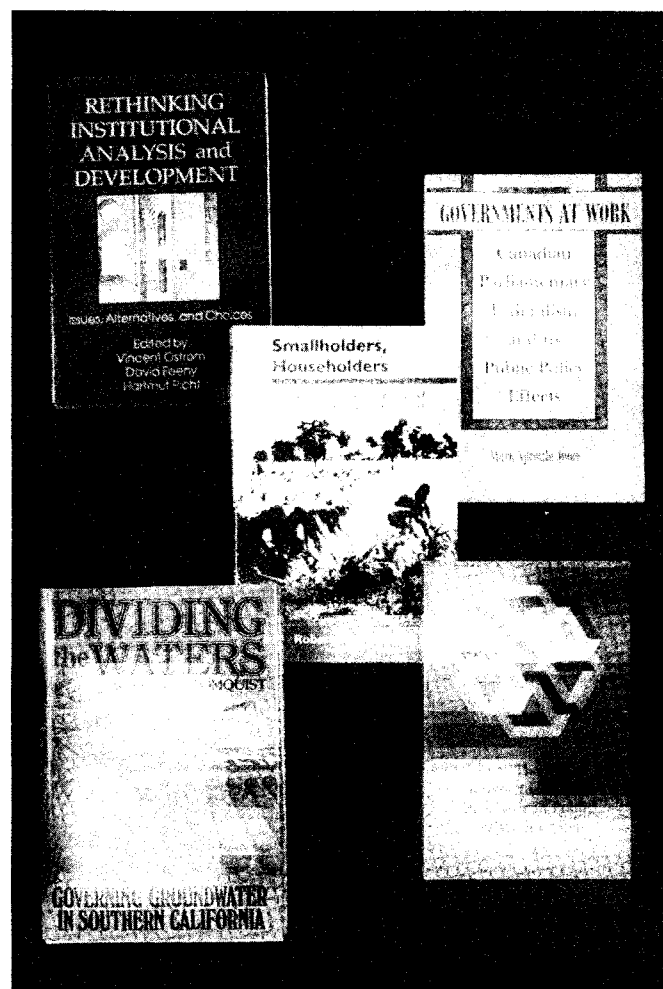
Ostrom, Vincent. *The Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration*. 2d ed. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989.

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Sproule-Jones, Mark. *Governments at Work: Canadian Parliamentary Federalism and Its Public Policy Effects*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Stein, Robert. *Urban Alternatives: Public and Private Markets in the Provision of Local Services*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990.

Tang, Shui Yan. *Institutions and Collective Action: Self-Governance in Irrigation*. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1992.

Wunsch, James, and Dele Olowu, eds. *The Failure of the Centralized State: Institutions and Self-Governance in Africa*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990.

From Inquiry to Publication: Books by Indiana University Faculty Members

Aman, Alfred C., Jr. *Administrative Law in a Global Era.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1992, 207 pp., \$28.95, cloth.

In the course of examining important shifts in administrative law, the author provides insights into the process of legal change and the discourses that shape our legal order. He also considers why such issues as the constitutionality of administrative agencies once again are serious legal concerns, and he assesses the trend toward increasing executive power over federal administrative agencies. Aman is a professor of law and dean of the School of Law at IUB.

Bondanella, Peter, and Degli-Esposti, Cristina, eds. *Perspectives on Federico Fellini.* New York: G. K. Hall/MacMillan, 1993, 326 pp., \$40.00.

A collection of critical essays devoted to the cinema of Federico Fellini since 1977, this volume contains many items translated especially from French or Italian, including essays by Umberto Eco, Italo Calvino, Germaine Greer, and Pier Paolo Pasolini. It appears as the first volume in a new series of which Harry Geduld (Chairperson of Comparative Literature at IUB) is the co-editor. Bondanella is a professor of film studies and Italian, chairperson of West European studies, and a distinguished professor of comparative literature at IUB.

Calloway-Thomas, Carolyn, and Lucaites, John Louis, eds. *Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Sermonic Power of Public Discourse.* Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1993, 246 pp., \$29.95, cloth.

Using a variety of critical approaches, contributors provide a rhetorical reading of King's most outstanding sermons and speeches as they explain the sermonic quality of his discourse. The essays range from an Afrocentric analysis of King's public discourse to an examination of the sermonic function of King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail," to an illustration of the way that King's vivid imagery, thematic unity, and philosophical substance function to integrate the spiritual with the secular in his "I Have a Dream" speech. Calloway-Thomas is an associate professor of speech communication and an associate dean of faculties at IUB and Lucaites is an associate professor of speech communication at IUB.

Hughes, David, and Geduld, Harry M., eds. *A Critical Edition of the War of the Worlds: H. G. Wells's Scientific Romance.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993, 319 pp., \$35.00, cloth.

Continuously in print since its initial publication in 1898, *The War of the Worlds* has seen many incarnations, including radio and film adaptations. This edition, based on the 1924 Atlantic text, includes extended notes, a chronology of events, a place-name glossary, and several appendixes relating to the manuscript and other Wells writings. The editors also provide a lengthy introduction, maps, a selected bibliography, and information regarding radio and film adaptations. Geduld is a professor of comparative literature and chairperson of the comparative literature department at IUB.

Jackson, William J. *Tyagaraja: Life and Lyrics.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 400 pp., \$15.95, cloth.

This study attempts to deepen an understanding of Tyagaraja's (one of South India's most celebrated musician-saints) life and lyrics by providing insights into the meaning this saint holds for South Indians. For the first time in Tyagaraja scholarship, the saint's life and works have been contextualized within a historical, social, and cultural framework. Jackson is an associate professor of religious studies at IUPUI.

Lloyd, Rosemary. *The Land of Lost Content: Children and Childhood in Nineteenth-Century French Literature.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 271 pp., \$35.00, cloth.

Ranging widely through poetry, fiction, autobiographies, and letters, the author shows how writers as diverse as Baudelaire and Hector Malot, George Sand and Pierre Loti, Flaubert and Judith Gautier, gradually responded to changing concepts of the self. She also examines the evolution of a literature in which the child becomes the main protagonist and addresses the question of whether the child figure is merely used as a reductive stereotype. Lloyd is a professor of French at IUB.

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McCormick, John. *British Politics and the Environment.* London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 1991, 170 pp., £7.95, paper.

The author describes the story of the political growth of Britain's immense range of environmental law, as well as the pressures, the compromises, the parliamentary and civil service opportunism that allowed the edifice to grow over the greater part of a century. He also explains why everyone who cared about the environment became embattled and how the old methods of sensible political compromise were banished, not least because of the government's obsession with secrecy. McCormick is an assistant professor of political science at IUPUI.

Mintz, Jerome R. *Hasidic People: A Place in the New World.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992, 434 pp., \$45.00, cloth.

A winner of the 1993 National Jewish Book Award in the Jewish Folklore & Anthropology category, this book is a social history of the New York community based on extensive interviews, observation, newspaper files, and court records. It also considers how the *Hasidim* have fared in relationships with other ethnic groups, in local-level politics, and in the American judicial system. Mintz is a professor of anthropology and Jewish studies at IUB.

Mullen, E. Theodore Jr. *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries.* Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993, 344 pp., \$49.95, cloth.

This work asks how the Deuteronomistic history functioned within the social and religious world of ancient Israel. Contributing to both the interpretation of the Deuteronomistic history and broader methodological concerns, it will be of interest to students of anthropology, sociology, and the religion of ancient Israel. Mullen is a professor of religious studies at IUPUI.

Pepinsky, Harold E. *The Geometry of Violence and Democracy.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991, 139 pp., \$24.95, cloth.

This reconception of the crime problem, from one of how offenders behave to one of how people's motives interact, views crime and punishment as synonymous forms of a larger violence which rises and falls as systems of power are concentrated and dissipated. Asserting that violence and crime are undemocratic forms of interaction, rather than behaviors, this theory is then applied to the question of how to make policing effective, as well as how children can be raised to lead a society toward peace and away from crime over succeeding generations. Pepinsky is a professor of criminal justice and East Asian languages and cultures at IUB.

Selke, William L. *Prisons in Crisis.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993, 156 pp., \$9.95, paper.

The major theme of this work is that effective management of prisons can only take place when the sanction of imprisonment is utilized in a more circumspect and systematic manner. It deals with the pressing problems that are faced by America's overcrowded and ineffective prison systems and suggests alternative policies that can be used to help alleviate the crisis while protecting society from violent offenders. Selke is an associate professor of criminal justice at IUB.

Sherwood, Frances. *Vindication.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1993, 435 pp., \$22.00, cloth.

Listed as a notable book of 1993 in the *New York Times* book review section, this novel is based on the life of Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), the British feminist whose "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" was one of the most radical documents of its time. Using historical facts filtered through a contemporary imagination and touches of comedy, the author weaves Wollstonecraft's story around her life of tragedy and her message that strength, wisdom, and independence are the noblest virtues for women as well as men. Sherwood is an associate professor of English at IUSB.

Smith Carl B. ed. *Alternative Assessment of Performance in the Language Arts: Proceedings.* Bloomington, Indiana: ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading, English, and Communications/ Phi Delta Kappa, 1991, 300 pp., \$21.95, paper.

Leading researchers, theorists, educators, test publishers, and policy makers contribute to an analysis of the state of assessment in the language arts. This work addresses issues such as alternative vs. standardized assessment, a nationalized assessment vs. individualized instruction-driven assessment, multiple-choice tests vs. portfolios, Whole Language theory vs. traditional reliability and validity, and testing driven by instruction vs. instruction driven by testing. Smith is a professor of education and the director of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading, English, and Communication at IUB.

Stage, Frances K., et al. *Diverse Methods of Assessing and Conducting Research on College Students.* Alexandria, Virginia: ACPA Media, 1992, 140 pp., \$19.95, paper.

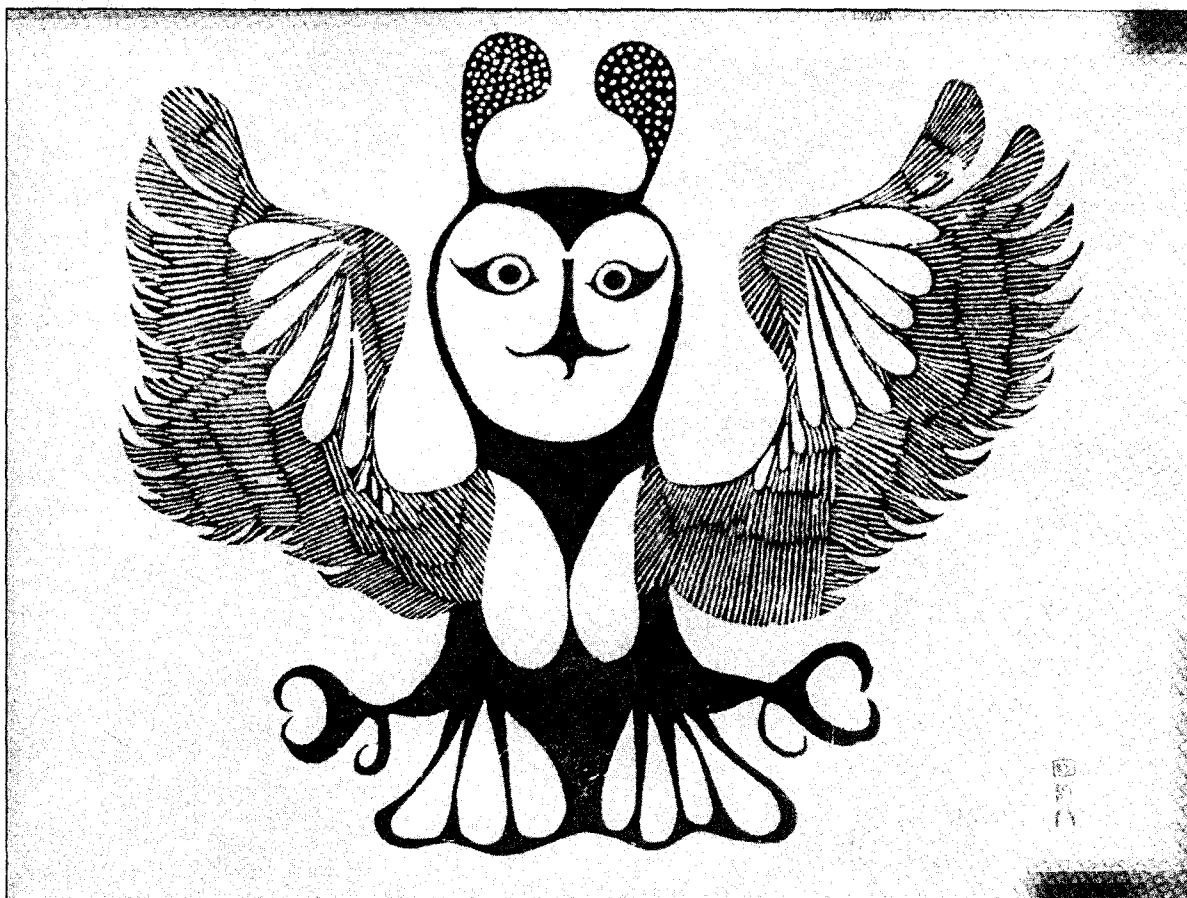
This guide shows how to use qualitative methods for studying college students. It contains an in-depth view of these effective approaches and techniques: nonreactive measures, the case study, historical analysis, document analysis, the ethnographic interview, and focus groups. Stage is an associate professor of education and associate dean of research and development for the School of Education at IUB.

Stern, Phyllis Noerager. *Lesbian Health: What Are the Issues?* Bristol, Pennsylvania: Taylor & Francis, 1993, 151 pp., \$19.50, cloth.

Based on a special issue of the journal *Health Care for Women International*, this is the first mainstream research book devoted to lesbian health issues. Questions addressed in the book include the following: Should lesbians disclose their sexual orientation? Can it be kept off the record? What about custody of their children? When lesbians feel unable to trust traditional medicine, where do they go? Are the problems in receiving appropriate health care for lesbians similar to those all women face? Stern is a professor of nursing and chairperson of the Department of Parent-Child Health at the School of Nursing at IUPUI.

Trapnell, William H. Thomas Woolston, Madman & Deist? West Sussex, England: Thoemmes Press, 1993, 240 pp., £45.00, cloth.

This work begins with a documented bibliography containing many previously unsuspected details and attempts to discriminate between the influence of society on the individual and the self-generated evolution of his inherited character. It also attempts to establish a judicious balance between the theologian's mediocrity and the critic's integrity. Trapnell is a professor of French literature at IUB.



An Innuit print of an owl

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Reneé Despres is a doctoral student in the English department and a freelance writer. Currently, she and her computer are traveling around the western United States in search of new things to write.

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