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WILL WORK FOR FOOD

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Mike Keefe, The Denver Post 5-9-10
From the PSO President
The Contributions of Policy Studies

Ever since policy studies started to show signs of becoming a separate academic discipline in the 1960s, the subject has presented a challenge to provosts and chairs planning university curriculums. What should be its academic home? How useful is it? We think among the many reasons for its growth is that it has a vocational value. It certainly is a strong component of innumerable economics and business programs, has a long and close relationship to political science, and more recently has shown signs of becoming a more recognized part of area studies. There is a small but growing group of scholars whose background is solidly in history and who are writing about the history of policy.

The diversity of books and journals published by the Policy Studies Organization speaks to this variety of approaches. Wiley Blackwell has just launched Latin American Policy and the first issue can be accessed free of charge at:

http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/123247567/home

One of the reasons we are glad to have this new journal is that Latin America has been neglected recently because of all the other issues that dominate the agenda.

Our belief is that policy studies are important in any career. Scientists need to be aware of the implications of policy just as much as do politicians and educators and doctors. As still another wave of degree holders faces an uncertain job market, we hope that enough policy discussion has been included in their classes. Time after time we have seen that it gives graduates an advantage in landing and keeping good positions. As one colleague remarked, policy studies are the stairway down from the ivory tower into the hustlings. Policy studies at its best, connects theory with action.

Paul J. Rich
pauljrlich@gmail.com
From the Proceedings Editor

Sharing Syllabi: Improving Transparency

In a recent report by The John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy¹, it was argued that colleges should require their faculty to share their course syllabi online with students and the general public, in an aim to “improve transparency and accountability” among colleges, specially in a time when everyone is wondering whether it is worth engaging into huge debts in order to pay for an education. Among other things, such openness and sharing of information would allow students to actually have more detailed information on the courses that they are paying for, as well as make comparisons among different institutions. Furthermore, it would also help in pedagogical research and at the same time, oblige professors to meet acceptable academic standards. In addition, we believe it will also give new ideas to everyone in the teaching profession that may help them gather new ideas that may serve to improve their own courses.

With these purposes in mind, we are glad to present this time with a syllabus by Nobel Prize winner, Distinguished Professor Elinor Ostrom at the University of Indiana Bloomington. Professor Ostrom has been President of the American Political Science Association and the Midwest Political Science Association, and has served on numerous advisory boards including the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Public Administration and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, among others. Professor Ostrom is also author or co-author of: Understanding Knowledge as a Commons: From Theory to Practice (2007); Understanding Institutional Diversity (2005); The Samaritans' Dilemma (2005); Trust and Reciprocity: Interdisciplinary Lessons from Experimental Research (2003); Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action (1990). We hope the material will help spark many ideas for different courses on Public Policy around the world.

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¹ Available for download at http://www.popecenter.org/inquiry_papers/article.html?id=2042
Syllabi

The following syllabus was sent to us per our invitation to share them in our journals. We received other outstanding ones and they will be published in future Proceedings. As we hope these documents will be of use to the teaching of policy studies and curriculum development, we would like to encourage professors to send us their material for consideration. Material can be sent to Daniel Gutierrez-Sandoval at dgutierrezs@ipsonet.org

Contents

Institutional Analysis and Development: Micro Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis

Prof. Elinor Ostrom
Indiana University, Bloomington
Preface
The central questions underlying this course are:

- How can fallible human beings achieve and sustain self-governing entities and self-governing ways of life as well as sustaining ecological systems?

To address these questions we will have to learn a variety of tools to understand how fallible individuals behave within institutions as well as how they can influence the rules that structure their lives. This is a particularly challenging question in an era when global concerns have moved onto the political agenda of most international, national, and even local governing bodies. Instead of studying how individuals craft institutions, many scholars are focusing on how to understand global phenomena. It is also an era of substantial violence, terrorism, and disruption. Many of the problems we are witnessing today are due to a lack of understanding of the micro and meso levels that are essential aspects of global processes.

In our effort to understand self-governance, we will be studying the four “I’s”: individuals, incentives, institutions, and inquiry.

To understand processes at any level of organization, one needs to understand the individuals who are participants and the incentives they face. When we talk about “THE” government doing X or Y, there are individuals who hold positions in a variety of situations within “THE” government. We had better understand how individuals approach making decisions in a variety of situations given the incentives they face. Those incentives come from a variety of sources, but a major source, particularly in the public sector, are the rules of the game they are playing. Institutions include the rules that specify what may, must, or must not be done in situations that are linked together to make up a polity, a society, an economy, and their inter-linkages. To understand this process we must be engaged in an inquiry that will never end.

The settings we study are complex, diverse, and dynamic. Thus, we need to develop frameworks and related approaches to studying these nested systems. And, we can learn a variety of theories (and models of those theories) that help us understand particular settings. We cannot develop a universal model of all settings for all time. Thus, our task of inquiry is a lifelong task. And, the task of citizens and their officials is also unending. No system of governance can survive for long without rules and rule enforcement, but the enforcement of rules relies on force and potential use of violence. Consequently, we face a Faustian bargain in the design of any system of governance.

A self-governing entity is one whose members (or their representatives) participate in the
establishment, reform, and continuity of the constitutional and collective choice rules-in-use or accept the legitimacy and appropriateness of these rules. All self-organized entities (whether in the private or public spheres) are to some extent self-governing. In modern societies, it is rare to find any entity whose members (or their representatives) have fashioned all constitutional and collective-choice rules that they face. Some rules are likely to have come from external sources. Many rules will have come from earlier times and are not discussed extensively among those using the rules today.

On the other hand, even in a totalitarian polity, it is difficult for central authorities to prevent all individuals from finding ways of self-organizing and creating rules of their own. Some of these may even be contrary to the formal laws of the totalitarian regime. Given that most modern societies have many different entities, let me rephrase the first question we started with: How can fallible individuals achieve and sustain large numbers of small, medium, and large-scale self-governing entities in the private and public spheres?

We cannot thoroughly understand the diverse processes of self-governance in any semester-long or year-long course of study. How humans can govern themselves is a question that has puzzled and perplexed the greatest thinkers of the last several millennia. Many have answered that self-governance is impossible. In this view, the best that human beings can do is live in a political system that is imposed on them and that creates a predictable order within which individuals may be able to achieve a high level of physical and economic well-being without much autonomy. In this view, the rules that structure the opportunities and constraints that individuals face come from outside, from what is frequently referred to as “the state.”

For other thinkers, rules are best viewed as spontaneously emerging from patterns of interactions among individuals. In this view trying to design any type of institution, whether to be imposed on individuals or self-determined, is close to impossible or potentially disastrous in its consequences. Human fallibility is too great to foretell many of the consequences that are likely to follow. Efforts to design self-governing systems, rather than making adaptive changes within what has been passed along from past generations, involves human beings in tasks that are beyond their knowledge and skills.

The thesis that we advance in this seminar is that individuals, who seriously engage one another in efforts to build mutually productive social relationships – and to understand why these are important – are capable of devising ingenious ways of relating constructively with one another. The impossible task, however, is to design entire social systems “from scratch” at one point in time that avoid the fate of being monumental disasters. Individuals who are willing to explore possibilities consider new options as entrepreneurs, use reason as well as trial and error experimentation, and can evolve and design rules, routines, and ways of life that are likely to build up to self-governing entities with a higher chance of adapting and surviving over time than top-down designs. It takes time, however, to learn from errors, to try and find the source of the error, and how to improve one part of the system without generating adverse consequences elsewhere.
Successful groups of individuals may exist in simple or complex nested systems ranging from very small to very large. The problem is in a complexly interrelated world, one needs effective organization at all levels ranging from the smallest work team all the way to international organizations. If the size of the group that is governing and reaping benefits is too small, negative externalities are likely to occur. Further, even in small face-to-face groups, some individuals may use any of a wide array of asymmetries to take advantage of others. Individuals who are organized in many small groups nested in larger structures – a polycentric system – may find ways of exiting from some settings and joining others or of seeking remedies from overlapping groups that may reduce the asymmetries within the smaller unit. If the size of the only group that is governing and reaping benefits is too large, on the other hand, essential information is lost. Further, the situation may change from one of adaptive problem solving to one of exploitation.

Scale and complex nesting are only part of the problem. Another part has to do with how individuals view their basic relationships with one another. Many individuals learn to be relatively truthful, considerate of others, trustworthy, and willing to work hard. Others are opportunistic. Some approach governance as involving basic problem-solving skills. Some approach governance as a problem of gaining dominance over others. The opportunities for dominance always exist in any system of rule-ordering where some individuals are delegated responsibilities for devising and monitoring conformance to rules and sanctioning rule breakers. Those who devise self-governing entities that work well only when everyone is a “saint”, find themselves invaded by “sinners” who take advantage of the situation and may cause what had worked successfully to come unglued and fail.

Thus, the opening answer on Page 1 that we give to the question is: self-governance is possible in a setting, if . . .

- Most individuals share a common broad understanding of the biophysical, cultural, and political worlds they face, of the importance of trying to follow general principles of reciprocity and fairness, and of the need to use artisanship to craft their own rules;

- Most individuals have significant experience in small to medium-sized settings where they learn the skills of living with others, being responsible, gaining trust, being entrepreneurial, and holding others responsible for their actions;

- Considerable autonomy exists for constituting and reconstituting relationships with one another that varies from very small to very large units (some of which will be highly specialized while others may be general-purpose organizations);

- Individuals learn to analyze the incentives that they face in particular situations
(given the type of physical and cultural setting in which they find themselves) and to try to adjust positive and negative incentives so that those individuals who are most likely to be opportunistic are deterred or sanctioned.

The above is posed as a “possibility” not a determinate outcome. In other words, we view self-governing entities as fragile, social artifacts that individuals may be able to constitute and reconstitute over time. We can make scientific statements about what kinds of results are likely if individuals share particular kinds of common understandings, are responsible, have autonomy, possess analytical tools, and consciously pass both moral and analytical knowledge from one generation to the next. These are strong conditions!

With this view, self-governing entities may exist as an enclave in the midst of highly authoritarian regimes. This may not be a stable solution, but self-governance may provide opportunities to develop productive arrangements for those who establish trust and reciprocity backed by their own willingness to monitor and enforce interpersonal commitments. If the macro structure is not hostile or even supports and encourages self-organization, what can be accomplished by smaller private and public enclaves can be very substantial. This is initially a bottom-up view of self-governance. Productive, small-scale self-organization, however, is difficult to sustain over time in a larger political system that tries to impose uniform rules, operates through patron-client networks or uses terror to sustain authoritarian rule. Having vigorous local and regional governments and many types of voluntary associations is part of the answer, but not sufficient in and of itself.

Simply having national elections, choosing leaders, and asking them to pass good legislation is hardly sufficient, however, to sustain a self-governing society over the long run. Electing officials to national office and providing them with “common budgetary pools” of substantial size to spend “in the public interest” creates substantial temptations to engage in rent-seeking behavior and distributive politics. The central problem is how to embed elected officials in a set of institutions that generates information about their actions, holds them accountable, allows for rapid response in times of threat, and encourages innovation and problem solving. Solving such problems involves the design of a delicately balanced system. It requires decisions from sophisticated participants who understand the theory involved in constituting and reconstituting such systems and share a moral commitment to the maintenance of a democratic social order.

Now, what is the role of the institutional analyst in all of this? Well, for one, it is essential for those who devote their lives to studying the emergence, adaptation, design, and effects of institutional arrangements to understand a very wide array of diverse rules that exist in an equally diverse set of physical and cultural milieus. To understand how various rules may be used as part of a self-governing society, one has to examine how diverse rules affect the capacities of individuals to achieve mutually productive outcomes over time or the dominance of some over others. Eventually, one has to examine constellations of embedded institutional arrangements rather than isolated situations. And, one has to examine the short-run and long-run effects of many different types of rules on human actions and outcomes. Further, one has to acquire considerable humility
regarding exactly how precise predictions can be made about the effects of different rules on incentives, behavior, and outcomes achieved. Design of successful institutions may indeed be feasible. Designed institutions, which tend to generate substantial information rapidly and accurately and allow for the change of rules over time in light of performance, are more likely to be successful than those resulting from “grand designs” for societies as a whole.

To be an institutional analyst, one needs to learn to use the best available theoretical tools, while at the same time trying to develop even better theories and conducting further empirical studies that contribute to our theoretical understanding of self-governing systems. All tools have capabilities and limits. The task of the skilled artisan – whether an institutional theorist or a cabinetmaker – is to learn the capabilities and limits of all tools and how best to use a combination of tools to address the wide diversity of puzzles that one comes across in a lifetime of work.

We need tools to address the puzzle. Relevant tools are plentiful in the sense that we do have an extensive body of political, social, and economic theory that focuses on the impact of diverse rules on the incentives, behavior, and likely outcomes within different settings. These tools are limited, however, in that many of the most rigorous theories make assumptions both about the individual and about the settings within which individuals find themselves which may be problematic at least for explaining behavior in some settings. These explicit and often implicit assumptions may mask some of the deeper problems of sustaining democratic systems over time. Many of the difficult problems that human beings face in trying to develop and sustain democratic organizations, are assumed away when one starts with assumptions that individuals have complete and perfect information and can make error-free calculations about expected consequences for themselves and no one else in complex, uncertain worlds.

Further, when assumptions are made that the structure of the situations facing individuals are fixed and cannot be changed by those in the situation, little effort is devoted to addressing how individuals affect their own situations. Yet these same assumptions (full information and fixed structures) are useful when the analyst wants to examine the expected, short-term outcomes of an institutional and physical setting where the options available to individuals are narrowly constrained and where individuals have many opportunities to learn about the costs and benefits of pursuing diverse options. Learning which assumptions, theories, and models to use to analyze diverse institutional arrangements is an important aspect of the training of institutional analysts.

During this seminar, we will use a variety of theoretical tools. These will help us to understand the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework as well as the Diagnostic Ontological Social-Ecological Systems (DOSES) framework that we have been developing over many years at the Workshop. The skilled institutional analyst uses a framework to identify the types of questions and variables to be included in any particular analysis. The artisan then selects what is perceived to be the most appropriate theory available given the particular questions to be addressed, the type of empirical evidence that is available or is to be obtained, and the purpose of the analysis. For any
one theory, there are multiple models of that theory that can be used to analyze a focused set of questions. Choosing the most appropriate model (whether this is a mathematical model, a simulation, a process model or the design for an experiment) also depends on the particular puzzle that an analyst wants to examine.

Objectives of the Seminar
Given the above background to the substantive focus of this seminar, let us try to present the central objectives for the semester as we see them. The objectives are:

• To understand the constraints and opportunities of human artisanship and entrepreneurship.

If self-governance within any particular organizational setting is only a possibility and not a necessity, then students of self-governance need to understand the constraints on choice presented by the structure of a physical, biological, and social world at any particular point in time as well as the opportunities of using human insight, reason, persuasion, and vigilance to transform inherited structures.

• To learn how to use the IAD framework and the related DOSES framework for analyzing SESs as tools for understanding the commonalities underlying entities that are often treated by diverse disciplines as fundamentally different things.

Markets and states are frequently posed as opposite types of entities. Those who study the American Presidency or the American Congress sometimes view what they study as entirely different from European Parliamentary systems or some of the national systems of Africa or of Asia. We will instead use a common set of elements to analyze repetitive relationships within and across markets, hierarchies, local communities, private associations, families, churches, regional governments, national governments, multinational corporations, and international regimes.

• To learn some very basic elements of game theory as one of the theories that is consistent with the IAD framework and to gain some knowledge of simple games, but this is really a very basic introduction and not a course on game theory.

Game theory is emerging as one of the theoretical tools in heavy use across all of the social sciences (as well as in biology). Game theory is useful for the institutional analyst when trying to understand the patterns of outcomes that result from the operation of repetitive situations over time when the motivational structure of participants is clearly understood. It also provides a theoretical tool for analyzing what to expect when rules are changed. As will become obvious in the semester, there are also many perplexing issues that are not yet resolved both about the theory of games and its applications to the study of institutions. We will do some reading drawing more on an evolutionary perspective and how this perspective combined with game theory helps us understand some of the above
issues. And, we will also begin to study the growing field of agent-based modeling.

• To recognize core problems that humans repeatedly face in a wide diversity of settings such as those involved in providing and regulating the use of public goods and common-pool resources, asymmetric information problems, adverse selection problems, moral hazard problems, aggregation of preferences problems, team coordination problems, principal-agent problems, and the problems of constituting complex orders under incomplete information.

Learning how to recognize the key symptoms of the core problems that humans repeatedly face is essential for institutional analysts. Diagnosis of the source(s) of the problems involved in a simple or complex setting is necessary prior to effective advice about the types of rules, norms, and strategies that have a chance to improve on outcomes.

• To understand how polycentric political systems, including but not limited to federal ones, operate based on principles learned from this course.

An irony exists in the contemporary world. This problem is at the heart of recent controversies about how to govern America and how to solve problems in the developing world. The recent policy focus on devolution in developing countries has emphasized shifting responsibility from national to state and local level. As this has been happening, the national governments have frequently continued to seek control, but not implementation, of many programs. One needs to dig into proposals for decentralization to see what is being devolved and HOW before one can even begin to evaluate these.

• To understand the importance of respecting the assets and limits of diverse disciplines and core research methods that are used to undertake careful empirical studies of the institutions and their operations in diverse environments.

Many of the theoretical questions of interest to an institutional analyst can be studied using individual case studies, meta-analyses of existing case studies, large-N field studies, formal theory, experimental research, and agent-based modeling. No one person can become an expert in all of these methods, but scholars need to overcome their suspicion of methods developed by others and recognize that learning cumulates faster and better if careful research has been undertaken with complementary research methods. One also needs to learn the limits of each method.

• To conduct an institutional analysis of an important and interesting puzzle relating to human behavior in a rule-ordered setting at a local, regional, national or international domain.
Each enrolled student and visiting scholar will write a paper that is an institutional analysis of a structured situation or linked set of situations that generate outcomes that are either puzzling, deemed inefficient, inequitable, unsustainable or in need of change. It is also important to study situations that have generated productive outcomes and are worthy of emulation and to identify what aspects of the structure and human behavior within that structure that has led to positive results.

**Procedures and Requirements**

The assigned readings:


Graduate students taking the course for credit have four types of assignments. First, each student is expected to write a short (1-3 pages) memo to be distributed among participants in the class every second week. Students should reflect on what they are currently reading and related topics. From time to time, I might ask for comments on a particular subject. These memos are not individually graded, but 20% of the final grade will be based on class participation and the faithfulness and quality of the memos will be reflected in this part of the grade.

Second, a take-home exam will be given out during the week before finals. It will be due on finals week. This exam is worth 30% of your grade. You will be involved in preparing the study questions for this exam.

Third, a final paper is required. Each student and visiting scholar will be expected to select either a type of problem (such as that of providing a particular type of public good or common-pool resource) or a type of decision-making arrangement (such as that of a legislature, a court, or a self-organized collectivity) and undertake an analysis of how combinations of rules, the structure of the goods and technology involved, and culture
interact to affect the incentives facing individuals and resulting patterns of interactions adopted by individuals. The student may focus on an operational, a collective choice or a constitutional-choice level, but the linkage among these levels should be addressed. Some participants are interested in large-scale phenomena and will want to examine international or national regimes. Others will focus on a smaller scale of organizations. Some may want to address the “scaling up” and “scaling down” question in institutional analysis.

This is an excellent opportunity to do a research design for a dissertation that applies institutional analysis to a particular problem. Students and visiting scholars may wish to do the first draft of a paper that eventually will be submitted for publication. The final paper constitutes 50% of the final grade. Since learning how to make deadlines is an essential skill for all academics, keeping to this deadline is taken *very seriously*.

**Schedule of Topics**

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Week 1: An Overview of the Seminar: Frameworks, Theories, and Models to Analyze and Understand Institutional Incentives and Outcomes.

Members of the seminar will be expected to read the preface for the syllabus (and to have glanced at the rest of it), and to have begun to think about how their own work might be related to the general work to be covered during the seminar. We will discuss the general organization of the semester’s work. There are several key issues that we will discuss during this class. They include:

- The Faustian bargain underlying all governance;
- The differences among frameworks, theories, and models - and how various theories (and models of these theories) can be used to analyze particular questions using the institutional analysis framework;
- The importance of both static and dynamic analyses when thinking about institutional questions;
- When single-level analysis is appropriate and when multiple levels of analysis should be invoked;
- Thinking about whole systems and thinking about parts;
- Thinking about decomposable systems; and
- Thinking about impossible and possible rather than only necessary and sufficient.

A central theme of the seminar is that human organization is the result of layers and layers and layers of conscious and unconscious structuring both within the single individual and within any organized polity. To study institutions, there is no single, correct level of analysis. To ask any particular theoretical or empirical question, however, an analyst can generate more useful information by starting to address that question at one level instead of others. Readings about an American sport – when only the surface features are discussed and “explained:” will hopefully make you think about how we can dig below what we see happening before us. We are all engaged in the craft of science as Dyson so well articulates.

Essential Readings for Week 1:
This Syllabus

“A Psycho-Cultural Interpretation of an American Sport,” from the Chicago Maroon, October 14, 1955.


**Week 2: An Introduction to the Study of Institutions, Complex Systems, and Collective Action Dilemmas.**

Much of our training as social scientists has been to focus on the analysis of simple, static one-layer situations. This does not prepare us for analyzing complex multi-level systems that evolve over time as organisms adapt through trial and error, imitation, and other mechanisms. We need to understand more of how human institutions have evolved and how we can survive and flourish in complex adaptive systems.

In this week, we will address basic foundation at a micro level involving the recognition of systems within systems within systems.

The concept of an action situation is one way to identify the “smallest relevant unit of analysis” for comparative research. These concepts have been used to design (1) the various Workshop databases developed to study the effects of institutions on incentives to provide and appropriate from common-pool resources; (2) many of our qualitative studies; (3) game theoretical analyses; and (4) experimental studies in the laboratory. One way of modeling a theory of how a particular action situation is structured, the likely behavior of participants, the consequences that are likely to be produced, and an evaluation of those consequences is by using formal game theory. The language of game theory is being used across the social sciences to analyze a wide diversity of interesting questions.

To overcome collective action dilemmas, participants need to devise rules that reasonably cope with the temptations of the situation they face. This is not a simple task given the large number of variables involved. It frequently requires considerable entrepreneurship to bring new structure to the “games” involved. Part of the solution is designing appropriate rules.

**Essential Readings for Week 2:**


Supplemental Readings for Week 2:


Follette, Mary Parker. 1940. “Constructive Conflict.” In Dynamic Administration, ed. H.


PSO Proceedings, No. 9

The neoclassical model of the individual used by economists in theoretical and empirical studies of market behavior has proved to be a robust and powerful model both for its usefulness in explaining choices in market situations but also as the foundation for explaining choices in other well-structured situations, including many collective action situations. Most game theoretic analyses of market and collective action settings use a
very clearly specified model of the individual and of the situation in which the modeled individuals find themselves.

The assumptions of rational choice theory have been criticized on a number of fronts - primarily for their lack of reality. There is an extensive supplemental bibliography for this week for those who wish to read widely on the subject of rational choice. Given the very substantial empirical evidence that human behavior frequently does not conform to the neoclassical model, one has to take the criticisms seriously. On the other hand, one does not lightly discard a highly powerful and very useful model of human choice-making behavior.

The stance that we take in this seminar is that one should retain the neoclassical (or, game theoretical) model as one, but not the exclusive model of the individual to be used in conducting institutional analyses. In other words, this is one of the tools of the trade and an institutional analyst should know this tool well. Knowing a tool well means knowing its capabilities and its limitations. This model is particularly useful in regard to the following three tasks:

1. Undertaking a theoretical analysis of what a fully informed and narrowly self-interested person would do in a particular type of well-defined situation.

   James Buchanan has frequently argued that an essential analysis of any particular institutional arrangement must examine what strategies would be selected by individuals who are selfish, opportunistic, and calculating. If these strategies lead to optimal outcomes for others - as they do in a highly competitive market - the institutional arrangement is quite robust to the type of individuals who will be using it. If these strategies lead to suboptimal outcomes, then one is alerted to the problems that the naïve use of the institutional arrangement might produce. The use of the neoclassical model of the individual enables one to examine how vulnerable a particular institutional arrangement is to the calculations of a narrow hedonist.

2. Undertaking a normative analysis of what fully “rational” persons should do in a particular type of highly structured and repetitive situation.

   Many game theorists view game theory as a “theory of advice” for how to be rational in diverse situations. In light of many of our readings this semester, one might recast this normative view of game theory so that it is viewed as a theory of advice for individuals facing situations of relating to strangers where no trust and reciprocity has been developed. The same theory might not offer good advice for how to behave rationally in settings where individuals know each other’s identity, have established a real sense of community and reciprocity, and expect to relate to one another over a very long time. It is these latter problems that are causing a considerable amount of ferment and reconsideration among thoughtful scholars.

3. Undertaking a positive, theoretical analysis in those situations that are tightly
constrained, where the actions and outcomes are clearly known, and where some single value - such as profit or likelihood of re-election - can serve as an external indicator of utility.

The key question facing institutional analysts who wish to undertake positive analyses of less structured and certain situations is what modifications in the neoclassical theory are the most likely to generate useful predictions in particular kinds of settings? Thinking of human behavior as adaptive is the approach that is discussed by Vincent Ostrom and Brian Jones. Herbert Simon retains the fundamental presumption that individuals compare benefits against costs but relaxes the assumptions about how finely values are measured and the type of calculation process presumed. If one adds to the important work of Simon, the work of Kahneman and Tversky (and others) on perception and framing effects and of Coleman (and others) on the adoption of norms of behavior, one begins to gain a model of a fallible learner who develops routines, heuristics, or SOPs (standard operating procedures) for coping with much of life that may reflect more or less opportunistic behavior dependent upon both personal and social developments.

Recent work on evolutionary theory applied to language, culture, and social relations is also providing useful insights to the central questions we will be addressing. We do need to develop an integrated approach in the social sciences that does not see our approach as totally apart from the biological foundations of human behavior. In an institutional milieu that is highly competitive, the external structure may be so selective that those who survive can be thought of as having maximized whatever value is needed for survival. But, many environments do not have such strong selection pressures. Thus, the neoclassical model becomes one - but not the only - model of the individual that the institutional analyst can use. In his classic article on “rationality,” Popper gives us some very good advice: rest as much of your analysis on the structure of the situation rather than on the model of the individual.

**Essential Readings for Week 3:**


**Supplemental Readings for Week 3:**


Orbell, John et al., 2004. “Machiavellian” Intelligence as a Basis for the Evolution of


**Week 4: Structural Variables that Affect Action Situations.**
Underlying all governance processes are collective action dilemmas. While they have been depicted as simple games, such as the Prisoners’ Dilemma game, they are rarely simple in the field. They depend on the context of the situation – on the bio-physical setting, the community, and the rules. We have stressed that one of the factors that affects the structure of an action situation is the biophysical world or in a simplified view “the nature of the goods” involved. We will discuss a general way of broadly classifying four types of goods (of which there are many sub-types).

The term “institution” has a diversity of meanings in the literature as discussed by Hodgson (2006). Institutional theorists do need to come to a common understanding or we only continue the “Tower of Babel” that characterizes much of the social science
literature. As understood as part of the IAD framework, rules can be expressed linguistically as the “mays,” “musts,” and “must nots” that potentially affect all of the working parts of any action situation including a market. What type of variables are these? When do we know that humans are following a set of rules? How can we begin to develop a technical language to talk about rules in a careful manner? How can we know if the rules of one system are similar to or different from the rules of another system? The concept of “working rules” comes from John R. Commons. The introduction to his book gives you a brief overview of his approach. Sue Crawford and I have struggled mightily with the concepts of rules, norms, and equilibrium strategies and how to relate these. You should carefully read our Chapter 5. I build on these issues in Chapters 6 and 7 of Understanding Institutional Diversity. Professor Armando Razo will join us and discuss his thinking about an “Ontological and Theoretical Framework for Comparative Analysis of Networks and Institutions.”

We will hand out a worksheet for analyzing rules during the seminar session for Week 4. During the Week 6 session, we will discuss the worksheets you will share with each other. You need to re-read one or two cases that you choose where the authors have provided at least some basic information about the underlying structure of an action situation. Or, you may have to infer what these rules are. You will then identify which rules affect which part of an action situation and how this affects the structure, behavior, and outcomes. You will have two weeks to be thinking about this assignment. Hopefully, you will pick cases that relate to your paper for the seminar and this will help prepare some of the foundation for your seminar paper.

Essential Readings for Week 4:


Supplementary Readings on IAD Framework:
The IAD framework has been described by many Workshop colleagues. Developments include:


Similar efforts to identify a “smallest relevant unit of analysis” have used such terms as: collective structures, transactions, frames, and the other terms listed below. The following is an initial bibliography of key works that describe other efforts to identify units of analysis that are very similar to the concept of an action situation:

**Collective Structure:**

**Events:**


**Frames:**

PSO Proceedings, No. 9 26
Logic of the Situation:


Problematic Social Situations:

Scripts:

Transactions:

Units of Meaning:

For a book that is informed by formal game theory but is devoted to teaching future negotiators the logic of situations, see:


Week 5: Games and Institutional Analysis.
Our strong recommendation to anyone who plans to study institutional arrangements is that they should be well trained in at least one formal method for analyzing individual choice. Game theory is a very powerful formal modeling tool for the institutional analyst and can be applied to many diverse situations in a fruitful manner. Sometimes the usefulness of a game theoretical analysis is to provide a clear picture of what would happen in a setting where all decisions are made independently and little opportunity for communication, gaining common agreement, and the development of norms exist. This then becomes a powerful “zero” model for comparison with behavior in richer settings.

In some highly competitive settings, predictions made using rational choice theory are very close to observed outcomes because competition drives out those participants whose
choices are much different from those made by a rational player. In such settings, rational choice models go far in helping analysts predict behavior.

**Essential Readings for Week 5:**


**Supplemental Readings on Game Theory and Its Foundations:**


**Week 6: Studying Collective Action in the Field.**

Having spent two weeks on the use of experiments to study collective action dilemmas, we will now turn to research based on field studies. I would recommend reading the chapters from the Poteete et al. volume first as they discuss an extensive body of studies and some of the real challenges involved in doing field research on collective action.

**Essential readings for Week 6:**


**Week 7: Polycentricity.**

Recent developments in Indianapolis make this topic particularly relevant. In early August of 2004, Mayor Bart Peterson proposed to save the citizens of Marion County over $35 million dollars by consolidating the city and county police and fire departments, eliminating most of the townships, and greatly increasing his own powers. This raises once again the argument that moving to one large, consolidated unit will be more efficient. Readings by Vincent Ostrom in the McGinnis volume lay out the concept of polycentricity and its usefulness for understanding complex urban governance. The articles from our earlier police studies are highly relevant to the current debate in Indianapolis. Weingast turns particularly to the structure of federal systems and some of their consequences.

**Essential Readings for Week 7:**


Supplemental Readings for Week 7:


Week 8: Learning from Experiments.
One method of studying collective action dilemmas is by designing and running experiments where one is able to change underlying structural aspects one by one. We will discuss some of the key aspects of experimental research this week and then do a pretest of an experiment that we plan to undertake very soon during the following week.

Essential Readings for Week 8:


**Week 9: Pretesting a New Experimental Design.**

**Week 10: Studying Linked Social-Ecological Systems.**

We are being asked more frequently to address broad questions related to the sustainability of social and ecological systems over time. The National Academy of Science, for example, has added a section on “Sustainability Science” to its regular divisions of the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS) and asked me to be on the Editorial Board for PNAS to work on this new multidisciplinary field. In particular, I have organized a Special Feature with Marty Anderies and Marco Janssen of PNAS on “Beyond Panaceas: Crafting Diverse Institutional Arrangements for Governing Diverse Social-Ecological Systems.”

Marco Janssen and I relate our effort to studying linked social-ecological systems to the range of multiple methods that can be used for these kinds of studies. Weinstein applies the IAD to fisheries in Canada and Japan.

**Essential Readings for Week 10:**


Janssen, Marco, and Elinor Ostrom. 2006. “Adoption of a New Regulation for the Governance of Common-Pool Resources by a Heterogeneous Population.” In Inequality,


**Supplemental Readings for Week 10:**

**Week 11: Applications of IAD or DOSES to your Puzzles.**
There are no new readings for this week to give you time to catch up with past weeks and to begin serious consideration of the puzzle that you intend to discuss in your own paper. Everyone will be asked to write a one-page memo on the topic they have chosen for their seminar paper. In class, we will break into smaller groups and discuss the puzzles you have regarding key concepts and their applications in class.

**Week 12: Bureaucratic Forms of Organization and their Potential Control.**
Hierarchy has been viewed within public administration theory as one of the “ideal” forms of organization in which considerable control over subordinates is exercised by superiors. Recent work on institutional analysis has raised serious questions about this image. The key issue is how control is exercised both within bureaus and among bureaus.

**Essential Readings for Week 12:**
Structure, and Collective Dilemmas.” *American Political Science Review* 84(1) (March): 133-147.


**Supplemental Readings for Week 12:**


Week 13: Puzzles and Challenges of Development.
For the last half century, International Development Agencies (IDAs) have poured substantial sums into efforts to assist the developing world to achieve a higher economic and political level of development. Many of these efforts have lead to very disappointing results. Several years ago, the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) asked colleagues at the Workshop to undertake a study of Aid, Incentives, and Sustainability. Oxford University Press asked us to revise our earlier report and make it more general. Since this is another application of our IAD approach to a puzzle in the world, I thought it would be useful to assign several of the chapters from the book entitled *The Samaritan’s Dilemma* for this week of the seminar as well as excellent chapters from Amos Sawyer’s and Sheldon Gellar’s new books, and Ed Araral’s excellent article on the bureaucratic incentives compounded by international aid.

Essential Readings for Week 13:


Week 14: Collective Choice and Constitutional Choice: Constituting and Reconstituting Multi-Agent, Multi-Level, Overlapping Realms of Local, National, and International Regimes.

Analysis of institutional change is among the most difficult topics to be covered in this semester. So many different variables potentially affect how individuals constitute and change institutions over time. For some scholars, institutional change has been viewed as a process leading to ever better institutions. For others, it is simply the result of the most powerful exerting their continued dominance over a situation. An institutional analyst must recognize that changes in rules do not always lead to increased welfare both because of ignorance and because of opportunistic behavior. A key question is how to analyze changes of rules within rules so as to understand under what conditions individuals may improve their general welfare with time.

Essential Readings for Week 14:


Supplemental Readings for Week 14:


Proceedings of the Policy Studies Organization

The PSO symbol is the 47th problem of the famous scholar Euclid. Called the Pythagorean Theorem as it was Pythagoras, an Aeonian Greek, who established an academy where the proposition was debated, and central to ancient scholarship, it represents applying knowledge to practical needs. An avocational mathematician and President of the United States, James Garfield, discovered an alternative proof. His son, Harry Garfield, longtime President of Williams College and President of the American Political Science Association, once owned the house in Washington now housing the APSA and the PSO

www.ipsonet.org
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MEETINGS
The Policy Studies Organization holds concurrent meetings with the Southern Political Science Association in New Orleans every January, with the Midwest Political Science Association every April in Chicago, and with the American Political Science Association at its annual meetings in August. To schedule papers and panels for these events, please contact Daniel Gutiérrez-Sandoval at dgutierrezs@ipsonet.org.

POLICY STUDIES ORGANIZATION ENDOWMENTS AND AWARDS
The Policy Studies Organization established and raises funds for three endowments, which are held in permanent trust by the American, Midwest, and Southern Political Science Associations. The Seymour Martin Lipset Fund is for the Library and Centennial Center at APSA headquarters, the Walter Beach Endowment brings foreign scholars to the Southern meetings, and the Harrell Rodgers Endowment enables graduate students to attend Midwest meetings. Gifts can be sent at any time to the three associations earmarked for these funds, as permanent endowment to help people down through the years. They are fully tax-exempt. If you have questions about giving through charitable annuities, remainder trusts or other devices, offering attractive tax benefits, contact the PSO President, Dr. Paul Rich at pauljrlich@gmail.com.
Seymour Martin Lipset Endowment at APSA
The Policy Studies Organization established and sponsors the Seymour Martin Lipset Endowment of the American Political Science Association. The endowment helps to fund the Lipset Library, part of the APSA Centennial Center for visiting scholars. The study area offers handsome offices along with computers and meeting rooms, and the Lipset Library is a much appreciated gathering place. The Lipset Endowment Committee is chaired by Larry Diamond of the Hoover Institution and Paul Rich of the Policy Studies Organization. Gifts are payable to the APSA earmarked for the Lipset Endowment and are fully tax deductible. Inquiries can be addressed to Dr. Rich at pauljrich@gmail.com

Harrell Rodgers Endowment at MPSA
The Policy Studies Organization has established the Harrell Rodgers Endowment with the Midwest Political Science Association to help students attend the annual Midwest conference. Fellows are invited to PSO functions at the conference and their names are permanently inscribed on the Rodgers Plaque at the PSO headquarters in Washington. Applications as well as contributions to the permanent Rodgers endowment can be made to the Midwest and are tax exempt.

The Walter E. Beach Endowment at SPSA
The Policy Studies Organization has established the Walter E. Beach Fellows Endowment with the Southern Political Science Association, to enable foreign scholars to attend the annual meetings of the Southern. Beach Fellows are permanently honored on a plaque in the PSO Washington headquarters. Donations are fully tax deductible and may be sent to the Southern, as well as applications for grants.

The Rex Kallembach – Wiley-Blackwell Award
This award is given to students who have an interest in the publication industry. It is named after Rex Kallembach, treasurer of the Policy Studies Organization.

The Harold D. Lasswell Award
This prize is awarded annually for the best dissertation in the field of public policy. It is co-sponsored by the Policy Studies Organization and the APSA Public Policy Organized Section. It carries a prize of $1,000.

The Aaron Wildavsky Award
This is for a book or article published in the last ten to twenty years that continues to influence the study of public policy.
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The Georgia Political Science Association Awards

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The McBrayer Award and an accompanying $500.00 cash prize will be awarded in years when a paper of outstanding scholarship within the discipline is presented in its entirety on the GPSA annual meeting program and subsequently recognized as such at the discretion of the Editorial Board and Editor-in-Chief of the Proceedings of the GPSA by their decision to bestow the McBrayer Award.

Please contact Dr. Joe Trachtenberg, Editor-in-Chief, with questions and concerns about the award at joetrachtenberg@mail.clayton.edu or call (678) 466-4810.

Annual Pajari Undergraduate Paper Award
The ROGER N. PAJARI Undergraduate Paper Award is awarded annually to the best undergraduate paper submitted to meet the requirements of an undergraduate political science course taught in the state of Georgia and nominated by the professor teaching the course. The awards committee selects the best paper from those submitted each year. The deadline is July 1st of each year. Papers submitted after the deadline will be included in the next year’s competition. All papers must be submitted as an MS Word or PDF document. The winning paper will be posted in the Proceedings of the GPSA.

Professors who wish to nominate exemplary student papers should contact the Chair of the Awards Committee at hcline@mgc.edu

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For more information about these awards granted by the Georgia Political Science Association please visit their website www.gpsanet.org
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Parliamentary Debate
The Policy Studies Organization sponsors parliamentary debates at conferences. There is a Speaker of the House and the opposing parties with prime minister and shadow prime minister, as well as front and back benches who face each other as at Westminster. This enables participation by those who otherwise would just be listening to panels, and has proved quite popular and highly interesting. It also introduces students to a form of democracy which is sometimes neglected in American political science discussion. For information about these Parliamentary Debates, please contact PSO headquarters. We are always eager to assist with these timely debates at conferences, big and small.


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