



When Ostrom Meets Blockchain

Exploring the Potentials of Blockchain for Commons Governance

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¡Hola!

I'm David Rozas (@drozas)

Postdoc researcher @p2pmod. $\frac{1}{2}$ computer
scientist, $\frac{1}{2}$ sociologist. Trying to bring
together the social and the technical to foster
Commons-Based Peer Production.

OUTLINE

1.

P2PModels & key concepts around decentralised technologies.

2.

Debate on *blockchain-based* governance: beyond markets and states?

3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles and example: community network.

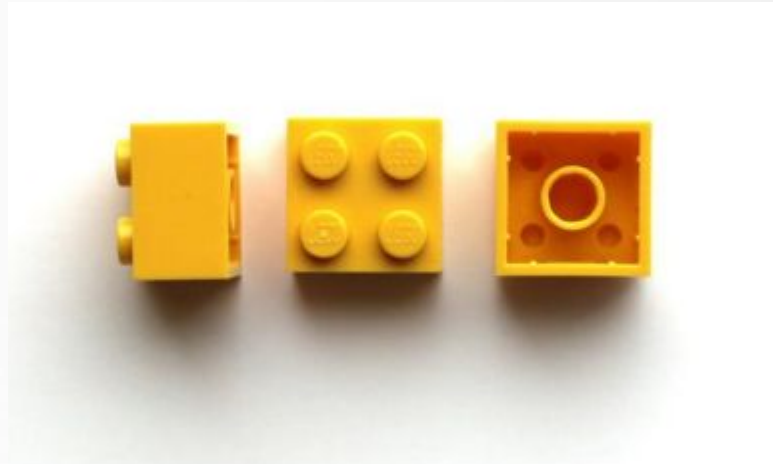
4.

Affordances of blockchain for commons governance.

5.

Conclusion and future work.

P2PModels: Three challenges of collaborative economy

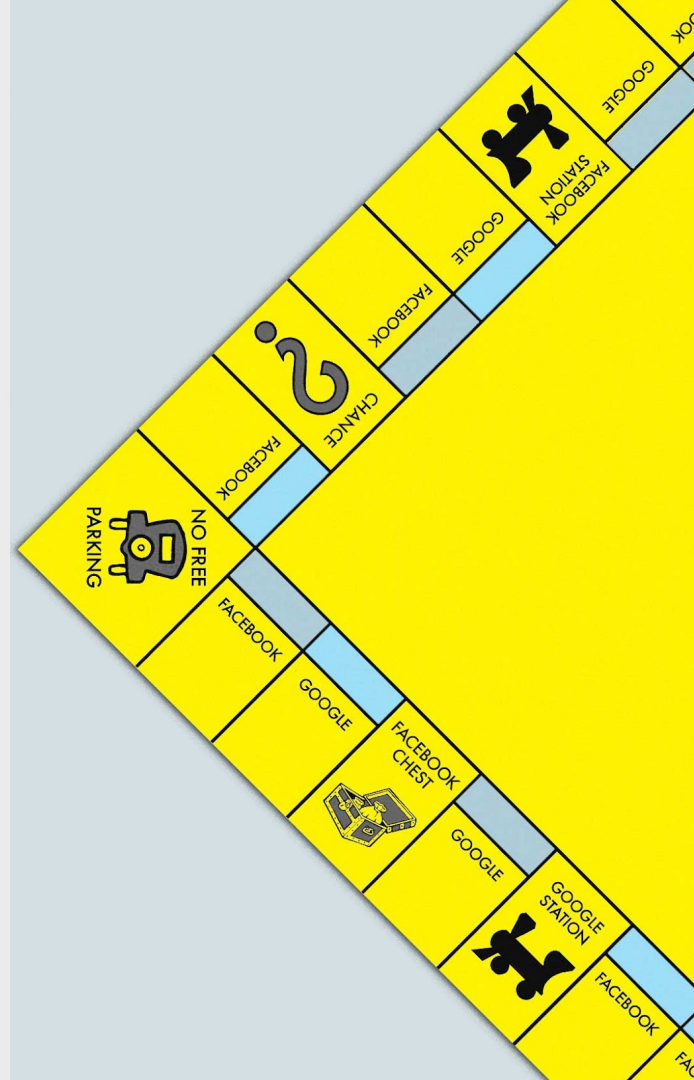




Infrastructure

Centralised Monopolies

- Today's Collaborative Economy dominated by large centralised platforms
- Concentrate massive amounts of user data





Governance

Disempowered Communities

- Collaborative Economy platforms mediate the interaction of large communities
- However, users have no say in the platform





Value

Concentration of Profits

- Major industry players concentrate profit and appropriate value
- Users rarely rewarded for their work.



**Can blockchain
help to tackle
some of these
problems?**



THE PROJECT

1.

- **Provide a software framework to build decentralised infrastructure for Collaborative Economy**
- **Minimises dependencies from central points of control**



imagine
the possibilities

THE PROJECT

2.

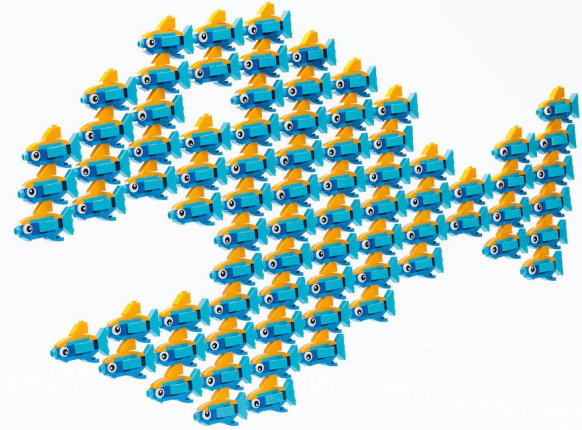
- **Enable democratic-by-design models of governance for communities**
- **Ensure higher levels of equality and inclusion**



THE PROJECT

3.

- **Enable value distribution models which improve economic sustainability**
 - **Participants**
 - **Organisations**



THE PEOPLE



Samer Hassan

Principal Investigator



Silvia Díaz

Feminist Anthropologist



Maricruz Valiente

Senior Blockchain Developer



Genoveva López

Communication Strategist



Paulo J. Colombo

Blockchain Developer



David Rozas

Geek Sociologist



Elena Martínez

UX Sorceress



Antonio Tenorio

Governance Alchemist



Eve Zelickson

Social Researcher



Rosa Chamorro

Financial & Administrative
Matters

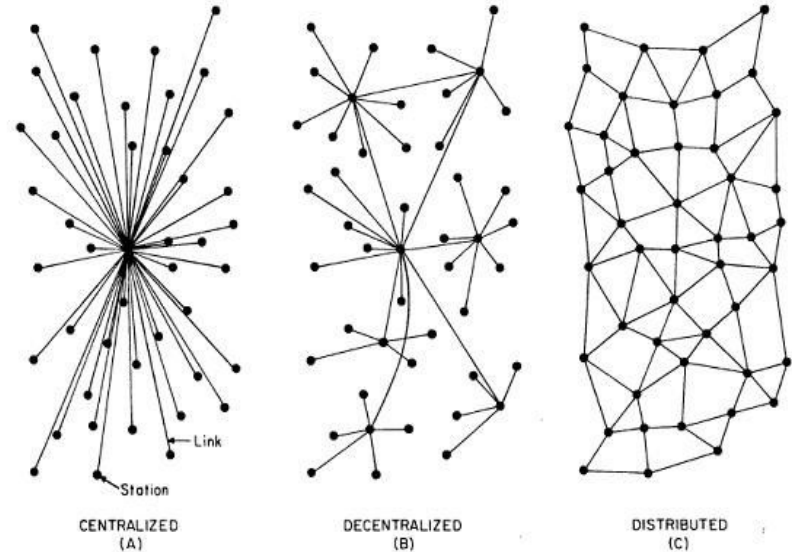


1.

Key concepts around decentralised technologies.

BLOCKCHAIN

- **Distributed & persistent ledger/database.**
- **Without a third party.**
- **E.g. cryptocurrency, such as Bitcoin (Nakamoto, 2008), without banks.**
- **But more than that!**
 - **Storing in a decentralised way**
 - **Executing in a decentralised way**



1.

Key concepts around decentralised technologies.

SMART CONTRACT

(Szabo, 1997)

- Snippets of code on the blockchain.
- Decentralised execution.
- Rules automatically enforced without central authority.

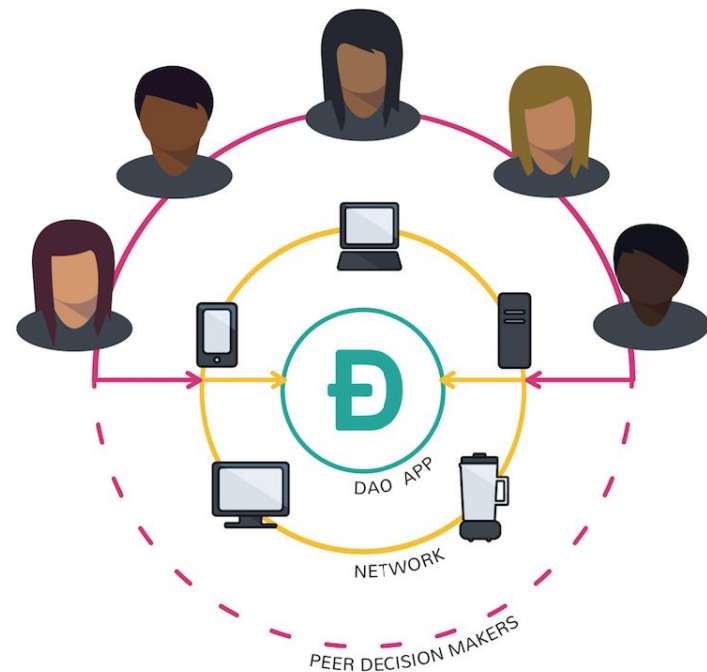


1.

Key concepts around decentralised technologies.

DAO DISTRIBUTED AUTONOMOUS ORGANISATION

- Organisation (partially) controlled by rules implemented in smart contracts.
- Analogy with legal organisation.
 - Legal documents (bylaws), define rules of interaction amongst members.
 - DAO members' interactions are (partially) mediated by rules embedded in DAO code.



2. Debate on *blockchain-based* governance: beyond markets and states?

BLOCKCHAIN BASED GOVERNANCE*

* Governance with/through blockchains... not of!

- **Predominant techno-determinist discourses** (e.g. Swan, 2015; Heuermann, 2015; Hayes 2016)
 - Over-reductionist with social aspects, such as distribution of power.
 - Embed market-driven, utilitarian, individualistic values
- **Not new... Internet as space for utopia/dystopia** (Wellman, 2004)



BLOCKCHAIN BASED GOVERNANCE*

- Critical stand, but reinforcing traditional institutions (e.g. Atzori, 2015; Atzori & Ulieru, 2017)
 - Central authorities necessary for democratic governance.
 - Blockchain in non-transformative ways (e.g. increase transparency of institutions (Nguyen, 2016), avoid tax fraud (Ainsworth & Shact, 2016))
 - Ignore power for collective action & self-organisation.



BLOCKCHAIN BASED GOVERNANCE*

- Perspectives of blockchain-based governance beyond markets & states?
 - Blockchain as source of potentialities (and risks) for commons governance (Benkler, 2006; Fuster-Morell et al., 2014)
 - Bringing together literature and commons perspectives.
- Disclaimer:
 - Theoretical, ongoing empirical work!
 - Focus on potentialities, plenty of tensions and risks

COMMONS-BASED PEER PRODUCTION

Mode of production (Benkler, 2002; 2006)
characterised by Fuster-Morell et al. (2014)

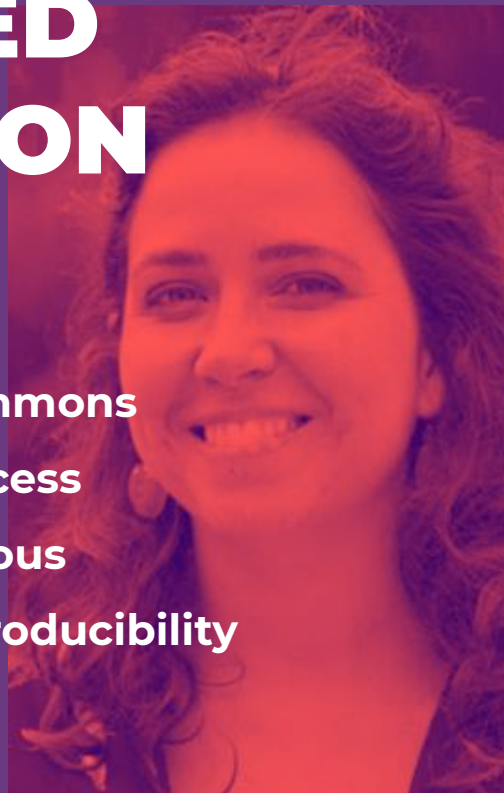
✓ Collaborative process

✓ Commons
process

✓ Peer-based

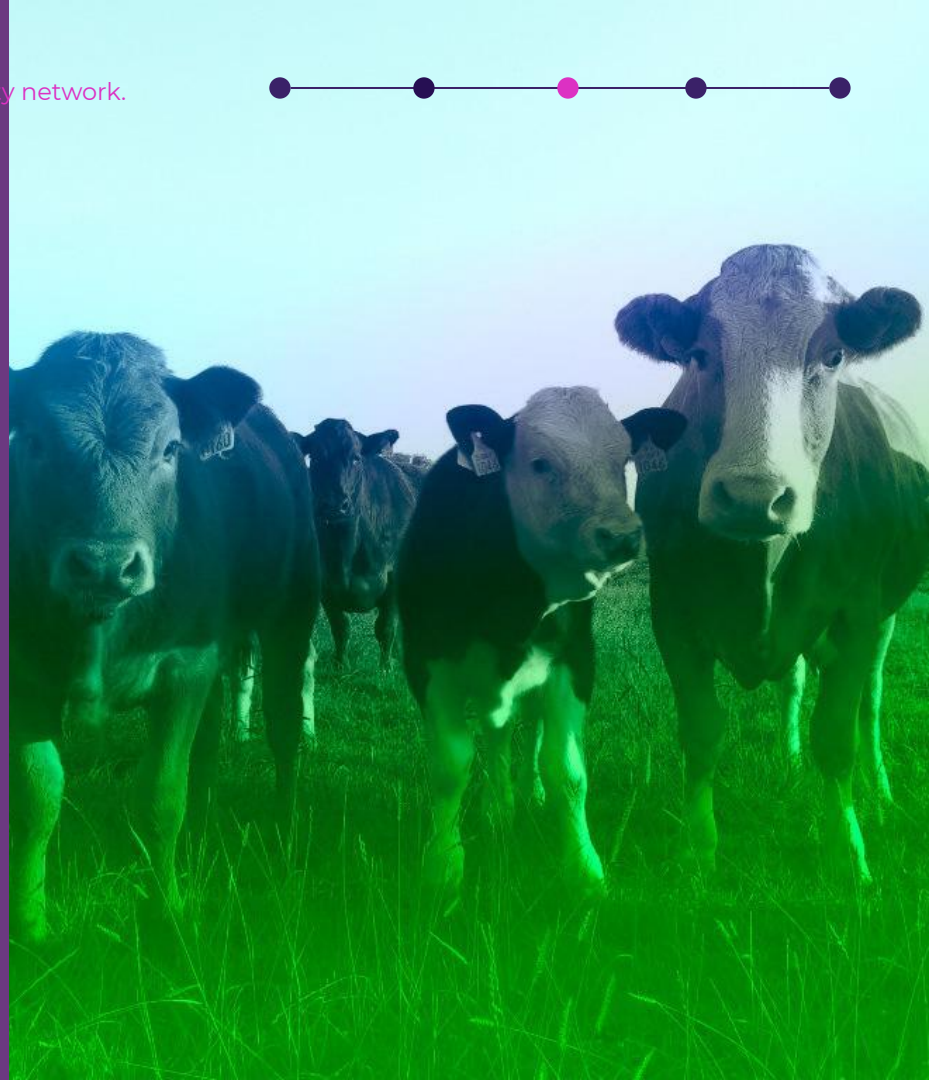
✓ Favours
reproducibility

“Radically different to
“Silicon Valley” sharing economy



(BREAKING) THE TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS

- Hardin (1968) states how shared resources are depleted by (homo-economicus) individuals acting out of self-interest.
- Traditional view to avoid this logic — “If I do not use it, someone else will”
- Commons need to be managed by:
 - Private ownership.
 - Centralised public administration.



OSTROM PRINCIPLES

(1990)



1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. Participatory decision-making
4. Monitoring
5. Graduated sanctions
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms
7. Recognition by higher authorities
8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises

3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles
and example: community network.



1. **COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES**
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. Participatory decision-making
4. Monitoring
5. Graduated sanctions
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms
7. Recognition by higher authorities
8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises

3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles
and example: community network.



1. Community boundaries

2. **RULES ADAPTED TO LOCAL CONDITIONS**

3. Participatory decision-making

4. Monitoring

5. Graduated sanctions

6. Conflict resolution mechanisms

7. Recognition by higher authorities

8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises

3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles
and example: community network.



1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. **PARTICIPATORY DECISION-MAKING**
4. Monitoring
5. Graduated sanctions
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms
7. Recognition by higher authorities
8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises



3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles and example: community network.



1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. Participatory decision-making
4. **MONITORING**
5. Graduated sanctions
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms
7. Recognition by higher authorities
8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises



3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles
and example: community network.



1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. Participatory decision-making
4. Monitoring
5. **GRADUATED SANCTIONS**
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms
7. Recognition by higher authorities
8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises

3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles
and example: community network.



1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. Participatory decision-making
4. Monitoring
5. Graduated sanctions

6. **CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS**

7. Recognition by higher authorities
8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises

3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles
and example: community network.



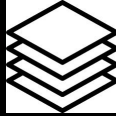
1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. Participatory decision-making
4. Monitoring
5. Graduated sanctions
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms

7. **RECOGNITION BY HIGHER AUTHORITIES**
8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises



3.

Commons governance, Ostrom's principles
and example: community network.



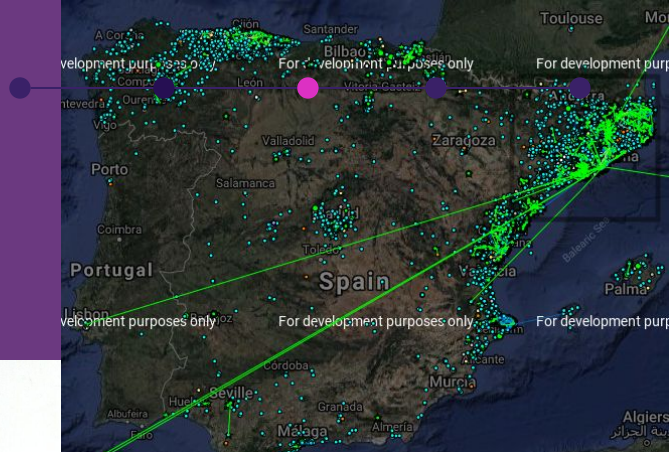
1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. Participatory decision-making
4. Monitoring
5. Graduated sanctions
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms
7. Recognition by higher authorities

8. **MULTIPLE LAYERS OF
NESTED ENTERPRISES**

3. Commons governance, Ostrom's principles and example: community network.

AN EXAMPLE: GIFI.NET

- Free, open & neutral Community Network (CN): 50k users on a daily basis (Guifi.net, 2020)
- +35k nodes, 65k km links (Guifi.net, 2020)
- Internet Service Provider, infrastructure as a commons.
- Ostrom's principles (Baig et al. , 2015).
- Not only wireless, fiber.



3. Commons governance, Ostrom's principles and example: community network.

GUIFI.NET SOME ACTORS

- Users/customers.
- Community network hackers & makers.
- Professional operators.
- Formal institution: Fundació.

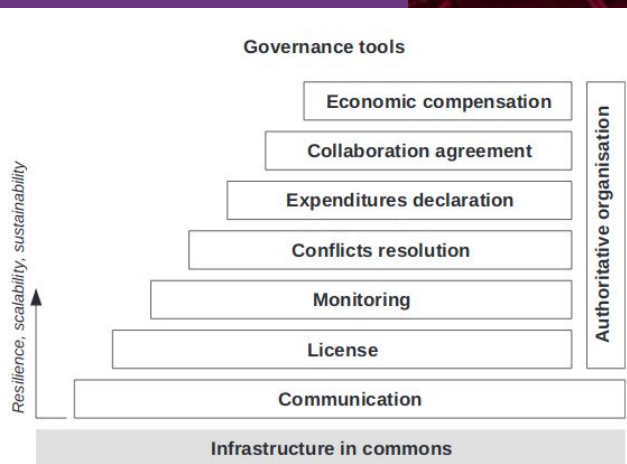


3. Commons governance, Ostrom's principles and example: community network.

GUIFI.NET COMPENSATION SYSTEM

Balances contributions
accounted for resource usage of
operators, monitored by
Fundació (Baig et al. , 2015)

- Examples:
 - Operators declare investments and expenditures to maintain infrastructure
 - Degrees of “commitment to the commons” monitored by *Fundació*
 - Meetings for rules according to local conditions
 - Sanctions for misuse





BLOCKCHAIN AS SOURCE OF AFFORDANCES*?

I

Tokenisation

II

Self-enforcement and
formalisation of rules

III

Autonomous
automatisation

IV

Decentralisation of
power over the
infrastructure

V

Transparentisation

VI

Codification of trust

* “functional and relational aspects which frame, while not determining, the possibilities for agentic action in relation to an object” (Hutchby, 2001; p.244).
We frame them as potential processes in this analysis.

TOKENISATION



Transforming rights to perform an action on an asset into a data element on the blockchain



TOKENISATION

- **Guifi.net: measure and distribute value drawing on tokens (Selimi et al., 2018; Navarro et al., forthcoming)**
- **Beyond:**
 - **Rights more easily and granularly defined, propagated and/or revoked.**
 - **Artefacts as source of explicitation of less visible forms of power and value.**



Towards Blockchain-enabled Wireless Mesh Networks

Mennan Selimi, Aniruddh Rao Kabbinala, Anwaar Ali, Leandro Navarro, Arjuna Sathiascelan

(Submitted on 2 Apr 2018)

Blockchain models for universal connectivity

Leandro Navarro^{1,2}, Ignacio Castro^{3,2}, Arjuna Sathiascelan², Emmanouil Dimogerontakis¹, Mennan Selimi¹, and Roger Baig^{1,4}



SELF-ENFORCEMENT & FORMALISATION OF RULES



Encoding clauses into source code,
automatically self-enforced, executed without
the need for a central authority: smart contracts
(Szabo, 1997)



SELF-ENFORCEMENT & FORMALISATION

- **Guifi.net:**
 - **Capping rules for network use. E.g. enforces a bandwidth limit, penalises misuse.**
 - **Local rules of compensation system more visibly discussed.**
 - **Autonomy for decision-making for local aspects: Barcelona, Madrid and vice-versa.**
- **Beyond:**
 - **Rules for pooling, capping or mutualising.**
 - **Explicitation.**
 - **Autonomy from higher authorities.**

AUTONOMOUS AUTOMATISATION



Using DAOs (Decentralised Autonomous Organisations) to automatise organisational processes.



AUTONOMOUS AUTOMATISATION

Guifi.net (and beyond):

- Monitoring and/or graduated sanctions to the DAO.
- Exploration of potential conflicts.
- Facilitating creation of nested layers:
 - Transferring resources amongst nodes DAOs coordinating smaller DAOs.



DECENTRALISATION OF POWER OVER THE INFRASTRUCTURE



IV

Communalising ownership and
control of tools through
decentralised infrastructure.



DECENTRALISATION OF POWER OVER THE INFRASTRUCTURE

Guifi.net:

- Main platform of collaboration (www.guifi.net) controlled by *Fundació*.
- Monitoring infrastructure could be decentralised.
- Shape power dynamics for negotiations between *Fundació* and local levels.

Beyond:

- Relationships between technical and social power (Forte et al., 2009, pp. 64-68). As in Wikipedia (Tkacz, 2014; Jemielniak, 2016)
- Facilitates “right to fork”.
- New conditions of negotiation.

TRANSPARENTISATION



Opening organisational processes and associated data, relying on persistency and immutability of blockchain



TRANSPARENTISATION

- **Guifi.net:**
 - **More transparency in maintaining common infrastructure**
- **Beyond:**
 - **Long tradition in open and participative processes**
 - **Scaling up monitoring and conflict resolution**

The image displays a screenshot of a Guifi.net ticket and invoice system. The top section shows a ticket titled "Drops de Xartic a Sales de Llerca" with details such as "created: Wed, 14/11/2018 - 18:06" and "Status: Executed - For Compensation". Below this, a table lists items with descriptions, units, and costs. A large blue arrow points from the text "Monitored by Fundació (and operators unofficially)" to the bottom right of the screenshot.

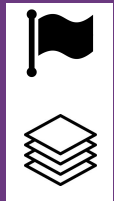
Who fixed what?

How much was it?

Monitored by *Fundació* (and operators unofficially)

Description	Units	Cost per unit	Tax %	Subtotal
990A0083 Incidència FO (h)	3	30,00	21	108,90

CODIFICATION OF TRUST



VI

**Codifying trust into “trustless systems”:
facilitate agreement between agents
without requiring a third party, providing
certain degree of trust.**

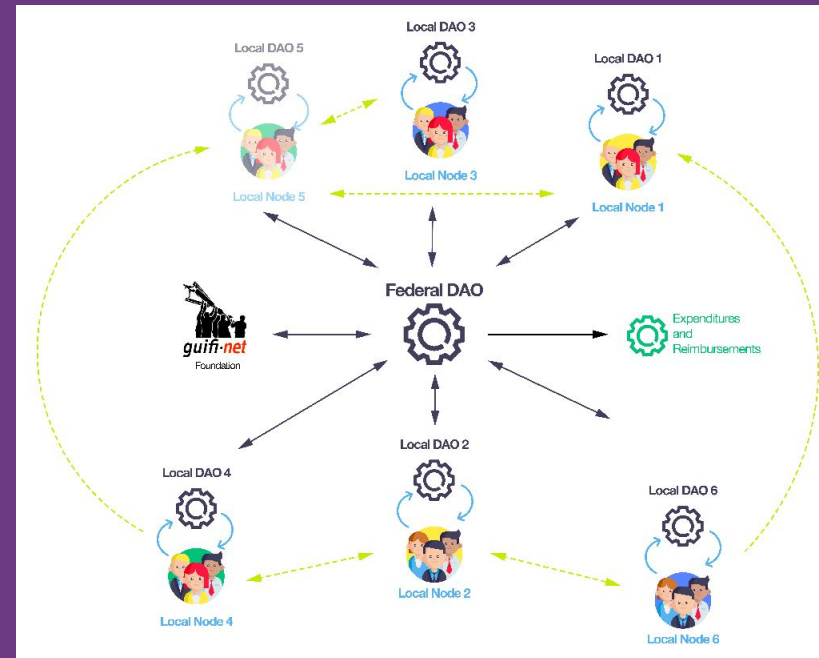


CODIFICATION OF TRUST

- **Aware of techno-determinist market-driven discourses:**
 - **Focus on contractual transactions amongst selfish individuals, hobbessian values: “Crypto-leviathan” (Reijers et al. ,2016)**
 - **Shift of trust: code is law?**
- **Re-interpret “trustlessness” as:**
 - **Partial, limited property.**
 - **Integrating social culture and practices -> encoding (certain) degree of trust between nodes: interoperability.**

CODIFICATION OF TRUST

- **Guifi.net (and beyond):**
 - **Internal interoperability:** locally-shaped platforms, autonomously governed, interoperating between them and/or broader level.
E.g. local nodes in Guifi.net
 - **External interoperability:** coordination between different collectives.
E.g. meta-cooperatives, different notions of value (De Filippi and Hassan, 2015)

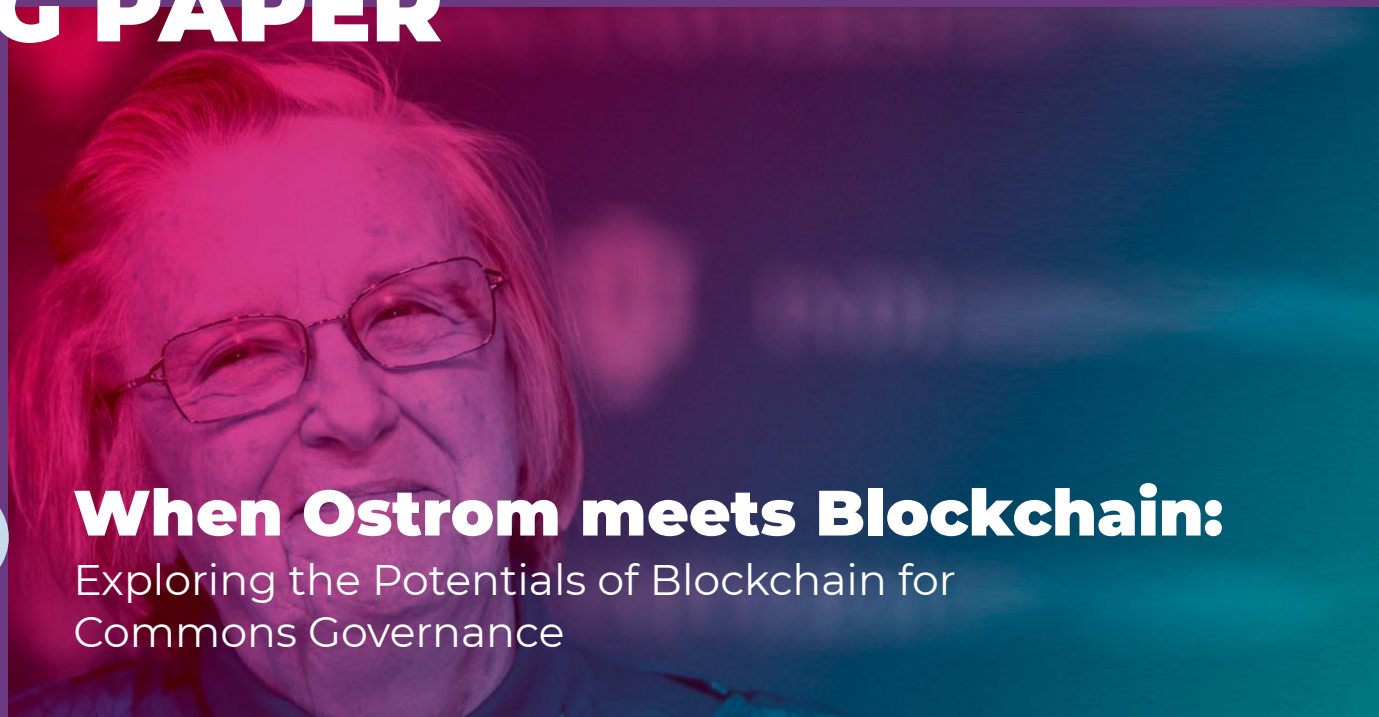


SUMMING UP

	(I) Tokenisation	(II) Self-enforcement t and formalisation	(III) Autonomous automatisation	(IV) Decentralisation of power over the infrastructure	(V) Transparensatio n	(VI) Codification of trust
(1) Clearly defined community boundaries	✓					
(2) Congruence between rules and local conditions	✓	✓		✓		
(3) Collective choice arrangements	✓			✓		
(4) Monitoring		✓	✓	✓	✓	
(5) Graduated sanctions		✓	✓			
(6) Conflict resolution mechanisms			✓		✓	
(7) Local enforcement of local rules		✓		✓		✓
(8) Multiple layers of nested enterprises			✓			✓

WORKING PAPER AT SSRN

Ping me for an
updated
version!



When Ostrom meets Blockchain:

Exploring the Potentials of Blockchain for
Commons Governance



Rozas, David and Tenorio-Fornés, Antonio and Díaz-Molina, Silvia and Hassan, Samer, When Ostrom Meets Blockchain: Exploring the Potentials of Blockchain for Commons Governance (July 30, 2018). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3272329> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3272329>

PEER PRODUCTION (AND BEYOND)

Diversity of areas (Fuster-Morell et al. 2016) ...



P2PU



... and beyond: social economy, platform cooperativism



cleta



PLENTY OF TENSIONS & RISKS TO EXPLORE



TOKENISATION

- Extreme quantification and data fetishism (Sharon & Zanderbengen, 2017)

SELF-ENFORCEMENT & FORMALISATION


- Concentration of power in coders (De Filippi and Hassan, 2018)
- Extreme formalisation, breaking dynamics, *gaming* the platform...

TRANSPARENTISATION

- Opening processes is far more than opening data (Atzori, 2015)
- Right to be forgotten (Khan, 2016; Mayer-Schönberger, 2011)

IN CONCLUSION & FUTURE WORK

1. Bringing together literature on peer production to governance through/with blockchain debate: Ostrom's principles.
2. Identification of potential affordances.
3. Useful categories for empirical analysis, emergence of research questions to be explored



*Theoretical, need to explore
boundaries, risks, models, culture, as
situated technology... time to go to the
field!*

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THANKS!

Any questions?

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Extra! New Case Studies





- Amara is a crowdsourcing platform for collaborative creation of subtitles.
- Relevance of platforms to mediate work.
- From volunteer (TED) to paid labour (AoD)



Timeline



2018-19

Social
research

(started a
year ago,
ongoing)



2018-19

Intervention
point: tasks
allocation



2018-19

Development
(starting early
next year)



2018-19

Shifting
decision-making
(governance) of
rules for
distribution of
value.





Research and experimentation

- Intervention point: tasks allocation. Beyond “first-come, first served” current competitive logic
- Future: reputation system, certificates, etc.

Smart

The Spanish branch of a cooperative that provides solutions to creative professionals.

Smart facilitates professionals to develop projects, provides training to improve skills and offers mutual services to comply with the law.





Methods

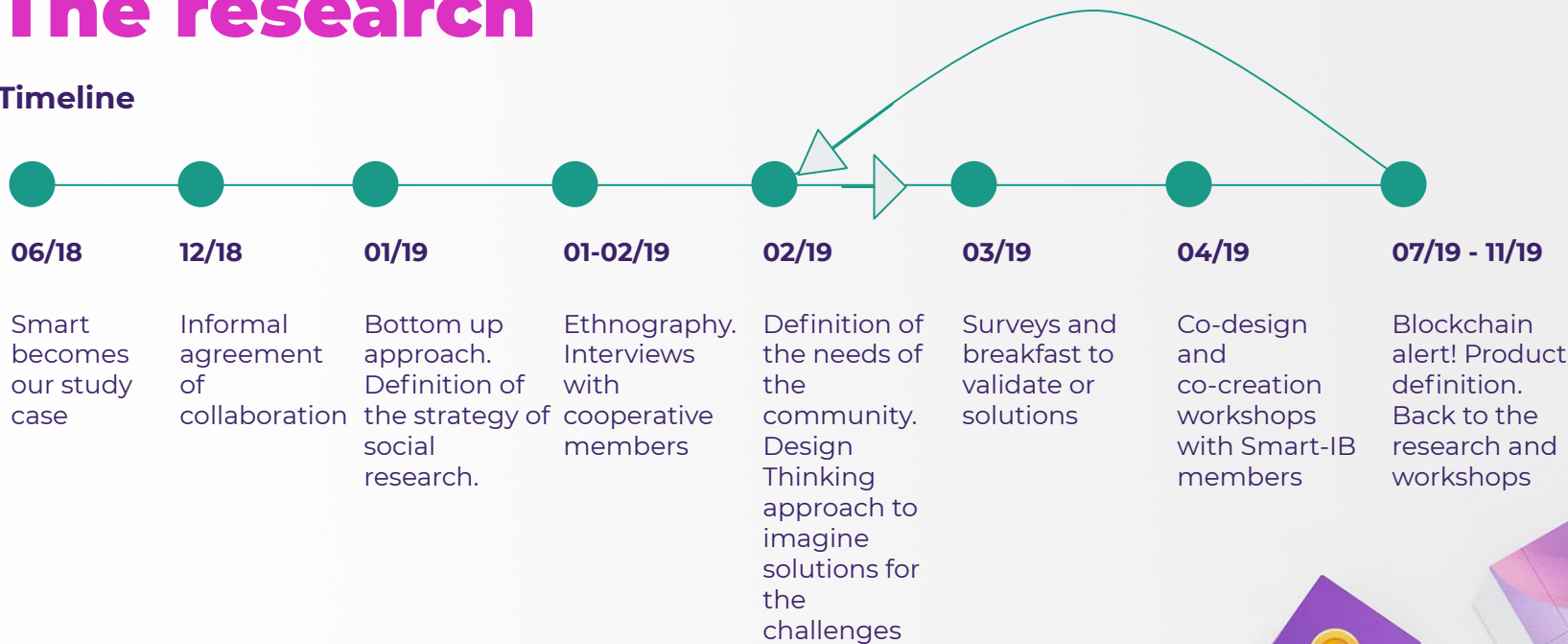
- Ethnographic method (qualitative techniques) and co-design dynamics.
- Gender perspective through the whole project and research.

Provisional prototype

- Easy-to-fill spreadsheet (link format) whose data will be stored in blockchain / IPFS (incensurable data bank)
- Basis for denouncing the contracting conditions by some companies or organisations.

The research

Timeline





THANKS!

(again :-P)

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