



# **When Ostrom Meets Blockchain**

## **Exploring the Potentials of Blockchain for Commons Governance**

**David Rozas<sup>1</sup>, Antonio Tenorio-Fornés<sup>1</sup>, Silvia Díaz-Molina<sup>1</sup> & Samer Hassan<sup>1,2</sup>**

**Symposium “Mereologies”, 25<sup>th</sup> April 2019, Bartlett School of Architecture,  
London, UK**

<sup>1</sup>GRASIA research group of Complutense University of Madrid, Madrid, Spain.

<sup>2</sup>Berkman Center for Internet & Society (Harvard University), Cambridge, USA.



# ¡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.

Key concepts around decentralised technologies.

2.

The emergent debate on *blockchain-based* governance

3.

Commons-Based Peer Production, commons governance and Ostrom's principles.

4.

Affordances of blockchain for commons governance.

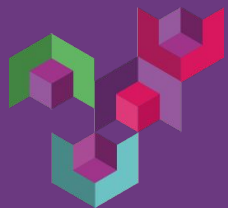
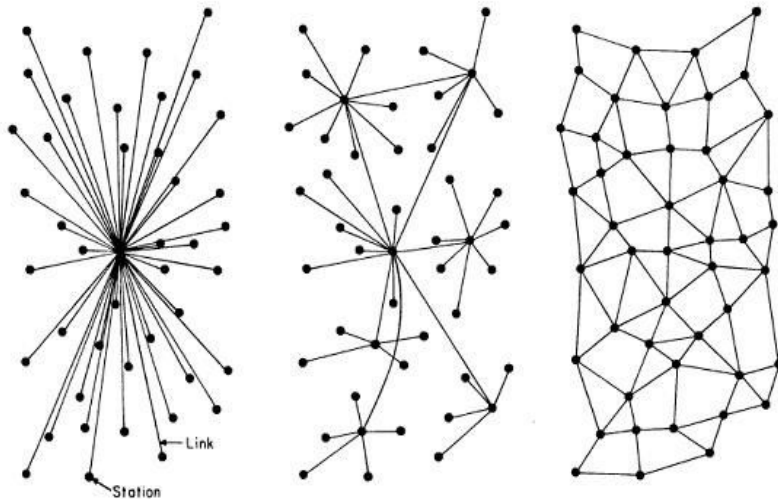
5.

Conclusion and future work.



# 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



# SMART CONTRACT

(Szabo, 1997)

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

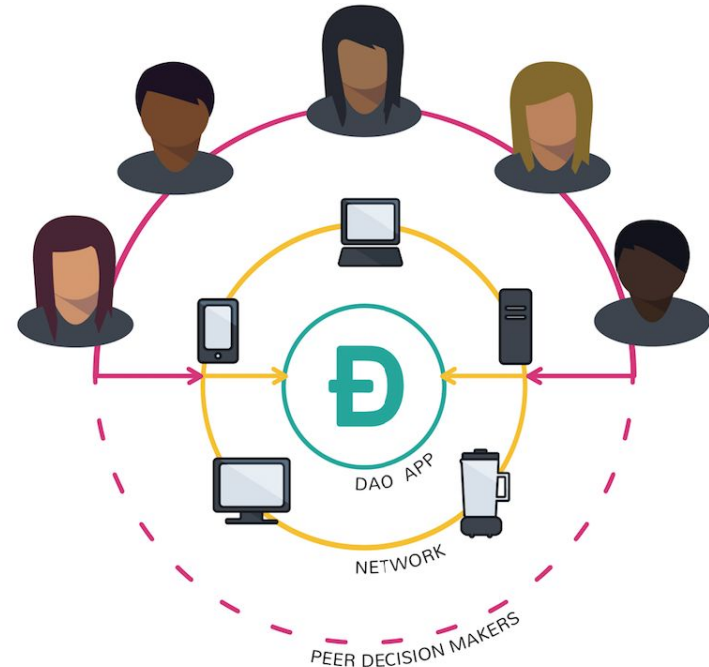


# DAO DISTRIBUTED AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATION

- Self-governed organisation controlled by rules implemented in smart contracts.
- Analogy with legal organisation.

Legal documents (bylaws), define rules of interaction amongst members.

DAO members' interactions are 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)



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

# 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.







# COMMONS-BASED PEER PRODUCTION

Mode of production (Benkler, 2006)

characterised by (Fuster-Morell et al., 2014)

✓ Collaborative process

✓ Peer-based

✓ Commons  
process

✓ Favouring  
reproducibility

“Radically different to  
“Silicon Valley” sharing economy



# 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 and Ostrom's principles



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 and Ostrom's principles



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

## **RULES ADAPTED TO LOCAL CONDITIONS**

# 3.

Commons governance and Ostrom's principles



1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. **PARTICIPATORY DECISION-MAKING**
4. Monitoring
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### 3.

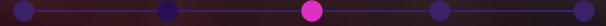
## Commons governance and Ostrom's principles



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 and Ostrom's principles



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
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### 3.

Commons governance and Ostrom's principles



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 and Ostrom's principles

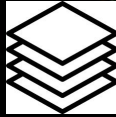


1. Community boundaries
2. Rules adapted to local conditions
3. Participatory decision-making
4. Monitoring
5. Graduated sanctions
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms
7. **RECOGNITION BY HIGHER AUTHORITIES**
8. Multiple layers of nested enterprises



# 3.

## Commons governance and Ostrom's principles



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

# 8. **MULTIPLE LAYERS OF NESTED ENTERPRISES**



# BLOCKCHAIN AS SOURCE OF AFFORDANCES\*?

I

Tokenisation

II

Self-enforcement and formalisation of rules

III

Autonomous automatisisation

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 processes in this analysis.



# TOKENISATION

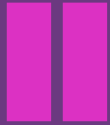
Transforming rights to perform an action on an asset into a data element on the blockchain (e.g. access or modify a resource).



- Rights more easily and granularly defined, propagated and/or revoked.
- Artefacts as source of explicitation of less visible forms of power and value.



# 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)



- Rules for pooling, capping or mutualising.
- Explication.
- Autonomy from higher authorities.

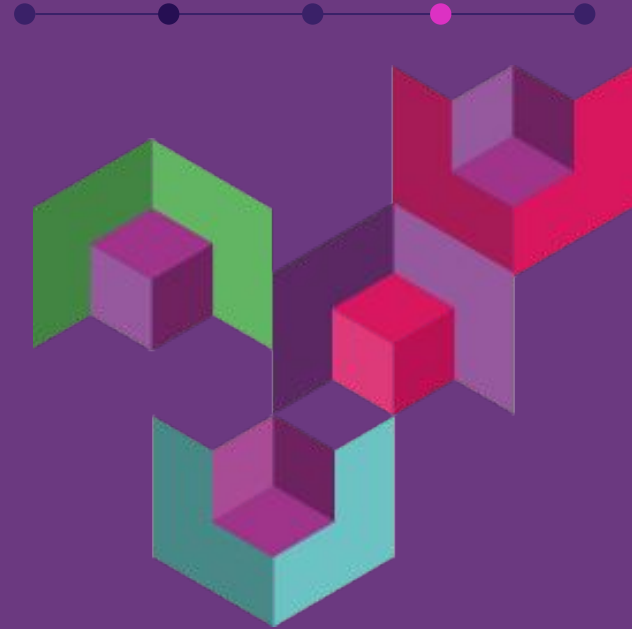
# AUTONOMOUS AUTOMATISATION



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



- 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.



- 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

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



- Long tradition in open and participative processes
- Scaling up monitoring and conflict resolution





# CODIFICATION OF TRUST

## VI

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



- Internal interoperability: locally-shaped platforms, autonomously governed, interoperating between them and/or broader level.
- External interoperability: coordination between different colectives.





# SUMMING UP

	(I) Tokenisation	(II) Self-enforcement and formalisation	(III) Autonomous automatisation	(IV) Decentralisation of power over the infrastructure	(V) Transparentisation	(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			✓			✓

# PLENTY OF TENSIONS & RISKS TO EXPLORE

## TOKENISATION

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

## SELF-ENFORCEMENT & FORMALISATION

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

## TRANSPARENTISATION

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

## CODIFICATION OF TRUST

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Beyond contractual transactions amongst selfish individuals, hobbessian values: “Crypto-leviathan” (Reijers et al. ,2016).

Shift of trust: code is law -> law is code (Filippi and Hassan, 2018),

# BLOCKCHAIN-BASED GOVERNANCE: OUR APPROACH

## Situated technology:

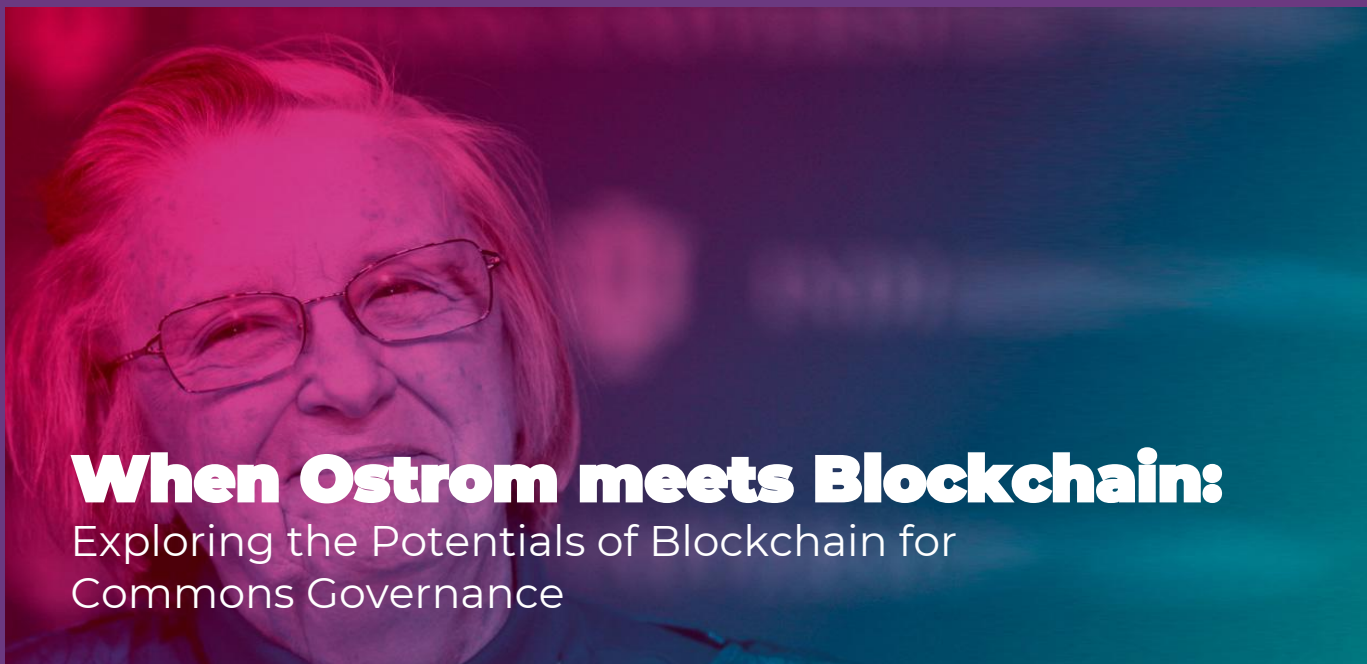
focus on situational parameters, aware of cultural context, making visible the invisible, incorporating social meanings. (Bell, Genevieve, et al. 2013)

## Mutual-shaping (Quan-Haase, 2012)

- Critical with technological determinist perspectives & limitations.
- Social shaped character of blockchain.
- But understood as possible agent of change.

As potential source of affordances (Gibson, 1979; Hutchby, 2001)

# WORKING PAPER AT SSRN



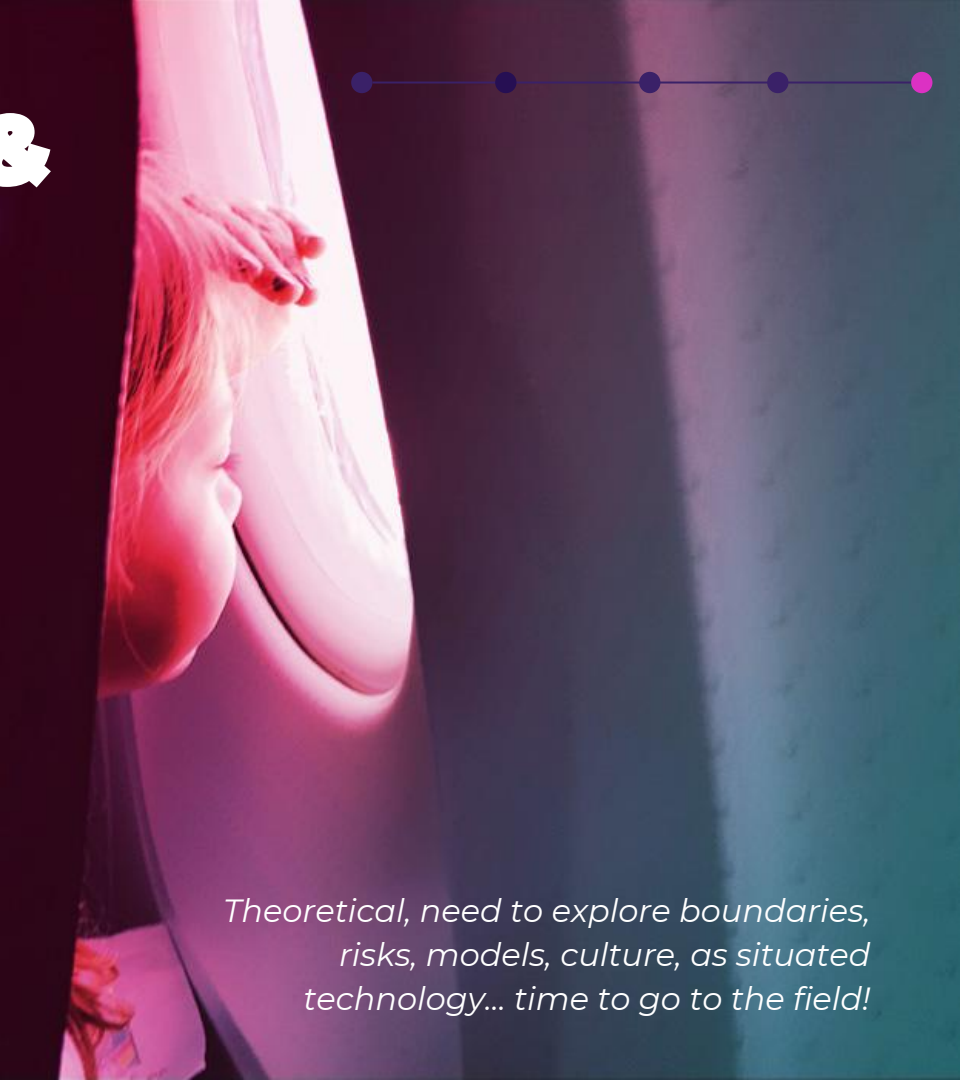
## When Ostrom meets Blockchain:

Exploring the Potentials of Blockchain for  
Commons Governance

## 5. Conclusion and future work

# 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. Emergence of research questions and useful categories for empirical exploration.



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

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# THANKS!

## Any questions?

You can find me at:

- <https://davidrozas.cc>
- [@drozas](#)
- [drozas@ucm.es](mailto:drozas@ucm.es)



Slides at <https://bit.ly/2DpJ3cU>



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