



RESEARCH
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Livestock

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Governing Shared Resources in Multi-Level Systems: It's Not Just About Property Rights

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Shared governance in complex multi-level systems: 4 key principles

1. There are different scales and levels of resources, SESs, and governance mechanisms
2. There are a multiplicity of actors, institutions, and deliberation processes for the scales and levels
3. Property rights may be allocated by type of right and timing of right to different governance mechanisms
4. These actors, institutions, and deliberation processes may use different causal pathways (property rights being only one)

Four-fold categorization of tenure

Private

State

Open Access

Commons

- Influenced CBNRM, CBC, etc.
- Simple, communicative concept

Reality, however, is often more...

complex, nuanced, messy

- Simplistic application of the idea of the four categories of tenure can lead to simplistic, misguided policy choices
- There are different *types* of property rights, and these are not always allocated in a bundle
- Schlager and Ostrom (1992)
 - Operational property rights (access and withdrawal)
 - Collective choice property rights (management, exclusion and alienation)
- Sikor et al. (2017)

Different types of property rights

Type of Right	Explanation
Use rights	The rights to enjoy benefits, incl...
Direct benefits	The right to obtain benefit directly from the resource
Indirect benefits	The right to obtain indirect benefits associated with the resource
Control rights	Rights to determine the scope of use rights, incl...
Management	The right to regulate use and transform the resource
Exclusion	The right to define who has use rights
Transaction	The right to handle the activities required for the realization of benefits
Monitoring	The right to monitor the use of benefits and state of the resource
Authoritative rights	Rights to determine control rights, incl...
Definition	The right to define the discretionary space for the exercise of control rights
Allocation	The right to assign control rights to particular actors

Sikor et al. 2017

Also timing and scale

Timing

- *SEASONAL. Rainy season, property rights allocated to one actor; dry season, to another*
- *CONDITIONAL. In “normal” years, local common; during drought, open to regional users.*

Scale

- *Actors, institutions, and deliberative forums pertaining to different scales and levels*
- *Property rights allocated to these various actors, institutions, and forums from the different scales and levels*

Complex property rights regimes

- *Different types* property rights, may be allocated to different actors, institutions or deliberative forums
- At *different times*
- To institutions from *different scales and levels*

Simple commons mosaic landscape

Use rights:

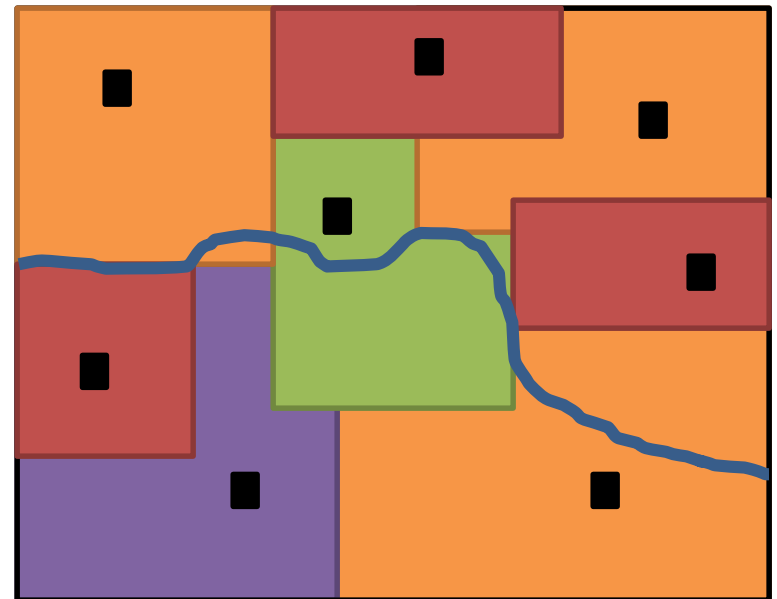
- Commoners

Control rights:

- Commons institutions

Authoritative rights:

- Government tenure system



Simple multi-tenure mosaic landscape

Use rights:

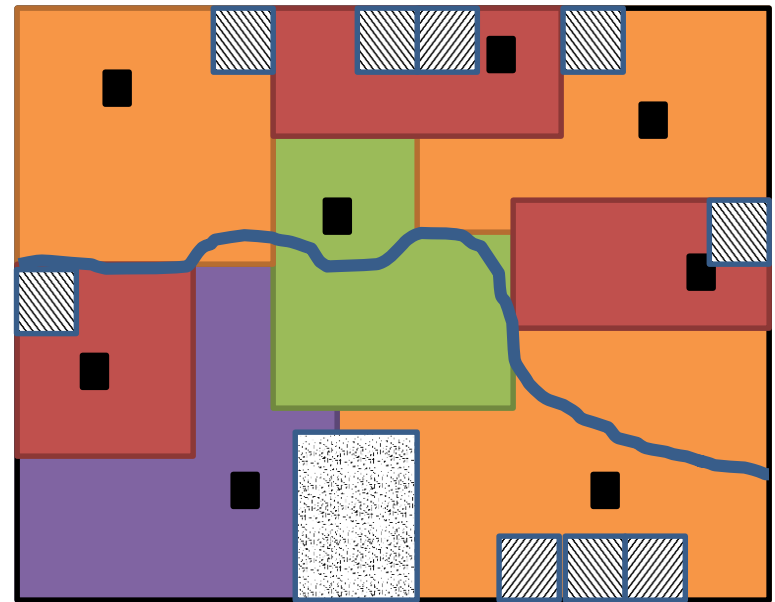
- Commoners, or
- Private land owners, or
- Authorized visitors (e.g. Park visitors)

Control rights:

- Commons institutions, or
- Private land owners, or
- State

Authoritative rights:

- Government tenure system



Complex tenure landscape

Use rights:

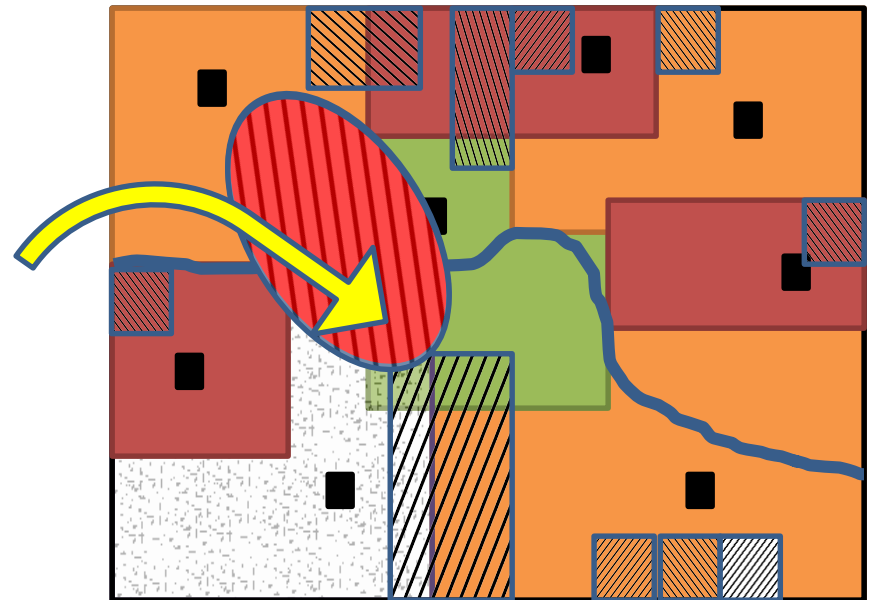
- Local users (private or commoners), or
- Local users and landscape users, or
- Local, and landscape, and regional users

Control rights:

- Commons institutions, and
- Private land owners, and
- Landscape institutions, and
- State

Authoritative rights:

- Government tenure system, and
- Customary system, and
- Negotiated agreements



Property rights are made complex by

- Disentangled types of property rights
- Differential temporal distribution of rights
- Allocation of rights at different scales and levels
- Degree of fuzziness and contestation of rights

How to account for the multiple dimensions of complexity?

Land Resource	Authoritative rights		Control Rights			
	Definition	Allocation	Exclusion	Management	Transaction	Monitoring
Village enclosure						
Exclusive community area						
Community managed shared area						
Community managed drought reserve						
Landscape shared area						

1st Dimension: Types of rights

How to account for the multiple dimensions of complexity?

Land Resource	Authoritative rights		Control Rights			
	Definition	Allocation	Exclusion	Management	Transaction	Monitoring
Village enclosure	C.I.: #1					L.I. #1
Exclusive community area	N.L. #1					L.I. #1
Community managed shared area	R.I. #1	L.I. #2	Dry: C.I. # 1 Rn: L.I. #2 Drt: R.I. #1	Nrml: L.I. #2 Drt: R.I. #1	Dry: C.I. # 1 Rn: L.I. #2 Drt: R.I. #1	L.I. #1
Community managed drought reserve	R.I. #1	L.I. #1 and L.I. #2	Nrml: C.I. #1 Drt: L.I. #1	C.I. #1	Nrml: C.I. #1 Drt: L.I. #1	L.I. #1 and L.I. #2
Landscape shared area	R.I. #1	R.I. #1	L.I. #1	L.I. #1	L.I. #1	L.I. #1

2nd Dimension: Temporal distribution of rights
3rd Dimension: Allocation of rights to inst'ns from different scales and levels

How to account for the multiple dimensions of complexity?

Land Resource	Authoritative rights		Control Rights			
	Definition	Allocation	Exclusion	Management	Transaction	Monitoring
Village enclosure	C.I.: #1	C.I.: #1		V.I. #1	V.I. #1	C.I. #1
Exclusive community area	N.L. #1					C.I.: #1
Community managed shared area	R.I. #1 and/or N.L. #1 and/or R.I. #3	L.I. #2	Dry: C.I. # 1 Rn: L.I. #2 Drt: R.I. #1 and/or N.I. #1	Nrml: L.I. #2 Drt: R.I. #1	Dry: C.I. # 1 Rn: L.I. #2 Drt: R.I. #1	L.I. #1
Community managed drought reserve	R.I. #1	L.I. #1 and L.I. #2	Nrml: C.I. #1 Drt: L.I. #1	C.I. #1	Nrml: C.I. #1 Drt: L.I. #1	L.I. #1 and L.I. #2
Landscape shared area	R.I. #1	R.I. #1	L.I. #1	L.I. #1	L.I. #1	L.I. #1

4th Dimension: Fuzzinezz/clarity of rights



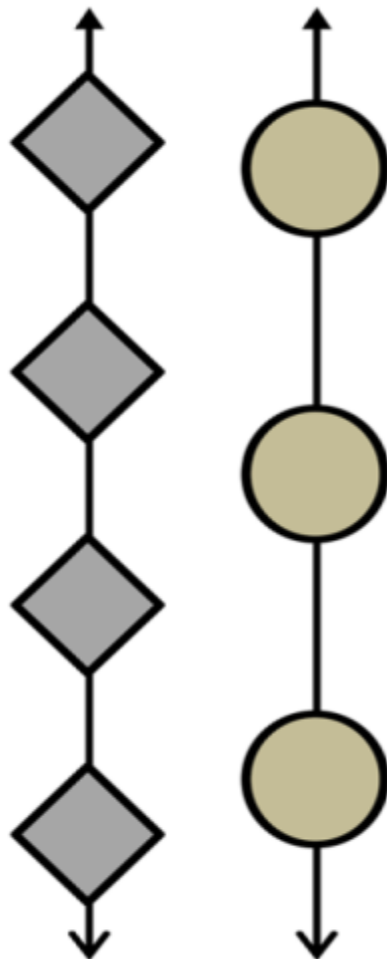
Governance is not only about property rights, regulations, and rational calculation of utility

Causal pathways for governance

Pillar	Causal Pathway
Regulative	Modify utility/coerce compliance
Normative	Bestow authority
Cognitive	Define roles and possibilities
Dialogic	Facilitate learning and shared understanding
Programmatic	Spend money
Procedural	Define procedures
Complex systems	Facilitating changes to the wider system

Adapted from Scott (1995) and Young and Levy (1999)

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References

- Schlager, E., and E. Ostrom. 1992. Property-rights regimes and natural resources: a conceptual analysis. *Land economics* 68(3):249–262.
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