
Contents

Preface: The Evolution of Cultural Norms	ix
Part I: Discovering the Commons	
1 What Marx Missed Garrett Hardin	3
2 On the Checks to Population William Forster Lloyd	8
3 The Tragedy of the Commons Garrett Hardin	16
4 Intuition First, Then Rigor Garrett Hardin	31
5 An Algebraic Theory of the Commons H. V. Muhsam	34
6 A Model of the Commons Jay M. Anderson	38
Part II: The Growing Awareness	
7 Denial and Disguise Garrett Hardin	45
8 The Tragedy of the Commons Revisited Beryl L. Crowe	53
9 An Operational Analysis of "Responsibility" Garrett Hardin	66

10	Killing the Goose <i>Daniel Fife</i>	76
11	The Economics of Overexploitation <i>Colin W. Clark</i>	82
12	A Test of the Tragedy of the Commons <i>James A. Wilson</i>	96
13	Ethical Implications of Carrying Capacity <i>Garrett Hardin</i>	112
14	Rewards of Pejorative Thinking <i>Garrett Hardin</i>	126

Part III: Grappling with the Commons

15	A Primer for the Management of Common Pool Resources <i>John Baden</i>	137
16	The Social Costs of Reducing Social Cost <i>Gordon Tullock</i>	147
17	A Theory for Institutional Analysis of Common Pool Problems <i>Vincent Ostrom and Elinor Ostrom</i>	157
18	Collective Action and the Tragedy of the Commons <i>Elinor Ostrom</i>	173
19	Communes and the Logic of the Commons <i>Kari Bullock and John Baden</i>	182
20	From Free Grass to Fences: Transforming the Commons of the American West <i>Terry L. Anderson and P. J. Hill</i>	200
21	Environmental Resource Management: Public or Private? <i>Robert L. Bish</i>	217
22	Property Rights, Environmental Quality, and the Management of National Forests <i>John Baden and Richard Stroup</i>	229
23	Neospartan Hedonists, Adult Toy Aficionados, and the Rationing of Public Lands <i>John Baden</i>	241

24	Population, Ethnicity, and Public Goods: The Logic of Interest-Group Strategy <i>John Baden</i>	252
25	Living on a Lifeboat <i>Garrett Hardin</i>	261
26	Commons and Community: The Idea of a Public <i>Kenneth E. Boulding</i>	280

*The Evolution
of Cultural Norms*

"All men by nature desire to know." So basic did Aristotle regard this insight that he began his *Metaphysics* with this assertion. But when does man know for sure? Individually, in private, a man may be satisfied with many degrees of "hardness" of knowledge, ranging from the mystical up (or down?) to the sort of thing a consulting engineer must restrict himself to when he testifies in court. The world of scholarship is a court of public opinion, and so the discussion that takes place in it leans toward the "hard" end. Anticipating criticism, scholars seek rational explanations of the way the world works.

No matter how we may view ourselves, in trying to control the behavior of others we necessarily assume that others are susceptible to specifiable rewards and punishments. Part of the repertoire of behavioral reinforcements is strictly biological and not at all peculiar to human beings. But another part—and not a small one—is cultural. If I consent to serve as the chairman of the United Fund Christmas drive it is at least in part because I anticipate subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) rewards from my community. In contrast, when I stop at a red signal light at a time when no cross traffic is in sight, I do so because I anticipate the possibility of a traffic ticket. There are the two sorts of sanctions our actions are subject to—informal and formal (legal). Sanctions reinforce culture.

Put slightly differently, culture rewards individuals. An obsolete culture, by definition, rewards behavior that is contrary to the larger goals of society, including survival. Sanctions that tend to destroy the society that imposes them may, in the strictest sense, be said to be tragic. Although it is obvious that destructive sanctions cannot survive in the long run because their matrix perishes, the existence of destructive sanctions at any particular moment must be regarded as a consequence of an