

In Memoriam

ROBERT B. HAWKINS JR.

1941 – 2014

The following text by Robert (Bob) Hawkins was sent to Filippo Sabetti (McGill University; Workshop Senior Research Fellow) in preparation for Hawkins chairing the plenary session of the WOW5 conference held at IU Bloomington, June 18–21, 2014. Due to health issues, Bob was unable to attend WOW5; he passed away on September 28, 2014.

Working Draft

MY ASSOCIATION WITH VINCENT AND LIN OSTROM

By Robert B. Hawkins Jr.

I did my graduate work from 1965–1970 at the University of Washington, and Robert Warren was my graduate advisor, so reading his dissertation and the now-famous Ostrom, Tiebout, and Warren, “The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Theoretical Inquiry,” was obligatory and my first introduction to the Ostroms.

I first met the Ostroms in the spring of 1968. Vincent and Lin were on their way to visit his mother, and Vincent gave a seminar on his work sponsored by Robert Warren. Given his great physical presence, his white mane, and tightness of his argument, I was sure Socrates’ soul was alive and well. I didn’t follow up on his presentation because I was already writing my dissertation on the process philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead, with its emphasis of the creative potentials in the universe, a topic that would link our interest in later years.

In March of 1973, I was named chairman of Governor Reagan’s Task Force on Local Government Reform, whose mandate was to create a streamlined government for the 21st century; by default, fragmentation was the primary problem to be addressed. After a survey of existing reform theory and evidence, it was clear we needed to broaden our net. I made a trip to Bloomington in May of 1973, where Vincent and Lin were in the process of building the Workshop. Little did I know that staying with the O’s on Lampkins Ridge Road would become a 35-year habit—almost my second home. I left Bloomington with copies of *The Political Theory of a Compound Republic* and *The Intellectual Crisis in American Public Administration* as well as early publications of Lin’s comparative studies of policing in Nashville and Chicago. More importantly, after two days of intense discussion, with Vincent sharing his insights into drafting the environmental section of the Alaska Constitution, I left with a much better understanding of the challenges and opportunities facing the task force.

In the fall of 1973, Vincent and Lin participated in a two-day retreat with the Governor’s Cabinet and in August of 1974, the Task Force issued its report: *Public Benefits from Public Choice*. It was the first U.S. reform report to explicitly reject consolidation. It argued instead that California’s citizens and governments were best served by a polycentric political order. Needless to say, the report was not well received by the Lords of Metropolitan Reform.

In September of 1974, I was appointed a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford and began work on a book on special district government. In November of 1974, I accepted a fellowship in the State and Local Government Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. This ushered in a prolonged period of cooperation between Dan Elazar’s Center for the Study of Federalism, the Workshop, and the various institutions I was associated with.

In 1976–77, Vincent and I participated in Elazar’s Workshop on the Covenant, deepening both our understanding of the concept and its relevance to federalism. In January of 1977, the Wilson Center and

the Center for the Study of Federalism jointly sponsored a conference in Washington, DC, that focused critical thought on President Carter's ambitious plan for government reorganization. Vincent participated in the conference and entered into a lively debate with Rep. John Brademas and Casper Weinberger. The proceedings were published in *Publius* as Government Reorganization and the Federal System. In January 1978, Vincent, Elinor, and I participated in a seminar on Federal Solutions to Israeli Arab Conflict sponsored by Dan Elazar and held at Bar-Ilan University. We also participated in a conference of the International Association of Centres for the Study of Federalism on "Constitutional Rule and Shared Power," Jerusalem, Israel, October 31–November 2, 1984. In 1996, the Institute for Contemporary Studies (ICS) and the National Strategy Information Center held a conference on Self-Governance that was held at Sir James Goldsmith's Hacienda Conference Center in Colima, Mexico. Vincent, Lin, and Ron Oakerson were participants.

In June of 2002, I was one of the founding members of the Consortium for Self-Governance in Africa that was created at the Workshop. Led by Amos Sawyer, ICS made a commitment to publish S. Bamidele Ayo's *Public Administration and the Conduct of Community Affairs among the Yoruba in Nigeria*. Amos and I then put together a proposal that called for developing an institute that would train academics and practitioners in the art and science of self-governance. In the fall of 2002, we met with a representative from Senator Richard Lugar's office and were told that funding was not available and that what we should do is apply to provide short-term technical assistance to communities in need. AID lived up to its well-earned reputation of building strong states on weak foundations.

The 1980s ushered in two new action venues: ACIR and ICS.

I was appointed to the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) by President Reagan in 1981 and became chairman in September of 1982. ACIR, long the house organ for the reform tradition, was in need of new staff and a research agenda that focused on federalism and self-governance. In 1985, ACIR hired Ron Oakerson from the Workshop, to develop a research section on metropolitan governance and organization. In June of 1987, the commission unanimously approved *The Organization of Local Economies*, written by Oakerson, which in effect nullified all the commission's recommendations on consolidation. In 1999, Oakerson updated this study and ICS published it with a new title, *Governing Local Public Economies*.

Three further ACIR studies were completed by Workshop scholars. In 1988, the commission published *Metropolitan Organization: The St. Louis Case*, by Ron Oakerson, Roger Parks, and Henry Bell; and in 1992, *Metropolitan Organization: The Allegheny County Case* by Ron Oakerson and Roger Parks. Finally, in 1991, ACIR published *Coordinating Water Resources in the Federal System: The Groundwater–Surface Water Connection*—William Blomquist was the lead author.

In 1972, Lawry Chickering and I formed ICS while we both worked in California state government. In 1986, I became President and CEO of the Institute for Contemporary Studies. In 1987, we were awarded a five-year contract to create the International Center for Economic Growth and, two years later, a larger grant that allowed us to create the International Center for Self-Governance. These two grants put a substantial fiscal floor under ICS Press and allowed us to support Workshop books.

From 1988 to 2002, ICS Press published 17 books by Workshop authors. The strategy designed with the O's was to use publications to build a solid publishing foundation for the Workshop's theoretical framework, empirical studies, and to support young authors. All of the books by Vincent and Bromley were foundation books. All of Elinor's books, plus books by Wai Fung Lam and S. Y. Tang, were important empirical studies that firmly established the relevance of polycentricity to the study of local institutions. Two of my favorite books were: William Blomquist's *Dividing the Waters* and Wai Fung Lam's *Governing Irrigation Systems in Nepal*. They were both well written, showing the power of integrating the theoretical and empirical approaches learned at the Workshop. They also helped both authors on their academic careers.

Concluding Thoughts:

One doesn't realize the full impact of a 40-year association until it ends. I now realize it ended a 40-year postdoctoral fellowship. Yet, it was much more: the Ostroms were dear friends, colleagues, mentors, and as they say on the street, they always had your back. I spent more than six months of my life at their home on Lampkins Ridge Road, where I saw their delight in guests around the dining room table sharing in robust intellectual exchange. Or it might have been working with Vincent and Lin on some home repairs, and in the early years it was trying to keep up with Vincent on one of his marathon walks, but always with good cheer and a delightful sense of humor.

I grew up on a small farm in a small community in central California. My mother, a school teacher, was also president of the one-room school we attended, and my uncle was a member and also part of a rural fire department—both special districts. My father was a farmer and entrepreneur who also served on the Selective Service for many years. So I grew up in a self-governing family and community, but I didn't know the difference, it was just wallpaper. I majored in political science at San Francisco State and was taught that my way of life was archaic, ineffective, and retarded the emergence of efficient and state-governed systems.

When I chaired the Governor's Task Force, a secondary responsibility was to evaluate special districts that were seen as the main culprits of fragmentation. Our evaluations indicated that California simply couldn't run without special districts. The more I met special districts leaders, the more I remembered my family's commitment to governing. Yet it was Vincent and Lin's early writings that fully restored my memory, providing the theoretical and empirical framework that not only made sense of my experiences but that these experiences were part of a moral and viable way of life: the self-governing and entrepreneurial way of life. Theirs was a magnificent gift.

I miss Vincent and Lin. Yet every time I read one of their books or articles, I get a little smile and a deep feeling of gratitude. They have left us immense treasure. The question and challenge is can we expand our community of scholars, practitioners, and citizens to extend the reach of our ideas enabling people to live more productive lives.

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Preparing to chair the WOW5 Plenary Session on The Future and Prospects of Research at the Workshop, Bob Hawkins sent Filippo Sabetti the following note:

Send E-mail--4/18/2014 9:14 AM

Filippo,

Greetings and best wishes!

In the winter 2014 issue of the Cato Journal, there is an article by Paul H. Rubin, "Pathological Altruism and Pathological Regulation." It seems to me that this adds another dimension to a fuller understanding of democratic despotism. I am attaching a paper by Barbara A. Oakley, who seems to be one of the intellectual leaders of this concept. For some reason, there are no page numbers, but on page four she starts to explore the social and political implications. You are probably already on top of this line of research. Has anyone explored in detail the institutional framework for democratic despotism—besides a general argument for centralization?

I hope to attend WOW. There is one constraint. I am waiting to have a heart valve repaired, which is causing extreme tiredness. The operation is, I now find out, open heart surgery, so recovery time will be four to six weeks.

Since I cannot attend WOW, here are some of my starting thoughts on the Workshop:

Two Givens:

1. We will never replace the combined leadership of Vincent and Lin. They brought commitment, focus, intellectual rigor, and friendship into one team that built and sustained the Workshop. We were blessed to have them.
2. They combined theory building and empirical research into a powerful paradigm that focused intellectual effort and economic resources. To focus on theory to the exclusion of empirical research or vice versa would have made the Workshop less powerful and ordinary.
3. Probably by design they created an international network of scholars and institutes interested in pursuing becoming members of a creative intellectual enterprise.

What is to be done?

1. Vincent loved Lenin's book as a teaching tool of institutional analysis and development.
2. My sense of the O's is they wanted to build a polycentric network that would extend and deepen the IDA model and translate it to artisans who could build and promote self-governing and entrepreneurial ways of life.

Challenges:

1. My cursory reading of the three finalists is that they have strengths in Lin's side of the ledger. (I could be absolutely wrong in this assessment.) If it is the case, how do we ensure that Vincent's theoretical work continues?
2. The leadership challenge is more than one leader. It is what I will call a polycentric leadership challenge. This is clearly a task of institutional design—something we should be able to tackle.
3. The main assets of the Workshop are its intellectual foundation and the worldwide network of scholars conversant and committed to the Workshops approach. This network can either be an expanding or decreasing asset.
4. This network may be our greatest asset. Why? We all know how tenacious the O's were in protecting the Workshop from attacks within the University. Also, the O's built a network of scholars and funding sources that support the Workshop. By necessity, these assets will diminish in the short run as the new leadership builds assets in the University and outside.
5. The critical question is: Did the Workshop create a network that can:
 - a. Be self-replicating. Are we creating enough young Ph.D.'s that can be placed in universities to expand the organizational reach of our ideas?
 - b. Can we develop a powerful yet simple moral vision for our work? To say our mission is to deepen and extend the IDA model may be true but lacks broad drawing power and pizzazz. Can we develop the capacity to create a powerful-new intellectual movement—laying the foundation for a “civilization of civics?” I personally like Filippo's concept—it has great potential.
 - c. We now have a base of theory and evidence that allows us to argue forcefully that self-governing and entrepreneurial ways of life are superior to statist models. Can we communicate this wisdom in more than academic journals to various publics? Can we get policy makers and policy wonks to use both our theory and evidence?
6. Filippo, these are first effort thoughts. I am so sorry I can't attend WOW5 but will be there in spirit. I also hope to participate in more Workshop activities when I am back on my feet.

Bob

ICS Press Books and Materials: Workshop Publications

- Agrawal, Arun, with Charla Britt and Keshav Kanel. 1999. *Decentralization in Nepal: A Comparative Analysis*. (Available from the Workshop).
- Ayo, S. Bamidele. 2002. *Public Administration and the Conduct of Community Affairs among the Yoruba in Nigeria*. (Available from the Workshop).
- Blomquist, William. 1992. *Dividing the Waters: Governing Groundwater in Southern California*.
- Berge, Erling, and Nils Christian Stenseth, eds. 1998. *Law and the Governance of Renewable Resources: Studies from Northern Europe and Africa*.
- Bromley, Daniel W., et al., eds. 1992. *Making the Commons Work: Theory, Practice, and Policy*.
- Kaminski, Antoni. 1992. *An Institutional Theory of Communist Regimes: Design, Function, and Breakdown*. (Available from the Workshop).
- Lam, Wai Fung. 1998. *Governing Irrigation Systems in Nepal: Institutions, Infrastructure, and Collective Action*. (Available from the Workshop).
- Oakerson, Ronald J. 1999. *Governing Local Public Economies: Creating the Civic Metropolis*. (Used available on Amazon).
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1992. *Crafting Institutions for Self-Governing Irrigation Systems*. (Available from the Workshop).
- Ostrom, Vincent, Robert Bish, and Elinor Ostrom. 1988. *Local Government in the United States*.
- Ostrom, Vincent. 1991. *The Meaning of American Federalism: Constituting a Self-Governing Society*. (Available from the Workshop).
- Ostrom, Vincent, David Feeny, and Hartmut Picht, eds. 1993. *Rethinking Institutional Analysis and Development: Issues, Alternatives, and Choices*. (Available from the Workshop).
- Sabetti, Filippo. 2002. *Village Politics and the Mafia in Sicily*. 2nd edition.
- Sawyer, Amos. 1992. *The Emergence of Autocracy in Liberia: Tragedy and Challenge*.
- Shivakoti, Ganesh P., and Elinor Ostrom, eds. 2002. *Improving Irrigation Governance and Management in Nepal*. (Available from the Workshop).
- Tang, Shui-Yan. 1992. *Institutions and Collective Action: Self-Governance in Irrigation*.
- Wunsch, James, and Dele Olowu, eds. 1995. *The Failure of the Centralized State: Institutions and Self-Governance in Africa*. 2nd edition.

Video Biography

Crafting Institutions for Self-Governing Irrigation Systems. Based on the book by Elinor Ostrom, ICS Press, 1992. The video was translated into Spanish and French.

Making Self-Governance Work: Theory, Practice and Policy. David Bromley, editor, ICS Press.

Handbook

Self-Governing and Entrepreneurial Solutions: A Handbook. 1994. International Center for Self-Governance. 46pp. The handbook further elaborates and simplifies Elinor Ostrom's eight principles of self-governing organizations.

Training Materials

ICS also created a three-day structured training program based on Elinor Ostrom's eight principles for designing self-governing organizations. These materials were field tested in Costa Rica and the Philippines.

ACIR-Workshop Publications

- ACIR (U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations). 1987. *The Organization of Local Public Economies*. Report A-109. Washington, DC. (Lead author Ronald J. Oakerson)
- ACIR, *Metropolitan Organization: The St. Louis Case*. 1988. Report M-158. Washington, DC. (Lead authors Ronald J. Oakerson, Roger B. Parks, and Henry A. Bell)
- ACIR, *Coordinating Water Resources in the Federal System: The Groundwater-Surface Water Connection*. 1991. Report A-118. (The lead author was William Blomquist)
- ACIR, *Metropolitan Organization: The Allegheny County Case*. 1992. Report M-181. Washington, DC. (Lead authors Ronald J. Oakerson and Roger B. Parks)