

An IAD Approach to COVID-19 on Campus

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Applying the IAD Framework to Residential College COVID-19 Response

In the wake of the coronavirus, many institutions have been forced to implement new policies, goals, and rules in promotion of public health and safety. Chief among these institutions, with varying degrees of success, are universities. The question administrators and students alike are left wondering is which features of a university might contribute to a successful response? Answering this question requires acknowledging how different success may be imagined by these occasionally disagreeing groups. As a student of Yale College, I will be grounding this exploration in our own unique residential college system, and more specifically, my own residential college, Grace Hopper. Unlike other college dormitories, residential colleges have their own administration and constitute their own institution, as well as community, within the university.

The institutional analysis and development framework (IAD) offers a strategy with a small arsenal of strategies to observe and explain institutions, like universities, as well as the consequences of different institutional choices. This IAD arsenal contains tools for formulating and connecting questions, research agendas, and research itself that guide the curious to valid understandings of the important problems. With this framework, I hope to explore the institution of Grace Hopper's residential college and ultimately find an explanation for compliance and consent to coronavirus response measures in this residential college.

Defined: Policy Analysis Objective & Analytic Approach

There are two ways to define a policy analysis objective and analytic approach (Ostrom & Polski, 2017). The first uses the framework as a diagnostic tool and works backward through the flow diagram to re-affirm or revise policy objectives, evaluate policy outcomes, understand

the information and incentive structure of a policy, or develop reform initiatives which is best suited for analyzing well-established policy situations. The second approach involves specifying a political-economic activity and then working forward rather than backward through the framework. This approach is best suited to policy tasks that involve developing new policy initiatives or comparing alternative policy designs. Because of the status of the coronavirus, Yale University's response to the virus, and consequently, Hopper College's response to the virus are constantly evolving, I will be applying the second approach in my analysis. Accordingly, the structure of analysis will start with the physical attributes of the college, followed by community attributes, rules-in-use, analysis of the action arena, patterns of outcomes, and conclude with outcomes.

Action Situation

For this analysis, I will define the action situation as maintaining health and public safety of actors by preventing the spread and contraction of COVID-19.

Actors

Within the Hopper College community, there are several different actors that can be most broadly generalized as staff or students. Among the students are those undergraduates enrolled in residence on campus, undergraduates enrolled in residence off-campus, undergraduates enrolled remotely, and Grace Hopper's graduate fellows. For this analysis, I will not be considering those students enrolled remotely or on leave of absence remotely because they are not able to contribute to action situation if they are not physically making contact with the college. Among the staff are the dean, the dean's staff, the head of college, the head of college's staff, dining hall staff, custodial staff, Public Health Coordinators, and testing staff. There are also positions meant to connect staff and students. These liaisons include Hopper College

Council (HCC), first-year counselors (FroCo) on the dean's staff, student aides on the head of college's staff, and peer health educators (PHEP). Because Hopper College serves as a testing location for students of both its own college and neighboring Berkeley College, undergraduates enrolled in residence on and off-campus from Berkeley engage with the college but are not subject to the administration of Hopper enough for them to be considered actors.

Students, In residence, On campus

These students live in Hopper College and have the least restricted access of all the students to college amenities. Students on campus are necessarily on the Yale meal plan and get their meals from the dining hall. They are included in all events within the college from socially distanced celebrations to mandatory, twice-weekly testing. They also have unlimited access to the outdoor courtyard which fosters larger social gatherings and associates the sense of community created, to whatever extent it may be, with the college itself. These students only include FroCos, very few non-FroCo seniors, and first years as juniors have been relocated to separate housing on campus and sophomores were not permitted to return to campus for the Fall of 2020.

Students, In residence off campus

These students interact with the city of New Haven considerably more than those on campus. Because of the pandemic, they are not allowed to make use of the dining hall or certain spaces within the college, such as the buttry. They are, however, invited to participate in all events and gatherings within the college and must go to the college twice a week for their mandatory term-time testing. These students do not have any central leadership; they live in their own homes with other students who may be from other colleges without close, physical proximity to the college's authorities (Dean, Head of College, and PHC).

Graduate Fellows

Fellows may or may not live on campus. They serve as advisors, help the Head of College and Dean identify potential resources and contacts for undergraduates as well as provide those resources.

Dean & Staff

The Dean is a professor who lives in the college and serves as a leader of the college. The dean's office is responsible for ensuring the academic and disciplinary standing of students.

Head of College & Staff

Grace Hopper's Head of College is also a professor who lives in the "Head of College House" and serves as another leader of the college, alongside the dean. Where the dean tends to handle more academic and disciplinary matters, the head of college tends to focus more on the social and cultural wellbeing of students, hosting guest speakers and other gatherings to promote community.

Public Health Coordinators (PHC)

Hopper College has one PHC. This role is filled by graduate and professional students that live in the residential college they are assigned to support community wellness during the pandemic. In addition to their own experience, they receive extensive training to serve as a PHC. PHCs are available as sources of information and support, serving as coaches to help students adhere to the university's Community Compact (discussed in more detail in the [Analysis of Rules-in-Use](#) section) and other public health guidelines. PHCs from all residential colleges collectively cover a 24/7 on-call schedule to mediate between students and staff in urgent or emergency situations in residential colleges. The PHC works very closely with the Dean, Head of College, FroCos, and other members of the residential college teams. As

designed, this position does not have the ability to “police” or enforce rules among students. However, there are not designated enforcement officers, especially for students on campus that are not first-years and thus do not have to answer to the authority of FroCos and students living off-campus.

Dining Hall & Custodial Staff

The dining hall and custodial staff of the college oversee the seamless provision of a quality residential experience, creating clean spaces and exceptional meals for students. Since the pandemic, these positions have been forced to adapt dramatically. These changes include sanitizing high traffic areas with even greater frequency, wearing masks and gloves, distancing from students, developing to-go meals, and installing plexiglass barriers in the dining hall.

Testing Staff

The testing staff is, of course, a position new with the 2020-2021 academic year in direct response to the pandemic and the twice-weekly testing policy the university has implemented for undergraduate students and some staff. They work out of the Hopper College Cabaret, ensuring that students use proper technique when conducting self-tests.

Hopper College Council (HCC)

HCC is the student government body for Grace Hopper College dedicated to “helping run the college and improving, and sometimes reinventing, the conditions of student life,” (Grace Hopper College, 2020) The HCC plans events, forwards student initiatives, and helps subsidize costs for student activities and projects. The HCC works closely with the Dean and Head of College to represent needs of students and collaborate on new measures to introduce to the college.

First-Year Counselors (FroCo)

FroCos are seniors centrally housed in one of the entryways for first-year students, wherever first-year students may be housed. All counselors are housed in single bedrooms, usually in a suite shared with at least one other counselor. These counselors are highly trained and are expected to help first-years transition to academic, social, and cultural life at university. FroCos have a limited policing capacity centered around first-years' safety with alcohol/drug use.

Student Aides

College student aides usually operate in the front desk in the Head of College's Office, interfacing with students before any of the college staff. Aides are responsible with office tasks more related to student activities, such as managing room keys, answering student questions, handling student mail, and relaying messages from the Head of College office to students in college. For Hopper's aides, the role has evolved a new purpose in the pandemic to direct student traffic away from the Head of College staff by physically relocating the aides' office to a separate, secluded location in the college.

Peer Health Educators (PHEP)

These are undergraduate students passionate about public health in each residential college who work on educating other undergraduates and working with them to support safe socializing practices during the pandemic (Grace Hopper College, 2020). Hopper College has two peer health educators.

Outcomes

The desired outcomes are, of course, complete coronavirus safety for all actors and adherence to the college's rules in pursuit of achieving that. Positive coronavirus cases,

outbreaks, and deliberate disregard for the college's rules would be undesirable outcomes. The maintained health and safety is the most important outcome, which generally occurs when the college's rules are followed, but not necessarily. Students may be free of the coronavirus even after ignoring the college's rules not to gather or travel but such behavior may give others a false sense of presumed safety should they also violate those very rules and lead to an increasingly casual approach to the rules among students that could 1) prove to be disastrous in terms of positive cases and 2) undermine the legitimacy of college's administration.

Physical & Material Conditions

This analysis varies from more economic institutions that consider tangible goods or services. Rather than something that can be purchased in the free market, the "good" in this policy situation is co-produced public health and safety from the coronavirus, henceforth "coronavirus safety." Different action arenas with their many different physical conditions, actors, and rules will necessarily have different methods of co-producing coronavirus safety. Conversely, there are many methods that definitively threaten and/or inhibit it.

Coronavirus safety is rather difficult to categorize using standard economic theory's typology of goods in terms of excludability and subtractability. As a co-produced good, coronavirus safety is pure public good; it is entirely non-excludable and non-subtractable. It is non-excludable because consumption is controllable if all actors adhere to coronavirus safety measures— maintain over six feet distance between them, wear CDC approved facial coverings, sanitize all surfaces, and so on. If the virus is present, almost everyone is guaranteed to get it in a residential area, especially when in relaxed settings such as on-campus students' suites. If the virus is not present, everyone is safe no matter what they do. In as far as many people can have coronavirus safety at once, it is not subtractable. Creating the safe conditions is equivalent to

producing the non-excludable, non-subtractable public good. Guidelines and safety rules are written to produce safe conditions. This implies that the best way to supply coronavirus safety is by requiring people to follow guidelines. Requiring people wear a mask, maintain social distance, and sanitize every surface they interact with are all examples of using authority to enforce the co-production of coronavirus safety. These requirements are difficult, if not impossible, to ensure among all actors. For an institution to be successful in providing coronavirus safety, there should be additional measures in place to regularly assess the adherence of actors to make their own contributions to the cost of safety.

In terms of the geophysical presence of the college, Grace Hopper is among the smallest residential colleges in the university. The college is composed of four walls that square off a courtyard in the center, each wall no higher than 6 stories from the ground. Normally, the courtyard is a space in which residents socialize. Hopper's students had previously been able to spend time in the college's gym, library, cabaret, music rooms, kitchen, relaxation room, seminar rooms, recording studio, dance studio, visual art studios, and pottery studio. Entrance to these spaces is regulated by scan access with students' I.D. cards which has been stripped for spaces where gathering would occur. There is also a dedicated social space in the basement of the college where students would normally be able to gather, eat, play games, and use the many seating arrangements conducive to group dialog. In promotion of social distancing and as consequence of its physical connection with the Cabaret, newly repurposed as a testing site, these uses may no longer be enjoyed by residents. This testing site also serves students in Berkeley College which means it must necessarily interact with Berkeley's on and off-campus students.

Community Attributes

Key to understanding the Grace Hopper college community is how students view each other and the residential college administration. Broadly, colleges are meant to provide “undergraduates a built-in community from the moment they arrive on campus.” (Yale College, n.d.). Each residential college has a close-knit community reflective of Yale’s diverse student population and offers students the intimacy of a smaller college experience within the massive academic institution of Yale. There is an unignorable, competitive nature between residential colleges in Yale College that usually inspires students of the college to outperform others in their capacity as representatives of their residential college. Generally, underclassmen demonstrate an amount of deference toward upperclassmen and first-year counselors serve as knowledgeable guides to residential life in Hopper and Yale.

Another crucial detail of the current community attributes is the culture of reporting being fostered among students. Students both on and off-campus are encouraged to report any and all violations to the rules outlined in the following section, chiefly gatherings.

Analysis of Rules-in-Use

Position

The roles in Hopper College are determined at two levels. First, at the university level and second within the college.

The university level selection determines who, of all applicants, gains membership to the Yale community. Broader university administration oversees hiring Deans, Heads of College, their respective office staff members (assistant and administrative assistants), Public Health Coordinators, dining hall staff, and custodial staff. The admissions office oversees the selection of students into Yale College as well as those graduate students eligible to become residential

college fellows. Students, both undergraduate and graduate, are randomly selected from the broader Yale College population to live in Grace Hopper College.

Within the college, students are notified of opportunities to apply to the positions of student council, student aide, or first-year counselor by the relevant department of the college (i.e. the Head of College office will notify students of openings to serve as student aides). Each of these positions, except for the Hopper College Council, is determined by an application and interview process reviewed by the relevant office and its staff. The Hopper College Council is determined by campaign and election exclusively among the undergraduate students.

There is one position that uniquely straddles both the residential college and broader university. The PHEPs make up a team of students representing each residential college. In filling these PHEP positions, the university broadly shared information about the position through student newsletters soliciting applications and selects from all the applicants two students to represent each residential college.

Boundary

In this case, the entry boundary rules and position rules are functionally identical. Exit boundary rules must include how one would leave a given role within the college, the college itself, or the university itself which would necessarily result in leaving the residential college.

Information on the resignation process and contractual obligations of Yale staff are not publicly available. Presumably, their resignation would need to be discussed with the university with enough advance to find their replacement.

If undergraduate students wish to leave any position, such requests are handled on an individual basis within the office their position exists in. There is much more structure for determining when students in residence alter their term-time location of residence. Prior to the

pandemic, students in Hopper College would be required in the spring to commit in a housing contract where they intend to live for the following year: within the physical domain of Hopper College or in the surrounding city. Because the pandemic has created unique challenges for housing and travel, housing contracts for the 2020-2021 academic year were suspended in favor of a new housing survey. As the name would suggest, the newer housing survey was designed with much more flexibility than its preceding *contract*. Though the contract could not entirely forbid students from changing their housing plans in the middle of an academic year, it could excise heavy fees for students who chose to do so. The new survey system gave students several weeks to decide on their housing situation without repercussions. Students who had initially decided to enroll and live on campus were given about a month after the start of classes to take leave from classes and residential life without repercussions. The university also decided to restrict year-long, on-campus residential availability to only seniors and juniors. First-years will only be allowed on campus in the fall and sophomores will only be allowed on campus in the spring pending petition or extenuating circumstance at the discretion of the university. While the only necessary change in residential availability occurs for first-years and sophomores, all students have the option to amend their housing situation on a term-by-term basis, which contrasts quite starkly with the year-long commitment imposed by the previous housing contract agreements. Students may also request transfer to a different residential college.

Authority

Community Compact

The University published a “Community Compact” that has been adopted by each of the residential colleges, including Hopper. The Community Compact is an agreement that all members of the Yale community must agree and adhere to. It serves as the basis for all

authoritative action taken in promotion of coronavirus safety at the residential and university levels. Yale community members must commit to “to contributing to campus life in a way that will promote the health and safety of all community members,” (Yale Registrar, 2020). It demands that federal, state, local and Yale public health guidance, protocols, and any changes made thereof are followed. Specifically, the compact requires participation in twice-weekly testing, contact tracing, self-isolation/quarantining, training on hygiene practices, social distancing, wearing face coverings, participation in a daily health check and other safe behaviors regarding travel. Failure to adhere to the compact will result in removing oneself from campus to complete the semester remotely and the university may take administrative action to ban participation in any in-person campus activities.

In the residential college, authority is traditionally concentrated in the Dean and Head of College. Now, with infractions related to coronavirus safety, these entities work in partnership with Public Health Coordinators to address investigating, disciplining, and filling educational gaps that may have resulted in the infraction in the first place.

This team of authorities has the responsibility of responding to reports where they are empowered to question students on their activity that prompted the report. If they find there to be inappropriate behavior during their investigation, they may decide to exercise punishments on the offending students. Currently, there is not a clearly defined list of punishments, only a vague threat of being removed from campus should the authorities deem it so necessary.

Aggregation

Aggregation rules concern how decisions are made in the action situation. In this case, the action situation is maintaining health of actors by preventing the spread and contraction of the coronavirus. The locale of these decisions is in the Hopper residential college. As such,

aggregation rules inform making decisions on preventing spread and contraction in the college. To this end, there are several aggregation rules ranging in source from Grace Hopper College to the greater Yale University.

Scan Access

Scan access functions as an aggregate rule much in the same way a stoplight would in the context of a traffic light. When Yale University ID cardholders offer their cards to card scanners, the scanner will either turn green and admit the cardholder to the protected space or turn red in denied access. The most salient difference between these examples is that a red light does not physically restrict a car from moving forward where the scanners do. That being said, it would not be difficult to wait for one with access to enter/exit a space or find someone with access to an otherwise prohibited space. Not all students have the same scan-access. For example, those in residence on campus have access to spaces like the buttry and entryways in the college while students in residence off-campus do not, unless they perform a different role in the college, such as student aide.

Testing & Isolation

There are rules in place for how to respond to positive test results during mandatory, term-time testing. Pursuant to the university's Contact Tracing Program, students should expect to experience three things: 1) they will be notified of their test results, as will their primary healthcare provider, 2) they will immediately begin isolation in designated isolation rooms or their off-campus residence, and 3) they will have to complete a contact tracing interview to identify others who may also be contagious. [Figure 1](#) contains much greater detail on how this process should be implemented.

Scope

The authorities in one residential college cannot exert influence or control over students in different residential colleges. Therefore, external policies that are not from the broader university—which is to say policies from other individual residential colleges—cannot apply to other residential colleges.

Information

In addition to regularly published statistics on testing at Yale, Hopper College's Head of College informs students quickly and regularly on the status of testing within the college, especially when there are concerns of a member of Hopper College testing positive. While there is no written rule explicitly requiring this of the Head of College, the absence of such behavior would be inappropriate and met with enough negative response to constitute punishment itself.

Payoff

If the goal is to achieve coronavirus safety, an outbreak of the coronavirus would certainly be a cost. Everyone associated with the residential college is put at risk of contracting the virus in the event of an outbreak, especially due to the highly contagious nature of the coronavirus. Those who have committed to reside in Hopper College (students in residence on campus, FroCos, the Dean and the Head of College) bear a higher risk, and thus higher cost, than those with different, off-campus housing arrangements. For this reason, housing rules should be considered a payoff rule. In as far as residential college assignments limit one's options for residence on campus, it can be considered a payoff rule from the perspective of benefits. Those associated with a safe residential college, regardless of where they may actually live, have access to a safer college space which is undoubtedly a benefit.

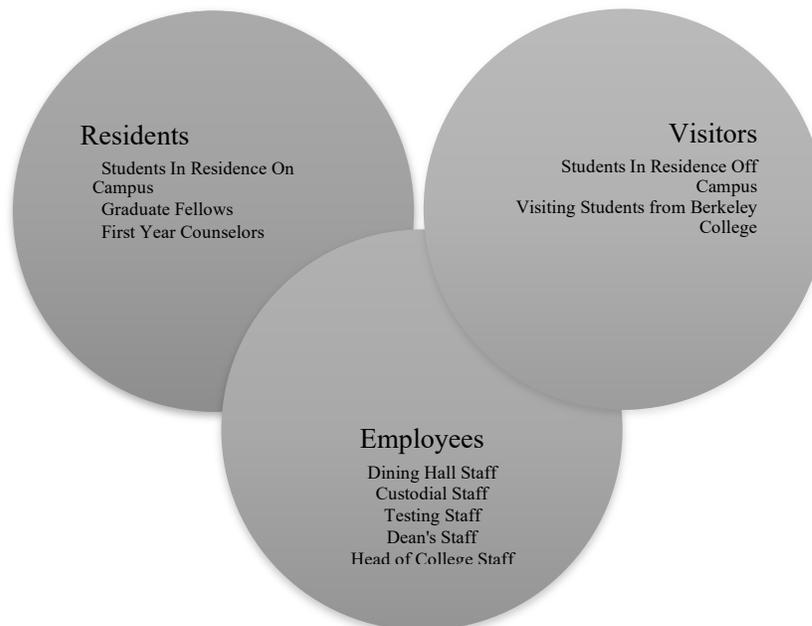
Integrate the Analysis

Action Situation

At this point, maintaining health and public safety of actors by preventing the spread and contraction of COVID-19 has already been established as the action situation. The participants have also been established as students (in residence on and off campus), graduate fellow, the college's dean and staff, the head of college and staff, public health coordinators, dining hall and custodial staff, testing staff, hopper college council, first-year counselors, student aides, and peer health educators. These actors engage with the residential college and surrounding environments in different levels that are important to distinguish.

Actions Linked to Outcomes

All the actors considered in this paper regularly engage with the residential college. The participants may be categorized into resident, employee, and visitor roles. The diagram below portrays how the actors in Hopper College sort into these roles.



At the intersection of residents and employees are the Dean and the Head of College. PHEPs and student aides are not limited to on-campus residents, only those enrolled in New Haven. As such PHEPs and student aides may intersect employees and residents or employees and visitors. Members of HCC may either fall into the categories of residents or visitors since participation is also not limited to those residing on campus. There are many similarities between these groups as they all exist within the domain of Yale University and consequently have committed to the Community Compact. At the same time, their differences are numerous and of significant consequence in analyzing not only their behaviors, but effective rules that address them. Distinction between these groups reveals important differences in potential exposure to the virus, disciplinary measures and their enforcement, and incentives toward compliance.

Regardless of engagement level, all actors must make conscious decisions to uphold the Community Compact and subsequent rules or guidelines from the broader university and the residential college leadership. This includes taking their regular tests and completing the Yale Daily Health Checks. Participants must actively engage in their twice-weekly testing, contact tracing, self-isolation/quarantining, training on hygiene practices, social distancing, wearing face coverings, and refrain from traveling outside of New Haven.

Participants that adhere to the rules should achieve coronavirus safety for themselves and for the community they engage with. Failure to adhere, however, not only threatens the production of coronavirus safety for the violator and their surrounding company, but provokes disciplinary action at several levels. According to the Compact, disciplinary action at the university level may include “removing oneself from campus to complete the semester remotely” or otherwise limiting participation in any in-person campus activities. At the residential college

level, the College Dean and Head of College may decide to impose other restrictions such as a prohibiting the use of certain public spaces through direct warning (written, verbal, or otherwise) or revoking scan access. Furthermore, at the social level, peers may experience ostracization from their peers due to 1) stigma surrounding the offending behavior and 2) the knowledge that the offender participated in an action that put them at more danger than they put that peer in.

When participants step outside the physical college, they are confronted with significantly more opportunities to violate university guidelines and/or threaten their own coronavirus safety. Threats to their own safety, of course, are necessarily threats to the coronavirus safety of those around them. The employees and visitors (i.e. in residence, off campus) interact with the city more to go between their place of residence and perform vital responsibilities such as getting groceries. While they interact with the city more, they have a place to sequester themselves. Residents run higher risk of exposing many others because of the structure of the residential building. No participants, barring those under the most restrictive quarantine, are completely restricted to the environment of the residential college. Students and staff alike may go into the surrounding town of New Haven with its essential businesses, notably restaurants, and recreational spaces.

The rules for gathering in restaurants, bars, and parks differs by the structure of the building. Nonetheless, pursuant to Connecticut state guidelines as of November 6th, 2020, they may operate at up to 50% capacity indoors with 6 ft spacing and/or non-porous barriers with a maximum of 8 people per table outdoors (Connecticut Department of Economic and Community Development, 2020). This policy is in most, if not all, cases more stringent than the university's own guidelines on gathering, which may not exceed 10 people.

Beyond the additional risk of venturing into a domain with less strict rules and enforcement, participants behavior changes off campus. The difference in how participants act inside the college where they are 1) less likely to be seen by an enforcer of the university's and college's rules and 2) not surrounded by the social pressure not to threaten their peer's safety is significant. While residents are subject to the restrictions and rules enforced within the residential college (e.g. lockdowns), visitors and employees that do not reside in the college are not. The non-residents' incentives are guided by how much they wish to maintain access to the college. For employees, their relation to the college provides their income. For visiting students, their relation to the college provides them with regular testing and access to limited social gatherings in the college. In the event visiting students contract the virus, their access to testing will not change but their access to the limited social gatherings in the college will for the time they are contagious. Were social gatherings to be more frequent or central to student life, this might have provided a compelling incentive to behave safely. However, social gatherings that involve residential and visiting students are infrequent and visiting students have the option to socialize with one another off-campus unmonitored, rendering any incentive to stay socially involved in the college relatively weak.

Control in these action situations is complicated. Beyond the college gates where scan access, administrative oversight, and peer pressure are rendered nearly useless, actors have much more control over their actions. Consequently, administrators have substantially less control over their actions outside the domain of the university. Without any of the infrastructure to at least curb student behavior, students' actions in the city is virtually impossible to control. A further challenge here is that the existing infrastructure within the university only considers the

prevention of harmful choices (e.g. going to a restaurant with more than 10 other people), not the promotion of healthful choices (e.g. sanitizing surfaces in common spaces after usage).

In the action situation, outcomes involve behaviors that either actively support or threaten coronavirus safety and the contraction/spread of the coronavirus. The status quo is maintained for students that do not contract the coronavirus or contact anyone who has. If a student does contact with someone with the coronavirus or the virus itself, they follow the aforementioned responses including compliance with contact tracing and quarantine.

If a student actively violates the guidelines, and administration learns of the violation, a series of response measures are initiated. First, the offender receives an email from their residential college Dean, Head of College, and Public Health Coordinator. This email will confirm the details of the violation and inform the student how they learned of the violation, most often this will take form of a complaint from another student or observer. From this point, students may be asked to proceed with caution, or, in the case of severe violations, be asked to leave campus. If a student has contracted the coronavirus in the process of the offending action, they will have to quarantine before taking leave.

Actors

Students on and off campus are given myriad resources endowing them with the capacity to act as described by Polski and Ostrom. Upon the start of the semester, students were provided with the Community Compact, COVID-19 safety training online accessible through the university's class organization portal, regular informational updates on the status of the virus in the community and the level of risk existing therein, personal resources such as the Public Health Coordinators' contact information and the PHEPs' contact information, and a COVID hotline with people available at all hours to provide guidance and answer questions related to the virus.

Students living on campus are also given physical resources including masks, hand sanitizer, and alcohol wipes enabling them to act in ways that promote coronavirus safety. Staff, including the Dean's staff, Head of College staff, and student aides are also provided hand sanitizer and alcohol wipes to sanitize all shared surfaces.

I have found valuations are somewhat dichotomous and often competing in this institution of Hopper College. On the one hand, actors value self-preservation and the safety of their peers in conformity with a utilitarian approach that acknowledges their individual responsibility in maintaining their safety. Actions in conformity with both these valuations aim to avoid contacting and/or spreading the virus and thus would promote coronavirus safety. On the other hand, there is an innate desire to socialize. As social creatures, the limiting ordinary social interactions imposes unprecedented challenges to development and mental health (CDC, 2020). There is another essential valuation, especially among the students, which is the desire for acceptance among one's peers. This valuation simultaneously lends support to all three aforementioned valuations. With respect to the valuation of self-preservation and utilitarian behaviors protecting one's peers, people wanting to be seen as rational and moral actors should want to behave in a way that is consistent with science, guidelines, and protects others. However, those that prioritize social interactions may ostracize those that do not to ameliorate their own cognitive dissonance. The desire to gain acceptance among one's peers can then inspire those that otherwise would follow the guidelines to stray in pursuit of social acceptance.

The decision to act in any one way, or selection processes, depends on the decision maker in a number of ways. The decision maker's personality, exposure to peer pressure, risk status to the virus, socioeconomic status and dependence on the college may influence their actions in the arena.

Analyze Patterns of Interaction

Incorporating the valuations of actors is where the policy fails: policy designs based on the assumptions of strictly rational optimization will fail; they assume students will act rationally within the info given and with the goal of maintaining health and avoiding ostracization motivated by threatening coronavirus safety.

Another challenge to enforcement is the how rampant uncertainty is in this policy arena. Because of the nature of the crisis that spurred the creation of this institution, these circumstances, rules, and punishments have never been seen before. Thus, actors do not know how seriously certain behaviors will be admonished and certain punishments enforced. The absence of clear patterns of interaction curates an aloof attitude towards the enforcement of punishment.

Analyze Outcomes

The number of coronavirus cases in the college is the most objective and simple way to analyze the outcomes. Less easily quantified but just as, if not more, important is the extent to which actors comply with the rules.

Incentives to stay on housed campus or stay employed can form strong incentives to follow the rules in place. For those that do not depend on the college to provide housing or employment, the college has relatively low leverage with which to motivate actors to comply with coronavirus rules. The valuation of fitting in with one's peers takes on a different meaning for students off-campus. The off-campus students by virtue of their circumstance and the lack of inclusive, frequent social gatherings in the residential college, have created their own social community without the college. This social community is far less regulated and engenders behaviors that threaten coronavirus safety for themselves and those within the residential college

when they interact with it as a visitor, visiting employee, or visiting HCC member. Since these students are entirely upper classmen, they set the tone for the younger students just being introduced to college life. Thus, their infractions indicate to first years and other younger students that such behavior is acceptable. Because first years live under the supervision of the Dean, Head of College, and their FroCos, whereas the upper classmen off campus do not, this confidence in acting irrespective of the rules is misplaced. The consequences of breaking rules in place are much greater for the first years as well since they have a communal living situation where they can put far more people at risk and depend on the college for living. This is where the valuation of social acceptance proves to be a danger.

Policy should harmonize the valuations of students in order to solve this problem. To produce policy that combines utilitarian valuations, self-preservation valuations, socialization valuations and social acceptance valuations, I prescribe that the college should create more opportunities for the off-campus, upperclassmen students to interact with the college and platforms for upperclassmen to set examples of compliance with the rules in place. These can take the form of weekly social gatherings in the college, mixed upperclassmen and underclassmen living for on-campus students, and an opt-in student body larger than the two PHEPs dedicated to creating safety measures that respond to the desires of those associated with the college. The regular gatherings would provide a social atmosphere where guidelines are enforced as they would be within the locale of the residential college and allow upperclassmen to show younger students that the expectation is to follow the rules in place. Mixing under and upperclassmen in residence would also provide more opportunities to share institutional memory on a more regular basis as long as the upperclassmen are aware of their responsibility in teaching newer students how to act safely in the college during the pandemic. Knowledge of this

expectation could be passed through the form of an upperclassmen task force that make a commitment to set an example for newer students and serve as a resource for coronavirus safety information in addition to their commitment to the Community Compact. Besides setting the example to increase compliance among younger students, this would increase the sense of responsibility among upper classmen which leads to increase responsible actions, and in this case compliance, among upperclassmen themselves (Karssiens & van der Linden, 2013). A task force of upperclassmen that communicates between students and administration would also facilitate feedback to administration and information to create sustainable and adaptable policy. Because there is no set of actors with the formal ability to police coronavirus safety, this task force could fill that need much in the same manner a FroCo has limited policing capacity. Another duty of the task force could be to foster socially distant or virtual social events. Adaptability is crucial in this policy arena because of the sudden development and rapid evolution of the coronavirus in the United States. Furthermore, these policies would aim to solve the problems with accountability and diffusion of responsibility¹ as well as inspire conformance to general morality even if it is not the most significant motivator.

Accountability is enforced in two ways. The first is through testing; the second is through peer reports. If actors have been safe, it will reflect in their negative test results. If actors are violating the guidelines in any way, other actors will hold them accountable through reports to administration. The already existing infrastructure of peer reports gives participants easy access to mechanisms that allow them to sanction one another as the reports are made quickly through email to either the Dean, Head of College, or PHC. I posit that this breeds a

¹ Diffusion of responsibility is a psychosocial phenomenon occurring when people who need to make a decision wait for someone else to act instead.

culture of fear and stealth among students and while peer accountability is important, policy should aim first to create an environment where students do not feel the need to violate the rules in the first place. Regular social gatherings within the college allow students to behave in front of each other and administration allowing them to hold each other accountable to promote coronavirus safety. The upperclassmen task force would be useful here as well in as far as they can provide an outlet of conversation with fellow students to talk about their difficulties with upholding the rules and addressing them before they feel the need to violate the rules.

Additionally, the consequences for gathering can be too extreme to be enforced. Deciding whether to send a student away from campus and travel during a pandemic may pose a moral dilemma to administrators who will then tend to allow students who threaten safety to stay on campus without consequences. Accordingly, there must be a more moderate consequence that is easier to enforce. All colleges have a precedence of imposing fees as a consequence (e.g. turning in one's schedule late). I believe adding a fee as a more moderate form of punishment will 1) make consequences easier to enforce, 2) make consequences more likely to be enforced, 3) make students more likely to report unsafe behaviors knowing the consequences are less extreme than sending your peers away from campus, and 4) more effectively curb the undesired, unsafe behaviors of students.

In analyzing this framework, I have explored the institution of Grace Hopper's residential college and have ultimately found compliance and consent to coronavirus response measures in this residential college are lacking. Compliance and consent would be strengthened with measures that pose realistic consequences and increase the communication between students and administration and harmonize currently conflicting valuations that foster responsible co-production of coronavirus safety.

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Figures

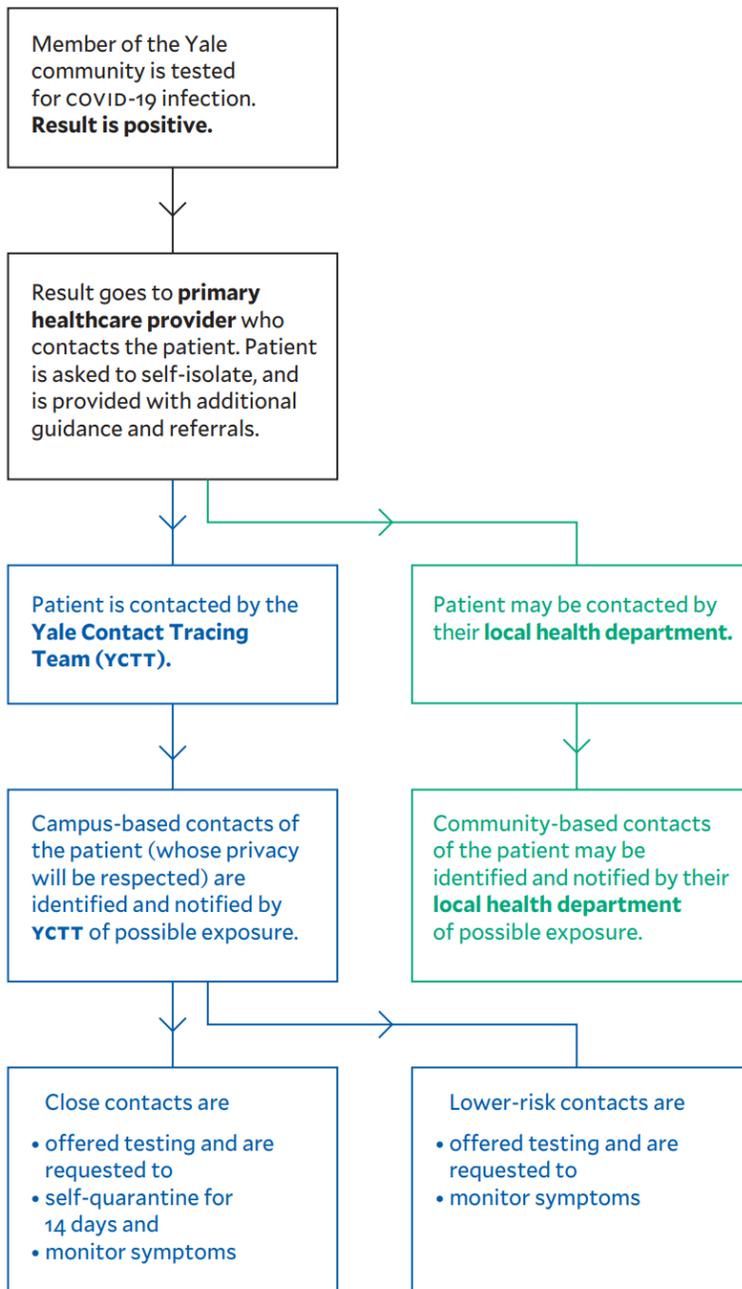


Figure 1 Positive Test Course of Action. This chart demonstrates the appropriate course of action should a member of the Yale community test positive.