Wikipedian Self-Governance in Action: Motivating the Policy Lens

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Abstract

While previous studies have used the Wikipedia dataset to provide an understanding of its growth, there have been few attempts to quantitatively analyze the establishment and evolution of the rich social practices that support this editing community. One such social practice is the enactment and creation of Wikipedian policies. We focus on the enactment of policies in discussions on the talk pages that accompany each article. These policy citations are a valuable micro-to-macro connection between everyday action, communal norms and the governance structure of Wikipedia. We find that policies are widely used by registered users and administrators, that their use is converging and stabilizing in and across these groups, and that their use illustrates the growing importance of certain classes of work, in particular source attribution. We also find that participation in Wikipedia’s governance structure is inclusionary in practice.

Introduction

In online communities, technology is the medium through which members act – and for many communities, this data is available for researchers to data mine. Despite the availability of such data, it is difficult for quantitative research to move from basic measurements of frequency counts and network representations to confident assertions about the establishment and evolution of social structure. And while qualitative studies can provide rich descriptive information, it is difficult to generalize results. With this paper, we open a dialogue about how quantitative methods might be used to bracket the rich social practices.

We examine Wikipedia, a prominent example of a community seeking to collectively produce and maintain a valuable artifact – a neutral account of all human knowledge. At the heart of this effort is the idealized decision-making mechanism of consensus. As Wikipedia grows in popularity and notoriety, achieving consensus is a challenge given the wide range of backgrounds, intent and attitude of participants. A rich set of policies and guidelines mediate the difficult work of seeking consensus (Kriplean et al. 2007; Viégas et al. 2007; Forte & Bruckman 2008). This policy environment articulates strategies of action, principles of encyclopedic content, and proper user behavior. Each policy is described and summarized on its own page just like any other Wikipedia article. For example, the Assume Good Faith guideline states that users should regard other users’ actions as well intentioned, while the Verifiability policy states that all facts need to be attributed to a verifiable source. The policy environment encodes and explains norms, but it is not imposed from up high; rather, policies are created and managed by the Wikipedia community at large. This is facilitated by two technical mechanisms:

First, contributors can easily hyperlink to policies during discussions concerning article content. We call these hyperlinks policy citations. By relying on policies, contributors can more easily interpret complex situations and legitimate their actions (Kriplean et al. 2007). Policy citations serve to help users educate new users, work through and resolve content disputes, and to deal with trolls (Viégas et al. 2007).

Second, policy pages are subject to the same open-editing and consensus-seeking processes as the rest of Wikipedia, giving contributors a participatory role in which experiential knowledge and best practices can be shared (Viégas, Wattenberg, & McKeon 2007). The policy environment therefore is reflective of social practice, not simply prescriptive of social behavior (Forte & Bruckman 2008).

We focus on one concrete manifestation of the enactment and enforcement of the policy environment: policy citations. Specifically, we provide a quantitative account of the practice of citing policies on the talk pages that accompany each article. We take the stance that we can learn more about the normative structure of the community by how its members enact policy, rather than examining the development of the policies themselves. The policy lens gives us leverage in identifying the challenges that online communities encounter at different scales of participation, strategies for addressing these difficulties, and empirical data for evaluating the efficacy of these strategies. We demonstrate that policy citations track community concerns and hence provide an interesting normative lens. Our results also corroborate and extend a number of qualitative findings about Wikipedia.

We begin by surveying the complex Wikipedia policy environment. Next we position our research amidst a growing body of prior work on Wikipedia. We then describe our methodology for extracting policy use on discussion pages and present our investigations into policy use. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of our findings.

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Anatomy of Wikipedia

In this section we describe relevant aspects of Wikipedia, outlining user categories, the article namespaces that comprise Wikipedia, and the policy environment.

**Users.** Wikipedia provides different levels of technical privileges to classes of users. We distinguish three user classes: anonymous users (logged by their IP address), registered users (logged by their unique name handle), and administrators. Administrators are granted special privileges such as page protection and user blocking. Registered users become administrators after being nominated for admission by those who recognize significant contributions and adherence to Wikipedian principles. A panel of administrators then reviews each nomination, examining the candidate’s history of edits and reading testimonials from the wider community.

**Namespaces.** Wikipedia pages are divided into namespaces. Namespaces most relevant to our analysis are the main namespace containing Wikipedia articles, the talk namespace containing talk pages, and the wikipedia namespace where policies and other community pages exist. We call pages in the main namespace articles and pages in the talk namespace talk pages. Other namespaces include user (personal pages for registered users) and user talk (messages for the user). See Pentzold & Seidenglanz for a more thorough overview. Whenever one views a page, they are looking at a particular revision of the page. A revert is a type of revision that swaps the current revisions with some prior revision.

**Policy environment.** The policy environment, established in February 2002 (one year into the project), delimits proper encyclopedic content, defines acceptable behavior, outlines writing style, establishes legitimate reference sources, and describes formal processes for resolving disputes and sanctioning users. Like the rest of Wikipedia, anyone can edit the policy pages. The policy environment is therefore dynamic and evolves as new policies are created, merged, elaborated upon, and clarified. Although the Wikimedia board sometimes impose policy, the policy environment is most accurately conceived of as being reflective of practice (Forte & Bruckman 2008). As of the writing of this paper, the policy environment comprises 38 official policies and 189 guidelines. Official policies are the most formal and prominent. Guidelines are less official, although violation of a guideline can carry consequences. We generically use the term policy when referring to any official policy or guideline.

Policies are often referenced during discussion on the talk pages. Such references help to socialize and discipline new and deviant participants by reinforcing standards of article content and user conduct (Viégas et al. 2007; Kriplean et al. 2007). These references are often made by users in attempts to claim legitimate control of an article in order to move the consensus process forward (or to hijack it) (Kriplean et al. 2007). An author can reference policy in two ways: (1) a policy citation is made by creating a hyperlink to the relevant policy page in the Wikipedia namespace and (2) a keyword reference references the policy in plain text. See Figure 2 for an example of a content dispute where participants employ policy citations and keyword references.

Affordances of the wiki software (simple hyperlinking and alternate namespaces) have thus been appropriated to structure collaboration by creating a tight feedback loop between the policy environment and community practice (Figure 1). On one hand, if a policy does not exist or is not well suited to address an issue, members may alter the policy environment itself; on the other, a policy citation brings the policy environment to bear on a specific issue. Enactment of a policy makes that policy visible to other participants, who may also start to enact the policy. If Wikipedians do not actively employ a policy, it ceases to be a structuring feature of the policy environment.

**Related Work**

We are starting to understand Wikipedia as a rich social space comprised of many intersecting communities (Kriplean et al. 2007; Forte & Bruckman 2008). Different forms of work, such as welcoming new users (Viégas, Wattenberg, & McKeon 2007), discussion and consensus seeking on talk pages (Viégas et al. 2007; Kriplean et al. 2007; (italicized) are made. U1 quotes a sentence from the Verifiability policy and hyperlinks to it. U1 later uses shorthand link to policy (Verifiability [WP:V], Reliable Sources [WP:RS], Neutral Point of View [WP:NPOV], No Original Research [WP:OR], and Three-Revert Rule [WP:3RR]).
Quantitative. Quantitative studies have established a number of facts about Wikipedia and its community. We know that nearly all measurable quantities yield a skewed distribution (Voss 2005), vandalism (especially mass deletions) are quickly reverted (Viégas, Wattenberg, & Dave 2004), edits to the main article space are proportionally decreasing with respect to the other namespaces (Viégas et al. 2007; Kittur et al. 2007b), and that featured pages (high-quality articles) are correlated with higher levels of activity by distinct authors (Wilkinson & Huberman 2007), while the number of distinct authors is inversely proportional to the probability that a page is classified as controversial (Kittur et al. 2007b). We also know that the top contributors are making proportionally less edits (Kittur et al. 2007a; Ortega & Barahona 2007), although they still contribute a large proportion of the valuable text (Priedhorsky et al. 2007). Almeida et al. (2007) demonstrated that the technical mechanisms that allow Wikipedians to monitor recent changes can have a significant effect on the distribution of edits among articles. Most relevantly, Buriol et al. (2006) discovered that policy can strongly affect behavior, finding that reverters were cut in half in the months following the institution of the three-revert rule.

Usenet has also received much attention from quantitative researchers. Studies of the social structure of Usenet focused on modeling user and group behavior by creating social networks through metrics such as replies, message length, cross-posting, interactivity, and posting frequencies (Whittaker et al. 1998; Fisher, Smith, & Welser 2006; Turner et al. 2005). Researchers demonstrated how sequences of actions constitute meaningful roles (Turner et al. 2005) and examined how to retain active members (Arguello et al. 2006). We see Wikipedia as providing the opportunity for quantitative researchers to dig deeper. Datasets such as policy citations open the possibility for enriching models of social structure, the temporal development of communities, and how microactions constitute salient social behaviors.

Qualitative. Using exploratory visualization, Viegas et al. (2004) identified a few patterns of activity including vandalism, negotiation, and tensions in authorship, concluding that collaboration in Wikipedia is facilitated by technical and social mechanisms for communal introspection. Although exploratory visualization is somewhat anecdotal, this line of research has uncovered a number of interesting trends (see also (Wattenberg, Viégas, & Hollenbach 2007)). Bryant et al. (2005) studied how behaviors and attitudes change as involvement deepens. They found that novice users frame Wikipedia as a collection of articles with random contributors, but as they grow more experienced, they begin to understand Wikipedia as a community with various roles, and subcultures. Viégas et al. (2007) studied the functions of talk pages, finding that they are mainly used for coordinating action on the article page. They also found that references to policies and guidelines were present on almost 8% of all talk posts. In a previous study, we analyzed how policies are employed by Wikipedians as they work towards consensus (Kriplean et al. 2007). We found that consensus is often moved forward only through a variety of power plays that contributors make in order to claim legitimacy of their actions. Policy citations were used as a sampling strategy to identify potentially interesting social activity.

Governance. Wikipedia’s policy environment is part of a governance structure that has become more elaborate over its history. Recent work has begun to understand this structure in terms of Yochai Benkler’s peer-based commons production model and Ostrom’s work on collective self-governance (Viégas, Wattenberg, & McKeeon 2007; Forte & Bruckman 2008). This governance structure includes (1) graduated dispute resolution mechanisms (Forte & Bruckman 2008), where violations of policy can be punished through blocking and banning, (2) an elected board of Wikipedians that carries out judicial-like functions such as the interpretation of policy and formal arbitration (Forte & Bruckman 2008), and (3) stringent formal processes for becoming an administrator and elevating a page to “featured” status (Viégas, Wattenberg, & McKeeon 2007).

In a study of the featured article process (which dictates how the best Wikipedia articles are selected), Viégas et al. (2007) identified that greater emphasis is placed on citing legitimate sources; Forte et al. (2008) also find a shifting emphasis towards verifiability of information. We find confirming evidence for this trend in our investigations by noting that policies relating to attribution are more frequently cited than policies in other categories. Forte et al. (2008) also find evidence that policy editing is slowing, and the process for adding to the policy environment is becoming more formalized. Later we show that the patterns of policy citations are likewise stabilizing and converging. They also identify that enforcement of policies is becoming more decentralized over time: early on, policy enforcement was per-
formed by the co-founder, later this responsibility shifted to an elected board of Wikipedians; recently, the task of punishing deviance has been taken up by administrators. Our investigations support this trend.

Our approach differs significantly in emphasis from these interview-based studies that focus on the formal aspects of Wikipedian governance. Policy citations are the everyday manifestation of the governance structure, the means by which individual contributors invoke the norms of the community. An invocation is not a formal process, although it may signal or threaten that a formal action may need to be taken. We see policy citations as the micro-to-macro link between social norms and the self-governance structure.

Methodology

The Wikimedia foundation periodically publishes a dataset of all Wikipedia content, including the revision history of pages from all the namespaces. Metadata for each revision is included, containing the username of the editor and the timestamp of the revision. The data we present was derived from the November 4th, 2006 English Wikipedia dataset.

Because Wikipedians consider the talk pages to be their primary communication forum (Bryant, Forte, & Bruckman 2005) we focus on this namespace for our analysis. We mined all policy citations in the talk namespace, specifically all hyperlinks that lead to the main page of a policy, including redirects. For example, WP:NPOV redirects to Wikipedia:Neutral_point_of_view. We also extracted a small set of keywords that unambiguously reference policy. These included clear text statements of “be bold” and “NPOV.\footnote{Edits performed by bots (software agents) are ignored. Archived pages are ignored, except in the cases where the history from the original page was moved to the archive. In this case, the archive and the original page are consolidated.}

Investigations Into Policy Use

To begin exploring the relationship between the policy environment and collaboration in Wikipedia, we present high-level time series metrics relevant to the enactment of policy in Figure 3.\footnote{In our analysis, all time series are given at a week granularity. This trend has also been observed for mainspace article edits (Kittur et al. 2007a).} A number of important trends are evident:

- The ratio of policy citations to talk edits is increasing, indicating that the enactment of policy is becoming increasingly common.
- The population of administrators is growing linearly, while the population of registered users is growing exponentially. Despite this trend, administrators are almost maintaining the same growth rate in policy citations as the population of registered users.
- Registered users have overtaken administrators in aggregate policy citations.\footnote{This trend has also been observed for mainspace article edits (Kittur et al. 2007a).} This extends the results of Forte et al. (2008) by suggesting that enforcement has diffused into the larger body of registered users.

These trends guide our investigation into the establishment and evolution of Wikipedia’s social structure, as reflected by the enactment of policies. While we provide narrative accounts of what the measurements may say about the community, our real contribution is to bracket collaborative activity: to provide measurements that lend plausibility to certain interpretations of social dynamics and cast doubt on others. We proffer five investigations of the relationship between the policy environment and Wikipedia practices:

Policy citations track community concerns. We examine the evolution and continuity of the policy environment at the level of individual policies. With respect to a few known external events, adoption patterns suggest that citation patterns reflect community concerns.

Policy citations indicate salient work dimensions. We code policies for the social activity that the policy signals. We find that citations examined at this aggregate level illustrate salient work dimensions.

![Figure 3: High-level time series trends.](image-url)
Figure 4: Each striation is a single policy. The width represents the fraction of cumulative policy citations. The 50 bottom striations are ordered from most cited policies in the last week of the dataset (bottom) to least cited (top). The top striation aggregates the remaining 142 policies.

**Policy citation practices are converging.** The community’s use of policies is gradually stabilizing. This holds within and between user classes.

**Policy citations can mark transformations in participation.** Enacting policy is one indication of participation in self-governance. We find that policies are being enacted to a large extent by users new to the practice. New citers also tend to cite the most popular policies, revealing the efficacy of socialization mechanisms.

**The practice of citing policies is becoming increasingly commonplace.** We examine the relationship between the two methods of invoking a policy – policy citation and keyword reference. While keyword references have historically been the dominant method, policy citations have become prevalent. This supports our claim that policy citations, a simple feature to extract, are a reliable social indicator.

**Evolution of the policy environment**

We characterize the development of the policy environment by first considering the relative distribution of policy citations amongst the individual policies over time. In Figure 4, each striation represents a single policy and the width represents the relative fraction of the cumulative policy citations. The figure demonstrates that the number of enacted policies is proliferating, yet there is continuity in their popularity. There is also consolidation in the most popular policies, with the top four accounting for 40% of all citations.

The development of the policy environment is influenced by external events and responds to the needs of the community (Forte & Bruckman 2008). Both of these are evident in our trend data. First, we can see some policies “stick” because they manage to clarify key aspects of collaborative activity. The establishment and rapid growth of the No Original Research policy in early 2004 is indicative. The idea of “No Original Research” was first articulated in September 2003 through a newsgroup post by co-founder Jimmy Wales:

*If your viewpoint is held by an extremely small minority, then whether it’s true or not, whether you can prove it or not, it doesn’t belong in Wikipedia, except perhaps in some ancillary article. Wikipedia is not the place for original research.***

The concept resonated with the community, was codified and has grown to be the second most cited policy. Wikipedia is not isolated from the rest of the world: institutional factors can affect policy enactment. For example, the establishment of the Biographies of Living Persons policy was largely in response to the controversy over John Seigenthaler Sr.’s article, when the media widely accused Wikipedia of harboring libelious information (Seigenthaler 2005). In Figure 4, we can see rapid adoption of this policy by the community in the aftermath.

**Policy use reflects work patterns**

Different policies speak to different principles of collaborative editing. In order to understand the relative importance of these principles, we categorized the policies by the type of social activity that a given policy citation may implicate. We employed a grounded approach (Strauss & Corbin 1990): first we read all the policy pages and developed a rough scheme. We then refined our categories and coded all the policies. Figure 6 gives our resulting codebook.

Figure 5 plots fractions of cumulative policy citations per code over time. It demonstrates a major shift in emphasis

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5We suspect that an imitation mechanism facilitated by the hyperlink mechanism underlies the generation of these citation patterns, similar to tag adoption in collaborative tagging systems (Golder & Huberman 2006).

Stabilization of the policy environment

Over time, we might expect the enactment of the policy environment to stabilize, reflecting increasing diffusion of norms within the community. To study stability, we employ a measure of similarity that compares distributions of policies. We define a policy vector as a tuple of policy citation counts, with each tuple element corresponding to one policy. For example, if the policy environment had three policies, a policy vector may be {NPOV:4,RS:3,NOR:5}, where the Neutral point of view policy had four citations. The vector may represent the distribution of policy citations by registered users, or characterize the citations made on a single page. To compare two policy vectors $v_1$ and $v_2$, we define their similarity as $\frac{v_1 \cdot v_2}{||v_1|| \times ||v_2||}$. This value is the angle between the two vectors in multi-dimensional policy space. A value of 0 indicates that the two policy vectors are orthogonal (different), and a 1 indicates that the two vectors are linearly dependent (similar). Our similarity measures are in the interval $[0,1]$ because citations are non-negative. Note that this similarity analysis disregards the magnitude of policy citations; it compares the ratios of the magnitudes of policy citations.

We use similarity measures to compare the policy environment at different points in time. Figure 7 plots the mean and the standard deviation of a time-varying set of similarities. For each week, a set of similarities is calculated. The set contains the similarity values between that week’s policy vector and each of the policy vectors for the 26 previous weeks. Figure 7 shows that although the policy environment is expanding in policy quantity, as well as unique policy citers, it exhibits increasing stability.

Earlier we pointed out that admins cite more policy per user than registered users. But do these groups differ in the relative proportions of the types of policies they cite? Figure 8 plots the similarity between policy vectors for admin and registered users (cross-group stability). The figure also plots the similarity of policy vectors 4 weeks apart within each of the two user groups (intra-group stability). All measures of stability are converging to the same policy vector.³

³Taking the cosine of this angle would give us the more traditional cosine similarity metric.

³Examining similarity of policies employed by users partici-
Figure 8: Policy vector similarities for admin and registered users are converging to 1, indicating that the two user groups are becoming similar in their policy citations. The convergence of similarities of policy vectors 4 weeks apart within each population indicates stability within user classes.

Policy use by veterans and first-time citers

Citing policy is a simple mechanism by which anyone can participate in Wikipedia’s governance structure. Here we examine how policy citations are distributed amongst contributors who have cited policy before (veterans) and those who have not. Figure 9 indicates that participation is inclusive. It shows that in every week over 10% of the citers are first-timers. This may provide evidence of the accessibility of the policy environment by showing that policy citations are not exclusively made by veteran users. We think that the ease of hyperlinking to policy and the importance of socializing new users via the policy environment explains the prominence of users who have never cited policy.

We also compare the population of veteran policy citers and first-time citers via the types of policies that they cite. Figure 10 shows that users who cite policy for the first time on average begin with a top 5 policy in about 45% of the cases, matching the veteran citers. Comparable trends were observed when varying the top k policies. The similarity in fractions for first-time and veteran policy citers indicates a strong socialization of users in Wikipedia. The dip in Figure 10 by the veteran citers may be due to the proliferation of policies, while the more recent stabilization of the policy environment is likely responsible for the later steady increase in consolidation for both user groups.

Figure 9: On average, unique users who cite policy for the first time account for over 10% of all unique users who cite a policy in a week. The high percentage indicates that participation in Wikipedia’s governance structure is inclusionary.

Policy references and communal vocabulary

Policy citations are not the only method of referencing policy – members may also reference policies in clear text (keywords) as part of a shared communal vocabulary. We extracted common keyword references from talk pages for a few policies to characterize the enactment of the policy environment via keyword usage. For each of these policies, we looked at the ratio of the hyperlinked policy citations to all references (citations + keyword references).

Figure 11 shows that policies are referenced by keyword more frequently than they are hyperlinked. We expected, however, that as policies migrate into the communal vocabulary the ratio would decrease over time. Instead, we see that linking to policy is becoming increasingly common. There are a couple explanations. First, hyperlinking to a policy is itself a norm that appears to be growing more prevalent. This indicates that the policy citation dataset is becoming more reflective of practice. Second, the Wikipedian population is exponentially growing and links are an easy shorthand socializing mechanism (Viégas et al. 2007). Interestingly, the figure shows that different policies have different temporal relationships in enactment style. For example, the oldest of the seven policies in the figure – the Neutral Point Of View Policy – is primarily referenced through keywords. The relatively recent Reliable Sources guideline, on the other hand, is hyperlinked in over 50% of total references.

Discussion

Studying social practice quantitatively. Quantitative studies of Wikipedia have generally taken as their main unit

\[ \text{Policy use stabilizes and converges between different groups} \]

\[ \text{4-week similarity across registered} \]

\[ \text{cross admins} \]

\[ \text{unique users who cite a policy in a week} \]

\[ \text{First-time policy citers} \]

\[ \text{Veteran policy citers} \]

\[ \text{Policy vector similarity} \]

\[ \text{Year} \]

\[ \text{2003 2004 2005 2006} \]

\[ \text{Unique users who cite a policy (in a week)} \]

\[ \text{First-time policy citers} \]

\[ \text{Veteran policy citers} \]

\[ \text{Policy vector similarity} \]

\[ \text{Year} \]

\[ \text{2003 2004 2005 2006} \]

\[ \text{Unique users who cite a policy (in a week)} \]

\[ \text{First-time policy citers} \]

\[ \text{Veteran policy citers} \]

\[ \text{Policy vector similarity} \]

\[ \text{Year} \]

\[ \text{2003 2004 2005 2006} \]
of analysis the edit to a page, text persistence, and/or reverts to pages. Undoubtedly, these metrics can be used to generate complex and interesting models. (c.f. Adler et al.’s (2007) reputation model). However, they are limited in their ability to bracket complex social behavior. Friedhorsky et al. (2007) recognized a similar issue in the “author-based” metrics typically used to study Wikipedia and instead advocate for “reader-based” data sources. Based on this idea, they synthesized page view data from a number of sources to create a model of the impact of an edit.

Page view data, however, is more relevant primarily for modeling main article space. Metrics such as policy citations are more appropriate for studying the conditions of Wikipedia’s production. We suggest that researchers might focus on mining semantically rich indicators of social activity such as page locking, requests for comments, user blocking, WikiProjects, userboxes, barnstars, and many others in order to better understand and extend the affordances of Wiki technology for supporting large-scale collaboration. For example, policy citations may be used as a work-aware indicator of editing hot-spots, providing a new source of data for conflict visualizers (Kittur et al. 2007b) and awareness mechanisms (Suh et al. 2008).

There are significant challenges for interpreting trends in these datasets. Temporal trends are particularly difficult, as the social practices that these datasets reflect are themselves evolving. Consider policy citations: it is difficult to understand the ramifications of a particular citation without first understanding the version of the policy environment that it references. Moreover, as demonstrated earlier, the practice of citing policy is itself being established: just because policy citations were rarer in 2005 than in 2006 does not necessarily mean that the policy environment was less important. We are interested in principled techniques that have been brought to bear on studying developing social practices.

Another challenge for studying social practice in Wikipedia is to correlate activity occurring in different social spaces. Discussions on the talk pages take place as the article is edited, users often simultaneously leave messages on each other’s user talk pages, conflicts are often escalated to forums dedicated to informal and formal dispute resolution, and groups of editors formed around WikiProjects initiate collective action. Techniques that can extract related activities across these spaces could serve to elucidate higher level collaborative patterns. Such models may facilitate tools that help Wikipedians navigate to events of interest and support Wikipedians as they react to these events.

**Design of online communities.** The policy environment – user editable, reflective of practice, and easily citable – is an integral mechanism for maintaining quality and organization in Wikipedia. We believe that in the future we will see other participatory communities collaborating in high-stakes domains that may benefit from such mechanisms (e.g. public deliberation (Borning et al. 2008)). Our study gives evidence that providing a means for a community to express shared strategies of action, codes of conduct, and content norms is a powerful and inclusionary way to enable self-governance, following from early work in CSCW that highlights the necessity of social spaces for articulation work (Schmidt & Bannon 1992).

As the product of many years of large-scale effort, the policy environment captures experiential knowledge about consensus-based collective action. A potentially fruitful area for future investigation is the transplantability of the policy environment itself: to what extent and under what conditions can new collaborative endeavors be seeded with Wikipedian policies?

**Conclusion**

Our research motivates the use of policy citations to study the establishment of practice in Wikipedia. We took the view that we can learn about the relative importance of differ-
ent policies through their usage, not their formal definition and development on the Wikipedia policy pages. We have demonstrated that policy citations are situated at an interesting position between normative and formal structure and that tracking them gives insight into core aspects of Wikipedia’s conditions of production. We invite other researchers to join us in studying policies as an interesting social index.

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