

CSF Notebook

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF FEDERALISM

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NEWS FROM THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF FEDERALISM

Center Move

The Center has been relocated within Temple University to its Center City Campus. Our new mailing address is:

Center for the Study of Federalism
Temple University (300-00)
1616 Walnut Street, Suite 507
Philadelphia, PA 19103

In recognition of this move, the Center will host a Public Agenda Series. The first session focusing on Pennsylvania's Budget Crisis will be held on April 30, 1991 at our new location. Among the featured speakers will be State Senators Earl Baker and Allyson Schwartz and Diane Reed, Director of the Pennsylvania Economy League. The second session, entitled "Bush's Federalism: Is Philadelphia Being Bushwhacked?" has been scheduled for May 29 and will feature remarks by John Kincaid, Executive Director of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.



Temple University • 1616 Walnut Street • Room 507 • Philadelphia, PA 19103

NEWS FROM THE IACFS

The 1990 meetings of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies were hosted by the Centre for Federal Studies at the University of Leicester. Our substantive conference was co-sponsored with the Leicester Centre as part of their annual federalism conference and once again was held jointly with the IACFS Director's Meeting and the annual meeting of the Section on Federalism and Federation of the International Political Science Association.

IACFS Conference

The conference took place from September 11th through 13th and focused on federalism in the Soviet Union. Among the participants were a substantial number of scholars from the various republics of the Soviet Union and Soviet specialists from other countries. The keynote address was delivered by Professor Daniel J. Elazar, President of the IACFS. The sessions consisted of:

- * The Historical Background of Soviet Federalism by Dr. Ray Pearson
- * Ethno-Demographic Developments and the Soviet Federal System by Ann Sheehy
- * The Legal Aspects of the Soviet Federal Structure by Jane Henderson and Peter Vares
- * The Baltic Preference for Independence by Dr. Kestutis Girnius
- * Demands for Autonomy: The View from Moscow by Vladimir Kulistikov
- * The Evolution of the Soviet Federation and the Independence of Latvia by Prof. Andries Plotnieks, Mr. M. Ramans and Prof. Ilmar Bisher
- * The Formation of the All-Union Market and the Special Status of the Baltics by Professor Mikhael Bronstein
- * Inter-republican Economic Interaction in the USSR by Dr. V. Seliverstov
- * Accommodating the Nationalities of the Soviet Union: Economic and Social Problems by Prof. Klaus von Beyme
- * The Economic Disintegration of the USSR: Costs and Benefits by Alastair McAuley
- * Round Table discussion of the Soviet Federal System and the Nationality Question in Comparative Perspective chaired by Ronald Watts.

The conference succeeded in laying before us much of the problematics of the present situation in the Soviet Union including the secessionist demands of the Baltic and other republics and the search for autonomy on the part of other segments of the Soviet Union including Siberia.

Future IACFS Meetings

It was agreed that the 1991 IACFS meeting would be held at the Institute for Intergovernmental Relations in Kingston, Ontario, May 8-10th with a substantive conference focused on federalism and higher education in connection with the 150th anniversary of the founding of Queen's University.

For information on this conference, please contact Ronald Watts, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada K7L 3N6 (613) 545-2080.

Upcoming Conferences

Northeastern Political Science Association

23rd Annual Meeting

Call for Papers

The Northeastern Political Science Association is presently inviting proposals to organize panels and proposals to present papers at its 1991 meeting scheduled for November 14, 15, 16, 1991 at the Penn Tower Hotel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Proposals must be received by May 1, 1991. Questions concerning the convention program in general and the submission of proposals should be directed to: Professor Russell Harrison, Political Science Department, College of Arts and Science, Rutgers University-Camden, NJ 08102.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Gary Dean Best. *Pride, Prejudice, and Politics: Roosevelt Versus Recovery, 1933-1938*. Praeger Publishers, 1990. 288 pp. \$45.00

The first sustained scholarly critique of the New Deal from the conservative perspective, this study argues that Franklin Delano Roosevelt was, himself, the primary obstacle to American recovery from the Great Depression of 1933-38. In developing his arguments, author Gary Dean Best focuses on the fact that the depression continued through eight years of the Roosevelt administration, despite unprecedented intervention by the federal government in the nation's economic life. Challenging conventional explanations that fault Roosevelt for not embracing Keynesian spending on a scale sufficient to produce recovery, Best finds the roots of America's slow return to have been encouraging: the American business and financial communities.

Alexander J. Bott. *Handbook of United States Election Law and Practices: Political Rights*. Greenwood Press, 1990. 560 pp. \$75.00

This handbook is the only book in the field of law to present current legal thought on basic political rights of Americans and to treat primarily statutory law and judicial cases. The political rights examined include the right to vote, the right to be a political candidate and gain ballot access, the right to fair and effective representation, rights under the Federal Voting Rights Act, the right of people to participate directly in the governing process through the initiative, referendum, and recall, the right of political expression, the right of political association, the right to know, and the political rights of public officials and employees. These rights are covered in separate chapters that give historical background and then analyze the right's current status. Readers will find detailed description of many federal and state court decisions, examinations of federal and state law, and numerous tables that offer state-by-state surveys of constitutional and statutory provisions.

Lewis L. Laska. *The Tennessee State Constitution: A Reference Guide*. Greenwood Press, 1990. 216 pp. \$49.50

This work, the second in Greenwood's series of guides to the state constitutions provides a basic introduction to Tennessee's constitution that includes the history of its development beginning in the 1700s, commentary on the constitution itself, and an extensive bibliography of Tennessee constitutional history. The state's first settlers pioneered innovation in self-government as early as 1772, and later Tennesseans adopted, abolished, and changed their fundamental law as political and social needs have demanded and allowed. Lewis L. Laska's substantial introduction demonstrates that although sometimes driven by political expediency and not always fair in all their actions, each era of constitutional reformers in Tennessee produced a fundamental charter that generally met the public's needs and served the state well in times of prosperity and strife. Some notable innovations include the Tennessee plan for gaining statehood, elections by ballot, direct election of the governor, an early prohibition against double jeopardy, the effective use

of a limited constitutional convention, and guidelines for a balanced budget and tax revenue growth.

Frederick J. O'Hara. *Informing the Nation: A Handbook of Government Information for Librarians*. Greenwood Press, 1990. 584 pp. \$49.95

Federal information is used by all sectors of society, from the business and financial communities, to the agricultural industry, to scientists and engineers. It spans a broad spectrum of issues relevant to our lives, including public health, environmental problems, and demographic and employment trends. This handbook is designed to facilitate access to that wealth of material, providing the reader with a core collection of manuals, guides, and introductions to strategic federal and United Nations agencies that disseminate government information. It offers valuable insights into the document programs of the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Depository Library Program, the National Technical Information Service, and the United Nations.

The work is divided into six main parts, covering depository libraries, Congress, the national libraries and information programs, the Bill of Rights, and the United Nations. Complete or partial documents within these sections include the Guide to the Superintendent of Documents Classification Scheme, the Federal Depository Library Manual, the Guide to the National Archives for Researchers, and the Guide to the United Nations Documentation, as well as guides to the Library of Congress, the National Agriculture Library, and the National Library of Medicine. Each document has an editor's introduction and is followed by an annotated bibliography and descriptions of relevant organizations and their publications. In addition, four suggested core collections are provided, listing basic federal documents for public, college, and law libraries, and National Technical Information Service titles for academic libraries. An epilogue discusses electronic dissemination of federal information. This book will be a useful resource for courses in government documents and collection development, as well as for professional librarians and researchers who use depository libraries and federal documents. Public, college, and academic libraries will also find the book to be a valuable addition to their reference collections.

David E. Procter. *Enacting Political Culture Rhetorical Transformations of Liberty Weekend 1986*. Praeger Publishers, 1990. 144 pp. \$37.95

From July 3-6, 1986, Americans hailed the 4th of July and the centennial of the Statue of Liberty in a celebration that became officially known as "Liberty Weekend." In this study, David Procter analyzes the process of enacting the political culture by examining how various political, religious, and ethnic groups transformed the experience of Liberty Weekend into a validation of their own individual social and political agendas. Broader in scope than any previous published work on political culture and the political ideal of liberty, Procter's work vividly demonstrates the rhetorical process by which American politicians, pundits, and community spokespersons convert political celebration into motivation for sociopolitical goals.

William L. Waugh, Jr. and Ronald John Hi. *Handbook of Emergency Management Programs and Policies Dealing with Major Hazards and Disasters*. Greenwood Press, 1990. 352 pp. \$49.95

During the 1980s, many Americans participated directly and indirectly in the drama and tragedy of major catastrophes, from volcanic eruptions to air crashes, closing the decade with the devastating Exxon Valdez oil spill, Hurricane Hugo, and the San Francisco earthquake. The objective of this volume is to examine how we have addressed some of the major hazards and, to the extent possible, assess the effectiveness of these efforts. This volume inventories and evaluates the major programs and policies designed to deal with the most common and destructive natural and man-made disasters, dividing them into four categories: mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery. Disaster-types included in the handbook are earthquakes, volcanoes, hurricanes, floods, tornadoes, fires, droughts, hazardous materials accidents, nuclear facility accidents, structural failures, and transportation accidents. Following the analysis of specific disaster-types, the book considers the utility of all-hazard programs, such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency's Integrated Emergency Management System and document the status of present emergency management efforts in the United States. A list of emergency management organizations is also included.

Robert F. Williams. *The New Jersey State Constitution: A Reference Guide*. Greenwood Press, 1990. 192 pp. \$49.50

Robert F. Williams launches our new series "Reference Guides to the State Constitutions of the United States" with this guide to the New Jersey State Constitution. The New Jersey Constitution is strictly a basic constitutional document, not a code of laws. It remains unblemished and envied. State Constitutions have been referred to as "mine(s) of instruction for the natural history of democratic communities." This in-depth study of New Jersey's constitutional development provides an important insight into the broader issues of New Jersey's political, economic, and social growth. In Part I Williams traces the constitutional development from statehood in 1776 followed by a thorough analysis of the current constitution in Part II.

With forewords by G. Alan Tarr and former New Jersey Governor and Chief Justice Richard Hughes, Williams' The New Jersey State Constitution: A Reference Guide covers the historical development of the constitutions of 1776, 1884, the Constitutional Commission of 1873, and the current constitution written in 1947. The volume then provides a section-by-section analysis of the present day constitution.

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Individuals interested in obtaining review copies or purchasing any of these items should contact:

Greenwood Press, Inc.
88 Post Road West, Box 5007
Westport, CT 06881 (203) 226-3571

PUBLIUS: The Journal of Federalism

Volume 21, Number 1

Articles

Twenty Years of *Publius*
by *Daniel J. Elazar*

Federal Preemption Under Reagan's New Federalism
by *Joseph F. Zimmerman*

Targeting Federal Grants: The Community Development Experience, 1950-1986
by *Michael J. Rich*

Continuity or Change in Interstate Extradition? Assessing Puerto-Rico v. Branstad
by *Keryon Bunch and Richard J. Hardy*

The Impact of State Policies to Limit Debt Financing
by *David C. Nice*

Environmental Regulation in New Jersey: Innovations and Limitations
by *Barry G. Rabe*

American Federalism: From Johnson to Bush
by *David B. Walker*

The Politics of Constitutional Change in a Federal System: Negotiating Section 92A of the Canadian Constitution Act (1982)
by *Michael Howlett*

Policy Diversity and Policy Learning in a Federation: The Case of Australian State Betting Laws
by *Martin Painter*

Book Reviews

Burgess, Canadian Federalism: Past, Present and Future
by *Howard Cody*

Rosenthal, Governors and Legislatures: Contending Powers
by *Malcolm E. Jewell*

Teske, After Divestiture: The Political Economy of State Telecommunications Regulation
by *John Mayo*

Williamson, Reagan's Federalism: His Efforts to Decentralize Government
by *John S. Robey*

Lienesch, New Order of the Ages: Time, the Constitution, and the Making of Modern American Political Thought
and Pangle, The Spirit of Modern Republicanism: The Moral Vision of the American Founders and the Philosophy of Locke
by *Janex R. Stoner, Jr.*

PUBLIUS: The Journal of Federalism

Volume 21, Number 2

State Political Subcultures: Further Research
Frederick M. Wirt, Special Editor

Articles

"Soft" Concepts and "Hard" Data: A Research Review of Elazar's Political Culture
 by *Frederick Wirt*

Surrogate Versus Direct Measures of Political Culture: Explaining Participation and Policy Attitudes in Illinois
 by *Ellen M. Dran, Robert B. Albritton, and Mikel Wyckoff*

Political Culture, Political System Characteristics, and Public Policies Among the American States
 by *David R. Morgan and Sheila S. Watson*

Political Culture and State Development Policy
 by *Keith Boeckelman*

Political Cultural Variations in State Economic Development Policy
 by *Russell L. Hanson*

The Impact of Political Culture on Patterns of State and Local Government Expenditures
 by *David Young Miller*

Exploring State Differences in Groundwater Policy Adoptions, 1980-89
 by *William Blomquist*

Research Notes

Political Culture and Corporal Punishment in Public Schools
 by *Sue Vandenbosch*

Book Reviews

Robertson, A House Divided: Meech Lake, Senate Reform and the Canadian Union and Watts and Brown, Canada: The State of the Federation 1990
 by *Howard Cody*

Rose, Interstate: Express Highway Politics, 1939- 1989
 by *Robert J. Dilger*

Yanarella and Green, The Politics of Industrial Recruitment: Japanese Automobile Investment and Economic Development in the American States
 by *Peter Eisinger*

Conroy, Challenging the Boundaries of Reform: Socialism and Burlington
 by *John Kincaid*

Federalism in Nigeria

A conference on federalism in Nigeria was held on October 18-19, 1990 at the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria, Badagry. The Conference was sponsored by *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* and supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation. A special issue of *Publius* on Nigerian federalism is scheduled for publication in Fall 1991. The co-directors of the conference were Ladipo Adamolekun of the World Bank, who is serving as guest editor of the special issue, and John Kincaid of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Also attending for *Publius* were Elinor Ostrom of the Workshop on Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University, and Ronald Watts of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University. The following speech was delivered at the Conference's concluding dinner.

Federalism In Nigeria: Agenda for Its Future Development

by Professor Eme O. Awa

I would like to focus on some of the many themes which have been touched upon at the workshop. I would like to begin by examining the Nigerian philosophy of federalism, that is the broad social purposes which this system of government ought to serve. For us the basic purpose is that all units in the inclusive government must equally enjoy the fruits derived from the union. For it is a union which involves the inter-mingling of people from various cultural backgrounds and territories which possess different economic resources, for instance, as is well-known, we derive huge revenue from oil in some parts of the federation; also from gold, coal, tin, columbite from other parts; from export duties on agricultural products such as cocoa, ginger, palm kernels, cashew nuts, kola nuts, ground nuts; from excise duty on goods manufactured in several parts of the country. Our federal principles imply that all people in each unit and all units in the federation must have an equal right to participate in the productive processes of the system and have an equal right to a share of the proceeds. This method ameliorates grievances which may arise from territories that may feel they are not deriving substantial benefit from the system. This practice is reinforced by the traditional social system of every ethnic group in which the famous extended family deliberately attempted to assure equitable treatment to all. People, who had traditionally enjoyed measures of social welfare and whose communities had taken deliberate action as a matter of course to try to eradicate poverty, cannot remain unconcerned about the quality of government in the federation in which they find themselves.

Further, we set out to form a single political community where, inspite of the initial differing cultural backgrounds, common values and norms would develop and serve as goals and guides for action. A single political community implies the development of affectivity as an important element of political culture: Everybody must be enabled to develop a sense of belonging to the nation and to acquire political beliefs and attitudes which are conducive to the growth of the union and its stability. We must therefore underline the fact that the full economic and social

potential of the union can be achieved when the individuals and groups attain full self development physically, morally and intellectually.

Finally, we must note the influence of British pluralist political theory on federalism. This theory called attention to the need to recognize a society as federal if it consists of many ethnic groups and covers a large territory. To govern such a society from one centre as in a unitary system of government, would harm democratic principles. The large territory must be split up into smaller ones in order to create many centres of deliberation and thus provide opportunities for individuals with ties to local areas to participate in making and executing public policies.

Myth of Collective Ancestry and Indigeneity

We must now raise the question of the extent to which the functioning of the federal system has met the requirements of its ethnic foundation. The federation has had a checkered history which is well-known. It has achieved successes in many areas, but, it has not met in any effective way, the ethical purposes we have summarized above. However, it is its apparent failure to assure us a stable existence under one governmental system that has given us the most dangerous nightmares. I refer to threats of secession and to attempt secession that the federation has confronted. This is regarded as the single most important difficulty in our post-independence political history. Such threats had occurred partly because the original units of the federation were too large. This size generated in the units a sense of self-satisfaction and a desire to opt out when conflicts within the federation seemed virulent. When size was combined with ethnic groups feeling oppressed, actual secession was attempted. We met the situation partly by the creation of more states. We will now examine the perverse effects or adverse and unintended consequences which have flowed from the creation of states, consequences which have been perverse mainly because, not taking a systemic view of the problem, we failed to provide a cushion for the effective functioning of the component units.

In splitting the country into smaller units, we reached for what we regarded as the natural units of the federation, i.e. the ethnic groups. We split the largest ones into two or more units and because some groups are rather numerically small, we could not procure a separate state for every group. What is significant, however, is that every ethnic group has a natural territory procured for it by the founding fathers or the gods. Perhaps it is on the level of the clan or some other sub-ethnic group that one could be sure of the relationship of such a group to specific founding fathers. But as the political system developed, we developed the view that each major or minor ethnic group has a founding father and a god of its own. Only those who are descended from the same founding father or were created by particular god are indigenous to the ethnic groups. This has been referred to as the myth of collective ancestry. Only such people are indigenous to the states created for each unit. Because of such considerations, indigeneity has become a primary value in Nigerian politics, especially on the level of the various elite groups who use it to protect their narrow economic and political interests from the interference of the elites from other ethnic groups.

The problem that this state of affairs has created for us in our attempts to realize some of the

rights provided in the constitution in respect to citizenship are well known but are seldom objectively analyzed. For instance, we know that one can acquire Nigerian citizenship by *jus soli* and *sanguinis* as well as by registration and naturalization. But a person who is a Nigerian citizen is not automatically a citizen of every state of the federation as far as the realization of certain fundamental rights is concerned. Section 39 of the 1979 constitution forbids discrimination against Nigerians in the employment practices of the federation or of the states on the basis of the state of origin. Yet, what we refer to as statism has grown up in the federation and statism is the habit of the states of the federation to discriminate against some Nigerians in their employment practices. I have argued elsewhere that all states of the federation are guilty of this offense and that the northern states are compelled by their peculiar circumstances to show seemingly greater generosity than the southern states. This position has not changed. But discrimination shown towards Nigerian citizens by some ethnic elite groups has grown in scope from the economic or political matters to the display of sheer prejudice and jealousy by the representatives of the ethnic groups even in matters which are academic in nature. All these reinforce, in the mind of the average person, a feeling of rejection and dampens his loyalty to the nation, leaving it (the nation) severely segmented and weak. The Political Bureau had studied these problems and recommended ways of helping to eliminate the grosser forms of statism, a gist of which is as follows:

- (a) Government must share in national resources and allocate of economic and social projects across the country more fairly;
- (b) Government should entrench constitutional provisions and policies of equal rights and equal opportunities for all Nigerians irrespective of indigeneity, sex, religion etc;
- (c) Government should take steps to ensure that full employment becomes a basic right for all Nigerians;
- (d) Government should enact law the following laws:
 - i. require all state and local governments to ensure and guarantee the fundamental rights of all citizens within their areas of jurisdiction,
 - ii. induce all state and local governments to provide equitable representation, protection and advancement of all minorities within their boundaries, and
 - iii. organize the administration of welfare services to all under-privileged groups;
- (e) Every Nigerian who has resided in any state other than his indigenous state, should automatically become an indigene of that state after ten years of such continuous residence.

If these could be implemented, we might begin to see ourselves as citizens of the same nation and a sense of belonging might eventually develop in the minds of everybody.

Federal Character Doctrine and its Application

I believe that we have succeeded in preserving the territorial integrity of Nigeria intact by resorting to the creation of states. For no state or even a combination of states would now readily want to opt out of the federation. Even the demand for turning the country into a confederation has not elicited any significant response from important segments of the various states and communities. However, when we examine the events which are taking place now in

the Soviet Union, in Canada and Yugoslavia, we must observe some important caveat here: Even schemes of social justice which deal with the ethnic roots of federalism and smallness in the size of the component units may not prove to be a necessary and sufficient cause for preserving the territorial area of a federation intact. We will take a closer look at the question of indigeneity later.

We must therefore consider another crucial step taken in the attempt to evolve the Federation of Nigeria into a more perfect union. We refer to the development of the doctrine of federal character and its application. The doctrine enjoins us to bring about a numerical correlation between an ethnic group's or state's proportion in the total population of the country and its share of the total intelligentsia, as well as between an ethnic group's or clan's proportion in the total population of the state and its share of the intelligentsia of the state. It also pushes us to seek support for our parties in every nook and corner of the federation. The former role of federal character is of more importance to us here and we may proceed to define the intelligentsia as consisting of the managerial, professional, technical, academic and scientifically skilled people. The doctrine does not emphasize the sharing of any cake but is designed to ensure that all units of the federation and their members are given an equal opportunity to contribute their quota to the creation of wealth for the nation. For it is in the hands of the intelligentsia, as defined here, that the opportunity of the nation to create wealth in agriculture, industry, finance, and energy, lie.

At the point in time when we introduce the doctrine, we ought to have statistics to show how each state stands in relation to others in respect to the parameters that define the doctrine. Let us assume that there are 100,000,000 people in Nigeria; let us assume also that state A has a population of 25,000,000 people and that the number of people in managerial positions in the federal service is 10,000. State A's normal share of the managerial positions is 25,000,000 divided by 100,000,000 x 10,000 i.e. 2,500. But if state A's actual share is 3000 positions, then that state is over-represented in this area by 500. By a similar reasoning we may find that state B is under-represented by, say, 200, while state C may be under-represented by, say 600. By a deliberate policy measure, under-represented states should show a more rapid rate of growth in the size of the managerial group while the over-represented states should show a lower rate of growth. If state A continues to produce people with the managerial type of background at a given or even increased rate, then a relatively smaller number of these will go into the federal service while the others will enter the state service, private sector or be self-employed or receive training in other areas. Similarly a relatively larger number of people will enter the federal service from the under-represented states. This is how federal character ought to operate in respect of the various areas of importance to our national development.

There are certain general conditions that must be met. Minimum qualifications and experience must be determined in each area for each state. Once a person is employed in the federal service, he must be judged for purposes of promotion on the basis of his performance and not state of origin. There must be a policy on education for both federal and state levels, designed to eradicate the imbalance in standards from every part of the federation within a set period. In the pursuit of this policy the federal government will be obliged to allocate a little more funds

for education in underprivileged states and a little less in overprivileged ones. The educational development of the overprivileged ones need not and must not be allowed to remain stagnant but the people in such states must raise their perspectives and come to appreciate without rancor the rationale for a higher allocation to underprivileged areas. The underprivileged states must gear up their development programs internally so as to greatly increase the general momentum of education growth and thus actively assist the process of catching up with the rest of the country. Once imbalance is removed from all parts of the federation, people will enter the services as a matter of course and the doctrine of federal character will gain saliency.

What has actually happened in Nigeria is entirely different from the picture we have painted here. Those who obtain political power, no matter their ethnic origin, have tended to adopt a winner-takes-all attitude and inject into the federal or state services people who may not meet the strict requirements. People so appointed do not see themselves as factors needed to enhance the creation of wealth in Nigeria but rather as heirs of the kingdom. Such people and those who resent and criticize them from within the service, have come to depend on a complex patronage system for their being in the services on both federal and state levels and perform in a most lackadaisical manner. The remedy of these ills is clear, as we have indicated above, but its application is most taxing. Nevertheless we must tackle the problems in order to save our federalism and salvage its ethical basis, ensuring equitable treatment to all our people.

Cake-sharing in the federation is on the whole a relatively easier matter than the creation of the cake. From time to time revenue allocation bodies are set up to devise formulas for sharing the resources of the nation and people seem to be generally satisfied with their shares. But I think it is clear that the sharing is not being done in a manner which is truly satisfactory and equitable. That is why we still have problems of severe under-development in many parts of the country and in many areas of our national life. We must insist that henceforth the formulas to be applied must take effective account of absolute population and population characteristics (e.g. state of under-development in education) and geographical factors such as the size of the territory and configuration of the land (taking account of erosion and desert encroachment problems etc).

Myth of Collective Ancestry Reviewed

Suppose we were able to remedy the ills we have highlighted, would we then have a stable federation? I am skeptical about the prospects for stability in the existing state system. If we examine the empirical evidence available with respect to other federal systems as we have noted in the caveat, we should have cause to worry. For, of the major federations in the world today, the most stable are those of the United States and Australia. In the United States we have a situation in which no ethnic group has a rightful claim to a natural territory and the ethnics are mixed up in many states, most of the members being new comers from Europe or Africa. In Australia, virtually all the people were originally of British origin, all were new comers, none having any claim to natural territory in the country. But in the Soviet Union, Canada and Yugoslavia, we have peoples or nationalities which claim parts of the countries as their natural domains and threats of secession have been made in recent times in a most strident manner in the three federations. Can we not therefore argue that the position seems to be: the more

homogeneous the people and the more "unnatural" their territories, the greater will be the hope of an enduring union, other things being equal?

This is the position I support and I therefore want us to re-examine our existing myth of collective ancestry and see if we can make reasonable departures from its narrow chauvinistic overtones and its essentially selfish value of indigeneity. I call attention here to the work that Nigerian historians have done with respect to the issues of ethnic groups and their home bases. The matter is summarized in the report of the Political Bureau in the following manner:

Certain areas of Nigeria, such as the Upper Benue Valley, the Niger-Benue Confluence and the Central Highlands of the Middle Belt were centres of origin or parent stocks from which many groups in Nigeria branched out to their present abode. Even more significant was the fact that in the course of their migrations, many groups came into contact with one another and through such processes as inter-marriages, settlements, however temporary, and mutual cultural borrowings, began to impact on one another. In many different ways, the institutions and cultures which eventually developed in the Nigerian region in the pre-colonial period were the end products of long processes of accommodation and fusion of different strands brought in by different migratory groups. Thus, although some ethnic purists and chauvinists would emphasize the distinctness of the cultural of the different peoples of Nigeria, the historical evidence points to greater inter-mingling, inter-dependence, mutual accommodation and tolerance of the groups. Nigerians of this formative period were tolerant and accommodating to one another. This disposition was facilitated by the similarities in the fundamentals of the cultures of the groups who derive mainly from a basic African agricultural civilization. Indeed, in many critical ways, many of today's ethnic groups in Nigeria are products of accommodation with one or more of the original migrant groups, although each group has tried to maintain its identity. The ethnic groups in Nigeria today are products of history, representing groups that emerged as a result of deliberate acts of statesmanship and social engineering.

The myth of the collective ethnic ancestry is thus exploded. The purity of ethnic groups and the relation of each to a particular territory are contrivances of recent historical periods. Indigeneity as defined earlier in this speech and as observed in practice does not describe the basic reality of Nigerian life. Nigeria is not a mere geographical expression. Rather it is a country whose people are drawn largely from the same ethnic stock. We must replace the outmoded separatist ethnic ancestry with the more historically accurate Nigerian collective ancestry. We can help force this new reality into our personality structures by adopting one Nigerian language as our mother tongue. The languages of the three major ethnic groups if used, will be largely meaningless and will in any case, elicit resistance from many sources. I suggest that we adopt the language of a minority ethnic group, say, Efik. If we take steps to adopt this now, we should be able to teach the youngsters in one mother tongue in about 15 years from now. We should take other steps to instill the new idea into our socio-political system through teaching of courses of in the educational system, the political system, MAMSER, CDS etc. We can even make an immediate start by joining Corine Okotie and singing in churches and elsewhere: We are children of the father, heirs of the kingdom. We are members of the family, we are one.

Results From the Annual Inventory of Research and Publications

Professor Herman L. Boschken
Dept of Organization & Management
San Jose State University
San Jose, CA 95192

Research Activities

1. "Causes of Performance Skewness in multiple-constituency public organizations"
This examines the causes of variances of organizational performance from a multiple-perspectives model. Transit agencies make up the sample in an intergovernmental setting.

Dates: 1989-1994 (first paper presented at the 1990 APSA conference)

Recent Publications

1. "Strategy and Structure : Reconceiving the Relationship"

Journal: *Journal of Management*

Analyzes innovation at public seaports during the "container revolution" as a function of strategic management.

Reprints available from the author

Professor Beverly A. Cigler
Pennsylvania State University
Division of Public Affairs
Route 230
Middletown, PA 17057

Research Activities

1. "Alternative Intergovernmental Arrangements"
Study of Councils of Government and their service delivery roles.

Date: March 1989 - August 1990

Final Report: late spring 1991 from Center for Rural Pennsylvania

2. "State-County Relations"

National Study of State-County Relations, based on telephone interviews with county, legislative, and executive branch officials.

Date: March 1990 - December 1991

Final Report: Spring 1992 - Center for Rural Pennsylvania

Recent Publications

1. "Public Administration and the Paradox of Professionalization" (1990)

Journal: *Public Administration Review*

Deals with the loss of respect for bureaucracy and government, despite professionalization at all levels.

Reprints: no reprints available from author

2. "County Contracting: Reconciling the Accountability and Information Paradoxes" (1990)

Journal: *Public Administration Quarterly*

Deals with contract monitoring by counties

Reprints: no reprints available from author

Thomas H. Clapper
Committee Staff
Oklahoma State Senate
State Capitol, Room 309
Oklahoma City, OK 73105

Research Activities

1. Oklahoma Advisory Commission for Intergovernmental Relations
2. Oklahoma Political Science Association and Oklahoma Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration.
Initiated first joint annual meeting.

Recent Publications

1. *Federal Action Monitor*, editor

This is an in-house newsletter designed to inform the Oklahoma State Senate members and staff of federal action that may impinge upon the states, especially Oklahoma.

Dates: 1981-on going.

Reprints: Clearinghouse, Oklahoma Dept of Libraries, Allen Wright Memorial Library Building, 200 N.E. 18th Street, Oklahoma City, OK 73105, ATTN: Vicki Sullivan, (405) 521-5202.

Professor Earl H. Fry
Brigham Young University
774 SWKT, Provo, UT 84602

Research Activities

1. "The international economic activities of U.S. states and Canadian provinces."
This is a U.C. Berkeley-coordinated project involving academics from both countries.

Dates: November 1989 - December 1991

Final Report: Write to the address above
2. "New international cities era project"
This project examines the international activities of major cities around the world.

Dates: 1987 - ongoing project

Final Report: Write to the above address

Recent Publications

1. Canadian - U.S. Economic Relations: The Role of the Provinces and the States

Journal: *Business in the Contemporary World*, volume 3, (Autumn 1990)
This articles examines role of state and provincial governments in an era of bilateral free trade

Reprints: write to journal or author
2. *The Economic Development Policies of U.S. State and Local Governments: Implications for the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement*

Publisher: International Economic Issues (publications of the Institute for Research on Public Policy), April 1990

Reprint: write to IRPP or author

Professor Ellis Katz
Temple University
Department of Political Science
Ambler, PA 19002

Research Activities

1. "The Government and Politics of Pennsylvania"
This is a volume in the University of Nebraska Press - Center for the Study of Federalism series on the government and politics of each of the 50 American States

Date: 1991 publication anticipated

2. "The Pennsylvania Constitution"

This will be a volume in the Greenwood Press series on state constitutions

Contact: Ellis Katz

Recent Publications

1. "State Constitutions in the Federal System: Selected Issues and Opportunities for State Initiatives"

Publisher: ACIR

John M. Kamensky
Asst. Director
Intergovernmental Issues
U.S. General Accounting Office
Rm. 3350, 441 G Street, NW
Washington, DC 20548

Research Activities

1. "Review of the equity of the Highway Formula"

Nearly \$8 billion a year is distributed to states for highway construction and maintenance under a formula with roots dating back to 1917. GAO has periodically recommended revising the formula to improve its equity among users and tax payers in various states. With the Skinner transportation proposal recommending major changes in the structure of federal aid to highways, this is an opportune time to revisit the issue of redesigning the formula.

Contact: Robert J. Dinkelmeyer, project leader (202) 275-6169

Dates: 12/90 - Complete: 12/91

Final Report: Available GAO, Rm. 3350, Washington, DC 20548

2. "Review of the Equity of the Maternal and Child Health Services Block Grant Formula"

About \$500 million a year is allocated to states for maternal and child health services based on the share states received under the categorical grants they received prior to 1981. This review is intended to show the inequity of current distributions and design more equitable formulas using factors such as workload, costs, and fiscal capacity.

Contact: John Vocino, project leader (202) 275-6169

Dates: 6/90 - Complete: 6/91

Final Report: Available GAO, Rm. 3350, Washington, DC 20548

3. "Improving the Allocation of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Services Block Grant Formula"

Over \$1.2 billion a year is allocated to states for alcohol, drug abuse, and mental health treatment services under this program. In 1988, the Congress changed the distribution of program funds by introducing the use of urban population into the formula. This review is intended to evaluate the

use of urban population as an indicator of state differences in the cost of services and the distribution implications of using it in the formula.

Contact: Jerry Fastrup, project leader (202) 275-6169

Dates: 1/91 - Complete: 12/91

Final Report: Available GAO, Rm. 3350, Washington, DC 20548

4. "What We Have Learned After 10 Years of Blocked Grants?"

Over \$13 billion was distributed to states through a dozen block grants in 1990, and the Congress created several more in late 1991 for housing and child care. Has the highly touted flexibility of the block grants resulted in states providing differentiated services and serving different populations? Has this resulted in a more effective use of shrinking federal resources? Are block grants being circumscribed by congressional mandates, thereby negating their flexibility? Are the block grants, as ACIR predicted a decade ago, unstable funding mechanisms for meeting federal and state objectives?

Dates: 1/91 - Complete: 3/92

Final Report: Available GAO, Rm. 3350, Washington, DC 20548

5. "Trends in Federal Intergovernmental Management"

The federal government has managed its relations with states and locals over the past decade through a decentralized process. This is a very different model than the centralized approach it used in the 1960s and 1970s. The centralized approach was well-defined in the public administration literature. This review examines the dimensions, strengths, and weaknesses of the decentralized approach, and examines its use in the Bush Administration.

Contact: James Stever, project leader (202) 275-6169

Dates: 7/90 - Complete: 7/91

Final Report: Available - Professor James Stever, University of Cincinnati, Department of Political Science, Mail Location 375, Cincinnati, OH 45221-0375.

John Kincaid, Executive Director
U.S. Advisory Commission on
Intergovernmental Relations
1111 20th Street, NW
Washington, DC 10575

Research Activities

1. Edited book on competition between states and local governments to be published by the Urban Institute Press in mid-1991. The volume contains empirical and normative studies of various aspects of cooperative and competitive federalism, issues of efficiency and equity, and efforts to compete for economic development. Contributors are primarily economists and political scientists.
2. Chapter on "Federalism and State and Local Government" for the United States: A Handbook to be published by Facts on File.

3. Work continues on the University of Nebraska Press series on the "Governments and Politics of the American States." Books on Maine, Mississippi, and Oklahoma have recently been accepted for publication.

Recent Publications

1. "Constituent Diplomacy in Federal Politics and the Nation-State: Conflict and Co-operation," *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, eds., Hans J. Michelmann and Panayotis Soldatos. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 54-75.
2. "From Cooperative to Coercive Federalism," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 509 (May 1990): 139-152.
3. "Federalism and Community in the American Context," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 20 (Spring 1990): 69-87.
4. "Commentary: State Antitrust Law in the Context of a New Intergovernmental and International Environment," *Washburn Law Journal* 29 (Winter 1990): 188-199.
5. "Fiscal Capacity and Tax Effort of the American States: Trends and Issues," *Public Budgeting and Finance* 9 (Autumn 1989): 4-26.

Dennis Patrick Leyden
Dept of Economics
University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Greensboro, NC 27412

Research Activities

1. "Determinants of Grant Structure Type"
This is an empirical investigation of determinants of educational grant structure types

Dates: January 1991 - Summer 1991

Final Report: write to above address
2. "Impact of Institutional Structure: Connecticut's Intergovernmental Grants for Education"
This is an empirical investigation of the value of incorporating institutional structure of intergovernmental grants.

Date: Summer 1991

Final Report: Contact author

Recent Publications

1. "Modified Quadratic Hill-Climbing with SAS/IML"
Journal: *Computer Science in Economics and Management* (forthcoming)
This articles describes and proves efficiency of a SAS/IML program useful for maximizing non-standard maximum likelihood problems
2. "Intergovernmental Grants and Successful Tax Limitation Referenda"
Journal: *Public Choice*, May 1988 57 (2) : 141-154
This article examines whether redistributive grants create an incentive for passage of tax limitation referenda on local taxes.

Professor Donald C. Menzel
Public Administration
University of South Florida
Tampa, FL 33620

Research Activities

1. "The Ethics Factor in Local Government: An Empirical Analysis"
A survey of ethics of climates in a city and a county
Date: June 1990 - June 1991
2. "A Study of Intergovernmental Agreements in Florida Counties"
A Survey of use and type of agreements
Date: October 1990 - June 1991

Recent Publications

1. "Service Trends and Practices in Florida Counties"
Journal: *State and Local Government Review* (1991)
A survey of trends and practices in 57 counties.
2. "Citizen Contacting in an Urban County"
Journal: *Journal of Urban Affairs* (Jan 1991)

Dr. Sue Vahdenbosch
Political Science Dept
Seattle University
Seattle, WA 98122

Research Activities

1. "Public Perception of the First Amendment - The 1986 Christmas Cross Controversy"
In Jackson, Mississippi reactions to federal court order to take highly visible Christmas Cross down.

Date: Completed

Final Report: Contact S. Vandenbosch

2. "United States Acid Rain Control Policy: The Continuing Drought"

This describes the causes and solutions to the acid rain policy and obstacles in the bureaucracy, legislature and presidency to a solution.

Date: March 1990 WPSA meeting

Final Report: write to above address

3. "Political Culture and the Use of Corporal Punishment in the Schools

Date: November 1990 NEPSA meeting

Recent Publications

1. "Public Perception of the Christmas Cross Controversy"

Journal: *Comparative State Politics*

Describes controversy when a federal district judge orders 20 story high cross taken off state building.

Reprints: Write author

Guntram F. A. Werther Ph.D.

Consultant

P.O. Box 1938

Apache Junction, AZ 85217

Recent Publications

1. "The Quiet Revolutions - Public Policy and the Structure of Aboriginal Self-Determination Movements."

Discusses patterns of political change leading to greater self-determination for aboriginal nations.

Source: Ph.D. Dissertation (1990) Washington University - St. Louis, MO 63130.

David W. Winder

Associate Professor

Department of Political Science

Valdosta State College

Valdosta, GA 31698

Research Activities

1. "Governor and Attorney General Policymaking Powers, Competition or Cooperation?" (with Diane Wall of Mississippi State University)

Dates: Delivered at 1989 SPSA Meeting

2. "The Powers of State Attorneys General: A Quantitative Assessment"

Dates: Forthcoming in *Southeastern Political Review*

Recent Publications

1. "The Operation of Democratic Institutions"

Journal: *Public Administration Review* 50 (May/June); 406.

2. "Book review of Congress, the President and Public Policy by Michael L. Mezey"

Journal: *Southeastern Political Review* 18 (Spring 1990); 189-191

Professor Joseph F. Zimmerman
Graduate School of Public Affairs
State University of New York at Albany
135 Western Avenue
Albany, NY 12222

Research Activities

1. "Federal Preemption of State and Local Government Authority"

A study of various types of partial and total federal preemption and the views of state officials on each type.

Dates: Will be published by U.S. ACIR in early 1991

Final Report: ACIR, Washington, DC 20575

2. "Federally Induced State and Local Government Costs"

A study of costs that subnational governments must finance because of federal actions and inaction, and the question of federal reimbursement of the costs.

Final Report: will be published by U.S. ACIR

Recent Publications

1. "Federal Judicial Remedial Power: The Yonkers Case"

Journal: *Publius*, Summer 1990, pp. 45-61

A study of the resistance of the City of Yonkers, New York, to a United States District Court housing desegregation order and the legislative immunity of members of a city council.

2. "Regulating Intergovernmental Relations in the 1990s"

Journal: *The Annals*, May 1990, pp. 48-59

A study of federal actions regulating state and local government in the period since 1974.

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