

# The Federalism Report

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## CSF NOTEBOOK

### Editor's Note:

The Federalism Report is mailed to approximately 1,800 people who are Publius subscribers, APSA section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations members and/or on the Center for the Study of Federalism's mailing list. We hope the information is useful to this large group.

Readers are invited to send in short pieces that may be of interest to these scholars, public officials, students and others. Deadlines are announced in every issue.

We especially welcome submission of book reviews, research notes and announcements of common interest to our readers. Please call the editor at 215/204-1482 if you have something in mind.

## Center News

### Summer Institute on Federalism

The US Information Agency funded a Summer Institute and Study Tour for 18 foreign university professors in July and August in Steamboat Springs, Colorado. The Award was made to John Kincaid, Director of the Meyner Center for the Study of State and Local Government at Lafayette College and Fellow of the Center for the Study of Federalism. The Center for the Study of Federalism conducted a two week study tour at the end of the institute. Center Fellows Daniel Elazar, Ellis Katz, Donald Lutz, John Kincaid and Stephen Schechter and Associate Joseph Marbach all were in residence as faculty at the Institute. Center Program Director Paul Neal directed the study tour.

The participants were selected by USIS personnel from 18 different countries in the fields of history, political science, law and American studies. The theme of the institute was American federal democracy.

This is the second year in a row that USIA has funded this particular project. Under the direction of John Kincaid, the Institute has received outstanding reviews. The curriculum, adapted from previous summer institutes conducted by the Center, is an excellent compilation of materials and readings and serves as a key resource for the participants.

### Council for State Constitutional Studies

The Council for State Constitutional Studies and the New Jersey Network, the state's public television station, are preparing a one-hour documentary on the New Jersey Constitution, timed to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the state's constitution. This program, titled "The Opportunity of a Century," will air for the first time at 8 pm on November 21, 1997, and will subsequently be made available as a video for general use and for use in schools. Combining period footage, audiotapes of the convention, photographs, and interviews with over twenty experts and participants in the convention and in the controversies arising under the constitution, the program presents what we believe is a compelling treatment of a state constitution and its effects on the citizens of a state.

This program may be of interest to those associated with the Center, in part because of its depiction of state

constitutional politics and its treatment of state constitutionalism as a vital part of American federalism.

**UPDATED!!!**

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215/204-1480

## BOOK REVIEW

James Gimpel. *National Elections and the Autonomy of American State Party Systems*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996).

Federalism and the separation of powers have left distinct marks on the operation of parties in the United States. Party scholars often make the distinction between national and state parties systems and differentiate between presidential and congressional parties. However, despite this multiplicity of "parties" in the American system, scholars have generally argued that Democrats and Republicans draw their constituencies from the same issue cleavages throughout the country. It is generally argued that state parties can only temporarily diverge from national realignment trends, and that they will eventually align around the same issue coalitions that define national parties. Therefore, party alignments affect every level of government and are in V.O. Key's words "the solvent of federalism". James Gimpel challenges this convention by arguing that some state parties in the United States are capable of remaining autonomous from national party alignments, and thus retain their own distinct issue cleavages. Consequently, elections in these states tend to be more candidate centered because party labels do not uniformly describe candidates for both national and state elections.

*National Elections and the Autonomy of State Party Systems* refutes the dominant stream of literature on political party alignments. Gimpel states that most studies employ V.O. Key's theory that states with high interparty competition will have higher party cohesion and present a united front in elections. Key's competition/cohesion thesis importance lies in its argument that cohesive parties engaged in competitive elections yield government officials who are held accountable to the electorate because of their party affiliation. In contrast, Key claims that states lacking interparty competition (primarily in the south) succumb to intraparty factionalism that is resolved in private by unaccountable elites. However, Gimpel shows that the empirical evidence supporting this logic is inherently incomplete because Key excluded western states in his study and only examined state parties in the northern and southern regions of the United States. The competition/cohesion thesis is radically transformed when the western states are taken into consideration. Gimpel shows that this region has provided consistent two party competition, and thus electoral

accountability, without the development of cohesive Democratic and Republican parties. Western states have displayed their lack of party unity through competitive, wide-open primaries as well as widespread ticket-splitting in general elections. Consequently, western party politics is characterized by a high degree of candidate centered campaigning.

Gimpel argues that western states exhibit divergent trends from the rest of the country because of an electoral incongruence between the issue cleavages in national and state parties. He cites two primary reasons for state party autonomy from national trends. First, groups which have coalesced to form the core of the current national party alignment are not as readily identifiable in the west. Gimpel shows that western states are not subject to the same cleavages caused by the urban/rural, racial or class and economic divisions that define the party alignment in the northeast and mid-western state parties. Instead, politics in the western states have been traditionally dominated by state and local issues that create their own issue constituencies. Given these divergent party cleavages, issues that divide the national electorate are often not salient for the western states. Second, sparse settlement patterns in western states have prevented eastern-style party building based on attempts to mobilize concentrated populations in urban areas. This, combined with large influxes of new citizens to the west, have prevented stable, cohesive party membership that would make for unified parties. Ultimately, a divergent set of issue cleavages and a diffuse population has resulted in an electoral incongruence in the west that prevents a strong bond between the party's presidential candidates and those running for other federal and state-wide offices. Parties do not run a candidate slate that is united on the same issue stances and therefore the electorate is not easily mobilized by a natural party constituency. Gimpel claims that this prompts elections in western states to be more candidate and issue centered. Consequently, each candidate is forced to construct his or her own electoral coalition, which often results in split ticket voting.

Several implications and trends emerge from Gimpel's study of state parties in the United States. First, Gimpel claims that the candidate centeredness of western elections is beginning to be replicated in the traditionally strong party east. Trends such as suburbanization and deindustrialization have hurt mass party mobilization because constituency groups that compose the party coalitions are no longer physically concentrated in one area. This weakens party elite's power and causes candidates to rely on mass media

to build winning coalitions. Gimpel argues that this trend results in more candidate centered campaigns in the east and less party cohesion. While the eastern and midwestern state parties have not yet succumbed to the disunity of the western states, Gimpel claims that this is part of a secular national trend.

Second, Gimpel addresses one of the central questions of party literature: who sets the issue agenda for parties? Gimpel argues that "elites follow electors. It is the sectional uniqueness of the party in the electorate that most determines the paths state politicians will follow in their quest for office" (p. 184). Consequently, states parties are subject to issue incongruence with the national party. State parties, to be effective, must appeal to the preferences of their constituency. If local preferences and cleavages are similar to the national party agenda, then state parties tend to be unified. When this does not occur, parties must attempt to appeal to the state preferences which often crosscut national cleavages and thus result in intraparty tensions. Gimpel shows that in either case, party politicians must cater to the party in the electorate if they are to be successful.

Finally, National Elections and the Autonomy of State Party Systems has important implications for responsible party advocates. Gimpel's study shows that party is not the solvent of federalism. Sectional differences and local preferences are such strong impediments to a permanent electoral congruence between state and national parties that the rise of responsible parties in the United States seems very unlikely.

J. Wesley Leckrone  
Temple University

**DEADLINE!!!**  
for the Winter Issue of the

*Federalism Report*  
is December 15, 1997

The Center welcomes contributions  
from its readers.

For advertising information,  
please contact the Editor.

## CALL FOR PAPERS AND PARTICIPATION

New York State Political Science Association  
52nd Annual Conference  
May 8-9, 1998

Sage Graduate School  
One of the Sage College  
Albany, New York

The New York State Political Science Association invites paper and panel submissions from scholars and public policy practitioners, and from governmental and nonprofit administrators. Anyone whose research or policy interests relate to the fields below should send a short abstract or prospectus to the section chair by **November 17, 1997**. The Association encourages submissions from other disciplines, multi-disciplinary panels, round table discussions, and presentations of works in progress, particularly from graduate students. One paper submission only will be accepted. Proposers uncertain of their paper's placement may communicate directly with the program chair. Individuals interested in acting as panel chairs and discussants should contact section chairs.

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# Covenant and Constitutionalism

## The Great Frontier and the Matrix of Federal Democracy

by  
**Daniel J. Elazar**

***Covenant and Constitutionalism***  
***The Great Frontier and Matrix of***  
***Federal Democracy***  
***The Covenant Tradition in Politics***  
***Volume III***

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With the Protestant Reformation and its idea of the federated commonwealth, the covenant tradition in European politics reached its highest point. Then, less than a century later, that idea was transformed into the idea of civil society organized around a political compact and governed by a written constitution consented to by the people it served. This transformation marked the transition from premodern to modern convenantalism. The transition took place in two tracks. The better known was the philosophic track championed by Hobbes, Spinoza, and Locke, which set down the theory and principles of modern democratic and republican civil society. The other, theological track, pioneered by European settlers from various reformed Protestant backgrounds, developed actual republics framed by written constitutions. Together, they led to the establishment of the United States of America in the eighteenth century.

*Covenant and Constitutionalism*, the third of four volumes in the series of volumes exploring the

covenantal tradition in Western politics, traces the trends and the developing relationships of constitutionalism and covenant that ultimately led to the transformation of the latter into the former. It explores these first steps and the subsequent paths that emerged out of the constitutionalized covenantal tradition in Europe such as federalism, communitarianism, and the cooperative movement, and how these covenantal ideas and expressions were both supported by and challenged by liberal democracy and individualism as they unfolded in the latter part of the modern epoch and immediately thereafter.

The book concludes with a look at the covenantal tradition at the beginning of the postmodern epoch and what may be a move to return to it in response to the crises accompanying the human transition to a new epoch after World War II. *Covenant and Constitutionalism* is a fundamental and original contribution to scholarship of and on Western civilization. As such it will be of deep and lasting interest to historians, social scientists, and theologians of all persuasions.

**Transaction Press, \$49.95**



# Publius: The Journal of Federalism

Volume 26 , Number 4  
Fall 1996

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## • ANNUAL INVENTORY •

As a service to its members, the Center takes an annual inventory of members' current research activities and publications. The result of the inventory will be published in a forthcoming issue of *The Federalism Report*. Please fill out this form and return it to the Center at your convenience.

1. Name
2. Institutional Affiliation & Address  
(University and Department, Governmental Agency, etc.)
3. Title and Position
4. CURRENT RESEARCH ACTIVITIES - For each project, please provide the following:

## Project 1

- (a) Title:
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- (d) Starting Date/Completion Date:
- (e) Availability of Final Report (address):

## Project 2

- (a) Title:
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- (d) Starting Date/Completion Date:
- (e) Availability of Final Report (address):

5. RECENT PUBLICATIONS - For each publication, please provide the following:

## Project 1

- (a) Title:
- (b) Journal or other publication source:
- (c) Description:
- (d) Availability of reprints (address and cost, if any):

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- (b) Journal or other publication source:
- (c) Description:
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6. Center for the Study of Federalism Activities

- (a) What services would you like the Center to provide for its members?
- (b) What topics would you like to see included in the APSA's Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations at the annual American Political Science Association Meetings?
- (c) Would you be willing to serve as a reader for Publius manuscripts? ☐ Yes ☐ No  
If yes, please indicate your area of specialization and interest.
- (d) Would you be willing to review books for Publius? ☐ Yes ☐ No  
If yes, please indicate what topics you would like to review.

PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN





# IACFS

NEWSLETTER  
BULLETIN  
d'INFORMATION  
RUNDSCHREIBEN

## SECTION NEWS

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**Adelaide Conference** - The 1997 IACFS meeting and conference in Adelaide was postponed from April until later in the year (originally planned for October or November 1997). Until the situation was clearer, it was difficult to indicate if and when the conference in Adelaide might be held.

Cliff Walsh has now suggested that an early 1998 (February, probably) date is feasible and that by the end of this month he will be able to indicate details for IACFS members.

### Future Meetings

In the meantime Daniel Elazar and Ronald Watts have discussed arrangements for the regular 1998 IACFS meeting. In Hannover, in October 1996, the IACFS accepted the invitation to meet in 1998 in Jerusalem marking the fiftieth anniversary of Israel and Rudolf Hrbek's invitation to meet in 1999 in Tübingen to

mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Elazar and Watts met late in August in Washington at the American Political Science Association meetings. It was agreed to plan to hold the regular 1998 IACFS meeting and conference at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs in mid-October 1998. The IPSA Research Committee on Comparative Federalism and Federation is planning to hold a conference in Spain early in October 1998 and the thought was that by scheduling the IACFS meeting in Jerusalem immediately after that might facilitate travel plans for those who would be coming from a great distance and who wished to attend both sets of meetings. As a theme for the Jerusalem Conference Daniel Elazar originally suggested "Federalism and peace-Making" but he now suggests a not unrelated theme, "Federal Solutions for Intransigent Problems," of which the Middle East represents one of a number of studies that might be considered.

## AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

### ORGANIZED SECTION ON FEDERALISM AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

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**Paul Posner**  
U.S. GENERAL  
ACCOUNTING OFFICE  
Washington, D.C.

## MINUTES

### Of The 1997 Annual Membership Meeting.

1. The section met for its 1997 annual membership meeting on Thursday, 28 August 1997, 12:30 p.m. at the Omni Shoreham Hotel in Washington, DC. Robert Agranoff (Indiana University), Chair, presided. The minutes of the 1996 meeting as published in the Federalism Report were approved by voice vote.

2. Michael Pagano (Miami University), secretary-treasurer, presented the annual statement of revenue, expense, and fund balance for review and approval. Revenue for 1996-97 were \$960.46 (section dues, interest income) expenses were \$1,585.94 (newsletter, plaques, copying and printing), and funds as of 30 June 1997 totaled \$2,202.56. The financial report was accepted.

#### 3. New Business

Bob thanked this year's program chair, Ann O'M. Bowman (University of South Carolina) for her fine work in putting together a strong set of panels. Ann reported that APSA had given the section seven panels this year (up from five in 1996) in addition to several posters. Ann reminded the section that the panel allocations depend on attendance; please be there!

Bob then introduced the program chair for the 1998 meeting in Boston, Carol Weissert (Michigan State University). The section was reminded that individual paper proposals and panel proposals as well as offers to serve as chairs and discussants on panels must now be submitted to APSA headquarters by November 15. APSA will then forward the proposals and lists to the program chairs. This is the second year for centralizing paper and panel proposal and it is the first year that panel chairs and discussants are required to submit a form to APSA (forms are in the official program). Don't be late!

The Chair reported that the Organized Section had 396 members as of June 1997, slightly more than last year's count (383).

The short course on Devolution developed and administered by Tim Conlan (George Mason University) was a huge success yesterday. Nearly 40 people attended and all found it stimulating. Bob and the section members applauded Tim on a job well done! Tim reported that after expenses, the short course should net the section \$253.29.

Bob announced that the theme of the International Political Science Association federalism research committee is "Federalism and Autonomy" and that he would be co-organizing the program. The newsletter announcing the meeting was handed out.

The recurring problem with ensuring that the Anderson award retains its federalism and intergovernmental relations flavor was again discussed. At last year's meeting, the section unanimously approved a resolution demanding the APSA reinstate the Anderson Award as an award for the best dissertation in the area of "federalism and intergovernmental relations". The announcement, however, continues to reflect a state and local emphasis in addition to the intergovernmental relations dimension. As a consequence, Dan Elazar (Temple University), chair of the Anderson Award committee, announced that almost half the submitted dissertations were state and local, not intergovernmental relations. And his committee, therefore, was compelled to read all the dissertations.

A satisfactory explanation for changing the wording of the award was not offered by APSA. Deil Wright (University of North Carolina) moved that the section go on record again to press council to change the wording to the original; the section agreed. Sarah Liebschutz (SUNY-Brockport) moved that the section send the resolution to all members of council and the President and that council be asked to vote on the resolution at its next meeting; the section agreed. Bob agreed to forward the resolution. (The resolution adopted in San Francisco in 1996 is attached).

Bob reminded the section of the joint reception tomorrow night at 6:30 (with Urban, State, Public Administration, and Policy).

4. Alan Tarr (Rutgers University) presented a slate of eight candidates to fill the slots of the three retiring members. Paul Posner (GAO), David Berman (Arizona State University) and Jocelyn Johnston (University of Kansas ) were elected to three-year terms. Congratulations.

5. The best paper committee chaired by Joe Zimmerman (SUNY-Albany), along with Bev Cigler (Penn State-Harrisburg) and Ron Watts (Queens University) selected "State Welfare Policy and the Shifting Grounds of American Federalism" by Robert Lieberman and Gregory Shore. Plaques were awarded to the coauthors.

6. The outstanding book committee chair by Susan MacManus (South Florida), along with Mariah Palley (Delaware) and Franz Gress (Goethe University), selected **Understanding Intergovernmental Relations** by Deil Wright. A plaque honoring the author was awarded.

7. The distinguished Scholar Award committee, chaired by Al Sokolow (University of Pittsburgh), selected Ron Watts as the recipient. Among his many accomplishments, the committee noted the 18 books and scores of articles he has written, his work as advisor to Canada on intergovernmental affairs, his involvement with international associations on federalism, among many others. Professor Watts thanked the committee and the section, and reminded that he is the first non US recipient of the award!

#### 8. New Business

Rick Wilson (National Science Foundation) announced a new urban initiative with approximately \$5 million in grants. It should be formally announced within three months. Frank Scioli will be responsible for the program.

9. The meeting adjourned at 1:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Michael A. Pagano  
Secretary-Treasurer

Resolutions endorsed unanimously at the annual business meeting of the Organized Section of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, 29 August 1996, to be forwarded to the Endowment Committee of the American Political Science Association and to the Council:

Whereas, the William Anderson Award of the APSA for the best dissertation in the general field of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations was officially established by the original donors and by the APSA in 1975, and

Whereas, the Anderson Award was intended by the original donors and by the APSA to honor Professor Anderson's immense contributions to research on the topics of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, and

Whereas, Professor Anderson personally acknowledged that "there is no one person whose name is closely associated with the early use of the term intergovernmental relations than my own in the 1930s and 1940s," and

Whereas, the APSA Council in 1982 altered the designation of the Anderson Award, and

Whereas, this 1982 action has only recently been made known to the leadership and members of the Section of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, and

Whereas, political, policy, and administrative issues involving Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations continue to be prominent and significant in the United States as well as in other countries,

Therefore, be it resolved by the APSA Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations that:

1. The designation for the Anderson Award be restored to its original and essential intent: "For the best dissertation in the general field of federalism and intergovernmental relations, broadly defined," and

2. That this resolution and requested action be placed before the proper APSA decision bodies for appropriate action(s).

## SECTION NEWS

### 1. Section Short Course

Implementing Devolution: Federal, State, and Local Perspectives

On Wednesday, August 27, 1997, the section held a very successful workshop for nearly forty persons at the Hall of States in Washington, D.C. The short course was designed to assess progress in implementing the two major devolution initiatives of the 104th Congress: Welfare Reform and the Unfunded Mandates Relief Act, as well as Supreme Court decisions relating to judicial federalism.

The program included the following presenters:

Luncheon Speaker:

Michael Bird, Director, Federal Relations, National Conference of State Legislatures

*Welfare Reform Hits the Road*

Tim Conlan, George Mason University, Moderator

Barry van Lare, Welfare Information Network

Kelly Carmody, Center for Budget and Policy Priorities

Mark Storrs, Self-Sufficiency Unit, DHHS

*Implementing UMRA*

David Beam, Illinois Institute of Technology, Moderator

Dr. Paul Posner, General Accounting Office

Marge Miller, Congressional Budget Office

*Courting Change? Recent Trends in Judicial Federalism*

Tim Conlan, George Mason University, Moderator

Arthur Wilmarth, Jr., George Washington University

Dan Schweitzer, National Associating Attorneys General Office

In his luncheon address, Michael Bird discussed the difficulties in generating devolutionary reform, because it is not always high on the agenda of many members of Congress and their proclivities to engender change by nationwide legislation. In addition, he voiced a concern over the "race to the bottom" among states and the fact that the "big seven" public interest groups rarely are in agreement on most issues relating to devolution. Nevertheless, actions on welfare reform, child health, safe drinking water, insurance regulation, and product liability are all evidence of devolution during the 104th Congress.

The devolution contained in welfare reform leaves many challenges for the states, including development of supportive services, use of flexibility to test

alternative models, addressing teen pregnancy, and reaching out and involving communities. In addition, whether states will afford local units the same flexibility given them in the new legislation remains to be seen. In some cases states have chosen more strict standards that federal legislation allows. Low benefit states will be particularly challenged by the rising costs of ancillary services such as transportation and child care. Another innovation discussed was the delinking of AFDC/TANF from Medicaid, as well as changes in food stamps, SSI disability and state actions on immigrant benefits.

The Unfunded Mandates Act was described as being primarily effective in regard to its value as an implicit threat in controlling mandates action and less on the part of stopping Congress from activity. Its \$50 million threshold and exemption of "program requirements" have attenuated its impact. On the other hand, the Congressional Budget Office has been able to estimate costs in a number of important pieces of legislation and to "rollback" mandates in the Safe Drinking Water Act, Highway Assistance Act and to some extent, in Welfare Reform.

Finally, clear limits on federal action by the Supreme Court were discussed through elaboration of the 10th Amendment, 11th Amendment and commerce clause decisions. For example, the Court has begun to assert that the Congress or other parts of the federal government cannot take away "states independent existence". There have also been limits to how far the Court will go in protecting state interests, even extending the scope of the 14th Amendment. The bottom line, according to the panelists, will be the shape of future court majorities as older justices leave the court and new appointments bring their conceptions of federalism to the bench.

The Section is deeply grateful to Tim Conlan, George Mason University, for organizing this outstanding short course.

## 2. APSA Program—1997

Due to an oversight, the Section's APSA 1997 Meeting Program was not published in the last newsletter. For the interest of those who did not attend the August Conference in Washington D.C. the Program is reproduced here. Please contact the paper authors individually if you wish to receive a copy of any paper.

### *Federalism: What Does It Mean?*

Chair: Robert Agranoff, Indiana University  
Papers: Let Them Eat Marble Cake

Lyke Thompson, Wayne State University; Richard C. Eling, Wayne State University  
Pulling Together or Coming Apart: The Nature of Federal and State Working Relationships  
Denise L. Scheberle, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay  
The Diminishing Philosophies of Federalism on the Supreme Court  
Brady P. Baybeck, Washington University; William R. Lowry, Washington University  
Disc: Ann O'M. Bowman

### *Interactions In Multi-Level Systems*

Chair: John Kincaid, Lafayette College  
Papers: Does the Fox Guard the Hen House? A Principal-agent Approach to German Federalism  
Alison B. Alter, Harvard University  
"Bargaining" Federalism and the Development of a Party System in Russia  
Michael Filippov, California Institute of Technology; Leonid Polishchuk, University of Maryland  
Intergovernmental Relations in India: The Mixed Case of the Inter-state Council  
Lawrence Saez, University of Chicago  
The Political Management of Economic Reform in a Federal Democracy: The Case of India  
Rob Jenkins, University of London, John Kincaid, Lafayette College

### *State Innovations in the Devolution Era*

Chair: Sarah F. Liebschutz, SUNY, Brockport  
Papers: Recent Efforts to Improve Public Education in the United States: Intergovernmental Politics and Accountability Issues  
Michael Mintrom, Michigan State University, Sandra Vergari, University of Northern Iowa  
The Horizontal and Vertical Diffusion of State Environmental Policy Innovations  
Alka Sapat, Florida Atlantic University  
State Space Port Initiatives: Fostering Economic Development  
Roger Handberg, University of Central Florida  
At the Hundredth Meridian: A Regional and Comparative Analysis of Western American Environmental Policy  
Martin Nie, Northern Arizona University  
Disc: Joseph R. Marbach, Seton Hall University

### *Roundtable on Devolution and the Consequences for Local Autonomy*

Chair: Melvin B. Hill, University of Georgia  
Part: Dale A. Krane, University of Nebraska, Omaha; Mary Geist Kweit, University of North Dakota; Platon N. Rigos, University of South Florida, Alvin D. Sokolow,

University of California, Davis; David B. Walker,  
University of Connecticut

*(Re) Distribution of Authority and Multi-Level Governance: A Cross-Regional Perspective*

Chair: Regina Axelrod, Adelphi University

Papers: Redistribution of Authority in Spain and Portugal: Processes and Causal Factors

Jeanie Bukowski, Bradley University

Defining the Nation-State Through Its Units; Three Experiments with the Multi-Level Governance in South Asia

Swarna Rajagopalan, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Striking the Federal Bargain in Russia: Causes and Effects

Tamara J. Resler, University of Wyoming

The Place of Metropolitan Regimes in the European Polity

Jefferey M. Sellers, Harvard University

Disc: Alberta M. Sbragia, University of Pittsburgh

*Federalism in Action: New Approaches, New Problems*  
Chair: Cole Blease Graham, University of South Carolina

Papers: New Federalism and Implementation of the Clean Air Act

Carmine Scavo, East Carolina University

Kimber Scavo, Environmental Protection Agency

Laurel Schultz, Environmental Protection Agency

Federalism and Rural Development

Bruce Ransom, Clemson University

Policies with Consequences: The Case of Federal Crime Control Initiatives

Kirsten La Cour Dabelko, University of Maryland

Neither Fish nor Fowl: Federalism, Native Americans and U.S. Institutions

Lilias C. Jones, South Dakota State University

Disc: Patricia S. Florestano, Maryland Higher Education Commission

*The Intergovernmental Context of Local Government Decisions*

Chair: Herman L. Boschken, San Jose State University

Papers: City Financing of Intergovernmental Change

Michael A. Pagano, Miami University, Andrew M. Dudas, Miami University

Attitudes toward the Property Tax

Jocelyn Johnston, University of Kansas

Courts and Local Government: Intergovernmental Partners or Adversaries

Heidi Koenig, Northern Illinois University

The Argument for Metropolitan Government: Its Contribution to the Current Debate on Metropolitan Governance

Nelson Wikstrom, Virginia Commonwealth University  
Disc: Bruce A. Walin, Northeastern University

Thanks to all of the paper givers, panelists, and round table members.

Hearty thanks to Ann Bowman, University of South Carolina, for the remarkable job she did on this program.

### 3. APSA Program—1998

The deadline for submission of proposals for the 1998 Annual Meeting in Boston, Mass. is November 15, 1997. Guidelines and forms are published in the 1997 Annual Meeting Program, pp. 181-187 and in the September PS pp. 625-631. The Conference theme is Community, Communities, and Politics. Send your Section Proposals to APSA. Section program organizer Carol Weissert has prepared the following charge: The recent interest in devolution, dubbed by some the Devolution Revolution, has highlighted an area that has always been central in the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations—the role of communities in defining, shaping, and implementing policy. Proposals that highlight the theme of the conference—particularly how recent rhetoric and action in Washington have really engendered change in the community intergovernmental role—are encouraged.

I welcome proposals dealing with both new and emerging federalism issues and those that concern issues of long-standing interest to students of federalism and intergovernmental relations. For example, the popularity and degree of success of the devolution approach in European and Latin American countries would be an appropriate topic for discussion. Trends in judicial decisions, the intergovernmental implications of implementing welfare reform, the impact of unfunded mandate legislation, continued federal preemption, state-local fiscal relationships, and changing political roles of institutions and actors are examples of emerging issues. Given the overall convention theme, papers addressing the role communities play as actors in the intergovernmental system are also welcome.

Proposals applying inventive analytical methods are encouraged as are those that can be generalized across issues and jurisdictions.

### 4. 1997 Best Paper Award

Joseph F. Zimmerman, State University of New York presented the Best Paper Award to Greg Shaw and Robert C. Leiberhan of Columbia University for their 1996 Annual Meeting paper, "State Welfare Policies



and the Shifting Ground of American Federalism". The Paper abstract is reproduced below:

We examine recent trends in state welfare reform, an effort to understand why states request federal waivers for these innovations and what sorts of innovations states have attempted since the late 1970's. The results suggest implications for theories of federalism as well as for the near future of welfare in the states in light of recent experiences and the passage of federal legislation during July 1996 ending the entitlement status of AFDC and turning most welfare policy making authority back to the states. We analyze the impact of economic and political variables on state welfare reform measures and conclude the national trends matter for state welfare reform at least as much as, if not more than, state specific factors. Furthermore, we suggest that the near future of welfare in the U.S. will see the increased use of the benefit cutting measures and sanctions and a diminishing employment of voluntary incentives to move aid recipients into the workforce.

Thanks to Joe Zimmerman, committee chair, and Sarah Leibschutz and Carl Stenberg for serving on this committee.

#### 5. Distinguished Scholar Award: 1997

Al Sokolow, California-Davis, and Bob Agranoff, Indiana-Bloomington, presented the Distinguished Scholar Award to Ronald L. Watts, Queens University. Watts work on Comparative and Canadian Federalism, as well as his work on managing intergovernmental relations has contributed profoundly to federal and intergovernmental studies.

Ron Watts is Principal Emeritus and Professor Emeritus of Political Studies at Queen's University, and is a Fellow of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. He has devoted a lifetime of study to the comparative analysis of federal systems, and is an international leader in the field. He has also served as an advisor to governments on many occasions. In 1978-79, he was a Commissioner on the Task Force on Canadian Unity (the Pepin-Robarts Commission); and in 1991-92, he served the federal government as Assistant Secretary to Cabinet for Federal-Provincial Relations (Constitutional Affairs). Since 1991 he has been President of the International Association of Centres for Federal Studies.

Thanks to Al Sokolow, committee chair, and Joe Marbach and Susan Hansen for serving on the committee.

#### 6. Best Book Award: 1997

Susan MacManus, University of South Florida, presented the book award to Dail S. Wright, University of North Carolina, for the best book on federalism and intergovernmental relations. *Understanding Intergovernmental Relations* needs little introduction to the members of this section. Wright's book, first published in 1978, combines legal, structural, process and policy perspectives that have in many ways defined intergovernmental relations for academics and practitioners alike. While Wright begins the book with mention of intergovernmental relations as relatively obscure and poorly understood, his "participant perspective" has in many ways refined that obscurity.

Thanks to Susan MacManus, committee chair, Marian Palley and Franz Gress for serving on this committee.

#### 7. New Officers

Congratulations to newly elected Council members: David Berman, Arizona State University; Jocelyn Johnston, University of Kansas; and Paul Posner, U.S. General Accounting Office and Georgetown University. Their terms run from 1997-2000.

#### 8. Thanks to Outgoing Officers

Many thanks for the counsel and services of three outgoing Council members, who rotate off but hopefully will be active in the future: Franz Gress, Goethe University; Joe Marbach, Seton Hall University; and Alan Tarr, Rutgers University.



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