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438 SUBJECT INDEX
The central argument in this article is that the introduction of computers in African states fails to produce the intended results. This outcome occurs precisely because the trajectory of development of bureaucratic institutions in Africa has resulted in internal and external contexts that differ fundamentally from those of the Western states, within which computing and information technology has been developed. This article explores the context in which computers were developed in Western industrialized societies to understand the circumstances to which the technologies were designed to respond and the bureaucratic culture that helped produce desired results. The authors then proceed to analyze the truncated characteristics of institutional building in the colonial state and how it structured the peculiar setting of the postcolonial Africa state and dynamics surrounding the integration of the new information and communication technologies. The authors contend that the colonial state bequeathed to its postcolonial successor three crucial characteristics that are of central importance to understanding why the introduction of computers does not produce anticipated improvements in public administration. These are the very limited technical capabilities of the bureaucracy, authoritarian decision-making processes under the control of generalist administrators, and the predominance of patron-client relationships.

As an academic discipline, public administration has reached yet another fork in its evolutionary road. Earlier milestones have posed choices during the discipline’s unfolding. In this century, emphases have shifted in turn from civil service reform to scientific management, then to human relations and decision making. As the century closes, the discipline acknowledges some intellectual debt to each of these foci. The traditional debate about what kinds of ties suffuse policy/politics and administration now reflects a new uncertainty—the meaning of administration itself. Is there anything analogous among the public, private, and not-for-profit contexts in which administration transpires? Are there substantive or procedural considerations within these various contexts of policy making that influence, and in turn are influenced by, administrative participation in the policy process? If so, what is the nature of such influence, and what are its consequences?
0624

BOLIVIA. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. INSTITUTIONAL PLURALISM. POLITICS. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

In their book Administrative Decentralization: Strategies for Developing Countries, John Cohen and Steven Pearson construct a model they call “institutional pluralism,” which they contend is superior to more traditional models of decentralization. It is characterized chiefly by multiple channels of service provision, thus inducing accountability into a sphere in which previously there has been very little. Although Cohen and Pearson restrict their analysis to the administrative realm, this article argues that the institutionalist plural model makes at least as much sense to political decentralization. Bolivia, which recently launched political reforms offering three separate structures linking citizen to state, serves as an excellent illustration of institutional pluralism in politics. This approach shows considerable promise for implementation to other settings, as can be seen in El Salvador, and a case can be made for its replication potential elsewhere as well.

0625

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS. PUBLIC SECTOR. PUBLIC SERVICE. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

This paper argues that the deep moral values inherent in the world’s religious and spiritual traditions are both appropriate and needed in the public sector workplace. It provides definitions of religion and/or spirituality, then discusses the influence of positivist law and practices prevalent there. This paper raises the following questions: What is spirituality? How does it differ from religion? Is spirituality now present in the public sector workplace? Is it possible? Is it desirable? Is it relevant? What might be the implications of a workplace in which spirituality flourishes and is affirmed?

0626

OPPORTUNISM. ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. PRINCIPAL AGENT THEORY. PROFESSIONAL ETHICS. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS. RESISTANT BEHAVIOR.

Drawing on a broad qualitative study, this article uses episodes of bureaucratic resistance to examine the negative opportunistic assumption of principal-agent theory as the motivation for nonsanctioned behaviors in public organizations. The authors identify three organizational contexts that prove difficult for the simple agency model and examine the generalizability of these limitations across 129 episodes of resistance from the qualitative study. Implications for accommodating these problems within the agency framework are explored. The authors conclude that the assumption of opportunistic behavior constitutes a substantial limitation in its theoretical explanatory power for behavior in the middle and lower levels of public agencies.
This paper provides a broad overview of five perspectives on the public service ethics agenda, incorporating a current debate that may well emerge as the initial reform agenda of the new millennium. Perspectives explored include the politics/administration dichotomy, the new public administration’s emphasis on individual responsibility in the context of strong organizational values and norms, the ethical risks of public entrepreneurship, and the recent emergence of spiritualism as a guide to public ethical decision making. The authors conclude that we are entering a new era of public ethics in which performance and morality will be accorded equal priority. They argue that public entrepreneurship is increasingly essential to meet the public’s demand for government that works better and costs less. Most public officials will need on-the-job training and/or ethics courses in schools of public policy and administration to competently assess the ethical risks and dangers that a particular policy innovation may encompass.

Public administration in China today is markedly different from that once influenced by Maoist ideology of class struggle and socialist revolution through the elimination of private enterprise. Under Deng Xiaoping’s theory of economic reform, state activities are now carried out by a more rational government for both the public and newly emerging private sector. The purpose of this article is to look at history and these newer economic reforms to develop a definition of public administration relevant to the People’s Republic of China, one useful to practitioners of all nationalities engaged in dialogue concerning this subject.

Globalization accelerates the need to accommodate the ethical guidelines of different cultures, the subject of many of the papers in the symposium. In a similar manner, the increased use of interorganizational relationships to accomplish projects accelerates the need to confront the value discontinuities in collaboration among representatives from the public, private, nonprofit, and volunteer sectors within American society. Rather than tackling the question of the precise principles to follow in models of interorganizational relationships versus the need for the thick descriptions of the particular, the focus of this paper is more middle range. The paper outlines some suggested means of connecting the assumptions of several models of interorganizational relationships.
izational relationships with the insights of models of establishing a collective ethos. The tone is meant to be tentative and suggestive of a way to begin connecting diverse strands of literature, the problematic posed by the increasing engagement of interorganizational relationships in public administration, and the problematic posed in reaching ethical decisions. Neither a one-best-way model nor a contingency model is proposed, but instead a more modest hope that the field of public administration will increasingly pay more attention to interorganizational dilemmas.

**0630**

**DECISION MAKING. ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE.**

Decision making is ever present in all forms of organized human activity. Decisions range from the simple to the complex within large organizations, whether in the nonprofit, public, or private sectors. Throughout human history, man has sought to control the results of his decisions, to quantify them, to increase their predictability, and to reduce their risks. Three current areas of decision making—risk assessment, chaos theory, and strategic management—are analyzed in this article. Their interconnectedness and potential as a “new paradigm” is its focus.

**0631**

**AFRICA. LEADERSHIP QUALITIES. POLITICAL ECONOMY. RATIONALITY. RISK ANALYSIS.**

Why are most African countries poorly led? This article examines the question, from the perspective of political economy, as to whether leaders are individuals who respond rationally to incentives created by their environment. Critical is the level of risk, which can encourage leaders to pursue short-term, economically destructive policies. Using a new database of national leadership transitions in Africa since 1960, the article demonstrates that the risks of office-holding are extremely high in the region. It also finds that African countries whose leaders face less risk tend to have more open economic regimes and to have lower levels of perceived political corruption, as predicted by political economy theory. Because it makes the political environment less perilous, democratization in the region holds out some hope for encouraging leaders to govern with an eye to longer term results.

**0632**

**CODES OF ETHICS. PROFESSIONAL ETHICS. PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS. PUBLIC SERVICES.**

Codes of ethics in public service organizations are designed to serve three purposes: provide enduring solutions to existing ethical problems, educate the public
about the mission of the organization, and foster an ethical climate in the organization. There is no agreement in the literature as to how useful and effective codes are. This paper argues that codes of ethics can be effective with respect to these three goals only if careful attention is given to the process of internalization of the code’s provisions. Internalization is most likely to occur under two interrelated conditions: when members of an organization clarify, articulate, and establish integrated values systems and when the ethical code is formulated and adopted as a consequence of a participatory democratic process. When members of the organization are able to relate the code’s provisions to their personal integrated values systems, a greater compliance and commitment will prevail.

0633
ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. ECONOMIC POLICY. INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. DAE JUNG KIM. POLITICAL REFORM. SOUTH KOREA.

This article is intended to shape both practical and theoretical discussions on Korean government reform enacted since the 1997 economic crisis. A fall in foreign currency reserves forced South Korea to seek a rescue loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in November 1997. The IMF’s first step was to drastically reshape South Korean economic policies. With these new tasks, South Korea has had little choice but to reform its institutions, systems, and bureaucratic behavior. In response to the crisis, the government has called for reform in four major sectors: business, finance, labor relations, and government administration. This article focuses mainly on current administrative reforms in the public sector in South Korea. Despite the tangible progress achieved in attempts to resolve the crisis, the result for the time being is a mixed review for government reform: progress in some areas, little traction in others.

0634
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. FEDERALISM. POLITICAL LIBERTY.

The argument for devolution of power to state and local governments in contemporary Supreme Court cases regularly relies on claims about the virtues of federalism as a means of maintaining individual liberty. This article explores the plausibility of the argument that supplanting federal with state authority is likely, systematically, to protect individual liberty. The article argues that if there is a viable argument for “federalism as freedom,” it must go beyond the sense that two governments are more repressive than one or that the federal government is more inclined to curtail liberty than is a state or local authority. The plausible claims rely on the abilities of autonomous state governments to provide a competing source of norms and to allow escape from oppressive laws. The availability of sanctuaries in other states is a function of rights of interstate travel and territorial limitations on state jurisdiction, which themselves require federalized constraints on state and local autonomy.
0635

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. CHINA. POLITICAL CORRUPTION. PROFESSIONAL CORRUPTION.

This paper takes issue with a central theme in the literature on corruption that a centralized bureaucratic structure necessarily promotes corruption. It argues that the growth of corruption after 1976 was not so much the result of a centralized bureaucratic structure as that of the changing organizational ethics in the schools. In an examination of the schools since 1949, it shows that their structures have not changed radically. However, by separating the organizational ethics into their real and ideal dimensions, it demonstrates that despite the continuity in the official goals and codes of ethics, the real or fundamental organizational ethics have changed, and new standards of behavior have prompted members to break organizational rules in the more or less decentralized organizational structures.

0636

ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT. PERFORMANCE AWARDS. PERFORMANCE STANDARDS. PUBLIC SECTOR.

In many member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), quality awards have become an important benchmarking instrument for public and especially private sector organizations. Quality awards present two main goals: One is to introduce elements of competition in areas of the public and the private sectors that lack market competition; the other is to encourage organizational learning. The problem is that in a public sector context, these aims seem to be mutually exclusive. This article attempts to show quality award organizers ways to realize the full potential of these awards by making the appropriate choices in their design for the public sector and its personnel. The author concludes that the stage of public sector quality management and the degree of “publicness” of that sector in a given country will influence the competition-inducing and learning effect of a national quality award in an adverse way. Nevertheless, the negative effects on one or the other element of quality awards can be counterbalanced by the appropriate choice of the scope of the quality award, the area to be evaluated, the evaluation criteria, and the benchmarking concept. Finally, quality award organizers should bear in mind that such awards are not a benchmarking instrument for all purposes or periods of time.

0637

ADMINISTRATIVE ETHICS. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. CHINA. POLITICAL CORRUPTION. PROFESSIONAL ETHICS. WHISTLEBLOWING.

This article provides an introduction to the recent development of administrative ethics in the People’s Republic of China, which embarked on the path of reform and opening to the outside world in 1978. The article also summarizes the issues discussed
in the following articles. These include Chinese views of corruption since the Tiananmen massacre, the issue of whistleblowing, organizational ethics and bureaucratic corruption in Chinese schools, changing administrative ethos and corruption in reform China, and the process of professionalization and the resultant rebuilding of administrative ethics in post-Mao China.

0638

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, PUBLIC POLICY, RESEARCH TRENDS.

A 1993 issue of the *International Journal of Public Administration* (*IJPA*) addressed the question of how public policy fits into the teaching curricula of schools of public administration/public affairs. A number of suggestions have emerged. Since then, turmoil among scholars within the perceived discipline of public administration, as well as changing attitudes within the public at large as to what role the government should take, has brought forth new but unclear signposts regarding the future of the public administration. Public policy will surely be a legitimate, as well as a conspicuous, component among the numerous claimants vying for inclusion in the evolving field of study. Like the previous issue of *IJPA*, the present compendium addresses ties between public administration and public policy in rather conventional terms. Viewed from the perspective of public administration, public policy intersects at a number of places in the policy process: (1) bringing issues into the public sector, (2) setting agendas in the public arena, (3) analyzing policy with respect to public problems and formulating alternative strategies to deal with them, (4) enacting an agreed-upon strategy and implementing it, and (5) evaluating results. Unlike the preceding issue of *IJPA*, however, this compendium leans more toward process and substance in action; it seeks to avoid deliberations at length about definitions and the finer points of topical sequencing. The articles in this issue of *IJPA* seek to identify and assess developments in a number of areas in which public policy and administration intersect. There are many such intersections; limitations of space, rather than material, impose constraints on the topics addressed, but to what extent? Ethics, evaluation, implementation, intergovernmental relations, and certain aspects of policy formulation, substantive as well as budgetary, provide the content of this issue of *IJPA*. There are clearly other points of intersection between public policy and administration (e.g., public organization, planning, the effects of racial and gender diversification on formulating and implementing policy). Topics such as these provide fodder for future compendia seeding to highlight or assess policy administration ties. It is hoped that this issue of *IJPA* will inspire emulations of this genre in the years to come.

0639

EXCHANGE THEORY, LEADERSHIP QUALITIES, PROFESSIONAL ETHICS, TRUST.

According to Exchange Theory, leaders and followers set goals and carry out actions by calculating interests, efforts required to achieve goals, and possible payoffs. Leaders and followers negotiate a relationship based on reciprocity. If leaders or followers fail to meet mutual expectations, however, the leader-follower relationship deteriorates. Reciprocity, the paper asserts, fails to build relationships of trust. To
achieve trust, leaders have an ethical responsibility to reduce fear and increase follower participation. Through this, leaders help followers redefine norms and demonstrate behaviors that achieve a more humane work environment. The article identifies 11 variables that affect leader-follower relationships of trust and suggests areas for future inquiry and organizational change.

0640

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. SPIRITUAL BELIEFS.

This essay introduces the second and final ethics symposium on spirituality and dialogue. The first symposium, edited by Thomas D. Lynch, focused on individual spirituality. In this, the second symposium, the authors' attention expands to organizations and institutions and now turns to dialogue. The theme with this symposium, however, remains unchanged, for both spirituality and dialogue revolve around a more basic core of ethics that is global in scope. Readers of the dozen papers of the two symposia should look on them collectively as their overall ethical theme, however loosely coupled, provides a powerful commentary on the emerging role that both spirituality and dialogue will play in a new ethically focused millennium. With little disagreement, the dozen scholars contributing to the two symposia argue that future challenges will require a much higher and more global ethical level in public administration than exists today. In a society in which spirituality and dialogue will flourish, a higher ethical level is not only a goal but a reachable one. To some, a higher ethical level is inevitable whereas to others it is reachable only through the difficult process of individual, institutional, and global moral improvement.

0641

ADMINISTRATIVE ETHICS. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. CHINA. PROFESSIONALIZATION.

The process of professionalization for Chinese administration is in essence one that is shifting from the Party’s cadres to the civil servants of the state, from a revolutionary clique with a special mission to a professional administrative group serving the general interest of the society. As a revolutionary clique existing under the Party’s leadership for a long time, it was characterized by “traditional features,” such as not being open to all citizens, politics overwhelming administration, management based on personal style rather than professional norms, and so forth. These features, to a large degree, produced a corresponding administrative attitude, ethics, and behavior, which include a sense of “paternal official,” self-discipline, adoring personalized authority. They in turn support the traditional system with both positive and negative consequences. The economic reform provided the impetus for changing the traditional system, and new framework with a strange civil service emerged, with such professional characteristics as opening jobs up to the whole society, respect for law and regulation, management and promotion based on merit, and so forth. However, the negative side of the economic reform has hindered the further development of professionalization. In particular, corruption and negligence of administrative ethics have undermined the new system. Further professionalization needs a spirit provided
by rebuilding public administration: changing ideology and attitude, innovating institutions, and reforming the culture.

**Administrative Corruption and Fraud**

0642

ANTICORRUPTION POLICIES. POLITICAL ANALYSIS. POLITICAL CORRUPTION. RESEARCH TRENDS.

This article focuses on analyzing political will as it relates to the design, initiation, and pursuit of anticorruption activities. The article elaborates an analytic framework for political will that partitions the concept into a set of characteristics/indicators and elaborates the external factors that influence the expression and intensity of political will in a particular situation. The conceptual model identifies the links among the characteristics of political will and these external factors and traces their resulting influence on the support for, design of, and outcomes of anticorruption reforms. The conceptual framework for political will draws on analysis and field experience with implementing policy change in a variety of sectors, including anticorruption. The article closes with recommendations on the practical applications of the framework.

0643

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. CHINA. POLITICAL CORRUPTION. SOCIAL CONTROL. WHISTLEBLOWING.

In China, whistleblowing has both political and social functions. For the government, whistleblowing works as a social control mechanism, especially for containing corruption of its officials, whereas for ordinary citizens, whistleblowing provides them with a legal weapon to fight against official malfeasance, misfeasance, and nonfeasance. This paper examines the causes, processes, and consequences of whistleblowing, with an emphasis on the difficulties and dilemmas in blowing the whistle. It argues that given its important functions and implications, whistleblowing should be further legalized, encouraged, and protected to the largest possible extent in China.

0644

FRAUD. GOVERNMENTAL LEVELS. PRIVATE SECTOR. PUBLIC FINANCE. PUBLIC SECTOR.

The objective of this paper is to identify and provide a description, assessment, and analysis of frauds occurring in governmental entities at the federal, state, and local levels and to compare these findings with data from the private sector. Analyses are conducted along the following dimensions: the victim of the fraud, its perpetrator(s), the fraud scheme, and the detection and investigation of the fraudulent activity. In addition, the conditions under which the frauds occurred in both the public and private
sectors are described, discussed, and analyzed. Data were obtained from a mail survey distributed to the membership of the Association of Certified Fraud Examiners. A total of 2471 responses containing details of actual fraud cases were received. Of these, 611 cases described frauds that had occurred in governmental units and 1860 depicted frauds that had occurred in the private sector. The findings of this study clearly indicate that no entity is immune to victimization by criminal activities of a financial nature.

0645


ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. CHINA. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. POLITICAL CORRUPTION. SOCIALISM.

Corruption, particularly in the public official based definition that is dominant in reform China, involves the violation of administrative ethics and responsibilities for private gain. Corruption has long been a key factor in analyzing and understanding modernization in Communist and Third World countries. Corruption has the potential to undermine a regime’s legitimacy and power as well as a nation’s economy. Moreover, by contributing to both economic and political polarization, it also has the potential to significantly influence the social stratification and overall social structure of societies in the midst of significant political, economic, and social transformation; in other words, how they modernize. Although the majority of Chinese analyses of corruption recognize the threat posed by corruption, they disagree on the sources and consequences of such corruption, and thus on the means for controlling and/or eliminating it.

Structure and Organization

0646


INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS. ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Developmental dynamics are everywhere, from legislative coalition formation to the evolution of interorganizational cooperation to intraorganizational renewal. It is extremely hard to analyze such developmental processes. They are usually composed of multiple and interacting subprocesses; they are recursive; they are subject to external shocks; and the ability of participating actors to anticipate and then forestall their complete unfolding is highly confounding. This article explains what “success” would mean in understanding such processes, sketches some substantive hypotheses about how they work in the field of interorganizational cooperation, and proposes computer simulation as a method for probing more deeply.

ACCOUNTABILITY. INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS. PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS.

Because increased attention is being given to the problems and possibilities associated with interdependence among organizations and sectors in theory and practice, this introduction to the symposium emphasizes the importance of a rethinking of concepts, concerns, and strategies for interorganizational and intersectorial relationships. Described are the major themes of seven articles in the symposium that address issues of accountability in contracting, the validity of the three sector model, loss of organizational identity by nonprofit organizations, virtual organizations, subversion of values in urban development policy making, motivation in environmental networks, and deliberation in nonprofit organizations.


ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY. ADMINISTRATIVE STATES. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. PUBLIC POLICY. SOCIAL NETWORKS. U.S. PRESIDENCY.

This article contends that developments associated with governance reforms in the United States fundamentally have altered the administrative state and pose new and formidable challenges for the administrative presidency. Existing literature of the administrative presidency is limited in its ability to help conceptualize these changes, to understand the challenges that this so-called neoadministrative state poses for presidents and political appointees, and to discern whether they are coping or can cope with them and, if so, how. A review of the bargaining and multidisciplinary management literature on executive leadership in the neoadministrative state suggests that presidents and scholars must reconceptualize the administrative presidency. They will have to rethink the strategy’s ends (what presidents need to accomplish to advance their agendas), its focus (what its tools are and how to apply them), and its locus (where these tools are applied). To inform this effort, a second generation of research in the administrative presidency is needed.


ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. GOVERNMENT TYPE. LOCAL ECONOMIES. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. TRANSACTIONAL COST THEORY.

Recent theoretical work has applied transaction cost theories to the public sector. This article extends transaction cost theories of organization to an empirical examination of bureaucratic influences on local government development programs. Extant research has paid little attention to the role that administrative organizations, institutions, and bureaucracies play in the local development process. Administrative organization can shape development choices in two ways. First, form of government may
have direct additive effects on development because professional public managers have different orientations, values, and career interests than elected executives. Second, form of government may have a nonadditive or interactive effect by influencing levels of government responsiveness to exogenous economic, political, and bureaucratic demands. The authors estimate the influence economic forces and bureaucratic arrangements had on development program activity in 1989 after accounting for development programs in place 5 years earlier in the same cities. The finding calls into question the causal inferences regarding the direct effects of administration on local development policy found in the literature. In addition, they find that the form of government mediates effects of administrative arrangements and economic forces on development policy. In particular, the influences of strategic planning on development policy were evident in council-manager cities, but not mayor-council communities. This finding suggests that commitments to take certain actions and not others embodied in strategic plan may be less credible in the context of high power electoral incentives.

0650

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE. PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS. VIRTUAL REALITY. WORLD WIDE WEB.

This article argues that the virtual organization model (also called web-enterprises by the former U.S. Secretary of Labor, Robert Reich in The Work of Nations) can meet the challenge for this new age. This model is already in place in the U.S. federal government in the form of Cooperative Administrative Support Units (CASUs). These organizations bear a close resemblance to Reich’s model and have documented significant successes. The article also argues that the implications and applications of the CASU in public administration are far reaching. This creative and innovative approach to responsible government warrants expanded use into new and diverse areas. Organizational designers should not restrict its use simply to rote administrative activities. This article draws heavily from the work of former Secretary Reich and Warren Master, Director of the National CASU Program in the U.S. General Services Administration. Both provide new paths of possibilities for administrators. Their leadership forges new and often brighter expectations for future organizational performance.

0651

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE. AFRICA. CONSTITUTION DEVELOPMENT. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE.

This article examines the relationship between governance and development and concludes that underlying the litany of Africa’s development problems is a crisis of governance. Good governance would result in institutions that are more likely to adopt economic policies that would resolve the constraints that hinder economic development. In addition, it would make a major contribution to the reduction of war
and conflict. It would do so by creating an environment for sustainable development to take place and thereby reduce poverty, the root cause of war and conflict. This calls for a critical examination of the question of governance in Africa with a view to identifying the obstacles to its establishment and the possible approaches to the development of systems of governance that give political space to all groups. Inasmuch as the most important legal instrument in the scheme of good governance is the national constitution, the article seeks to identify some of the key issues that must be considered in the process of developing a national constitution if it is to be durable. It also addresses the conditions under which such constitutions should be developed if they are to be acceptable to the people of the country they are intended to govern. Running through the article is the theme that the establishment of good governance in Africa depends on the development of political systems that give people a sense of ownership of the political process.

0652

ESTONIA. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. PUBLIC PERSONNEL.

Although scholars have shown consistent interest in small states in past decades, the Republic of Estonia has not been included in any study of such states owing to its brief history of independent statehood. This article provides an overview of the development of the Estonian civil service to enable readers to understand the background and scope of reforms during the 1990s. The study seeks to test previous findings on small states, using empirical research into the Estonian civil service. Interviews with civil states reveal a few new characteristics attributable to the size of a state, such as personalization of units and organizational objectives and additional sources of organizational stability. Nevertheless, the author contends that several problems of public administration in developing countries and small states overlap, creating difficulties in distinguishing between developmental factors and the size of the state as determinants.

0653

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. AFRICA. ASIA. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. CROSS-REGIONAL COMPARISON. NEPAL. ROAD ADMINISTRATION. RURAL AREAS. TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE. UGANDA. ZAMBIA.

A study of decentralization of road administration in developing countries is reported here, including a literature review and field studies in Nepal, Uganda, and Zambia. The findings are reported under the headings of constitution and governance; policy and planning; financial and fiscal aspects; institutions, management, and human resources; operations; and contributions to poverty alleviation. Decentralization of road administration has potential for improving the delivery of rural transportation infrastructural services. Nevertheless, the evidence from this study suggests
that it is proving difficult to realize fully the expected benefits. Among the problems are lack of local governmental power to exercise political influence at higher levels; insufficient financial resources; lack of management capacity; and lack of accountability mechanisms. Limited data also suggest that there is little evidence of existing decentralized systems being particularly responsive to addressing the needs of the rural impoverished. There is a need for the poor to be involved more actively in the planning, financing, and implementation process. Different models for administrative decentralization are described and recommendations are made for approaches likely to be the most appropriate for rural transportation infrastructural administration and management.

0654

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. FEDERALISM.

Federalism is a system of governmental organization that grants subunits of a polity definitive rights against the central government. It allows these subunits to maintain different norms, or policies, from those of the central government. Thus, it differs from decentralization, which is a strategy that the central government adopts in order to carry out its norms or policies more effectively. Federalism is a useful approach when people in a given area have such basic disagreements that they will not agree to live together in a single polity and be bound by its decisions. The United States is blessed with a sense of national unity that makes federalism unnecessary. This was not the case prior to the Civil War, however, and our continued nostalgia for that period induces us to adopt puppy federalism, which looks real but is not. Legal scholars should not allow themselves to be fooled; however, as current legislation by the Republican Congress indicates, real federalism garners no support in our political system.

0655

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. NIXON ADMINISTRATION. POLITICAL REFORM. REAGAN ADMINISTRATION.

The current intergovernmental initiatives of the president, the Congress, and the Court amount to different versions of a New Federalism III. Each of the New Federalisms (Nixon’s, Reagan’s, and the combined but conflicting undertakings of the current national leadership and to a lesser degree, of the states and localities) have focused on devolution, deregulation, reduction in the number of categorical programs by enacting block grants, and a much reduced federal role in the federal system. Yet, there were and are significant differences among the three. The ambivalent centralizing—while devolving record of the first two and a potentially similar outcome of the current intergovernmental relations (IGR) restructuring—endeavors to underscore the continuing conflict between the forces of noncentralization, as against those favoring centralization within the overall system. Thus far, no clear-cut intergovernmental winners can be identified in the current battling over the future of American federalism.
Voluntary and Nongovernmental Organizations

0656

NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. PRIVATE SECTOR. PUBLIC SECTOR. RESEARCH TRENDS. THEORETICAL MODELS.

Does the three-sector model of public (government), private (business), private/nonprofit still have validity? Did it ever? The following article examines the definitions, history, economic constructs, and evolving position of nonprofit organizations in the United States and finds the three-sector model lacking. A brief case study of a Denver-based not-for-profit community development corporation illustrates the many overlapping roles these organizations play including for-profit business, governmental functions, as well as traditional nonprofit service-oriented activities. A new paradigm is called for that reflects the “brave new world” of collaboration between and among public and private entities.

0657

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS.

As nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) grow in numbers and importance around the globe and local governments gain capacity through decentralization processes, there is increased opportunity for the two sectors to interact with each other. Here, the authors develop a conceptual framework for comparative analyses of local government-NGO interactions. Five potential social functions of local governments and NGOs and the possible outcomes produced by interactions of the two sectors are examined. Research hypotheses based on the framework are developed and suggestions given for carrying out comparative studies exploring the hypotheses.

0658

INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS. NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS. ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE.

As the emphasis on interorganizational relationships increases, one fear expressed by nonprofits is that interorganizational cooperation would lead them away from their sense of mission. The concern about loss of identity prompted this research into whether, and if so, how, a community action agency embedded in many relationships with other organizations continually and increasingly maintains a sense of identity. A study of the words used to describe the organization across time and across organizational members, leaders, and members of the board yielded strong agreement on some of the organization’s characteristics. The implications of this type of organizational culture for leaders of nonprofits are then described.
ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICS

Executive Branch

0659

WILLIAM J. CLINTON. CLINTON-LEWINSKY SCANDAL. LEGAL TESTIMONY. PROTECTIVE FUNCTION PRIVILEGE. U.S. PRESIDENTS. U.S. SECRET SERVICE.

During the Clinton-Lewinsky episode of 1998, the independent prosecutor issued subpoenas to Secret Service agents to force them to testify. Presidential safety was at the heart of the debate that followed. The Treasury Department asserted a protective function privilege, whereby the agents could maintain confidentiality and thereby preserve the president’s trust and decrease his tendency to distance himself. The courts rejected the privilege on the grounds that there was no precedent, that the agents were federal officials with a duty to testify, and that no harm would follow the president. In their decisions, the courts blurred the margins of separation between the powers and devalued the opinions of the experts—the Secret Service director and all prior living heads of the agency. To safeguard future presidents, the best resource for the nation is legislative enactment of a protective function privilege, which would preserve confidentiality between the president and the agents who guard him.

0660

CARTER ADMINISTRATION. OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. WHITE HOUSE (U.S.). U.S. PRESIDENCY.

The Office of Management and Administration (OMA) grew out of President Jimmy Carter’s 1977 reorganization of White House administration. Its title dates to the administration of George Herbert Walker Bush. The head of the office, the assistant to the president for management and administration, currently handles numerous White House administrative functions, such as salaries, office space, and budgeting, along with its allocation of perquisites such as mess (dining) privileges and parking. OMA supervises such functions, collectively called White House Operations, which include the Travel Office, the Visitors’s Office, the Intern Program, and personnel security. The assistant for management and administration also oversees the White House Military Office. Drawing principally on interviews with former heads of the OMA and its predecessors, the article enumerates the great range of the office’s responsibilities, highlights areas of potential controversy, considers the characteristics of a successful OMA manager, and summarizes the diverse approaches that have been taken to running the office.
The Office of the Staff Secretary, a unit recommended by the first Hoover Commission, appeared in the White House Office in the fall of 1953. Since then, many of its original tasks have been the responsibility of the Office of Administration. The contemporary staff secretary serves as the last substantive control point before papers reach the Oval Office. In addition, the staff secretary typically supervises the Offices of the Executive Clerk, Records Management, and Correspondence. Given the pivotal place of the Office of the Staff Secretary in presidential paper flow, it handles complex policy issues and its work can be highly political. The staff secretary also must be sure that others respond to presidential directives or to questions elicited by the papers that the president sees. This article attempts to describe and explain the operations of this unit and summarizes useful approaches to the job of staff secretary.

The Press Office gathers and disseminates official White House information on behalf of the president. The press secretary, who heads the operation, has three constituents to whom to respond, but one boss to whom he or she reports: the president. His or her constituents are the president, the White House staff, and news organizations. The press secretary has four principal roles: information conduit, constituent representation, administration, and communication planning. In carrying out its task, the office is organized into a two-tiered West Wing operation divided among the Upper Press and Lower Press and a unit located in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building. Tasks related to the daily gathering and distribution of information are centered in the West Wing, whereas the operations in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building, most especially Media Affairs in the Clinton White House, are focused on contacts with specialty and out-of-town press.

The U.S. presidency has been progressively weakened over the past three decades to the point at which it is probably weaker today than at almost any time in the preceding century. The formal powers of the office have been trimmed. Congress, in the absence of cold war and domestic emergency, has reasserted itself on all scores. The modern revolution in communication has diminished the president’s ability to convey his message to his people. Not least, the White House is grossly overstaffed. As a result of these developments, the presidency more resembles Franklin D. Roosevelt’s second term, in his worst months, than his first term and is weaker than those of any of his cold war successors.
Legislative Branch

0664

CONGRESSIONAL BILLS. OMNIBUS LEGISLATION. U.S. CONGRESS.

Omnibus legislation is the controversial practice of combining disparate measures in one massive bill. Omnibus packages are “must-pass” bills because they have a nucleus that enjoys widespread support, but they also contain a variety of often unrelated measures that are simply hitching a ride. Why do leaders attach certain bills to omnibus packages and not others? These and other questions are addressed in this volume. In reviewing and analyzing the issues, the author develops an integrated framework, which takes in multiple theoretical perspectives, for understanding omnibus legislation. Following an introduction, the remaining chapters discuss such issues as the systematic study of omnibus legislation, the genesis of omnibus legislation in the “bundled budget” of the 81st Congress, the use of omnibus legislation in health care policy making, the effect of omnibus utilization on legislative productivity, and the effect of omnibus legislation on presidential-congressional relations. The concluding chapter offers an evaluation of omnibus legislation and provides two appendices: one on constructing a data set of bills per Congress and the Policy Agendas Project topic and subtopic categories.

0665

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. PORTUGAL.

This article sets out the main stages in the development of the Portuguese parliament over the past two decades. This development has been characterized by the growing rationalization of the internal operation of parliament, notably through an increased role for committees, and the greater importance attached to parliamentary scrutiny of the executive. Recently, the Portuguese parliament has taken important steps in strengthening its links with society and in responding to public concerns. Some of the measures discussed in this context have helped to support the legitimation function of parliament; but parliament will need better developed resources if it is to act an effective check on the government.

0666

POLITICAL CORRUPTION. POLITICAL PARTIES. PORTUGAL.

Portugal is often considered an example of successful democratic consolidation. Yet, it has not been exempt from corruption scandals. By the mid-1990s, transparency and the moralization of political life had come to dominate parliamentary debates and reforms. The illegality surrounding party life must be seen against the background of dominant ethical standards in society. Voters appear tolerant of the unethical behavior of political leaders, whereas parties are gradually becoming less responsive to their electorate. Representation and delegation rely more on tacit consent than on voice, thus encouraging complacency over corruption.
Interest Groups

0667

ELECTIONS. INTEREST GROUPS. ITALY. VOTING BEHAVIOR.

Political representation in the national assemblies is geographic and elected representatives care about who gains and who loses in their electoral districts. Because legislators are reelection oriented, their chances of electoral success are directly associated with the net benefits delivered to their constituents. In this perspective, geography is not only the basis for political organization and representation, but also the hallmark of distributive politics. In this context, it is likely that locally elected politicians and party leaders standing in national elections would tend to cooperate in pre-election dates. In this paper the authors argue that local administrators have an incentive to manipulate local government outlays in connection with national election dates to enhance the re-election prospects of their national party leaders. In particular, given the matching character of national grants with local investment spending, they expect that in pre-election dates local policy makers would be induced to raise investment outlays beyond their standard growth rate. This would determine inefficient local public spending as a result of the geographically based system of democratic representation. The case study under the authors’ investigation is the behavior of Italian local policy makers in connection with national election dates.

0668

FREE RIDERS. INTEREST GROUPS. LOBBYING. MARKET STRUCTURE. TARIFFS.

The effect of changes in industry structure on the ability to maintain a cooperative level of tariff lobbying are analyzed in a repeated game setting in which a simple trigger strategy is the enforcement mechanism. The difficulty of maintaining cooperation is identified with the minimum discount factor necessary for the maintenance of cooperation. Factors that increase this critical value of the discount parameter are said to make cooperation more difficult. Some changes in industry structure that reduce measured concentration have ambiguous effects, whereas others may make cooperation among a given group of firms more likely.

Public Opinion

0669

WILLIAM J. CLINTON. ALBERT GORE. OPINION POLLS. PUBLIC OPINION. U.S. VICE PRESIDENT.

This article investigates public favorability toward the vice president, focusing on Al Gore’s two terms. The database consists of all favorability questions asked by eight polling organizations from 1993 through the final administration in 2000. Analysis finds that Vice President Gore, on average, was thought of more favorably than
President Bill Clinton, but that Clinton’s favorability with the public still influenced public attitudes toward the vice president. Moreover, other factors independent of the president also displayed an impact on public favorability of the vice president. Most intriguingly, once Gore announced his candidacy for the vice presidency, his favorability ratings declined.

Political Parties and Coalitions

0670

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. EUROPEAN UNION. POLITICAL IDEOLOGY. POLITICAL PARTIES. SPATIAL COMPETITION.

The spatial maps of parties’ policy programs published by the Manifesto Research Group (MRG) for the European Consortium for Political Research reveal the following empirical patterns: that parties differentiate their policy positions from one another, that parties rarely leapfrog each other, that parties shift their positions over time but only within ideologically delimited areas of the policy space. These findings are not well explained by existing spatial models of party competition, which typically predict policy convergence and which moreover do not examine temporal patterns of party policies. This article modifies the standard Downsian model to incorporate a concept originally developed by Chapman that, in addition to policies, voters are motivated by nonpolicy considerations arising from such factors as party leaders’ images; social-psychological attachments rooted in class, religion, ethnicity; and so on. For this biased vote model, the author presents illustrative arguments that vote-seeking parties are motivated to differentiate their policy positions from each other, and that over time they can be expected to vary their policy proposals but without leapfrogging—predictions that accord well with the MRG’s empirical findings. He applies the biased vote model to empirical data on the distributions of voter preferences in recent British and French elections. The results support the illustrative arguments, and also suggest that these arguments apply even when the degree of voter bias in the electorate is quite low.


COALITION GOVERNMENT. POLICY MAKING. POLITICAL PARTIES.

The Laver-Shepsle (LS) model assumes that coalition government partners can never cooperate to agree policy jointly but must allocate ministerial portfolios between them, with each side’s ministers acting as partisan barons in their departments. Portfolio allocations do indeed make some initial difference as a stage through which all coalition negotiations must pass. However, in the LS pure model, their empirical significance for a coalition’s eventual policy stance is greatly exaggerated, ignoring the importance of a range of governance mechanisms in fostering policy coalescence. Theoretically, one should also expect two rational parties always to offer policy stance concessions in bargaining, which move away from the LS lattice points, in many circumstances maximizing their joint welfare. Pressure from voters, activists, party backers, and the media will be for a coalition deal more comprehensible
than the lattice points for nonelite audiences, located somewhere along the contract
line from party A’s optimum to party B’s optimum.

0672
POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS. POLITICAL COMPETITION. POLITICAL PARTIES.

What should major parties out of power do to win elections? To answer that ques-
tion, one needs to understand what these parties do to recapture political ascendancy
and whether their actual behavior differs from their optimal behavior. In this article,
we propose a systematic, replicable method of identifying the competitive strategies
that American parties out of power have adopted in their pursuit of the presidency. The
authors present a taxonomy of party strategies, which they operationalize by compari-
son of utility functions for hypothetical voters. Using both directional and proximity
models of issue voting, we compute these utility functions for each presidential elec-
tion from 1852 to 1996, controlling for variables that systematically affect voting,
including economic conditions and incumbency. These results suggest that, contrary
to the views of many political scientists and party activists, there is no single optimal
strategy through which parties out of power can regain it. Rather, several competitive
strategies offer similar prospects for electoral success.

0673
Mair, Peter. The limited impact of Europe on national party systems. West European
EUROPE. EUROPEAN UNION. INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. NATIONALISM.
POLITICAL PARTIES.

A brief overview of the changing format and mechanics of national party systems
suggests that the direct impact of European integration has been severely limited.
Although the national party systems as constituted within the European electoral
arena may show signs of such an impact, this has as yet failed to spill over into the
strictly domestic arena. Two major reasons are suggested to account for this seeming
imperviousness of the national party systems. First, the absence of an arena in which
parties may compete at European level for executive office, an absence that thereby
hinders the development of a European party system as such. Second, the misplaced
division of competencies associated with the national and European electoral arenas,
whereby issues concerning the European political system itself are largely excluded
from the national political arena to which they properly belong. The study concludes
by suggesting that it is through the indirect process of depoliticization that Europe
may exert its greatest impact on national party systems.

0674
Zilliacus, Kim O.K. New politics in Finland: the greens and the left wing in the 1990s.
GREEN PARTY (FINLAND). POLITICAL PARTIES.

This article examines the development of two Finnish political parties (the Green
Association and the Left-Wing Alliance [LWA]) from a New Politics perspective,
focusing on changes in their electoral, programmatic, and organizational profiles,
with emphasis on the composition and value-related features of their electorates in
1991, 1995, and 1999. The results confirm the position of the Greens as the prime representative of New Politics; but, the party has moved away from its antiestablishment role and its supporters increasingly share the social and attitudinal characteristics of the average electorate. The LWA, on the other hand, has moved toward a New Politics profile and a gradual dealignment of its old male-dominated working class electorate; but its central characteristics and its supporters are still firmly entrenched in an old leftist format.

Electoral Politics

0675

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. EUROPEAN UNION. POLITICS. UNEMPLOYMENT.

This article explores alternative hypotheses for variation in the political salience of unemployment. The differences between the political opinions of employed and unemployed people are used as a proxy for the qualitative importance of unemployment. Unemployment is not found to be more politically salient when government support of the unemployed is more generous or when jobless spells are shorter. Far more important is the character of employment. Unemployment is more politically salient in countries in which employment guarantees a basic livelihood. The data also suggest that unemployment has greater salience in countries in which the unemployed are more likely to use state employment exchanges in searching for work. Two conclusions are suggested. First, public toleration of high unemployment in recent decades may be partly the result of the rise of atypical work arrangements. Second, although it is debatable whether social-democratic protections of employment standards increase unemployment rates, such efforts may inadvertently increase the political costs of high unemployment.

0676

ELECTIONS. POLITICAL IDEOLOGY. U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. VOTING BEHAVIOR.

The authors consider the degree of ideological polarization within and between the parties in the U.S. House of Representatives for the period 1963 to 1996, using the Groseclose, Levitt, and Snyder (1996) adjustment method for Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and American Conservative Union (ACU) scores to ensure over time comparability of roll call voting data. They focus especially on the median House member because they believe that change in the median offers a better measure of the impact of the change in party control than does change in the mean roll-call voting score. This data analysis makes two general points. First and foremost, when the authors looked at the change in the location of the House median voter, they found a dramatic change after the Republicans gained a majority in the House in 1994. After the Republicans became a majority in the House, the ADA median in the House in 1995 to 1996 was at 24, far closer to the Republican median of 4 than to the Democratic median of 83. The shift in median from 1993 to 1994 to 1994 to 1995 involved a change of more than 25 points in one election—far and away the greatest single shift
in ideology of the modern era. In contrast, the mean changed only 1 point over this same period. Second, for the three decades they investigated, they found three historical epochs vis-à-vis the relative locations of the ADA (or ACU) floor median and the ADA (or ACU) floor mean in the U.S. House of Representatives—two inflection points in 1983 and 1994 that are related to trends in regional realignment.

0677

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION. HEALTH CARE REFORM. HEALTH POLICY. POLICY MAKING. U.S. CONGRESS. U.S. PRESIDENTS.

The demise of President Clinton’s 1993 health care reform plan provides a revealing window into the difficulties and hazards of drawing lessons from complex political events. In an effort to identify the causes and implications of the Clinton plan’s failure, students of American health policy have offered a blizzard of alleged historical lessons that purport to explain why the plan, along with its leading alternatives, went down to such a crushing political defeat. On closer inspection, however, many of these putative lessons turn out to be hastily formulated, weakly grounded, and prescriptively inadequate. These deficiencies are by no means unique to the commentary on health care reform in the United States. Rather, they reflect general risks of constructing lessons for action or analysis on the basis of just one or a few striking political events. Although these risks are endemic to historical lesson-drawing, they could be reduced by more careful attention to basic rules of historical comparison and counterfactual analysis. They could also be mitigated by a greater awareness of the fundamental uncertainties that, for a variety of reasons, characterize complex political interactions. Viewing outcomes as uncertain does not preclude forecasting and, indeed, may lead to more nuanced and accurate predictions, as well as to a greater appreciation of historical turning points and moments of meaningful strategic choice.

0678

GEORGE W. BUSH, JR. DEMOCRATIC PARTY (U.S.). ALBERT Gore. RALPH NAder. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. U.S. CONGRESS.

In the aftermath of the strange election of 2000, Nader voters (of which the author counts himself as one) are taking a beating. They are blamed for Al Gore’s defeat and every evil that has happened since. “Now you see what was at stake,” these people say. “You must realize how reckless, self-indulgent, and self-righteous it was to vote for Nader.” Actually, the author replies, what we are seeing in Washington proves the exact opposite. When one looks at the Democratic response to the Bush atrocities, when one remembers how Gore and other members of his party handled the contested election in the fall of 2000, and when one thinks about the other major issues, issues that are not controversial right now because there really is no fundamental disagreements about them between the two parties, then, in the author’s opinion, it ought to be clear that voting for Ralph Nader was the acme of common sense and realism. Although there are major differences between the two parties that Nader should not have denied or minimized—for example, it is unlikely that Gore would have pushed for a tax cut for the rich or have pursued Bush’s policies on the environment—the
democratic response has been less than resounding. There was scarcely any resistance to Bush’s appointment of John Ashcroft to be attorney general, for example, and their protest against the harassment of black voters in Florida was minimal. The author provides other examples of Democrats’ failings to push their agenda, then offers a strategy for the Left to pursue in the next election.


The 2000 Nader campaign positioned the Green Party as the principal electoral opposition to the two corporate parties in the United States. Ralph Nader’s vote was far ahead of all the other third party candidates combined. With nearly 3 million votes, 150,000 volunteers, and hundreds of new local Green organizations formed out of the campaign, the Green Party has the potential to build a viable alternative to the established parties of corporate bipartisanship. Perhaps the best evidence of the Green Party’s new position as an opposition that can no longer be ignored is the constant blame-Nader chorus from Democrats, professional liberal lobbyists, and corporate media pundits that continues unabated 6 months after the election. Therefore, as liberals call for unity inside the Democratic Party, it is important for Greens to keep explaining how conservative the Democrats are in practice. The author offers the following areas in which the Democrats have pursued policies no less conservative than those of the Republicans: arsenic in drinking water, greenhouse gases, global warming, the EPA dioxin study, the National Arctic Wildlife Refuge, ergonomic standards, abortion funding, tax cuts, and the Bankruptcy bill (for the last, the New York liberals Charles Schumer and Hillary Rodham Clinton voted yes, as did 34 other Democrats in the Senate).


Incentive compatibility solutions to social dilemmas change individual consequences of noncooperative and cooperative acts such that self-maximizers will rationally choose to act in ways that promote the public good, that is, to cooperate. The traditional selfish egoism assumption of rational choice requires dilemmas to be solved by either adding some likely punishment to defection or reward to cooperation. Dilemma cooperation can also, of course, be explained by relaxing the narrow self-interest assumption. By allowing for the possibility that outcomes of interdependent interactions are subjectively evaluated by reference to the actor’s own as well as others’ interests, or that people get additional utility (or avoid disutility) by following certain normative codes, cooperation in finitely repeated dilemmas can be rational! By relaxing the self-interest assumption, subjective expected utility (SEU) choice models can explain cooperation in finitely repeated dilemmas. This is consistent with observations of cooperation in the absence of formal egoistic incentives from the earliest experimental work in dilemma behavior. This is also consistent with reported positive correlations between expectations of others’ likely defection and defecting choices. As long as people do not have dominant strategies, then expectations should
affect choice. Notice, however, that the implied decision process of the relaxed SEU model remains largely untested.

0681

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ELECTION MONITORING. FORMER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. LOCAL ELECTIONS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

In this investigation into local elections in developing and transitional countries, the author seeks to highlight typical challenges to the development of local elections, emphasizing the difficulties that appear to be peculiar to local as opposed to national elections. He also attempts to explain why local elections often turn out to be more difficult to manage than national elections, why they are of less interest to the public, and why they are often less satisfactory in outcome. The article gives attention first to differentiating between categories of substantiated elections and then deals with several problems faced in local elections. The problems are size, scale, and complexity of managing such elections, lack of public interest, potential for local manipulation, challenges to fair or adequate media coverage, and campaign financial arrangements. The article sets out to challenge simplification and optimism about local elections in developing and transitional societies.

0682

ELECTIONS. POLITICS. SPAIN.

It is often argued that clientelism is a key feature of electoral mobilization in southern European democracies. This article examines the evidence for clientelism in the Spanish case, assessing the recruitment, redistributive strategies, and electoral performance of governing parties in the 1977 to 1996 period. It finds little evidence of extensive clientelistic mobilization; instead, political parties' use of state resources is largely consistent with their programmatic and ideological positions. Old clientelism from the predemocratic era mostly did not survive the change of regime, whereas new clientelism based on the expansion of state employment contributed to the Socialist Party's organizational consolidation, but was not a significant feature of its strategy of electoral mobilization.

0683

GREEN PARTY (U.S.). RALPH NADER. POLITICAL IDEOLOGY. POLITICAL LEFT. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. PURITANISM.

Although the author voted for Ralph Nader in the presidential election of 2000, he argues that in some ways Nader and the Green Party offer a poor model for the future of independent politics. He is struck by a kind of loyalty oath among Nader supporters that has stood in the way of serious debate and analysis. This article is a preliminary contribution to critical rethinking of one aspect of the campaign, which is summarized as follows: Nader and the Greens abjectly turned their backs on people's...
reasonable and deeply human longings for abundance, joy, cornucopia, variety, and mobility, substituting instead a puritanical asceticism that romanticizes hardship, scarcity, localism, and underdevelopment—a traditionalism that blinds one to the possibility of utopia. This betrays vestiges of an Old Left/New Left puritanism, a continuing quest for a kind of a faux working-class authenticity and a reaffirmation of the Protestant ethic.

0684

ELECTIONS. NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECT. SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS. UNITED KINGDOM. VOTING BEHAVIOR.

The concept of a neighborhood effect within British voting patterns has largely been discarded because no data have been available for testing it at the appropriate spatial scales. To undertake such tests, bespoke neighborhoods have been created around the home of each respondent to the 1997 British Election Study survey in England and Wales, and small-area census data have been assembled for these to depict the socioeconomic characteristics of voters’ local contexts. Analyses of voting in these small areas, divided into five equal-sized status areas, provides very strong evidence that members of each social class were much more likely to vote Labour than Conservative in the low-status than in the high-status areas. This is entirely consistent with the concept of the neighborhood effect, but alternative explanations are feasible. The data provide very strong evidence of micro-geographical variations in voting patterns, for which further research is necessary to identify the processes involved.

0685

ELECTIONS. H. ROSS PEROT. POLITICAL PARTIES. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. VOTING BEHAVIOR. THIRD PARTIES.

Different voting systems can lead to different election outcomes even when voter preferences are held constant. Using the 1992 election as an example, it is shown how the outcome of every positional vote system can be found. Similarly, every possible cumulative and approval vote outcome is shown. Multiple vote systems, like approval and cumulative voting, have disturbing properties. Using the 1992 election as illustration, it is shown how a candidate who wins under every positional vote system, who wins every pairwise vote (i.e., is the Condorcet winner), and who has the most first-place and least last-place votes may nevertheless lose under approval or cumulative voting. Similarly, it is shown how a candidate who loses under every positional system, who loses every pairwise vote (i.e., is the Condorcet loser), and who has the least first-place and most last-place votes may nevertheless win under approval or cumulative voting.
0686

ANTIDEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS. DEMOCRATIC PARTY (U.S.). RALPH NADER. THIRD PARTY CANDIDATES.

The authors seeks to discuss, apart from the question of Ralph Nader’s handling of the 2000 presidential election, several other issues that address the larger significance and future significance of this campaign. The three issues she discusses are, first, the flattening out of political debate in this country; second, the issue of the Democratic party, whose relationship with the Left she characterizes as “masochistic”; and, third, the question of third party movements and whether anything about the Nader campaign should induce the Left to think in new ways about this question.

Political Movements

0687

ANARCHISM. ANTIGLOBALIST MOVEMENTS. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS. FREE TRADE AREA OF THE AMERICAS. GLOBALIZATION. POLITICAL MOVEMENTS. POLITICAL PROTESTS. QUEBEC CITY. SEATTLE. WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION.

The article begins with a quote from the journal of a protestor in Quebec City, site of the Free Trade of the Area of the Americas (FTAA) summit held there on April 21 and 22, 2001: “No longer will an affinity for used clothes, a refusal to eat fast food, a vegetarian lifestyle, and a subscription to Adbusters suffice. I want to buy myself a gas mask, tear this world apart, and rebuild from the roots with others of like mind.” Anyone wanting evidence of the continuing radicalization of the movement that disrupted the World Trade Organization (WTO) meetings in Seattle in late 1999 had only to come to Quebec City during the third week of April 2001. Not only did the protests there against the Summit of the Americas (designated to create an FTAA by 2005) draw somewhat larger numbers than the Seattle actions but, arguably more significant, the political mood indicated an ongoing swing to the Left among participants. The radicalization was measurable in the stronger positions taken by the popular organizations that came together in the Hemispheric Social Alliance and in the widespread support for anticapitalist ideas among thousands of the most determined, courageous, and inventive activists who took to the streets, holding their ground against teargas-firing riot police on two successive days. For the first time in decades, it is possible to realistically envision the emergence of a new radical Left—an activist anticapitalist left—animated by the tremendous energy and resolve of thousands of young people.
Political Violence

0688

ANTITERRORISM STATUTE. OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING. POLITICAL TERRORISM. STATE GOVERNMENT. U.S. CONGRESS.

The worst case of domestic terrorism in this country’s history, the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, led to the enactment of a landmark antiterrorism statute. Not surprisingly, several of the statute’s provisions strengthen federal power in extraordinary and unprecedented ways to counter the threat of terrorism. Nevertheless, other provisions radically restrict the ability of federal courts to enforce the federal constitutional rights of state prisoners. How could Congress miss the apparent irony of responding to the destruction of a federal courthouse with its own assault on federal judicial power? This article argues that the role of federal habeas corpus has changed substantially over the past three decades. Whereas federal habeas had emerged during the Warren Court as a general forum for supervising state court compliance with constitutional norms, it has now become primarily a forum for death penalty litigation. Congress appears to have recognized this transformation, and the antiterrorism statute confirms that Congress views federal habeas through the lens of the death penalty rather than the lens of federalism. This article explores the costs of the “capitalization” of habeas and the subtle relationship between federalism, federal habeas, and the death penalty.

ADMINISTRATION AND LAW

Administrative Law

0689

ELECTRONIC DATA INTERCHANGE. INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY. PROFESSIONAL ETHICS. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. TECHNOLOGICAL COMMUNICATION.

There are a series of issues—legal, international, and ethical—that will be confronting business as use of Electronic Data Interchange (EDI) gains increasing acceptance. In turn, they expect these issues and the response of business to them to have significant implications for the regulation of business. In this article, the authors discuss what is meant by the term EDI as well as both the pressures moving managers toward EDI utilization and the possible drawbacks to implementation of EDI from the managerial perspective. This analysis suggests that one should expect continued rapid expansion of EDI in the foreseeable future. If this is the case, what will such expansion mean to business and its regulation? The focus of this article is on a series of issues that are likely to arise, highlighting topics included is the fields of communications, ethics, law, and international business. The article concludes with a series of proposed approaches and strategies.
Judicial Review and the Constitution

0690

**FEDERAL COURTS. FEDERALISM. JUDICIAL REVIEW. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. STATE GOVERNMENT. U.S. SUPREME COURT.**

This article considers some of the Supreme Court’s recent efforts at preserving the role of state and local government despite vigorous congressional attempts at regulating in areas that had traditionally been left to local policy making. Focusing on the commerce clause cases and cases interpreting Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, this article ties federalism interests to the Supreme Court’s concerns about the function of the federal courts: the statutes that prompted the Court’s new vigor in limiting congressional power imposed on the workload of the federal courts and on what the Court sees as the judiciary’s exclusive role of constitutional interpretation.

0691

**FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. FEDERALISM. JUDICIAL REVIEW. U.S. CONGRESS. U.S. SUPREME COURT.**

The revival of federalism limits on national power by the U.S. Supreme Court is a happy development for three reasons. First, judicial review is as beneficial and as needed in federalism cases as it is in Fourteenth Amendment cases, and such judicial review does notarize the problems of the countermajoritarian difficulty. Second, Congress cannot be trusted alone to police the federalism boundaries that limit its own power. Finally, federalism is an incredibly important feature of the American constitutional order. This is indicated by (1) the prominence of federalism concerns in the text of the U.S. Constitution, (2) the importance of federalism in other countries around the world today, (3) the fact that the economics of federalism suggest some well-known reasons why constitutionally mandated decentralization is a good thing, and (4) the serious concerns about the dangers of excessive national power implicated by the specific issues that the Supreme Court’s federalism case law touches on.

0692

**JUDICIAL REVIEW. LAWSUITS. SEPARATION OF POWERS. U.S. CONGRESS. U.S. SUPREME COURT.**

The Supreme Court’s recent decisions holding that Congress cannot authorize individuals to sue states proclaim that such sovereign immunity serves the states’ “dignitary interests” by emphasizing “the respect owed them as members of the federation.” What is the interpretive significance of the court’s apparent references to the social meaning of suits against states? This article explores whether the court’s professed concern with maintaining state dignity might be justificatory rather than
rhetorical, with the court invalidating statutes subjecting unconsenting states to private suit because those statutes entailed social meanings that contravene federalism values. Specifically, various expressivist rationales for the court’s sovereign immunity jurisprudence are sketched, and it is suggested that each rationale confronts significant difficulties that undermine the propriety of expressivist reasoning in this context.

0693
FEDERALISM. JUDICIAL REVIEW. SEPARATION OF POWERS. U.S. CONSTITUTION. U.S. SUPREME COURT.
The Supreme Court has issued a series of opinions that turn on the Constitution’s inherent principles of federalism, decisions that have alarmed many a legal scholar. The Court has been attacked for overstepping its bounds and, by some, on the grounds that the federalism-state balance should be maintained through the political process rather than judicial review. This criticism of the judicial enforcement of federalism fails as a matter of constitutional history and on empirical grounds. The Supreme Court in this era deserves praise, not criticism, for its recent federalism jurisprudence.

0694
WILLIAM J. CLINTON. CLINTON-LEWINSKY SCANDAL. INDEPENDENT COUNSEL. JUDICIAL REVIEW. MORRISON V. OLSON. U.S. PRESIDENTS. U.S. SUPREME COURT.
The Clinton scandal led to new interest in the lone dissent of Justice Antonin Scalia in the Morrison v. Olson decision that upheld the independent counsel statute. His claims that the arrangement was a grave threat to presidential power seem prophetic in the midst of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. Nevertheless, the outcome of the scandal points, in the author’s view, to the opposite conclusion. The independent counsel’s powers are no match for the president’s political powers to influence the media coverage of events, mobilize public opinion on his behalf, and marshal support within Congress. The independent counsel lacked an institutional base of power and was constrained from mobilizing a counterresponse in the political realm by the rules of prosecution and the need to appear independent.

0695
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. FEDERALISM. JUDICIAL REVIEW. U.S. CONGRESS. U.S. SUPREME COURT.
The Supreme Court’s revival of federalism as a limit on national power has roots, in part, in the Court’s mistrust of the national legislative process and its sense of institutional competition with Congress. To the extent that the Court is concerned about careless legislating, six rules of “care and craft” in drafting legislation are proposed for members of Congress to consider: develop a factual record, reflect the source of
constitutional authority, tailor the statute to reach “national” and not “local” matters, consider the implications of decentralized enforcement for surviving constitutional challenges as well as for efficacy, consider whether state governments are treated comparably to the federal government, and be particularly cautious in efforts to overrule the effects of the Court’s decisions. To the extent the Court is concerned with its own institutional prerogatives, however, or is committed to a categorical divide between areas constitutionally committed to the states and the federal government, care and craft alone will not be a solution.

0696
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. JUDICIAL REVIEW. JUDICIARY. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. STATE GOVERNMENT. U.S. SUPREME COURT.
A series of decisions by the United States Supreme Court raises the question of whether the federal judiciary will help to induce a major shift toward decentralization. Despite the ambitious hopes of some observers and the desperate fears of others, there are reasons to doubt that the court will implement such a program. The justices are unlikely to persist in protecting states’ rights in part because of their own ambivalence and in part because the idea itself is too self-contradictory to support a consistent interpretive agenda. Even if the court were to overcome these problems, it lacks the capacity to control the relevant behaviors and attitudes. The main potential political allies in a states'-rights campaign—state officials and populist dissenters—are unlikely to have interests compatible with judicial norms or to be effective voices for federalism. In fact, general social and cultural conditions seem to favor further centralization.

0697
FEDERALISM. POLITICAL CONSERVATISM. RACIAL RELATIONS. RELIGION. STATE GOVERNMENT. STATES’ RIGHTS. U.S. SUPREME COURT.
Throughout American history, states’ rights have been used as a cover to hide less respectable interests such as race, class, religion, power, and money. Because reforms in racial justice and social equality have come primarily from the federal government as a result of the Civil War and the New Deal, states’ rights have usually been used to promote conservative interests. Today’s conservative Supreme Court majority, led by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, has imposed limitations on federal power to curtail the rights of women, religious groups, the elderly, racial minorities, and other disadvantaged groups. Asserting a wide range of benefits from strong state sovereignty, few of which do in fact exist, the conservatives have shrunk the scope of the commerce clause, developed implied limitations on federal authority, and narrowly construed the Civil War amendments. Yet, despite their federalist rhetoric, the conservative justices have not hesitated to strike down state and local legislation and other action enhancing individual rights—and this notwithstanding their frequent criticism of judicial activism in other areas.
Legal Profession

0698

ATTORNEY CERTIFICATION. INTEREST GROUPS. LOBBYING. RENT SEEKING. STATE GOVERNMENT.

Using the case of attorney certification, the authors examine the relative validity of two explanations for professional regulation at the state level—consumer benefit and supplier advantage—that are provided in the policy-making literature. Some states establish government certification programs, whereas others validate private programs. In others, attorney certification is illegal. The authors find a strong relationship between lobbying by the legal profession and the existence of certification programs, but they determine that there is no relationship between interest in consumer protection and the existence of certification programs. The article concludes with a brief discussion of the political dynamics of professional regulation at the state level.

Criminal Law and Law Enforcement

0699

COURTROOM PROCEDURE. CRIMINAL LAW. ENTRAPMENT DEFENSE. NORTH CAROLINA.

This volume, which addresses the entrapment defense, is the second in a series of works dealing with criminal law defenses. The first chapter sets the stage for the discussion of North Carolina’s rules of entrapments. It reviews the federal origins of the defense and the continuing importance of federal law in the development of this defense. The second and third chapters discuss the substantive rules of entrapment and related defenses in North Carolina. Chapter 2 discusses in some detail the test for establishing entrapment in the state, which requires that the defendant show both that the government induced him or her to commit the offense and that he or she was not predisposed to commit the offense. Chapter 3 discusses related defenses, ones sometimes raised along with or in lieu of an entrapment offense. The remaining chapters discuss questions that may arise in the trial of cases involving an entrapment defense; Chapter 4 discusses procedural issues—for example, the confusing rules on whether a defendant may deny having committed the offense alleged and still claim entrapment. Chapter 5 discusses common evidentiary issues that may arise at trial, including the admissibility of evidence of the defendant’s prior crimes or other wrongs. Chapter 6, the closing chapter, analyzes the respective burdens of proof borne by the prosecution and defendant. It also offers guidance regarding the wording of jury instruction on entrapment should the defendant produce sufficient evidence to warrant submitting the defense to the jury.

BANGLADESH. PRISON ESCAPEES. PRISON INMATES. RESPONSIBILITY ALLOCATION.

The article argues that explanations of problematic governance are institutional rather than organizational and have their roots in the deep structures of society. Bangladesh is used as an exemplar for such analysis, deploying the notion of the institutional responsibility square comprising four institutional domains of state, market, community, and household. A prison or total institution metaphor is used to describe the ways in which different classes are obliged to pursue their livelihoods, entrapped within the problematic social embeddedness of these four institutional domains. The article develops this argument via three themes: permeability between these domains (i.e., blurred moral boundaries between public and private behavior); problem of legitimation of public institutions, given this permeability; and the incorporated rather than independent characteristics of civil society, thus limiting optimism about its potential to create reform. Nevertheless, the article offers a strategic agenda of institutional improvement (i.e., escape from the prison) based on the principles of shifting people’s rights from the problematic, uncertain informal sphere toward the formal realm.

ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMY

Economic Policy


ECONOMIC INCENTIVES. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. NORTH CAROLINA. STATE GOVERNMENT.

In an era of strong global competition, national, state, and local governments are vying to attract and retain investment by international firms by increasing the range and value of public incentives for businesses to invest in their jurisdictions. A survey of executives in 118 internationally owned firms in North Carolina reveals that they rank state incentives low in a list of factors that they believe attract foreign-owned companies and retain them in the state. Labor force, transportation, quality of life, and overall business climate factors are consistently ranked highest by business executives, and state tax, finance, plant services, and marketing assistance are consistently ranked low. Questions concerning the effectiveness, appropriateness, and equity of such incentives and their impacts on influencing domestic and international firms to choose locations in a state or locality continue to be debated. Why do governments persist in such questionable policies? Often, perception offsets reality in public policy making. The political need to “do something,” even if it is ineffective, a follow-the-herd mentality, fear of political criticism, and an unwillingness to disarm unilaterally all seem to explain the persistence of state incentive policies that even the intended beneficiaries claim are of low priority in their decisions.
Economic Development

0702

COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS, ECONOMIC ANALYSIS, FISCAL POLICY, INVESTMENTS, PROJECT ANALYSIS.

This handbook is designed to provide project analysts with a wealth of analytical tools grounded in economic theory that integrates financial, economic, and fiscal analysis, thereby permitting analysts and decision makers to examine a project from the perspective society and of the principal stakeholders, particularly the implementing agency. The book opens with an overview of economic analysis: its aims, the main questions analysts should answer, the main steps they should follow, and the minimum information the analysis should convey to decision makers to enable them to make informed choices. It continues with a conceptual framework addressing economic opportunity costs, risk analysis, and the process of economic analysis, with an emphasis on the transparency principle. Alternative frameworks are considered: the use or nonuse of comparisons, the private sector counterfactual, and separable components of analysis. Cost-benefit analysis is explained next in “getting the flows right.” The issue of prices is then considered, followed by the valuation of environmental externalities and the issue of cost-effectiveness of projects. Case studies are then addressed, relating to the economic evaluation of education projects, health projects, and transportation projects. Risk and sensitivity analysis follows, with gainers and losers rounding out the discussion. Appendices address the rationale for public provision and the technical aspects of economic analysis and development.

0703

ECONOMIC GROWTH, POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, PUBLIC POLICY.

The paper analyzes the divergence of economic growth in post-Communist countries along geographical lines. It examines the role of culture, manifested in the form of civil society, social capital, trust, religious and business ethics, and historical experience in the economic growth. Multivariate regression, a path (structural equation) model, and sensitivity analysis are used to determine direct and indirect effects of culture, policy, corruption, war, initial economic conditions, and ethnicity on the economic growth in 28 post-Communist countries in 1990-1998. The statistical analyses show that a cultural index, which reflects civil society strength, the proportion of Catholics and Protestants in the population, and historical experience, has the strongest effect on growth, economic reform, macroeconomic stabilization policy, and corruption.

CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS. EUROPEAN UNION. FEDERALISM.

This article analyzes the development of environmental regulation in the European Union (EU) from the perspective of comparative federalism. It presents a theory of regulatory federalism that explains how the basic institutional structures of federal-type polities shape the development of regulatory policy. The article assesses the theory by systematically comparing the development of environmental regulation in the EU, the United States, Canada, and Australia. The analysis suggests that the EU’s institutional structure encourages the development of a U.S.-style pattern of regulation, characterized by detailed, nondiscretionary rules and a litigious approach to enforcement.


ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT LAW. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. NORTH CAROLINA. STATE GOVERNMENT.

This volume addresses the law that frames and guides economic programs undertaken by North Carolina local government. Because it concerns economic development law and not economic development in general, the book emphasizes those topics that have attracted legislative and judicial attention. The book opens with the constitutional issues that continue to affect economic development programs. The opening chapter is the most densely legal chapter of the book and is more likely to be of use to county and city attorneys than to their clients. Chapter 2 discusses the statutory authority for substantive economic development programs in North Carolina and considers various legal issues that arise under the current statutory framework. It also discusses incentive policies and offers suggestions for drafting contracts with companies whose decisions are based on economic incentives. Chapter 3 discusses the statutory procedures that governments must follow in carrying out economic development. By and large, these procedures are activated whenever a local government wished to offer incentives to a particular company. Sample forms are included. Chapter 4 covers two topics. First, it discusses financing economic development, especially the state and federal rules that govern borrowing for economic development projects. Second, it describes three possible organizational forms for economic development within local government (line departments, economic commissions, and private nonprofit corporations) and compares the legal characteristics of the three forms. Finally, Chapter 5 describes the principal incentives offered by the state of North Carolina to companies locating or expanding within the state.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT. RESEARCH TRENDS.

In recent years, local governments have concentrated on revitalizing their local economies through economic development policy, which raises a number of important political and legal issues. However, the political attraction of jobs, the popularity of professional sports, and the public’s anticipation of obtaining “big league” status stifle a critical probing of these issues. One result has been a systematic pattern of one-sided interactions in favor of entrepreneurs, particularly those who control professional sports franchises. This pattern threatens to undermine the effectiveness and legitimacy of the development policy-making process. This article clarifies these costly though less obvious issues and provides a framework for considering them more candidly, and hopefully, more effectively.

Economic Reform and Restructuring


AFRICA. ECONOMIC REFORM. POSTINDEPENDENCE PERIOD. PROFESSIONAL ETHICS. ZAMBIA.

This study examines distinctive economic reform measures pursued in postindependent Zambia and ethical problems that plagued the reform process. The study begins with a review of the philosophy of Zambian Humanism, the ideology that guided Zambia’s early reform initiatives. Specific reform measures pursued within the framework of humanism focused on: increased state control of the economy, indigenization of the public and private sectors, accelerated development of the rural sector, and use of a series of policy measures to curb domestic exploitation. Beginning in the mid-1980s, deepening economic crisis forced the government to retract most humanist-based reform measures in favor of World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) induced reforms within the framework of structural adjustment and economic liberalization. Post-Humanism reform initiatives built on previous World Bank and IMF formulated framework, but stalled due in part to increase in ethical misbehavior in higher levels of government.

Regulation


CORPORATE BOARDS. FAMILY FIRMS. FINANCIAL DISCLOSURES. HONG KONG. INDEPENDENT NONEXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. REGULATION.

Our study examines whether comprehensive financial disclosures, used as a proxy for corporate boards’ responsiveness, are positively associated with the proportion of
independent nonexecutive directors (INDs) on corporate boards, and whether family control of the firm has an impact on this association. The findings suggest that the ratio of INDs to the total number of directors on corporate boards is positively associated with the comprehensiveness of financial disclosures, and this association appears to be weaker for family controlled firms compared with nonfamily controlled firms.

**0709**


**ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. POLITICAL CRISIS. POLITICAL REFORM. REGULATORY REFORM. SOUTH KOREA.**

Korea has undertaken all-out efforts to reform its economy and government to be ready for the new era of global competition and overcome the current economic crisis. Public sector reform seeks to liberalize the market economy by removing unnecessary government interventions in the private sector. The realization of the “four S’s”—a small but strong government with the smarts to manage future uncertainties and a sensitivity to the people’s needs—is the ultimate vision for the public sector reform. Regulatory reform called for at least 50% of all government regulations eliminated by the end of 1998 and the rest of the regulations improved based on a set of rational principles. One key aspect of regulatory reform is focused on removing barriers to foreign direct investment. Epochal changes in the public sector including governmental regulations are expected to bring Korea up to global standards for business competition and government performance.

**0710**


**ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION. MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES. REGULATION. SMALL BUSINESSES.**

An emerging point of agreement is that environmental policy efficacy and implementation efficiency are most likely to be achieved by an appropriate balance between command-and-control and self-regulation methods. The author uses data from a unique survey of individuals, both management and nonmanagement, in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in England and Wales to ascertain whether the corporate perspective is equally supportive of such an empathetic balance. Multiple research methods including interviews, a questionnaire, and focus groups with individuals were used to explore management and nonmanagement attitudes to the importance of compliance with, and the effectiveness of, regulation. Compliance with regulation is viewed as morally right both by management and by nonmanagement; however, the effectiveness of regulation is questioned. Nonmanagement in particular demands strong enforcement and penalties; management demands consistent regulation to ensure a level playing field. Both question whether all regulation is relevant to environmental protection. Although self-regulation is supported in theory, this is because of the perceived weakness of reactive regulation. Individuals suggest that the majority of SMEs are not taking any, or only minimal, steps to self-regulate. The potential for a balance between command-and-control and self-regulation approaches receives only cautious support from management and nonmanagement.
Privatization

0711

CONTRACTING, PRIVATIZATION, PUBLIC ENTERPRISE REFORM, PUBLIC ENTERPRISES.

Governments have long used public enterprises (PEs) as instruments to achieve their social and economic development goals. In the absence of private entrepreneurs with capital and willingness to take risks, particularly long-term, low-return investment, PEs filled the need. This rationale was supported by nationalist, socialist, and autarkic policies, by which PEs were expected to meet the needs of the nation, with the minimum need for foreign investment or imports. However, by the 1980s, it became evident that protection from competition and bankruptcy allowed state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to become inefficient, becoming a drain on the economies in which they operated. Developing the concept of performance contracting, this chapter outlines some of the principal issues of privatization and PE reform and suggests some of what the author regards as practical approaches to resolving them. Performance contracting should coexist with privatization, he contends, and be managed by the same central agency, such as is done in Ghana. If a PE needs restructuring to make it salable, the PE in the restructuring should be spelled out and included in the contract among the other goals, as in Bolivia. This would counter the common tendency of PE managers to take a negative stance against impending privatization; in fact, managers who prove their worth through performance contracts have the best chance of retaining their jobs.

0712

AUSTRALIA, CONTRACTING, PRIVATE SECTOR, PUBLIC SECTOR, RISK ANALYSIS, ROMAN LAW OF CONTRACTS.

Under Roman government, according to Livy, partnerships entailed an arrangement whereby the government carried the risk and the business received the profit. An examination of several contracting and partnership arrangements entered into by a subnational government in Australia suggests that this precedent remains widely in place in that country today. This chapter examines the basic ideology that led to the preservation of the Roman model of government-business commercial relationships discussed by Livy (Lewis & Reinhold, 1966). Several partnership-style activities are also reviewed to illustrate the challenges and opportunities that arise when a government aiming to meet its budgetary and policy goals has entered into some type of business agreement with a private sector organization. Both macro-level and micro-level arrangements are examined. These situations typically occur when government works with business to create an electricity market and outsources particular infrastructure
projects such as motorways, railways, and water treatment. A key aim of this chapter is to develop a less idealistic view of government-business partnership development and to propose an approach to contracting that assess the potential benefits, not only for the contractors, but for civil society as well.

0713
AUSTRALIA. PRIVATIZATION. PUBLIC ENTERPRISE REFORM.

Over almost 200 years of its settled history, Australia steadily established, and occasionally disposed of, public enterprises. Except for the recent period, ideology has been significant in this process only on rare occasions; mostly the relevant decisions were taken on severely pragmatic assessments of socioeconomic need. The authors offer a brief sketch of this history in the opening section of this chapter. They then seek to show that Australia embarked seriously on a program of public enterprise management reform from the 1970s. This major thrust continued through the 1980s, even as some other Western polities led by the United Kingdom and New Zealand were embarking on extensive asset sale, the countries of Eastern Europe were shifting dramatically from public sector to private sector orientations, and many developing countries were moving similarly in deference to pressures from international financial institutions. This history shows that Australia was in no sense a leader in the privatization movement. However, the desire to sell off public enterprises has come with a rush in the mid-1990s. In the final section of this chapter, the authors seek to describe and analyze this dramatic shift.

0714
PRIVATIZATION. PUBLIC REFORM. RESEARCH TRENDS.

From Communist China to the Islamic Republic of Iran, there has been a sweeping privatization policy adopted across the world. Has privatization worked, the author asks; is it good public policy? Comparative studies show mixed results at best, the author notes, and the viability of the privatization policy depends on several factors, indicating various contingencies for its viability as a public policy. Fundamental reform of public enterprise management systems is a highly recommended policy option. This introductory chapter tends to deal with these questions and to put the whole controversial issue of privatization into policy and administrative perspective. First, some of the forces influencing privatization are discussed, then different types of privatization are identified, followed by a presentation of the forms of privatization. Then, to conclude the chapter, the author provides a discussion of alternatives to privatization as suggested policy options.
0715


IRAN. ISLAMIC REVOLUTION. PRIVATIZATION. PUBLIC ENTERPRISE REFORM.

This chapter discusses the post-Islamic revolutionary trend of privatization in Iran and makes suggestions as to ways for pursuing a privatization policy. Several cautionary points are outlined, including the dangers of privatization. Privatization is not a panacea or substitute for effective governance and administration, the author points out; it is only one of many policy options governments can consider with regard to reforming the economy and improving administration. With privatization, the government’s responsibility to the people and economy does not end; in fact, the author contends, its responsibility will increase in the form of regulation, control of negative externalities, provision of basic public goods, and contract management. Alternative options to privatization include development of cooperatives, private-public partnerships, and reform of public enterprise management. Maintaining a balance between social equity and fairness on one hand, and efficiency and effectiveness on the other, is critically important for effective governance and administration, especially in post-revolutionary Iran.

0716


CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT. FLORIDA. PRIVATIZATION. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

The results of empirical research on the question of whether contracting out to private providers results in greater efficiency and higher quality of service are mixed. This situation is partly attributable to the methodological challenges posed by the comparison of public with private service delivery. This article will look at the State of Florida Child Support Enforcement Program’s experiences with evaluating the state’s child support location and collection contracts. An analysis of the evaluation process in Florida will illustrate some of the methodological problems cited in the literature on privatization and provide some insight on how to avoid these problems in future research.

0717


DEREGULATION. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ECONOMIC RATIONALIZATION. PRIVATIZATION. PUBLIC ENTERPRISE REFORM.

In developing nations, the market-oriented policies such as deregulation, privatization, liberalization, and rationalization were adopted or imposed largely under programs known as stabilization and structural adjustment. Among these policies,
however, the privatization of public assets, programs, and services has been one of the most influential and noticeable changes in the recent history of policy reform. Such a critical policy shift—rationalized on various grounds and created by various national and international factors—has serious economic, political, and social implications for developing nations. In this regard, this chapter attempts to address the following issues: (1) the concepts, forms, and events of privatization; (2) the rationales and causes of the current privatization measures; (3) the adverse implications of privatization for various social groups and classes; and (4) the potential policy alternatives for overcoming such adverse outcomes brought about by privatization. The emphasis of this article is on Asian, African, and Latin American companies that have adopted various forms of privatization in recent years. Moreover, the main focus of the article is on the adverse or critical impact of privatization of developing societies, because in the prevailing literature, there is no dearth of arguments endorsing privatization and glorifying its outcomes. Thus, there is a need for more critical studies on this policy issue.


CONTRACTING. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. PRIVATE SECTOR. PRIVATE SECTOR MYTHOLOGY. PUBLIC SECTOR. UNITED STATES.

Privatization, a term so new that few not-terribly-old dictionaries do not carry it, is the government’s use of the private and independent sectors to deliver public policies and improve the content and implementation of public programs. The heavy uses by American state and local governments of the private/independent sectors to implement public policies is a phenomenon peculiar to the United States. In this country, there exists a pervasive myth that “business is better”—that private enterprise is more efficient and effective in getting the job done than is “the incredible bulk” of government. Although the efficiency of the private sector is an unproven thesis, it nonetheless remains a deeply held belief, even among public administrators. This and similar orthodoxies have had a profound effect at all levels of government, although the “businesslike” constraints on federal versus state and local government have been different; these differences are discussed here. Although privatization is established, it is no panacea, the author asserts. Still, it does have its uses.


PRIVATIZATION. PROGRAM EVALUATION. PUBLIC ENTERPRISES. SOUTH KOREA.

Privatization is a long-term and complex process involving changes in attitudes, values, perceptions, and mentality. The president of the Republic of Korea and line ministries are pursuing an ambitious course of privatization. Based on common research questions concerning privatization policy, this paper has two objectives: first, to review the past performance of South Korea’s privatization policy, and
second, to evaluate the new institutional arrangements for the privatization of state-owned enterprises designed by the current government.

0720

ANTIPRIVATIZATION MOVEMENTS. COST-EFFECTIVENESS ANALYSIS. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE. ECONOMIC POLICY. PRIVATIZATION. PUBLIC SECTOR.

Is privatization the optimal economic strategy for every situation? Are there conditions under which public sector provision of goods and services might be more appropriate than relegating the task to the private sector? Several studies have taken a financial approach to the question of economic growth, arguing that either public or private sector ownership can achieve an efficient use of resources. An available capital market, transparent transactions and subsidies, a market environment, managerial incentives, financial autonomy and accountability, and audit capability, if present, contribute to economic growth, whether the producers are private or public. This chapter offers a brief evaluation of recent privatization efforts and guidelines for achieving increased effectiveness and legitimacy in providing goods and services under public sector control. Combining traditional values with postmodern approaches to governance may increase economic effectiveness and enhance regime legitimacy, thus contributing to a climate supportive of the financial conditions that contribute to economic growth.

0721

INDIA. PRIVATIZATION. PUBLIC ENTERPRISE REFORM. PUBLIC SECTOR.

The creation and steady expansion constitutes perhaps the single most conspicuous development in independent India’s public administration. This article traces the sources of this expansion, then goes on to describe the deepening crisis of the public sector. The year 1991 represents a watershed in the history of public enterprises with the initiation of a six-pronged reform. The reform seeks to improve the performance of all public enterprises, to restructure the nonviable industries by referral to the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR), to provide for a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) that grants management greater autonomy but also greater requirements of accountability, and to enact other reforms. Each of the reforms is discussed and their effect evaluated.

ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRALIZATION. GREECE. ORGANIZATIONAL FAILURE. ORGANIZATIONAL POLITICS. POLICY MAKING. PRIVATIZATION.

Mainstream approaches explain privatization policy failure by taking account of the surrounding sociopolitical and economic context. This article examines the unsuccessful Greek privatization over the first half of the 1990s by following an alternative approach. It looks at the obstacles originating from intragovernmental politics and the state organizational structures and resources. Contrary to what the British or French experience would suggest, the adoption of a statist, impositional policy-making strategy in the Greek case failed to achieve policy effectiveness. Indeed, it probably ended up accelerating policy failure. The employment of statism as a policy-making strategy was undermined by the structural weaknesses of the state.


EAST GERMANY. GERMANY. NATIONAL REUNIFICATION. PRIVATIZATION. WEST GERMANY.

In addressing the question whether there is anything to be learned from the German privatization experience that is transferable to other political and economic settings, the author reviews the debate on the issue in Germany. This chapter begins with an introductory segment, which examines the complexities associated with the privatization strategies when, metaphorically speaking, moving from Marx to market. The second segment reviews the limited privatization experience of West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany [ERG]) prior to 1989, the year of East Germany’s collapse. Finally, a recapitulation is provided of the discussions that led to the decision of the German government, and especially Chancellor Helmet Kohl and his advisers, to accept the risk of economic unification in the hope that it would result in political and social unification in due course. This decision was founded on economic and political assumptions that led to a heavy reliance on a few economic actors, principally the banks and a trust agency, the Treuhandanstalt. The chapter employs a multiperspective approach to these transformational processes, inasmuch as no single perspective has been successful in capturing the dynamics of newly emerging state systems. Several theoretical lenses are examined: a neoliberal lens (economic), an institutional lens (organizational and administrative), and a political lens (democratic decision making).
Privatization in France is a recent phenomenon that cannot be understood without a perspective on the country’s long history of nationalization and the state’s long accepted leadership role in managing the economy and in promoting industry. Modern state ownership and control of business began in the Third Republic, reached its pinnacle in the Fifth Republic, then, in the mid to late 1980s, started a precipitous decline as privatization became the order of the day. Initially a matter of neoliberal ideology, with the political Right in France following the lead of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, the push for privatization was also related to the pressures of globalization. Considerations of efficiency were barely an issue at the time of privatization: There is little evidence to suggest that French public firms do worse than French private sector firms or foreign firms, regardless of ownership. This chapter traces the course of privatization after the Socialists lost the election in 1981 to the curb and modification of the process when the Socialists regained power in 1997. Privatization is likely to continue, the author contends, albeit at a somewhat slower pace, with the government selling off large blocks of shares but retaining a controlling interest.

Privatization has left a lasting impact on the United Kingdom, and the full ramifications of the process are as yet incomplete despite the change from a Conservative to a Labour government in May 1997. The major utilities will remain in the private sector, albeit under a modified regulatory regime, and further sell-offs of state corporations may follow. The use of contractors and concessionaires to deliver services under the supervision of public authorities will continue to be an instrument of public management reform under the new government. Nevertheless, the approach to privatization is now pragmatic, with the emphasis on finding approaches that offer quality and effectiveness rather than merely cutting the public sector labor force. This is well illustrated by the best value initiative in relations with local government; what matters now is the effectiveness with which public money is spent rather than the narrower concern with cutting spending and driving efficiency up. Above all, the former adversarial tone of central government and its confrontational approach toward local authorities and other public bodies has significantly altered in favor of more consultative approaches and cooperative ways of working.
Employment and Labor Policy

0726

ECONOMIC REFORM. EMPLOYMENT POLICY. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION. LABOR MARKETS.

Governments in the advanced industrial countries increasingly rely on supply-side reforms to intervene in the economy. This article examines one such reform, that of vocational education and training in France, whose successful implementation required that private actors cooperate not with the state but with each other. As demonstrated through an empirical analysis of two employment zones, theories of institutional design that underscore the necessity of sanctioning cannot explain the successful emergence of cooperation because new sanctioning regimes lack credibility under the uncertain conditions of economic reform. The primary obstacle to successful implementation of these reforms is uncertainty about the consequences of reciprocal cooperation, and the article highlights the mutual roles of states and employers' associations in overcoming this uncertainty. Active collaboration between policy makers and employers' associations, which have uniquely good access to private information about firms, is necessary to enable state policies to target those firms that are the most likely potential cooperators.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY

0727

BLACKS. LYNCHING. RACIAL REPARATIONS. RACISM. SLAVERY. VIOLENT CRIME.

Recently, critiques of the burgeoning black reparations movement were issued Adolph Reed, a respected Afro-American radical, and David Horowitz, a leftist-turned-neoconservative. This paper has three interconnected objectives: (1) to explicate Reed's and Horowitz's arguments, (2) to contextualize their arguments, and (3) to suggest an alternative reading of the reparations movement. The first, explication of their argument, has two aspects: explanation and critique of their positions. The second objective requires that their arguments be located in the current sociohistorical and political moment. The third objective is that social analyses attempt to move beyond rejection toward projection; that is, that social critics offer an alternative to the theories and practices that they repudiate.

0728

DISABILITIES. DISABILITY RIGHTS MOVEMENT. POLITICAL LEFT.

Over the course of the past few decades, the socialist left throughout the industrialized West has been challenged to become more inclusive by an array of activist social movements including the women's movement, the Civil Rights movement, the antiracist movement, and the homosexual liberation movement. In each case, fundamental questions have been posited as to how the Left conceives itself and its
commitment to fighting for the equality and liberation of oppressed groups. In the case of the disability rights movements, however, one is faced with the sad reality that few on the Left have even seriously begun to consider the issues at stake, let alone develop a preliminary praxis for disability liberation politics from a socialist perspective. Yet, when neoliberal attempts to roll back the welfare state throughout the West have reached fever pitch, a counterhegemonic politics of disability liberation is more essential than ever for the more than 50 million disabled Americans. What appears in this article is a modest first step toward that goal.

0729
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. JEWS. WOMEN.

Many individuals know that the 1964 murder in Mississippi of two Jewish men—Mickey Schwerner and Andrew Goodman—and their black colleague James Chaney marked one of the most wrenching episodes of the civil rights movement. Few realize, however, that Andrew Goodman had been in Mississippi for one day when he was murdered; Rica Schwerner, Mickey Schwerner's wife, had been organizing in Mississippi for 6 months. This volume follows a group of Jewish women—who come of age in the shadow of the Holocaust and are highly committed to social justice, who put their lives on the line to fight racism. Actively rejecting the post–World War II idyll of suburban, Jewish, middle-class life, these women were strongly influenced by Jewish notions of morality and social justice.

SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Local Government

0730
AFRICA. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. POLITICAL REFORM.

Does decentralization and particularly the creation of democratically elected local government broaden mass political participation and make local government more effective and responsive? Using evidence from two African countries that have decentralized to varying degrees and through different approaches, the study makes two major points: First, although many of the hypotheses and initial findings of the Cornell Participation Project regarding the role of local organizations may still be valid, they remain largely untested in much of Africa because local government reforms have been limited and recent. Second, in the limited number of instances in which reform of local government has occurred in Africa, popular participation directed toward these governments can make them more responsive that would otherwise be the case. This outcome holds, nevertheless, under particular circumstances, notably in which those projects with strong local and international nongovernmental organizational support chose to like to local government as well as to exert influence over policy at other levels of the political system. The fear expressed by some civil society actors that the focus on local government may be narrowing the opportunities of nongovernmental associations to influence development policies is not confirmed in these cases.
This study examines accountability and responsibility as they apply to local government managers in the United States. The Friedrich-Finer debate defined contrasting views of accountability and responsibility, with Finer advancing elected officials and Friedrich advancing the profession and public sentiment for establishing responsibility and accountability for nonelected officials. More recent scholars also include the courts, media, and more precise definitions of public sentiment in addition to those identified earlier by Friedrich and Finer. This study surveyed local government managers, asking them to indicate the importance of these sources of accountability as they define their responsibilities, as they consider new policy options, and as they respond to routine matters related to their jobs. The 488 respondents assigned more importance to their professions than to other sources when they defined their responsibilities, but they rated the governing body more important than others when they considered new policy options or when they responded to routine matters. They assessed court cases and the media last. The study concludes that both Friedrich and Finer provide too narrow a definition of accountability and responsibility. The accountability-responsibility relationship among elected officials, public administrators, and the public occurs in multiple and complex ways. The complexity of this relationship is marked by the need for administrators to be simultaneously empowered (by the definition of their responsibility, both objectively and subjectively) and constrained (through mechanisms of accountability, which then feed into definitions of responsibility). These contradictory, even paradoxical, concepts make it easy for scholars to divide by emphasizing one or the other (as did Friedrich and Finer) rather than to examine how they work together simultaneously to achieve responsiveness from administrative officials in a democratic polity.
that city administrators benefit from progressive leadership approaches. Board/staff cooperation does not emerge in a vacuum. It must be carefully and skillfully nurtured by professional administrators who understand effective leadership practices.

0733

DENMARK. LOCAL GOVERNANCE. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.

With a two-dimensional concept of New Public Management (NPM) as its point of departure, the article points to the development of a specific Danish model of NPM at the local level of government. In the municipalities, the market-oriented NPM dimension has been almost absent and the managerial dimension has been interpreted and translated into a governance-oriented model that combines decentralized self- and user-governance from below with centralized goal-steering from above. This combined model institutes new governing roles including a new leadership role for elected councilors as central goal-steering decision and policy makers. Rather than strengthening the local councilors, the new leadership role has turned out to be problematic for the elected councilors. The problems inherent in the new institutional role as goal-steering decision makers are discussed and arguments are put forward in favor of a more governance and less NPM and government-oriented role for elected councilors. What seems to be needed is another new role that stresses local councilors as cogovernors and guardians of an inclusive and democratic form of local governance.

0734

AFRICA. DEMOCRATIZATION. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. POLITICAL REFORM.

This article argues for a historical synthesis of the 1970s lessons of the effort to achieve sustainable grassroots development with the exploration of the 1980s and 1990s in quest of sustainable political and economic liberalization that have centered primarily around the national level. To do so, the article contends that it is equally necessary to disaggregate, but then integrate, interdependent processes of state reconstruction and democratization. These enterprises require a harvesting of the insights of theory and the levels of practice for each other.

0735

BLAIR GOVERNMENT. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION. LABOUR PARTY (U.K.). LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Enhanced public participation lies at the heart of the Labour government’s modernization agenda for British local government. As the white paper Modern Local Government: In Touch with the People states, “the government wishes to see consultation and participation embedded into the culture of all councils . . . and undertaken across a wide range of each council’s responsibilities” (DETR, 1998, para. 4.6). Such
bold statements suggest that the modernization program is introducing fundamental change into local democratic practices: change that is addressed as much toward altering cultures and attitudes within local government as it is toward creating new opportunities for democratic participation. Yet, the belief that local government should involve the public or get closer to the community is hardly new. The history of British local government is littered with experiments in public participation and consultation (Gyford, 1991; Burns et al., 1994; Stoker, 1997).

0736

APPOINTIVE OFFICE. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION. ELECTIVE OFFICE. LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Although citizen-initiated contacting of municipal bureaucrats has been the subject of extensive research over the past quarter century, there has been relatively little research on the contacting of municipal elected officials or on why citizens might contact elected officials instead of appointed administrators. This research explores that question by using survey data on citizen-initiated contacts with various elected officials and appointed administrators in Atlanta, Georgia. The findings suggest a several-part answer: First, citizens—in Atlanta, anyway—usually prefer to contact city departments directly rather than through their elected officials, presumably because most contacts involve concerns about municipal services that a department must eventually address. Second, citizens contact both departments and elected officials for many of the same reasons; the most prominent reason is perceived problems with services. Third, the contacting of elected officials appears to be influenced by frustration with the bureaucracy (i.e., dissatisfaction with bureaucratic helpfulness when the bureaucracy is contacted) and also by ignorance of the bureaucracy (i.e., not knowing who to contact there). The authors conclude this article with a discussion of the possible implications of the findings for public administrators.

Urban Government and Governance

0737

FISCAL STRESS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. SOCIAL SURVEYS. URBAN GROWTH CONTROL. WISCONSIN.

In this article, the authors examine the relationship between fiscal stress and municipal policy toward growth in Wisconsin cities, villages, and towns. The principal data for this analysis are drawn from two surveys of towns, cities, and villages located in Wisconsin. The surveys were conducted in 1998. The findings provide some support for the argument that cities and villages view growth differently than do towns, which see growth as largely beneficial. To the extent that growth leads to marginal increases in overall costs, cities and villages appeared more willing and able than towns to exact influence through greater growth management efforts.
Decentralization and devolution to the urban level is examined in the context of almost a decade of transition in Eastern European, post-Communist countries, with particular emphasis on Poland. Several factors are proposed as possibly helpful to a reevaluation of reform efforts. These include the need for an overall structural model specifying rules and responsibilities of the administrative apparatus serving various levels, a framework for effectively integrating government with the market economy, the use of sophisticated techniques for policy analysis, decentralization and devolution strategies based on the actual experience of local governments, and better coordination of functions between all levels of government. Finally, the implications of democratic governance for spatial and economic development is explored—both for Polish and other Eastern European cities. The case of Warsaw is given special attention.

Local government and modern urban management techniques will play a key role in the transition of Ukraine’s institutions from a Communist to a free economy and society. This paper provides a historic context for this transition, discusses the problems encountered in building urban management capacities and local government institutions, and explores what it will take to achieve real change. The paper places the problems of revitalization and rebuilding of these Ukrainian institutions in historical perspective, with special attention to inherited patterns of Soviet administrative culture. The Sovietization of urban planning and administration and living standards and the creation of nomenklatura (the main governmental “human resource”), are analyzed as the starting point for rebuilding Ukraine’s local governments. The paper traces the main sources and consequences of “continuous institutional crisis,” such as distrust, corruption, and deterioration of the capabilities of the Ukrainian state. Also examined are the current effects of economic globalization on the development of local and urban governments. Following a review of Ukrainian “path dependence” and recent difficulties in institutional building, the paper outlines the most important tasks for future development and an agenda for Ukraine’s “institutional entrepreneurs.” The paper emphasizes that it is vital to create a professional, rule-based bureaucracy and merit-based municipal civil service.

FRANCE, LOCAL GOVERNANCE, POLICY NETWORKS, URBAN AREAS.

The paper analyzes the changes within two policy domains in one French city. The aim is not so much to demonstrate the role of policy networks but to stress the importance of their articulation within a given political space. The paper does not conclude on the emergence of a new type of network governance but rather shows how urban political elites have deliberately encouraged the formation of policy networks in Rennes. That strategy makes sense in their attempt to strengthen an urban collective actor. Policy networks therefore should not be analyzed autonomously as their impact is largely shaped by the interest and collective goals of the existing regime of governance in Rennes.


INTEREST GROUPS, LAND USE, PUBLIC CHOICE, RENT SEEKING, UNITED KINGDOM, URBAN GROWTH CONTROL.

The policy of urban containment has lain at the heart of British land-use planning for more than 50 years. The author examines the political dynamics underlying the commitment to this policy through the lens of public choice theory. The analysis suggests that macroelectoral shifts in favor of environmental protection have provided a push toward restrictive land-use planning and an emphasis on urban containment in recent years. Evidence of a voluntary approach to regulation in other areas of environmental concern, however, suggests that the peculiar focus on containment is attributable to the political power exerted by a coalition of special interests and public sector bureaucrats who benefit most from this core of the British planning system.


LAND USE, POLAND, URBAN AREAS.

New approaches to urban land-use management are proposed for Poland to treat both national and local problems. Many of these issues are the legacy of several decades under a unitary form of government. Recent Polish law has, in some cases, ignored municipal government’s role in favor of developers and users of the land. Although individual property rights must be enhanced and protected, the role and powers of local government in land-use management must reflect the realities of the current transition to democracy. Unique and specific laws are needed that treat immediate transition problems and provide the resources needed for their resolution.
0743

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. CITY COUNCILS. CITY MANAGERS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. POLITICAL REFORM.

This article presents findings from a national survey examining city manager support for reinventing government. The survey addressed both attitudes and reinvention-related recommendations. The respondents were generally supportive of key reinvention principles, and this support was reflected in the recommendations that they reported. The authors did uncover a range of opinions, though, with some reinvention principles proving controversial. The “true believers” appeared instrumental in steering their communities toward higher levels of reinvention-related activities. They also examined a number of internal and external factors that appear to either support or inhibit reinvention efforts.

0744

ECONOMIC POLICY. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION. SLOVENIA. URBAN DEVELOPMENT. URBAN POLICY.

This article focuses on the recent history of Slovenia’s urban development policy and its implementation during the period following the transition from Communism, which began in the early 1990s. The introduction provides an account of how the perceived need to cooperate jointly with the neighboring countries of Austria and Italy has led to the establishment of regional transborder cooperative institutional frameworks. Thereafter, principal factors involved in devising Slovenia’s urban development policies are identified and discussed. These include demographic trends, regional development trends, trends in urban and construction planning, spatial planning regulation, land-use policy, and local self-government reorganization plans. Finally, the responsibilities of various levels of government are noted with respect to the implementation of a new nationwide development policy.

0745

CITY PLANNING. ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE. HAZARDOUS SITES. SOCIAL CONDITIONS. UNITED KINGDOM.

Urban planning has played an increasing role in response to threats to health and safety, but this can create problematical conflicts with other planning priorities. The author examines how the U.K. planning system deals in practice with the safety implications of hazardous installations involving the storage and use of toxic, explosive, and flammable substances. The responses that have been made by local planning authorities to hazard-development conflicts in the vicinity of hazardous installations are evaluated. A distinction is made between those responses focused on development restraint through refusing permission for housing, community facilities, and other sensitive land uses, and those focused on the hazard source. It is argued that these last
are becoming increasingly significant despite limitations in the statutory powers available. Through focusing on recent developments and drawing on a wide range of experience, the author adds to the existing research literature on planning and hazardous installations in which the evolution of policy and practice in this area has hitherto been rather sporadically examined. The implications of a recent policy focus on brownfield redevelopment, of new European regulations for hazardous sites, and of wider trends in relationships between industry, regulators, and communities at risk are considered.

Local Administrative Consolidation

0746

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. ATHENS, GA. CITY GOVERNMENT. CLARKE COUNTY, GA. COUNTY GOVERNMENT. PUBLIC PERSONNEL. URBAN AREAS.

The city of Athens and Clarke County, Georgia, were unified in January 1991. To help identify the effects of unification, employees of the city and county governments were asked in 1991 (just before the unification was implemented) their opinions about its expected impacts. Then, they were asked in 1992 and 1993 their views on what the impacts had been. The authors found that, after some initial optimism in 1991, the 1992 and 1993 surveys indicated that the employees believed unification had no positive benefits. The authors interpreted these negative results to be the product of the turmoil caused by the transition to a consolidated government. To test their hypothesis, another survey was administered in 1997 when the transition had been completed that showed that employee views of consolidation impacts were more positive than those in 1992 and 1993 but more negative than the 1991 expectations. Comments in the returned questionnaires suggested that many former city and county employees still strongly dislike the unified government. The authors identify and discuss the possible bases for these negative views.

0747

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT. ECONOMIC INCENTIVES.

What accounts for the continuing interest in city-county consolidation? This article examines the role played by public administration (PA) faculty in the promotion of city-county consolidation through a framework that identifies "consolidation entrepreneurs." Beginning with Schneider, Teske, and Mintrom's (1995) research on "public entrepreneurs" and Rosenbaum and Kammerer's (1974) work on city-county consolidation, this article presents a framework for examining the actors that put these proposals on local reform agendas and their incentives for doing so. This article presents the results of a preliminary empirical test of the role played by PA faculty in getting consolidation on local agendas. Using logistic regression to analyze the emergence of consolidation referenda in 66 communities in six southeastern states, the authors find modest support for the idea that presence of PA faculty translates into successful policy entrepreneurship. Future research should more directly test for the
influence of academic and other entrepreneurs on both the initiation of reform propos-
als and the success or failure of those proposals. Such an effort would likely necessi-
tate survey-based research methods to identify the entrepreneurial activities of other
actors such as business, media, and civic groups, in addition to academics.

0748
Fleischmann, Arnold. Regionalism and city-county consolidation in small metro ar-

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT.
URBAN AREAS.

New Regionalism, which emerged during the 1990s, analyzed a wide-ranging
series of problems affecting U.S. metropolitan areas and suggested an equally diverse
array of regional governance approaches for dealing with them. Nevertheless, many
reformers, especially in smaller metropolitan areas, still promote city-county consoli-
dation as the best approach to regional problem solving. This article compares two
consolidated city-county governments with two nonconsolidated ones in Georgia,
which has had more merger referenda than any other state. Elite interviews indicate
that regional issues are unlikely to play an important role in consolidation campaigns,
and consolidation by itself does not guarantee that regional concerns will be
addressed. Leaders in consolidated places (particularly Athens, Georgia) observed
that consolidation’s effect on the political agenda and processes made it much easier
to take on regional issues. Nevertheless, successful regionalism will require state
action to overcome local inertia or hostility.

0749
Gonzalez, Oscar. Previous consolidation efforts in the global metropolitan region of

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT. EL
PASO, TX.

This report compiles a great deal of qualitative data concerning the policy-making
and decision climate in El Paso that have undergirded the consolidation debate up to
the present time. Contained within the report are the following areas: monitoring,
which will demonstrate policy outcome; evaluation, which will establish policy per-
formance; problem structuring, which will outline policy problems; forecasting,
which will predict policy futures; and recommendation, which will substantiate pol-
icy actions. It is the hope of this report that current and future city-county policy mak-
ing will implement several decision-making instruments to transcend existing limita-
tions and create a new vision for a consolidated metro government.

0750
Leland, Suzanne, and Kurt Thurmaier. Metropolitan consolidation success: returning
to the roots of local government reform. Public Administration Quarterly 24(2):202-
222, Summer 2000.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT.
KANSAS CITY, KS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. WYANDOTTE COUNTY, KS.

This article examines the values underlying the decision to consolidate Kansas
City, Kansas, with Wyandotte County, Kansas. Analysis of the consolidation effort
reveals that the principal factor behind the successful consolidation was the
traditional Reform Era value of accountability, both in terms of a reformed professional personnel system and a professional, programmatic budgetary system.

0751

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. CHARLOTTE, NC. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT. MECKLENBURG COUNTY, NC.

Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, have struggled with issues of governance since World War II. Efforts to consolidate the two units have failed repeatedly. Nonetheless, a high level of excellence has been achieved through functional consolidation and interlocal agreements between the two governments and an aggressive policy of annexation by the City of Charlotte. With the notable exception of primary and secondary education, accountability and responsibility—two hallmarks of excellence in governance—are high in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County.

0752

CITY GOVERNMENT. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. REGIONAL GOVERNANCE. REGIONALISM.

New Regionalism combines old wine in old bottles with new approaches to metropolitan problems, both new and long-standing, both real and imaginary. The authors relate findings and conclusions from two decades of research on local public economies to New Regionalism, noting areas of significant agreement as well as differences. Findings are summarized and their implications for New Regionalism are discussed, particularly with regard to “new localism” as a means to address the serious problems of America’s larger cities.

0753

ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT. FISCAL POLICY. INDIANAPOLIS.

Regions that seek to manage rapid growth, as well as those that struggle to attract development, frequently create new governance systems. This article reviews Indianapolis’s UniGov consolidation, which transferred responsibilities for economic development to a countywide government without changing the delivery systems for most other services. The benefits from UniGov included the creation of a city large enough to attract and retain talented political leadership, the physical rebuilding of a downtown core area, and the stabilization of job levels in the downtown area. An unintended consequence was a regressive system to finance redevelopment. The extensive use of abatements and tax increment financing plans for development has increased tax burdens for residents and businesses located in the old city of Indianapolis, but substantial image and economic benefits have accrued to the region.
**0754**

**ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT. JEFFERSON COUNTY, KY. LOUISVILLE, KY.**

Two paths to New Regionalism are being pursued in American metropolises. One route, metropolitan consolidation, focuses on restructuring formal government. The other route, metropolitan governance, aims to restructure intergovernmental relations and processes. In a case study of Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky, the authors compare the two approaches. Following two failed efforts at city-county consolidation, Louisville Jefferson County forged a city-county compact to bring about metropolitan governance, even in the absence of metropolitan government. The compact provides for tax sharing, joint service provision, and a moratorium on new municipal incorporation or annexation. Civic leaders are now calling for metropolitan consolidation. An alternative proposal for the creation of a federated city that would have built on the compact was rejected. After considering both approaches, the authors conclude that a governance strategy will better advance the agenda of New Regionalism.

**0755**

**ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. ATHENS, GA. CLARKE COUNTY, GA. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT. EXPENDITURE LEVELS. GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURES. PUBLIC PERSONNEL. URBAN AREAS.**

Urban reformers and proponents of city-county consolidation claim that consolidated governments reduce costs and deliver services more efficiently. This claim is largely unsubstantiated with the little empirical evidence indicating that expenditures tend to increase after a governmental consolidation. This study offers evidence of greater efficiency and reduced costs in general government or administrative services when the consolidation occurs in a relatively small county. Based on an analysis of real operating expenditures in the United Government of Athens-Clarke County, Georgia, and in three comparison governments, this research finds that overall expenditures increased over time, but that there were cost savings in some but not necessarily all functions and departments. Moreover, the analysis suggests that there is nothing intrinsic in the act of consolidation that will guarantee more efficient operations. Like other governmental reforms, city-county consolidation offers the potential for economies of scale or size, but governmental costs are contingent on the policy decisions of the elected commission, the management initiatives of key professional staff, and the constraints imposed on policy makers and managers by provisions in the consolidated governments’ charter.

**ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION. CITY GOVERNMENT. COUNTY GOVERNMENT. DUVAL COUNTY, FL. JACKSONVILLE, FL.**

This article reviews and reassesses the achievements associated with 30 years of consolidation in Jacksonville-Duval County, Florida—a highly acclaimed experiment that has been frequently proposed but rarely accepted elsewhere. In the 1960s, reformers sought to wrest power from politicians to centralize the executive authority of the mayor. Community elites believed a modernized government would lead to improved governance. Proponents of consolidation have uncritically touted reform, but there are discrepancies between the ideal of reform and its reality, which have implications for citizenry. In this sense, merger advocates are “justifiers” of change. Some social scientists also are justifiers. Others, however, play the role of “clarifiers,” raising important caveats that may undermine reform agendas.

**State and Regional Government**


**ANTI-COMMANDEERING DOCTRINE. NEW YORK V. UNITED STATES. PRINTZ V. UNITED STATES. STATE GOVERNMENT. U.S. SUPREME COURT.**

The anti-commandeering doctrine, recently announced by the Supreme Court in *New York v. United States* and *Printz v. United States*, prohibits the federal government from commandeering state governments: more specifically, from imposing targeted, affirmative, coercive duties on state legislators or executive officials. This doctrine is best understood as an external constraint on congressional power—analogous to the constraints set forth in the Bill of Rights—but one that lacks an explicit textual basis. Should the Constitution indeed be interpreted to include a judicially enforceable constraint on national power—and, if so, should that constraint take the form of an anti-commandeering rule?


**FEDERAL BUDGET. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. PUBLIC FINANCE. STATE GOVERNMENT. STATES’ RIGHTS. U.S. CONSTITUTION. U.S. SUPREME COURT.**

With its 1995 decision in *United States v. Lopez*, the Rehnquist Court made clear that the commerce clause does not grant Congress a plenary police power. Prevailing spending clause doctrine, however, permits Congress to use conditional offers of federal funds in order to circumvent seemingly any restrictions the Constitution might be found to impose on its authority to regulate the states directly. This article first explores three normative arguments in favor of the Court’s abandoning the existing test, set forth in *South Dakota v. Dole*, in favor of one that would better safeguard state autonomy while simultaneously preserving for Congress a power to spend that is...
greater than its power directly to regulate the states. It then proposes a new test under which the courts would presume invalid that subset of conditional offers of federal funds to the states that, if accepted, would regulate them in ways that Congress could not directly mandate. The presumption would be rebutted, and the offer of funds permitted, by a determination that the offer of funds constitutes “reimbursement” spending rather than “regulator” spending.

**0759**

**AGENDA SETTING. FISCAL POLICY. REDISTRIBUTION. STATE GOVERNMENT. STATE GOVERNORS. U.S. STATES.**

The author identifies 82 policies advocated in 320 governors' formal agenda-setting speeches and categorizes them as either redistributive policies (i.e., shifting resources to the needy) or developmental policies (i.e., promoting economic development). Policies pertaining to economic development appear more consistently in governors’ speeches than do policies advocating redistribution of resources. The inclusion of redistributive agenda items is subject to the prevailing political and economic climate. The party of the governor and the condition of a state’s finances appear to affect the number of redistributive items, but not the number of developmental items, included in governors’ agendas.

**0760**

**CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. GERMANY. LÄNDER. SUBGOVERNMENTAL AUTONOMY. UNITED STATES.**

Both the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany have mechanisms by which their component jurisdictional states, or Länder, can either implement federal law or resist such implementation. The authors describe the different constitutional mechanisms by which the two federal regimes induce state cooperation and protect state autonomy. They then offer some speculations as to how such constitutional rules might affect cooperative federalism in the two nations, arguing that the German system provides more categorical and therefore more secure protection of the Länder, whereas the U.S. system provides for a more flexible system of cooperative federalism. This flexibility of the U.S. system, the authors suggest, allows for vertical competition between the federal government and the states, which may provide a valuable tool to combat inefficiency in policy implementation.

**0761**

**CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM. MINNESOTA. POLITICAL CONTRIBUTION REFUND PROGRAM. STATE ELECTIONS. STATE GOVERNMENT. U.S. STATES.**

Minnesota’s Political Contribution Refund Program (PCR) is one of the most innovative campaign finance reforms adopted by the states. This program refunds
100% of individual contributions up to $50 to state candidates and political party organizations that agree to accept spending limits. Minnesota’s Democrat Farmer Labor Party hoped that the PCRP would broaden public participation in state elections by encouraging voters to make modest contributions to the party or candidate of their choice. The authors find that Republican candidates of all types have become more reliant on small, individual contributions since the advent of the PCRP. The same is true of competitive candidates from both political voters parties.


Electronic communication between state legislators and their constituents has great potential for changing legislative representation, but little is known about who uses electronic mail (e-mail) and what kinds of advantages it may create for some constituents. Does the authors ask, the so-called digital divide that exists in the general population across social strata of education, incomes, age, or race have an effect on state legislative representation? In this study, the authors examine the factors shaping the volume of constituent casework requests that Tennessee state legislators receive by e-mail. Four sets of hypotheses are considered pertaining to legislator attributes, district demographic variables, legislator attitudes about constituency service, and legislators’ use of other forms of citizen contact, such as newsletters. Using a survey and district demographic data, the authors find that legislator attributes and district demographic characteristics are not significantly related to the number of e-mail requests received, but legislator beliefs in the importance of constituency service and the greater use of other communication methods do increase the frequency of e-mail requests for constituency service.


State legislatures establish ground rules for annexation, the process whereby municipalities add territory to their boundaries. Studies have shown that statutory provisions significantly affect rates of annexation. This article documents current annexation practice based on analyses of state annexation statutes and a survey of municipal experts. Approaches to annexation are classified according to typologies developed previously by other researchers, which are replicated and critiqued. The authors reclassify annexation approaches using current data and new criteria in an attempt to improve on past schemes. Results indicate that, over time, more states have decreased the ability of municipalities to act unilaterally and have increased the power of residents to influence annexation proceedings, including the right to referenda.
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Social Control and the State

0764
AFRICA. CIVILIAN-MILITARY RELATIONS. GUINEA-CONAKRY. MILITARY REGIMES.

This historical analysis of state-military society relationship in Guinea focuses on Sikou Toure’s political survival due in part to his political indoctrination of an army constantly involved in Pan-African battles and overshadowed by the National Militia. It also addresses this army’s transition from a single party regime to multiparty politics via a bloodless coup. Particularly underlined in the discussion, Toure’s intelligent exploitation of cold war-localized maneuvers lays the ground for a conceptual framework envisioning the Guinean military as a revolutionary army. This theoretical argument is made in light of the sociological debate on the military and politics as sustained by specialists such as Amos Perlmutter, Valerie Bennett, and Claude E. Welch, Jr. The article finally examines the political strategy applied by General Lansana Conti’s current semimilitary “democratic” regime and its major achievements while exposing the tactic of ethnic alienation and psychological manipulation of the army used by both leaders.

0765
ECONOMIC POLICY. MILITARY REGIMES. NIGERIA. POLITICS. PRAETORIANISM.

This paper examines the political and socioeconomic implications of the various military regimes in Nigeria to the extent that by their policies and actions, they have shaped the character and trajectory of the country’s political development. It is also argued that in the guise of correcting the ills of the civilian political class, the military has used political governance as an instrument to advance its corporate interest and to permanently embed itself as an integral part of the Nigerian political space. With enormous wealth at its disposal, retired military generals have found themselves back into political office and are poised to shape the nature of political discourse and policy making in the country for the foreseeable future. The public and the political class have become a captive audience. Nigeria, in fact, has a military government in civilian mufti.

0766
CIVIL WAR. CIVILIAN-MILITARY RELATIONS. LIBERIA. MILITARY REGIMES.

This article examines three interrelated questions: What were the precipitants of military intervention in politics in Liberia? What were the dynamics of the phases of military rule? How did the Liberian military perform as governor? The findings indicate that military intervention was precipitated by an amalgam of political, economic,
and social problems in Liberia. In terms of military rule, it evolved through three major stages: ligarchic praetorianism, autocratic praetorianism, and authoritarian praetorianism. The performance of the military was dismal.

0767

ALEMÁN ADMINISTRATION (MEXICO), ÁVILA CAMACHO ADMINISTRATION (MEXICO), ARCHIVOS GENERAL DE LA NACIÓN, MEXICO, POLITICAL CORRUPTION, POLITICAL HISTORY.

Most studies of recent Mexican history have tended to ignore the extremely rich Archivos General de la Nación (AGN), relying instead on newspapers and governmental releases. Drawing heavily on AGN, this study examines the political and economic issues of Mexico during the 1940s, immediately after the end of the Cárdenas presidency, during the presidencies of Ávila Camacho and Alemán, whose policies and influences were carried into the 1950s under Ruiz Cortines. The book opens with an impressionistic overview of Mexico during the 1940s; this is followed by three chapters describing the moderate policies of Ávila Camacho, the presidential selection process in 1946 that led to the Alemán presidency, whose term is described as a counterrevolution. The fifth chapter describes the politics of corruption which, the author notes, is richly and abundantly documented. Corruption was so dominant that it shaped many aspects of life and even molded the country’s model of development. Hardly a minor aberration, corruption provides a fundamental explanation for many acute problems of poverty and underdevelopment that still exist and that are again increasing in the 1990s. Until there is a clear understanding of how these abuses of public trust occurred, there is little chance of averting the forward retention of these practices. The final chapter examines how, in the 1940s, new channels of communication and influence were allocated. National politics became intimately linked to the power of the media as domestic entrepreneurs played an intricate game, using the new technologies that came from the advanced industrial countries while opposing powerful European and U.S. interests.

0768

ARAB COUNTRIES, ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, HOLOCAUST SYNDROME, ISRAEL, PALESTINIANS, POLITICAL HISTORY, TRANS-JORDAN.

This volume seeks to synthesize for the lay reader the vast number of historical studies and recently declassified documents from the United States and Israel relating to the formation and continuation of the Israeli state, together with its perennial conflict with both Palestinians and other Arab nations. The narrative examines the charged ideological minefield of Israeli and Palestinian relations to narrate the complex story behind Israel’s founding, its early struggle for survival, and its movement toward reconciliation with its Arab neighbors. The author also discusses the critical, self-interested roles played by Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States, and he explores the political and psychological attitudes of the protagonists and the international community at large. Dominating the discussion is the so-called Holocaust Syndrome, which seeks to justify the atrocities and deception Israel employed in its diplomacy in terms of the Jews’ victimization at the hands of Nazi
Germany—an understandable but misleading transposition from one time, place, and circumstance to another.

**Reforms and the State**

0769

AFRICA. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. DEMOCRATIZATION. GHANA. MILITARY REGIMES. NIGERIA. POWER ELITE.

This study shows that intramilitary elite competitive politics between the military democrats and autocrats determine the nature of democratization in Ghana and Nigeria. Also, the duration of the democratic transition is linked to the resolution of the intramilitary democratization puzzle within the political military domain. It was also found that the political sociology of military coup behavior reveals the profiles of the military democratic and autocratic elite groups in the armed forces organization. Furthermore, the active support of retired ranking military elites for civilian electoral rule, since the 1990s, enhances the restoration of electoral civilian democracy. Therefore, both the political military activities within the military regime and within the uncivil military sector comprising retired military elites inform military democratic analysis in sub-Saharan Africa. Both sectors of the political military relations determine the “military factor,” which is vital for successful democratization and sustaining civilian electoral rule in the region.

0770

DEMOCRATIZATION. MILITARY REGIMES. WEST AFRICA.

This article argues that democratization as a global phenomenon is being seriously undermined in West Africa by the legacy of a history of military intervention in politics, the inclination of the military to preserve its socioeconomic privileges acquired during authoritarian rule. Democratization is also jeopardized by the penchant by old guard politicians to politicize the military for their personal gain. Assessing the impact of political liberalization and its corollary economic liberalization on the sub-region, the analysis shows that democratization has been either undermined or potentially threatened by a number of factors. These include (1) the continued military intervention in some states, (2) the insidious role of old guard politicians and their propensity for politicizing the military, (3) the overwhelming dominance of some incumbent parties, and (4) the civilianization and legitimization of military heads of state through electoral manipulation and vote rigging.
0771

AFRICA. BENIN. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. DEMOCRATIZATION. MILITARY REGIMES. POLITICAL REFORM. REFORM OUTCOMES. TOGO.

After decades of despotic and/or authoritarian regimes, Africa has renewed with hope through the wave of democratization. Thanks to factors both endogenous and exogenous, Africans have demanded new constitutional regimes. However, whereas the credit for economic and political reforms went solely to civil society, it is a fact that no African country democratizes without the consent, either tacit or explicit, of “military” society. Although Kerekou and the military supported democratization in Benin by joining civil society in a successful National Conference, Eyadema, relying on the army, denounced the National Conference of Togo and continues to resist democratization in the country despite the determination of civil society.

0772

CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. CIVILIAN-MILITARY RELATIONS. MILITARY REGIMES. NIGERIA.

This paper examines the transition programs to civilian governance offered by various military leaders in Nigeria since 1974. A scrutiny of these programs’ implementation reveals a peculiar pattern. Typically, the besieged junta leader proposes a military withdrawal timetable and soon thereafter connives with civilian and military collaborators to abort the very program he initiated. The set-up of agencies, commissions, and electoral bodies are usually a subterfuge aimed at retaining power or at least preventing the establishment of a genuine democracy. The attainment of a bona fide democracy has remained elusive because of the culture of corruption various military regimes helped to institute amidst unattended mass poverty. The essentially antidemocratic nature of the military institution has made it ill prepared to usher in democracy in Nigeria.

0773

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. ECONOMIC REFORM. VICENTE FOX. FOX ADMINISTRATION (MEXICO). MEXICO. POLITICAL PARTIES. POLITICAL REFORM.

After a promising start, Vicente Fox finishes his first 5 months in office as president of Mexico facing an economic downturn that could become a genuine depression. His most important political initiative, the new indigenous law, has proven a failure. Mexico’s political parties seem to be in some state of decomposition (in the case of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, the former hegemonic coalition known by its acronym PRI), of recomposition (Fox’s own Partido Acción Nacional, or PAN, the conservative party), or of possible implosion (the Partido Revolucionario Democrático, PRD, the leftist party that stalled in the last election). The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) still dominates the far left, acting as the voice of the country’s most oppressed people, but without a strategy to build a national
political movement. Fox and the PAN, and the continuing changes in the structure of the economy and of industry, have put the labor unions on the defensive, but still the independent unions stand in a stronger position than they have since the early 1980s. Mexicans will be watching to see whether the country’s progressive forces prove capable of taking advantage of Fox’s current difficulties and off the challenges and opportunities posed by economic crisis.

0774
AFRICA. CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT. DEMOCRATIZATION. CÔTE D’IVOIRE. PRAETORIANISM.

A rampant praetorianism in Africa has forced the handful of states never to have experienced a military coup to implement coup avoidance strategies. However, these strategies may undermine the long-term objective of institutionalizing civilian control. Ivory Coast, one of the longest running civilian regimes in West Africa, has implemented strategies that consist mainly in relying on the deterrent French military presence and a total disregard to military autonomy, neutrality, and professionalism. Several policy decisions politicized its military. Simultaneously, other policies further eroded the civilian regime’s legitimacy in the eyes of the military and the populace. In the context of France’s apparent renunciation to its long-standing commitment to friendly regimes in its former colonies, these policies have dangerously increased Ivory Coast’s vulnerability to a military takeover.

0775
AFRICA. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. DEMOCRATIZATION. GAMBIA. GHANA. MILITARY REGIMES. POLITICAL REFORM. REFORM OUTCOMES.

Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings’ successful coup d’état in 1981 and his subsequent rise to the presidency of Ghana in January 1993 has had both a demonstration and a contagion effect. In the former British West African colonies of Nigeria, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, military leaders either tried or have replicated Rawlings’ tactics to obtain and stay in power. In fact, of all the countries in West Africa, “soldier-turned-civilian” presidents hold “elected” office in six. The soldier-turned-civilian transition model (STC) involves the use of controlled multiparty elections by ex-military, presidential candidates, who once in office continue to use force to maintain power. This is a new and growing political phenomenon in former British West Africa that deserves careful scrutiny. The 1992 and 1996 presidential elections in Ghana and Gambia, respectively, were emblematic of this process, a process in which incumbent military leaders engineered their countries’ transition and tilted an already uneven playing field in their favor. These transitions did not necessarily result in a more democratic environment.
This essay provides a historical analysis of how the post-Communist constitutional process has shaped the current governmental system in Bulgaria. History and recent events marking Bulgaria’s struggle toward democracy and a free-market economy are examined in the context of possible consequences for the nation’s welfare, freedom, and prosperity. The extremely powerful political influence of the central government has led to unprecedented obstacles to reform in both the emerging Bulgarian democracy and its social policies and systems.


This volume addresses the dynamics of social change occurring in Latin America that are largely the product of the economic and political globalization occurring across all regions of the world. Following Chapter 1, which provides an overview of the change processes in Latin America, Chapter 2 brings into focus the neoliberal project, which is generating the major forces of change. The chapter also seeks a viable alternative, with particular reference to the solution provided by the UN Commission for Latin America. Chapter 3 examines the conditions that influence, in particular, the Latin American working class, particularly in the effort to render labor more “flexible,” or amenable, to the demands of international capital. Chapter 4, focusing on the decentralization of governmental decision making, develops the argument that decentralization is an initiative from above rather than from below and responds to a political agenda pursued by the economically dominant and political classes. In Chapter 5, the authors elaborate on the dynamics related to the electoral processes within the neoliberal economies of Latin America and contend that the electoral processes have served to buttress the status quo and are highly susceptible to elite manipulations. Chapter 6 addresses the dynamics associated with the emergence of new social movements in the regions, particularly those that are peasant-based and peasant-led, and establishes the class basis of these movements. In Chapter 7, the authors provide a political analysis of these dynamics associated with the emergence of new social movements in the countryside. The authors draw particular attention to the social forces for change mobilized by the uprising of Mayan peasants in Chiapas.

Foreign and Military Policy


Research suggests that borrower ownership of reforms is highly correlated with the success of reforms in developing countries. One of the most important
components of ownership is the nature of public-private relations and consultation with interest groups. Yet, participatory reform must overcome several political dilemmas, including problems of credibility, collective action, and distributive (in)justice. The characteristics of reforms also affect the possibilities for participation. Democratic governments interested in making policy reform more participatory and presumably more sustainable can draw on several strategies, including the selective use of incentives and compensation, public education and communications, capacity building in society, institutional mechanisms for consultation, and political sequencing of reforms. These strategies have implications for the foreign aid agencies who often fund reforms. They suggest that donors need to recognize the political rationality behind cross-payments and spending to maintain important constituencies; that political sustainability may require reform sequences that are out of step with current orthodoxy; that policies ought to create winners before creating losers; that democratic consultation will require much more time in achieving consensus; and that outside actors need to refrain from intervening too directly in the political process by throwing their support behind particular interests.


ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS. MILITARY POLICY. POLITICAL HISTORY. POLITICAL IMPERIALISM. UNITED STATES. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. VIETNAM. VIETNAM WAR.

In no other place that felt the presence of U.S. troops did U.S. efforts to assert its own interests and thwart the will of the native population occur as intensely as in Vietnam. Though a small, underdeveloped country—haunted yet driven by a history of foreign conquest and resistance—and of little concern to U.S. policy makers in the aftermath of World War II, Vietnam became the site of the most violent struggle of the cold war era. Although the country itself meant little strategically or economically in its own right, Vietnam became part of the much larger conflict that the forces of capitalism and communism were waging. In the end, as the author seeks to demonstrate in this article, the United States remained ignorant of Vietnamese history, politics, and culture; constantly pursued a military solution despite advice to the contrary by ranking officers; failed to address the divisions at home caused by the war; dismissed the warning of allies about the economic consequences of global hegemony and intervention; and failed to see Vietnamese nationalism and communism on their own terms and instead viewed those forces through the lens of the Cold War. In doing so, the United States managed to do to itself what its enemies had been unable to do for two decades after World War II: seriously weaken its own power and prestige, curb the growth of its own economy, and curtail its hegemony in the world political economy.

Describing the efforts of U.S. economic aid to Taiwan from the Nationalist takeover of the island to 1965, when the Agency for International Development (AID) declared the country well on its way to development and so closed its doors in Taipei, the author concludes that, from the start, the foreign aid program to Taiwan suffered from a shortage of steady supporters and a surplus of conflicting rationales. Policy makers were never sure what the program’s aims were: stability or social revolution, inoculation against Communism or opportunities for U.S. investors. The great irony, according to one former AID official, was that this conceptual confusion in Washington was often coupled with remarkable competence in the field. Behind the theoretical debate, the actual practice of foreign assistance ultimately came down to the elementary matter of transferring resources and skills from one polity to another. Taiwan’s success owed less to a philosophy than to the talents of those immediately involved, and its lessons should be learned from their perspective.


The decision on the part of the United States to rely on white mercenaries to wind the 1964-1965 civil war in the Congo did not stem from a belief that the rebels were Communists or that a major Soviet or Chinese offensive was under way in the Congo, but from the fact that the Simba rebels were unfriendly to the United States. At best, their victory would have meant an unpleasant neutralist regime in a country in which both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations had labored mightily to impose a pro-U.S. government. It came down, in the end, to a question of costs. If the cost of defeating the rebels could be kept low, then there was no incentive to explore alternative solutions, to run any risks, or to accept any compromises. Had the only way to prevent a rebel victory been to dispatch U.S. troops—with its high cost at home and abroad—then U.S. officials might have allowed events in the Congo to run their course. The mercenaries were successful, and all but two of the newspapers—both Afro-American, which denounced the deployment of white Cuban exile troops—applauded the move when it proved successful.
Although a few scholars have examine the unofficial, nonstatist component of U.S.-Israeli relations, the important story of the interaction between major U.S. labor unions and the state of Israel has remained untold. This essay explores that relationship from the late 1940s to the late 1960s. It examines first the degree to which leaders of U.S. labor sympathized with Israeli national interests and encouraged the government in Washington to make policy decisions favorable to Israel, especially with regard to Israel’s ongoing conflict with its Arab neighbors. Second, it explores the extent to which the Israeli government and the General Federation of Labor in Israel (the Histadrut) exploited the sympathy of U.S. labor by mobilizing it as a potent political force that worked within the United States to Israel’s benefit. Third, to a limited extent, it also explores whether labor activism significantly affected the development of official policy by the U.S. government. After providing evidence of the deep and personal ties between U.S. labor leaders and Israeli officials, this essay addresses these issues through a series of case studies of labor activism on Israel’s behalf in the 1947-1967 period.

Over the course of the 1952-1953 Anglo-American-Iranian dispute over the nationalization of Iranian oil, Anglo-American officials came to a common way of looking at Mohammed Mossadeq, then-president of Iran, that used many of his personal characteristics, habits, and negotiating tactics, as well as some of his policy positions themselves, to justify a view of him as unmanly and unfit for office. Because Anglo-American officials did not view Mossadeq as their equal, they found it easy to dismiss him as an unworthy adversary whose position did not matter. In light of these attitudes, the discussion of the Anglo-Iranian oil crisis in this chapter uses gender—and to a lesser extent culture—as its organizing construct. Rather than examining the major episodes of the oil crisis or providing a general overview of its development, the essay focuses on the ways that Anglo-American officials viewed, described, and dealt with Mossadeq. It is a central proposition of this essay that the ways government officials describe each other have import, and that although these descriptions in and of themselves do not determine policy, they are nonetheless influential.
The Peace Corps was a singular attempt to project a nonopportunistic image and reinforce the perception of other nations that the primary objective of the United States toward the Third World was not—in the words of a 1961 U.S. Information Agency (USIA) poll—“to dominate” but “to help.” Its overwhelming success in doing this was indicated by the speed with which other Western nations adopted the same technique and applied it to their own former colonies and spheres of influence. In 1967, approximately 30% of foreign youth volunteers came from France, Britain, West Germany, and Canada, 10% came from other countries, and 60% came from the United States. The success of the Peace Corps mission was also indicated by the enthusiastic reception given to most U.S. contingents. Of the 43 countries that requested U.S. volunteers between 1961 and 1965, 29 nations still wanted them nearly 20 years later. The Peace Corps effectively signaled that—separate from the exigencies of the cold war—Kennedy had, in the words of a Dutch observer, “less patience with countries that still have colonial aspiration than had the Eisenhower administration.” Although the Peace Corps could in no way compensate for other policies that sacrificed Third World development to the cold war or that made the United States an obstacle to national self-determination, it was an attempt to bridge the North-South gap. One volunteer in Latin America wrote home after the Kennedy assassination that “many [of the local people] have told us how they wept when they heard of his death and many have pictures of him. It’s so hard to explain.” The Peace Corps, the author suggests, is a significant part of that explanation, and she goes on to develop it.

Dwight D. Eisenhower might claim that Operation Blue Bat, the successful U.S. military operation, conducted on July 15, 1958, in Lebanon that forestalled the overthrow of the pro-Western president Camille Chamoun, was his administration’s finest hour in his administration’s foreign policy. It had achieved important objectives while remaining quick, clean, and cheap. Nevertheless, a careful look at his gunboat diplomacy in Lebanon, suggests that both the short-term risks and the long-term costs were far higher than he was willing to acknowledge. Personal connections and cold war convictions, for example, drew Eisenhower and other high-ranking U.S. officials
inexorably into the Lebanese political labyrinth, in which they would offer pro-Western leaders military commitments that proved almost impossible to repudiated. Complicating matters still further, Eisenhower and his advisors tried to mislead both Congress and the U.S. people by publicly attributing Lebanon’s political instability to Communist subversion while privately acknowledging that the real cause was Arab nationalism. Once Eisenhower made the decision to send troops to Beirut, he faced the possibility of having to make even more fateful decisions about U.S. intervention in Jordan, Iraq, or Kuwait. Moreover, Eisenhower’s actions during July 1958 also held critical implications for U.S. foreign policy far beyond the Middle East. By emphasizing the importance of U.S. credibility as a guarantor, by misrepresenting Third World nationalism as Soviet inspired, and by waging what amounted to a limited but undeclared presidential war, Dwight D. Eisenhower set dangerous precedents in Lebanon that his successor would use far less successfully in Vietnam.

0786

ANTICOMMUNIST IDEOLOGY. RÓMULO BETANCOURT. CARIBBEAN BASIN. FIDEL CASTRO. CUBA. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. RAFAEL TRUJILLO. UNITED STATES. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. VENEZUELA.

U.S. officials professed that security, prosperity, and democracy were intertwined and that decent, democratic regimes would produce the good life for all neighbors of the Western Hemisphere. Nevertheless, promoting elections, popular participation, and respect for civil and human rights has been subordinate to the U.S. goal of preserving peace and order in Latin America. During the Cold War, U.S. policies toward democrats, such as Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela, and dictators, such as Rafael Trujillo and his henchmen of the Dominican Republic, hinged, as President John F. Kennedy confessed, on the tactical question of which type of government and leader would be most effective in thwarting Fidel Castro. Indeed, between 1958 and 1963, U.S. officials took uncommon measures in waging the Cold War because they judged that Communism in the Western Hemisphere imperiled the United States, impeded U.S. ability to act elsewhere, and threatened to become a divisive domestic issue. This chapter traces U.S. foreign policies toward Venezuela under Betancourt, the Dominican Republic under Trujillo and his successors, and Cuba under Batista then Castro, in the period from 1958 to 1963.

0787

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. INDUSTRIALIZATION. JOINT VENTURES. OIL INDUSTRY. NELSON ROCKEFELLER. UNITED STATES. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. VENEZUELA.

In a Venezuelan congressional debate over the presence of Nelson Rockefeller in Venezuela, the leading Communist representative Juan Bautista Fuenmayor put out a
vivid if cautionary metaphor: Venezuela tangling with Rockefeller was “like boxing with Joe Louis.” Little work has been done on U.S.-Latin American relations immediately after World War II and before the Cold War began in earnest. This chapter examines this important era through one case study: the postwar activities of Nelson Rockefeller in Venezuela. Rockefeller’s awareness of Latin American aspirations for national economic development dated from personal experience in the 1930s and World War II. Shortly after the war, he embarked on projects designed to promote economic development in the region. He focused on two nations of vital importance to the United States: Brazil, with its strategic location and tremendous size, and Venezuela, with its vast reserves of oil. This essay describes Rockefeller’s relationship with Venezuela’s postwar government, headed by the nationalist and democratic leftist party Acción Democrática (AD) during the trienio (1945-1948). This essay argues that Rockefeller and AD leaders shared a vision for the national economic development of Venezuela. Despite important differences between them, they believed in technical solutions to human problems and a pragmatic approach to questions of political economy. Their vision for Venezuela’s future as a liberal democracy with a modern, diversified economy necessitates a nonexploitative, reformed capitalism. Other nationalist movements led to the project’s partial failure, and the lackluster support of the U.S. government, owing to its expanding commitment elsewhere, also compromised innovative approaches to private development efforts.

0788

AMERICAN JEWS. BILATERAL RELATIONS. ISRAEL. UNITED STATES. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

From the birth of Israel in 1948 to the mid-1970s, American Jews and Jewish organizations were virtually unanimous in their support of the Jewish state. The unification of American Jews around Israel, the creation of highly successful mechanisms for financial and political support, and the nearly absolute prohibition of public Jewish criticism of Israel were among the most noteworthy achievements of organized American Jewry during the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1990s, however, these views and practices had changed. Sharp disagreements over religious legitimacy, Palestinian political aspirations, and the peace process had reached the center of the Jewish establishment, which felt increasingly uninhibited in public airing its dissatisfaction. This volume describes this disaffection and offers reasons for its emergence. The author traces the rise of community consensus and its subsequent dissolution in the face of a series of critical confrontations between American Jews and the Jewish State. The Israeli invasion of Israel, the Pollard spy case, the “Who is a Jew?” controversy, and the Palestinian Intifada have shattered American Jewish unanimity, but dissolution, the author contends, stems also from a half century of internal changes and the evolution of Jewish identity in both Israeli and American society. As Israel’s heroic age fades into history, Israel has become less and less important to American Jews, who are increasingly obsessed with home-grown crises such as the rapid rates of intermarriage. Meanwhile, Israel has, in many ways, outgrown its need for American Jewish paternalism.
0789

CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON. CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS. GENDER METAPHOR. GENDER RELATIONS. INDIA. PAKISTAN. POLITICAL CULTURE. SOUTH ASIA. UNITED STATES. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

Everyone, the author contends, even the shapers of U.S. foreign policy, is affected by culture and deploys webs of significance to understand the world outside the self. At the policy-making level, this is political culture. In addressing U.S. relations with South Asia, the author focuses his essay on gender, one of the critical skeins in the web of significance deployed by U.S. policy makers and used to explain India. An analysis of gender illuminates important aspects of relations between nations; here, the concern is with the United States, India, and, tangentially, Pakistan. Mrinalini Sinha has written, “Empires and nations are gendered ideological constructs, to which one might add that nations also construct each other.” For the purpose of this essay, gender, or “gendering,” is not a static idea but a transnational process: it is the assignment of certain characteristics based on prevailing ideas of masculinity and femininity to a people and nation by another people and nation. Masculinity and femininity are not, in this view, biologically determined categories but culturally and socially conditioned constructs. Nations and the people who constitute them become “gendered,” and this affects the policies that other nations pursue toward them. The implications of this notion are applied to U.S. foreign policy maker constructs of East Indians and the influence these constructs bear on their policies.

Foreign Trade

0790

GLOBALIZATION. INTERNATIONAL TRADE. TRADE POLICY. UNITED STATES.

There has been little public dialogue in the United States on the implications of the evident trend toward greater worldwide economic, social, and political integration. This trend, generally termed globalization, has occurred largely as the result of political decisions by states to reduce their ability to restrict trade and investment. This article explores the barriers that may be blocking such a dialogue and several options for lowering certain of these barriers. Unless such a dialogue begins in the near future, the ability of citizens to influence these trends may be lost, with uncertain effects on governmental legitimacy.

0791

EXCHANGE RATES. FOREIGN CURRENCY. FOREIGN EXCHANGE. MILITARY ALLIANCE. MILITARY INDUSTRIES. RISK ANALYSIS. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

The Department of Defense (DoD) incurs numerous costs denominated in foreign currencies in fulfilling U.S. alliance and security agreements overseas. Between fiscal
years 1993 and 1997, the DoD expended over $10.4 billion in foreign currencies to operate and maintain its overseas facilities, and estimates for fiscal years 1998 and 1999 are $5.4 billion. In line with the government’s general, risk-neutral approach to financial risk, the DoD makes no attempt to control its foreign exchange exposure against currency fluctuations. As such, there are inevitable differences in amounts budgeted to fund the DoD’s overseas operations and amounts subsequently required to pay them. This article examines the implications of DoD foreign exchange rate policy and applies an alternative approach to foreign exchange rate risk—one more in line with private-sector practices and overall efforts to reform government operations. The results indicate that forward contracts would inject greater certainty into the budgeting and administration of these programs and might release limited defense funds for use elsewhere.

**Forced Migration**

0792


AFRICA. ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY. FORCED MIGRATION. WILDLIFE REFUGES.

Human security and environmental security, often mutually reinforcing, can be at odds. One instance arises when greenlining, the creation or expansion of relatively exclusionary protected areas, leads to the mass displacement of local communities and the creations of a new variant of environmental refugees. The present study employs several methods to estimate the magnitude of environmental refugees in Africa and suggests that they number in the millions. Country-specific case studies are offered to lend historical context to these estimates. Environmentally oriented land reform is proposed as a partial mitigation for the social side effects of greenlining and is briefly described in Africa and other settings.

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND POLICY**

**International Relations**

0793


DIPLOMATIC APPEASEMENT. DIPLOMATIC BELLIGERENCY. GAME THEORY. INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. MORALITY. RESEARCH TRENDS.

What are the conditions for supposedly moral conduct in international politics to be viable? This question is explored by modeling regional conflicts as a two-stage game in which imitation of other countries’ strategies and public opinion formation processes are assumed to have an impact on a country’s strategic choice. The results derived by using the notion of an evolutionary stable strategy point to some very special conditions for moral conduct to emerge and survive, a fact that may explain the historical finding that there have been rather rare periods during which peaceableness did indeed prevail in international politics, at least at a regional level.
International Trade

0794

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ECONOMIC POLICY. EXCHANGE RATES.

This study deals with the relative performance of major exponential smoothing models—simple exponential (SES), Holt’s treble parameter exponential (HTPES), and Winter’s three ammeter exponential (WTPES)—used in forecasting exchange rates of emerging countries.

International Law

0795

EUROPEAN UNION. JUDICIAL INTEGRATION. JUDICIARY. UNITED KINGDOM.

This study proceeds from the observation that any analysis of the depth and contribution of judicial politics to European Union (EU) integration must use national courts as its principal laboratory. In its empirical part, the analysis is based on an examination of all reported judgments in the United Kingdom between 1971 and 1998, in which EC law was addressed by national judges. In substantive terms, there is no evidence that the U.K. judiciary has been concerned to protect particular central spheres of British political and legal life from EU intrusion. Resistance has, however, been marked where EC law restricts domestic institutions’ capacity to secure conformity in British society whether that conformity takes the form of securing those conditions that sustain and stabilize private relationships and private autonomy or whether it takes the form of protecting those institutions, such as criminal and immigration law, which are taken to sustain a common collective consciousness.

International Integration

0796

ECONOMIC POLICY. EUROPEAN UNION. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. POLITICS. VOTING BEHAVIOR.

This study considers how and whether European Union (EU) membership shapes voting behavior in national elections. It starts by surveying claims about the relationship between European Parliament (EP) elections and national elections. Because voters use EP elections as markers for the electoral prospects of national governing parties, the later an EP election follows a national general election, the greater the
impact of the EP election on the governing parties’ fortunes in the subsequent national election. It goes on to explore whether and how issues of European integration have influenced voting behavior in national elections. Building on previous studies, the discussion shows that for most of the EU member states, voters’ support for EU membership provides the basis for a new electoral cleavage. However, a variety of questions remain to be addressed regarding the extent and character of this electoral cleavage and how this cleavage may develop with further economic integration. The analysis consequently develops a research agenda and several theoretical hypotheses about how the link between macroeconomic performance and support for governing parties may change as economic integration deepens.

0797
EUROPEAN UNION. EXECUTIVE BRANCH. INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The impact of European integration on the executives of current European Union (EU) member states has been studied from three perspectives: linkage, implementation, and executive ecology. A review of research and writing about executive Europeanization in both western and eastern Europe raises doubts about the explanatory status of European integration as a major variable driving domestic institutional change. If knowledge in the field is to advance, the analytical scope of Europeanization research needs to be extended. First, more attention must be paid to the modes and processes of Europeanization (as opposed to the substance of institutional adaptation). Second, it is necessary to examine more systematically the manner in which European integration interacts with other (potential) sources of institutional development.

0798
EUROPEAN UNION. INSTITUTIONALIZATION. INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. VETO.

The repercussions of European integration on national policy making have increasingly drawn scholarly attention, yet, the determinants of national adaptation to the European Union are still poorly understood. This article takes issue with evolving arguments which grant crucial importance to the “goodness of fit” between European provisions and national rules and practices for explaining the degree of national adjustment to European requirements. In the case of the implementation of the Packaging and Packaging Waste Directive in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the country with the greatest misfit, the United Kingdom, adapted more successfully than the country that needed only incremental adjustments, Germany. The German record was also worse than the Dutch, despite the higher adaptation pressure of the latter. The case study suggests that the number of institutional veto points that central governments have to face when imposing European provisions on their constituencies ultimately tend to shape the pace and quality of implementation, regardless of differential degrees in the goodness of fit.
0799
EUROPEAN UNION. INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. POLITICS.

European integration as a (potential) force of change in domestic polities and politics is attracting growing scholarly attention. European integration comprises two interrelated processes: the delegation of policy competences and the establishment of a new set of political institutions. Most existing studies of how these processes affect domestic institutional and political orders approach the subject from an institutionalist perspective. Although such an approach helps to clarify the links between pressures for change and patterns of national adaptation, European integration as a source of change cannot be considered in isolation from other (potential) sources of domestic institutional and political change.

0800
EUROPEAN UNION. INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

European-level government presents new opportunities and constraints for domestic social actors. However, barriers remain to contentious action in the transnational realm. Most individuals have difficulty ascribing the sources of their grievances to the European Union (EU), transaction costs impede their efforts to coordinate collective action across national boundaries, and traditional routines of collective action attach citizens to their national systems. Nevertheless, some actors are able to mobilize at the European level. Using reports from Reuters, the study finds that most protests are made by occupational groups, such as farmers or workers, with little mobilization of nonoccupational groups (such as environmental or women’s non-governmental organizations (NGOs)). Also, rather than a direct displacement of contentious politics to the supranational level, one sees a range of mobilizing styles: transnational cooperation against domestic actors, collective European protests, and the domestication of European issues within national politics. The authors speculate that these outcomes will allow the EU Commission to keep such protests at a distance, and that activists whose careers are in Brussels-based NGOs will be deprived of the weapons they need to back up their claims.

0801
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. RESEARCH TRENDS.

This article argues that the European Parliament (EP) provides a poor model of representative democracy, as the nature of its representativeness is rooted in a predemocratic form. If this is correct, the EP’s experience might indicate that liberal representative democracy in western political systems has become an inadequate vehicle for governmental legitimacy. However, the EP could promote devolution of power, which is a prerequisite for a more participatory form of democracy better suited to a politically mature populace.

BACKBENCHERS. INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. JUNIOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

The ability of parliaments to control executives has declined since the 1950s, and most existing research claims that European integration has contributed a great deal to this decline, by providing executives with an arena away from domestic parliamentary scrutiny and a monopoly on information in an ever-larger portfolio of public policies. However, when looking empirically at the impact of the European integration on parliamentary government, one finds that in the 1990s most parliaments in Europe established institutions and mechanisms that forced governments to explain their policies and actions in the European arena to national legislatures. Also, since European Union (EU) policy choices adopted constrain member states’ domestic choices, parliamentary scrutiny of EU issues has contributed to greater supervision of executives on other domestic matters. It is argued that the driving force behind this partial assertion is the desire by nongoverning parties and backbench parliamentarians to redress the information gap between governing elites and the parliamentary rank-and-file.


EUROPEAN UNION. INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. MASS MEDIA. MEDIA AUDIENCES. NEWS COVERAGE. POLITICAL PARTIES.

A comprehensive framework for analysis of the impact of European integration on political communication needs to take account of developments in four areas: media and political systems, media and political organizations, media content and potential effects, and media audiences and audience characteristics. In this study, the focus is, first, on changes in media systems, and, second, on media organizations and journalists’ role orientations. Third, what is known about news concerning Europe is summarized and the impact of Europeanization on news content discussed. The authors identify the conceptual, theoretical, and empirical challenges facing students and scholars of political communication in understanding the impact of European integration in member states. It is argued that it is important to consider both the historical, institutional, and media system contexts and patterns in news content. The discussion concludes by proposing new avenues for research on the link between media coverage of politics and potential effects on audiences.


EUROPEAN UNION. SCOTLAND. SCOTTISH OFFICE.

This article takes an in-depth look at the cultural implications of membership of the European Union (EU) for a U.K. government department. As part of a broader examination of how Europeanization, in its various forms, has affected a range of Whitehall departments, Bulmer and Burch (1998) concluded that the cultural element
of change in the United Kingdom has been limited in the sense that existing administrative traditions within government departments have not undergone any radical reorientation. The purpose here is to test the validity of these conclusions and in more general terms afford detailed consideration to an area of Europeanization that has tended to be neglected in the academic discourse. This is achieved by way of employing interview and documentary-based source material relating to the area of cultural change as it affected a particular U.K. department, the Scottish Office. In any event, the piece concludes that the detail of the Scottish Office case can be used to confirm Bulmer and Burch’s general observation that cultural Europeanization has not manifested itself to any great extent within U.K. government departments in the sense that it has entailed wide-reaching changes to administrative approaches and working practices. More generally, the empirical basis of the analysis provides fresh insights into how specific matters, such as training and secondments, have impacted on the work of civil servants in the United Kingdom.

International Organizational Finance

0805


BALANCED BUDGETS. BUDGETING. EUROPEAN UNION. FISCAL POLICY.

The European Union (EU) budget is subject to a strict annual balanced budget rule. Given different types of expenditure within the budget, this rule has most effect on—and is most threatened by—spending on the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). This article examines the merits of applying a balanced budget rule to the EU budget and explores the links between the budget and the CAP. The rule has forced the EU to improve its financial management, as the 1999 CAP reform shows. The presence of a preagreed spending limit on the CAP forced changes to be made to the initial CAP reform agreement to comply with this limit, although political bargaining was critical in shaping particular changes. The general perception is that the CAP drives the European budget. Yet, the budget, if not driving the CAP, imposes an increasingly tight constraint on its reform.

Economic Integration

0806


CLASS ANALYSIS. ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION. EUROPEAN UNION. INTEREST GROUPS. SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS.

In this volume, the author contends that only analysis centered on class as the basic unit of social life, with production and distribution of value understood as the bedrock of the economy, can cast light on the internal contradiction of European economic integration. Two specific characteristics emerge from the approach taken in this book. First, familiar topics such as economic competition and social policy, the Economic and Monetary Union, the Common Agricultural Policy, and immigration are interpreted in a way that challenges the perceived view of market as motivator. Second, subjects usually grounded in standard approaches, such as the role of interest groups in the European Union’s (EU’s) decision-making process, are shown to be of crucial
importance to understanding the economics of the EU. The central message conveyed here is that another sort of Europe is possible, one based on the erosion of economic polarization, on the abolition of Europe’s imperialist relations with the Third World, and on the creation of genuinely democratic institutions of self-determination.

0807
DENMARK. EURO (CURRENCY). EUROPEAN UNION. INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY. REFERENDA.

Just as they had almost a decade earlier, Danish voters on 28 September 2000 went to the polls and sent shockwaves through the European Union by rejecting a government-sponsored referendum on joining the European Union’s (EU’s) single currency, the euro. Danes said “nej” to the embattled currency, casting new doubt on their country’s commitment to the European project and emboldening euroskeptics throughout the continent and across the English Channel. The decision to remain outside the eurozone is notable for the humiliation it caused Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen and his government, as well as for the impetus it gives to a two-tier EU. The “yes” camp’s failure to keep the campaign based on economic rather than political logic, the euro’s precipitous decline, and the EU’s sanctions against Austria contributed to the referendum’s dramatic outcome.

0808
EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION. FRANCE. GERMANY. LABOR UNIONS.

Surveys conducted on the political economy of Europe’s Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) have seldom considered the response of domestic interest groups, notably trade unions. This article contrasts and explains the positions on EMU adopted by major British, French, and German trade unions, in the process reassessing the so-called interest group approach to preference formulation. It is argued that although the impact of sectoral orientation appears significant, it is mitigated by the intervention of ideological and institutional factors. On a substantive level, unions turned out to be broadly supportive of what many had labeled a monetarist project. If, as is often argued, social and political cohesion is needed for monetary union to endure, this represents an important development.

International Environmental Regulation

0809
ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY. GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

An important current of research in international environmental affairs deals with the roles of nonstate actors in international environmental governance. For many, the growing influence of nonstate actors is a welcome trend because these actors,
especially nongovernmental organizations, facilitate environmental negotiations between states and perform key information-gathering, dissemination, advocacy, and appraisal functions that states are either unwilling or unable to do. For the student of international relations (IR), examining the roles and responsibilities of nonstate actors in global environmental affairs is a departure from the ordinary concern of that field, namely, the study of interstate behavior. Nevertheless, for the study of global environmental problems, particularly those problems that are simultaneously global and local, the investigator must map the influence of an even broader assemblage of actors. Little is known about how local-level institutions or ordinary citizens fit into global environmental policy processes. Understanding what motivates public demands for global environmental quality is an especially important research task, especially for those pervasive environmental problems like global climate change and complex exhortations like sustainable development that require the attention and acquiescence of ordinary citizens.

0810

ENVIROMENTAL POLICY. INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION. INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS ORGANIZATION.

The development of the international environmental management standards (ISO 14000 series) offers a unique challenge for public managers to promote self-regulation worldwide to improve environmental performance of private and public entities. For policy makers at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the ISO 14000 series could help save enforcement costs, ensure continual improvement of environmental performance, and generate new regulatory reform ideas. In general, the extent to which these benefits could be materialized depends largely on how the EPA goes about adopting a holistic approach to protecting the environment. Some specific measures for capitalizing on these benefits include the establishment of a link between ISO 14000 certification and environmental performance, development of guidelines for possible regulatory relief, and preferable procurement policy.

PUBLIC AND SOCIAL SERVICES

Public Health and Health Care

0811

HEALTH POLICY. PUBLIC HEALTH. RISK ANALYSIS.

Camus’s novel about a town’s response to plague reminds us, through the medium of fiction, of the apparent fragility of modern living. This fragility exists despite our technological and scientific advances. What emerges though the narrative of The
Plague is the organizational and human response to disease and the limitations of management fully to conceptualize the extent of the problems that they face. In more recent years, such notions of risk and probability have become dominant constructs within many of our discussions about modern living (Beck, 1992; Erikson, 1994; Giddens, 1990), and yet they still often prove to be both elusive and emotive issues for policy makers to deal with (Smith & Toft, 1998). Given the sheer complexity of these hazard issues and the extent of the uncertainty surrounding them, one should not be surprised at the high level of concern that people seem to have over the range and nature of the hazards that they face. Risk is not a recent concern, however, and humans have shown a remarkable ability to devise defenses against many of the problems that arise out of our technological development. Consequently, subsequent generations have expressed similar concerns about hazard, albeit in different contexts and set against different standards of acceptability. For example, current debates about the risks associated with bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) and genetically modified foods can be seen to provide an echo of earlier debates on both pesticide use (Carsen, 1962) and cancer risks (Steingraber, 1998). The literature on risk provides us with constant warnings of such hazards as: global warming, toxic waste, nuclear radiation, genetically modified organisms, growth hormones, treatment resistant viruses, and pesticides. What prompts some dire warnings to go unheeded, when concern is high around other issues, remains a central component of risk debates (Smith & McCloskey, 1998). The origins of this paradox lie in a number of factors including: the voluntary-involuntary nature of the risk, the sense of helplessness felt by potential victims of the hazards, delayed versus immediate effects of any exposure, and the manner in which the hazard (and the uncertainty surrounding it) is communicated to those affected.


Despite the existence of rigid civil service systems in many developing countries providing relative stability of public officials, staff postings and transfers are often based on short-term political criteria. This means high staff circulation in key government posts, leading to a situation of instability within stability. This article analyzes high staff circulation in the government health services in Baluchistan, Pakistan. The analysis is based on literature review, a small pilot study, and authors' experience in the province. The article notes that high staff turnover and, more specifically, circulation are context-specific. Four issues are raised. First, the extent of staff turnover is analyzed and references are made to its frequency, the organization, and cadre. Second, the social and political underpinning of high staff circulation is outlined: political patronage, low implementation of rules, staff preferences, and public sector control. Third, the problems of staff turnover are raised with specific reference to the problems of continuity, change, and participation. Fourth, the issue of solutions is raised at two levels: structural change to lessen high staff turnover, and dealing with it on a day-to-day managerial level. Last, substantive and methodological issues are raised with respect to taking the analysis further.

ACQUIRED IMMUNODEFICIENCY SYNDROME, DRUG TRAFFICKING, HUMAN IMMUNODEFICIENCY VIRUS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, NEEDLE EXCHANGE, POLICY ANALYSIS, URBAN AREAS.

The spread of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) through intravenous drug use (IDU) is a profound public health problem in the United States. According to the Centers for Disease Control’s (CDC) August 1998 Mortality and Morbidity Weekly Report, 36% of the 641,000 AIDS cases in the U.S. reported to the CDC occurred among IDUs, their sexual partners, and their offspring (CDC, 1998). Approximately 50% (or 40,000) of annual new HIV infections occur among IDUs, their sexual partners, and their offspring.


CANADA, FOOD BANKS, GAME THEORY, ONTARIO, PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS.

Deliberation may be used by organizations or networks of organizations to manage the moral and technical uncertainties that are associated with threshold strategies—that is, strategies whose superiority over alternatives is unclear. Much academic literature underestimates the importance of deliberation, largely because of its reliance on paradigms that view organizational life as though it were mechanistic or game-like. A new heuristic, based on the metaphor of organizations as assemblies, is proposed. The experience of Ontario’s food bank community is used to illustrate how deliberation is used to manage threshold strategies. The paper discusses some difficulties in promoting deliberation.

Public Services


AIRPLANE CRASH, E. COLI EPIDEMIC, EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT, EXXON VALDEZ OIL SPILL, HUMAN-MADE DISASTERS.

A considerable and growing body of crisis management literature seeks to help business managers address disasters. Notwithstanding, the business literature on crisis management fails to understand fully the policy and political aspects of business disasters, and it concentrates on prescriptive, managerial issues that show disregard and sometimes disdain for plural democracy. The authors illustrate their argument with a review of the existing crisis management literature and three case studies: the Exxon Valdez oil spill, the Jack in the Box Escherichia coli (E. coli) outbreak, and the crash of Valujet flight 592. They find that the primary gap in the crisis management literature is its failure to understand the motivations of countervailing interest groups and the facts that mobilize them to take action. They argue that the lessons derived from these cases are equally applicable to North American, European, and Asian business crises.
The policies of the Labour government in the United Kingdom place renewed emphasis on rational planning in the public sector. The government’s assumption is that this approach to decision making will lead to improvements in performance. Although the theoretical costs and benefits of rational planning have been widely debated in the public administration literature, no systematic empirical research on the impact of planning on the performance of public organizations has been conducted. By contrast, the relationship between rational planning and the success of private firms has been investigated extensively. A meta-analysis and critical review of this evidence suggests that planning is generally associated with superior performance. However, important questions remain unresolved. For example, under what circumstances does planning work best, and which elements of planning are most important? Therefore, although it may be appropriate to encourage public agencies to consider carefully the potential benefits of planning; rational processes should not be imposed on them.

When a fire occurs, the fire-fighting service implemented by a public fire department is one of the most important aids for the fire victims. Through strict enforcement of the fire-fighting service, a public fire department can effectively reduce the damage and casualties. That means that the fire-fighting service provided by the public fire department has a very intimate relationship with peoples’ lives and property. However, due to the varieties of the foreground situations and the different perspectives of the victims and the fire department, people often have varied assessments about the results of the fire-fighting. This article will focus on the aspect of quality management and the use of the Delphi method to lessen the divergence of opinions about the quality of the fire-fighting service between the victims and the firefighters and to increase the management effectiveness of the service by formulating a conceptual framework to measure the quality of the fire-fighting service. The researchers have the hope that the divergent opinions and concepts of the people and the firefighters can be reduced by building such a conceptual framework of fire-fighting service quality for a fire department. This conceptual framework can then become the basis of fire-fighting service quality management. Studying the results obtained through the Delphi method, it was found that there are six main dimensional factors in the conceptual framework of fire-fighting service quality for a fire department, including the quick response in the fire-fighting process, understanding the fire ground situations, controlling the fire-fighting resources, dealing with the operations properly, and reducing the damage and casualties of the fire at the same time. With the building of this conceptual framework, the members of the fire departments can enhance the quality of the management
of the fire-fighting service, and, at the same time, the public will be satisfied with the better protection provided by the fire departments.

0818
HONG KONG. PRIVATE SECTOR. PUBLIC FINANCE. PUBLIC SECTOR. PUBLIC SERVICES. USER CHARGES.

User charge is an alternative option to privatizing public service provision. Nevertheless, its use as a policy instrument, compared with that of asset sales or contracting out, for instance, is less researched and documented. This paper tries to fill the gap. By contrasting the experiences of employing user charge for two public services in Hong Kong with diametrically opposing results, this paper offers preliminary conclusions on several lessons, which governments, in their drive toward improved efficiency, can learn in commercializing their trading activities. Implications to public policy making are also suggested. These include the following: the user-pays principle has to be applied equitably, the public service market has to remain depoliticized, the management has to be transformed to behave more entrepreneurially, and the users have to be educated.

0819
DECISION MAKING. ENERGY POLICY. POWER ELITE. PUBLIC SERVICES.

This paper analyzes choices concerning the increase of energy efficiency made by the Swiss energy policy elite; it is based on interviews with 240 of its members. It starts from the assumption that choices depend on characteristics of the actors involved (their membership in policy coalitions, their core beliefs, etc.), of the instruments (in particular their familiarity and the extent to which they impose constraints on the coalitions involved), and of the policy context (policy equilibrium vs. rapid change). Depending on these characteristics, actors are expected to make choices that are to a greater or lesser degree value-rational or instrumentally rational. The results of the present analysis indicate that rather than being exclusive alternatives, the two types of rationality often complement each other in choices among policy instruments. The authors hope that they provide a promising opening in the often rather sterile debate between advocates of the rational choice approach and practitioners of more classical approaches of policy analysis.

0820

Although a substantial literature on quality management in the public sector has accumulated over the past decade, very little has been written about the development of mature quality programs in public agencies over the long run. This article examines the evolution of such a program in the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation,
which has transformed itself over the past 15 years around the core values of quality and customer service. In large part, this sustained commitment has been possible because of remarkable continuity in leadership over this period at both the executive and program levels, but it has continued to grow because these managers could see that it was yielding significant benefits in terms of attitudes and morale as well as more tangible measures of service delivery.

0821
EDUCATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY. EDUCATIONAL POLICY. ISRAEL. POLICY MAKING.

Politics of accountability theory contends that policy makers are unlikely to adopt external accountability policies. Contrary to the theory, many countries have adopted external school accountability policies, while Israel has not. The disequilibrium theory of policy selection is used to analyze differences among countries in school accountability policy making. The author finds that the symbolic potency of policies helps to explain these differences. The symbolic potency of external school accountability depends on the extent to which school performance is perceived as a problem, the degree to which powerful stakeholders are affected by the problem, and some broader political and administrative factors. Where client stakeholders are stirred out of their apathy, the education policy subsystem will adopt school accountability policies. However, preliminary evidence reveals implementation obstacles that may render these policies ineffective.

0822
FIJI. INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY. INTERNET. LOCAL ECONOMIES. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. PACIFIC ISLANDS. SAMOA. VANUATU.

The Internet has become a major source and vehicle for technological transfer and project development during the 1990s. Three Pacific Island countries—Fiji, Samoa, and Vanuatu—were connected through Pactok, an inexpensive computer-mediated communication (CMC) system originally developed for nongovernment organizations (NGOs) through the Pacific Sustainable Development Networking Project (PSDNP). The PSDNP was established by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1993 and funded by the UNDP until December 1996. Content analysis of the project document indicated that although the PSDNP aimed to improve access by these countries to scientific and technical information, an important underlying theme was to ensure that these Pacific Island countries were connected to the Internet. It also appeared that the agency was keen for organizations in these countries to increase access to international information, with little regard for local and regional sources. Subsequent analysis of Pactok sites early in 1997 showed that the PSDNP had encouraged the project’s primary stakeholders—regional organizations and NGOs—to join Pactok. However, international agencies such as the UNDP and other foreign assistance agencies also have access to Pactok and are able to disseminate agency ideologies, objectives, and priorities directly to users in Pacific Island countries.
Social Services

0823

This paper compares the effects of American approaches to welfare with the effects of privatization and other recent changes in European welfare systems. European theories traditionally have held that the provision of welfare services is a state responsibility. Whereas European governments continue to protect welfare services from economic forces, recent U.S. approaches have emphasized incorporating market principles in welfare programs. There is an ongoing debate in the European political literature on whether American public administration has established a new relationship between public and private sectors and whether such an approach can be applied to law-governed, Continental European systems. This question is especially important in the field of welfare because in Europe, the welfare responsibilities of the state are based on public law. Although the United States approach emphasizes economic efficiency as a central value of privatization, the pressing question in Western Europe is whether law-governed European public administration can provide adequate welfare services and whether legal regulations can guarantee that such services will be maintained in the manner outlined by law. The paper also proposes to shed light on whether welfare systems in post-Communist Eastern Europe are following American or European traditions.

0824

Among the many ways in which welfare regimes differ, one is how they articulate the demands of work and welfare. Such a framework not only renders more coherent the familiar three worlds of welfare capitalism but also highlights another option: a post-productivist welfare regime, which combines generous social benefits and a relaxed attitude toward work requirements, aiming at autonomy as its core value. Analysis of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) data circa 1993 shows that a work-welfare classification successfully locates most of the countries in their traditional regime types. It also shows the Netherlands as an instance of the new regime type, effectively promoting the three key components of post-productivist autonomy: income adequacy, temporal adequacy, and minimal conditionality.

0825

This article is concerned with assessing the effectiveness of markets for complex professional services in social care. The issue is explored through an account of developments in the children’s residential care sector. Over the past 5 years there has been a
steady expansion in the role of external markets in this area. However, this was not required by the Children Act 1989 and has become the subject of considerable debate between policy makers and practitioners. Whereas some favor an extension of choice, others argue that a further decline in local authority-run provision will be both costly and detrimental in terms of meeting key policy goals. In order to assess these claims, reference is made to the findings of a study of purchasing practices for children’s residential care in 12 local authorities in England and Wales. The impact of the emerging market is analyzed along two dimensions. First, the authors assess how far it is operating efficiently, concentrating on market structure, information, and transaction costs. Second, attention is given to the impact of market changes on the policy objectives of: localized placements, ensuring adequate safeguards, and matching needs and services. The results reveal that there have been significant costs associated with markets in children’s services. In a context of government efforts to promote modes of service delivery on the basis of what works, these difficulties have certain implications. Not only do they draw attention to the need for greater collaboration between purchasers and providers, but they also point to the continued relevance and usefulness of local authority-managed provision.

0826

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT. SOCIAL WELFARE. WELFARE REFORM.

Public and Social Services 387

Public management and implementation scholars suggest that congruence between the formal goals of policy officials and the operative goals of implementing agencies may be a prerequisite for the achievement of policy objectives. Substantial research also suggests that the achievement of goal congruence can be difficult in complex implementation contexts. In this article, the authors compare aspects of the governance and management of organizations delivering welfare reforms at the local level in three states. Sites were purposively selected to illustrate implementation contexts that vary in policy and institutional complexity. They ask whether and how local welfare organizations have been able to articulate and operationalize goals that are consistent with the substantive policy goals of state officials. Across the three sites, they find varying levels of congruence between formal policy goals, agency priorities, and the operative goals of agency managers and frontline staff. Goal congruence appears to be more problematic either when policy goals are complex or when organizational systems are complex; when both are complex, substantial uncoupling of formal and operational goals is observed.

0827

DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. SOCIAL POLICY. SOCIAL WELFARE. WELFARE REFORM.

This paper investigates the conditions under which political framing can render welfare restructuring more palatable. The author starts by asking two research questions. What are the necessary (albeit perhaps insufficient) conditions that allow leaders successfully to frame welfare reform? To what extent are these conditions evident across welfare regimes? The author identifies four variables that affect leaders’
opportunities for framing social policy: (1) extant frames, (2) actors, (3) institutions, and (4) policy arena. After examining the four dominant types of frames found across affluent societies, the author reviews the discursive politics surrounding The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act as a case in which all four conditions for framing welfare reform coalesced.

0828
SOCIAL WELFARE, THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS, WELFARE STATE.

This volume offers a theoretical analysis of social welfare and of the state through which it operates. Drawing on a wide-ranging literature across the social sciences, the author develops a model for understanding the basis of welfare in society. Through a series of propositions, he develops a theory based on the idea of people as social actors with social rights and moral obligations and welfare as obtained and maintained through social action in response to people’s needs. He contends that the provision of welfare reflects the values of the society in which it takes place, but that welfare implied some level of distribution. The author goes on to consider the role of the state in the provision of welfare, both at the level of the individual and of society, as well as between states.

Environmental Protection

0829
AFRICA, DEFINITIONS, GOVERNANCE, MANAGEMENT, NATURAL RESOURCES, RESOURCE CONSERVATION.

In this article, the authors use the threshold-based management framework to analyze and make policy recommendations for community-based natural resource management (CBNRM). The authors introduce the concept, present two examples from southern Africa, and lay out the fundamentals of the threshold-based resource management approach. They then analyze the two cases using the framework to assess whether it can provide solutions of CBNRM implementation problems or whether the conditions characterizing many CBNRM sites would preclude use of the approach. Although John Cohen, in whose memory this article is dedicated, would have, in the authors’ opinion, been pleased with the authors’ focus on management and governance, he would have greatly regretted the pretensions of high theory some may read into this framework.

CANADA. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION. UNITED STATES.

Past studies of the dynamics of U.S.-Canada environmental policy and policy making have found little evidence of weak convergence in this sector; that is, of Canadian policy moving toward the U.S. model of adversarial legalism, an implementation style based on procedural policy instruments such as action-forcing statutes, citizen suits, and judicial activism. However, recent efforts at deregulation and the reformation of government in the United States, and moves toward multistakeholder policy making in Canada, have altered the standard against which trends toward Canadian-American convergence must be assessed. These reforms have moved the U.S. environmental regulatory system closer to that existing in Canada, in which regulations and other elements of the environmental regime are developed through negotiation rather than litigation. Because Canadian environmental implementation has also been altered over the same period, however, it is argued that a form of strong convergence is emerging, in which both countries are moving not toward each other but toward a third, common style that associates with the development of self-regulation and voluntary initiatives under the influence of New Public Management ideas and principles.


ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT. INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS. NETWORK ANALYSIS. PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS.

Interorganizational collaboration is increasingly seen as an important process in environmental management. The new paradigm of managing places as ecosystems requires increasing attention to sustaining specific combinations of natural features, communities and institutions. Such projects are long term and therefore require the participation and support of often divergent interests. Sustaining collaboration beyond the initial agreement to work together requires attention to the motivation of organizations and their representatives and to the importance of achievements for participants and external stakeholders. This paper reviews the literature on motivation and measuring achievement in environmental networks.


AIR POLLUTION. CLEAN AIR ACT. ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY. NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS. THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS.

This study examines how administrative procedures structure the degree of policy influence different governmental and nongovernmental groups exercise in states’ air pollution control programs. Drawing on a variety of data, including a unique survey of state air pollution control agencies, the authors’ analysis shows that administrative
procedures affect the degree of bureaucratic autonomy and level of influence legislatures and interest groups exercise in state air pollution programs. Overall, the results suggest that hardwiring administrative procedures theories may be more accurate than fire alarm theories of legislative oversight.

**Social Security**

**0833**

**CHILE. PRIVATIZATION. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY. SOCIAL SECURITY.**

The performance of Chile’s system of state-sponsored private pensions has been a major theme for advocates of privatizing U.S. Social Security. Chile’s experience has also been criticized by defenders of the current U.S. system. This article explains why, though the critics deserve the upper hand, the whole discussion is misguided. The most basic issue in the policy debate is how adequately pensions could be financed through regulated individual investment in financial markets. Chilean experience offers little evidence on this question because, for the first 15 years of the system, pensions and accumulations in the Chilean funds had little to do with the kinds of market forces that would be relevant to predicting experience anywhere.

**PUBLIC SERVICE PERSONNEL**

**Education, Training, and Certification**

**0834**

**ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. PRIVATE SECTOR. PUBLIC PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT. PUBLIC PERSONNEL TRAINING. PUBLIC SECTOR.**

Most research on end user computer training has focused on formal training techniques. Nevertheless, the authors’ observations suggest that much learning occurs informally through assistance from other employees and self-learning methods, such as trial and error and reading manuals. Samples of computer end users in the financial or budgeting department of public and private organizations were studied to discern how important informal sources of learning compare with formal ones. It was discovered that most employees derive more than 75% of their learning from informal sources. Help by peers received the highest evaluation as a source of learning. No major differences were found between training in the public and private sectors. It is concluded that informal training is an extremely important source of learning about software and may help explain how employees can master software packages in organizations with little available formal training.
Monitoring change over time is an important aspect of results-oriented management. Social indicators provide information on trends in the conditions of children, families, and communities. In Delaware, the social indicator program known as Families Count is a building block in the state’s development of a managing for results system. This article describes the development, use, and institutionalization of the Families Count program in Delaware. Then, the Families Count indicators are discussed in the context of Delaware’s current and planned alignments and linkages of strategic plans, performance measures, and program evaluations. The article concludes by identifying the lessons learned, considering the implications of the Delaware experience for the role of social indicators in a results-oriented system, and by stating remaining challenges for the success of this system.


This article examines the relationship between the use of information technology and revitalized management practices. Based on a survey among city managers and chief administrative officers in cities with a population of more than 50,000, it finds that information technology furthers the use of revitalized management practices and that the impact of information technology on organizational effectiveness is affected by the use of revitalized management practices. This article also identifies management activities that further the use of information technology in local government.


Results comparing academic employees (N =176) across four occupations (college administrators, faculty, librarians, and clerical workers) indicated that college administrators and professors were highest on career identity and job involvement, whereas clerical workers reported the lowest job satisfaction, career planning, and intentions to remain in a career. Though discriminant analysis revealed that professors were more identified with their careers than administrators, college administrators were higher on career planning, intentions-to-remain in a career, and career resilience.
0838

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. PERSONNEL Deregulation. PUBLIC PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT. U.S. STATES.

Personnel deregulation has occupied a central place on the American reform agenda for several years. For example, formal calls for personnel deregulation can be traced to the National Academy of Public Administration (1983), the Volcker Commission (1989), the Winter Commission (1993), Reinventing Government (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992), and, most recently, to the National Performance Review/National Partnership for Reinventing Government (1993). Deregulation represents an important topic for inquiry because it entails, in part, a dramatic reorientation in the locus of personnel responsibility (from centralized control to decentralized discretion) and in the accountability relationships that govern the personnel function (from bureaucratic, hierarchical control to reliance on professional accountability of managers).

Still, knowledge is limited about the levels of personnel deregulation present in various jurisdictions and about the factors that are related to them. This article presents a measure of state government personnel deregulation. The measure demonstrates wide variation in the extent of such deregulation. The article then tests several hypotheses regarding relationships thought to affect personnel deregulation levels. Findings suggest the importance of public employee unionism, political party control, and administrative professionalism to the states’ personnel deregulation levels.

0839

MANAGERIAL TECHNIQUES. ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT. ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.

This study revisits the issues of motivation factors and organizational commitment in the New Public Management (NPM) context. This study posits an exploratory model of organizational commitment as a joint product of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation factors, organizational culture, sector, managerial level, and individual characteristics. The model is tested by using data collected from public and private organizations in the Syracuse and Albany, New York, areas. Statistical results support proposed hypotheses with respect to sectoral difference, managerial level, and organizational culture. The statistics also suggest that intrinsic motivation factors are more significantly associated with organizational commitment than extrinsic motivation factors in the public sector. Compared with the private sector, managerial level in the public sector is less pronounced as a determinant of organizational commitment. Based on the statistical results, some managerial implications for NPM are also discussed.
0840
Nelson, Anne, and William H.M. Nelson III. Information dependency theory: further-
ing the understanding of a manager’s predilection to use gender as a basis for pay and
organization hierarchical level decisions. International Journal of Public Administra-

DECISION MAKING. GENDER DIFFERENCES. GENDER DISCRIMINATION.
INFORMATION DEPENDENCY THEORY. MANAGERIAL PRACTICES.
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. PAY DIFFERENTIALS. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.

The predilection to use gender as a basis for pay and organization hierarchical
level decisions has emerged as a significant topic in management literature. Related
issues are the theories of information dependency and gender segregation. This article
discusses the theoretical foundations of information dependency theory confirming
the importance of subordinates’ control of resources, including performance capabili-
ties. Insights gained through this study may provide business professionals with the
ability to recognize and avoid the use of gender as a basis for pay and hierarchical level
within both the organizational and managerial contexts.

0841
O’Connor, Pat. Structure, culture and passivity: a case study of women in a semistate
organization. Public Administration and Development (UK) 20(3):265-275, August
2000.

CASE STUDIES. ECONOMIC ANALYSIS. GENDER RELATIONS. MALE DOMINANCE.
RURAL AREAS. WOMEN.

Much of the Irish semistate sector is still characterized by permanent employment
within male-dominated hierarchical structures. This case study focuses on a rural
semistate organization with a statutory obligation as regards the economic, social, and
cultural development of a particular geographical area. Documentary material
showed that it was highly skewed in gender terms, with men holding the overwhelm-
ing majority (93%) of the higher positions, and women the overwhelming majority
(89%) of the lower positions. Such patterns are by no means atypical as regards state
and semistate structures. Drawing on qualitative material from taped focus group ses-
sions with roughly 80% of the women employed in this organization, the article illus-
trates the multifaceted ways (structural, cultural, and individual) in which women’s
position at the lower levels of that organization was maintained.

0842
Peterson, Steven A. Board of education involvement in school decisions and student

BOARDS OF EDUCATION. DECISION MAKING. SCHOOLS.

Some extant research suggests that the politics of education may have an effect on
students’ achievement. This study explores the extent to which school board involve-
ment in decisions made within the schools themselves affects students’ performance.
Structural equation modeling suggests that a “small but meaningful” negative effect
of what is, essentially, school board macromanagement within individual schools.
Implications for policy are discussed with several specific proposals evaluated.

JOB ANALYSIS. JOB CHARACTERISTICS. PUBLIC PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT.

The management revolution in the private sector in the 1980s and in the public sector in the 1990s has systematically overturned long-time assumptions that had become tantamount to laws. Human resource management has certainly not been insulated from this trend. Job analysis for job design and support functions will also need to be considered. The long-term trends after World War II were fairly clear. “Good” job analyses were generally considered enormously detailed exercises in comprehensive data collection and analysis. Although comprehensive and sophisticated job analysis strategies will not and should not be banned from the human resource lexicon, it is time to reconsider the range of strategies typically promoted and to reemphasize more streamlined approaches as well. In the current fast-moving, more fluid administrative environment, simpler methodologies are better suited in many situations. A case example is provided using a job analysis of municipal clerks.

Administration and Technology


COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS. INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY. LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

This study describes the outcomes of a large-scale information technology (IT) initiative in a major metropolitan police department. Although popular rhetoric suggests that substantial benefits can be gained from IT, empirical studies have demonstrated more speculative results. IT projects are often fraught with cost overruns and delays. Moreover, once deployed, many systems fail to meet functional requirements or are too complex to be feasible for many organizations. This study describes one agency’s attempt to leverage technology to improve responsiveness and stimulate productivity. The implementation effort made it possible to capture preimplementation and postimplementation results. The study is longitudinal with one preimplementation and two postimplementation observations. The results of the pretest and first postimplementation review, collected in spring 2000, are reported. The study revealed that IT affords many benefits but demands substantial tangible and intangible resource investments. The study concluded that the high-risk characteristics of IT initiative are grounded in intangible resource requirements.


INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT. TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION.

The development of an information network is a project of prime importance for industrialized countries. Managing a technological change of this magnitude requires
many forms of expertise. In such a context, the behavior of managers is an important factor to consider. Even so, can managers resort to various types of behavior? If so, what influence do these forms of behavior exert on the adoption process? A questionnaire was developed to identify the characteristics of managers’ behavior in the process of adopting a new technology. It was sent to 600 managers of various public organizations. The study shows that there are many entrepreneurs working in public organizations. It also demonstrates that there is a positive correlation between consideration of the social component and success in the adoption of new technology, and that entrepreneurs are much less inclined to take this social component into consideration.

0846
INDIA. INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY. SENIOR ADMINISTRATORS.
A review of global experience suggests that information technology (IT) has great potential to contribute to public sector reform. However, the Indian reality—like that for many countries—has been more problematic, with many failures of IT-related reform; failures that can be described as total, partial, or failures of sustainability and replication. Many factors help explain such failure, but a key component is the approach to IT and reform adopted by senior public officials. A “four I’s” model of approaches is described: the non-IT approach of ignore, and the IT-related approaches of isolate, idolize, and integrate. Analysis of Indian cases suggests it is the last approach that is most likely to deliver reform objectives; yet, it remains the least commonly adopted. Changes are therefore required in current strategies for public administration training and in the planning and management of change.

0847
COMMUNICATION INFRASTRUCTURE. DEPENDENCY THEORY. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY. PUBLIC POLICY.
The proliferation of information technology offers challenges to developing countries that struggle with basic human needs. Yet, the key to their survival may lie in information that is inaccessible to them. Facing these challenges, developing nations start from a position of frailty based on low levels of capital; a limited information infrastructure; dependencies on foreign aid and multinationals; and an ever-increasing population growth. It is essential that foreign technology inflow be adopted strategically within the pre-existing framework of national policies for technological development and with an emphasis on technology transfer. The broad policy direction needs to be toward the establishment of an information infrastructure and a contingent perspective for the metapolicy process of designing appropriate information technology infrastructures.
Labor Relations

0848

NEW JERSEY. NEW JERSEY INTEREST ARBITRATION REFORM ACT. POLICY EVALUATION.

In 1996, the Arbitration Reform Act (ARA) made significant changes to New Jersey’s system of binding interest arbitration for public safety employees. A survey of management labor relations officials and an analysis of arbitration awards was conducted. The survey results offered mixed support for meeting the legislative goals, including increasing arbitrator consideration of organizational focal capacity and reducing the rate of growth in public safety compensation. The analysis of awards indicated that the mean number of monetary and nonmonetary issues submitted to arbitration increased, whereas, in contrast to the survey results, the average arbitrated wage increase decreased from its peak in the early 1990s. The strong economy, with its high levels of economic growth, moderate inflation, and low unemployment in conjunction with enhanced arbitrator focus on fiscal capacity are favorable factors for continued future moderate wage increases. Recommendations for improving the arbitration process are provided.

Wages, Salaries, and Benefits

0849

BENEFITS. COST CONTROL. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. PUBLIC PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT.

Employee benefits are an essential and costly component of the compensation and human resource management systems. This research effort surveyed 358 municipal governments on benefits cost-management strategies. The results indicated that the majority of local governments use displacement strategies that shift costs to or impose them on either taxpayers (higher taxes) or employees (outsourcing, higher copayments), in contrast with structural solutions that address the macrolevel financial variables that influence either the demand or the supply side of benefits finance (i.e., self-insurance, prevention programs, benefits consortiums, or service regionalization). Benefits plan effectiveness is associated with a systematic needs assessment, a favorable labor relations climate, and fewer displacement cost-control strategies. Recommendations are provided to enhance the effectiveness of benefits cost-control programs, including systematic needs assessment, labor-management cooperation, and state-level technical assistance.
Performance Evaluation

0850

**BUREAUCRACY. PUBLIC FINANCE. PUBLIC SECTOR. RESOURCE ALLOCATION.**

This paper takes stock of current understanding of the architecture of public sector resource allocation mechanisms. It is a speculative venture and provides a framework for thinking about issues rather than a completed theoretical model. The concept of architecture is borrowed from the design sciences and is used to explore the conditions of performativity within networks of relational contracts. The age-old question of markets versus hierarchy is too simplistic. Instead, the search is for optimal complex network relationships that are based on cooperation and participation rather than competition and control. Within these networks, the public sector, it is argued, has a new role of acting as a broker in the creation of value. Judging the public sector’s relative effectiveness in the creation of value also requires closer attention to be given to the context within which public sector managers take decisions. In particular, it is necessary to acknowledge that they confront the “wicked” problems of society that the electorate demand to be solved. This gives renewed interest in the notion of market failure.

0851

**MARKET ANALYSIS. MARKET TESTS. POLICY EVALUATION. PUBLIC PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT.**

This paper draws on a study of the introduction of market testing in the U.K. civil service to explore ways in which managers involved in the implementation of the new policy constructed evaluations of its impact. It is structured around three arguments. The first concerns the problems of evaluating what works in the multistakeholder, multigoal context of public management. The research highlights a range of overlapping and sometimes conflicting evaluation criteria across different organizational and occupational groupings. The second argument explores the difficulties of evaluation in the context of shifting policy objectives and the dynamic nature of institutional change. The research shows how the practitioners involved shaped and reshaped their construction of events over time as unanticipated benefits and disbenefits became evident. It also suggests ways in which they responded to the changing policy context, constructing new rules and norms of action over time. The third argument concerns the different levels of analysis underpinning managers’ constructions of efficiency and effectiveness, and how these constructions were deployed as strategies of legitimation in shaping the process of institutional change.

Human resource management systems, Performance evaluation, Personnel management, State government.

A growing body of research has focused on evaluating the effectiveness of human resource management systems, yet few efforts have been made to develop a set of criteria and a method for evaluating human resource management systems in the public sector. As part of the Government Performance Project, the present study offers a framework and methodology to fill this gap. The Government Performance Project worked with a panel of experts to identify relevant criteria to evaluate public sector human resource systems and to construct a survey instrument aligned with the identified criteria. After discussing the criteria and survey construction, the article introduces a method of evaluating human resource management systems, fuzzy logic, that models expert judgments and takes into account measurement imprecision.


Interrater reliability, Oral tests, Public personnel management, Statistical analysis.

There has been an extensive debate within the human resources industry over the merits of oral tests versus assembled, multiple-choice written tests. Written tests, claim their proponents, are more objective, more reliable, and are better able to rank people on their competencies. For larger candidate populations, written tests are also much less expensive to administer. Oral test proponents contend that whatever their shortcomings, one can learn a great deal about candidates’ communication skills, interpersonal skills, and abilities to discuss a topic in depth during face-to-face discussions. For smaller candidate populations, oral tests are much closer in cost to written tests, and they may even be somewhat less expensive to administer and score.

Stakeholder Participation


Accountability, Organizational performance, Public organizations, Research trends.

Who should be included in efforts to develop accountability systems for public organizations? What is the impact of involving various internal and external stakeholders in a collaborative process to determine performance indicators? Involving a
variety of participants can result in information that is perceived as being more useful; however, significant groups of stakeholders may be excluded from the collaborative process. The reasons for nonparticipation range from poor timing or oversight to deliberate decisions to forego involvement. This exploratory research suggests that the benefits from a collaborative process of identifying measures of program impact are minimal and that the utility of including a large number of participants is questionable. Finding more effective methods to increase the impact and utility of stakeholder involvement may become increasingly important in meeting executive and legislative mandates to determine government performance. The implications for further study are discussed.

0855
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION. EVALUATION TECHNIQUES. PERFORMANCE EVALUATION. PERFORMANCE STANDARDS.

Participatory approaches to the development of performance-measurement systems have been promoted as ways to enhance the actual uses of the measures developed. This article presents an evaluation of a participatory approach used for developing performance-measurement plans (goals, objectives, and indicators) for a new high-risk youth program in Illinois. The evaluation focused on answering three questions: Is the participatory approach seen as valuable by participants? For whom is it more valuable? Why is it seen as valuable? Participants were given a questionnaire, and the data collected were examined with correlations and cluster analyses. The results indicate that the participation process is valued. Participants believed that they obtained valuable knowledge and were satisfied with the outcomes. Nevertheless, participation appears most important under conditions of uncertainty and seems to be of less benefit to organizations that do not feel vulnerable about the effect of performance measurement.

0856
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. URBAN AREAS.

This research provides empirical evidence about public participation in U.S. municipalities. Using data from a national survey, the author and her associates measured public participation and examined its possible causes and impacts. Findings revealed that although a variety of participation mechanisms are used, participation in administrative decision making is limited. Findings also indicated that size of government and political divisiveness may be reasons for public participation in decision making. Finally, the author demonstrates that participation may identify public needs and build consensus and that public attitudes toward government may not change as a result of participation.
Contracting and Procurement

0857

AUSTRALIA. ECONOMIC COMPETITION. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. PRIVATE SECTOR. VICTORIA STATE, AUSTRALIA.

Around the world, the public sector is introducing private sector management practices. Abandoning the binary model of public and private sectors, the State Government of Victoria introduced the compulsory competitive tendering system under which local government bodies are required to tender out their services to private sector service providers. The aim was to encourage local government bodies to operate in contestable situations so that they can increase efficiency, decrease operating costs, develop clear program goals and objectives, become responsive to client goals, and improve the quality of goods and services. The article describes how the practice of the compulsory competitive tendering system has introduced major changes to organizational cultures, attitudes of employees, power and authority structures, systems of decision making, delegation of financial and managerial authority, and the nature of control and accountability. In addition, the article explains the degree of competitiveness and efficiency that local government bodies have achieved and describes how the corporatized structure has helped to achieve the financial objectives. The article also discusses how the role of the elected councils is diminishing under this new management structure and argues that in the absence of a genuine monitoring system and accountability mechanism, the local government bodies find it difficult to assert their role as quality service deliverers. This has forced the councils to comply with the requirements of the competition laws, which have reduced direct accountability of government to the public.

0858

AFRICA. CONTRACTING. PRIVATE SECTOR. PRIVATIZATION. PUBLIC SECTOR.

Public sector extension has come under increasing pressure to downsize and reform. Contracting out—the use of public sector funds to contract nongovernmental and private service providers—is often held up as a potential tool in reform efforts. Much has been written about the possible advantages of contracting out of agricultural extension, and it is being encouraged and promoted by numerous international organizations. However, a look at field experience in Africa shows that contracting out is relatively infrequent, especially compared with the reverse—contracting in—in which private sector and nongovernmental organizations finance public sector extension delivery. Case studies from Uganda and Mozambique indicate that on the ground, attempts to come up with solutions to providing services to farmers are resulting in innovative contracting approaches and combined public and private
institutional arrangements. Contracting in and public-private coalition approaches, in contrast to purely public sector extension (characterized by ineffectiveness and inefficiencies) and purely private for-profit extension (which may ignore public goods and concerns), may help achieve extension services that are both demand-led and that internalize public concerns such as environmental protection, food security, and socioeconomic equity. These coalition approaches can be improved and facilitated. They deserve greater analysis and may contribute to a better understanding of extension contracting and the roles of private and public organizations.

0859

CONTRACTING. DENMARK. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. RESEARCH TRENDS.

Contracting out has revolved around certain recurring issues, such as performance and accountability. However, the contracting out agenda is expanding, as illustrated by the Danish case. More and more tasks, such as administrative tasks, close to the mayor’s office in municipalities are being contracted out. Private-sector companies have adopted a more sophisticated way of dealing and negotiating with public-sector purchasers in trying to dismantle arguments against contracting out. The latest trend is to focus on public-private partnerships that indicate cooperation instead of competition and trust instead of adversary relationships. These new avenues of contracting out have implications for the theoretical framework. The article considers the possibilities of the Advocacy Coalition Framework developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, an approach that has not yet been used to analyze contracting out to the author’s knowledge.

0860

CONTRACTING. LONG-TERM CONTRACTING. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. PUBLIC ENTERPRISES. SHORT-TERM CONTRACTING.

One can look at the arrival of New Public Management and the extensive public sector reforms inspired by this theory from many angles. Here, the authors examine the shift from long-term contracting, typical of bureaucracy and traditional enterprises, to short-term contracting, borrowed from private-sector governance methods. Short-term contracting has three principal uses in the governance of the public sector: (1) contracting with service providers after a tendering/bidding process, (2) contracting with the CEOs of the incorporated public enterprises, and (3) contracting with executive agencies about what they should deliver. Theoretical analysis, supported by substantial empirical evidence, suggests that short-term contracting eliminates the extensive postcontractual opportunism connected with long-term contracting but is vulnerable to precontractual opportunism. Short-term contracting is not just another public sector reform fad, but rather constitutes a new tool for government that increases efficiency when handled with prudence.
0861

ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRALIZATION, ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION, GOVERNMENTAL PROCUREMENT.

Today, most public sector purchasing processes are in transition. In the face of growing uneasiness by elected officials, service delivery managers, and citizens about rule-driven processes, inefficient systems, and poor management of resources, purchasing professionals are being challenged to develop new dynamic, adaptable structures. In this article, the current state of decentralization is examined and the roles of purchasing professionals in the purchasing process are presented. Specifically, this research attempts to answer the following questions: What changes have governments implemented in policy making, organization structure, personnel recruitment and training, expenditure authorization levels, review, and oversight as they decentralize purchasing authority? And, what are the projected trends that will impact the success or failure of the decentralization issues over the next decade?

0862

ACCOUNTABILITY, CONTRACTING, PUBLIC POLICY, PUBLIC SECTOR, SOCIAL SERVICES.

Contracting out for human services has become preferred public policy at all levels of government. This service delivery policy choice has important implications for accountability and for the ability of contracting nonprofit organizations to be flexible and innovative. Although the use of contracting has expanded dramatically in the human services since the 1970s, many important public management policy questions remain unasked and unanswered. This article raises and discusses nine largely unanswered questions that are central to the reasons why government continues to expand its dependence on contracted human services. These questions address key elements of a larger policy-of-public-management question: Is it possible to achieve accountability and flexibility when government contracts out for the provision of publicly funded human services? By addressing these nine questions, the authors seek to determine what is known and not known about the key accountability issues in contracted public human services. The authors also attempt to highlight the importance of these questions and issues for public management policy, intersectorial organization theory, the practice of nonprofit and public organization management, and thus for research and theory development.
The United States defense industry has had a long history of unethical and illegal business practices. Recent polls find that most Americans believe that their nation’s weapon acquisition system is one of the worst managed activities in the public or private sectors and that the defense industry is neither efficient nor honestly managed. Although the defense acquisition process has been the subject of many reform efforts, it is reasonable to ask whether these reform efforts have had any success. The Defense Industry Initiative on Business Ethics and Conduct, commonly known as DII, is the defense industry’s self-governed program responding to the concern regarding ethical business practices in defense procurement. This study is to assess the Defense Industry Initiative on Business Ethics and Conduct in an attempt to find the perceived impact of this self-governed compliance program.

This article addresses some of the critical issues with respect to public procurement of information technology (IT). The article provides results from surveys of state public information managers and technology vendors who provide services to government to determine if IT procurements have improved in the 10 years since the Kelman study on public procurements and suggests opportunities to improve public IT procurements.

Employing cluster analysis, this article reconsiders a concept formulated by Francis G. Castles that stresses the existence of four families of nations, which markedly...
differ in respect of public policy making. For two policy fields — social and economic policy — the hypothesized families of nations can be shown to exist, and they are quite robust and stable over time. Cluster analysis also reveals different paths toward modernity. On one hand, there are more state-oriented versus more market-oriented models of public policy making; on the other, there is a cleavage in public policy making between rich countries located at the center and somewhat poorer countries located at the periphery.


AGENDA SETTING. LAW MAKING. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS. STATUTE LAW.

Federal agencies are important players in the formulation of statutes. As an object of study and as part of the governmental process, academic public administration has shown little interest in the nature and extent of civil servants’ involvement in this phenomenon, or in its ramifications. Making use of some data from survey research questionnaires as well as recently published histories of congressional enactments, this article seeks to open the door a little bit on this subject. Preliminary findings suggest that administrators are a significant influence from the earliest stages of statutes’ evolution, impacting both important and run-of-the-mill enactments. That influence is evident in the frequency with which many agencies initiate and pursue their own legislative agendas year by year, draft their own bills, and participate in shaping policy objectives arising within Congress and among interest groups. By law, agencies are supposed to clear proposals through the Organization of Management and Budget (OMB) before going to Congress, but, as will be shown, clearance can be a relative thing. Few proposed initiatives emanate directly from the White House. Tax and spending bills were excluded from the study, as were private bills.

Policy Implementation


POLICY ANALYSIS. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. PUBLIC POLICY.

Over the past two decades and “three generations of implementation research,” policy scientists and public administrators have made impressive progress in both theory and practice. However, many recent articles published in leading public administration journals continue to work from the theoretical and empirical assumptions of the first generation of implementation research. The leading research in the field is shifting the focus from policy formation variables to address the effects of institutional and interorganizational relationships. This work reaffirms that public administrators are crucial players in street-level policy making.
Policy Evaluation

0868

POLICY ANALYSIS, POLICY EVALUATION, PUBLIC POLICY, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

Cantankerous conflicts and debilitating debates characterize the disorderly development of policy evaluation. The clashes over methods, paradigms, and purposes have been so severe that no approach or idea has avoided criticism. This article reviews the turbulent history of evaluation from its multiple roots to its acceptance as an essential tool of contemporary public management. Next, the article examines the war between constructivists and positivists over methodology as well as the puzzling games played in the search for consensus over the purpose(s) of evaluation. The article concludes with a discussion of the future of policy evaluation from the perspective of democratic public management. Several vital issues glossed over by the previous debates are identified. The article ends with an appeal for evaluators to devote less time to methodological and paradigmatic infighting and more time to the solution of these other problems more directly related to the administration and improvement of public programs.

Policy Analysis

0869

EUROPEAN UNION, INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION, POLICY ANALYSIS, POLICY NETWORKS.

Researchers have put forward seemingly contradictory hypotheses on how European integration might impact on national interest intermediation. This study proposes to include the mesolevel in the analysis—in other words, to look systematically at policy and sector-specific characteristics in European governance. From such a perspective, it seems the impact of European Union (EU) level politics could be much more diverse (in the sense of being differentiated between policy areas) than hitherto expected. In addition, attention needs to be paid to the existence, and limits, of different types of impact potentials of Euro-level patterns on the national systems. Although no uniform systems of interest politics can be expected, even in the longer run, persisting or even growing infrasystem diversity of public-private interaction might increasingly be accompanied by a trend toward intersystem convergence of policy-specific networks due to the process of European integration.

0870

POST-APARtheid ERA, PUBLIC POLICY, PUBLIC SECTOR, SOUTH AFRICA.

Service delivery in South Africa takes place in a highly complex and challenging context. To deliver services in such a context, policies for service delivery must be applicable and functional, and the institutions and people involved should be performance
oriented. From the analysis in this article, one can deduce that service delivery policies in South Africa are in accordance with international standards. Nevertheless, performance evaluation shows that actual service delivery is not at the same high level of performance as stated in its policies. In this article, some of the performance issues, which the present government of South Africa is trying to address, are highlighted.

**Policy Change**

**0871**

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM. POLICY CHANGE. POLICY MAKING. PUBLIC POLICY.

The evolution of public policies in the United States has been characterized as a process involving long periods of stability followed by abrupt episodes of substantial change. In this project, the author identifies strands in the literature and synthesize policy theories into a policy regime model useful in explaining both stability and change. This model focuses on power arrangements, policy paradigms, and organization—factors that operate to maintain long periods of stability. He demonstrates how stressors—catastrophic events, economic crises, demographic changes, shifts in modes of production, and others—impact policy regimes and create pressures for change. He argues that the process of policy regime change—the abrupt episodes of substantial change—occurs with changes in the policy paradigm, alterations in patterns of power, and shifts in organizational arrangements. The old policy regime disintegrates and the new one emerges with a new policy paradigm, new patterns of power and new organizational arrangements that operate to maintain long periods of stability.

**Policy Termination**

**0872**

ORGANIZATIONAL TERMINATION. POLICY TERMINATION. RESEARCH TRENDS.

The goal of this symposium is to encourage the exploration of the topic of policy and organizational termination. This introductory article reviews the most recent published literature in this field and summarizes the articles included in this symposium. Four original, commissioned, research articles are included in this symposium. Although the topic of policy and organizational termination continues to be underattended, this symposium is the latest of a number of recent publications that have contributed to greater understanding of the phenomenon of termination.

**0873**

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS. MEXICO. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. POLICY TERMINATION.

Many policy scholars have noted that the policy termination literature has to date compiled an inadequate set of studies from which to posit theoretic propositions.
Comparative policy analysis is in much the same position. This paper addresses both of these concerns by, first, offering a case study of a major policy initiative in Mexico, Pronasol, and, second, using American policy termination frameworks, posing the possibility of comparative policy termination endeavors. Not surprising, the study suggests that the congruencies between the Mexican and American termination experiences are not always exact, but there are some useful generalizations that may be made. Most specifically, the crucial contribution of exogenous political and ideological conditions is reinforced by both nations’ termination activities.

**0874**

**LITERATURE REVIEW. ORGANIZATIONAL TERMINATION. POLICY TERMINATION. **

Termination is avoided in public policy and is an issue seldom raised in policy analysis, administration, or management literature. This article provides a distillation of the termination literature (1) to diagnose the reasons behind the reluctance to undertake termination and (2) to identify the craft, namely those strategies and techniques meant to confront these motives and facilitate the termination process. An analysis of literature over the past 20 years shows that it is the nature of organizations and their tendency for maintaining stability, as well as costs—political, emotional, financial, or legal—that inhibit termination-related decisions. The former is manifested mostly through a complex apparatus, cover-up, and antitermination coalitions. The latter entail costly and turbulent consequences, in the long or short term.

**0875**

**CASE STUDIES. MICHIGAN. POLICY TERMINATION. STATE LEGISLATURES. TERM LIMITS.**

This article tests a theoretical framework by examining a case study of term limits in the Michigan legislature. The Michigan case tests the “fit” of Daniels’s seven generalizations about policy and organizational termination. The goal of this paper is to extend the discussion of termination policy to the issue of term limits and formulate an agenda for future research that can develop a better understanding of term limits based on the concept of termination.

**0876**

**NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS. ORGANIZATIONAL EVOLUTION. ORGANIZATIONAL TERMINATION.**

As the number of private, nonprofit organizations in the United States continues to grow annually, the competition for clients, funding, and volunteer time also escalates. As a result, some experts suggest that a restructuring of the nonprofit sector is occurring. The increasing number of mergers by nonprofit organizations is evidence of this restructuring. This paper examines merger as a termination alternative that avoids
organization dissolution and focuses on the internal and external forces that drive non-profit organization decision makers to consider merger. Three case studies are used to illustrate the concept of merger in the nonprofit context as a continuum of organization combination strategies that range from consolidation to acquisition.

**Technological Policy**

0877

CASE STUDIES. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL OPTIONS ASSESSMENT PANEL. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT.

Technology assessment is carried out at the European Parliament (EP) by Scientific and Technological Options Assessment (STOA), a unit in the Parliament’s Directorate-General for Research. The work is overseen at the political level by a body called the STOA Panel, which is composed of one nominated member from each of the 20 permanent committees of the EP. The panel adopts an annual work plan of projects proposed by the committees. These projects are executed with the assistance of outside contractors, such as universities, research institutes, and consultancies. For this purpose, STOA has its own line in the annual budget of the European Parliament. The work plan and budget are managed by a small unit in the Directorate General for research (DGIV) of the European Parliament, working in partnership with external contractors. It is a key element of the philosophy of STOA specifically to seek high-quality, up-to-date expertise from outside the institutions of the European Union. This is consistent with the requirement that it should serve as a source of reliable, independent information and advice for the committees and members of the European Parliament (MEPs), whose principal task is the scrutiny of legislative and budgetary proposals coming from the European Commission.

0878

EUROPEAN UNION. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT. TRAFFIC CONGESTION. TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT. WESTERN EUROPE.

With the increase in motor vehicle traffic across Europe, it is not accidental that France, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, and the European Union saw to it that their Parliamentary technology assessment (PTA) agencies conduct extensive studies on transportation and traffic problems. This chapter reports on the differences and similarities with the transportation and traffic issues between technology assessment (TA) approaches, outputs, and use of five of Europe’s foremost institutions for PTA. The major questions guiding this comparison were as follows: (1) What are the approaches or methods and products of the five PTA agencies? (2) Do approaches to TA and the substance of TA outputs differ in terms of cultural biases embedded in the approaches and in the policy belief systems displayed in the outputs? (3) What accounts for the major differences of approaches and outputs; in particular,
can one relate differences in cultural biases to differences in professional beliefs, national political-administrative institutions, and national political culture? Following the introduction in Section 1 and presentation of the article’s theoretical framework in Section 2, the authors deal with the first research question in Section 3, which consists of a careful but concise description of the five cases. The other two questions are addressed in Section 4, divided into the corresponding subsections. Section 5 draws implications of an entrenched car technology as an unstructured policy problem.

0879

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. TECHNOLOGICAL ELITISM. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT.

Participation was once described as the “thorn in the flesh of technology policy” (Hennen, 1993). Considering the ongoing critical discussion about its function, particularly in institutionalized technology assessment (TA), this metaphor seems apt: A whole range of difficult theoretical, methodological, and practical questions complicate and, at times, obscure, this discussion; and despite a broad general consensus regarding the need for participation in science and technology, tangible solutions are notoriously hard to come by. First is the multiple meaning, at a theoretical level, of participation. Second, at the level of implementation, these different notions and conceptual perspectives crucially influence the design of participatory programs and their deployment at different levels of scientific and technological development. What ultimately puts the participation issue into question is the overwhelming emphasis of issues that have strong social dimensions to them, the exclusive involvement of exports (including social scientists) in the assessment procedures, and the one-sided orientation toward existing decision-making institutions. Nevertheless, the issue of participation is unavoidable. This chapter examines the key issues surrounding participation in its function in parliamentary TA. The experience of relevant practical programs conducted in different contexts are also critically reviewed.

0880

CASE STUDIES. DENMARK. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT.

From the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, Danish technology assessment was merely a research activity carried out by university researchers for Danish industry or trade unions. With the establishment of the Danish Board of Technology in 1986, Danish traditions of public enlightenment became integrated into the concept of technology assessment. The board as an institution has moved from being a 9-year-long experiment to becoming a permanent independent institution. The institutionalization of the Board of Technology is first described, followed by a description and analysis of its operations, its technology assessment procedures, its international linkages, and its future prospects.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT.

The media drumbeat about the new information technologies, whether utopian or dystopian, has been relentless, prompting wags to dub it the “information superhighway.” Even so, public information about the rapidly changing telecommunications and computing scene is relatively underdeveloped, creating a strong need for technological assessment in that area. This chapter considers several European information infrastructure and information society initiatives to provide a structured comparison of technological assessment institutions and practices. Problem definition, processes of analysis assessment conclusion, parliamentary and governmental reception, and public reaction are examined for the assessments conducted in 1994 and 1995. Each of these reports is reviewed for each section of this chapter.


CASE STUDIES. FRANCE. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT.

In 1983, the National Assembly and the Senate, the two assemblies that make up the French Parliament, jointly created an internal body, the Office Parlementaire d’Evaluation des Choix Scientifiques et Technologiques (OPECST), whose mission is to keep them informed about the consequences of their scientific and technical options so as to shed light on their institutions. The circumstances leading to the creation of OPECST are traced, its operations described, the evaluation procedures spelled out, and the linkages with the technological assessment unit at the European Parliament reviewed.


CASE STUDIES. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT. UNITED KINGDOM.

This book is concerned with the similarities and differences between technology assessment (TA) organizations serving various national legislatures. Thus, it is relevant to consider how the British Parliament works in comparison with other parliaments so that the development and evolution of the Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology (POST) can be placed in context. The parliamentary structure is described, followed by a description and analysis of POST, its history, and its operations.
For many years, a central focus for the technology assessment (TA) debate was in the German Parliament (the Bundestag), in which the opposition parties introduced a proposal in 1973 to create a German "Parliamentary Office to Assess Technological Development" along the lines of the American Office of Technological Assessment (OTA). Extended over several years, the debate finally bore fruit in 1989 with passage of the resolution to create the Technology Assessment Bureau (TAB) of the German parliament. The TA landscape in Germany is notable for its diversity. In 1997, the TA database operated by the Institute for Technology Assessment and Systems Analysis (ITAS) at the Karlsruhe Research Center contained entries for about 300 German institutes and groups pursuing TA projects or research on the foundation, methodology, and other aspects of TA. TAB is a special "one-client" institution in this landscape, forming one major node in the network but without possessing the characteristics of a TA lead institution that is pushing the others aside in the way that the OTA did in the United States. As TAB created cooperation networks of external scientists and scientific institutions for each project it processes, it is establishing ever closer links to the research communities in the scientific disciplines that are important for TAB projects. At the international level, TAB is part of the European Parliamentary Technology Assessment (EPTA) network.

More than a decade after the establishment of the Office of Technology Assessment of the U.S. Congress, six parliamentary technology assessment (PTA) units were institutionalized during the course of the 1980s in five European countries and at the European Parliament. In this chapter, the author starts with some reflections on the historical background of the emergence of PTA units. After this, he discusses the role of parliaments in a parliamentary political system, involving a review of their function of legislation, control, and communication. Subsequently, he describes the missions of the European PTA units and then considers them in greater detail by using a typology of two models, a discursive and an instrumental one. He then gives some examples for PTA communication activities and discusses their limits. In the final paragraph, he considers the future role of technology assessment (TA) in the context of the parliamentary system.

CASE STUDIES. THE NETHERLANDS. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT.

Toward the end of the 1960s, technological developments came to be viewed critically, with major differences of opinion among different groups, such as microelectronics, recombinant DNA, and nuclear energy. This created a perceived need for new mechanisms of decision making that led, in turn, to the institutionalization of technological assessment (TA). This article traces the institutionalization through four phases: (1) a preinstitutionalization phase up to 1985, in which TA was discussed along with other issues related to science and technology, but generally with a strong bias against establishing a separate TA institution; (2) the early period of the Netherlands Office of Technology Assessment (NOTA) from 1986 to 1990, marked by conflicting views on who NOTA's client should be and a strong bias within NOTA toward analytical research; (3) the period from 1991 to 1994, when parliament came to be viewed as the primary client, and ways of more directly addressing parliament were explored; and (4) the period beginning in 1994, when the importance of societal debate, including organizing discussion meetings, came to be stressed more heavily. The operations of NOTA are then described, followed by its linkages with the European Parliament and its future prospects.


CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. POLITICAL HISTORY. TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT. UNITED STATES. U.S. CONGRESS. U.S. OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT. WESTERN EUROPE.

The term “technology assessment” was coined 1966 by Congressman Emilio Q. Daddario of Connecticut, who in the following year introduced a bill (HR 6698) “to provide a method for identifying, assessing, publishing, and dealing with the implications and effects of applied research and technology.” The new Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), created with the signature of President Richard M. Nixon on October 13, 1972, was the first legislative institution of its kind in the world. Although it was eventually abolished in 1996, one of the few federal agencies abolished by the “revolutionary” Congress, other countries created OTAs of their own. This book focuses on the development of the first six “little OTAs” of Western Europe. This chapter provides a background and context for these OTAs.
TAXATION, BUDGETING, AND FINANCE

Revenue Generation and Fiscal Policy

0888
LOCAL GOVERNMENT. LOCAL TAXATION. POLITICAL PARTIES. POLITICS. TAXATION.

This article analyses the role of partisan politics in determining the local tax burden. Property taxes are the most important revenue source that municipalities in the Netherlands can decide on themselves. Using a new data set on Dutch local property taxes in 1996, it is concluded that municipalities with a council dominated by left wing parties have a higher tax burden. The authors also find that larger coalitions have lower levels of taxation. Finally, tax exporting increases tax rates.

0889
FISCAL POLICY. ROAD FUND TAX EVASION. TAX EVASION.

Federal, state, and local government concern about the loss of state revenue from tax evasion has increased in recent years. For policy makers to address this issue effectively, more information regarding the nature and magnitude of the problem is needed. This article reports on research that focuses on estimating the level of road fund tax evasion for several states. Estimates of road fund tax evasion are developed from previous research regarding individual state evasion levels, perceptions of road fund tax evasion by state revenue officials, and a statistical estimate of road fund tax evasion.

0890
PERSONAL INCOME TAX. STATE GOVERNMENT.

The concept of tax fairness has undergone a transformation in recent years. Increasingly, state residents are pressuring state officials to develop a tax structure that is fair, understandable, and growth friendly. The state personal income tax no longer meets these criteria. Using Arkansas as a case study, tax structure relying on sales and use taxes, the major component of consumption, is proposed and tested for feasibility.
0891

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. LOCAL OPTION SALES TAX. PROPERTY TAX. SALES TAX. TAX RELIEF.

This study examines the effect of a 1% local option sales tax (LOST) on property tax level, mileage rate, and total spending level in Georgia counties. The study covers a 13-year period for 136 Georgia counties. The findings suggest that the law, which requires rollback of property when the LOST is used, led to actual property tax relief as well as mileage rate reduction. Regression results show that counties collecting the LOST tend to have per-capital property taxes that are an average of $12 or 1.8 mills lower than counties that do not collect the tax. Whereas an extra dollar of LOST revenue provides about 28 cents in property tax relief, it leads to an increase total spending of about 48 cents. In sum, the LOST has achieved the objectives of property tax relief, but on balance it is more an augmentation of than an effective substitute for property taxes in Georgia counties.

0892

KENYA. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. PROPERTY TAX. TAX REFORM.

Countries throughout sub-Saharan Africa are exploring options to improve local property taxation. Using the case of Kenya, this article provides an analytical framework for designing an effective property tax reform strategy. The first section presents a general conceptual model of property tax revenues, identifying four critical ratios that ultimately determine the effectiveness of any property tax system—namely, the coverage ratio, the valuation ratio, the tax ratio, and the collection ratio. The second section applies this conceptual framework to the property tax system in Kenya, focusing on the status of these four ratios and outlining possibilities for improving each ratio. The article concludes by summarizing five basic lessons from the Kenyan analysis that can assist in the development of appropriate property tax reforms in other developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

0893

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. CIVIL WAR. FISCAL POLICY. FISCAL STRESS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. PROPERTY TAX. REVENUE GENERATION.

After a bitter and devastating war, Bosnia and Herzegovina is making slow but steady progress rebuilding its economy and government structure. As normalcy returns, the demand for government services will invariably continue to increase, especially at the sub-entity levels of government. Unfortunately, the current fiscal structure severely restricts the resources available to local governments. This article suggests that Bosnia and Herzegovina consider adopting a property tax as a means to provide much-needed revenue. After describing the current governmental and fiscal system that has evolved since the signing of the Dayton Accords, the authors discuss
why an area-based property tax, rather than a more traditional property tax based on capital value or market prices, makes sense for this country in transition.

**Budgeting and Expenditures**

**0894**

**BALANCED BUDGETS. BUDGETARY DEFICIT. COALITION GOVERNMENT. EUROPEAN UNION.**

This article shows that compromise between different ideological motivations within multiparty governments may result in a bias toward running budget deficits even if all parties in the coalition prefer balanced budgets. The deficit bias increases with the degree of “polarization” of the ideological motivations and generally decreases with the degree of concentration of power within the government. Although the analysis is conducted assuming a proportional representation electoral system, the results will also apply to majoritarian systems if the winning party comprises ideologically different constituencies. The relationship between budget deficits and multiparty governments is investigated using data from a sample of eight European Union countries for the period 1971 to 1990. Analysis on pooled data is partly in line with the theory. Time series within country analysis is less favorable: the authors find clear support to the theory only in the case of Italy.

**0895**

**BUDGETING. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. PUBLIC POLICY. RESEARCH TRENDS.**

This article examines the relationships between policy, administration, and budgeting. The author argues that the administration of government is directly and primarily influenced by changes in policy and budgeting. A conceptual framework of the interrelationship between these three factors is presented. This framework is applied to Schick’s classic periodicization of 20th century U.S. history. Three value orientations of budgeting—control, management, and planning—were evident at different times during these periods. The framework is then applied to the period since 1981, labeled a phase of limitation. This phase has been an unhealthy development in American government.

**0896**

**BUDGETARY REFORM. BUDGETING. GEORGIA (U.S.). RESEARCH TRENDS.**

The findings of previous research have enabled scholars to develop theories about what types of things need to be done to create successful budget reforms. The author examines redirection, a budget reform implemented recently in the state of Georgia. He indicates that this reform has been successful at accomplishing its stated goals. The author then reveals that redirection meets most of the recommendations offered by budgeting theory about how to develop a successful reform. In so doing, the author
provides the first test of the postulates made by budget reform theorists. The practical implications of the findings are given.

0897

BUDGETING. FISCAL POLICY. GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURES. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. STATE COURTS. STATE GOVERNMENT.

The judicial branch of government has a considerable amount of influence over public budgeting in the United States. The courts, through their rulings, have affected the funding levels of many governmental programs in areas such as busing desegregation, standing-to-sue requirements, welfare eligibility, and prison overcrowding. This article explores state court budgetary strategies and their effectiveness in the appropriations process as perceived by key budgeting actors. In general, the authors find evidence of state judiciaries that try to remain above politics when dealing with budgetary issues. The most important strategies to this effect include submitting realistic requests, providing documentation to support needs, and not using so-called budgetary weapons at their disposal (e.g., writs of mandamus). Nevertheless, the survey results do reveal that state judiciaries use some strategies that have a political tint, such as lobbying by court officials.

0898

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. BUDGETING. CHEREPOVETZ RAION, RUSSIA. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. REVENUE GENERATION. RUSSIA.

This is a study of devolution of power and responsibility to local governments in Russia, the resulting pressures on local revenues and expenditures, and the challenges these pose to local public administrators currently and for the foreseeable future. It is developed from nearly 100 hours of face-to-face interviews of top local public administrators in Cherepovetz, Russia, and from a careful reading and discussion of the parameters that are set by budget obligations, charters, federal, state, and local laws that set the legal and financial constraints within which the local public administrator works.

0899

BUDGETARY DEFICIT. BUDGETARY SURPLUS. BUDGETING. CLINTON ADMINISTRATION. FISCAL POLICY. MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

This article assesses the Clinton administration’s record of budgeting. During President Clinton’s two terms, the federal government moved from an era of large deficits to one of equally large surpluses. The turnaround was caused by both the strong economy and the deficit reduction deals of 1990, 1993, and 1997. Defense spending and interest declined as a percentage of the budget, whereas mandatory spending and nondefense discretionary spending increased. Acrimonious interbranch budgetary relationships dominated, with Clinton ultimately winning far more fights than he lost.
In the authors’ view, executive branch budgetary and financial management capacity improved during the Clinton administration.

**0900**

**BUREAUCRACY. FISCAL POLICY. GAME THEORY. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION. PUBLIC FINANCE.**

A dilemma of the “Power of the Purse” is that cutting an agency’s budget may make a desired policy infeasible. The author examines the implications of this dilemma with a repeated game in which a bureau chooses unobservable policies after a legislature sets its budget. The bureau is work-averse and has its own policy preferences and therefore may cheat, but the legislature may perform an audit to recover “slack” funds. A main result is that if the legislature desires a higher policy level than the agency, then it faces a trade-off between “good” but wasteful policies and “bad” but efficient ones.

**0901**

**ECONOMIC ANALYSIS. GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURES. POLITICS. PUBLIC FINANCE.**

The article derives a complete system of demand equations for public consumption expenditures as the outcome of rational behavior in a model in which government maximizes expected electoral support. The allocation of expenditures is found to depend not only on the prices of public services and total expenditure and to satisfy the constraints of demand theory, which have been the focus of attention of previous empirical studies of the allocation of public expenditures, but, in addition, on the prices of private consumption goods, the distribution of voter incomes, and the expected change in voter support from varying the levels of public provision.

**Financial Management**

**0902**

**ACCOUNTING SYSTEMS. FEDERAL ACCOUNTING STANDARDS ADVISORY BOARD. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.**

For many years, the federal accounting system has focused on obligations. Beginning in 1949, several blue-ribbon committees recommended changing the focus to expenses. Focusing on expenses provides more useful information than focusing on obligations for both planning and control purposes. Unfortunately, the House Appropriations Committee continues to make appropriations on an obligation basis. The Federal Accounting Standards Advisory Board (FASAB) has developed a system that focuses on both expenses and obligations that was supposed to be operational in 1997 but in fact will not be operational until 2003 at the earliest. Even then, users will not pay much attention to the expense focus if funds continue to be appropriated on an obligation basis.
0903

ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. GOVERNMENTAL PROCUREMENT. LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Recent public-sector management reform efforts have focused on the decentralization of managerial discretion and the empowerment of operational managers. To what extent have purchasing functions been decentralized in municipal governments in the wake of these efforts? What are the organizational factors associated with the decentralization of purchasing? On the basis of a national survey of municipal governments in the United States, this research finds that decentralization of the responsibility for purchasing has been limited. The decentralization that has occurred is associated with decentralization of budgeting and personnel systems, an organization’s analytical capacity to employ administrative and analytical tools, and an organization’s commitment to and support of enhanced performance and accountability.

0904

BUDGETARY DEFICIT. BUDGETARY SURPLUS. FINANCIAL CUTBACKS. LOCAL GOVERNMENT. REVENUE GENERATION. STATE GOVERNMENT.

Windfall revenues, generally unexpected and unplanned incomes, are becoming a more frequent occurrence in state and local governments. After two decades of cutback management and doing more with less, state and local government administrators find themselves unprepared for the current fiscal environment of unexpected and unplanned surplus revenues. Thus, little current literature dealing with windfall revenue management, beyond descriptive case studies, is available to administrators and policy makers as they grapple with decisions on how to expend these revenues. This paper summarizes the available literature on windfall revenue management and forwards recommendations for the management of windfall income.

0905

ACCOUNTING SYSTEMS. FEDERAL ACCOUNTING STANDARDS ADVISORY BOARD. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Professor Robert N. Anthony makes some telling points in his analysis of “obligation accounting and expense accounting” in his article “The Fatal Defect in the Federal Accounting System.” The superiority of expense accounting is captured in his statement: “Expense accounting reports the cost of resources used and matches them with the results obtained, and it holds the manager who authorizes the use of these resources accountable for them.” The author states that he cannot improve on that statement, nor can he overemphasize its importance to the achievement of effective and efficient government. He adds a couple of points, however. He would guess that most of the readers of this publication are not accountants and not tuned in to a technical accounting matter of this nature. They should be. Cost accounting (expense
accounting by its more common name), although long viewed as an arcane off-line activity, is gradually working itself into main-line management processes. Line managers and workers are beginning to assume a leading role in designing and operating cost accounting systems.


ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. POLAND. POLITICAL REFORM. PUBLIC FINANCE.

In recent years, the problem of reforming governmental systems has been a major issue facing Poland. This paper outlines the challenges of reforming Poland’s public finance system, concentrating on the financial aspects of reform. Due to the constraints of public funding and efforts to diminish the total tax burden, reform is difficult. Yet, change in the redistribution of public revenues is absolutely essential for Polish society. The authors sketch the existing situation in Polish public finance and concentrate on the limitations and possible directions of the reforms. One crucial aspect of the forthcoming reforms will be a change in the revenue that local government derives from central government taxation. Reformers expect to involve local governments in the process of taxation through a new local tax and allow them to establish tax policy on both local and regional levels.


ADMINISTRATIVE DECENTRALIZATION. AFRICA. CASE STUDIES. ETHIOPIA. FINANCIAL REFORM. PUBLIC FINANCE.

This article provides three frameworks for understanding the process of implementing a financial reform in an African country that has adopted a policy of devolution. The article is based on 4 years of experience in implementing a financial reform under Ethiopia’s Civil Service Reform. The first framework, which the authors term “the framework for financial reform,” provides an overall conception of financial reform. It contains two dimensions: the states of development of financial systems (external control, internal control, management, and planning) and the steps to changing financial systems (comprehension, improvement, and expansion). The second framework, the four tasks of managing a financial reform, elaborates the steps in changing financial systems. These tasks include reforming the approach to financial reform, improving the design of the reform, managing the implementation of the reform, and protecting the reform. The third framework focuses on the task of managing the implementation of financial reform and describes the phases, variables, and dilemmas of implementation. The phases of implementation are design, pilot, and operation. Associated with these phases are variables that affect the implementation (resources, interdependence, sequence, and timing) and dilemmas (comprehensiveness and monitoring). These frameworks support the article’s two theses: (1) that reform of financial systems in Africa must be evolutionary, not revolutionary and (2) that evolutionary reform of financial systems is especially needed in devolved African countries. Overall, the author seeks to show that best practice in financial management is often anathema to feasible practice in developing countries.
0908

DEBT POLICY. FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT. FINANCIAL POLICY. PUBLIC FINANCE. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT.

This article explores the importance of various debt policy factors using a national survey of governmental finance officers. Furthermore, it examines the question whether the presence of a particular factor in a debt policy influences finance officers’ perception of its importance. The authors find that debt policies tend to be technical and that broad policy issues are most often not included in debt policies. Moreover, the authors find that the inclusion of debt management factors in debt policies has a powerful influence on their perceived importance by public managers.

0909

DEBT FINANCING. FISCAL YEARS. STATE GOVERNMENT. SHORT-TERM DEBT.

Despite balanced budget requirements, each year most states carry short-term debt (STD) across fiscal years. Logit analysis results suggest structural fiscal stress causes states to carry STD across fiscal years. This strategy may not be rational because STD is a tool for smoothing short-term shortfalls and not for correcting structural fiscal stress. Cross-sectional time series analysis results suggest that both structural and cyclical factors influence the amount of year end STD. Findings suggest that STD amounts fluctuate as a rational temporary replacement for long-term debt, growing when long-term rates rise and decreasing when they fall.

Banking, Credit, and Monetary Policy

0910

DAMAGE ASSESSMENT. FINANCIAL DAMAGE. ISRAEL. ISRAELI BANK SHARES CRISIS.

In 1983, Israeli bank shares collapsed following several years during which the banks had actively intervened to promote share prices and thereby contributed to a 300% rise in real terms. During the crisis, the government assumed control of the banks, which they did not begin to sell back to the public until 1993. The authors compare 1993 bank share prices after the banks were partially relisted on the Stock Exchange with 1983 precrisis values. The 1993 time-adjusted market values were $10 billion lower than in 1983, a decline borne by precrisis shareholders ($4 billion) and by taxpayers ($6 billion). Of this latter amount, two thirds represents a transfer from the government to shareholders, whereas approximately one third represents an efficiency loss—and hence a direct cost—resulting from government ownership of the banks for 10 years following the crisis. The results highlight the risk inherent in a banking system that is both concentrated and universal and illustrates the costs associated with sustained government ownership.
This paper considers the rationale for establishing a single national financial services regulator. It discusses the choice of institutional structure and concludes that even if there is no universal ideal model, there are powerful arguments in favor of a single national financial services regulator. The institutional structure of financial services regulation is important because of the potential impact of the efficiency and effectiveness of this regulation on the direct and indirect costs of regulation and on the success of regulation in meeting its statutory objectives. The purpose of raising these issues is not to attempt to impose the new United Kingdom model of regulatory structure on other countries, but rather to provide a framework within which they can make their own decisions according to their own individual circumstances. Furthermore, for some countries, the choice of institutional structure will be a lower order consideration when set against the importance of implementing internationally agreed principles and standards of supervision in banking, insurance, and securities.

Many less developed countries (LDCs) have implemented reforms to strengthen the prudential regulation and supervision of their financial systems. This article examines the progress made by LDCs in implementing reforms, analyzes the weaknesses in their prudential systems, and discusses policy options for further reform. Although considerable improvements have been achieved, the occurrence of banking crises during the 1990s indicates that many countries have yet to build robust prudential systems that can protect their banking systems from systemic crises. The weaknesses include loopholes in the prudential regulations, shortages of skilled supervisors, and regulatory forbearance. Furthermore, there are difficulties in applying the developed country model of regulation, which relies heavily on accurate financial information, highly skilled technicians, and an impartial bureaucracy, in an environment characterized by weak accounting and legal frameworks, acute shortages of skilled personnel, and pervasive political interference in public administration. Options for further reform include higher capital adequacy standards, explicit rules covering intervention policy in distressed banks, restraints on competition in banking markets, and greater use of the market for monitoring banks.

The sudden failure of many banks and the assumption by the government of some or all their obligations can place a huge burden on the public budget. The first-best response to this risk is for the monetary authorities to have a robust regulatory regime.
for the banking and financial sectors and through early intervention of the authorities in failing banks. What if the first-best policy fails? This paper reviews the issues in that scenario and suggests a methodology for fiscal planning in the face of these substantial risks. Three main objectives are suggested for this exercise: (1) the protection of small depositors and the limitations of adverse effects on confidence and on the functioning of the payment system; (2) minimizing the fiscal costs, both by reducing moral hazard and by limiting the fiscal impact of any given banking losses; and (3) insulating the remainder of the fiscal process, as far as possible, from disruption caused by a surge in banking losses. The goal of this article is to explore the role of the fiscal authority at the junction of banking and fiscal policy at which banking crises places the policy maker and implementor.

0914
CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISON. INFLATION. MONETARY POLICY. POLITICAL ECONOMY.

A type of conventional wisdom has developed among many scholars that industrialized countries with independent central banks produce lower relative inflation rates than countries that do not have these institutions. The authors argue that the relative importance of central bank independence for fighting inflation changed fundamentally from the 1970s to the 1980s as a result of experiences in the advanced industrialized democracies, which led both Right and Left governments to move toward more neoliberal macroeconomic policies. As governments made price stability more of a priority, the anti-inflationary effects of independent central banks would become much less pronounced. This hypothesis is tested and confirmed in the study in a multivariate regression analysis using data from 18 industrialized democracies.

0915
CENTRAL BANK. FINANCIAL CRISSES. FINANCIAL CRISIS PREVENTION. PREVENTIVE STRATEGIES.

This paper begins with an overview of the Bank of Finland’s responsibilities and then provides the general framework of financial stability analysis as it is conducted at the Bank of Finland. The next two sections present more detail on macroprudential analysis and oversight of payment and settlement systems. The last section provides some concluding remarks about the importance of cooperation and coordination between the Bank of Finland, the Ministry of Finance, and the Financial Supervisory Authority.
0916

FINANCIAL REGULATION. POLAND. SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION.

This paper presents an overview of financial market supervision in Poland and comments on the direction of its future development. The financial sector supervisory model adopted in Poland is based on a concept of market segmentation and multiple regulatory agencies—the Commission for Banking Supervision, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the State Agency for Insurance Supervision, and the Pension Fund Supervisory Agency. Given the ongoing process of economic transformation in Poland, this segmentation of supervision would appear to be a better solution than a single authority. The current model could, of course, be improved.

0917

CENTRAL BANK. ECONOMIC HISTORY. MONETARY POLICY. POLAND. POLITICAL HISTORY.

Poland’s 1924 stabilization plan created, as measured by contemporary criteria, an independent central bank. The stabilization’s success was undermined by a fiscal disequilibrium when a capital levy failed to raise revenue. The Polish government covered the revenue shortfall by exploiting the right of the state to issue subsidiary coins. Although central bank independence was not compromised, Poland did not have an independent monetary policy. When the fiscal disequilibrium was corrected in 1926, the central bank gained complete control over monetary policy. Thus, a balanced budget may be more important to achieving price stability than arrangements to lower central bank independence.

0918

EUROPEAN UNION. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS. INTEGRATED FINANCIAL SUPERVISION.

This paper seeks to analyze the factors to consider when determining the institutional framework for an integrated financial supervision (IFS). First, it examines the functions of financial sector supervision in a society by analyzing the specific interests of the stakeholders, conflict of interest issues, and the activities through which stakeholders can exercise public interest. The structure of state administration is then described by comparing the concepts of coordination and subordination and the advantages of the decentralization of power.
0919
CZECH REPUBLIC. EUROPEAN UNION. FINANCIAL REGULATION. INTEGRATED FINANCIAL SUPERVISION.

This paper evaluates the comprehensive framework needed for healthy financial sector development, the deficiencies in the financial sector in the Czech Republic, and the optimal role of financial sector regulation and supervision. It concludes that the establishment of a single regulatory authority, a trend in many countries, is not appropriate for the Czech Republic, given its current environment. Rather, closer cooperation among different regulatory authorities is considered the most efficient way to proceed.

0920
EUROPEAN UNION. FINANCIAL REGULATION. HUNGARY. INTEGRATED FINANCIAL SUPERVISION.

This paper provides an overview of the steps taken toward establishing an integrated supervisory authority in Hungary. Overall, the belief is that problems of coordination among the remaining separate supervisors can be solved initially by cooperation agreement and, later, by setting up a special coordination body. Nevertheless, given Hungary’s highly concentrated financial sector and limited human capacity with respect to supervisory skills, there is an argument for accelerating the establishment of an integrated regulatory authority rather than having interim institutions for coordination.

0921
CZECH REPUBLIC. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. EUROPEAN UNION. FINANCIAL SECTOR DEVELOPMENT.

The economic goal of the transition in the Czech Republic, as elsewhere, was to replace the inefficient management of the economy with one in which market forces assured an efficient allocation of resources and a rapid and sustainable growth in living standards. Privatization, together with price liberalization, free domestic and domestic trade, and the enforcement of a hard budget constraint are essential to the process of creating a set of incentives that favor enterprise restructuring and economic efficiency. The paper’s main conclusion is that the macroeconomic situation in the Czech Republic remains difficult. Not only has real gross domestic product continued
to fall, but unemployment has risen significantly and real incomes have contracted. The downturn has proved deeper and longer than expected, and macroeconomic prospects are only slowly improving. Nevertheless, there have been some positive signals: the country’s external position has improved, and inflation has reached a level comparable to that in the European Union. The current macroeconomic problems have highlighted the need to proceed quickly with remaining structural reform.

0922

CHILE. DEREGULATION. FINANCIAL MARKETS. FINANCIAL REFORM. LATIN AMERICA.

In Latin America, the liberalization of financial markets (including bank credit and interest rates) has been a key component of structural reform since the mid-1970s. Recently, in some of the more developed countries of the region, pension funds, insurance companies, security markets, and stock exchanges have become important to financial sector development as well. The first section of this paper summarizes the main lessons of macroeconomic policy impact on the banking systems in Latin America in terms of their strength and efficiency. The next section focuses on the role of banking regulation and supervision in emerging market economies, deriving its main lessons from the Chilean financial liberalization reforms of the 1970s and the banking crisis of the early 1980s. The third section examines the current issues for banking regulation and supervision, whereas the final section draws out what the author sees as future challenges for financial regulators based on Chile’s recent experience.

THEORY AND RESEARCH

0923

COLLECTIVE ACTION. COMMON-POOL RESOURCES. GROUP SIZE. POLITICAL THEORY. THIRD PARTIES.

This article examines the hypothesis that group size is inversely related to successful collective action. A distinctive aspect of the article is that it combines the analysis of primary data collected by the authors with a game-theoretic model. The model considers a group of people protecting a commonly owned resource from excessive exploitation. The authors view monitoring of individual actions as a collective good and focus on third-party monitoring. The authors argue that the costs of monitoring rise more than proportionately as group size increases. This factor along with lumpiness in the monitoring technology yields the following theoretical conclusion: Medium-sized groups are more likely than small or large groups to provide third-party monitoring. The authors find that the empirical evidence is consistent with this theoretical result.

BRAZIL. CRITICAL THEORY. JÜRGEN HABERMAS. ORGANIZATIONAL SCIENCE. ALBERTO GUERREIRO RAMOS.

Adopting the work of Jürgen Habermas as a critical reference, this article examines the ideas exposed in the New Science of organizations, the last and most important work of Alberto Guerreiro Ramos, the renowned Brazilian Public Administration scholar. Guerreiro Ramos’s organizational theory has much in common with the ideas of critical theorists from the Frankfurt School, including Habermas. However, as is discussed in the paper, Guerreiro Ramos’s attachment to transcendental phenomenology and to the concept of substantive reason imposes fatal limitations to his critical theoretical project. It is argued that Habermas’s philosophical standpoint overcomes the theoretical limitations that emerge from the philosophy of consciousness. Finally, the paper suggests that Habermas’s critical theory for reaching beyond New Public Management positivism and postmodern skepticism offers a feasible alternative for research in public administration.


POLICY ANALYSIS. POLITICAL EXPERTISE. POLITICAL THEORY. PUBLIC OPINION.

Political scientists have debated whether citizens can use core principles in lieu of ideological orientations to deduce their policy preferences. The General Use model of public opinion holds that everyone draws equally on core principles to determine their preferences. The Expertise Interaction model holds that the extent to which core principles influence policy preferences is a function of political expertise. Unfortunately, research design and measurement problems in extant work preclude a resolution of this debate. Here, the author accounts for these problems, test the predictions of both models, and find empirical support for each. The results demonstrate that although there is a moderate tendency for political expertise to strengthen the relationship between core beliefs and policy preferences, virtually all citizens use core beliefs to deduce preferences.


ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES. EPISTEMOLOGY. SCIENTIFIC LAWS.

Early epistemology assumed that the observer (1) was independent of and distinct from the object being observed and (2) could validate objective reality in a language system called the laws of science. The authors offer something different. In arguing that knowledge is responsive to the culture in which it is embedded, they take a perspectival approach, gathering localized intentionality, context social practices, and linguistic meaning (called ground) into the project of inquiry (called figure).
Knowledge building, in other words, depends on the background and interests of the epistemic community that is generating knowledge.

**0927**


**BUREAUCRACY. CHOICE MAKING. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS. LITERATURE REVIEW.**

This article focuses on the role of scientific inference in the study of bureaucracy. Its focus, in particular, is on the microinstitutional and neoinstitutional foundations of choice. The context for scientific inference is that offered by King, Keohane, and Verba (KKV) in their book *Designing Social Inquiry*. The article notes that KKV essentially stipulate an idea of normal scientific inquiry to allow for the evaluation of competing empirical claims. Two fundamental research programs, those of bounded rationality and rational choice, are assessed for their theoretical and scientific contributions to the study of bureaucracy. The latest turns in the bounded rationality program for organizational behavior have moved to some degree from that program’s roots in cognitive psychology to a form of cultural anthropology, whereas rational choice models have become more sensitized to information costs. Thus, some work originating in the rational choice mode has come to borrow significantly from ideas within the bounded rationality paradigm. Rational choice models also tend to emphasize principal-agent relationships, the most interesting aspects of which, however, are mainly rooted in the peculiarities of American political institutions. Although neoinstitutionalist rational choice theories of bureaucracy have developed a clear and compelling normal science program, allowing disputes to be taken out of the realm of theology and into the realms of specification, measurement, and other issues associated with empirical claims, evidence also persists to suggest limits to economic theories of organization and a role for leadership and norms.

**0928**


**ECONOMIC ANALYSIS. MARKET EXCHANGE. POLITICAL THEORY. RENT SEEKING. UNANIMOUS VOTING RULE.**

The unanimous voting rule is often viewed as analogous to voluntary market exchange. This paper demonstrates that when third-party pecuniary effects exist, this analogy breaks down because, unlike markets, unanimous voting requires compensation for these effects. Thus, efficient market outcomes will be typically rejected by the unanimous voting rule. Even when transaction costs are low enough to make compensation feasible, the political outcome under unanimity will differ from the market outcome. The distributional effects of unanimity provide the incentive for people to substitute rent-seeking behavior for productive activity and reduce the incentive for productive change, providing additional reasons why a less-than-unanimous voting rule may be optimal when resources are to be allocated politically.
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