

## HISTORIC RELEVANCE CONFRONTING CONTEMPORARY OBSOLESCENCE?

### Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations, and Intergovernmental Management

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Collaborative public management, managing across boundaries, leveraging networks, and governance through networking are contemporary concepts that characterize a near tsunami sweeping across recent public administration literature. These novel and creative formulations describe, analyze, and prescribe complex modes of management for the current practicing public administrator. In retrospect Rhodes (1996, 658) was prescient in claiming, “governance is about managing networks.”

The significance and relevance of the “collaboration-networking-governance movement” cannot be denied (Robinson 2006; Bingham and O’Leary 2008; O’Leary 2009). This chapter does not challenge or question the promising paths charted in that literature. Rather, it explores the antecedents and foundation stones on which the triumvirate of collaboration-networking-governance is erected. Those building-block components are represented by federalism and its legacy concepts, intergovernmental relations and intergovernmental management, concepts that have framed governance and management thinking for decades.

#### **PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND FEDERALISM**

Federalism was an idea as well as a set of formal legal governance arrangements present and prominent in the founding of the Republic. Its nature and controversial character energized the constitutional framers at Philadelphia in 1787 and pervaded the classic essays known as *The Federalist Papers*. Agranoff and McGuire (2001, 671) observed that “public administration and the processes of federalism have merged to a nearly indistinguishable point.” Across more than two centuries the character and operational meaning of federalism has been shaped and reshaped. Whichever singular, combination, or convergent usage of the terms *federalism* (FED), *intergovernmental relations* (IGR), and *intergovernmental management* (IGM) is employed, their relevance has been central to practice, research, and teaching.

The purpose of this chapter is not to review the historic origins and transformations of the three concepts. Instead, the intent is to extract the prominent and pertinent themes and features of FED, IGR, and IGM embedded in more than 350 issues over nearly seven decades of the *Public Administration Review* (PAR). The time frame (starting in 1940) and focus mean that PAR solidly anchors the subject matter as defined and refined by contributing authors.<sup>1</sup>

The approach taken here might be labeled a reverse conceptual-chronological analysis. The focus is successively on the three main concepts in reverse order: IGM, IGR, and FED. Within each the prominent issues and institutional features are traced in chronological fashion. Figure 18.1 depicts the temporal and conceptual scheme that frames the discussion. These periods set in motion and culminate in the current features of collaborative public management and the multiple nuances associated with governance through networking.

## CONCEPTUAL SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Electronic methodology enables us to trace the presence of these concepts as they appeared in the titles, abstracts, or texts of articles from 1940 through 2007. IGM did not emerge until the 1970s and is the least frequently used term, with a total of 52 appearances. IGR occurred most frequently (a total of 447 appearances), was present in the earliest issues, and reached peak usage in the 1970s. With a total of 438 appearances, FED likewise peaked in the 1970s, but somewhat surprisingly, exceeded the usage of IGR from the 1980s onward.

Frequency alone, of course, does not confirm significance. Yet it is difficult to discount the extent to which the three concepts bulk large in the literature. More than seven hundred articles incorporated one or more of the three terms across seven decades, or nearly 25 percent of the three thousand articles appearing in the journal. Clearly, IGM, IGR, and FED have formed important conceptual pillars for the field of public administration.

Linkages between FED, IGR, and IGM and the current concepts of governance, collaboration, and networking are informative and instructive. The total number of appearances of governance was 718, compared with 701 for networking and 453 for collaboration. Governance actually appeared in a small number of articles in the three earliest decades. Since the 1970s, however, its usage has accelerated. From 73 in the 1970s its appearance climbed to the 100–200 range in the 1980s and 1990s but soared to 308 (of nearly 500 articles) during 2001–2007.

Collaboration usage presents a rather different pattern. In the six decades from 1940 to 2000, the concept appeared in an average of 40 to 50 articles in each period. Since 2000, collaboration has escalated fourfold to occurrences in 176 articles.

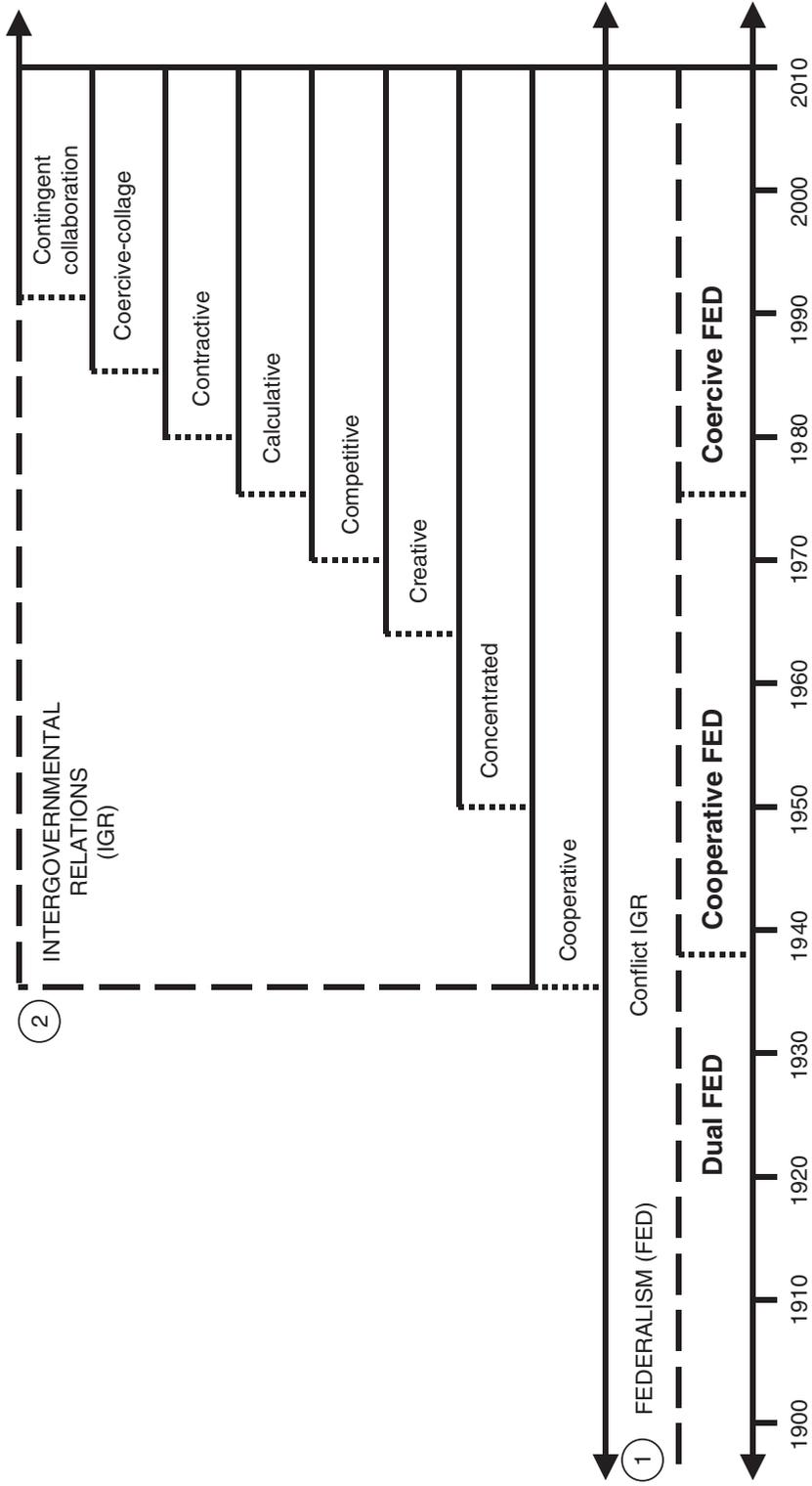
The last concept, networking, illustrates a third trend. Its usage doubled from the first two decades to the third decade. It doubled again from 51 to more than 100 in the three following decades. From an average of 116 across three decades (1970s–1990s) it more than doubled (to 252 articles) in the most recent decade.

One common feature connects the three contrasting trends. This is the sharp and dramatic rise in the presence of governance, collaboration, and networking in the current decade when compared to usage in any prior decade. Clearly, these three concepts have pervaded the parlance of twenty-first-century public administration literature in an unprecedented fashion.

The connections of IGM, IGR, and FED to the cluster of the three latter concepts can be explored further by examining the overlapping that occurs in the simultaneous use of the first cluster of three terms with the second cluster. (The article overlap analysis is feasible only with JSTOR for volumes 1–60. Our review of *PAR* issues published from 2001 through 2007 was less amenable to computer technology.) Usage of IGM, IGR, and FED is accompanied by the simultaneous presence of one or more of the other three concepts in articles, respectively, 83 percent, 49 percent, and 58 percent of the time. In other words, whenever IGM, IGR, or FED appeared in a *PAR* article, there is a 50 to 80 percent likelihood that governance, collaboration, or networking accompanies that usage.

The converse direction of the relationship is not as strong between the contemporary three-

Figure 18.1 Historical Patterns and Phases: FED, IGR, and IGM



concept cluster and the three focal concepts of this essay. That is, IGM, IGR, and FED have lower appearance proportions in articles where governance, collaboration, and networking occur. When governance is used, nearly half (45 percent) of the articles also employ IGM, IGR, or FED. For articles employing collaboration and networking, the proportions using one or more of the focal concepts are lower (respectively, 36 percent and 38 percent). In the aggregate, however, the extent of overlap and simultaneous usage across these dual three-concept clusters is striking if not remarkable.

To set the stage for the further exploration of those relationships, the presence and pertinence of how IGM, IGR, and FED have been employed is assessed since 1940. Two sets of observations drawn from the period are offered. The first is a broad-brush sketch of the landscape depicted by the focal concepts as they were used in prominent articles. The other set captures prominent topical themes across the decades.

## INTERGOVERNMENTAL MANAGEMENT

Figure 18.1 identifies two IGM periods differentiated during the four decades since the concept originated and gained currency. IGM appears in ten articles in the 1970s, twenty in the 1980s, twelve in the 1990s, and ten in the 2001–2007 period. Despite its recent and modest appearance, IGM represented notable refinements over FED and IGR. One focus included varied national administrative practices, while the second constituted a predominant local emphasis framing the shift to the present prominence of collaborative public management. Among key terms employed in giving robustness to IGM were *problem solving*, *nonhierarchical networking*, *constructive coping strategies*, and *intersectoral administration*.

### Top-Down IGM

While practicing public administrators undoubtedly performed intergovernmental management before the 1970s, the concept did not enter formal discourse until the Study Committee on Policy Management Assistance (SCOPMA) in 1974–75. This national U.S. Office of Management and Budget–National Science Foundation initiative produced numerous papers, reports, and videos, and a special issue of *PAR* (December 1975). Schick was explicit about the top-down focus of IGM: “The Study Committee took it for granted that the federal government should have a lead role in stimulating management improvement by states and localities” (1975, 722).

The top-down approach left a hierarchical legacy that produced subsequent analyses aimed at shaping interjurisdictional relationships into what Sundquist earlier called the “centralization of objective-setting” (1969, 3). He argued for “responsibility for guiding the whole system of federal-state-local relations, viewed for the first time as a *single system*” (246; italics in original). While no single, unitary, or hierarchical approach was approximated much less achieved, the presence of national supremacy in policy management and implementation impacted the 1980s and beyond.

### Bottom-Up IGM

Elazar (1962, 1984), Grodzins (1966), and other observers highlighted the strength of local and state center(s) of power, authority, and influence in the American political system. In place of decentralization, Elazar emphasized the noncentralized character of FED and IGR. It was not surprising, then, that the top-down aspects of IGM were soon challenged and largely overridden by bottom-up practices and analyses.

Among the earliest to challenge hierarchical predispositions was Lovell (1979). She found that coordination within and among local governments was “highly effective” and the result of three key strategies: (1) orchestration by jurisdiction leaders; (2) self-linking among functional specialists; and (3) meshing by community-based organizations. By the 1980s implementation studies appeared in a wide variety of sources, with a prime example by Agranoff and Lindsay (1983) titled “Human Services Problem Solving at the Local Level.”

By the 1990s, the “devolution revolution” cemented attention to IGM at the state-local levels. Agranoff (1991) revisited human services delivery and stressed the need for service integration by placing emphasis on organizations with structures that produced “transorganizational management.” Illustrative of the “reform decade” (Hebert, Brudney, and Wright 1999) was an emphasis on achieving results—whether through reinventing government, managing for results, or performance measurement.

### **The Middle Way**

Attention to and exposition of the two contrasting periods of IGM over four decades are not as simple or polarized as the top-down and bottom-up discussions suggest. Throughout this time frame, several balanced or middle-way essays appeared that clarified and informed various aspects of IGM.

An explicit middle way was applied to IGM (as well as FED and IGR) by Derthick (1987) in her essay “Madison’s Middle Ground in the 1980s.” Madison’s idea of “dual supremacy” left intact state and local governments with substantial authority for major domestic purposes and programs relatively free from national administrative supervision. Derthick noted that “Madison was correct in supposing that the national government would not be well suited to the entire tasks of governing a vast country” (66).

Several other middle-way essays were published in 1990. Wise (1990) applied organization design issues to public service agencies in the “Post-Privatization Era.” He reinforced early theorizing about IGM that incorporated private and nonprofit entities as integral parts of public service-delivery configurations. Paired with Wise was an essay by Wright (1990), who offered a matrix that specified and compared six features of IGM with those of IGR and FED. Illustrative criteria and IGM features were: (1) leading actors—program policy professionals; (2) authority relations—nonhierarchical networks; (3) entities involved—mixtures of public, private, and nonprofit entities. In short, IGM by the 1990s had emerged as a concept that encompassed both theory and practices quite distinct from those of IGR and FED.

## **INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS**

The concept of IGR first appeared in print in 1937 (Snider 1937), but the most widely recognized originator and promoter of the term was William Anderson. Despite his leadership in creating, defining, and extending use of the concept, he seldom employed the term in *PAR* articles. It fell to followers, who relied on the concept in the 1940s with a frequency equal to that of FED.

Wartime (1941–45) prompted the expanded use of IGR. The wartime mood of IGR was aptly captured by a renowned scholar of local administration (Bromage 1943, 35): “Cooperative government by federal-state-local authorities has become a byword in the prodigious effort to administer civilian defense, rationing, and other wartime programs. . . . Intergovernmental administration, while it is part of all levels of government, is turning into something quite distinct from them all.”

In a rare IGR article focused on state-local relationships, Weidner (1944) examined state administrative supervision of local government (counties) in Minnesota. He found that “state agencies are restricted to an important degree in their supervisory activities by the inability or the unwillingness of local officials to see or agree with their points of view” (233). Weidner further noted, “The central thesis in this study . . . is that local governments, by means of their influence in the legislature and in other ways, exert important power in the formulation of state policies.”

Usage of IGR through the 1950s and 1960s expanded to cover an extensive and varied array of topics, issues, and problems. Regardless of the range or types of topics, the 1950s was a legitimating decade for the term. In 1953 Congress gave IGR statutory status by creating the temporary (two-year) Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (PL 82–105). The commission delivered its report in 1955 and multiple subsidiary documents (Gaus 1956). Further legitimacy of IGR came in 1959 with the statute (PL 86–390) creating the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR). Wright (1965) subsequently explored the ACIR’s creation, unique features, and policy orientation, while Roberts (1989) examined the creation, roles, and impacts of state-level counterparts of the national ACIR. Decades later, Conlan (2006) reviewed a half century of IGR (and FED) in addressing the contributions by as well as the abolition of the ACIR.

The Great Society policies and programs from the 1960s left a residue of IGR issues examined fiscally and functionally for more than a decade. Harman (1970) assessed the first block grant program (Safe Streets Act of 1968). Lieber (1970) discussed environmental quality in the context of Earth Day, while Kennedy (1972) considered the “Law of Appropriateness” for IGR actions. Citizen participation in intergovernmental program implementation was a featured topic carried over from the “maximum feasible participation” mandate associated with the War on Poverty in the 1960s. Nearly a dozen articles looked at facets of public participation. The further significance of civic involvement was recognized in a full-fledged special issue of *PAR* edited by Strange (1972), with the eight articles summarized under the broad title, “The Impact of Citizen Participation on Public Administration.”

The 1970s constituted a high-water mark in the use of IGR, perhaps traceable to the prominence of urban and fiscal policy issues. The 1980s, however, did not lag far behind. Two intergovernmental themes were prominent in the early part of the decade. One was cutback management and fiscal stress at the state and local levels (Levine 1978; Stenberg 1981). A second and closely related theme was devolution, a topic prompted largely by the Reagan administration’s “New Federalism” initiatives involving block grants.

A symposium in *PAR* (January 1981) provided an array of articles on the impact of resource scarcity on urban public finance. Clearly associated with fiscal strictures and stresses was an early essay on national and state mandates (Lovell and Tobin 1981). Kettl (1981) focused on local-level block grant implementation as the “fourth face” of FED and IGR through the use of numerous noncity (nonprofit) agencies. Managing conflict and resolving IGR disputes gained considerable attention as stress across jurisdictional boundaries went well beyond apparent zero-sum games and forced fiscal trade-offs. Fiscal austerity contributed to the problems of “dispensing disappointment,” when federal grant applications had to be rejected because of limited funds (Sunshine 1982), and encouraging grantsmanship games (Lorenz 1982).

Conflict on a number of IGR topics persisted through the latter part of the 1980s. One major venue for resolving IGR conflict was the judiciary, especially the U.S. Supreme Court. Cases coming before the Court involved fair labor standards as applied to state and local functions, municipal government violations of antitrust laws, state government advocacy before the Supreme Court, and interstate conflicts over water rights.

Near the close of the decade, dual synthesis-type essays provided useful reflections on two

institutional issues. Berman and Martin (1988) reviewed state-local relations from the standpoint of local discretion. In one respect the analysis was representative of a secular shift away from national-state relations to IGR at the state and local levels. This was reinforced by Schneider and Park (1989), who reported the rapid rise from the 1970s through the 1980s in the significance of counties as major service-delivery agents in metropolitan areas. Finances and functionalism appeared as dominant themes in the 1980s. The presence of courts and counties as important actors, however, served as a reminder of the significance of institutional entities in the resolution of policy conflicts and respective role responsibilities in IGR.

The frequency of IGR articles in the 1990s was somewhat lower than in the two previous decades, a pattern that followed the reduced use of FED. Four major themes can be identified among essays linked to IGR in the 1990s: (1) fiscal issues; (2) courts, mandates, and regulatory problems; (3) administrative leadership; and (4) the institutional significance of American counties. Only illustrative aspects of these themes can be mentioned.

In the opening issue of the decade, Bland and Chen (1990) assessed the impact of the 1986 Tax Reform Act on taxable municipal bonds. When the Supreme Court (*South Carolina v. Baker*) decided that interest paid on state and local bonds was not constitutionally exempt from the federal income tax, the authors concluded that currently exempt bonds would require an additional \$441 million in interest payments (in 1988 only) and more than \$6 billion during the life of the bonds. Watson and Vocino (1990) also analyzed the 1986 Tax Reform Act and concluded more generally that it further reduced state and local governments to an essentially subservient fiscal position.

Legal issues that connected courts, mandates, and regulations insinuated themselves throughout the decade. O'Leary and Wise (1991) explored the "new partnership" between judges and administrators (raised earlier by Rosenbloom 1987) when the latter are operating under court orders involving schools, prisons, and other state and local functions. In a companion piece, Wise and O'Leary (1992) provided an overview of court decisions that, on balance, did not clearly favor either the national or the state governments.

Leadership by generalist administrators, especially at the state and local levels, in the intergovernmental arena came to the forefront more clearly in the 1990s than in any prior decade. The role of leaders and leadership in an IGR context has seldom been addressed in a direct or systematic manner. This was especially the case when the focus involved generalist executives, whether elected or appointed. A few articles highlighted but failed to fill this gap.

Cigler (1990) explored how "The Paradox of Professionalism" contributed to tensions between policy program professionals and administrative generalists in an IGR context. Bullard and Wright (1993) found that women increasingly broke the glass ceiling to lead newer or younger state agencies that were created in response to national policies. Yoo and Wright (1994) examined empirically the intergovernmental perspectives of top-level state executives. Generalist education (in public administration) combined with organizational position to explain the perceived extent of national influence exerted on state agencies through the receipt of federal aid. Morgan and Watson (1992) compared the policy leadership roles of mayors and managers and concluded that their external (intergovernmental) roles were notably different. Near the end of the decade, Bowling and Wright (1998) offered an overview of administrative leadership at the state level. The diversity and professionalism of state agency heads fostered greater effectiveness in both horizontal and vertical networks.

County government, long criticized as the "dark continent" of American governance, came out of the shadows in varied ways during the 1990s. Menzel and colleagues (1992) provided an assessment of past and prospective research on county government across the twentieth century, including performance, leadership, professional management, responsiveness, democratic in-

stitutions, and county roles in intergovernmental systems. Cigler (1994), in a nationwide study, surveyed county-state relationships with special attention to the state-level lobbying efforts of county associations. Waugh (1994) assembled multiple arguments for why emergency management agencies should be situated in county governments. Morgan and Kickham (1999) tested the relationship between county governance forms and the fiscal behavior of matched sets of counties. No difference existed in policy patterns or services between traditional fragmented structures and appointed (or elected) executive forms.

In summary, what might be said of IGR as it rose to prominence and persisted in usage across six decades? First and foremost, IGR acquired legitimacy and increased usage during the 1940s and 1950s. Second, that usage escalated substantially during the 1960s and 1970s when urban, fiscal, and functional policy issues were near the top of local, state, and national public agendas. Third, finances and functionalism persisted in prominence through the 1980s and 1990s. Fourth, these last two decades also reflected important institutional elements and accountability aspects of IGR as courts, counties, and leadership themes gained prominence.

## FEDERALISM

Historical as well as contemporary links between public administration and FED are seldom “merged” and “indistinguishable” as Agranoff and McGuire suggest (2001, 671). Waldo in *The Administrative State* (1948, 128) noted that “there is a close similarity between the rigid politics-administration viewpoint and that philosophy of federalism that pictured state and nation moving noiselessly and without friction each in its separate sphere.” Just as the politics-administration dichotomy was attacked and shelved, so was the layer-cake or “dual federalism” description of national-state relations on the path toward oblivion (Grodzins 1966). During the initial decade, however, the usage of FED matched the frequency of IGR occurrences.

While IGR originated in the cooperative federalism era, FED did not decline or fall into disuse for at least two reasons. One was its historical, legal, constitutional, and political significance. A second reason was the tendency to attach an array of adjectives or metaphors to the term. Adjectival and metaphoric FED was so prolific by the 1980s that one persistent researcher counted “497 literal as well as figurative representations of various models, metaphors, conceptions, and types of federalism” (Stewart 1982, 239). This pattern was so rampant, according to Davis (1978, ix), that “the subject [federalism] has indeed fallen on hard times.”

The lead article in the first issue of *PAR* during World War II was by Frank Bane, whose own career was the epitome of FED and IGR. He served as the first commissioner of the Social Security Administration, later as longtime executive director of the Council of State Governments, and as the first chairman (1960–66) of the ACIR. His essay “Cooperative Government in Wartime” described the rapid implementation of rubber and sugar rationing. They were implemented within two *months* after Pearl Harbor! Bane noted that one consequence is “a new type of federalism that can be adapted readily to the changing demands of the modern world” (1942, 102).

FED appeared in a small but diverse set of articles through the 1940s and 1950s. Almost without exception they fit the mold of cooperative or collaborative national-state relationships. By the 1960s the changing dynamics of politics, policy, and finances brought to the forefront a bevy of issues. The most distinctive feature of topics discussed under FED in the 1960s and 1970s was the extensive overlap with IGR. Several articles simultaneously use IGR and FED in the discourse about wide-ranging subjects, including water resources, the metropolitan desk, national-state metropolitan policies, the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, urban affairs, cities in partnerships, urban information systems, nationally promoted citizen participation, and transportation policies.

The overlapping usage of IGR and FED during the 1960s and 1970s tended to cluster around the node of national-local relationships involving urban fiscal issues. The role of state government(s), seemingly bypassed, was not totally ignored. Reeves (1968, 1970) and Olson (1975) emphasized key roles and responsibilities that the states fulfilled in the federal system. Olson, for example, assessed the management strategies of governors in “Changing the Equilibrium of the Federal System.”

The transition from cooperative to coercive (or regulatory) FED did not occur in any clear or precise fashion. Instead, it was a gradual accretion marked by incremental accumulations. The commerce, taxing, spending, and supremacy provisions in the Constitution had always been available for use, subject to court interpretations. By the 1970s, however, the onset of environmental and other regulatory legislation such as the Occupational Safety and Health Act and the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act infused coercive aspects more prominently into national-state relations. Lovell addressed “nearly a thousand mandates” that were “an exploding issue” (1981, 318).

The robust legal and coercive dimensions of FED were prominent and sometimes dominant streams flowing through the 1980s and 1990s. There were, of course, many rivulets covering topics such as energy, emergency management, fishery resources, and water basin and Great Lakes environmental conflicts. Other conflicts clustered around community development, privatization, revenue-sharing termination, disaster responses, Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Medicaid policies, and hazardous waste regulatory reforms. The tone and tenor of these topics displayed the increased tensions derived from command-and-control tendencies embedded in national legislation and administrative regulations (Stoker and Wilson 1998; Cho and Wright 2001).

Two broad themes covered the breadth and depth of FED in the 1990s. One theme, consistent with the coercive trend toward national dominance, revolved around the Supreme Court. The second addressed prominent political dynamics involving an “unbalanced” federal system.

No less than six significant articles on the Court and FED appeared during the 1990s. O’Leary and Wise (1991) assessed the implications of *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1990), in which a “new triumvirate” emerged involving local administrators, legislative bodies, and the courts. The authors concluded that the federal courts were clearly the senior partners. A year later Wise and O’Leary (1992) asked, “Is Federalism Dead or Alive in the Supreme Court?” The authors declared that its presumed death was mistaken.

Wise and O’Leary (1997) as well as Emerson and Wise (1997) revisited the Court’s role a half decade later in two different issue areas: environmental regulation and state and local exercise of the “takings” clause. In both instances the Supreme Court did not send clear signals about national-state roles and relationships. Yet when Wise (1998) pursued a reassessment less than a year later, he found that the Court was selectively intervening to protect state sovereignty. Within a year of the Wise analysis, Jensen (1999) concluded that the Supreme Court seemed destined to operate as an irregular and unpredictable umpire in the unending effort to call “balls and strikes” in the federalism “game.”

Legal and political actions in the 1990s revealed the Supreme Court to be a significant but selective umpire on the field of FED. At the top of the batting order, however, were the president, the Congress, and often the states. Three essays assessing these multiple players focused on how to maintain balance in the federal system. Rivlin (1992a,b) offered a “new vision” of changed relationships between the national government and the states. Summarizing the argument in her book *Reviving the American Dream*, she proposed a well-defined division of roles and responsibilities between the states and national government. The changes, she contended, would improve economic policy as well as revitalize governmental performance at all levels. Kee and Shannon

(1992) emphasized fiscal imbalances from both explanatory and normative standpoints. In some respects, Rivlin and Kee and Shannon presaged the “New Federalism” contained in the Republican Party’s Contract with America, which precipitated the political turnabout in the 1994 congressional elections. Walker accurately captured for the 1990s the status of what he called “New Federalism III.” His phrase for FED and the conflicts over rebalancing an unbalanced system was, “the advent of ambiguous federalism” (Walker 1996, 271).

No single or simple set of statements about FED can fully capture the complex patterns, major periods, and substantive trends of FED. What can be said, however, is that the attention devoted to FED across six decades is a representative reflection of its implications for and impact on public administrators in the American political system. FED is unlikely to be merged with or appear indistinguishable from public administration. Nevertheless, the theory and practices of public administration cannot be insulated or isolated from federalism as a fundamental feature framing the functioning of the American republic.

### **WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN MISSED: 1940–2000**

Before completing an assessment of the implications of this analysis it is relevant to identify gaps in coverage of FED, IGR, and IGM over the years. They are: (1) state and local institutional capacity; (2) horizontal interjurisdictional cooperation; (3) regionalism; (4) functional (programmatic) topics; and (5) intergovernmental implementation issues.

Particularly noticeable is the paucity of articles covering the resurgence and transformation of state governments. This oversight persists even as debates have continued over the devolution revolution, unfunded mandates, innovation diffusion, and state responses to natural and other disasters (Bowman and Kearney 1986; Teaford 2002). Selected attention was given to state administrators in articles appearing in the 1990s, but little treatment was given to the states as laboratories of democracy after the mid-1980s (Stenberg 1985). Responses to the Katrina disaster brought to the forefront lingering questions about state capacity, coordination, and leadership (Ink 2006; Derthick 2007).

A second gap involves horizontal federalism or the joint actions by states (or by localities) to address problems that transcend boundaries and require lateral multijurisdictional planning, policy development, and administrative arrangements. (See also chapter 19, “Neglected Aspects of Intergovernmental Relations and Federalism,” in this volume for additional commentary.) Over several decades only minor attention was given to interagency dimensions of federal field administration. Examples include federal regional councils and multistate bodies such as the Appalachian Regional Commission. While there has been robust growth in published research on interstate relationships, this field has not been well represented. Similarly, interlocal relationships received sparse treatment, especially the rise, retrenchment, and rebirth of councils of governments as well as national- and state-authorized (or mandated) areawide planning and coordinating bodies. Interstate compacts and interlocal contracts and agreements are among the oldest and most popular approaches to collaborative governance. Yet these institutional arrangements have received relatively little attention from contributors.

Another coverage gap is functional federalism—the services delivered by public agencies through the intergovernmental system. The span of functions covered by authors is impressive, including welfare, health, water resources, emergency management, environmental quality, manpower and employee training, human services, natural hazards, and energy. Among missing core services are K–12 public education, higher education, law enforcement, transportation and infrastructure, and economic and rural development.

Associated with the above gaps is an implementation perspective. Substantial attention during the 1970s was devoted to subnational capacity building consistent with the top-down orientation of IGM. Two decades later a few articles addressed the performance measurement movement of the 1990s, for example, National Performance Review, Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA), and Program Assessment Rating Tool (PART), the President's Management Agenda, and regulatory federalism. These articles focused almost exclusively on national-level initiatives and directives. Relatively little attention was given to issues associated with state and local implementation of and accountability for national policies, program goals, and performance requirements as they filtered through state, regional, and local agencies to produce results, outcomes, or impacts.

### **DIVERSE THEMES: 2001–7**

World and national events have provided critical contexts for FED, IGR, and IGM since 2000. First, in the wake of the September 11 (2001) terrorist attacks and the Katrina disaster (2005), numerous articles were published dealing with terrorism, homeland security, natural disasters, and emergency management. Often these featured a melding of IGR and IGM with collaboration and networking. Second, other articles during this period addressed the impacts of globalization using governance and IGR frameworks.

There has been increased scholarly attention to subjects neglected during previous decades. (See chapter 19, "Neglected Aspects of Intergovernmental Relations and Federalism," in this volume for additional commentary.) Noteworthy are an increased number of articles on regional and interlocal collaboration. These articles include topics on contracts and agreements, city-county consolidation, economic development, public authorities, and local and metropolitan government reinvention. Several articles addressed local leadership challenges that required working across jurisdictional and sectoral boundaries.

A second topic of mounting interest was state governance. Findings from surveys of American state administrators conducted over the previous four decades continued to appear (Bowling, Cho, and Wright 2004; Bowling et al. 2006), joined by assessments of the states' reinvention progress (Thompson 2002; Brudney and Wright 2002). The states' performance in managing budget and policy processes and fiscal affairs gained visibility (Clingermayer 2002; Cornia, Nelson, and Wilko 2004), as did state roles in disaster responses, welfare, ethics, and environmental policy.

Third, K–12 education surfaced in *PAR* from 2001 onward. Topics covered were perspectives on school district funding (Moser and Rubenstein 2002), the legacies of the fiftieth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education* (Henderson 2004), and the role of networks in education policy implementation (Meier and O'Toole 2003). One essay posed the key question "Why has public administration ignored public education and does it matter?" (Raffel 2007).

### **THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE: ARE IGM, IGR, AND FED OBSOLETE?**

Agranoff and McGuire identified and described four models in "American Federalism and the Search for Models of Management" (2001). One indication of the broader import, scope, and consequence is that that essay prefigures two book-length empirically based publications (Agranoff and McGuire 2003; Agranoff 2007). The contents and interpretations found in those two volumes indirectly and perhaps unintentionally reveal the evident decline of FED, IGR, and IGM. Both books bypass the traditional trinity and emphasize almost exclusively the fourth model, collabora-

tive network management.<sup>2</sup> Agranoff and McGuire defined collaborative public management as “a concept that describes the process of facilitating and operating in multiorganizational arrangements to solve problems that cannot be solved or easily solved by single organizations” (2003, 4).

FED, IGR, and IGM remained central to a wide-ranging essay by Conlan (2006). Titled “From Cooperative to Opportunistic Federalism,” it is both a period piece (but not time bound) as well as an institutional and interpretive analysis. More than any other essay encountered in the current era, Conlan’s piece explored and elaborated the patterns, problems, and prospects impinging on FED, IGR, and IGM.<sup>3</sup> In the context of the questions raised about the future utility of the three terms, the Conlan essay offers a promising platform for discussion and guidance.

In a paired essay, McGuire (2006) responded to the Conlan article. With IGM as a springboard, McGuire adopted a bottom-up approach in viewing operations of the diverse and noncentralized character of the American system. Where Conlan focused attention on national policies and changing institutional patterns, McGuire identified and emphasized the extensive collaboration occurring at local, regional, and state levels. McGuire (677) noted Conlan’s “predominantly negative view of opportunism from the top.” He offered a more a positive perspective about intergovernmental operations when viewed from the bottom. He concluded, “As collaborative intergovernmental and interorganizational networks develop in many policy areas, the opportunities for assertive and regional actions are both prominent and encouraging” (679).

The essays by Agranoff and McGuire (2001), Conlan (2006), and McGuire (2006) provide virtual bookends for a shelf of articles and themes that permeated *PAR* from 2001 through 2007. FED, IGR, and IGM clearly retained selective usage. But the greater presence and prominence of collaboration, networking, and governance were clear for all to see. Indeed, the latter terms have taken off like rockets from a launchpad in the current decade, while IGM, IGR, and FED have declined sharply in usage over the past three decades.

Have the two contrasting trends signaled a sea change in the relevance and utility of IGM, IGR, and FED? Are these long-standing concepts not only dispensable but perhaps already obsolete? To what extent do they retain utility and value in the new worlds of terrorism, homeland security, natural disasters, and emergency management? Have governance, collaboration, and networking diminished if not replaced IGM, IGR, and FED?

It would be a welcome and worthwhile achievement to offer definitive answers to these queries. Consistent with the long-term perspectives guiding this chapter, however, the answers to these questions require a later and longer time frame from which to offer responses. What can be provided are propositions and related questions that merit careful and constructive pursuit at a later date.

## **PROPOSITIONS ABOUT FED, IGR, AND IGM**

Eight basic propositions are offered about the significance of these three conceptual pillars on which the contemporary edifice of American public administration is firmly founded. First and foremost, it is nearly impossible to understand adequately the character and content of governance in the United States without a substantial grasp of the theory and practice of federalism. Nor is it feasible to understand how public policy is made and implemented without an informed awareness of the meaning and application of the concepts of intergovernmental relations and intergovernmental management.

Second, from a public policy standpoint, many major domestic turning points, seismic shifts, or punctuated equilibria involving political and policy change in the United States can be analyzed and understood better from the standpoint of FED, IGR, and IGM. FED references the constitutional, institutional, and legal framework on which policy decisions are grounded. IGR points to the

prominence of key actors whose attributes, actions, and attitudes give specific shape to important policy choices. IGM incorporates domains of networking, coping, and problem solving that are inherent in program implementation processes (Agranoff 1986; Wright 1990).

Third, the multilevel and multisectoral systems of governance and administration in the United States contain very few continuous or near-perfect harmonious interjurisdictional relationships. Most constitutional, institutional, political, organizational, and policy-making interactions reflect regular tensions, conflicts, and cleavages. This dimension is critical for three reasons. One is the existence of more than eighty-nine thousand local governmental jurisdictions. These political entities populate the profuse landscapes of urban and rural governance. A second and allied horizontal feature is the presence of more than five hundred thousand popularly elected local officials who govern these thousands of public entities. A third “horizontal” feature is the presence and active participation of hundreds of thousands of nonprofit NGOs. Given these challenging and complex conditions, how, then, are public policies formulated, enacted, and implemented? The short but problematic answer is: Only with great difficulty!

Fourth, the difficulties involved in formulating and implementing public policies and programs place a premium on the boundary-spanning abilities of all public officials. The boundaries between and among the three major sectors—governmental, nonprofit, and profit making—are blurred at best and border on the indistinguishable at worst. They add several magnitudes of complexity and uncertainty to public policies and to interjurisdictional relationships. Moreover, they contribute to citizen confusion about the allocation of responsibility for providing services and making taxing and spending decisions. IGM, IGR, and FED are near-indispensable lenses or prisms for viewing the roles of generalists and of specialists in the conduct of governance in the United States (Wright 1990).

Fifth, tension exists between FED, with its legacy concepts of IGR and IGM, and the governance-collaboration-networking movement embedded in the broader comparative literature on multilevel governance (see chapter 17, “Collaborative Public Agencies in the Network Era,” in this volume). A central theme in multilevel governance analyses is the gravitation or reallocation of powers both upward (from or beyond) the nation-state toward supranational entities, and also downward toward subnational jurisdictions. What emerges from the migration or drift of power is what Rhodes (1996, 1997) noted—the absence of sovereign authority because of network autonomy. Under these circumstances, where is democratic accountability located and how are institutional responsibilities assigned?

Sixth, network autonomy and the multiple stakeholders involved in making and implementing public policy can create ambiguous or ambivalent responses to the question, Who is accountable? The growing scope and complexity of IGM, IGR, and FED have been overlaid by a myriad of nonprofit and for-profit organizations, private contractors, and individual citizens. But the many faces of government and the weblike design of governance may become confusing to those outside the numerous collaborative systems and networks. One net effect is the increased opportunity for blame shifting.

Seventh, the world of multilevel and multisectoral governance poses a further fundamental question: To make effective public policy and implement it, how, where, when, and which governments (and officials) matter? The fit between jurisdictions and networks may be unclear. Nevertheless, governments, their elected officials, and public administrators are held responsible for making the final decisions (Agranoff and McGuire 2001). The role of governments may be shifting from direct to indirect service provision and from a single to a multijurisdictional focus. But the scope of the public sector does not appear to be shrinking. If anything, the public sector continues to expand. The growth of collaboration and networks with nongovernmental actors

has produced transactions and arrangements that still account for only a modest fraction of the public's business (Agranoff 2006). The end result is more a complement to than a challenge of governmental authority.

Finally, Peters and Pierre (2004) view the issue of democratic accountability as a "Faustian bargain" in which democracy is a trade-off with multilevel governance. They note that "most of the analytic models and interpretations of multilevel governance that we have seen so far have fallen into the same trap as some analyses of governance, that is, a previously state-centric and constitutional perspective has been almost completely replaced by an image of governing in which institutions are largely irrelevant" (75). The authors extend their critique by arguing, "The novelty of governance is the emphasis on process over institutions," in which "multilevel governance has become a popular model of intergovernmental relationships partly because it draws on informal and inclusive ideals of decision making and partly because it appears to be a cozy, consensual, and accommodating process" (76).

Peters and Pierre have a valid point, which we acknowledge and share to some degree. At the same time, our approach in this chapter has been to recognize, retain, and reinforce the integrity of institutional arrangements in the American setting. We emphasize and promote the prominence of institutions, especially those associated with FED. In a simultaneous and complementary manner, we incorporate process elements that are regularly derived from IGM and IGR analyses. In short, responsive public management through collaboration and networking occurs in a framework of responsible democratic governance.

## CONCLUSION

This multidecade analysis has probed the scope and depth of an immense volume and a rich variety of research in which IGM, IGR, FED, as well as governance, collaboration, and networking appeared in the featured journal of public administration. A firm foundation of research relating to all six concepts has been established. The former three have a solid and significant heritage in the subject matter addressed since 1940. It remains to be determined whether the recent surge of interest in the latter three terms represents more than "old wine in new bottles."

As scholars and practitioners continue to explore and experience the lineage and linkages between these key sets of terms, two questions raised during this chapter call for urgent attention. First, governance, collaboration, and networking stress processes. Where do institutional capacity, democratic accountability, and performance responsibility fit in? Second, intergovernmental and multilevel approaches stress cooperation and lean toward bottom-up approaches. Yet, contemporary IGR has been characterized as coercive federalism that features regulations, unfunded mandates, and preemptions of a top-down nature. Where is the intersection of and balance between devolution and centralization? This query is all the more relevant because, as Cleveland (2000) argued, "the future is uncentralized." The added relevance and importance of administration (and administrators) was noted by Cleveland: "They [the best public administrators] will help all of us, the sovereign 'public,' get used to the idea that no one can possibly be in general charge, so we are all partly in charge" (297).

It has taken several decades to clarify, incorporate, and operationally employ the trinity of FED, IGR, and IGM. How long will it take to clarify, confirm, standardize, and systematically employ governance, collaboration, and networking as valuable operational concepts? And how will the latter triumvirate of terms constructively connect with the former trinity?

The search for conceptual handles that effectively codify the range of administrative experi-

ence and practice remains a continuing challenge. We have charted the reefs and crosscurrents traversed by evolving concepts across nearly seven decades. The course and destinations ahead promise even more turbulent waters.

How the current credit, financial, and housing crises and the employment and stock market declines will impact FED, IGR and IGM raise a host of additional navigational challenges. Components of the American Reinvestment and Recovery Act of 2009 contain numerous implications for the interjurisdictional relationships and the balance of power between national and subnational governments. Prominent policies focus on public infrastructure investments, elementary and secondary education spending, and Medicaid relief.

The form, shape, and operational content of these and related intergovernmental policies will go a long way toward defining and refining the nature of FED, IGR, and IGM over the next decade. Whatever the focus—teaching, research, or practice—and regardless of the method employed—institutional or behavioral—these concepts offer a promising, not an obsolete, framework for continued attention and utility in the field of public administration.

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## NOTES

1. JSTOR enabled us to track article usage of FED, IGR, and IGM from 1940 through 2000 (vols. 1–60). Frequencies for the present decade (vols. 61–67) were identified using the Blackwell-Synergy search engine. The electronic search processes excluded use of the concepts in tables, figures, references, endnotes, or author's biographic information. It also excluded book reviews and book notes as well as specialized sections and commentaries, for example, editorials and TOPs (Those Other Publications). In a somewhat ironic if not curious twist of tallying articles in *PAR* by subject matter, the number of articles classified as focusing on IGM, IGR, or FED from 2000 to 2005 was zero (0)! See Terry 2005 ("Reflections and Assessment"). For an earlier review and interpretation of articles on FED and IGR appearing in *PAR* for vols. 1–43 (1940–1983), see Wright and White), 1984. In those 43 volumes, approximately 300 articles relevant to IGR and FED were identified.

2. The first volume (2003) referenced FED as covering the top-down and donor-recipient models. IGR was notably absent in the text and index. In the second volume (2007), a discussion of FED is bypassed (not indexed), while IGR and IGM are summarized in a two-page overview. The near-exclusive themes in the two volumes are collaboration and networking. Does this signify a paradigm shift away from the trinity concepts (FED, IGR, IGM)?

3. A simple count of the usage frequency does not alone justify the strength of Conlan's essay. It is notable, however, that the numbers of occurrences of FED, IGR, and IGM are, respectively, 44, 32, and 24.

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