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American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations, and Intergovernmental Management

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Introduction

Collaborative public management, managing across boundaries, leveraging networks, and governance through networking are a few of the currently connected 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 emphasis placed on governance, networking, and collaboration is expansively but accurately articulated in an array of journal symposia and books, including *The Collaborative Public Manager* (O’Leary 2009).¹ Articles with direct and indirect relevance defy a complete citation list. One gateway to the

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Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

subject matter is O'Leary and others (2006) in a special issue of *PAR* on collaborative management. O'Leary and Bingham (2007) extended that focus in another journal symposium.² These are only selective sources from a cluster of literature whose antecedents are not easily traced. One decade-old platform for a take-off point might be O'Toole (1997) who proposed "Treating Networks Seriously." Kettl (2006) recently referenced "The Collaboration Imperative" to concisely express the blend of description and prescription penetrating many of the networking and governance analyses.

The significance and relevance of the "collaboration-networking-governance movement" cannot be denied. This essay does not challenge or question the promising paths charted in the current literature. As Robinson (2006:589) observed, "The development of interest in networked forms of organization in public administration has been remarkable over the last decade." Our aim, however, is to explore the antecedents and foundation stones on which the triumverate of collaboration-networking-governance is erected. Those building-block components are represented by the trinity of three well established concepts present in this essay's title, concepts that have framed governance and management thinking for decades.

This essay in the Foundations of Public Administration Series is devoted to Federalism and its legacy concepts, Intergovernmental Relations and Intergovernmental Management. 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*.

Public Administration and Federalism

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 in numerous, varied, and complex ways. Federalism and its two legacy concepts are commonly covered in elective (if not core) courses in MPA programs, most often under the title of Intergovernmental Relations. Whichever singular, combination, or convergent usage of the terms is employed their relevance is central to practice, research, and teaching.³

The purpose of this essay is not to review the historic origins and transformations of the three concepts. That has been addressed elsewhere (Wright and Stenberg 2007; Krane and Wright 1998; Wright and Krane 1998). Instead, we aim at extracting from nearly seven decades of *PAR* the substantive, significant, representative, and relevant themes reflecting the prominent and pertinent features of Federalism (FED). We also draw from the journal multiple features of the two concepts that emerged from FED origins, namely, Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) and Intergovernmental Management (IGM). With the possible

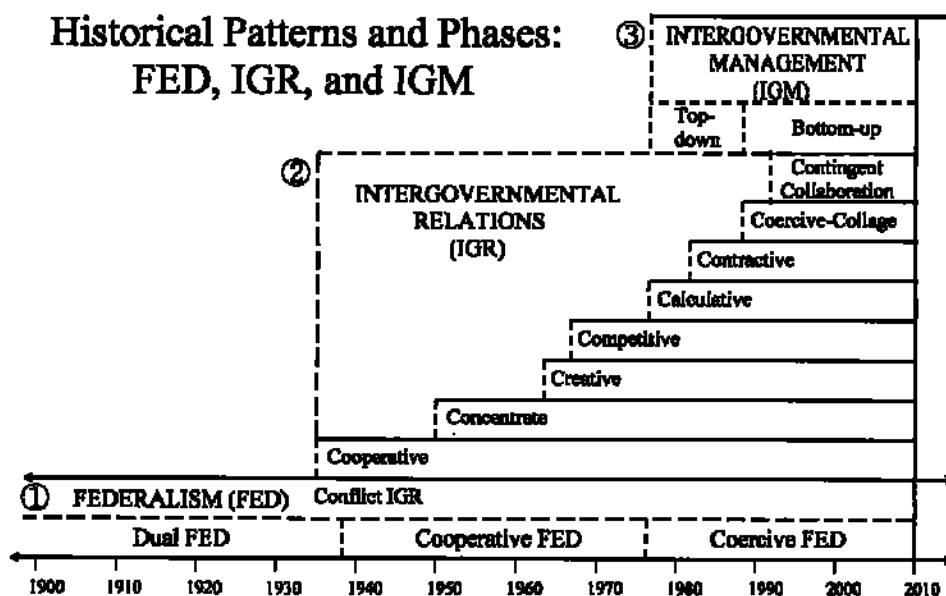
exception of *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* (which dates from 1970), no other venue plumbs the depth, character, and significance of these concepts for public administration practice, research, and instruction. The time frame (starting in 1940) and focus mean that *PAR* solidly anchors the subject matter as defined and refined by contributing authors when vetted by the journal's numerous editors.

The coverage of *PAR* conveniently spans the development of IGR (in the 1930s) and IGM (in the 1970s). It is more than merely chronological and fortuitous that the practices captured by these terms were embedded in approximately 3,000 articles appearing in more than 350 issues of *PAR* since 1940, including twelve (12) special issues. Their presence is a testimony to the realities of multi-level and multi-sectoral governance. Scores of authors and seventeen editors reflected the larger reality of governance and

administration in the changing landscapes captured by the concepts of FED, IGR, and IGM.

Our approach might be labeled a reverse conceptual-chronological analysis. We focus successively on the three main concepts in reverse order: IGM, IGR, and FED. Within each we trace in a quasi-chronological fashion prominent issues and institutional features. Figure 1 depicts the temporal and conceptual scheme that frames the discussion. Two periods, (a) top-down and (b) bottom-up, characterize IGM themes over the past thirty years. The periods, it could be argued, set in motion and culminate in the current (even dominant) features of collaborative public management and the multiple nuances associated with governance through networking. For IGR the nine successive phases have been chronicled elsewhere (Wright 1988, 1997). For FED two eras, (a) cooperation and (b) coercion cover time frames in which two authors,

Figure 1



PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

Elazar (1962) and Kincaid (1990, 1993) are respectively the most representative.

The conceptual-chronological framework is simply an organizing motif. The utility of the essay is more than description and review of the past. Leading articles across sixty-seven volumes offer lessons for theory and practice, research and applications, information and instruction. The contents and interpretations should benefit practicing managers, students of intergovernmental administration, and teachers of public management who find these historic core concepts pertinent to the problems of contemporary governance.

Conceptual Scope and Significance

How can we claim that *PAR* covers the subject matter of IGM, IGR, and FED? Fortunately, 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 (vols. 1-67). Table 1 displays the frequency of articles by concept and by decade.⁴ First, it is evident that IGM did not emerge until the 1970s and is the least frequent term. Second, IGR occurred most frequently, was present in the earliest issues, and reached peak usage in the 1970s. FED likewise achieved peak appearances in the 1970s, but somewhat surprisingly, exceeded the usage of IGR from the 1980s onward.

Table 1. Articles Using the Concepts of Intergovernmental Management(IGM), Intergovernmental Relations(IGR), and Federalism(FED) in Public Administration Review, 1940-2007 (vols.1-67)⁵

	IGM	IGR	FED
1940-1950	0	13	13
1951-1960	0	33	13
1961-1970	0	62	55
1971-1980	10	125	108
1981-1990	20	100	104
1991-2000	12	69	89
2001-2007	10	45	56
Total	52	447	438

Sources: frequencies for 1940 to 2000 are from the JSTOR website; those for 2001-2007 are from the Blackwell-Synergy website.

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. Over 700 articles incorporated one or more of the three terms across seven decades, or nearly 25 percent of the 3,000 articles appearing in the journal. Clearly, IGM, IGR, and FED have formed important conceptual pillars for the field of public administration. The earlier point (Agranoff and McGuire 2001) about the “nearly indistinguishable” merging of federalism processes and public administration may be overstated. As a point of departure, however, and when combined with the Table 1 inventory, it attests to the relevance and importance of the concepts.

Linkages between FED, IGR, and IGM and the current concepts of governance, collaboration, and networking are informative and instructive. First, it is relevant to track the usages of these latter three concepts in *PAR* articles by decade. This is shown in Table 2. Governance actually appeared in a small number of articles in the three earliest decades. Since the 1970s, however, its usage has accelerated. From a mere 73 in the 1970s its appearance climbed to the 100-200 range in the 1980s, but soared to more than 300 (of nearly 500 articles) during the seven years of *PAR* in the present decade.

Table 2. Articles Using the Concepts of Governance, Collaboration, and Network
in Public Administration Review, 1940-2007 (vols.1-67) ⁶

	Governance	Collaboration*	Network**
1940-1950	4	51	24
1951-1960	4	28	25
1961-1970	22	34	51
1971-1980	73	64	113
1981-1990	109	40	118
1991-2000	198	60	118
2001-2007	308	176	252
Total	718	453	701

Sources: frequencies for 1940 to 2000 are from the JSTOR website; those for 2001-2007 are from the Blackwell-Synergy website.

**Includes collaborate and collaborating.*

***Includes networks and networking.*

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

Collaboration usage presents a rather different pattern. In the six decades from 1940 to 2000 the concept appeared in an average of 40-50 articles in each period. Since 2000 collaboration has escalated four-fold to occurrences in 176 articles in only seven volumes. 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 seven volumes of the current 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 (seven-volume) decade when compared to usage in any prior decade. Clearly, these three concepts have pervaded the parlance of 21st century public administration literature in an unprecedented fa-

shion. It is too early to judge the impacts and consequences of these significant conceptual shifts. Sooner rather than later (and elsewhere) the magnitude of these shifts and discontinuities deserves careful, systematic, and thoughtful assessment.

The connections of IGM, IGR, and FED to the cluster of the three latter concepts in Table 2 can be explored further. Table 3 displays 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 vols. 1-60). Usage of IGM, IGR, and FED are accompanied by the simultaneous presence of one or more of the other three concepts in articles, respectively, 83%, 49%, and 58% of the time. In other words, whenever IGR, IGM, or FED appeared in a *PAR* article, there is a 50-80% likelihood that governance, collaboration, or networking accompanies that usage.

Table 3: The Relationship(s) Between Classic and Contemporary Concepts: Usages of Federalism and Its Legacy Concepts(IGR/IGM) and Governance, Collaboration, and Networking in *PAR*, 1940-2000

	IGM	IGR	FED	Overlapping Usage(s)	Total Frequencies	Overlapping Proportions
Governance	13	81	92	186	410	45%
Collaboration	7	47	46	100	277	36%
Networking	15	69	85	169	449	38%
Overlapping Usage(s)	35	197	223			
Total Frequencies	42	402	382	455	1136	
Overlapping Proportion	83%	49%	58%			

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

The converse direction of the relationship is not as strong between the contemporary three-concept cluster and the three focal concepts of this essay. That is, IGR, IGM, and FED have lower appearance proportions in articles where governance, collaboration, and networking occur. When governance is used nearly half (45%) 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% and 38%). In the aggregate, however, the extent of overlap and simultaneous usage across these dual three-concept clusters is striking if not remarkable.

At this juncture it is useful to acknowledge the recent attention and analyses devoted to the use of collaboration in conjunction with the phrase, public management, which Agranoff and McGuire (2003) employed in the title to their monograph. They defined collaborative public management (2003:4) as, “a concept that describes the process of facilitating and operating in multi-organizational arrangements to solve problems that cannot be solved or easily solved by single organizations.” Usage of the phrase diffused rapidly. Soon Bingham, O’Leary, and Carlson could claim (2008:3) that “collaborative public management has become a catchphrase for an increasingly rich body of knowledge.” Exactly how rich was well illustrated by the Bingham and O’Leary volume (2008), *Big Ideas in Collaborative Public Management*. The range of essays contained in that work can be constructively juxtaposed with Agranoff (2007), *Managing Within*

Networks. He presents perhaps the most coherent and systematic exposition of what collaboration and networking represent in the practice of public management.

Propositions about Fed, IGR and IGM

It is useful to offer a set of eight basic propositions that identify how we see the significance of these three conceptual pillars on which the contemporary edifice of 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 (FED). Neither 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 (IGR) and Intergovernmental Management (IGM).

Second, from a public policy standpoint many major domestic turning points, seismic shifts, or punctuated equilibria involving political and policy change(s) 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 incorpo-

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

rates 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 policymaking interactions reflect regular tensions, conflicts, and cleavages. 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! Rhodes (1997: 109) summarized the situation as follows: "Governance means that there is no one centre but multiple centres; there is no sovereign authority because networks have considerable autonomy."

Fourth, the difficulties involved in formulating and implementing public policies and programs place a premium on the boundary-spanning abilities of *all* public officials. Among the array of differently situated and variably skilled officials are generalist administrators whose collaboration and networking abilities are indispensable to effective governance. Appleby (1962) long ago praised those who responded to the call for careers in the public service as persons who become "specialists in things in general." Later Cleveland (1975) posed a penetrating question to generalists as well as specialists: "How do you get everyone in on the act and still get some action?" 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, we identify and clarify a frequently latent issue underlying the tension between FED with its legacy concepts of IGR and IGM, and the governance-collaboration-networking movement embedded in the broader comparative literature on multi-level governance (Hooghe and Marks 2003, Bache and Flinders 2004, Marks and Hooghe 2004). 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(s) is what Rhodes notes above—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 has been overlaid by a myriad of nonprofit and for-profit organizations, private contractors, and individual citizens. As a result, the many "faces" of government and the web-like design of governance have become

confusing to those outside the numerous collaborative systems and networks. One net effect is the increased opportunity for blame-shifting. Not surprisingly, there has been a rising tide of public criticism and erosion of confidence in governments at all levels, despite governance arrangements intended to balance citizen demands for quality services with low taxes through efficient, effective, and equitable administrative processes and practices.

A classic case of blame-shifting by citizens emerged from the Katrina Hurricane disaster. Maestas *et al.* (2008:612) found that, “Notably, respondents were most likely to choose factors related to federalism as the reasons for the length of time it took the national government to provide aid to New Orleans.” Additionally they noted, “Taken together, the data present a picture of an engaged nation, riveted by coverage of the crisis, many of whom assigned blame for national government failures to problems associated with multilevel governance.”

Seventh, the world of multilevel and multisectoral governance poses a further fundamental question: To effectively make and implement public policy how, where, when, and which governments (and officials) matter? The fit between jurisdiction and networks may be unclear. Nevertheless, governments, and 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 multi-jurisdictional focus. But the scope of the public sector does not appear to be shrinking. The growth of collaboration and networks with non-governmental 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 Pierce (2004) view the issue of democratic accountability as a “Faustian Bargain” in which democracy is a tradeoff with multilevel governance. They note (2004: 75) 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.” The authors extend their critique by arguing (2004: 76), “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 decisionmaking and partly because it appears to be a cozy, consensual, and accommodating process.”

Peters and Pierre have a valid point which we acknowledge and share to some degree. At the same time our approach in this essay is to recognize, retain, and reinforce the integrity of institutional arrange-

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

ments 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.

FED, IGR, and IGM as exemplified in *PAR* present a constructive blend of bureaucracy in a democracy, a balance of dynamic processes occurring in evolving institutions. The challenges and complexities confronting FED, IGR, and IGM in the present and the future were concisely captured by Conlan and Posner (2008:338):

Although the system is still expected to satisfy existing needs, the new demands placed on it threaten to change the fundamental character of the roles and relationships among our nation's governments. The flexibility of state and local governments to satisfy their own unique needs and diverse interests has become encumbered by the growing reach of prodigious and increasingly ambitious national policy goals, which have come to frame the agendas and shape the delivery programs in an ever-widening number of policy areas.

Intergovernmental Management

Figure 1 identifies two IGM periods differentiated during the thirty years since the concept originated and gained currency. Table 1 records the appearance of IGM in ten articles in the 1970s, twenty in the

1980s, twelve in the 1990s, and ten so far in the present decade. 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, non-hierarchical networking, constructive coping strategies, and intersectoral administration (Agranoff 1986, Wright 1990, Henry 2002).

1. Top-Down IGM

While practicing public administrators undoubtedly performed intergovernmental management before the 1970s, the concept did not enter formal discourse until the OMB-NSF Study Committee on Policy Management Assistance (SCOPMA) in 1974-75. This national initiative produced numerous papers, reports, videos, and a special issue of *PAR* (December 1975). Indicative of the top-down focus are quotes from contributors to the special issue.

Macaluso (1975:695): The increasing [intergovernmental] interdependence is largely the result of federal intervention and initiation and the more passive acceptance by the state and local levels of these actions.

Stone (1975:728): Some major surgery, but mainly therapy, is required to develop the present disjointed federal-state-local arrangements into a manageable sys-

PAR

tem. New structures, processes, methods, and people are necessary to overcome what in reality is a non-system.

Stone emphasized the need for effective intergovernmental communication and decision-making “networks,” as well as a substantially strengthened executive policy management processes. Schick (1975:722) 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.” Feller (1975) described how the design of national grant programs complicated the oversight capacities of state legislatures and Higgs (1975) argued the need for “mapping” the whole federal assistance effort to provide a comprehensive picture of the assistance “puzzle.”

The top-down approach left a hierarchical legacy that produced subsequent analyses aimed at shaping interjurisdictional relationships into what Sundquist earlier (1969:3) called the “centralization of objective-setting.” He argued (246) for, “responsibility for guiding the whole system of federal-state-local relations, viewed for the first time as a *single system*” [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. Levine (1978) and Stenberg (1981) subsequently identified

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

the downward cascading effects of cutbacks in federal aid. Gage (1984) described the efforts (as well as the demise) of Federal Regional Councils whose primary function was intergovernmental as well as interagency coordination. In the constitutional and legal arena, where literal legal supremacy was embedded, Wise and O’Leary (1997) assessed IGM (as well as FED and IGR) when federal courts rendered decisions on environmental regulatory policies. They concluded that court decisions did not support policies authorizing and empowering the states on environmental policies. Court renderings were consistent with top-down national superiority in IGM.

2. Bottom-Up IGM

Elazar (1962, 1984), Grodzins (1966), and other observers had 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 non-centralized 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) in “Coordinating Federal Grants from Below.” 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) dealing with “Human Services Problem Solving at the Local Level.” In keeping with the energy crisis (then), a state-local-private sector-citizen based planning model for energy conservation was developed in St. Paul Minnesota (Weijo and others, 1983). Poister and McGowan (1984) conducted a national survey on the use of management tools by municipal governments while later Poister and Streib (1989) repeated the survey that included intergovernmental management strategies.

Other examples of the shift in attention to IGM at the local and state levels were numerous. Rosenthal (1984) called for new approaches for evaluating intergovernmental programs under conditions of “indirect management.” Clary (1985) examined emergency management while Stenberg (1985) turned attention to the resurgent states. Schneider (1986) argued that state administrative structures involving Medicaid implementation required operational level analyses to understand program differences across states and time.

By the 1990s, the so-called “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 pro-

duced “transorganizational management.” Soft public services were featured in varied ways during the decade. Jennings (1994) assessed state coordination efforts in employment and job training programs. Jennings and Krane (1994) provided an analysis of the “Philosopher’s Stone” of coordination with a focus on welfare reform efforts. Illustrative of the “reform decade” (Hebert, Brudney, and Wright 1999) was an emphasis on achieving results — whether through reinventing government, GPRA, managing for results, or performance management. Falcone and Lan (1997) introduced productivity considerations into the coordination of service delivery efforts under conditions of change, complexity, and uncertainty.

3. The Middle Way

Attention to and exposition of the two contrasting periods of IGM over the past four decades is 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. Early observations appeared in the SCOPMA special issue of *PAR*. Sherwood (1975) offered judicious and innovative views under the suggestive title: “Dealing With Dominance: The Center’s Role in an Increasingly Unbalanced System.” He argued (1975: 726) that, “the idea of center dominance need not be regarded as synonymous with hierarchical control.”

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

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 (1987:66) that, “Madison was correct in supposing that the national government would not be well suited to the entire tasks of governing a vast country.”

Two further middle-way essays recognizing IGM appeared in silver anniversary issues of *PAR*. Wise (1990) applied organization design issues to public service agencies in the so-called “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) offering 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 IGR and FED (Wright and Krane 1998).

It remained for O’Toole (1997) to give the concept a further boost in “Treating Networks Seriously.” Calling networks a neglected aspect of contemporary ad-

ministration O’Toole confirmed the relevance of IGM while also previewing the flood of research, reflection, practice, and theorizing that paved the path from IGM to collaborative management, networking, and governance. That path and signposts during the current decade (*PAR*, vols 61-67) are discussed in the concluding section where IGM, IGR, and FED frame the contemporary landscape.

Intergovernmental Relations (IGR)

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. Anderson (1970) acknowledged that, “I cannot tell you exactly how the term originated, or when or where...[but] there is no one person whose name is more fully associated with the early use of the term than my own.” Despite his leadership in creating, defining, and extending use of the concept Anderson seldom employed the term in *PAR*. It fell to an expanded set of followers who relied on the concept in the 1940s with a frequency equal to that of FED. (See Table 1.)

Wartime (1941-1945) prompted the use of IGR in connection with gasoline rationing (Watson 1943) and “Federal State-City Cooperation in Congested Production Areas” (Gill 1945). 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 one of the rare IGR articles focused on state-local relationships Weidner (1944) examined state administrative supervision of local government (counties) in Minnesota. He found (1944:233) 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." Weidner further noted that, "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." Administrative features and focus on IGR extended beyond wartime. Luginbuhl (1946) surveyed the IGR distribution of health services. Fesler (1949: 21) in his pathbreaking book, *Area and Administration*, argued that, "Intergovernmental relations are central to our understanding of the areal aspects of administration." Furthermore, he noted that IGR transcended "Solely constitutional, political, or emotional [ideological] problems."

Usage of IGR through the 1950s and 1960s expanded to cover an extensive and varied array of topics, issues, and problems. The 1950s addressed problems such as intergovernmental program coordination under Bureau of the Budget auspices (Crook 1951),

equitable library services (Bradley 1951), professionalization (Willbern 1954), national budget processes (Brundage 1954), the management of large cities (Bebout 1958), metropolitan service coordination (Jamison and Bigger 1957), and constructive city-school district relationships (Morlan 1958).

Regardless of the range or types of topics the 1950s was a legitimating decade for the term. In 1953 the 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 *PAR* was the site of a favorable review of its *Report* and multiple subsidiary documents (Gaus 1956). Further legitimacy of IGR came in 1959 with the statute (P.L. 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.

If the 1950s were mainly a legitimating decade for IGR two other legislative actions relied on IGR as practical anchors in the 1960s. Stahl (1968) probed the significance of the Intergovernmental Personnel Act (P.L. 91-648), and its companion legislation, the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act (P.L. 90-577).

Both statutes carried heavy administrative process thrusts, although IGR articles in the 1960s and 1970s tilted strongly toward urban, fiscal, and functional policy questions. An exception was Finkle (1979) who revisited the impact of grants-in-aid on local personnel standards.

Campbell and Sacks (1964) surveyed the metropolitan scene under the title, "Administering the Spread City." Goldbach (1965) addressed California incorporation issues and use of local formation commissions. Beckman (1966) asked "How Metropolitan Are National and State Policies?" Aleshire (1966) examined urban program coordination via the "metropolitan desk," Wood (1968) reflected on federal impacts on urban policies. Ink (1967) focused on HUD as a new national cabinet department and Zimmerman (1970) offered an overview of metropolitan reform. Weaving many of these varied themes together was Carey (1968) who offered "Guides to Development" of IGR.

On fiscal matters Anderson (1968) probed the "Myths of Tax Sharing" in advance of the enactment of General Revenue Sharing in 1972, while Elazar (1972) argued that IGR fiscal questions required political answers. 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), for example, assessed the first block grant program (Safe Streets Act of 1968), as did Vanagunas (1972), and Stanley (1974). Leiber (1970) dis-

cussed 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 with the following as examples: Stenberg (1972), Lyden (1972), Zimmerman (1972), Strange (1972), Schmandt (1972), Howard (1972), Rein (1972), and Relyea (1975). 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."

Porter and Porter (1974) probed the links between social equity and fiscal federalism while Lucy, Gilbert, and Birkhead (1977) proposed measuring equity in the distribution of local services. Burby, Weiss, and Zehner (1975) linked community services to the quality of life in America's "new towns." General Revenue Sharing garnered more than incidental attention by Murphy (1975), Caputo and Cole (1975), Carroll (1975), and Almy (1977), among others. The Almy essay examined how city managers influenced the allocation of revenue sharing funds largely by avoiding public participation, a strategy that presaged Stillman's article (1977) questioning whether the city manager

was a “professional helping hand or a political hired hand?” Both essays foreshadowed Mikulecky (1980) who elaborated intergovernmental strategies for local managers. Earlier Porter and Olson (1976) identified a set of political, economic, and administrative “critical issues” shaping IGR at mid-decade.

The 1970s constituted a highwater mark in the use of IGR in *PAR*, perhaps traceable to the prominence of urban and fiscal policy issues. The 1980s, however, did not lag far behind. (See Table 1.) 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). A second and closely related theme was devolution, a topic prompted largely by the Reagan Administration’s “New Federalism” initiatives involving block grants.

McTighe (1979) plus Lewis and Logalbo (1980) addressed, respectively, strategies for coping with shrinking resources and offering a managerial checklist that embodied cutback principles. Terrel (1980), on the cusp of Reagan reform proposals, explored the views of human services managers of six categorical grant programs. The local agency executives were favorably disposed toward block grants that would reach “beyond the categories.” A companion piece by Yessian (1980) dealt with successes and challenges confronting a generalist administrator in a highly fragmented functionally oriented national bureaucracy. Biller (1980) presented an even broader perspec-

tive in discussing “Leadership Tactics for Retrenchment.” Stenberg (1981) reflected somewhat nostalgically on the fiscally flush 1970s compared with the cutback environment of the early 1980s under the title, “Beyond the Days of Wine and Roses.”

A symposium in *PAR* (January 1981) provided an array of articles on the “Impact of Resource Scarcity on Urban Public Finance.” Subjects covered were local revenue limits (Florestano 1981), local fiscal dependency (Lovell 1981), fiscal creativity (McKinney 1981), state fiscal controls on localities (Eribes 1981), changing urban revenue structures (Bowman 1981), and decremental budgeting (McCaffery 1981). Danziger and Ring (1982) were prompted by Proposition 13 (in 1978) to look at various fiscal containment instruments. 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 non-city (nonprofit) agencies.

The early-middle of the decade produced a further shifting set of themes and issues under the IGR rubric. The legacy of Three Mile Island, nuclear energy, and emergency management surfaced in an array of essays (Cigler 1981, Kearney and Garey 1982, Barkenbus 1982, Sylves 1984, Rubin and Barbee 1985, Comfort 1985). Managing conflict and resolving IGR disputes gained considerable attention as stress across jurisdictional boundaries went well beyond apparent

zero-sum games and forced fiscal tradeoffs. Fiscal austerity contributed to the problem of “dispensing disappointment” when federal grant applications had to be rejected because of limited funds. An aptly named author, Sunshine (1982), identified a set of strategies at the state level to minimize the negative fallout from a rising tide of unsuccessful grant applicants. Lorenz (1982) described grantsmanship games in finding funds for human services programs.

Doolittle (1981) considered auditing disputes, Buntz and Radin (1983) looked at cross-boundary and cross-program conflicts in human services, Gage (1984) assessed Federal Regional Councils coordination and conflict-resolution structures, and Rosenthal (1984) proposed new strategies for improving the evaluation of “indirectly managed” intergovernmental programs. The genre of conflict-oriented themes included the mandate issue (Massey and Straussman 1985) which posed the question, “Are Conditions of Aid Really so Burdensome?”

Conflict on a number of IGR topics persisted through the latter part of the 1980s. One major venue for resolution of IGR conflict was the judiciary and especially the U.S. Supreme Court. Cases coming before the Court involved Fair Labor Standards as applied to state/local functions (Howard 1985), municipal governments violations of antitrust laws (Chapple 1985), state government advocacy before the Supreme Court (Ross 1985), and interstate conflicts over water rights (Durant and Holmes 1985). These essays

were embedded in a special issue of *PAR* devoted to “Law and Public Affairs” (Wise and O’Brian 1985). An associated theme was Melnick (1985) assessing judicial decisions designed to democratize (and judicialize) the implementation of grant programs. Straussman (1986) likewise looked at the role of courts generally in affecting budgeting and intergovernmental fiscal processes.

Near the close of the decade two 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 their analysis was representative of a secular shift away from national-state relations to IGR at the state-local levels. This was reinforced by Schneider and Park (1989) when they 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 reminders 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. (See Table 1.) At the risk of oversimplification at least four major themes can be identified among essays linked to IGR in the 1990s. These were: (1) fiscal issues, (2)

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

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/local bonds was not constitutionally exempt from the federal income tax the authors concluded that currently exempt bonds would require additional \$441 million in interest payments (in 1988 only) and over \$6 billion during the life of the bonds. That was IGR fiscal “reform” with a vengeance! 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.

A variety of other fiscal issues gained attention across the decade. These included tax and expenditure limitations (Joyce and Mullins 1991), state indebtedness trends (Regens and Lauth 1992; Bahl and Duncomb 1993), state fiscal crises (Bahl and Duncombe 1992), targeting federal grant programs (Holt 1994), and the hazards of municipal bankruptcies (Lewis 1994). Fiscal issues later in the decade focused on school finance reform(s) in the states (Johnston and Duncombe 1998), accountability involving state Medicaid reforms (Johnston and Romzek 1999), and intergo-

vernmental tax evasion and compliance (Denison and Eger 2000).

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-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 nor the state governments.

Gormley (1992) examined three different strategies—catalytic, coercive, and hortatory—that national agencies employed in securing state compliance when regulating child care food programs. Cimitile and others (1997) focused on multiple impacts of unfunded environmental mandates on local governments and called for a national reexamination of environmental regulation. A companion piece by Dodge (1997) looked at national-state collaboration in the enforcement of equal opportunity laws. Also in the mandate genre Gullo and Kelly (1998) assessed the limited impact of the Unfunded Mandate Reform Act of 1995.

Leadership by generalist administrators, especially at the state-local level, in the intergovernmental arena came to the forefront more clearly 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. The few articles appearing in the 1990s 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 which were created in response to national policies. Yoo and Wright (1994) examined empirically the intergovernmental perspectives of top-level state executives. They found that generalist education (in public administration) combined with formal 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.

Teske and Schneider (1994) surveyed 1,000 city managers and identified the conditions which contributed to the managers acting as entrepreneurs both within and beyond their local communities. A later article by Clingermayer and Feiock (1997) found that the frequency of turnover among both mayors and city managers was associated with outsourcing (contracting out) the delivery of public services, including the use of other government units as service providers.

Near the end of the decade Bowling and Wright (1998) offered an overview of administrative leadership at the state level. The increased diversity and professionalism of state agency heads enabled them to function more effectively 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 ten colleagues (1992) provided a collective assessment of past and prospective research on county government across the 20th Century, including performance, leadership, professional management, responsiveness, democratic institutions, and county roles in intergovernmental systems. Hy and others (1993) promptly pursued the topic by assessing the revenue capacities and fiscal effort of Arkansas counties. 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 (seven in all) for why emergency management agencies should be situated in county governments. At the end of the decade Morgan and Kickham (1999) tested the relationship between county governance forms and the fiscal behavior of matched sets of counties. There was no difference in policy patterns or services as a result of shifting from traditional fragmented structures to appointed or elected executive forms.

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

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 in *PAR*.

Federalism

Historical as well as contemporary links between public administration and FED are seldom as strong and explicit as the Agranoff/McGuire quotes (2001: 671), “merged” and “indistinguishable.” 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 (Corwin 1950). During the initial decade (vols. 1-10), however, the usage of FED matched the frequency of IGR occurrences. (See Table 1.)

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 and parallel reason was the tendency to attach an array of adjectives or metaphors to the term. Adjectival and metaphorical 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.”

Frequencies by decade in Table 1 confirm that the concept has not lacked for attention and significance in relation to administrative practice, teaching, or research. Specific topics, themes, references, and issues reflect the relevance of FED. They also disclose how its appearance in *PAR* has evolved from cooperative and collaborative national-state relationships to interactions that are heavily laden with conflict and coercion. (See Figure 1.)

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 long-time Executive Director of the Council of State Governments, and as the first Chairman (1960-1966) of the ACIR. His essay, “Cooperative Government in Wartime,” described the rapid im-

plementation of rubber and sugar rationing. They were implemented within two *months* after Pearl Harbor! Bane noted that (1942: 102) one consequence is, “a new type of federalism that can be adapted readily to the changing demands of the modern world.”

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. These might involve legislative contacts (Engelbert 1942), unemployment insurance (Rohrlich 1944), natural resources (Seigworth 1948), and budgeting (Lewis 1950), or broad policy concerns as articulated by a state governor (Williams 1957).

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 discussed earlier under IGR simultaneously use FED in the discourse. Among these are: Fox (1965) on water resources, Wright (1965) on ACIR, Aleshire (1966) on the metropolitan desk, Beckman (1966) on national-state metropolitan policies, Ink (1967) on HUD’s creation, Hamilton (1968) on regional commissions, and Wood (1968) on urban affairs. Other IGR/FED overlapping included Harman (1970) on block grants, DelGuidice (1970) on cities in partnerships, Kraemer (1971) on urban information systems, Mogulof (1972) on federal regional councils, Hallman (1972), with

several others on nationally-promoted citizen participation, plus Mertins (1973) and Widner (1973) on “new federalism” aspects of transportation policies.

Use of FED to capture major features of changing national-state-local fiscal relationships in the 1970s also tracked IGR usage. Examples included: Stanley (1974) on safe streets block grants, Levitan/Zickler (1975) on manpower block grants, Capoccia (1974) on local grant coordination under CERC (chief executive review and comment), Gilbert and Specht (1974) on the use of national discretion in “picking winners,” as well as Carroll (1975), Murphy (1975), Browne/Rehfuss (1975), Caputo/Cole (1975), and Ross/Gustely (1976), all on General Revenue Sharing. The special issue of *PAR* (December 1975) on policy management that originated IGM was replete with FED usages. Those need not be repeated here other than noting the overlap among all three concepts in the 1970s.

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,” as did Governor Dempsey (1970) and eight other governors.

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 (e.g., OSHA) infused coercive aspects more prominently into national-state relations. Exemplifying attention to these broader, forceful, and expanded tensions was a major publication by the ACIR (1984) titled, *Regulatory Federalism*.

Articles in *PAR* dealing with regulation and coercion both preceded and followed the ACIR publication which, under the same title, was updated a decade later (ACIR 1993). Menzel (1981) examined the Surface Mining and Control Act, Lovell (1981: 318) addressed “nearly a thousand mandates” that were “an exploding issue.” Kearney and Garey’s analysis (1982: 14) of low-level radioactive waste management, “called into doubt the conventional model of cooperative federalism and raised the possibility of a new era of contentious federalism.” Kearney and Stucker (1985) traced contentiousness over radioactive waste further by exploring the use of interstate compacts involving both cooperation and competition in coping with national regulatory requirements. Toxic waste management also exposed varied tensions (O’Brien and others 1984).

The tilt toward a more controlled if not coercive FED was evident in the 1970s as more and more attention, much of it negative, was devoted to problems associated with implementation (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973). Newton (1975, 1978) addressed “Administrative Federalism” and requirements of the Federal Grant and Cooperative Agreement Act (P.L. 95-224). Jones (1978) surveyed a large cohort of local officials and found that they were less than enthusiastic about having their implementation capacities “built” by national administrators. Van Horn (1978) looked at the promise-performance gap present between national goals and actual local implementation while Rosenfeld (1979) confirmed the discrepancy and tension between national targeted goals and the exercise of local discretion.

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 (Sawyer 1984), emergency management (Mushkatel and Weschler 1985, May 1985, Siegel 1985), fishery resources (Pfund 1985), and water basin and Great Lakes environmental conflicts (Durant and Holmes 1985, Rabe 1996). Other conflicts clustered around community development (Herzik and Pelissero 1986), privatization (Johnson and Heilman 1987), administrative regions (Crotty 1988), revenue sharing termination (Thai and Sullivan 1989), disaster responses (Schneider 1992), intergovernmental fiscal imbalances (Kee and Shannon 1992), AFDC and Medicaid poli-

cies (Schneider 1993, Ladenheim and Kee 1998), and hazardous waste regulatory reforms (Durant 1993). 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).

At the risk of over simplification two broad themes covered the breadth and depth of FED in the 1990s as reflected in *PAR*. One, consistent with the coercive trend toward national dominance, revolved around the Supreme Court. The second addressed prominent political dynamics involving an “unbalanced” federal system.

The stage was set on the first theme by two articles (from the 1980s) on court jurisprudence. Meese (1985) articulated the doctrine of original intention while O’Brien (1989) viewed FED as a metaphor for “constitutional administration.” 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) ask, “Is Federalism Dead or Alive in the Supreme Court?” The authors declared that its presumed death was mistaken. They arrived at the surprising conclu-

sion that, on balance, the Supreme Court did not clearly favor the national government over the states.

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: (1) environmental regulation and (2) state/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.” It is not necessary to probe the specifics of the problematic and puzzling contrasts in court-focused essays. What they demonstrate is that *PAR* clearly captured the complex and constrained contentiousness that is part and parcel of the dynamics of American federalism.

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.

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

Rivlin (1992) offered a “New Vision” of changed relationships between the national government and the states. Summarizing the argument in her book, *Reviving the American Dream* (1992), 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.

Rivlin was far from a lonesome voice in calling for reassessment and revision of unbalanced national-state relationships. Kee and Shannon (1992) emphasized fiscal imbalances from both explanatory and normative standpoints. In some respects Rivlin and Kee/Shannon presaged the “New Federalism” contained in the Republican Party’s Contract With America that precipitated the political turnabout in the 1994 congressional elections. Walker (1996) accurately and thoughtfully 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 capture the complex patterns, major periods, and substantive trends of FED appearing in *PAR* across sixty volumes. 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 politi-

cal system. FED is unlikely to be merged with or appear indistinguishable from public administration. But the theory and practices of administration cannot be insulated or isolated from federalism as a fundamental feature framing the functioning of the American republic.

What PAR May Have Missed: 1940 – 2000

Before completing an assessment of the implications of this analysis it is relevant to identify in *PAR* the gaps in coverage of FED, IGR, and IGM over the years. Noting topics or areas that lacked important coverage undoubtedly reflects our substantive biases. We also appreciate that, with the exception of commissioned pieces and symposia, *PAR* editors selected and published articles from a pool of refereed manuscripts over which they had limited influence in terms of subject matter. These gaps are therefore not offered as criticism of editors or referees.

The following noteworthy oversights in *PAR* coverage of FED, IGR, and IGM are worth noting. 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, un-

funded mandates, innovation diffusion, and state responses to natural other disasters (Bowman and Kearney 1986; Teaford 2002). Selected attention was given state administrators in articles appearing in the 1990s but little treatment was given to the states as laboratories of democracy after the mid-1980s. Responses to the Katrina disaster brought to the forefront lingering questions about state capacity, coordination, and leadership (Ink 2006, Derthick 2007). But as Dinan (2008:381) noted in a recent assessment of the state of American federalism, "By any measure, state governments were at the forefront of domestic policy-making in 2007 and early 2008. Not only were state officials more successful than in any prior year of the Bush presidency in securing relief from burdensome federal directives regarding the National Guard, homeland security, education, and welfare policy, but they were also as active as ever in adopting policy innovations in areas such as illegal immigration, healthcare, and environmental protection." Accompanying the inattention to state government significance was the absence of explicit focus on state-local relations. This dynamic component of IGR suffered from benign neglect.

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. 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 (Hamilton 1968, Hearle 1968, Mogulof 1972, Gage 1984, Crotty 1988). While there has been robust growth in published research on interstate relationships this field has not been well represented. (An exception is the article by Kearney and Stucker 1985.) Similarly, with the exception of Aleshire (1966) and Beckman (1966) examining the evolving federal role in metropolitan areas, sparse treatment of interlocal relationships occurred in the pages of *PAR*. This is especially the case(s) covering 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.

Clearly related to the limited attention devoted to horizontal relationships is the generic topic of regionalism and evolving patterns of expanded regional authority (Marks and others 2008). This term refers not only to sub-state and metropolitan regions but also cross-state (even cross-national) regional boundary spanning interactions. There are at least two facets to regionalism that have seldom surfaced in *PAR*. One might be termed the institutional or constitutional level(s). Identifiable examples are: New York Port Authority, Twin Cities Regional Council, Portland

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

Regional Council. These institutional entities encompass major vertical as well as horizontal relationships. The second regional facet is the maze of informal coordination, cooperation, and contractual connections. While not fully institutionalized these linkages are quasi-permanent and highly facilitative.

Another coverage gap is so-called functional federalism — the services delivered by public agencies through the intergovernmental system. The span of functions covered by *PAR* 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. The portion of public budgets expended for these programs argues for a more representative number of articles on these programs.

Associated with the above gaps is an implementation perspective. Substantial attention during the 1970's 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, e.g., National Performance Review, Government Performance and Results Act, 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-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.

A final notable gap has been a challenge for all *PAR* editors. This involves authors and not subject matter content. Across the decades the scarcity of contributors who are current or former practitioners has been a source of continuing concern, comment, and criticism. Kellough and Pitts (2005) reported that only 12 percent of all submissions to *PAR* (in a sample year) were submitted by non-academics. Most scholars and pracademics are able to write creatively and constructively for those on the frontlines of IGM, IGR, and FED. The scarcity of reflective practitioners among journal contributors, however, continues to challenge if not compromise the journal's critical role as a bridge between the worlds of practice and scholarship.

The Contemporary Scene: Are IGM, IGR and FED Obsolete?

Our review of *PAR* issues published from 2001 through 2007 was less amenable to computer technology in identifying the overlapping usage of IGM, IGR, and FED with governance, collaboration, and networking. It is apparent from Tables 1 and 2, however, that the latter three terms have appeared more frequently than the former in recent years. Indeed, the latter terms have taken off like rockets from a launch pad 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 significant sea change in the relevance and utility of IGM, IGR, and FED? Are these longstanding concepts not only dispensable but perhaps already obsolete? To what extent do they retain virtues and values in the new world(s) 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 if we could offer definitive answers to these queries. Consistent with the long-term perspectives guiding this essay, however, we conclude that the answers to these questions require a later and longer time frame from which to offer responses. What we can provide for

the present, however, are questions that merit careful and constructive pursuit at a later date.

1. FED, IGR and IGM in This Century

To set the stage for the future exploration of those queries we assess the presence and pertinence of how IGM, IGR, and FED have continued to be employed in the pages of *PAR* since 2000. The scope and complexity as well as the density and intensity of concept usage in the “decade” of 2001-2007 might serve as a stand-alone essay. That task is beyond our primary intent. We can nevertheless offer two sets of observations drawn from the period. The first is a broad-brush sketch of the landscape depicted by the focal concepts as they were used in three prominent articles in the 2001-2007 period. The other set of observations captures prominent topical themes across the seven volumes in an approach similar to that used earlier in discussing articles using the concepts.

The broad-brush observations rely on three articles appearing in the 2001-2007 period. These three by Agranoff/McGuire, Conlan, and McGuire command attention for a combination of reasons. Foremost is the substantive focus and varied content of the essays. It is also noteworthy that each extensively employs all three central concepts. In this respect they are unique, so far as we can determine, among the nearly 500 articles appearing in the seven volumes of *PAR* from 2001-2007.

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

Agranoff and McGuire (2001) identified and described four models in an essay titled, “American Federalism and the Search for Models of Management.” A few summary sentences cannot do justice to the sweep of the article in elaborating the models. One indication of the broader import, scope, and consequence is that the *PAR* essay prefigures two book-length empirically-based publications (Agranoff and McGuire 2003, Agranoff 2007). The contents and interpretations found in these 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, collaborative network management.⁷

FED, IGR, and IGM remained central to a wide-ranging essay by Conlan (2006). Thoughtfully 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 essay encountered in the current era, Conlan explored and elaborated the patterns, problems, and prospects impinging on FED, IGR, and IGM.⁸ In the context of the questions raised earlier about the future utility of the three terms the Conlan essay offers a promising platform for discussion and guidance in considering those issues.

In a paired essay McGuire (2006) offered a response to the Conlan article that also served useful purposes for discussion and debate. With IGM as a springboard McGuire adopted a bottom-up approach in

viewing operations of the diverse and non-centralized 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. As he notes (2006:678):

In some cases opportunism is an accurate descriptor for intergovernmental management. In other cases it is not. And this is the point that unsettles any meaningful endeavor to label federalism: It depends. It depends on the policy area, the policy instruments employed, and even the skills of the administrator.

McGuire (2006:677) responded to 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 (2006:679) that, “As collaborative intergovernmental and interorganizational networks develop in many policy areas, the opportunities for assertive and regional actions are both prominent and encouraging.”

The essays by Agranoff/McGuire (2001), Conlan (2006), and McGuire (2006) provide virtual bookends for a shelf of articles and themes that permeated the seven volumes of *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 to see in and beyond McGuire’s analysis.

2. Diverse Themes: 2001-2007

World and national events provided three 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 (Thompson 2002, Wise and Nader 2002, Kincaid and Cole 2002, Waugh and Sylves 2002, Eisinger 2006, Derthick 2007, Waugh 2007, Lester and Krejci 2007). Often these featured a melding of IGR and IGM with collaboration and networking. Second, other articles during this period addressed the impacts of globalization (Kettl 2000, O'Toole and Hanf 2002, Radin 2007) using governance and IGR frameworks. Third, accompanying this growing global awareness, comparative public administration was resurgent through articles focusing on governance beyond the United States. These covered decentralizing developments in countries like the Peoples Republic of China (Chan 2003), former Soviet Union countries (Mikesell and Mullins 2001), Bulgaria and Rumania (Guess 2007), Costa Rica (Ryan 2004), France (Durant and Legge 2002), Ethiopia (Mengistu and Vogel 2006), and Israel (Amado 2001).

PAR issues also revealed growing scholarly attention to three subject areas neglected during previous decades. Noteworthy were increased articles on regional and interlocal collaboration. These included topics on contracts and agreements (Thurmaier and Wood

2002, Brown and Potoski 2003), city-county consolidation (Leland and Thurmaier 2005), economic development (Olberding 2002), public authorities (Bacot and Christine 2006), and local and metropolitan government reinvention (Silva 2007). Several articles addressed local leadership challenges that required working across jurisdictional and sectoral boundaries (Feiock, Jeong, and Kim 2003, Nalbandian 2004, Korosec and Berman 2006). Other articles addressed fiscal stress management (Kloha, Weissert, and Kleine 2005, Martell and Teske 2007), performance management (Ammons, Coe, and Lombardo 2001), e-government (Moon 2002), and strategies for local officials interacting with citizens (Kathi and Cooper 2005).

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, Kelleher, Jones, and Wright 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 disasters responses (Jurkiewicz 2007), welfare (Breux, Duncan, Keller, and Morris, 2002), ethics (Smith 2003), and environmental policy (Potoski 2001, Sapat 2004).

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

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 50th 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).

Epilog and Queries

This multi-decade analysis probes the scope and depth of an immense volume and a rich variety of articles in which IGM, IGR, FED, as well as governance, collaboration, and networking were embedded in articles appearing in the featured journal of public administration. It is clear that a firm foundation of research relating to all six concepts has been established in *PAR*. 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 we urge attention to two questions raised during our investigation. First, governance, collaboration, and networking stress processes. Where do institutional capacity, democratic accountability, and performance responsibility fit in? Second, inter-

governmental and multi-level 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 (2000: 297): "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."

It has taken several decades to clarify, incorporate, and operationally employ the three pillars of FED, IGR, and IGM in the volumes of *PAR*. 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 experience and practice remains a continuing challenge. We have charted retrospectively the reefs and crosscurrents traversed by evolving concepts across nearly seven decades. The course and destinations ahead promise even more turbulent waters. The navigational challenges

PAR

Foundations of Public Administration

American Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations,
and Intergovernmental Management

Deil S. Wright, Carl W. Stenberg and Chung-Lae Cho

are aptly summarized by Posner and Conlan (2008: 350) with IGM as the key concept.

A look ahead to the challenges of the future suggest that intergovernmental management will continue to characterize our nation's approach to future policy problems. Whether addressing homeland security, global warming, or the education of the future workforce, partnership across governments will continue to be the watchword over this century as well. The question is whether we will design and manage intergovernmental partnerships by engaging key intergovernmental actors—not just when things go wrong but in designing programs and policies up front to reflect the real interests and capacities of all parties so critical to successfully addressing complex problems and managing complex systems.

NOTES

¹ Books at the forefront of the collaboration, networking, and governance waves include: Bingham and O'Leary 2008, Agranoff 2007, Agranoff and McGuire 2004, Goldsmith and Eggers 2004, Rhodes 1997, Kickert and others 1997, Koppenjam and Klijn 2004, Mandell 2001, Kamensky and Burlin 2004, and Kjaer 2004. To illustrate the escalation of governance as a topic Kjaer (2004:1) found that in the twelve years from 1985 through 1998 more than 1,700 articles on governance appeared in the SSCI. In only four subsequent years (1999-2003) nearly 1900 articles referencing "governance" were published.

² O'Leary and Bingham (2007), *International Public Management Journal*, 10(1): 3-8.

³ For prospective instructional purposes we developed a course syllabus focused on FED, IGR, and IGM in the United States of America. Three features of that syllabus merit mention. First, it is a minimal syllabus in the sense of not providing extensive article assignments, readings, etc. This point is discussed in the "course criteria" page that is part of the syllabus. Second, extensive citations to articles (over 250 in *PAR*), books, etc. are provided in the sets of references appended to this document. Third, the syllabus is structured to provide guidance for both a "module" (half-semester) course as well as a full semester (3 hour credit) course/seminar.

⁴ 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, end notes, or author's biographic information. It also excluded book reviews and book notes as well as specialized sections and commentaries, e.g., 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 2000-2005 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, *Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations* (ASPA *PAR* Classics Series, V), 1984. In those

43 volumes approximately 300 articles relevant to IGR and FED were identified.

⁵ The frequencies are for articles that have the respective concepts in one (or more) of the following: article title, article abstract, or article text. The number of articles varied from volume to volume and decade to decade for several reasons. One was the number of pages in each issue (and volume). A second was the number of issues in each volume. A third was the publication of special issues on prominent topics which added to the number of articles (and pages) in the respective volume(s). In the 1940s the pages per volume was approximately 400 but this declined to about 300 in the 1950s and into the mid-1960s. Dwight Waldo assumed editorship in 1966 and starting in 1968 six (6) issues per volume were published. Each volume approached 600 and sometimes even 700 pages (not counting special issues). By the 1990s the norm had reverted to about 100 pages per issue. This was increased to 128 pages per issue from 2000 through 2005 (over 750 pages per volume). Starting in 2006 the pages per issue increased to 160 or nearly 1000 pages per volume without counting special issues.

The number of special issues introduced an important variable into the number of articles per volume (or decade). One special issue appeared in the 1960s, three in the 1970s, five in the 1980s, none in the 1990s, and three (Homeland Security, Collaborative Management, and Hurricane Katrina) from 2001-2007. For informational and other purposes the article count by decade (including special issues) is as follows: 1940s, 303; 1950s, 247; 1960s, 331; 1970s, 510; 1980s, 615; 1990s, 550; 2001-2007, 489.

This count of articles by decade enabled us to calculate the density (occurrence ratio) for each of the three concepts by decade. For the four decades in which IGM appears the percentages are only 2-4 percent each decade. For IGR the proportions by decade vary from a low of 4 percent (1940s) to a high of 28 percent (1970s). For FED the lows are 4 percent in the 1940s and 1950s and a high of 24 percent in the 1970s. For both IGR and FED the percentages (relative density) of the concept appearing in the last three decades are consistently in the 10-20 percent range for each concept.

⁶ The occurrence of each concept in *PAR* articles enables us to calculate the density (occurrence ratio) for the concepts across the decades in a manner similar to those calculated for the concepts in Table 1. With one exception the percentages of articles containing any one of the three concepts in the decades from the 1940s through the 1980s was below 20 percent and in several instances under 10 percent. The single exception was for the concept of network(s) in the 1970s where one fourth of the *PAR* articles in that decade used the term.

The 1990s and 2000s, however, recorded sharply higher as well as contrasting percentages. For governance the two decade figures are 36% and 63%, respectively. For collaboration the respective decade figures are 11% and 36% and for network(s) the figures are 21% and 52%.

⁷ The first (2003) volume referenced FED as covering only top-down and donor-recipient models. IGR was notably absent in the text and index. In the second (2007) volume a discussion of FED is bypassed (not indexed) while IGR and IGM are summarized in a two-page discussion. 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)?

⁸ A simple count of the usage frequency does not alone justify the strength of Conlan's essay. It is notable however, that the number of occurrences of FED, IGR, and IGM are, respectively, 44, 32, and 24.