

LSC # W-2
Action _____

COVER SHEET: Request for Approval to Use W-Designation

TYPE I. PROFESSOR COMMITMENT

- (X) Professor Richard F. Heiges Phone 2290
 (X) Writing Workshop? (If not at IUP, where? when? IUP July 9-11, 1990)
 (X) Proposal for one W-course (see instructions below)
 (X) Agree to forward syllabi for subsequently offered W-courses?

TYPE II. DEPARTMENTAL COURSE

- () Department Contact Person _____ Phone _____
 () Course Number/Title _____
 () Statement concerning departmental responsibility
 () Proposal for this W-course (see instructions below)

TYPE III. SPECIFIC COURSE AND SPECIFIC PROFESSOR(S)

- () Professor(s) _____ Phone _____
 () Course Number/Title _____
 () Proposal for this W-course (see instructions below)

SIGNATURES:

Professor(s) Richard F. Heiges
 Department Chairperson Richard F. Heiges
 College Dean Richard F. Heiges
 Director of Liberal Studies Chad [Signature]

COMPONENTS OF A PROPOSAL FOR A WRITING-INTENSIVE COURSE:

I. "Writing Summary"--one or two pages explaining how writing is used in the course. First, explain any distinctive characteristics of the content or students which would help the Liberal Studies Committee understand your summary. Second, list and explain the types of writing activities; be especially careful to explain (1) what each writing activity is intended to accomplish as well as the (2) amount of writing, (3) frequency and number of assignments, and (4) whether there are opportunities for revision. If the activity is to be graded, indicate (5) evaluation standards and (6) percentage contribution to the student's final grade.

II. Copy of the course syllabus.

III. Samples of assignment sheets, instructions, or criteria concerning writing that are given to students.

Provide 12 copies to the Liberal Studies Committee.
 Please number all pages.

Writing Summary for Richard F. Heiges/course: PS 251 State and Local Political Systems.

I propose that when I teach PS 251 in Fall, 1990, and probably Spring 1991, that this course be designated a "W" course when I teach it. The course attracts mainly Sophomores and Juniors. It is required only of Government and Public Service Majors (about 3-5 each Semester). The other students in the class (size range has been in recent years 25-35; with 45 scheduling the course for Spring, 1990!) are about 1/2 of the Political Science Majors and about 1/2 Majors from other social sciences and Journalism. If this course/Professor receives a "W" designation, the enrollment will be limited to 25.

The Professor, (Heiges) took the writing workshop at IUP in January, 1990.

Types of Writing Required:

1. Each student is required to submit two, typed, "Field Observation Reports" on meetings of local government legislative and executive bodies. The written reports are designed to force students to leave the IUP campus to attend local government meetings and to answer in narrative form questions which I pose. See attached syllabus and syllabus addendum for details.

2. The examinations, usually three, will be objective type (1) and essay type (2). The essay questions anticipate a rather long answer which hopefully will indicate that the student understands some concepts and has acquired some factual knowledge. Generalizations are to be avoided.

Attached are samples of recent essay exams.

3. A Journal, with specific assignments; each week, requiring students to respond carefully in writing. The Journal Assignments require students to read assigned materials. See attached Syllabus Addendum for details.

Amount of Writing:

1. Each field observation report (2) averages about 4 pages, for a total of about 8 pages. Unsatisfactory reports will be returned for revision.

2. There are two essay examinations.

3. Journal --about 13 entries planned; no length required; marked and graded. Journals are collected every 2-4 weeks.

4. Grades: About 75% of course grade is determined by the three exams. The other 25% is determined by the average of two "field observation reports," (15%) and the Journal for the semester (10%).

PS 251 STATE AND LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Addendum to Syllabus

The syllabus for Fall Semester, 1990, will be similar to that of Spring Semester, 1990 (attached). However, textbooks number 2 and 3 will probably be replaced with one textbook, and possibly a collection of readings such as I sometimes use and composed of superior writing in political science focusing on state and local government.

Writing assignments:

1. The requirement of three written field observation reports on local government meetings will be reduced to two. The instructions in Syllabus remain unchanged except for parts K and L:

K. Summary of what transpired at the meetings. Present, in some detail, a summary of business at the meeting. Which items seemed important? Which took the most time, regardless of importance? Describe what, if anything, you learned about this municipality or agency, about local government, and about meetings of this type.

L. Your impressions. Present your critical evaluation of meeting. What did you find favorable? and what did you not like about the meeting?

2. Each student will be required to maintain a typed Journal in a manila folder specified by instructor and submitted two weeks into semester and about every four weeks thereafter. The Journal will be read, graded, and commented upon briefly in writing by instructor and then be returned to student. The failure to comply with this course requirement will result in course grade of F. The extent to which Journal entries meet the Journal entry assignments may influence the determination of a course grade.

3. Journal entry assignments (to be distributed, separately, about one a week):

a. #1 - In-Class

Answer these questions: Why are you taking this course? What are some reasons for studying state and local government? What level of government and politics do you feel you know most about? Why? Which level of government and politics affects us most most of the time?

b. #2 -

Diagram the model of a political system, with boxes, arrows, lines, etc. Then, describe a state political system and give examples of inputs, transmittal agencies, decision-making institutions, and outputs. What are some of the "environmental" factors surrounding and effecting state political systems? Give

some examples and explain how these factors seem to produce a tremendous variety in the inputs, institutional decision-making agencies, and outputs in the 50 state political systems in the U.S.

Sources: your textbooks, Kinko's materials

c. #3 -

Answer any ONE question found in the Kinko's material (relevant pages attached) on Intergovernmental Relations and: support contention that the 14th Amendment changed the nature of our federal system of government more than any other amendment.

d. #4 -

Virtually no feature of Pennsylvania's first state constitution of 1776 are found in today's state constitution, but name two features of each of the constitutions of 1790, 1837, and 1874 found in today's constitution.

Observers of the Constitutional Convention of 1968 tended to rate the Local Government Article as the best work of the convention and the Judiciary Articles as the worst. Why these ratings? Do you agree?

How did the ConCon of '68 deal with the size of the legislature?

Source: Key to the Keystone State; Kinko's material; lecture.

e. #5 -

Answer any ONE of the questions on Politics in Kinko's material, and:

Justify the inclusion of the article on David L. Lawrence in the Kinko's material, and:

Based upon your knowledge of Pennsylvania politics past and present, and interpretation of trends, issues, and personalities, and your skills as a political analyst, who will win the Governor's race in 1990 in Pennsylvania? Why?

Source: Textbooks; Kinko's material' newspapers; Peoples Business video; politicians; political pundits; and political science professors.

f. #6 -

Answer ONE of the questions on Governors found in Kinko's material, and:

Follow the directions for the Assignments on the governor found in Kinko's material on page 60 (this assignment will be met in small groups in class).

Source: Textbooks; Kinko's material; Peoples Business videos.

g. #7 -

Answer ONE of the questions on Legislature found in Kinko's material. Source: Textbooks; Kinko's material; Peoples Business videos.

h. #8 -

In-class following small group discussion: Why does Pennsylvania lag behind other states in women law makers?

Source: Article in Kinko's material; video cassette of 1989 Channel 3 (Penn State) program (30 minutes) on this topic.

i. #9 -

Answer ONE of the questions on Courts found in Kinko's material.

Source: Textbook; Kinko's material.

j. #10 -

Answer ONE of the questions on Policy Making found in Kinko's material, and: Answer ONE of the questions on Direct Democracy found in Kinko's material.

Source: Textbooks; Kinko's material.

k. #11 -

In-Class: What's wrong with Local Government? What are the possible "solutions"? What are the obstacles to "reforms"?

Source: Textbooks; Kinko's material.

l. #12-

Out-of-class: Read the article in Kinko's materials on "Urban Policy: Does Political Structure Matter?" I'm critical of this article. Are you? Please write an essay criticizing this article; it's always easy to criticize!

m. #13-

Answer ONE of the questions on State and Local Finance found in Kinko's material.

Source: Textbooks; Kinko's material; Simulation.

4. Prepare for the open book exam on state or local finance; questions at end of attached.

SYLLABUS
STATE AND LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

PS 251

Dr. Heiges

Office: Keith Hall Annex 103W; phone 2290
Tues. and Thurs. 3:00-4:30
KTH 165

Spring semester, 1990
3 s.h.

CATALOG DESCRIPTION:

Institutions and processes of state and local governments with special attention to Pennsylvania; emphasis on the nature of federalism, state constitutions, parties and interest groups, the legislature, office of governor, the judiciary, and role of state and local government in an urban society.

TEXTS: (All were used in Spring and Fall, 1989).

1. League of Women Voters of PA. KEY TO THE KEYSTONE STATE, 4th Ed. Pennsylvania State University Press.
2. Dresang, POLITICS, POLICY AND MANAGEMENT IN THE AMERICAN STATES, Longman.
3. Blair, GOVERNMENT AT THE GRASS ROOTS, Palisades. 4th Edition.
4. PS 251 course packet at Kinko's.

COURSE PROCEDURES:

1. Lectures
2. Discussion based on assigned readings in texts.
3. Video-tapes (usually "Peoples' Business" -- 30 minutes, plus a few other video tapes).
4. Occasional guest speakers.
5. Class Discussion Guides, in packet from Kinko's
6. Three of four exams, including "Final".
7. TERM PAPER: Students are required to individually attend three public meetings of local government and/or agencies, and prepare brief written reports of observation: "Field Observation Reports" (instructions are attached).
8. SIMULATION on local government budgeting; participation/attendance are mandatory.
9. Extra credit: up to 40 points added to total exam score-book report (see attached page 9).
10. Evaluation (grade)
*Exams: Approximately 75-80% of total
**Field observation reports (3), and other written assignments: approximately 20-25%.
*exam questions are based on assigned readings, some handouts, class lectures, video-tapes, and "simulations". Exams must be taken on announced dates. No "Make-ups" Please! (Except by prior special arrangement).

IMPORTANT:

FAILURE TO RETURN FIELD OBSERVATION
REPORTS WILL AUTOMATICALLY LOWER
COURSE GRADE BY ONE GRADE

STATE AND LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS
 Course Outline
 (Subject to Change)

PS 251
 Spring Semester, 1990

**Bring all texts to class each day.

<u>TOPICS</u>	<u>TEXTS</u>	<u>APPROXIMATE DATES</u>
Intro. Political Systems	Dresang, Chap. 1, 2	Jan. 23
Intergovernmental Relations	Dresang, Chap. 1, 2 Blair, Chapt. 2, 3 U.S. Constitution (bring to class)	Jan. 24-30
State Constitutions	<u>Key</u> , Chapt. 1	Feb. 1
Politics	Dresang, Chapt. 3 Blair, Chapt. 4, 5 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 7	Feb. 6, 8, 13
<u>EXAM #1</u> (Dresang 1-3; Blair 2-5; <u>Key</u> 1 & 7) (Field Observation Report #1 due Feb. 20)		Feb. 15
Governors & Bureaucracy	Dresang, Chapt. 4, 5 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 2	Feb. 20, 22
Legislatures	Dresang, Chapt. 6 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 3	Feb. 27 and March 1, 6
Courts	Dresang, Chapt. 7 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 4	March 8
(Spring Recess; March 10-18)		
Policy-Making Process	Dresang, Chapt. 8	March 20
Direct Democracy (Field Observation Report #2 due March 27)	Dresang, Chapt. 9	March 22
<u>EXAM #2</u> (Dresang 4-9; <u>Key</u> 2-4)		March 27
Local Government	Blair, Chapt. 1, 6 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 6 DCA Booklet	March 29

<u>TOPICS</u>	<u>TEXTS</u>	<u>APPROXIMATE DATES</u>
Local Government	Blair, Chapt. 7,8,9 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 6 DCA Booklet	April 3, 5
Local Government	Blair, Chapt. 10,11,12 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 6 DCA Booklet	April 10, 12
(April 17: No class, Monday schedule on this Tuesday) ,		
Kocal Government	Blair, Chapt. 13,15,16 DCA Booklet	April 19
<u>EXAM #3</u> (Blair 1, 6-13, 15, 16: <u>Key</u> Chapt. 6)		April 24
State and Local Finance (Field Observation Report #3 due May 1)	Dresang, Chapt. 13,15,16	April 26
State and Local Finance	Blair, Chapt. 14,17 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 5	May 1
State and Local Finance	SIMULATION (see directions in Kinko's packet)	May 3
State Policy and Issues	Dresang, Chapt. 10,11,12,14 <u>Key</u> , Chapt. 8,9,10,11 (Individual Assignments to be made)	May 8
<u>EXAM #4</u> (Dresang 13,15,16 Blair 14,17 <u>Key</u> 5)		Final Exam period

Dr. Heiges

PS251 State and Local Political Systems .

"Field Observation" Reports

Each student is required to attend, observe and report in writing on three public meetings of local government, or state agencies meeting locally in the Indiana area, or where feasible, and preferably, in your home community.

Attend meetings, take notes, and write a report. (typed). This report should follow format of attached form. More copies of the form are available from the instructor; do not answer on the form.

Select, attend, and report on regular or special official meetings of any three different agencies or units from the following:

Township Supervisors Meeting
 Borough Council Meeting
 County Commissioners Meeting
 Planning Commission Meeting (Township, Borough or County)
 School Board Meeting
 A Court Session—criminal or civil Trial at Court of Common Pleas level—not a magistrate!
 A Public Meeting of a State, County or Federal Agency,
 or any agency receiving public funding (not including IUP)
 A Spring, 1990 major political campaign "Event"
 (Check with Instructor)
 Governing Board of a Municipal Authority

Before attending a meeting, do a little background reading from your relevant textbook material.

First Step: Find out in January when and where these meetings take place. DO THIS NOW. As for any citizen, it's your responsibility to figure how and where to obtain information! (You might start with some phone calls; consult your telephone directory under "government" in last section of phone book!)

TURN IN YOUR WRITTEN (TYPED) reports as you complete them. Don't wait and try to do them all at the end of the semester! Try to do one a month, and complete this assignment by May 1. A HIGHLY RECOMMENDED format for the report is attached (this format, however, may not be appropriate for court sessions and political meetings).

FAILURE TO COMPLETE THIS ASSIGNMENT (OR OPTION TWO) SATISFACTORILY WILL AUTOMATICALLY LOWER YOUR COURSE GRADE!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

First report is due by: February 20, 1990
 Second report is due by: March 27, 1990
 Third report is due by: May 1, 1990

Each report is graded; the average of the 3 reports counts about the same as

one exam in determining course grade. (4.0=A, 3.0=B, 2.0=C, 1.0=D).

The Local Government Field Observation Report

1. In this project the student is required to attend a minimum of three local government meetings. The purpose of the assignment is to develop the habit of democratic participation at public meetings throughout the semester. The culmination of the exposure to meetings and information collected by the student will be a documented three-page report for each meeting. This typed double spaced report will be followed by an appendix that includes newspaper clippings, agendas, flyers, minutes. The documentation in the report should refer back to the appendix for every scrap of information. The report itself should measure the public unit under scrutiny by its performance in behalf of the public interest or in line with the apparent democratic wishes of its constituents. The appendix will appear to be more like a scrapbook than any thing else. As you collect all the available newspaper clippings on your selected jurisdiction, be sure to note the date, name of publication, and page number where it appeared, because the final report must be documented.

2. When you select a jurisdiction, try to pick one you live in so the assignment will do you some practical good. Should you choose a court, attempt to follow several cases, as well as generalizing about the court during the duration of the assignment. If elected boards, such as mentioned so far, are impossible to attend, then appointive commissions should be considered. Commissions should be checked out individually with the instructor. Finally, if you can justify topics that thread through different public groups, then the topic may be okayed.

3. Specifically, select, attend and report on three different agencies or units from page 4.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania
PS251 State and Local Political Systems
Instructor: Dr. Heiges
Spring Semester, 1990

FOLLOW THIS RECOMMENDED FORMAT: LOCAL GOVERNMENT FIELD OBSERVATION REPORT
(REPORTS SHOULD BE TYPED) This format is not suitable for court sessions
and political meetings.)

- A.
 - 1. Jurisdiction selected
 - 2. Reasons for selecting jurisdiction

- B.
 - 1. Date of First Meeting Attended
 - 2. Where Was Meeting Held?
 - 3. Is the Meeting Always Held Here?
 - 4. Why?

- C.
 - 1. Did you have any trouble locating the meeting place and time? Would the typical citizen have any problem? Why?
 - 2. Was the meeting site adequate to needs?
 - a. Adequate seating (number of seats)
 - b. Microphones used
 - c. Could audience see visual aids, such as maps?
 - d. Adequate parking
 - e. Signs leading to meeting room
 - f. General comment on site

- D. The Agenda
 - 1. Were agendas available to every citizen?
 - 2. Did you have to ask for one?
 - 3. Where they located?
 - 4. Did the agenda adequately explain what was before the official public agenda?

PS 251 Field Observation Report, Page 2

- 5. Were items numbered and listed by topic only, or were the topics explained?
- 6. Were any items listed as public hearings?
- 7. If so, how did the public hearing differ from the rest of the meeting?

E. 1. Oral communications, was there adequate opportunity for citizens in the audience to communicate with the public agency at some phase of the meeting?

2. Was the citizen's opportunity to communicate structured so that it would have some effect on decision-making at the meeting? Explain.

F. 1. List the elected officials who had voting power at the meeting.

Chairperson, Mayor or President

Vice Chairperson, Mayor or President

Member

Member

Member

Member

Member

PS 251
Field Observation Report, Page 3

2. Were the voting members clearly identified? How?

G. List the appointed staff officials who sat at the head table with the elected decision-making group.

Manager or Superintendent

Clerk

Attorney

Business Manager

Other (specify)

H. Were press representatives at the meeting? If so, who, and for how long?

I. Was a pre-meeting held? How did you find out?

J. 1. Did the discussion lead to your understanding of why each elected official voted as he or she did?

2. How did voting take place? Roll Call Hand Machine

K. Account in some detail what transpired at the meeting.

L. Your impressions.

M. 1. Did printed minutes of the meeting later adequately show what happened at the meeting? (Attach a copy of these minutes. Ask the meeting's recorder to mail you a copy of the minutes.)

2. Newspaper Clippings--include pre-writes and follow-ups on the meeting. (Attach)

3. The newspaper accounts of the meeting--compare them with your perceptions of what happened at the meeting. Did the accounts slant the story thereby distorting the meeting? Did follow-up quotes from officials elaborate and develop more fully what you were able to understand from the meeting?

4. If there are no minutes and/or newspaper accounts, explain why!

Extra Credit Book Report

You may earn up to 40 additional points to the total exam points for writing a book report. The report should, in one typed page, present the content of the book, and in additional pages relate your impressions of the book as it pertains to the study of state and local political systems.

The book you may read and report on is limited to one of the following: (all on closed reserve)

Beer, Paul B. Pennsylvania Politics Today and Yesterday.

O'Connor, Edwin. The Last Hurrah, Boston, Little, Brown (1956).

(This is a novel based on Mayor Curley of Boston; this became a movie (1958) starring Spencer Tracy, Pat O'Brien, Basil Rathbone and directed by John Ford; can you find this on video cassette / RCA / Columbia?)

Warren, Robert Penn, All the King's Men, New York Bantam Books (1974).

(This is a Pulitzer Prize winning novel based on Louisiana Governor Huey Long; This became a 1949 Oscar-winning movie starring Broderick Crawford and Merceded McCambridge, each an oscar winner, can you find this on a video cassette, RCA / Columbia?)

PS 251 State and Local Political Systems
Dr. Heiges

Fall Semester, 1989
Exam 2
Essay

Directions: Answer 5 questions.

A. Governors and Bureaucracy
(answer any one)

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of having heads of state administrative agencies serve at the pleasure of the governor, and hold the job permanently, regardless of who is governor? Which pattern do you favor, and why?
2. Identify and discuss the various roles that a governor plays. What are the limitations of his/her performance of these roles?
3. Discuss the duties of: (a) Lieutenant Governor, (b) Attorney General, (c) Treasurer, (d) Comptroller or Auditor, and (e) Secretary of State.

B. Legislatures
(answer any one)

1. Identify the leadership positions in state legislatures, noting the roles they play and the political resources that they have at their disposal.
2. Describe the "typical" state legislator, discussing the significance of any major changes that have occurred over the past two decades.
3. In what ways, and to what effects, have state legislatures undergone reform over the past two decades?

C. Courts
(answer any one)

1. Discuss the arguments for and against: (a) election of judges, (b) appointment of judges, and (c) the Missouri Plan. Is it possible to "take judges out of politics"?
2. How are courts organized in Pennsylvania?
 1. Explain structure and functions and jurisdiction of:
 - a. Supreme Court
 - b. Superior Court

c. Commonwealth Court

d. Court of Common Pleas

e. Minor Courts

(1) Magistrates

(2) Community Courts

- 2. Clerk of Courts
- 3. Prothonotary
- 4. Composition and functions of judicial inquiry and review board
- 5. Impeachment
- 6. (PA) Grand Jury
- 7. (PA) Trial Jury
- 8. Jury Commissioners
- 9. District Attorney
- 10. Public Defender
- 11. Election of Judges
- 12. Mandatory Retirement
- 13. Judicial Retention
- 14. Cross Filing

3. Discuss whether or not judges should have discretion in sentencing individuals convicted of crimes. What are the problems, if any, of defining rather precisely the sentence that should be served for each major type of crime?

D. Policy Making Process

(answer any one)

- 1. Discuss the various points of origin for legislative initiatives. Do some offer greater prospects for successful passage than others? Provide illustrations in support of your answers.
- 2. What roles do legislative caucuses play in the policy making process? Wherein lies their significance?
- 3. In what ways can it be correctly said that the budgetary process tends to crowd out the substantive bill legislative process, and why?

E. Direct Democracy

(answer any one)

- 1. Compare and contrast the initiative, the recall, and the referendum.
- 2. Discuss the pros and cons of Direct Democracy. In your judgment, where does an appropriate balance lie?
- 3. After a petition has been qualified for the ballot, to what extent does sizable spending, in support of or opposition to the initiative, appear to affect the electoral outcome?

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

TOPICS - January 25 & 30

Dresang, Chapters 1 & 2

Blair, Chapters 2 & 3

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the four national geographic regions identified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census?
2. Discuss the concept of political culture, and describe prominent regional differences. Discuss the basis of the observed differences.
3. Recognizing the existence of significant differences among the regions, to what extent do social, economic, and political differences exist within geographical regions? Provide illustrations from at least two regions in describing and accounting for sub-regional differences.
4. In what ways can it be said that the states are becoming more alike? What elements of distinctiveness remain nevertheless?
5. Discuss how the economy has differentially affected the states during the decade of the 1980's, and to what effect?
6. What factors have prompted the South and West's dramatic population and employment growth experienced since 1970? Has that growth come at the expense of the North and the East?
7. How can a state's location on the growth spectrum influence its policy agenda and politics?
8. In what ways can it be said that the states are competing with one another? Give some notable examples of policy areas in which such competition exists, and discuss the consequences of that competition.
9. The 1980's have been characterized as representing a renaissance of state activism in domestic policy making. To what extent is this characterization appropriate, and what state initiatives and reforms can be cited as evidence in support of this generalization?
10. Do you agree with the proposition that the states are better equipped today to assume domestic policy and management leadership than at any time since World War II? Provide support for your position.
11. Discuss the difference between federalism and intergovernmental relations. Why is this an important distinction between the states?
12. How has the inherent tension between the "implied powers" of the national government and the "inherent powers" of the states been interpreted over time by the courts? What significance does the contemporary interpretation hold for the states?
13. Compare and contrast the four phases of federalism. What factors have influenced the national government's changing involvement in the affairs of the states?

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS CONT.

14. Describe and account for changes in the level of federal financial aid to the states and local governments since World War II.
 15. Discuss the various ways the federal government has provided financial aid to the states over time, noting any relationship between the form of assistance and differing views about the appropriate role of government in society, in general, and about the appropriate role of the federal state governments, in particular. Provide illustrations in support of your answer.
 16. Compare and contrast the Reagan administration's "New Federalism" with the "Great Society Federalism" of the Johnson administration, paying particular attention to their affects on the states.
 17. In what ways were the federal aid policies of the Reagan administration a reflection of its overall fiscal policies, and in what ways did they transcend them?
 18. Should "New Federalism" be viewed as strengthening the role of the states in intergovernmental relations or weakening it?
 19. To what extent is it accurate to portray local units of government as particularly squeezed by "New Federalism?" Why? And what is the significance for the states?
 20. Does the experience of the 1980's suggest that the states are likely to come to the financial rescue of local governments? What factors would heighten that prospect; what would minimize it?
-
1. Carefully DEFINE "FEDERALISM" (federal system of government)
 - a. Terms that have absolutely nothing to do with "federalism":
Democracy, Capitalism, Socialism, Representative government, Republic, Separation of Powers, etc.
 - b. In relation to "federalism," what are the meanings of:
 - (1) Confederation
 - (2) Unitary government
 - c. Name some democracies with federal form of government; without federal form?
 - d. Name some totalitarian nations with federal form? without?
 2. ORIGINS OF AMERICAN FEDERALISM? A little "history";
 - a. Pre-Revolutionary
 - b. "Articles of confederation" - 1781; What it was? Why it failed?
 - c. U.S. Constitutions of 1787
 - (1) Why was the "federal bargain" struck at the convention of 1787?
 - (2) What were "The Federalist Papers"?
 - (3) Was it an "Economic" document? "Political" document? Revolutionary or Counter-Revolutionary?

February 6, 8, 13

POLITICS

ASSIGNMENT: Dresang, Chap. 3
Blair, Chap. 4 & 5
KEY, Chap. 7

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Explain the differences between responsible parties and electoral parties. To what extent does each model apply to political parties in the United States?
2. Typically, political machines in the United States are associated with spoils, corruption, and conspiracies. Identify virtues or contributions made by political machines to American society and politics. Are these contributions that might still be made by political machines today?
3. Compare and contrast three primary election systems. Which of the systems you discuss would you prefer, and why?
4. What, from the perspective of someone running for an elective office, is the importance of a political party? How as a candidate, would you select a party to join? What might you expect from the party and what would the party expect from you?
5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of public funding for campaigns? Are there any offices for which you think public campaign funds should not be made available? Explain.
6. Negative campaigning seems to be effective in influencing voter attitudes. Does this approach pose any threat to democratic principles or processes? Should anything be done to curb negative campaigning?
7. Discuss the significance of elections other than selecting individuals for specific offices. Can, for example, elections be regarded as ways in which voters can express preferences for the kinds of policies they would like government to adopt.
8. Are political action committees (PACs) likely to have a good, bad, or neutral effect on elections and government? Currently, PACs make most of their contributions to the campaign funds of individual candidates. Would it be better if they gave only to political parties? Explain.
9. Describe party organization in your state. Are these organizations typical of those in other states, as described in the text? What are the general implications of party organization for public policy making?

LAWRENCE

Memories of the man who came to the aid of his party and brought a lasting Democratic dominance to the city of Pittsburgh

By Michael P. Weber

FOUR YEARS AGO Ronald Reagan won a lopsided political victory over incumbent Jimmy Carter, winning 44 of 50 states, including a 200,000 vote margin of victory in Pennsylvania. In Pittsburgh, however, Carter claimed a 2-to-1 victory. For the 13th straight national election, in spite of serious divisions among party leaders, the electorate remained solidly in the Democratic camp. Even in the Eisenhower landslides of 1952 and 1956, and in 1972 when Nixon lost only two states, Pittsburghers remained loyal to the Democratic candidates Adlai Stevenson and George McGovern.

In the face of this remarkably consistent history and a current Democratic registration bulge of 171,000 to 30,000, it certainly seems safe to predict a Mondale victory in Pittsburgh on Tuesday. A Democratic to Republican shift of revolutionary proportions may be occurring among the nation's voters, but not in Pittsburgh.

Pittsburghers under the age of retirement may be surprised to know that it wasn't always that way. David L. Lawrence, with a mighty assist from Franklin D. Roosevelt, ended an era of Republican dominance which lasted from the Civil War until 1932. Not a single Democratic presidential candidate carried the city during the 72-year period. Democratic candidates for governor, senator, mayor and city council suffered a similar fate. The only two victorious Democratic candidates for mayor during the entire period (James Blackmore, 1872-75, and George Guthrie, 1906-09) were reformers elected primarily by Independent-Republicans. Neither man remained in office more than one term. The party which often acted as a subsidiary of the Republican machine didn't even bother to enter a candidate in the mayor's race in 1913 or 1917. Three years after the 1917 embarrassment, Lawrence was

named chairman of the Democratic Party in Allegheny County.

Lawrence, an Irish Catholic son of an unskilled laborer, was raised at the city's Point on the corner of Greentree Alley and Liberty Avenue amid other Irish families, warehouses, railroad yards, small factories, and several houses of gambling and occasional prostitution. The first 10 years of his life were spent in this area, rich with opportunities to satisfy a young boy's curiosity. In later years he often recalled with fondness his early days at the Point, and its redevelopment became a particular source of pride.

Lawrence learned his earliest politics from his father who supported two lost causes in 19th-century Pittsburgh: the labor movement and the Democratic Party. The elder Lawrence, undaunted by the apparent futility of his causes, loved to discuss both and could become almost eloquent on the evils perpetrated by the corporate giants in Pittsburgh. His monologues often carried into the home, educating his sons on the virtues of organized labor and the Democratic Party. It is the only vivid memory of his father that Lawrence carried into later life.

David Lawrence's political career officially began at the age of 9, when his father secured a part-time job for him working as a helper for Steve Toole, First Ward alderman. For five years he performed a variety of tasks such as running errands, setting up chairs for political rallies, handing out leaflets at election time, and driving Toole's wagon to help get out the vote. Lawrence learned the rudiments of party organization from Toole. Later, at age 13, he began the second phase of his political education when he secured a full-time job as a stenographer for labor lawyer and Allegheny County Democratic chairman, William J. Brennan.

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Brennen reinforced Lawrence's liberal values, taught him how to dress and introduced him to his Democratic and Republican friends. The Brennen-Lawrence association thrived for nearly two decades, developing into a father-son relationship. Contemporaries of Lawrence often referred to him as Dave "Brennen" Lawrence. He named his first son Brennen and kept a portrait of his old mentor in his office throughout his career.

Lawrence frequently acknowledged his debt to his predecessor but their long relationship never resulted in a strengthened Democratic Party. When Lawrence assumed Brennen's old position in 1920, party fortunes were at an all-time low. They had fewer than 10,000 registered voters in the county, no funds, failed to run a candidate in the previous municipal election and were even unable to staff the polling places with watchers. Republicans commonly drew lots to determine who would change party registration to enable them to dominate the important board of elections by winning both the majority and minority positions.

Lawrence's first decade as party chairman proved extremely frustrating as every attempt at reviving the gasping party resulted in failure. In early 1920 he publicly supported women's suffrage in municipal as well as national elections. The ratification of the 19th Amendment shortly after only increased the disparity between the parties as more women registered as Republicans than Democrats. Several years later he initiated a county-wide drive to increase voter registrations. The successful drive produced nearly 6,000 more Republican voters and fewer than 1,200 Democrats. The party meanwhile continued to lose national, state and local elections by huge majorities. The extent of Lawrence's inability to build a

party is made clear by party registration figures during the 10-year period. When he assumed his position, 95,000 voters were listed as Republicans while 12,568 identified themselves as Democrats. Five years later, 11,000 additional persons had joined the Grand Old Party while the Democratic enrollment slipped to 6,430. At the conclusion of his first decade as party chief only 5,200 registered Democrats lived in the city compared with 169,000 Republicans.

If Lawrence was disappointed by such results, he certainly was not discouraged. The challenge of running the party and competing in elections gave him his greatest thrill as it would all his life. He was willing to spend great amounts of time, energy and some of his own modest income in his efforts.

He had developed a commanding physical presence and was recognized canvassing

the city day and night during each election campaign. "One thing that helped him," his longtime aide Jack Robin recently recalled, "was that he was such an easily recognizable man." Approximately 5 feet 8 inches in height, his jet black hair combed straight back, Lawrence's most prominent features were his athletic chest and shoulders, a thick neck and a large head framed by the thick rimless glasses which he wore until his death. In addition, he possessed unusual stamina. During his early years he routinely worked eight hours at his insurance business, met with political associates during the night, and ended the evening at a sporting event or dance. Whirlwind campaign tours of the city, speaking at five or six sites, were usually concluded with strategy sessions at Democratic headquarters lasting until 1 or 2 in the morning. Few of his associates could keep up

LAWRENCE

with him and frequently complained that he overworked them.

The first election of the decade of the '30s produced more of the same for the Democrats with Lawrence himself running fourth in a four-person battle for Allegheny County commissioner. The campaign among the Republicans was particularly bitter with charges of corruption, vote fraud and graft being hurled by each contending group. Election day riots and stolen election boxes further tainted the Republican organization.

The attacks on the Republican bosses had hardly stopped when they suffered another setback. Mayor Charles Kline, despite attempts at postponement, stood trial and was convicted of several counts of malfeasance in office. He was ordered to resign from office and sentenced to a six-month prison

term. The prison term was eventually suspended but Kline left office in disgrace on March 30, 1933, and died of a paralytic stroke in less than four months.

National events, meanwhile, also conspired against Pittsburgh's Grand Old Party. The Depression of the 1930s hit Pittsburgh particularly hard. Orders for steel and other heavy industrial products manufactured in Western Pennsylvania reached all-time lows in the spring of 1932. Unemployment exceeded 25 percent and reached 40 percent among blacks and certain ethnic groups. Shantytowns and Hoovervilles appeared in several outlying districts and along the Strip District. Soup kitchens and apple carts began operation in the Downtown sections and on the North Side and South Side of the city.

The Rev. James Cox of St. Patrick's organized food drives and attempted to raise funds to aid the homeless but the task proved too great. In desperation, he led an army of 15,000 jobless men to Washington, D.C., seeking federal assistance. President Herbert Hoover met with Cox, assuring him that he was fighting the "final campaign of the Depression" but offered no immediate relief. In despair the city's blue collar workers began to abandon their old political allegiances.

Party chairman Lawrence, hardened by the series of previous defeats, could hardly wait for the campaign to begin. In February of 1932 he reorganized the party, purging a number of ward chairmen who had proved unsuccessful in the 1931 election. He streamlined the executive committee, cutting it in size and establishing new lines of command to the ward level. Ward chairmen were ordered to conduct their own fund-raising campaigns and each chairman was expected to hold party rallies within his own ward. Previously, a number of chairmen attempting to minimize their work held rallies combining two, three or even four wards. Recalcitrant chairmen were called in and told to comply or lose their position.

Lawrence, who had reorganized the party structure three times during the 1920s, was well aware that much remained to be done. Additional workers, funding and, above all, voters willing to abandon their long tradition of voting the straight Republican ticket, had to be recruited. The key to all three was an attractive alternative to Hoover. Lawrence traveled to the Democratic National Convention in June of 1932 with ambivalent feelings. He was convinced that Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom he had met at the 1924 convention and again in 1928 where both supported the candidacy of Al Smith, was such a candidate. Lawrence's emotional choice for president, however, was Smith, the "happy

warrior" from New York to whom he felt a strong personal and intellectual attachment. The two shared similar positions on a number of issues such as government regulation of utilities, the rights of organized labor and repeal of Prohibition. More importantly, they also shared common backgrounds. Smith was a carbon copy of Lawrence's mentor, Brennen, and of Lawrence himself. A product of New York's Lower East Side Irish ghetto, and of the city Democratic machine, Smith had risen to the height of power in his state. A Catholic and a "wet," he was living evidence that, at least at the state level, religion need not be a bar to political success.

LAWRENCE

Lawrence carefully analyzed Smith's defeat in 1928 and reluctantly concluded that the candidate's religion had been the deciding factor. Lawrence's own defeat in 1931 further reinforced his belief that Roman Catholicism was an insurmountable handicap for a political candidate. His concern over the Catholic issue remained with him throughout his life, nearly bordering on paranoia. Several times he passed over excellent candidates including, on one occasion, himself, because of their affiliation to the Catholic Church. In any event, he could no longer support his personal favorite. Roosevelt was the logical alternative.

The two men corresponded several times between 1928 and 1932 and Lawrence and Democratic national committeeman Joseph Guffey spent 1931 canvassing the state, lining up support for the New York governor. In March of 1932 they created the Allegheny County Roosevelt for President club and provided buttons bearing the slogan, "America Calls Another Roosevelt," for distribution by the organization.

Lawrence played a minor role at the national convention but he and Guffey were able to provide a majority of the state's votes for Roosevelt on all three ballots. The two returned to Pittsburgh buoyed by their candidate's chances for success, and the rapidly deteriorating economic conditions gave free rein to Lawrence's organizational talents.

Correctly surmising that the city's blue collar wards were the most likely to shift to the Roosevelt camp, he focused his attention on the black and ethnic wards. Black voters who comprised almost 10 percent of the city's population had consistently delivered the Third, Fifth, 12th and 20th wards to the Grand Old Party. In return for their efforts, they received only minor political positions such as ward committeeman, policeman and court clerk. Their patronage rewards included only the less desirable jobs such as garbage collector, janitor and elevator operator. The black wards were all controlled by white chairmen. Not a single black served on the policy-making board of the party and even influential supporters such as Pittsburgh Courier Editor Robert Vann were ignored. To compound matters, as black

unemployment soared, the city and county also desperate for funds began to cut blacks, as well as other lower-level workers, from the public payroll.

In March of 1932, at the urging of Guffey and Lawrence, Roosevelt invited Vann to Hyde Park to discuss the possibility of a high-level position for Vann in a future Roosevelt administration. Vann returned to Pittsburgh a Roosevelt supporter. Using the Courier as its chief organ, he established a Negro Division of the Democratic National Committee and formed the Allied Roosevelt Clubs of Pennsylvania with himself as its head. Throughout the remainder of the campaign Vann urged black voters to join the Roosevelt following.

Lawrence also made special attempts to win over the city's ethnic voters to the Roosevelt cause. Counting on the support of his own Irish voters, he turned his attention on those from eastern and southern Europe. The Italians who made up 8 percent of the population were among those singled out for special efforts. Pittsburgh was the national headquarters of the Italian Sons and Daughters of America, publisher of the influential paper *Unione*. Lawrence and Guffey met several times with its editor, Muzio Frediani, but were unable to enlist his support. *Unione* eventually endorsed Hoover. Undaunted, they campaigned hard in the Italian wards in the city: Bloomfield, East Liberty and the Lower Hill. Promising a brighter future for the nation's workers — "The Forgotten Men" — under Roosevelt, they generated a strong following.

Party chairman Lawrence, meanwhile, abandoning his old policy of cooperating with the Republican majority, attacked on several fronts. When Charles Graham, Pennsylvania chairman of the Hoover-Curtis Committee, urged 1,600 bankers and corporate heads to explain to employees the importance of voting for Hoover, Lawrence responded with unusual bitterness. Speaking two, and sometimes three times daily, he charged Republicans with attempting to coerce workers to vote for Hoover.

Lawrence also successfully courted and won the financial backing of several traditional Republican supporters. Most importantly, oilman Michael Benedum's announced switch to the Democratic cause damaged the Republican party's prestige as well as its financial status. Benedum, who had contributed large sums to Hoover's 1928 campaign, provided more than \$50,000 to the Allegheny County Democratic Party in 1932. For the first time in its long history, the Western Pennsylvania Democratic Party was on solid financial ground. The Republicans, on the other hand, in the unusual position of lacking enough funds to conduct a full-scale campaign, closed several campaign offices in mid-October.

Finally, Lawrence supported the repeal of Prohibition and the causes of organized labor throughout the campaign. His alliance with both popular issues no doubt added to the growing Democratic strength in Western Pennsylvania.

Encouraged by his success at fund raising and the growing crowds at Democratic rallies, Lawrence took the step of a riverboat gambler, inviting Roosevelt to Pittsburgh:

"Our organization and your friends here earnestly request that you include Pittsburgh in one of your itineraries. Ordinarily we would not make this request, but for the first time since 1865 we Pennsylvania Democrats feel that the state can be carried and if we can make your lead 100,000 or better we will elect our state ticket. I am confident that Pennsylvania can be carried for you and am convinced that if you will speak here that will clinch it."

When Roosevelt agreed to appear, Lawrence gambled again, hiring 35,000-seat Forbes Field. The gamble paid huge dividends as more than 50,000 jammed the stadium to hear a major Roosevelt address. Oct. 19, 1932, was a red letter day in the history of the Western Pennsylvania Democratic organization. Roosevelt was greeted by large, enthusiastic crowds as his motor caravan traveled from the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie station. The evening's arrangements provide testimony to Lawrence's skill as an organizer. Each of the key persons in the local Democratic drive played a role in the "warm-up" prior to Roosevelt's arrival. Robert Vann, Joseph Guffey, Father Cox and Lawrence himself all offered brief comments. Four black bands representing the Allied Roosevelt Clubs of Western Pennsylvania and half a dozen others representing various ethnic groups and the American Legion entertained the crowd. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County gave notice of their impending shift into the Democratic ranks.

Roosevelt's nationally broadcast address, sounding remarkably similar to comments recently attributed to Walter Mondale, accused the Republican administration of not caring about the plight of millions of workers, criticized the mounting federal deficit and declared that he would raise taxes, "by whatever sum necessary to keep (the unemployed) from starving." His reiter-

ation of the Democratic platform plank to repeal Prohibition brought a rousing ovation.

The 100,000 vote victory for Roosevelt, which Lawrence anticipated, did not materialize. The city of Philadelphia and the state as a whole remained loyal to the Republican Party. In Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, on the other hand, years of inept and often corrupt Republican rule, the almost ceaseless intrafamilial battles, the disastrous effects of the Depression, the Prohibition issue and the growing effectiveness of the Democratic organization all combined to produce different results. Roosevelt carried the city and county by 27,000 and 37,000 votes respectively. He won an impressive 26 of 32 wards to become the first Democratic victor since before the Civil War. In addition, the Democratic candidate for U.S. senator, four U.S. representatives and six legislators all carried the county. The Republican machine carried only three of the wards it normally held. "The Republican machine is dead," a jubilant and prophetic Lawrence told a group of party followers-at the Magee Building headquarters the day after the election. "All that remains is to put in the last nail in next year's mayor's race."

During the next few years as Republicans and independents beat a path to the Democrats door, Lawrence created one of the nation's most powerful 20th-century political organizations. Irish politicians continued to play a major role in the city's political realm - Mayors Scully, Gallagher, Barr, Flaherty and Lawrence were all of Irish ancestry, as were a majority of city councilmen and ward chairmen. But Lawrence deliberately extended a welcome to a broad range of party workers and leaders and actively sought representatives of most major groups in Pittsburgh. Ethnic leaders and blacks were given prominent places in the party and female leaders such as Genevieve Blatt, Grace Sloan and Rita Wilson Kane played important roles. Aware of his party's reputation as the Catholic party, Lawrence was particularly anxious to recruit Protestants into leadership roles. Councilman and later Judge Fred Weir recently explained the extent of Lawrence's concern. "I was Protestant, that was one of the reasons that he embraced my presence and made me so prominent. He used to say to me, 'Freddy, can't you get more Protestants into this thing?' I did get one one time and he did practically nothing and Lawrence gave him a great big job that he held as long as he lived." In addition, loyal party workers could count on

patronage positions in the city and county governments.

Most important, however, was Lawrence's knowledge of the patterns of Pittsburgh's voting population. Long before the advent of computers and instant analysis, he could determine the trend of an election well before the official results were tabulated. "He was amazing," Andrew "Huck" Fenrich, Lawrence's patronage chief, recently recalled. "They (the ward chairmen) would bring in the results as soon as they were counted. He would look at the vote and could tell instantly how things were going. 'Didn't do so well this time,' or 'Good job,' he would say. Even the slightest speck of deviation he could pick out. Those whose vote fell very much were called in . . . to explain why."

The mop-up he predicted following the Roosevelt victory required a few more years than anticipated, but by 1936 the Democrats controlled the mayor's and county commissioners' offices, held all nine seats on the Pittsburgh City Council and most of the elected Row Offices. They also had elected

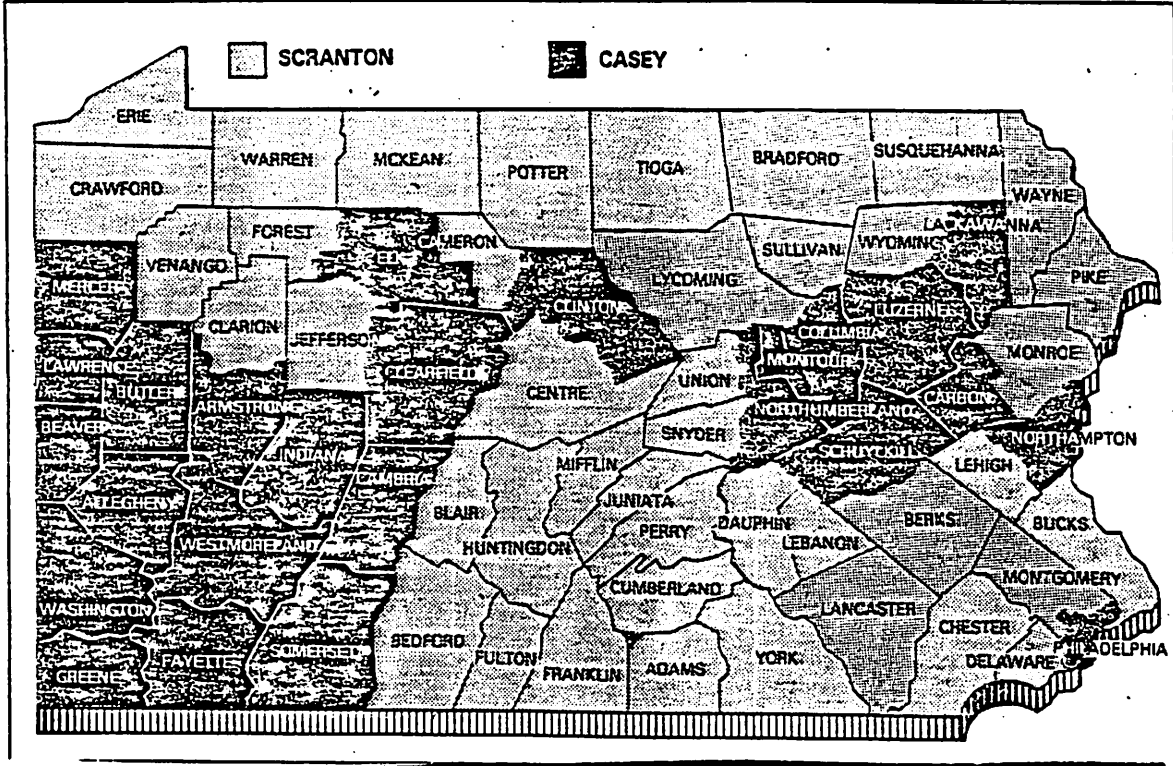
Joseph Guffey U.S. senator, and put George Earle in the governor's mansion in Harrisburg. Lawrence became Earle's secretary of the commonwealth and the dominant force in the state government. Perhaps most revealing was the cause for the celebration held at Democratic headquarters on Oct. 10, 1936. Shortly after the small band of loyal followers gathered at the Benedum Trees Building, Lawrence, now state party chairman, announced that the revolution had been completed. As of that date he proudly proclaimed Democratic registrants in the city of Pittsburgh outnumbered Republicans by 172,179 to 136,451. A new era in Pittsburgh politics had begun.

(Michael P. Weber, an associate professor of urban history at Carnegie-Mellon University, has co-authored two books about Pittsburgh and is currently completing a biography of David Lawrence to be published by the University of Pittsburgh Press.)

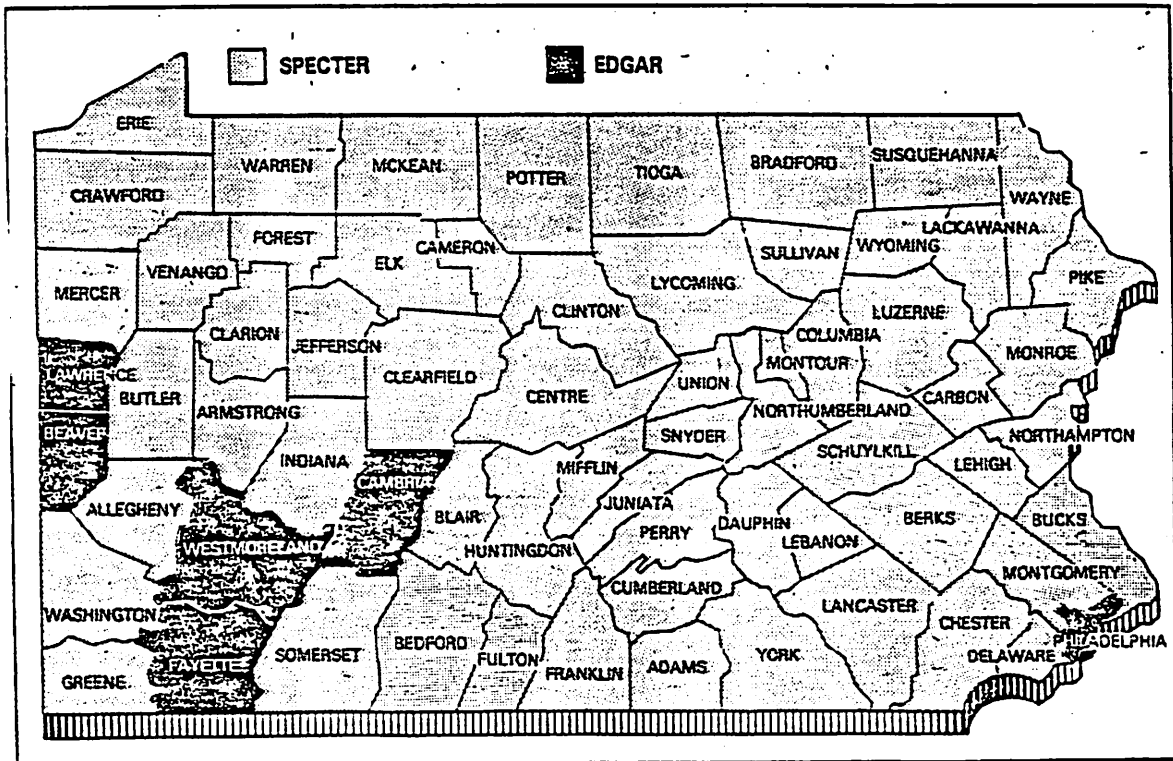
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Unofficial tallies

Gubernatorial race, county by county



Senatorial race, county by county



February 20 & 22

GOVERNORS AND BUREAUCRACY

Assignment: Dresang, Chap. 4 & 5
KEY, Chap. 2

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of having heads of state administrative agencies serve at the pleasure of the governor, be elected independent of the governor, and hold the job permanently, regardless of who is governor? Which pattern do you favor, and why?

2. Most governors can veto parts of bills that have fiscal implications. The President of the United States, on the other hand, must approve or veto bills in their entirety, as passed by Congress. Present an argument justifying this difference.

3. How can governors be effective in setting the agenda for policy making in state government? To what extent, if any, are governors in a better position than other actors or institutions to affect the agenda?

4. Typically, governors are considered the leaders of their respective state political parties. Discuss the significance of this.

5. In what ways can governors exert control or leadership over administrative agencies? What are the resources governors have to monitor agency activity and what formal and informal powers do governors have that are relevant here?

6. Why would anyone want to be a governor? Discuss the demands and rewards of the position and speculate about probably motives for seeking the job.

7. Discuss the significance of the trend towards providing governors with longer terms and removing restrictions on running for reelection. What was behind this movement and how likely are changes in tenure to achieve their purposes?

8. "Unlike other institutions of state governments, administrative agencies are based on rules and regulations rather than on democratic principles and processes. By their very nature, these agencies pose a threat to democracy."

To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain.

9. Identify the different pressures and perspectives that generally distinguish administrators from legislators. What are the possible implications of these differences on how public

policy is developed and implemented?

10. How does an administrative agency get involved in the making as well as the implementation of policies? Is this a legitimate role for the bureaucracy?

11. Describe the interaction between legislatures and administrative agencies. Identify and discuss the tools available to legislatures to provide direction to the bureaucracy.

12. A governor has asked you to draft a response to proposal that state government disband its bureaucracy and contract with private businesses for all the services government provides and all the functions it performs. How will you advise the governor? Are there any functions or services that should be reserved for state agencies?

13. A continuing source of frustration for employees in state agencies is that although members of the public acknowledge the generally high level of competence and professionalism in contemporary state government, a negative stereotype of bureaucracy and bureaucrats persist. Is there something inherent about administrative agencies that explains the continued stereotype? Do you think there is simply a lag between the reality of improvement and the traditional image?

14. Explain the differences between current perspectives of the office of governor and the perspectives after the Revolutionary War. What accounts for the differences in what has been prescribed for gubernatorial power?

15. What differences does it make whether a governor is male or female, white or minority? Relate your answer to the various roles that governors play.

16. Based on your understanding of the nature of the office of governor, what advice would you give to a newly elected governor eager to leave a legacy of significant policy changes? How might he or she make a positive mark in history?

17. Focus on a particular state and identify reasons why administrative agencies have grown in size and in scope of responsibility.

18. Describe the basic characteristics of bureaucracies. Select an example of a state agency and discuss the extent to which the general description of bureaucracy applies to that agency. What might explain deviations, if there are any?

19. Describe the interaction between legislatures and administrative agencies. Identify and discuss the tools available to legislatures to provide direction to the bureaucracy.

20. What are the challenges to state governments---the bureaucracy, the governor, and the legislature---when the federal government relies on state agencies to administer federal programs? Are the relationships among state institutions likely to change? Are federal standards likely to be useful guidelines or to be regarded as alien and irrelevant?
21. You have been asked to address a group of British journalists visiting this country comparing the American presidency with the American governorship. What would be the main points you would want to stress in your speech?
22. Discuss the usual "legislative" powers of a governor.
23. For what reasons is it extremely difficult for a person to become a "successful" governor?
24. The civil administration committee of your state legislatures has before it a proposed constitutional amendment which would abolish the attorney general as an elective office and give to the governor the power to fill the office by appointment (With senatorial confirmation). The incumbent attorney general has urged you, the assistant attorney, to testify in opposition to this proposal. What would you emphasize in your presentation? What kinds of evidence would you be able to introduce? What type of approach, if any, would you make towards the various blocks in your state legislature and towards interest groups throughout the state?
25. Identify and discuss the various roles that a governor plays. What are the limitations of his/her performance of these roles?
26. Discuss the factors affecting the "making of a governor": (a) television, (b) recruitment paths, (c) future political ambitions.
27. Contrast a weak executive type of state administrative organization with a strong executive type. How do the different arrangements affect the governor's ability to carry through his/her programs?
28. Discuss the variation in the following gubernatorial powers among the states: (a) Tenure, (b) Appointment and Removal, (c) Veto, and (d) Budgetary.
29. Discuss state civil service systems: (a) history, (b) relationship to executive control over program administration, and (c) operation.
30. Discuss the factors that affect a governor's success in winning support for his/her legislative program.
31. Discuss the factors that affect a governor's success in winning support for his/her legislative program.
32. Discuss the limitations to the power that a governor derives from his/her role as a party leader.
33. Discuss the duties of: (a) Lieutenant Governor, (b) Attorney General, (c) Treasurer, (d) Comptroller or Auditor, and (e) Secretary of State.
34. What generalizations can be made about the role of governors in state politics?

ASSIGNMENT (To be written and brought to class for oral presentation: write on ONE area - A or B or C or D or E).

A new television series about a fictional, but "typical," Governor is in the planning stage for 1991. You have been selected to head a team of talented TV script writers for the proposed series. The TV Producer has asked you to sketch out the major "character," the Governor, making him or her as true-to-life as feasible. In response, you prepare a detailed outline of the "Governor," as follows:

A. Characteristics:

1. Age
2. Previous experience
3. Traits/personality
4. Ambitions
5. Education
6. Religion
7. Ethnic origin
8. Personal appearance
9. Sex
10. Wealth

B. Roles of Governor:

1. Administrator/Executive
2. Chief "Legislator"
3. Party Leader
4. (State) Commander-in-Chief
5. Chief Budget Officer
6. Public Opinion Leader
7. Ceremonial Functions
8. Quasi-Judicial Functions
9. Federal System Officer

C. Relations with:

1. Legislative leaders
2. Party
3. National Government
4. Other Governors
5. Attorney General
6. Auditor General
7. Courts
8. State Treasurer
9. Lieutenant Governor
10. Cabinet Officers
11. Independent Boards and Commissions

D. Powers of Governor

1. Formal
2. Informal

E. Obstacles facing Governor

1. Constitutional Structural problems
2. Legislature
3. Politics
4. Bureaucracy
5. The social and economic characteristics of the state

February 27 & March 1 & 6

LEGISLATURES

ASSIGNMENT: Dresang, Chap. 6
KEY, Chap. 3

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Discuss the principle of equal representation in state legislatures, describing the problems addressed, how it has been interpreted by the courts, and the actions that states have taken to bring about equal representation.
2. Is it legal for legislative districts to be equally apportioned on the basis of population but still be drawn so as to give one political party a decided electoral advantage over another? Compare and contrast the two methods employed to "gerrymander" legislative districts. What restrictions, if any, have the courts placed on gerrymandering?
3. How can the size of a legislative chamber and the length of its members' terms affect the character and politics of that body?
4. In what ways does party affiliation play an important role in legislative organization?
5. Identify the leadership positions in state legislatures, noting the roles they play and the political resources that they have at their disposal.
6. Discuss the functions that committees perform in the legislative process, and comment on the source and extent of their influence.
7. Describe the "typical" state legislator, discussing the significance of any major changes that have occurred over the past two decades.
8. In what ways, and to what effects, have state legislatures undergone reform over the past two decades?
9. Has the executive-legislative balance changed since the 1960s? If so, provide substantive illustrations of any observed changes and discuss the factors promoting change.
10. What factors appear most systematically to influence legislative decision making.

Why Pennsylvania lags in women lawmakers

By J.E. Rosenberger
The Pittsburgh Press

HARRISBURG — In 1922, two years after women won the right to vote, eight women sat in the state House.

In 1984, with the women's vote once again an important issue, nine women hold seats in the 203-member House.

Groups of men and women, frustrated by the lack of progress, are gaining momentum providing money, campaign workers and encouragement to female candidates.

For Babette Josephs the help was the difference between winning and losing.

She campaigned vigorously Tuesday, the final day of her tough primary battle for a state House

one blanketed dozens of Philadelphia polling places with her father from New York, her 20-year-old son from Boston, her 18-year-old daughter and 600 campaign workers.

Her opponent was Philadelphia Democratic Rep. Samuel Rappaport, a legislator 13 years and chairman of the important House Judiciary Committee.

Ms. Josephs received some other help for her campaign — \$2,000 to

be exact — from the Pennsylvania Women's Campaign Fund, a new political action committee formed to increase the number of women elected to the General Assembly.

Family and finances helped. Ms. Josephs narrowly won the primary by 600 votes and became one of the few Pennsylvania women making inroads in changing the state's dismal record for its number of women in government and politics.

The fund's support of his opponent surprised Rappaport:

"There's an old political adage that if you've got a friend who's an incumbent, you don't try to defeat a friend.

Directors of the fund, however, didn't see it that way. They claimed that while Rappaport generally supported equal rights for women and voted against anti-abortion bills, he did not measure up on various economic issues affecting women.

Ms. Josephs, 43, is virtually assured of victory in the fall because the district is strongly Democratic.

Her victory was one of the more notable among women candidates in Tuesday's primary.

Another was a six-way primary won by Democratic congressional candidate Jane Wells-Schooley.

By gathering 47 percent of the votes in the six-way race, Ms. Wells-

Schooley won the Democratic nomination in the 15th Congressional District in the Lehigh Valley.

Her opponent next fall will be Rep. Don Ritter, a Republican in a district where Democrats hold a 2-1 registration edge.

The victories of the two women candidates were assisted, in part, by an amorphous women's network that flexed its political muscle during the campaign with poll workers, contributions and fund-raisers.

Stretching from Allegheny County to Philadelphia to the Lehigh Valley, the bipartisan network surfaced in several situations.

"It included the Women's Campaign Fund's contribution to Ms. Josephs and a recent fund-raiser at Pittsburgh's Le Mont restaurant for Ms. Wells-Schooley.

"The wine and cheese party was organized by City Councilwoman Michelle Madoff who said the evening event" — which drew about 185 people — "was like a Solidarity meeting."

The women in the network state their goal simply: To increase the number of qualified women elected to local, state and national offices.

But achieving that in Pennsylvania could be a woefully difficult task, if past trends continue.

Results from last week's primary show that of the 55 women who ran for the state House, 43 won their primaries. Thirty-three of them had no opposition, however.

And of the 22 women who did face opposition, 10 won.

In the state Senate where 25 seats are up for election, all four women who ran won their primaries. Three had no opposition.

On the congressional level, four of the eight women candidates scored victories. Ms. Wells-Schooley was the only victorious woman candidate with primary opposition.

All told, the names of 47 female legislative candidates will appear on the ballot in November. Yet almost two-thirds of them face political odds almost impossible to overcome, including an unfavorable voter registration or a popular incumbent opponent.

During the last legislative election in 1982, 49 women were on the ballot. Ten were elected — nine of those incumbents.

As a result, every other state in the nation, except Mississippi, has more female legislators.

Pennsylvania now has nine women in its 203-member House and one woman in its 50-member state Senate.

Elected women at the statewide level aren't breaking any records, either. No woman holds any of the five elective executive posts, such as governor or auditor general.

And of the 31 statewide elected judicial posts, only two are occupied by women: Superior Court Judge Phyllis W. Beck and Commonwealth Court Judge Madaline Palladino.

The state has no women representatives in Congress.

While women have fared better locally, Pennsylvania tends to fall below the national average on that level, too. For example, women hold 25 percent of the school board positions in the state, while the national average is 28 percent.

"If you want to know why there aren't more women elected to higher level offices, it all comes down to a three-letter word: men," commented Phyllis Kernick, the former mayor of Penn Hills and a former state House member.

"Men still control the political parties," she said.

Other observers of Pennsylvania politics cite a different factor.

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"The problem we faced 10 years ago, we still face today: not enough women make the decision to run for office," said Kathy A. Stanwick, assistant director of the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University in New Jersey.

Whatever the reason, the lack of elected women in Pennsylvania flies in the face of significant attempts to change the situation.

The state is noted for a variety of progressive programs designed to encourage and educate potential women candidates.

It is one of only five states, for example, with a Women's Campaign Fund, which gave \$16,500 to 14 women candidates in this year's primary.

POTENTIAL WOMEN candidates in Pennsylvania can attend weekend how-to-campaign workshops, sponsored by

More Women Candidates Inc. and Pennsylvania Elected Women's Association. Both groups, started within the past four years, are part of the growing women's political network in the state.

"There are a lot of things happening in Pennsylvania. I think the fact women have joined together there to raise money for women legislative candidates is a very significant development," said Ms. Stanwick.

"All those things combined are bound to have an impact in terms of an awareness that women can succeed and do well politically. When it will have a measurable impact is hard to say."

What kind of impact would more elected women make?

"Elected women do make a difference. They are more likely to bring women's concerns to the forefront of the public agenda," commented Ruth Mandel, director of the Rutgers' center.

"I don't know if I can pinpoint what changes women would make," said retired Commonwealth Court Judge Genevieve Blatt, the first woman to win a statewide election.

"I think we do need more women in government and our government is the poorer for the lack of a feminine input ... But I would hate to see women take over," added the 70-year-old judge who sprang into statewide politics as secretary of internal affairs in 1954.

"I think a family with only one parent is a disadvantaged family. And I think it's difficult for people if the male attitude is the only one expressed governmentally. We need both male and female views."

Women won the right to vote in 1920, and by 1922, Pennsylvania had eight women in its House.

More than five decades later in 1974, there were still only eight women House members.

The numbers have fluctuated between 1922 and now, but there have never been more than 13 women in the state House.

Republican Flora Morris Vare of Philadelphia became the first woman to win a state Senate seat in 1924. She served until 1927.

Another woman senator did not appear until 1966 with the election of Jeanette F. Reibman of Northampton County. She continues to serve as the state's only woman senator.

Nationwide, women hold 13 percent of the state legislative seats. In Pennsylvania, they hold 4 percent.

THERE ARE SEVERAL reasons for the difference. The Pennsylvania General Assembly is one of the highest paid in the nation — and thus, competition for the seats is much tougher.

Also, state lawmakers must travel back and forth to Harrisburg frequently, which might be prohibitive to women who are the primary caretakers of their children.

New Hampshire, for example, ranks first with 121 women lawmakers, but they meet only every other year — and receive \$200 annually.

But competition, salary and legislative time demands are not the only factors causing the paucity of women in the General Assembly.

Political scientists, women candidates and many elected officials point the finger of blame at the "good old boys" network of the state's strong party system.

For years, women have played crucial, behind-the-scenes roles in both major parties.

But rarely have they been tapped to run for office themselves.

There have been exceptions.

Judge Blatt, for example, credited former Pittsburgh Mayor David L. Lawrence — who served as governor from 1959 to 1963 and who was once the state's most powerful Democrat — with grooming numerous women, including herself, for political office.

More recently, the Republican State Committee sought out Susan Shanaman to run for state auditor general. Ms. Shanaman, the former chairman of the Public Utility Commission, won overwhelmingly in last week's Republican primary.

But women are still frequently slated for "no-win" seats — where a strong incumbent is running for re-election or where voter registration is heavily against them.

Take the case of Democrat Joan Anderson Tarka, who is running for the state House in Delaware County against incumbent Republican Rep. Steve Freind.

Freind has held the seat since 1976 and has gained statewide notoriety as the House's most outspoken anti-abortion advocate.

Not only is he a well-known incumbent, but voter registration is on his side: Republicans in the district outnumber Democrats by more than two to one.

In her first race against Freind in 1982, Ms. Tarka ran as a Republican and lost the primary.

AFTER HER DEFEAT, she began preparing for this year's primary and decided to try it as a Democrat. She had no primary opposition and as a result received the Democratic endorsement.

"It was very difficult to run as an independent candidate in 1982. Now that I have a party endorsement, there's a support network already in place."

It was a clear case of political expediency, and Ms. Tarka said she simply took advantage of a situation nobody else wanted.

"Women have to get in through doors where no one else is interested in going.

"If Steve Freind had quit and there was an open seat, I would wager that two or three Democratic men would have come forward to run," she said.

"Nobody's fighting me because it's seen as a no-win situation."

The odds were not quite as stacked against Democratic Rep. Ruth Rudy of Centre County — the only non-incumbent woman to win a state House seat in 1982.

She faced Gregg Cunningham, a Republican, elected in 1978, who was also well-known for his anti-abortion views.

Their battle took place in a newly created legislative district where 53 percent of the registered voters were Republicans.

Ms. Rudy, the former Centre County prothonotary and clerk of courts, had been involved in the county Democratic Party and serves as a Democratic national committeewoman.

"It is definitely easier to campaign with party support," said Ms. Rudy, who received the Democratic endorsement in 1982.

Despite her involvement in the Democratic Party, Ms. Rudy said women still have to fight to become part of the good old boys' network.

"It's very unusual when the party is grooming a candidate and it's a woman ... There is still a stigma attached to women candidates.

"The key is that women have got to prove they are capable, and the more women we get who are capable, the more normal it will seem. It's a gradual process of osmosis."

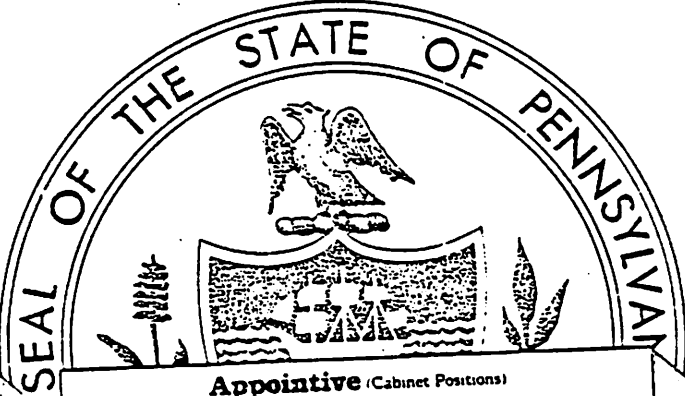
Robert O'Connor, a political science professor at Pennsylvania State University, agreed that the "block" for women candidates is in the party.

79

The gender gap in state governments

State	% women both houses	Women in Senate	Women in House	Annual salary
Top 10				
1. N.H.	28%	6 of 24	115 of 400	\$200
2. Colo.	25%	5 of 35	20 of 65	\$14,000
3. Wyo.	23%	3 of 30	19 of 64	\$1,800
4. Conn.	23%	7 of 36	35 of 151	\$9,500
5. Hawaii	22%	5 of 25	12 of 51	\$13,650
6. Maine	22%	6 of 33	35 of 151	\$4,500
7. Oregon	22%	6 of 30	14 of 60	\$8,400
8. Ariz.	21%	5 of 30	14 of 60	\$15,000
9. Wis.	20%	2 of 33	24 of 99	\$22,638
10. Wash.	19%	8 of 49	20 of 98	\$11,200
Bottom 10				
41. Va.	7.9%	0 of 40	11 of 100	\$8,000
42. Ky.	7.2%	2 of 38	8 of 100	\$3,000
43. Texas	7.2%	0 of 31	13 of 150	\$7,200
44. S.C.	7.1%	3 of 46	9 of 124	\$10,000
45. Tenn.	6.8%	1 of 33	8 of 99	\$8,308
46. Ala.	6.4%	2 of 35	7 of 105	\$300
47. Ark.	5.2%	1 of 35	6 of 100	\$7,500
48. La.	4.8%	0 of 39	5 of 105	\$16,800
49. Pa.	4.0%	1 of 50	9 of 203	\$25,000
50. Miss.	1.7%	0 of 52	3 of 122	\$8,100

SOURCES: The Center for the American Women and Politics, 1984, Rutgers University, New Jersey. The base salary figures are from "The 1982-83 Book of the States," published by the Council of State Governments in Lexington, Ky.



Elective offices

Auditor general
Grace M. Sloan 1965-69

Treasurer
Grace M. Sloan 1961-65, 1969-77

Secretary of Internal affairs
Genevieve Blatt 1955-67
(Position abolished in 1971)

Appointive (Cabinet Positions)

Attorney general
(Became elective in 1981)
Anne X. Alpern — 1959-61

Secretary of commerce
Nancy B. Mawby — 1976-77

Commonwealth secretary
Miss S.M.R. O'Hara — 1939-43
Ethel D. Allen — Feb. - Nov. 1979
C. DeLores Tucker — 1971-77

Community affairs secretary
Shirley M. Dennis, 1979-present

Secretary of health
Edith MacBride-Dexter — 1955-67

Insurance commissioner
Audrey R. Kelly — 1963-67

Secretary of labor, industry
Charlotte E. Carr — 1933-35.

(Department of Public Assistance and Department of Welfare merged in 1954 to form the Department of Public Welfare)

Public Utility Commission

Heleen B. O'Bannon 1975-79

Susan Shanaman 1979-83
(chairman)

Linda C. Taliaferro 1978-present
(chairman)

Albert Schnner/The Pittsburgh Press

Top state appointive and elective offices held by women since 1920

"Pennsylvania has a good number of districts where a party endorsement means getting elected," said O'Connor, who recently completed a study of why there are so few women state House members.

In looking at the 1982 legislative elections, O'Connor found the majority of women candidates lost because they were campaigning in districts where voter registration ran substantially against them.

"The reason most of the women lost was not that they were deserted by their own partisans, but that there simply were not enough crossover votes to overcome substantial registration deficiencies," O'Connor wrote.

LEADERS OF THE Republican and Democratic state committees contend both parties have begun to open their doors to women.

"In the past, both parties were dominated by people who didn't look at women as favorable candidates," said Robert B. Asher, chairman of the Republican State Committee.

That has changed and the endorsement of qualified female candidates "is a very pragmatic way to look at politics," Asher said.

"Fifty-three percent of the population is female and women have to have a role in the party."

Ed Mezvinsky, Democratic State Committee chairman, said the party needs to take a more active role in grooming women candidates.

"There's not much of that done in politics and that's a very real responsibility of the party."

But to Rep. Tom Murphy, D-North Side, the male network will not be easily dissolved.

"Some of the traditional men (in the party) won't vote for a woman because they basically want someone they can get to. They want one of the guys," said Murphy, Democratic Party chairman of the 26th Ward.

"They don't want a goody two-shoes guy. They want someone they can wheel and deal with. And they wouldn't think of approaching a woman like that."

Allegheny County Commissioner Barbara Hafer's first political campaign came in 1979 when she lost her race for county treasurer to the well-known Democratic incumbent, Jay Costa.

She received the Republican Party endorsement that year, but she acknowledged that she was the party's "sacrificial lamb" in a race which was almost impossible to win.

Despite an almost \$13,000 campaign debt, Ms. Hafer began plotting her next battle, which resulted in her being the first woman ever elected Allegheny County commissioner.

Her drive stemmed from a desire to be involved in the political decision-making process.

Or as she put it: "I don't want to be one of the boys. I just want to be one of the players."

But many women apparently do not want to be one of the players in Pennsylvania's political arena.

In Tuesday's primary, for example, there were 67 candidates running for 25 state Senate seats. Only four candidates were women.

In the state House, where all 203 spots are up for election, 541 candidates ran — 55 of them women.

Two years ago, 69 women — 10 more than this year — ran for legislative seats in Pennsylvania.

"Women in general don't have enough self-confidence," said Ms. Tarka, the Democratic House candidate from Delaware County.

"I think that's changing, but I've been in organizations where some really top-notch women have hesitated about becoming president when they've been running the show all along," she said.

Mt. Lebanon Commissioner Mary Larsen recalled when she first considered running for office in 1978:

"I had been active in the League of Women Voters and the incumbent commissioner wasn't going to run.

"My women friends had been telling me for weeks to run, but I finally took it seriously when some man asked me to. Isn't that silly?"

CHILD-RAISING responsibilities are cited as another factor preventing some women from running for office.

"If you do happen to want to play out the traditional role of wife and mother, you can go just so far," Mrs. Larsen said.

"You can do it on a local level, but to travel back and forth to Harrisburg is almost impossible."

Although it may be difficult to combine traditional motherhood with legislative duties, some women have done it.

Phyllis Kernick, for example, raised six children and won her Democratic legislative seat in 1975 when her youngest child was 14.

Ms. Tarka, who has two children — aged 5 and 10 — said she and her husband have worked out an arrangement for taking care of the children should she be elected.

But some women with young children face a difficult choice.

"It's very much an issue for a woman candidate and a very difficult thing," said Rep. Lois Hagarty, R-Montgomery County, who has a 4-year-old son.

"I had mixed feelings about running when my child was so young. I think it's always a problem for a woman to leave a child.

"It still doesn't seem a totally acceptable thing to do. We live in a society that still very much expects women to be home with babies."

However, some observers believe it isn't children or confidence which prevents many women from running for office.

"If you don't have \$400,000 for a congressional campaign, you're not going to run for election," said Ms. Wells-Schooley.

"Having support is a part of having confidence. The difference I see between male and female candidates is that external level of support."

As an independent candidate for Allegheny County commissioner in 1975, Michelle Madoff's slogan was "she's nobody's boy."

Nevertheless, the Pittsburgh city councilwoman recalls that one of the most common responses to her campaign efforts was: "Who's this Michael Madoff you're campaigning for?"

For Lois Hagarty, there was no confusion over her name when she campaigned for her state House seat in 1980, but her dilemma was similar.

"When I went door-to-door campaigning, I started taking someone with me because no one believed I was a candidate. If I had people come with me then they could say that I really was running for office," she said.

For Ms. Wells-Schooley, some were pessimistic about her candidacy for Congress because state Sen. Reibman ran for the same seat in 1980 and lost.

"We're still dealing with two myths about the electability of women: they can't raise money and voters are still too conservative to elect a woman," Ms. Wells-Schooley said.

"People win and lose elections all the time. But some think that since Jeanette Reibman couldn't win, then neither can I.

"People think of women in a monolithic sense and they bind us together in our ability to win an election."

The so-called "credibility gap" often results in a vicious cycle which makes it more difficult for a woman to raise campaign money.

"Women still are not considered to be credible candidates, although that is becoming less true," commented Philadelphia City Councilwoman Joan Specter.

"And even when you have a credible woman candidate, it's difficult for that woman to raise the same amount of money as a man.

"It's part of the whole syndrome of how we regard women in our economy. Women are still underfunded and underfinanced."

Yet some female candidates have raised a substantial amount of money.

Mr. Rudy of Centre County raised \$58,744 for her legislative campaign in 1982. It was one of the most expensive races that year.

Ms. Hafez raised almost \$250,000 for the primary and general election when she ran for county commissioner last year.

And Ms. Wells-Schooley raised \$58,540 between January and March for her primary battle against five other Democrats.

She raised three times more than her toughest competitor, Eugene Knopf, who served as an executive assistant to former Lt. Gov. Ernest Kline.

IT IS DIFFICULT to assess exactly what difference more elected women would make in decision making at the state and national levels.

But there is general agreement that their impact — like that of elected men — would depend on their philosophies and priorities.

A look at two controversial votes taken in the state House highlights two facts: elected women are as diverse in their beliefs as male politicians and it is difficult to make any conclusions based on the votes of just nine women.

The abortion control bill was one of the most controversial votes taken during the 1981-82 legislative session.

Introduced by Freind, the bill would have placed stricter requirements on women seeking abortions.

On June 7, 1982, the measure passed the House 127-61. Of the 9 women House members, five voted for the bill and three voted against it. One woman did not vote.

More recently, the House considered a bill which would have made it a crime for a man to force his wife to have sexual intercourse. Present law allows marriage to be used as a defense in a rape case.

After a heated debate in December, the measure passed 143-49. Six of the chamber's nine women voted in favor of the bill.

If the General Assembly were more evenly divided between men

and women, some women's rights activists and other observers say the abortion bill would have been defeated and the marital rape bill approved by a wider margin.

Others disagree and they point out that not all women are feminists or pro-choice advocates.

"If you look at the women in the Legislature now, we're clearly not making a difference" on various women's issues, said Mrs. Hagarty, the Montgomery County Republican.

She added that the General Assembly might be more pro-choice or liberal on the abortion issue if there were more elected women.

A 191 study by the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers showed elected women at all levels of government generally were more liberal than elected men on such issues as the death penalty and abortion.

They were also more likely to believe government was an essential part of the solution to the nation's economic problems.

It also said that if there had been more women lawmakers when the federal Equal Rights Amendment was being debated, it would have passed in time to meet the constitutional deadline.

Some women and lawmakers added that female legislators would be more likely to bring up such issues as the need for domestic abuse shelters, child support enforcement and other economic issues affecting women.

To Ms. Wells-Schooley, the importance of getting more women elected rests with the need for a balanced view.

"We can't expect one or two women to represent all of women's concerns," she said.

"If we had more elected women at all levels, we would probably have women of all stripes and we could get a broader-based view of the world."

(Jane-Ellen Rosenberger is Press Harrisburg correspondent).

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MAKEUP OF 1983 GENERAL ASSEMBLY

MEMBERS	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES		SENATE
	22 TOTAL	178 DEMOCRATS 156 REPUBLICANS	28 TOTAL 23 REPUBLICANS 23 DEMOCRATS 1 VACANCY
Average Age	44		49
College Degrees	69%		81%
Women	4%		2%
Blacks	7%		5%
Catholics	45%		49%
Jews	4%		4%
Attorneys	18%		35%
Unmarried	20%		8%

CHANGES IN MAKEUP OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY

	1963	1979	1981	1983
Average Age	51	46	46	45
College Degrees	43%	63%	67%	71%
Women	5%	4%	4%	3.9%
Blacks	4%	6%	6%	7%
Catholics	24%	43%	45%	45%
Jews	3%	4%	4%	4%
Attorneys	25%	21%	21%	19%

March 8, 1990

COURTS

Assignment: Dresang, Chap. 7
KEY, Chap. 4

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the various roles that state courts play? How would you compare the limits and opportunities that courts have in policy making with those of the legislature or the governor?
2. Explain the relationship between state courts and federal courts. What is meant by the "judicial version of new federalism?"
3. Describe the general structure of most state court systems. In your description, pay particular attention to appeals. Who hears appeals? How do appeals cases differ from when cases are tried originally?
4. What are the respective advantages and disadvantages of appointing judges, on the one hand, and of electing judges, on the other? Which do you prefer?
5. The most common pattern among the states is that attorneys general are elected on their own, rather than appointed by the governor. What are the implications of this?
6. Plea bargaining helps reduce the number of cases that judges and juries have to decide. Does this process raise any concerns about justice being well served? Does the fact that District Attorneys are usually elected have any bearing on this issue?
7. Discuss whether or not judges should have discretion in sentencing individuals convicted of crimes. What are the problems, if any of defining rather precisely the sentence that should be served for each major type of crime.
8. Should judges accused of wrongdoing be removed from office under the same procedures and policies used to remove governors and legislatures? What, if anything, makes judges unique from other officials and thus eligible for special treatment?
9. What are the criteria and concerns that might affect a decision to request a jury trial rather than a trial by judge? Do options that invite strategies for pursuing a case detract from the objectivity associated with the judicial system?
10. Would our legal system work just as well or better if instead of relying on the arguments and presentations of the different parties in a case, judges and juries would pose the questions and direct the investigation to discover the facts of a situation?
11. There are, in the U.S., two court systems operating within the same geographical jurisdiction: National and State.
What is the lawful jurisdiction of National Courts? (See U.S. Constitution)
State Courts?

12. Discuss the arguments for and against: (a) election of judges, (b) appointment of judges, and (c) the Missouri Plan. Is it possible to "take judges out of politics"?
13. Discuss the commonly-cited inadequacies of our system of criminal justice. Does the system operate to deter crime? Why or why not?

March 20, 1990

POLICY MAKING PROCESS

Assignment: Dresang, Chap. 8

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the various ways in which state governments affect the public.
2. Compare and contrast the substantive bill legislative process and the state budgetary process.
3. Discuss the various points of origin for legislative initiatives. Do some offer greater prospects for successful passage than others? Provide illustrations in support of your answer.
4. What is the significance of Alan Rosenthal's distinction between the legislative "assembly line" and the executive-legislative policy making process? How is it of help to understand the policy making process better.
5. How do both the substantive bill legislative process and the state budgetary process represent a shared executive-legislative function?
6. What roles do legislative caucuses play in the policy making process? Wherein lies their significance?
7. From the perspectives of both the governor and the legislature, what are the pros and cons of including policy items in the executive budget?
8. Why is the line-item veto a powerful policy making tool of the governor.
9. In what ways can it be correctly said that the budgetary process tends to crowd out the substantive bill legislative process, and why?
10. Compare and contrast the role and influence of staff in both the substantive bill and budgetary processes.

March 22, 1990

DIRECT DEMOCRACY

ASSIGNMENT: Dresang, Chap. 9

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Compare and contrast the initiative, the recall, and the referendum.
2. Discuss the pros and cons of Direct Democracy. In your judgment, where does an appropriate balance lie?
3. Discuss the historical and philosophical roots of the initiative. Should the initiative be considered largely consigned as an historical phenomenon?
4. What must citizens do to get initiative questions placed on a statewide ballot? How feasible is this enterprise, and what can be done to improve the prospect of success?
5. How has the technology of petition signature gathering changed in the past couple of decades, and to what effect?
6. After a petition has been qualified for the ballot, to what extent does sizable spending, in support of or opposition to the initiative, appear to affect the electoral outcome?
7. Use two of the more publicized and controversial propositions on the ballot in 1986 to illustrate the importance of the use of symbols in generating support of, or opposition to, initiatives.
8. Discuss the recent role of the courts in initiative policy making. On what grounds have the courts disproportionately intervened in the process?
9. In what ways, if any, has the contemporary use of the initiative strayed from its Progressive and Populist roots, and with what consequences?
10. In your judgment, do the mechanisms of Direct Democracy pose a major threat to the viability of representative government, or can the two coexist in a complementary fashion? Provide evidence in support of your position.

Urban Policy: Does Political Structure Matter?

DAVID R. MORGAN
JOHN P. PELISSERO
University of Oklahoma

An interrupted time-series quasi-experiment is employed to test the basic hypothesis that reformed cities (with city manager, at-large elections, and nonpartisan ballots) tax and spend less than unreformed communities. Eleven cities with populations of 25,000 and above which significantly changed their political structure between 1948 and 1973 are compared with 11 matched control cities that made no changes. We found that over an 11-year period, variations in fiscal behavior were virtually unaffected by changes in city government structure.

Among scholars of state and local government, the question is still debated: do politics and governmental structure have any independent influence on policies? Although much state-level research suggests the answer is clearly yes, considerably less agreement exists for the local level. Most research directed toward this issue at the urban level has probed the political effects of reformed institutions. Presumably urban reformers, who sought to replace the political machine with good government devices, sought certain policy goals as well. Just what those goals were and how successful these groups have been in achieving them remains unsettled. Some argue that one of the consequences of the reform movement's "public-regarding" ethos was to provide greater support for spending on community-wide public improvements. Others disagree. They contend that cities with reform institutions tend to be less responsive to their socioeconomic environments, which presumably causes such municipalities to be less sensitive to the higher spending demands of lower-income and minority interests. The result, according to the latter argument—lower levels of taxing and spending. Thus the issue for local government remains unsettled.

The argument over the political consequences of urban reform has been clouded by several methodological disputes. One of the most important relates to time order. For example, Lineberry AND Fowler (1967, p. 707) insist that one well-known analysis of the reform movement's effect on city government structure (Wolfinger and

Field, 1966) is flawed in a causal sense because obvious time order assumptions are violated; independent variables (census data) are used to explain decisions (government structure) made at an earlier period. Yet none of the research on this topic systematically includes a time element; it has all been cross-sectional in design. The research reported here offers a different approach—a time-series analysis—in an effort to shed further light on this basic question.

Public Policy Implications of Municipal Reform

One of the most pervasive themes concerning the effect of municipal reforms derives from the public-regarding thesis first proffered by Banfield and Wilson (1963; p. 46). According to these authors, certain subcultural groups within the city, constituted on ethnic and income lines, sought a more rational, efficient, and honest city government. These groups presumably based their political preferences on some conception of the public interest as a whole in contrast to a more narrow ward or neighborhood orientation. As a principal means of promoting these goals, such public-regarding groups pushed the "good government" agenda of municipal reforms. Such institutional arrangements as council-manager government, nonpartisan ballots, and at-large elections seem entirely consistent with the commitment of these groups to minimizing partisanship and particularism in favor of the universal values of the larger community.

The public-regarding ethos had other political results as well. A concern for the larger whole, according to Banfield and Wilson, might lead to support for various community-wide projects and improvements. Indeed, Wilson and Banfield (1964) show that certain putatively public-regarding groups tended to vote against their self-interest, narrowly conceived, in favor of expenditure proposals that would raise their taxes. Others (Boskoff and Zeigler, 1964, pp. 46-47;

We would like to acknowledge Richard Bingham, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, for suggesting the need for a study of this sort. Robert England deserves special thanks for his valuable assistance in managing and processing the data. Bruce Kennedy helped with the data gathering and coding as well. Finally, we are greatly indebted to Kenneth J. Meier, University of Oklahoma, whose methodological help has been invaluable.

Uyeki, 1966) find a similar association between upper-status groups and support for bond elections for municipal improvements. Thus the causal sequence is complete—an upper-middle class public-regarding ethic should yield two results—municipal reforms *and* greater expenditures for public improvements.

This line of reasoning has not been so obvious to many. In fact, the whole public-regarding ethos has been rather severely challenged. Hennessey (1970) avers that the approach is not a genuine theory and, further, that it was tested with aggregate voting statistics although it was clearly applicable only to individual voting behavior. Others have failed to find evidence to sustain the ethos hypothesis (Wolfinger and Field, 1966; Bowman, Ippolito, and Levin, 1972; Duran, 1972). Miller and Bennett (1974) even insist that a subsequent effort at revisiting the ethos formulation by Wilson and Banfield (1971) contains a serious methodological flaw that disproves the whole concept.

Despite the problems associated with the ethos notion, the most widely referenced study on the effects of reforms on city fiscal behavior begins with that premise. Lineberry and Fowler (1967) argue that reformers were especially hostile to the political machine's attempt to capitalize on community cleavages—class, ethnic, racial, or religious. Reforms were presumably desired as a way of insulating municipal governments from such divisive social forces. One of their basic purposes was to determine if indeed reform governments responded differently from nonreformed governments to their socioeconomic environment. Their analysis of tax and expenditure burdens in cities of 50,000 and over confirms this expectation. Socioeconomic variables were much more closely associated with taxing and spending in unreformed than in reformed cities.¹ But what about tax and expenditure levels? Contrary to the public-regarding view, reform cities had *lower* tax and expenditure burdens. They infer from this finding that reformed institutions indeed do maximize the power of the middle class, but that

group apparently wants less, not more, public spending.

This finding that reforms produce lower spending commitments is not inconsistent with another body of thought regarding the goals of municipal reformers. Hays (1964) contends that the municipal reform movement was dominated by the upper class with extensive support from business organizations. Such groups, who had little need for high-priced social programs, were primarily interested in having traditional housekeeping services economically provided. Business-oriented reformers were also eager to create a favorable climate for profit-making in the city, providing another motive for municipal efficiency (Judd, 1979, pp. 111-12). According to this reasoning, reform structures should lead to lower levels of taxing and spending, just as Lineberry and Fowler (1967) and others find (Lyons, 1978).

Finally, some contend that reforms make no real policy differences. Presumably, both structure and policy are the result of the same antecedent influences, either region (Wolfinger and Field, 1966; Cole, 1971) or the socioeconomic characteristics of the community (Hawkins, 1971, Ch. 3).

In sum, despite the provocative public-regarding thesis, most research suggests that municipal reforms should either reduce taxing or spending or have little noticeable effect. As indicated above, all these studies, regardless of their findings, have been cross-sectional in design. Or at least changes in government structure over time have not been examined for their possible effect on policy variations. No attempt has been made to assess policy changes among cities that have altered their government institutions: Surely the debate over the potential policy consequences of the local political system should not be settled solely on the basis of cross-sectional findings. We need to consider what happens to certain municipal policies over a period of time when a city changes its basic political structure.

Research Design

We employ a quasi-experimental time-series design (Campbell and Stanley, 1966; pp. 55-57) to test the policy effects of municipal reform. Two groups of cities are required, one in which a change takes place and a comparable group not undergoing the experimental change from which similar "control" time-series data can be gathered. The design not only controls for virtually all the customarily identified threats to internal validity, but also it readily lends itself to public policy applications (see Meier, forthcoming).

In this analysis, government structure

¹In fact, Wright (1976) has challenged Lineberry and Fowler's conclusion, arguing that their research is flawed because correlation coefficients are used in comparing groups of cities. He insists the proper comparison is between unstandardized regression coefficients. When Wright further tests the Lineberry and Fowler thesis using a multiple regression model in which the slope of each SES variable is allowed to vary within each category of reform, he finds no support for their position. "None of the SES variables becomes systematically less strongly related to policy outputs as reformism increases" (p. 369).

represented by the elements of reform (city manager, at-large representation, nonpartisan elections) serves as the independent variable. Among cities with populations of 25,000 and above, eight cities were found that changed a *completely unreformed* structure to a totally reformed government during a single year between 1948 and 1973. Another three cities were found that began with all of the reform elements and dropped at least two of these in a single year.¹ Apparently only one city, since 1950, has dropped all three reform elements in a single year. A second group of eleven cities, which began with the same form of government and maintained this structure, were matched to specific cities in the first group. Cities that experienced a change in government structure constitute the "experimental" group and those cities that did not become the "control" or "match" group. Table 1 includes both groups of cities, the year of structural change for the experimental cities, and the structural components.

A brief comment should be made regarding the matching procedure. The following criteria were employed to select the matching cities: (1) a comparable form of government with the experimental city before the change; (2) similar economic base; (3) a similarity in one of the dependent variables, per capita general revenue. Matching by both economic base and per capita general revenue should minimize the possibility that observed changes in fiscal behavior over time might result from differing socioeconomic characteristics between the pairs of cities. One additional important characteristic of our cities should be noted—functional responsibility. Differences in spending assignments among cities must be considered when expenditures are analyzed. This is particularly true for schools and welfare, since these two very expensive activities can account for about half the variation in total general municipal expenditures (Liebert, 1974, pp. 771-72). Our experimental and control cities are perfectly congruent on school and welfare responsibilities.

The time-series analysis includes an examination of 7 revenue and expenditure variables over an 11-year period—the year of change and 5 years before and after that intervention. The dependent variables consist of per capita measures of (1) general revenue, (2) general expenditures, (3) police expenditures, (4) fire expenditures, (5)

highway expenditures, (6) sanitation expenditures, and (7) parks and recreation expenditures.² We would prefer to have additional measures that could be used to assess differences in spending for social programs, but our fiscal measures represent all such data of any consequence consistently available from the Census Bureau over the past several decades.

Findings

Although results of an interrupted time-series design are often displayed graphically, visual examination may be inconclusive. Thus it is necessary to test for the effects of the intervention statistically. McCain and McCleary (1979) offer a method for performing an ordinary regression that estimates the parameters for the initial level of spending, the slope (spending trend over time), change in level, and change in slope (both potentially resulting from the intervention). These potential effects can be represented with the following regression equation:

$$\hat{Y}_t = a_1 + b_1 X_{1t} + b_2 X_{2t} + b_3 X_{3t} + e_t$$

In this equation the independent variable X_{1t} is a linear measure of time such that X_{1t} equals 1, 2, 3, . . . , N . The parameter b_1 is the *slope* of the series. X_{2t} is a dummy variable where $X_{2t} = 0$ before the reform change and $X_{2t} = 1$ after the intervention. The parameter b_2 thus represents the *alteration in level* (intercept) following reform change. Variable X_{3t} is also a dummy "counter-variable" where $X_{3t} = 0$ before the intervention and $X_{3t} = X_{1t}$ after the intervention (i.e., 1, 2, 3 . . .). The parameter b_3 represents the post-intervention *change in slope*. If the parameters b_2 and b_3 are not statistically significant,⁴ we may accept

²Data sources for these variables include U.S. Bureau of the Census, *City Government Finances* (1945-1978); International City Management Association, *Municipal Year Book* (1945-1978); and the Rand McNally *Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide* (1945-1978), which provided estimates of city populations for use in calculating the per capita measures for non-census periods. Capital outlays have been removed from all expenditures where the data permit, i.e., general expenditures and highways (capital expenditures could not be excluded, however, for any of the 1940s data). Where the breakdown was available (since 1960), sanitation expenditures do not include sewerage.

⁴Although tests of statistical significance are not strictly applicable to data representing a total population, such tests are commonly employed as a way of depicting "sizable" relationships. Because of the small number of time points in the analysis and the need to emphasize changes that are more than minimal, only those changes in the intercept and slope that reach the .01 level of significance are reported.

¹Although the decision to treat municipal reforms as additive is debatable (see Lyons, 1977), Bryant (1976) has shown that the three customarily used items (with commission form considered as a reform structure) do meet the .90 criterion for a Guttman scale using all cities having populations of 25,000 and over.

the null hypothesis that reform interventions produced no effect. In the opposite case, if these two parameters are significant, we must then look for autocorrelation before we may assume that reforms made a difference. Note that the formula to be used consists of only the three time-related variables; no measures of the social and economic characteristics of the cities are included. Omission

of the usual socioeconomic variables appears justified for three reasons. Assuming the match is well done, the pairs of cities should be similar in certain fundamental ways. Second, as the subsequent analysis will reveal, the level of explained variance for almost all the equations is so high that any additional independent variables would add virtually no explanation. Finally, with an *N*

Table 1. Experimental and Control Cities, Government Structure and Economic Base (N = 22)

A. Experimental	Year of Change ^a	Economic Base ^b	Government Structure ^c		Net Change ^d
			Before Change	After Change	
1. Council Bluffs, Iowa	1951	T	MC-M-P	CM-A-NP	+3
2. Peoria, Illinois	1954	Mr	MC-W-P	CM-A-NP	+3
3. Rock Island, Illinois	1954	Mm	MC-W-P	CM-A-NP	+3
4. Brockton, Massachusetts	1958	Mm	MC-M-P	CM-A-NP	+3
5. Huntington, West Virginia	1958	Mr	MC-M-P	CM-A-NP	+3
6. Little Rock, Arkansas	1958	Rm	MC-W-P	CM-A-NP	+3
7. Independence, Missouri	1962	Rm	MC-W-P	CM-A-NP	+3
8. Great Falls, Montana	1973	Rr	MC-W-P	CM-M-NP	+3
9. Worcester, Massachusetts	1950	Mm	MC-W-P	CM-A-NP	+3
10. Kenosha, Wisconsin	1958	Mm	CM-A-NP	MC-W-P	-3
11. Brockton, Massachusetts	1962	Mm	CM-A-NP	MC-W-NP	-2
				MC-M-NP	-2

B. Control	Economic Base ^b	Government Structure ^c
1. Davenport, Iowa	Rm	MC-M-P
2. Terre Haute, Indiana	Mr	MC-M-P
3. Muncie, Indiana	Mm	MC-M-P
4. Cranston, Rhode Island	Mm	MC-W-P
5. Hammond, Indiana	M	MC-M-P
6. Charleston, West Virginia	Rr	MC-M-P
7. Berwyn, Illinois	Rr	MC-W-P
8. Billings, Montana	Rr	MC-W-P
9. Hartford, Connecticut	M	CM-A-NP
10. Clifton, New Jersey	Mm	CM-A-NP
11. Lowell, Massachusetts	Mm	CM-A-NP

Source: International City Management Association, *Municipal Year Book* (1945-1978), Washington, D.C.

^aFirst year city altered government structure.

^bCities classified according to employment patterns, as follows:

T = Transportation center (25 percent or more reported transportation as occupation)

Mm = Manufacturing city (50 percent employed in manufacturing)

Mr = Diversified city (employment in manufacturing dominant but less than 50 percent)

Rr = Retail trade city (retail employment is greater than that in wholesale trade, service, or manufacturing)

Rm = Diversified city (retail employment dominant, manufacturing employment at least 20 percent)

^cForm of government, representation, and ballot type, as follows:

CM = City manager form

MC = Mayor-council form

A = At-large representation

W = Representation by ward or district

NP = Nonpartisan ballot

P = Partisan ballot

^dNumber of reform elements present after change.

^eConstant structural arrangements during the period analyzed.

of 11 (time points), adding more explanatory variables runs the risk of overdetermining the equation and exhausting the needed degrees of freedom.

Here we should note that the dependent variables in the analysis to follow are mean figures for cities grouped into four categories—more reformed experimental cities ($N = 3$), less reformed experimental cities ($N = 3$), and the two groups of control cities. This averaging process permits us to report far fewer equations and has the additional advantage of smoothing out any potential abrupt changes in spending peculiar to a given municipality.³ Nonetheless, as an additional precaution, a separate time-series analysis was undertaken for each individual city, the results of which are summarized below.

The results of the initial analysis are found in Table 2. The regression coefficients are shown for each variable along with the degree of statistical significance for each and the level of explained variance (R^2) for the equation. Our first concern is to determine how many statistically significant relationships exist for variables 2 (intercept) and 3 (slope). In fact, few significant differences are found for the two variables. For the total of 23 equations only 9 reflect statistical significance at the .01 level for either variable 2 or 3. More than this only 4 of these 9 equations show statistical significance for those cities undergoing structural change. Otherwise all significant changes are for control cities. As with any time series, our results must also be tested for autocorrelation. If serial correlation is present, the differences between the pre-intervention and post-intervention period is likely to be overstated (Ostrom, 1978, p. 29). We might thus conclude in our case that reforms made a difference when in fact they did not. Our test is made using a procedure developed by Pack (1977), which is actually the first step in the Box-Jenkins (1970) method for identifying autocorrelation. If the Q statistic produced by the test, shown in Table 2, is not significant (using a chi-square distribution), no autocorrelation exists.⁴

³With a small number of cases, especially with the possibility of considerable variation on certain variables, one might consider standardizing the variables before averaging. For each city, the per capita measure for every year was converted to a Z -score for each of the 7 functional categories. These standardized values were then used in the time-series analysis described in the text. Only a few changes resulted, which appeared to be so minor that we felt justified in omitting the standardization procedure and have reported the data on a per capita basis to make interpretation easier.

⁴We are greatly indebted to Ken Meier for making available the computer program necessary to generate the Q statistic.

Using the less demanding .05 level, only one of the nine significant intercepts and slopes reflects autocorrelation. Since the autocorrelation is for a control group, we may safely ignore it; it will not affect our basic hypothesis concerning the impact of reform structures.

One more basic issue must be addressed at this point. Four equations involving experimental cities did contain significant changes apparently resulting from the intervention. But what about the direction of change? If the change in spending is not in the right direction, reform does not produce the expected impact. The results of these four equations showing the direction of change for the intercept or slope is as follows (positive direction means spending increased; negative direction, the opposite): (1) general expenditures for less reformed cities have a *positive* slope change; (2) police spending in *more* reformed cities shows a *positive* intercept change; (3) sanitation spending for *more* reformed communities manifests a *positive* intercept change; and (4) highway expenditures in *less* reformed municipalities reflect a *positive* slope change.

All the changes are positive, indicating more than expected increases in spending following structural change. But note that two of the equations—police and sanitation spending—are for groups of cities that became more reformed. Those cities, in line with the presumed effect of reforms, should have spent less after the structural change took place. So, in all, for 23 tests of the effects of reform, only two structural changes (7 percent) produce the expected modifications in revenue and spending levels. Moreover, just as many significant effects of structural change among experimental cities are in the wrong direction. These findings clearly do not bode well for the theoretical assumptions growing out of the reform literature.

The relationship between municipal reforms and policy changes were tested in three other ways. First, a time-series analysis was performed for each city separately (without averaging). Of the 39 significant changes (in intercept or slope) of a total 156 possible, 16 occurred among experimental cities. But exactly half of these changes were in the wrong direction. Second, each experimental city was compared directly with its control counterpart for each of the 7 policies. Of the 11 cases where an experimental city reflected a change that was not found in its control, 6 were in the wrong direction. Finally, changes in spending patterns among the functional areas were examined by calculating the percentage of general expenditures devoted to each of four spending categories. These data were then employed as dependent variables in a similar time-series analysis. In only two equations did statistically significant var-

Table 2. Regression Coefficients for OLS Equation for All Sets of Cities to Test for Significance of Change in Reform Structure (Betas in Parentheses)

Dependent Variable (per capita)	Independent Variables						R ²	Pack's Q*
	Time	F- Value	Intervention Intercept	F- Value	Intervention Slope	F- Value		
General Revenue								
More Reform (N = 8)	4.09 (.86)	<.01	4.28 (.14)	ns	.00 (.00)	ns	.98	4.34
Control (N = 8)	3.95 (1.00)	<.01	5.32 (.21)	<.01	-1.60 (-.23)	ns	.99	
Less Reform (N = 3)	6.37 (1.09)	<.01	-1.40 (-.04)	ns	-.84 (-.08)	ns	.98	
Control (N = 3)	8.85 (1.30)	<.01	-8.37 (-.19)	ns	-2.07 (-.17)	ns	.98	
General Expenditures								
More Reform	4.00 (.82)	<.01	6.46 (.21)	ns	-.22 (-.03)	ns	.97	8.84**
Control	3.54 (.82)	<.01	10.20 (.37)	<.01	-1.48 (-.19)	ns	.99	
Less Reform	6.10 (.76)	<.01	-9.37 (-.18)	ns	6.08 (.42)	<.01	.99	
Control	10.41 (1.05)	<.01	1.86 (.03)	ns	-1.76 (-.10)	ns	.98	
Police Expenditures								
More Reform	.41 (.64)	<.01	1.10 (.27)	<.01	.13 (.12)	ns	.99	2.58
Control	.50 (.86)	<.01	.53 (.14)	<.01	.01 (.01)	ns	.99	
Less Reform	.36 (.79)	<.01	-.58 (-.20)	ns	.32 (.39)	ns	.97	
Control	.79 (.98)	<.01	-.87 (-.17)	ns	.24 (.17)	ns	.98	
Fire Expenditures								
More Reform	.62 (1.34)	<.01	-.11 (-.04)	ns	-.35 (-.42)	ns	.91	4.81
Control	.48 (.75)	<.01	2.01 (.49)	<.01	-.27 (-.24)	ns	.98	
Less Reform	.36 (.81)	ns	-.43 (-.15)	ns	.22 (.28)	ns	.88	
Control	.90 (1.12)	<.01	1.17 (.24)	ns	-.63 (-.46)	<.01	.97	
Sanitation Expenditures								
More Reform	.38 (.33)	ns	7.02 (.95)	<.01	-.84 (-.40)	ns	.84	3.37
Control	.72 (.53)	ns	-3.53 (-.41)	ns	1.82 (.75)	ns	.81	
Less Reform	.41 (.54)	ns	.21 (.04)	ns	.25 (.18)	ns	.55	
Control	1.00 (1.44)	<.01	-1.89 (-.43)	ns	-.36 (-.30)	ns	.74	
Parks Expenditures								
More Reform	.06 (.16)	ns	.29 (.11)	ns	.49 (.69)	ns	.88	.83
Control	.43 (1.36)	<.01	.74 (.37)	ns	-.57 (-1.02)	ns	.79	
Less Reform	.22 (.84)	ns	-.05 (-.03)	ns	.05 (.11)	ns	.83	
Control	.32 (1.23)	<.01	-.35 (-.21)	ns	-.08 (-.17)	ns	.83	

continued

Table 2. (continued)

Dependent Variable (per capita)	Independent Variables						R ²	Park's Q*
	Time	F- Value	Intervention Intercept	F- Value	Intervention Slope	F- Value		
Highway Expenditures								
More Reform	.64 (.98)	<.01	1.80 (.44)	ns	-.58 (-.50)	ns	.92	
Control	.32 (.97)	<.01	.60 (.29)	ns	-.18 (-.31)	ns	.92	
Less Reform	-.36 (-1.41)	<.01	.92 (.58)	ns	.64 (1.42)	<.01	.74	3.37
Control	.37 (.70)	ns	2.29 (.69)	ns	-.48 (-.52)	ns	.83	

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *City Government Finances* (1945-1978); International City Management Association, *Municipal Year Book* (1945-1978) (Washington, D.C.); *Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide* (1945-1978) (Chicago: Rand McNally).

*The Q statistic may be compared with a χ^2 distribution, where a value of 7.815 is necessary for statistical significance at the .05 level (**). Unless the Q is significant, no autocorrelation is deemed to exist.

lations in slope or intercept appear for experimental cities, and one of these was in the wrong direction. Changing structure does not seem to matter much in allocating funds across different functional areas.

Conclusion

Disagreement persists over the potential policy consequences of urban political structures. Most of the prior attempts to investigate this linkage have dealt with the question of whether municipal reforms should induce cities to tax and spend more or less than unreformed cities. Despite Banfield and Wilson's widely known thesis suggesting that cities dominated by a middle-class public-regarding ethos may support greater public expenditures, a larger body of research tends to support the view that reformers wanted efficient, business-like government with lower levels of spending. To complicate matters further, others have shown that reform characteristics have little or no impact on municipal spending levels. The research reported here, employing an interrupted time-series design for 22 cities over an 11-year period, generally confirms that changes in city government structure have almost no impact on changes in taxing and spending levels. We also discovered no consistent reallocation of expenditures among functional categories following changes in municipal structure.

This research represents the first attempt to analyze the effects of local government structure on policy using a genuine longitudinal design. If

we accept the argument of Gray (1976) and others that theoretically policy making should be viewed as a process occurring over time, we believe our dynamic model is preferable to a cross-sectional analysis. Admittedly, this research is not likely to settle this dispute permanently—our findings are confined to fiscal variables, the time span is somewhat limited, and a relatively small number of cities are involved. Clearly something comparable to this analysis should be undertaken, where appropriate longitudinal data can be located, for other policy measures. Given these constraints, none of which we believe seriously limits what we have done, the findings are nonetheless unambiguous—urban reforms have few policy consequences.

What might we conclude about the efficacy of the reform movement based on these findings? There is a widely shared view that this group was largely successful in its effort to rid the cities of pernicious machine influences; presumably today's municipalities are more honestly governed, more efficient, and better managed than was true in the past. But the evidence offered here suggests these changes had little long-range effect on basic fiscal decisions. If the reformers wanted to keep the lid on city spending (which in itself is still arguable), they were not successful. No attempt is made here to minimize the overall import of the reform movement. Indeed, a number of community battles have been waged over the adoption of reform structures. Yet in the long run, government structure may matter very little—at least when it comes to city taxing and spending policies.

April 16 & May 1-3

STATE AND LOCAL FINANCE

ASSIGNMENT: Dresang, Chap. 13,15,16
Blair, Chap. 14, 17
KEY, Chap. 5

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the types of taxes that federal, state, and local governments use most heavily? What are the political and financial implications of this pattern?
2. Select three different types of taxes and compare them on the criteria of fairness and stability.
3. Discuss the impact of inflation on income, sales and gasoline taxes. What are the options for states that wish to nullify these impacts?
4. States tend to compete with one another for the retention and/or location of businesses. What kinds of tax policies are part of this competition?
5. Discuss the nature of the tax revolt identified with the passage of Proposition 13 in California in 1978. What was the concern being addressed by the "revolt" and what were the general effects in other states?
6. What are the attractions of state lottery and what are the general circumstances that have prompted so many states to establish one in the 1980s? What, if any, disadvantages are there to this form of earning public revenue?
7. Define and discuss "business climate." What is the importance of this concept and what can states do to affect it?
8. Identify three ways in which a state government might assist an industry that might close because of stiff competition from abroad. Do any of these approaches raise philosophical issues about the role of government in our economy or about sacrifices others in the state may have to make?
9. In what ways might states cooperate rather than compete to foster economic development? Would any of these ways be more effective if states sought national legislation and national efforts?
10. Technology is a key to economic activities and economic growth. What traditional roles have states played that lead to technological advances? What further might states do in this area?
11. There are different ways of looking at the state budget. Compare and contrast the general fund budgeting and the all-funds budget.
12. What are the four types of appropriations commonly found in state budgeting? How do they differ, and what are the implications of each for budget making?
13. What are the major differences between the executive budget and the budget bill, as they are used in the budget making process.

14. How do the budget making and the budget execution phases of the state budgetary process differ, and with what consequences?
15. What is "legislative intent," who interprets it in the state budgetary process, and what relationship does its interpretation have to budget control?
16. Compare and contrast pre-audit and post-audit financial controls. What are their functions in the control of budget execution and state financial management?
17. What are the differences between financial auditing and performance auditing? In what ways can they both be considered tools of budget accountability?
18. Why are revenue and expenditures estimating highly important in the process of budget development? How can they be used as political resources to influence the character of the state budget?
19. What is the optimal strategy for cash flow management, and what are the mechanisms that are employed to realize optimal management?
20. How does the substance and politics of capital budgeting compare to budgeting for state operations? What accounts for any observed differences?

CASE PROBLEMS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION AND/OR WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT

State and Local Finance

1. You are staff director of the state AFL-CIO Legislative Research Committee. Your committee has asked you to prepare a publication attacking a proposed statewide sales tax pending before the House Tax Committee. In the course of preparing this publication, what would be the sources that you would consult, what statistical information and tables would you prepare, and what would be the general nature of your argument?
2. You are the legislative representative (lobbyist) for the state chamber of commerce. The chamber has decided to support the adoption of a sales tax on the grounds that income tax rates (already high) would otherwise have to be raised even further in view of the general fiscal setting of the state. You are now preparing the testimony that you wish to present before the House Tax Committee. The committee is controlled by a group of powerful rural legislators. How would you argue your case and what type of exhibits would you bring along?
3. You have just been appointed by the president of the state university to assist in presenting the budgetary needs of the university to the appropriate committees of the state legislature. Your role is that of an assistant lobbyist and you have a few weeks to prepare yourself for this new responsibility. Where would you begin? What type of reports would you have to study? With whom would you wish to consult?
4. You have just been elected to the local school board in a city of 100,000. A local school bond campaign is in the offing in order to provide funds for a new senior high school. School board members are invited to defend the need of this new school before civic and neighborhood groups. You have very little time to acquaint yourself with background information and, although you are a member of the local bar, your knowledge of the schools is quite limited. What sort of questions must you anticipate, where would you go for answers, and what kinds of data would you need to have with you?
5. Your state is considering a new formula for apportioning highway user tax revenues to the state truck highway system, to county roads, and to city streets. As research director to the state highway commissioner, it is your task to come up with recommendations which the commissioner can present to the next legislature. What criteria would you employ in the make-up of the ratios? How would you justify the new formula against critics who prefer the present arrangement?
6. As director of public welfare in a city of 30,000 you are faced with a serious cut in the welfare budget. The community has long been critical of the welfare program and there is no chance of obtaining additional appropriations. You are concerned that serious hardships will result unless more funds are provided and that state and federal welfare standards cannot be met under the downward revisions of your city's welfare budget. What measures would you adopt?
7. Assume that your state includes a coal mining area now characterized by under-employment, unemployment, and generally-depressed economic conditions. A disproportionately large segment of the work force is over forty-five and most of the older workers are unemployed miners. You have been designated local retraining officer by your state department of employment security. After you arrive at the county seat, which is located near the center of the area, you call a public meeting to acquaint the local people with state and federal programs designed to help them. What would you tell the group, and what would be the actual retraining procedures that would have to be established? Would you retrain first those with low literacy and few skills, or those with higher literacy and greater skill convertability?

PS 251 State and Local Political Systems
Dr. Heiges

Fall Semester, 1989
Exam 2
Essay

Directions: Answer 5 questions.

A. Governors and Bureaucracy
(answer any one)

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of having heads of state administrative agencies serve at the pleasure of the governor, and hold the job permanently, regardless of who is governor? Which pattern do you favor, and why?
2. Identify and discuss the various roles that a governor plays. what are the limitations of his/her performance of these roles?
3. Discuss the duties of: (a)Lieutenant Governor, (b)Attorney General, (c)Treasurer, (d)Comptroller or Auditor, and (e)Secretary of State.

B. Legislatures
(answer any one)

1. Identify the leadership positions in state legislatures, noting the roles they play and the political resources that they have at their disposal.
2. Describe the "typical" state legislator, discussing the significance of any major changes that have occurred over the past two decades.
3. In what ways, and to what effects, have state legislatures undergone reform over the past two decades?

C. Courts
(answer any one)

1. Discuss the arguments for and against: (a)election of judges, (b)appointment of judges, and (c)the Missouri Plan. Is it possible to "take judges out of politics"?
2. How are courts organized in Pennsylvania?
 1. Explain structure and functions and jurisdiction of:
 - a. Supreme Court
 - b. Superior Court

c. Commonwealth Court

d. Court of Common Pleas

e. Minor Courts

(1) Magistrates

(2) Community Courts

2. Clerk of Courts
3. Prothonotary
4. Composition and functions of judicial inquiry and review board
5. Impeachment
6. (PA) Grand Jury
7. (PA) Trial Jury
8. Jury Commissioners
9. District Attorney
10. Public Defender
11. Election of Judges
12. Mandatory Retirement
13. Judicial Retention
14. Cross Filing

3. Discuss whether or not judges should have discretion in sentencing individuals convicted of crimes. What are the problems, if any, of defining rather precisely the sentence that should be served for each major type of crime?

D. Policy Making Process

(answer any one)

1. Discuss the various points of origin for legislative initiatives. Do some offer greater prospects for successful passage than others? Provide illustrations in support of your answers.
2. What roles do legislative caucuses play in the policy making process? Wherein lies their significance?
3. In what ways can it be correctly said that the budgetary process tends to crowd out the substantive bill legislative process, and why?

E. Direct Democracy

(answer any one)

1. Compare and contrast the initiative, the recall, and the referendum.
2. Discuss the pros and cons of Direct Democracy. In your judgment, where does an appropriate balance lie?
3. After a petition has been qualified for the ballot, to what extent does sizable spending, in support of or opposition to the initiative, appear to affect the electoral outcome?

PS 251 State and Local Political Systems
Fall Semester 1989
Dr. Heiges
Exam Three (Essay)

Directions: Answer #1 or #2, and #3,4,5,6

1. Describe the "Mayor-Council" form of government, answering these questions:

- A. Characteristics?
- B. What are the differences between a "weak mayor" and a "strong mayor" form?
- C. Where are these forms of government predominant?
- D. Where are these forms found in Pennsylvania?
- E. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

OR

2. Describe the "Council-Manager" form of government, answering these questions:

- A. Characteristics?
- B. Where is this form predominant?
- C. Where is this form found in Pennsylvania?
- D. Discuss the professional manager:
 - 1. Typical training
 - 2. Career opportunities
 - 3. Different roles of manager
 - 4. Tenure
- E. Advantages and disadvantages of this form?

3. County Government:

- A. Describe the forms of county government in the U.S.
- B. Which form do most counties in Pennsylvania have? What is wrong with this form?
- C. In Pennsylvania, what are "row offices"? List and describe them.

4. In metropolitan areas, what is "fragmentation"? List and describe and evaluate various ways of overcoming the effects of fragmentation.

5. Home Rule:

- A. What is it?
- B. How is home rule obtained in Pennsylvania?

6. What is "Dillon's Rule"?

A. How does it impact local government?

B. How does the Local Government Article of the Pennsylvania Constitution modify "Dillon's Rule"?

PS 251 STATE AND LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Fall Semester,

Dr. Heiges

YOUR NAME: _____.

Part Two:

Attached are charts of local government structure in Pennsylvania. The first four are provided for by general law. The last two are provided as "Optional Forms" for counties by Act 62 (Home Rule/Optional Form Law).

Write in below the common name, (Commission; Mayor-Council; Council-Manager), for the structural "form" of local government into which each falls:

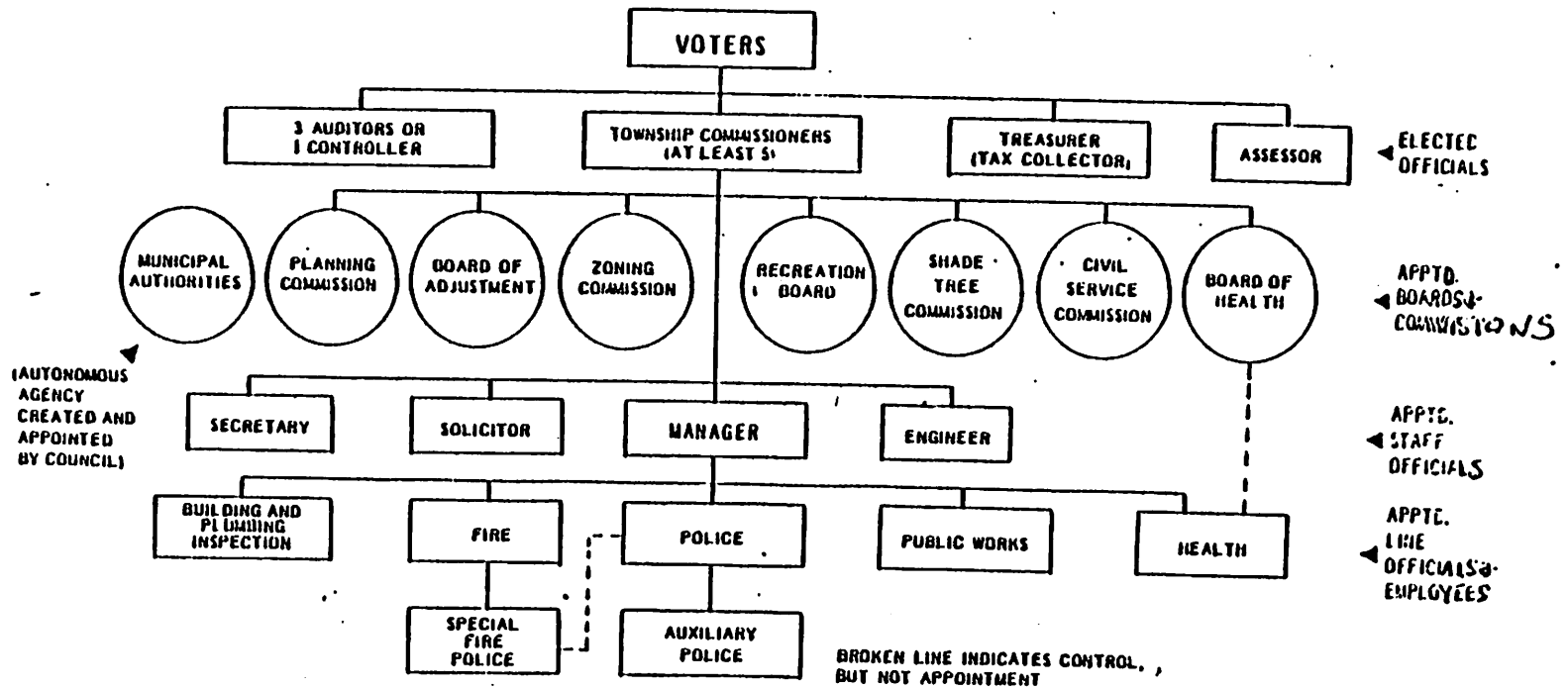
1. CHART 1. _____
2. CHART 2. _____
3. CHART 3. _____
4. CHART 4. _____
5. CHART 5. _____
6. CHART 6. _____

ATTCH.

TYPICAL ORGANIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

TOWNSHIPS OF THE FIRST CLASS

CHART 1



TYPICAL ORGANIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

TOWNSHIIPS OF THE SECOND CLASS

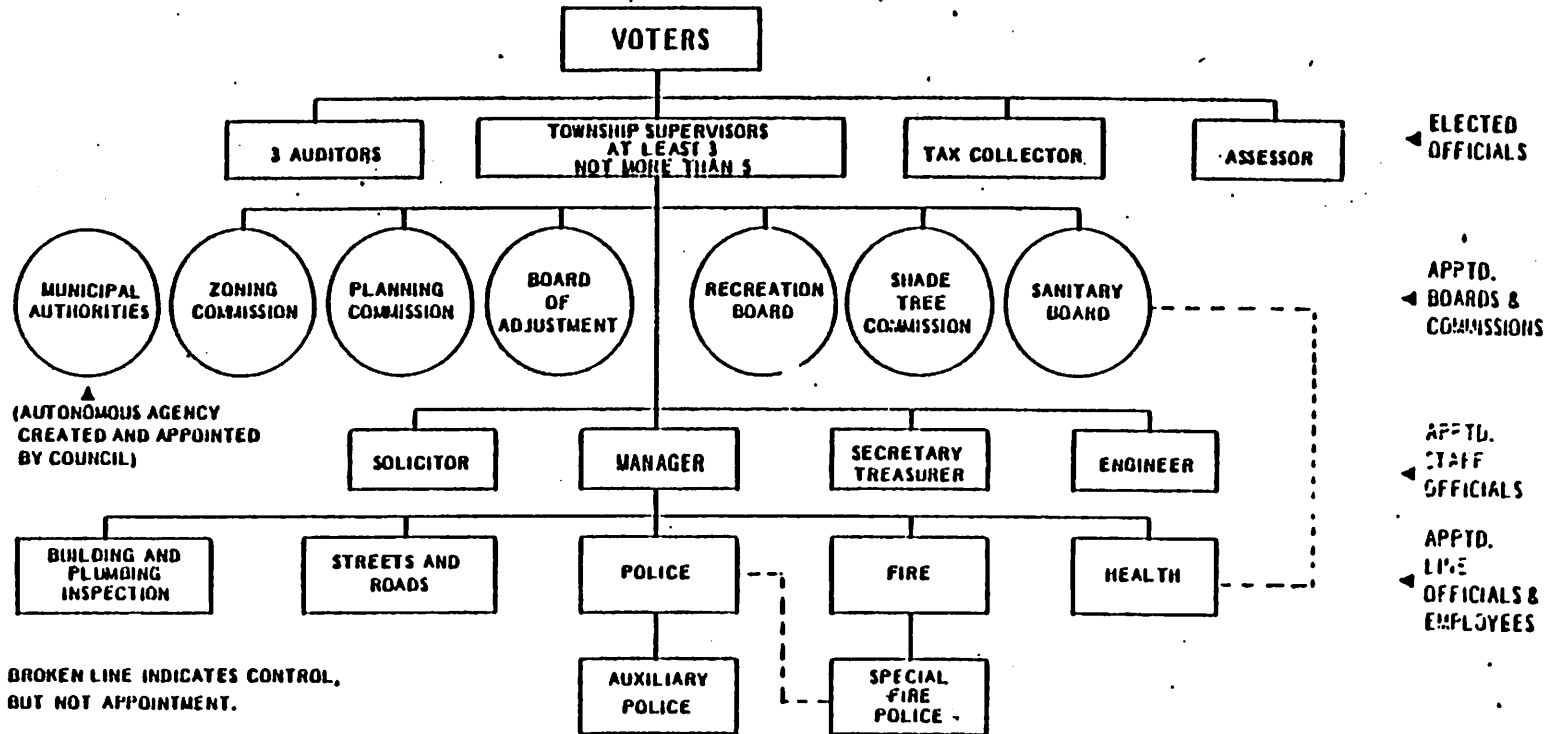
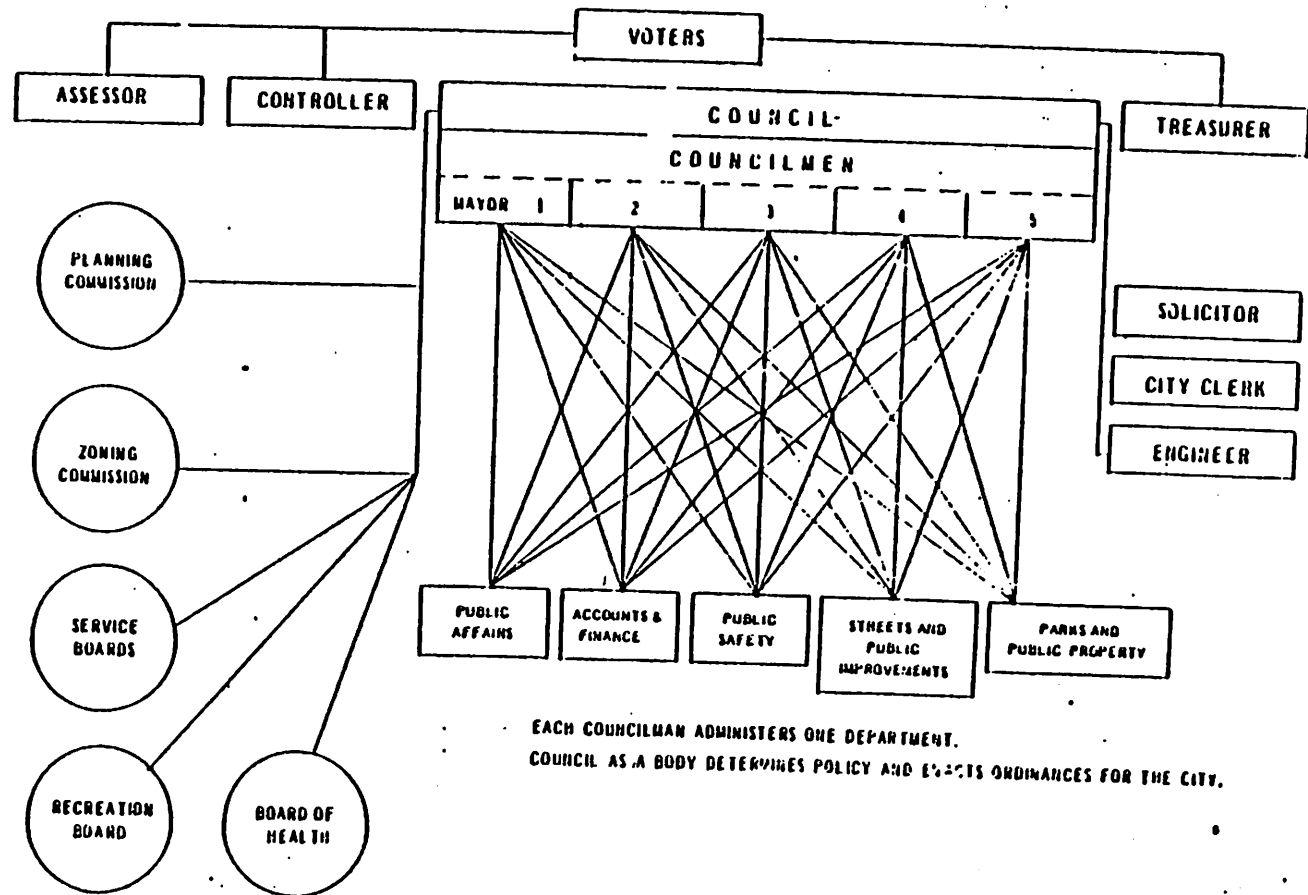


CHART 2

TYPICAL ORGANIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA THIRD CLASS CITY

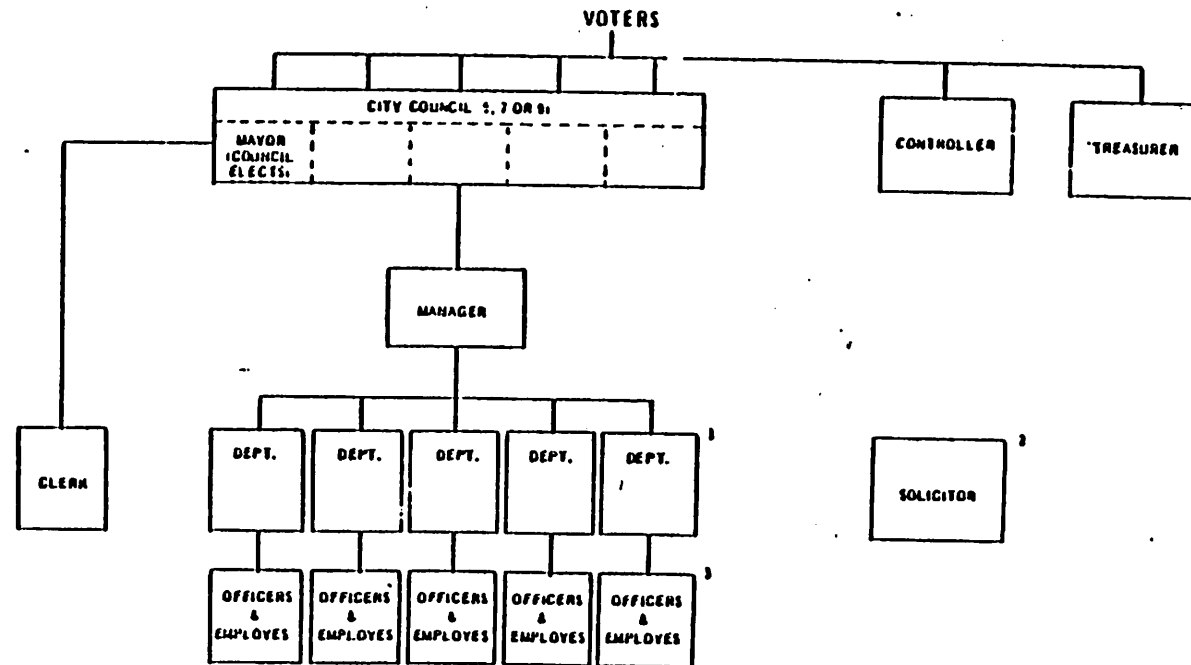


EACH COUNCILMAN ADMINISTERS ONE DEPARTMENT.
 COUNCIL AS A BODY DETERMINES POLICY AND ENACTS ORDINANCES FOR THE CITY.

CHART 3

TYPICAL ORGANIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA OPTIONAL CHARTER CITY

Chart 4



- 1 DEPARTMENTS ARE CREATED BY COUNCIL.
- 2 THE SOLICITOR'S MANNER OF APPOINTMENT IS DETERMINED BY COUNCIL.
- 3 THE AUTHORITY TO APPOINT SUBORDINATES AND EMPLOYEES RESTS WITH THE MANAGER, BUT HE MAY DELEGATE THIS POWER TO THE RESPECTIVE DEPARTMENT HEADS.

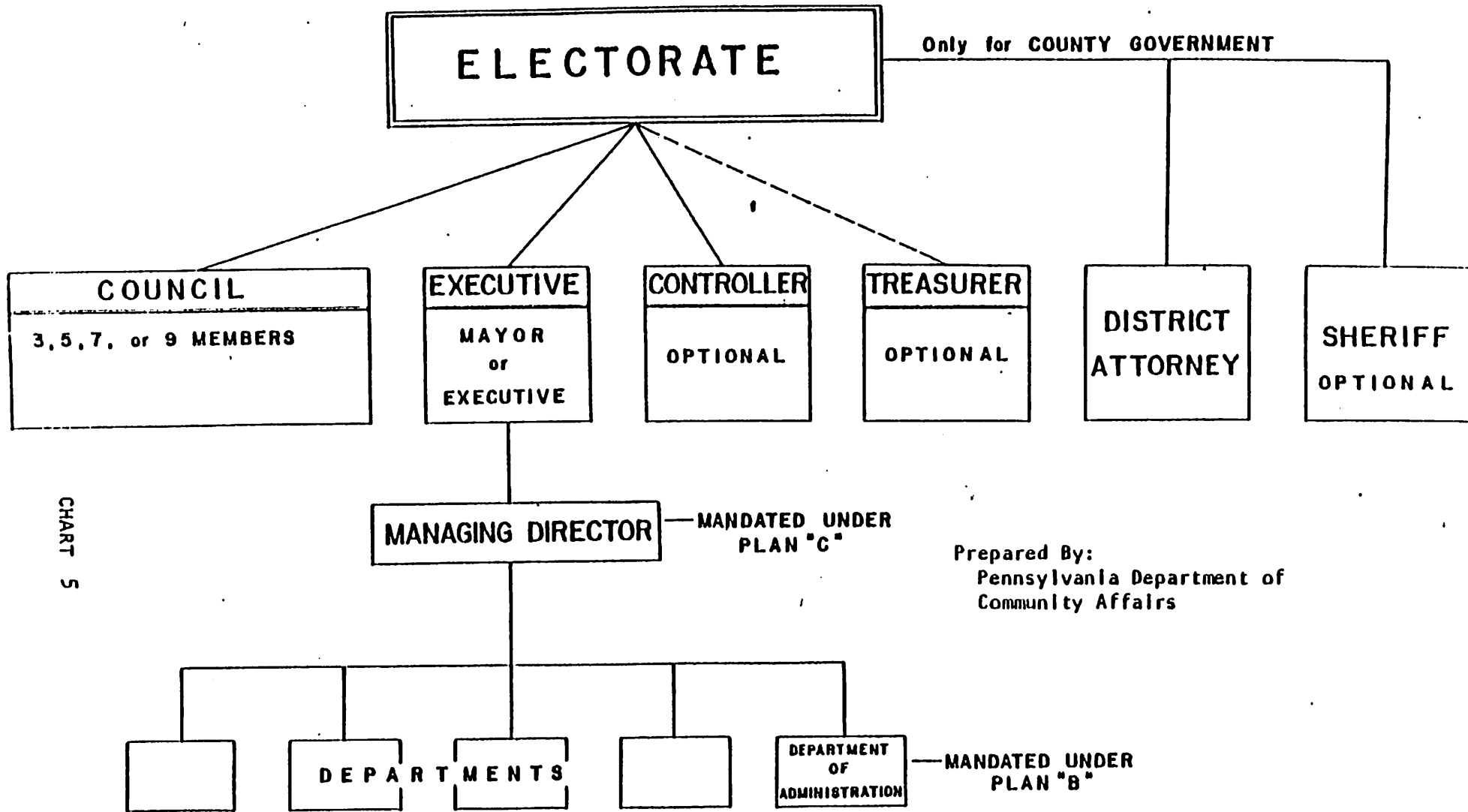
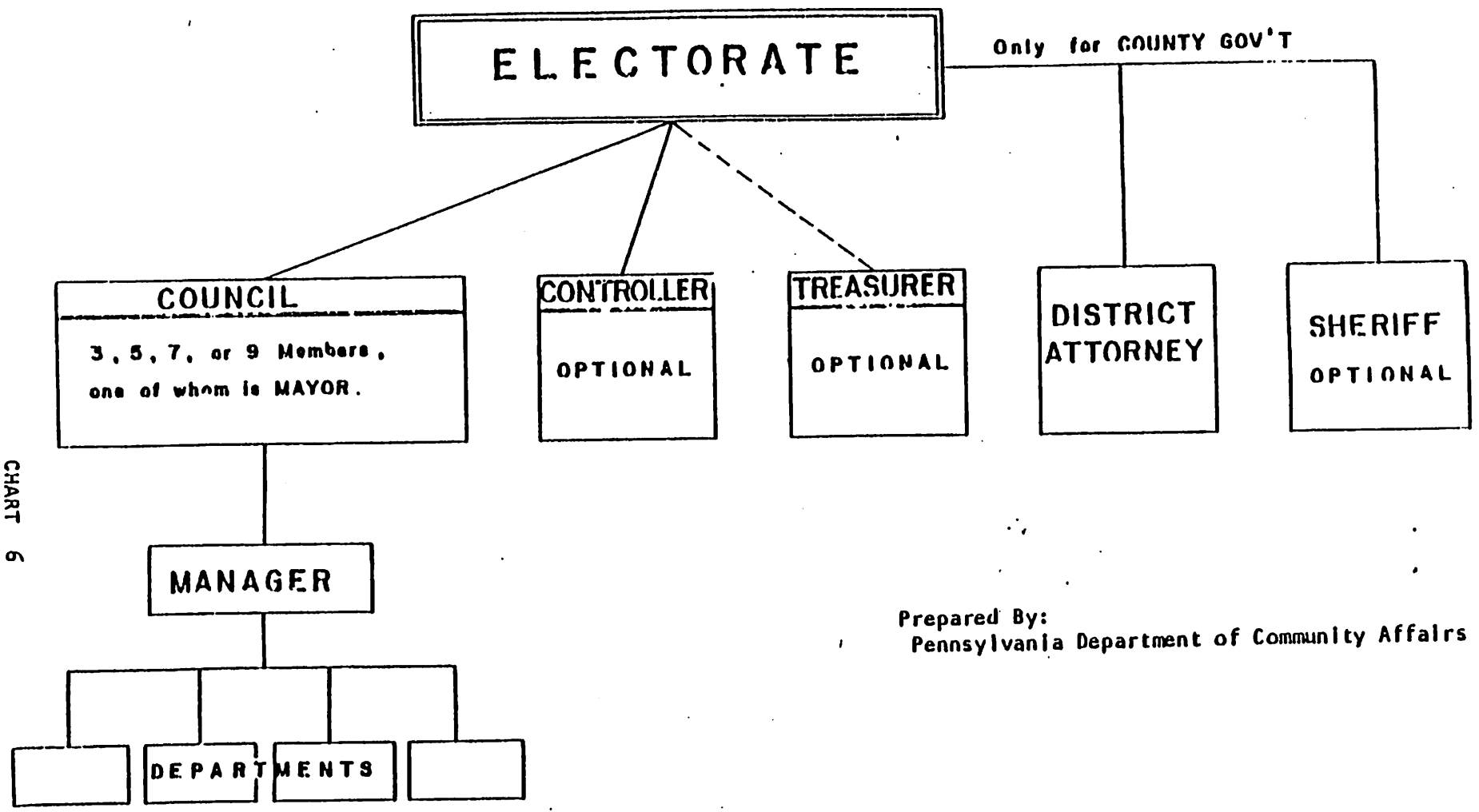


CHART 5

Prepared By:
 Pennsylvania Department of
 Community Affairs

CHART 6



Prepared By:
Pennsylvania Department of Community Affairs

Directions: First, read the two questions below. Then, answer ONE in your "Blue Book." This is an "Open Book" exam. Notes, books, etc., may be used.

1. You are the Chairperson of a Study Commission on State Finances. The State, not necessarily Pennsylvania, has a high deficit. It is your duty, after appropriate hearings and research, to prepare a report to the Governor and to the Legislature with your recommendations on revenues, spending, and debt. Prepare the report. Specifically, the report should include recommendations, and justifications on the following:
- State Sales Tax - Should it be higher, lower, or no change? Why?
 - State Personal Income Tax - Should it be higher, lower, or no change? Why? Should the income tax be "flat rate" or "progressive"? Why?
 - State Corporation Income Tax - should it be higher, lower, or kept the same? Why?
 - Severance Tax - Should the state adopt a severance tax? Why? How much? Why?
 - Other areas of potential revenue for state? What is "out look" for federal financial aid?
 - Should the state borrow more funds? Why? How much? For what? Constitutional limits?
 - Which expenditures, if any, for state programs should be reduced or increased or not change? How much? Why?
 - Should there be a State Constitution Amendment to limit:
 - State spending? Why? How much?
 - State taxes? Why? How much?

OR

2. You are the Chairperson of a Study Commission on Reform of Local Government, including School Districts finances. Local governments in your state, not necessarily Pennsylvania, are faced with large deficits. It is your duty, after appropriate hearings and research, to prepare a report to the Governor and to the Legislature with your recommendations. Prepare the report. The report should include your recommendations on the following:
- The local property tax by State action---Should it be reduced substantially? How much? Eliminated? Why? Replaced by _____? Why?
 - The local wage tax---Should it be reduced? Increased? No Change? Replaced by _____? Why?
 - Local "nuisance" taxes? What are they? Should they be eliminated? Replaced by _____? Why?
 - Should a Local Sales Tax be authorized by state government, (remember "Dillon's Rule"!.) How much? Why? Which municipalities? For what?
 - What is the "outlook" for financial aid to local governments from:
 - Federal Government?
 - State Government?
 - Should the state government authorize more borrowing by local government? Why?
 - Which expenditures, if any, for local services by local governments should be reduced or increased or no change? How much? Why?

CAUTION: ANSWER ONLY ONE (ALL PARTS) OF THE TWO QUESTIONS, ABOVE.