

associated, first, with industrialization, and more recently with service

consuming. The number of lawyers among state legislators is sharply down over recent years, from 22 percent in 1976 to 16 percent in 1986, especially in southern and middle Atlantic states (National Conference of State Legislatures, 1986). From 1976 to 1986, the number of lawyers among state legislators has declined sharply, especially in southern and middle Atlantic states. (National Conference of State Legislatures, 1986)

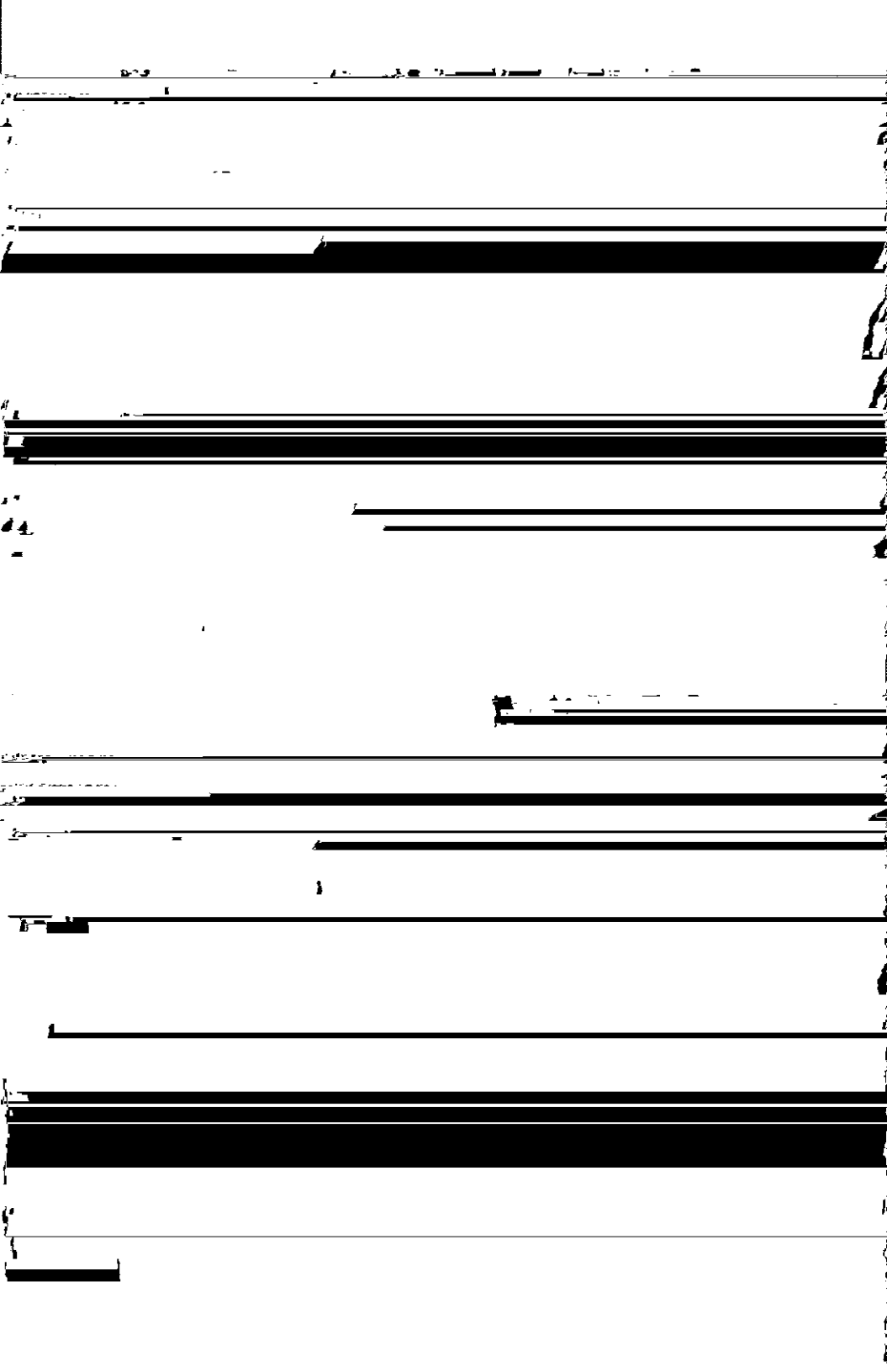
representatives have an easier time representing their small number of constituents.

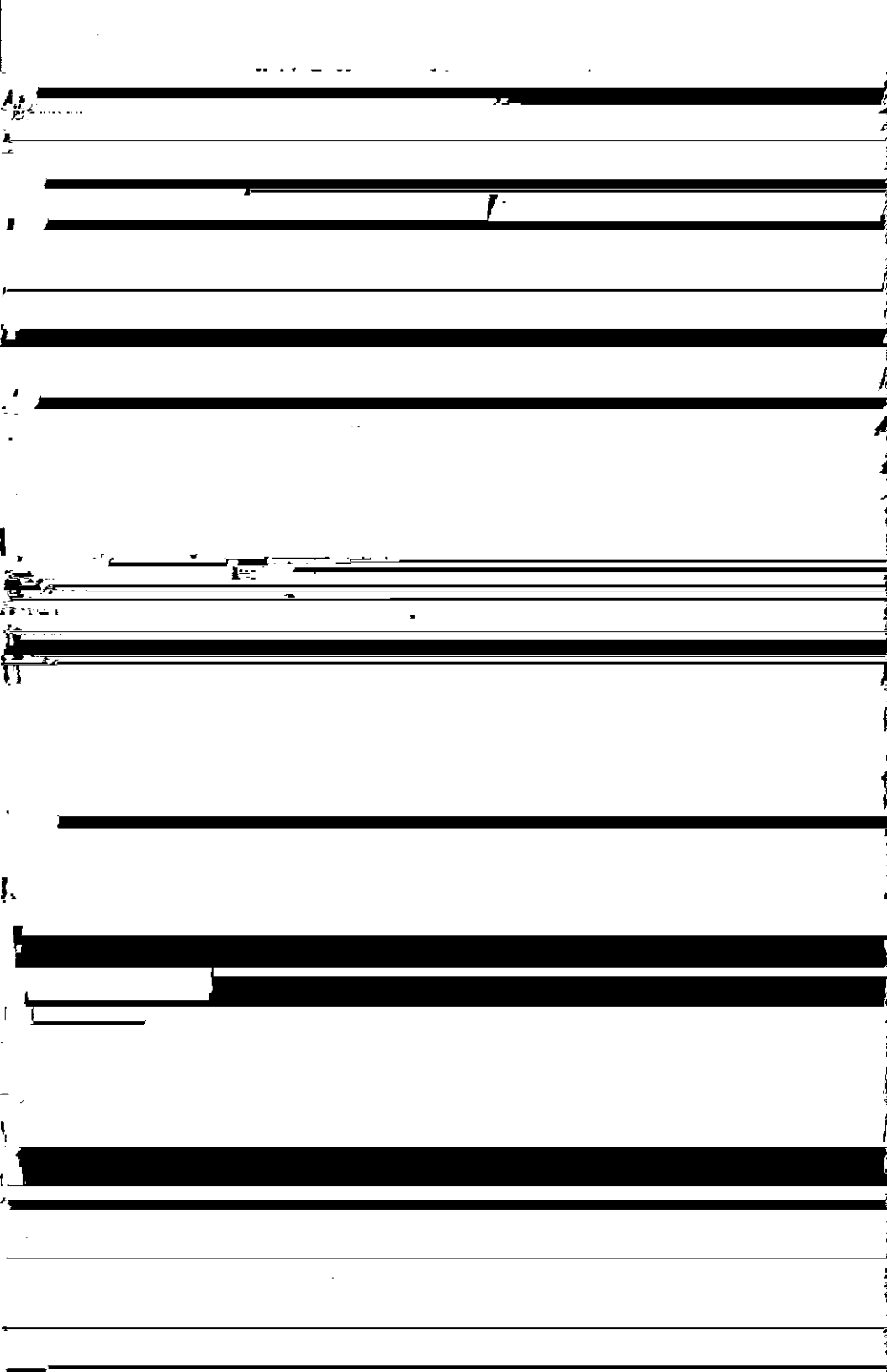
Unfortunately, many scholars of representation, and certainly most

seek reelection. The same year, only 23 (5 percent) of the 435 U.S. House members voluntarily retired from public life. Both of these seem fairly typical of recent elections (Hinckley 1986). Similar interest in

Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina (1984) find support for this hypothesis. Johannes and McAdams (1981), McAdams and Johannes (1983, 1988), Mann and Wolfinger (1980), and Mann (1978) do not. Macro-level analysis also shows mixed results. Parker (1986), Parker and Parker (1985), and Cranor and Westphal (1979) find support. Bond (1981, 1985), and Ragsdale and Cook (1987), however, find little impact. Garand and Gross (1984) and Gross and Garand (1984) note that "victory margins long preceded the expansion of the welfare state" (1984, 420). McAdams and Johannes conclude: "Indeed, any theory centered on perquisites generally or casework specifically must be rather elaborate . . . to account for three facts" (1988, 430): (1) electoral safety is not

five change or the opportunity voters have to change the composition of





governor also seems to make a difference in that institution's behavior. In turn it seems that both professionalism of the legislature and strength-



First, the political branches of government acquiesce in the policy making by bureaucracy. Second, by granting autonomy to bureaucratic institutions, political institutions grant legitimacy to

The second factor is the organization of government. The separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, plus the

...and ... to make the bureaucracy more

...

...

...

centralization of personnel, accounts for over 81 percent of the variation among the 50 states. However, somewhat surprisingly, regression

generally believed that the First Amendment did not protect the right of public employees to organize labor unions; therefore, states were free to

This document is available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20540. State

differences exist in terms of bureaucratic representation. The starting point for this analysis focuses on the methods of selecting personnel.

FORMAL REPRESENTATION

Throughout the history of the United States, at least three different sets of values—executive representation, neutral competence, and

is chosen by the state supreme court. In contrast, in no state is the head of the department of corrections or prisons chosen by the voting public.

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Second, a concern has been raised that public sector unions, with their substantial growth during the 1960s and 1970s, would pose a possible threat to the merit system. Interestingly, "the evidence to date does not support the conclusion that collective bargaining and merit principles are incompatible. Public unions usually support civil service arrangements and oppose patronage practices" (Elling 1983, 263). The

Key findings regarding changes in the composition of state and local employees would include:

1. After passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972

of U.S. Government, the initial beneficiaries were women. "Both

abound. For example, for both females and minorities, the relationship between state agency heads and other indicators are either negative or relatively small. For whatever reasons, there is little or no translation of significant representation within state and local bureaucracies into the appointment or election of state agency heads.

A second unexpected finding is that there are few significant positive

relationships between the representation scores of women and minorities

Gormley, Hoadley, and Williams (1983) provide a significant addition

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1987, 336). The difference occurs over innovative policies with bureaucrats being much less likely to support policies that are not "well-tested and uncontroversial" (Carroll, Hyde, and Hudson 1987, 337).

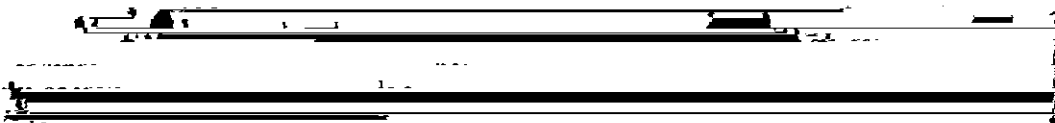
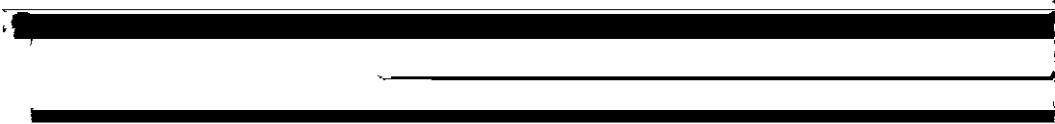
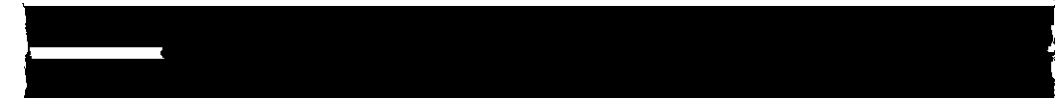
Bureaucratic Responsiveness: To Whom are They Responsive?

Which external actors are important to the state agencies? Are they the governor and state legislature, entities normally suggested as

...of the 70 percent of those members elected while the

[REDACTED]

Constitutional conditions in public institutions, a number of judges have



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Trends in Interest Group Activity

Interest group activity has skyrocketed over the past two decades. This explosion is not due simply to the media covering the actions of a few groups that are noisy or interesting. At the national level, one recent study found that 40 percent of the groups lobbying in Washington, D.C., during the early 1980s (organizations listed in the *Washington Representatives Directory*) were founded since 1960 and 25 percent since 1970, and indications are that this trend continued during the Reagan presidency (Goldman and Thomas 1992). Unfortunately, there is no precise

Which Interest Group Sectors are Influential?

The proliferation of groups has been accompanied by a significant increase in the range of interest groups that are seen as being important in the state political process. To test this hypothesis, data from the 1970s

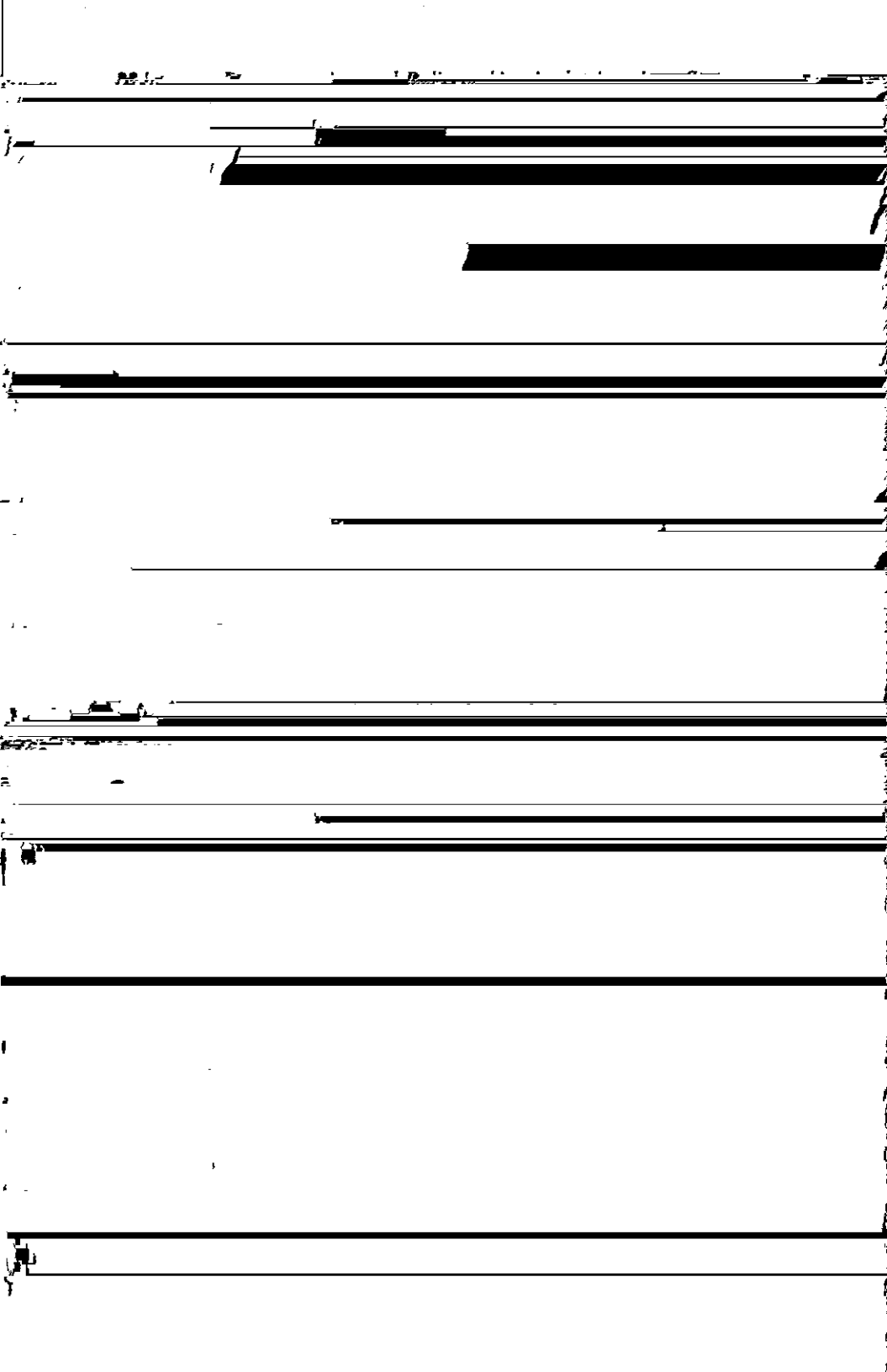
agriculture and extraction sectors, which is considered significant. This decrease holds for all five categories of metropolitanism, although the

based and non-traditional interests are scoring political success, while the whole lobbying process has been opened up to much greater public scrutiny. Yet we need to be careful not to assume that these changes, and particularly the expansion of group pluralism, have produced a major power shift among the various groups, interests, and lobbies. Although many of the outward appearances of the state capital interest group scene have changed beyond recognition, the hallmarks of success have remained very much the same (Thomas and Hrebentar 1989, 43)

STATE REPRESENTATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Introduction

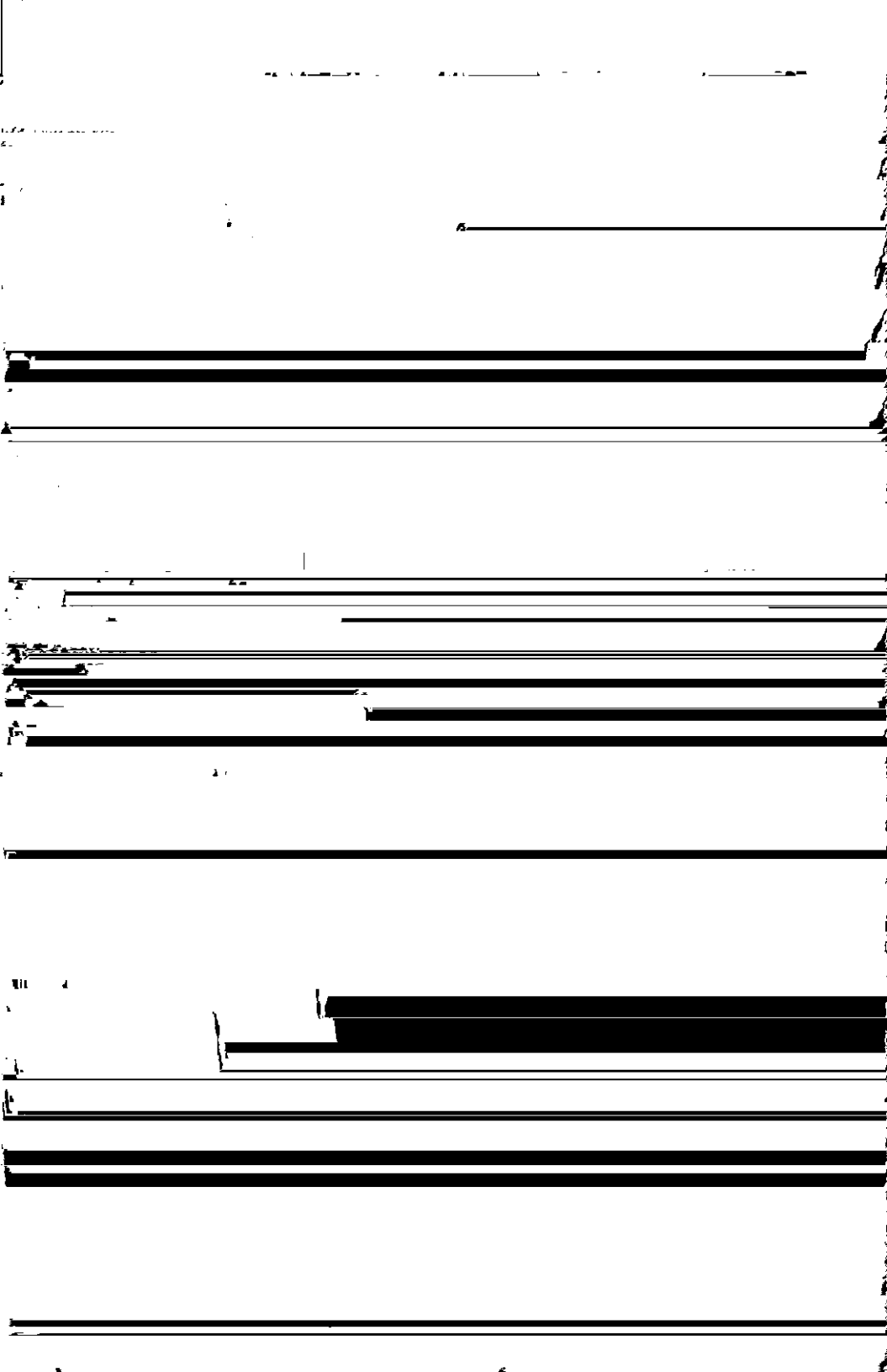
How are the states' interests represented at the national level of

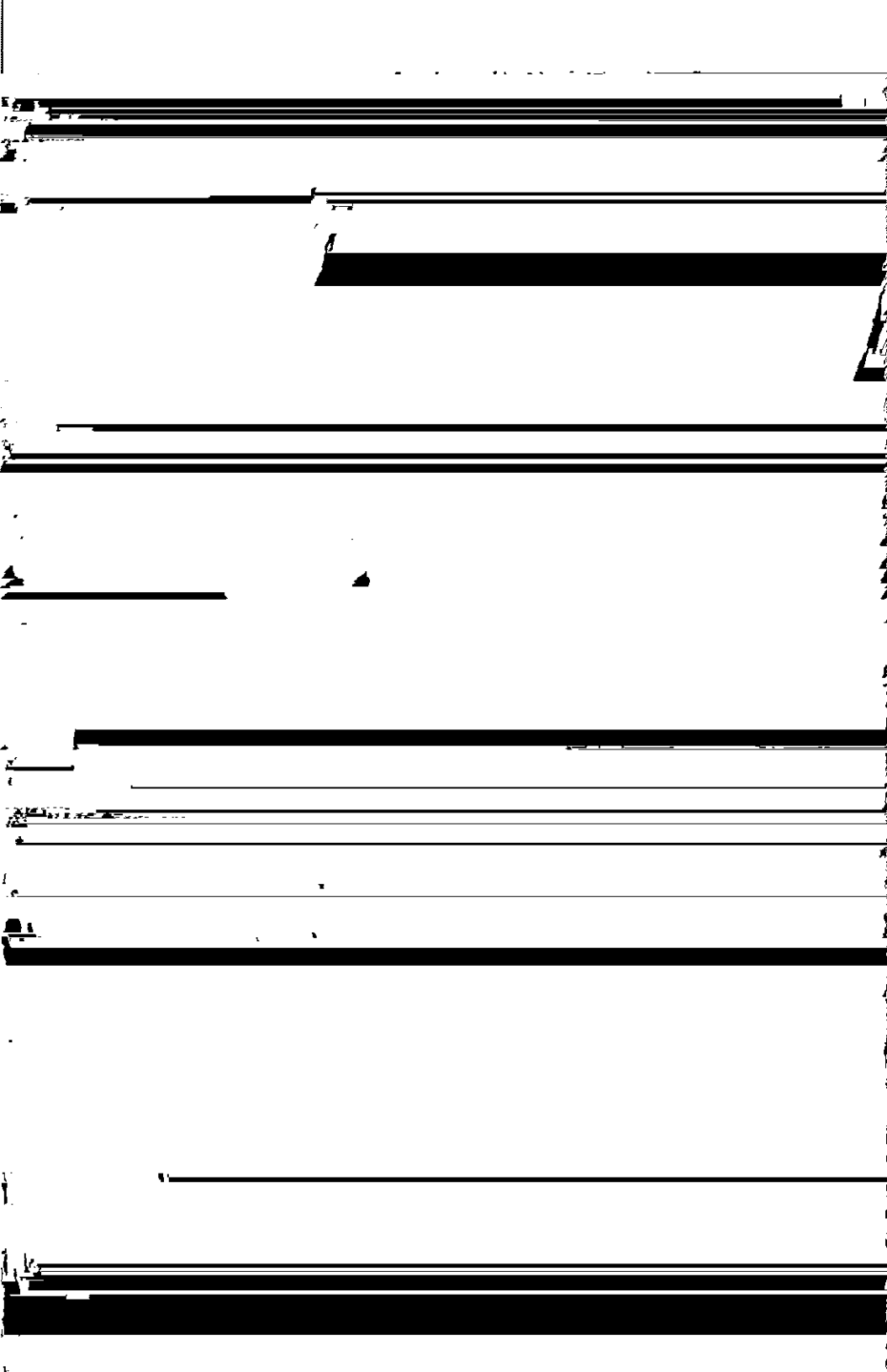


"state and local spokesmen must focus on three other major fronts: regulatory, taxation, and judicial" (Walker 1989, 9). Deil Wright, an

FIG

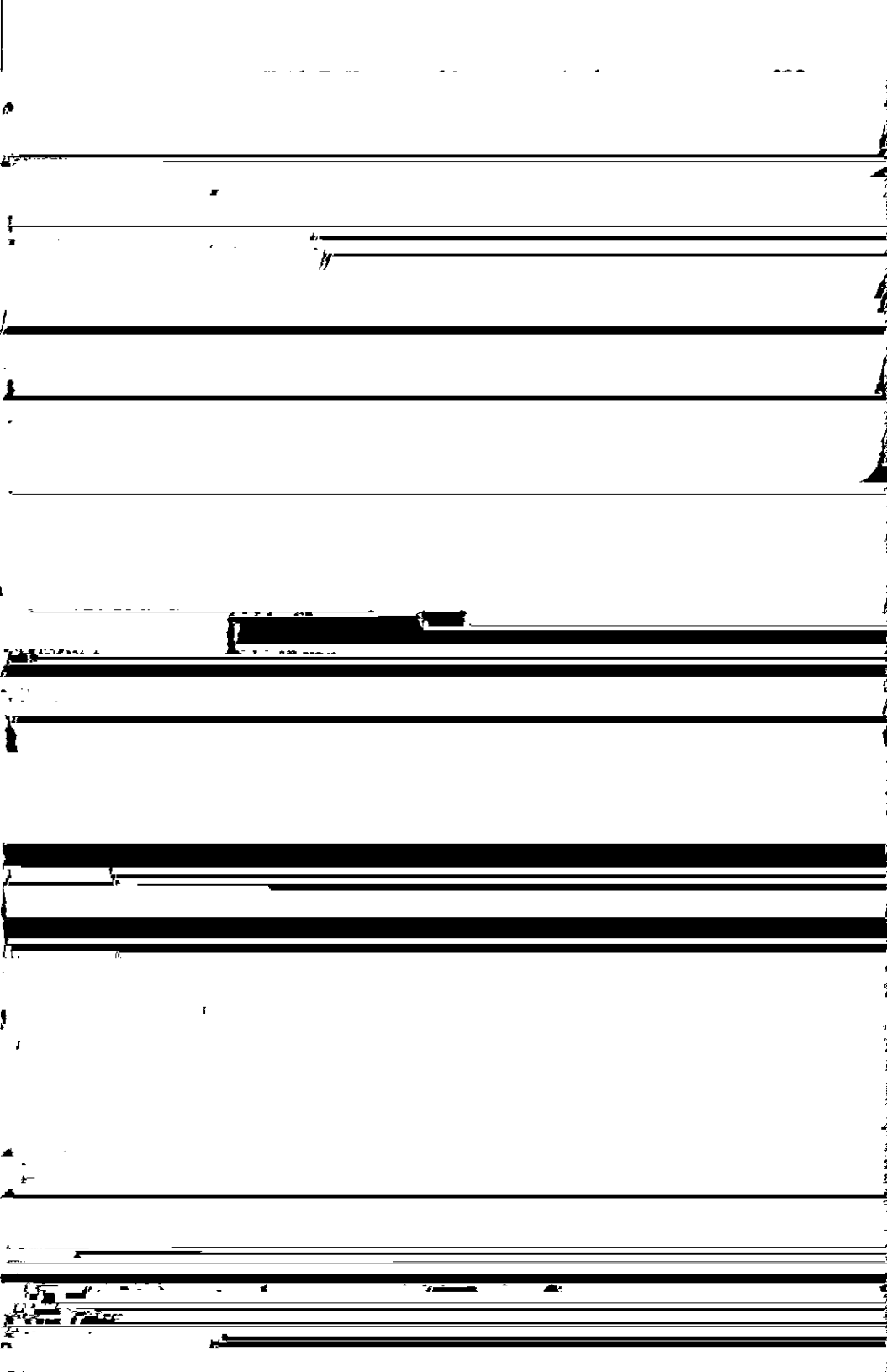
... (1995) ...





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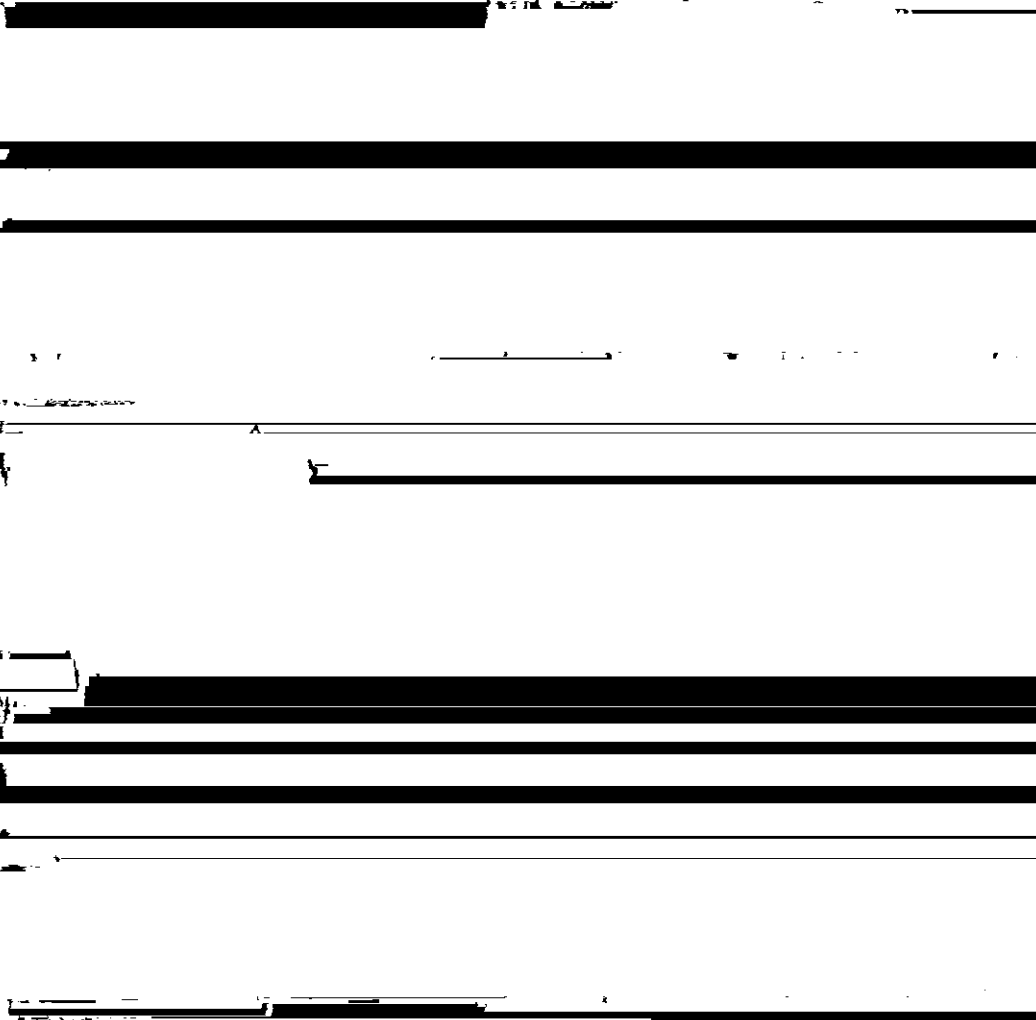
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APPENDIX 1

	Category V: Professionals	Category VI: Units of Government	Category VII: Noneconomic Cause-Oriented
1.	Doctors	General purpose	Women/minorities



*Electoralates and
Representation in Canada
and the United States*

Harold D. Clarke

University of North Texas

Marianne C. Stewart

University of Texas at Dallas

Arguments concerning the legitimacy of democratic polities rest heavily on claims involving the quality of representative governance. These polities provide procedures for the regular participation of citizens in the selection of representatives, and these representatives should reflect

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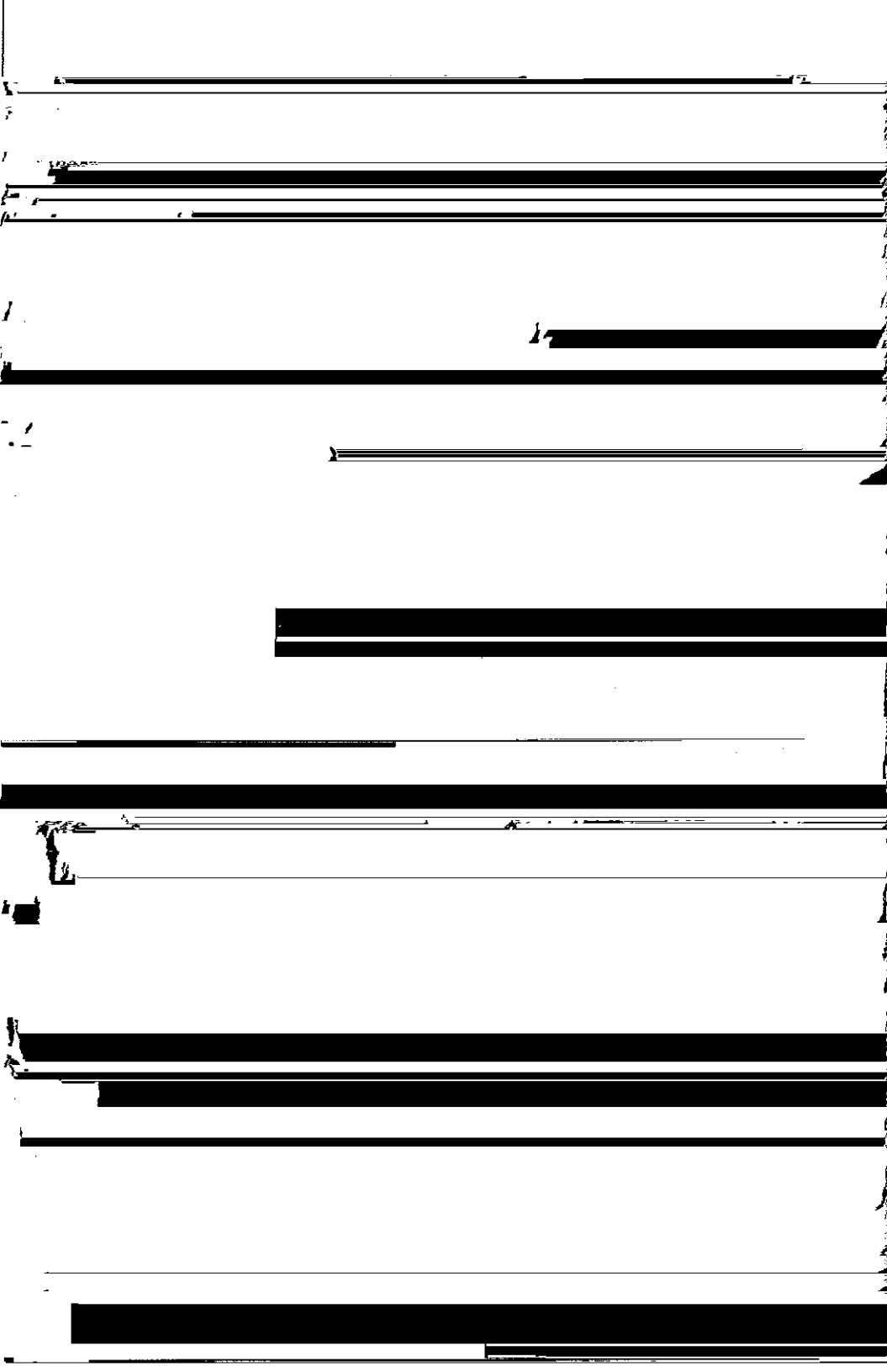
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Table 6.1. Direction of Federal Party Identification in Canada, 1965-88

Federal Party Identification	1965 ^a	1968 ^a	1974 ^a	1979 ^a	1979 ^b	1980 ^a
Liberal	43%	50%	49%	42%	41%	45%
Progressive Conservative	28	25	24	29	26	28

Creditists

No Identification	11	9	13	13	16	10
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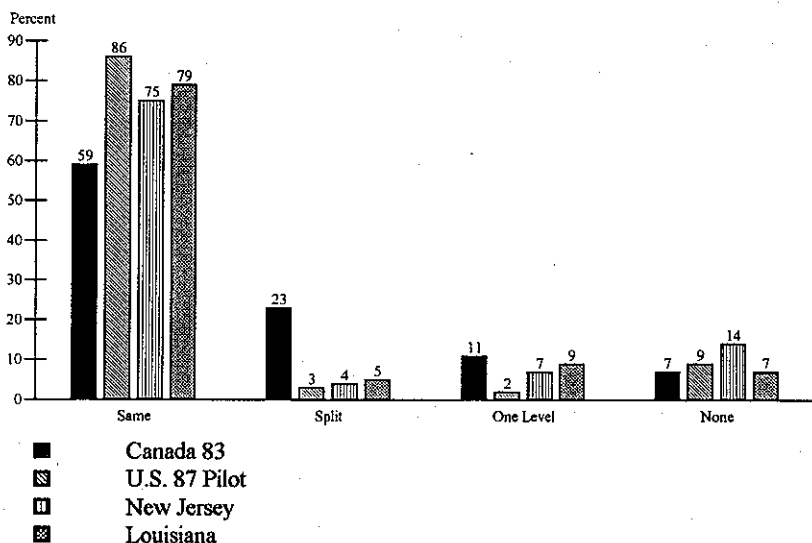
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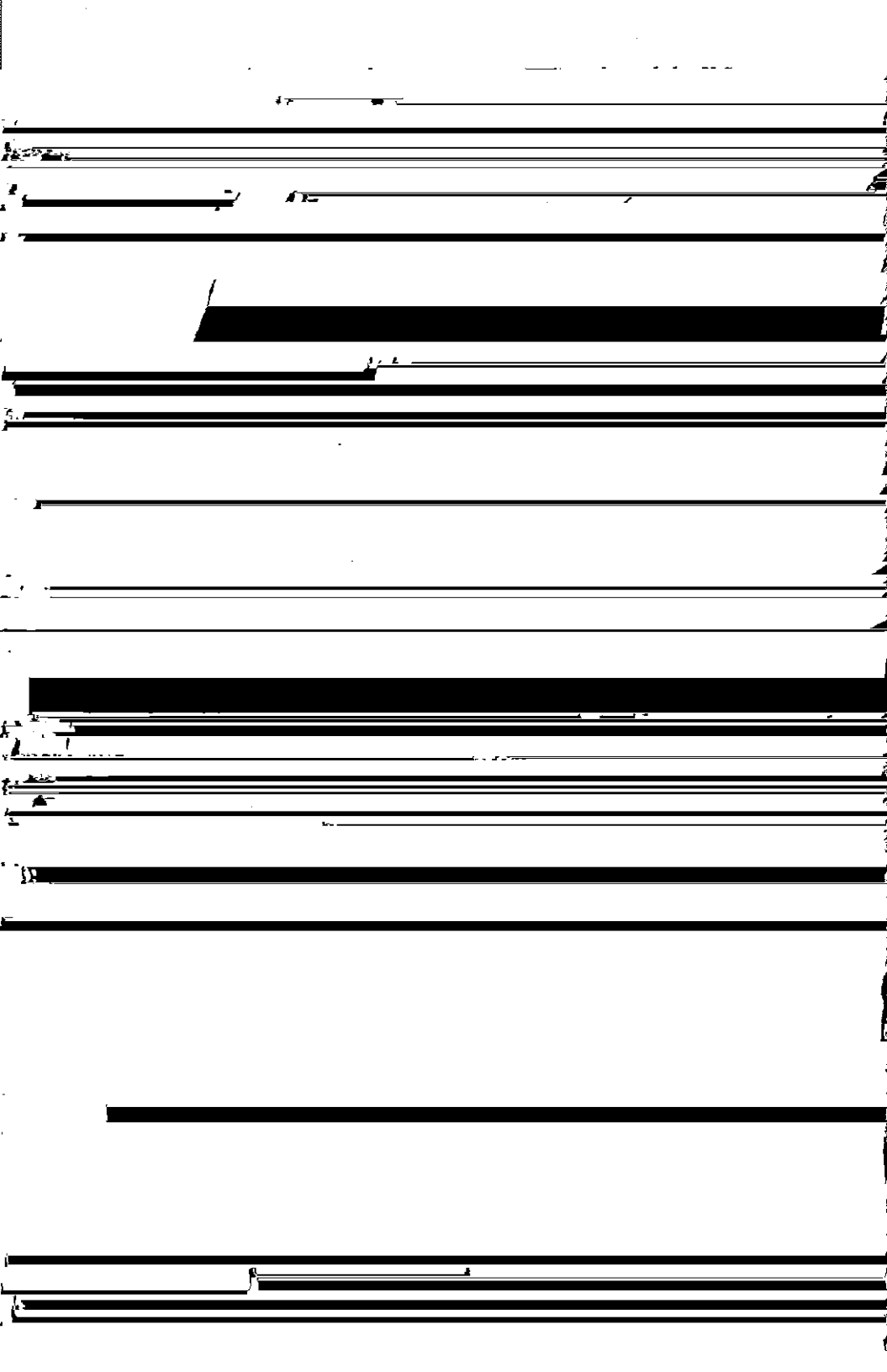
group (i.e., religious, racial or ethnic, class) identifications. The stability or mutability of party identification is relevant for understanding the relationship between parties and society in the two countries and, accordingly, for evaluating parties' performance of representative

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Figure 6.2. Patterns of National and Subnational Party Identification

numbers of Canadians in all regions exhibit multiple partisan ties. Moreover, inconsistent partisan attachments are consequential; they increase the likelihood of partisan instability at both levels of government at later points in time (Clarke and Stewart 1987; Martinez 1989).

American data on subnational party identification are sparse, but available evidence suggests that split identification is a relatively infrequent phenomenon. For example, recent surveys reveal that 75 percent of the respondents in New Jersey and 79 percent of those in Louisiana held the same party identification at both the national and state levels, but only 4 percent and 5 percent, respectively, were split identifiers. The 1987 CPS Pilot Survey data also show impressive cross-



partisanship.⁷ Although several relationships are statistically significant and in the expected direction (e.g., Liberal strength among Québécois, PC

characteristics provide minimal explanatory leverage for understanding national and provincial party identification in Canada. This weakness in the social basis of party support is longstanding and, as we will argue below, there are reasons to believe it will continue in the future.

efficacy, and recent Canadian surveys allow us to do so at both the federal and provincial levels of government.⁹

The federal nature of the American and Canadian polities has poten-

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univocally—many people in both countries question the character and competence of public officials, particularly with regard to the (mis)use of public money. In Canada, fully 26 percent believed that "people in the



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political support in democratic politics. In such systems, the world

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Figure 6.7. External Political Efficacy and Political Trust by Party Identification, Canada and the United States

Federal External Political Efficacy and Political Trust by Federal Party Identification, Canada 1983



111

Table 6.5. *Regression Analyses of Federal and Provincial Political Efficacy by Sociodemographic Characteristics, Social*

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Table 66 *Regression Analysis of Trust in Federal and Provincial*

1975

with support for parties and other institutions of representative government in these systems.

POLITICAL SUPPORT

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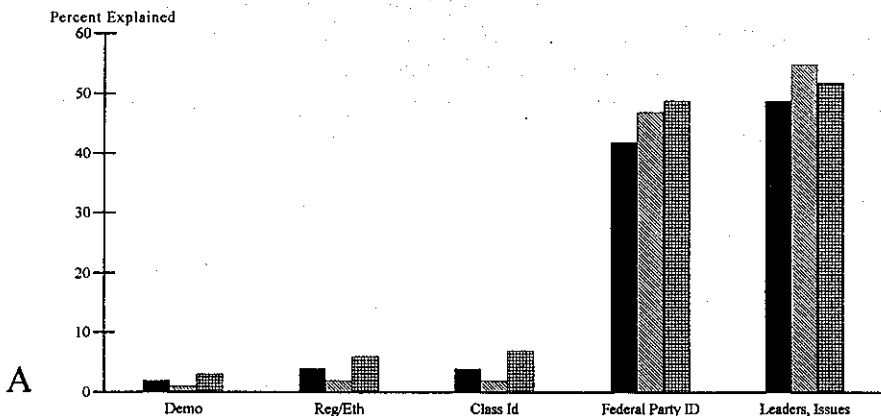
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studies have demonstrated that party identification and feelings about leaders and issues have reciprocal causal linkages in both countries, the

Figure 6.8. *Explained Variance in Canadian Voting Behavior, 1984 Federal Election*

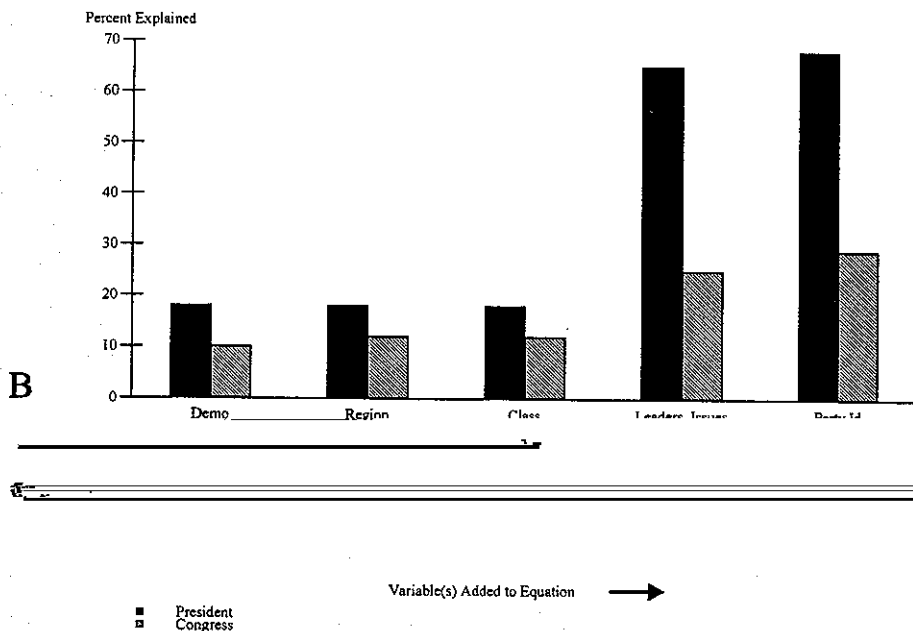
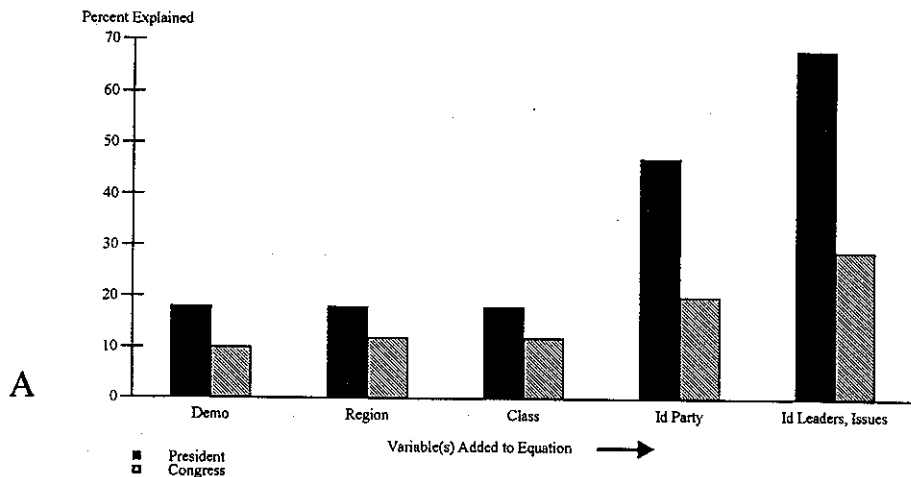


■ NDP Voting

Percent Explained

The American results are very similar. Although the performance of region, other socio-demographic variables, and class identification in the United States is somewhat better than in Canada, these variables still

Figure 6.9. *Explained Variance in American Voting Behavior, 1980 National Elections*



6.10). Moreover, Canadians and Americans hold strong expectations

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... of Support for Congress and

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trustworthy. These feelings consistently appear in surveys conducted over the past two decades and are widespread, rather than group-specific, in both societies. Moreover, in Canada, dissatisfaction with the quality

terms and identified with the working class. Accordingly, such identifications do not serve as powerful linkages between socio-economic groups

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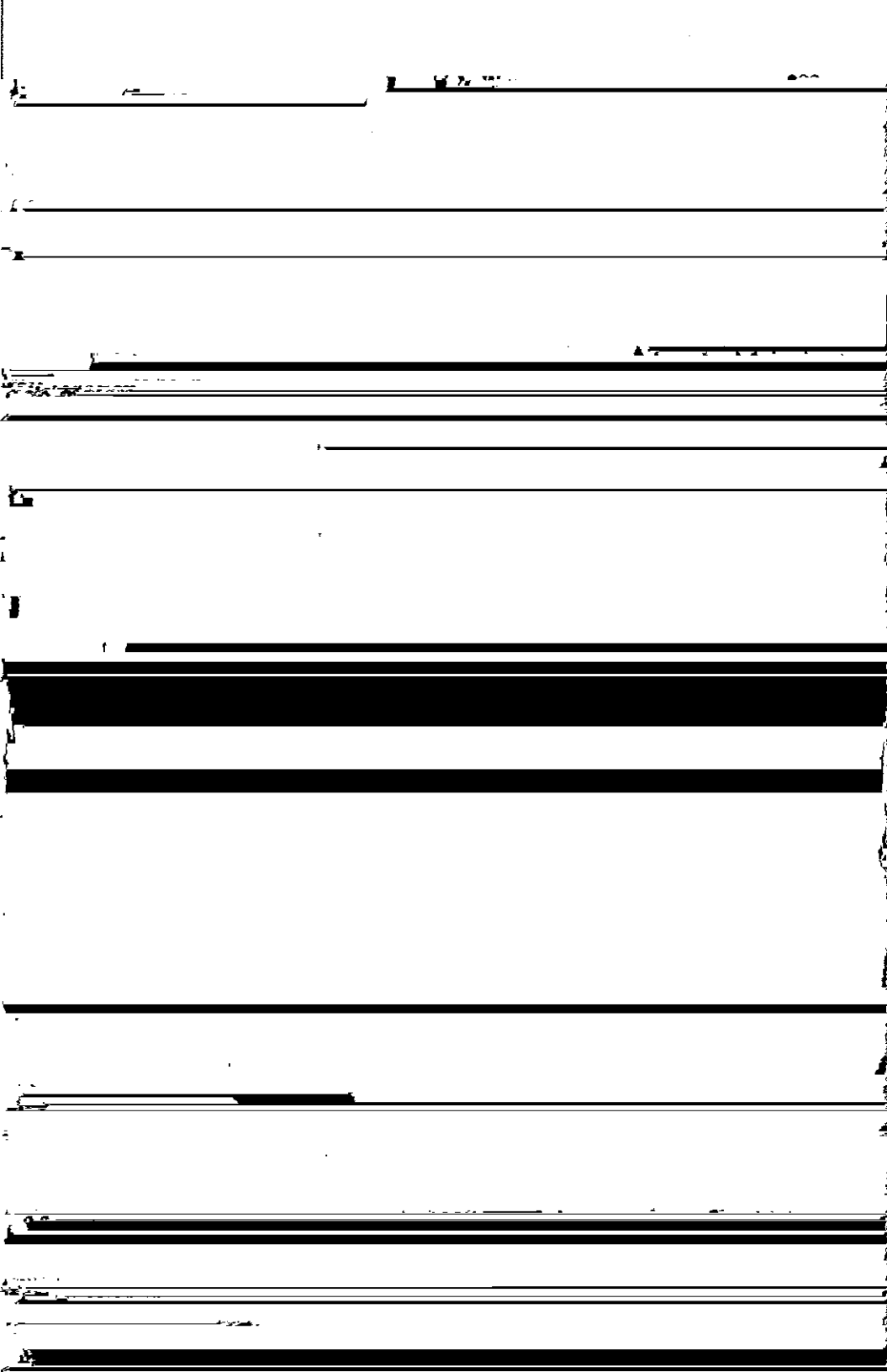
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Democratization in North

American Federations:

every federal political system has attempted to accommodate and secure the position of the regional units within the federation by both a distribution of jurisdiction between the general and regional governments and by arrangements intended to ensure that the interests of the regional units—the interests of either the government or the residents of these



seen in both American papers, state-national relations are both diverse and diffuse.

In Canada with its executive-centred parliamentary institutions, the dominance of the cabinets has made the executives the focus of relations between the two orders of government. This "executive federalism," as Donald Smiley has labelled it, has meant that intergovernmental relations

unsuccessful constitutional reform processes of the Meech Lake Accord during 1987-90 and the "Canada Round" during 1990-92 illustrated, it has been the first ministers and their specialist departments of intergovernmental relations that have dominated the resolution of intergovernmental relations and constitutional reform.

THE MEECH LAKE ACCORD AND REGIONAL VIEWS IN

...proponitur within the House of Commons. Thus, the Canadian Parlia-

representation of states, two per state, in the Senate to meet the concerns of the smaller states that their interests would be overridden in a

Paragraph 1. (2) The method of appointment has generally

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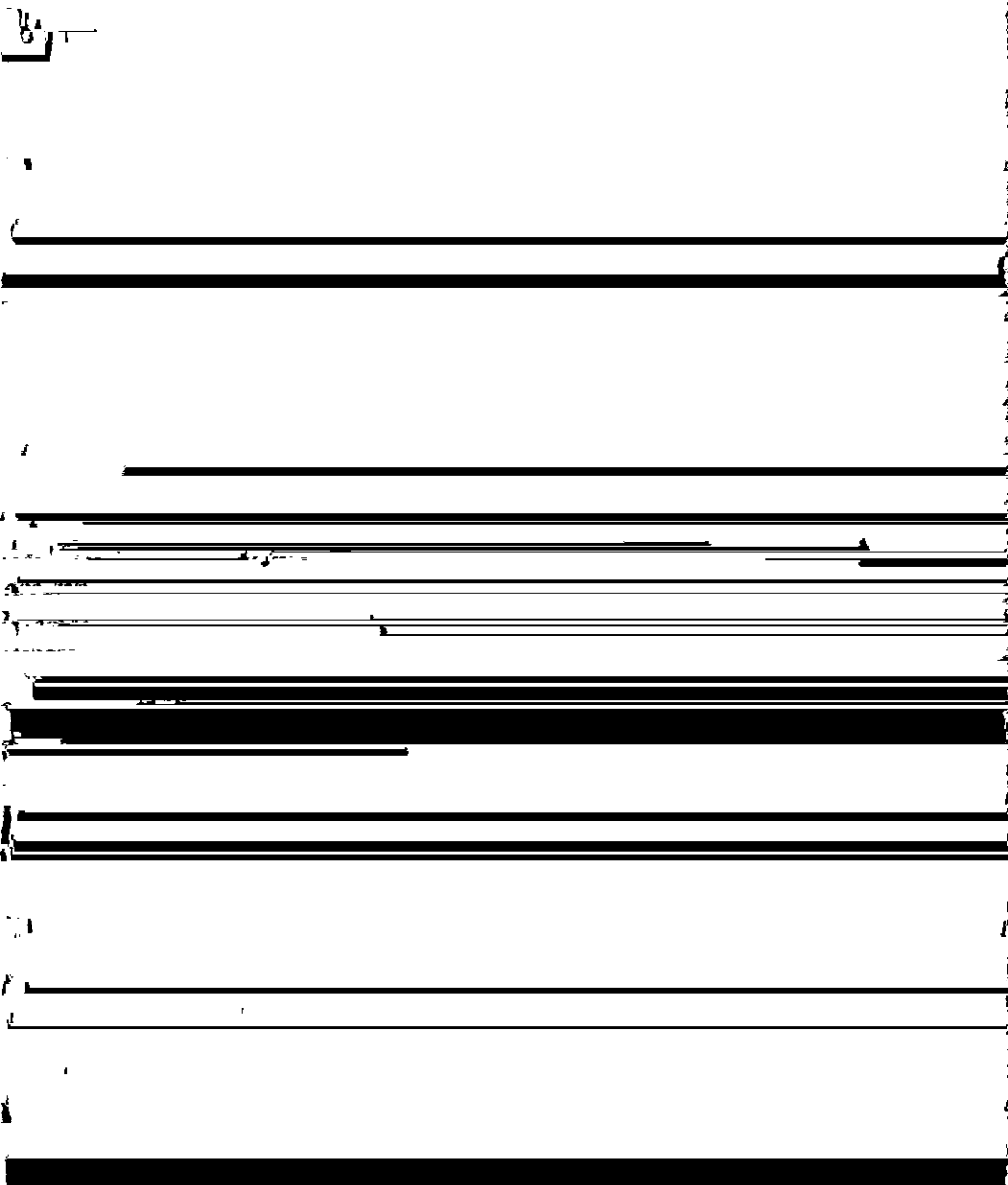
agreement upon the shape that reform should take. Countless proposals have been advanced.³

In the continuing absence of Senate reform, it should be noted that



constitutional reforms incorporated in the Constitution Act, 1982, to which Quebec had not been a signatory. Senate reform was not a priority for Quebec, but in order to have the agreement of other provinces, particularly the Western and Atlantic provinces, the drafters of the Meech Lake Accord included an interim role for provincial governments in appointing senators. At the same time the issue of overall Senate reform

total population and do not represent a majority in any state. The francophones, Canada's most significant single minority group, comprise 26 percent of the total population, and are strongly concentrated in one province, Quebec, where they form 80 percent of that province's



In Canada, criminal law is constitutionally allocated in "functional" terms representing an exception to the general pattern of constitutional

for Senate reform in the direction of a "House of the Business," some of

federalism in Canada by contrast with the United States (Stevenson 1982, 180-83).

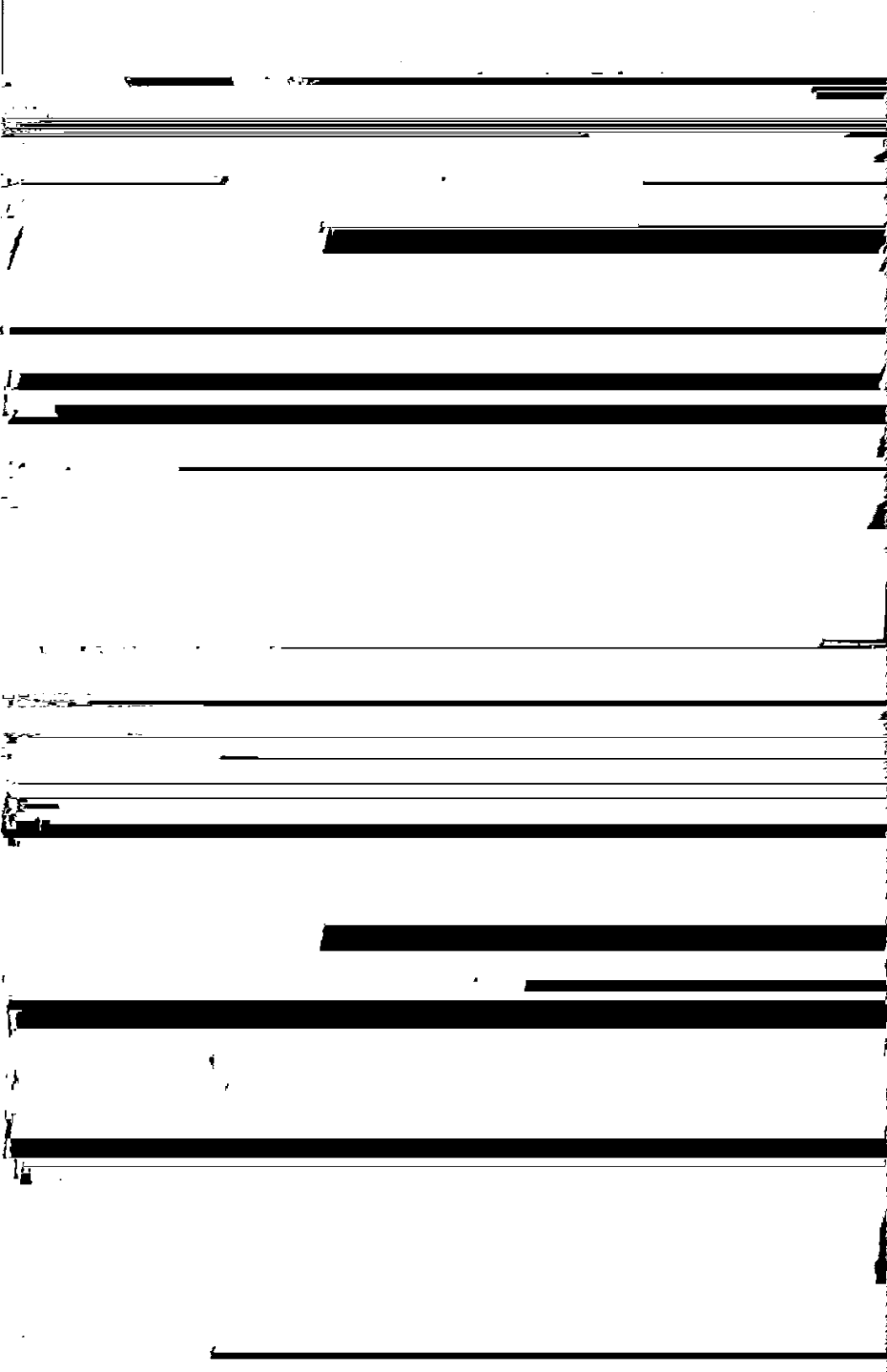
In both the United States and Canada there is a degree of asymmetry in the alignment of federal and state and federal and provincial political parties (Duchacek 1987, 336). In the United States, while there is a two-party competitive system in national politics, many states have either a

drawn from the ranks of provincial premiers (Franks 1987, 72; Ward

Australia, federal law has come to impose uniformity on state elections (Bowie and Friedrich 1954, 30).

In the United States, however, initially many of the national electoral matters were left to state regulation thus emphasizing the noncentralization of national politics. Nevertheless, in recent decades a series of

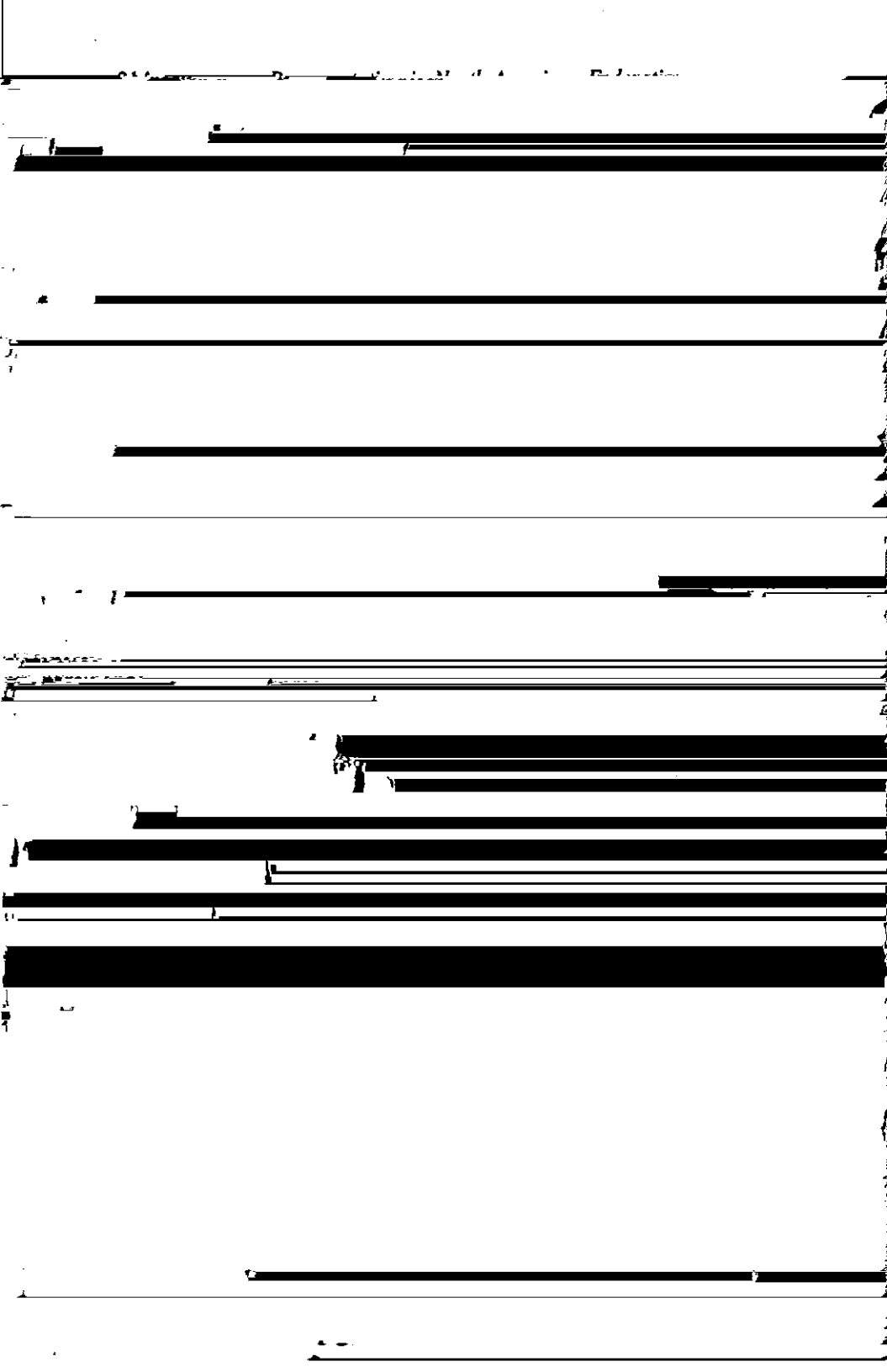
developed federations in avoiding any element of proportional representation. Olson and Weber comment that in the United States, the single-member plurality system combined with separate presidential elections,

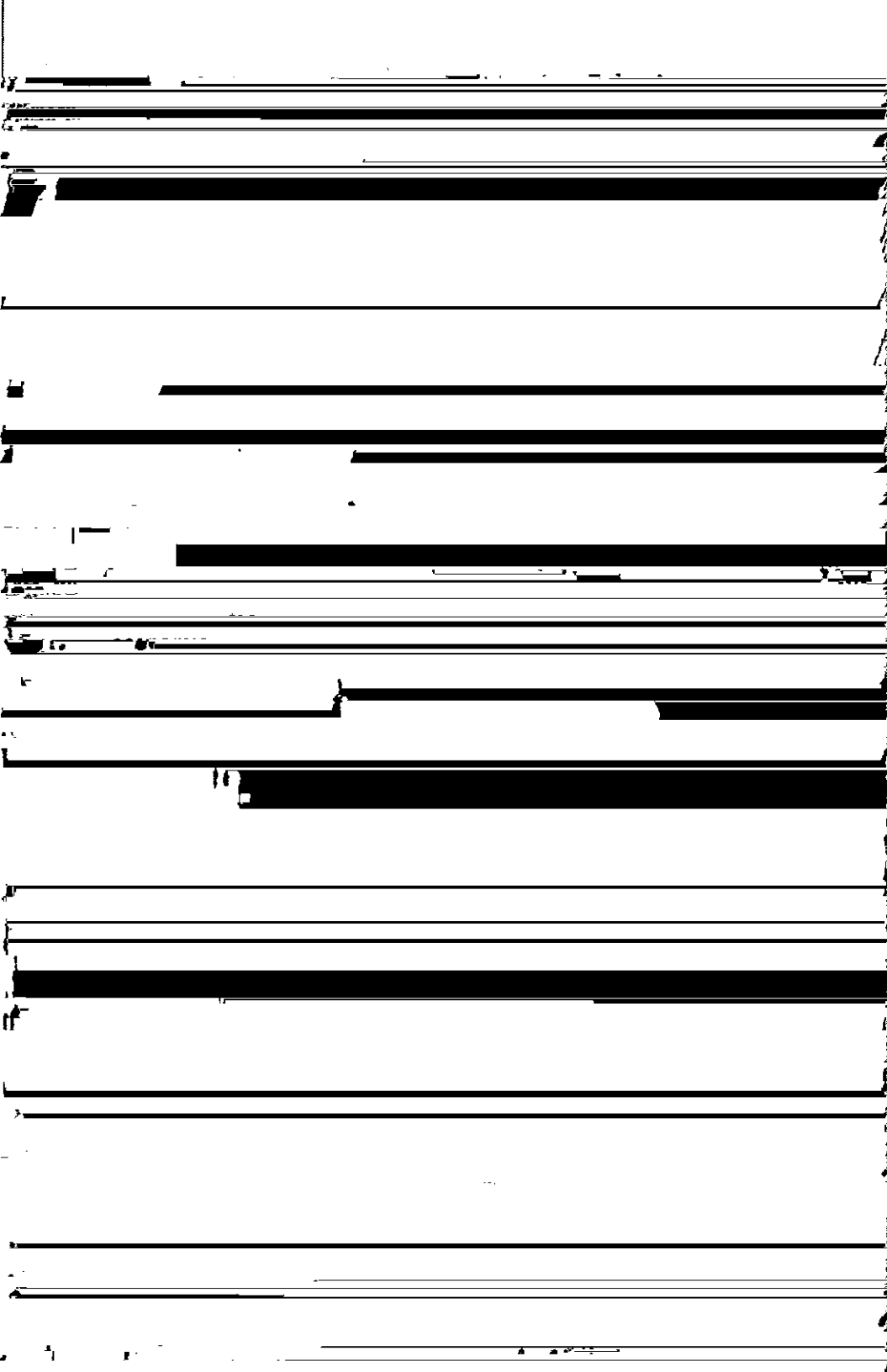


national post-leadership provided implicitly through the federal nature of

the degree of legislative or judicial supremacy; (2) the extent of executive or legislative dominance; and (3) the tension between the demands for participatory democracy and effective government.

Legislative or Judicial Supremacy?





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Harold D. Clarke received his Ph.D. from Duke University and is Regents Professor of Political Science at the University of North Texas. His research focuses on the dynamics of political support in Anglo-American democracies. His articles have appeared in journals such as the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Democracy*, and *Journal of Public Administration*.

been a faculty member at Queen's University since 1955 and was Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University from 1974 to 1984. During 1978-79 he was a commissioner on the Task Force on Canadian

the constitutional negotiations. From April 1991 to September 1992 he