

## JOHN KINCAID

---

---

Robert B. and Helen S. Meyner Center  
for the Study of State and Local Government  
002 Kirby Hall of Civil Rights  
Lafayette College  
Easton, PA 18042-1785  
Email: meynerc@lafayette.edu  
Web Site: <http://meynercenter.lafayette.edu>

118 Parker Avenue  
Easton, PA 18042-1361  
Office: (610) 330-5598  
Fax: (610) 330-5648  
Home: (610) 515-0438

### EDUCATION

PhD	Political Science:	Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1981
MA	Urban Affairs:	University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin	1968
BA	Political Science:	Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1967
AB	Academic Program:	Central High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1964

### *Other Study*

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	1975
ICPR Summer Program, Statistics and Methodology	
New School for Social Research, New York City	1969-1970
Political and Social Theory	
Union Theological Seminary, New York City	1968-1969
Biblical and Theological Studies	

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

**Robert B. and Helen S. Meyner Professor of Government and Public Service** (1994-Present):  
Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania.

**Associate Professor** (1984-1994, on leave 1987-1994) and **Assistant Professor** (1979-1984):  
Political Science, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

**Instructor** (1974-1979): Political Science, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Part-time.

**Faculty Associate** (1971-1972): Sociology, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, Part-time.

**Instructor** (1969-1970) and **Adjunct Professor** (1976-1977): Urban Studies, Saint Peter's College,  
Jersey City, New Jersey.

**Lecturer** (1968-1969): Government, Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey, Part-time.

---

---

### ***Visiting Positions***

**Visiting Professor:** Summer University on Federalism, Decentralization and Conflict Resolution, Institut du Fédéralisme de l'Université de Fribourg, Switzerland, August 20-23, 2013.

**Co-Professor:** Summer University on Federalism in Multicultural Societies, Institut du Fédéralisme de l'Université de Fribourg, Switzerland, August 26-31, 2007.

**Faculty:** Salzburg Seminar, "Perspectives on Federalism," Schloss Leopoldskron, Salzburg, Austria, May 22-29, 1993.

**Teaching Scholar:** National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Teacher Institute on "Classic Works of American Federal Democracy," Steamboat Springs, CO, July 1994; Breckenridge, CO, August 1990; and Copper Mountain, CO, August 1986.

**Teaching Scholar:** National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Teacher Institute on "Publius, De Tocqueville, and Civic Education," Montana State University, Bozeman, MO, August 1984.

### ***Academic Administrative Positions***

**Director:** Robert B. and Helen S. Meyner Center for the Study of State and Local Government, Lafayette College, Easton, PA, 1994-Present.

**Acting Head:** Department of Government and Law, Lafayette College, Easton, PA, 1997-1998.

**Director (and Founder):** Classic Learning Core, College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Texas, Denton, TX, 1985-1986.

**Co-Director:** Workshop on Covenant and Politics, Center for the Study of Federalism, Philadelphia, PA, 1977-1990.

**Co-Director:** Urban Studies Program, Saint Peter's College, Jersey City, NJ, Spring 1970.

**Director of Field Work and Internships:** Saint Peter's College, Jersey City, NJ, 1969-1970.

### ***Professional Editorships***

**Co-Editor:** The Routledge Series on Federalism and Decentralization, 2014-present.

**Senior Editor:** A Global Dialogue on Federalism. Joint Program of the Forum of Federations and International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, 2001-2013.

**Editor:** *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 1986-2005 (Associate Editor: 1981-1985).

**Editor:** *The Federalism Report*, 2000-2005.

**Editor:** "Politics and Governments of the American States," University of Nebraska Press, Book Series, 1989-2006.

**Editor:** *The Covenant Letter*, 1979-1990.

### ***Editorial Boards***

---

---

*African Journal of Federal Studies*, 2000-2004.

*Commonwealth: A Journal of Pennsylvania Politics & Society*, 2014-present.

*Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 2002-Present.

*Revista d'Estudis Autonomics I Federals*, 2005-Present.

*State and Local Government Review*, 1992-1994.

*State Constitutional Law Bulletin*, National Association of Attorneys General, 1992-2003.

### ***Academic Advisory Boards***

**Member:** International Advisory Board, Centre for Multilevel Federalism, Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, India, 2011-present.

**Member:** Academic Advisory Board, Centre for Federal Studies, Jamia Hamdard University, New Delhi, India, 2009-present.

**Member:** International Advisory Board, Centre for Federal Studies, University of Kent, Canterbury, United Kingdom, 2004-2018.

### ***Research Positions***

**Chairman:** Scholars Advisory Committee to the States' Federalism Summit, 1995-1997.

**Research Fellow:** Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, 1980-1986.

**Research Networker:** Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C., 1979-1981.

### **NON-ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

**Executive Director:** U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D.C., 1988-1994; **Director of Research**, 1986-1987.

**Vice-President and Co-Treasurer:** Pentagon Papers Fund for the Defense of Human and Civil Liberties, Los Angeles, CA, 1972-1973.

**Draft Counseling Consultant:** Phoenix Board of Education, Phoenix, AZ, 1972.

**Director:** Phoenix Peace Center, and **Coordinator:** Professional and Business Men and Women for Peace, Phoenix, AZ, 1970-1972.

**Research Associate:** Office of Experimental Ministries, Department of Church Renewal, National Council of Churches, New York City, NY, 1968-1970.

**Director:** Kensington Blocks Community School, Philadelphia Tutorial Project, Philadelphia, PA, Summer 1967.

**Community Organizing Intern and Newspaper Editor:** West Central Organization, Detroit, MI, Summer 1966.

**Office Assistant:** Merz-Brown Insurance Agency, Philadelphia, PA, 1962-1967.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

---

---

**Books**

*A Research Agenda for Federalism Studies*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019, 218 pp. Editor.

*Identities, Trust, and Cohesion in Federal Systems: Public Perspectives*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press and School of Public Policy, 2018. Editor with Jack Jedwab.

*Courts in Federal Countries: Federalists or Unitarists?* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017. Editor with Nicholas Aroney.

*Political Parties and Civil Society in Federal Countries*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2015. Editor with Klaus Detterbeck and Wolfgang Renzsch.

*Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Systems: Comparative Structures and Dynamics*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2015. Editor with Johanne Poirier and Cheryl Saunders.

*Routledge Handbook of Regionalism and Federalism*. London & New York: Routledge, 2013. Editor with John Loughlin and Wilfried Swenden.

*Federalism*. London: Sage, 2011, 4 Volumes. Editor.

*Interaction in Federal Systems*. New Delhi: Viva Books, 2008. Editor with Rupak Chattopadhyay.

*Local Government in Federal Systems*. New Delhi: Viva Books, 2008. Editor with Rupak Chattopadhyay.

*Constitutional Origins, Structure, and Change in Federal Countries*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005. Editor with G. Alan Tarr and contributor.

*The Covenant Connection: From Federal Theology to Modern Federalism*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000. Editor with Daniel J. Elazar.

*Competition among States and Local Governments: Efficiency and Equity in American Federalism*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 1991, 285 pp. Editor with Daphne A. Kenyon and contributor.

*Covenant, Polity, and Constitutionalism*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983, 186 pp. Editor with Daniel J. Elazar and contributor.

*Political Culture, Public Policy and the American States*. Philadelphia, PA: ISHI Press, 1982, 241 pp. Editor and contributor.

**Guest Editorships of Journal Issues**

"Dynamic De/Centralization in Federations," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 49:1 (Winter 2019): 1-219. C-editor with Paolo Dardanelli

"The Shifting Sands of American IGR in an Era of Flux and Uncertainty: What's Happening and What to Expect." *State and Local Government Review* 49:3 (2017): 156-228.

"The Federalism Scholarship of Elinor and Vincent Ostrom: Applications and Reflections," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 44:2 (Spring 2014).

---

---

John Kincaid, G. Alan Tarr, and Sonja Walti, "Federalism and the Global Financial Crisis: Impacts and Responses," *L'Europe en formation* 358 (Hiver 2010).

"American Federalism: The Third Century," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 509 (May 1990).

"State Constitutions in a Federal System," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 496 (March 1988).

"Politics and Scarcity," *International Political Science Review* 4 (July 1983).

"Covenant, Polity, and Constitutionalism," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 10 (Fall 1980) with Daniel J. Elazar.

"The Study of American Political Culture and Its Subcultures," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 10 (Spring 1980).

### **Articles and Book Chapters**

"Constitutional Values and Citizen Attitudes to Government: Explaining Federal System Viability and Reform Preferences in Eight Countries," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 52:1 (Winter 2022): 1-25 with A J Brown and Jacob Deem.

John Kincaid and J. Wesley Leckrone, "COVID-19 and American Federalism: First-Wave Responses," *Federalism and the Response to COVID-19: A Comparative Analysis*, eds. Rupak Chattopadhyay, Felix Knüpling, Diana Chebenova, Phillip Gonzalez, and Liam Whittington. New Delhi: Routledge India, 2022 with J. Wesley Leckrone.

"American Federalism and COVID-19: Party Polarization Trumped Cooperative Federalism," *Jahrbuch des Föderalismus* 2021, ed. Europäisches Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung Tübingen. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2021, pp. 149-160.

"American Federalism and Covid-19: Party Trumps Policy," *Comparative Federalism and Covid-19 Combating the Pandemic*, ed. Nico Steytler. London: Routledge 2021, pp. 181-199 with J. Wesley Leckrone.

John Kincaid, "Which Government Do You Trust the Most: Federal, State, Local, or None?" *Cooperation and Conflict Between State and Local Government*, eds. Russell L. Hanson and Eric S. Zeemering. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021, pp. 21-36.

"Foreword," eds. Nico Steytler, Balveer Arora, and Rekha Saxena. *The Value of Comparative Federalism: The Legacy of Ronald L. Watts*, New Delhi: Routledge India, 2021, pp. xiii-xvi.

"Partisan Fractures in U.S. Federalism's COVID-19 Policy Responses," *State and Local Government Review* 52:4 (2020): 298-308 with J. Wesley Leckrone.

"Roles of the U.S. Supreme Court in American Federalism," ed. Europäisches Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung Tübingen. *Jahrbuch des Föderalismus 2020*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2020, pp. 153-162.

---

“Les trois déclinaisons du fédéralisme américain,” eds. Félix Mathieu, Dave Guénette, and Alain G-Gagnon. *Cinquante Déclinaisons de Fédéralisme: Théorie, Enjeux et Études de Cas*. Montreal: Presses de l’Université Québec, 2020, pp. 311-320.

“Introduction,” eds. Ann Griffiths, Rupak Chattopadhyay, John Light, and Carl Stieren. *The Forum of Federations Handbook of Federal Countries 2020*. Cham Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, pp. 1-16 with Rupak Chattopadhyay.

“United States of America,” eds. Ann Griffiths, Rupak Chattopadhyay, John Light, and Carl Stieren. *The Forum of Federations Handbook of Federal Countries 2020*, Cham Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, pp. 367-384.

“Origins and Consequences of American Multicultural Federalism: Constitutional Patriotism, Territorial Neutrality, and National Polarization,” *Federalism and National Diversity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, eds. Alain-G. Gagnon and Arjun Tremblay. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan 2020, pp. 107-129.

“US Federalism in Comparative Perspective,” *Comparative Politics Newsletter* 29:1 (Spring 2019): 46-52 with Paolo Dardanelli.

“Dynamic De/Centralization in the United States, 1790-2010,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 49:1 (Winter 2019): 166-193.

“Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Theorizing Dynamic De/Centralization in Federations,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 49:1 (Winter 2019): 1-29 with Paolo Dardanelli, Alan Fenna, André Kaiser, André Lecours, and Ajay Kumar Singh.

“Dynamic De/Centralization in Federations: Comparative Conclusions,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 49:1 (Winter 2019): 194-219 with Paolo Dardanelli, Alan Fenna, André Kaiser, André Lecours, Ajay Kumar Singh, Sean Mueller, and Stephan Vogel.

“Introduction and Comparative Observations,” *Identities, Trust, and Cohesion in Federal Countries: Perspectives from Public Opinion*, eds. Jack Jedwab and John Kincaid. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018, pp. 1-24 with Jack Jedwab.

“Attachments to Multiple Communities, Trust in Governments, Political Polarization, and Public Attitudes Toward Immigration in the United States,” *Identities, Trust, and Cohesion in Federal Countries: Perspectives from Public Opinion*, eds. Jack Jedwab and John Kincaid. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018, pp. 147-180 with Richard L. Cole.

“Diversity-Induced Centralization in American Federalism with Asymmetrical Accommodations of Territorial Diversity,” *Revisiting Unity and Diversity in Federal Countries: Changing Concepts, Reform Proposals and New Institutional Realities*, eds. Alain-G. Gagnon and Michael Burgess. Leiden and Boston: Brill Nijhoff, 2018, pp. 282-298.

“Is the Teaching of Federalism Dead or Alive in Canada and the United States?” *Canada: The State of the Federation 2015—Canadian Federalism and Infrastructure*, eds. John R. Allan, David L. A. Gordon, Kyle Hanniman, André Juneau, and Robert A. Young. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018, pp. 263-283 with Richard L. Cole.

---

“Why Coercion and Cooperation Coexist in American Federalism,” *Intergovernmental Relations in Transition: Reflections and Directions*, eds. Carl W. Stenberg and David K. Hamilton. New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 35-57.

“Introduction: The Trump Interlude and the States of American Federalism,” *State and Local Government Review* 49:3 (September 2017): 156-169.

“The Eclipse of Dual Federalism by One-Way Cooperative Federalism,” *Arizona State Law Journal* 49:3 (Fall 2017): 1061-1089.

“Obstacles to Federalism Reform in the United States,” *A People’s Federation*, eds. Mark Bruerton, Tracey Arklay, Robyn Hollander, and Ron Levy. Leichhardt, NSW: The Federation Press, 2017, pp. 184-198.

“Territorial Neutrality and Cultural Pluralism in American Federalism: Is the United States the Archenemy of Peripheral Nationalism?” *Swiss Political Science Review* 22:4 (December 2016): 565-584.

“From Dualistic Autonomous Concurrency to Marbleised Permissive Concurrency in American Federalism,” *Concurrent Powers in Federal Systems: Meaning, Making, Managing*, ed. Nico Steytler. Leiden and Boston: Brill/Nijhoff, 2017, pp. 32-48.

“A New Union? Federalism and the U.K.” *Political Insight* 7:3 (December 2016): 12-15 with Paolo Dardanelli.

“Cooperative State Administration of Coercive Federal Policies in U.S. Federalism,” *Jahrbuch des Föderalismus*, ed. Europäisches Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung Tübingen. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2016, pp. 325-336.

“Is the Teaching of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Dead or Alive in American Public Administration?” *Journal of Public Affairs Education* 22:4 (October 2016): 515-530 with Richard L. Cole.

“Citizen Evaluations of Federalism and the Importance of Trust in the Federation Government for Opinions on Regional Equity and Subordination in Four Countries,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 46:1 (2016): 51-76 with Richard L. Cole.

“Federalism and Rights: The Case of the United States with Comparative Perspectives,” *Current Issues and Controversies in Human Rights*, Gordon DiGiacomo ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016, pp 83-113.

“The Rise and Characteristics of Coercive Federalism in the United States,” *Principles and Practices of Fiscal Autonomy: Experiences, Debate and Prospects*, ed. Giancarlo Pola. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 57-72.

“Autonomy and Secession: Lessons Beyond Europe,” *States Falling Apart? Secessionist and Autonomy Movements in Europe*. eds. Eva Maria Belser, Alexandra Fang-Bär, Nina Massüger, and Rekha Oleschak Pillai. Berne: Stämpfli, 2015, pp. 385-399.

“George W. Bush and the Spirit of Coercive Federalism,” *Understanding Federalism and Federation*, eds., Alain-G. Gagnon, Soeren Keil, and Sean Mueller. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2015, pp. 51-67.

---

"Is Federalism Still the 'Dark Continent' of Political Science Teaching? Yes and No," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 47:4 (October 2014): 877-883 with Richard L. Cole.

"Policy Coercion and Administrative Cooperation in American Federalism," *Federalism as Decision Making: Changes in Structures, Procedures and Policies*, eds. Francesco Paleremo and Elisabeth Alber. Leiden: Brill/Nijhoff, 2014, pp. 62-76.

"The Federalist and V. Ostrom on Concurrent Taxation and Federalism," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 44:2 (Spring 2014): 275-297.

"Early State History and Constitutions," *The Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government*, ed. Donald P. Haider. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 239-270.

"The Myth of the North American City Revisited: A Comparative Conceptual and Empirical Evaluation," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 49 (2014): 31-52 with Richard L. Cole and Robert K. Whelan.

"Democràcia versus Federalisme als Estats Units," *Democracies federals*, eds. Michael Burgess and Alain-G. Gagnon. Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Autònoms, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013, pp. 177-208.

"Federalisme i Democràcia: Les Perspectives Empírica i Teòrica Comparades," *Democracies federals*, eds. Michael Burgess and Alain-G. Gagnon. Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Autònoms, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2013, pp. 419-452.

"Territorial Neutrality and Coercive Federalism in the United States," *Federalism, Regionalism and Territory*, ed. Stelio Mangiameli. Milano: Giuffrè Editore, 2013, pp. 133-147.

"The United States of America: from dualistic simplicity to centralized complexity," *Routledge Handbook of Regionalism and Federalism*, eds. John Loughlin, John Kincaid, and Wilfried Swenden. London & New York: Routledge, 2013, pp. 157-171.

"Attachments to Multiple Communities and Public Ambivalence Toward Immigration in the United States," *Canadian Issues / Themes Canadiens* (Spring 2013): 73-77 with Richard L. Cole.

"Constitutional Change in Federal Countries: Comparative Considerations," *Changing Federal Constitutions: Lessons from International Comparison*, eds. Arthur Benz and Felix Knüpling. Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2012, pp. 31-50.

"State Challenges to Coercive Federalism in the United States," *Governing from the Center: The Influence of the Federal/Central Government on Subnational Governments*, ed. Gisela Färber. Speyer: Deutsches Forschungsinstitut für Öffentliche Verwaltung, 2012, pp. 65-73.

"Health-Care Change in the United States: Reform and Reaction," *La Descentralización Sanitaria*, eds. Juan Pemán Gavín and Mario Kölling. Zaragoza: Fundación Manuel Giménez Abad, 2012, pp. 15-34.

"The rise of coercive federalism in the United States: dynamic change with little formal reform," *The Future of Australian Federalism*, eds. Gabrielle Appleby, Nicholas Aroney and Thomas John. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 157-179.



---

“The Constitutional Frameworks of State and Local Government Finance,” *The Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government Finance*, eds. Robert D. Ebel and John E. Petersen. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 45-82.

“Introduction to the Symposium on Intergovernmental Management and ACIR Beyond 50: Implications for Institutional Development and Research,” *Public Administration Review* 71 (March/April 2011): 158-160 with Carl Stenberg.

“The U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: Unique Artifact of a Bygone Era,” *Public Administration Review* 71 (March/April 2011): 181-189.

“‘Big Questions’ About Intergovernmental Relations and Management: Who Will Address Them?” *Public Administration Review* 71 (March 2011): 196-202 with Carl Stenberg.

“Citizen Attitudes Toward Issues of Federalism in Canada, Mexico, and the United States,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 41 (Winter 2011): 53-75 with Richard L. Cole.

“The Rise of Social Welfare and Onward March of Coercive Federalism,” *Networked Governance: The Future of Intergovernmental Management*, eds., Jack W. Meek and Kurt Thurmaier. Los Angeles: Sage/CQ Press, 2011, pp. 8-38.

“Citizen Attitudes and Federal Political Culture in Canada, Mexico, and the United States,” *The Federal Idea: Essays in Honour of Ronald L. Watts*, eds., Thomas J. Courchene, John R. Allan, Christian Leuprecht, and Nadia Verrelli. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011, pp. 225-245 with Richard L. Cole.

“Perfiles actuales del federalismo fiscal en los Estados Unidos,” *Revista de Derecho Comparado* 17 (2010): 17-47. Reprinted in *Federalismo Fiscal: Experiencia Nacional y Comparada*, eds., Miguel Angel Asensio and Pablo Maria Garat. Buenos Aires:Rubinzal-Culzoni Editores, 2011, pp. 199-229.

“Political Coercion and Administrative Cooperation in U.S. Intergovernmental Relations,” *Varieties of Federal Governance: Major Contemporary Models*, ed., Rekha Saxena. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press India, 2011, pp. 37-53.

“Effective Governance: Withering Without Federalism,” *Transforming American Governance: Rebooting the Public Square*, eds. Alan P. Balutis, Terry F. Buss, and Dwight Ink. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2011, pp. 111-125.

“Democracy versus federalism in the United States of America,” *Federal Democracies*, eds. Michael Burgess and Alain-G. Gagnon. London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 119-141.

“Federalism and democracy: Comparative empirical and theoretical perspectives,” *Federal Democracies*, eds. Michael Burgess and Alain-G. Gagnon. London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 299-324.

“Federalism and the Global Financial Crisis: Impacts and Responses,” *L’Europe en formation* 358 (Hiver 2010): 5-14 with G. Alan Tarr and Sonja Walti

“The Global Financial Crisis: Continuity in U.S. Federalism,” *L’Europe en formation* 358 (Hiver 2010): 15-32.

“United States of America,” *Diversity and Unity in Federal Countries*, eds. Luis Moreno and César Colino. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010, pp. 350-378.

“Comparative Observations on the International Activities of Constituent Governments,” *Foreign Policy of Constituent Units at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, ed. Ferran Requejo. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Autònoms, 2010, pp. 15-28.

---

---

“The Eclipse of the States in the U.S. Senate,” *Legislatures in Federal Systems and Multi-Level Governance*, ed. Rudolf Hrbek. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2010, pp. 66-76.

“Introducció analítica” in James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *El Federalista*. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Autònoms, Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009, pp. 9-46.

“Interlocal Cooperation in the United States,” *Crossing the Line: Dealing with Cross-Border Communities*, ed. Bertus de Villiers. Johannesburg: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2009, pp. 31-45.

“The U.S. Supreme Court’s Federalism Revolution: In Search of Constitutional Viagra,” *Judge-Made Federalism? The Role of Courts in Federal Systems*, eds. Hans-Peter Schneider, Jutta Kramer, and Beniamino Caravita di Toritto. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009, pp. 179-191.

“Federalism: The Highest Stage of Democracy?” *Democratizations: Comparisons, Confrontations, and Contrasts*, ed. Jose V. Cipurut. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2008, pp. 93-117.

“Three Faces of Contemporary American Federalism,” *The Federal Nation: Perspectives on American Federalism*, eds. Iwan W. Morgan and Philip J. Davies. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 63-81.

“Role of the Expert Advisor,” *The Role of the Policy Advisor: An Insider’s Look*, ed. Nadia Verrelli. Kingston, ON: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen’s University, 2008, pp. 35-38.

“Public Opinion on Issues of Federalism in 2007: A Bush Plus?” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 38:3 (Summer 2008): 469-487 with Richard L. Cole.

“Contemporary U.S. Federalism: Coercive Change with Cooperative Continuity,” *Revista d’Estudis Autònoms I Federals* 6 (April 2008): 10-36.

“Aspects de la coopération et de la concurrence dans les relations intergouvernementales aux États-Unis,” *Télescope: Revue d’analyse comparée en administration publique* 14:1 (Winter 2007-2008): 81-97.

“City Autonomy in the American Federal System,” *Competition versus Cooperation: German Federalism in Need of Reform—A Comparative Perspective*, eds. Ralf Thomas Baus, Raoul Blindenbacher, and Ulrich Karpen. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007, pp. 235-244.

“Public Opinion on U.S. Federal and Intergovernmental Issues in 2006: Continuity and Change,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 36 (Summer 2006): 443-459 with Richard L. Cole.

“Public Opinion on Issues of U.S. Federalism in 2005: End of the Post-2001 Pro-Federal Surge?” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 35 (Winter 2005): 169-185 with Richard L. Cole.

“Introduction,” *Handbook of Federal Countries*. ed. Ann L. Griffiths. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005, pp. 3-14.

“Felix Morley on Freedom and Federalism” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 34 (Fall 2004): 69-87.

“Introduction,” *The Organization of Local Public Economies*. U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, trans. Yoshimi Minami. Tokyo: Council of Local Authorities in International Relations, 2004 (in Japanese), pp. iii-v.

“Public Opinion on Federalism and Federal Political Culture in Canada, Mexico, and the United States, 2004,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 34 (Summer 2004): 201-221 with Richard L. Cole and Alejandro Rodríguez.

---

---

“Opinión pública sobre el federalismo en México,” *AEDIFICARE 2004*, ed. Adolfo Benito N Arvárez T. San Nicolás de los Garza: Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2004, pp. 199-219 with Alejandro Rodríguez and Richard L. Cole.

“Smashing the Twin Relics of Barbarism—Slavery and Polygamy: Rejecting Territorial Multiculturalism in American Federalism,” *The Homogeneity of Democracy, Rights and the Rule of Law in Federal or Confederal Systems*, eds. Peter Bussjäger and Anna Gamper. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 2003, pp. 1-21.

“Public Opinion on Federalism in Canada, Mexico, and the United States in 2003,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 33 (Summer 2003): 145-162 with Andrew Parkin, Richard L. Cole, and Alejandro Rodríguez.

“Globalization and Federalism in the United States: Continuity in Adaptation,” *The Impact of Global and regional Integration on Federal Systems: A Comparative Analysis*, eds. Harvey Lazar, Hamish Telford, and Ronald L. Watts. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003, pp. 37-85.

“U.S. State and Local Governments in International Affairs,” *Außenbeziehungen von Regionen in Europa und der Welt*, ed. Rudolf Hrbek. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2003, pp. 257-276.

“The Crisis in Fiscal Federalism,” *Spectrum: The Journal of State Government* 76:3 (Summer 2003): 5-9.

“Trends in Fiscal Federalism: Is Fiscal Federalism Fizzling?” *Book of the States 2003* (Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2003), pp. 200-205.

“Extinguishing the Twin Relics of Barbaric Multiculturalism—Slavery and Polygamy—From American Federalism,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 33:1 (Winter 2003): 75-92.

“Public Opinion on Federalism in the United States and Canada: The Aftermath of Terrorism,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 32 (Fall 2002): 123-147 with Richard L. Cole and Andrew Parkin.

“Introduction,” *Handbook of Federal Countries*, 2002, ed. Ann L. Griffiths. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002, pp. 3-13.

“Issues of Federalism in Response to Terrorism,” *Public Administration Review* 62 (Special Issue 2002): 181-192, with Richard L. Cole.

“Constituent Diplomacy in Federal Systems,” *Federalism in a Changing World: Learning from Each Other*. Bern: Internationale Föderalismuskonferenz, 2002, pp. 85-119.

“Terrorism and Federalism: Perspectives of Federalism Scholars,” *El Dymocratia* No. 7 (Spring 2002): 205-218 in Arabic, with Richard L. Cole.

“Intergovernmental Relations in the United States of America,” *Intergovernmental Relations in Federal Countries: A Series of Essays on the Practice of Federal Governance*, ed. J. Peter Meekison. Ottawa: Forum of Federations, 2002, pp. 33-44.

“Presidential Politics and the Future of the U.S. Supreme Court,” *Indian Journal of Federal Studies* 3:1 (2002): 148-153.

“Interstate Cooperation in the United States,” *Reformen durch interregionale Zusammenarbeit*, ed., Bertelsmann-Kommission. Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2002, pp. 23-37.

---

“Foreword,” to J. Edwin Benton, *Counties as Service Delivery Agents*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002, pp. xvii-xxi.

“Devolution in the United States: Rhetoric and Reality,” *The Federal Vision: Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the United States and the European Union*, eds. Kalypso Nicolaides and Robert Howse (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 144-160.

“Federalism in the United States of America: A Continual Tension Between Persons and Places,” *Politische Vierteljahrsschrift* 32 (2001): 134-156.

“The State of U.S. Federalism, 2000-2001: Continuity in Crisis,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 31:3 (Summer 2001): 1-69.

“Changing Public Attitudes on Power and Taxation in the American Federal System,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 31:3 (Summer 2001): 205-214, with Richard L. Cole.

“The 2000 Presidential Election: National and Local Politics in American Federalism,” *Indian Journal of Political Science* 62:2 (June 2001): 201-219.

“Terrorism at the W.T.C. New York: Response from a Federal Democracy,” *Indian Journal of Federal Studies* 2:2 (2001): 166-169.

“The American Devolution Derby: The Devolution Turtle vs. The Centralization Rabbit,” *Reforming Governance: Lessons from the United States of America and the Republic of Germany*, eds. Franz Gress and Jackson Janes. New York: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 86-134

“Economic Policy-Making: Advantages and Disadvantages of the Federal Model,” *International Social Science Journal* 167 (March 2001): 85-92.

“Introduction: Federalism Values and Health Values,” *Scipolicy: The Journal of Science and Health Policy* 1:1 (Fall 2000): 4-21.

“Constitutional Proposals from the States,” *Insights on Law & Society* 1:1 (Fall 2000): 15.

“The Domestication of German Foreign Policy in the European Union,” *SMU Law Review* 53 (Spring 2000): 555-560.

“Presidential Politics and the Future of the U.S. Supreme Court,” *Federations: What's New in Federalism Worldwide* 1:1 (November 2000): 5-6

“Public Opinion and American Federalism: Perspectives on Taxes, Spending, and Trust—An ACIR Update,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 30 (Winter/Spring 2000): 189-201 with Richard L. Cole. Reprinted in *Spectrum: The Journal of State Government* 74:3 (Summer 2001): 14-18.

“Retrosesión en el sistema federal de Estados Unidos: hecho o ficción?” *El nuevo federalismo in América del Norte*, eds. Paz Consuelo Márquez-Padilla and Julián Castro Rea. México City: Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000, pp. 277-334.

“De Facto Devolution and Urban Defunding: The Priority of Persons Over Places,” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 21:2 (Summer 1999): 135-167.

“Confederal Federalism and Citizen Representation in the European Union,” *West European Politics* 22:2 (April 1999): 34-58. Reprinted in Joanne B. Brzinski, Thomas D. Lancaster, and Christian Tuschhoff, eds. *Compounded Representation in Western European Federations*. London: Frank Cass, 1999, pp. 34-58.

"Federal Democracy and Liberty," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 32:2 (June 1999): 211-216.

"The International Competence of US States and Their Local Governments," *Regional & Federal Studies* 9:1 (Spring 1999): 111-130.

Reprinted in Francisco Aldecoa and Michael Keating, eds. *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*. London: Frank Cass, 1999, pp. 111-130.

Translated in "La Competencia Internacional De Los Estados Unidos Y Sus Gobiernos Locales," *Paradiplomacia: Las Relaciones Internacionales de las Regiones*, eds. Francisco Aldecoa y Michael Keating. Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones Jusidicas Y Sociales S.A., 2000, pp. 115-141.

"Del Federalismo Dual al Federalismo Coercitivo en las Relaciones Intergubernamentales de los Estados Unidos de América," *El Estado de las Autonomías: Hacia un Nuevo Federalismo?* eds. Robert Agranoff and Rafael Bañón I Martine. Vitoria, Spain: Administración de la Comunidad Autónoma de Euskadi, Instituto Vasco de Administración Pública, 1999, pp. 31-53.

"The Devolution Tortoise and the Centralization Hare," *New England Economic Review* (May/June 1998): 13-40.

Reprinted in *Readings & Cases in State and Local Politics*, ed. Richard A. Clucas. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006, pp. 57-69.

"Global Interdependence and Local Independence in American Federalism," *Future Challenges of Local Autonomy in Japan, Korea, and the United States*, eds. Fukashi Horie and Masaru Nishio. Tokyo: National Institute for Research Advancement, 1997, pp. 371-388.

"The End of Mainframe Consolidation," *The Regionalist* 2 (Spring 1997): 57-60.

"Fiscal Federalism in the United States: The Reluctance to Equalize Jurisdictions," *Finanzverfassung im Spannungsfeld zwischen Zentralstaat und Gliedstaaten*, eds. Werner W. Pommerehne and George Ress. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1996, pp. 34-56 with Daphne A. Kenyon.

"Teoría Y Práctica del Federalismo Fiscal en los Estados Unidos," *Hacia un nuevo federalismo*, ed. Alicia Hernández Chávez. Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996, pp. 242-264.

"From Dual to Coercive Federalism in American Intergovernmental Relations," *Globalization and Decentralization*, eds. John S. Jun and Deil S. Wright. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1996, pp. 29-47.

"Intergovernmental Costs and Coordination in U.S. Environmental Protection," *Federalism and the Environment: Environmental Policymaking in Australia, Canada, and the United States*, eds. Kenneth M. Holland, F. L. Morton, and Brian Galligan. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996, pp. 79-101.

"Values and Value Tradeoffs in Federalism," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 25 (Spring 1995): 29-44.

"Liberty, Competition, and the Rise of Coercion in American Federalism," *Competition among Institutions*, ed. Lüder Gerken. London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995, pp. 259-281.

---

---

“Social Standards and Labor Market Policy in American Federalism,” *Saint Louis-Warsaw Transatlantic Law Journal* 1995 (1995): 133-148.

“Implications of Constituent Diplomacy for the European Communities: Issues from U.S. State Experiences,” *Federal-Type Solutions and European Integration*, ed. C. Lloyd Brown-John. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995, pp. 87-117.

“The U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: Background and Performance,” *What Model for the Committee of the Regions? Past Experiences and Future Perspectives*, eds. Renaud Dehousse and Thomas Christiansen. Florence, Italy: European University Institute, 1995, pp. 75-100.

“Intergovernmental Deregulation?” *Public Administration Review* 55 (September/October 1995): 495-497.

“American Experiences in the Theory and Practice of Fiscal Federalism,” *Multiple Identities in a Single State: Indian Federalism in Comparative Perspective*, eds. Balveer Arora and Douglas V. Verney. Delhi: Konark Publishers, 1995, pp. 324-338.

“Foreword: The New Federalism Context of the New Judicial Federalism,” *Rutgers Law Journal* 26 (Summer 1995): 913-948.

“Cities and Citizens in Flux: Global Consumer Integration and Local Civic Fragmentation,” *North American Cities and the Global Economy: Challenges and Opportunities*, eds. Peter Karl Kresl and Gary Gappert. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995, pp. 69-85.

“Rechtssystem und Gerichtsbarkeit,” *Regierungssystem der USA: Lehr-und Handbuch*, eds. Wolfgang Jäger and Wolfgang Welz. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1995, pp. 214-230; 2nd ed., 1998.

“Economic Union and Federal Diversity: Should a Coca-Cola Bottle Carry 51 Health Warnings and, If So, in What Language?” *Economic Union in Federal Systems*, eds. Anne Mullins and Cheryl Saunders. Leichhardt, NSW: The Federation Press, 1994, pp. 37-68.

“The New Coercive Federalism: Places versus Persons,” *The American Federal System: Federal Balance in Comparative Perspective*, eds. Franz Gress, Detlef Fechtner, and Matthias Hannes. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994, pp. 25-54.

“Governing the American States,” *Developments in American Politics*, eds. Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Bruce Cain, and Guy B. Peters, 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1994, pp. 200-217 and Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1995, pp. 200-217.

“Peoples, Persons, and Places in Flux: International Integration versus National Fragmentation,” *Integration and Fragmentation: The Paradox of the Late Twentieth Century*, eds. Guy LaForest and Douglas Brown. Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen’s University, 1994, pp. 53-84.

“Regulatory Regionalism in Metropolitan Areas: Voter Resistance and Reform Persistence,” *Pace Law Review* 13 (Fall 1993): 449-480.

---

---

“Government Financing of Higher Education in the 1990s: Austerity, Affordability, and Accountability,” *Metropolitan Universities* 4 (Winter 1993): 33-47.

“Consumership versus Citizenship: Is There Wiggle Room for Local Regulation in the Global Economy?” *Managing Foreign Relations in Federal States*, ed. Brian Hocking. London: University of Leicester Press, 1993, pp. 22-47.

“Constitutional Federalism: Labor’s Role in Displacing Places to Benefit Persons,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 26 (June 1993): 172-177.  
Reprinted in Karen O’Connor, ed. *American Government: Readings and Cases*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1995, pp. 59-64.

“From Cooperation to Coercion in American Federalism: Housing, Fragmentation, and Preemption, 1780-1992,” *Journal of Law and Politics* 9 (Winter 1993): 333-433.

“Secrecy and Democracy: The Unresolved Legacy of the Pentagon Papers,” *Watergate and Afterward: The Legacy of Richard M. Nixon*, eds. Leon Friedman and William F. Levantrosser. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992, pp. 151-162.

“Implications of Constituent Diplomacy for the Future of Federalism and the Nation-State,” *North American and Comparative Federalism: Essays for the 1990s*, ed. Harry N. Scheiber. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 1992, pp. 27-46.

“Sharing Power in the Federal System: The American States in World Affairs,” *Shared Power*, eds. John M. Bryson and Robert C. Einsweiler. Lanham, MD: University Press of America and Hubert H. Humphrey Institute, 1991, pp. 291-308.

“The Federal Solution: Assessment and Prognosis for Nigeria and Africa,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 21 (Fall 1991): 173-188 with Ladipo Adamolekun.

“Financing Local Government in the United States,” *Local Government: An International Perspective*, eds. Jeffrey Owens and Giorgio Panella. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1991, pp. 141-169.

“The State of American Federalism: 1990-1991,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 21 (Summer 1991): 1-26 with Michael A. Pagano and Ann O’M. Bowman.  
Translated and reprinted in Russian by the Foundation for Social and Political Studies, Moscow, USSR, December 1991.

“Constituent Diplomacy: U.S. State Roles in Foreign Affairs,” *Constitutional Design and Power-Sharing in the Post-Modern Epoch*, ed. Daniel J. Elazar. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991, pp. 107-142.

“The Competitive Challenge to Cooperative Federalism: A Theory of Federal Democracy,” *Competition among States and Local Governments: Efficiency and Equity in American Federalism*, eds. Daphne A. Kenyon and John Kincaid. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 1991, pp. 87-114.

“Constituent Diplomacy in Federal Polities and the Nation-State: Conflict and Co-Operation,” *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, eds. Hans J. Michelmann and Panayotis Soldatos. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 54-75.

“From Cooperative to Coercive Federalism,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 509 (May 1990): 139-152.

---

“Federalism and Community in the American Context,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 20 (Spring 1990): 69-87.

“Commentary: State Antitrust Law in the Context of a New Intergovernmental and International Environment,” *Washburn Law Journal* 29 (Winter 1990): 188-199.

“Fiscal Capacity and Tax Effort of the American States: Trends and Issues,” *Public Budgeting and Finance* 9 (Autumn 1989): 4-26.

“Rain Clouds Over Municipal Diplomacy: Dimensions and Possible Sources of Negative Public Opinion,” *The New International Cities Era: The Global Activities of North American Municipal Governments*, eds. Earl H. Fry, Lee H. Radebaugh, and Panayotis Soldatos. Provo, UT: David M. Kennedy Center for International Affairs, Brigham Young University, 1989, pp. 223-249.

“A Proposal to Strengthen Federalism,” *The Journal of State Government* 62 (January/February 1989): 36-45.

“State and Local Attitudes on State-Local Relations in Highway Policy,” *Transportation Quarterly* 43 (April 1989): 153-167.

“Rethinking Interjurisdictional Competition,” *Multistate Tax Commission Review 1988* (October 1988): 12-14 with Daphne A. Kenyon.

“State Court Protections of Individual Rights Under State Constitutions: The New Judicial Federalism,” *The Journal of State Government* 61 (September/October 1988): 163-169. Reprinted in Thad L. Beyle, ed. *State Government: CQ's Guide to Current Issues and Activities, 1989-90*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1989, pp. 152-158.

“Assessing Competitive Federalism in Light of Excessive Cooperative Federalism,” *Proceedings of the Eighty-First Annual Conference*, ed. National Tax Association-Tax Institute of America. Columbus, OH: NTA-TIA, September 1988, pp. 37-41.

“The State of American Federalism—1987,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 18 (Summer 1988): 1-15.

“Politics, Economic Development, and Second-Generation Strain in India's Federal System,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 18 (Spring 1988): 147-167 with Amal Ray.

“State Constitutions in the Federal System,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 496 (March 1988): 12-22.

“Frank Hague and Franklin Roosevelt: The Hudson Dictator and the Country Democrat,” *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Man, The Myth, The Era*, eds. Herbert D. Rosenbaum and Elizabeth Bartelme. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987, pp. 13-39.

“The State of American Federalism—1986,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 17 (Summer 1987): 1-33.

“Housing and Urban Development: Needs and Equity in a Dynamic Economy,” *Texas: Politics and Public Policy*, Richard L. Cole, Delbert A. Taebel, et al., New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987, pp. 230-267.

“Beyond the Voting Rights Act: White Responses to Black Political Power in Tchula, Mississippi,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 16 (Fall 1986): 155-172.



---

---

“State High Courts, State Constitutions, and Individual Rights Litigation Since 1980: A Judicial Survey,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 16 (Summer 1986): 141-161 with Ronald K. L. Collins and Peter J. Galie.

Reprinted in *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly* 13 (Summer 1986): 599-621.

“The State of American Federalism—1985,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 16 (Summer 1986): 1-15 with Stephen L. Schechter.

“State Offices in Europe,” *Comparative State Politics Newsletter* 6 (August 1985): 22-28.

“The American Governors in International Affairs,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 14 (Fall 1984): 95-114.

“Toward the Third Century of American Federalism: New Dynamics and New Perspectives,” *American Studies International* 22 (Spring 1984): 86-122.

Reprinted in *Federalism: A U.S.-European Comparative View*. Washington, D.C.: USIA, 1984.

“The Challenge of New Communities to Public Administration in Texas: The Colony as an Exemplary Case,” *Texas Journal of Political Studies* 6 (Fall/Winter 1983): 3-22 with John R. Todd and James L. Danielson.

“Of Time, Body, and Scarcity: Policy Options and Theoretic Considerations,” *International Political Science Review* 4 (July 1983): 401-416.

“The Contest of Body and Soul: Resource Scarcity in Western Political Theory,” *Scarce Natural Resources: The Challenge to Public Policymaking*, eds. Susan Welch and Robert Miewald. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1983, pp. 25-46.

“Dimensions and Effects of America’s Political Cultures,” *Journal of American Culture* 5 (Fall 1982): 84-92.

“Mentoring, Loyalty, and the Persistence of Machine Politics,” *Texas Journal of Political Studies* 4 (Spring/Summer 1982): 21-36.

“Influential Models of Political Association in the Western Tradition,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 10 (Fall 1980): 31-58.

“Political Cultures of the American Compound Republic,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 10 (Spring 1980): 1-15.

“Political Culture and the Quality of Urban Life,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 10 (Spring 1980): 89-110.

“Personality and Public Opinion: The Case of Authoritarianism, Prejudice, and Support for the Korean and Vietnam Wars,” *Polity* 11 (Fall 1978): 92-113 with Frederick D. Herzon and Verne Dalton.

“Pentagon Papers Revisited,” *Social Justice and Its Enemies: A Normative Approach to Social Problems*, ed. Thomas Ford Hout. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975, pp. 420-422.

“The Challenge of Change and Dissent,” *The School Counselor* 20 (January 1973): 169-175.

“The American Vocation and Its Contemporary Discontents,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 1 (Fall 1971): 115-140.

“Counseling for Peace,” *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* 49 (May 1971): 727-735.

“The Draft and Counseling,” *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* 49 (December 1970): 284-291 with M. Kincaid.

“Parent Participation: Practical Policy or Another Panacea?” *The Urban Review* 2 (June 1968): 5-11 with Warner Bloomberg.

Reprinted in Erikson et al., eds. *Social Change, Conflict and Education: Foundations Text and Reader*. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill, 1972, pp. 67-77.

### **Reference Entries and Others**

John Kincaid, “Publius: The Journal of Federalism from Its Founding to Half-Century Mark.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 50:4 (2020): 541-543.

“In Memoriam: Richard Louis Cole,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 47:2 (2017): 282-284.

“In Memoriam: Richard L. Cole,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 50:2 (2017): 588-589 with Alejandro Rodriguez and Robert K. Whelan.

“State-Federal Relations: Lost on the Campaign Trail.” *The Book of the States*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2016, pp. 23-32.

“Federalism, Theory of,” *American Governance*, ed. Stephen L. Schechter. Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2016, Vol. 2, pp. 197-201.

“Federalism in American History,” *American Governance*. ed. Stephen L. Schechter. Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2016, Vol. 2, pp. 202-208.

“Compact and Covenant,” *American Governance*. ed. Stephen L. Schechter. Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2016, Vol. 1, pp. 331-334.

“*Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*,” *American Governance*. ed. Stephen L. Schechter. Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2016, Vol. 1, pp. 220-222.

“Concurrent and Exclusive Powers,” *American Governance*. ed., Stephen L. Schechter. Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2016, Vol. 1, pp. 338-339.

“Judicial Federalism,” *American Governance*. ed., Stephen L. Schechter. Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2016, Vol. 3, pp. 119-123.

“State-Federal Relations: Obstructive or Constructive Federalism?” *The Book of the States*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2015, pp. 25-35.

“State-Federal Relations: States Still on the Defensive” *The Book of the States*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2014, pp. 19-29.

“State-Federal Relations: Back to the Future?” *The Book of the States*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2013, pp. 21-30.

“State-Federal Relations: Revolt Against Coercive Federalism?” *The Book of the States*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2012, pp. 39-50.

“State-Federal Relations: Civil War Redux?” *The Book of the States*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2011, pp. 21-28.

“State-Federal Relations: Cooperative Coercion,” *The Book of the States*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2010, pp. 21-30.

---

“State-Federal Relations,” *Encyclopedia of U.S. Political History: Volume Six, Postwar Consensus to Social Unrest, 1946-1975*, ed., Thomas Langston. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009, pp. 349-354.

“Bibliographic Resources for Federalism and Foreign Affairs,” *Foreign Relations in Federal Countries*, ed. Hans Michelmann. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009, pp. 353-383.

“State-Federal Relations: Agendas for Change and Continuity,” *The Book of the States 2009*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2009, pp. 21-27.

“Bicameralism,” *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009, pp. 679-680.

“Constitutions, State,” *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009, pp. 717-719.

“Eminent Domain,” *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009, pp. 754-755.

“Federal Grants,” *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009, pp. 764-766.

“Local Government,” *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009, pp. 854-858.

“State-Federal Relations: Dueling Policies,” *The Book of the States, 2008*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2008, pp. 19-24.

“Confederations,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. William A. Darity, Jr., 2d ed. Detroit: Maxmillan Reference USA, 2008, Vol. 2, pp. 68-69.

“State-Federal Relations: A Policy Tug of War,” *The Book of the States 2007*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2007, pp. 19-24.

“State-Federal Relations: Federal Dollars Down, Federal Power Up,” *The Book of the States, 2006*. Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2006, pp. 19-25.

“Confederations,” *Governments of the World: A Global Guide to Citizens’ Rights and Responsibilities*, ed. C. Neal Tate. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2006, Vol. 1, pp. 228-233.

“Federalism,” *Governments of the World: A Global Guide to Citizens’ Rights and Responsibilities*, ed. C. Neal Tate. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2006, Vol. 2, pp. 83-89.

“Coercive Federalism,” “Competitive Federalism,” “Decentralization,” “Devolution,” “Federalism Summit,” and “Non-centralization,” *Federalism in America: An Encyclopedia*, eds. Joseph R. Marbach, Ellis Katz, and Troy E. Smith. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2006, Vol. I, pp. 90-91, 105-107, 147-148, 151-154, 242-243 and Vol. II, p. 465.

“State-Federal Relations: Defense, Demography, Debt, and Deconstruction as Destiny,” *The Book of the States, 2005*. Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2005, pp. 25-30.

“Trends in Federalism: Continuity, Change, and Polarization,” *Book of the States, 2004*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2004, pp. 21-27.

“Trends in Fiscal Federalism: Is Fiscal Federalism Fizzling?” *The Book of the States, 2003*, Vol. 35. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2003, pp. 200-205.

Reprinted in Council of State Governments’ National Center for Interstate Compacts Web Resource Library, 2006.

“State-Federal Relations: Continuing Regulatory Federalism,” *The Book of the States, 2001-2002*, Vol, 34. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2002, pp. 25-32.

Reprinted in Council of State Governments’ National Center for interstate Compacts Web Resource Library, 2006.

“In Memoriam: Daniel J. Elazar.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 33:1 (2000): 91-95.

“Developments in Federal-State Relations, 1992-93,” *The Book of the States, 1994-95*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 1994, pp. 576-586.

“Developments in Federal-State Relations, 1990-91,” *The Book of the States, 1992-93*. Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 1992, pp. 600-618.

“Federalism and State and Local Government,” *Handbooks to the Modern World: The United States*, vol. 2. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1992, pp. 1031-1059.

“Introduction to American Government and Politics,” “Federalism and Constitutionalism,” and “Public Opinion and the Electoral Process,” *Handbook for the Study of the United States*, eds. William Bate and Perry Frank. Washington, D.C.: United States Information Agency, 1989, pp. 251-272.

Entries on Daniel Berrigan, Phillip Berrigan, The Chicago 8, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Allard K. Lowenstein, *New York Times v. United States*, Pentagon Papers Trial, Anthony Russo, Benjamin Spock, SDS, and War Resisters League for *Dictionary of the Vietnam War, 1945-1975*, ed. James S. Olson. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988, pp. 40-42, 75-76, 143-144, 262, 301-302, 361-362, 400-401, 426-427, 431-433, 482-483.

“Published Works on Federalism: 1981,” *CFS Notebook* 11 (Fall 1982): 1-47.

“Resources on Federalism for Curriculum Development,” *This Constitution* No. 10 (Spring 1986): 35-40.

Reprinted in *Law Studies* 11 (Fall 1986): 29-34.

“Published Works on Federalism, 1980,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 11 (Summer 1981): 219-233.

“Bibliographic Sources for the Study of Political Culture,” *CFS Notebook* 10 (Spring 1980): 4-28.

### ***Monographic Papers and Reports***

“Local Government in the Non-Centralized U.S. Federal System,” *Official Report of the “U.S.-Japan Local Autonomy Forum.”* New York: Japan Local Government Center, 1999.

*American Cities in the Global Economy: A Survey of Municipalities on Activities and Attitudes.* Washington, D.C.: National League of Cities, 1997, 86 pp. with Joshua L. Handelsman.

“Federalism” and “State and Local Government,” *Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education*, ed. Charles F. Bahmueller. Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1991, pp. 391-416 and 465-486.

“Intergovernmental Tensions Between State and Local Economic Development Goals and National Environmental Protection in the United States,” *The Constitution and the Environment*, eds. Sanford Clark, Michael Crommelin, and Cheryl Saunders. Melbourne, Australia: Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies and Centre for Natural Resources Law, 1991, pp. 200-222. Reprinted in *Growth 40: International Perspectives on the Environment*, ed. Ian Marsh. Melbourne: Committee for Economic Development of Australia, 1992, pp. 66-95.

“El Paper de la Comissió Consultiva Dels Estats Units en les Relacions Intergovernamentals en el Sistema Federal America,” *Seminari Sobre la Situació Actual del Federalisme als Estats Units d’America*, ed. Lluís Peñuelas. Barcelona, Spain: Generalitat de Catalunya, Institut d’Estudis Autònoms, 1991, pp. 45-65.

*American Federalism*. For series called “About the United States,” Washington, D.C.: United States Information Agency, September 1987, 21 pp.

“E Pluribus Unum: Pluralist Diversity and Federal Democracy in America” and “Resources on Federalism for Curriculum Development,” *Utilizing Federalist Principles in Civic Education*, ed. Stephen L. Schechter. Philadelphia, PA: Center for the Study of Federalism and National Institute of Education, 1984, pp. 33-47 and 99-103.

*Migration and Public Attitudes in a New Sunbelt City: The Colony, Texas, 1982*. Denton, TX: Bureau of Government Research, North Texas State University, 1983, 33 pp. with John R. Todd and James L. Danielson.

“Community and Economic Development,” *The Lieutenant Governor’s Higher Education Conference on New Federalism*, ed. Delbert A. Taebel. Arlington, TX: Institute of Urban Studies, University of Texas at Arlington, August 1982, pp. 1-18.

*The Declaration of Independence: The American Covenant*. Philadelphia, PA: Center for the Study of Federalism, Workshop on Covenant and Politics, 1981, 34 pp. with Daniel J. Elazar.

*Working Bibliography on Covenant*. Philadelphia, PA: Center for the Study of Federalism, Workshop on Covenant and Politics, rev. ed. 1980, 46 pp.

*Covenant Theories and Political Science: Models and Methods*. Philadelphia, PA: Center for the Study of Federalism, Workshop on Covenant and Politics, 1979, 109 pp. Editor.

*Covenants, Compacts, and Contracts*. Philadelphia, PA: Workshop on Covenant and Politics, Center for the Study of Federalism, 1979, 78 pp. Editor.

*Jersey City Voters and the Mayoral Election of 1977*. Jersey City, NJ: Urban Studies Program, Saint Peter’s College, 1977, 34 pp.

*An Encounter with the Future: The University and the Community—A Survey of North Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, PA: Committee for Racial Justice and Coalition for Fair Housing, 1967, 27 pp.

### **Book Reviews**

Vlad Tarko, “Elinor Ostrom: An Intellectual Biography,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 47 (2017): Online.

Joseph F. Zimmerman, “Unifying the Nation: Article IV of the United States Constitution,” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 45:3 (2015): Online.

---

Kyle Scott, "Federalism: A Normative Theory and Its Practical Relevance," *Regional and Federal Studies* 23:4 (October-December 2013): 520-522.

James H. Read, "Majority Rules versus Consensus: The Political Thought of John C. Calhoun," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 40 (Summer 2010): 560-563.

Joseph F. Zimmerman, "Interstate Disputes: The Supreme Court's Original Jurisdiction," *American Review of Politics* 27 (Winter 2006-2007): 376-378.

Barbara Allen, "Tocqueville, Covenant, and Democratic Revolution: Harmonizing Heaven and Earth," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 36 (Fall 2006): 599-601.

James A. Gardner, "Interpreting State Constitutions: A Jurisprudence of Function in a Federal System," *Political Science Quarterly* 121:2 (Summer 2006): 351-352.

David C. Hendrickson, "Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding," *Journal of Politics* 67:1 (February 2005): 289-291.

G. Alan Tarr, "Understanding State Constitutions," *American Political Science Review* 93 (December 1999): 984-985.

Paul L. Posner, "The Politics of Unfunded Mandates," *Political Science Quarterly* 114 (Summer 1999): 322-323.

Mark H. Moore, "Creating Public Value: Strategic Management in Government," *Journal of Politics* 59 (February 1997): 257-258.

David B. Walker, "The Rebirth of Federalism: Slouching Toward Washington," *American Political Science Review* 89 (December 1995): 1041-1042.

Alice M. Rivlin, "Reviving the American Dream," *National Tax Journal* 46 (June 1993): 245-250.

Mark Tushnet, ed. "Comparative Constitutional Federalism: Europe and America," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 22 (Winter 1992): 150-152.

W. J. Conroy, "Challenging the Boundaries of Reform: Socialism in Burlington," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 21 (Spring 1991): 131-133.

Stanley H. Friedelbaum, ed. "Human Rights in the States: New Directions in Constitutional Policymaking," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 20 (Summer 1990): 182-184.

Robert H. Bork, "The Tempting of America" and Michael Pertschuk and Wendy Schaezel, "The People Rising," *The Bureaucrat* 19 (Spring 1990): 58-62.

Timothy J. Conlan, "New Federalism: Intergovernmental Reform from Nixon to Reagan," *Corruption and Reform* 4 (1989): 286-292.

William H. Riker, "The Development of American Federalism," *American Political Science Review* 82 (December 1988): 1386-1387.

R. Scott Fosler, "The New Economic Role of American States: Strategies in a Competitive World Economy," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 10 (1988): 312-313.

Harry N. Scheiber, ed. "Perspectives on Federalism: Papers from the First Berkeley Seminar on Federalism," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 18 (Summer 1988): 200-202.

Clarence N. Stone and Heywood T. Sanders, eds. "The Politics of Urban Development," *Perspective* 17 (Winter 1988): 12 and *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 18 (Summer 1988): 208-212.

---

---

Scott M. Matheson, "Out of Balance," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 18 (Spring 1988): 183-185.

Roger Richman, Orion F. White, Jr., and Machaux H. Wilkinson, "Intergovernmental Mediation: Negotiations in Local Government Disputes," *Perspective* 15 (July/August 1986): 107 and *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 17 (Winter 1987): 183-184.

Aldon D. Morris, "The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change," *The Texas Journal of Political Studies* 8 (Fall/Winter 1985-1986): 42-44.

David A. Johnson, John A. Booth, and Richard J. Harris, eds. "The Politics of San Antonio: Community, Progress, and Power," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 15 (Winter 1985): 185-186.

Richard A. Watson, "The Presidential Contest: With a Guide to the 1984 Race," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 14 (Summer 1984): 450-151.

Theodore W. Taylor, "American Indian Policy," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 14 (Winter 1984): 148.

Lewis A. Dexter, "Representation versus Direct Democracy in Fighting About Taxes," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 13 (Summer 1983): 104-105.

Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, "The Issues of 1982: A Briefing Book," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 13 (Spring 1983): 143-147.

Peter F. Nardulli and Jeffrey M. Stonecash, "Politics, Professionalism, and Urban Services: The Police," *The Social Science Quarterly* 64 (March 1983): 206-207.

Dina Goren, "Secrecy and the Right to Know," *The Journal of Politics* 44 (February 1982): 300-301.

Donald C. Rowat, ed. "Administrative Secrecy in Developed Countries," *The Journal of Politics* 42 (November 1980): 1247.

Jeremy Rifkin, "The Emerging Order: God in the Age of Scarcity," *The Covenant Letter* 2 (Winter 1980): 22-23.

Ronald M. Peters, "The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780: A Social Compact," *The Covenant Letter* 1 (Spring 1979): 8-10.

Clark R. Mollenhoff, "Game Plan for Disaster: An Ombudsman's Report on the Nixon Years," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 426 (July 1976): 253.

Howard Tolley, "Children and War," *The School Counselor* 23 (September 1975): 71-72.

Harvey G. Cox, Jr. ed. "Military Chaplains: From a Religious Military to a Military Religion." *WIN Magazine* 8 (April 15, 1972): 32-33.

Morison, Samuel Eliot, Frederick Merk, and Frank Freidel. "Dissent in Three American Wars." *The Arizona Republic* (October 24, 1971).

Marshall Windmiller, "The Peace Corps and Pax Americana." *WIN Magazine* 6 (November 15, 1970).

---



---

***Selected Journalistic Publications***

"How nations can cope with growing separatist movements," *The Morning Call*, October 5, 2014, p. 29.

"David L. Woglom: Gown-Town Innovator," *PA Times: Public Service Supplement* 36:2 (April/May/June 2013): 12, 19.

"How the protesters of the '60s eased the way for the occupiers," *The Providence Journal*, December 30, 2011, B7.

"Public Service Dedication," *SIAM Newsletter* 35:1 (Spring 2011): 2.

"Fascinating Facets of Ethiopian Federalism," *SIAM Newsletter* 35:1 (Spring 2011): 1, 4, 11.

"Le paradoxe nord-américain," *La Presse* (Montreal, Canada), May 28, 2010, A20.

"Iraq Centre for Federal Studies Up and Running," *SIAM Newsletter* 34 (Spring 2010): 3.

"Global Dialogue on Federalism Book Series," *SIAM Newsletter* 34 (Summer 2010): 11.

"History & Hope in Iraq," *Lafayette Alumni News* (Summer 2009): 24-28

"Founding an Iraq Center for Federal Studies," *SIAM Newsletter* 33 (Winter 2009): 3-4.

"Une idée essentielle," *La Presse* (Montreal), September 18, 2005, p. A 13.

"Reviving the ACIR Would Be Wonderful—But It's Unlikely," *State Tax Notes* 20:5 (January 29, 2001): 369.

"Presidential Politics and the Future of the U.S. Supreme Court," *Federations: What's New in Federalism Worldwide* 1:1 (November 2000): 5-6.

Reprinted in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies* 3:1 (2002): 148-153.

"Constitutional Proposals from the States," *Insights on Law & Society* 1:1 (Fall 2000): 15.

"Paeon to Federalism," *The Wilson Quarterly* 24:1 (Winter 2000): 8

"Experience May Dampen Convention Hopes," *PA Times* 19 (October 1, 1996): 10.

"Reinvented Bureaucrats and Unreinvented Legislators: A Catch-22 Tale," *SIAM Intergovernmental News* 19 (Winter 1996): 1-3.

Editor, "New Federalism," *Update on Law-Related Education* 19 (Fall 1995).

"Reinventing Federalism: Principles and Challenges," *PA Times* 16 (February 1, 1993), p. 3.

"The New Judicial Federalism: The States' Lead in Rights Protection," *The Journal of State Government* 65 (April-June 1992): 50-52 with Robert F. Williams.

Partly reprinted in Karen O'Connor and Larry J. Sabato, *American Government: Roots and Reform*, 2nd ed.; Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1995, p. 99. Also reprinted in Bruce Stinebrickner, ed., *Annual Editions: State and Local Government*. Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing, 1996, pp. 110-112.

"The Federal Solution to the National Question," *Citizen* (Nigeria) 3 (May 4-10, 1992): 22-23 with Ladipo Adamolekun.

"Is Education Too Intergovernmental?" *Intergovernmental Perspective* 18 (Winter 1992): 28-34.



---

---

"The State and Federal Bills of Rights: Partners and Rivals in Liberty," *Intergovernmental Perspective* 17 (Fall 1991): 31-34.

"Selected Rights Enumerated in State Constitutions," *Intergovernmental Perspective* 17 (Fall 1991): 35-44 with Mark L. Glasser.

"Comment on *Missouri v. Jenkins*," *Government Finance Review* 6 (August 1990): 24-25.

"State and Local Governments Go International," *Intergovernmental Perspective* 16 (Spring 1990): 6-9.

"A Forward Pass, Not a Handoff," *Forum for Applied Research and Public Policy* 4 (Fall 1989): 115.

"Metropolitan Governance: Reviving International and Market Analogies," *Intergovernmental Perspective* 15 (Spring 1989): 23-27.

"State Bank Taxation and the Rise of Interstate Banking: A Survey of the States," *Intergovernmental Perspective* 14 (Fall 1988): 18-22 with Sandra B. McCray.  
Reprinted in *Tax Notes* 41 (November 28, 1988): 981-985.

"The Changing Face of Federalism," *State Legislatures* 13 (April 1987): 16-20.

"NTSU Implements Classic Learning Core," *Texas Journal* 9 (Spring 1987): 35.

"NTSU Meets Carnegie Ideal," *Denton Record-Chronicle* (November 14, 1986), p. 4A.

"What Makes a New Town Work?" *Resource* 2 (Fall 1985): 18-20.

"Texans Like The Colony," *National Civic Review* 72 (December 1983): 626-628.

"The Legacy of Martin Luther: A Quincentennial Reflection," *The Texas Humanist* 6 (November/December 1983): 13-17 with William E. Painter.

"Martin Luther King, Jr., Heir to Luther's Reformist Impulse," *Denton Record-Chronicle* (November 13, 1983), p. 1D.

"On Constitution," *Denton Record-Chronicle* (September 29, 1982), p. 4A.

"Official Draws Realistic View of Senate Life," *Denton Record-Chronicle* (July 3, 1981), p. 4D.

"Amendment Should Decide Equality of Gender," *Denton Record-Chronicle* (February 15, 1980), p. 4A.

"Covenant and Polity," *New Conversations* 4 (Fall 1979): 4-8 with Daniel J. Elazar.

"Chrysler Portrays Pitiable Plight: Pitch to Socialize Losses, Private Profits," *Denton Record-Chronicle* (September 30, 1979), p. 8A.

"Hudson County Legislative Elections," *New Jersey Magazine* 7 (November/December 1977): 47-53.

"Children and War," *WIN Magazine* X (July 11, 1974): 19-21.

"China's Underground Great Wall," *Recon* 2 (May 1974): 3.

"China's Wall Goes Underground," *American Report IV* (March 18, 1974): 2.

"China's Underground Great Wall," *US-China News* (January 1974): 3-4.  
Reprinted in *Recon* 2 (May 1974): 3.

- "Watergate Floods Paper Trial," *American Report III* (May 21, 1973): 6, 23.
- "Nixon Strategy for Secrecy," *American Report III* (May 17, 1973): 1.
- "Pentagon Papers Trial Dismissed," *Voice of the City*, May 17, 1973, p. 1.
- "Watergate dirt seeps thru trial," *The Guardian*, May 16, 1973, p. 4.
- "Defense Boycotts Pentagon Papers Trial," *Voice of the City*, May 10, 1973, p. 3.
- "Watergate web extends to Ellsberg," *The Guardian*, May 9, 1973, p. 4.
- "Nixon's Strategy for Secrecy," *American Report III* (May 7, 1973): 1.
- "The Defense Rests," *American Report III* (May 7, 1973): 13.
- "Ellsberg Cites War Crimes," *The Guardian*, May 2, 1973, p. 6.
- "The Truth Shall Make You Free: Top Secret," *The Christian Herald* 96 (May 1973): 30-37.
- "Pentagon Papers Trial: New Frontier Secrets," *Voice of the City*, March 22, 1973, p. 3.
- "Ellsberg defense begins," *The Guardian*, March 14, 1973, p. 5.
- "Revisiting the New Frontier," *American Report*, March 26, 1973, p. 7.
- "Nixon seeks sweeping powers," *The Guardian*, March 7, 1973, p. 5.
- "NLF: The Liberation Gentlemen Who Speak with Honeyed Tongue," *WIN Magazine IX* (January 15, 1973): 5-10.
- Daniel Ellsberg, "Papers on the War," *The Arizona Republic*, January 7, 1973, p. N-6.
- "Notes on the Post-Constitutional Prosecution of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo," *SANE World* 11 (December 1972): 2.
- "The Pentagon Papers Trial," *WIN Magazine* 8 (November 1, 1972). Guest editor and contributor. Also featured in Tom Wicker, "The New Iron Curtain," *The New York Times* (November 19, 1972), p. 15.
- "Father Daniel Berrigan In Tempe," *Voice of the City*, October 19, 1972, p. 8.
- "Peace Education," *American Report II* (October 9, 1972): 25.
- "The Men Who Pray for Peace," *The Arizona Republic*, March 26, 1972, p. M-9.
- The Pentagon Papers Trial*. Los Angeles: Pentagon Papers Peace Project, 1972.
- The President's Budget Fudget*. Phoenix, AZ: Professional and Business Men and Women for Peace, 1972.
- "Pentagon Papers," *Venice Beachhead* (California), July 1972, p. 8.
- "Counseling the Emotionally Undisturbed." *A Different Drummer 1* (March 1972): 9-16, with Marylou Kincaid.
- "Happiness is War: Adventures of the VVAW at the Arizona State Fair." *WIN Magazine 7* (December 15, 1971): 21-23.
- "Electro-Death," *New Times*, October 6, 1971, p. 4.

---

---

**Internet Publications and Blogs**

“In US COVID-19 Responses, Party Polarization Has Trumped Cooperative Federalism,” London School of Economics Blog, December 1, 2021, at <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2021/12/01/in-us-covid-19-responses-party-polarization-has-trumped-cooperative-federalism/> with J. Wesley Leckrone.

John Kincaid and J. Wesley Leckrone, “Federalism and the COVID-19 Crisis in the United States of America,” Forum of Federations, Blog. April 22, 2020, <http://www.forumfed.org/2020/04/john-kincaid-and-j-wesley-leckrone-federalism-and-covid-19/>

John Kincaid, “U.S. Federalism and the Covid-19 Pandemic.” UACES (University Association for Contemporary European Studies), “(Re)Imagining Territorial Politics in Times of Crisis” Research Network Blog, May 15, 2020, <https://uacesterrpol.wordpress.com/2020/05/15/u-s-federalism-and-the-covid-19-pandemic/?fbclid=IwAR2rkYgnTYVo9adCJ8gdiO7bLzod1Ba223f8-wlQfqP-Dnz388P63RjsGdk>

“Why the US’ Complex Federal System Will Blunt the Worst Aspects of Trump’s Transgressive Presidency,” US Centre, London School of Economics, February 18, 2019, at: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2019/02/18/why-the-us-complex-federal-system-will-blunt-the-worst-aspects-of-trumps-transgressive-presidency/>

Commentary on “2019’s Most Sinful States in America,” WalletHub, February 20, 2019, at <https://wallethub.com/edu/most-sinful-states/46852/#expert=john-kincaid>

“The Three Shades of American Federalism,” 50 Shades of Federalism, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK at <http://50shadesoffederalism.com/case-studies/the-three-shades-of-american-federalism/>

“Courts in Federal Countries: Federalists or Unitarists?” Volokh Conspiracy Blog hosted by *The Washington Post*, May 8, 2017 with Nicholas Aroney.

“Centralizing and Decentralizing Trends on Federal High Courts.” Volokh Conspiracy Blog hosted by *The Washington Post*, May 9, 2017 with Nicholas Aroney.

“A guide for successful devolution,” London School of Economics Blog Site, October 13, 2014, <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/a-guide-for-successful-devolution/>

“Religious Rights Trump Administrators’ Convenience,” *PA Times* (online American Society for Public Administration), August 22, 2014, <http://patimes.org/religious-rights-trump-administrators-convenience/>

“Editor’s Note—Introduction to the *Publius* Virtual Issue: Scholarly Works on Federalism by Elinor Ostrom and Vincent Ostrom,” Open Access Publication on *Publius* Page of Oxford University Press Website, 12 pages, March 2014.

“Elinor and Vincent Ostrom: Federalists for All Seasons,” Oxford University Press Blog, <https://blog.oup.com/2014/03/elinor-vincent-ostrom-federalists-for-all-seasons/> March 2014.

“Constitutional Proposals from the States,” *Insights on Law and Society* 1:1 (November 2000): [www.insightsmagazine.org](http://www.insightsmagazine.org).

---

---

***Government Testimony (excluding testimonies while in government service)***

Testimony on H.R. 534 “The Restore the Partnership Act,” Speaker’s Task Force on Intergovernmental Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., May 17, 2018.

Testimony on H.R. 4826 “Lobbying with Appropriated Funds Reform Act of 2000,” Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., July 20, 2000.

Testimony on “Tenth Amendment Enforcement Act of 1996,” Committee on Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., March 21, 1996.  
Reprinted in *The Federalism Report* 21 (Fall 1996): 5-8.

**PROFESSIONAL MEETING AND CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION*****Selected Papers and Lectures Presented***

“States’ Coronavirus Border Policies in the United States,” International Conference on “Boundary or Pandemic Control? Understanding Subnational Border Restrictions to Control COVID19 in Federal Systems” sponsored by the Australian National University, Online, February 22, 2021.

“Federalism in Multinational Settings,” International Conference on “Transformational Potential of the Euro-Atlantic Processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina” sponsored by the University in Mostar, Online, March 17, 2021.

“Research Agendas for Federalism Studies: Domestic and Comparative,” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Online, April 9, 2021.

“Do We Need a New Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations or Something Similar to It?” National Online Conference, “Functional Federalism Academy” sponsored by the Center for Constitutional Studies, Utah Valley University, April 8, 2021.

“Constitutional Patriotism, Territorial Neutrality, and Polarization in American Federalism,” Conference on “Federalism, Democracy and National Diversity,” University of Quebec, Montréal, Canada, October 28 - November 1, 2018.

“Federalism in the Trump Era: Demolition, Devolution, or Durability?” the Richard L. Cole Memorial Lecture, College of Architecture, Planning and Public Affairs, University of Texas at Arlington, September 17, 2018.

“Trump Federalism (To Date),” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 2, 2018.

A. J. Brown, Jacob Deem, and John Kincaid, “Federal Attachment and Popular Trust & Confidence: Lessons from the International Constitutional Values Survey (Mark 2),” presented at the Biennial Meeting of the International Political Science Association, Brisbane, Australia, July 23, 2018.

Paolo Dardanelli and John Kincaid, “Authoritarianism and Dynamic De/Centralisation in Federations,” presented at the Biennial Meeting of the International Political Science Association, Brisbane, Australia, July 22, 2018.

---

---

“The Roles of U.S. States in International Affairs,” Flanders House, New York City, November 17, 2017.

“Findings and Reflections on Collaborative and Networked Governance.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Atlanta, GA, March 17, 2017.

“The Eclipse of Dual Federalism by One-Way Cooperative Federalism.” Paper presented at conference on “The Future of Federalism,” New York University School of Law, New York, NY, November 11-12, 2016.

Paolo Dardanelli, John Kincaid, Alan Fenna, André Kaiser, André Lecours, and Ajay Kumar Singh, “Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Mapping Dynamic De/Centralization in Federations.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 6, 2016.

“De/Centralization Patterns in the United States: 1790-2010,” World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Poznan, Poland, July 25, 2016.

“Federalism Non-Reform in the United States,” Conference on “A People’s Federation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, June 16, 2016.

“Diversity-Induced Centralization in American Federalism.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Montreal, Canada, October 1-3, 2015.

“From Dualistic Autonomous Concurrency to Marbleized Permissive Concurrency in American Federalism” Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Cape Town, South Africa, November 7, 2014.

A. J. Brown, John Kincaid, Richard Cole, and Jacob Deem, “Federal Political Culture: How Has It Been Measured, How Can It Be Measured, and Should It Be Measured In Non-Federal Countries?” Paper presented at the 23<sup>rd</sup> World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, July 22, 2014.

Paolo Dardanelli, John Kincaid, Alan Fenna, André Kaiser, André Lecours, and Ajay Kumar Singh, “Analysing Dynamic De/Centralization in Federations: A Conceptual and Methodological Framework,” Paper presented at the 23<sup>rd</sup> World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, July 21, 2014.

Richard L. Cole and John Kincaid, “Is the Teaching of Federalism Dead or Alive in Canada and the United States?” Paper presented at the 23<sup>rd</sup> World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, July 21, 2014.

“Causes and Manifestations of Centralization in U.S. Federalism,” Conference for public officials and others on “Lezioni di Federalismo. 5,” Éupolis Lombardia, Milan, Italy, March 28, 2014.

“Policy Coercion and Administrative Cooperation in American Federalism,” Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Washington, DC, March 14, 2014.

Featured Presenter at all-day Conference Within a Conference on American Federalism, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 10, 2014.

---

---

“Explaining Cooperation in American Intergovernmental Relations,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Bolzano, Italy, September 11-14, 2013.

“Policy Coercion and Administrative Cooperation in American Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 30, 2013.

“Autonomy and Secession Lessons Beyond Europe,” Concluding Presentation at Conference on “Are States Falling Apart?” University of Fribourg, Switzerland, August 21-23, 2013.

“American Federalism and the Study of Federalism: Two Sick Puppies,” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Orlando, FL, January 5, 2013.

“The Local-Global Connection: International Dimensions of Urban Governance in the United States,” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association South, Atlanta, Georgia, October 12-14, 2012, with Heidi H. Hobbs.

“The U.S. Supreme Court: Friend or Foe of Territorial Autonomy?” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Rome, Italy, September 19-21, 2012.

“American Federalism: Historical Overview and Current Contours,” Annual Meeting of the Multistate Tax Commission, Grand Rapids, MI, August 1, 2012.

Richard L. Cole and John Kincaid, “Citizen Evaluations of Federalism Performance and Feelings of Regional Equity and Autonomy in Four Federal Polities,” Biennial Meeting of the International Political Science Association, Madrid, Spain, July 8-11, 2012.

Richard L. Cole, John Kincaid, and Robert Whelan, “The Myth of the North American City Revisited: A Comparative Conceptual and Empirical Evaluation,” Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Edmonton, AB, Canada, June 13, 2012.

“Aspects of U.S. Public Opinion on Immigration,” The Second Ruppin International Conference on Immigration and Social Integration, Ruppin Academic Center, Israel, May 21-23, 2012.

“Measuring the Effectiveness of Federalism: Toward The Construction of an Index,” Conference on “Checking Our Constitution@30,” sponsored by Association for Canadian Studies, Faculty of Law (Civil Law), University of Ottawa, and Public Law Group of Faculty of Law (Common Law) at University of Ottawa, Canada, April 17-18, 2012.

Presenter: Roundtable on “U.S. Federalism in 2012: A Sick Puppy?” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 14, 2012.

Speaker: “Understanding Our State Governments and Politics,” Leadership and Public Policy Conference of the National Council of State Boards of Nursing, Alexandria, VA, October 5, 2011.

“The States in Revolt: The Constitutional Crisis Precipitated by President Obama’s National Health-Care Law,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Speyer, Germany, September 29-October 1, 2011.

“Executive Responses to the Global Financial Crisis in the United States: Continuity in the Face of Crisis.” Sixth General Conference of European Consortium for Political Research, Reykjavik, Iceland, August 24-27, 2011.

---

---

“Public Attitudes and Intergovernmental Cooperation on U.S. Immigration,” Conference on “Governance, Attachment, and Identities in Federal States: Comparing Canada, the United States, Germany, and Spain” sponsored by the Association for Canadian Studies, Ottawa, Canada, April 6, 2011.

Roundtable Presentation, “The Constraining Impacts of Nationalization on Regional and Local Political Cultures,” Annual Meeting of Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 30-31, 2011.

“Intergovernmental Perspectives on Public Attitudes Toward Immigration in Canada and the United States,” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Baltimore, MD, March 12-13, 2011.

“The Relevance of Constitutional Reform in Federal Systems,” Keynote Address at Conference on “Changing Federal Constitutions—Lessons Learnt from International Comparison,” co-sponsored by the Bundesrat, Forum of Federations, Technische Universität Darmstadt, and Fern Universität in Hagen, Bundesrat, Berlin, Germany February 24-25, 2011.

Presenter and Discussant: Workshop on Rethinking Post-Conflict Constitutional Design, sponsored by the U.S. Institute of Peace and Forum of Federations, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, December 17-18, 2010.

Rapporteur: 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Federalism, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, December 13-16, 2010.

“Impacts of the Global Financial Crisis on American Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies held jointly with Comparative Federalism Section of the International Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 16-18, 2010.

“El sistema sanitario de los Estados Unidos y su reforma reciente,” Jornada Internacional “La descentralización sanitaria,” Cortes de Aragon, Zaragoza, Spain, June 18, 2010.

“The U.S. Senate as a Guarantor of Territorial Pluralism,” International Seminar on Guarantees of Territorial Pluralism, Center for Political and Constitutional Studies, Madrid, Spain, June 14-15, 2010.

“Longitudinal Patterns of Public Attitudes Toward Federalism in Canada and the United States,” National Congress 2010 of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Montreal, Canada, June 3, 2010.

“The Rise of Social-Welfare Spending and the Exacerbation of Coercive Federalism,” IGR 2020 Symposium at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, San Jose, California, April 9, 2010.

“American Federalism: Current Patterns,” Symposium on Governance Issues, Sponsored by Kissinger Institute on China and the United States of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Sanya, Hainan, People’s Republic of China, January 19-22, 2010.

“Comparative Observations on the International Activities of Constituent Governments,” Guest Lecture, University of Delhi, India, October 30, 2009.

Rapporteur: “Coordinating Public Security in the North American Federations,” Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Forum of Federations, Washington, DC, November 9, 2009.

“The U.S. ACIR: Killed by Partisan, Coercive Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 4, 2009.

---

---

“Federalism, Political Culture, and Public Trust in Governments in Canada and the United States,” Pre-Conference of the Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations of the APSA, University of Toronto, Canada, September 2, 2009, with Richard L. Cole.

Keynote Address, “American Federalism: Historical Overview and Current Patterns,” Annual Convention of Institute for Professionals in Taxation, San Francisco, CA, July 21, 2009.

“Public Evaluations of Governments in Three North American Federations,” Annual Meeting of the International Political Science Association, Santiago, Chile, July 14, 2009, with Richard L. Cole.

“From Bicomunal Federalism to Bipartisan Centralization: The Populist March Toward Centralized Federalism in the United States,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Barcelona, Spain, September 18-20, 2008.

Keynote Plenary Address, “American Federalism: Past and Present,” Annual Meeting of the Multistate Tax Commission, Santa Fe, NM, July 28-31, 2008.

“Unity and Diversity in U.S. Federalism: From Biculturalism to Multiculturalism,” A Global Dialogue on Federalism, “Diversity and Unity in Federal Countries,” European Union, Committee of the Regions, Brussels, Belgium, June 10-11, 2008.

Keynote Address, “Federalism, Decentralization, and Economic Development,” Annual International Symposium, “Comparative Analysis of Key Transformational Issues,” School of Urban and Public Affairs, University of Texas at Arlington, April 29, 2008.

“The Contemporary American Federal System,” Annual Lecture, Centre for Federal Studies, University of Kent, Canterbury, U.K., October 31, 2007.

“Local Government’s Place and Role in the American Federal System,” Invited Lecture, Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, India, November 8, 2007.

“Elements of Coercion, Cooperation, and Dualism in Contemporary American Federalism,” Annual Lecture, Center for Federal Studies, University of Kent, Canterbury, U.K., October 31, 2007.

“Public Attitudes Toward Facets of Federalism and Political Culture in Canada and the United States,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, October 18-20, 2007.

“The Role of Experts in Advising Governments,” Privy Council and Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, October 18, 2007.

“Trust and Confidence in Canadian and U.S. Federal Governments,” Privy Council, Office of the Prime Minister, Ottawa, Canada, October 17, 2007.

“Constitutional Law and the Devolution of Political and Fiscal Power,” U.S. Department of State Speaker Program in the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Republic of Maldives, June 18 – July 1, 2007.

“Elements of Coercive and Cooperative Federalism,” Invited Lecture, Martin School of Public Policy and Administration, University of Kentucky, Lexington, April 11, 2007.

“The Three Faces of American Federalism,” Conference on Federal Nations of North America, Eccles Center, British Library, London, UK, March 19-20, 2007.



---

---

“Cities and Metropolitan Areas in the U.S. Federal System,” Conference on “Competition versus Cooperation: German Federalism in Need of Reform—A Comparative Perspective,” Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Forum of Federations, Berlin, Germany, October 18-20, 2006.

International Expert for Working Conference on “Safeguarding Judicial Independence in a Federal Iraq” with judges of high court and lower courts of Iraq, sponsored by the United States Institute of Peace and International Institute for the Rule of Law, Istanbul, Turkey, September 14-18, 2006.

“Comparative Federal Constitutionalism,” National Academy of Public Administration, Washington, D.C., September 20, 2006.

John Kincaid and Richard L. Cole, “Public Opinion and Federal Political Culture in Canada, Mexico, and the United States,” Triennial Meeting of the International Political Science Association, Fukuoka, Japan, July 9-13, 2006.

“The Eclipse of the States in the U.S. Senate,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Tübingen, Germany, June 28 – July 1, 2006.

“Federalism, FEMA, and Katrina,” Roundtable Session at Annual Meeting of Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 20, 2006.

“Federalism and Democracy: Comparative Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives,” International Workshop on “Federalism and Democracy,” Centre for Federal Studies, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK, April 2-6, 2006.

Keynote Address: “The Experience of Federalism in the United States.” Encontros Internacionais de Sintra, SEDES: Associação para o Desenvolvimento Económico e Social, Sintra, Portugal, October 22-23, 2005.

“Federalism and the U.S. Supreme Court,” Annual Meeting of International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Villa Vigoni, Mennaggio, Italy, October 5-8, 2005.

“Political Coercion and Administrative Cooperation in U.S. Intergovernmental Relations,” Biennial Meeting of European Union Studies Association, Austin, Texas, April 1-3, 2005.

“Federalism More at Risk: Implications for State Tax Administration,” Annual Meeting of the Multistate Tax Commission, Mystic, CT, July 28-29, 2004.

“Smashing the Twin Relics of Barbarism—Slavery and Polygamy: Rejecting Territorial Multiculturalism in American Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Innsbruck, Austria, November 15, 2002.

“The State of American Federalism, 2001-2002,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 31, 2002, with Dale A. Krane.

“Constituent Diplomacy of U.S. States,” Conference on “Außenpolitik von Regionen,” Europäischen Zentrum für Föderalismusforschung, Tübingen, Karlsruhe, Germany, June 20-22, 2002.

“Trends in American Federalism,” Annual Conference of the Federation of Tax Administrators, Nashville, Tennessee, June 5, 2002.

“Federal Models and the European Union,” Annual Meeting of the European Community Studies Association, Congress of Humanities and Social Sciences, Toronto, Canada, June 1, 2002.

---

---

“Constituent Diplomacy,” Pre-Conference for Internationale Föderalismuskonferenz 2002, Gilon, Switzerland, February 14-16, 2002.

“Current Trends in Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the Multistate Tax Commission, San Diego, CA, January 18, 2002.

“Historical Development of Federalism,” International Forum on Federalism in Mexico, Veracruz, November 15-17, 2001.

“The State of American Federalism, 2000-2001,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1, 2001.

“Globalization and Federalism in the United States: Atlas Shrugged,” Conference on “The Impact of Global and Regional integration on Federal Systems,” Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen’s University, Ottawa, Canada, December 8-9, 2000.

“American Federalism and State Constitutionalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1, 2000.

“The American Devolution Derby: The Devolution Turtle vs. The Centralization Rabbit,” Transatlantic Conference on “Changing Governance in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany,” Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany, May 25-26, 2000.

“Interstate Cooperation in the United States,” Conference on “Reform of German Federalism,” Bertelsmann Stiftung, Berlin, Germany, May 11-12, 2000.

“Federalism and Economic Policy-making,” International Forum of Federations, Mont Tremblant, Quebec, Canada, October 6-8, 1999.

“El Federalismo en los Estados Unidos de América,” Ier Simposio de Derecho “Federalismo 2000,” Universidad de Monterrey, Mexico, April 21, 1999.

“Devolution in the United States: Rhetoric and Reality,” Rethinking Federalism in the EU and US: The Challenge of Legitimacy, A Transatlantic Symposium, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, April 18-19, 1999.

“Federal Democracy and Liberty in Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America*,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15, 1999.

“Recent Trends in American Federalism: Coercion or Cooperation?” and “Federal Devolution and State Innovation,” Université de Montréal, Québec, Canada, February 18-19, 1999.

“Devolution in the U.S. Federal System: Fact or Fiction?” Trination Seminar on the New Federalism in North America, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico City, November 5-6, 1998.

“Conceptions of Federalism at the Founding of the United States,” Conference on the Lessons on Federalism: What Europe Might Learn from America, Institute of United States Studies, School of Advanced Studies, University of London, UK, May 5-6, 1998.

“Devolution and the Urban Crisis,” Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Fort Worth, TX, April 25, 1998. *Winner of Best Paper Award.*

“Confederal Federalism in the European Union,” Conference on Federalism and Compounded Representation in Western Europe, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, April 3-4, 1998.

---

---

“Devolution and Fiscal Federalism in the United States,” Conference on Comparative Fiscal Federalism, International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, University of Adelaide, Australia, March 24-27, 1998.

“The Fiscal Autonomy of Local Governments in the United States,” Conference on Interactive Relationships Between Central and Local Governments, Celal Bayar University, Manisa, Turkey, December 9-11, 1997.

“The International Competence of U.S. States,” International Conference on Paradiplomacy, University of the Basque Country, Bilbao, Spain, September 18-19, 1997.

“Devolution or Restoration in American Federalism?” Colloquium on Devolution, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Boston, September 12, 1997.

“Political Dimensions of Functional and Fiscal Allocations in Multi-Centric Systems of Government,” Seminar on Fiscal Decentralization in Developing Countries, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., May 6-7, 1997.

“The Paradox of American Federalism: Resurgent States in a Centralizing System,” Annual Meeting of the European Consortium for Political Research, Bern Switzerland, February 28-March 4, 1997.

“Federalism and the Clinton Administration: Intergovernmental Reform at the Margins,” Conference on The Clinton Years in Perspective, University of Montreal, Quebec, Canada, October 6-8, 1996.

“Confederal Federalism in the European Union and Issues of Representation,” Workshop on Federalism and Compounded Representation in Western Europe, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, October 4-5, 1996.

“New Directions for Metropolitan Governance,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 30, 1996.

“Global Interdependence and Local Independence in American Federalism,” International Conference on Local Autonomy, National Institute for Research Advancement (Japan) and National Academy of Public Administration (USA), Tokyo, Japan, May 24-26, 1996.

“Secrecy and Democracy: The Pentagon Papers Trial Revisited,” Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association, Lafayette College, April 12, 1996.

“The ‘NEWest’ Federalism in Congress,” Symposium ‘96, New Jersey Chapter of the American Society of Public Administration, March 22, 1996.

“Value Tensions in Federalism, Liberty, and Democracy,” Annual Meeting of the Mont Pélerin Society, Cancun, Mexico, January 14-18, 1996.

“The Politics of the Tenth Amendment,” Symposium Presentation at Conference on “The Future of the Tenth Amendment,” The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., September 12, 1995.

“Is There a Future for Federalism in the United States?” Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association, Gettysburg, PA, April 7-8, 1995.

“State and Local Governments in Foreign Affairs,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY, April 4, 1995.

---

---

“Elements of Competitive Federalism in the United States,” Center for the Study of Public Choice, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, March 29, 1995.

“The New Federalism and the New Judicial Federalism,” Annual Lecture of the Council on State Constitutional Studies and Rutgers Law Journal, Law School, Rutgers–The State University, Camden, NJ, March 22, 1995.

“U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations: Background and Performance,” Workshop of the EU Committee of the Regions, Institut Universitaire Europeen, Florence, Italy, January 13, 1995.

“The Values of Federalism,” Colloquium on The Road to Federalism, Instituto Cultural Ludwig von Mises, Querétaro, Mexico, January 9-11, 1995.

“The Future of Mandate Relief: The Promise and Performance of *New York* and the Congress,” Annual Meeting of the American Association of Law Schools, New Orleans, LA, January 8, 1995.

“Ends and Means of Federal Democracy: Considerations for Iraq,” Iraqi Constitutional Studies Project, Conference at Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, September 17-18, 1994.

“The American Federal System: Beyond Cooperative Federalism,” Keynote Address, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt, Germany, January 7-8, 1994.

“Federal Mandates and Preemption,” Annual Meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, D.C., October 28-30, 1993.

“Federal Mandates,” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, San Francisco, CA, July 18, 1993.

“Adjusting the World Order to Communal and Individual Self-Determination,” Plenary Session of Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa, Canada, June 7, 1993.

“State Governance Agendas,” National Academy of Public Administration, Washington, D.C., November 13-14, 1992.

“Rise and Decline of the Federal Government’s Institutional Capacity for Intergovernmental Analysis: ACIR, OMB, GAO, and the Congress,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 3-6, 1992.

“Economic Union and Federal Diversity: Should a Coca-Cola Bottle Carry 52 Health Warnings and, If So, in What Language?” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, University of Melbourne, Australia, August 12-14, 1992.

“Secession, State Proliferation, and Shared Sovereignty in a Federating World,” Annual Meeting of the World History Association, Philadelphia, PA, June 24-27, 1992.

“Dividing the Job: The Intergovernmental Dimension,” National Academy of Public Administration, Carter Presidential Center, Atlanta, GA, June 5-6, 1992.

“Consumership vs. Citizenship: Is There Wiggle Room for Local Regulation in the Global Economy?” Conference on Managing Foreign Relations in Federal States, Australia House, London, UK, March 11-12, 1992.

“Federalism and Pluralism as Methods of Power-Sharing,” Conference on Aboriginal Governments and Power Sharing in Canada, Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, February 17-18, 1992.

---

---

“Political Subcultures of the American States: State of the Art and Agendas for Research,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30, 1991 with Joel Lieske.

“Interjurisdictional vs. Intergovernmental Competition,” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Washington, D.C., March 25, 1991.

“Intergovernmental Tensions Between State and Local Development Goals and National Environmental Protection,” Conference on The Constitution and the Environment, Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies, University of Melbourne, Australia, November 29-30, 1990.

“Planning and the New Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Planning Association, Denver, CO, April 22, 1990.

“Issues of Constituent Diplomacy in the Federal System,” Fourth Annual Berkeley Seminar on Federalism, University of California, Berkeley, CA, April 19, 1990.

“Implications of Constituent Diplomacy for the European Communities,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies and IPSA Comparative Federalism Research Committee, College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium, October 26-29, 1989.

“Financing Local Government in the United States,” OECD and University of Pavia Conference on Decentralization and Local Government Finance in Western Europe, Pavia, Italy, May 29-30, 1989.

“The Role of the State and Local Governments in Promoting International Competitiveness,” and “An Intergovernmental Research Agenda for the 1990s,” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Miami, FL, April 10-12, 1989.

“Can We Forge a New Consensus on Federalism?” Keynote at Annual Meeting of the Region IV of the American Society for Public Administration, Carlisle, PA, October 6, 1988.

“Rain Clouds Over Municipal Diplomacy,” International Conference on the New International Cities Era, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, October 28-29, 1988.

“The Differentiation of Urban Development: From Private Governments to Global Competition,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 1988.

“American Federalism—The Reagan Years and Beyond,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, TX, March 23-26, 1988.

“Secrecy and Democracy: The Unresolved Legacy of the Pentagon Papers,” Sixth Annual Presidential Conference: Richard M. Nixon, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, November 19-21, 1987.

“Federalism and Community,” Liberty Fund Conference sponsored by Center for the Study of Federalism, Philadelphia, PA, November 8-10, 1987.

“Federalism and Foreign Policy,” Conference of the Federalist Society, Law School, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, March 27-28, 1987.

“The Structure of Consent in the Federal System: Ambiguities in the Founders’ Design of the Compound Republic,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, March 21, 1986.

---

“Local Liberty and Municipal Governance in the American Federal System,” Conference on Federalism in Brazil at the University of Sao Paulo and University of Brasilia sponsored by the Federal Government of Brazil and USIS, October 9-16, 1985.

“Constituent Diplomacy: U.S. State Roles in Foreign Affairs,” Annual Meeting of the International Political Science Association, Paris, France, July 15-20, 1985.

“The Future Relationship Between Land and Liberty,” Conference on Land Ownership and Liberty in American Society sponsored by the Liberty Fund and Center for the Study of Federalism, Sugarloaf, Philadelphia, PA, March 31-April 2, 1985.

“Luther and Machiavelli: Unwitting Allies in the Modern Assault on the Politics of the Soul,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Historical Association, Houston, TX, March 20-23, 1985.

“International Dimensions of State Politics,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal and Regional Studies, Jerusalem, Israel, October 30-November 2, 1984.

“Conceptualizing Urban Political Culture,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30-September 2, 1984.

“Protecting the City from the People or the People from the City? Exploring the Politics of a New Town,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30-September 2, 1984 with John R. Todd and James L. Danielson.

“Sharing Power in the Federal System: The American States in World Affairs,” Annual Conference of Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, May 9-11, 1984.

“The Development of Community Attachment and Politics in a New Town: The Colony, Texas,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Fort Worth, TX, March 23, 1984 with John R. Todd and James L. Danielson.

“Martin Luther’s Place in Western Political Thought as Machiavelli’s Halfway Ally in the Battle Against the Politics of the Soul,” Martin Luther Quincentennial Commemoration Conference, North Texas State University, Denton, TX, November 14-20, 1983.

“The Politics of Acquiring Citizen Control of a New Residential Development: The Colony, Texas,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, TX, March 16-19, 1983 with James L. Danielson and John R. Todd.

“Two Governorships: Domestic and Foreign?” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Denver, CO, September 2-5, 1982.

“Freedom of Speech in Covenant Liberty: A Reconsideration of Some Earlier American Principles,” Workshop on Covenant and Politics, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, PA, May 20-21, 1982.

“Frank Hague and Franklin Roosevelt: The Hudson Dictator and the Country Democrat,” International Centennial Conference on Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Man, The Myth, The Era, 1882-1982, Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, March 4, 1982.

“The Maintenance of Local Autonomy: The Case of Jersey City,” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Memphis, TN, November 5, 1981.

---

---

“Regime Change in Jersey City: Leadership Recruitment, Circulation, and Policy Conflicts: 1820-1981,” International Centennial of Mosca’s Theory of the Ruling Class at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL, September 7-9, 1981.

“From Covenantal to Contractual Conceptions of Marriage and the Family in American Civil Society,” Seminar of the Workshop on Covenant and Politics, Center for the Study of Federalism, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, PA, May 19, 1981.

“Covenantal Perspectives on Freedom of Speech,” Annual Meeting of the Indiana Political Science Association, Greencastle, IN, May 1, 1981.

“Mentoring, Loyalty, and the Persistence of Machine Politics in Jersey City, New Jersey,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Dallas, TX, March 28, 1981.

“Covenant as a Mode of Political Community,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 29, 1980.

“Dimensions of America’s Political Cultures,” Annual Meeting of the American Culture Association, Detroit, MI, April 18, 1980.

“Liberal Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis and Illiberal Tensions of the New Ecologic Ethic,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, TX, April 4, 1980. *Winner of Best Paper Award.*

“Political Philosophy and the Problem of Scarcity,” Martin Colloquium Presentation, Department of Political Science, North Texas State University, Denton, TX, February 13, 1980.

“The Challenge of Scarcity to the People of Plenty,” Colloquium Presentation, Department of Political Science, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, April 26, 1979.

“Political Culture and the Quality of Urban Life,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Fort Worth, TX, March 26, 1979.

“The Impact of Political Culture on the Overall Quality of Life in American Metropolitan Areas,” Tenth Anniversary Dialogue on Political Culture, Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, 1979.

“Covenant as a Mode of Political Association and Vision of Community in the West,” Seminar of the Workshop on Covenant and Politics, Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 24, 1978.

“Personality and Public Opinion: The Case of Authoritarianism, Prejudice and Support of War,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, 1976 with Frederick D. Herzon and Verne Dalton.

“Constitutional Aspects of the Prosecution of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Rosso,” Annual Meeting of the Arizona Civil Liberties Union, Phoenix, AZ, April 1973.

### ***Panel Chair***

Chair: Roundtable on “The Implications of Trump and the Mid-Term Elections on Intergovernmental Relationships,” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Washington, DC, March 8, 2019.

---

---

Moderator: “A New Look at State Preemption,” Deil S. Wright Symposium, Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Denver, CO, March 9, 2018.

Chair: “International Seminar on Why De/Centralization in Federations?” and Co-Director of Workshop on De/Centralization in Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Malaysia, Mexico, and Pakistan, Centre for Metropolitan Studies, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, June 20-22, 2018.

Moderator: “The Shifting Sands of American IGR in an Era of Flux and Uncertainty: What’s Happening and What to Expect,” Deil S. Wright Symposium, Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Atlanta, GA, March 17, 2017.

Co-Director: International Workshop on De/Centralization in Federal Countries, Philadelphia, PA, March 11, 2017.

Co-Chair, Workshop on De/Centralization in Federal Systems, New Delhi, India, February 20, 2016.

“Intergovernmental Interaction in Federal Systems,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 6, 2015.

“The Challenge of Representation in Federal Systems,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, Aug. 29 – Sept. 2, 2012.

Co-Chair and Discussant, “International Roundtable on Courts in Federal Countries: Federalists or Unitarists?” Co-Sponsored by the Forum of Federations and Government of Quebec, Montreal, Canada, March 26-28, 2012.

Chair and Discussant, “What Do Public Administrators Need to Know About Politics and Government in the Current Environment?” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Las Vegas, NV, March 2-6, 2012.

Session on Fiscal Federalism in Italy and Russia, Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Speyer, Germany, September 29-October 1, 2011.

“Shaping Intergovernmental Relations in the Obama Years.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011.

“Seeking Change from the Bottom-Up: The Obama Administration, Policy Reform, and Economic Recession in the American Federal System,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 4, 2010.

“Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 3, 2006.

“Justice for the People,” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, January 5-7, 2006.

“Federalism and Democratic Legitimacy,” International Conference on Federalism 2005, Brussels, Belgium, March 3-5, 2005.

“Conservatism and Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 4, 2004.

“Federalism Under Fire: Conservative Critiques of the Rhenquist Court,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 29, 2003.



---

---

“Federal Developments the European Union,” Annual Meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Nice, France, November 8-12, 2000.

“Annual Review of American Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., September 2, 2000.

“Reinventing Government in the United States,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 3-5, 1998.

“Local Self-Government, Fragmentation, and Service Efficiency,” Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, November 13, 1997.

“The States in the Federal System,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28, 1997.

“The 1994 Election and the States: Realignment?” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 31, 1995.

“State Political Cultures,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, NY, September 2, 1994.

“Interest Groups in State Politics,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 4, 1993.

“The Intergovernmental Dynamics of Disaster Relief,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, March 18, 1993.

“Intergovernmental Finance,” Conference on Federalism: Experience and Problems, Foundation for Social and Political Studies, Moscow, USSR, December 17-18, 1991.

“Governors in the Intergovernmental Arena,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30, 1991.

“State Economic Development and Environmental Politics,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, March 29, 1991.

“State Courts and State Politics,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 1, 1990.

“The Impacts of Reagan Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 1, 1989.

“The Ethics of Federalism,” Third Annual Berkeley Seminar on Federalism, University of California, Berkeley, CA, November 3-4, 1988.

“City Intervention in International Affairs,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-6, 1987.

“Sharing Power in Foreign Affairs: States and Provinces as International Actors,” and Roundtable on “Approaches to Cultural Analysis in Political Science,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1986.

“Developments in American Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, March 22, 1986.

---

---

“New Research on the Constitution and Founding Era: Implications for Teaching,” and Panel on “New Directions in Research on American Political Culture,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, TX, March 20-23, 1985.

“Comparative Perspectives on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Fort Worth, TX, March 22, 1984.

Martin Luther Quincentennial Conference, College of Arts and Sciences, North Texas State University, Denton, TX, November 14-29, 1983.

### ***Panel Discussant***

“Local Governance and Intergovernmental Management Research,” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Seattle, WA, March 18, 2016.

“Federal Waivers’ Effects on Policy, Federalism, and the Rule of Law,” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 29, 2014.

“Political Safeguards of Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 11, 2013.

“Federalism, Educational Choice and Religious School Aid Provisions,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, August 29 – September 2, 2012.

“The Political Safeguards of Federalism – Dead or Alive?” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, August 29 – September 2, 2012.

“Political and Economic Effects of Decentralization.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011.

“Balancing and Rebalancing Federal Systems: A Comparative and Cross-National Analysis.” Sixth General Conference of European Consortium for Political Research, Reykjavik, Iceland, August 24-27, 2011.

Participant: “Federalism in the Obama Era,” 2010 Workshop of the APSA Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section, National Academy of Public Administration, Washington, D.C., September 1, 2010.

Roundtable on Political Parties and Civil Society in Federal Countries, Global Dialogue on Federalism, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Berlin, Germany, June 9-11, 2010.

“Federal Mandates in the States: Implementation and Resistance,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 5, 2009.

“Concepts of Local Sites of Citizenship in the Context of the Global World,” Annual Meeting of the International Political Science Association, Santiago, Chile, July 14, 2009.

Panel Moderator and Participant, Fourth International Conference on Federalism, New Delhi, India, November 5-7, 2007.

“Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 3, 2006.

“Federalism and the Courts,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 31, 2006.

---

Participant: Socratic Seminar on “Liberty and Responsibility in Vincent Ostrom’s *The Political Theory of the Compound Republic*,” Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, IN, May 5-7, 2006.

“Justice for the People,” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, January 5-7, 2006.

“Executive and Legislative Governance in Federal Systems,” Global Dialogue Workshop, Law School, University of Melbourne, Australia, May 20-23, 2004

The Foreign Relations of Federal States, Internationale Föderalismuskonferenz, St. Gallen, Switzerland, August 27-29, 2002.

“Police Powers and American Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31, 2001.

“State and Local Governments in International Affairs,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 3-5, 1998.

“Federalism in Congress and the Supreme Court,” Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, November 14, 1997.

“Multi-Level Governance,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30, 1997.

“Plenary Session,” Annual Meeting of International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Philadelphia, PA, September 13, 1995.

“Reinventing Federalism,” Spring Meeting of the National Academy of Public Administration, Savannah, GA, June 9, 1995.

“Federalism: Consultative and Consensual,” Congress of the International Political Science Association, Berlin, Germany, August 21-25, 1994.

“Changing Roles in Intergovernmental Fiscal Policy,” Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, San Francisco, CA, July 17-21, 1993.

“Education Reform and State Responses to Federal Mandates,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, March 19, 1993.

“Intergovernmental Relations in the American Polity,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, March 25, 1991.

Conference on “Decision-Making on Queensland Government,” Federalism Research Centre and Public Sector Management Commission, Brisbane, Australia, November 26-27, 1990.

“Federalism: Competition, Regulation, and Changing Priorities,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Fort Worth, TX, March 29, 1990.

Theme Panel on “Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15, 1989.

“Political Culture,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Little Rock, AR, March 30, 1989.

“Religious Issues and Politics,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, TX, March 23-26, 1988.

---

---

“The Public Policy Responses to Rising Foreign Investment in the United States,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-6, 1987.

“Theoretical-Historical Perspectives on American Federalism,” Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Dallas, TX, March 18-21, 1987.

“Political Culture and Ideology,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 10-12, 1986.

“Leo Strauss on Political Philosophy and Religion,” Annual Southwest Regional Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Dallas, TX, March 15, 1986.

“Bicommunal Systems,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 30-September 2, 1984.

Address by Leo Marx, “American Pastoralism Revisited,” Visiting Lecture-Seminar Series, North Texas State University, Denton, TX, April 25, 1983.

Conference on “The Meaning of American Pluralism,” Liberty Fund and Center for the Study of Federalism, Sugarloaf, Philadelphia, PA, May 16-18, 1982.

“Power, Games, and Game Theory,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York City, NY, September 5, 1981.

“The States in the United States,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York City, NY, September 4, 1981.

“The Presidency,” Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Albuquerque, NM, April 25, 1980.

“Federal Theory: Concepts and Applications,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2, 1979.

“The Roots of American Political Culture,” Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, 1978.

### ***Selected Media Participation***

“Interview” (on cooperative federalism in United States), Seminar Magazine, Symposium on the Union and the States (India), 7:17 (2019): 77-81.

Interview filmed at my office by PBS39 on the Special 15 Congressional District Election broadcast on PBS39 News at 6:00 and 11:00 p.m., November 8, 2018.

Commentator on PBS39 election-night coverage program, PBS Studio, Bethlehem, 8:00-11:00 p.m., November 6, 2018.

Quoted in Mike Wereschagin, “Shaping Races,” The Caucus, October 30, 2018, A08.

Channel 69 News interview in my office for story on “Judge Kavanaugh's opposition to the regulatory state might be a gift for business,” Evening News, September 5, 2018.

Interviewed and Quoted in Christina Queiroz, “John Kincaid e Paolo Dardanelli: Poderes em equilibrio,” Revista Pesquisa Fapesp, August 2018,

---

---

Channel 69 Sunrise News interview live on air for story on “What Judge Brett Kavanaugh's nomination means for Supreme Court,” July 10, 2018,

Quoted in Abigail Simon, “How President Trump Is Spurring Mayors to Speak Up on National Issues,” *Time Magazine*, June 28, 2018, online.

WDIY Interview: “Lehigh Valley Discourse,” a one-hour interview on American federalism, WDIY Public Radio, 6:00-7:00 p.m., May 24, 2018.

Quoted in Michelle Merin and Eugene Tauber, “Inspired by students in Parkland, Fla., young people want their voices heard at the polls,” *The Morning Call*, May 24, 2018.

Quoted in Bill Lucia, “There’s Fresh Interest in Reviving an Old Intergovernmental Commission,” *Route Fifty*, May 17, 2018, online.

Quoted in David Singleton, “New government would mean changes for citizens,” *The Times-Tribune* (Scranton, PA), May 12, 2014, p. A1.

Quoted in David Singleton, “Question to decide fate of Lackawanna County government,” *The Times-Tribune* (Scranton, PA), May 11, 2014, p. A2.

Quoted in Adam Freedman, “Federalism, Red and Blue,” *City Journal* 23:3 (Summer 2013): 62-68. Also published in *Dallas News Opinion* (August 9, 2013).

Quoted and featured in Carl Tubbesing, “States vs. Feds,” *State Legislatures* 39:7 (July/August 2013): 14-17.

Quoted in Andrew George, “Security breach sparks dialogue,” *The Express-Times* (Easton, PA), June 11, 2013, p. A2.

Quoted in Ryan Holeywell, “What Happened to Federalism?” *Governing* 26:8 (May 2013): 36-40.

Quoted in Michael Cooper, “States Want To Have Say During Talks Over Budget,” *New York Times*, November 25, 2012, p. 24.

In-Studio Interviews on Presidential Conventions: “WFMZ-69 Sunrise News Saturday,” September 8, 2012.

Studio Panelist: “Business Matters,” WFMZ-69, September 17, 2012.

Quoted with photo in “Reflections on 5<sup>th</sup> Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Day and IFC,” *The Ethiopian Herald* (Addis Ababa), December 15, 2010, p. 9.

Quoted in Kate Alexander, “Campaign rhetoric obscures facts about federal money,” *Austin American-Statesman*, January 10, 2010.

Quoted in Craig Gilbert, “Impulses clash in deciding federal government's proper role,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, February 21, 2009.

Quoted in Dan Chapman, “Mapmaker’s border error raises new water war front,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, February 10, 2008.

Quoted in Pam Belluck, “The Not-So-United States,” *New York Times*, April 23, 2006, Sec. 4, p. 4. Reprinted as “Ours is not-so-United States of America,” *Detroit News*, April 27, 2006.

---

---

Interviewee/Narrator, *Voices in Democracy: United States Government Telecourse*, Program 4 on "Federalism," Dallas, TX: Dallas County Community College District, 1998.

Quoted in Tom Wicker, "The Right To Know Hinges On Decisions In Ellsberg's Trial," *New York Times*, November 19, 1972, p. 7.

## **AWARDS AND HONORS**

Post-Doctoral: The John Kincaid Award for Best Article Published in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* each year, established by the Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations of the American Political Science Association in 2015.

Distinguished Leadership in Community-Based Learning and Research Award, 2019, Lafayette College.

Distinguished Scholar Award, 2016, RC28 section on Comparative Federalism and Multilevel Governance, International Political Science Association.

Distinguished Federalism Scholar, 2001, Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, American Political Science Association.

Best Paper Award, Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Fort Worth, TX, 1998.

Kestnbaum Fellow, U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1994-1995.

Elected Fellow, National Academy of Public Administration, 1991-Present.

Donald Stone Distinguished Scholar Award, Section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management, American Society for Public Administration, 1991.

Outstanding Paper Award, Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Houston, TX, 1980.

Graduate: Ph.D. granted with Distinction (1981)  
Earhart Fellowship (1978-1979)  
Kent Fellowship: Danforth Foundation (1973-1976)  
Temple University Fellowship (1973 & 1977)  
Rockefeller Fellowship: Union Theological Seminary (1968)  
Lincoln Fellowship: Claremont (1967)  
HUD Fellowship: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (1967)

Undergraduate: Political Science Honors; Cum Laude; Dean's List;  
Distinguished Junior; President's Scholarship, Albion College.

High School: Barnwell and Scholastic Honors; Distinguished Graduate.

---

---

**RESEARCH AND ACADEMIC PROGRAM GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

“Public Support for Principles of Federal Design,” Fulbright Fellowship, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, June 10-25, 2016, \$5,884.29.

“Why Centralization and Decentralization in Federations? A Comparative Analysis,” with Paolo Dardanelli, University of Kent, U.K. (International Team Research) 2014-2017. Leverhulme Trust, U.K., £97,079 (\$161,438).

Sabbatical Salary Support, 2014-2015. CSF Associates: Publius, \$52,000.

Federalism (Student Research Assistant Support) 2008-09. Sage Publications, U.K., \$986.50.

Unity and Diversity in U.S. Federalism (Roundtable Seminar), 2008, Forum of Federations, \$5,000.

*Hope VI Project Evaluation* (Applied Research) 2007-2012. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and Easton Housing Authority, \$261,000.

*A Global Dialogue on Federalism* (Administrative Support) 2002-2006. The Forum of Federations, \$5,000.

*Conservatism and Federalism* (Workshop and Special Issue of *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*) 2004-2005. Earhart Foundation, \$7,000.

*History, Tradition, and Democratic Theory in the American State Constitutions* (High-School Teacher Institute) 2004. National Endowment for the Humanities, \$153,060.

*The U.S. Constitution: Origins, Evolution, and Contemporary Issues* (Fulbright Institute) 2003. U.S. Department of State, \$198,195.

*History, Tradition, and Democratic Theory in the American State Constitutions* (High-School Teacher Institute) 2002. National Endowment for the Humanities, \$161,175.

*Publius: The Journal of Federalism* (General Journal Support) 2002. The Earhart Foundation, \$25,000.

*The U.S. Constitution: Origins, Evolution, and Contemporary Issues* (Fulbright Institute) 2002. U.S. Department of State, \$181,995.

*Publius: The Journal of Federalism* (General Journal Support) 2001-2004. The Earhart Foundation, \$85,000.

*The U.S. Constitution: Origins, Evolution, and Contemporary Issues* (Fulbright Institute) 2001. U.S. Department of State, \$176,000.

*Democratic Theory in American State Constitutions* (Research) 2000-2001. Fellowship for College Teachers, National Endowment for the Humanities, \$30,000.

*The Federalism Report* (General Support) 2000. Earhart Foundation, \$2,000.

*Federalism, Local Government, and Regional Cooperation* (Study Tour for Greek and Turkish Cypriot Municipal Officials) August 1999. Fulbright Commission and AMIDEAST, \$98,083.

*Analyzing the Effectiveness of ICMA, NLC, and USCM* (Briefing Paper for Government of Japan) 1999. Japan Local Government Center, \$200.

*Canada* (U.S. Specialist and Speaker Grant) 1999. U.S. Information Agency, \$551.

---

---

*American Federal Democracy: Classic Works and Scholarly Approaches* (Academic Institute) 1998. United States Information Agency, \$161,998.

*Cyprus* (U.S. Specialist and Speaker Grant) 1998. U.S. Information Agency, \$800.

*Local Autonomy in the United States* (Research Report) 1997. Japan Local Government Center, \$9,000.

*American Federal Democracy: Classic Works and Scholarly Approaches* (Academic Institute) 1997. United States Information Agency, \$162,858.

*Local Government Bibliography* (Research) 1997. Japan Local Government Center, \$3,000.

*American Federal Democracy: Classic Works and Scholarly Approaches* (Academic Institute) 1996. United States Information Agency, \$157,572.

*Local Autonomy in the United States* (Research Report) 1996. Japan Local Government Center, \$3,500.

*State and Local Governments in International Affairs* (Research) 1996. The Council of Foreign Relations, \$3,000.

*Extraordinary Consent Rules in American State Constitutionalism* (Research) 1995. The Earhart Foundation, \$3,500.

*Restoring Federal Democracy in Nigeria* (Conference and Topical Issue of *Publius*) 1989-1991. The Ford Foundation, \$29,800.

*A Classic Learning Core: A Program to Restore Coherence to the Undergraduate Liberal Arts Curriculum* (Academic Program) 1986-1989. Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, U.S. Department of Education, \$137,142.

*Reason, Virtue, and Civility: Establishing a Coherent Humanities Curriculum to Fulfill Core Undergraduate Liberal Arts Requirements* (Academic Program) 1986-1989. National Endowment for the Humanities, \$200,000.

*State Constitutional Law in the Third Century of American Federalism* (Public Conference) 1986-1987 (with Ellis Katz). National Endowment for the Humanities, \$85,000.

*The American States in International Affairs: Patterns, Policies, and Implications of Shared Power* (Research) 1985-1987. The Ford Foundation, \$60,220.

*Martin Luther: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow, A Quincentennial Commemoratorion* (A Public Program) 1983-1984. Aileen S. Andrew Foundation, \$2,000 and Texas Committee for the Humanities, \$21,015.

*The Biblical Politics of Scarcity* (Research) 1983-1984. North Texas State University, Faculty Research, \$4,000.

*Utilizing Federalist Principles in Civic Education* (Research and Teaching) 1982-1984 (with Daniel J. Elazar, Ellis Katz, and Stephen L. Schechter). National Institute of Education, \$74,565.

*From Entrepreneurial Development to Civil Community: The Colony* (Research) 1982-1984 (with J. R. Todd and J. L. Danielson). Fox and Jacobs, Inc., \$15,000, National Endowment for the Humanities, \$46,000, and North Texas State University, Faculty Research, \$3,800.



*Federal Democracy and Human Rights: Agenda and Prospects for America's Third Century* (A Public Program) 1982-1983. Aileen S. Andrew Foundation, \$2,000; Association for Higher Education of North Texas, \$4,000, Denton Area Service Enterprise Committee, \$250; Federation of North Texas Universities; \$500; Texas Committee for the Humanities, \$7,700; and Texas Wesleyan College; \$800.

*Planning Public Education for the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution in North Central Texas* (Planning and Development) 1982-1984. National Endowment for the Humanities, \$25,000.

*Covenantal and Contractual Conceptions of Rights in the American Polity* (Research) 1981-1982. The Samuel E. Ziegler Educational Fund Fellowship in Civil Liberties, \$2,000.

*Individuals and Families in Covenant Systems* (Conference) 1981 (with Daniel J. Elazar). American Jewish Committee, \$1,000.

*Political Theories of American State Constitutions* (Research) 1980-1982 (with Daniel J. Elazar). National Endowment for the Humanities, \$74,080.

*Political Success and Policy Failure: The Persistence of Machine Politics in Jersey City* (Research) 1980-1981. North Texas State University, Faculty Research, \$1,670.

*Covenantal Ideas in the American Political Tradition: Federal Theology—The Sixteenth Century Crucibles* (Conference) 1980. National Endowment for the Humanities, \$9,850 and the United Church of Christ, \$5,000.

*Covenant as a Political Concept and Factor Influencing Political Behavior* (Research) 1979-1981 (with Daniel J. Elazar). National Endowment for the Humanities, \$79,918.

## **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS**

- Academy of Political Science
- American Political Science Association
- American Society for Public Administration
- International Political Science Association
- IPSA RC28: Comparative Federalism and Federation
- National Academy of Public Administration
- Southern Political Science Association

### ***Professional Association Activities***

**Chairperson:** Committee to Select New Editor of *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 2013-2014.

**Chairperson:** Nominations Committee of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, 2012-2013.

**Elected Member:** Executive Board, Section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management, American Society for Public Administration, 2010-2016.

**Chairperson:** Nominations Committee of the Research Committee on Comparative Federalism and Federation, International Political Science Association, 2011-2012.

---

---

**Chairperson:** Committee to Nominate Candidates for Stone Distinguished Scholar and Distinguished Practitioner Award, Section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management, American Society for Public Administration, 2011-2012.

**Member:** William Anderson Dissertation Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2011-2012.

**Member:** Advisory Committee for Fifth International Conference on Federalism, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2009-2010.

**Board Member:** Global Dialogue on Federalism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, a joint program of the Forum of Federations and International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, 2000-2013.

**Chairperson:** Distinguished Scholar Award Committee, Research Committee on Comparative Federalism and Federation, International Political Science Association, 2002-2003.

**President:** International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, 1998-2004.

**Section Program Chair:** Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, American Political Science Association, 1999-2000.

**Chairperson:** William Anderson Dissertation Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 1997-1998.

**Member:** Executive Committee, Section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management, American Society for Public Administration, 1994-1997.

**Section Program Chair:** State and Local Governments and Intergovernmental Relations, Northeast Political Science Association, 1996-1997.

**Chairperson:** Nominating Committee, Section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management, American Society for Public Administration, 1997.

**Section Program Chair:** State and Local Government, Northeast Political Science Association, 1996-1997.

**Member:** Executive Committee, Section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management, American Society for Public Administration, 1994-1997.

**Member:** Executive Committee, Federalism Panel, National Academy of Public Administration, 1993-1996.

**President:** Southwestern Political Science Association, 1993-1994.

**Chairperson:** APSA Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, 1992-1994.

**Section Program Chair:** Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, American Political Science Association, 1990-1991.

**Member:** 1991 Conference Program Committee, American Society for Public Administration, 1989-1991.

**Member:** Executive Council for the APSA Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations, 1986-1989.

**Member:** Budget Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 1985-1988.

**Vice-President and Program Chairman:** Southwestern Political Science Association, 1984-1985.

**Section Program Chair:** State and Local Government and Intergovernmental Relations, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1982-1984.