To the memory of my grandfather,

Louie Wyman Rehberg

January 12, 1911
Thomasville, Georgia

February 21, 1990
Allentown, Pennsylvania
## Contents

*Acknowledgments* ix

Chapter 1. Federalism as Creative Politics 1

Chapter 2. Federalism, Public Goods, and Taxes 11

Chapter 3. Representatives’ Positions and Collective Decisions 28

Chapter 4. Read Our Lips, No New (Income) Taxes 46

Chapter 5. Tax and Spend or Spending Taxes—Economic Development in the States 71

Chapter 6. Education Financing: How Many Types of Equity? 95

Chapter 7. Health Care—Afflicted Budgets 123

Chapter 8. Conclusion 144

Appendix A. Methodology 157

*Notes* 163

*References* 169

*Index* 175
Acknowledgments

Many people have contributed to this book, and I am grateful to all of them. I thank the scores of state legislators who freely gave their time and provided the thoughtful insights that form the basis for this book. Because of our initial agreement, they will remain anonymous, but my debt to them is great, and many of them went far beyond the call of civic duty to assist me. I am also grateful to the many staffers, lobbyists, and state political activists who took an interest in my work and helped me find valuable evidence to corroborate what the legislators were saying and helped accommodate my work in their capitals.

This work began at the University of Michigan in 1994. I am most grateful to Nancy Burns, who served as my dissertation director and has contributed greatly to this book. Nancy facilitated my research, always supported my field endeavors, and encouraged me to focus the work and develop reasonable arguments. I also thank Ken Goldstein for his often prescient advice and counsel as this project has developed over the past four years.

John Kingdon assisted me tremendously in preparing for the fieldwork and in channeling the analyses of collective decision making. I am also indebted to John for providing guidance on presenting comparative case studies of state politics and on how to best use the interviews. John Huber helped me to focus on comparing legislatures and using the case evidence to draw sound conclusions about collective decisions. Paul Courant and Sheldon Danziger helped me develop my thinking about the interactions among public goods and politics. Grace York at the Graduate Library in Ann Arbor provided tremendous help in developing documentation and background materials for the case studies. Finally, I benefited greatly from comments and suggestions from Kent Jennings, Susan Ellis, and Mel Laracy during our collegial seminar in 1994. Without their help, I might still be staring at a blank computer screen.
At the University of Virginia, I am grateful to David Waldner for conversations regarding comparative case studies. I am also grateful to Steve Finkel for his support while I was reworking the manuscript during my two eventful, often fun, years in Charlottesville. Paula McClain and Robert Fatton were supportive throughout and made every effort to facilitate the completion of this project. Alice Ba carefully read and critiqued the entire manuscript, and I am grateful to her. Michael Zlatoper provided valuable feedback on chapter 5, and Scott Horlacher helped me revise chapter 7.

At the University of Michigan Press, Chuck Myers, Kevin Rennells, and Stephanie Werhane have all been very helpful. I appreciate their cooperation, guidance, and assistance in revising and preparing this manuscript.

This book was completed while I was a Robert Wood Johnson Scholar in Health Policy Research at the University of California at Berkeley. I am particularly grateful to Allen Cohen, Eileen Conner, and Richard Scheffler for supporting this project. I am indebted to Tim Prinz for general comments about the manuscript and specific comments about chapter 7.

This research has received financial support from several sources. At the University of Michigan, I was privileged to receive a Gerald R. Ford Dissertation Fellowship and Research Grant from the Department of Political Science. I also received a Dissertation Research Grant and a Rackham Research Partnership with Nancy Burns from the Rackham Graduate School at the University of Michigan. Sheldon Danziger supported various projects, all of which facilitated progress. At the University of Virginia, I received a Rowland Egger Small Grant, which helped me complete the manuscript. The Robert Wood Johnson Scholarship provided valuable time and resources with which to make final revisions to the manuscript.

All of these people have contributed much to this book, and I am in their debt. Any errors are entirely my responsibility.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather, Louie Rehberg. Next to his family, he most enjoyed politics, and he was my first teacher in the field. I thought of him often and fondly in conducting the field research for this book.