

niger, Richard Berk, Judith Blake, Ronald Burt, Stephen Cutler, Greg Duncan, Robert Groves, Herbert Hyman, Norval Glenn, Karen Mason, John Mueller, Stanley Presser, John Robinson, Peter Rossi (former Chair), James Short, Seymour Sudman, and Stephen Withey.

The General Social Survey seeks proposals for future topical modules, as well as smaller proposals seeking to improve the measurement of relevant social phenomena. For a detailed statement describing the guidelines for the development of such proposals, interested readers should write to Duane F. Alwin, Chair, GSS Board of Overseers, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1248.

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### About the Author

Duane F. Alwin is professor of sociology at the University of Michigan and research scientist at the Institute for Social Research. He is chair of the Board of Overseers of the General Social Survey.

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### Notes

1. With contributions by Tom Smith and David Knoke.

2. In addition to the basic funding from the NSF, the GSS project will continue to receive supplemental support from Andrew M. Greeley for the battery of religion questions that has appeared on the GSS since 1983.

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## The Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation Project

**Terry Nichols Clark**  
University of Chicago

The Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation Project has become the most extensive study of local government in the world to date. In the U.S. it includes surveys of local officials in all cities over

25,000 population, nearly 1,000. In some 35 other countries analogous studies are in progress. While it is a more than \$6 million project, costs have been divided among the participating teams so that some have been able to participate with quite modest investments. The data are now being made available to interested researchers via the Interuniversity Consortium for Social and Political Research. The Project remains open to persons interested in participating in different ways, from attending conferences to analyzing the data or publishing in our Newsletter, annual volume *Research in Urban Policy*, and the new Sage Urban Innovation book series.

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### Origins

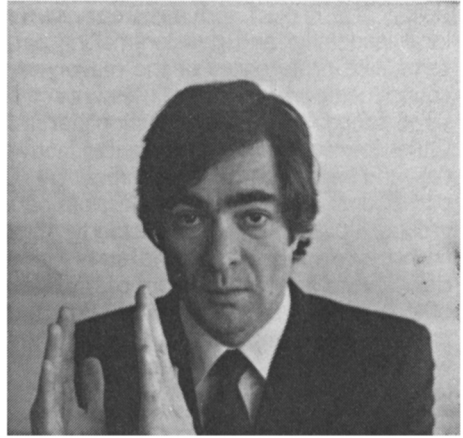
The project emerged in the summer of 1982. Terry Clark, Richard Bingham and Brett Hawkins had planned to survey the adaptation of 62 cities to austerity. We circulated a memo summarizing the survey and welcomed suggestions. The response was overwhelming: people across the U.S. (and several other countries) volunteered to survey leaders in their areas, covering their own costs. Participants were initially attracted by the opportunity to compare cities near them with others. As it seemed clear that we would cover most of the U.S., others volunteered to survey remaining states. The result was a network of some 26 U.S. teams using a standard methodology to survey local public officials; the teams pooled their data, and then made the information available to all.

While the Project emerged quite spontaneously, it built on experiences joining many participants. Research funds have progressively declined yet urban research has increased in sophistication and scale. In the past 15 years a few large empirical studies have had major impacts on urban policy analysis. Social scientists and policy analysts increasingly use such studies, but data collection costs are so high that individuals cannot find a grant to collect data they might desire. A collective effort thus offers clear payoffs. This situation, recognized in the late 1970s, was the focus of a conference in 1979 where 20 persons presented papers that reviewed the best urban policy research to date, outlined

central hypotheses, and itemized critical indicators that might be collected in future work. Seven participants (Terry Clark, Ronald Burt, Lorna Ferguson, John Kasarda, David Knoke, Robert Lineberry, and Elinor Ostrom) then extended the ideas from the separate papers in "Urban Policy Analysis: A New Research Agenda." It was published with the separate papers as *Urban Policy Analysis, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews*, Vol. 21 (Sage Publications, 1981). Several persons and many topics from *Urban Policy Analysis* found their way into the present Project.

The Permanent Community Sample (PCS), a national sample of 62 U.S. cities monitored over 17 years, provides a data base and research experience on which the Project was built. Many questionnaire items, and methodologies for studying urban processes, were derived from the PCS. Fresh data have regularly been made publicly available; a small data file, provided with a self-instruction manual, has been used for teaching at many universities. Several hundred articles and books have used the PCS; the most comprehensive is T. N. Clark and L. C. Ferguson, *City Money: Political Processes, Fiscal Strain and Retrenchment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). Basic research and public policy issues have both been addressed, such as how fiscally strained are cities (in *How Many New Yorks?—The New York Fiscal Crisis in Comparative Perspective*). These and related materials have been used in conferences, workshops, and publications involving the Department of Housing and Urban Development, U.S. Conference of Mayors, International City Management Association, Municipal Finance Officers Association, and their state and local affiliates.

Many project participants have come to know each other through professional associations such as the American Political Science Association, American Sociological Association, and American Society for Public Administration. Meetings in Denver and San Francisco in August 1982 facilitated launching the Project. The international component developed via the Committee on Community Research of the International Sociological Association. This committee had helped organize a



TERRY NICHOLS CLARK

conference in Essen, Germany in October 1981, which led to three volumes recently published in English by the German HUD: G. M. Hellstern, F. Spreer, H. Wollmann, eds., *Applied Urban Research*. This Essen meeting and a Mexico City meeting in August 1982 helped extend the Project to Western Europe and other countries.

### **The Survey: The Most Extensive Study to Date of Decision-Making and Fiscal Policy in U.S. Cities**

The mayor, chair of the city council finance committee, and chief administrative officer or city manager, have been surveyed using identical questions in each city of the U.S. over 25,000, nearly 1,000 cities. Most U.S. data collection was completed in the winter and spring of 1983. Questionnaires were mailed; telephone follow-ups and interviews were used to increase the response rate. Questions include fiscal management strategies the city has used from a list of 33, such as contracting out, user fees, privatization, across-the-board cuts, reducing workforce through attrition, and deferred maintenance of capital stock. Other items concern revenue forecasting, integrated financial management systems, performance measures, management rights, and sophistication of economic development analy-

ses. Unlike most studies of local fiscal policy, the Project includes items about local leadership and decision-making patterns, like preferences of the mayor and councilmembers for more, less, or the same spending in the 13 functional areas. Other items are policy preferences, activities, and impact on city government by 20 participants including employees, business groups, local media, the elderly, city finance staff and federal and state agencies. Several items come from past studies of local officials and citizens, thus permitting overtime comparisons of results. Data will be shared among Project participants for approximately the first year and then made available to others.

### Participants and Coordination

Terry Clark is coordinating the Project. Mark Baldassarre and Lynne Zucker developed the survey administration procedures. Robert Stein is playing a leading role in merging Project data with data from the Census and elsewhere. A Newsletter issued every few months helps coordination, complemented by correspondence and phone calls. Terry Clark has edited the Newsletter initially, but increasingly is summarizing activities coordinated by others.

The Project has united many leading urban policy analysts. For example, Pat Larkey has time series of expenditure patterns for up to 40 years of eight cities, and has done leading work on revenue forecasting. Jack Kasarda has written extensively on national urban policy issues. Peter Marsden, Ron Burt, and Joseph Galaskiewicz have developed creative means to study network ties among decision-makers. Paul Schumaker, Mark Rosen- traub, and Peter Rossi have linked preferences of citizens to those of leaders and service delivery patterns. Robert Lineberry and William Lyons have done critical work on governmental structures. Service delivery patterns are a major interest of Elinor Ostrom, Roger Parks, Bryan Jones, Robert Whelan, Lynne Zucker, and several others. David Caputo, Richard Cole, Patrick Larkey, Susan MacManus, Robert Shapiro, Robert Stein, and James Vanecko have done pathbreaking work on local

effects of intergovernmental relations. Mark Baldassarre, John Logan, Susan Clarke, and Michael Rich have helped sharpen our understanding of urban economic development. Susan Welch, Albert Karnig, and Cal Clark have specified roles of ethnic groups. Robert Magill and Rafaela Robles are specialists on social services. Charles Levine, Carl Van Horn, Norman Walzer, Richard Cole, and Del Tabel have already documented how some cities are adapting to retrenchment. James Chan is a leader on municipal accounting practices. Sally Ward has explored national-local linkages in private and public sectors. John A. Norton, Joseph Whorton, Eugene Lee, and David Morgan are leaders in their state Institutes of Government and have extensive contacts with the local officials. Frank Thompson has written provocatively on city personnel policies. George Tolley has done important work on the economics of capital infrastructure. Ester Fuchs, Richard Higgins, Tom Guterbock, John Gist, and Lynn Appleton have completed case studies of individual cities, as have Betty Jane Narver and Michael Rich, who are currently working with Richard Nathan and Paul Dommel on related monitoring projects. Brett Hawkins and Richard Bingham have written extensively on diffusion across cities of new urban policies including new technologies and management practices. Paul Eberts is coordinating surveys of counties and smaller municipal governments involving more than a dozen other persons.

The non-U.S. participants are among the leading urban analysts in their respective countries, and in several cases direct major monitoring studies with multi-year budgets including collection of data directly comparable to those in the U.S. Gerd-Michael Hellstern, University of Berlin, is coordinating the European teams participating in the Project. Ed Prantilla coordinated the Project on six Asian countries. The survey items are being adapted to different national circumstances while retaining the basic items wherever possible to permit crossnational comparisons.

Participation in the Project is relatively open: teams continue to join, especially outside the U.S., as they learn of the Project and find ways to merge it with their

own activities. Austerity is an issue that links the less affluent countries of the world with others, and one with which the less affluent countries have had more experience. Thus they may be able to offer some distinctive lessons.

### Research Themes

Project participants are free to analyze the data as they will, but past work indicates the range of concerns likely to be addressed. The seven-author statement "Urban Policy Analysis: A New Research Agenda" (cited above) outlines several dozen specific hypotheses. Some general themes follow.

**Innovative Strategies Can Be Isolated and Documented.** Show-case cities are valuable to demonstrate that new and creative policies can work. Local officials listen more seriously to other local officials showing them how something works than they do to academicians, consultants, or federal officials. Specific cases are essential to persuade. But as local officials seldom publicize their innovations, an outside data-collection effort can bring significant innovations to more general attention. Questions: What are the strategies that city governments have developed to confront fiscal austerity? How do strategies cluster with one another? Are some more likely to follow others as a function of fiscal austerity? Strategies identified in the survey are being detailed through case studies of individual cities.

**Local Governments That Do and Do Not Innovate Can Be Identified: Political Feasibility Can Be Clarified.** One can learn from both failure and success. Local officials often suggest that fiscal management strategies like contracting out, volunteers, and privatization are "politically infeasible"; they may sell in Phoenix, but not in the Bronx. Yet why not—specifically? Many factors are hypothesized, and some studied, but the best work to date is unclear concerning how to make such programs more palatable. The Project is collecting many characteristics suggested to affect political feasibility of fiscal management strategies—organization and influ-

**Table I. FAUI Members Outside the U.S.**

Argentina:	Martha Landa
Austria:	H. Bauer
Belgium:	Dr. Stassen, Marcel Hotterbeex, Mme. Catherine Vigneron
Bulgaria:	N. Grigorov, O. Panov
Canada:	Andrew S. Harvey, Dan Chekki, Jacques Leveille, James Lightbody, Mary Lynch
China:	Min Zhou
Denmark:	Carl-Johan Skovsgaard, Poul Erik Mouritzen
Fiji:	H. M. Gunasekera
Finland:	Ari Ylonen, Risto Harisalo
France:	Jean Yves Nevers, Jeanne Becquart-Leclercq, P. Kukawka, Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot, Richard Balme
Great Britain:	A. Norton, P. M. Jackson, Michael Goldsmith, Steven Brooks
Greece:	Elia Katsoulis, Elisavet Demiri
Hong Kong:	P. B. Harris
Hungary:	G. Eger, Peteri Gabor
Indonesia:	Hatomi, Jonker Tamba
Israel:	Daniel Elazar
Italy:	Guido Martinotti, Enrico Ercole
Japan:	Hachiro Nakamura, Yoshiaki Kobayashi
Kenya:	Daniel Bourmaud
Netherlands:	A. M. J. Kreukels, Tejo Spit
Nigeria:	Dele Olowu, Ladipo Adamolekun
Norway:	Harald Baldersheim, Helge O. Larsen, Jonny Holbek, Sissel Hovik, Kari Hesselberg, Nils Aaraether, Solbjorg Sorensen, Synnove Jenssen, Lawrence Rose
Philippines:	Ramon C. Bacani, Ed Prantilla
Poland:	Gregory Gorzelak, J. Regulski, Z. Dziembowski, Swianewicz Pawel
Portugal:	J. P. Martins Barata, Maria Carla Mendes
Republic of Korea:	Choong Yong Ahn
Senegal:	Abdul Aziz Dia
South Australia:	John Robbins
Spain:	Cesar E. Diaz
Sweden:	Hakan Magnusson, Lars Stromberg, Cecilia Bokenstrand
Switzerland:	A. Rossi, Alberto Naef, Claude Jeanrenaud, Michel Bassaud
Turkey:	U. Ergudor, Ayse Gunes-Ayata
West Germany:	B. Hamm, D. H. Mading, Gerd-Michael Hellstern, H. J. Wiener
Yugoslavia:	Peter Jambreč

ence of unions and agency staff compared to elected officials, preferences of elected officials concerning taxes as well as services, degree of organization of various citizen groups—and analyzing them with more standard Census characteristics like income, education, poverty, home ownership, and the like. The Project is distinctive in including a list of 33 specific fiscal management strategies. To probe issues of adoption of innovations, trace diffusion strategies, and sort out effects of inter-related variables, demands careful analysis of the sort undertaken in the past work by several Project participants.

**National Urban Policy Issues.** In several countries, and especially the U.S., fiscal austerity for cities is compounded by reductions in national government funding for local programs, as well as by inflation and recession. How are cities of different sorts weathering these developments? Scattered evidence suggests that cities are undergoing some of the most dramatic changes in decades. When city officials come together in their own association, testify in Congress, or report on problems to media, they can pinpoint city-specific problems. Yet they have difficulty specifying how widely problems and solutions are shared across states or regions. The Project can contribute to these national urban policy discussions by monitoring local policies. Fiscal strain indicators of the sort computed for smaller samples of cities can be reported nationally. Types of retrenchment strategies can be summarized. Effects of federal and state program changes can be investigated, such as stimulation-substitution issues, which may have changed from the early 1970s when enactment of General Revenue Sharing inspired work on this issue. The methods from several research traditions—from the econometric to personal fieldwork—are being used by Project participants to illuminate these questions. Officials at the Department of Housing and Urban Development have shown considerable interest in the Project to help inform the National Urban Policy Report and related policy discussions.

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## Conclusion

The Project is such a huge undertaking that the initial participants doubted its feasibility. It was not planned in advance, but evolved spontaneously as common concerns were recognized. It is a product of distinct austerity in research funding, yet it shows that policy analysts can innovate in how they work together. But most of all, it is driven by the dramatic changes in cities around the world, and a concern to understand them so that cities can better adapt to pressures they face. Persons with overlapping interests are welcome to attend many Project meetings typically held at national and regional professional meetings.

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## About the Author

Terry Nichols Clark is professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and has taught at Columbia, Harvard, Yale, the Sorbonne, and UCLA. As international coordinator of the Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation Project, he edits its *Newsletter* and annual *Research in Urban Policy* (JAI Press).

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## An International Social Science Research Program on Global Change

**Harold K. Jacobson**  
**Cheryl Shanks**  
Institute for Social Research  
University of Michigan

**A** massive international research program, the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme: A Study of Global Change (IGBP), has been inaugurated by the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). As currently conceived, IGBP is a natural science program. Steps have been taken to launch an international social science research program on global