

POLS 2210
Governing Federated Systems
Fall 2018

Professor: Prof. Susan Moffitt
susan_moffitt@brown.edu

Office hours: Mondays 3:30-5:30

Class meets: Mondays 12:30-3:00

Final Research Proposal: No later than December 17, 2018 at noon

OVERVIEW

Federated systems of government present opportunities and challenges for democratic accountability, managing collective action problems, economic stability, and the distribution of goods and services. This course will take up the theory and practice of governing federated systems using a comparative approach that examines federated systems in several countries including the United States, Canada, Germany, Brazil, and India. Questions this course will examine include:

- What helps explain the emergence, persistence, and erosion of federalism?
- What are the implications of federalism for democratic accountability?
- What are the implications of federalism for fiscal stability?
- Does federalism reduce or exacerbate ethnic tension? If so, when and how?
- What are the implications of federalism for political, social, and economic inequality?

This course is designed to help students identify and critique prevailing theories and empirical approaches to addressing these questions. This course builds on students' understanding of Comparative Politics and American Politics, but it does not have prerequisites.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

This course is designed to help students:

- Learn how to identify and critique prevailing theories of federalism
- Critique and develop approaches for the empirical study of federalism
- Understand multiple ways of measuring federalism and its implications
- Consider the normative dimensions federalism.
- Write a final research design proposal, consistent with research grant applications

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Time Allocation

Over the course of the semester, students will spend 30 hours in class sessions. I expect students to spend at least 10 hours per week reading and preparing course material for class session (120 hours total). Students are expected to spend at least 3 hours writing each of 6 reaction papers, for a total of 18 hours. Students are expected to spend 10 hours writing one set of prelim notes to distribute to the class. Students

are expected to spend at least 20 hours researching and writing the literature review for the final research proposal. Students are expected to spend at least 20 hours researching and writing their final research proposal.

Assignments

The assignments are designed to help students apply the concepts we encounter in our class readings and discussions, and prepare them to conduct original academic research.

- Class participation 15%
- 6 reaction papers 30% (5% each)
- Prelim notes 5%
- Literature review 10%
- Research design discussion 5%
- Final research proposal 35%

Class Participation:

Our class will benefit greatly from active participation from all class members. Class participation consists of attending class and engaging regularly and meaningfully in class discussions. Using computers/phones during our class for purposes unrelated to the class will interfere with class discussion and will lower your class participation grade.

If you miss a class, please obtain class notes from one of your classmates. Please note that our class may not be recorded without explicit permission from Professor Moffitt.

Reaction Papers. Six times during the semester, students will submit a one-page (single spaced) reaction paper by 5:00pm on the Sunday before class. Reaction papers should be submitted via our MyCourses site. The reaction paper should focus on the reading assigned for that week. Students will choose which the six sessions to use to write reaction papers. However, students must write two reaction papers for each of our three course sections.

October 1: last date to submit the second reaction paper from Section 1 on Foundations of Federalism.

November 5: last date to submit the second reaction paper from Section 2 on the Political Economy of Federalism.

December 3: last date to submit the second reaction paper from Section 3 on Governance and Policy.

Prelim Notes. One time per semester, each student will compose a set of prelim notes on full set of the week's required readings and distribute those notes to the entire class. Students will sign up for the week they would like to write prelim notes. More detailed instructions will be provided in class.

Literature Review: By November 19, submit a literature review (no more than 5 pages single spaced) that includes: your research question; a summary of the literature that explains why your research question is important; a summary of the literature that demonstrates how your question would further develop existing literature and address enduring puzzles in the discipline.

Research Design Discussion: Over the course of the semester, each student is expected to discuss final research proposal plans with the rest of the class. These discussions are designed to be work-in-progress conversations and will be structured so that students can receive informal feedback from both the

professor and classmates on their final research proposal. Students will sign up ahead of time for the week they discuss their research design plans.

Final Research Proposal: By December 17, students will submit a 12-15 page (single spaced) research proposal that includes the sections on: research questions and literature review; research design and empirical strategy; measurement and analysis. We will follow the format used for NSF dissertation grant proposals. Feedback that students receive on their literature review and on their research design discussion should be incorporated into the final research proposal. More detailed instructions will be provided in class.

All papers should contain accurate and appropriate sources and citations. If you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please consult the Brown University Code of Conduct.

All writing assignments are due at the time specified on the syllabus or at **beginning** of class (submitted via MyCourses) on the indicated date (when a time is not specified). The grade for late papers will be lowered by one full letter grade for each day it is late. Why do I require on-time submissions? To be late in the world of politics, policy, and practice is to be irrelevant. I want each of your voices to be relevant and active in academic and public discourse.

COURSE MATERIALS

There are 7 required books for this course available for purchase at the Brown Bookstore and available through the Brown Library:

Jamila Michener. 2018. *Framed Democracy: Medicaid, Federalism, and Unequal Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Perna Singh. 2017. *How Solidarity Works for Welfare: Subnationalism and Social Development in India*. Cambridge University Press.

Dawn Brancati. 2010. *Peace by Design: Managing Intrastate Conflict Through Decentralization* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press).

Daniel Ziblatt. 2006. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Jonathan A. Rodden. 2005. *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*. Cambridge University Press

M. Filippov, Peter Ordeshook, and Olga Shvetsova. 2004. *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Suzanne Mettler. 1998. *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

The *Federalist Papers* may be found at: <http://www.law.ou.edu/hist/federalist/>

Additional articles and book chapters will be posted on our MyCourses site. The class readings may change slightly over the course of the term. I will let you know about changes to the syllabus at least one week in advance.

The optional reading is truly optional. I include them on the syllabus as resources for you to deepen your knowledge in particular topics or in different geographic regions, consistent with your research interests.

CLASS SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNMENTS

SECTION 1: FOUNDATIONS OF FEDERALISM

September 10

Session 1: Comparing Federalist Systems

Jonathan Rodden. 2004. "Comparative Federalism and Decentralization: On Meaning and Measurement," *Comparative Politics* 36, 4: 481-500.

Ronald Watts. 1998. "Federalism, Federal Political Systems, and Federations," *Annual Review of Political Science* 1998. vol 1: 117-37.

Daniel J. Elazar. 1997. "Contrasting Unitary and Federal Systems," *International Political Science Review*, vol. 18, no.3, 327-251.

Eghosa E. Osaghae. 1990. "A Reassessment of Federalism as a Degree of Decentralization," *Publius*. vol.20 (Winter)

Shanna Rose and Cynthia Bowling. 2015. "The State of American Federalism 2014-15," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 45:3 (2015): 351-379.

Hamilton, Madison and Jay, *The Federalist Papers*: Federalist 2, 9, 10, 39, 44, 45, 51 (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/federal/fed.htm>) and Antifederalist 17 ([http://www.foundingfathers.info/federalistpapers/.](http://www.foundingfathers.info/federalistpapers/))

Optional

Donald B. Rosenthal and James M. Hoefler. 1989. "Competing Approaches to the Study of American Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations," *Publius*. 19(1): 1-23.

September 17

Session 2: Normative Federalism and Democratic Transitions

Review Hamilton, Madison and Jay, *The Federalist Papers*: Federalist 2, 9, 10, 39, 44, 45, 51 (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/federal/fed.htm>) and Antifederalist 17 ([http://www.foundingfathers.info/federalistpapers/.](http://www.foundingfathers.info/federalistpapers/))

William Riker. 1964. *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company). Chapter 2: The origin and purposes of federalism. pp. 11-48.

Jacob Levy. 2007. "Federalism, Liberalism and the Separation of Loyalties," *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 459-477.

Daniel Ziblatt. 2006. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

Jeffrey R. Lax and Justin H. Phillips. 2012 "The Democratic Deficit in the States," *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (1): pp. 148-166.

Enrique Ochoa-Reza. 2004. "Multiple Arenas of Struggle: Federalism and Mexico's Transition to Democracy", in Gibson, Edward L. (ed). *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*. (John Hopkins University Press). pp.255-296

Optional Reading

Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, "Characteristics which Distinguish the Federal Constitution"

Kent Eaton. 2012. "Decentralization and Federalism", in Peter Kingstone and Deborah J. Yashar, Routledge *Handbook of Latin American Politics*, New York and London: Taylor and Francis. Pp. 33-47.

Jan Erk. 2014. "Federalism and Decentralization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Five Patterns of Evolution". *Regional and Federal Studies* 24:5, 535-552.

Rotimi Suberu. 2009. "Federalism in Africa: The Nigerian Experience in Comparative Perspective". *Ethnopolitics* vol. 8, no.1, p. 67-86.

John Kincaid. 1995. "Values and Value Tradeoffs in Federalism." *Publius*. 25(2): 29-44.

Martin Diamond. 1973. "The Ends of Federalism." *Publius*. 3(2): 129-152.

Seth F. Kreimer. 2001. "Federalism and Freedom." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 574: 66-80.

G. Patrick Lynch. 2004. "Protecting Individual Rights Through a Federal System: James Buchanan's View of Federalism." *Publius*. 34(4): 153-167.

James M. Buchanan. 1995. "Federalism as an Ideal Political Order and an Objective for Constitutional Reform." *Publius*. 25(2): 19-27.

Samuel LaSelva. 1996. *The Moral Foundations of Canadian Federalism: Paradoxes, Achievements, and Tragedies of Nationhood*. Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

September 24

Session 3: Strategic Design of Federalism and Its Implications

M. Filippov, Peter Ordeshook, and Olga Shvetsova. 2004. *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Jenna Bednar. 2009. *The Robust Federation: Principles of Design*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.1-62.

Optional

Thad Kousser and Justin Phillips. 2012. *The Powers of American Governors: Winning on Budgets and Losing on Policy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Chapters 2 ("The Roots of Executive Power") and 4 ("Gubernatorial Success")

October 1

Session 4: Battleground Federalism (Parties, Conflict)

Dawn Brancati. 2010. *Peace by Design: Managing Intrastate Conflict Through Decentralization* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press).

Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman. 2009. *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India and the United States*. Princeton University Press, pp.1-27.

Adam R. Brown. 2010. "Are Governors Responsible for the State Economy? Partisanship, Blame, and Divided Federalism," *Journal of Politics* 72 (3): 605-615.

Craig Volden. 2005. "Intergovernmental Political Competition in American Federalism." *American Journal of Political Science*. 49(2): 327-342.

Optional

Ann O' M. Bowman and George A. Krause. 2003. "Power Shift: Measuring Policy Centralization in U.S. Intergovernmental Relations, 1947-1998." *American Politics Research*. 31(5): 301-325.

Donald F. Kettl. 1981. "The Fourth Face of Federalism." *Public Administration Review*. 41(3): 366-371.

Ann O'M. Bowman. 2004. "Horizontal Federalism: Exploring Interstate Interactions." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory: J-PART*. 14(4): 535-546.

October 8 NO CLASS: UNIVERSITY RECESS

SECTION 2: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FEDERALISM

October 15

Session 5: Fiscal Federalism, part 1

Jonathan Rodden. 2006. *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

R. Daniel Kelemen and Terence K. Teo. 2014. "Law, Focal Points, and Fiscal Discipline in the United States and the European Union." *American Political Science Review* 108 (2): 355-370.

Barry R. Weingast. 1995. "The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development." *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 11 (1): 1-31.

Caroline Hanley and Michael T. Douglass. 2014. "High Road, Low Road, or Off Road: Economic Development Strategies in the American States," *Economic Development Quarterly* 28 (3): 220-229.

Jason Sorens. 2016. "Secession Risk and Fiscal Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 46:1, 25-50.

Optional:

Wallace E. Oates. 1999. "An Essay on Fiscal Federalism". *Journal of Economic Literature*. vol 37: 1120-1149.

Erik Wibbels. 2012. *Intergovernmental Conflict and Economic Reform in the Developing World*. Cambridge University Press.

October 22

Session 6: Fiscal Federalism, part 2 (cities and regions)

Charles Tiebout. 1956. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures," *Journal of Political Economy*, no.64, pp.416-424.

Vincent Ostrom, Charles M. Tiebout, and Robert Warren. 1961. "The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Theoretical Inquiry." *The American Political Science Review*. 55(4): 831-842.

Keith Dowding and Thanos Mergoupis. 2003. "Fragmentation, Fiscal Mobility, and Efficiency." *The Journal of Politics*. 65(4): 1190-1207.

Peter Gordon and Harry W. Richardson. 2001. "The Sprawl Debate: Let Markets Plan." *Publius*. 31(3): 131-149.

Nathan Kelly and Christopher Witco. 2012. "Federalism and American Inequality." *Journal of Politics* 74(2): 414-426.

Optional

Paul E. Peterson. 1981. *City Limits*, University of Chicago Press.

Vincent Ostrom. 1973. "Can Federalism Make a Difference?" *Publius*. 3(2): 197-237.

October 29

Session 7: Fiscal Federalism, part 3 (growth of the state and accountability)

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2003. "Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-Level Governance." *The American Political Science Review*. 97(2): 233-243.

Carl E. Klarner, Justin H. Phillips, and Matt Muckler. 2012 "Overcoming Fiscal Gridlock: Institutions and Budget Bargaining," *Journal of Politics* 74 (4): 992-1009.

Sean Nicholson-Crotty. 2004. "Goal Conflict and Fund Diversion in Federal Grants to the States." *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(1): 110-122.

Jonathan Rodden. 2003. "Reviving Leviathan: Fiscal Federalism and the Growth of Government." *International Organization*. 57(4): 695-729.

Kenneth N. Bickers and Robert M. Stein. 2004. "Interlocal Cooperation and the Distribution of Federal Grant Awards." *The Journal of Politics*. 66(3): 800-822.

Steven D. Gold. 1992. "The Federal Role in State Fiscal Stress." *Publius*. 22(3): 33-47

Optional Reading

John Bohte and Kenneth J. Meier. 2000. "The Marble Cake: Introducing Federalism to the Government Growth Equation." *Publius*. 30(3): 35-46.

November 5

Session 8: Accountability through Federalism (Groups, Citizen Oversight, and Inequality)

Jamila Michener. 2018. *Fragmented Democracy: Medicaid, Federalism, and Unequal Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Christopher Wlezien and Stuart Soroka. 2011. "Federalism and Public Responsiveness to Policy." *Publius*, 41 (1): 31-52.

Fred Cutler. 2008. "Whodunnit? Voters and responsibility in Canadian federalism." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 627-654.

Cindy Kam and Robert Mikos. 2007. "Do citizens care about federalism? An experimental test." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 4(3): 589-624.

Laura E. Evans. 2011. *Power from Powerlessness: Tribal Governments, Institutional Niches, and American Federalism*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Optional Reading

A. J. Brown. 2013. "From Intuition to Reality: Measuring Federal Political Culture in Australia". *Publius* 43:2, 297-314.

Martha Derthick. 1992. "The Structural Protections of American Federalism" In *North American and Comparative Federalism: Essays for the 1990s*, edited by Harry N. Scheiber. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2-23.

Elisabeth S. Clemens. 1997. *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925*. University of Chicago.

Thomas E. Cronin. 1989. *Direct Democracy: The Politics of Initiative, Referendum, and Recall*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Chapter 4 ("The Question of Voter Competence").

Todd Rogers and Joel Middleton, 2015, "Are Ballot Initiative Outcomes Influenced by the Campaigns of Independent Groups? A Precinct-Randomized Experiment Showing That They Are," *Political Behavior*.

SECTION 3: GOVERNANCE AND POLICY

November 12

Session 9: Governing through Laboratories

Susan Rose-Ackerman. 1980. "Risk Taking and Reelection: Does Federalism Promote Innovation?" *Journal of Legal Studies*, 9 (3): 593-616.

Koleman Strumpf. 2002. "Does Government Decentralization Increase Policy Innovation?" *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, vol.4, pp.207-41.

Charles Shipan and Craig Volden. 2008. "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 840-57.

Christa Scholtz. 2013. "Federalism and Policy Change: An Analytic Narrative of Indigenous Land Rights Policy in Australia (1966-1978)" *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 46 (2) 397-418.

Charles R. Shipan and Craig Volden. 2006. "Bottom-up Federalism: The Diffusion of Antismoking Policies from U.S. Cities to States." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 825-843.

Charles Shipan and Craig Volden. 2012. "Policy Diffusion: Seven Lessons for Scholars and Practitioners" and Commentary, *Public Administration Review* 72 (6) 788-797.

Optional Reading

Craig Volden. 2006. "States as Policy Laboratories: Emulating Success in the Children's Health Insurance Program." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(2): 294-312

Craig Volden, Michael Ting, and Daniel P. Carpenter. 2008. "A Formal Model of Learning and Policy Diffusion". *American Political Science Review*, 102 (3): 319-332.

Frederick J. Boehmke and Richard Witmer. 2004. "Disentangling Diffusion: The Effects of Social Learning and Economic Competition on State Policy Innovation and Expansion." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57(1): 39-51.

November 19

Session 10: Governing Environmental Policy in Federalist Systems

Margaret Keck and Rebecca Abers. 2013. *Practical Authority: Agency and Institutional Change in Brazilian Water Politics*, Chapters 1 and 2.

James Monogan, David Konisky, Neal Woods. 2017. "Gone With the Wind: Federalism and the Strategic Location of Air Polluters." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(2): 257-270.

Richard C. Feiock and John T. Scholz. 2009. *Self-Organizing Federalism: Collaborative Mechanisms to Mitigate Institutional Collective Action Dilemmas*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Barry Rabe. 2007. "Environmental Policy and the Bush Era: The Collision Between the Administrative Presidency and State Experimentation." *Publius*. 37(3): 413-432.

Aseem Prakash and Matthew Potoski. 2006. "Racing to the Bottom? Trade, Environmental Governance, and ISO 14001." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(2): 350-364

Optional Reading

Matthew Potoski. 2001. "Clean Air Federalism: Do States Race to the Bottom?" *Public Administration Review*. 61(3): 335-342.

November 26

Session 11: Governing Social Welfare Policy in Federalist Systems

Suzanne Mettler. 1998. *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording and Sanford F. Schram. 2008. "The Color of Devolution: Race, Federalism, and the Politics of Social Control." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(3): 536-553.

Kenneth Finegold. 2005. "The United States: Federalism and its counterfactuals", in Herbert Obinger, Stephan Leibfried and Francis Castles (eds), *Federalism and the Welfare State: New World and European Experiences*. (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp.138-178

Edwin Amenta. 2003. "What We Know about the Development of Social Policy", in Mahoney and Rueschmeyer (eds), 91-130.

William D. Berry, Richard C. Fording, and Russell L. Hanson. 2003. "Reassessing the "Race to the Bottom" in State Welfare Policy." *The Journal of Politics*. 65(2): 327-349.

Paul E. Peterson and Mark Rom, 1989, "American Federalism, Welfare Policy, and Residential Choice," *American Political Science Review* (Volume 83, Number 3): 711-728.

Optional Reading

Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race*. University of Chicago Press.

Kimberly Morgan and Andrea Campbell. 2011. *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press

Antonia Maioni. 1998. *Parting at the Crossroads: The Emergence of Health Insurance in the United States and Canada*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

December 3

Session 12: Governing Education Policy through Federalist Systems and Concluding Thoughts

Perna Singh. 2017. *How Solidarity Works for Welfare: Subnationalism and Social Development in India*. Cambridge University Press.

Douglas Reed. 2014. *Building the Federal Schoolhouse: Localism and the American Education State*. Oxford University Press, Chapters 1 and 2.

Ashley Joachim and Lesley Lavery. 2015. "The Evolving Politics of the Common Core," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 45 (3): 380-404.

Vladimir Kogan, Stephane Lavertu, Zachary Peskowitz. 2016. "Performance Federalism and Local Democracy: Theory and Evidence from Local Tax Referenda" *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (2): 418-435.

December 10

Reading Period

December 17

Final Research Proposal Due

FINAL RESEARCH PROPOSAL DUE NO LATER THAN DECEMBER 17, 2018 AT 12PM

Submitted via MyCourses
No later than December 17, 2018 at 12pm