

I. Federalism and American Political Development

Prof. Dave Robertson

University of Missouri-St. Louis

1. WHAT IS THIS COURSE ABOUT?

Though Americans rarely appreciate it, federalism has profoundly shaped their nation's past, present and future. Federalism – the division of government authority between the national government and the states – affects the prosperity, security, and daily life of every American. The most bitter and spectacular political conflicts in American history have been fought on the battlefield of federalism – over state's rights to leave the union, government power to manage labor and business, to institute political reform, and to initiate responses to problems of race, corporate autonomy, poverty, climate change, abortion, gay rights and many more.

This course traces the impact of federalism on American life and politics since the Constitution. It emphasizes that federalism has been used as a political weapon to shape every major political conflict in American history. It also emphasizes that federalism's impact on American politics, policy and life has developed cumulatively over time. Drawing on the perspective of American Political Development scholarship (or APD), it emphasizes that past choices shape present circumstances, and that a deep understanding of American government, public policy, political processes and society requires an understanding of the key steps in federalism's evolution in American history.

Our Contract. By enrolling in this course, you and I have agreed to a contract with each other. I'll work hard to be prepared, enthusiastic, fair and respectful of every student and their opinions. I'll be accessible and try my best to return graded materials after no more than a week. By enrolling in the class, you've agreed to (1) attend every class, (2) to participate by asking questions and joining in class discussions, and (3) reading the assigned material and completing written assignments on time. Of all the consumer purchases you make, don't let your education be the one expensive purchase where you expect *less* for your money.

2. WHAT TEXTS ARE REQUIRED?

There are 4 important sources of readings. The most important text for the course is the draft of the book, *Federalism and the Making of America*. Also:

Timothy J. Conlan and Paul L. Posner, eds., *Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2008) ISBN-13: 978-0815715412.

David B. Walker, *The Rebirth of Federalism: Slouching Toward Washington*, 2nd ed. (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1999) ISBN-13: 978-1566430746

Additional materials will be posted online.

3. DO I NEED TO ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE IN CLASS?

YES. This is a seminar course. It depends on your discussion of course readings. Attendance is required, and I will record it. You are expected to participate in all seminar sessions and to contribute thoughtful and informed questions and comments to the discussion. If you do so you will receive an "A" for this part of the grade. Remember, this seminar will succeed only to the extent that you participate. Its success depends on you.

Your reading assignments are listed on the attached class schedule. I expect you to have read the material before coming to class, and that you will be prepared to discuss it. In advance of each class, I will distribute handouts with discussion questions for that session. I would prefer not to use quizzes, but if you are not prepared to discuss the readings in class, I will implement quizzes.

4. GRADING:

The grade for the course will be determined in the following way:

Participation:	20% of the final grade
Journal:	20% of the final grade
Exam	25% of the final grade
Paper:	25% of the final grade

NOTE: You are not are NOT competing with other students for a grade. There is no curve in this course. Each student can get an A, or can get a D. It's up to you.

5. THE FEDERALISM JOURNAL

You will keep a Federalism Journal during the semester. Each week, you'll read 1 magazine or newspaper story about relations between the national government and the states, or the states among each other. You also may read an editorial, a historical article (from the New York Times or Time Magazine archives, for example, or an extended blog entry). Every two weeks, you'll hand in a notebook in which you have two entries. Each entry should spend no more than one paragraph summarizing the main points of one story, and at least on paragraph reacting to it by exploring its significance for understanding the federalism (not just an individual state). Actively use ideas from course discussion and readings, and apply them in your reactions.

The object of this journal is to develop three of your critical thinking skills: 1), your ability to summarize succinctly exactly what someone else is saying; 2) your ability to connect material from outside the course to the key themes of the course; and 3) to provide a cogent, reasoned response to the things you read. Each entry should be about two paragraphs: one paragraph to summarize the article, editorial, or opinion piece, and one paragraph to react to it. Again, you will write about one entry a week, two entries in all for each submission, or a total of 10 entries. You will hand in the journal about every other week. Please leave room for comments after each entry. Each time you hand in the journal, please include all the previous entries and comments. The best way to include everything is in a thin spiral notebook.

The journal assignment will require you to pay closer attention to developments in federalism this semester. You can do this by reading the New York Times. Governing is a magazine that covers American federalism, and Publius is a political science journal that deals with federalism

from an academic perspective. I urge you to think creatively, choosing historical topics, or important Supreme Court cases, or interesting philosophical problems. Whatever your interest -- the arts, social justice, strengthening free markets, issues like abortion or gay marriage -- there are robust discussions about the role of the states and the relationship of the states and the Federal government. You will be graded on (1) demonstrated effort and research, (2) thoughtfulness and creativity, (3) effective execution (good writing).

6. THE FEDERALISM RESEARCH PAPER.

This is a conventional research paper on a topic on federalism that interests you. You can look at contemporary U.S. policy and its relationship to federalism; federalism in political theory; or federalism in other nations. Topics should be arranged with me.

7. THE FINAL EXAM.

There will be a take home final exam. You will have the questions in advance, and you will have a week to compose your answers.

8. COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK 1

Session 1: Introduction

Session 2: Federalism as a Battleground

READ: Tabarrok, "Arguments for Federalism"
"States Rights is Rallying Cry of Resistance for Lawmakers"
Ford, "The New Blue Federalists"
Schattschneider, The Semi-Sovereign People, 3-18

WEEK 2

Session 1: The Stakes

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 1
Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 1-24
Gallup, State Ideology
Wildavsky, "Federalism Means Inequality"

Session 2: Origins

READ: LeCroix, "The Federal Idea"
Robertson, "The Policy Crisis of the 1780s"
Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Chapter 2

WEEK 3

Session 1: Constitution

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 2
James Madison, Federalist 39 and 51
Tocqueville, "Characteristics which Distinguish the Federal Constitution"

Journal 1 Due

WEEK 4

Session 1: Politics: Political Parties

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 3

Holbrook and La Raja "Parties and Elections"

Nownes et. al., "Interest Groups in the States"

Session 2: Constitution Day – attend presentations

READ: Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 310-337

WEEK 5

Session 1: Race, 1789-1954

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 4

Calhoun, "Fort Hill Address"

"The Webster-Hayne Debates"

McPherson, "The Counterevolution of 1861"

Research Topic Due

Session 2: Race, 1954-Present

READ: "The Southern Manifesto"

Katagiri, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission"

Navasky, "Kennedy Justice"

"Texas finally speaks out against the poll tax"

"Under shadow of 1957, Arkansas stays out of health-care fight"

Journal 2 Due

WEEK 6

Session 1: Building Capitalism

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 5

Polanyi, "Market-Self-Regulation"

Weingast, "Market-Preserving Federalism"

Jackson, Veto of the National Bank, 1832

Franklin Roosevelt, Press Conference, May 31, 1935

Session 2: Building Capitalism

READ: Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Chapter 3

"ExpressScripts Subsidies"

"Mo. Senate chief ousts chairman blocking Ford bill"

"Even with Missouri tax breaks, Ford might not upgrade the Claycomo plant"

Testimony of Baird Webel on the Insurance Crisis

"Connecticut, 19 other states launch AIG investigations"

"For Cuomo, financial crisis is his political moment"

WEEK 7

Session 1: Progressivism

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 6

Fein, "Highways: State-Centered Bureaucracy"

Session 2: New Deal

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 7
Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Chapter

Journal 3 Due

WEEK 8

Session 1: Liberalism

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 8
Time Magazine, "The Marble-Cake Government"
Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 26-41

Session 2: Liberalism

READ: Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Introduction (pages 1-18) and Chapter 5
Derthick, "Crossing Thresholds"

Research Paper - Preliminary Outline and Bibliography Due

WEEK 9

Session 1: Conservatism

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 9
Working Group on Federalism, "The Status of Federalism in America"
Time, "The Drive to Kill Revenue Sharing"

Session 2: Conservatism

READ: Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Chapters 6, 10
"States March Into the Brink"
"States Working to Avert Eviction"

Journal 4 Due

WEEK 10

Session 1: Bush and Obama

READ: Krane, "The Middle Tier in American Federalism"
Dinan and Gamkhar, "The State of American Federalism, 2008-2009"
"In Turnaround, Industries Seek U.S. Regulations"

Session 2: The Courts

READ: Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Chapter 7
Hammer v. Dagenhart
Roe v. Wade
Massachusetts v. EPA

WEEK 11

Session 1: The Resurgent States

READ: Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Chapter 9
Greve, Madison Lecture
[TO BE ASSIGNED]

Session 2: Money

READ: Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Chapter 8

Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 42-74, 263-285

"Mo Budget cuts 040910"

Journal 5 Due

WEEK 12

Session 1: Control & Democracy

READ: Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 209-262, 286-309

Stepan, "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model"

Session 2: Police and National Security

READ: Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 77-101

Economist, "Rough Justice in America"

Wood, "Arizona Immigration Bill"

"Will Arizona's Immigration Law Survive?"

WEEK 13

Session 1: Education

READ: Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 102-123

Vinovskis, "Implementing and Debating No Child Left Behind"

"Many States Adopt National Standards for Their Schools"

Session 2: Welfare

READ: Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 124-156

Urban Institute, "Assessing the New Federalism 8: Years Later"

Journal 7 Due

WEEK 14

Session 1: Health Care

READ: Nathan, "Federalism And Health Policy"

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, "State of the States 2010"

Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 157-175

McCollum, "Constitutional Analysis of the Individual Mandate"

"Missouri Vote Puts Health Care Back in the Crosshairs"

Session 2: Environment

READ: Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 176-205

"Regional and State Interests ..."

"Bill would allow states to veto offshore drilling"

Research Paper Due

WEEK 15

Session 1: Social Issues

READ: Nossiff, "Party Politics in New York"

Session 2: Conclusion

READ: Robertson, Federalism and the Making of America, Chapter 10

Walker, The Rebirth of Federalism, Chapter 11

Conlan & Posner, Intergovernmental Management for the 21st Century, 338-351

WEEK 16: FINAL EXAM DUE at 5:00 pm