

**Political Science 555: State and Local Politics in the U.S.**  
**University of Washington**  
**Winter 2022**

**Jacob M. Grumbach**

Class Meetings: 1:30PM – 4:20PM, Monday

Office Hours: Wednesday 12:30 – 1:30PM in 131 Gowen

Email: [grumbach@uw.edu](mailto:grumbach@uw.edu)

### **Course Overview**

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Compared to other countries, the United States constitutional system gives a lot of authority to state and local governments. Proponents of this system of *federalism* argue that states and cities avoid “one size fits all” national policy and bring citizens closer to their policymakers. Opponents, on the other hand, suggest that federalism hinders progress on civil rights and empowers corporations and the wealthy. In this course, we will investigate the *causes* of the American system of federalism, and the *consequences* of this system of government.

The primary goal of the course is to help students become familiar with literature on the politics, policy, and political economy within federalism and state and local politics.

### **Course Texts**

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This is a *reading intensive course*, and it is imperative that you come to seminar having done all readings. All book chapters will be available on Canvas (see below), and all articles are available to UW students for free online (make sure to use the UW Library Proxy on your browser). In addition, you will almost always be able to find the readings by simply Googling the author and title.

Readings in **bold** are required readings. Readings *not* in bold are supplemental recommended readings of lower priority.

### **Assignments and Grading**

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In this course, you have the option of a) writing one term paper of approximately 20-25 pages, or b) four separate reading response of approximately 5 pages each. Your grade will be determined as follows:

Seminar Participation	40%
Term Paper/Reading Responses	60%

It is critically important that you attend all class sessions.

Washington state law requires that UW develop a policy for accommodation of student absences or significant hardship due to reasons of faith or conscience, or for organized religious activities. The UW’s policy, including more information about how to request an accommodation, is

available at Religious Accommodations Policy (<https://registrar.washington.edu/staffandfaculty/religious-accommodations-policy/>). Accommodations must be requested within the first two weeks of this course using the Religious Accommodations Request form (<https://registrar.washington.edu/students/religious-accommodations-request/>).

Academic dishonesty will result in a failing grade for the course. Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, falsifying academic records, and any other act designed to avoid participating honestly in the learning process. Academic dishonesty also includes, but is not limited to, providing false or misleading information to receive a postponement or extension on a test or assignment, or the submission of essentially the same written assignment for two different courses without prior permission of the instructors.

## **Week 1: Democracy, Federalism, and the U.S. Constitution**

### Readings

- **Madison, James. “Federalist No. 45.”**  
<https://www.congress.gov/resources/display/content/The+Federalist+Papers#TheFederalistPapers-45>
- **Drutman, Lee. “America has local political institutions but nationalized politics. This is a problem.”** *Vox*. 31 May, 2018.  
<https://www.vox.com/polyarchy/2018/5/31/17406590/local-national-political-institutions-polarization-federalism>
- **Chapters 7-9 of Grumbach, Jacob M. *Laboratories Against Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2022.**
- **Yglesias, Matt. “American Democracy Is Doomed.”** *Vox*. 8 Oct, 2015.  
<http://www.vox.com/2015/3/2/8120063/american-democracy-doomed>
- **Rocco, Philip B. "Ending Federalism as We Know It: Review of The Divided States of America by Donald F. Kettl." *Jacobin* (2020).**  
[https://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1096&context=polisci\\_fac](https://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1096&context=polisci_fac)

## **Week 2: Federalism, Representation, and Public Opinion**

### Readings

- **Gerken, Heather K. 2012. “A New Progressive Federalism.”** *Democracy Journal*.  
<https://democracyjournal.org/magazine/24/a-new-progressive-federalism/>
- **Chapter 1 of Gulasekaram, Pratheepan, and S. Karthick Ramakrishnan. *The New Immigration Federalism*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.**

- Miller, Lisa L. "The representational biases of federalism: Scope and bias in the political process, revisited." *Perspectives on Politics* 5.02 (2007): 305-321.
- Pierson, Paul, and Eric Schickler. "Madison's constitution under stress: A developmental analysis of political polarization." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 37-58.
- Rauch, Jonathan. 2013. "Marijuana and Same-Sex Marriage: A Common Path to Legalization." [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/marijuana-and-same-sex-marriage-a-common-path-to-legalization/2013/04/04/41a055d6-9ca3-11e2-9a79-eb5280c81c63\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/marijuana-and-same-sex-marriage-a-common-path-to-legalization/2013/04/04/41a055d6-9ca3-11e2-9a79-eb5280c81c63_story.html)
- Nader, Ralph. 2004. "State Legislatures as 'Laboratories of Democracy.'" <https://web.archive.org/web/20080924115109/http://www.commondreams.org/cgi-bin/print.cgi?file=%2Fviews04%2F0531-12.htm>
- Starr, Paul. 2019. "The Battle for the Suburbs." *New York Review of Books*. <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2019/09/26/cities-lose-battle-for-the-suburbs/>
- Caughey, Devin, and Christopher Warshaw. "Policy preferences and policy change: Dynamic responsiveness in the American states, 1936–2014." *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 2 (2018): 249-266.
- Caughey, Devin, James Dunham, and Christopher Warshaw. "The ideological nationalization of partisan subconstituencies in the American States." *Public Choice* 176.1-2 (2018): 133-151.
- Ogorzalek, Thomas, Luisa Godinez Puig and Spencer Piston. 2019. "White Trump voters are richer than they appear." *Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/11/13/white-trump-voters-are-richer-than-they-appear/>
- Rogers, Steven. "Electoral accountability for state legislative roll calls and ideological representation." *American Political Science Review* 111.3 (2017): 555-571.

### **Week 3: Electoral Policy and Voting**

#### **Readings**

- Bonica, Adam, Jacob M. Grumbach, Charlotte Hill, and Hakeem Jefferson. "All-mail voting in Colorado increases turnout and reduces turnout inequality." *Electoral Studies* 72 (2021): 102363.
- Feigenbaum, James, Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, and Vanessa Williamson. *From the Bargaining Table to the Ballot Box: Downstream Effects of Right-to-Work Laws*. Working Paper, 2019. <https://www.nber.org/papers/w24259>
- Hajnal, Zoltan, and Jessica Trounstein. "Where turnout matters: The consequences of uneven turnout in city politics." *The Journal of Politics* 67, no. 2 (2005): 515-535.
- Stephanopoulos, Nicholas O., and Christopher Warshaw. "The impact of partisan gerrymandering on political parties." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (2020): 609-643.

- Aneja, Abhay, and Carlos F. Avenancio-Leon. "The effect of political power on labor market inequality: Evidence from the 1965 Voting Rights Act." *American Economic Review*, forthcoming 2022.

#### **Week 4: Interest Groups and the Nationalization of State Politics**

##### Readings

- Grumbach, Jacob M. "From Backwaters to Major Policymakers: Policy Polarization in the States, 1970-2014" 2018. *Perspectives on Politics* 16(2): 416-435.
- Chapter 1 of Hertel-Fernandez, Alexander. *State Capture*. Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Hertel-Fernandez, Alex and Theda Skocpol. "How the Right Trounced Liberals in the States." *Democracy Journal*. Winter 2015. <http://democracyjournal.org/magazine/39/how-the-right-trounced-liberals-in-the-states/>
- Chapter 1 of Hopkins, Daniel J. *The increasingly United States: How and why American political behavior nationalized*. University of Chicago Press, 2018.
- Gilens, Martin, Shawn Patterson, and Pavielle Haines. "Campaign Finance Regulations and Public Policy." *American Political Science Review* (2021): 1-8.
- Harvey, Anna, and Taylor Mattia. "Does money have a conservative bias? Estimating the causal impact of Citizens United on state legislative preferences." *Public Choice* (2019): 1-25.

#### **Week 5: States, Race, and the American Welfare State**

##### Readings

- Chapter 1 of Katznelson, Ira. *Fear itself: The new deal and the origins of our time*. WW Norton & Company, 2013.
- Rocco, Philip, Daniel Béland, and Alex Waddan. "Stuck in neutral? Federalism, policy instruments, and counter-cyclical responses to COVID-19 in the United States." *Policy and Society* 39, no. 3 (2020): 458-477.
- Preface & Chapters 1-2 of Katznelson, Ira. 2005. *When Affirmative Action Was White*. WW Norton & Company.
- Konczal, Mike. "The Forgotten State." *Boston Review*. 18 July, 2016. <http://bostonreview.net/books-ideas/mike-konczal-yuval-levin-fractured-republic-jacob-hacker-paul-pierson-american-amnesia>
- Chapter 1 of Michener, Jamila. *Fragmented Democracy: Medicaid, Federalism, and Unequal Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Weir, Margaret. "States, race, and the decline of new deal liberalism." *Studies in American Political Development* 19.2 (2005): 157-172.

## Week 6: Criminal Justice and Mass Incarceration

### Readings

- Chapter 3 of Travis, Jeremy, Bruce Western, and F. Stevens Redburn. "The growth of incarceration in the United States: Exploring causes and consequences." (2014). [https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1026&context=jj\\_pubs&mod=article\\_inline](https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1026&context=jj_pubs&mod=article_inline)
- Serial, Season 3 [Podcast]. <https://serialpodcast.org/>
- Lantigua-Williams, Juleyka. 2016. "Are Prosecutors the Key to Justice Reform?" *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/are-prosecutors-the-key-to-justice-reform/483252/>
- Gottschalk, Marie. 2016. "The Prisoner's Dilemma." *The Baffler*. <https://thebaffler.com/salvos/the-prisoner-dilemma-gottschalk>
- Lerman, Amy E., and Vesla Weaver. "Staying out of sight? Concentrated policing and local political action." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 651, no. 1 (2014): 202-219.
- Weaver, Vesla. 2017. "The Untold Story of Mass Incarceration." *Boston Review*. <https://bostonreview.net/articles/vesla-m-weaver-black-washingtonians/>

## Week 7: Housing and Education

### Readings

- Frank, Thomas. "Dead End on Shakin' Street." *The Baffler*. 2012. <http://thebaffler.com/salvos/dead-end-on-shakin-street>
- Sahn, Alexander. "Racial Diversity and Exclusionary Zoning: Evidence from the Great Migration." (2021). [https://youngamericans.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Sahn\\_BIFYA\\_Working-Paper.pdf](https://youngamericans.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Sahn_BIFYA_Working-Paper.pdf)
- Trounstein, Jessica. 2020. "Segregation by Design" [Graphic Novel]. <https://faculty.ucmerced.edu/jtrounstine/COMIC.pdf>
- Chapters 5 of Hacker, Hertel-Fernandez, Pierson, and Thelen (eds.), *American Political Economy*, 2022.
- Chapter 1 of Trounstein, Jessica. *Segregation by Design*.
- de Benedictis-Kessner, Justin, and Christopher Warshaw. "Mayoral partisanship and municipal fiscal policy." *The Journal of Politics* 78, no. 4 (2016): 1124-1138.
- Frymer, Paul. "'A rush and a push and the land is ours': Territorial expansion, land policy, and US state formation." *Perspectives on Politics* 12, no. 1 (2014): 119-144.
- Thurston, Chloe N. "Policy Feedback in the Public-Private Welfare State: Advocacy Groups and Access to Government Homeownership Programs, 1934-1954." *Studies in American Political Development* 29, no. 2 (2015): 250-267.

- Dynarski, Susan. 2016. "Why American Schools Are Even More Unequal Than We Thought." *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/14/upshot/why-american-schools-are-even-more-unequal-than-we-thought.html>
- Semuels, Alana. 2016. "Good School, Rich School; Bad School, Poor School." *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/08/property-taxes-and-unequal-schools/497333/>
- Bastian, Jacob, and Katherine Michelmore. "The long-term impact of the earned income tax credit on children's education and employment outcomes." *Journal of Labor Economics* 36, no. 4 (2018): 1127-1163.
- Hamilton, Darrick, and William A. Darity. "The political economy of education, financial literacy, and the racial wealth gap." *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis* (2017): 59-76. <https://files.stlouisfed.org/files/htdocs/publications/review/2017-02-15/the-political-economy-of-education-financial-literacy-and-the-racial-wealth-gap.pdf>

## **Week 8: States, Cities, and 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenges**

### Readings

- Anzia, Sarah F. "Party and Ideology in American Local Government: An Appraisal." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2021): 133-150.
- Chapter 1 of Hacker, Jacob S. and Paul Pierson. 2020. *Let Them Eat Tweets*. Liveright.
- Hajnal, Zoltan. 2018. "Why Does No One Vote in Local Elections?" *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/22/opinion/why-does-no-one-vote-in-local-elections.html>
- Howe, Amy. "We gave you a chance: Today's Shelby County decision in Plain English." SCOTUS Blog. <https://www.scotusblog.com/2013/06/we-gave-you-a-chance-todays-shelby-county-decision-in-plain-english/>