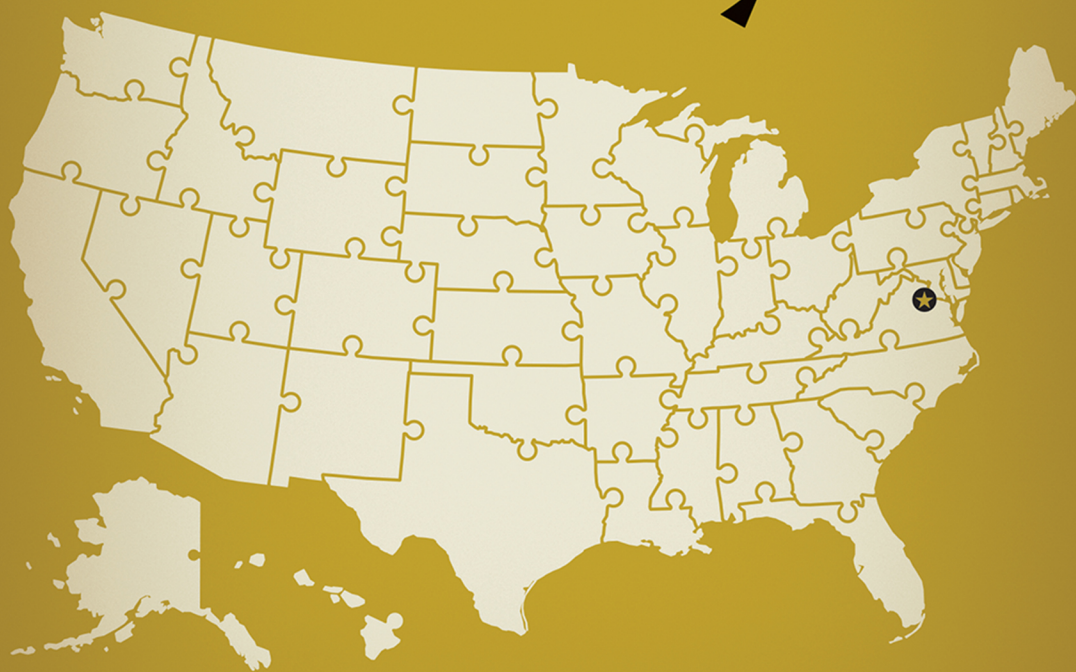


Perspectives on Political and Economic Governance

American Federalism Today



EDITED BY

MICHAEL J. BOSKIN

About the Editor

Michael J. Boskin is the Wohlford Family Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Tully M. Friedman Professor of Economics, both at Stanford University, and a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research. He is the author or editor of more than 150 articles and eighteen books, most recently *Defense Budgeting for a Safer World*. Boskin was the fifteenth chair of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, where he helped resolve the Third World debt and savings and loan crises, expand global trade, introduce emissions trading in environmental regulation, and place the first effective controls on government spending while protecting the defense budget. On presidential candidate Ronald Reagan's tax policy task force, he helped develop the policies that lowered marginal tax rates, indexed tax brackets for inflation, accelerated depreciation, and introduced IRAs and 401(k)s. In 1995–96, he chaired the US Senate's Advisory Commission to Study the Consumer Price Index, whose report has transformed the way government statistical agencies around the world measure inflation, productivity, and real GDP. His research continues to focus on important policy issues in public economics and macroeconomics.

About the Conference Participants

Dr. Jay Bhattacharya is a professor of health policy at Stanford University, a research associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research, and a senior fellow, by courtesy, at the Hoover Institution. He directs Stanford's Center on the Demography and Economics of Health and Aging. Bhattacharya's recent research has focused on the epidemiology of COVID-19 and policy responses to the epidemic. He is a coauthor of the 2020 Great Barrington Declaration, a proposed alternative to COVID-19 lockdowns, and has published more than 165 articles in peer-reviewed scientific journals. He holds an MD and a PhD in economics from Stanford University.

Valentin Bolotnyy is a Kleinheinz Fellow at the Hoover Institution, a research affiliate at the Institute of Labor Economics (IZA), and an affiliated scholar at Stanford's Deliberative Democracy Lab. His research, often done in partnership with state and local governments, aims to generate and inform innovative policies that improve economic and health outcomes. The objective of all of his work is to strengthen democracy by helping policymakers deliver good outcomes for their constituents. Bolotnyy holds a BA in economics and international relations from Stanford University and a PhD in economics from Harvard University.

David Brady is the Davies Family Senior Fellow, Emeritus, at the Hoover Institution and the Morris Doyle Professor of Public Policy, Emeritus, at Stanford University, and was the Bowen H. and Janice Arthur McCoy Professor of Political Science at Stanford's Graduate School of Business. He has published eight books and more than one hundred academic papers. He has also published essays and articles in the *American Interest*, *Commentary*, *Policy Review*, *RealClearPolitics*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. His study on the

electoral basis of gridlock is forthcoming (2024). Brady was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1987.

Jerry Brown was the thirty-fourth (1975–83) and the thirty-ninth (2011–19) governor of California, the longest-serving governor in state history. He has also served as California secretary of state and attorney general, mayor of Oakland, and chair of the state Democratic Party, as well as practicing law. Brown currently serves as chair of the California-China Climate Institute at the University of California–Berkeley; executive chair of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*; chair of the Oakland Military Institute College Preparatory Academy, a public charter school he founded; and board member of the Nuclear Threat Initiative and Council on Criminal Justice.

Jeb Bush was the forty-third governor of the state of Florida (1999–2007). During his two terms, Bush championed major reform of government programs and led Florida to the forefront of consumer healthcare advances, job growth, and academic standards. Bush maintains his passion for improving the quality of education as the chair of the Foundation for Excellence in Education, a national nonprofit organization he founded to develop and implement reforms that lead to rising student achievement. Governor Bush has written three books, *Profiles in Character*, *Immigration Wars: Forging an American Solution*, and *Reply All: A Governor's Story 1999–2007*.

Bruce E. Cain is a professor of political science at Stanford's School of Humanities and Sciences and the Spence and Cleone Eccles Family Director of the Bill Lane Center for the American West. He was previously director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California–Berkeley and executive director of the UC Washington Center. His areas of expertise include political regulation, applied democratic theory, representation, and state politics. He is the author of *Democracy More or Less: America's Political Reform Quandary* and has been published in the *Yale Law Journal*, the *Election Law Journal*, and the *UC Irvine Law Review*. Cain holds a PhD from Harvard University and was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2000.

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John F. Cogan is the Leonard and Shirley Ely Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution. He was previously a faculty member in the Stanford Public Policy Program (1994–2019) and a senior fellow at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research (2000–22). Cogan served in several positions during President Ronald Reagan’s administration, including as deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget (1988–89). He has published widely in professional journals in economics and political science. Among his books is *The High Cost of Good Intentions*, recipient of the 2018 Hayek Prize.

Mitchell E. Daniels Jr. served as a two-term governor of the state of Indiana (2005–13) and as the twelfth president of Purdue University (2013–22), where he prioritized student affordability. In recognition of his leadership, Daniels was named among the World’s 50 Greatest Leaders by *Fortune* in 2015 and was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2019. In 2023, Purdue University named its business school for him. Daniels currently serves as a distinguished scholar and senior advisor at the Liberty Fund. He is the author of three books and a contributing columnist for the *Washington Post*.

Steven J. Davis is the director of research and the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and senior fellow at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research. He is a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research, economic adviser to the US Congressional Budget Office, and senior adviser to the Brookings Papers on Economic Activity. Davis is also cofounder of the Economic Policy Uncertainty project, the Survey of Working Arrangements and Attitudes, the WFH Map project, the Survey of Business Uncertainty, and the Stock Market Jumps project.

Dennis Eppler is the Thomas Lord University Professor of Economics in the Tepper School of Business at Carnegie Mellon University. His current

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David Fedor is the Stephenson Policy Fellow at the Hoover Institution, where he supports fellowship research within the George P. Shultz Energy Policy Working Group as well as for Hoover's Global Policy and Strategy Initiative. Fedor has worked in economic and security policy analysis across the Indo-Pacific, and for nearly a decade he served on the Hoover team of former US secretary of state George Shultz. He holds BS and MS degrees in Earth systems from Stanford University.

Morris P. Fiorina is the Wendt Family Professor of Political Science at Stanford University and a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution. He has published numerous articles and written or edited fourteen books, most recently *Who Governs? Emergency Powers in the Time of COVID*. Fiorina has served as chair of the American National Election Studies (1986–90) and on the editorial boards of a dozen journals in political science, political economy, law, and public policy. He is an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and the National Academy of Sciences.

Eric A. Hanushek, the Paul and Jean Hanna Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, is internationally recognized for his economic analysis of educational issues, and his research has had broad influence on education policy. In 2021, he received the Yidan Prize for Education Research. His widely cited studies span the effects of class size reduction, school accountability, teacher effectiveness, and the economic returns to school quality. He has authored or edited twenty-six books and more than three hundred articles.

Michael T. Hartney is a Hoover Fellow at the Hoover Institution and an associate professor of political science at Boston College. His research focuses on state and local government, interest groups, and education policy. Hartney's first book, *How Policies Make Interest Groups: Governments, Unions,*

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Jacob Jaffe is a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Political Science, Stanford University. He studies American politics, exploring trust in government and how public opinion changes over time and focusing on how Americans experience elections. His research uses novel experimental and computational techniques to study understudied topics in the administration of American elections. He earned his PhD in political science from MIT.

David M. Kennedy is the Donald J. McLachlan Professor of History, Emeritus, at Stanford University. He has long taught courses in twentieth-century US history, US foreign policy, American literature, and the American West. His Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, recounts the history of the American people in two great crises. Kennedy is also the coauthor of the US history textbook *The American Pageant*, now in its eighteenth edition. Kennedy has taught and lectured about American history in many countries overseas and has been featured in several historical documentary films, including *American Creed*.

Thad Kousser is a professor of political science and codirector of the Yankelovich Center at the University of California, San Diego, where he studies American state and national politics. His work and commentary have been published in many political journals and media outlets, and he is the author or editor of several books, including *The Power of American Governors* and *Term Limits and the Dismantling of State Legislative Professionalism*. He has been a visiting professor at Stanford University and a Flinders Fulbright Distinguished Chair at Flinders University (Adelaide, Australia), and has worked as a staff assistant in the California and New Mexico state senates and the US Senate.

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Jillian Ludwig is the research program manager for the State and Local Governance Initiative at the Hoover Institution. She previously worked as a research analyst on the team, covering a variety of policy topics, including tax and budget issues and homelessness. She also assists with the Public Policy Lab at the Stanford Graduate School of Business. She received her MSc in political science and political economy from the London School of Economics and her BS in economics and a certificate in French language from the University of Wisconsin–Madison.

Thomas MaCurdy is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research and professor of economics at Stanford University. His expertise encompasses domestic policy related to government health, income support, and entitlement programs. MaCurdy has published numerous articles and reports and has served in an editorial capacity for several professional journals. He has directed and participated in projects supporting many federal and state agencies, through which he has accumulated in-depth knowledge and experience in designing, evaluating, and implementing a broad spectrum of programs in the Medicare, Medicaid, and Affordable Care Act (ACA) Marketplace systems.

Michael W. McConnell is the Richard and Frances Mallery Professor at Stanford Law School and director of the school's Constitutional Law Center, and is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. He has held chaired professorships at the University of Chicago and the University of Utah and visiting professorships at Harvard and New York University, and has published widely in the fields of constitutional law and theory. From 2002 to 2009, he served as circuit judge on the US Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit. His most recent book (coauthored with Nathan Chapman) is *Agreeing to Disagree: How the Establishment Clause Protects Religious Diversity and Freedom of Conscience*.

Thomas Nechyba is professor of economics and public policy studies at Duke University, where he founded the EcoTeach Center and directed the Social

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Paul E. Peterson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government at Harvard University, where he is also director of the Program on Education Policy and Governance. Peterson's research interests include educational policy, federalism, social capital, and charter schools. Peterson is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National Academy of Education. Recent books include *Saving Schools: From Horace Mann to Virtual Learning* and, with Eric A. Hanushek and Ludger Woessmann, *Endangering Prosperity: A Global View of the American School*.

Joshua Rauh is the Ormond Family Professor of Finance at Stanford's Graduate School of Business and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, where he leads Hoover's State and Local Governance Initiative. He formerly served as principal chief economist on the President's Council of Economic Advisers (2019–20) and taught at the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business (2004–9) and the Kellogg School of Management (2009–12). Rauh studies government pension liabilities, corporate investment, business taxation, and investment management. His scholarly papers have appeared in leading journals, his research has received national media coverage, and he has testified before Congress on various topics.

Condoleezza Rice is the Tad and Dianne Taube Director of the Hoover Institution and the Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow on Public Policy. From 2005 to 2009, Rice served as the sixty-sixth secretary of state of the United States. Rice also served as President George W. Bush's national security advisor from 2001 to 2005. Rice served as Stanford University's provost from 1993 to 1999. Rice has been on the Stanford faculty since 1981 and has won two of the university's highest teaching honors. She is also currently a founding partner of international strategic consulting firm Rice, Hadley, Gates & Manuel LLC and an owner of the Denver Broncos.

Douglas Rivers is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor of political science at Stanford University. He is also a director and the chief scientist at global polling firm YouGov PLC. Before joining Stanford, Rivers taught at Harvard University, the California Institute of Technology, and the University of California–Los Angeles. He cofounded Knowledge Networks in 1998 to provide access to public opinion survey tools and large opinion panels for conducting survey experiments through WebTV. He later founded the survey research company Polimetrix, which was acquired by YouGov in 2007. Rivers was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2015.

Jonathan Rodden is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research and professor of political science at Stanford University. His work focuses on economic and political geography, political institutions, and representation. His books include *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism* and *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints*. He has been active in debates about the design of multilevel institutions in the European Monetary Union and has worked with the European Parliament. His recent work examines the impact of the great recession, with a focus on differences between urban and rural areas.

Daniel L. Rubinfeld is the Robert L. Bridges Professor of Law and professor of economics emeritus at the University of California–Berkeley and professor of law at New York University. He previously served as chief economist and deputy assistant attorney general for antitrust in the US Department of Justice (1997–98). Rubinfeld has written many articles relating to antitrust and competition policy, law and economics, and public economics. He is the author of two textbooks and coauthor (with Robert Inman) of *Democratic Federalism*. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a former president of the American Law and Economics Association.

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