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FEDERALISM AND FEDERATIONS. POLITICAL THEORY AND COMPARATIVE POLITICS

1. Introduction

About 40% of the world's population live in federal systems. The course combines political theory with case studies. It will analyze the main currents of federal thought with their philosophical, sociological, and political aspects, and it will analyze federal states and arrangements around the world, and help to compare their *raison d'être* and logics. We will not only see what federalism is, but also why it was chosen, and what ends it may serve (or not). Finally, we will ask how globalization affects federal systems and thought.

2. Prerequisites

None. The subject is interdisciplinary, but a general idea of political theory and the components of political systems will be helpful. The course is taught in English. Students may use Catalan and Castilian in their contributions. Eventual use of other languages (only in papers) is subject to prior consultation with the lecturer.

3. Competences to be achieved in the course

General:

- improve written and oral communication in foreign/own language
- improve capability to realize academic presentations
- find and defend arguments and use them in academic debate
- stimulate debate and discussion on political science issues
- improve the capability to combine empirical findings with theoretical approaches

Specific:

- know different definitions and justifications for federalism and federal systems in political theory
- be able to discuss their differences
- know about the principles of functioning of leading federal systems around the world
- analyze them in the light of the different definitions and normative approaches
- get the instruments to be able to analyze further cases on their own

4. Assessment

Students have to assist to at least 80% of all sessions. This is obligatory, and students not complying will not be assessed.

- Participation in lectures, seminars and tutorial lessons. The preparation of the sessions with the help of the obligatory readings is essential. In case the preparation is generally insufficient, short summaries of the articles will be required for each session and assessed, too (20%).
- Short presentation (20 minutes) of an author or a country to the audience. A written or PPT presentation has to be delivered for obtaining a mark (20%).
- A 15-20-page analysis of a particular author or country. The topic has to be different from the presentation, and will be decided individually (60%).

5. Contents

The first part of the course centres on the political theory of federalism. Firstly, we ask what federalism is, what it may be good for, and how it did develop in history. Secondly we concentrate on the theoretical justification of the federal *state* presented by the „Federalist“, and confront them to the federal principle in *society* as defended by European political theory.

The second part of the course analyzes particular cases of political arrangements and asks for their normative base, reason of existence, current problems. Obligatory case studies include the United States (federalism and separation of powers), Switzerland (federalism and consociational democracy), Germany (cooperative federalism), Canada (federalism, minority nationalism, and indigenous rights), URSS/Russia (socialist „federalism“ and its aftermath), and Nigeria (federalism in a third world multiethnic setting). It will be discussed whether Spain and the European Union represent federal arrangements, too. The participants may introduce other case studies.

6. Methodology

The course will be organised in

- about 12 hours of lectures based on teacher's introduction
- about 10 hours of seminar sessions with student presentations and joint discussions
- about 8 hours of tutorial sessions on particular problems with the preparation of the presentations and the papers.

7. Sources of information

Compulsory readings (these papers and articles will be offered in a course reader):

Introduction/Definitions:

REQUEJO, Ferran/WYNANTS, Sven: Federalism, in: BARRY, Paul/FOWERAKER, Joe (eds.): Encyclopedia of Democratic Thought, London/New York 2001, p. 289-293.

ELAZAR, Daniel J.: Exploring federalism, Tuscaloosa 1987, chapter 4.

Political theory (America and Europe):

COOKE, Jacob E. (ed.): The Federalist, Middletown, Conn. (3)1989, p. 56-65 and 347-353.

PROUDHON, Jean-Pierre: Le principe fédérative (1863). The Principle of Federation, Toronto 1979. El principio federativo, Madrid 1985. Chapter 11.

KINSKY, Ferdinand: The impact of Proudhon and the personalist movement on federalism, in: BOSCO, Andrea (ed.): The federal idea. The history of federalism from enlightenment to 1945, London/New York 1991, p. 91-98.

WARD, Colin: The anarchist sociology of federalism, Freedom 27.6. and 11.7.1992.

<http://freedom.tao.ca/ward7.html>

US case:

ELAZAR, Daniel J. (ed.): Federal Systems of the World. A handbook of federal, confederal and autonomy arrangements, Harlow (2)1994, p. 304-317 and 252-257.

KRISLOV, Samuel: American federalism as American exceptionalism, Publius 31, 2001, 1, p. 9-26.

Swiss case:

FLEINER, Thomas: Recent developments of Swiss federalism, Publius 32, 2002, 2, p. 97-123.

German case:

HRBEK, Rudolf: Germany (Federal Republic of Germany), in: GRIFFITHS, Ann L./NERENBERG, Karl (eds.): Handbook of Federal Countries, 2005, Montreal et al. 2005, p.150-164.

Jeffery, Charlie: German federalism from cooperation to competition, in: UMBACH, Maiken (ed.): German federalism. Past, present, future. Houndmills 2002, p. 172-188.

Canadian case:

WATTS, Ronald L.: The Canadian experience with asymmetrical federalism, in: AGRANOFF, Robert (ed.): Accomodating diversity: Asymmetry in federal states, Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Instituts für Föderalismus-Forschung 10, Baden-Baden 1999, p. 118-136.

GAGNON, Alain-G.: The moral foundations of asymmetrical federalism: a normative exploration of the case of Qwuebec and Canada, in: GAGNON, Alain-G./TULLY,James (eds.): Multinational democracies, Cambridge 2001, p. 319-337.

Soviet and Russian cases:

ELAZAR, Daniel J. (ed.): Federal Systems of the World. A handbook of federal, confederal and autonomy arrangements, Harlow (2)1994, p. 263-6, 268-271.

STONER-WEISS, Kathryn: Russia – Managing Territorial Cleavages Under Dual Transitions, in: Amoretti, Ugo/Bermeo, Nancy (eds.): Federalism and Territorial Cleavages, Baltimore/London 2004, p. 301-326.

Nigerian case:

NOLTE, Insa: Federalism and communal conflict in Nigeria, Regional and Federal Studies 12, 2002, 1, p. 171-192.

Belgian case:

SWEDEN, Wilfried/BRANS, Marleen/ DE WINTER, Lieven: The politics of Belgium: Institutions and plicy under bipolar and centrifugal federalis, West European Politics 29, 2006, 5, p. 863-873.

Spanish case:

MORENO, Luis: Asymmetry in Spain, in: AGRANOFF, Robert (ed.): Accomodating diversity: Asymmetry in federal states, Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Instituts für Föderalismus-Forschung 10, Baden-Baden 1999, p. 149-168.

GUIBERNAU, Montserrat: Spain: a Federation in the Making?, in: SMITH, Graham (ed.): Federalism: the multiethnic challenge, London/New York 1995, p.

REQUEJO, Ferran: National pluralism and federalism. Four potential scenarios for Spanish plurinational democracy, Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 2, 2001, 2, p. 305-327 (a newer version in Catalan is included in: REQUEJO, Ferran: Federalisme plurinacional i estat de les autonomies, Barcelona 2003).

EU case:

SCHMITTER, Philippe C.: If the nation-state were to wither away in Europe, what might replace it?, in: GUSTAVSSON, Sverker/LEWIN, Leif (eds.): The future of the nation-state, London 1996, p. 211-244.

7. Further Recommended Bibliography

Links

Directory of Federalism Links

<http://www.nonbeliever.org>

Research Institutes

Center for State Constitutional Studies, Rutgers University, New Jersey/USA

<http://www-camlaw.rutgers.edu/statecon/>

Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, Philadelphia/USA

<http://www.temple.edu/federalism/>

Europäisches Zentrum für Föderalismus-Forschung, Tübingen/Germany

<http://www.foederalismus.de>

Forum of Federations, Ottawa/Canada

<http://www.forumfed.org>

Institut für Föderalismus, Innsbruck/Austria

<http://www.foederalismus.at>

Institut für Föderalismus- und Regionalismusforschung (SFeRe), Europäische Akademie (EURAC) Bozen-Bolzano/Italy

<http://www.eurac.edu/Org/Minorities/SFeRe/>

Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg/Switzerland

<http://www.federalism.ch>

Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, Kingston/Canada

<http://www.iigr.ca>

International Association of Centers for Federal Studies

<http://www.iacfs.org>

Observatori de l'evolució de les institucions, Departament de Dret, UPF

Estudi Comparat Sobre els Sostres Competencials en Estats Políticament Descentralitzats

http://www.upf.edu/dret/adm/obsei/ca/document.htm?url=doc_docum.htm

Clic Activitats/Projectes

Journals

Federations. 1, 2001----

http://www.ciff.on.ca/ciff_html/research/bv1n2/bria1.htm

Jahrbuch des Föderalismus. Föderalismus, Subsidiarität und Regionen in Europa, 1, 2000---

Publius. The Journal of Federalism.
Regional and Federal Studies.
Revista d'Estudis Autonòmics i Federals 1, 2005----

More Books and articles (from journals not listed)

Abbott, Philipp: What's new in the Federalist Papers?, Political Research Quarterly 49, 1996, 3, p. 525-545.

ABORISADE, Oladimeji/MUNDT, Robert J.: Politics in Nigeria, London 1998.

ABROMEIT, Heidrun: Der verkappte Einheitsstaat, Opladen 1992.

AGRANOFF, Robert (ed.): Accomodating diversity: Asymmetry in federal states, Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Instituts für Föderalismus-Forschung 10, Baden-Baden 1999.

Aja, Eliseo: El Estado autonómico. Federalismo y hechos diferenciales, Madrid 1999.

AMORETTI, Ugo M./BERMEO, Nancy (eds.): Federalism and Territorial Cleavages, Baltimore/London 2004.

APARICIO, Miguel Angel (dir.): La descentralización y el federalismo. Nuevos modelos de autonomía política (España, Bélgica, Canadá, Italia y Reino Unido), Barcelona 1999.

ARUNA, Aladi: Unfederal features of the Indian Constitution, Chennai 2001.

BÄCHLER, Günther (ed.): Federalism against ethnicity: Institutional, Legal and Democratic Instruments to prevent Minority Conflicts, Chur/Zürich 1997.

BAKVIS, Hermann/SKOGSTAD, Grace (eds.): Canadian federalism. Performance, effectiveness and legitimacy, Oxford et al. 2002.

BAKVIS, Herman/CHANDLER, William M. (eds.): Federalism and the role of the state, Toronto 1987.

BARRON, David J.: Reclaiming federalism, Dissent 52, 2005, 2, S. 64-68.

BASTA FLEINER, Linda/FLEINER, Thomas (eds.): Federalism and multiethnic states. The case of Switzerland, Basel et al. (2)2000.

BASTA, Lidija R./IBRAHIM, Jibrin (eds.): Federalism and decentralisation in Africa. The multicultural challenge, Fribourg 1999.

BAUBÖCK, Rainer: Why Stay Together? A Pluralist Approach to Secession and Federation, in: KYMLICKA, Will/NORMAN, Wayne (eds.): Citizenship in Diverse Societies, Oxford 2000, p. 366-394.

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BENZ, Arthur/LEHMBRUCH, Gerhard (eds.): Föderalismus. Analysen in entwicklungsgeschichtlicher und vergleichender Perspektive, PVS-Sonderheft 32, Opladen 2002.

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BEYME, Klaus von: Asymmetric federalism between globalization and regionalization, Journal of European Public Policy 12, 2005, 3, p. 432-447

BIEBER, León (ed.): Regionalismo y federalismo. Aspectos históricos y desafíos actuales en México, Alemania y otros países europeos, México/Bonn 2004

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- BROWN-JOHN, Lloyd (ed.): *Centralizing and decentralizing trends in federal states*, Lanham 1988.
- BURGESS, Michael/GAGNON, Alain (eds.): *Comparative Federalism and Federation*, New York et al. 1993.
- BURGESS, Michael (ed.): *Federalism and Federation in Western Europe*, London 1986.
- BURGESS, Michael: *Comparative Federalism. Theory and Practice*, London/New York 2006.
- CABELLOS ESPIÉRREZ, Miguel Ángel: L'inici del debat sobre la reforma del federalisme a Alemanya, *El Clip* 26, 2004.
- CAMINAL, Miquel: Convergències i divergències entre nacionalisme i federalisme, in: REQUEJO, Ferran (ed.): *Pluralisme nacional i legitimitat democràtica*, Barcelona 1999, p. 59-81.
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- CROISAT, Maurice: *Le fédéralisme dans les démocraties contemporaines*, Paris (2)1999.
- CROISAT, Maurice: *Le fédéralisme asymétrique: L'expérience canadienne*, *Revue Française de Droit Constitutionnel* 37, 1999, p. 29-48.
- CROISAT, Maurice/QUERMONNE, Jean-Louis: *L'Europe et le fédéralisme. Contribution à l'émergence d'un fédéralisme intergouvernemental*, Paris 1996.
- DEUERLEIN, Ernst: *Föderalismus. Die historischen und philosophischen Grundlagen des föderativen Prinzips*, München 1972.
- DUCHACEK, Ivo D.: *Comparative Federalism*, Lanham et al. 1987.
- ELAZAR, Daniel J.: *American federalism: a view from the states*, New York (3)1984.
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- ELAZAR, Daniel J. (ed.): *Federal Systems of the World. A handbook of federal, confederal and autonomy arrangements*, Harlow (2)1994.
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- Federalisme i Estat de les autonomies*, Barcelona 1988.
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- FLETCHER, Christine: *Does Federalism Safeguard Indigenous Rights?* *Forum of Federations. International Conference on Federalism* 1999.
<http://www.ciff.on.ca/c-papers-fletcher-eng.htm>
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- FORSYTH, Murray: *Federalism and confederalism*, in: BROWN, Chris (ed.): *Political Restructuring in Europe. Ethical Perspectives*, London/New York 1994, p. 50-65.
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Social Science Journal 53, 2001, p. 75-83.

WHEARE, Kenneth: Federal Government, London (4)1963.

ZIMMERMAN, Joseph: Contemporary american federalism. The growth of national power, Leicester 1992.

8. Programming of activities

Please note that the distribution between

-lectures based on teacher's introduction

-seminar sessions with students presentations

-tutorial sessions

depends on which of the topics the students are willing to take over. The tasks will be distributed during the first week.

14.01 *Lecture:*

Introduction/Definitions:

REQUEJO, Ferran/WYNANTS, Sven: Federalism, in: BARRY, Paul/FOWERAKER, Joe (eds.): Encyclopedia of Democratic Thought, London/New York 2001, p. 289-293.

21.01. *Lecture:*

Political theory (America and Europe):

ELAZAR, Daniel J.: Exploring federalism, Tuscaloosa 1987, chapter 4.

COOKE, Jacob E. (ed.): The Federalist, Middletown, Conn. (3)1989, p. 56-65 and 347-353.

28.01. *Lecture:*

PROUDHON, Jean-Pierre: The principle of federation, in: Karmis/Norman 2005, p. 173-188. Le principe fédérative (1863). The Principle of Federation, Toronto 1979. El principio federativo, Madrid 1985. Chapter 11.

KINSKY, Ferdinand: The impact of Proudhon and the personalist movement on federalism, in: BOSCO, Andrea (ed.): The federal idea. The history of federalism from enlightenment to 1945, London/New York 1991, p. 91-98.

WARD, Colin: The anarchist sociology of federalism, Freedom 27.6. and 11.7.1992.

<http://freedom.tao.ca/ward7.html>

4.02. *Lecture:*

US case:

ELAZAR, Daniel J. (ed.): Federal Systems of the World. A handbook of federal, confederal and autonomy arrangements, Harlow (2)1994, p. 304-317 and 252-257.

KRISLOV, Samuel: American federalism as American exceptionalism, Publius 31, 2001, 1, p. 9-26.

Swiss case:

FLEINER, Thomas: Recent developments of Swiss federalism, Publius 32, 2002, 2, p. 97-123.

11.02. *Lecture:*

German case:

ELAZAR, Daniel J. (ed.): Federal Systems of the World. A handbook of federal, confederal

and autonomy arrangements, Harlow (2)1994, p. 102-109

NAGEL, Klaus-Jürgen: El federalismo alemán. ¿Más cooperación o nueva asimetría?, Revista de Estudios Políticos 118, 2002, p. 65-99.

18.02. *Lecture:*

Canadian case:

WATTS, Ronald L.: The Canadian experience with asymmetrical federalism, in: AGRANOFF, Robert (ed.): Accomodating diversity: Asymmetry in federal states, Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Instituts für Föderalismus-Forschung 10, Baden-Baden 1999, p. 118-136.

GAGNON, Alain-G.: The moral foundations of asymmetrical federalism: a normative exploration of the case of Qwuebec and Canada, in: GAGNON, Alain-G./TULLY, James (eds.): Multinational democracies, Cambridge 2001, p. 319-337.

25.02. *Lecture:*

Soviet and Russian cases:

ELAZAR, Daniel J. (ed.): Federal Systems of the World. A handbook of federal, confederal and autonomy arrangements, Harlow (2)1994, p. 263-6, 268-271.

STONER-WEISS, Kathryn: Russia – Managing Territorial Cleavages Under Dual Transitions, in: Amoretti, Ugo/Bermeo, Nancy (eds.): Federalism and Territorial Cleavages, Baltimore/London 2004, p. 301-326.

Nigerian case:

NOLTE, Insa: Federalism and communal conflict in Nigeria, Regional and Federal Studies 12, 2002, 1, p. 171-192.

4.03.

Belgian case (this sessions will be conducted by guest professor Prof. Paolo Dardanelli, University of Kent)

SWEDEN, Wilfried /BRANS, Marleen/ DE WINTER, Lieven: The politics of Belgium: Institutions and policy under bipolar and centrifugal federalism, West European Politicics 29, 2006, 5, p. 863-873.

11.03. *Lecture:*

Spanish case:

MORENO, Luis: Asymmetry in Spain, in: AGRANOFF, Robert (ed.): Accomodating diversity: Asymmetry in federal states, Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Instituts für Föderalismus-Forschung 10, Baden-Baden 1999, p. 149-168.

GUIBERNAU, Montserrat: Spain: a Federation in the Making?, in: SMITH, Graham (ed.): Federalism: the multiethnic challenge, London/New York 1995, p.

REQUEJO, Ferran: National pluralism and federalism. Four potential scenarios for Spanish plurinational democracy, Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 2, 2001, 2, p. 305-327 (a newer version in Catalan is included in: REQUEJO, Ferran: Federalisme plurinacional i estat de les autonomies, Barcelona 2003).

EU case:

SCHMITTER, Philippe C.: If the nation-state were to wither away in Europe, what might replace it?, in: GUSTAVSSON, Sverker/LEWIN, Leif (eds.): The future of the nation-state, London 1996, p. 211-244.

18.03. *Current problems*