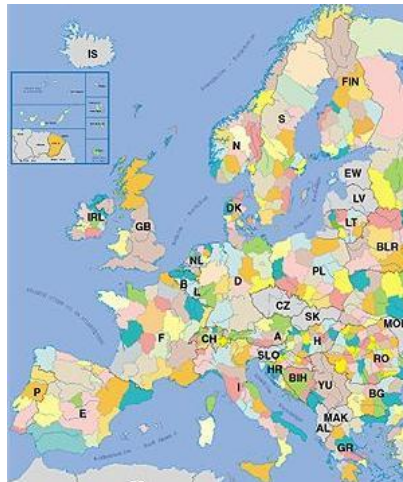


University of Cologne
Faculty of Management, Economic, and Social Sciences
Cologne Center for Comparative Politics

Understanding Changing State Structures in Western Europe



Module convener

Dr Paolo Dardanelli

Syllabus

Autumn 2016

Description

Over the last thirty years a regional level of government has become an increasingly important feature of European politics. All large states, and several smaller ones, now have some form of regional government and in a number of cases the latter is poised to increase its prerogatives vis-à-vis central governments. A crucial aspect of this trend is the creation of a 'third level' of government within the European Union, with the regional level asserting itself alongside the states and the Union. This module explores the nature of federalism and regionalism in Europe through a theoretical discussion of the concept of regional government, an explanation of its historical emergence in Europe, an in-depth description and analysis of the regional systems of government in contemporary Europe and a critical assessment of the issues raised by regional government in the context of European democracy. Each of these aspects are first described in detail, then analysed from a positive perspective and finally assessed from a normative perspective, drawing on the concepts, theories and approaches developed in contemporary political science scholarship. The module consists of four theoretical sessions and a series of case studies covering Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy, France and the United Kingdom.

Lecturer

Dr Paolo Dardanelli, visiting from the University of Kent, UK

Email: p.dardanelli@kent.ac.uk

Pre-requisites

There are no formal pre-requisites but the module convener will expect students to have at least a basic knowledge of comparative European politics, acquired through an introductory module such as Introduction to Comparative Politics, Introduction to Comparative European Politics and such like.

Schedule

The module runs over three days in October 2016, as follows:

Friday 21st October

Session 1A	Introduction	9:30-10:30
Session 1B	Studying state structures	10:45-11:45
Session 2A	Belgium – lecture	12:00-13:00

Session 2B	Belgium – seminar	14:00-15:00
Session 3A	France – lecture	15:15-16:15
Session 3B	France – seminar	16:30-17:30

Saturday 22nd October

Session 4A	Italy – lecture	9:30-10:30
Session 4B	Italy – seminar	10:45-11:45
Session 5A	Spain – lecture	12:00-13:00
Session 5B	Spain – seminar	14:00-15:00
Session 6A	Switzerland – lecture	15:15-16:15
Session 6B	Switzerland – seminar	16:30-17:30

Friday 28th October

Session 7A	UK – lecture	9:30-10:30
Session 7B	UK – seminar	10:45-11:45
Session 8	Comparative conclusions	12:00-13:00

The lectures will give a broad overview of the topic, particularly highlighting appropriate concepts, theories and analytical frameworks and identifying the key issues. It is intended to give you a route map, guiding you through the literature and pointing you in the right direction for further reading and research. The seminars will offer an opportunity for interaction with the lecturer and fellow students, to give you the opportunity to discuss the issues raised in lectures or arising from your own reading and clarify anything you have found difficult or confusing. As the seminars immediately follow the lectures, it is important that you do the required reading before, as well as after, each session so as to be fully prepared to take an active and competent part in the discussions.

Assessment

The module is assessed as follows:

Seminar participation: Pass/Fail

Term paper (maximum 3,500 words, including citations but excluding the list of references and any appendices): 100%

Session 1B Introduction: studying state structures

Outline

Thinking about state structures – Static and dynamic approaches – The unitary/federal distinction – Mapping state structures in contemporary Western Europe – Explaining patterns and trends – Nationalism and regionalism – The role of political parties – The EU dimension – Ongoing debates on state structures

Seminar questions

- How can the unitary/federal distinction be conceptualised?
- How has regional authority evolved in Western Europe over the last 50 years?
- To what extent does European integration affect state restructuring?

Essential reading

Swenden, Wilfried. 2006. *Federalism and Regionalism in Western Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 6-47

Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe and Arjan Schakel. 2008. Patterns of Regional Authority. *Regional and Federal Studies* 18/2-3: 167-81

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2014. European Integration, Party Strategies, and State Restructuring: a Comparative Analysis. *European Political Science Review* 6/2: 213-36.

Recommended further reading

Hueglin, Thomas and Alan Fenna. 2015. *Comparative Federalism – A Systematic Inquiry*. 2nd ed. Toronto, On, Canada: University of Toronto Press

Hutchcroft, Paul. 2001. Centralization and Decentralization in Administration and Politics: Assessing Territorial Dimensions of Authority and Power. *Governance* 14/1: 23–53

Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver and Peter Mair. 2005. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. 5th ed. New York, Ny, USA: McGraw-Hill, pp. 164-94

Flora, Peter (ed.). 1999. *State Formation, Nation-Building and Mass Politics in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 191-224

Sharpe, Laurence. 1993. The European Meso: an Appraisal. In Idem (ed.), *The Rise of Meso Government in Europe*. London: Sage

Session 2 **From Unitary to Federal and Beyond: Belgium**

Outline

The original nature of the Belgian state – National and regional identities – Flemish nationalism – Pressures towards reform – The transformation of the state – The Belgian federal system – Towards confederalism or break up? – Prospects

Seminar questions

- What explains the rise of Flemish nationalism in the 19th and 20th century?
- What role have parties played in the process of federalisation?
- To what extent is the Belgian federal system a stable constitutional arrangement?

Essential reading

Zolberg, Aristide. 1974. The Making of Flemings and Walloons: Belgium: 1830-1914. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 5/2: 179-235

Swenden, Wilfried and Maarten Theo Jans. 2006. 'Will it Stay or Will it Go'? Federalism and the Sustainability of Belgium. *West European Politics* 29/5: 877-94

De Winter, Lieven and Pierre Baudewyns. 2009. Belgium: Towards the Breakdown of a Nation-State in the Heart of Europe? *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 15/3-4: 280-304

Recommended further reading

Deschouwer, Kris. 2012. *The Politics of Belgium*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave

Dandoy, Régis, Geoffrey Matagne, Caroline Van Wynsberghe. 2013. The Future of Belgian Federalism: an Analysis of Party Preferences. *Regional and Federal Studies* 23/3: 331-51

Reuchamps, Min. 2013. The Future of Belgian Federalism Through the Eyes of the Citizens. *Regional and Federal Studies* 23/3: 353-68

Deschouwer, Kris. 2013. Party Strategies, Voter Demands and Territorial Reforms in Belgium. *West European Politics* 36/2: 338-58

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2012. Europeanization and the Unravelling of Belgium: a Comparative Analysis of Party Strategies. *Acta Politica* 47/2: 181-209.

Billiet, Jaak et al. 2006. Does Belgium (still) Exist? Differences in Political Culture between Flemings and Walloons. *West European Politics* 29/5: 912-32 [JN1.W3]

Newman, Saul. 1995. Losing the Electoral Battles and Winning the Policy Wars: Ethnoregional Conflict in Belgium. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 1/4: 44-72

McRae, Kenneth. 1986. *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies – Belgium*. Waterloo, On, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press

Session 3 **Transforming the Jacobin State: France**

Outline

The traditional nature of the French state – The idea of region in the French political tradition – Regionalist movements – The emergence and implementation of the concept of 'functional regions' – The 'democratisation' of the regions in the 1982 reforms – The relationship with central and local governments – The 2003 constitutional reform – The question of Corsica – The 2016 reform

Seminar questions

- How has the concept of regional autonomy been seen in the French political tradition?
- To what extent were the 1982 reforms successful in creating democratic regional governments?
- What explains the weakness of regional nationalism in France?

Essential reading

Cole, Alistair. 2006. Decentralisation in France: Central Steering, Capacity Building and Identity Construction. *French Politics* 4/1: 31-57

Cole, Alistair and Jean-Baptiste Paul Harguindéguy. 2013. The Jacobin Republic and Language Rights: Ethnolinguistic Mobilizations in France. *Regional and Federal Studies* 23/1: 27-46

Mazzoleni, Martino. 2015. The Drafting of the New French Regions: the Party Politics of Regional Reform. *French Politics* 13/3: 241-65

Recommended further reading

Loughlin, John. 2007. *Subnational Government – The French Experience*. Basingstoke: Palgrave

Safran, William. 2009. *The French Polity*. 7th ed. Harlow: Longman, pp. 303-28

Bell, John. 2000. France – Devolution: French Style. *European Public Law* 6/2: 139-45

Montricher, N. de. 1995. Decentralization in France. *Governance* 8/3: 405-18

Frears, J. 1983. The Decentralisation Reforms in France. *Parliamentary Affairs* 36/1: 56-66

Nelson, R. 1976. The Federal Idea in French Political Thought. *Publius* 5/3: 9-62

Schmidt, Vivien. 1990. *Democratising France: the Political and Administrative History of Decentralisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Keating, Michael. 1985. The Rise and Decline of Micronationalism in Mainland France. *Political Studies* 33/1: 1-18

Balcells, Laia. 2013. Mass Schooling and Catalan Nationalism. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 19/4: 467-86

Outline

The origins of the Italian regions – Italy unified as a unitary state – The inclusion of regions in the 1948 constitution – 'Special' and 'ordinary' regions – The development of regional government since the 1970s – The rise of the Northern League and the collapse of the 'First Republic' – Federalist reforms of the left and right – Implementing federalism

Seminar questions

- Why did Italy unify as a unitary system in the 19th century?
- Why did Italy establish 'ordinary' regional governments in the 1970s?
- What explains the drive towards federalism since the 1990s?

Essential Reading

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2004. Rethinking the Origins of Federalism – Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Europe. *World Politics* 57/1: 70-98

Putnam, Robert, Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Nanetti. 1993. *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, Nj, USA: Princeton University Press, pp. 17-26

Palermo, Francesco and Alex Wilson. 2014. The Multi-Level Dynamics of State Decentralization in Italy. *Comparative European Politics* 12/4: 510-30

Recommended further reading

Newell, James. 2010. *The Politics of Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Fabbrini, Sergio and Marco Brunazzo. 2003. Federalizing Italy: the Convergent Effects of Europeanization and Domestic Mobilization. *Regional and Federal Studies* 13/1: 100-20

Woodcock, George. 1986. The Idea of Regional Autonomy in Italy from Mazzini to Ambrosini. *Il Politico* 51/4: 695-710

Giordano, Benito. 2000. Italian Regionalism or 'Padanian' Nationalism? The Political Project of the *Lega Nord* in Italian Politics. *Political Geography* 19/4: 445-71

Cavatorta, Francesco. 2001. The Role of the Northern League in Transforming the Italian Political System: From Economic Federalism to Ethnic Politics and Back. *Contemporary Politics* 7/1: 27-40

Amoretti, Ugo. 2002. Italy Decentralizes. *Journal of Democracy* 13/2: 126-40

Arban, Erika. 2015. Re-Centralizing Subsidiarity: Interpretations by the Italian Constitutional Court. *Regional and Federal Studies* 25/2: 129-44

Baldini, Gianfranco and Brunetta Baldi. 2014. Decentralization in Italy and the Troubles of Federalization. *Regional and Federal Studies* 24/1: 87-108

Masseti, Emanuele and Simon Toubeau. 2013. Sailing with Northern Winds: Party Politics and Federal Reforms in Italy. *West European Politics* 36/2: 359-81

Outline

Historical background to the Spanish regions – Regional government in the First and Second republics – Re-establishment of the regions in the 1978 constitution – Asymmetrical devolution of power to the regions – The current nature of regional government – The special cases of the Basque Country and Catalonia – The reform of the regional statutes – Catalonia's secessionist challenge

Seminar questions

- What explains the strength of regional nationalism in Spain?
- To what extent is the 'state of autonomies' a successful constitutional set up?
- Why has mainstream Catalan nationalism turned secessionist?

Essential reading

Colomer, Josep. 1998. The Spanish 'State of Autonomies': Non-Institutional Federalism. *West European Politics* 21/4: 40-52

Keating, Michael and Alex Wilson. 2009. Renegotiating the State of Autonomies: Statute Reform and Multi-level Politics in Spain. *West European Politics* 32/3: 536-58

Gillespie, Richard. 2015. Between Accommodation and Contestation: the Political Evolution of Basque and Catalan Nationalism. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 21/1: 3-23

Recommended further reading

Gunther, Richard and José Ramón Montero. 2009. *The Politics of Spain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 71-96

Moreno, Luis. 2001. *The Federalization of Spain*. London: Cass

Conversi, Daniele. 1997. *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain*. London: Hurst

Guibernau, Montserrat. 2004. *Catalan Nationalism*. London: Routledge

Balcells, Laia. 2013. Mass Schooling and Catalan Nationalism. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 19/4: 467-86

Linz, Juan. 1973. Early State-Building and Late Peripheral Nationalisms against the State: the Case of Spain. In Samuel Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan (eds), *Building States and Nations – Vol. 2, Analyses by Region*. Beverly Hills, Ca, USA: Sage

Martínez-Herrera, Enric. 2002. From Nation-Building to Building Identification with Political Communities: Consequences of Political Decentralisation in Spain, the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia, 1978-2001. *European Journal of Political Research* 41/4: 421-53

Cramer, Kathryn. 2015. Political Power and Civil Counterpower: the Complex Dynamics of the Catalan Independence Movement. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 21/1: 104-20

Session 6 The 'Sovereign' Cantons under Pressure: Switzerland

Outline

The origins of the cantons – The confederation of cantons in pre-modern Switzerland – The 1848 constitutional settlement – The role of the cantons in the modern federal system – The policy competences of the cantons – The cantons and the communes – Challenges to cantonal government in contemporary Switzerland – Are cantons a model for the other European regions?

Seminar questions

- Why did Switzerland transformed itself into a federal state in 1848?
- How has Swiss federalism evolved since 1848?
- Why explains Switzerland's mononationalism in spite of its multilingualism?

Essential reading

Linder, Wolf and Adrian Vatter. 2001. Institutions and Outcomes of Swiss Federalism: the Role of the Cantons in Swiss Politics. *West European Politics* 24/2: 95-122

Vatter, Adrian. 2005. The Transformation of Access and Veto Points in Swiss Federalism. *Regional and Federal Studies* 15/1: 1-17

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2011. Multi-lingual but Mono-national: Exploring and Explaining Switzerland's Exceptionalism. In Ferran Requejo and Miquel Caminal (eds), *Federalism, Plurinationality and Democratic Constitutionalism*. Abingdon: Routledge

Recommended further reading

Kriesi, Hanspeter and Alexander Trechsel. 2008. *The Politics of Switzerland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 34-48

Linder, Wolf. 2010. *Swiss Democracy*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp. 43-91

Armingeon, Klaus. 2000. Swiss Federalism in Comparative Perspective. In Ute Wachendorfer-Schmidt (ed.), *Federalism and Political Performance*. London: Routledge

Fleiner, Thomas. 2002. Recent Developments of Swiss Federalism. *Publius* 32/2: 97-123

Vatter, Adrian. 2007. Federalism. In Ulrich Klöti, Peter Knoepfel, Hanspeter Kriesi, Wolf Linder, Yannis Papadopoulos, and Pascal Sciarini (eds), *Handbook of Swiss Politics*. 2nd ed. Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung Publishing

Vatter, Adrian. 2007. The Cantons. In Ulrich Klöti, Peter Knoepfel, Hanspeter Kriesi, Wolf Linder, Yannis Papadopoulos, and Pascal Sciarini (eds), *Handbook of Swiss Politics*. 2nd ed. Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung Publishing

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2007. Federalism: Institutional Adaptation and Symbolic Constraints. In Clive Church (ed.), *Switzerland and the European Union*. London: Routledge

McRae, Kenneth. 1983. *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies – Switzerland*. Waterloo, On, Canada: Wilfried Laurier University Press

Outline

The emergence of the UK as a 'union' state – The Irish question and the origins of the demand for regional self-government – The rise of Scottish and Welsh nationalism since the mid-1960s – The failure of devolution in the 1970s – Scottish and Welsh devolution in the 1990s – Competences and resources – Scottish and Welsh governments in operation – Regional government in England – The rise of the SNP

Seminar questions

- Why was devolution only implemented in the 1990s?
- How should England be governed?
- What explains the rise of the SNP since 2007?

Essential reading

Gamble, Andrew. 2006. The Constitutional Revolution in the United Kingdom. *Publius* 36/1: 19-35

Hazell, Robert. 2006. The English Question. *Publius* 36/1: 37-56

Dardanelli, Paolo and James Mitchell. 2014. An Independent Scotland? The Scottish National Party's Bid for Independence and its Prospects. *The International Spectator* 49/3: 88-105

Recommended further reading

Garnett, Mark and Philip Lynch. 2012. *Exploring British Politics*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 300-39

Mitchell, James. 2009. *Devolution in the United Kingdom*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Bogdanor, Vernon. 1999. *Devolution in the United Kingdom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

McLean, Iain and Alistair McMillan. 2005. *State of the Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2005. *Between Two Unions: Europeanisation and Scottish Devolution*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Bradbury, Jonathan. 2003. The Political Dynamics of Sub-State Regionalisation: a Neo-Functionalist Perspective and the Case of Devolution in the UK. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5/4: 543-75

McCrone, David. 1997. Unmasking Britannia: the Rise and Fall of British National Identity. *Nations and Nationalism* 3/4: 579-96

Sandford, Mark. 2006. English Regionalism through the Looking Glass: Perspectives on the English Question from the North-East and Cornwall. *National Identities* 8/1: 77-94