

University of Cologne

Seminar No. 14335.0110 (Cologne students) / 14335.5001 (Incomings)
Master: Exam Regulation 2021: SM Special Topics I (Pol. Institutions and Representation) (Exam
Regulation 2015: Basismodul Seminar Politikwissenschaft I (CGS))
PhD: Elective Module

“Comparative Federalism”

Winter term 2022-23

Thursday, 16.00 – 17.30

IBW-Building (building no. 211, Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2, 50931 Köln)
Room: 3.40 (top floor)

Dr. Stephan Vogel

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office hours: please write an email to arrange

(as of 14/10/2022)

Course description

The distinction between federal and unitary states has been long established in comparative politics. This seminar discusses the principle and practice of federalism from a comparative perspective. The first sessions introduce theoretical approaches to the study of federalism and lay out important conceptual differences between joint and dual federalism as well as between symmetric and asymmetric federalism. Henceforth, we discuss why federations were created in some historic cases but unitary states in others. We then learn about the distribution of power between constituent units and the central government by analyzing centralisation and decentralisation. This includes a case study on COVID-19 management in federations. More generally, we discuss how federal states perform compared to decentralised unitary states. Finally, we widen our conceptual perspective by studying the regional level more generally (also outside federations): introducing the Regional Authority Index and understanding how regional elections interrelate with national elections. We end by studying secession.

Course requirements

The course concept relies on **active and regular participation and in-class discussions**. Therefore, I expect you to complete the reading assignments prior to every session and to come to class prepared and ready to contribute.

The **examination** consists of **two elements**:

- (i) Presenting in a debate
- (ii) Writing a term paper

Each student will **participate and present in a debate**, which will be graded on a pass-fail basis. In the first sessions, the format and topics of the debates will be announced, ample information will be provided how to debate, and students will be allocated a debate slot.

Moreover, students hand in a written **term paper** with a maximum length of 8,000 words. The final grade is based on the term paper.

Please submit your term paper as a PDF document **no later than Wednesday, 1 March 2023, 10:00 a.m.** (CET) (deadline) to my email address (stephan.vogel@wiso.uni-koeln.de). You will receive an email confirming receipt. The term paper will be checked for plagiarism. Late submissions will not be accepted and result in a fail unless prior arrangement for exceptional cases has been made.

The term paper must contain the **signed non-plagiarism statement** from the following website: https://cccp.uni-koeln.de/sites/cccp/Lehre/Erklaerung_fuer_Hausarbeiten.pdf Please note that this declaration must be given in German although the rest of the paper is in English.

Bonus points: You can earn a bonus of “0,3” on your final grade if you hand in 3 discussion questions on any of the readings in three different sessions (until Thursday 10am before the respective session), via email to stephan.vogel@wiso.uni-koeln.de .

Please read general information on teaching at the Cologne Center of Comparative Politics here (including how to write term papers, assessment criteria, plagiarism): <https://cccp.uni-koeln.de/de/teaching/information-for-students>

Registration

Please register for the **course** via KLIPS2 (including PhD students of examination regulation 2022; PhD students of older examination regulations do not register via KLIPS2 but send me an email instead). Once the seminar has started and you have decided that you want to pass the examination of this course, please do not forget to additionally **register for the examination** until **28 October 2022** (except PhD students of older examination regulations).

Session 1 (13.10.2022)
Introduction and formalities

Session 2 (20.10. 2022)
Theoretical approaches to the study of federalism

Bednar, Jenna (2005). Federalism as a Public Good. *Constitutional Political Economy* 16, 189-205.

[for those with reading knowledge in German: Kaiser, André (2012). Politiktheoretische Zugänge zum Föderalismus, in: Ines Härtel (ed.), *Handbuch Föderalismus – Föderalismus als demokratische Rechtsordnung und Rechtskultur in Deutschland, Europa und der Welt. Band 1: Grundlagen des Föderalismus und der deutsche Bundesstaat*, Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 165-178.]

Session 3 (27.10. 2022)
Joint Federalism vs Dual Federalism

Bolleyer, Nicole, and Lori Thorlakson (2012). Beyond Decentralization. *The Comparative Study of Interdependence in Federal Systems. Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 42(4), 566-591.

Session 4 (03.11. 2022)
Symmetric and Asymmetric Federalism

Zuber, Christina Isabel (2011). Understanding the Multinational Game: Toward a Theory of Asymmetrical Federalism. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(5), 546-571.

Session 5 (10.11. 2022)
Federalism in Multiethnic and Multinational Societies

Stepan, Alfred (1999). Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the US Model. *Journal of Democracy* 10, 19-34.

Session 6 (17.11. 2022)
Why are Federations Created?

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2004. Rethinking the origins of federalism: puzzle, theory, and evidence from nineteenth-century Europe. *World Politics* 57.1: 70-98.

Session 7 (24.11. 2022)
Trends in Established Federal Systems

Dardanelli, Paolo, John Kincaid, Alan Fenna, André Kaiser, André Lecours and Ajay Kumar Singh (2019). Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Theorizing Dynamic De/Centralization in Federations. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 49(1), 1-29.

Kaiser, André and Stephan Vogel (2019). Dynamic De/Centralization in Germany, 1949-2010. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 49(1), 84-111.

Dardanelli, Paolo, John Kincaid, Alan Fenna, André Kaiser, André Lecours, Ajay Kumar Singh, Sean Mueller and Stephan Vogel (2019). Dynamic De/Centralization in Federations: Comparative Conclusions. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 49(1), 194-219.

Session 8 (01.12. 2022)
Why Decentralization?

Röth, Leonce, and André Kaiser (2019). Why Accommodate Minorities Asymmetrically? A Theory of Ideological Authority Insulation, *European Journal of Political Research* 58:2, 557-581.

Röth, Leonce, André Kaiser, Çağan Varol, and Uğur Sadioğlu (2016). Centre-Periphery Conflict and Ideological Distance in Turkey. *Swiss Political Science Review* 22(4), 585-607.

Session 9 (08.12. 2022)
Federalism, Decentralization and Performance

Biela, Jan, Annika Hennl and André Kaiser (2012). Combining Federalism and Decentralization. Comparative Case Studies on Regional Development Policies in Switzerland, Austria, Denmark and Ireland. *Comparative Political Studies* 45(4), 447-476.

Biela, Jan, Annika Hennl and André Kaiser (2013). Policy Making in Multilevel Systems. Federalism, Decentralisation, and Performance in the OECD Countries, Colchester: ECPR Press 1-32.

Session 10 (15.12. 2022)
COVID-19 Management in Federations

Hegele, Yvonne, and Johanna Schnabel. 2021. "Federalism and the management of the COVID-19 crisis: centralisation, decentralisation and (non-) coordination." *West European Politics* 44.5-6 (2021): 1052-1076.

Schnabel, Johanna, and Yvonne Hegele. 2021. "Explaining intergovernmental coordination during the COVID-19 pandemic: Responses in Australia, Canada, Germany, and Switzerland." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 51.4 (2021): 537-569.

Session 11 (22.12. 2022)
Policy-making in federations

Caughey, Devin, and Christopher Warshaw. 2018. "Policy preferences and policy change: Dynamic responsiveness in the American states, 1936–2014." *American Political Science Review* 112.2: 249-266.

Reus, Iris, and Stephan Vogel. 2021. Taking Stock after 40 Years of Comparative Land Policy Analysis (1980– 2020). A Review of the Predictors of Regional Policy Output in Germany. *German Politics*, online first, 1-24.

Session 12 (12.01. 2023)
The Regional Authority Index

Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, Arjan H. Schakel, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandi Chapman Osterkatz, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield (2016). *Measuring Regional Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance*. Volume I, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-25.

Eaton, Kent, Jean-Paul Faguet, Imke Harbers, Arjan H. Schakel, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Sara Niedzwiecki, Sandra Chapman Osterkatz, and Sarah Shair-Rosenfield (2019). *Measuring and Theorizing Regional Governance*. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 7:2, 265-283.

Session 13 (19.01. 2023)
Elections in multi-level polities

Schakel, Arjan H. and Jeffery, Charlie (2013) "Are regional elections really second-order?" *Regional Studies*, 47, 3: 323-341.

Schakel, Arjan H. (2013) "Congruence between regional and national elections," *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (5): 631-662.

Session 14 (26.01. 2023)
Secession

Kymlicka, Will (1998). *Is Federalism a Viable Alternative to Secession?*, in: Percy B. Lehning (ed.), *Theories of Secession*, London: Routledge, 109-148.

Massetti, Emanuele, and Arjan H. Schakel (2013). *Between Autonomy and Secession*. *Party Politics* 22(1), 59-79.

Session 15 (02.02. 2023)
Wrap-Up

<p>01.03.2023, 10 a.m. (CET) Due date for your term paper!</p>
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