

POL 406H/2325H

The Politics of Federalism in Comparative Perspective

Winter 2015

Instructor: Professor Carolina de Miguel
Class Meeting Time: Tuesday 4:00 PM - 6:00 PM
Location: RL14081
Office Hours: Mondays 1:00 PM - 3:00 PM or by appointment
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Description

This course is about the politics of federal and decentralized polities. Early research on federalism is based mostly on the US experience and it is predominantly normative. Federalism is seen as the panacea for a wide range of political and economic problems ranging from ethnic conflict, economic inefficiency and lack of democratic accountability. Today, the literature on federalism and decentralization is more nuanced, more empirically grounded and more comparative. We welcome these recent developments and explore the conditions under which federalism and/or decentralization is good or bad for a variety of policy and political outcomes. Furthermore, we explore how voters, candidates and parties behave within a federal institutional context. Finally, we seek to understand the structural conditions and bargaining relationships that lead to certain institutional configurations and not others; that is we explore the origins and development of federal and decentralized institutions.

This course places specific emphasis on new research in the field of federalism studies, and mostly on empirically-based research. Our lens will be broadly comparative. The course is designed to introduce you to several aspects of academic professionalization such as leading a discussion, creating a poster presentation, developing a research project and participating in a seminar-like course.

Required Readings

The required readings for this course are based on several book chapters and a collection of articles. This syllabus identifies required readings for each topic (bullet points), plus suggested readings. You should find the latter useful in jump-starting your research paper. Obviously, you must read the required readings each week if we are to have a stimulating seminar. All required readings will be available as live links on this syllabus or as scanned copies on Blackboard (under Course Materials – Scanned Readings). **The only exception is Bednar's reading for March 31st which has**

neither a live link nor a scanned copy. You will need to directly consult the book which on reserve at Robarts Library.

Course Requirements

Course Requirements	%	Due Date	Submission Guidelines
Participation	13%	Varies	
Critical Review	15%	Varies	Turnitin: Before class & Hard copy: Beginning of class
Leading Discussion	15%	Varies	Powerpoint on Blackboard: 2h before class
Research Proposal	10%	Feb 10th	Blackboard: Before class & Hard copy: Beginning of class
Peer Review	2%	Feb 24th	Blackboard: Before Class
Poster Presentation	10%	March 17th	In-class poster session: location TBD
Final Research Paper	35%	March 31st	Hard copy: Beginning of class & Turnitin
Final Grade	100%		

Participation (13%): Participation is a crucial component of this course. Students are expected to attend lectures and do the assigned weekly readings. As instructor, I will be giving a few introductory remarks to begin the course and facilitate discussion, but otherwise I expect the course to be student-driven. The goal is to give you an opportunity to engage your peers in a seminar-style class. Participation is thus crucial, and you will be evaluated on both the quantity AND quality of your participation. Missing more than THREE seminars will result in a 0% for participation.

Critical Review (15%): The critical review is a short paper that critically assesses **two or more** readings in one of the weeks. You must analyze the readings and not merely summarize them. Your critical review must be written and turned in before we discuss the readings in class, so if you want to write about readings in week 3 you will turn in your paper at the start of the class on January 20th (and also post it on Turnitin before class). The critical review should be 4 pages long (12-point Times New Roman, double-spaced, 1" (2.5 cm) margins) and should do the following:

- Present the main argument of the works that you are reviewing in a clear and concise manner. What is the question or topic of each reading? What are the main arguments and the evidence in support of these arguments? **Note: this part consisting on summarizing the readings should be short. The meat of your review should be the next two points on analysis and critique.**
- Evaluate the theoretical and empirical soundness of the arguments presented, offering concrete and well-justified criticisms. What are the strengths and weaknesses? Why is the argument good or bad? Does the evidence help support the argument? Are there omitted variables? Does the author consider alternative explanations? If not, what could those be?
- Explain how the readings fit together and the linkages between them. Do they wrestle with similar puzzles? Is there a unifying theme? Which reading do you find more convincing and why?

Leading Discussion (15%): Each student will present a reading orally to the class **once** throughout the semester. Your presentation should be 5-7 minutes long **and should use powerpoint.**

The content of the presentation should be quite similar to the critical review (see above). You will critically analyze (NOT merely summarize) one of the readings for your week **AND you will link that reading to the rest of readings for that week (and to previous readings in the course if you wish)**. The goal of “leading discussion” is to present the reading to the rest of the class in a concise, critical and interesting manner so as to stimulate discussion. You should email me the powerpoint presentation two hours in advance of class the day that you are leading discussion. Presentations will take place between week 2 (January 13th) and week 11 (March 31st). You should send me an email **by 11:00 pm on January 6th** indicating three potential choices of weeks to present (in order of preference) and the reading you wish to focus on. I will then assign each student to a week and a reading trying to respect preferences as much as possible (note that you may not get your first choice of week and/or reading). **Note that your critical review should be done for a different week than your presentation.**

The two readings below are an excellent and didactic description of what constitutes a good presentation and a good powerpoint. These two readings will also be helpful in preparing your poster presentation. Please read them carefully.

David T. Smith and Rob Salmond. 2011. “Verbal Sticks and Rhetorical Stones: Improving Conference Presentations in Political Science.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44 (3), 583-588: <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459819>

Rob Salmond and David T. Smith. 2011. “Cheating Death-by-PowerPoint: Effective Use of Visual Aids at Professional Conferences.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44 (3), 589-596: <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459820>

Research Proposal (10%), Peer Review (2%), Poster Session (10%) and Research Paper (35%): This course will give you the opportunity to develop a research paper on a topic of your choice within the themes of the course. Ultimately, all papers need to involve original research well beyond required and suggested readings and **MUST** include an empirical component. They should be well-written, well-argued and follow the structure of an academic article. There are different variants of research paper that you can conduct for this class. I am open to other types of research paper, but you should run your ideas past me before-hand.

- You can identify a new puzzle/question not addressed by the literature and bring empirical evidence (one or more country case studies) to help answer the question or solve the puzzle.
- You can explore/extend one of the class topics through a new case study (or group of case studies), through a new policy issue or other dimension of interest
- You can conduct a replication paper in which you get a hold of the data used by an author in one of the articles, replicate their findings and extend/criticize their work. [This is done usually with large-N analyses, but could potentially be done with a smaller set of cases]

I strongly encourage you to come to office hours to discuss your paper before the research proposal is due and afterwards as well. At the end of the syllabus I have provided several links to data sets on federalism, decentralization, electoral and party behavior, and public opinion. This should give you a good head start in exploring empirical evidence that you might be able to use (qualitatively or quantitatively) in your papers.

We will break the task of writing this paper into three steps. First you will write a research proposal. Once you have a draft of your paper we will have a poster presentation; and finally you will write the final version of the paper. You will get feedback at all stages from myself and from the rest of students in the course for the first and second stages.

- **Research Proposal (10%):** The research proposal should describe your main research question or puzzle and how it fits in the literature. You should provide a literature review that connects your question or puzzle to the existing literature and reveals why it is important. The research proposal should hint at what your argument might be and the research design you will likely use (cases, data...) to evaluate your argument and answer your question. The research proposal should be 3-5 pages long (excluding bibliography).
- **Peer Review (2%):** A peer in the class will provide comments on your research proposal and you will be responsible to give comments to someone else's proposal.
- **Poster Presentation (10%):** Once you have had some time to work on a first draft of your paper, we will hold a poster session in class. You should imagine you are going to an academic conference to present the preliminary draft of your paper. This is work in progress but it should definitively have a clear exposition of your main topic and question, an argument and some data/evidence/development of the argument, even if rough. You will make a poster to present to the class and we will simulate a conference poster session.
- **Final Research Paper (35%):** The final paper is due April 8th by 4:00 PM as hard copy at the main office of the Political Science Department and through Turnitin. The final paper should be 10-15 pages (for undergraduates) and 15-20 pages (for graduates), 12-point Times New Roman, double-spaced, 1" (2.5 cm) margins. The paper should obviously include a list of references. The list of references does not count towards the page-limit. Any tables or figures that you include in your paper are part of the page-limit.

Course Policies

Submissions, Due Dates and Late Penalties: *"Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.*

All written assignments need to be turned in as hard copies at the start of class on the due date indicated. In addition, assignments will also have to be posted on Blackboard OR turned in through Turnitin before class. All work must be submitted on time. Please pay attention to the deadlines and the different submission formats for each assignment. **Late assignments will receive a 5% penalty for each late day or fraction of a day (weekends and holidays included).** Late assignments should be submitted to the main office of the Political Science Department (3rd floor of Sidney Smith Hall), and should obtain a time stamp at the main office.¹ **Emailed or faxed copies of late assignments will not be accepted.**

¹Please note that the Political Science main office is not open on weekends and closes at 5:00 pm during weekdays. If the office is closed, there is a dropbox and your assignments will be considered as turned in that day, but note that in the weekends your assignment will be considered as turned in the following Monday.

Extensions for Assignments: Extensions for assignments will only be granted in extenuating circumstances and with appropriate supporting documentation. If you have medical reasons for not meeting the assignment deadline or for missing the mid-term test, you must submit the original copy of a University of Toronto student medical certificate (<http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca>) **within one week** of the due date for the assignment. Extensions are at my discretion and assignments in other courses are not grounds for an extension.

Grade Appeal Policy: The final grade in the course cannot be appealed. You can appeal the grade for an individual assignment. If you would like to appeal your grade, please submit a written grade appeal to me within five days from the date you received your grade. The written grade appeal should explain the reasons of your dissatisfaction, making explicit references to the grading criteria and to the course and lecture materials. **Note that your grade may go down, go up or remain unchanged after this process.**

Contacting the Instructor: Please feel free to stop by my office (SS 3035) during office hours. Office hours are a great time to discuss any questions or concerns you may have about the readings, presentations, research paper etc. Take advantage of them. I expect all lengthy and substantial conversations to happen during office hours rather than by email, but for non-substantive questions direct e-mail correspondence to me at carol.demiguel@utoronto.ca. I will try to respond within 24h during weekdays.

Blackboard, Announcements and Lecture Outlines: I will be using Blackboard to manage this course and to communicate with you outside of class time. It is your responsibility to have an active U of T e-mail address and to access Blackboard regularly. I will post announcements through Blackboard as well as any new resource or reading material that I consider important for the course.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. While I don't expect to encounter instances of cheating in this class, you should be aware that I take academic integrity very seriously, and that there are significant consequences if you are caught cheating or engaging in academic misconduct. You are expected to know what constitutes Academic Integrity and familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters

(<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

- In papers and assignments: Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement. Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks. Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor. Making up sources or facts. Including references to sources that you did not use. Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment.
- In academic work: Falsifying institutional documents or grades. Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes.

Academic Integrity Checklist: To remind you of these expectations, and help you avoid accidental offences, **you must include a printed and signed Academic Integrity Checklist with**

the critical review, the research proposal and the final paper (the academic integrity check list is posted on Blackboard). **If you do not include the Academic Integrity Checklist with your assignments, your work will not be graded.** If you have questions about appropriate research and citation methods, seek out additional information from me, or from other available campus resources like the U of T Writing Website <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>. Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their research paper and other assignments.

Accessibility Needs: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please let me know and contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible at disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

Change Policy: The course schedule and readings may be subject to revision over the course of the semester. However any change in the grading scheme (which I do not expect will happen) will have to be approved by the students of this course in accordance to University regulations.

Course Schedule

FIRST THEME: SITUATING THE LITERATURE

What is the scope of this course? How has the literature on federalism and decentralization evolved over time? And what are the main themes in the literature on federalism today? What distinguishes federalism from others forms of government? What is decentralization and how is it different from federalism? How can we define and measure these concepts? Finally, what are the normative justifications of federalism and its historical origins?

January 6th - **Introduction**

DUE 11:00 PM by email: indicate 3 potential choices of weeks to present (in order of preference) and the reading you wish to focus on.

- No readings this week

January 13th - **Comparative Federalism: Categorization & Measurement**

- Watts, Ronald L. 1998. "Federalism, Federal Political Systems and Federations." *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 1, pp. 117-137.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459821>
- Wibbels, Erik. 2006. "Madison in Baghdad? Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Perspective." *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 9, pp. 165-188.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459864>
- Rodden, Jonathan. 2004. "Comparative Federalism and Decentralization: On Meaning and Measurement", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 481-500.
<http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/4150172>
- Bednar, Jenna. 2009. *The Robust Federation*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 18-25.

- Stepan, Alfred. 1999. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the US Model". *Journal of Democracy*, 10 (4), 19-34.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459823>
- Marks, Gary, Liesbet Hooghe, and Arjan H. Schakel. 2008. "Measuring Regional Authority." *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18 (2-3), 111-115.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459824>

Suggested Readings:

- Bednar, Jenna. 2011. "The Political Science of Federalism." *Annual Review of Law and Society*, vol. 7, 269-288.
- Erk, Jan. 2007. "Comparative Federalism as a Growth Industry" in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 1-17.
- Erk, Jan and Wilfried Swenden. 2010. "The new wave of federalism studies" in *New Directions in Federalism Studies*. Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science.
- Falleti, Tulia. 2005. "Federalism and the Subnational Separation of Power." *Publius*, Spring 2005, pp. 245-271.
- Halberstam, Daniel. 2011. "Federalism: A Critical Guide" (unpublished):
- Stepan, Alfred. 2004. "Towards a New Comparative Politics of Federalism, Multinationalism and Democracy" in *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*
- Skogstad, Grace, David Cameron et al. (eds.). 2013. *The Global Promise of Federalism*. University of Toronto Press.
- Thorlakson, Lori. 2003. "Comparing Federal Institutions: Power and Representation in Six Federations," *West European Politics*, vol. 26, no. 2, 1-22.
- Watts, Ronald. 1999. *Comparing Federal Systems*. McGill-Queens University Press.

January 20th - **Federalism: Origins and Normative Justifications**

- Bednar, Jenna. 2009. *The Robust Federation*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 25-56.
- Riker, William. 1964. *Federalism: Origin, Operation and Significance*, p. 11-25.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2004. "Rethinking the Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth Century Europe." *World Politics*, 57 (October 2004), 70-98.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459825>
- Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks and Arjan H. Schakel. 2010. *The Rise of Regional Authority: Comparative Study of 42 Democracies*. Routledge. Chapter 4.
<http://www.tandfebooks.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/isbn/9780203852170>
- Falleti, Tulia. 2010. "Varieties of Authoritarianism: The Organization of the Military State and its Effects on Federalism in Argentina and Brazil." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 46, pp. 137-162.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459826>

Suggested Readings:

- Gibson, L. Edward and Tulia G. Falleti. "Unity by the Stick: Regional Conflict and the Origins of Argentine Federalism" in Edward L. Gibson (ed.), *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*. The John Hopkins University Press.
- Montero, Alfred P. and David J. Samuels. 2004. "The Political Determinants of Decentralization in Latin America" (chapter 1) in *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America* edited by Alfred P. Montero and David J. Samuels.
- Eaton, Kent. 2001. "Political Obstacles to Decentralization: Evidence from Argentina

- and the Philippines.” *Development and Change*, 32(1): 101-127.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2006. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*
 - Beramendi, Pablo and Ramon Maiz. 2004. “Spain: Unfulfilled Federalism (1978-1996).” Chapter 4 in Ugo M. Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
 - Smyrl, Mark. 2004. “France: Challenging the Unitary State.” Chapter 7 in Ugo M. Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

SECOND THEME: EFFECTS OF FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS

The second theme of the course looks at federal institutions as independent variables. What are the effects of federalism on government accountability, macro-economic efficiency, or the preservation of peace? How do political parties and voters modify these effects? Is federalism and decentralization the panacea that scholars and policy-makers make it out to be?

January 27th - Managing Diversity

- Bakke and Wibbels. 2006. “Diversity, Disparity and Civil Conflict in Federal States.” *World Politics*, vol. 59, no. 1, 1-50.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459827>
- Brancati, Dawn. 2009. *Peace by Design: Managing Intrastate Conflict through Decentralization*. Oxford and New York: Oxford UP. Chapter 1.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199549009.003.0001>
- Bunce, Valerie. 2005. “Managing diversity and sustaining democracy: Ethnofederal versus Unitary States in the Postsocialist World” in Roeder, Philip G. and Donald Rothchild (eds.) *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell University Press.

Suggested Readings:

- Amoretti, Ugo. 2004. “Federalism and Territorial Cleavages,” Chapter 1 in Ugo M. Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo, *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 2002. “A New Look at Federalism: The Import of Institutions.” *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 96-110.
- Bertrand, Jacques and Andre Laliberte. 2010. *Multination States in Asia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bunce, Valerie. 2004. “Federalism, Nationalism, and Secession: The Communist and Post-Communist Experience,” Chapter 15 in Ugo M. Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo, *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- Christin, Thomas and Simon Hug. 2006. “Federalism, the Geographic Location of Groups and Conflict.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 29(1), 93-122.
- Choudry, Sujit (ed.) 2008. *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?*. Oxford University Press.
- Henry Hale. 2004. “Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse,” *World Politics*, vol. 56 no. 4, 165-193.
- Lustick Ian S. 2004. “Secessionism in Multicultural States: Does Sharing Power Prevent or Encourage it?” in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 98. No. 2, pp. 209-229.

- Meguid, Bonnie M. 2008. “Institutional Change and Ethnoterritorial Party Representation at the European Level.” Prepared for Presentation at the “European Identities? Regionalism, Nationalism and Religion” Conference, London, UK.
- Tillin, Louise. 2006. “United in Diversity? Asymmetry in Indian Federalism.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 37, no. 1, 45-67.
- Treisman, Daniel. 2007. *The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 10: Ethnic Conflict and Secession (236-246).

February 3rd - Federalism and the Market I: “Promise and Perils of Fiscal Federalism”

- Rodden, Jonathan and Susan Rose-Ackerman. 1997. “Does Federalism Preserve Markets?” *Virginia Law Review* 83(7), 1521-1572.
<http://heinonline.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/valr83id=1539>
- Rodden, Jonathan. 2006. *Hamilton’s Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1017/CBO9780511616075.002>
- Wibbels, Erik. 2005. *Federalism and the Market: Intergovernmental Conflict and Economic Reform in the Developing World*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.
<http://books.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/viewdoc.html?id=/ebooks/ebooks2/cambri04-12/1/0511199103>
- Rodden, Jonathan and Erik Wibbels. 2002. “Beyond the Fiction of Federalism: Macroeconomic Management in Multitiered Systems.” *World Politics*, 54, 494531.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459829>

Suggested Readings:

- Ong, Lynette. 2011. “Fiscal Federalism and Soft Budget Constraints: The Case of China.” *International Political Science Review*, 33(4), 455-474.
- Rodden, Eskeland and Litvack eds. 2003. *Fiscal Decentralization and the Challenge of Hard Budget Constraints*. The MIT Press.
- Sorens, Jason. 2014. “Does Fiscal Federalism Promote Regional Inequality? An Empirical Analysis of the OECD, 1980-2005.” *Regional Studies*, Vol. 48., No. , pp. 239-253.
- Wallack, Jessica S. and T.N. Srinivasan, eds. 2006. *Federalism and economic reform: international perspectives*. Cambridge University Press. [Edited book on case studies].
- Weingast, Barry R. 1995. “The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Growth.” *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 11, 1-31.
- Daniel Treisman. 2007. *The Architecture of Government*, Cambridge University Press. Chapter 11: Data to the Rescue.

February 10th - Federalism and the Market II: Efficiency, Corruption and the Size of Government

DUE BEGINNING OF CLASS: Research Proposal

- Bardhan, Pranab and Dilip Mookherjee. 2005. “Decentralization, Corruption and Government Accountability: An Overview” in Susan Rose-Ackerman and Edward Elgar eds.

Handbook of Economic Corruption.

- O'Dwyer, Conor and Daniel Ziblatt. 2006. "Does Decentralization Make Government More Efficient and Effective?". *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 326-343. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459831>
- Rodden, Jonathan. 2003. "Reviving Leviathan: Fiscal Federalism and the Growth of Government." *International Organization*, 57, Fall 2003, pp. 695-729. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459832>

Suggested Readings:

- Lessman, Christian. 2006. "Fiscal Decentralization and Regional Disparity: A Panel Data Approach for OECD Countries"
- Rodden, Jonathan. 2009. "Federalism and Inter-Regional Redistribution." Working Paper.
- Boix, Carles. 2009. "The Redistributive Foundations of Federal Bargains: A Comment on Rodden's 'Federalism and Inter-Regional Redistribution'."
- Shah, Anwar. 2006. "Corruption and Decentralized Public Governance." *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, no. 3824.

February 17th - **READING WEEK**

February 24th - **Federalism and Democracy**

DUE BEGINNING OF CLASS: Peer Review

- Gervasoni, Carlos. 2010. "A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy, and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces." *World Politics*, Vol. 62, Num. 2, pp. 302-340. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459833>
- Gibson, Edward L. 2013. *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.
- Skalnik Leff, Carol. 1999. "Democratization and Disintegration in Multinational States: The Breakup of the Communist Federations," *World Politics*, 51(2), 205-235. <http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459834>
- Ochoa, Enrique. 2004. "Multiple Arenas of Struggle: Federalism and Mexico's Transition to Democracy," Chapter 8 in Edward L. Gibson ed., *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*, The John Hopkins University Press.

Suggested Readings:

- Filippov, Mikhail and Olga Shvetsova. 2013. "Federalism, democracy, and democratization" in Benz, Arthur and Jorg Broschek (eds.) *Federal Dynamics: Continuity, Change, and the Varieties of Federalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Gervasoni, Carlos. 2010. Measuring Variance in Subnational Regimes: Results from an Expert-Based Operationalization of Democracy in the Argentine Provinces. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, Vol. 2, No. 2, August 2010.
- Gibson, Edward L. and Julieta Suarez-Cao. 2010. "Federalized Party Systems and Subnational Party Competition: Theory and Empirical Application to Argentina." *Comparative Politics*, 43 (1).
- Samuels, David and Fernando Luiz Abrucio. 2000. "Federalism and Democratic Tran-

- sitions: The “New” Politics of the Governors in Brazil.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 30 (2), 43-62.
- Watts, Ronald L. 2010. “Comparative Reflections on Federalism and Democracy” in Burgess, Michael and Alain-G. Gagnon (eds.) *Federal Democracies*, Routledge Series in federal Studies.

THIRD THEME: FEDERALISM, PARTIES AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR

The third theme of this course explicitly tackles the relationship between federal institutions, political parties and voters. What are the effects of federalism on the nationalization of party systems? What are the effects of federalism and decentralization on the strength of regional or ethnic parties? How are political parties internally organized in federal countries? And how do voters behave in a federal institutional context?

March 3rd - Federalism, Party Systems Nationalization and Party Organization

- Chhibber, Pradeep and Kenneth Kollman. 1998. “Party Aggregation and the Number of Parties in India and the United States.” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 92, no. 2, 329-342.
<http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/2585667>
- Hicken, Allen. 2009. *Building Party System in Developing Democracies*. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 and 2.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1017/CBO9780511575563>
- Thorlakson, Lori. 2009. “Patterns of Party Integration, Influence and Autonomy in Seven Federations.” *Party Politics*, vol. 15, no. 2, 157-177.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459836>
- Swenden, Wilfried and Simon Toubeau, “Mainstream Parties and Territorial Dynamics in the UK, Spain and India” in Arthur Benz and Jorg Broschek, eds., *Federal Dynamics, Continuity, Change and Varieties of Federalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chapter 12 (pp. 249-74).
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199652990.003.0012>

Suggested Readings:

- Brancati, Dawn. “The Origins and Strength of Political Parties.” *British Journal of Political Science*, 36 (1), 135-159.
- Chhibber, Pradeep and Geetha Murali. 2006. “Duvergerian Dynamics in the Indian States: Federalism and the Number of Parties in the State Assembly Elections.” *Party Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 5-34.
- Chhibber, Pradeep and Kenneth Kollman. 2004. *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India and United States*. Princeton University Press.
- Cox, Gary. 1999. “Electoral Rules and Electoral Coordination.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 145-161.
- Desposato, Scott. 2004. “The Impact of Federalism on National Party Cohesion in Brazil”. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 29 (2), 259-285.
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March 10th - Federal Institutions and Voter Behaviour

- Kedar, Orit. 2005. “How Voters Work Around Institutions: Policy balancing in Staggered Elections”. *Electoral Studies*, 1-19.
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Suggested Readings:

- de Miguel Moyer, Carolina. 2010. “Electoral patterns in federal countries: Moderating in the case of Spain” in *New Directions in Federalism Studies*. Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science.
- Erikson, Robert S. and Mikhail G. Filippov. 2001. “Electoral Balancing in Federal and Sub-national Elections: The Case of Canada”. *Constitutional Political Economy*, 12, 313-331.
- Kedar, Orit. 2009. *Voting for Policy, Not Parties: How Voters Compensate for Power*

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FOURTH THEME: DYNAMICS OF CHANGE WITHIN FEDERATIONS

The fourth and final theme in the course tackles a fairly recent research agenda on the development and design of federal institutions. We thus look at federal institutions as dependent variables. Why and when do countries choose to decentralized? What type of decentralization is chosen and why? What explains why some federations survive? What institutional features are key for the stability of federations?

March 17th - **POSTER SESSION**

LOCATION TBD

March 24th - **Political Determinants of Decentralization**

- Amat, Francesc and Albert Falco-Gimeno. 2013. “The Legislative Dynamics of Political Decentralization in Parliamentary Democracies” in *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 47 (6), pp. 820-850.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/460056>
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2008. “Institutional Change as Strategy: The Role of Decentralization in Party Competition” (under review)
<http://sitemaker.umich.edu/comparative.speaker.series/files/meguid.pdf>
- Tulia Falleti. 2005. “A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective”. *American Political Science Review*, vol. 99, no. 3, 327-346.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/459843>
- Riedl, Rachel Beatty and J. Tyler Dickovick. 2014. “Party Systems and Decentralization in Africa.” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 49, Issue 3, pp. 321-342.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12116-013-9144-9>
- Pablo Beramendi. 2011. *The Political Geography of Inequality: Regions and Redistribution*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 and Chapter 3.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1017/CBO9781139042796>

Suggested Readings:

- Colino, Cesar. 2013. “Varieties of Federalism and propensities for change” in Arthur and Jorg Broschek (eds.) *Federal Dynamics: Continuity, Change, and the Varieties of Federalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Falleti, Tulia. 2013. “Decentralization in time: A process-tracing approach to federal dynamics of change” in Benz, Arthur and Jorg Broschek (eds.) *Federal Dynamics: Continuity, Change, and the Varieties of Federalism*. Oxford University Press.

- Falletti, Tulia. 2010. *Decentralization and Subnational Politics in Latin American*. Cambridge University Press.
- Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto. 2006. *Federalism, Fiscal Authority, and Centralization in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- O’Neill, Kathleen. 2003. “Decentralization as an Electoral Strategy.” *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 36 No. 9, November 2003, 1068-1091.
- Panizza, Ugo. 1999. “On the Determinants of Fiscal Decentralization: Theory and Evidence.” *Journal of Public Economics*, 74, 97-139.
- Willis, Eliza, Christopher da C.B. Garman and Stephen Haggard. 1999. “The Politics of Decentralization in Latin America.” *Latin American Review of Political Science*, 334 (1), 7-56.
- Wibbels, Erik. 2005. “Decentralized Governance, Constitution Formation, and Redistribution.” *Constitutional Political Economy*, 16, 161-188.

March 31st - Institutional Design and Stability of Federations

RESEARCH PAPER DUE

- Bednar, Jenna. 2009. *The Robust Federation*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3 and 4. **Note: no scans or live link. Book is on course reserves @ Robarts Library.**
- Filippov et al. 2003. *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.
<http://dx.doi.org/myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1017/CBO9780511610875>
- Hlamberstam, Daniel. 2008. “Comparative Federalism and the Role of the Judiciary” in *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Politics* (Keith Whittington, Daniel Kelemen, and Gregory Caldeira, eds., Oxford Univ. Press.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199208425.003.0009>
- Erk, Jan. 2008. *Explaining Federalism: State, society and congruence in Austria, Belgium, Canada, Germany and Switzerland*. Routledge Series in Federal Studies. Chapter 1.
<http://www.tandfebooks.com/myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/isbn/9780203940495>

Suggested Readings:

- Filippov, 2005. “Riker and Federalism.” *Constitutional Political Economy*, 16, 93111.
- Rodden, Jonathan. 2006. *Hamilton’s Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8 and 9.
- Kollman, Kenneth. 2013. *Perils of Centralization: Lesson from Church, State, and Corporation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Riker, William. 1964. *Federalism: Origin, Operation and Significance*, Chapter 4.
- Spolaore, Enrico. 2008 “Federalism, Regional Redistribution and Country Stability” (unpublished):

Data Sets:

- Federalism, Decentralization
 - World Bank Decentralization Indicators: <http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/data.htm>
 - Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. Regional Authority Dataset: http://www.unc.edu/gwmarks/data_r
 - Treisman
 - Schneider
- Comparative Institutions and Policies
 - Comparative Political Data Set, 1960-2004. (Klaus Armingeon): http://www.ipw.unibe.ch/content/team/klaus_armingeon/comparative_political_data_sets/index_ge
 - World Bank Database on Political Institutions (DPI) (Thorsten Beck, George Clarke, Alberto Groff, Philip Keefer, and Patrick Walsh) Data: <http://www.worldbank.org/research/bios/keefe>
Codebook: <http://www.worldbank.org/research/growth/pdfiles/DPIvariables>
 - World Bank Governance Indicators (1996-2008): <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance>
 - George Tsebelis, Veto Player Data Set: <http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/tsebelis>
 - Lijphart and Grofman Data Set on Democratic Institutions: <ftp://ftp.uci.edu/pub/POLSCI252D/gra>
- Parties, Party Systems, Party Strategies
 - Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES): <http://www.cses.org/>
 - Comparative Party Manifesto Project: <http://www.wzb.eu/zkd/dsl/projekte-manifesto.en.htm>
 - Benoit-Laver party policy positions in 47 countries: <http://www.politics.tcd.ie/ppmd>
- Election Results
 - CLEA: <http://www.electiondataarchive.org/>
 - Dawn Brancati, Constituency Level Election Results: <http://www.cle.wustl.edu/>
 - Matthew Golder's Electoral Systems Data Archive: *Electoral Systems Around the World, 1946-2000*: <https://files.nyu.edu/mrg217/public/elections.html>
 - International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), turnout <http://www.idea.int/>
 - Lijphart's Election Archive (UCSD)
 - Adam Karr's Election Archive
 - Richard Kimber's *Election and Electoral Systems Around the World* (University of Keele)
 - Lindberg, Staffan I. 2006. *Elections and Democracy in Africa 1989-2003*: <http://clas.ufl.edu/users/lir>
- Public Opinion and Political Behavior
 - World Values Study: www.world-valuesurvey.org
 - Global Barometers: www.globalbarometer.org
 - Pew Global Attitudes Survey: www.people-press.org/pgap
 - UCI Election Turnout Data Base: <http://www.democ.uci.edu/resources/>
 - Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES): <http://www.cses.org>
 - National Election Studies. ICPSR. <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/ICPSR>
 - Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP): www.lapopsurvey.org

