

POLI 631 Comparative Federalism
CRN 16231
Course Syllabus Winter 2017

Professor: Christa Scholtz

Class Time: Mondays 8:35 am to 11:25 pm.

Class Location: 422 Ferrier

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Email: christa.scholtz@mcgill.ca. Please note I often do not check email when I am out of the office. Please adjust your expectations accordingly.

Seminar Description: This graduate seminar explores the theoretical underpinnings and empirical challenges of federal states from a comparative perspective. The course focuses largely on industrialized countries, with Canadian federalism providing an important example.

Plagiarism: McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of student conduct and disciplinary procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/integrity for more information).

L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site <http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity>).

Seminar Requirements and Evaluation:

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. (approved by Senate on 21 January 2009)

Class participation: This is a graduate seminar, so there's lots of reading, and students will be called upon to discuss the readings with their peers. Walk in the room having done the following preparation: 1) read the articles or books with a view to understand their argument, what they are arguing against, and what kinds of contribution they are making to the field (empirical? theoretical? methodological?); 2) what links some readings together, or keep some apart? 3) what can I use from this reading to further my own research?; 4) is there something about the reading that struck you as particularly noteworthy – did it address something in a way you did not expect? Did it make you think about something differently? Did it inspire or disappoint? Did it frustrate you like no other reading in graduate school ever has? Will you vow never to foist this reading on any of your future students? Why? You may not reach an understanding prior to the seminar why you may have a reaction to a particular reading, but the seminar should be a place where students can bring these reactions forward and then through interaction with

others come to understand the reaction, and the reading, better. Part of your training is not just how to read a text and analyze it, but to listen to others and learn to contribute to a dialogue in real time.

Short papers (1000 words maximum each): You are expected to write one short paper on the readings for a given week, for a total of three weeks. The goal is to make a point about the literature. The short paper should not be a compendium of all the interesting thoughts and insights that swirled about in your head as you read all the readings. Rather, a successful paper will identify a theme, or a question, that the literature generally addresses, and then put forth an argument about how and how well the literature does so. A paper might examine critical differences between authors on an issue, and might make an argument about which author's work is more compelling for what reasons. A paper might put forth an argument about how the readings reinforce each other. Not every reading for the week needs to be addressed in the paper, but at least three should.

Short papers are due at Saturday, by noon, prior to the class on Monday. I strongly suggest completing a paper in January. This is a suggestion; you are responsible for managing your course load. Papers which are not submitted by the deadline will not be accepted.

Discussion Questions: Those writing a short paper for a particular week are expected to provide some discussion questions to the group when they submit their short papers.

Research Paper: You are responsible for producing a longer research paper (roughly 20-25 pages) on the topic of your choice. The paper should engage the theoretical and empirical literature. Those of you who are completing the course to meet a Canadian program requirement will complete a paper where Canada figures largely. Everyone will be required to submit a one page initial paper proposal on February 3, by noon. The proposals will be read by every participant, and will be the subject of the class scheduled for February 6. Each seminar participant will be expected to read the proposals, and provide initial feedback. The proposals should identify a question, either empirical or theoretical, that the student wishes to engage further, with a preliminary idea as to how go about it. A final proposal is due on March 6, by noon. The final proposal will be worth 5% of your overall grade. A solid first draft of the paper is due to the seminar participants on April 6, by noon, and will be the subject of the seminar on April 10. The final paper is due on April 14, by noon. Research papers will be penalized 5% for each day late, and no longer accepted after April 17, noon.

Summary of Evaluation:

Short papers: 10% each for 30% overall
Research proposal: 5%
Research paper and presentation: 45%
Class participation: 15%
Final conference discussant: 5%

Summary of Important Dates:

Note: Short papers and discussion questions due on the Saturday before class, noon
Feb.3, noon: Proposal sketch due
March 6, noon: Revised research proposal due
April 6, noon: First draft of research paper due to all seminar participants
April 10: Research paper presentations with discussants
April 14, noon: Final research paper due to professor.

Course Readings:

Articles and book chapters are available digitally on mycourses. Books are available on course reserve at the library and the following are also available for purchase at the University bookstore:

Filippov, M., Peter Ordeshook, and Olga Shvetsova. 2004. *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bednar, Jenna. 2009. *The Robust Federation: Principles of Design*. New York: Cambridge University Press

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2006. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mahoney, James and D. Rueschemeyer (eds) 2003. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press

Morgan, Kimberly and Andrea Campbell. 2011. *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press

Maioni, Antonia. 1998. *Parting at the Crossroads: The Emergence of Health Insurance in the United States and Canada*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Course Schedule

January 9: Introduction (no readings)

January 16: Comparative Federalism

Giovanni Sartori, "Concept Misinformation in Comparative Politics," *American Political Science Review* 64, 4 (December 1970): 1033-1053.

Gerring, John. 2001. *Social Science Methodology: A Critical Framework*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3 (Concepts: General Criteria) 35-64.

Ronald Watts. 1998. "Federalism, Federal Political Systems, and Federations". *Annual Review of Political Science* 1998. vol 1: 117-37

Daniel J. Elazar. 1997. "Contrasting Unitary and Federal Systems", *International Political Science Review*, vol. 18, no.3, 327-251

Eghosa E. Osaghae. 1990. "A Reassessment of Federalism as a Degree of Decentralization." *Publius*. vol.20 (Winter)

January 23: The Founding: Federalism as normative and/or strategic design of choice?

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich. 2003. "Can One or a Few Cases Yield Theoretical Gains?" in James Mahoney and D. Rueschemeyer (eds), *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, Cambridge University Press: 305-336

Charles Tiebout. 1956. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures", *Journal of Political Economy*, no.64, pp.416-424

Jacob Levy. 2007. "Federalism, Liberalism and the Separation of Loyalties", *APSR* 101(3): 459-477

The Federalist Papers, no.2, 9, 10.

William Riker. 1964. *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company). Chapter 2: The origin and purposes of federalism. pp. 11-48

Daniel Ziblatt. 2006. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

Samuel LaSelva. 1996. *The Moral Foundations of Canadian Federalism: Paradoxes, Achievements, and Tragedies of Nationhood*. Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

January 30: Federal Design – Engineering stability?

David J. Elkins and Richard E.B. Simeon. 1979. "A Cause in Search of Its Effect; Or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics*, vol.11, no.2, pp.127-145

Filippov, M., Peter Ordeshook, and Olga Shvetsova. 2004. *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).

Bednar, Jenna. 2009. *The Robust Federation: Principles of Design*. New York: Cambridge University Press

February 6: Discussion of Research Paper Proposals

February 13: Federalism and democratic transitions

Pierson, Paul. 2003. "Big, Slow-Moving, and....Invisible: Macrosocial Processes in the Study of Comparative Politics", in Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (eds) *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Science*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 177-207

Kent Eaton. 2012. "Decentralization and Federalism", in Peter Kingstone and Deborah J. Yashar, *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, New York and London: Taylor and Francis. Pp. 33-47

Enrique Ochoa-Reza. 2004. "Multiple Arenas of Struggle: Federalism and Mexico's Transition to Democracy", in Gibson, Edward L. (ed). *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*. (John Hopkins University Press). pp.255-296

Jan Erk. 2014. "Federalism and Decentralization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Five Patterns of Evolution". *Regional and Federal Studies* 24:5, 535-552

Rotimi Suberu. 2009. "Federalism in Africa: The Nigerian Experience in Comparative Perspective". *Ethnopolitics* vol. 8, no.1, p. 67-86

February 20: Federalism and Accountability: Citizen monitoring

Christopher Wlezien and Stuart Soroka. 2011. "Federalism and Public Responsiveness to Policy". *Publius*, vol. 41, no. 1, 31-52

Fred Cutler. 2008. "Whodunnit? Voters and responsibility in Canadian federalism". *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 627-654

A.R. Brown. 2010. "Are governors responsible for the state economy? Partisanship, blame, and divided federalism". *The Journal of Politics* 72(03): 605-615

C. Kam and R. Mikos. 2007. "Do citizens care about federalism? An experimental test." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 4(3), p. 589-624

A. J. Brown. 2013. "From Intuition to Reality: Measuring Federal Political Culture in Australia". *Publius* 43:2, 297-314

March 6: No class. Revised research paper proposals due by noon

March 13: Federal Evolution: Courts and dual vs cooperative federalism

Kathleen Thelen, “How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis”, in Mahoney and Rueschmeyer (eds). pp.208-240

Gerald Baier. 2006. *Courts and Federalism: Judicial Doctrine in the United States, Australia, and Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press. Chapter 1 (Judicial Doctrine as an Independent Variable in Federalism). pp. 9-29

Ernest A. Young. 2014. “The Puzzling Persistence of Dual Federalism”, in James E. Fleming and Jacob T. Levy (eds). *Nomos LV: Federalism and Subsidiarity*. New York and London: New York University Press, pp.34-82

Brady Baybeck and William Lowry. 2000. “Federalism Outcomes and Ideological Preferences: The US Supreme Court and Preemption Cases”. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*. 30:3, pp.73-97

Peter C. Oliver. 2011. “The Busy Harbours of Canadian Federalism: The Division of Powers and its Doctrines in the McLachlin Court”, in David A. Wright and Adam Dodek (eds), *Public Law at the McLachlin Court: The First Decade*, Toronto: Irwin Law

Wade K. Wright. 2016. “Courts as Facilitators of Intergovernmental Dialogue: Cooperative Federalism and Judicial Review”. *Supreme Court Law Review* vol. 72 (2nd series), 365-454

Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia [2014] 2 S.C.R. 258

March 20: Fiscal Federalism

Class activity: simulation!!!

Oates, Wallace E. 1999. “An Essay on Fiscal Federalism”. *Journal of Economic Literature*. vol 37, (September). pp.1120-1149

Jonathan Rodden. 2006. *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

R. Daniel Kelemen and Terence K. Teo. 2014. “Law, Focal Points, and Fiscal Discipline in the United States and the European Union”. *American Political Science Review* vol. 108, no.2, 355-370

Jason Sorens. 2016. “Secession Risk and Fiscal Federalism.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 46:1, 25-50.

March 27: Federalism and Policy Research: The Laboratory literature

Geddes, Barbara. *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 5: How the Approach You Choose Affects the Answers You Get – Rational Choice and its Uses in Comparative Politics

Susan Rose-Ackerman. 1980. "Risk Taking and Reelection: Does Federalism Promote Innovation?" *The Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Jun., 1980), pp. 593-616

Strumpf, Koleman. 2002. "Does Government Decentralization Increase Policy Innovation?" *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, vol.4, pp.207-41

Volden, Craig, Michael Ting, and Daniel P.Carpenter. 2008. "A Formal Model of Learning and Policy Diffusion". *American Political Science Review*, vol.102, no.3, pp.319-332

Shipan, Charles and Craig Volden. 2008. "The Mechanisms of Policy Diffusion". *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 840-57

Christa Scholtz. "Federalism and Policy Change: An Analytic Narrative of Indigenous Land Rights Policy in Australia (1966-1978)". *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol.46, no.2 (June 2013), pp.397-418

April 3: Federalism and Policy Research II: The Welfare State

George Tsebelis. 2002. *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press). Introduction and Chapter 1 ("Individual Veto Players")

Amenta, Edwin. 2003. "What We Know about the Development of Social Policy", in Mahoney and Rueschmeyer (eds), 91-130

Finegold, Kenneth. 2005. "The United States: Federalism and its counterfactuals", in Herbert Obinger, Stephan Leibfried and Francis Castles (eds), *Federalism and the Welfare State: New World and European Experiences*. (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp.138-178

Morgan, Kimberly and Andrea Campbell. 2011. *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of Social Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press

Antonia Maioni. 1998. *Parting at the Crossroads: The Emergence of Health Insurance in the United States and Canada*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

April 10: Student Conference