

Hessen: ISU Course Outline

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State Restructuring in Europe

CLASS HOURS

Week 3 & 4: 31.07.-03.08.18 & 06.-10.08.18

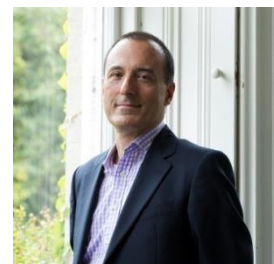
11:30 am – 1 pm

PROFESSOR

Name: Dr. Paolo Dardanelli

Email: p.dardanelli@kent.ac.uk

Dr Paolo Dardanelli, visiting from the University of Kent, UK; <https://dardanelli.net>



1) INFORMATION ON THE COURSE CONTENT

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Over the last fifty years most European countries have reorganised their territorial structures of government. 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. In some cases, state restructuring has gone as far as threatening the territorial integrity of the state. An important aspect is how these processes have interacted with the parallel process of European integration. The course would explore the origins and consequences of these processes of state restructuring and discuss the issues they raise. Key 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 comparative political science. The course consists of an introductory and a concluding sessions addressing conceptual and theoretical aspects and a series of case studies covering Belgium, Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

TENTATIVE CLASS SCHEDULE

Each session will include a lecture of about an hour followed by 30 minutes of class discussion.

It is important that you do the required reading before the class so as to be fully prepared to take an active and competent part in the discussion.

Session 1 Introduction: studying state structures

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

Key questions

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

Essential reading

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2017. *Restructuring the European State – European Integration and State Reform*. Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. XX

Recommended further reading

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2017. Independence in Europe? EU Integration and 'Stateless Nations'. *Political Insight* 8/3: 33-5.

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

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

Watts, Ronald. 2008. *Comparing Federal Systems*. 3rd ed. Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press

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

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.

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

Bale, Tim. 2013. *European Politics – A Comparative Introduction*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 44-76

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

Session 2 From Unitary to Federal and Beyond: Belgium

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

Key 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

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

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

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

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. 2017. *Restructuring the European State – European Integration and State Reform*. Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. XX

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

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

Key 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

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

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2017. *Restructuring the European State – European Integration and State Reform*. Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. XX

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

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

Session 4 Refederalisation? Germany

The historical roots of German federalism – The creation of the first federation – The re-establishment of federalism after World War II – The institutions and processes of German federalism – The ‘unitarisation’ of German federalism – The recent reforms – Prospects

Key questions

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

Essential reading

Kaiser, André and Stephan Vogel. 2017. Dynamic De/Centralization in Germany, 1949-2010. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, DOI: 10.1093/publius/pjx054.

Recommended further reading

Behnke, Nathalie and Sabine Kropp. 2016. Arraying Institutional Layers in Federalism Reforms: Lessons from the German Case. *Regional and Federal Studies* 26/5: 585-602

Benz, Arthur. 2016. Gradual Constitutional Change and Federal Dynamics – German Federalism Reform in Historical Perspective. *Regional and Federal Studies* 26/5: 707-28

Hepp, Ralf and Jürgen von Hagen. 2012. Fiscal Federalism in Germany: Stabilization and Redistribution Before and After Unification. *Publius* 42/2: 234-59

Gunlicks, Arthur. 2002. The Impact of Unification on German Federalism. *German Politics* 11/3: 131-52

Benz, Arthur. 1999. From Unitary to Asymmetric Federalism in Germany: Taking Stock after 50 Years. *Publius* 29/4: 55-78

Gunlicks, Arthur. 2003. *The Länder and German Federalism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

McKay, David. 2001. *Designing Europe – Comparative Lessons from the Federal Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, chapter 6

Umbach, Maiken. 2002. Introduction: German Federalism in Historical Perspective. In Idem (ed.), *German Federalism: Past, Present, Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave

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

Scharpf, Fritz. 1988. The Joint Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration. *Public Administration* 66/3: 239-78

Schneider, Hans-Peter. 1999. German Unification and the Federal System: the Challenge of Reform. In Charlie Jeffery (ed.), *Recasting German Federalism*. London: Pinter

Session 5 Federalism at last? Italy

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

Key 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

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

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

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2017. *Restructuring the European State – European Integration and State Reform*. Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. XX

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

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

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

Session 6 Federalism or Break Up? Spain

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

Key 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

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

Dardanelli, Paolo. 2017. *Restructuring the European State – European Integration and State Reform*. Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. XX

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

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

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

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

Session 7 The 'Sovereign' Cantons under Pressure: Switzerland

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?

Key questions

- Why did Switzerland transform 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

Dardanelli, Paolo and Sean Mueller. 2017. Dynamic De/Centralization in Switzerland, 1848–2010. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* DOI: 10.1093/publius/pjx056

Recommended further reading

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

Cappelletti, Fabio, Manuel Fischer and Pascal Sciarini. 2014. 'Let's Talk Cash': Cantons' Interests and the Reform of Swiss Federalism. *Regional and Federal Studies* 24/1: 1-20

Wasserfallen, Fabio. 2015. The Cooperative Capacity of Swiss Federalism. *Swiss Political Science Review* 21/4: 538-55

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

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

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

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

Church, Clive and Paolo Dardanelli. 2005. The Dynamics of Confederalism and Federalism: Comparing Switzerland and the EU. *Regional and Federal Studies* 15/2: 163-85

Session 8 Asymmetrical Devolution in a Union State: the UK

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

Key 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

Recommended further reading

Dardanelli, Paolo and John Kincaid. 2016. A New Union? Federalism and the UK. *Political Insight* 7/3: 12-5

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

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

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. 2017. *Restructuring the European State – European Integration and State Reform*. Montreal, QC, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. XX

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

2) INFORMATION ON CLASS PARTICIPATION, ASSIGNMENTS AND EXAMS

ASSIGNMENTS

The module is assessed as follows:

Seminar participation: Pass/Fail

*Essay (maximum 2,500 words, including citations but excluding the list of references and any appendices): 100%. **Deadline: 10 August 2018***

EXAMS

No exam.

PROFESSIONALISM & CLASS PARTICIPATION

Each session will include a lecture of about an hour followed by 30 minutes of class discussion.

It is important that you do the required reading before the class so as to be fully prepared to take an active and competent part in the discussion.

3) INFORMATION ON GRADING AND ECTS

ACADEMIC STANDARDS

Seminar participation: Pass/Fail

Essay (maximum 2,500 words, including citations but excluding the list of references and any appendices): 100%.

Upon successful completion, 3 ECTS will be awarded for the class.

According to the rules of ECTS, one credit is equivalent to 25-30 hours student workload.

GRADING SCALE:

<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Grade</i>		<i>Description</i>
90-100%	15 points	1.0	very good: an outstanding achievement
	14 points		
	13 points		
80-90%	12 points	1.7	good: an achievement substantially above average requirements
	11 points	2.0	
	10 points	2.3	
70-80%	9 points	2.7	satisfactory: an achievement which corresponds to average requirements
	8 points	3.0	
	7 points	3.3	
60-70%	6 points	3.7	sufficient: an achievement which barely meets the requirements
	5 points	4.0	
0-60%	4 points	5.0	not sufficient / failed: an achievement which does not meet the requirements
	3 points		
	2 points		
	1 point		
	0 points		

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