

PSCI 5505W / EURR 5201W (cross-listed) Special Topics Course

**Multilevel governance in federal systems:  
Germany, Canada, and the EU compared**

11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m, Tuesdays  
240 Paterson Hall

Instructor: Arthur Benz  
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## 1. Course description

The course deals with the highly topical issue of governance across levels of political systems. By comparing Germany, Canada and the EU, students will learn how policies of levels of governments are coordinated, whether this is done in an effective and democratic way, and how institutional and societal conditions influence multilevel governance. Additionally, by discussing relevant theories, students will be introduced into the analytical tools essential for studying multilevel governance in national and transnational polities and their application in particular cases.

In line with recent trends in European studies, the course treats the EU in a comparative perspective with federal states. This way we can gain new insights into the special features of European governance. On the other hand, the study of so called “new modes of governance” in the EU (e.g., network governance, soft law, Open Method of Coordination) sheds new light on recent developments involving governments in federal states. Therefore the course is addressed to students interested in European Union studies, comparative politics, and Canadian studies.

## 2. Evaluation

- *Participation in Seminar Discussions:* 10 %:  
Students are required to contribute to seminar discussions based on their reading of the texts.
- *Presentation of one of the texts:* 20 %:  
During the seminar, each student should introduce the basic messages of two of the texts in a short presentation (not more than 10 minutes). It is important that the presentations will be focussed on the main points or hypotheses and will stimulate discussions.
- *Outline of the term paper:* 20 %:  
To prepare their term paper, students have to write an outline (1-2 pages, max. 1000 words), containing the research question, the research design, the line of the argument and basic literature. The research question will not be assigned by the instructor, but has to be selected and developed by

the students. This way they should learn how to deal with a “problem” in a scientific process. The outline will be marked according to the quality of the suggested research design. It is due on February, 26 at the latest and must be discussed with the instructor during office hours.

- *Term paper:* 50 %  
Based on their outline and the feedback by the instructor, students write their term paper. The length of the paper should not exceed 5000 words (without lists of contents and references etc.). The paper is evaluated according to the following criteria: coherence between research question, research design and conclusions; consideration of state of research (literature), style and formal aspects (e.g. references).  
The paper is due on April 1. Papers submitted late will be accepted with a penalty of one grade point (e.g. A- instead of A), unless a medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Papers will not be accepted after April 7.

### 3. Schedule, topics and required readings

#### January, 8: Introduction: Clarifying concepts, overview

#### January, 15: Historical developments and institutional frameworks (introduction in comparing federal systems)

Reading:

- *McKay, David H.*, 2001, *Designing Europe: Comparative Lessons from the Federal Experience*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
ch. 4 (45-67),  
ch. 6 (87-104),  
ch. 8 (127-143).

#### January, 22: Division and sharing of powers between levels (why multilevel governance?)

Reading:

- *Baier, Gerald*, 2005: *The EU’s Constitutional Treaty: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations – Lessons from Canada*, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 15 (2), 205–223.
- *Börzel, Tanja*, 2005: *What Can Federalism Teach Us About the European Union? The German Experience*, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 15 (2), 245–257.

#### January, 29: Fiscal relations between levels

Reading:

- *Brown, Douglas M.* 2002: *Fiscal Federalism. The New Efficiency between Equilibrium and Equity*, in: *Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.), Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy*, Don Mills/Ontario: Oxford University Press, 59-85.
- *Renzsch, Wolfgang*, 1998: *Financing German Unity: Fiscal Conflict Resolution in a Complex Federation*, in: *Publius, The Journal of Federalism* 28 (4), 127-146.

**February, 5: Societal conditions, party politics, interest intermediation**

Reading:

- *Riker, William H.*, 1964: *Federalism. Origins, Operation, Significance*, Boston, Toronto: Little Brown & Co, ch. 5 (111-136).
- *Thorlakson, Lori*, 2005: *Federalism and the European party system*, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 12 (3), 468–487.

**February, 12: Three levels or more: the role of regions and municipalities, internationalisation of national federations**

Reading:

- *Jeffery, Charlie*, 2000: *Sub-National Mobilisation and European Integration: Does it make any difference?*, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (1), 1-23.
- *Sancton, Andrew*, 2003: *Municipalities, Cities and Globalisation: Implications for Federalism*, in: Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.), *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy*, Don Mills/Ontario: Oxford University Press, 261-277.

**February, 26: Modes of multilevel governance I: the joint-decision trap**

Reading:

- *Scharpf, Fritz W.*, 1988, *The Joint Decision Trap. Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration*, in: *Public Administration*, 66 (3), 239-278.

**Outline of research paper due!****March, 4: Modes of multilevel governance II: intergovernmental negotiations**

Reading:

- *Richard Simeon*, 2006, *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy. The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), ch. 10 (228-255).
- *Painter, Martin* 1991, *Intergovernmental Relations in Canada: An Institutional Analysis*, in: *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 24, 269-288.

**March, 11: Modes of multilevel governance II: hierarchy and networks**

Reading:

- *Allen, David*, 2005: *Cohesion and Structural Funds*, in: Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack (eds.), *Policy-making in the European Union*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 213-242.
- *Schout, Adriaan and Andrew Jordan*, 2005: *Coordinated European Governance: Self-Organizing or Centrally Steered?* *Public Administration* 83 (1), 201-220

### **March, 18: Modes of multilevel governance III: competitive federalism; Open Method of Coordination**

Reading:

- *Mosher James S. and David M. Trubek*, 2003: Alternative Approaches to Governance in the EU: EU Social Policy and the European Employment Strategy, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41, 63-88.
- *Kerber, Wolfgang and Martina Eckardt*, 2007: Policy Learning in Europe: The 'Open Method of Coordination' and Laboratory Federalism, in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14 (2): 227-247.

### **March, 25: The problem of democratic legitimacy**

Reading:

- *Papadopoulos, Yannis*, 2007: Problems of Democratic Accountability in Network and Multilevel Governance, in: *European Law Journal* 13 (4), 469-486.
- *Simeon, Richard and David Cameron*, 2002: Intergovernmental Relations and Democracy: An Oxymoron If There Ever Was One, in: *Herman Bakvis and Grace Skogstad (eds.), Canadian Federalism*, Don Mills/Ontario: Oxford University Press, 278-295.

### **April, 1: Conclusions: Reviewing the concept of multilevel governance**

Reading:

- *Scharpf, Fritz W.*, 2001: Notes Toward a Theory of Multilevel Governing in Europe, in: *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 24 (1): 1-26.
- *Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks*, 2001, *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, ch. 1 (1-32).

### **Research paper is due**

## **4. Readings, Literature**

The reading listed under each topic provides articles or book chapters which should introduce the discussion. They do not always comprehensively cover the subjects of the sessions, but should introduce basic information or prominent approaches on multilevel governance.

There is no single textbook for the course. However, a number of good textbooks on comparative federalism and the EU are available. They are indicated in the list of supplementary readings. This list should also help students to prepare their paper.

### **Selected literature for further studies (\* recommended):**

#### *a) Comparative Federalism*

- Banting Keith G. and Stan Corbett (eds.), 2002, *Health policy and federalism: a comparative perspective on multi-level governance*, Montreal, Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Braun, Dietmar (ed.), 2000, *Public Policy and Federalism*, Aldershot: Asgate.

- Burgess, Michael, 2005, *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice*, London, New York: Routledge.
- Fabbrini, Sergio (ed.), 2005: *Democracy and Federalism in the European Union and the United States: Exploring post-national Governance*, London, New York: Routledge.
- \*Hueglin, Thomas and Alan Fenna, 2006: *Comparative Federalism. A Systematic Inquiry*, Petersborough, Ont.: Broadview Press.
- Kincaid, John and Alan Tarr (eds.), 2005: *Global Dialogue on Federalism, Volume 1: Constitutional Origins, Structure, and Change in Federal Countries*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Le Roy, Katy and Cheryl Saunders (eds.), 2006: *A Global Dialogue on Federalism, Volume 3: Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Governance in Federal Countries*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Leuprecht, Christian and Harvey Lazar (eds.), 2007: *Spheres of Governance: Comparative Studies of Cities in Multilevel Governance Systems*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Majeed, Akhtar, Ronald L. Watts and Douglas M Brown (eds.), 2006: *Global Dialogue on Federalism, Volume 2: Distribution of Powers and Responsibilities in Federal Countries*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- \*McKay, David H., 2001, *Designing Europe: Comparative Lessons from the Federal Experience*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Menon, Anand and Martin Schain (eds.), 2006: *Comparative Federalism: The European Union and the United States in Comparative Perspective*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nicolaïdis, Kalypso and Robert Howse (eds.), 2002: *The Federal Vision. Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the United States and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Riker, William H., 1964: *Federalism. Origins, Operation, Significance*, Boston, Toronto: Little Brown & Co.
- Shah, Anwar (eds.), 2007: *A Global Dialogue on Federalism, Volume 4: The Practice of Fiscal Federalism: Comparative Studies*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- \*Swenden, Wilfried: 2006, *Federalism and Regionalism in Western Europe. A Comparative and Thematic Analysis*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Wachendorfer-Schmidt, Ute (ed.), 2000, *Federalism and Political Performance*, London, New York: Routledge.
- \*Watts, Ronald, 1999: *Comparing Federal Systems*, Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University Institute of Intergovernmental Relations.

*b) Canada*

- \*Bakvis, Herman and Grace Skogstad (eds.), *Canadian Federalism: Performance, Effectiveness, and Legitimacy*, Don Mills/Ontario: Oxford University Press (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. will appear in 2008).
- Rocher, Frances and Miram Smith, 2003: *New Trends in Canadian Federalism*, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press (2nd ed.).
- \*Simeon, Richard, 2006: *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy. The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.).

- Smith, Jennifer, 2004: *Federalism*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- \*Stevenson, Garth, 2004: *The Unfulfilled Union: Canadian Federalism and National Unity*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

*c) Germany*

- \*Benz, Arthur, 1999: From Unitary to Asymmetric Federalism in Germany: Taking Stock after 50 Years, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 29 (4), 55-78.
- \*Gunlicks, Arthur B., 2003: *The Länder and German Federalism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Jeffery, Charlie (ed.), 1999: *Recasting German Federalism*, London, New York: Pinter.
- Lehbruch, Gerhard, 1989: Institutional Linkages and Policy Networks in the Federal System of West Germany, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 19 (4), 221-235.
- Renzsch, Wolfgang, 1999: Party Competition in the German Federal State: New Variations of an Old Theme, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 9 (3), 180-192.
- \*Scharpf, Fritz W., 1995: Federal Arrangements and Multi-Party Systems, in: *Australian Journal of Political Science* 30, 27-39.
- Umbach, Maiken (ed.), 2002: *German Federalism: Past, Present, Future*, Houndsmill, New York: Palgrave.

*d) European Union*

- Burgess, Michael, 2000: *Federalism and the European Union: The Building of Europe 1950-2000*, London, New York: Routledge.
- \*Hix, Simon, 2005: *The Political System of the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kohler-Koch, Beate and Rainer Eising (eds.), 1999: *The Transformation of Governance in the European Union*, London, New York: Routledge,
- Majone, Giandomenico, 2004: *Dilemmas of European Integration. The Ambiguities and Pitfalls of Integration by Stealth*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \*Scharpf, Fritz W. 1999, *Governing Europe, Effective and Democratic?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trechsel, Alexander H., 2005: How to federalize the European Union... and why bother, in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12 (3): 401-418.
- \*Wallace Helen, William Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack (eds.), 2005: *Policy-making in the European Union*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press
- Zeitlin, Jonathan and Philippe Pochet (eds.), 2005: *The Open Method of Coordination in Action: The European Employment and Social Inclusion Strategies*, Brussels, New York: P.I.E. Peter Lang,

*e) Multilevel Governance – Theoretical Approaches*

- Bache, Ian, and Matthew Flinders (eds.), 2004: *Multi-level Governance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Benz, Arthur, 2000: Two types of Multi-level Governance: Intergovernmental Relations in German and EU Regional Policy, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 10 (3), 21-44.
- Benz, Arthur, 2007: Accountable Multilevel Governance by the Open Method of Coordination?, in: *European Law Journal* 13 (4), 505-522.
- Benz, Arthur and Yannis Papadopolous (eds.), 2006: *Governance and Democracy - Comparing National, European and Transnational Experiences*, London: Routledge.
- \*DeBardeleben, Joan and Achim Hurrelmann (eds.), 2007: *Democratic Dilemmas of Multilevel Governance. Legitimacy, Representation and Accountability in the European Union*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eberlein, Burkard and Dieter Kerwer, 2004: New Governance in the European Union, A Theoretical Perspective, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42, 121-142.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks, 2001: *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham.
- \*Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks, 2003: Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance, in: *American Political Science Review*, 97(2), 233–43.
- Pierson, Paul, 1995: Fragmented Welfare States: Federal Institutions and the Development of Social Policy, in: *Governance* 8 (4), 449-478.
- \*Salmon, Pierre, 1987: Decentralisation as an Incentive Scheme, in: *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 3 (2): 24-43.
- \*Scharpf, Fritz W., 1997: *Games Real Actors Play*. Boulder/Col., Westview Press.
- \*Scharpf, Fritz W., 2006: The Joint-Decision Trap Revisted, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44 (4), 845-64.
- Treib, Oliver, Holger Bähr and Gerda Falkner, 2007: Modes of Governance: Towards Conceptual Clarification, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 14 (1), 1-20.
- Vanberg, Viktor and Wolfgang Kerber, 1994, Institutional Competition among Jurisdictions: An Evolutionary Approach, in: *Constitutional Political Economy*, 5(2): 193-219.

## Academic Accommodations

**For Students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadline for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **March 14<sup>th</sup>, 2008** for April examinations.

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Course Requirements:** Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.