

University of Pennsylvania
Political Science 513 (Cross-Listed LTAM 513-401)
Comparative Politics of Federalism and Decentralization
Spring 2004

Prof. Tulia Falleti

Tuesdays 3:00 to 6:00pm

Location: College Hall 311 F

Office hours: Thursdays 3:00 to 5:00pm or by appointment

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Course Description

At the crossroads of recent institutional and policy changes lies one of the most fascinating topics in contemporary comparative politics: the revival of territorial representation of interests. After decades of centralized governments and economies, processes of decentralization are taking place all over the world. What consequences do these changes hold for the main issues of comparative politics: democratization, conflict resolution, governance, and policy-making? Is comparative politics well equipped to study subnational politics? To tackle these questions, we will analyze political theories about the origins, advantages, and disadvantages of constitutional federalism, fiscal federalism, and decentralization. We will also examine recent literature in comparative politics that brings issues of subnational politics and center-periphery relations (in countries such as Argentina, Brazil, China, Nigeria, Mexico, and Russia) to the forefront of the analysis.

Course Requirements

- Class participation, oral presentations and commentaries: 50%
- Paper proposal, paper oral presentation and research or seminar paper: 50%

Timely reading of weekly assignments and active participation in group discussion are essential requirements of this seminar. Depending on the size of the class, students will introduce the readings of one or two weeks. Students will also turn in (and circulate to the rest of the class) at least eight commentaries of weekly readings. They will be due by Tuesdays at 9am. In two to three pages, commentaries should critically address one or more of the main issues of the week's readings and, as the semester progresses, draw comparisons and links with previous weeks' materials. They should not be summaries of the readings but comments or critiques that will be further discussed during our seminar. Late commentaries will not be accepted.

A 6,000- to 10,000-word seminar or research paper relating to the main topics of the course will be due by Friday May 7 at noon. A 1/3 grade will be dropped for each day of lateness. A paper proposal will be due at the beginning of the class on March 16 and I will have to approve such proposal before you proceed with the research for the paper.

Course Materials

Required Books (available for purchase at the Penn Bookstore--3601 Walnut Street, 898-4500, coursebk@pobox.upenn.edu. Also available at the Reserve Desk of the Van Pelt Library)

- 1) Gibson, Edward L. 2004. *Federalism: Latin America in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 2) Sikkink, Kathryn. 1991. *Ideas and institutions: developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina, Cornell studies in political economy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 3) Grindle, Merilee. 2000. *Audacious Reforms: Institutional Invention and Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press.
- 4) Samuels, David. 2002. *Ambassadors of the state: federalism, ambition, and congressional politics in Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 5) Treisman, Daniel. 2001 [1999]. *After the deluge: regional crises and political consolidation in Russia*. Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press.
- 6) Suberu, Rotimi. 2001. *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria*, Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Other materials

Other readings will be available on a course-pack (Campus Copy Center 3907 Walnut St., 215-386-6410) and through Blackboard (those marked [B] below). An extra copy of all the readings for week 2 is available at the Reserve Desk of the Van Pelt Library.

Schedule of Topics and Readings

Week 1. Introduction to the course

January 13

- Self-introductions and course logistics
- In-class reading of Sidney Tarrow, "Introduction," in Tarrow, Sidney, Peter J. Katzenstein, and Luigi Graziano. 1978. *Territorial Politics in Industrial Nations*. New York and London: Praeger Publishers, 1-27.
- Discussion: what are territorial politics and territorial representation of interests?

Week 2. The origins of federal arrangements

January 20

- Riker, William H. 1964. *Federalism. Origin, Operation, Significance*. Third ed. Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Co. Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6. (The book is out of print. There are two copies on Reserve Desk at the Van Pelt library)
- Elazar, Daniel J. 1979. "The Role of Federalism in Political Integration." In *Federalism and Political Integration*, edited by D. J. Elazar. Tel Aviv: Turtledove Publishing, 13-57.
- Stepan, Alfred. 2004. "Toward a new comparative politics of federalism, multinationalism, and democracy." In *Federalism: Latin America in Comparative Perspective*, edited by E. Gibson. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gibson, Edward, and Tullia Falletti. 2004. "Unity by the Stick: Regional Conflict and the Origins of Argentine Federalism." In *Federalism: Latin America in Comparative Perspective*. [B]
- Noel, S. J. R. 1993. "Canadian Responses to ethnic conflict. Consociationalism, federalism and control." In *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation*, edited by J. McGarry and B. O'Leary. London and New York: Routledge, 41-61.

Week 3. Political theories of federalism and decentralization

January 27

- Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2000. *Democracy in America*. Translated by H. C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. Vol.1, Part 1, Chapter 4 (53-55), Chapter 5 (56-93), Vol.1, Part 2, Chapter 8 (250-1).
- Dahl, Robert. 1986. "Federalism and the Democratic Process." In *Democracy, Liberty, and Equality*. Oslo, Denmark: Norwegian University Press, 114-126.
- Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Nanetti. 1993. *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Chapter 2: "Changing the Rules: Two Decades of Institutional Development," 17-62.
- Diamond, Larry, and Svetlana Tsalik. 1999. "Size and Democracy. The Case for Decentralization." In *Developing Democracy. Toward Consolidation*, edited by L. Diamond. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 117-160.
- von Haldenwang, Christian. 1991. "Towards a Political Science Approach to Decentralization." *Beyond Law* 2 (July): 59-83.

Week 4. Critiques and amendments to local government and constitutional federalism

February 3

- Stepan, Alfred. 1999. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model." *Journal of Democracy* 10 (4): 19-34. [B]
- Snyder, Richard, and David Samuels. 2004. "Legislative Malapportionment in Latin America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives." In *Federalism: Latin America in Comparative Perspective*, edited by E. L. Gibson. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Cameron, Maxwell, and Tulia Falleti. 2003. "Federalism and The Separation of Powers." Vancouver: University of British Columbia. (Under review). [B]
- Cornelius, Wayne A. 1999. "Subnational Politics and Democratization: Tensions between Center and Periphery in the Mexican Political System." In *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico*, edited by W.A. Cornelius. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego: 3-16.
- Tendler, Judith. 1997. "Civil Servants and Civil Society, Governments Central and Local." In *Good Government in the Tropics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press: 135-165.
- Heller, Patrick. 2001. "Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralization in Kerala, South Africa, and Porto Alegre." *Politics and Society* 29 (1): 131-163. [B]

Week 5. Economic and Political-Economy theories of federalism and decentralization

February 10

- Tiebout, Charles M. 1956. "A pure theory of local expenditures." *The Journal of Political Economy* 64 (5): 416-424. [B]
- Oates, Wallace. 1972. *Fiscal Federalism*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Chapter 1 "An economic approach to federalism," 3-20.
- Weingast, Barry. 1995. "The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 11 (1): 1-31.
- Montinola, Gabriella, Yingyi Qian, and Barry Weingast. 1996. "Federalism, Chinese Style: The Political Basis for Economic Success." *World Politics* 48 (1): 50-81. [B]
- Qian, Yingyi, and Barry Weingast. 1997. "Federalism as a Commitment to Preserving Market Incentives." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 11 (4): 83-92. [B]
- Rondinelli, Dennis A., James S. McCullough, and Ronald W. Johnson. 1989. "Analysing Decentralization Policies in Developing Countries: a Political-Economy Framework." *Development and Change* 20: 57-87.

Week 6. Critiques and amendments to fiscal and market-preserving federalism

February 17

- Oates, Wallace. 1993. "Fiscal decentralization and economic development." *National Tax Journal* 46 (2): 237-243. [B]
- Prud homme, Remy. 1995. "The dangers of decentralization." *The World Bank Research Observer* 10 (2): 201-220. [B]
- McLure, Charles E. Jr. 1995. "Comment on "The Dangers of Decentralization" by Prud homme." *The World Bank Research Observer* 10 (2): 221 and following. [B]
- Inman, Robert. 2000. "Fiscal Federalism in Developing Economies: Lessons Learned From Working in South Africa." *APSA-CP Newsletter* 11 (1): 11-16.
- Wibbels, Erik. 2003. "Bailouts, Budget Constraints and Leviathans. Comparative Federalism and Lessons from the early United States." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (5): 475-508. [B]

- Rodden, Jonathan. 2002. "The Dilemma of Fiscal Federalism: Grants and Fiscal Performance around the World." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46, No. 3, July: 670-687 [B]
- Gibson, Edward, Ernesto Calvo, and Tulia Falleti. 2004. "Reallocative Federalism: Territorial Overrepresentation and Public Spending in the Western Hemisphere." In *Federalism: Latin America in Comparative Perspective*, edited by E. Gibson. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins, University Press.
- Slater, David. 1989. "Territorial Power and the Peripheral State: The Issue of Decentralization." *Development and Change* 20: 501-531.

Week 7. Decentralization: Where from? The developmental state in Latin America

February 24

- Sikkink, Kathryn. 1991. *Ideas and institutions: developmentalism in Brazil and Argentina*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Schneider, Ben Ross. 1999. "The Desarrollista State in Brazil and Mexico." In *The Developmental State*, edited by M. Woo-Cumings. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 276-305.
- Evans, Peter. 1979. *Dependent development: the alliance of multinational, state, and local capital in Brazil*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Chapter 6 pp. 274-329.

Recommended:

- Harris, Richard L. "Centralization and Decentralization in Latin America," in Cheema, Shabbir G., and Dennis A. Rondinelli, eds. 1983. *Decentralization and development: policy implementation in developing countries*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 183-202.

Week 8. The recent wave of decentralization reforms in Latin America. Why and How?

March 2

- Grindle, Merilee. 2000. *Audacious Reforms: Institutional Invention and Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press. (Everybody reads Chapters 1, 2, and 9 and the following pairs of chapters: 3-4 on Venezuela, 5-6 on Bolivia, or 7-8 on Argentina, will be divided up. Note: skim the four chapters on the two country cases you didn't choose.)
- O'Neill, Kathleen. 2003. "Decentralization as an electoral strategy." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (9): 1068-1091. [B]
- Garman, Christopher, Stephan Haggard, and Eliza Willis. 2001. "Fiscal Decentralization. A Political Theory with Latin American Cases." *World Politics* 53 (January): 205-236. [B]
- Falleti, Tulia 2004 "Presidents, Governors and Mayors: A Sequential Theory of Decentralization and its effects on the intergovernmental balance of power," manuscript (Under review). [Will become available in B]

- Treisman, Daniel. "Defining and Measuring Decentralization: A Global Perspective," journal article manuscript, under review. [B]

Week 9. Spring break. Enjoy!
March 9

Week 10. Comparative Federalism

March 16

- Snyder, Richard. 2001. "Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (1): 93-110. [B]
- Chapters on Brazil (by Mainwaring and Samuels), Mexico (by Ochoa) and Venezuela (by Penfold-Becerra) in Gibson, Edward L. 2004. *Federalism: Latin America in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gibson, Edward L., and Ernesto Calvo. 2000. Federalism and low-maintenance constituencies: Territorial dimensions of economic reform in Argentina. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (3):32-55. [B]

Note: Paper proposals are due at the beginning of the class.

Week 11. Federalism in a mono-national state: Brazil

March 23

- Samuels, David. 2002. *Ambassadors of the state: federalism, ambition, and congressional politics in Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Samuels, David, and Fernando Luiz Abrucio. 2000. Federalism and Democratic Transitions: The "New" Politics of the Governors in Brazil. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 30 (2): 43-61. [B]
- Souza, C. 2002. Brazil: The prospects of a center-constraining federation in a fragmented polity. *Publius-the Journal of Federalism* 32 (2): 23-48. [B]

Week 12. Federalism in a multi-national state: Russia

March 30

- Treisman, Daniel. 1999. *After the deluge: regional crises and political consolidation in Russia*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Stoner-Weiss, Kathryn. 1997. *Local Heroes. The political economy of Russian regional governance*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3: 56-89.
- Solnick, Steven L. 1996. "The Breakdown of Hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: A Neoinstitutional Perspective." *World Politics*, 48 (2): 209-238. [B]

Week 13. Federalism and Ethnic Conflict, Nigeria in Comparative Perspectives

April 6

- Suberu, Rotimi. 2001. *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria*, Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 2002. "A New Look at Federalism. The Import of Institutions." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 96-110. [B]

Week 14. Student Presentations on Research Papers

April 13

Week 15. Student Presentations on Research Papers

April 20

Final research paper due in my office by Friday May 7th at noon.