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Advance Report on RC28 Panels at IPSA World Congress 2009

Our Research Committee is pleased to announce its participation in the forthcoming IPSA World Congress Global Discontent? Dilemmas of Change to be held in Santiago, Chile, July 12-14 2009. There will be four panels devoted to federal studies put together by our Programme Chair and panel convenor at the Congress, Sonja Walti. The panels are as follows:

207 Federalism, regionalism and political parties

Convenor: Walti, Sonja – American University, United States of America Chair: Weissert, Carol – Florida State University, United States of America Discussant: De Winter, Lieven – Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium

Federal and decentralized arrangements are often designed to accommodate cultural, ethnic and social diversity. Although research on regionalist parties is available, especially in Europe, these analyses are rarely linked to the study of federalism. Indeed, the workings of federal institutions are often divorced from the party political conditions and regional mobilization from which they sprang. This panel brings together the study of federalism with the political initiators of state structural reform. The aim is to begin a dialogue between scholars to develop new frameworks for analyzing the (party) political conditions and dynamics of federal and decentralized states.

208 The contribution of the concept of multilevel governance to studies of federalism and intergovernmental relations

Convenor: Walti, Sonja – American University, United States of America

Chair: Leonardy, Uwe – RC28 Vice Chair, Germany

Discussant: Tavares de Almeida, Maria Hermínia – University of São Paulo, Brazil

Vertical and horizontal intergovernmental relations constitute the core of territorial politics in federal systems. Originally developed to study the European Union, the concept of multilevel governance has come to shed new light on the workings and significance of intergovernmental relations. This panel is designed to examine intergovernmental relations and multilevel governance in federations around the world, discussing different policy areas, administrative relations, public perception and trust as well as crises and reforms. The contributions will focus on the interplay between levels of governance and across jurisdictions to further our understanding of the role intergovernmental relations and multilevel governance play in the continuity and change of federations.

210 Causes and consequences of territorial reforms

Convenor: Walti, Sonja – American University, United States of America

Chair: Stein, Michael - University of Toronto, Canada

Discussant: Leontitsis, Vasilis – University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

This panel is devoted to the structural aspects of the territorial power distribution in federal and decentralized polities. The different contributions report on joint decision arrangement, veto rights, decentralization, and the return to historical regions in the course of decentralization. They examine both the causes and effects of territorial power balances and reforms. They pay particular attention to the actors that shape territorial reforms and regionalization processes. Attention will also be paid to the question of whether more or less stability will result from decentralized power arrangements and territorial reforms.

211 Public policy innovation at the national and sub-national levels
Convenor: Walti, Sonja – American University, United States of America
Chair: Walti, Sonja – American University, United States of America
Discussant Lancaster, Thomas D. – Emory University, United States of America

Federal systems are often touted for their capacity to innovate and contribute to the diffusion of policies and practices among constituent units as well as between levels of government. Yet, federal systems are also known to be subject to inter-jurisdictional competition that may both foster and hamper their problem-solving capacity. This panel will discuss both theoretical and empirical contributions pertaining to the innovative capacities of federal systems, among jurisdictions as well as across levels of government. The panel seeks to bring together the burgeoning research on innovation, diffusion, learning, emulation, and competition in multitiered polities. It will do so by comparing a variety of different multi-tiered systems across the world.

Report on the RC28 Annual Conference (Berlin)

Report on RC 28 Annual Conference, Berlin, Germany, October 3-4, 2008 by Sonja Walti, Programme Chair Berlin Confrence Workshops

Our annual conference took place on Friday-Saturday, October 3-4, 2008, in Berlin, hosted by the Hertie School of Governance (www.hertie-school.org). The conference was dedicated to the theme "Balancing Federal Systems: Implications for Politics and Policy" and was cosponsored by the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on Federalism and Regionalism. This was a welcome opportunity for IPSA's RC28 to establish closer links with the leading European network of political scientists working on federalism and regionalism. In four workshops, two dozen paper givers and participants from Germany, Austria, Canada, the US, the UK, Brazil, Belgium, Spain, Ireland, India, and Russia shared a wide range of academic and practical backgrounds and experiences to compare trends in federal systems worldwide.

The first workshop, chaired by RC28 First Vice-Chair Uwe Leonardy, discussed contributions to vertical and horizontal relations and cooperation in different federations. Michael Stein and Lisa Turkewitsch compared vertical and horizontal patterns of intergovernmental relations and multilevel governance in the United States and Canada in order to estimate the relative strengths and weaknesses of the theoretical frameworks of federalism and multi-level governance. Nicole Bolleyer compared the US, Canada, Switzerland, and the European Union, examining how constituent units coordinate their interests and policies to speak with one voice vis-à-vis the central level. Rekha Saxena reported on intergovernmental interactions along vertical and horizontal axes in the multi-level Indian federal system. Wilfried Swenden looked at state-wide parties as providing crucial elements of linkage within multilevel party systems in the UK and Spain. Caroline Van Wysberghe examined the particular relationship that various federations entertain with their capital cities. And Wolfgang Renzsch examined what lessons Germany can learn from fiscal equalization in Canada.

The second workshop, chaired by Edda Müller, examined how decentralizing and centralizing trends often coexist in federations. Arthur Benz spoke on constitutional stability and change in federal systems. Based on the case of Northern Ireland, Paul Carmichael showed that the reality of a downward shift of power from nation to region is often accompanied by an upward drift of power from locality to the regional level. By examining fiscal relations and the redefinition of social service provision, Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida demonstrated how decentralization and centralization trends coexist in Brazil. Adrià Rodés Mateu discussed how, in the case of Spain, reforms to strengthen federalism have provoked trends towards a new

system with confederal features rather than furthering cooperative federalism. Anastassia Obydenkova showed that attempts to rebalance the Russian Federation in order to introduce a more symmetrical federal arrangement have not only led to a re-centralization, but also to a weakening of the external regionalization process. And Diana Kolmogorova examined the intricate processes of territorial reform in Russia.

The third and fourth workshop, chaired respectively by Ulrich Preuss and Sonja Walti, explored the ways in which cultural, religious, and linguistic divisions are accommodated in federations. Enric Martínez-Herrera and Thomas Miley examined the role of political elites in accommodating ethno-cultural conflicts in Spain. Monika de Frantz showed how the embeddedness of the Burgenland within Austria's centralized federalism helped to overcome the ethnic divisions by designing intercultural legitimacy from the top down. Ephraim Nimni discussed non-territorial means of accommodating diversity, arguing that the principle of "supplementary jurisdictions" provides a constructive way for accommodating minorities in multi-ethnic societies with overlapping identities. Linda Berg's contribution focused on regional identity in the context of social citizenship and examined its impact on policies at the regional level. Eve Hepburn examined the role of parties in constructing issues of regional citizenship. Enric Martínez-Herrera presented results from an international collaborative project that examines the link between national and regional identification and citizens' support for the welfare state and their involvement in civic life.

The full programme of the Berlin Conference can be found by using the following URL link: Berlin Programme

For further details on this and other conferences involving IPSA RC 28 on Comparative Federalism and Federations, please contact our programme chair Sonji Walti at the email address walti@american.edu.

Aside from the intense conference programme, which shall eventually lead to a joint publication on the conference theme, the participants were treated by the Hertie School to an enjoyable night out in Berlin to further and help strengthen our collaboration and exchange among federalism scholars from around the world.

RC 28 Business Meeting

RC 28 Business Meeting, to which all those at the Conference were invited, included 8 participants. The items of business were the following:

Publication of the Berlin Conference Papers: It was agreed that we should seek a European publisher, and that Sonja Walti should edit the volume. Among possible publishers mentioned were Nomos Publishers (Baden Baden, Germany), Barbara Budrich Publishers (Leverkusen Opladen, Germany), and Oxford University Press (series on Comparative Federalism edited by Michael Burgess).

Election of a New RC 28 Executive: The procedure for this electronic election in 2009 was briefly discussed. It is described in the current RC 28 bylaws, supplemented by proposed amendments to these bylaws included in this Newsletter for ratification in early 2009. A Nominating Committee, consisting of Uwe Leonardy (Chair), Bertus De Villiers and Robert Williams, was named by the current RC 28 executive and announced at the Business Meeting. It has since proposed a slate of new candidates, to be listed in the next issue of the Newsletter.

Fiscal Federal and Constitutional Databank Projects: A meeting in Berlin of Gisela Farber, Uwe Leonardy and Michael Stein prior to the Berlin Conference was held to discuss these projects. In the agreement, which was announced at the Business Meeting, it was decided that the Fiscal Federal project would be placed on the backburner until the spring of 2009,

when Gisela returns from a several months visit to China. At that time, a renewed effort will be made to prepare and coordinate an application to the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) by the Speyer Institute of Federalism in Germany (which she directs) and the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada, represented by one of our members, Christian Leuprecht. The Constitutional Databank project will be administered jointly and pursued immediately by Uwe Leonardy and Bertus De Villiers. They will investigate the possibility of receiving support from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Germany, the Tubingen Federalism Institute in Germany (directed by Tobias Schaechtelin) and the Law School in Perth, Australia.

Recruitment Committee: Michael Stein announced plans by RC 28 to establish a Recruitment Committee devoted particularly to increasing recruitment to our Research Committee of younger academics and officials specializing in federalism research or administration. He also communicated the Executive's selection of Rekha Saxena as the first Chair of this Committee. She will invite one representative on the Committee from each country that has a federal, quasi-federal or regionally devolved polity to lead the recruitment effort in that country. Among the countries that we hope to represent on this Committee are Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Nigeria, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the USA.

Directory of Federalism Experts: It was proposed that the Directory of Federalism Experts be expanded by asking Sebastian Baglioni, Assistant to the Chair, to contact Tobias Schaechtelin of the Tubingen Institute to enable our RC to have access to the already well-developed European Directory of Federalism Specialists, and from the personal websites of federalism academics and officials.

Recruitment Committee

The Executive of IPSA RC 28 has announced the creation of a Recruitment Committee and the selection of its Chair, Rekha Saxena, Associate Professor at the Centre for Federal Studies, Hamdard University, New Delhi, India. Rekha is a distinguished academic specialist on Indian and Comparative Federalism.

The Recruitment Committee is designed to expand the membership of our RC to include more young specialists on comparative federalism and federations. We hope to persuade them to become dues-paying members of our Committee, and in that way enable them to benefit from and participate in the many activities and sources of information related to federalism that our Committee organizes and provides.

If you are interested in becoming a member of our Recruitment Committee and/or of RC 28, we urge you to send an email reply to either Rekha Saxena or to Sebastian Baglioni, Assistant to the Chair (or both), at their email addresses listed below. The cost of membership is only years, or US \$15 per year. The RC 28 for 3 at http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/ipsarc28 provides detailed information on how to join this organization, and an electronic form enabling you to do so by means of the credit card payment system known as PayPal. Alternatively, you can forward a cheque in the amount of US \$45 made out to "The Comparative Federalism and Federation Research Committee/Michael Stein".

Finally, if you are able to recommend other specialists on federalism for membership on this Recruitment Committee and/or as ordinary members of RC 28 (they need not be members of IPSA itself), please contact Rekha and/or Sebastian.

Rekha Saxena Chair, Recruitment Committee saxenarekhacfs@gmail.com

Sebastian Baglioni Assistant to the Chair sebastian.baglioni@utoronto.ca

Report on St Petersburg Conference

Report on Conference (co-sponsored by RC28) on Russian Federalism, St Petersburg, November 21-22, 2008 By Uwe Leonardy

Representing the IPSA RC28 for Comparative Federalism and Federation as a co-sponsor I participated in a Conference on Russian Federalism in St. Petersburg on November 21 and 22, 2008. The Conference was organized by the St. Petersburg Comparative Federalism Group, chaired by Prof. Leonid Smorgunov, Head of the Political Science Department at the State University there. It covered a very wide range of both scientific and practical issues in the federal system of Russia and its developments and shortcomings in the Yeltsin and Putin Eras up to the present state of affairs under President Medvedev.

It was all the more regrettable that the event, although originally planned and advertised as an international one, finally took place with almost exclusively Russian participants (another German and myself being the only foreign paper-givers). Had this not been the case both the Russian and the non-Russian side could have profited from the Conference substantially more: The understanding of the Russian system and its political and structural problems could have been improved and prejudices about it could have been lessened on the Western side, and more comparative input from the West could certainly have had a very useful effect for the internal Russian debate. Be that as it may, since the numerous Russian papers were of an apparently high quality – as several of my Russian colleagues assured me – and since all of them will be published in a volume on the Conference to be edited by Leonid Smorgunov soon, the debate on federalism in Russia will certainly be enriched by the event. My German colleague, Detlef Sack from Bielefeld University contributed a paper on the recent attempts at reform in German federalism, while I presented some essentials on "The Relevance of Territorial Reform for the Renewal of Federal Systems" (attached to this report).

The most productive parts of the Conference from our point of view would seem to have been in two appointments of mine with Leonid Smorgunov on the day preceding the event and shortly before my departure, which I had suggested to Leonid in order to discuss the possibilities of a closer cooperation between our Committee and his Group. The results of these conversations are as follows:

We agreed that we should inform each other mutually on upcoming conferences and on calls for papers of our respective institutions, and I emphasized our specific interest in matters concerning the state of affairs and the developments in Russian federalism. I informed Leonid about our preparations for the RC 28 panels at the upcoming IPSA World Congress in Santiago, Chile.

Taking into consideration that there is an obvious need for more information on Russian federalism in the West and in other parts of the world I suggested to Leonid that the publication of his book on the Conference should be followed by an English version of it. He showed much interest, and I told him we might be helpful in finding a publisher or perhaps in editing the English version as a special issue of one of the Western federalism periodicals.

Concerning the "other side of the coin" –improved and more concise information about Russian academic and practitioners on comparative federalism- I proposed that one might think about publishing a reader in Russian. Leonid was very interested in that too, and he added that there were numerous already existing essays (including some by himself) which would fit well into such a project.

Leonid informed me that he plans to discuss with his Dean an idea to the effect that from September 2009 on a two-week course on comparative federalism should be given by a foreigner in English at his State University of St. Petersburg in each semester. I replied we would be interested to hear further details, and we would certainly cooperate if so requested.

I also offered our liaising services if an even closer cooperation with the Forum of Federations and its publishing outlets would prove to be useful.

In a letter to me after my return from the St. Petersburg Conference Leonid Smorgunov wrote that it would already be quite a substantial success if only 50% of our agreements could be realised. So let us hope they will, even though that will surely require a lot of work and efforts on both sides.

The abstract to Uwe Leonardy's paper, entitled "The Relevance of Territorial Reform for the Renewal of Federal Systems. Essentials of a Comparative Overview" can be found by using the following URL link: The Relevance of Territorial Reform.

By-Laws Announcement

Please note below that draft amendments to the RC 28 by-laws recommended by an RC 28 Executive sub-committee are listed in the section below under "Draft By-laws". They relate in particular to the adoption by our RC of electronic voting procedures and an electronic Membership Network, as recommended to the RCs by the IPSA Executive. It is important that these by-laws be read carefully and then revised in accordance with recommendations proposed by RC members and subsequently approved by the RC Executive. Please be sure to submit your proposed revisions and your overall approval/disapproval of the by-laws by email to Sebastian Baglioni, Assistant to the Chair, at sebastian.baglioni@utoronto.ca.

DRAFT BYLAWS COMPARATIVE FEDERALISM AND FEDERATION RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Aims of the Research Committee

The Comparative Federalism and Federation Research Committee of the International Political Science Association ("Research Committee"), pursuant to its mandate as a research committee and in furtherance of research pertaining to the study and dissemination of knowledge of the fields of federalism and comparative federalism does establish as its aim the following:

- 1.1 To develop a framework and database of knowledge in the general field of federalism, federation and federal-type experiences with reference to specific priority research topics;
- 1.2 To emphasize the importance of comparative federal experiences through access to the electronic Membership Network which the Research Committee plans to establish among its Members in the near future to enable them to engage in regular contact, communication and collaborative research with each other;

- 1.3 To contribute to the practical development and management of federal constitutional and political systems by rendering advice, consulting services and by disseminating and exchanging information; and
- 1.4 To encourage co-operation amongst individuals and institutions who specialize in federal and federal-type research and to undertake and encourage such collaborative research and to record related experiences on a multinational basis.
- 2. Membership of the Research Committee
- 2.1 Membership of the Research Committee is open to scholars and practitioners in all fields related to the study and practice of federalism and federation, including in particular political science, law, administration and economics. Members of national associations affiliated with IPSA and individual members of IPSA can also be members of the Research Committee, irrespective of this rule.
- 2.2 The Executive will establish an annual membership fee published on the website, to be used for purposes of managing the affairs of the Research Committee, its website and expenses that are incurred in order to realize the objectives of the Committee.
- 2.3 Applications for membership must be made in writing by completion of the relevant form available from the Chair of the Research Committee or his/her assistant, or from the membership form on the website itself. Membership status includes payment of membership fees, as described in subsection 2.2 above.
- 3. Executive of the Research Committee
- 3.1 The Executive of the Research Committee shall normally consist of six members; a Chair, two Vice-Chairs, a Program Chair and a Recruitment Committee/Publicity Chair. If any two of the above positions are combined in the same person, an executive member-at-large can be chosen instead.
- 3.2 Nothing bars the Executive from co-opting such persons as may be required from time to time to assist with special and/or ad hoc responsibilities.
- 3.3 The Executive can appoint honorary chairs, who shall not be members of the Executive, but shall have the right to advise the Executive on their own initiative, or if requested by the Executive to do so:
- 3.4 If any vacancy arises on the Executive, the remaining members of the Executive may fill it until the expiry of the term.
- 4. Responsibilities of the Executive

The Executive is responsible for the management of the Research Committee and for initiating and coordinating activities in pursuit of its basic objectives by, among others:

- 4.1 Taking steps to facilitate contacts between the members of the Research Committee with regard to exchange between research institutions, including establishment of an electronic network to facilitate direct communication among members and research institutions;
- 4.2 Identifying topics and themes for investigation and research, in consultation with Members, at Annual Conferences of the Research Committee and IPSA World Congresses;
- 4.3 Organising, in consultation with Members, the Annual Conferences of the Research Committee:

- 4.4 Co-operating and liaising with constitutional and political institutions, organisations, research centres, journals and such other agencies as may seem appropriate in matters relating to the study of federalism, federation and like political and constitutional arrangements;
- 4.5 Ensuring regular communication between the Executive and Committee Members;
- 4.6 Endeavouring to ensure and encourage regular and prompt publication of the work of Members in journals, books, monographs and research reports;
- 4.7 Encouraging scholarly exchanges, including participation in seminars, conferences, consultation and lectures:
- 4.8 Identifying, in consultation with Members, experts who may be able to give advice to young democracies (particularly emerging federations and regionally decentralized systems), new research programs and other ventures, both academic or part of official practice;
- 4.9 Doing its best to publicize the activities of the Research Committee and to encourage applications for membership;
- 4.10 Submitting those issues which it considers to be of central importance to the Research Committee to a decision of the Members by electronic voting via the Research Committee's website. Voting in such instances is subject to the same rules as for the election of the Executive. (see sub-sectons 5.5 to 5.7 below).
- 4.11 Taking other steps as may be required for the successful pursuit of the objectives and purposes of the Research Committee.

5. Election of the Executive

- 5.1 Any election of the Executive must be preceded by an announcement in the last edition of the Research Committee's Newsletter before an upcoming IPSA World Congress, and that announcement shall refer to and quote the rules specified in subsections 5.2 to 5.12 below.
- 5.2 Nominations or applications for positions on the Executive may be submitted at a business meeting of the Research Committee during the IPSA World Congress, as well as by way of email at least 14 days before the convening of or up to 14 days after the closure of the World Congress, depending on when the Executive has decided that the election will occur. All nominations and applications should be supported by two nominators and shall include the name of the nominee or applicant, a short CV of the nominee or applicant and the position for which the nomination or application is made.
- 5.3 The current Executive shall have the right to appoint a Nominating Committee of not more than three members, of whom none shall be a member of the next Executive. The function of that Committee shall be to make proposals for the positions on the Executive by nomination at least 14 days before the convening of, or within 14 days after the closure of the World Congress, depending on when the Executive has decided that this election will take place. The names of its members must be published on the website of the Research Committee not later than 3 months prior to the World Congress.
- 5.4 A list of the candidates, including the positions for which they are candidates, must be posted on the website of the Research Committee not later than 17 days prior to the convening of, or within 14 days after the closure of the World Congress, depending on when the Executive has decided that this election will occur.

- 5.5 Election of the Executive shall take place by electronic voting and by making use of the website of the Research Committee. The election period shall consist of 14 days, starting with the date of posting of the list of candidates on the website of the Research Committee.
- 5.6 Electronic voting shall be conducted by e-mail, and ballots are to be sent to the current Chair (or an Executive-designated substitute such as a Vice-Chair if the Chair is running for reelection) within the election period.
- 5.7 Only Members of the Research Committee who have paid or have agreed to pay their annual subscription may be nominated for the Executive and are eligible to vote and to be elected to the Executive.
- 5.8 Members who make themselves available for nomination as candidates for election to the Executive must declare their willingness to be actively and regularly engaged in the activities and operation of the Executive. This applies particularly when arrangements are made for an Annual Conference and/or the IPSA World Congress..
- 5.9 An election committee, consisting of the Chair (or a substitute designated by the Executive) and one member of the Nominating Committee, will oversee the election and will be responsible for the counting of the votes.
- 5.10 The results of the election shall be posted on the website within 14 days of the end of the election period.
- 5.11 The Executive has a three-year term beginning with the posting of its election results and ending with the posting of the next election results on the website. Elections shall be held every third year, in the year which corresponds to the World Congress of the International Political Science Association.
- 5.12 Members of the Executive shall not normally hold a designated Executive position in excess of two consecutive terms unless those voting in the election of the Executive decide, on recommendation of the Nominating Committee, to make an exception to this limitation by a two-thirds majority of those voting.
- 6. Annual Conferences
- 6.1 There shall be one Annual Conference of the Research Committee each year.
- 6.2 For the purposes of this section, these meetings and sessions of the Research Committee may be organized as joint conferences with other research bodies, associations or institutions.
- 7. Coming into Force and Amendment of Bylaws
- 7.1 These bylaws shall come into force after having been approved by a majority of those voting in an electronic vote under the rules of subsection 4.10 above.
- 7.2 They may be amended or altered, with notice, at any Annual Conference of the Research Committee, or if so decided, by either the Annual Conference or the Executive, by electronic voting under the rules of subsection 4.10 above.
- 7.3 Notice of intent to amend the bylaws must be in writing and must be circulated in a Newsletter, via the website of the Research Committee or by other means, no less than three months in advance of the Annual Conference.

Other Announcements

Publications: we are working to ensure that the Publications section in our website provides useful information about recent and noteworthy scholarly work in the field of federalism. We are also especially proud to acknowledge the work of RC Members and therefore call on all them to correct any unintentional omissions on that list by submitting to the Assistant to the Chair, Sebastian Baglioni (sebastian.baglioni@utoronto.ca), the appropriate information.

PayPal Services: we take this opportunity to remind all our members that we have established an electronic service to pay their fees. This offers security and convenience at the same time. From the main page of the RC28 website, simply press the Paypal button and follow the instructions on screen.