

**Political Science 3348F**  
**Federalism in Canada and Beyond**  
**Department of Political Science**  
**Western University**

Dr. Bruce Morrison

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Office hours: Thursday 12-1 pm, or by appointment

**Course Description:**

This course addresses federalism conceptually, theoretically, and as a complex political project introduced in many countries. The empirical emphasis will be on the Canadian case, but with a sustained attempt to compare Canadian federalism with a significant number of other federal systems in a variety of global regions. The course will be organized thematically, based on coverage of definitional challenges, the sources of federalism, the ways federations have been institutionalized, and the implications of federalism for policy and other important social and political outcomes. The case studies will be woven into these treatments of key concepts, themes, and theories. Overall, the aim is to enable students to think carefully, critically, and comparatively about federalism and its prospects in a changing world.

**Course Requirements and Evaluation:**

- (a) Mid-Term Exam: 25% - October 26, 2023
- (b) Final Exam: 35% - December Final Exam Period (scheduled by Registrar)
- (c) Comparative Essay: Canadian federalism in relation to one other case (6-8 pages): 30%  
Due November 27, 2023 at 11:55 PM
- (d) Participation: 10%

**Learning Outcomes:**

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- (a) Engage with the complexities of defining federalism and identifying federal cases;
- (b) Make sense of the causes and circumstances supporting federalism;
- (c) Establish the main effects of federalism;
- (d) Understand in detail the evolving role and character of federalism in Canada;
- (e) Compare the Canadian case with a variety of other major federal cases.

**Course Format:**

We will meet in person on a weekly basis. Our class meetings will combine significant lecture segments with plenty of opportunities for questions and discussion. So, please do show up having read and absorbed the assigned readings, and ready to engage with the material in vigorous and critical fashion. All assigned readings, save those from the textbook, will be made available on the OWL site, at the Course Readings tab.

**Required Textbook:**

Douglas Brown, Herman Bakvis, and Gerald Baier, *Contested Federalism: Certainty and Ambiguity in the Canadian Federation* (Oxford University Press, 2019). This book is available for purchase at the Western University Bookstore.

\*\*Attendance is required for success in this course.

\*\*Electronic devices will be permissible only for the purpose of note-taking and any other class-related activities. Disruptive use of these devices will not be permitted.

**Course Requirements and Evaluation:**

(e) Mid-Term Exam: 25%

(f) Final Exam: 35%

(g) Comparative Essay: Canadian federalism in relation to one other case (6-8 pages): 30%

(h) Participation: 10%

**Mid-Term Exam:** Students will write a 90-minute exam, during class time on October 26<sup>th</sup>. The exam will cover all course materials – readings and lectures – introduced to that point. The exam will include short- and long-answer segments, and it will include an advance participation element.

**Final Exam:** Students will write a two-hour formal exam, based on questions provided for advance preparation. The exam will take place during the final exam period, as determined by the registrar.

**Comparative Essay:** Students will draw on course materials, as well as at least six high-quality non-syllabus sources, in order to produce a critical and comparative analysis of federalism in Canada and one other country. The essay will emphasize comparison of the character of the federal arrangements and their most important impacts. How and how well is federalism established and institutionalized in the two countries, and how would you evaluate the role and results of federalism in these cases? **Due date:** November 27, at 11:55 pm.

**Participation:** Students will be expected to participate regularly and constructively in our weekly meetings. Participation will be evaluated based on the following considerations: relevance, responsiveness to the material laid out in assigned readings and lecture segments, and insightfulness. Keep in mind that a well-informed and helpful question can be an important element in course participation.

**Prerequisite:** Political Science 2230E or 2530F/G or 2234E or 2244E or 2245E or 2545F/G.

## Course Meetings and Assigned Readings

### Week One

#### Introduction (September 7)

### Week Two

#### Conceptualizing Federalism (September 14)

Brown et al., chapter 1.

Thomas O. Hueglin and Alan Fenna, 2015. *Comparative Federalism: A Systematic Inquiry* (University of Toronto Press, Second Edition), chapter 4.

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

### Week Three

#### Federalism: Origins, Institutions, and Justifications (September 21)

Brown et al., chapter 2.

Sean Mueller and Alan Fenna, 2022. "Dual versus Administrative Federalism: Origins and Evolution of Two Models." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 52 (4): 525-52.

Erik Wibbels, 2006. "Madison in Baghdad? Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 165-88.

### Week Four

#### Federalism, Ethnicity, and Nationalism (September 28)

Brown et al., chapter 12.

Brendan O'Leary, 2001. "An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federation? A (Neo-Diceyan) Theory of the Necessity of a Federal *Staatsvolk* and of Consociational Rescue." *Nations and Nationalism* 7 (3): 273-96.

Alain-G. Gagnon, 2021. "Multinational Federalism: Challenges, Shortcomings and Promises." *Regional and Federal Studies* 31 (1): 99-114.

### Week Five

#### Federalism, Diversity, and Territory (October 5)

Brown et al., chapter 11.

Helder de Schutter, 2011. "Federalism as Fairness." *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 19 (2): 167-89.

John Kincaid, 2020. "Origins and Consequences of American Multicultural Federalism: Constitutional Patriotism, Territorial Neutrality, and National Polarization." In Alain-G. Gagnon and Arjun Tremblay, eds., *Federalism and National Diversity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Springer International Publishing).

### Week Six

#### Federalism and Democracy (October 12)

Brown et al., chapter 5.

Arthur Benz and Jared Sonnicksen, 2017. "Patterns of Federal Democracy: Tensions, Friction, or Balance Between Two Government Dimensions." *European Political Science Review* 9 (1): 3-25.

Scott Brenton, 2023. "Does Federalism Enhance Representative Democracy? Perpetual Reform and Shifting Power in a Divided Belgium." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 31 (2): 500-18.

### **Week Seven**

#### **Federalism: Constitutional Design, Development, and Democratization (October 19)**

Brown et al., chapter 3.

J. Tyler Dickovick, 2014. "Federalism in Africa: Origins, Operation and (In)Significance." *Regional and Federal Studies* 24 (5): 553-70.

Rotimi Suberu, 2009. "Federalism in Africa: The Nigerian Experience in Comparative Perspective." *Ethnopolitics* 8 (1): 67-86.

Julian Durazo Hermann, 2016. "Federalism: The Latin American Experience." *The Ashgate Research Companion to Federalism* (Ashgate). 517-33.

### **Week Eight**

#### **Mid-Term Exam (October 26)**

\*\*\***Break Week** (November 2)

### **Week Nine**

#### **Federalism and the Judiciary (November 9)**

Brown et al., chapter 4.

Robert Schertzer, 2017. "Federal Arbiters as Facilitators: Towards an Integrated Federal and Judicial Theory for Diverse States." *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 15 (1): 110-36.

Arthur Benz, 2017. "The Federal Constitutional Court of Germany: Guardian of Unitarism and Federalism." In John Kincaid and Nicholas Aroney, eds., *Courts in Federal Countries: Federalists or Unitarists?* (University of Toronto Press).

### **Week Ten**

#### **Fiscal Federalism (November 16)**

Brown et al., chapter 6.

André Lecours, Gregory P. Marchildon, MR Olfert, Daniel Béland, and Haizhen Mou, 2017. *Fiscal Federalism and Equalization Policy in Canada: Political and Economic Dimensions* (University of Toronto Press), chapter 1.

Jennifer Wallner, "(Dis)Empowerment and Self-Rule: Fiscal Federalism and Minority Nations in Canada," In Francois Boucher and Alain Noel, eds., *Fiscal Federalism in Multinational States: Autonomy, Equality, and Diversity* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021).

## **Week Eleven**

### **Federalism as Economic Union** (November 23)

Brown et al., chapter 8.

Louise Tillin, 2021. "Building a National Economy: Origins of Centralized Federalism in India." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 51 (2): 161-85.

Manfred G. Schmidt, 2016. "Conclusion: Policy Diversity in Germany's Federalism." *German Politics* 25 (2): 301-14.

**\*\*Comparative Essay Due** (November 27)

## **Week 12**

### **Federalism and Social Policy** (November 30)

Brown et al., chapter 7.

Paul Pierson, 2018. "Federalism, Race, and the American Welfare State." In Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant, John Myles, Will Kymlicka, and Richard Johnston, eds., *Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World* (McGill-Queen's University Press).

Louise Tillin and Anthony W. Pereira. 2017. "Federalism, Multi-Level Elections and Social Policy in Brazil and India." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 55 (3): 328-52.

## **Week 13**

### **Fates of Federations** (December 7)

John McGarry, 2018. "'Connor's Communist Control Polities': Why Ethno-federalism Does Not Explain the Break-up of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia." *Nations and Nationalism* 24 (3): 535-45.

John Wanna, 2021. "Can Federalism Degenerate? The Strange but Predictable Demise of the Federal Spirit in the Australian Polity." In Nico Steytler, Balveer Arora, and Rekha Saxena, eds., *The Value of Comparative Federalism: The Legacy of Ronald L. Watts* (Routledge).

John McGarry, 2013. "Designing a Durable Federation: The Case of Cyprus." In Grace Skogstad, David Cameron, Martin Papillon, and Keith Banting, eds., *The Global Promise of Federalism* (University of Toronto Press).

## APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES

### DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

#### **Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility**

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

#### Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

#### **Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")**

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

#### **Security and Confidentiality of Student Work** (refer to current Western Academic Calendar

(<http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/>)

**"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams** - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, leaving student work unattended in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

#### **Duplication of work**

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

#### **Grade adjustments**

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

## **Academic Offences**

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site:

[http://westerncalendar.uwo.ca/PolicyPages.cfm?PolicyCategoryID=1&Command=showCategory&Keywords=scholastic&SubHeadingID=189&SelectedCalendar=Live&ArchiveID=#SubHeading\\_189](http://westerncalendar.uwo.ca/PolicyPages.cfm?PolicyCategoryID=1&Command=showCategory&Keywords=scholastic&SubHeadingID=189&SelectedCalendar=Live&ArchiveID=#SubHeading_189)

## **Submission of Course Requirements**

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS MUST BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

**THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.**

## **Attendance Regulations for Examinations**

**EXAMINATIONS/ATTENDANCE** (Sen. Min. Feb.4/49, May 23/58, S.94, S.3538, S.3632, S.04-097)

A student is entitled to be examined in courses in which registration is maintained, subject to the following limitations:

A student may be debarred from writing the final examination for failure to maintain satisfactory academic standing throughout the year.

Any student who, in the opinion of the instructor, is absent too frequently from class or laboratory periods in any course will be reported to the Dean of the Faculty offering the course (after due warning has been given). On the recommendation of the Department concerned, and with the permission of the Dean of that Faculty, the student will be debarred from taking the regular examination in the course. The Dean of the Faculty offering the course will communicate that decision to the Dean of the Faculty of registration.

## **Medical Policy, Late Assignments, etc.**

Students registered in Social Science should refer to

<http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/index.html>

for information on Medical Policy, Term Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

## **University Policy on Cheating and Academic Misconduct**

**Plagiarism:** Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

**Plagiarism Checking:** "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com ( <http://www.turnitin.com> )."

**Multiple-choice tests/exams:** "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and

Academic Policy. [http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic\\_policies/index.html](http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/academic_policies/index.html)

## **PLAGIARISM\***

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism.

Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.



You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently.

Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History, August 13, 1991

**Accessibility at Western:** Please contact [poliscie@uwo.ca](mailto:poliscie@uwo.ca) if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com ( <http://www.turnitin.com> ).

## **SUPPORT SERVICES**

The Registrar's office can be accessed for Student Support Services at <http://www.registrar.uwo.ca>

Student Support Services (including the services provided by the USC listed here) can be reached at: <http://westernusc.ca/services/>

Student Development Services can be reached at: <http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/>

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western

<http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.