

ROLAND STURM

FEDERALISM AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS COMPARED. FEDERAL THEORY, CONFLICT-RESOLUTION, AND DEMOCRACY

1. Introduction

About 40% of humankind lives in federal systems. Federalism is for some a success story, because it combines autonomy and cooperation, especially in multinational states. For others it is just a first step to the break-up of nation states. For some federalism enhances democracy, because it creates an additional layer of governance (closer to the people than the political centre). For others it creates an unnecessary and costly additional level of government attractive only for bureaucrats and the political classes. The course aims at a deeper understanding of federalism, which will enable the participants to take part in a well-informed debate on such controversies. We will analyze the justifications for federalism and their relationship to democracy. The course will compare federalism in a number of countries around the world, and will investigate the reasons why federal systems are so different both institutionally and with regard to the effects of federalism, and what the theoretical and practical assumptions are that are connected with federal diversity.

2. Prerequisites

None. The subject is interdisciplinary, but a general idea of political theory and the components of political systems will be helpful. The course is taught in English. Eventual use of other languages (only in papers) is subject to prior consultation with the lecturer.

3. Competences gained in the course

General:

- Improve written and oral communication in a foreign/ in your own language
- Improve ability to present academic papers
- Find and defend arguments and make use of them in academic debates
- Stimulate debates on political science issues
- Improve ability to combine empirical findings and theoretical approaches

Specific:

- Know different definitions of and justifications for federalism and federal systems in political theory
- Be able to discuss their differences
- Know in principle how federal systems around the world work
- Be able to analyze them using the yardstick of different normative approaches and different definitions of federalism
- Be able to use what you learned for analyzing cases of federalism on your own

4. Assessment

Students have to be present at least at 80% of all sessions (lectures, seminars, tutorials). This is obligatory, and students who do not comply with this rule, will not be assessed. The preparation of the sessions with the help of the obligatory reading list is essential. Each student will be required to give an oral presentation on a comparative federalism topic or a federal political system (20%), and to prepare a paper (5-10 pages) on her/his topic (20%). In addition a longer paper (15-20 pages) on a comparative federalism topic or a federal system has to be handed in (60%). The topic of the longer paper has to be different from the topic chosen for the oral presentation.

5. Contents

The course is divided into three parts. The first part centres on the question: why federalism? The second part looks into the federal experience of nations worldwide: Europe (Belgium, Austria, Germany, Russia, Switzerland); North America (USA, Canada); Asia (India); Africa (South Africa). The third part of the course deals with emerging or contested cases of federalism (Spain, United Kingdom, European Union, Italy).

6. Methodology

The course will be organized in

Lectures based on the teacher's introduction and joint debates

Seminars based on student's presentations and joint debates

Tutorials to help prepare papers and to clarify open questions and go deeper into specific problems

7. Time table

Monday 10, 2, 2014: Why federalism?, Federalism and democracy, Federalism as problem solver?

Tuesday 11, 2, 2014: Types of federalism, decentralization, devolution

Wednesday 12, 2, 2014: Second Chambers in Federal States

Thursday 13, 2, 2014: Federalism in Germany and Austria

Friday 14, 2, 2014: Federalism in the United States and Canada

Monday 17, 2, 2014: Federalism in Belgium and Switzerland

Tuesday 18, 2, 2014: Nation and State in Britain and Spain

Wednesday 19, 2, 2014: Federalism in India and South Africa

Thursday 20, 2, 2014: Federalism in Russia and Italy

Friday 21, 2, 2014: Federalism in the EU?

8. Literature

1. Why federalism?, Federalism and democracy, Federalism as problem solver?

Compulsory readings:

Erk, Jan/ Anderson, Lawrence: The Paradox of Federalism: Does Self-Rule Accommodate or Exacerbate Ethnic Divisions?, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 19 (2), 2009, pp. 191-202.

Olson, Mancur: The Principle of "Fiscal Equivalence": The Division of Responsibilities among different Levels of Government, in: *American Economic Review* 59 (1969), pp. 479-487.

Scott, Kyle A.: Macrolevel Consent: A Defense of Federalism, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 42(4), 2012, pp. 592-612.

Further reading:

Benz, Arthur/Broschek, Jörg: *Federal Dynamics. Continuity, Change & the Varieties of Federalism*, Oxford UP 2013.

Burgess, Michael: *Comparative Federalism, Theory and Practice*, London etc. 2006.

Duchacek, Ivo D.: *Comparative Federalism*, New York: Herr, Rinehart & Winston 1987.

Elazar, Daniel J.: *Exploring Federalism*, Tuscaloosa, AL. 1987.

Elazar, Daniel J.: Contrasting Unitary and Federal Systems, in: *International Political Science Review* 18(3), 1977, S. 237-251.0

Erk, Jan/Swenden, Wilfried (eds); *New Directions in Federalism Studies*, Abingdon: Routledge 2010.

Keating, Michael: Thirty Years of Territorial Politics, in: *West European Politics* 31(1-2), 2008, pp. 60-81.

Roeder, Philip G.: Ethnofederalism and the Mismanagement of Conflicting Nationalisms, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 19 (2), 2009, pp. 203-219.

Swenden, Wilfried; *Federalism and Regionalism in Western Europe*, Houndsmill 2006.

2. Types of federalism, decentralization, devolution

Compulsory readings:

Agranoff, Robert: Autonomy, Devolution and Intergovernmental Relations, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 14(1), 2004, pp. 26-65.

Hutchcroft, Paul D.: Centralization and Decentralization in Administration and Politics: Assessing Territorial Dimensions of Authority and Power, in: *Governance* 14(1), 2001, pp. 23-53.

Tarlton, Charles D.: Symmetry and Asymmetry as Elements of Federalism: A Theoretical Speculation, in: *The Journal of Politics* 27, 1965, pp. 861-873.

Further reading:

Alonso, Sonia: *Challenging the State: Devolution and the Battle for Partisan Credibility. A Comparison of Belgium, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom*, Oxford UP 2012.

Erk, Jan/Swenden, Wilfried (eds); *New Directions in Federalism Studies*, Abingdon: Routledge 2010.

Hankla, Charles R.: When is Fiscal Decentralization Good for Governance?, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 39(4), 2008, pp. 632-650.

Palermo, Francesco/Zwiling Carolin/Kössler, Karl (eds): *Asymmetry in Constitutional Law. Recent Developments in Federal and Regional Systems*, Bozen: Eurac 2009.

Sorens, Jason: The Partisan Logic of Decentralization in Europe, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 19(2), 2009, pp. 255-272.

Treisman, Daniel: *The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization*, Cambridge UP 2007.

Wibbels, Erik: Madison in Baghdad? Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics, in: *Annual Review of Political Science* 2006, pp. 165-188.

3. Second Chambers in Federal States

Compulsory reading:

See introductory books on Federal political systems (USA, Germany, etc.) and look for the chapter on parliament.

Further reading:

Baldwin, Nicholas/ Shell, Donald (eds): *Second Chambers*, London 2001.

Joyal, Serge (ed): *Protecting Canadian Democracy: The Senate you never knew*, Montreal 2003.

Money, Jeanette/Tsebelis, George: Cicero's Puzzle: Upper House Power in Comparative Perspective, in: *International Political Science Review* 13(1), 1992, pp 25-43.

Oppenheimer, Bruce I. (ed): US Senate Exceptionalism, Columbus 2002.

Riker, William: The Justification of Bicameralism, *International Political Science Review* 13(1), 1992, pp. 101-116.

4. Federalism in Germany and Austria

Compulsory readings:

Erk, Jan: Austria: A Federation without Federalism, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 34(1) 2004, pp. 1-20.

Leuprecht, Christian: The Nascent Societies and Governments of Germany's Unitary Federalism, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 22(2), 2013, pp. 177-203.

Sturm, Roland: More courageous than expected? The 2006 reform of German federalism, in: Erk, Jan/Swenden, Wilfried (eds); *New Directions in Federalism Studies*, Abingdon: Routledge 2010, pp. 34-49.

Further reading:

Auel, Katrin: Between Reformstau and Länder Strangulation? German Co-operative Federalism Re-considered, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 20(2), 2010, pp. 229-249.

Erk, Jan: Federal Germany and its Non-Federal Society: Emergence of an All-German Educational Policy in a System of Exclusive Provincial Jurisdiction, in: *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36(2), 2003, pp. 295-317.

Gamper, Anna: Homogeneity and Democracy in Austrian Federalism: The Constitutional Court's Ruling on Direct Democracy in Vorarlberg, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 33(1), 2003, pp. 45-57.

Greß, Franz: Länder Parliaments in the Federation, in: Gunlicks, Arthur B. (ed.): *German Public Policy and Federalism*, New York/Oxford: Berghahn 2003, pp. 91-109.

Gunlicks, Arthur B.: *The Länder and German federalism*. Manchester UP 2003.

Hepp, Ralf/von Hagen, Jürgen: Fiscal Federalism in Germany: Stabilization and Redistribution Before and After Unification, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 42(2), 2012, pp. 234-259.

Höreth, Marcus: A Successful Failure? The Contested Implications of Germany's Federal Reform, in: *German Politics* 17(4), 2008, S. 408-423.

Jeffery, Charlie (ed): *Recasting German Federalism. The Legacy of Unification*, London/New York: Pinter 1999.

Renzsch, Wolfgang: Financing German Unity: Fiscal Conflict Resolution in a Complex Federation, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 28(4), 1998, pp. 127-146.

Sturm, Roland: Divided Government in Germany: The Case of the Bundesrat, in: Elgie, Robert (ed): Divided Government in Comparative Perspective, Oxford UP 2001, pp. 167-181.

Thorlakson, Lori: Government Building and Political Development in Federations: Applying Canadian Theory to the German Case, in: Regional and Federal Studies 10(3), 2000, pp. 129-148.

Turner, Ed/Rowe, Carolyn: Party Servants, Ideologues or Regional Representatives? The German Länder and the Reform of Federalism, in: West European Politics 36(2), 2013, S. 382-404.

Zibblatt, Daniel F.: Recasting German Federalism? The Politics of Fiscal Decentralization in Post-Unification Germany, in: Politische Vierteljahresschrift 43(4), 2002, pp. 624-652.

5. Federalism in the United States and Canada

Compulsory readings:

Conlan, Timothy: Inflection Power? Federalism and the Obama Administration, in: Publius 41(3), 2011, pp. 421-446.

Harmes, Adam: The Political Economy of Open Federalism, in: Canadian Journal of Political Science 40(2), 2007, pp. 417-437.

Zimmerman, Joseph F.: National-State Relations: Cooperative Federalism in the Twentieth Century, in: Publius. The Journal of Federalism 31(2), 2001, pp. 15-30.

Further reading:

Alcantara, Christopher: Ideas, Executive Federalism and Institutional Change: Explaining Territorial Inclusion in Canadian First Ministers' Conferences, in: Canadian Journal of Political Science 46(1), 2013, pp. 27-48.

Bakvis, Herman/ Brown, Douglas: Policy Coordination in Federal Systems: Comparing Intergovernmental Processes and Outcomes in Canada and the United States, in: Publius. The Journal of Federalism 40(3), 2010, pp. 484-507.

Conlan, Timothy: From New Federalism to Devolution, Washington D.C. 1998.

De Villiers, Bertus (ed): Evaluating Federal Systems, Dordrecht etc.: Juta & Martinus Nijhoff 1994.

Gagnon, Alain-G. (ed): Contemporary Canadian Federalism, University of Toronto Press 2009.

Hail, Michael/Lange, Stephen: Federalism and Representation in the Theory of the Founding Fathers: A Comparative Study of U.S. and Canadian Constitutional Thought, in: Publius. The Journal of Federalism 40(3), 2010, pp. 366-388.

Karch, Andrew: Democratic Laboratories: Policy Diffusion among the American States, Ann Arbor (MI): University of Michigan Press 2007.

Kincaid, John: From Cooperative to Coercive Federalism, in: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 509 (May 1990), pp. 139-152.

Lecours, André/ Béland, Daniel: Federalism and Fiscal Policy: The Politics of Equalization in Canada, in: *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 40(4), 2009, pp. 569-596.

Mooney, Christopher Z.: The Decline of Federalism and the Rise of Morality-Policy Conflict in the United States, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 30 (1-2), 2000, pp. 171-188.

The State of American Federalism, annual reports in *Publius. The Journal of Federalism*

Wise, Charles R.: The Supreme Court's New Constitutional Federalism: Implications for Public Administration, in: *Public Administration Review* 61(3), 2001, pp. 343-358.

Wong, Kenneth/Sunderman, Gail: Education Accountability as Presidential Priority: No Child Left Behind and the Bush Presidency, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 37(3), 2007, pp. 333-350.

6. Federalism in Belgium and Switzerland

Compulsory readings:

Deschouwer, Kris: The Belgian Federation at a Crossroad, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 23(3), 2013, pp. 261-270.

Freitag, Markus/Vatter, Adrain: Decentralization and Fiscal Discipline in Sub-national Governments: Evidence from the Swiss Federal System, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 38(2), pp. 272-294.

Swenden, Wilfried: Conclusion: The Future of Belgian Federalism – Between Reform and Swansong?, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 23(3), 2013, pp. 369-382.

Further reading:

Dandoy, Régis/Matagne, Geoffroy/Van Wynsberghe, Caroline: The Future of Belgian Federalism: An Analysis of Party Preferences, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 23(3), 2013, pp. 331-351.

Deschouwer, Kris: Party Strategies, Voter Demands and Territorial Reform in Belgium, in: *West European Politics* 36(2), 2013, pp. 338-358.

Füglister, Katharina: Policy Laboratories of the Federal State? The Role of Intergovernmental Cooperation in Health Policy Diffusion in Switzerland, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2012.

O'Neill, Michael: Re-imagining Belgium: New Federalism and the Political Management of Cultural Diversity, in: *Parliamentary Affairs* 51(2), 1998, pp. 241-258.

Papadopoulos, Yannis: Connecting Minorities to the Swiss Federal System: A Frozen Conception of Representation and the Problem of "Requisite Variety", in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 32(3), 2002, pp. 47-65.

Peeters, Patrick: Federalism: A Comparative perspective – Belgium transforms from a Unitary to a Federal State, in: De Villiers, Bertus (ed): Evaluating Federal Systems, Dordrecht etc.: Juta & Martinus Nijhoff 1994, pp. 194-207.

Sinardet, Dave: Belgian Federalism Put to the Test: The 2007 Belgian Federal Elections and their Aftermath, in: West European Politics 31(5), 2008, pp. 1016-1032.

Swenden, Wilfried: Asymmetric Federalism and Coalition-Making in Belgium, in: Publius. The Journal of Federalism 32(3), 2002, pp. 67-87.

Swenden, Wilfried/Jans, Maarten Theo: 'Will It Stay or Will It Go?' Federalism and the Sustainability of Belgium, in: West European Politics 29(5), 2006, pp. 877-894.

7. Nation and State in Britain and Spain

Compulsory readings:

Colino, César; Constitutional Change without Constitutional Reform: Spanish Federalism and the Revision of Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy, in: Publius. The Journal of Federalism 39(2), 2009, pp. 262-288.

Jeffery, Charlie: Devolution in the United Kingdom: Problems of a Piecemeal Approach to Constitutional Change, in: Publius: The Journal of Federalism 39(2), 2009, pp. 289-313.

Keating, Micheal/ Wilson, Alex: Renegotiating the State of the Autonomies: Statute Reform and Multi-level Politics in Spain, in: West European/ Politics 32 (3), 2009, pp. 536-558.

Further reading:

Birrell, Derek: Comparing Devolved Governance, Palgrave 2012.

Bond, Ross and Michael Rosie: National Identities and Attitudes to Constitutional Change in Post-Devolution UK: A Four Territories Comparison, in: Regional and Federal Studies 20(1), 2010, pp. 83-105.

Bonney, Norman: The Scottish Parliament and Participatory Democracy: Vision and Reality, in: The Political Quarterly 74, 2003, pp. 459-467.

Gómez Fortes, Braulio/Cabeza Pérez, Laura: Basque Regional Elections 2012: The Return of Nationalism under the Influence of the Economic Crisis, in: Regional and Federal Studies 23(4), 2013, pp. 495-505.

Hassan, Gerry: Anatomy of a Scottish Revolution: The Potential of Postnationalist Scotland and the Future of the United Kingdom, in: The Political Quarterly 82(3), 2011, pp. 365-378.

Hazell, Robert (ed.): The English Question, Manchester UP 2006.

Hechter, Micheal: Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British national development, 1536-1966, Berkeley and LA: University of California Press 1975.

- Hough, Dan/Jeffery, Charlie (eds): *Devolution and electoral politics*, Manchester UP 2006.
- Jeffery, Charlie/ Wincott, Daniel: *Devolution in the United Kingdom: Statehood and Citizenship in Transition*, in: *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 36(1), 2006, pp. 3-18.
- Keating, Michael: *The Strange Death of Unionist Scotland*, in: *Government and Opposition* 45(3), 2010, pp. 365-385.
- Leith, Murray Stewart: *Governance and Identity in a Devolved Scotland*, in: *Parliamentary Affairs* 63(2), 2010, pp. 286-301.
- Leith, Murray Stewart and Martin Steven: *Party over Politics? Scottish Nationalism and the Politics of Independence*, in: *The Political Quarterly* 81(2), 2010, pp. 263-269.
- Léon, Sandra: *Who is responsible for what? Clarity of responsibilities in multilevel states: The case of Spain*, in: *European Journal of Political Research* 50 (2010), pp. 80-109.
- López Nieto, Lourdes (ed): *Intergovernmental Relations in Democratic Spain*, Madrid: Dykinson, S.L. 2008.
- Maiz, Ramon/Caamaño, Francisco/Azpitarte, Miguel: *The Hidden Counterpoint of Spanish Federalism: Recentralization and Resymmetrization in Spain (1978-2008)*, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 20(1), 2010, pp. 63-82.
- Marti, David: *The 2012 Catalan Election: The First Step Towards Independence?*, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 23(4), 2013, pp. 507-516.
- McCrone, David: *Scotland Out of the Union? The Rise and Rise of the Nationalist Agenda*, in: *The Political Quarterly* 83(1), 2012, pp. 69-76.
- Mitchell, James: *The Narcissism of Small Differences: Scotland and Westminster*, in: *Parliamentary Affairs* 63(1), 2010, pp. 98-116.
- Mitchell, James/Bennie, Lyn/Johns, Rob: *The Scottish National Party. Transition to Power*, Oxford UP 2011.
- Mitchell, James: *Devolution in the UK*, Manchester UP 2009.
- Montero, Alfred P.: *The Politics of Decentralization in a Centralized Party System. The Case of Democratic Spain*, in: *Comparative Politics* 38(1), 2005, pp. 63-82.
- Moreno, Luis: *Federalization and Ethnoterritorial Concurrence in Spain*, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 27(4), 1997, pp. 65-83.
- Moreno, Luis: *La federalización de España. Poder político y territorio*, Madrid: siglo XXI 1997.
- Nairn, Tom: *The Break-up of Britain*, London: NLB 1977.
- Stolz, Klaus: *Ten Years of Devolution in the United Kingdom*, Augsburg: Wißner 2010.
- Verge, Tània: *Party Strategies on Territorial Reform: State-wide Parties and the State of the Autonomies in Spain*, in: *West European Politics* 36(2), 2013, pp. 317-337.

Wilson, Alex: Multi-level Party Systems in Spain, in: in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 22(2), 2012, pp. 123-139.

8. Federalism in India and South Africa

Compulsory readings:

Singh, Mahendra P./Verney, Douglas V.: Challenges to India's Centralized Parliamentary Federalism, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 33(4), 2003, pp. 1-20.

Tillin, Louise: United in Diversity? Asymmetry in Indian Federalism, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 37(1), 2007, pp. 45-67.

Welsh, David: Federalism in a Divided Society: A South African Perspective, in: De Villiers, Bertus (ed): *Evaluating Federal Systems, Dordrecht etc.: Juta & Martinus Nijhoff* 1994, pp. 243-250.

Further reading:

Adeney, Katharine: *Federalism and ethnic conflict regulation in India and Pakistan*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2007.

Bagchi, Amaresh: *Rethinking Federalism: Changing Power Relations Between the Center and the States*, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 33(4), 2003, pp. 21-42.

Hegemer, Christian J./Bühler, Hanns (eds): *Federalism in Asia and Beyond*, München: Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung 2013.

Murray, Christina/ Simeon, Richard: *From paper to Practice: The National Council of Provinces after the first Year*, in: *South African Public Law* 14(1), 1999, pp. 1-31.

Rao, Govinda M./Singh, Nirvikar: *The Political Economy of India's Fiscal Federal Systems and its Reform*, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 37(1), 2007, pp. 26-44.

9. Federalism in Russia and Italy

Compulsory readings:

Fabbrini, Sergio/ Brunazzo, Marco: *Federalizing Italy. The Convergent Effects of Europeanization and Domestic Mobilization*, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 13(1), 2003, pp. 100-120.

Masseti, Emanuele/Toubeau, Simon: *Sailing with the Northern Winds: Party Politics and Federal Reforms in Italy*, in: *West European Politics* 36(2), 2013, pp. 359-381.

Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz: *Gestalt Switch in Russian Federalism. The Decline in Regional Power under Putin*, in: *Comparative Politics* 45(3), 2013, pp. 357-376.

Further reading:

Heinemann-Grüder, Andreas (ed): *Federalism Doomed? European Federalism between Integration and Separation*, New York/ Oxford: Berghahn 2002.

Moreno, Luis/Obydenkova, Anastasia: *Federalization in Russia and Spain: The Puzzle of Reversible and Irreversible Outcomes*, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 23(2), 2013, pp. 151-168.

Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz: *Subnational Governance in Russia: How Putin Changed the Contract with His Agents and the Problems It created for Medvedev*, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 40(4), 2009, S. 672-696.

Tarr, G. Alan: *Creating Federalism in Russia*, in: *South Texas Law Review* 40(3), 1999, pp. 689-713.

Zuber, Christina Isabel: *Understanding the Multinational Game: Toward a Theory of Asymmetrical Federalism*, in: *Comparative Political Studies* 44(5), 2011, S. 546-571.

10. Federalism in the EU?

Compulsory readings:

Hueglin, Thomas O.: *From Constitutional to Treaty Federalism: A Comparative Perspective*, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 30(4), 2000, pp. 137-153.

Kincaid, John: *Confederal Federalism and Citizen Representation in the European Union*, in: *West European Politics* 22(2), 1999, pp. 34-58.

Schmidt, Vivian A.: *European "Federalism" and its Encroachments on National Institutions*, in: *Publius. The Journal of Federalism* 29(1), 1999, pp. 19-44.

Further reading:

Bache, Ian/George, Stephen/Bulmer, Simon: *Politics in the European Union*, Oxford UP, Third Edition 2011.

Cloots, Elke/De Baere, Geert/Sottiaux, Stefan: *Federalism in the European Union*, London: Hart 2012.

Elias, Anwen: *Introduction: Whatever Happened to the Europe of the Regions?*, in: *Regional and Federal Studies* 18(5), 2008, pp. 483-492.

Harvie, Christopher: *The Rise of Regional Europe*, London: Routledge 1994.

Heinemann-Grüder, Andreas (ed): *Federalism Doomed? European Federalism between Integration and Separation*, New York/ Oxford: Berghahn 2002.

Schütze, Robert: *From Dual to Cooperative Federalism: The Changing Structure of European Law*, Oxford UP 2009.