

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv
1. Introduction	1
2. Theoretical Framework and Research Design	8
2.1 The Constitutional Problem of Multilevel Government	8
2.1.1 Balancing Power—Enabling Change	8
2.1.2 Varieties of the Constitutional Problem in Federal and Regionalized Governments	17
2.2 Constitutional Policy as Mechanism of Change	24
2.2.1 State of Research: Theories of Constitutional Change and Empirical Evidence	24
2.2.2 Mechanisms: Constitutional Policy as Joint Decision-making	30
2.2.3 Outcomes: Patterns of Constitutional Dynamics	43
2.3 Research Design and Method	45
3. Constitutional Problems and Reform Agendas in Federal and Regionalized States	50
<i>(with Andrea Fischer-Hotzel and Bettina Petersohn)</i>	
3.1 Problems of Performance in Federal States	50
3.2 Problems of Integration in Federal States	54
3.3 Problems of Performance in Regionalized States	58
3.4 Problems of Integration in a Regionalizing State	61
3.5 Constitutional Problems and Political Dynamics	63
4. Patterns of Constitutional Policy in Multilevel Government: Case Studies	67
<i>(with Dominic Heinz, Eike-Christian Hornig, Andrea Fischer-Hotzel, and Bettina Petersohn)</i>	
4.1 Integrated Federal States Addressing Performance Problems	70
4.1.1 Switzerland: The Renewal of Fiscal Equalization and Allocation of Powers (1994–2008)	70

4.1.2 Germany: Reform of Federalism I and II (2003–9)	77
4.1.3 Austria: The Austrian Convention (2003–5)	86
4.2 Federal States Confronted by Integration Problems	92
4.2.1 Canada: The Charlottetown Process (1990–2)	92
4.2.2 Belgium: The Fifth State Reform (1999–2001)	102
4.2.3 Spain: The Third Round of Reform of Autonomy Statutes (2004–10)	110
4.3 Regionalized States Addressing Performance Problems	118
4.3.1 Italy: The Reform of Title V of the Constitution (1997–2001)	118
4.3.2 France: Decentralization Act II (2000–4)	125
4.4 A Regionalized State Confronted by Integration Problems	131
4.4.1 Great Britain: Devolution (1989–2006)	132
4.4.2 Devolution in Scotland	134
4.4.3 Devolution in Wales	139
4.4.4 Patterns of Devolution	142
4.5 Summary	144
5. Ratification and Ratification Failure: The Impact of Amendment Rules <i>(with Jörg Kemmerzell and Bettina Petersohn)</i>	153
5.1 Rules of Constitutional Amendment and Veto-players	154
5.2 Coupling of Constitutional Negotiation and Ratification	156
5.3 Ratification Processes in Selected Cases of Reform	160
5.4 Impact of Ratification Rules	167
5.5 Summary	174
6. Constitutional Reform and Implicit Change	177
6.1 Constitutional Change following Ratification Failure: The Case of Canada	180
6.2 Ineffective Constitutional Negotiations and Implicit Change: The Case of Germany	185
6.3 Implicit Constitutional Change and Balance of Power	191
6.4 Summary	198
7. Explaining Success and Failure of Constitutional Policy	199
7.1 Method of Comparative Analysis	199
7.2 Conditions of Successful Constitutional Policy	202
7.2.1 Modifiable Conditions: The Organization of Constitutional Reform Processes	202
7.2.2 Given Conditions: The Political and Situational Context	210

8. Conclusions	218
8.1 Explaining the Scope of Change	220
8.2 Conditions of Successful Constitutional Policy	225
8.3 The Art of Keeping the Balance	233
<i>References</i>	237
<i>Index</i>	265