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L'Institut d'études canadiennes de McGill



Workshop in the context of the 25th anniversary of the *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*: Territorial Governance and Comparative Policy Analysis at the Subnational Level

Organizers: Daniel Béland, Patrik Marier, and Mireille Paquet

Montreal, June 22-23, 2023

ZOOM

<https://mcgill.zoom.us/j/88236554980?pwd=VU9WY2ZWTFIWSm02RFFpelp2ODNkUT09>

Meeting ID: 882 3655 4980

Passcode: 685148

LOCATION

McGill University (lower [downtown] campus), Ferrier Building (located behind the Arts building, near the gate on the corner of Milton and University), Room 105:

<https://maps.mcgill.ca/>

COSTS

There is no registration fee and we do provide lunch on both days and dinner on the first day of the workshop. We do not have money to cover travel costs, unfortunately. However, online participation is possible so we need to ask the presenters now whether they plan to be there.

RULES

Participants must send their completed papers by June 12 by “replying all” to the most recent group email sent by the organizers. There will be two discussants per paper (one regular participant followed by one of the three organizers), who will each speak for no five minutes after the author(s) present(s) for 10-12 minutes. The discussants for each paper are listed in the draft schedule below.

ONLINE PRESENTATIONS

A Zoom invitation will be sent via email closer to the workshop dates to accommodate people who will present online.

DRAFT SCHEDULE (Time Zone: Eastern Time [EDT])

June 22

9:00 – Welcoming words and introductions: organizers and Iris Geva-May, Founding Editor of JCPA

Time	Activity	Disc. 1	Disc. 2
9:30	Vampa - <i>Studying sub-national policy-making in an era of political instability: theoretical developments, methodological challenges and empirical insights from four European countries</i>	Kass/ Rocco	Béland
10:30	Xhardez et al. - <i>Comparing Migrant Integration Policies at the Regional Level: An Analysis Using the MIPEX-R Indicators</i>	Vampa	Paquet
11:30	Kleider and Toubeau - <i>How do decentralised countries respond to crises? Measuring patterns of centralization and coordination in 13 OECD countries</i>	Segatto	Marier
12:30	Lunch (provided by organizers) and Discussion about JCPA with Iris Geva-May		
13:30	Lopez-Santana - <i>The Sub-National Level and Research Design: Lessons from the Literature on Comparative Methods</i>	Muller Gomez	Paquet
14:30	Segatto - <i>Subnational policy-making in Brazil: Bureaucrat activism, state capacities, and legacies in education and healthcare</i>	Kleider / Toubeau	Marier
15:30	Kovacikova – <i>Subnational Government Internationalization in Comparative Perspective</i>	Marier/ Trabut	Béland
16:30	Camillo and Allin - <i>Case Studies of Provincial/Territorial COVID-19 Vaccination Campaigns: Challenges and Opportunities of Comparative Analysis</i>	Papillon	Paquet

Dinner at 6:00 pm: Chez Devi Restaurant, 1450 Crescent St., Montreal, QC (514) 286-0303

June 23

Time	Activity	Disc. 1	Disc. 2
9:00	Seeleib-Kaiser – <i>Regulating the poor</i>	Xhardez	Marier
10:00	Marier and Trabut - <i>National intentions and local welfare markets : Market Tools to Support Seniors in France and Québec</i>	Seeleib-Kaiser	Béland
11:00	Papillon - <i>Comparing Policy Feedback Effects in Federal Systems: The Curious Case of Provincial Indigenous Rights in Canada</i>	Medicoff/Béland	Paquet
12:00	Lunch (provided by organizers) and announcement: Best Article in the JCPA 2022		
13:00	Medicoff and Béland - <i>Comparative urban environmental governance in Canada: New windows into Canadian federalism and environmental politics</i>	Camillo/Allin	Paquet
14:00	Kass and Rocco - <i>Using National Data Sources to Understand Subnational Policy: Insights from the American Rescue Plan Act</i>	Lopez-Santana	Marier
15:00	Muller Gomez - <i>Sub-federal resistance to the implementation of international agreements</i>	Kovacikova	Béland

16:00: Concluding remarks: the organizers

ABTRACTS (in the order in which they were submitted)

Carmine Conte (Migration Policy Group), **Francesco Pasetti** (CIDOB), **Giacomo Solano** (Radboud University), **Verena Wisthaler** (EURAC Research), and **Catherine Xhardez** (Université de Montréal)

Comparing Migrant Integration Policies at the Regional Level: An Analysis Using the MIPEX-R Indicators

Comparing Migrant Integration Policies at the Regional Level: An Analysis Using the MIPEX-R Indicators. Carmine Conte - Migration Policy Group. Francesco Pasetti - CIDOB. Giacomo Solano - Radboud University. Verena Wisthaler - EURAC Research Catherine Xhardez - Université de Montréal. Regions in Europe play a crucial role in the integration of migrants and refugees, being often responsible for the development and implementation of policies in key areas such as employment, health, labor market, and education. This article presents the MIPEX-R tool, a new set of indicators designed to analyze migrant integration policies at the regional level. Based on the highest European and international standards, as well as existing indicators in the literature (e.g., MIPEX, NIEM, ICC), the MIPEX-R aims to address the lack of large-scale comparative analysis on regional integration policies (Solano and Huddleston, 2021). The novelty of this tool is its focus on the regional level, evaluating not only policies on paper but also their implementation. In addition to presenting the MIPEX-R tool and its methodology, this paper illustrates the results of the first wave of MIPEX-R analysis conducted in 25 regions in 7 EU Member States (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden). In line with the Workshop, MIPEX-R results are discussed with the aim of: 1) identifying and discussing the main methodological and empirical challenges related to comparing regional integration policies with policy indicators; 2) addressing the challenges of studying integration policies at the regional level; and 3) pointing out the value and scope of analytical tools applied at regional level. In doing so, the article contributes to the ongoing debate on comparative policy analysis at the subnational level.

Mariely López-Santana and Dersu Ekim Tanca (George Mason University)

The Sub-National Level and Research Design: Lessons from the Literature on Comparative Methods

Social scientists, including political scientists and sociologists, have developed a vast literature on the comparative method.¹ This line of work has provided clear roadmaps, as well as a variety

¹ Some examples of this literature are the following contributions: Brady, Henry E. and David Collier (2004) *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers); George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (MIT Press); Geddes, Barbara (1990) "How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics," *Political Analysis* 2: 131-50; King, Gary, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba (1994) *Designing Social Inquiry* (Princeton University Press); Lijphart, Arend (1971) "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," *American Political Science Review* 65: 682-93; Przeworski, Adam and Henry Teune (1970) *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry* (John Wiley & Sons).

of “dos and don’ts,” on how to design research projects that meet key benchmarks of the Scientific Method. Most of these scholars have used the nation-state as the main unit of analysis, and in turn have said little on whether these insights translate to comparisons of sub-national jurisdictions.

This paper seeks to fill this gap by reviewing key insights and lessons from the literature on the comparative method to see: (1) whether they apply to comparative analyses of sub-national levels, and (2) if they do not apply, how we can modify these insight and lessons to conduct research projects that use the sub-national level as the main unit of analysis. To illustrate these points and develop the analysis, the author will draw examples from work that compares and contrasts sub-national units, including her own work.

Davide Vampa (Aston University)

Studying sub-national policy-making in an era of political instability: theoretical developments, methodological challenges and empirical insights from four European countries

The role of political parties and their representatives in policy-making processes has been extensively analysed in studies focusing on national and sub-national institutional arenas. Alternation in government between relatively established political actors and the unfolding of election cycles have long been considered important drivers of policy change and development. However, these fairly regular fluctuations within democratic systems are increasingly accompanied by more dramatic levels of volatility that make national and sub-national politics significantly more unstable and unpredictable than conventionally argued. Scholars have gradually begun to consider how political instability, growing fragmentation and more fluid party dynamics – with the rise of new players and the crisis of more established ones – may affect the functioning of national governments and the policies they pursue. However, little has been said about the implications of these transformations for sub-national policies in multilevel systems. This paper focuses on the regional level, situated between central and local government and often subject to conflicting ‘nationalising’ and ‘regionalising’ political pressures. It highlights the fact that instability may manifest itself differently across the regions of the same country, and the forms it takes – whether it is driven by sub-national or national actors (or both) – in turn affect regional-central institutional relations and the policies that result from these interactions. The theoretical part reflects on the concepts of regional political instability and its roots, changing political representation and leadership, territorial policy dynamics (i.e. interactions between central and regional governments), policy outcomes and feedback effects. It then provides a brief overview of how these concepts can be linked together and applied to the study of some multi-level systems, considering the cases of Italy, Spain, Germany and the United Kingdom. Keywords: political instability, sub-national policy, regions, territorial politics, Europe

Structure of the paper
Introduction
Theoretical Developments: Adding political instability to the study of regional policy-making - How politics affects sub-national public policy: what we know from the literature (which tends to focus on relatively stable and predictable political systems) - Defining regional political instability and its territorial dimensions (regionally-driven vs

nationally-driven instability) - Regional political instability in the electoral, representational and governmental arenas 2 - How instability affects sub-national policy-making: the impact of regional political instability on policy outcomes via territorial policy dynamics (vertical and horizontal intergovernmental interactions) Methodological challenges - Regional political instability within multi-level systems: combining diachronic change and synchronic dissimilarity - The roots of policy change: (unstable) political dynamics or shifting functional imperatives? Establishing causal links by using quantitative data and developing effective case selection strategies for in-depth qualitative analysis Empirical insights - Italy: multi-level instability and the loosening of links between sub-national policymaking and national frameworks - Spain: different territorial effects of political instability and growing regional tensions in policy priorities - Germany: maintaining policy cohesion via territorially integrated instability - UK: consolidating sub-national policy in a context of national and international turbulence Conclusion

Patrik Marier (Concordia University) and **Loïc Trabut** (Institut national d'études démographiques)

National intentions and local welfare markets: Market Tools to Support Seniors in France and Québec

Using Gingrich's (2011) typology of welfare markets, this contribution studies the selection and enactment of market tools in two different jurisdictions (France and Québec) across three types of territories. Quebec represents a classic example of a managed market with regional health authorities (CISSS/CIUSSS) seeking the lower the cost of long-term care by contracting services to community groups and the private sector. These contractual agents have gradually replaced health and social care professionals within the public system. France has opted to enact a consumer driven market with the introduction of the *allocation personnalisée d'autonomie* (APA) which provides cash benefits to eligible older adults who can then select the provider of their choice. Both of these market reforms are compared and analysed across three types of territories: rural (Finistère and Bas-St-Laurent), urban (Paris and Montréal), and in industrial decline (Somme and Mauricie). Despite operating within highly differentiated long-term care policy frameworks and market tools, both jurisdictions face similar difficulties in the enactment of market mechanisms. For instance, rural territories fail to generate sufficient providers to develop a market where a regional health authority (Québec) or older adults (France) can actually select a provider and negotiate terms of service. Public authorities must then intervene to generate market-like conditions. Regardless of the jurisdiction, the conceptualisation of market mechanism has clearly an urban setting in mind making them ill-suited for other environment and there is gradual movement towards the development of austerity market where individuals are forced to seek alternatives beyond the market tools deployed by governments.

Martin Papillon (Université de Montréal)

Comparing Policy Feedback Effects in Federal Systems: The Curious Case of Provincial Indigenous Rights in Canada

Comparing substate units of a federation offers a promising avenue to understand variations in the feedback effects produced by otherwise similar policies. Not only do federal subunits tend to have the same institutional and jurisdictional constraints in deploying policies, they also often have similar approaches to policymaking. Yet, analogous policies adopted in the different subunits of a federation sometimes have very different effects. This paper compares a relatively new and similar set of policies adopted by Canadian provinces and seek to explain variations in their feedback effects. Indigenous consultation policies were adopted by all Canadian provinces in the late 2000s following a series of court decisions mandating such consultations when the rights and interests of Indigenous peoples are impacted by a government decision or measure. While provincial rights-based consultation policies are, in their design, strikingly similar, their long-term effects on provincial Indigenous policy and on Indigenous-provincial relations more broadly differ. I focus on a comparison of Alberta, British Columbia, and Quebec to unpack the mechanisms that lead to what I define as degenerative effects in Alberta, generative effects in British-Columbia and policy stasis in Quebec. I then draw lessons for future comparative research on policy feedbacks within federal systems.

Lucia Kovacikova (Tulane University)

In the global competition for resources, why do some subnational governments establish international offices to spur their economic development while others do not? My research adopts a mixed-method approach to examine the process of subnational government internationalization (SGI) – that is, the establishment of subnational international offices for economic development purposes – and how the combined forces of globalization and decentralization encourage subnational units to build new institutions and participate in the global market. I first rely on a statistical analysis of my original dataset, which tracks international activities of all 394 subnational governments within the OECD. I supplement these findings using interview and archival evidence to build a comparison between four subnational cases across Canada and the United Kingdom. My approach differs from past qualitative studies in the sub-field by selecting both positive and negative cases of SGI. As a result, I focus on Saskatchewan and Manitoba in Canada, as well as Wales and the North East in the United Kingdom, highlighting the drivers that both spur and halt the growth of subnational international networks.

Using this novel methodological approach, I find a close link between subnational internationalization and subnational capacity. More specifically, I produce new and replicable results about the importance of subnational economy, geography, and political partisanship on the implementation of SGI. Wealthier subnational governments that are located closer to major international hubs are much more likely to establish international offices. Moreover, partisanship differences at the national and subnational level further this internationalization. The system of

government, meanwhile, changes the relative importance of these capacity drivers; in federal systems, paradiplomacy is driven by economic capacity, while in unitary systems it is largely a result of political variables. These findings help us understand not only the growing role of subnational governments in international economic development but also raise interesting questions about the current underrepresentation of subnational institutions in the Comparative Political Economy discourse overall.

Martin Seeleib-Kaiser (Eberhard Karls University Tübingen)

Sequel to this published paper: *Regulating the Poor through Internal Borders: The EU in Historical and International Perspectives*

Tensions surrounding internal migrants' access to welfare and the associated politicisations about who should shoulder the 'fiscal burden' are not unique to the European Union (EU). Based on a Most Different Systems Design and following an institutionalist approach, this article analyses the developments associated with freedom of movement and access to poor relief/social assistance in four economically and politically diverse jurisdictions. It also considers the implications of these developments for the EU. The four cases analysed are industrialising England, contemporary China, Germany, and the United States. Although economic integration was a necessary, it was not a sufficient condition for the abolishment of residence requirements for internal migrants in all four jurisdictions. Moreover, it took political power, various coalitions, or the leadership of actors to overcome the barriers and hurdles on the path to social citizenship in the wider territorial jurisdictions. Solidarity as a precondition did not play a significant role.

Joshua Medico (McGill University) and **Daniel Béland** (McGill University)

Comparative urban environmental governance in Canada: New windows into Canadian federalism and environmental politics

Abstract: Federal societies are host to a range of complex institutional arrangements. These arrangements provide both opportunities and limitations to climate policy. In Canada, past and recent literature have focused on relationships between the federal government and the provinces on issues like carbon taxation and resource management. However, the role of urban regions in Canada, and their contributions to climate governance, is understudied. This may be attributed to the fact that cities are legislatively beholden to provincial governments, who create and circumscribe their powers and institutional structures in a way that the federal government cannot with provinces. This paper seeks to enhance our understanding of how the structures of governance of urban regions in Canada contributes to their ability to collaborate and act on environmental issues including greenspace and biodiversity, transportation, and waste management. Case studies include the Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver regions. In doing so, we aim to clarify the role that institutional arrangements in urban regions has on environmental governance.

Hanna Kleider (King's College London) and **Simon Toubeau** (University of Nottingham)

How do decentralised countries respond to crises? Measuring patterns of centralization and coordination in 13 OECD countries

This paper develops a new measure to evaluate the spatial structure of a country's crisis response. It then applies the measure to track monthly changes in the extent of centralisation and policy coordination in 13 OECD countries over the course of the COVID-19 pandemic. We formulate four hypotheses based on the observed trends. First, there is a functional pressure for centralisation during crises due to centralised countries being more apt at responding rapidly and internalising negative policy spillovers. Second, when governments cannot centralise authority, for instance, because of constitutional constraints, they rely on coordination as a functional equivalent to centralisation. Third, prior institutions of self-rule and shared rule influence the extent to which countries choose a centralised or coordinated COVID-19 response. And fourth, where prior self-rule is high and the national crisis response politicised, regional governments are more likely to obstruct the national government's centralisation and coordination attempts.

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Amanda Kass (University of Illinois at Chicago) and **Philip Rocco** (Marquette University)

Using National Data Sources to Understand Subnational Policy: Insights from the American Rescue Plan Act

In federal systems, national governments invariably maintain some form of data on the fiscal activity of subnational governments—ranging from information on revenue collection and the allocation of expenditures to governments' use of intergovernmental aid. While these datasets provide scholars with a potentially rich source of information for comparative analysis, they also have the potential to creating misleading impressions of fiscal reality. Instruments for reporting fiscal data are not only highly technical, they are also deeply political. In this paper, we argue that using these instruments to decipher subnational fiscal conditions requires understanding both the political calculations that national governments make when designing them and that subnational governments make when transmitting their data (Kass 2019; Hughes-McClure 2022). Additionally, it requires understanding how subnational politics shapes and constrains governments' fiscal choices in ways that fiscal datasets render invisible. To illustrate this problem, as well as potential solutions to the problem, we draw on our ongoing research on how local governments in the United States are using federal funds from the American Rescue Plan Act to support Community Violence Interventions (CVIs).

Hughes-McClure, Sarah. "Follow the money." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 54, no. 7 (2022): 1299-1322.

Kass, Amanda. "Working with financial data as a critical geographer." In *Geographical Fieldwork in the 21st Century*, pp. 104-116. Routledge, 2021.

Johannes Müller Gómez (Université de Montréal and McGill University)

Sub-federal resistance to the implementation of international agreements

Federal governments regularly depend on sub-federal governments' goodwill to successfully fulfill their international obligations. However, sub-federal commitment to the implementation of international agreements cannot be taken for granted. Against this backdrop, this paper asks the following research question: Under which conditions do sub-federal governments resist or support the implementation of an international agreement?

This paper draws on international compliance theory and federal studies to develop a set of hypotheses explaining sub-federal resistance to and support for implementation. I conduct a Comparative Qualitative Analysis (fsQCA) of sub-federal governments' role in the implementation of the Paris Climate Agreement in Australia, Canada, and the European Union. I find that the combination of sub-federal capacity and willingness sufficiently explains sub-federal support. But this does not tell the whole story. Cooperation between the federal and sub-federal governments during international negotiations and the implementation process can compensate for lack of sub-federal capacity or willingness and bring sub-federal governments on board with implementation. Conversely, not being involved in the negotiation or implementation process makes it easier for unwilling sub-federal governments to resist implementation. Theoretically, this paper seeks to bridge international compliance literature and the field of comparative federalism. Methodologically, it also serves to discuss opportunities and pitfalls of comparing sub-federal governments across different federal systems.

Cheryl Camillo (University of Regina) **and Sara Allin** (University of Toronto)

Case Studies of Provincial/Territorial COVID-19 Vaccination Campaigns: Challenges and Opportunities of Comparative Analysis

Within Canada's federation, the governance and organization of health systems vary across provinces/territories. Provincial/territorial (PT) governments have primary constitutional authority for delivering health services, yet have the ability to delegate responsibility for financing, delivering, and governing health and public health services to regional or local levels. Over the past decade, several provinces have amalgamated their health systems into a single provincial authority, but others have retained health regions established during an earlier wave of decentralization. Provincial health and public health systems do not necessarily align; public health reforms did not always follow health system reforms.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, PT responses, including vaccine rollout, varied widely. Our CoVaRR-Net Social Policy team's case studies of rollout campaigns in the PTs found significant differences in the goals and administration of the campaigns that likely impacted uptake by the general public and vulnerable population groups, but a historic dearth of published information about public health systems and a lack of standardized sub-national vaccination data limited analysis.

This paper will discuss these challenges, but also how ongoing profiling of PT public health systems by the University of Toronto, as well as work by CoVaRR-Net Pillar 8 toward building a surveillance system could address them.

Catarina Ianni Segatto (Getulio Vargas Foundation)

Subnational policy-making in Brazil: Bureaucrat activism, state capacities, and legacies in education and healthcare

The scholarship discusses the importance of national coordination on subnational policies in federal countries but also highlights that national coordination does not fully explain subnational policies' variations. This is the case as subnational policy-making is explained by state capacities, policy legacies, bureaucratic activism, and the interactions between state and non-state actors. The study seeks to contribute to the debate on the subnational governments' policy-making in federal countries through the analysis of subnational policy-making in education and healthcare in Brazil. Brazil's national coordination was strengthened in the last few decades but varied between policies. Healthcare has a more centralized path, in which subnational governments are responsible for service provision, but the federal government is the primary decision-maker. Education has a more decentralized path, with states and municipalities responsible for service provision with weak national coordination. This study focuses on two policies – HIV/AIDS and literacy policies – in three Brazilian states, seeking to better grasp the interplay between national coordination and subnational factors on both policies. Two states chosen are from the northeast – Maranhão and Pernambuco – and one from the southeast – São Paulo. The empirical research draws on academic publications, official documents, and in-depth interviews with representatives of federal and state governments, civil society, and specialists. This is ongoing research, but preliminary findings show that national coordination is weaker in education, resulting in a more significant variation of state capacities and policy legacies among state governments. Even though these variations affected subnational policies, the relationship between bureaucrats and non-state actors was central to promoting policy changes. While, in education, the movement of bureaucrats and ideas among governments and the relationship between them and philanthropic organizations explain policy changes, in healthcare, bureaucrats influenced by ideas of a social movement (the *sanitarista* movement) were crucial for initiating policies and preserving their continuity over time.

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