

A Global Dialogue on Federalism
Theme VII
DIVERSITY AND UNITY IN FEDERAL COUNTRIES

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The Concept

This is the seventh in a series of themes developed under the Global Dialogue Program, a joint initiative of the Forum of Federations¹ and the International Association of Centres for Federal Studies (IACFS).² The general goal of the program is to bring together practitioners and scholars from a range of federal political systems to explore a selected aspect of federalism in a format that also produces publications as valuable resources for the practice, teaching, and study of federalism.

Theme Coordination

The coordinators of this theme are Luis Moreno (Spanish National Research Council)³ and César Colino (Spanish Distance Learning University).⁴

The General Process

The Forum of Federations and the IACFS have developed guidelines for conducting a project within the Global Dialogue. Key steps in the process are as follows:

- Preparation of a ‘template’ by the theme coordinators to ensure consistency in approach across all countries. The template is intended to be partially flexible to suit the circumstances of different countries, but the expectation is that each chapter will substantially follow the template.
- Identification of the federal political systems to be included in the theme and of experts willing to act as coordinators for the case-study countries.
- Organization of a Country Roundtable within each selected federal polity, under the auspices of the Country Coordinator. Each roundtable should involve 8-15 academics and practitioners; discuss the theme template; and help the Country Coordinator to write a chapter that reflects, not the author’s personal views, but rather consensus views of the country as well as acknowledgement of disagreements.
- Preparation of a draft chapter by each country coordinator, broadly reflecting the results of discussion in the country workshop.
- Organization of the International Roundtable for the theme by the Theme Coordinators in order to explore the theory and practice of federalism in all the case-study countries and to provide the first opportunity to jointly consider the draft chapters across countries.
- Revision of the draft chapters in the light of the International Roundtable and any comments from the Theme Coordinators; submission to the Theme Coordinators.
- Distribution of the chapters to external reviewers for comment and final revisions in the light of the review.
- Publication of a short booklet summarizing the results of the country roundtable for each country included in the theme.

¹ <http://www.forumfed.org/>

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- Publication (by McGill-Queen's University Press) as a theme handbook. This handbook will comprise the country chapters and an introduction and conclusion written by the theme coordinators.
- Launch event.

Countries

This theme will include the following countries as case studies: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Nigeria, Russia, Switzerland, Spain, and United States.

The Process for This Theme

In outline, the following procedures will apply to this theme:

- The template on Diversity and Unity in Federal Countries follows this introduction.
- The names of the 12 country co-coordinators will be circulated once the list is complete.
- The Country Roundtables should be held within the period January 2008 through March 2008. More detailed guidance on how they might be conducted will be circulated by the Forum to all Country Coordinators.
- A short booklet will be published summarizing the results of the country roundtable for each country included in the theme. Country coordinators will be asked to submit a 4-page article for the booklet 4 weeks after the country roundtable.
- The draft country chapters for the book should be written by May 2008 and submitted to the theme coordinators no later than one week before the theme's International Roundtable.
- The International Roundtable will be held in Madrid during June 2008.
- The revised chapters should be returned to the Theme Coordinators by July 2008 for distribution to external reviewers. A process of comments and revision will follow. Country chapters should be finalized and sent to theme coordinators by November 15 2008.
- The final manuscript should be submitted to the printers by December 2008, with a view to publication of the book in August 2009.

This should be a collaborative exercise to stimulate mutual learning. The Theme Coordinators will keep the Country Coordinators informed about progress and will be ready to assist in any way, together with the logistical support of the of Global Dialogue personnel and the Senior Editor.⁵

⁵ <http://www.forumfed.org/programs/GDhome.asp>

Theme Template

Introduction

Societies, far from being coherent and uniform, not only exhibit diversity but also generally develop mutually interdependent and interacting structures and cleavages. In contemporary times, the development of industrialization, urbanization and social communication has characterized in different degrees the processes of state formation, nation-building, mass democratization and modernization, thereby creating multiple and nested identities. These may be politicized and require accommodation or conflict management, for which federalism is one usual institutional arrangement.

Traditionally the cornerstone of state formation and nation-building, primarily in the European tradition, was the creation of a common national identity throughout a specified territory under one unitary central authority or through the federation of existing states into a nation-state. However, this idea of “one state, one people,” which was transported worldwide as a result of European colonialism, has been far from being accomplished in most countries. Most have shown long-standing traditions of internal diversity and strong ethnoterritorial collective identities. All-embracing and exclusive nation-state identities have in many cases been problematic. The new millennium is witnessing the unleashing of the politics of identity and differentiation across the world.

Different combinations or configurations of ethnic or non-ethnic diversities are a relevant factor in many federations and federal-like systems. Diversities may or may not appear associated with territory. Diversity may or may not gain political expression and therefore does not necessarily imply conflict. In this respect, two main types of diversity are relevant for our theme on diversity and unity in federal systems

(1) That pertaining to cultural-ideological-racial-religious predispositions. When these are concentrated territorially, this differences may be more difficult to manage institutionally, and are the ones for which federal arrangements are deemed the most appropriate. Because they relate to identity and collective self-perception, they are difficult to bargain about politically.

(2) That concerning socio-economic resources and interests of groups territorially concentrated. Socioeconomic differences revolve around the allocation of socially valued goods and redistribution of resources among territories and are sometimes a common rationale of federal arrangements. In many federations, these two types of diversity overlap and/or are interconnected, making the picture still more complex.

For these diversities, and especially ethnic or cultural diversity, several dimensions have been pointed out as being of importance to understand the need for different institutional responses for managing diversity.

For instance, the extent to which there is a single dominant cultural or ethnic group and a variety of minorities in the country; the extent to which those minorities have a long established presence within that society or are formed by new migrants producing a new politics of difference; the extent to which their political identities are strong and politically mobilized or are assimilated into the majoritarian cultural group. And, finally, the extent to which different ethnolinguistic or cultural groups are concentrated within a particular geographic area or, on the contrary, are dispersed throughout the society.

Studies of ethnic groups in culturally divided countries have identified around 65 countries where there is at least one territorially concentrated minority that either accounts for more than 5 per cent of the population or amounts to half a million people. Most of those countries with

territorially concentrated ethnic minorities are not federal systems. Additionally, of the 24 polities considered federal states, only 15 are among those 65 states with territorially concentrated minorities.

Institutional crystallizations of the federal idea thus range from practically homogenous polities (e.g., Germany), to ethnically heterogeneous ones with no territorial ascription or concentration of ethnic groups (e.g., Brazil and the USA), or polities with a multiple ethnoterritorial diversity (e.g., India, Nigeria, and Switzerland). Among those 15 federal states with politically relevant ethnic minorities, some authors have observed, one could find different institutional responses to ethnic diversity. 1) In some cases the federal structure ignores ethnic issues, or respond to concerns having nothing to do with empowering such groups. The boundaries of constituent units cut across ethnic groups (Malaysia, USA, Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela). 2) In other cases, the federal structure reflects somewhat ethnic diversity, but the configuration of constituent units' boundaries divides at least the largest ethnocultural group, and sometimes other groups as well (Switzerland, Canada and Spain, Russia, Nigeria), where certain ethnolinguistic groups enjoy autonomy under the federal system, but are divided among several constituent units. 3) In a small number of cases, the federal structure reflects the territorial distribution of the ethnic groups (Belgium or Ethiopia).

There are nine federal systems where minorities are not territorially concentrated (e. g. Argentina, Austria and Germany) and others that have significant indigenous or other minorities but without an identifiable territory of their own (Australia, USA) which were not designed to empower such minorities politically.

As these examples show, the different configurations of ethnic and territorial diversity are dealt with through different institutional strategies. Some authors have distinguished between strategies for managing diversity that emphasize integration and inclusion of ethno-cultural differences and those that emphasize the autonomy and empowerment of those groups or territories. Different strategies are more likely to work more effectively in some contexts than in others. The institutional strategies applied may account for different degrees of stability, social justice, legitimacy, equity, recognition, social integration and accountability achieved by the federal system.

In sum, federations with politicized ethnocultural diversity often face a double challenge in both their constitutional design and their everyday functioning. In their management of diversity, it has been argued, federations have to deal with a 'recognition agenda' (acceptance of cultural differences, building of accommodation, or facilitating minorities' aspirations), and with an 'integration agenda' (allowing minorities' views into mainstream politics, strengthening mutual support and solidarity, or reinforcing societal bonds). Both of these agendas are crucial for the consolidation of a legitimate and stable federative order. To achieve this, there are a series of available institutional and policy arrangements.

Indeed, being federal means the legitimate recognition and accommodation of diversity. Especially where conflict arises, federalism underlines the meaning of diversity by making its institutional accommodation possible. In such instances, federal arrangements are not mechanisms for 'disguising' internal oppositions, although they can be instrumentalized for such a purpose. Territorial dual identities expressed by citizens seek also to count on institutions reflecting the basic federalist principle of facilitating unity and diversity at the same time by means of political pact and legitimacy at state and sub-state levels. As a consequence, people's political loyalties to both national and regional institutions may provide stability and legitimacy to the whole federal polity.

Despite the numerous studies on ethnicity, conflict and territorial cleavages in federations, as well as the analyses on constitutional designs to manage conflict, there is a lack a comprehensive and systematic comparative account of the different types and aspects of diversity in federal systems and the determinants and consequences of the approaches taken to manage them. To fill this gap, and in order to provide a picture of developments concerning diversity in federal-like countries, this volume will address a set of cross-cutting questions reproduced below. The general aim of the book is to provide useful information and interpretations to the following general question: What lessons can be drawn from the 12 cases under scrutiny regarding 1) how diversities are distributed, activated, politicized and dealt with, and 2) under what conditions different types of federal arrangements can serve to accommodate social and political differences, to manage conflicts and to stabilize a legitimate order?

Main areas of examination in the common list of contents relate to socio-economic, cultural-identity, political and institutional dimensions of diversity. A fifth analytical section concentrates on policies for managing diversity and divergence in policy outcomes. The template presented below serves the purpose of facilitating a common guide for the writing of each country chapter.

QUESTIONS TO BEAR IN MIND AND BE ADDRESSED IN ALL CHAPTERS

- What is the configuration of ethnic, racial, linguistic, cultural or religious differences in the country? What is the territorial distribution of socioeconomic resources and cleavages and the differential prospects for development in the constituent units?
- What are the ground rules and institutions in the federation for the exercise of diversity, and how are these rules worked out and enforced? How is diversity conceived of in the Constitution and in the real operation of the political system? What influences have shaped and continue to shape the various conceptions of federalism, autonomy, and diversity in the country? Is diversity considered a burden or an asset to be built upon?
- What is unique or different about the country's distribution of socioeconomic differences and its management compared to other federal countries? Are the political structures of the constituent units of the federation notably dissimilar, or do they share basic legal and institutional features?
- How do the particular federal arrangements and policies of the country deal with the accommodation of social and political differences, manage conflicts, and try to create a legitimate and stable order? What are the effects of this approach to deal with diversity in historical perspective?
- Is the federal Constitution regarded as legitimate and contributing to the accommodation of social diversity? How does the Constitution make compatible equity, redistribution and fairness with the recognition and protection of diversity?

Thus, consistent with the purpose of the Global Dialogue, to assist countries to learn from each other's experiences, country chapters should deal with the background, present functioning, and future challenges of diversity.

Questions that are irrelevant to any given country should be ignored. If the template omits questions relevant to a particular country, however, or takes an unduly narrow perspective, please let the theme coordinators know, so that the template can be adjusted accordingly, to make the outcomes as useful as possible. Authors of the country chapters are encouraged to be

analytical and have a dynamic perspective and not merely descriptive in their approach to the topic as much as possible.

Whenever possible views in various sections should be based on the analytical consensus reached in the country roundtable and should not be the personal opinion of the author. Note that each chapter, including tables and annexes, should not exceed 12, 000 words.

Please refer to volume one of the Global Dialogue on Federalism, *Constitutional Origins, Structure, and Change in Federal Countries*, as a style model for your chapter.

I. INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW OF THE COUNTRY

A. Very brief description of the main features of the country

1. Population, size, historical development, economy (GDP per capita expressed in most recent data in US\$PPPs), number of constituent units, constitutional provisions, or type of government)
2. Nature of main societal cleavages (ethnic identity, religion, culture, language, race, or economic disparities). Are they territorial or non-territorial?
3. Are there significant ethnic majorities/minorities in the federation or within constituent units?

B. Constitutional Principles of the Federation

1. Why did the country establish a federal system as opposed to a unitary system with devolution or decentralization and proportional representation in national institutions? Was the federation created by the integration of previously independent or established political communities, or by the creation of constituent governments by a previously unitary state?
2. Is distinctiveness or diversity among constituent units recognized in the Constitution? Has the federation a purely territorial rationale or is ethnocultural diversity the origin of federation? Is the Constitution conceived of more as a covenant among individuals or more as a compact between peoples? Are the constituent units of the federation regarded as political units alone or as distinct communities?
3. Is a basic purpose of the Constitution and/or subsequent legal or political development to express the country's fundamental diversities through the constituent units of the federation, or is it the basic purpose of the constitution and/or subsequent legal or political development to ensure that the federation's constituent units cut across and disperse the country's fundamental diversities?
4. Is there a practical or constitutional distinction between 'nationality-based units' and federated constituent units that are considered as subdivisions of a larger national majority group?
5. Degree of decentralization/non-centralization. Constitutional safeguards/guarantees of constituent units
6. Since the creation of the federation, have additional constituent polities been added to the federation or carved out of existing units?
7. Are there unresolved demands for greater constitutional powers requested by some or all of the constituent units?

C. Concepts of diversity (legal and political)

1. Is there a public debate in the media or among academics on the issues of diversity? Which are the main issues in the debate (unity, cohesion, asymmetry, language, finance?)
2. How do the main political actors or academics in the country conceptualize federalism or autonomy? What are the main different approaches to and underlying assumptions about 'diversity', 'cultural difference', and 'national pluralism' in the country? What role does the individualist versus the territorially based multicultural approach to diversity play?
3. Are there several nations or nationalities within the federal state recognized in the Constitution or in the political discourse?
4. Is the language of ethnicity used in the Constitution? Are any ethnic minorities or ethnic groups recognized in the Constitution or the laws, or are different groups considered just as linguistic minorities or territorial entities with autonomy rights?
5. How minorities are defined, who defines them, where are they located, and what constitutional and institutional provisions are made for them to voice their views?
6. How are the communities or constituent units referred to? What is the political, symbolic and legal significance of their denomination? Is it contested, ascribed, or self-selected?
7. Are there competing views of 'citizenship', 'identity' and 'nation' across the federal system? Is there a prevalent civic or ethnic conception of the national community among state (majority) and/or sub-state (minority) nationalists?
8. Are minority rights protected in the Constitution related to territories or to individuals? (Can individuals belonging to a recognized minority enjoy their minority rights only within a certain territory or all over the country?)
9. Are the principles of equality or non-discrimination among territories and/or citizens constitutionally recognized?
10. Have shifts in the conceptualization of internal diversity and cultural differences taken place with the increase of in/out migration? Is there, for example, a shift towards a more individual-centered and less territorial-centered conception of diversity?

II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC, DEMOGRAPHIC AND SPATIAL DIVERSITY

A. General

1. What are the regional shares of the total country population? What is the share of the largest constituent unit in the total population?
2. How is the population balance among groups? Is there a dominant ethnic, race, religious, cultural group in the population at the federal level or in the various constituent units? Are there large language/ethnic groups and many smaller groups, or are all of them rather of the same size? Are there commonalities or commonly shared attributes among diverse groups?
3. What are the main ethnocultural groups in the country? What is the ethnic cohesiveness of each of them (does it account for a majority of the population in one or more constituent units? is it a majority in its own region?). What is their territorial concentration (what proportion of the total population of the group is concentrated in that region and how many live outside in other constituent units?)
4. Are there in the country several economic or cultural centers (e. g. metropolitan areas) that are considered the historical capital of different ethnic groups, or is the capital of the federation the main population/economic/political center?

5. Is there congruence or non-congruence of economic and/or political centers in the federation?
6. Is socio-economic diversity between groups and/or individuals increasing or diminishing? Can such a disparity be quantified or is it felt to be the product of distinct self-perceptions?
7. Are current economic and social developments reinforcing internal unity or diversity within the country? May changes be foreseen as a consequence of the action of emerging actors, ideas or institutions?

B. Minority enclaves

1. Is there spread of linguistic/ethnic minority enclaves in the different constituent units?
2. Are there minority-community irredentist movements in certain constituent units and/or neighboring countries with which they maintain cultural and historical affinities?

C. Economic development and economic divergences:

1. Are economic centers and peripheries clearly recognizable? Is there congruence between the economic and the political centers of the federation?
2. Is economic and social exclusion unequally distributed across the country? (e.g., Gini coefficient; dispersion between the incomes of households in the 5th and the 9th percentile).
3. What are the regional shares of national GDP and the per head regional public expenditure?
4. Are wage rates significantly higher in some regions/groups than in others?
5. What are the regional unemployment rates as compared to the national average? Is there a division of labor according to group membership?
6. What are the regional growth rates as compared to the national average?
7. What are the regional shares of gross investment in tangible goods in manufacturing?
8. Have socioeconomic groups traditionally been associated to ethnic origins? Have this produced any sort of group competition for resources or positions in the labor market that is territorially distinct?
9. What, if any, are the political consequences of uneven economic development?

D. New diversity produced by migration

1. How many current residents (and naturalized citizens) are of a foreign origin?
2. Up to which percentage is international migration responsible for the country's population growth?
3. How much migration occurs between constituent units in the federation
4. Where do immigrants mainly come from?
5. Are there gaps in life chances between immigrants and other citizens? Are immigrants predominantly unskilled?
6. Is there increased residential segregation in cities and rural areas?
7. How is immigration affecting the cultural integrity of constituent units? Has diversity inhibited migration from other countries or within the federation?

III. CULTURAL-IDENTITY DIVERSITY

A. General

1. Are there significant differences between segments of the population in terms of religion, language, ethnicity, race, or any other cultural aspect?
2. Which is the most prominent factor for group identity or definition in the federation (e.g., history, language, religion, race, territory, or a combination of these)?
3. Are the diverse self-defined ethnocultural communities or national groups within the federation geographically concentrated or are they spread across the constituent units?
4. Are there aboriginal people or indigenous populations (First Nations)? What percentage of the population do they represent in the different constituent units?
5. Are there differences across constituent units in the ways in which people define themselves as members of 'ethnic' or 'national' groups?
6. Is there a history of violence among groups (e.g., civil war, repression, terrorism) or historical grievances of some groups or communities in the country?
7. Do different kinds of diversity in the federation reinforce each other or do they cut across each other?

B. Religion

1. What is the religious composition of the constituent units?
2. Is religion a cleavage? Have religious differences been important in the making and shaping of the federation?
3. Is religion associated with other cultural, political or socio-economic attributes in the population (e.g., language, income, Right/Left)?
4. Are official churches organized federation-wide and/or regionally within constituent units?

C. Language

1. How many different languages (mother tongues) are spoken in the federation?
2. How many official languages are recognized by the federal or constituent units?
3. Is there a common language, or *lingua franca*, with which different the peoples of communities can communicate?
4. Are the main different languages spoken in the country similar, and intelligible among them, or are they rather different?

D. Race and ethnoterritorial identity

1. Are there racial differences among the different groups or communities in the country, or has ethnic diversity historically been constructed and/or self-defined?
2. Do citizens attach primordially to different communities (whether territorial or non-territorial) or do they share loyalties to the whole of the federation as well?
3. Do people principally identify with the country, with their constituent units, with both, or with neither of them? Where there are territorially based national, ethnic, racial, linguistic, or cultural communities, are there empirical measures of individuals' attachment to and identification with those communities?

4. Do opinion polls, if available, show an increase of support for regional institutions to the detriment of national/federal ones?

IV. POLITICAL DIVERSITY

A. Political culture and ideology

1. Is the country's federal constitution grounded in a country's common political culture?
2. Are there different regional political cultures?
3. If available, what is the degree of positive identification with the state, and the declared pride in being citizens of that state that surveys show? Does it vary across constituent units or groups?
4. What is the degree of trust in the most important constitutional, legal, and administrative institutions of the federation? (monarchy, presidency, senate, federal government, subcentral governments)
5. What is the degree of support among groups or constituent units for the state-wide democratic institutions (parliament, elections, parties) of the country?
6. Do some constituent units lean more to the Left, Center or Right than others?
7. Do some constituent units rely more on the public sector and state intervention than others?

C. Structures of the party system

1. Do regionally-based parties (e.g., nationalist, regionalist, indigenist, populist) exist? Do they operate in both regional and national arenas? How successful are they (e.g., share of votes and seats in regional and national elections)?
2. Are there distinct patterns of party competition (e.g., specific regional alignments, or particular regional issues and distinct voting patterns in election campaigns)?
3. What is the usual government formation in the constituent polities (coalition of parties or single-party governments)?
4. Up to what degree is the national party system organized along regional lines (in terms of organization, finances, recruitment, career patterns, or coalition-building)?

D. Political participation and interest groups

1. Are there distinct patterns of electoral turnout in the different constituent units?
2. Are business groups and unions organized nationally, or are they composed of territorial subunits?
3. Are there different patterns of non-conventional civic participation (e.g., NGOs or social movements) in the different constituent units?
4. Do systems of cooption, patronage, clientelism or indirect representation prevail that are associated to different ethnic groups?
5. To what degree are social networks and civic associations organized along regional lines or nationally? Are there strong federation-wide NGOs or associations that include citizens from different social and cultural/ethnic groups?
6. Are there any outstanding patterns of social capital formation, participation or political mobilization in specific regions?

V. DIVERSITY OF INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

A. General

1. Outline the key institutions of the federation government and the governments of the constituent units. What are the most common institutional arrangements of the political system (parliamentarianism, separation of powers, bicameralism, presidential rule, proportional electoral systems, etc.)? Are consensual arrangements in place, or is majoritarian rule the prevailing pattern in both the federal and constituent arenas? Do institutional arrangements in the constituent polities resemble those for the federal/national government?
2. Are constituent units symbolically recognized? Is their historical or cultural distinctiveness reflected in their denomination or symbols? Is the presence of multiple national identities recognized?
3. Is there a Bill of Rights that applies throughout the federation? Are constituent units allowed to establish their own distinctive Bills of Rights? How do they relate to the federation-wide rights?
4. Is there a constitutional possibility of redesigning the federation internal boundaries along ethnic or ethnolinguistic lines?
5. What constitutional powers do constituent units have to enforce or maintain cultural or language policies?
6. How much and what types of cooperation, competition, conflict, and collusion occur between the constituent units themselves in the federation? Are intergovernmental relations a source for institutional cooperation, or otherwise?
7. Are different ethnocultural groups or individuals from different territorial origins over/under-represented in public administration, military, judiciary, business or intelligentsia?

B. Second chambers

1. What is the composition and representation principle in the second chamber? Is it designed to temper majority rule (equal representation of units regardless their size and population)?
2. Does it directly represent constituent units at the federal level? Does it represent and give voice to certain minorities? Or does it reflect differences in the size of units and is designed to represent the majority?
3. Are members of the second chamber directly accountable or responsible to constituent governments or legislatures?

C. Constitutional amendment rules

1. What types of majorities does the amendments of the constitution requires? Does it require 'super-majorities' or explicit consent of minority groups on critical issues relevant to their identity or their territories?
2. Does the amending formula provide for the participation or veto of constituent units or ethnic groups? Does it require the consent of a large majority of the constituent units, or unanimity?

D. Asymmetries

1. Are constituent polities responsible for the same amount of powers, or are regional powers different among the various constituent polities?
2. How does the Constitution frame institutional symmetry or asymmetry? Was such a distinction a matter of principle (normative rationale) or a necessity of the politics of accommodation during the founding moment of the federation (functional rationale)?
3. Are there any special arrangements for peripheral units or territories not belonging to the main body of the federation (islands, associated states, federacies, etc.)?
4. Are there special fiscal or tax arrangements benefiting specific territories or communities, and are they constitutionally entrenched?
5. Is per capita public spending by the federal government unequally distributed? Does the per capita spending of the constituent units governments vary greatly?
6. Are asymmetries accessible to all the units if they request them, or are they just limited to some specific constituent units?
7. Are the asymmetries among constituent units transitory or permanent?
8. Can constituent governments opt out of federal policies? Do they usually do it?

E. Judicial power

1. Does a Supreme Court or Constitutional Court exist to rule on conflicts between the federation and the constituent units?
2. Do constituent units play a role in the appointment of judges of this Court?
3. Does judicial review exist and does it have a role in the accommodation of diversity?
4. Has this Court endorsed a specific understanding of federalism, or of the federation, as multicultural, multinational, or otherwise?
5. How are federal judges recruited?
6. Do the constituent polities have their own independent courts? If yes,
7. What are their powers and jurisdiction?
8. What are their main interactions with the federal/national courts?

F. Consociational arrangements and extra-judicial dispute resolution

1. Are consociational practices (formal and informal arrangements to guarantee various groups a place in national decision-making) in place (whether *de jure* or *de facto*)?
2. Is there an effort to facilitate the representation of all groups or territories in the federal cabinet (e.g., oversized coalitions, collective or rotating presidencies; a minimum number of ministers in the national executive, conventional allocation of specific portfolios to politicians coming from certain units or groups, or formation according to the group composition in the federation)?
3. Are certain groups or constituent units granted a fixed number of seats in the federal legislature (lower house and upper house) or positions in courts (constitutional court)?
4. Do procedural mechanisms exist to protect minority groups in the national legislative or executive process (e.g., special legislative majorities)? Does the passing of certain types of bills require a qualified majority (e.g., a majority of the members of each linguistic or ethnic group in the relevant parliamentary body)?
5. Are there 'double majorities' or 'mutual veto' or "reciprocal minority guarantees" to decide on issues of critical importance to specific constituent units or minority groups?

6. Are there political mechanisms for dispute resolution among constituent units? (e. g. prime ministers councils, second chamber negotiation, coalition governments)

G. Citizenship regulations

1. Does the federal Constitution define citizenship or include any other provisions on citizenship? Is citizenship determined by the federal government?
2. Which order/level of government grants citizenship status to immigrants?
3. Does the federal Constitution recognize or authorize dual citizenship (of both the national and the constituent orders/levels of government)?
4. Is citizenship in the federation based on the principle either of *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis*?

H. Human rights/Minority rights

1. How are individual rights enforced and protected constitutionally? Do federal and/or constituent rights protections apply only to nationals, or do they extend also to guest workers, residents, and tourists?
2. Do individual rights prevail upon regulations of both the federal and the constituent governments?
3. Can the constituent polities grant more rights or fewer rights to their citizens or residents than is granted by the federation government?
4. Are there any collective rights constitutionally protected? What kinds of group or communal rights, if any, does the federal constitution guarantee? Please categorize (e.g., negative and/or positive on linguistic, religious and cultural rights) and provide with some examples.
5. If a citizen of the country moves to a different constituent unit does she/he have all the same rights, privileges, and immunities of a native citizen of that constituent unit?
6. What are the main constitutional provisions for minorities in both the regional and the national orders of government?
7. Are rights for aboriginal peoples recognized and protected by the Constitution? How are such rights enforced?
8. Does the federation government take an active role to protect 'minorities within the minorities' in constituent units? (This refers to ethnic or linguistic groups that are majoritarian at the federation level but represent a minority within the boundaries of one particular constituent unit. Their rights may be put in danger by the constituent government, and the federation government may intervene to protect them).

I. Electoral systems

1. Do electoral rules produce a sufficient degree of proportionality to reflect existing minorities? Do they create incentives for political leaders to build electoral coalitions? Are presidential candidates required to win a majority in a number of constituent units?
2. Do different electoral systems exist in the federal arena and in the constituent units? If yes,
3. How do they affect the representation of groups and minorities in the national and regional representative bodies?
4. Are permanent residents (non-citizens) allowed to vote in municipal or other elections?

J. Secession

1. Do the constituent polities have a constitutional right of secession from the federation? If yes,
2. What procedure does the Constitution provide for secession?
3. If the Constitution does not recognize secession, are there any actual or potential judicial, executive, or political avenues for secession?
4. Is the principle of self-determination accepted or advocated by meaningful political parties at the federal or constituent levels? Are the territorial subject, and the citizens entitled to exercise this right, well-defined and generally accepted or is it unclear or contested?
5. Are there any secessionist movements in the country and, if so, why are they present, what are the politics of those movements, and is there any violence or terrorism associated with any of those movements or demands?

VI. POLICIES FOR MANAGING DIVERSITY. DIVERGENCE IN POLICY OUTCOMES

A. General

1. Does the Constitution contain provisions for constitutionally established institutions to provide services to particular ethnic, racial, linguistic, or religious communities?
2. Has governmental action increased institutional segmentation and exacerbated diversity of governmental outcomes in the past? Is it likely to happen again in the future?
3. Are there any mechanisms facilitating identification with common symbols and institutions of the federation?
4. To what extent public policy preferences and policies vary across constituent units and municipalities?
5. Is there a general quotas policy or affirmative action for the recruitment of personnel in public administration, police, courts, etc?

B. The fiscal policies

1. Is there a constitutionally entrenched principle of solidarity, redistribution or uniformity of living conditions? How is it implemented in practice? What are the practical obstacles?
2. Are there policies for fiscal equalization among territories? Are those mechanisms of equalization or redistribution horizontal (among constituent units) or just vertical?
3. What are the main effects of federal income tax on redistribution among territories?
4. How high are the tax and borrowing powers of constituent governments?

C. Linguistic policies

1. Are different languages recognized as official in parts or the whole of the federation? Is bilingualism/multilingualism permitted and/or promoted? Is it required of federal, regional, or local government officials and employees? Are minority languages at federal, regional and local contexts enhanced in public and private sector institutions?
2. May all citizens use their own vernacular languages in their contacts with national, regional, and/or local authorities?
3. Is the principle of one-language-for-all enforced federation-wide?

4. Is there positive discrimination (or affirmative action) in some constituent units in favor of the local languages (e.g., compulsory labeling of products and publicity, or as a requirement for public jobs)?
5. What language provisions apply to the police, armed forces and public service at national and regional level?
6. Is there access to some government sources in minority languages (e.g., tax or census forms; webpages)?

D. Education policies

1. How are language or other group rights reflected in educational institutions?
2. Are there publicly funded schools in minority languages?
3. Does the law provide for primary and middle school education in minority languages?
4. Are there different language systems for primary and middle education?
5. Is bilingualism enshrined in the education system?
6. Which are the languages of higher education?

E. Justice system, police, courts

1. Is there a right to language interpretation in court proceedings?
2. Is there a right to be addressed in one's own language by police officers?
3. Do the composition of the courts reflect, and how, the federal, regional and local diversity in the country? .

F. Religion policies

1. Is the separation of the church/es and the state realms constitutionally recognized?
2. Are there any federal and/or regional laws or policies of affirmative action or positive discrimination for any religious groups?
3. Are any religious activities, personnel, or buildings funded by national, regional, and/or local governments?
4. Is religious education promoted or permitted in public (government-run) schools?
5. Have there been any national, regional, and/or local restrictions on wearing or displaying religious symbols? Have there been any tensions in religious integration?
6. Are there any national, regional, and/or local laws that prohibit individuals from converting from one religion to another or declaring themselves atheists?
7. Has the national government or any regional or local governments established religious law, such as Sharia? Are there any national, regional, or local religious courts or, otherwise, any national, regional, or local recognition of religious law?

G. Media policies

1. How pluralistic are the mass media (e.g., newspapers, television, radio)? Are there dominant languages in the media? Does it vary much across constituent units? What is the market-share of public owned television or big media groups?
2. Is there government-owned television in the constituent units controlled by regional authorities?
3. Is publicly-owned television managed according to the notion of group representation at the federal or constituent level?

4. Do the law, as well as the federal or regional authorities, provide broadcasting incentives and facilities for all groups or constituent units?

H. Health policies

1. Are there constituent units' specific health systems and policies or is health care organized nationally or locally? Do these systems of health provision vary much across constituent units?
2. Do citizens from one constituent unit have a right to public health care in other constituent unit?
3. Are mortality rates or health indicators significantly unequal among constituent units?

I. Multiculturalism and immigration policies

1. How is incorporation/integration of immigrants meant to be achieved?
2. Are multiculturalist policies actively in place?
3. May constituent governments require migrants to learn their local regional languages when a common language exists in the federation? Have they done it?
4. Have language and citizenship tests been established for immigrants?

VII. CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE LEGITIMATE ACCOMMODATION

1. Summary of main traits of diversity in the country.
2. What, finally, are the principle benefits and costs of diversity in the federal country?
3. Has the degree of internal diversities been legitimized democratically? Is it reflected in the federal Constitution and the institutional life of the country?
4. Are there demands to reform the federal constitution of the country? Should future reforms even out internal diversity or recognize and accommodate it constitutionally?
5. Is the current territorial arrangement of diversity immutable?
6. List of possible, probable, and desirable future scenarios.

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