

List of Publications

Nenad Stojanović

Monographs

(2021). *Multilingual Democracy: Switzerland and Beyond*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield / ECPR Press.

(2013). *Dialogue sur les quotas. Penser la représentation dans une démocratie multiculturelle*. Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 374 p.

Book reviews: *Lectures* (Nov. 2013), *Revue française de science politique* (March 2014), *Minorités linguistiques et société* (April 2015), *Politique et Sociétés* (May 2015), *Language Problems & Language Planning* (April 2016).

Italian translation: (2014). *Dialogo sulle quote. Rappresentanza, eguaglianza e discriminazioni nelle democrazie multiculturali*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

(2011). *New/Old Constitutional Engineering? Challenges and Implications of the European Court of Human Rights Decision in the Case of Sejdic and Finci v. [Bosnia and Herzegovina]*. Sarajevo: Analitika – Center for Social Research, 144 p. [With Edin Hodžić.]

Bosnian Serbo-Croat version: (2011). *Novi/stari ustavni inženjering. Izazovi i implikacije presude Evropskog suda za ljudska prava u predmetu Sejdić i Finci protiv BiH*. Ibid.

Edited Volumes

(2018). *Equal Recognition, Liberal Democracy, and Minority Rights. Alan Patten and His Critics*. London: Routledge. [With Sergi Morales-Gálvez.]

(2014). *Demokratie in der Europäischen Union. Ein Schweizer Beitrag zur Debatte | Democracy in the European Union. A Contribution from the Swiss Perspective*. Zurich: Schulthess. [With Daniel Kübler; in German and English.]

(2013). *New Nation-States and National Minorities*. Colchester: ECPR Press. [With Julien Danero Iglesias and Sharon Weinblum.]

Second edition (paperback): March 2014

Edited Special Sections in Scientific Journals

(2017). *Equal Recognition, Minority Rights and Liberal Democracy*. Special Issue in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 20(1). [With Sergi Morales-Gálvez.]

(2015). *Reserved Seats, Parties, and Group Representation in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Special Section in *Ethnopolitics* 14(4): 382–434. [With Edin Hodžić.]

(2011). *Switzerland. A Nation State or a Multi-national State?*, Special Section in *Nations and Nationalism* 17(4): 712–820. [With Marc Helbling.]

Articles in Scientific Journals (with peer review)

(2021). Are Immigrant-Origin Candidates Penalized in Virtue of Ingroup Favoritism or Outgroup Hostility? *Comparative Political Studies*. First view (June): doi.org/10.1177/00104140211024293. [With Lea Portmann.]

(2021). Multilingual parties and the ethics of partisanship. *The Journal of Politics*. First view (May): doi.org/10.1086/715167. [With Matteo Bonotti.]

(2020). Democracy, ethnoicracy and consociational democracy. *International Political Science Review* 41(1): 30–43.

(2020). Political parties in deeply multilingual polities: institutional conditions and lessons for the EU. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58(3): 599–615. [With Matteo Bonotti.]

Italian translation: (2020) in A. Giudici et al. (eds), *Il plurilinguismo svizzero e la sfida dell'inglese*.

(2019). Electoral incentives for cross-ethnic voting: Evidence from a natural experiment. *European Political Science Review* 11(2): 192–212. [With Oliver Strijbis.]

(2019). Electoral discrimination against immigrant-origin candidates. *Political Behavior* 41(1): 105–134. [With Lea Portmann.]

(2018). Political marginalization of 'Others' in consociational regimes. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft / Comparative Governance and Politics* 12(2): 341–364.

(2017). Normative political theory, democratic politics and minority rights. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 20(1): 101–113.

(2016). Die Zusammensetzung des Schweizerischen Bundesrates nach Partei, Region, Sprache und Religion, 1848–2015. *Swiss Political Science Review* 22(2): 288–307. [With Anja Giudici.]

(2016). Party, regional and linguistic proportionality under majoritarian rules: Swiss Federal Council elections. *Swiss Political Science Review* 22(1): 41–58.

- (2015). Introduction: Ethnocracy at the heart of Europe. *Ethnopolitics* 14(4): 382–389. [With Edin Hodžić.]
- (2015). Minority rights and realpolitik: justice-based vs. pragmatic arguments for reserving seats for national minorities. *Ethnopolitics* 14(4): 404–417. [With Mirna Jusić.]
- (2015). Rappresentanza delle minoranze e democrazia consociativa: l'assenza della minoranza di lingua italiana nel governo federale svizzero. *Quaderni di Scienza Politica* 22(1): 61–87.
- (2014). When non-nationalist voters support ethno-nationalist parties: the 1990 elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a prisoner's dilemma game. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 14(4): 607–625.
- (2011). Switzerland: challenging the big theories of nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism* 17(4): 712–717. [With Marc Helbling.]
- (2011). The acid test? Competing theses on the nationality–democracy nexus and the case of Switzerland. *Nations and Nationalism* 17(2): 357–376. [With Paolo Dardanelli.]
- (2011). When is a country multinational? Problems with statistical and subjective approaches. *Ratio Juris – An International Journal of Jurisprudence and Philosophy of Law* 24(3): 267–283.
- (2011). Limits of consociationalism and possible alternatives. Centripetal effects of direct democracy in a multiethnic society. *Transitions* 51(1-2): 99–114.
- (2010). Une conception dynamique du principe de territorialité linguistique. La loi sur les langues du canton des Grisons. *Politique et Sociétés* 29(1): 231–259. [Research note.]
- (2008). How to solve the dilemma of power sharing? Formal and informal patterns of representation in the Swiss multilingual cantons, *Representation* 44 (3): 239–253.
- (2007). Konsocijacija: Švajcarska i Bosna i Hercegovina, *Pregled – Časopis za društvena pitanja* 85(3-4): 63–87.
- (2006). Do multicultural democracies really require PR? Counterevidence from Switzerland. *Swiss Political Science Review* 12(4): 131–157.
- (2006). Direct democracy: a risk or an opportunity for multicultural societies? The experience of the four Swiss multilingual cantons. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 8(2): 183–202.
- (2003). Swiss nation state and its patriotism. A critique of Will Kymlicka's account of multination states. *Polis* 11: 45–94.

Book Chapters

(forthcoming). Citizens assemblies and referendums. In Min Reuchamps, Julien Vrydagh and Yanina Welp (eds), **Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies**. Berlin: De Gruyter.

(forthcoming). The ontology of the linguistic territoriality principle: a conceptual roadmap. In François Grin, László Marác and Nike Pokorn (eds), **Advances in Interdisciplinary Language Policy**. Mathura: J.B. Publishing House. [With Sergi Morales-Gálvez and Helder De Schutter].

(forthcoming). Consociationalism. In **The Cambridge Handbook of Constitutional Theory**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [With Joseph Lacey.]

(forthcoming). Official multilingualism. In **The Routledge Handbook on Language Policy and Planning**. London: Routledge.

(2021). A non-populist direct democracy for Belgium', in Brecht Deseure, Raf Geenens and Stefan Sottiaux (eds), **Sovereignty, Civic Participation, and Constitutional Law: The People versus the Nation in Belgium**. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, chapter 13, pp. 230–244.

(2020). Direkte Demokratie populismusrersistent gestalten, in Nadja Braun Binder, Lars P. Feld, Peter M. Huber, Klaus Poier, and Fabien Wittreck (eds), **Jahrbuch für direkte Demokratie 2019**. Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verlag, pp. 63–82.

(2020). Partiti politici in Paesi profondamente multilingui: condizioni istituzionali e lezioni per l'Unione europea. In A. Giudici, Rocco W. Ronza and Verio Pini (eds), **Il plurilinguismo svizzero e la sfida dell'inglese. Riflessioni dal laboratorio elvetico a confronto con l'Europa**. Locarno: Dadò, pp. 83–104. [With Matteo Bonotti.]

(2019). Democrazia diretta e populismo. In E. Biale and C. Fumagalli (eds), **Modelli di innovazione democratica**. Milano: Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, pp. 61-

(2018). Discrimination and politics. In K. Lippert-Rasmussen (ed.), **The Routledge Handbook of the Ethics of Discrimination**. London: Routledge, chapter 29, pp. 348–359.

(2017). La Svizzera, una consociazione linguistica? Le minoranze linguistiche a livello federale e nei Cantoni plurilingui. In A. Giudici and S. Mueller (eds), **Federalismo Svizzero: Attori, Strutture, Processi**. Locarno: Dadò, pp. 125–58

(2014). Ein Schweizer Beitrag zur Debatte über Demokratie in der EU / A Swiss contribution to the debate on democracy in the EU. In D. Kübler and N. Stojanović (eds), **Demokratie in der Europäischen Union. Ein Schweizer Beitrag zur Debatte / Democracy in the European Union. A Contribution from the Swiss Perspective**. Zurich: Schulthess, pp. 3–10, 11–18.

(2013). Introduction: recurrent processes in different contexts. In J. Danero Iglesias, N. Stojanovic and S. Weinblum (eds), **New Nation-States and National Minorities**.

Colchester: ECPR Press, pp. 1–10. [With Julien Danero Iglesias and Sharon Weinblum.]

(2011). A federal electoral district for Belgium? An appraisal with three amendments inspired by the Swiss experience. In A. Gosseries and Y. Vanderborght (eds), **Arguing About Justice. Essays for Philippe Van Parijs**. Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, pp. 327–336.

(2010). Fédéralisme centripète et fédéralisme centrifuge: la Suisse, la Belgique et l'impact intégratif de la démocratie directe. In J. Cagiao y Conde (ed), **La question fédérale: le retour?** Paris: Publications de la Société P.-J. Proudhon, pp. 9–21.

(2009). Is democracy possible in a multilingual country? The Swiss experience and the paradox of direct democracy. In M. Hooghe and D. Sinardet (eds), **Is Democracy Possible without a Unified Public Opinion? The Swiss Experience and the Belgian Case**. Brussels: Rethinking Belgium, pp. 9–23. [Lead piece; in the same volume: 'Afraid of direct democracy? A reply to critics', pp. 81–88.]

(2006). The dilemma of ethnic quotas in power-sharing theory. The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In M. Bufon, A. Gosar, S. Nurkovic and A.-L. Sanguin (eds), **The Western Balkans: A European Challenge**. Koper: Publishing House Annales, pp. 331–347.

Book Reviews

2021. Review of *Der Bundesrat. Die Schweizer Regierung*, by Adrian Vatter. **Swiss Political Science Review** 27(1): 220–223. [In French.]

(2020). Review of *Expériences du tirage au sort en Suisse et en Europe (XVIe – XXIe siècles)*, edited by Antoine Chollet and Alexandre Fontaine. **Revue suisse d'histoire** 70(2): 315–317. [In Italian.]

(2017). Review of *Institutions for Future Generations*, edited by Iñigo Ricoy-González and Axel Gosseries. **Revue nouvelle** 8. [In French; online: <https://www.revuenouvelle.be/01-Institutions-for-Future-Generations-d-Inigo>]

(2016). Review of *Minority Rules: Electoral Systems, Decentralization and Ethnoregional Party Success*, by David Lublin. **Swiss Political Science Review** 22(3): 435–437. [In French.]

(2013). Review of *Lotteries in Public Life: A Reader*, edited by Peter Stone. **Political Studies Review** 11(3): 438.

(2012). Review of *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*, by Philippe Van Parijs. **Swiss Political Science Review** 18(4): 546–548. [In Italian, with online translations in Bosnian Serbo-Croat, German, French, English, and Romansh]

(2012). Review of *Law, Justice, Democracy, and the Clash of Cultures: A Pluralist Account*, by Michel Rosenfeld. **Perspectives on Politics** 10(4): 1064–1066.

(2012). Review of *The Northern Ireland Experience of Conflict and Agreement. A Model for Export?*, by R. Wilson. **Regional and Federal Studies** 22(2): 231–232.

(2011). Review of *Öffentlichkeit und Sprachenvielfalt. Medienvermittelte Kommunikation zur Europapolitik in der Deutsch- und Westschweiz*, by Anke Tresch, and *Gespaltene Schweiz – geeinte Schweiz. Gesellschaftliche Spaltungen und Konkordanz bei den Volksabstimmungen seit 1874*, by Wolf Linder, Regula Zürcher and Christian Bolliger. **Swiss Political Science Review** 17(4): 499–503. [In French.]

(2010). Review of *La démocratie genevoise*, by Dominique Wisler. **Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte** 60(3): 383–385. [In German.]

(1999). Review of *The Mass Psychology of Ethnonationalism*, by Dušan Kecmanović. **Swiss Political Science Review** 5(2): 146–147.

Selected Conference Papers

(2018). ‘Towards a non-populist theory of direct democracy’, Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, Boston, and ECPR General Conference, Hamburg, August.

(2017). ‘The Blind Election device for tackling electoral discrimination’, Annual Congress of the Swiss Political Science Association, St. Gallen, January, and ECPR General Conference, Oslo, September.

Literary Books and Essays

(2016). Das Wunder von Ambri. Ein Dorf, ein Hockey-Team und ihr unvermuteter Beitrag zur Integration von Inländern. In Boris Previšić (ed.), *Gotthardfantasien. Eine Blütenlese aus Wissenschaft und Litteratur*. Baden: hier und jetzt, pp. 197–203.

(2011). TerraMare. In Giuliana Pelli-Grandini (ed.), *La casa del sonno*. Lugano: IRG, pp. 79–83.

(2008 [1997]). Quando si è diversi. *Terra Cognita: Rivista svizzera dell'integrazione e della migrazione* 13: 22–23.

(2007). *C'era una volta una città. Racconti di Sarajevo*. Lugano: Fontana Editore.

(2005 [1996]). Il ritorno. *Terra Cognita: Rivista svizzera dell'integrazione e della migrazione* 6: 24–25.

(1996). *In cerca della patria*. Correggio: Centro di documentazione Pier Vittorio Tondelli. Published online: [http://bit.ly/1IAkPNd\\$](http://bit.ly/1IAkPNd$)

Miscellaneous

(2018). Direkte Demokratie gegen Populismus. In *Sozialalmanach 2018. «Wir und die Anderen: Nationalismus»*. Luzern: Caritas-Verlag.

(2015). Non solo federalismo. Come i referendum hanno unito la Svizzera plurilingue. *Dissensi e discordanze* 3 (numero speciale, aprile): 121–123.

(2015). Alle Macht dem Volk? [Interview]. *39NULL: Magazin für Gesellschaft und Kultur* 3: 46–50.

(2013). Nationaler Zusammenhalt? Ein Dialog [zwischen Nenad Stojanović und Andi Gross] zur Bedeutung des Unterschieds von Sachabstimmung und Personalwahl. In A. Gross, F. Krebs, M. Stohler and D. Schönmann (eds), *Nur scheinbar demokratisch. Volkswahl des Bundesrates: Ein Rückschritt für die Demokratie*. St-Ursanne, Editions le Doubs, pp. 115–125.

(2012). Perché tassare le eredità. La libertà di Bernasconi e quella di Bussenghi. *Novità fiscali* 8 (agosto): 6–7.

(2012). Droga e richiedenti l'asilo. In Ticino c'è chi chiede 'pulizia'. *Terra Cognita: Rivista svizzera dell'integrazione e della migrazione* 21: 98–100.

(2011). *Projet de territoire Suisse*. Berne: Office fédéral du développement territorial. [Responsible of the Italian version.]

(2009). From consociational to direct democracy. A(n) (im)possible reform in BiH? *Puls Demokratije*, 15 October.

(2007). State symbols in BiH: the road to the disintegration of society? *Puls Demokratije*, 19 December.

(2006). Contro le radici. Le insidie del multiculturalismo e l'identità plurale. *Terra Cognita: Rivista svizzera dell'integrazione e della migrazione* 8: 16–18.

Selected Newspaper Articles

(2021). La Belgique doit-elle prendre exemple sur le modèle suisse? *Le Soir*, 18 May, online. / Zou België kunnen werken op zijn Zwitzers?. *De Standaard*, 18 May, p. 33. [With Philippe Van Parijs.]

(2020). Ausgeloste Bürger sollen die Reform der Verfassung ermöglichen. *NZZ am Sonntag*, 13 December, p. 19.

(2019). Elections fédérales: les jeunes femmes se sont mobilisées / Junge Frauen auf dem Vormarsch / Alle elezioni federali più elettrici giovani. *Le Temps / Neue Zürcher Zeitung / Le Temps / Il Caffè*, 15 November. [With Pascal Sciarini.]

(2019). Achtung, fertig, Los! *Die Zeit*, 26 September, p. 19 (Schweiz). [With Alexander Geisler.]

(2018). Il sorteggio garantisce una migliore rappresentanza sociale. *Il Caffè*, 27 May, p. 13.

- (2017). Im Bundesrat braucht es eine Quote für Deutschschweizer Männer. *NZZ am Sonntag*, 20 August, p. 15.
- (2016). Fussball und Demokratie: Spiegel des Volkes. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 11 June, p. 12. [With Lea Portmann.]
- (2014). Das Volk soll den Sprachenstreit klären. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 26 September, p. 21.
- (2014). Razzismo. *Il Caffè*, 23 March, pp. 1 and 31.
- (2014). Quotas de femmes en politique: une invention récente. *Le Soir*, 7 March, p. 20.
- (2013). Quotas et recensements ethniques en Bosnie: un couple explosif. *Le Huffington Post*, 15 November.
- (2013.). Seelen zählen, Sitze verteilen. Zur Zuteilung der Nationalratssitze an die Kantone. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 28 August, p. 13. [With Anja Giudici.]
- (2013). L'élection du Conseil fédéral par le peuple, un bonus pour les minorités. *Le Temps*, 30 May, p. 11.
- (2013). Zusammenhalt des mehrsprachigen Landes. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 21 May, p. 13.
- (2010). Kalte Schulter für die Tessiner. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 14 September, p. 21.
- (2009). Instrumentalisierung von Identitäten. Zur Debatte über Sprachquoten im Bundesrat. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 9 July, p. 15.
- (2009). Le critère d'identité et l'art de le manipuler lors d'une élection au Conseil fédéral. *Le Temps*, 20 September, p. 14.
- (2008). La démocratie directe au secours de la Belgique? *Le Soir*, 24-25 December, p. 15.
- (2007). Election du Conseil fédéral par le peuple: le dilemme linguistique. *Le Temps*, 20 December, p. 17.
- (2007). Soll der Bundesrat vom Volk gewählt werden? Eine Frage der Chancengleichheit. *Tages-Anzeiger*, 27 December, p. 9.
- (2005). Quoten oder Chancengleichheit? Repräsentanz italienischsprachiger Schweizer beim Bund. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 18 May, p. 16.

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