

# List of Publications

[June 2022]

Nenad Stojanović

## Monographs

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

Reviews: *Swiss Political Science Review* (Jan. 2022), *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* (forth.), *Ethnicities* (forth.).

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

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, egualanza 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)

- (2022). Are Immigrant-Origin Candidates Penalized in Virtue of Ingroup Favoritism or Outgroup Hostility? **Comparative Political Studies** 55(1): 154–186. [With Lea Portmann.]
- (2022). Multilingual parties and the ethics of partisanship. **The Journal of Politics** 84(1): 470–482. [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 Vrydaghe and Yanina Welp (eds), *Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

(forthcoming). Institutionnalisation des conflits à travers la démocratie directe. In Raul Magni-Bertón and Laurence Morel (eds), *Démocraties directes*. Bruxelles: Éditions Larcier/Bruylants.

(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.

(2022). The ontology of the linguistic territoriality principle: a conceptual roadmap. In François Grin, László Marácz and Nike Pokorn (eds), *Advances in Interdisciplinary Language Policy*. Mathura: J.B. Publishing House, chapter 16. [With Sergi Morales-Gálvez and Helder De Schutter.]

(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 populismusresistent 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. 63–84.

(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 peace; 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.

## Scientific Reports

(2020). ***Citizens' Panel in Sion (Valais, Switzerland, November 2019): Scientific Report***. Université de Genève. [With Alexander Geisler.]

(2022). ***Bürgerpanel Uster***. Wissenschaftlicher Zwischenbericht, Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau.  
[With Andri Heimann, Robin Gut, Alexander Geisler & Daniel Kübler.]

(2022). ***Projet 'demoscan Genève 2021'***. Rapport scientifique. Université de Genève. [With Alexander Geisler & Krystal Claret.]

## 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 (XVI<sup>e</sup> – XX<sup>e</sup> 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-Gonzáles 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.

## 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 Blütenlse 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: <https://bit.ly/3MWPyEQ>.

## Miscellaneous

(forthcoming). The war I remember and the war I wish we will have forgotten some day. In Christophe Solioz (ed.), **Sarajevo Singular Plural**. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

(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.

(2005). **Rapport sur le développement territorial 2005**. Berne: Office federal du développement territorial ARE. [Co-editor with U. Steiger and R. Quincerot.]

## Selected Newspaper Articles

(2022). 30 anni fa: quella domenica in cui a Sarajevo arrivarono le bombe. **La Domenica**, 3 April.

(2021). La Belgique doit-elle prendre exemple sur le modèle suisse? **Le Soir**, 18 May, online.  
/ Zou België kunnen werken op zijn Zwitser? **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. **The 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.