

List of Publications

[March 2026]

Nenad Stojanović

Monographs

(under contract; forthcoming 2028). ***Electoral Discrimination***. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [With Lea Portmann.]

(under contract; forthcoming 2027). ***Democracy and Linguistic Diversity. Multilingual Deliberation across Parties, Parliaments, and Mini-Publics***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [With Matteo Bonotti.]

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

Second edition (paperback): June 2025, ECPR Press.

Reviews: *Swiss Political Science Review* (Sean Mueller, January 2022), *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* (Jennifer Todd, August 2023).

(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, 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 Sejdčić 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)

(2026). Institutional configurations and deliberative innovation: A comparative analysis of minipublic adoption across advanced democracies. ***European Political Science***. First view, 1-13. Doi.org/10.1017/S1682098326100290. [With Francesco Veri.]

(2026). Does federalism facilitate permanent minipublics? ***Politics and Governance*** 14: 10807, doi.org/10.17645/pag.10807. [With Francesco Veri.]

(2026). Exploring electoral discrimination through an ethics of office accountability. ***Representation*** 62(1): 1-19. [With Emanuela Ceva.]

(2025). Who supports deliberative mini-publics in a context of direct democracy? The role of trust and dissatisfaction. ***International Review of Administrative Sciences*** 91(3): 427-447. Online first. [With Daniel Kübler, Robin Gut, Andri Heimann, Céline Colombo.]

(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* 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.

(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 multinational states. *Polis* 11: 45–94.

Book Chapters

(2027, à paraître). L'initiative populaire en Suisse et ses garde-fous. Dans Leyla Dakhli, Nicolas Delande et Florent Guenard (dir.), *La démocratie hors d'elle-même*. Éditions du Seuil.

(2026, forthcoming). Connecting minipublics with direct democracy: Switzerland and beyond. In Lionel Cordier & Yves Sintomer (eds), *Handbook of Participatory Democracy*. Edward

Elgar Publishing. [With Francesco Veri.]

(2025). Le basi teoriche della giustizia linguistica e l'esempio svizzero. In Marcello Ostinelli (ed.), *Filosofia applicata*. Milano: Mimesis Edizioni, pp. 119–130.

(2025). Consociationalism. In Richard Bellamy and Jeff King (eds), *The Cambridge Handbook of Constitutional Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 33, pp. 568–584. [With Joseph Lacey.]

(2023). Citizens' assemblies and direct democracy. In Min Reuchamps, Julien Vrydagh and Yanina Welp (eds), *Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies*. Berlin: De Gruyter, chapter 14, pp. 185–197.

(2023). Direktna demokratija i referendum / Direct democracy and referendum. In Maja Sahadžić, Damir Banović, Dražen Barbalić and Goran Marković (eds), *Citizens, Constitution, Europe: Glossary of Essential Constitutional Concepts in BiH*. Sarajevo: Pravni fakultet univerziteta, pp. 191–196, 433–438. [With Maja Sahadžić.]

(2023). Official multilingualism. In Michele Gazzola, François Grin, Linda Cardinal and Kathleen Heugh (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Language Policy and Planning*. London: Routledge, chapter 25, pp. 383–395.

(2022). Institutionnalisation des conflits à travers la démocratie directe. In Raul Magni-Berton and Laurence Morel (eds), *Démocraties directes*. Bruxelles: Éditions Larcier/Bruylant, chapitre 29, pp. 359–367.

(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, pp. 343–360. [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 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.

Scientific Reports

(2024). **Demoscan Aargau: Schlussbericht**. Studienberichte des Zentrums für Demokratie Aarau, Nr. 26. Aarau: ZDA. [With Andri Heimann, Robin Gut, Francesco Veri & Daniel Kübler.]

(2023). **Bürgerpanels für mehr Klimaschutz im Kanton Zürich: Schlussbericht**. Studienberichte des Zentrums für Demokratie Aarau, Nr. 24. Aarau: ZDA. [With Andri Heimann, Robin Gut, Francesco Veri & Daniel Kübler.]

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

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

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

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.

Literary Books and Essays

(2023). The war I remember and the war I wish we will have forgotten some day. In Jakob Finci, Wolfgang Petritsch and Christophe Solioz (eds), *Sarajevo Singular Plural*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 235–245.

(2016). Das Wunder von Ambrì. 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: <https://bit.ly/3MWPYEQ>.

Miscellaneous

(2023). Democratico e consociativo, il rebus del sistema svizzero. *Limes* 12/23 (numero speciale: "Svizzera, la potenza nascosta").

(2023). Et les 175 ans à venir? La Suisse en tant que ville / Und die nächsten 175 Jahre? Die Schweiz als Stadt / E i prossimi 175 anni? La Svizzera come città. *Les 175 ans de la Constitution fédérale et le rôle des villes*. Union des villes suisses. Online.

(2022). Die Schweiz wirkt polarisierter, als sie ist. *Schweizerische Monatshefte* (1100/Oktober): 14–16.

(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 fédéral du développement territorial ARE. [Co-editor with U. Steiger and R. Quincerot.]

Selected Newspaper Articles

(2025). L'italien ne se réduit pas à une 'bella lingua'. *Le Temps*, 24 July, p. 5.

(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 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.

