The corporate governance systems of continental Europe have traditionally been quite different to those of the liberal market economies (e.g., the United States and the United Kingdom). Company ownership has been dominated by incumbent blockholders, with a relatively minor role for minority shareholders and institutional investors. However, since the mid-1990s, European corporations have adopted many of the characteristics of the Anglo-American shareholder model. Furthermore, such an increased shareholder orientation has coincided with a significant role for the Left in European government. This presents a puzzle, as conventional wisdom does not conceive of the European Left as the natural ally of pro-shareholder capitalism. This book provides an analysis of this paradox by arguing that the postwar support of the European Left for the prevailing blockholder-dominated corporate system depended on the willingness of blockholders to share economic rents with employees, both through higher wages and greater employment stability. However, during the 1990s, product markets became more competitive in many European countries. The sharing of rents between social actors became increasingly difficult to sustain. In such an environment, the Left chose to relinquish its traditional social partnership with blockholders and embraced many aspects of the shareholder model. The hypothesis is initially explored through a panel data econometric analysis of fifteen non-liberal market economies. Subsequent case study chapters examine the political economy of recent corporate governance change in Germany and Italy.
Nationalism is often dismissed today as an irrational political creed with disastrous consequences. Yet most people regard their national identity as a significant aspect of themselves, see themselves as having special obligations to their compatriots, and value their nation's political independence. This book defends these beliefs, and shows that nationality, defined in these terms, serves valuable goals, including social justice, democracy, and the protection of culture. National identities need not be illiberal, and they do not exclude other sources of personal identity, such as ethnicity or religion. An ethics that gives weight to special relationships is more effective in motivating people to pursue justice and other values because it connects peoples’ duties to their identity; but this is consistent with recognizing some universal values, such as human rights. There are strong reasons for making the boundaries of states and nations coincide wherever possible, but in other cases, nations can achieve forms of self-determination that fall short of full sovereignty. Multicultural arguments in favour of identity politics and special rights for minority groups ignore the benefits that such groups derive from participating in a shared national identity and the kind of democratic politics that such an identity makes possible. Although national identities are often said to be in decline in an increasingly globalized world, they serve such important purposes that our aim should be to rebuild them in a form that makes them more accessible to excluded cultural minorities.

Divided Government in Comparative Perspective
Robert Elgie (ed.)
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Item type: book

Divided government occurs when the executive fails to enjoy majority support in at least one house of the legislature. To date, the study of divided government has focused almost exclusively on the US. However, divided government occurs much more widely in other presidential systems and is the equivalent of minority government in parliamentary regimes. This book examines the frequency, causes, and management of divided government in a comparative context, identifying the similarities and differences between various countries around the world.
A number of contemporary democracies have introduced measures to ensure a more equitable representation of women and/or ethnic minority citizens within elected assemblies. These measures have included the use of gender quotas in the selection of parliamentary candidates, and the use of ‘race-conscious’ districting to increase the electoral chances of ethnic minority representatives. Drawing on a distinction between the politics of ideas and the politics of presence, this book explores and defends the case for such measures. The politics of ideas considers accountability in relation to declared polices and programmes, and sees the sex or race of the representative as a matter of relative indifference. In the politics of presence, by contrast, the gender or ethnic composition of elected assemblies becomes a legitimate matter of democratic concern. This book addresses the concern that the case for political presence could encourage essentialist understandings of group identity or group interest. It argues against an either/or alternative between the politics of ideas and the politics of presence and for a new combination of these two models of representation.

Plurinational Democracy
Michael Keating

Nationality claims are often seen as zero-sum politics involving incompatible conceptions of the polity. Nationalism and self-determination are seen as equivalent to separatism. Rethinking the concepts of nationality, self-determination, and sovereignty and placing them in a historic context allows us to treat them as more tractable and as a form of politics. This is done through a study of the UK, Spain, Belgium, and Canada. Traditions of shared sovereignty are rediscovered. Analysis of the demands of minority nationalisms shows that these do not always entail separate statehood. Public opinion is more open than often assumed. Asymmetrical constitutional arrangements provide a means of accommodating plural national claims. The emerging European polity is a model for a post-sovereign order in which legal pluralism and constitutional diversity can accommodate multiple nationality claims.
Conclusion
Will Kymlicka

in Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights
Published in print: 1996 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

Liberal thinking on minority rights has too often been guilty of ethnocentric assumptions, or of over-generalization from particular cases, or of conflating political expedience with moral principle. If liberalism is to have any chance of taking root in newly emerging democracies, it must explicitly address, and find a theoretical accommodation for, the needs and aspirations of ethnic and national minorities.

Multiculturalism and the Welfare State
Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka (eds)
Published in print: 2006 Published Online: May 2007
Item type: book

In many Western democracies, ethnic and racial minorities have demanded, and sometimes achieved, greater recognition and accommodation of their identities. This is reflected in the adoption of multiculturalism policies for immigrant groups, the acceptance of territorial autonomy and language rights for national minorities, and the recognition of land claims and self-government rights for indigenous peoples. These claims for recognition have been controversial, in part because of fears that they make it more difficult to sustain a robust welfare state by eroding the interpersonal trust, social solidarity and political coalitions that sustain redistribution. Are these fears of a conflict between a ‘politics of recognition’ and a ‘politics of redistribution’ valid? This book aims to test this question empirically, using both cross-national statistical analyses of the relationships among diversity policies, public attitudes and the welfare state, and case studies of the recognition/redistribution linkage in the political coalitions in particular countries, including the United States, Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, Germany, and in Latin America. These studies suggest that that there is no general or inherent tendency for recognition to undermine redistribution, and that the relationship between these two forms of politics can be supportive as well as competitive, depending on the context. These findings shed light, not only on the nature and effects of multiculturalism, but also on wider debates about the social and political foundations.
of the welfare state, and indeed about our most basic concepts of citizenship and national identity.

Does the recognition of national minorities undermine the welfare state?
Nicola McEwen

in Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies
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Item type: chapter

This chapter considers whether the accommodation of national minorities through the according of self-government at the regional level undermines the welfare state. Most Western states with sizeable national minorities have accommodated minority nationalist aspirations through some form of federal or quasi-federal territorial autonomy. This chapter examines the impact of this sort of devolution or regionalization on the welfare state in the UK, Belgium, and Canada. The chapter concludes that such institutional reforms have had complex effects on social policy, both at the central level and in the self-governing regions. It has set in play political dynamics that sometimes work to strengthen social policy as a tool of nation-building, and sometimes serve to inhibit new redistributive policies. As a result, no simple general patterns leap out, challenging assertions that accommodating substate nationalism inevitably weakens the welfare state.

Singing the Village
Rachel Harris

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Item type: book

The Sibe are an immigrant group, Qing dynasty bannermen who made a three-year ‘long march’ from Manchuria in the 18th century to serve as a border garrison in the newly conquered Western Regions of the Qing Chinese empire. They preserved their military structure and a discrete identity in the multi-ethnic region of Xinjiang and are now officially recognised as an ethnic minority nationality under the People's Republic. They are known in China today as the last speakers of the Manchu language, and as preservers of their ancient traditions. This study of their music culture reveals not fossilised tradition but a shifting
web of borrowings, assimilation, and retention. It is an informed account of culture and performance in the Chinese region of Xinjiang. The book approaches musical and ritual life in this ethnically diverse region through an understanding of society in terms of negotiation, practice, and performance. It explores the relations between shamanism, song, and notions of externality and danger, bringing recent theories on shamanism to bear on questions of the structural and affective powers of ritual music. The book focuses on the historical demands of identity, boundary maintenance, and creation among the Sibe, and on the role of musical performance in maintaining popular memory, and it discusses the impact of state policies of the Chinese Communist Party on village musical and ritual life. It draws on a wide range of Chinese, Sibe-Manchu language sources, and oral sources including musical recordings and interviews gathered in the course of fieldwork in Xinjiang.

Cross-Cultural Research
Jorge Delva, Paula Allen-Meares, and Sandra L. Momper

The purpose of the book is to provide researchers with a framework to conduct research in a culturally sensitive manner with individuals, families, and communities in diverse cultural settings in the United States, as well as in a global context within the context of three aims: (1) To understand and describe the nature and extent to which a particular problem occurs; (2) To understand the etiology or potential factors associated with the occurrence of a particular problem; (3) To evaluate programs or interventions designed to ameliorate or eliminate a problem. For each of these three aims, applications of different research methods with various population groups are discussed with considerable detail. The work presented falls into different sides of the emic–etic continuum, with some studies taking a more emic perspective (i.e., Chapter 2, a mixed methods study with American Indian populations), others presenting more of an etic approach (i.e., Chapter 3, a multicountry study of drug use in Central America), and yet others presenting an emic–etic distinction that is less salient (i.e., Chapters 4–6, a longitudinal studies of ecological factors and drug use in Santiago, Chile; a longitudinal study of ecological factors and PTSD in the City of Detroit; and a randomized clinical trial and community-based participatory research project both also conducted in Detroit). Two central themes that guided this work are that culture is not static, rather it is fluid and changing, and that cross-cultural researchers should avoid making sweeping generalizations that risk taking on essentialist
characteristics. The book concludes with a call for anyone conducting cross-cultural research to include an intersectionality lens, one that encompasses a broader range of multiple identities, into their work.

Introduction
Monique Deveaux

in Gender and Justice in Multicultural Liberal States

This chapter introduces the main problem of the book: the tensions that exist between cultural rights, and accommodation and formal protection for sexual equality in liberal constitutional democracies. It also discusses the unsatisfactory treatment of this problem within much recent mainstream political philosophy, especially liberal theories of multiculturalism and deliberative democracy theory.

The ‘Migration Crisis’ and the Genesis of Europe's New Diversity
Carl-Ulrik Schierup

In the early 1990s, politicians, media, and public opinion perceived the growing entries of migrants and asylum seekers to Western and southern Europe as a ‘migration crisis’ likely to threaten economic prosperity and national identity. In fact, migration declined in the mid-1990s, only to grow again at the beginning of the new century. At the same time, descendents of earlier migrants formed visible new minorities. The growing porosity of borders and diversity of populations coincided with a fundamental change in the character of welfare states and class relations in Europe. This chapter charts the ‘turning points’ in the process that has undermined traditional ideas of monocultural identities, discusses the challenges this poses for European societies, and examines a range of approaches to managing migration and diversity.
This chapter examines EU policies concerning social exclusion, migrant integration, labour migration, and asylum in the early 21st century. A two-pronged approach analyzes EU efforts in the realm of migrant integration together with its interventions in the area of immigration and asylum. A new anti-discrimination orientation is being turned into mandatory EU directives and EU-sponsored transnational development programmes, but this reorientation towards diversity, social inclusion, and equal opportunity is part of a new European Social Model, which is conditioned by a neo-liberal policy dynamic. The contours of the EU’s modernized Social Model are those of a post-national workfare regime. This has critical implications for the transformation of the frameworks of citizenship marking the post-war European welfare states in general, and the incorporation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in European societies in particular. The first part of the chapter explores the changing conditionality posed by the neo-liberal turn and changing frameworks of citizenship with regard to the inclusion of resident denizens and citizens with migrant background. That is, it focuses on the actual condition of being a citizen. The second half of the chapter discusses the changing conditions for becoming (or not becoming) a citizen, framed by a newly emerging supranational political economy of border control, migration management, and asylum.

Rethinking Difference
Debra L. Dodson

This chapter acknowledges the compelling evidence that women in public office make a difference, even as it explores the controversies that often lurk beneath the surface of such assertions: the probabilistic rather than deterministic nature of the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of women; the contested legitimacy of women representing women; and disagreement about what it means to
represent women. To that end, the chapter explores the need to develop theoretical and empirical models that recognize diversity, to take actions out of a contextual vacuum, to re-examine the appropriateness of the empirical models that structure the analysis, to confront (and ultimately counteract) institutional and cultural pressures that call into question the legitimacy of women representing women, and to acknowledge the conceptual weaknesses that belie the tendency to treat gender difference as a synonym for substantive representation of women.

Representing Women: Consensus and Complexity
Debra L. Dodson

in The Impact of Women in Congress

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Item type: chapter

In setting the foundation for a closer look at women’s impact, this introduction to Part II draws on the extensive interviews with women members to provide evidence that almost every woman interviewed — regardless of party and across Congresses — expressed some basic sense of responsibility to women. Yet this unity in theory suggested by their words posed a sharp contrast to what was often disunity (or limited unity) of action in practice, pointing to the need to deconstruct seemingly similar sentiments surrounding responsibility and connection to women.

Do multiculturalism policies erode the welfare state? An empirical analysis
Keith Banting, Richard Johnston, Will Kymlicka, and Stuart Soroka

in Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies

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This chapter introduces a new framework for testing the recognition/redistribution hypothesis. It develops an index of twenty-three different types of MCPs that have been adopted for three different types of minority groups (immigrants, national minorities, and indigenous peoples). Western countries are then categorized in terms of their level of MCPs. Whether countries with higher levels of MCPs have faced an erosion of the welfare state as compared to countries with lower levels of
MCPs is tested. It is shown that there is no negative correlation between the strength of a country's commitment to MCPs and its ability to sustain welfare spending or economic redistribution. The chapter also examines the heterogeneity/redistribution hypothesis, and shows that this too is overstated. In general, the size of immigrant groups, national minorities, and indigenous peoples in Western countries does not affect a country's ability to sustain its welfare commitments, although a rapid change in the size of immigrant groups does seem to have an effect. Yet even here, the authors of this chapter argue, there are hints that adopting MCPs can help to mitigate whatever negative effect a rapidly increasing immigrant population may have.

‘If you are my brother, I may give you a dime!’ Public opinion on multiculturalism, trust, and the welfare state

Markus Crepaz

in Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies

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Item type: chapter

This chapter examines two central questions: how widespread is public support for multiculturalism policies? and what is the impact of the adoption of MCPs on public support for the welfare state? In so doing, it seeks to ask whether countries with stronger MCPs have seen an erosion in public support for redistribution, in comparison with countries with low levels of MCPs. These issues are examined by analysing responses to opinion surveys which attitudes about multiculturalism, interpersonal trust, and support for the welfare state among the publics of Western democracies. The analysis finds no evidence for the view that adopting MCPs erodes trust, solidarity or public support for the welfare state.

What Is Best and Worst about Scotland

Asifa Hussain and William Miller

in Multicultural Nationalism: Islamophobia, Anglophobia, and Devolution

Published in print: 2006 Published Online: September 2006
Item type: chapter

When asked what is best or worst about Scotland, one minority places more emphasis on racism, the other on freedom, the friendliness of
majority Scots, and the relatively low numbers of ethnic minorities. English immigrants complain the most about Scottish bigotry and racism; ethnic Pakistanis strongly praise freedom and friendliness; and ethnic Pakistanis feel alienated by high concentrations of minorities.

Islamophobia—In England and Scotland
Asifa Hussain and William Miller

in Multicultural Nationalism: Islamophobia, Anglophobia, and Devolution
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Item type: chapter

Since 9/11, multiculturalism has been under attack and Islamophobia has increased. Questions were placed in the 2003 British Social Attitudes Survey and its Scottish counterpart to compare the level of Islamophobia in Scotland and England. Islamophobia was significantly higher in England. Analysis showed that the majority population in Scotland differed significantly from the majority in England. In particular, English nationalism encouraged Islamophobia while Scottish nationalism did not. Unlike elite-level nationalists, street-level nationalists in Scotland were not particularly inclusive or multiculturalist compared to the majority of Scots. Street-level Scottish nationalists were less Islamophobic than the majority of English, and far less Islamophobic than street-level nationalists in England.

Storable Votes
Alessandra Casella

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Storable Votes are a simple voting scheme that allows the minority to win occasionally, while treating every voter equally. Because the minority wins when it cares strongly about a decision while the majority does not, minority victories occur with little cost, in fact typically with gains, for the community as a whole. The idea is simple: Consider a group of voters faced with a series of proposals, each of which can either pass or fail. Decisions are taken according to the majority of votes cast, but each voter is endowed with a budget of votes to distribute freely over the multiple decisions. Because voters cast more votes on decisions that matter to them more, they reveal the intensity of their preferences and increase their probability of winning exactly when it
matters to them most. Thus Storable Votes elicit and reward voters’ intensity of preferences without the need for any external knowledge of voters’ preferences. By treating everyone equally and ruling out interpersonal vote trades, they are in line with common ethical priors and are robust to criticisms, both normative and positive, that affect vote markets. The book complements the theoretical discussion with several experiments, showing that the idea is supported by the data: experimental outcomes match the predictions of the theory. Because the intuition behind Storable Votes is so simple—“vote more when you care more”—the results are robust across different scenarios, even when subtle strategic effects are not identified by the subjects, suggesting real potential for practical applications.