

# Ways of Seeing: the Multinational Democracies Paradigm and Puerto Rico

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# The CNE- Academic partnership for this event

Thank you, CNE.

CNE = Pioneering, Innovative, Trailblazing, Rigorous Research.

The Academy = it is a community of those who question long-standing assumptions and ways of thinking, and who devote themselves to the deliberate and exacting search for new knowledge.

# Four classical paradigms for interpreting Puerto Rico-USA

- 1) U.S. Constitutional Law paradigm
- 2) The “American Politics” paradigm
- 3) The Classic Colony paradigm
- 4) The Latin American Politics (LASA) paradigm

# (1) U.S. Constitutional Law Paradigm

- **Advantages:** It is “the law” under the status quo.
- **Disadvantages:** Too narrowly legalistic, moored in methodological nationalism, inward-looking, the antithesis of the comparative approach, purely descriptive, law is not the same as science, idiosyncratic- depending on the Justices’ whims and biases.
- **Universe of Cases:** Narrow, just the U.S. territories (rest of the world does not exist).

## (2) “American Politics” Paradigm

- **Advantages:** Creates no cognitive dissonance for people of the USA grappling with Puerto Rico.
- **Disadvantages:** Misdiagnoses Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is not like African Americans or Korean Americans or Mexican Americans. It has a very different historical trajectory. Not really an ethnic or racial minority...
- **Universe of Cases:** The panoply of racial and ethnic minorities in the USA.

# (3) The Classic Colony Paradigm

- **Advantages:** Does explain the historical trajectory of Puerto Rico, and some of its social/cultural/econ/political reality today.
- **Disadvantages:** Limited utility to understand Puerto Rico's status conundrum today. Also, not really a classic colony like Mozambique, Angola, India, Algeria; even distinguishable from Guadeloupe, Jamaica, etc.
- **Universe of Cases:** Mozambique, Angola, India, Algeria, etc.

# (4) The Latin American Politics Paradigm

- **Advantages:** It is of historical interest, and some contemporary controlled comparisons are possible.
- **Disadvantages:** Of limited utility to understand Puerto Rico's status conundrum today. Vis-à-vis Latin America, Puerto Rico is in a very peculiar political niche.
- **Universe of Cases:** Latin America

# Opening our perspective and vision: the path to a new paradigm for interpreting Puerto Rico-USA

- Comparative Politics

- “Pensar sin comparar es impensable. Además, si no se compara no puede haber pensamiento ni investigación científica.’ Casi toda la investigación empírica social hoy en día implica algún tipo de comparación. Comparar nos provee las bases para hacer planteamientos sobre patrones empíricos y para evaluar e interpretar casos en relación a criterios teóricos. En este sentido, la comparación es central a la ciencia social empírica: la investigación social y política es, de una manera u otra, investigación comparativa”. (Ragin 1987)

- Comparative Federalism

- Combines comparative constitutional law, comparative politics, and normative political theory into a discipline that examines the global experience with federalism, federations, and federal political systems.

- Comparative Constitutional Law (Studies)

- “The time has come to go beyond analyses of court rulings (or comparative constitutional law) towards a more holistic approach to the study of constitutions across polities (comparative constitutional studies).” (Hirschl 2014)

# A new paradigm for interpreting Puerto Rico

- Sub-state national society (Lluch)
- Sub-state distinct society (as per the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa)
- Stateless nation (Keating)
- Internal national community (Lecours)
- Minority nation (Gagnon)
- Sub-state Demos (Tierney)

# Puerto Rico: a sub-state national society

1. Some public opinion data shows that a substantial number of people in PR have a form of national consciousness (Morris 1995, Lluch 2019, A.I. Rivera 2017)
2. Puerto Rico's political party system is very peculiar. it shows the telltale pattern of all sub state national societies...
  - non-state wide parties=regionalist parties
  - the political party system prioritizes the axis re: what is the constitutional relationship we are going to have with the central state, instead of the political economy axis, or the state-society axis.
3. The 3 political orientations PR has had in the last 100 years are very similar to the ones that other sub-state demoi have...

# The political party systems of sub-state demoi

Table 1.1. Within-Case Variation in National Movements

| <i>Nation</i>            | <i>Pro-independence parties</i>        | <i>Pro-autonomy parties</i>  | <i>Pro-federation parties</i>  |
|--------------------------|--|--|--|
| Catalonia                | Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya      | Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya; Unió Democràtica de Catalunya | Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya; Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds |
| Québec                   | Parti Québécois                        | Action Démocratique du Québec <sup>1</sup>                           | Parti Libéral du Québec  |
| Galicia                  |  | Bloque Nacionalista Galego <sup>2</sup>                              | Partido Socialista de Galicia  |
| Flanders                 | Vlaams Blok                            | Christian Democracy; Liberals  | Flemish Socialist  |
| Corsica <sup>3</sup>     | Corsica Libera                         | Femu a Corsica   |  |
| Scotland                 | Scottish National Party <sup>4</sup>   | Scottish Labour  |  |
| Basque Country           | Eusko Alkartasuna; Aralar              | Partido Nacionalista Vasco <sup>5</sup>                              | Ezker Batua  |
| Wales <sup>6</sup>       | Plaid Cymru <sup>7</sup>               | Welsh Labour   |  |
| South Tyrol-Alto Adige   | Südtiroler Freiheit                    | Südtiroler Volkspartei   |  |
| Puerto Rico <sup>8</sup> | Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño | Partido Popular Democrático  | Partido Nuevo Progresista  |
| Valle d'Aosta            |  | Union Valdôtaine; ALPE   |  |

# Stateless Nations-Scope Conditions

1. Stateless nations or sub-state distinct societies or sub-state demoi
2. Located in, or belonging to, states with a high level of socio-economic development,
3. With liberal democratic regimes of a minimum duration of 25 years,
4. Where the relation between majority and minority nations has lasted for at least a century,
5. Where the principal cause for the differential between majority and minority nations is language, culture, history, or institutions, as opposed to race or religion.

# Stateless Nations- Universe of Cases

- Catalunya-Spain
- Quebec-Canada
- Galicia-Spain
- Flanders-Belgium
- Scotland-U.K.
- Corsica-France
- Euskadi-Spain
- Wales-U.K.
- Puerto Rico-United States
- South Tyrol- Italy
- Valle d'Aosta-Italy

# The USA as a multinational democracy today?

-Does Puerto Rico turn the USA into a case of peripheral multinationalism?

-The State/ Yes

-Federal Political System/ Yes

-(Empire/ Yes)

-Federation/ No

-The Nation/ No

Thomas Benedikter



## The World's Modern Autonomy Systems

Concepts and Experiences of  
Regional Territorial Autonomy

EURAC  
research

# (1) Advantages of the Sub-State Demos Paradigm:

We can compare PR's  
autonomism with other  
autonomisms worldwide

## (2) Advantages of the Sub-State Demos Paradigm: We can better evaluate the USA federation vis-à-vis other federations (national or multinational, etc.)

Table 10.1 Examples of national and multinational or multi-ethnic federations

| <i>National federations</i> | <i>Duration</i> | <i>Multinational or multi-ethnic federations</i>       | <i>Duration</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|--|-----------------|
| Argentina                   | 1853–           | Belgium  | 1993–           |
| Australia                   | 1901–           | Bosnia-Herzegovina                                     | 1995–           |
| Austria                     | 1920–           | Burma  | 1948–           |
| Brazil                      | 1891–           | Cameroon   | 1961–72         |
| Germany                     | 1949–           | Canada   | 1867–           |
| Mexico                      | 1917–           | Czechoslovakia   | 1968–92         |
| United Arab Emirates        | 1971–           | Ethiopia   | 1992–           |
| United States               | 1789–           | India  | 1947(50)–       |
| Venezuela                   | 1960–*          | Iraq   | 2005–           |
|                             |                 | Malaya   | 1957–63         |
|                             |                 | Malaysia   | 1963–           |
|                             |                 | Mali   | 1959–60         |
|                             |                 | Nigeria  | 1960–66; 1969   |
|                             |                 | Pakistan**   | 1971–           |
|                             |                 | Russia   | 1993–           |
|                             |                 | Soviet Union   | 1918–91         |
|                             |                 | St Kitts-Nevis   | 1983–           |
|                             |                 | Switzerland  | 1848–           |
|                             |                 | West Indies Federation                                 | 1958–62         |
|                             |                 | Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) | 1992–2003***    |
|                             |                 | Yugoslavia (Communist)                                 | 1953–92         |

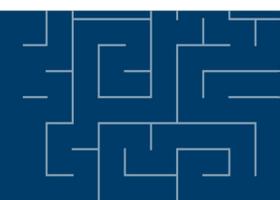


**(3) Advantages of the Sub-State Demos Paradigm:**  
We can compare the national movement of Puerto Rico with the behavior of other stateless nations' national movements

# Visions of Sovereignty

Nationalism and Accommodation in  
Multinational Democracies

Jaime Lluich



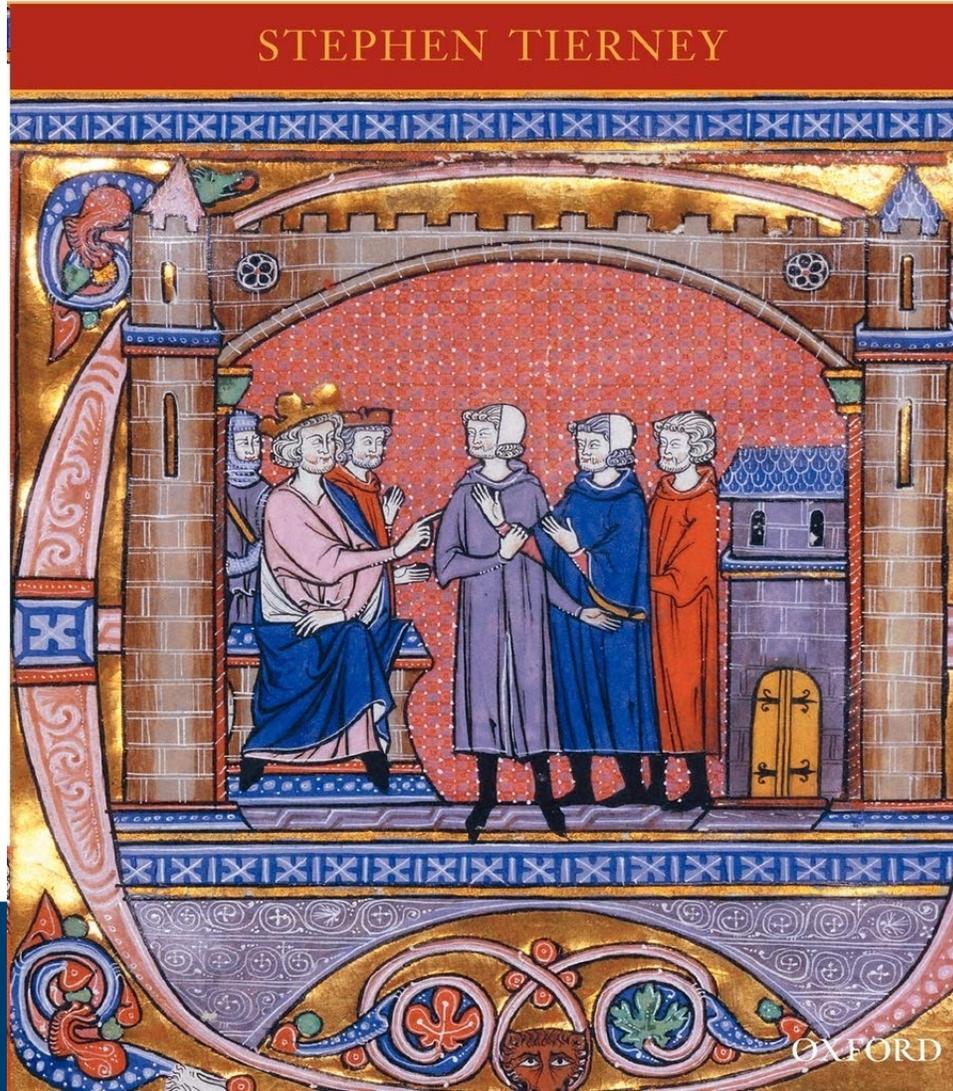
## (4) Advantages of the Sub-State Demos

### Paradigm:

Examine the Constitutional Accommodation of Puerto Rico in Comparative Perspective

## CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND NATIONAL PLURALISM

STEPHEN TIERNEY



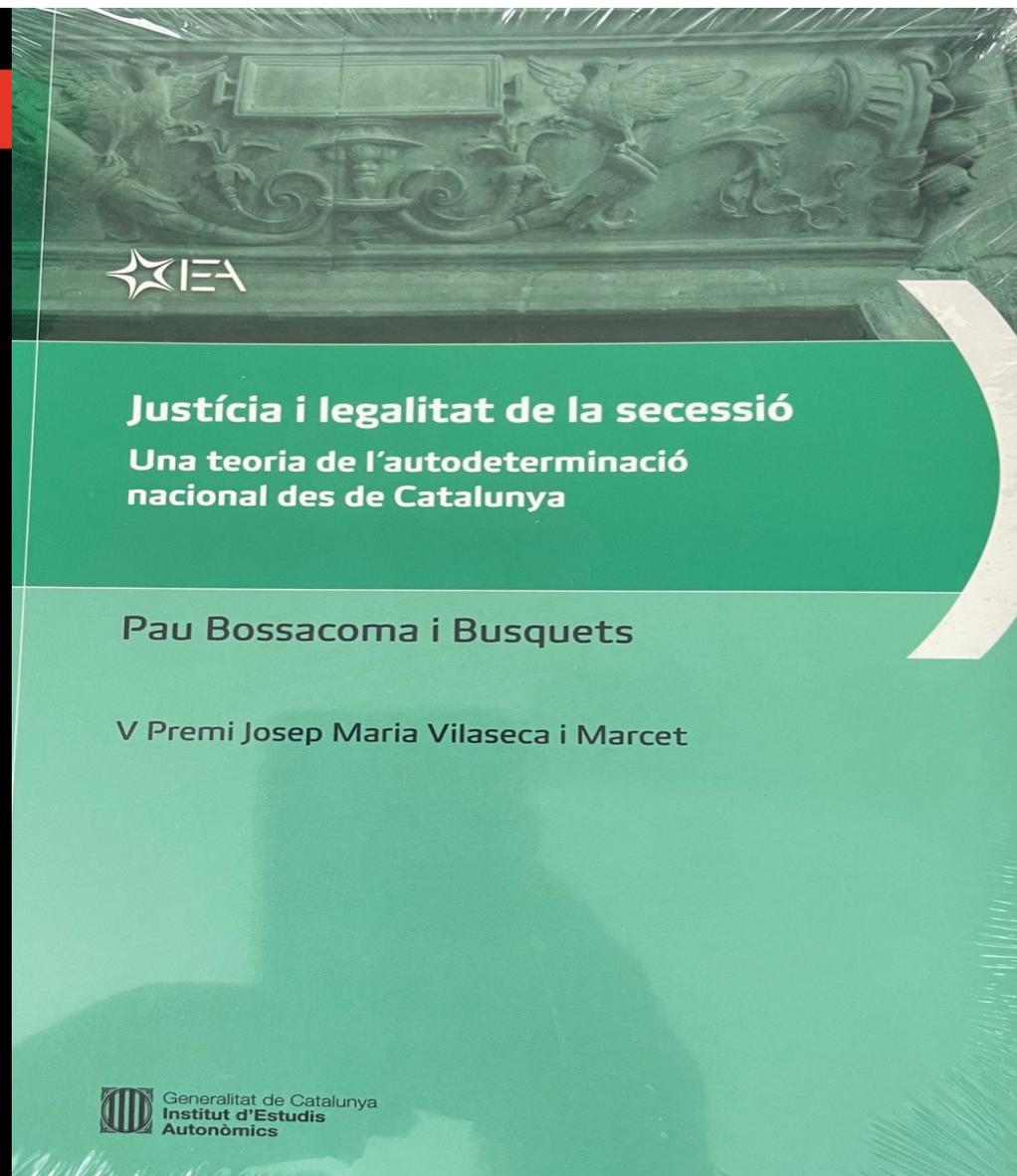
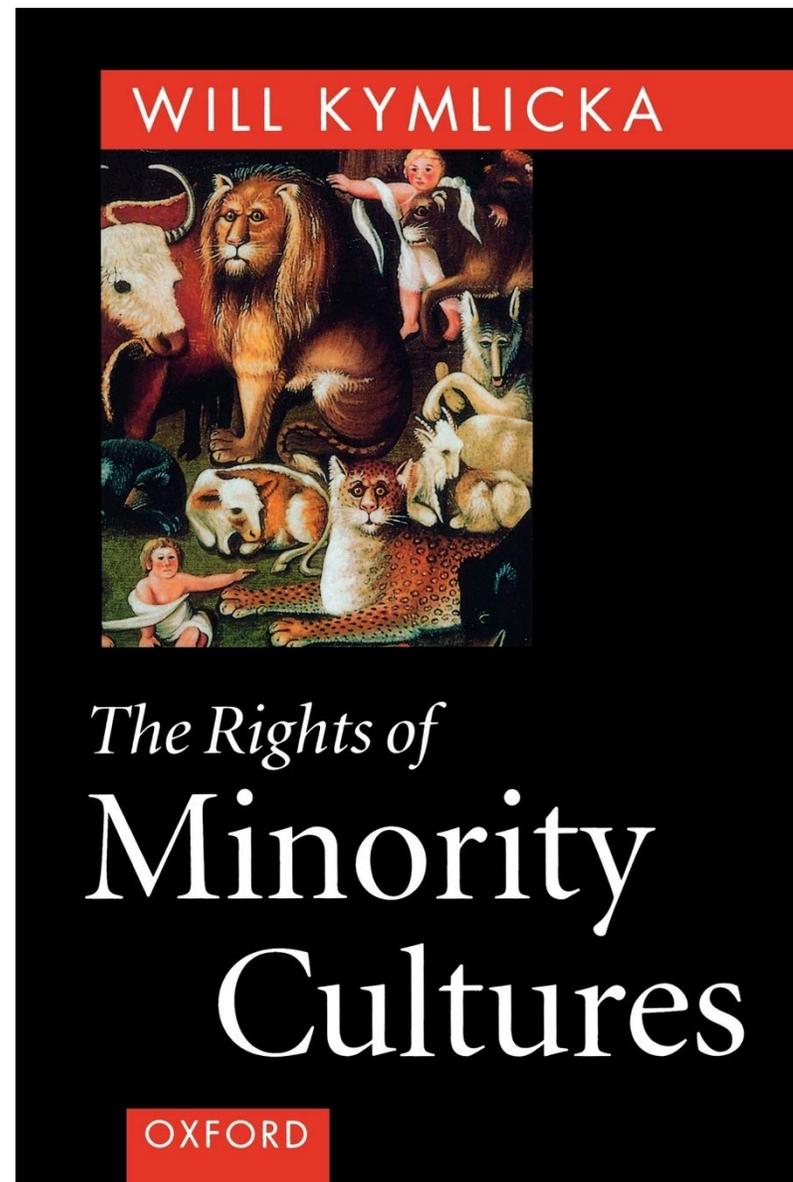
## Constitutionalism and the Politics of Accommodation in Multinational Democracies

JAIME LLUCH  
Editor

St Antony's Series



**(5) Advantages of the Sub-State Demos Paradigm:** Better evaluate Puerto Rico's political future in light of enlightening contributions in normative political theory

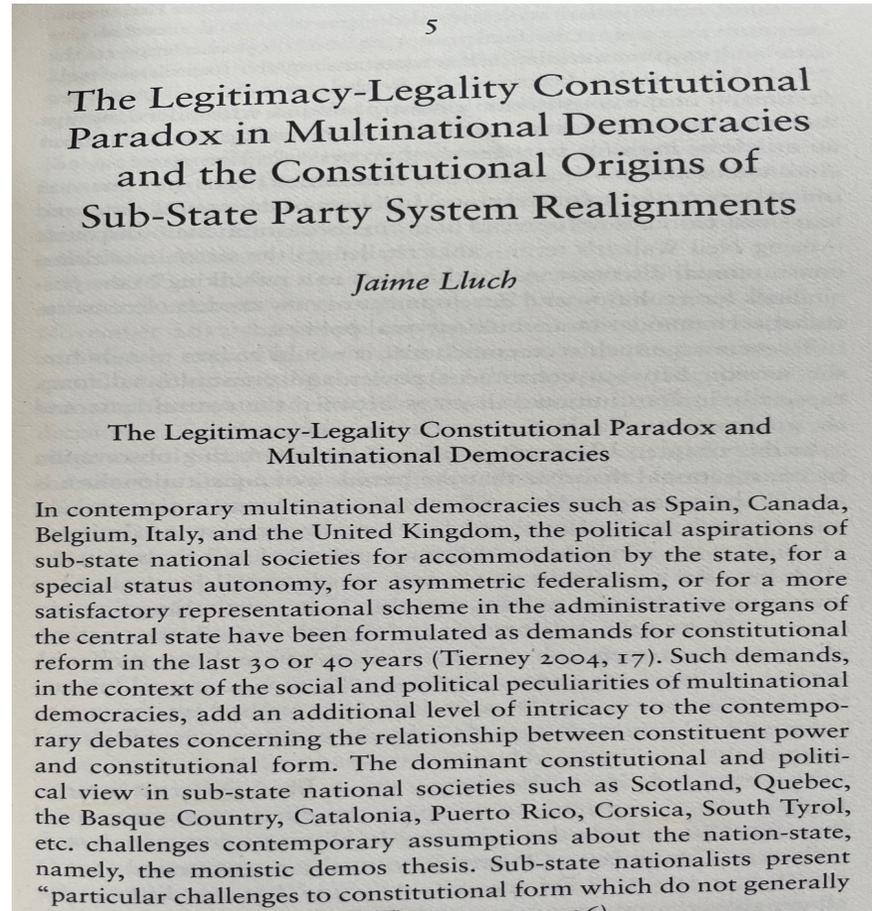
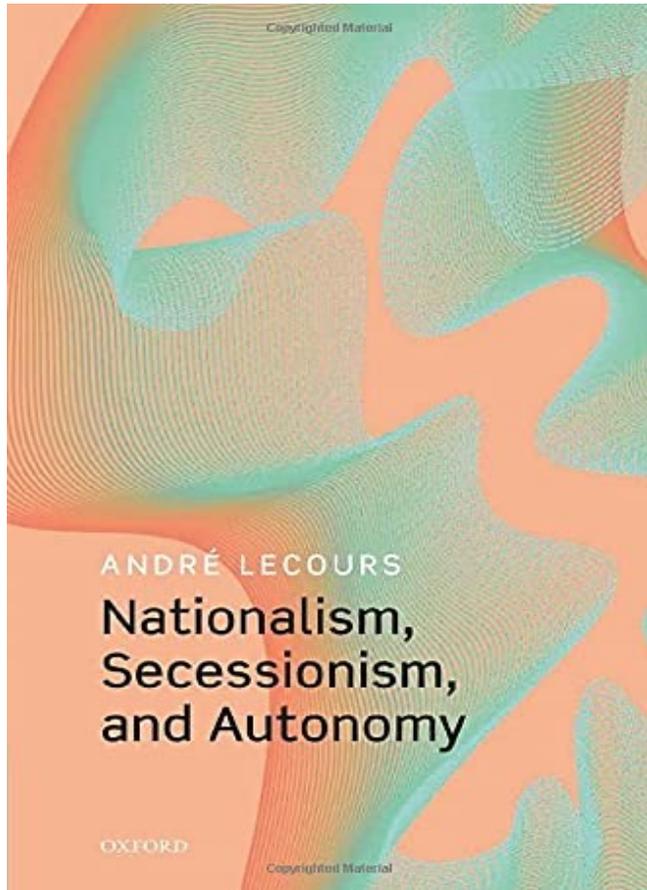


**(6) Advantages of the Sub-State Demos Paradigm: Puerto Rico's self-government can be measured using quantitative methods and compared worldwide**

Table B.4 Continued

| Country       | Region                                | Type <sup>a</sup> | Year      | Institutional depth | Policy scope | Fiscal autonomy | Representation | Self-rule   | Law making | Executive control | Fiscal control | Constitutional reform | Shared rule | RAI         |            |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Italy (cont.) | Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol          | > A               | 1950-1971 | 2.0                 | 3.0          | 0.0             | 4.0            | <b>9.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 1.0            | 1.0                   | <b>2.0</b>  | <b>11.0</b> |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1972-1988 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 0.0             | 3.0            | <b>7.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 1.0            | 1.0                   | <b>2.0</b>  | <b>9.0</b>  |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1989-1992 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 0.0             | 3.0            | <b>7.0</b>  | 0.0        | 1.0               | 1.0            | 1.0                   | <b>3.0</b>  | <b>10.0</b> |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1993-1996 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 1.0             | 3.0            | <b>8.0</b>  | 0.0        | 1.0               | 1.0            | 1.0                   | <b>3.0</b>  | <b>11.0</b> |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1997-2000 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 3.0             | 3.0            | <b>10.0</b> | 0.0        | 1.0               | 1.0            | 1.0                   | <b>3.0</b>  | <b>13.0</b> |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 2001-2006 | 3.0                 | 2.0          | 3.0             | 3.0            | <b>11.0</b> | 0.0        | 1.0               | 2.0            | 2.0                   | <b>5.0</b>  | <b>16.0</b> |            |
| Japan         | Todofuken                             | I                 | 1950-1999 | 2.0                 | 1.0          | 1.0             | 4.0            | <b>8.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>8.0</b>  |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 2000-2006 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 2.0             | 4.0            | <b>10.0</b> | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>10.0</b> |            |
| Latvia        | -                                     |                   | 1990-2006 | -                   | -            | -               | -              | -           | -          | -                 | -              | -                     | -           | <b>0.0</b>  |            |
| Lithuania     | -                                     | I                 | 1992-1994 | -                   | -            | -               | -              | -           | -          | -                 | -              | -                     | -           | <b>0.0</b>  |            |
|               | Apskritis                             |                   | 1995-2006 | 2.0                 | 1.0          | 0.0             | 1.0            | <b>4.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>4.0</b>  |            |
| Luxembourg    | -                                     |                   | 1950-2006 | -                   | -            | -               | -              | -           | -          | -                 | -              | -                     | -           | <b>0.0</b>  |            |
| Macedonia     | -                                     |                   | 1991-2006 | -                   | -            | -               | -              | -           | -          | -                 | -              | -                     | -           | <b>0.0</b>  |            |
| Malta         | -                                     |                   | 1964-2006 | -                   | -            | -               | -              | -           | -          | -                 | -              | -                     | -           | <b>0.0</b>  |            |
| Netherlands   | Provincies                            | I                 | 1950-1993 | 2.0                 | 1.0          | 1.0             | 3.0            | <b>7.0</b>  | 1.5        | 0.0               | 2.0            | 3.0                   | <b>6.5</b>  | <b>13.5</b> |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1994-2006 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 1.0             | 3.0            | <b>8.0</b>  | 1.5        | 0.0               | 2.0            | 3.0                   | <b>6.5</b>  | <b>14.5</b> |            |
| New Zealand   | -                                     |                   | 1950-1962 | -                   | -            | -               | -              | -           | -          | -                 | -              | -                     | -           | <b>0.0</b>  |            |
|               | Regions                               | I                 | 1974-1988 | 2.0                 | 1.0          | 2.0             | 3.0            | <b>8.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>8.0</b>  |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1989-2006 | 2.0                 | 1.0          | 2.0             | 4.0            | <b>9.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>9.0</b>  |            |
|               | Auckland                              | > I               | 1963-2006 | 2.0                 | 1.0          | 2.0             | 4.0            | <b>9.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>9.0</b>  |            |
|               | Wellington                            | > I               | 1974-2006 | 2.0                 | 1.0          | 2.0             | 4.0            | <b>9.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>9.0</b>  |            |
| Norway        | Fylker                                | I                 | 1950-1974 | 2.0                 | 1.0          | 0.0             | 1.0            | <b>4.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>4.0</b>  |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1975-2006 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 3.0             | 3.0            | <b>10.0</b> | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>10.0</b> |            |
| Poland        | Województwa                           | I                 | 1990-1998 | 1.0                 | 0.0          | 0.0             | 1.0            | <b>2.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>2.0</b>  |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1999-2006 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 0.0             | 4.0            | <b>8.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>8.0</b>  |            |
| Portugal      | Distritos                             | I                 | 1976-1978 | 1.0                 | 0.0          | 0.0             | 1.0            | <b>2.0</b>  | 0.0        | 0.0               | 0.0            | 0.0                   | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>2.0</b>  |            |
|               |                                       |                   |           | I→II                | 1979-2006    | 1.0             | 0.0            | 0.0         | 1.0        | <b>2.0</b>        | 0.0            | 0.0                   | 0.0         | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>2.0</b> |
|               |                                       |                   |           | I                   | 1979-2006    | 1.0             | 0.0            | 0.0         | 0.0        | <b>1.0</b>        | 0.0            | 0.0                   | 0.0         | <b>0.0</b>  | <b>1.0</b> |
|               | Comissões de desenvolvimento regional |                   |           |                     |              |                 |                |             |            |                   |                |                       |             |             |            |
|               | Azores, Madeira                       | A                 | 1976-1998 | 2.0                 | 2.0          | 2.0             | 4.0            | <b>10.0</b> | 0.5        | 1.0               | 1.0            | 1.0                   | <b>3.5</b>  | <b>13.5</b> |            |
|               |                                       |                   | 1999-2006 | 3.0                 | 2.0          | 3.0             | 4.0            | <b>12.0</b> | 0.5        | 1.0               | 1.0            | 1.0                   | <b>3.5</b>  | <b>15.5</b> |            |

# (7) Advantages of the Sub-State Demos Paradigm: Puerto Rico can be analyzed using the basic small-N Comparative Method (Most Different or Most Similar Systems Design)



## Autonomism and Federalism

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This article aims to understand autonomism as an ideology of territorial order and institutional design. In particular, I ask whether the theory and practice of autonomism is consonant with federalist principles. “Autonomism” is a normative term that advocates the use of autonomist principles, and it has an intricate relationship with federalism, but is generally distinct from it. Autonomists are wary of federalism because they believe it has homogenizing and uniformizing tendencies. Autonomism as an ideology of territorial order and institutional design exhibits a number of clear anti-federalist stances, but yet it is based on the general federalist principle that multiple levels of government can lead to better governance in multinational states. To this complex anti-federalist and federalist hybrid stance, autonomism adds a nuanced anti-secessionism stance.

### Autonomism

In many multinational democracies, models of federation are the preferred institutional configuration to address the complexities of multinationalism, and much of the scholarly literature echoes this preference for federation (Keating 2004; Hechter 2000; Norman 2006; Kymlicka 1998; Gibbins et al. 1998; Stepan 2001; Burgess and Gagnon 1993; Elazar 1987; Watts 2008; McRoberts 1997; Griffiths et al. 2005; Gagnon and Iacovino 2007; Karmis and Norman 2005).<sup>1</sup> Yet, there are autonomist national parties in sub-state national societies that reject a model of federation as an appropriate institutional design to address their needs. Instead, many stateless nationalists advocate territorial autonomy<sup>2</sup> as the ideal institutional design to accommodate them. Autonomism has been under-studied, and we need to understand it as an ideology of territorial order and institutional design. We also need to understand how autonomist parties have developed autonomism as a body of ideas. Autonomist political parties of long-standing conceive autonomism as a rich and complex political tradition.

In particular, we need to inquire whether the theory and practice of autonomism is consonant with federalist principles. A number of scholars have argued that

## 8) Advantages of the Sub-State Demos Paradigm:

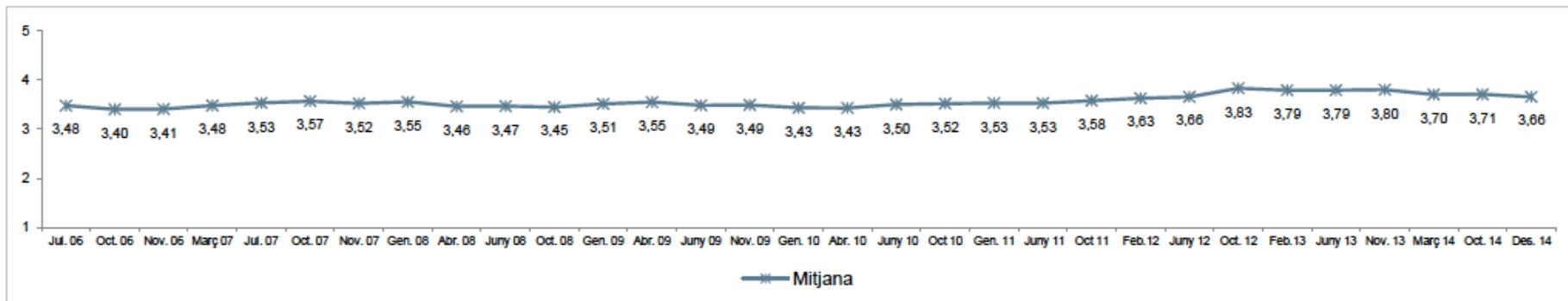
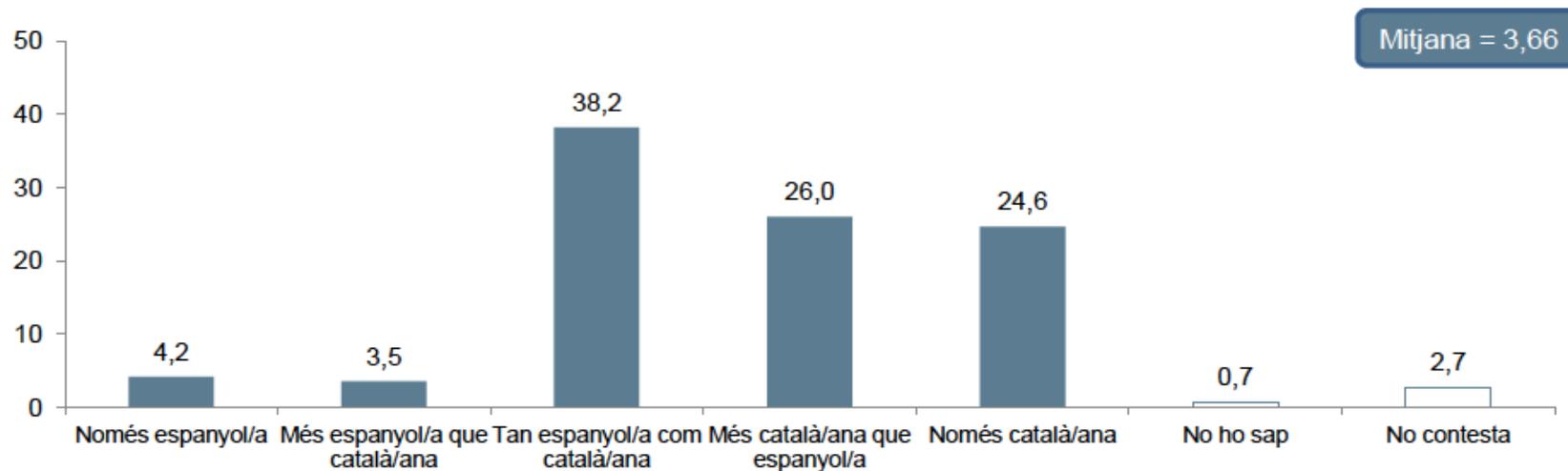
Public opinion research methods used in other SSNS can also be applied here to better understand this society

### 3.7 Sentiment de pertinença

Pregunta C700

Amb quina de les següents frases se sent més identificat/ada? Em sento...

(N=1100; resposta simple; %; mitjana)



A new paradigm for Puerto Rico:  
Let the journey begin...

