

stelle zwischen Leben und Werk stattfindet, ist für viele AutorInnen mit Migrationshintergrund nicht nur essentiell, sondern auch existenziell. Das gilt besonders für die RepräsentantInnen der zweiten Einwanderergeneration. Sie wachsen oft in mehreren Sprachen auf und die Auseinandersetzung mit einer neuen «Mutter-Sprache» (so Micieli 2007 in seinen neusten Texten zu Sprache und Heimat), in der sie später auch schreiben werden, verbindet sich bei ihnen mit einer wiederholten Aushandlung der eigenen Identität – wobei die Aushandlung im symbolischen Raum sprachlicher Imagination stattfindet. Emigration und Einwanderung bleiben ein einschneidendes Erlebnis, vor allem dann, wenn sie in der Kindheit oder Jugend stattfinden. Sie müssen zunächst sprachlich bewältigt werden. Oder, um es mit den Worten von Francesco Micieli zu sagen: «Das Nachdenken über die existenzielle Situation, das hat sich nur in einer Suche nach Sprache formulieren können und nur dort konnte es gedacht werden.» Alle Befragten möchten in der Konsequenz heute primär an der sprachlich-literarischen Qualität ihres Schreibens gemessen werden. Sie beklagen die fehlende Anerkennung derselben von Seiten des Literaturbetriebs und des Publikums.

Es wäre zu wünschen, dass – ähnlich wie in der Literatur von Frauen – künftig auf die Zuordnung zu einer Sonderkategorie der Literatur von MigrantInnen verzichtet würde. Statt-

dessen sollten, so Daniel Rothenbühler in einem der fünf Essays, differenzierte Kontextinformationen darüber Aufschluss geben, wie die «Suchoptik» der Interpretation ausgerichtet werden soll. Wichtig für eine solche Suchoptik könnte dann beispielsweise die «Vieltimmigkeit und Schwellenerfahrung» sein, insbesondere jene der Sprache, die Almut Todorow als charakteristisch für die Migration bezeichnet hat (Rothenbühler 2010: 68).

¹ «Cosmopolitanization should be chiefly conceived of as globalization from within, as internalized cosmopolitanism. This is how we can suspend the assumption of the nation-state, and this is how we can make the empirical investigation of local-global phenomena possible. We can frame our questions so as to illuminate the transnationality that is arising inside nation-states. This is what a cosmopolitan sociology looks like» (Beck und Sznaider 2006)

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Est-ce que les auteurs d'origine immigrée œuvrant en Suisse présentent des points communs? Nous avons posé ces questions à seize écrivaines et écrivains, qui vivent en Suisse et écrivent leurs textes en allemand ou en français, dans le cadre du projet de recherche «Les générations en mutation». Ce projet vise à explorer la production contemporaine d'auteurs d'origine immigrée, dans une double perspective sociologique et littéraire. La démarche, soutenue, entre autres, par la Commission fédérale pour les questions de migration CFM, a abouti à la rédaction d'un livre comprenant des extraits d'entretiens d'auteurs et cinq essais. Il est paru en mai 2010, dans la collection Cohésion sociale et pluralisme culturel aux Editions SEISMO, à Zurich.

Didier Ruedin

Why Aren't They There? Ethnic Minorities in Parliaments

The representation of citizens in their parliament lies at the core of liberal democracy. It is widely recognized that all citizens are of equal worth and therefore have the same right to be present in parliament and institutions of decision-making. There have been significant advances towards greater equality and inclusiveness in the last century, but ideals of inclusiveness are far from accomplished: In many places, members from ethnic minorities remain systematically marginalized.

Most democratic theory highlights the representation of issue positions and policy preferences, but there are reasons to insist on demographic representation, especially since the two are not mutually exclusive. Parliaments that reflect the make-up of the population are widely considered more legitimate. The extent to which parliament includes women and ethnic minorities can be considered as a reflection of the status these groups enjoy in society. What is more, there are utilitarian reasons for more inclusive parliaments, such as lower alienation from the political system, and a lower likelihood of ethnic conflict. Improved political communication and more inclusive policy outcomes are sometimes cited, but they are difficult to measure.

There are very few studies on the inclusion of different ethnic groups in national parliament, and this study is the first systematic cross-national examination of the extent to which different ethnic groups are present in national parliaments. In the literature there is a common assumption that all minorities of power – women, ethnic minorities, immigrants, homo-

sexuals – are disadvantaged in the same way. The study examined a wide range of variables as potentially influencing the extent to which different ethnic groups are included into national parliaments. The focus is on all ethnic groups, although normally ethnic minorities are under-represented.

In order to address this question, I employed a cross-national comparative perspective, covering 95 free and partly free countries. Unfree countries were excluded from analysis, since the electoral dynamics in these places often differ from countries with more competitive elections. New data were compiled on the different ethnic groups in national parliaments, and compared to the size of the different groups in the population. I have multiple estimates for many of the countries that largely agree: the data seem robust. For the explanatory variables, I used established sources.

Findings

Despite strong expectations from single-country studies and the literature on the representation of women, in the bivariate analyses no significant association could be determined between proportional electoral systems or the presence of quotas on the one hand and higher levels of representation on the other. As expected from theory, but hitherto untested, a strong association could be determined between attitudes towards marginalized groups in society and levels of representation. Differences in attitudes were approximated using world regions – a common proxy in the literature – and measured directly using questions



from the *World Value Survey*. The idea was to capture attitudes reminiscent of sociological liberalism.

In multivariate analyses, the basic results could be confirmed. Based on expectations from theoretical contributions and work on the representation of women, the dominance of the cultural factor is perhaps surprising: attitudes towards marginalized groups in society are the strongest predictor of the extent to which different ethnic groups are included in national parliaments.

Perhaps more troubling was the finding that on average, the presence of quotas is not associated with higher levels of representation. This is even more surprising given that the most common quota measure for ethnic minority groups is the introduction of reserved seats. Reserved seats mean separate electoral rolls, and given their design, they cannot be influ-

enced by preferences in the population or the élite. A more careful look at the implementation of quotas in individual cases revealed that these measures are not always implemented in a diligent manner. For example, they may exist only for a single minority group in a country where there are many ethnic groups, or the number of seats reserved may be disproportionately low given the size of the ethnic group in the population. It seems that on average quotas appear ineffective for reasons of implementation, but they may work well in individual cases and for particular groups.

Trying to understand why quota measures are often not implemented in a diligent manner, I considered the incentives of the élite. Assuming that the majority of the élite are interested in being re-elected, it makes sense for members of the élite not to be too much out of touch with the attitudes of the population. Applied to the inclusion of ethnic minority groups in par-

liament, this means that a member of the élite would expose him or herself a great deal when calling for strict quotas to include more minorities in a place where the population is not supportive of such a move. It follows that measures are implemented in a way that do not contradict the prevailing attitudes in the population to a great extent, which may mean quotas that do not reflect the size or composition of the minority population.

Conclusion

The study examined the parliamentary representation of ethnic groups. Whereas in the literature there is a common assumption that the same mechanism affects the representation of women and ethnic minorities, the results suggest that different factors may matter. The electoral system in place does not appear to be associated with different levels of representation, perhaps because the élites can adjust to the institutional reality. More surprisingly was the finding that on average quotas do not appear to be significant, but this was attributed

to the implementation of quota measures. Incentives of the élite may help to understand why measures for ethnic groups are often implemented poorly. It is, however, important to bear in mind that where ethnicity is a non-issue or where the population is largely supportive of more minorities in parliament, quotas cannot be ruled out as means to increase political representation. Where the population is not supportive of more minorities in parliament, hard measures that cannot be side-stepped by the different political actors would be a possibility, but they pose a serious electoral risk to the élite introducing such measures. It appears that whilst electoral engineering is a possibility, such interventions are possibly only sustainable if accompanied by cultural or attitudinal changes.

References

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Um erstmals die politische Repräsentation von ethnischen Gruppen in einer systematisch vergleichenden Studie zu untersuchen, wurden neue Daten zusammengetragen und verwendet. Im Widerspruch mit den Erwartungen der Literatur sind institutionelle Aspekte wie das Wahlsystem und Quoten nicht mit der Repräsentation assoziiert, kulturelle Aspekte hingegen schon. Quoten werden oft nicht sorgfältig implementiert. Dies kann damit erklärt werden, dass die Elite keine Anreize hat effektive Quoten, in Belangen in denen die Bevölkerung dagegen ist, einzuführen.