

From Multiculturalism to Hybridity

From Multiculturalism to Hybridity:
New Approaches to Teaching Modern Switzerland

Edited by

Karin Baumgartner and Margrit Zinggeler

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P U B L I S H I N G

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For Samir Baumgartner Joshi
For Avinash Baumgartner Joshi
The new hybrid faces of Switzerland
—K.B.

To complement www.SwissStudies.org
For all teachers of hybrid Switzerland
—M.Z.

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This book arose from our own frustration about not finding adequate teaching resources for incorporating Switzerland into our courses. After doing a rigorous search for available teaching materials, syllabi, and centers for Swiss Studies, we came to the conclusion that a website would be the ideal venue to centralize resources and make them available for scholars and teachers. With the financial support of Presence Switzerland (Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs), we then began building a website that offers information and teaching units on Switzerland (www.SwissStudies.org). As we worked on promoting the website and the resources it houses, it became clear to us that a more theoretical approach was needed to situate recent developments in Switzerland within a global context and show how this small nation in the heart of Europe can be taught productively in a variety of fields. This book is the result of our inquiry.

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INTRODUCTION

KARIN BAUMGARTNER
AND MARGRIT ZINGGELER

The Swiss speak (their) languages / As easily as (doing) a handstand
—Liricas Analas

The quote above is taken from the song “5viertel” [“5quarters”] by the Romansh rap band *Liricas Analas*. The song uses the four national languages and several Romansh, Italian, and German dialects to create a pluri-vocal track that mirrors the linguistic diversity of Switzerland.¹ Unconcerned about comprehensibility, the young artists freely rhyme and associate words and phrases from the four different languages: “De sud, de nord, de west, à l’ouest / Hole mir us üssene Sprache s’bescht” [“From south, from north, from west, in the east / we get the best out of our languages”] and affirm self-confidently, “multiculturale viviamo” [“we live multiculturalism”]. However, doing a handstand is not that easy and the rappers’ appeal, “I want you to understand me,” fails in the face of such a linguistic jumble. Indeed, when contacted about the text of the song, the rappers admitted that they could not recreate it since the song was the product of a jam session and no text had been written down.² The song is interesting for other reasons too: Switzerland has four official languages (German, French, Italian, Raetho-Romansh), but what is the “fifth quarter” mentioned in the song? Opinions differ on the Youtube discussion board³ with many assuming that the fifth language is English, the new lingua franca in Switzerland.⁴ But the number five also connotes the expression “the fifth Switzerland,” a term used for Swiss citizens living abroad.⁵ This group of migrants has swelled to 684,974 (December 2009),⁶ but is dwarfed by another group of migrants. In 2008, 1,315,000 foreigners lived and worked in Switzerland (20.5% of the population)—in effect constituting a fifth of the overall population of Switzerland.⁷ Many foreigners have been naturalized over the years, and today 30.6% of all people living within Swiss borders have a “background in migration” [Migrationshintergrund], a number that includes immigrants, naturalized immigrants, children of immigrants, foreign spouses of Swiss citizens,

children from such mixed marriages, and children adopted from abroad. Four fifths of all “migrants” have immigrated to Switzerland themselves while one fifth was born in Switzerland.⁸ Overall, more than two fifths of all children born in 2004 had at least one parent without a Swiss passport.

As Switzerland absorbs ever more migrants, the native-born population is not immune from global trends. A small but vocal minority of native-born Swiss has converted to Islam and is confronting Swiss society with demands for religious and cultural accommodation.⁹ In April 2010, the Swiss daily *Tagesanzeiger* ran an article summarizing their readers’ sentiments about fundamentalist-Islamist Swiss citizens who advocate radical Islamic customs such as stoning women for adultery. The paper’s headline, “To which country can Blanco be deported?” addresses the conundrum at the center of the debate: the spokesperson for this radical fringe group, Nicolas Blanco, is a native-born Swiss citizen and cannot be expatriated despite his radical views that run counter to the Swiss constitution and the Swiss legal system.¹⁰ Just a few months later, the Swiss sentiment of being under siege by forces beyond their control was confirmed by a study commissioned by the Federal Secretary for the Economy [Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft (Seco)] that affirmed what many had suspected. The influx of highly educated and well-compensated foreigners from the European Union following the ratification of the Agreement on the Free Movement of People in 2002 has pushed Swiss families from the cities to the (cheaper) suburbs and dramatically increased the lack of adequate housing for the less affluent.¹¹ There is consensus in Switzerland that in the past fifty years, the sleepy alpine state in the heart of Europe has undergone dramatic demographic and cultural changes. Some even argue—the right-leaning Swiss People’s Party comes to mind—that the fabric of society has been stretched to the brink and Switzerland has lost her way. *From Multiculturalism to Hybridity: New Approaches to Teaching Modern Switzerland* addresses these fundamental shifts and offers resources and teaching ideas for how to incorporate this poly-vocal laboratory of globalized social co-existence into a wide range of courses.

It is common knowledge that Switzerland has a long history of fierce independence and federalism. The co-existence of four different languages (French, German, Italian, and Rhaeto-Romansh), 26 distinct political units (cantons), and over 2,800 political communities might be viewed as paradigmatic for the spirit of friendly co-existence in Europe. Abroad, Switzerland promotes itself as a popular and safe destination for tourism and business, as well as—not necessarily intentionally—for refugees and

asylum seekers. Despite vast cultural differences and periods of wars in Europe, the Swiss have been living together relatively peacefully for many centuries and the democratic process has been firmly rooted for over seven hundred years. We believe that the microcosm of Switzerland—its centuries-old model of multiculturalism, linguistic multi-vocality, four distinct literatures, its strong democratic traditions, a sizable migrant population, and emerging conflict with radical Islam—offers an ideal vantage point to engage with globalization and intercultural and transcultural encounters in the classroom. Despite a vocal and active political right-wing party,¹² Switzerland has slowly begun to acknowledge the transcultural and hybrid realities of the 21st century, as migrant and native artists alike refract in their works these new and complex cultural negotiations about identity, ethnicity, and race.

The volume is informed by definitions of hybridity developed by Homi K. Bhabha (*The Location of Culture*, 1994) and Marwan M. Kraidy (*Hybridity: Or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, 2005). Although the term “hybridity” is often used negatively by scholars of Postcolonial Studies and imperial writing, we believe that the term “hybridization” can be used constructively to describe the contact zones (Mary Louise Pratt, 1992) and transcultural encounters emerging daily in Switzerland.

The volume focuses specifically on the shift from multiculturalism (defined as different cultures and languages living together) to hybridity (defined as a mixture of cultures and races) that we see at work in Switzerland. The symbol of this process is the Secondo/Seconda, the child of migrant parents who was born in Switzerland or migrated to Switzerland when young.¹³ Indeed, the term “Secondo/Seconda” exemplifies hybridity as the neologism is made up of the Italian word “secondo/-a” with the Spanish endings -os/-as and German capitalization, “Secondos/Secondas.” But it also connotes cultural hybridity: Secondos/Secondas view themselves as straddling two worlds, neither belonging to the country where their parents came from nor fully integrated into the political fabric of Switzerland owing to their lack of citizenship (half of the Secondos/Secondas do not have a Swiss passport) or a foreign-sounding last name. However, the large number of migrants and Secondos/Secondas among the Swiss population suggests that their experiences will become the dominant cultural paradigm of the future.¹⁴

From Multiculturalism to Hybridity: New Approaches to Teaching Modern Switzerland elucidates these challenges, successes, and ongoing struggles, focusing in particular on what it means to belong to a nation-state shaped by political will rather than linguistic and cultural unity, how

national and cultural identities are constructed, and how languages and identity intersect in the context of a unifying European continent and an increasingly anglicized world.

The volume is not only conceived as a scholarly investigation of hybrid Switzerland but also as a teaching tool, and each article provides teaching suggestions and further resources for the reader. We believe that Switzerland is a particularly compelling model for the study of globalization, migration, and hybridization owing to its political, cultural and linguistic diversity and its enthusiastic adoption of globalization while having been able to forestall violent cultural clashes like those in France in 2005. Units about Switzerland can be incorporated into courses in European Studies, European History, German, French, and Italian Studies, Migration Studies, Comparative and World Literatures, and Political Science. Furthermore, teaching units on Switzerland invite collaboration between language sections (French and German, Italian and French) or between history and language programs, to name just a few examples.

Few teaching resources for Switzerland exist since Switzerland does not support language instruction in the same way the Goethe Institute does for German, the Alliance Française for French, and the Dante Alighieri Society for Italian. The reason for this lies in the Swiss constitution, which requires the equal treatment of the four national languages in terms of financial support.¹⁵ Hence, the Swiss government has traditionally concentrated on disseminating Swiss *culture* through *Presence Switzerland* and the Swiss Arts Council, *Pro Helvetia*.¹⁶ *Presence Switzerland* is housed in the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and defines its role primarily as a political one: it wants to promote a positive image of Switzerland abroad.¹⁷ Through *Presence Switzerland*, the Swiss government also maintains the online portal www.swissworld.org (E, G, I, F, Sp, Ch, Ru, J), a regularly updated repository of factsheets, movie clips, promotional videos, stories, maps, and more. *Presence Switzerland* also maintains an extensive collection of informational and promotional DVDs about Switzerland, which can be downloaded and are also available through the local Swiss Consulates.¹⁸ This material is a good resource for general information about Switzerland but lacks analysis, commentary, and a pedagogical focus. A more extensive repository of syllabi and pedagogical resources can be found at www.SwissStudies.org, a website specifically designed for instructors wanting to include Switzerland in their courses.¹⁹ It offers instructors many links to information about Swiss literature, culture (film, music, museums, dance, theater), and education (Swiss universities, funding opportunities in Switzerland) and includes a

number of syllabi about various Swiss topics. *From Multiculturalism to Hybridity: New Approaches to Teaching Modern Switzerland* continues in this vein: it is designed both for the foreign language and the English classroom, and the teaching units, syllabi, and resources presented here seek to foster communication, cultural comparison, and connections within the large field of Migration Studies while being mindful of the fact that many of our students are also language learners.²⁰

The book has been divided into three sections to allow the reader to find information quickly. However, certain themes have emerged as dominant and reappear in many of the chapters. These are the *Schwarzenbach Initiative*, an initiative launched by James Schwarzenbach from the radical right-wing Republican Party, that would have limited the foreign work force in Switzerland to 10% and would have led to the deportation of up to 300,000 guest-workers. It was narrowly defeated in 1970. While foreign guest workers changed the face of Switzerland on the street-level, historians and writers deconstructed long-held beliefs and beloved national myths at the core of Switzerland's identity as independent and neutral. The "Nazi-gold-affair," the realization that Switzerland profited from laundering Nazi gold during World War II and subsequently withheld accounts from the heirs of Jewish Holocaust victims made what many in Switzerland already knew widely public. Switzerland's continued refusal to join the European Union combined with tax and banking laws that skirt international regulation tarnished its squeaky clean image even further. Internally, Switzerland underwent serious political unrest with the Youth Movement in the 1980s when a disaffected younger generation questioned the priorities of their elders. And in 1989, just days after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Swiss public discovered that the Swiss intelligence service had spied on left-leaning organizations and citizens and hoarded an archive of 900,000 files. The mounting distrust in the state led to the boycott of the 700th anniversary of Switzerland by practically every Swiss artist. The twenty-year scandal will not go away either: new allegations surfaced in 2010 that the intelligence service continues to collect unsubstantiated data on Swiss and foreign citizens and has covered up the practice for years.²¹ These political milestones are at the center of Switzerland's development over the last fifty years and have shaped the cultural fabric of the country, as many of the contributors in this volume will argue.

The four initial chapters, introducing hybrid Switzerland to the reader, are broad in their approaches, intended for courses in history, political science, women's studies, migration, and literature. They offer an overview

of key concepts for understanding Switzerland such as a history of nation-building in Switzerland, the history of migration, women and migration, and Switzerland's relationship to the EU.

In the first chapter, "Switzerland as a Cultural Nation (Willensnation)," Annette Kym describes the process of national integration that shaped Switzerland and investigates four Secondo/Seconda authors who address national identity and migration in their works. The spectrum of authors chosen—a second generation Italian immigrant born in Switzerland, an author with a Swiss mother and a Caribbean father born in 1955, a refugee from Romania, and a Taiwanese-Swiss Seconda born in 1973—represents the varied histories and biographies of Secondo/Seconda authors in Switzerland and their relationships to Swiss society and the Swiss nation.

In the second chapter, "'Strangers in Paradise': Switzerland and Multiculturalism," Caroline Wiedmer provides a history of migration to Switzerland with particular focus on the shift from multiculturalism to hybridity. She presents her material within the context of a semester-long multi-media and multidisciplinary course incorporating literature, film, and rap music. Her instructional focus is on two particular well-known events of post-World War II history: Swiss refugee politics during World War II and the plight of Italian guest workers and their offspring in Switzerland in the 1960s and 1970s. Wiedmer works with a number of well-known cultural texts that shaped the international image of Switzerland as well as its inhabitants' sensitivity to questions of racism and xenophobia.

In "Female Migrant Writers in Switzerland: Anna Felder, Ágota Kristóf, and Dragica Rajčić," Karin Baumgartner expands the concept of migration to include women's voices. After a brief history of the Swiss Women's Movement and its stance on migration, she analyzes a number of texts by female migrant writers that thematize migration and identity from a gendered point of view. Discussing a writer each from the three larger linguistic regions, she finds commonalities among the hybrid female voices who all scoff at the notion that Switzerland is diverse in its multiculturalism. Rather, presenting Switzerland from a position of alterity allows these writers to question the country's self-representation as multicultural rather than hybrid.

The last chapter in this part, "Swiss-European Politics and Relations," explores the relationship between Switzerland and the European Union. Zinggeler argues that the European Union is generally taught from a European perspective. In contrast, Zinggeler proposes to study the European Union from a Swiss perspective. In her chapter, Zinggeler gives a broad overview of Swiss-European relations and shows that the Swiss

government works actively toward integration into the European Union. She focuses on Switzerland's unique situation as a non-conforming country on the one hand, and on the fierce division in Switzerland over EU integration and membership on the other. The teaching resources assembled by Zinggeler—with references to instructional power point slides ready for the classroom—provide easy-to-use materials for teaching the European Union.

The second section, "Hybridity in the Literatures of Switzerland: Teaching Suggestions for the French, Italian, and German Classroom," comprises four chapters discussing multiculturalism and hybridity in the literatures of French-, Italian-, and German-speaking Switzerland. The authors in this section frame their articles in terms of course itineraries that allow readers to incorporate the suggested texts and films directly into their courses. Sara Steinert-Borella (French- and Italian-speaking literatures) and Charlotte Schallié (German-speaking literature) focus on Swiss-born authors who incorporate hybridity and mobility into their texts. The third contributor in this section, Erika Nelson, makes available a unit that combines text and film within a transnational context. The authors pay special attention to the availability of teaching materials and the level of language skills required.

In the first chapter, "The Literature of French-speaking Switzerland," Sara Steinert-Borella argues that the trope of a sedentary Switzerland, one grounded in place, cannot be maintained. Rather her article shows that the literature of French-speaking Switzerland in the 20th and 21st centuries can be productively taught through the trope of the journey. Steinert-Borella proposes that the literature of French-speaking Switzerland is defined by nomadism and she advocates designing a course itinerary that reflects the vast geographic mobility of the authors and films she cites.

Steinert-Borella observes a similar pattern for the literature of Italian-speaking Switzerland, the second chapter of this section. While the authors are firmly grounded in place—the mountain valleys of the cantons Ticino and Grison—the literature necessarily looks outward in terms of geography and the universal human condition. Concentrating on Alberto Nessi, perhaps the best-known among the contemporary Italian-Swiss writers, Steinert-Borella argues that his writing is at once intrinsically linked to the ways of the Val di Muggio where he makes his home today and the wider horizons that link the Ticino to Switzerland, Europe, and a globalized, post-modern society. She concludes that identity, in particular national identity, remains problematic for authors situated at the geographic and linguistic margin.

In chapter seven, Charlotte Schallié analyzes the detective fiction of German-speaking author Hansjörg Schneider, whose fiction concentrates on the border region between Switzerland, France, and Germany. The geographic borderland where the novel is set serves as the backdrop to revisiting the history of the Swiss Yenish minority and its oppression in Switzerland. Schallié shows how a linguistically and narratively simple text can be used to probe prescriptive assumptions about citizenship and national borders. Indeed, Schallié argues that this popular detective novel allows students to ponder difficult questions about whether minority rights within a national context can be extended to a people whose culture and traditions are built on the negation of national borders.

The final chapter of this section is provided by Erika Nelson, who juxtaposes the poetry of Croatian-Swiss writer Dragica Rajčić with the film *Fräulein Switzerland* by the young Bosnian-Swiss filmmaker Andrea Štaka in order to probe the larger goals of Swiss immigration policies. In “Switzerland—An/Other View of the Homeland in the Works of Dragica Rajčić and Andrea Štaka,” Nelson offers a teaching unit that investigates what it means to be a foreigner in Switzerland, what is involved in becoming Swiss, and whether cultural identity must be sacrificed in the name of unconditional assimilation and integration into one’s new homeland. She shows how Dragica Rajčić and Andrea Štaka defy commonly accepted images of their adopted country by challenging national cultural standards, transgressing (artistic) boundaries, and dialoguing about difference.

The third part of the book, “Cultural Hybridity: Film, Pageants, and Smellscapes,” is dedicated to an exploration of Swiss culture as seen through film, the national pageant, and the smells of Switzerland. The overarching theme of this section is identity, which is in a constant process of deconstruction and reassembly. The contributors propose innovative ways for tackling Swiss national identity in the classroom. The Swiss-German/Swiss-French soap opera *Lüthi & Blanc* introduced in chapter nine might be used as a basis for collaboration between German and French colleagues, while national pageants raise important questions about the gaps between history and myth. Working with smells, as Hans Rindisbacher suggests in the last chapter, invites students to explore the target language through olfactory perception, a sense not commonly utilized in the foreign language—or any—classroom.

In his chapter “Is there a Swiss film at all?” Walo Deuber traces the history of Swiss filmmaking to determine whether a small and fragmented market can sustain a film industry. He shows that filmmaking in

Switzerland has been tied to questions of national identity, in particular during World War II. In the period since, a state-sponsored film industry has given way both to more commercial films as well as more aesthetically challenging films often made by young Secondo/Seconda filmmakers. The last section of Deuber's chapter describes the challenges of Swiss television and the travails of the only German-French soap opera ever produced in Switzerland. As Steinert-Borella similarly argued, Deuber concludes that Swiss directors and scriptwriters are more attuned to global issues than to creating national identity among the various parts of Switzerland.

In chapter ten, Richard Ruppel presents the question of national identity through the political pageant usually written for a national anniversary. The pageant, used over centuries to create national identification among a people that had little in common, was updated for the 700th anniversary of Switzerland in 1991 to look both inward and outward. Today the threat to national identity no longer comes from citizens' regional identities but lies in the nation's dealings with global and historical challenges, among them the Nazi-gold affair and the disputes over the Swiss banking laws. Pageants, Ruppel argues, are particularly effective tools to investigate national identity in the classroom, as staging them requires students to attend closely to language and imagery.

The last chapter, "Smells of Switzerland," introduces the nexus of culture and olfactory perception. Hans J. Rindisbacher argues that using "smellscapes" offers a creative way to teach about Swiss history and culture. He juxtaposes the sweet smell of the Swiss chocolate factories with the stench of the chimneys at Auschwitz and the foul smell of ill-gotten Jewish money hoarded in the vaults of Swiss banks. The engaging teaching unit presented by Rindisbacher connects history with literature and anecdotal evidence to guide students toward a multi-layered understanding of how smells are related to national identity and the exclusionary practices at the heart of such constructions. While migration patterns announce themselves through new and unfamiliar smells, integration may have been successful when these smells recede into the background.

The appendix of the book includes teaching suggestions for Romansh, the fourth Swiss national language. Romansh consists of five dialects and has a total of 35,095 speakers or 0.5% of the Swiss population (Lüdi and Werlen 2005, 7). In general, all Romansh speakers are bilingual or even trilingual (Romansh-German or Romansh-Italian-German), and only 0.1% of all immigrants (or 1227 persons) chose Romansh as their principal

language in Switzerland (Lüdi and Werlen 10). Lüdi and Werlen conclude that the Romansh-language areas are losing native speakers at a fast rate and are not able to assimilate speakers of other languages (103). Not surprisingly, Romansh culture is kept alive by an extensive system of subsidies. In 2001, the late Swiss author Hugo Lötscher argued that there is little quality to be found in Romansh literature because of a lack of selection and quality control: “Today, almost every valley has its own ‘poet,’ and almost everything they write, is published. This doesn’t further quality, but leads to a general leveling” [“Heute hat fast jedes Tal seinen eigenen ‘Dichter’ und fast alles, was sie schreiben, wird auch noch publiziert. Dies bringt keine Qualität, sondern führt zu einer allgemeinen Nivellierung”].²² Viewing Romansh culture more positively, Clà Riatsch argues that Romansh literature, while traditionally conservative and anti-modernist, is in the process of catching up with the major literary developments of the post-World War II era. He cites writer Andri Peer (1921-1985) as a model. Riatsch cautions, however, that Romansh literature continues to define itself through what it is not rather than through an active literary program.²³ Since the market for Romansh literature is small, Romansh writers who want to reach a larger public must publish their texts in one of the three other national languages. A good example is the writer Arno Camenisch, who published his first book as a parallel text in Romansh and German (with translations into French and Italian).²⁴ Overall, research of and resources for Romansh literature and culture are few and far between: for example, the extensive literary history of Switzerland by Rusterholz and Solbach devotes a mere twenty-one pages to Romansh literature (covering the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries).²⁵

The teaching resources presented here are intended to give interested instructors a guide to Romansh dialects, literature, and culture, and invite students to reflect on the importance of keeping minority languages alive. In the appendix, Zinggeler suggests a class project for students to research Romansh language and culture, make power point presentations in class, and discuss the stakes involved in the preservation of vanishing languages. The website of the organization *Lia Romantscha* offers an extensive pdf-file (over 100 pages) on facts and figures of Romansh language and culture in English, French, German, Italian, and Romansh that students can download for their group projects.²⁶ Zinggeler designed research questions for each group—one on Romansh language, one on Romansh literature, and one on Romansh culture—based on the documents available from *Lia Romantscha*. The overarching goal of the student-oriented project is to research Swiss policies that keep Romansh alive even as the

country transitions from an established quadri-lingual nation to a hybrid one.

The appendix also contains translations of eighteen poems by Croatian-Swiss poet Dragica Rajčić, an innovative voice on the German literary scene and the topic of Baumgartner's and Nelson's essays in this volume. The poems, originally constructed in "broken German" and beautifully translated by Zahra Mani, give voice to the linguistic exile experienced by migrants. Rajčić's (mis)use of her adopted language German deconstructs the metaphoric quality inherent in language and brings unquestioned assumptions to the fore, as when she points out that the German word "guest" has no female form and therefore no space for female migrants to be "guest-workers," although today the majority of migrants are women. Rajčić, a winner of the Chamisso Scholarship and the Meran Poetry Prize in 1994, was a participant in the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa (2009) and has conducted successful workshops in the United States, where she taught foreign language students to create poetry in their adopted languages. Many students find it empowering to create meaning through language regardless of their linguistic levels, and Rajčić's poetry can be the catalyst for developing a teaching unit on the migrant's (and foreign language learner's) linguistic struggles. The English translations included here give English-speaking readers a first glimpse of this emerging transnational writer and are intended to expose students beyond the German classroom to Rajčić's intriguing poetic voice.

It is our hope that this volume contributes to further research and scholarship about the new hybrid Switzerland. The hybridization processes described here are not unique to Switzerland but taking place on a global scale. More research is needed to explore how these global processes are experienced locally. At the same time, it is crucial that we provide culturally rich material for our students to think deeply and critically about what these hybridization processes will mean for their social and political engagements and their own lives.

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<http://www.secondo.net>

Notes

¹ The rappers are Ali de Bengali (German), Orange (Romansh), Cigi (Italian), Spoon (Romansh), Gimma (German, French), and Greis (German, French). The song was recorded on the album *Analfabad* (eisbrand gmbh, 2006). The band can be found online at <http://analas.ch/v2/> (accessed July 12, 2010).

² Personal email to Liricas Analas, June 10, 2009.

³ Liricas Analas, “5viertel,”

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B7X08swUK_4&playnext_from=TL&videos=D5kAqcznYa0 (accessed September 15, 2008).

⁴ Georges Lüdi and Iwar Werlen, “Sprachenlandschaft in der Schweiz,” *Bundesamt für Statistik* (April 2005), 71, available for download at <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/themen/01/22/publ.html?publicationID=1737> (accessed July 12, 2010).

⁵ “Auslandschweizer,” *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, online at <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D7990.php> (accessed July 12, 2010).

⁶ Federal Department of Foreign Affairs,

<http://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/home/recent/media/single.html?id=31667> (accessed July 12, 2010).

⁷ Bundesamt für Statistik, online at

<http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/04.html> (accessed July 12, 2010).

⁸ Switzerland follows “jus sanguis,” a social policy by which citizenship is determined by having an ancestor who is a national or citizen of the state. See the Federal Office for Migration, “Swiss citizenship/naturalization,” <http://www.bfm.admin.ch/bfm/en/home/themen/buergerrecht.html> (accessed July 21, 2010).

⁹ Johanna Wedl, “Ich bete auch in einem Bunker,” *Tagesanzeiger* (May 5 2010)

online at <http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/schweiz/standard/Ich-bete-auch-in-einem-Bunker/story/21235270> (accessed July 12, 2010).

¹⁰ Denise Jeitziner, “Wohin wollt ihr den Blancho ausweisen?” *Tagesanzeiger* (April 27, 2010), online at <http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/schweiz/standard/Wohin-wollt-ihr-den-Blancho-ausweisen/story/24795932?track> (accessed July 12, 2010).

¹¹ “Personenfreizügigkeit und Wohnungsmärkte in den Schweizer Agglomerationen,” *Die Volkswirtschaft* 7/8 (2010): 9-13.

¹² Nick Cumming-Bruce and Steven Erlanger, “Swiss Ban Building of Minarets on Mosques,” *New York Times* (November 29, 2009),

http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/30/world/europe/30swiss.html?_r=1&sq=Switzerland reject minarets&st=cse&scp=1&pagewanted=all (accessed July 12, 2010).

¹³ For definition, background information, and self-representation, see www.secondo.net (accessed July 12, 2010).

¹⁴ Among Western democracies, Switzerland has the highest share of migrants in the total population. Countries with a higher share are: Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Jordan, Singapore, Israel, Oman, and Saudi Arabia. “Top Ten Countries with the Highest Share of Migrants in the Total Population,” *Migration Policy Institute*, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/charts/6.2.shtml> (accessed July 12, 2010).

¹⁵ See Swiss language policies: *Bundesgesetz über die Landessprachen und die Verständigung zwischen den Sprachgemeinschaften* (Sprachengesetz, SpG), Article 3, online at http://www.admin.ch/ch/d/sr/441_1/index.html (accessed July 27, 2010).

¹⁶ For information on Pro Helvetia, see

<http://www.prohelvetia.ch/Home.20.0.html?&L=4> (accessed July 27, 2010).

¹⁷ <http://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/home/dfa/orgcha/gensec/prs.html> (accessed July 27, 2010).

¹⁸ http://www.swissworld.org/en/switzerland/resources/dvds/overview_of_all_dvds/ (accessed July 27, 2010).

¹⁹ <http://www.swissstudies.org> (accessed July 27, 2010).

²⁰ The contributors were asked to keep the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century*—the 5Cs—in mind while writing their essays. These standards are: Communication, Culture, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities. See <http://www.globalteachinglearning.com/standards/5cs.shtml> (accessed July 27, 2010).

²¹ <http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/schweiz/standard/Von-Daeniken-stolpert-ueber-Fic-henaffaere/story/20035297> (accessed July 27, 2010).

²² Jeroen Dewulf, “Helvetia Mediatrix: Das Ende eines Traumes? Hugo Loetscher über die Sprachsituation in der Schweiz, ein Interview,” (November 10, 2001) online at http://www.arteria.ru/eng_de_2002/de29_09_2002_2.htm (accessed July 13, 2010).

²³ Clà Riatsch, “Literatur in Romanischbünden: Tradition und Innovation. Den Anschluss verpasst?” *Viceversa* 3 (2009): 117.

²⁴ Arno Camenisch, *Ser Ner, Prosa deutsch und rätoromanisch* (Holderbank: Urs Engeler, 2009).

²⁵ Peter Rusterholz and Andreas Solbach, *Schweizerische Literaturgeschichte* (Weimar: Metzler, 2007), 485-506.

²⁶ Lia Romantscha
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PART I

AN INTRODUCTION TO HYBRID SWITZERLAND

CHAPTER ONE

SWITZERLAND AS A CULTURAL NATION (WILLENSNATION)

ANNETTE KYM

A nation that is not based on ethnic affiliation but on cultural achievement is an enormous opportunity. It is a living example for the successful co-existence of different groups.

—Kaspar Villiger

This quote is taken from a recently published book by Kaspar Villiger, a former member of the Federal Council, on the topic of the cultural and political make-up of Switzerland.¹ It can be seen as an overarching motto for this chapter.

Historical Background and Geographic Location²

“Switzerland” typically evokes some widely held clichés: mountains, chocolate, cheese, banks, cows, certain products such as Swiss army knives, and sometimes an awareness of a multilingual population. The reasons for such a small country (15,940 square miles—about the size of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined) to have four national languages are generally not well known.

The explanation has to be found in its history and geography. Switzerland is located between three major cultural areas: the German-, French-, and Italian-speaking regions of Europe. From about 500 BC to 400 AD, several Celtic tribes lived in the area of today’s Switzerland. The most important were the Helvetians. Their name lives on in today’s Latin name for Switzerland “Confederatio Helvetica,” or CH which is used as a zip code abbreviation and on country IDs on cars. During the time of migration around 400 AD, German tribes migrated to Central and Western Europe, whereas the Romans held on to the territories in the Southeastern Mediterranean region where the Italian language developed. The Franks

settled in Northern France and the Burgundians in Burgundy and Western Switzerland. These tribes spoke a romance language, whereas the Alemanni spoke a Germanic one. These languages developed over the centuries into modern French and German. Whereas the border between the Italian and the German-speaking part of Switzerland is a geographic one, namely the Alps, the one between the French- and German-speaking parts is more fluid, often referred to as the “Röstigraben,” a cultural gap between the French and German speaking Swiss. A look at a map or on Google Earth illustrates this aspect clearly.

The question arises why these different linguistic groups did not join their larger neighbors and become part of the French, German and Italian states. Starting in the 11th century, commerce between emergent cities North and South of the Alps started to grow. New trade routes developed in the area of today’s St. Gotthard pass. The inhabitants of those valleys were subject to the Habsburg king alone and not under the jurisdiction of any counts or dukes. After the death of king Rudolf of Habsburg, they feared the loss of their independence and swore an oath to help each other against anyone attempting to take away their sovereignty. This act is documented in the Federal Charter, which dates back to August 1291. Thus, this date is considered the official birth of the Swiss Confederation.³ In the 14th and 15th centuries, the confederacy originally consisting of three regions, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, grew by a number of rural and urban members. These territories either joined as equals, were conquered, or were purchased. They administered their own affairs but frequently held diets to discuss issues of common interest. Over time, they became a force to reckon with in Europe, and a source of mercenary soldiers for foreign armies. They challenged the rule of the nobility and the members in general backed each other up when attacked. One of the major victories was over the powerful Duchy of Burgundy in the Burgundian War. By the early 16th century, the Confederation expanded to 13 members, some of them in the French-speaking speaking regions. There were occasional frictions between them and, at several points in history, the Confederation almost collapsed. What is of note is that the opposition to Austria and other surrounding forces held the Confederation together and created its identity. Early on, military and economic advantages superseded differences between rural and urban members as well as differences between linguistic groups.

In the 16th century, the reformation movement spread to Switzerland too. Although it was a religious movement, it led to general upheaval against the prevailing social order. Some areas of Switzerland, mainly urban areas with a better-educated population, adopted the new religious

ideas; among them were Zurich, Bern and Geneva. Other, more rural parts of Switzerland, remained true to the Catholic faith and to the Pope. As elsewhere in Europe, the feud between the two religious groups led to war. After Zwingli, the Zurich religious leader, was killed, the members of the Confederation agreed on mutual religious respect and tolerance. At the same time, Geneva developed as a center of Protestantism under Jean Calvin. Although Geneva was not yet a member of the Confederation, it formed an allegiance with Bern against the House of Savoy. Bern conquered the area of Vaud and the area became Protestant. Thus the cities of Geneva and Lausanne became important centers of Protestantism.

In the 17th century, Europe was ravaged by the Thirty-Years War, but the Confederation stayed on the sidelines and was not drawn into the armed conflict. Despite their internal differences, they saw it in their interest to remain neutral and the policy of armed neutrality, still in effect today, was formulated. At the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty-Years War, the Confederation's independence from the Holy Roman Empire was formally recognized. Despite these agreements with their European neighbors, internal conflicts continued and the rights of the population differed greatly since each region was administered in its own way and had its own laws. In cities, guilds held power while rural areas were often administered by bailiffs who collected taxes and tithes from their subjects.

The 18th century was a time of relative peace and prosperity until it was shattered by the turmoil of the French Revolution. Manufacturing and more commercialized agriculture grew. In general, the urban areas prospered whereas poverty was widespread in mountainous regions where cottage industries took advantage of poor workers. Enlightenment ideas gained ground in Switzerland, and among the growing middle class, debating clubs, reading circles, and other civic societies sprung up. The most influential was the Helvetic Society established in 1762.⁴ Among its goals were the improvement of the general economic situation and education, religious tolerance, and the promotion/advancement of a national sentiment, a certain feeling of Swiss identity and patriotism. Starting in the 1780s, representatives from the French and Italian speaking parts of the Confederation were also invited to join the Helvetic Society.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars affected Europe and the Swiss Confederation. Some of the revolutionary ideas were welcomed in parts of Switzerland, particularly in the subject territories. Only in 1797 did the actions of France have a serious impact on the Swiss Confederation. First, Napoleon annexed some of the peripheral regions, and in 1798 defeated Bern, which meant the end of the old Confederation.