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## **Switzerland: A Future Model for the European Union? Similarities and Differences**

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. EU integration is trying to achieve more political integration and accommodation of a much higher degree of diversity in much less time than has ever been the case in Switzerland. Integration and expansion processes that were slower and non-linear in Switzerland and that happened in separate phases (e.g. religious diversification, linguistic diversification, territorial expansion, etc.) are all going on at the same time in the EU. Especially integration and accession with enormous shocks of diversification are engineered at the same time in the EU. From this point of view, the EU has already tried to go beyond many stages that took centuries to be completed in Switzerland.

The speed and intergovernmental method of European integration and accession has been marked by relative success in times of peace, stability and economic growth. But what has been achieved seems less politically stable and consolidated in time of crisis. The contextual differences between the EU and Swiss integration process notwithstanding, we think it is fair to say that the consolidation of the EU integration process may also be achieved by de-acceleration and by abolishing the doctrine of strict process-linearity of ever more integration of all policy areas. The integration process should rather concentrate on policy areas that are directly relevant to overall territorial security and economic stability as the background conditions to European citizenship. Secondly, the comparison shows that the foundation of a few but robust federal state institutions in Switzerland in 1848 was a moderately coercive act that should not be romanticized by calling Switzerland a “nation of will”. The “will” to be a nation was construed *post factum* by a slow process in which the introduction of a coherent system of direct democracy at all levels of integration was key.

2. The institutional design of the European Union seems to echo quite well the federal state formation process in Switzerland. The following precisions are however necessary in the comparative perspective. First, the momentary stage of European Integration, characterized by intergovernmental crisis management, resembles the (dysfunctional) intergovernmental centralism of the Swiss cantons during the decades before the formation of the federal-state in 1848. Second, due to the greater diversity of the European Union, this quasi-federal system has derived in extreme asymmetries between the member states. Since EU identity is not well entrenched among European citizens (and politicians), it has been hard to design institutions and policies of common territorial protection and redistribution and there is mistrust towards centralistic EU institutions (specially in the countries more affected by the economic crisis). Most European citizens do not feel that their interests are taken into account by the European Union. Third, it is important to note that in Swiss federalism the municipalities play an important role, they are much more than just administrative districts. This city-centred and bottom up construct of citizenship is guaranteed by the Swiss federal constitution. Citizens feel that their most immediate and local identity is not jeopardized but rooted in and guaranteed by the Swiss federal constitution. Compared to sub-national Swiss federalism, EU federalism is entirely focused on the nation-state and the EU institutions. Serious consideration ought to be given to the idea that European citizenship is not only about bringing citizenship to a higher European level but also about bringing it more to the root-level of citizenship: the city.

3. Direct democracy has acted as a federator in the Swiss context. Switzerland made direct democracy and direct democracy made Switzerland. There has been a slow and iterative process of adaptation of structurally similar institutions of direct democracy at all levels (communal, cantonal, federal) of all units (all communes, all cantons, confederation roughly between 1830-1891. To the contrary, the EU is only incipiently in a process of introducing direct democracy (in some member-states and ECI), and so far direct democracy is mainly practiced as national plebiscitary democracy. Under this guise it is seen as a

threat to EU integration and probably not without good reason.<sup>1</sup> While in Switzerland the coherent introduction of direct democracy at all levels of the polity in the long run served as an important unifier, direct democracy has even not been considered as integrative part of all levels of political integration in the EU.<sup>2</sup>

4. It is of great interest that the one element in which the European Union has based the construction of EU citizenship and identity – mobility of residence – has been implicitly discouraged in Switzerland. The institutional design as incorporated in Swiss multicultural identity (which aims fundamentally at the protection of cantonal autonomy, culture and language) has facilitated that Switzerland is called today a successful multicultural society. Most citizens identify with Switzerland as a country and they like it as it is, but they do not want to take advantage of their formal right to move to other parts of the country, especially not across language borders. The same institutional design that has made of Switzerland a successful case of multiculturalism and democracy poses important barriers that make it difficult for the Swiss to move their residence across their country. Considering that one of the main features of European citizenship is the freedom of movement and residence, this poses a main concern. The Swiss compromise between the formal right and economic necessity of mobility on the one hand and the protection of political and cultural sub-identities on the other hand, is commuting. Due to the vast size, this is of limited applicability in the EU. However, in a Europe of cities and trans-border regions, commuting is an important option provided that every European citizen lives reasonably close to an important economic centre. Here again there is reason for the EU to not only focus on the member-states economies but on the urban centres and regions.

The necessary infrastructure for swift commuting (and change of residency) is not only transportation. Supporting the Swiss system of commuting is fiscal federalism and shared fiscal revenue, a welfare arrangement for all Swiss citizens and a system of redistribution of funds among cantons. Moving one's residence is formally possible, bureaucratically difficult, and culturally burdensome. There is reason to believe that this is even more the case in the EU with 24 languages. In short, the Europe of commuters deserves attention in the context of EU citizenship.

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<sup>1</sup> See the bEUcitizen blog: <http://beucitizen.eu/what-to-make-of-direct-democracy/>

<sup>2</sup> For more information see D8.7

## 1. SWITZERLAND AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: SIMILAR AND DIFFERENT

The EU is considered a *sui-generis* case according to some (see, for example, Majone 1996; Marks, Hooghe, and Blank 1996). Yet it is now commonplace to compare it to other multi-level political systems (e.g. Wolinetz 2011); and in particular to the Swiss political system (Church and Dardanelli 2005). Switzerland is indeed viewed as an example for the European Union in many regards (Muret 1950; Barblan and Koller 2002; Blankart 2002; Church and Dardanelli 2005; Kriesi and Trechsel 2008; Dardanelli 2011; Mendez, Mendez, and Triga 2014)<sup>3</sup>. Among these, one of the most relevant from the point of view of WP4 is the capacity of the Swiss state to build a non conflictive multi-layered and multicultural society (Linder 1994; 2010). How has Switzerland managed to re-conciliate and guarantee coexistence of several communities within the same territory over time? And can this experience be used as an example for the European Union? These two questions are the main guidelines of this report.

To this aim, we have divided this report in two parts considering the Methodological Framework of WP4 (D 4.1). The first part aims at placing in historical perspective the integration processes of Switzerland and the European Union. The historical overview does not only help to better identify which phases and processes can be reasonably compared between the two case-studies, but it also helps to situate them in time. This is crucial to understand when and how a particular solution can be relocated to another context.

The second part of the report deals with *accommodation of diversity* in Switzerland, focusing on two types of communities which are analytically useful for addressing the main challenges of EU citizenship. The study of the stayers is concerned with the problem of solidarity and democratic support among the European citizens; whereas the section on the movers is targeted at the analysis of problems derived from intra-EU mobility. By comparing the two case-studies, we attempt to deliver viable recommendations for the European Union.

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<sup>3</sup> Switzerland has even been called 'Mini-Europe' by Cattacin (1996).

## 2. POLITICS IN TIME: POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF SWITZERLAND AND THE EU

Although the European Union was born more than a hundred years after Switzerland was constitutionally established, there is some resemblance in the historical (also institutional) evolution of both political systems. However, close attention needs to be paid to the temporal dimension, especially regarding duration and sequencing. What has been done, in what context, in what order, and in what time span?

With the Swiss Confederation the EU (and its predecessor organizations) have in common that overall they are peace projects and projects of collective realization of freedom (Blankart 2002). It has been observed that both the Swiss nation-state (after 1848) and the European Union were conceived as economic unions, or free internal markets (Lévy 2007; Cini and Borragan 2013). That is true, but attention needs to be given to the relation between market integration and political unification. Political union plays a historical role in both the Swiss Confederation and the EU, but in an inverted sequence. Whereas the Swiss Confederation, after centuries of conflictive confederal integration, formed a political union by signing a constitution in 1848 in order to create a common market, the EU created a common market in order to maybe someday create political union. And even this remote goal has never been commonly agreed upon. There is no general agreement whether European integration should lead to political union or whether the project of a common market and further common policies in other areas regulated by common institutions are the goal of European integration. This strict non-resemblance of Swiss and EU integration regarding the teleology can be relativized in time because the 1848 political union was the end point of centuries of ambiguity regarding the final constitutional goal of the Swiss confederation.

The status of citizenship in the Swiss confederation is a case in point. In 1848, the Swiss political union did not appear out of nothing. After having regained their sovereignty from the French occupation, twenty-one cantons re-established the confederation among themselves in 1815. The confederation was mainly concerned with defence and security – in order to protect the cantons from external occupation, but also from internal interference – and established a loose internal market among all cantons. From the point of view of citizenship, the confederation did not provide any citizenship rights. As a consequence, the status of citizen was only conferred within the canton of origin, while inhabitants of the confederation were considered as foreigners in all the other cantons (Church and Dardanelli 2005: 166). Despite the initial intentions to keep peace in the territories, the rise of liberal forces in Europe and Switzerland led to a clash between radicals/liberals and conservatives. Radicals were strongly in favour of increasing integration within the confederation, whereas conservatives aimed at protecting the status quo. The dispute culminated in a civil war in 1847 between the radicals and conservatives, in which the radicals defeated the conservatives (Linder 1994). The dispute ended with a new Constitution in 1848. The constitution established a federal state, albeit one in which the cantons had the most part of the competences. As compared to 1815, the new constitution established a single economic and monetary space (the Swiss Franc was introduced in 1850), and created Swiss citizenship (Church and Dardanelli 2005: 168). Revised in 1874 (and 1999), the constitution contained most of the organizational structure which remains until today (Linder 1994, X). Only the constitution of 1999 explicitly mentions the existence of a Swiss people as union of citizens apart from the cantons. From the point of view of citizenship and identity, there has indeed been a substantive change in the Swiss constitution of 1999, as compared to 1848. While the 1848 Constitution established as the constituting body ‘the peoples of the twenty-two sovereign cantons’ (Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation, 12 September 1848, Art. 1), the 1999 Constitution refers to the ‘Swiss people and the cantons of Zurich, Bern [...]’ (Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation, 18 April 1999, Art. 1). Apart from this, “The basic federalist structure remains the same, the only change concerns the numerous shifts of competences from the cantons to the federal government which took place in the

course of the following 125 years.” (Kriesi and Trechsel 2008: 4). Over time the federal state gradually acquired more competences at the expenses of the cantonal level.

More than 100 years after the Swiss constitution was signed, the idea of an integrated Europe that would avoid the disasters of II World War flourished again<sup>4</sup>. In 1957, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and West Germany signed the Treaty of Rome (European Economic Community-ECC), which established the creation of a common market of goods, workers and capital within the six members. Gradually, other European countries adhered to the EEC and later on to the European Union. Also gradually, through the several treaties, the economic union became more political, notwithstanding the strong opposition by some of the member states. With regard to citizenship, the EU does not differ much today from the Swiss confederation of 1848, as EU citizens moving across Europe – even if entitled to move freely – still have the status of foreigners. The Treaty of Lisbon does not make any reference to the peoples in the text, neither in the preamble nor in Art. 1. The constituting parts in the EU are still the member states, and there is no reference to the ‘European people’.

At first sight, the starting point of the two political systems was quite similar. Not only was the union considered as a way to ensure peace and economic freedom within a set of territories, but these united territories differed much among themselves: diverse languages and cultures, diverse religions, and even diverse democratic cultures. Also, similarly, there was much reticence from these diverse territories both in Switzerland and the EU to delegate power and competences to the federal/ supranational level. “As Lüthy (1971: 31) pointed out, Swiss federalism has always been an ‘anti-centralism’, which considered the federal government if not an enemy, then at least a necessary evil which one had to live with but not give in to.” (in Kriesi and Trechsel 2008, 4). The conflicts surrounding the Lisbon Treaty illustrate this same tendency in the European Union. Yet, and despite the long period of bloody conflicts that preceded the 1848 Constitution, Switzerland has managed to accommodate diversity and has become an example of multicultural democracy (Linder 2010). The European Union faces important challenges today, which have become even more visible as a consequence of the economic crisis and the refugee crisis. Some countries envisage leaving the Eurozone (Greece); and the UK will most probably leave the EU sometime in the future given the result of the 2016 referendum. Most dramatically, it is the democratic legitimacy of the European Union itself that is questioned in some European countries<sup>5</sup>. Switzerland is therefore an interesting case of comparison with the European Union, which might provide potential solutions to be applied in the European case. This is particularly the case since Switzerland – as the European Union – is perceived as a deviant case of nation-building, which did not evolve in parallel to other European nation states in the nineteenth century (Zimmer 2011).

## **2.1 DEMOCRATIZATION, LIBERALIZATION AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION**

Comparing the processes of political integration of Switzerland and EU in a spatiotemporal perspective raises the methodological question of what phases to compare. If one chooses the post-1848 phase in Switzerland with the post-1957 phase of the EU, one compares two different kinds of political entities: a federal state in the case of Switzerland and a *sui generis* treaty system in the case of the EU. In order to respect the categories one should compare the path of Swiss integration during the confederal phase (1291-1848) with the corresponding phase of the EU (1957-ongoing). But such a choice would be too formalistic. Switzerland remained a political integration project after the 1848 integration into a federal state, as the following passages will show. The EU, on the other hand, although formally still a

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<sup>4</sup> Although the idea of a united Europe has been already dreamed many years before (see Urwin 1995, chapter 1).

<sup>5</sup> The clearest example is the failure to ratify the Constitutional Treaty of the European Union, after several countries had rejected it by referendum.



confederal system, contains several federal-state elements that the Swiss Confederation only acquired after the 1848 constitution, such as a parliament with important competencies, legislation with direct effect, exclusive competencies, etc. An overlapping comparison of confederal and federal-state Switzerland with the EU is therefore justified.

The path of Switzerland from the confederal to the federal-state union was centuries long, conflictive, violent and non-linear. Much of the same can be said about the EU, because projects and ideas to unify Europe politically go back for centuries but only became a political reality after 1957 (Foerster 1967; Cheneval 2002). In order to draw a line and establish comparability that answers questions relevant to the current issue of political integration in Europe, it is plausible to focus on the respective integration processes in the age of post-revolutionary (1789) democratization. This phase coincides with the last phase of political integration of Switzerland on its path to the federal state of 1848. For the Swiss Confederacy, that last phase before the federal-state constitution of 1848 was conflictive, moderately violent and development was anything but linear. After the occupation of Switzerland by Napoleon, the confederation was forcefully transformed into a central state (The Helvetic Republic) in 1798. Top down political engineering merged sovereign cantons into new administrative entities of a central state. The result was a highly unstable and dysfunctional system, which had to be abolished only five years later. The 1803 *Act of Mediation* restored the cantons, abolished the central state and Switzerland became a confederation once again. The *Federal Treaty* of 1815, which re-established the old confederacy after the Congress of Vienna, confirmed this restorative process. The Federal Diet (council of cantonal representatives) was again the only governmental institution of the Swiss Confederacy. It had executive and legislative powers for common matters and led to a practice of intergovernmental centralism with a lack of democracy and separation of powers on the confederal level, albeit with limited competencies. Current EU crisis management resembles this intergovernmental centralism.

After 1830 and in the broader context of liberal revolutions all over Europe and in Latin America, Switzerland entered into what in the historical literature is called a “regenerative” phase. In 1831 several cantons, some of which were catholic such as Lucerne and Fribourg, adapted new liberal constitutions ending serfdom, introducing freedom of contract for all, freedom of press, recognizing the sovereignty of the people and granting universal male suffrage. The early mover of this phase was Appenzell Innerrhoden. This canton adapted a new constitution in 1828. In several cantons, large informal assemblies driven by civil society and embodied in the Radical Party tempted to take this process of democratization and liberalization to all cantons and to the confederal level. This push for reform was supposed to be confirmed in 1833 by a new federal constitution. But the attempt failed and it exacerbated the cleavages with the conservative anti-federalists. It also divided the liberals into federalists (radicals) and moderate federalists (liberals). In 1845 the confrontation process between radical federalists and conservative anti-federalists culminated in the *Sonderbund*, an internal alliance of the conservative cantons with foreign connections and as such forbidden by the 1815 Federal Treaty. This in turn led to the 1847 civil war (*Sonderbundskrieg*), in which the *Sonderbund* forces were defeated without major military battle and roughly 100-130 human casualties. As an immediate consequence of the civil war and a more long-term consequence of the various constitutional reforms in the cantons of the previous decades, Switzerland adopted a liberal federal Constitution in 1848.

The role and emergence of citizenship and direct democracy in this process is symptomatic (Graber 2013). In 1840, only seven Swiss cantons were governed by direct democratic assemblies (Appenzell Innerrhoden, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Glarus, Nidwalden, Obwalden, Uri, Schwyz), six cantons were semi-direct democracies with parliaments and direct democratic instruments such as the right to popular referendum against new laws or the mandatory referendum (Basleland, Grisons, Lucerne, St. Gallen, Valais, Zug), eleven cantons were representative democracies without direct democratic instruments (Aargau, Berne, Basle, Fribourg, Geneva, Schaffhausen, Solothurn, Thurgau, Ticino, Vaud,

Zurich) and Neuchâtel was still a constitutional monarchy (Adler 2006). The *Federal Diet* of the Confederacy was a representative assembly; the same holds for the two-chamber parliament of the federal state after 1848. With the exception of the initiative for a total revision of the Constitution, the 1848 Constitution contained no element of direct democracy. Up to the 1860ies, direct or semi-direct democracy was a characteristic of the conservative cantons, many of them had belonged to the *Sonderbund*, many of them were anti-federalist before 1848 and reluctantly federalist after 1848. In the 1860ies, other cantons, which up to that point were purely representative democracies adapted semi-direct democratic instruments (facultative and/or mandatory referendum, initiative). These reform measures in favour of direct democracy were driven by popular petitions and memoranda to change the cantonal constitutions, whereby the popular veto, the precursor of the facultative referendum, was the most important claim. Only this process at the cantonal level enabled the introduction of the facultative referendum on the federal level in 1874 and the introduction of the constitutional initiative in 1891 (Adler 2006; Auer 1996). It is important to note that these introductions of direct democratic elements represent an adaptation of structural elements of the conservative, anti-federal cantons to all cantons and then the federal level. The semi-direct democratic instruments at the federal level were meant to be procedural confidence-building measures to better integrate the conservative and anti-federalist minorities into the Swiss federal-state and to overcome the old political cleavages that continued to divide the Swiss federal state after 1848. The success was anything but immediate; it took a very long time to mend the fault lines between federalists and anti-federalists. As shown in Table 1, eight out of 22 cantons, more than a third, rejected the constitution of 1848 with strong majorities of over 80%, and some cantons did not adapt their cantonal constitutions to the federal constitution for several decades. The vote on the new constitution of 1874, introducing the facultative referendum at the federal level, did not do any better overall and the constitution of 1999 was still rejected by 10 cantons out of 26. If we were to see the parallelism with the EU Constitutional Treaty, its rejection by a small number of member states would not be so dramatic after all.

Table 1 Cantonal yes-votes to the federal-state constitutions of Switzerland

<b>Canton</b>	<b>1848</b>	<b>1872</b>	<b>1874</b>	<b>1999</b>
Aargau	70%	62%	65%	49%
Appenzell Aus.	78% <sup>a</sup>	37%	83%	45%
Appenzell Inn.	7% <sup>a</sup>	7%	14%	34%
Basle-Landschaft	90%	84%	87%	66%
Basle-Stadt	88%	81%	86%	76%
Berne	77%	69%	78%	62%
Fribourg	Yes <sup>b</sup>	22%	21%	73%
Geneva	82%	37%	77%	86%
Glarus	100% <sup>a</sup>	74%	76%	30%
Grisons	Yes <sup>c</sup>	43%	53%	52%
Jura	-	-	-	76%
Lucerne	59% <sup>d</sup>	35%	38%	57%
Neuchâtel	95%	47%	93%	70%
Nidwalden	17% <sup>a</sup>	13%	19%	41%
Obwalden	3% <sup>a</sup>	7%	17%	47%
St. Gallen	68%	50%	57%	48%
Schaffhausen	79%	94%	97%	42%
Schwyz	25%	15%	18%	34%
Solothurn	62%	62%	65%	53%
Ticino	27%	46%	33%	72%

Thurgau	87%	84%	83%	40%
Uri	14% <sup>a</sup>	4%	8%	40%
Vaud	82%	6%	60%	76%
Valais	40%	13%	16%	50% <sup>e</sup>
Zoug	33%	29%	40%	54%
Zürich	91%	81%	95%	62%

<sup>a</sup> estimated votes at the Landsgemeinde

<sup>b</sup> executive decision

<sup>c</sup> 54 electoral districts in favour to 12 electoral districts against

<sup>d</sup> abstentions were counted as yes-votes

<sup>e</sup> 18 905 yes to 19 073 no-votes

Source: *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D9811.php> (last seen 30.08.2016)

Although the 1848 constitution ended a civil war and consolidated political union, the great cleavages between the liberal pro-integration and the conservative anti-integration cantons and segments of population remained deep and entrenched. Switzerland's way out of the impasse was institutional, procedural and slow. The autonomy of the communes, a federalist constitutional system recognising the sovereignty of cantons as constitutionalized peoples, free and fair elections of government in all cantons and at the federal level, and the development of direct democracy at all levels of political integration and in all political units of the country played the most important role in overcoming disunion. Strong federalism and direct democratic procedures, purely formal and institutional in nature, are today identity markers of Switzerland. Interesting from the point of view of European integration is that direct democracy in pre-1848 Switzerland was practiced in the small units only, such as the communes or in some conservative anti-federalist cantons, and this only in a structurally and temporally uncoordinated manner<sup>6</sup>. The development of a horizontally and vertically coherent practice of direct democracy took place in a time span roughly between 1830 and 1891 and it played a crucial role in mending the political union of Switzerland at the federal state level. It is fair to say that Switzerland made direct democracy as much as direct democracy made Switzerland.

Contrary to Switzerland, the EU has been advancing rapidly in economic and political integration. After the disasters of II World War, the idea that there should be a union among European countries took force and several countries initiated negotiations to cooperate. In 1951, the Treaty of Paris was signed

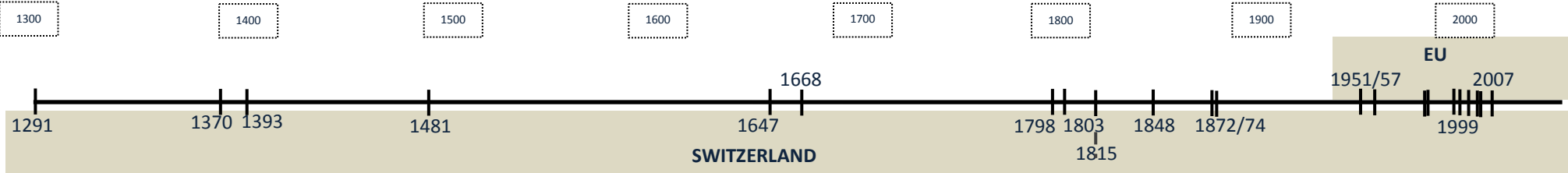
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<sup>6</sup> There is, however, a historical debate regarding the continuity of the tradition of direct democracy between pre- and post-1848 Switzerland. Some defend the thesis of discontinuity and highlight the substantive influence of the ideas of the French revolution, finally put into practice in post-1848 Switzerland (Koelz 2004; Koelz 1992). In various publications, Peter Blickle developed the contradictory theory of a continuity of direct democracy in Switzerland. According to the eminent historian, direct democracy originates in medieval "communalism" and leads to the institution of direct democracy in the post-1848 Swiss nation state (Blickle 2000). Newer studies show both continuity and discontinuity depending on geographic area and issues at stake (Adler 2006). All authors agree that the older communal traditions of direct democracy prepared a fertile ground for the political construction of modern direct democracy in Switzerland. The reasons for the positive acceptance of direct democracy in post-1848 Switzerland were and still are that direct democracy offers a procedural solution to the substantive cleavages between pro- and anti-integration cantons and parties and it creates trust in the common federal institutions, perceived as remote and centralistic by the anti-integration conservatives and other minorities. As a non-substantive (formal) institutional disposition establishing a general right to direct political participation, and as a mildly minority-biased and member state-biased collective decision making procedure, direct democracy was – and is to this day – perceived as legitimate by a wide majority of Swiss, especially also by minority groups such as small cantons, conservative Catholics, and the notoriously minoritarian social-democratic left. It is thus fair to say that post-1848 Switzerland made direct democracy and direct democracy made post-1848 Switzerland.

between six countries (Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg). It created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) with the goal to merge coal and steel industries. In 1957, the same group of countries that had established the European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) signed the Treaty of Rome. The EEC created essentially a customs Union; while Euratom integrated sectors in nuclear energy. The Treaty of Rome established a common Assembly and Courts to all members of the Treaty, the first institutional structure at the European level. The 1967 Merger Treaty combined the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom and created a common set of institutions to all: the European Council, the European Parliament, and the European Commission. This institutional change settled the basis of the European institutions as we know them today. Integration happened within the treaty system mainly in the economic realm and in small steps, and it was not until 1979 that there was the first direct election of the European Parliament. Belgium, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, West Germany and the United Kingdom participated for the first time in elections at the European level. The signature of treaties went even at a faster path after these first elections. In 1985, the so-called Schengen Agreement abolished passport controls between some member states and some non-member states. In 1986, the important Single European Act was signed. The year 1993 saw the formal establishment of the EU as a political union by the Maastricht Treaty and the name European Community to the former EEC. The Common Currency was introduced in 2002 with 12 member countries; it has since grown to 19 members. In high frequency compared to former periods of integration, the Treaties of Amsterdam 1997, Nice 2001, and Lisbon 2009 amended the Maastricht Treaty. These Treaties have commonly been interpreted as responding to the challenges of adapting the EU to the numerous accessions of new members at the same time. The Lisbon Treaty led to further political integration. It merged the three pillars of the EU into a single legal entity and legal personality, created the post of a President of the European Council and strengthened EU foreign policy with the post of the High Representative.

This schematic revision of the European process of integration emphasizes the short time span that has seen the ECC born and transform into a *quasi-political* union, especially compared to Switzerland. Figure 1 represents the distinct evolution of the two integration processes across time, showing the main hits in each of the cases. Although we are aware that time is not strictly comparable due to contextual differences (e.g. changes are more likely to occur faster today than in a pre-Westphalian world, due to tremendous changes in communication system, information, etc.; and this is specially the case in a globalized world), the speed of the EU integration process is yet remarkable. In little more than 50 years, a completely new system was created and gradually transformed into an economic and political union. This is surely one of the aspects that needs to be considered in proposing any recommendation for the European Union.

Figure 1 Different speeds of political integration



- Switzerland**
- 1291 Confederation of the three Cantons
  - 1370 Pfaffenbrief
  - 1393 Sempacherbrief
  - 1481 Stanser Verkommnis
  - 1647 Defence pact
  - 1798 Helvetic Republic
  - 1803 Act of Mediation
  - 1815 Federal Treaty
  - 1848 Federal Constitution
  - 1872 Revision Federal Constitution
  - 1874 Revision Federal Constitution
  - 1999 Revision Federal Constitution

- EU**
- 1951 European Coal and Steel Community
  - 1957 Treaty of Rome (EEC)
  - 1967 Merger Treaty
  - 1985 Schengen Treaty
  - 1986 Single European Act
  - 1992 Treaty of Maastricht
  - 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam
  - 2001 Treaty of Nice
  - 2002 Euro
  - 2007 Treaty of Lisbon

## 2.2 TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

In the time between 1513 and 1803 the Swiss confederation remained stable regarding membership of states. Territorial expansion happened by conquest of the existing member states. The 1798 Helvetic Republic led to territorial expansion and the 1803 Act of Mediation constituted an accession of 6 new member states (Aargau, St. Gallen, Grisons, Thurgau, Ticino, Vaud). In the case of Vaud, Ticino and Aargau it was not really a territorial expansion of the confederation, but a change of status of entities from subjected territories to full and equal members of the Confederacy. With the accession round of 1803 the Swiss territory grew roughly 50%. In 1815 three new members joined (Geneva, Neuchâtel, Valais) and the territory grew another 10%. The conflictive and moderately violent integration process to federal state integration between 1815-1848 happened during a time with no further accession of member states<sup>7</sup>.

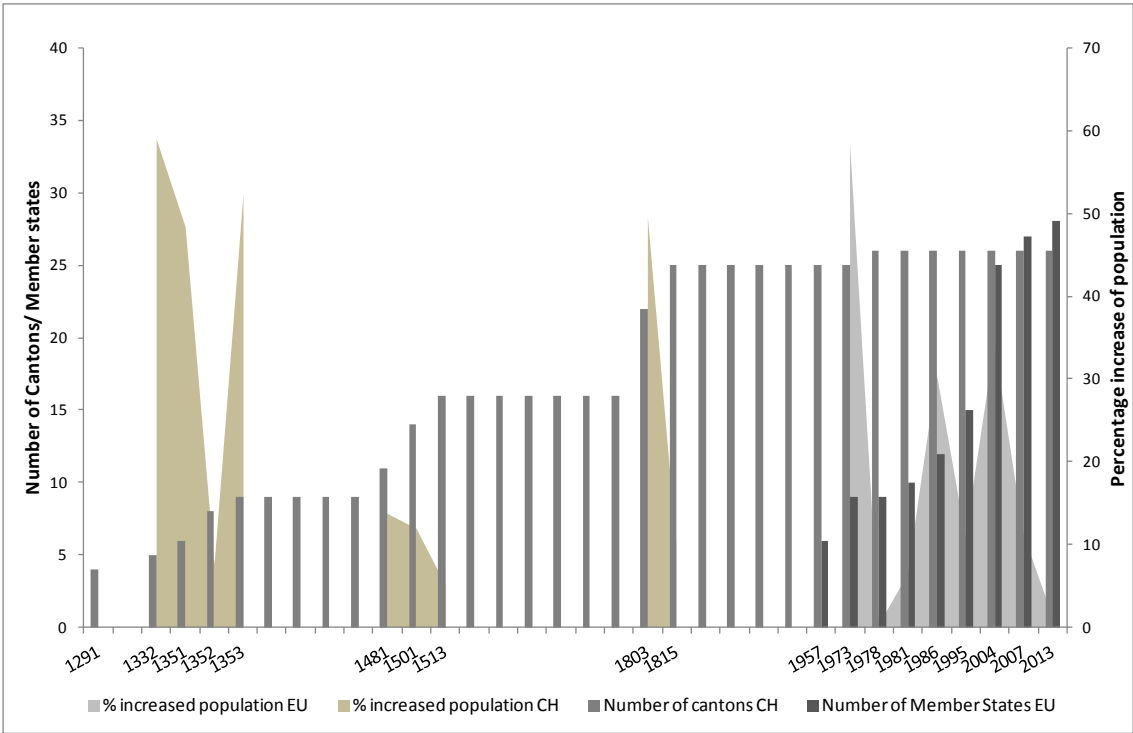
In Europe, at its foundation 1957 the ECC (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, West Germany, France, and Italy) had a territory of 1'299'536m<sup>2</sup> and a total population of 169'106'736. The 1973 enlargement to Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom brought a population growth of 33.41% to 256'762'167 and a territorial growth of 25.44% to 1'657'723m<sup>2</sup> (Denmark counted without Greenland who exited 1985). The 1981 accession of Greece took the EEC to a population of 271'472'541 (+3.72%) and a territory of 1'789'668m<sup>2</sup> (+7.96%). When Portugal and Spain joined in 1986 this led to a total population of 366'867'431 (+17.53%) and a territory of 2'386'841m<sup>2</sup> (+33.37%). The unification of Germany integrated another 16'111'000 of inhabitants and an area of 108'333 m<sup>2</sup>. The step to the European Union in 1995 (Austria, Finland, and Sweden) brought the EU to 372'939'379 inhabitants (+6.29%) and an area of 3'367'145m<sup>2</sup> (+34.95%). The accession round of 10 relatively small but culturally very diverse countries (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) in 2004 was not the largest regarding population and territory. It resulted in a population of 456'504'305 (+19.57%) and a territorial expansion of 4'104'844m<sup>2</sup> (+17.97%) for the EU25. When Romania and Bulgaria joined in 2007 the EU grew to a population of 494'296'878 (+6.48%) and a territory of 4'454'237m<sup>2</sup>. The actual size of a population of 506'777'111 (+0.85) and a territory of 4'510'831 (+1.31%) was reached with the accession of Croatia in 2013. The enlargement of the European Union is not yet considered completed as negotiations are being held to further enlarge the union.

This short description of territorial and population expansion of the EU as compared to Switzerland reveals again that European enlargement was exponential and very fast. Figure 2 summarizes the expansion of the Switzerland and the EU. Bars in the figure represent the number of cantons (light grey) and of member states (dark grey); whereas the areas represent the percentage increase of the population (Switzerland in beige and the EU in grey). Even if approximate (and with the limitations already mentioned in relation to Figure 1), Figure 2 shows that the expansion in the European Union is very much concentrated in time. As it will be seen in the next section, this implies much more diversity in the European case than in Switzerland.

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<sup>7</sup> The number of cantons is actually 26 and not 25 as in 1815, since Jura split from the Canton of Bern in 1979.

Figure 2 Territorial and population expansion of Switzerland and the EU



Notes: Only the years of territorial expansion are showed. Increase of Swiss population is estimated based on data from 1671, since there are no data previous to that period.

Sources: own elaboration, based on <http://www.fsw.uzh.ch/histstat> and [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statistics\\_relating\\_to\\_enlargement\\_of\\_the\\_European\\_Union](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statistics_relating_to_enlargement_of_the_European_Union) (Eurostat).

**2.3 MAJOR CHANGES IN CULTURAL DIVERSITY**

The main diversification of the old Swiss Confederacy was religious and happened during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, that is, between 1519 (Reformation in Zurich) and 1712 (Second Villmerger-War). This period of religious diversification included many violent wars among the confederates. The two main diversification “shocks” in Switzerland, religious and linguistic, did not occur at the same time but in two different phases, however the religious cleavage factor remained salient all during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Whereas religious diversification in the old Swiss Confederacy was violent, linguistic diversification in 19<sup>th</sup> century Switzerland was peaceful and driven by political integration.

The linguistic diversity of Switzerland is a relatively recent phenomenon given the total history of the confederation. The first bilingual canton to join was Fribourg in 1481. Only in 1803 with the accession of the cantons of Ticino, Grisons and Vaud did the confederation become linguistically diversified into four languages (not counting dialects which are abundant in Switzerland). The French language group was strengthened with the very last accession movement of Valais, Geneva, and Neuchâtel in 1815. This means that most of the integration of the old Swiss Confederacy happened in a monolingual environment, though not the integration process of the last phase to the federal state between 1803 and 1848. The proportion of language distribution remains relatively stable, although a slight increase of the French speaking and decrease of the German speaking group is noticeable between 1910 and 2014 (see Table 2). Most notably, the use of other languages in the last decade has doubled, which incorporates a new element of diversity within the Swiss context.

Table 2. The main languages of Swiss residents from 1910 to 2014 (%)

	Swiss German Dialects	French	Italian	Romansh	Other
1910	69.1	21.1	8.1	1.1	0.6
1920	70.9	21.3	6.1	1.1	0.6
1930	71.9	20.4	6.0	1.1	0.6
1941	72.6	20.7	5.2	1.1	0.4
1950	72.1	20.3	5.9	1.0	0.7
1960	69.3	18.9	9.5	0.9	1.4
1970	65.3	18.7	11.1	0.8	4.0
1980	65.7	18.6	9.3	0.8	5.5
1990	64.6	19.3	8.0	0.6	7.6
2000	64.2	20.0	6.8	0.5	8.5
2014	64.5	22.7	8.4	0.5	20.8

Source: 1910-2000 : Federal Population Census; 2014 : Structural Survey. Swiss Federal Statistical Office

The EU represents a temporally and numerically much more dense diversification process with regard to culture. In eight steps of accession the EU went from 4 to 24 languages in a time period of 56 years between 1957 and 2013. The 2004 accession of east European countries took the EU from 10 to 20 official languages. The EU is linguistically much more diversified than Switzerland and this diversification happened in relatively short period of time. Unlike Switzerland, the religious diversification of the EU happened during a time when the religious wars and religious persecution in Europe were more or less recent history. In the case of religion as well, the EU represents a much more diversified and a different landscape than Switzerland. The EU is predominantly catholic with 48% of self-described Catholics. Protestants account for only 12% and there are 8% Orthodox, a group that is almost entirely missing in Switzerland, as well as 4% other Christians.<sup>8</sup> With regard to Christianity the EU is more diversified and more catholic than Switzerland, where Catholics account for 38% and Protestants 27% of the population. Both Switzerland (71%)<sup>9</sup> and the EU (72%) are predominantly Christian.<sup>10</sup> Immigration set aside, the different accession phases introduced strong linguistic but only slightly increased religious diversity in the EU. The 1981 accession of Greece and of Bulgaria and Rumania in 2007 brought the orthodox religion into the Union, which accounts for about 8% of EU population. The most important and fastest growing non-Christian religion is Islam with 4.9% in Switzerland (2012) and 6% in the EU (2015).<sup>11</sup> Although there are issues in the EU with individual religious freedom, religion in the EU integration process has never been a collectively divisive pro- or antifederalist factor as it was in Switzerland in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century during the formation and consolidation of the federal state.

<sup>8</sup> Special Eurobarometer 393: Discrimination in the EU in 2012.

<sup>9</sup> "Ständige Wohnbevölkerung ab 15 Jahren nach Religions- / Konfessionszugehörigkeit, 2012". <http://www.bfs.admin.ch> (Statistics) Neuchâtel: Swiss Federal Statistical Office. 2014. Retrieved 2015-06-07.

<sup>10</sup> Special Eurobarometer 393: Discrimination in the EU in 2012.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/15/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/> (retrieved 16.06.2015)



### **3. DIVERSITY AND ITS ACCOMMODATION IN SWITZERLAND AND THE EU**

Comparing Switzerland and the EU in time conveys the idea that the European Union has done very much in a little period of time, especially in what regards accumulation of diversity. Not only has Switzerland dealt with diversity for a larger period than the European Union, but also the degree and complexity of diversity, which the EU has to face is far more substantial than that of the Swiss system. Yet, understanding how Switzerland has dealt with similar challenges in past and present times might help to think of possible developments of European citizenship. In the following sections, we focus therefore on two types of communities in Switzerland: the stayers and the movers<sup>12</sup>. With some particularities, these find an equivalent in the European Union.

We use the concept of *stayers* to refer to the territorial communities. Territorial communities are strongly linked to a territory, and tend to share a common identity among all members, which can be based on cultural, religious, or civic elements. Territorial communities are very protective of their cultural specificity and political autonomy. In Switzerland, these would correspond to the cantons; whereas in the EU, these would correspond to the member states<sup>13</sup>. In this report, we define as *stayers*, the Swiss/ EU citizens who live in their canton/member state of origin. In the comparison between the Swiss and EU case, we focus on identity, as the main instrument which glues the different communities altogether.

The community of *movers* constitutes a relatively new group of study, especially in the context of the European Union, where the focus has changed from the concept of migration to that of intra-mobility. The movers are the intra-mobile Swiss/EU citizens within Switzerland/ the EU. In this case, we are interested in diagnosing the barriers Swiss citizens might encounter when moving within Switzerland, and the potential solutions the Swiss state has implemented in order to avoid them.

#### **3.1 THE STAYERS**

##### *3.1.1 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STAYERS*

As an opening, a description of the stayers in the two case-studies object of analysis in this report is worth. Table 3 presents the characteristics of the stayers in the EU and Switzerland. As it appears, there is much similarity between the two cases. Identity is primarily based on ethnic-linguistic-religious elements (although it depends of the specific community) and tends to be strong at the canton<sup>14</sup>/country level. There is neither a common language nor an ethnic or religious background among all communities; and these tend to be mainly territorialized in both contexts. Yet, there is much more heterogeneity within the European Union, since the number of communities (without counting regional and local ones) is seven times bigger in the EU than in Switzerland. The larger community in the EU is Germany, with only 16% of the European population (as compared to the German Linguistic diversity is also deeper in the EU case, with 24 official languages. Even if Switzerland is constituted by 26 cantons with strong identities (see below), the main element of identity is language. For this reason in the following analysis we will sometimes group the cantons according to the linguistic community they belong to.

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<sup>12</sup> As in the European Union, in Switzerland competences in naturalization law are mostly cantonal (national in the EU), although increasingly the federal system is trying to homogenise admission criteria. Considering that the foreign population is very big in Switzerland, immigration constitutes an important challenge both in the EU and in Switzerland. However, since the 'outsiders' are the specific object of analysis in other work-packages, they are only indirectly treated in this report.

<sup>13</sup> In many European member states, there are other territorial communities at the subnational level. For the sake of simplicity, however, we refer here only to the state level.

<sup>14</sup> On the debate whether Swiss cantons (or linguistic communities) can be equalled to nations see Reinhardt 2011. The concept of community is not in contradiction with either of these interpretations.

Table 3 The characteristics of the stayers

	EU	Switzerland
Type of identity	Ethnic-linguistic- religious	Ethnic-linguistic – religious
Strength of identity	Strong	Strong
Number official languages	24	4 <sup>15</sup>
One common language to all?	No	No
Same ethnic group?	No	No
Same religion?	No	No
Number of communities	28 member states + regional/local communities	26 cantons (but 4 linguistic communities)
% biggest community	16% (Germany) <sup>a</sup>	18% (Zürich) <sup>a</sup> 65% (Swiss German) <sup>a</sup>
Actual borders	1992 (as EU) – 2013	1815 (1979 - Jura)
Territorialized vs. non-territorialized	Generally territorialized	Territorialized
Concentrated vs. dispersed	Mostly concentrated	Mostly concentrated
Citizenship status (all citizens?)	Yes	Yes
Special rights for protection of culture	Yes	Yes

<sup>a</sup>2014

Source: own elaboration, based on literature review, Eurostat and Swiss Federal Statistical Office

### 3.1.2 THE STAYERS: SAME IDENTITY?

Among the several problems imputed to EU citizenship is the lack of a common “we-Europeans” feeling (Delanty 1997; Fuchs 2011). The existence of a shared sense of identity among all communities with the federal/supranational level is argued to be fundamental, from an instrumental perspective. Firstly, identity appears to be necessary to accept the rules of recognition and the law as binding, and as a derivation of this, to ensure that all citizens perceive they are not discriminated by arbitrary decisions of the government(s). Secondly, identity is important to promote solidarity among the different peoples (and consequently, ensure at least a minimal welfare-state). It provides with the social glue that makes possible the common life of all different communities (Johnston et al. 2010). Although there is much discussion today on which type of identity (if any) is needed at the European level considering its sui-generis nature (Kantner 2006; Antonsich 2012), the recent economic crisis and refugee crises bring into the cold light of day that the willingness to help other EU countries and citizens strongly depend on identity feelings.

Although at a different point in time (see above), both Switzerland and the EU have adopted a similar strategy, in line with most nation-states in the XVIII and XIX centuries: to build a common identity. Yet contrary to other nation states across Europe, in Switzerland (as in the EU) state-building and identity formation was based on the idea of civil exceptionalism (and voluntarism) rather than on the belief on the existence of a common ethnic community (Chollet 2011; Wimmer 2011; Zimmer 2011). Indeed, because of its multicultural composition, Swiss identity needed to be compatible with the identities of all other communities within the Swiss territory. As a consequence, it developed as a civic (multilevel) identity. Similarly, the European Union has tried to promote a common European identity, based on civic elements. In this section, we analyse the evolution of Swiss and European identities, as an attempt to learn which lessons can be applied to the European context.

<sup>15</sup> Even if there are only 4 official written languages, there is much more variety with regard to spoken language, especially in German and Romansh – many varieties (Chollet 2011, 747)

### **3.1.2.1 THE SWISS IDENTITY**

At the time the Swiss state was founded there was no unified political culture, but Switzerland was a construct composed of cantons with different languages, religious denominations, cultures, and historical backgrounds (Linder and Steffen 2007, 16). According to Wimmer's thesis (2011), Swiss identity developed initially in a multi-ethnic form, as a consequence of transnational contacts of bourgeois associations. From the 1880's, though, and as a reaction to French, Italian and German nationalisms, a state-centred identity began to shape (Zimmer 2003). From then on, Swiss identity was more strongly promoted from the elites, although it was mostly a matter of national elites, and the cantonal elites and the population at large were very much reluctant to accept it. "Now the multi-ethnic character of the state was no longer taken for granted but put at the centre of nationalist representations, and only now did the Swiss nation – rather than the successful liberal revolution – become the primary source of political legitimacy." (Wimmer 2011, 731)<sup>16</sup>. In fact, ethnic nationalism (of the cantons) emerged during World War I, since the different communities aligned with the biggest countries outside Switzerland. But the federal government was able to appease and reconcile the different communities (also by naming a third French-speaker as part of the government). Even if there is much parallelism between the process of Swiss identity formation and that of many other nation-states in the nineteenth century, there is also much exceptionalism in how it developed (Chollet 2011, 742). In a way, the institutions created the Swiss society. Swiss identity has indeed been rooted on the principles of federalism, direct democracy, and neutrality and supported by ideal myths of the 'Swiss' (Froidevaux 1997), but remained civic in nature. Remarkably, the same institutional features that favoured the union of several cantons into a single confederacy have been incorporated as part of Swiss identity. As a consequence, Swiss identity was perfectly compatible with cantonal and communal identities. "[Swiss] citizens are welded together by a *common political culture*, i.e. by a common attachment to a set of fundamental political principles, institutions and voting procedures – most notably [...] federalism and direct democracy, and in addition, neutrality – buttressed by a set of myths about past heroic struggles to defend these principles against outside aggressors. However, this common denominator is minimal. Its purpose is precisely to allow the different cultural groups that compose the Swiss political nation to be culturally different from one another. Within a common procedural framework, the different constituent cultures of the Swiss political nation lived their own way of life and tended to *ignore one another*." (Kriesi and Trechsel 2008:11).

The evolution of Swiss identity has not been a bed of roses, even in more recent times. In the 1990s, critical voices started to be heard about *what is was to be a Swiss*. This was particularly the case during the celebration of the Swiss 700<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Confederation in 1991 (Chollet 2011, 748); and later on exemplified by the problems derived from the national exhibition of 2002. The project, which initially was designed as an interrogation of the present and future of Swiss society and identity failed to gain economic support and finally was postponed due to lack of popular support (Söderström 2001). As a consequence of the fall of the wall, and the growing globalization, the three basic features of Swiss identity (federalism, direct democracy, and neutrality) became more fragile. Swiss exceptionality could no longer be defended, as democracy became the rule in the European context. After the end of the Cold War, Swiss neutrality was also put into question. Although the Swiss population rejected by referendum to be part of the European Economic Area in 1992, some sectors started to see with good eyes the opening of the Swiss borders to the European arena (Linder and Steffen 2007; see also Fleiner 2002)<sup>17</sup>. The Swiss 'Sonderfall' (Switzerland as a special case) was severely put into question by external events.

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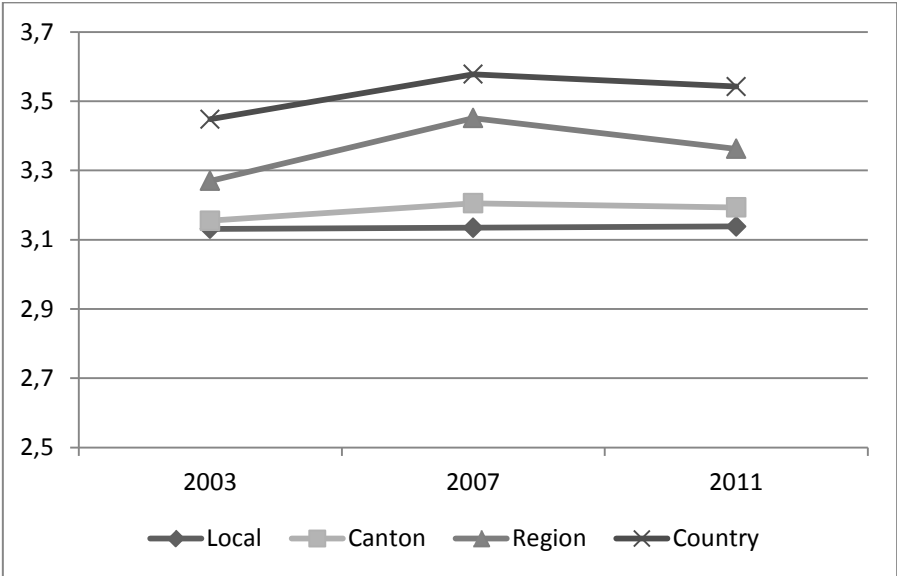
<sup>16</sup> Interesting construction of Swiss identity by negation (what is NOT Swiss) (Chollet 2011, 749).

<sup>17</sup> Switzerland participates de facto in the European Economic Area by means of bilateral agreements with the European Union. It is also part of the Schengen Area. After the referendum of 2014, which introduces quotas for all migrants in Switzerland, these agreements will probably need of re-negotiation from the two parts.

Internally, economic and social differences between cantons persisted despite the financial compensation schemes of the federation, and these became strongly territorialized, damaging identity and solidarity (Lévy 2007). Demographic shifts between cantons became also increasingly problematic for the federal system, and generated an “increasing loss of solidarity among the cantons, and respectively among the cantonal governments” (Vatter 2007, 96). Even today, there is evidence that Swiss citizens are highly disenchanted with one of the main markers of Swiss identity (the principle of subsidiarity underlying the confederation) (Bochsler, Hänggli, and Häusermann 2015).

Despite the growing pessimism, data disclose a complete different picture. Figure 3 shows that national identity is stronger than cantonal and local identities for any of the points in time between 2003 and 2011<sup>18</sup>. To put it differently, Swiss citizens identify primarily with the federal level, and then with the regional, cantonal, and local levels – in this order. Interestingly, though, the four identities develop simultaneously and are fully compatible, since mean levels of attachment for all four territorial levels are above 3 (the ‘quite attached’ category). As it appears, Swiss elites have been extremely successful in promoting federal identity. Not only have ethnic identities (local/canton/regional) been complemented by a civic identity at the federal level, but Swiss identity has become the primary level of attachment for most part of the Swiss citizens.

Figure 3 Attachment of Swiss citizens to different territorial levels



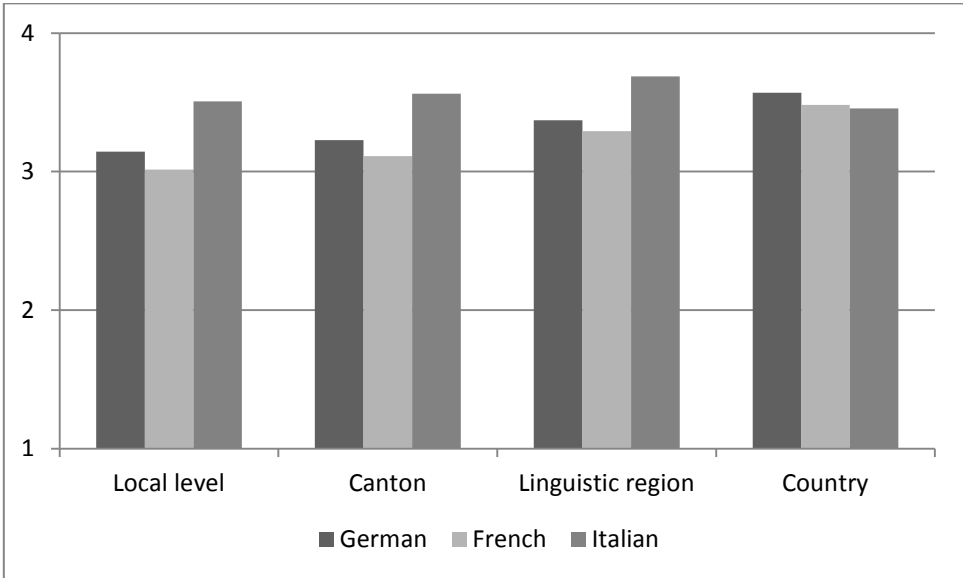
Note: mean levels of attachment to each of the territorial levels (1=not at all attached/ 4=very attached). Only respondents with Swiss nationality.  
 Source: SELECT 2003, 2007, 2011

There are however differences between linguistic regions. Figure 4 presents levels of attachment with the different territorial levels, for each of the linguistic communities in the most recent year – 2011<sup>19</sup>. As a consequence of the historical evolution, there has traditionally been a clear distinction between German-speakers and French-speakers. While German-speakers tended to identify more strongly with the Swiss nation

<sup>18</sup> It would be more adequate to have larger longitudinal data, but there are no data available for the previous years, to our knowledge.  
<sup>19</sup> It is not possible to consider also Romansh. For the sake of simplicity, data are presented by distinguishing only between linguistic communities and not between cantons.

state, the French-speakers tended to conceive of it in a more instrumental way (Knüsel 1994, 340; Brunner, Sgier 1997: 11 – in Linder). As it appears from Figure 4, these patterns do not fully hold nowadays<sup>20</sup>. Even if the German community identifies more strongly with the national level than the other communities, the French-speakers’ attachment to the local/cantonal/ regional levels are weaker than in the German-speaking cantons. French-speakers are less attached in general to all territorial levels than the other Swiss citizens (yet levels of attachment are above 3 for all territorial levels). As for the Italian community, this is the most particular case. Italian-speakers’ levels of attachment to the local, cantonal and regional level<sup>21</sup> (in that order) are stronger than their attachment to the federal level. Not to say that attachment to the federal level is dramatically weak among the Swiss Italians, but the configuration of their multilevel identity differs as compared to the other two linguistic communities<sup>22</sup>.

Figure 4 Levels of attachment with different territorial levels, by linguistic community (2011)



Note: Only respondents with Swiss nationality. Differences in levels of attachment to all four levels between the three linguistic communities are significant at  $p < 0.10$ .

Source: SELECT 2011

Since there are different attachments to different territorial levels of the three linguistic communities, it is of interest to analyse Swiss perceptions of the performance of the political regime, in terms of equality. Do all Swiss feel politically equal? Table 4 provides some evidence in this regard. In SELECT 2011, Swiss citizens have also been asked to evaluate the quality of several democratic aspects. Two are of particular interest in terms of political equality: participation and representation (see Table 4 for exact wording of the items). Interestingly, both the French and Italian communities rate worst the Swiss democratic system than the German-speaking community (differences statistically significant). Swiss Italians and Swiss Frenchs tend to be less positive about citizens’ possibilities to participate in political decisions than the Swiss Germans are. Most critically, Swiss

<sup>20</sup> If we take a longitudinal perspective, we can see some slight changes from 2003, in particular in the French cantons.

<sup>21</sup> Cantonal and linguistic region do coincide territorially in this case.

<sup>22</sup> An example of how Ticino feels about its identity: <http://www.swissinfo.ch/ita/svizzera-italiani---o-italiani-svizzera-/7165712>. The speciality about Ticino might be related to the fact that the history of this canton differs much from the others.

Italians tend to disagree (mean is 2.9) that Swiss legislation reflects the interests of the majority of the population. As it appears, the smallest communities evaluate the Swiss political system as being politically less equal than the largest German community. These attitudes correlate positively and significantly to their levels of attachment to the federal level: the stronger the level of attachment the better the evaluation of the democratic system is<sup>23</sup>.

Table 4 Perceived political equality and EU membership, by linguistic community (2011)

	Participation in political decisions <sup>a</sup>	Majority represented <sup>b</sup>
German	4.23*	3.35*
French	3.71*	3.15*
Italian	3.65*	2.87*

Notes: Only respondents with Swiss nationality. \* Differences statistically significant at p<0.00  
<sup>a</sup> Citizens have enough possibilities to participate in political decisions (1-5, completely disagree – completely agree)  
<sup>b</sup> Legislation reflects the interests of the majority of the population (1-5, completely disagree – completely agree)  
 Source: SELECT 2011

Additionally, we investigate on whether perceptions of discrimination are different among linguistic communities. Unfortunately, there are little data considering this issue (neither for the Swiss case nor for any other European country). Yet, Table 2 shows the percentage of citizens (only Swiss nationality) who feel discriminated within Switzerland, by linguistic community. Again, the smallest communities perceive themselves as more discriminated than citizens of the German-speaking cantons. If we consider the reasons for discrimination of the Swiss Italian, however, these are not related to ethnic or identity issues, but rather to social characteristics (according to data from ESS 2012). In fact, it is mostly the French and the German who feel discriminated on the grounds of identity aspects. Among the German, the most discriminated on the grounds of their identity are Graubünden and Central Swiss, which could be related to the fact that they have to deal with many identities within the same territory (see Figure 5 for similar results). Considering the sample size of these data, however, these results need to be taken cautiously. The effect could also be explained by former participation in the *Sonderbund*, which also would include Ticino.

Table 5 Percentage of Swiss citizens who feel discriminated in country, by linguistic community

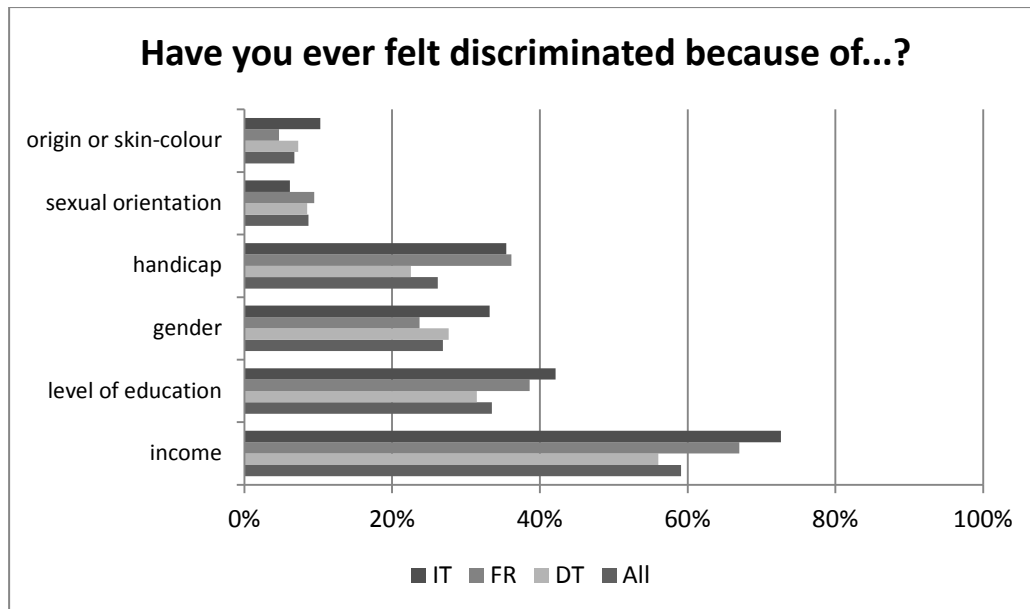
	%
German	3.44
French	5.11
Italian <sup>24</sup>	8.00
Total Swiss	3.76

Note: Only respondents with Swiss nationality.  
 Source: European Social Survey 2012

<sup>23</sup> As for satisfaction with equal participation, the correlation is also positive and significant for attachment to the local and canton levels.  
<sup>24</sup> Number of cases is very small for the Italian community, and therefore data might be inflated.

Figure 5 confirms that the Italian community perceive itself as the most discriminated, but not necessarily on identity grounds. Income is the main reason of discrimination among all linguistic groups, followed by the level of education.

Figure 5 Reasons of discrimination



Note: Only respondents with Swiss nationality. Percentage of respondents who affirm to have been discriminated on each of these grounds 'sometimes' or 'often'.

Source: Point Suisse 2014; representative sample.

Summing up, data show that small differences persist between the three linguistic communities: the smallest communities tend to perceive themselves as less advantaged as compared to the Swiss German community. In turn, these comparative disadvantages seem to reflect on how strongly each of the communities identify with the federal level. Swiss-Germans are more affectively linked to the country level than the Swiss-Italian and Swiss-French. Social and political debates, however, do not mirror this evidence. Quite the contrary, the only claims standing out in the media refer to linguistic issues. It is the case, for example, of the debate on bilingualism at schools: in some cantons, English has become the second language at school instead of French, and the French community has claimed against discrimination of the language. Even if this type of claims has a strong presence in the media, both the formal and informal channels of participation of the Swiss system are very effective in quietening the public. All in all, Swiss identity is very well entrenched among citizenry. This, together with the appropriate channels of participation and representation, hinders potential conflicts between the three linguistic communities.

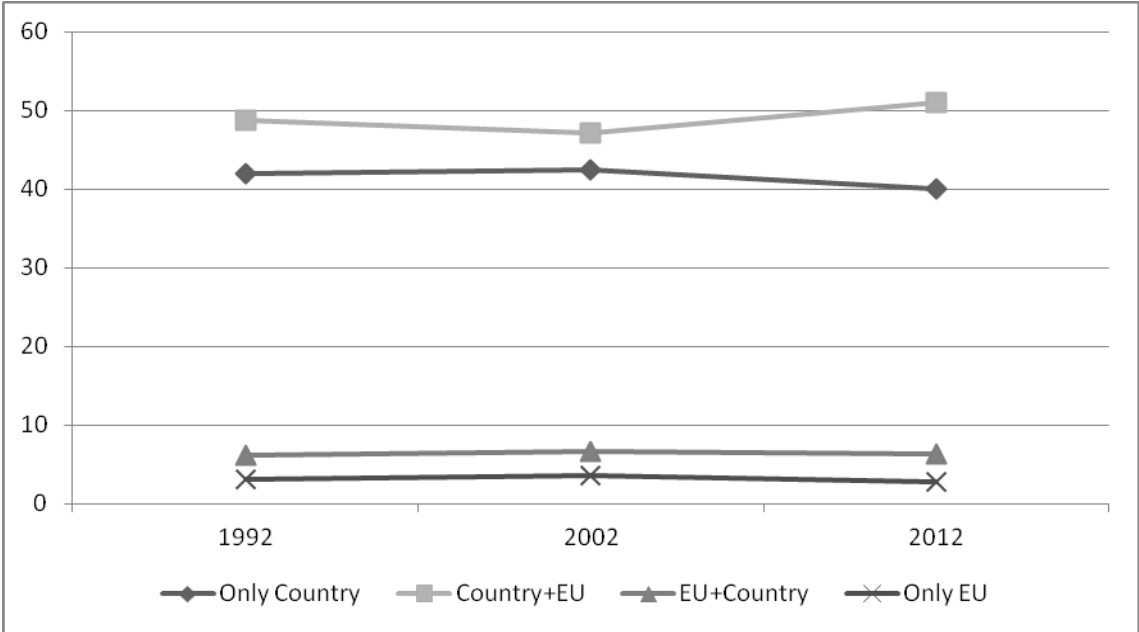
### **3.1.2.2 THE EUROPEAN UNION IDENTITY**

As in the Swiss case, there has been an attempt from the European institutions to create and promote a common European identity. As in Switzerland too, European identity was intended to be civic, and mainly based on the ideals of democracy and peace. This new type of identity was not supposed to replace national or regional identities. Quite the contrary, it was presumed to complement ethnic national identities. Identity formation was mainly top-down from the institutional elites, with little participation of the European citizens. Programs such as Erasmus, the Structural Funds, etc. were aimed at creating (and reinforcing) a common

European identity. Yet, so far, the European case appears as being much less successful than the Swiss one (e.g. Eichenberg and Dalton 2007; McLaren 2007; Boomgaarden et al. 2011; Braun and Tausendpfund 2014). Again, though, we need to consider that more than 150 years have elapsed since Switzerland constituted officially as a federal state, whereas the European Union has celebrated little more than its 20<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Figure 6 shows that twenty years after the Maastricht Treaty, around 40% of the Europeans identify only with the national level, and there have been slight changes in the number of European citizens who have added the European into their multilevel identity. Less than 10% of the Europeans identify primarily with the European level. And even if about 50% of the Europeans have incorporated the European identity as another level of identification (together with the national level), almost half of the European population identify exclusively with their national level. Although the picture is not fully distressing considering the youth of the European Union, it is struggling that levels of identification with the EU remain almost constant from 1992. Indeed, the percentage of citizens who identify both with the country and the EU is roughly the same in 1992, with 12 member states, and 2012, with 27 member states. While identification with the EU was already quite high when the EU was created, it is striking that being part of the EU, does apparently not boost affective support for the EU. Cross-sectional analysis does indeed not show correlation between levels of identification with the EU and the number of years a country has been part of the EU.

Figure 6 Identification with each of the territorial levels of the European citizens



In the near future, do you see yourself as... 1) (nationality) only; 2) (nationality) and European; 3) European and (nationality); 4) European only.

Note: the number of countries differs by year, depending on number of member states.

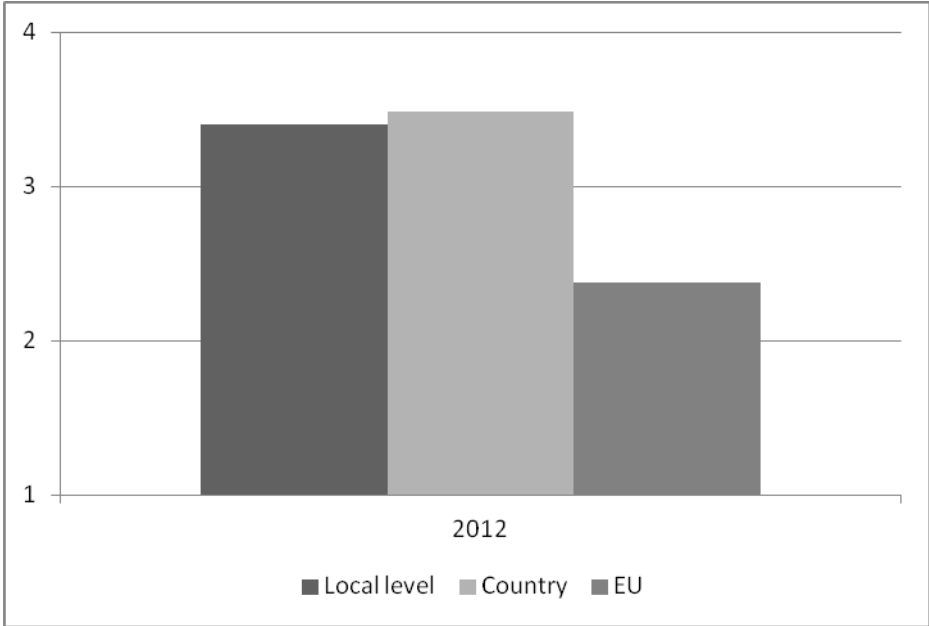
Source: Eurobarometer 1992, 2002, 2012

Whereas in the Swiss case federal identity appears as complementary to the cantonal and local identities, in the European Union there is still much disconnection between the different territorial levels. Figure 7 shows that Europeans' identification with the country + the EU (51% of interviewees in 2012, in Figure 6) does not imply that both national and EU identity rank equally. Instead, European citizens attach primarily to the country



and local levels<sup>25</sup>, and feel at the best “not very attached” to the European level. Swiss identity did not emerge from one day to the other; likewise the effects of these policies aimed at promoting EU identity might only become visible in the long run. If the low levels of attachment to the EU were to be a matter of the youth of the European Union, we would expect levels of attachment to the EU to be stronger among the young people than among the oldest. As a matter of fact, most EU policies that were directly or indirectly aimed at promoting EU identity have mainly targeted the young population (Erasmus, Europe 2020 strategy on promoting labour mobility, etc). Table 6 provides with some optimism in this regard: the younger the Europeans, the more they tend to feel European. It remains of course an open question whether this trend will last in the long run.

Figure 7 Attachment to different territorial levels



Please tell me how attached you feel to 1) Your city/town/ village; 2) OUR country; 3) The European Union. (1-4: “Not at all attached”, “Not very attached”, “Fairly attached”, “Very attached”)

Source: Eurobarometer 77.3, 2012

Table 6 Mean age of those who identify with each of the territorial levels

	Mean
Country	49.2
Country + EU	45.5
EU + country	43.8
EU	43.7
None	46.1

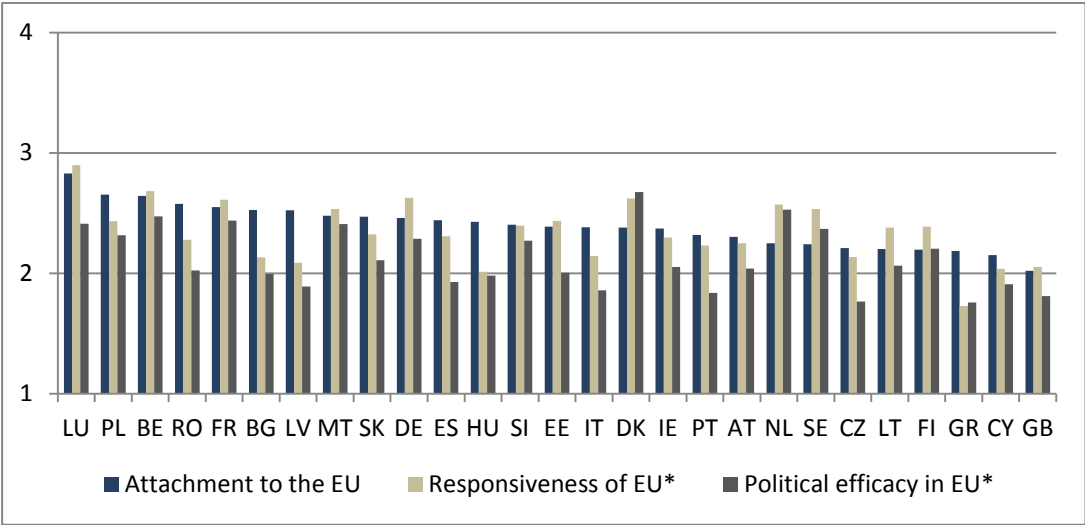
Note: differences statistically significant at p<0.00

Source: Eurobarometer 77.3, 2012

<sup>25</sup> In some countries, levels of attachment to the regional level are stronger than to the country level, but this is not reflected in this analysis.

As compared to Switzerland, EU identity seems yet to have evolved differently up to now. We saw above that the Swiss citizens who identify more strongly with the federal level also tend to be more positive about democracy and political equality in Switzerland. As it appears, this correlation does not hold for the European Union. Figure 8 presents levels of attachment to the EU (see Figure 7), together with citizens' perceptions of EU responsiveness (how well the interests of the country are taken into account) and political self-efficacy in the EU (how much citizens voices count in the EU). The figure is organized according to mean levels of attachment to the EU. In general, the EU receives bad evaluations in relation to responsiveness. In most countries, the majority of respondents tend to disagree that the interests of the country are well taken into account by the European Union. And the evaluations are even more negative in relation to political self-efficacy at the European level. Yet, in a number of countries citizens are modestly positive about EU institutions' responsiveness to national interests (mean above 2.5): Luxembourg, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, France, The Netherlands, Malta, and Sweden. Citizens' positive perceptions about EU responsiveness do not correspond to stronger identification with the EU in all 8 countries. While in five of these countries – Luxembourg, Belgium, France, Malta, and Germany (four of the six founding member states) – mean levels of attachment are above 2.5 (average for all countries is 2.6), the average mean for the other three countries is 2.3. In addition, in all the other countries except Estonia, Finland, Lithuania and the UK, perceptions on EU responsiveness are relatively negative as compared to attachment to the EU – that is: mean levels of attachment are always greater than mean evaluations of EU responsiveness. Apparently, and contrary to the Swiss case, EU identity evolves independently of the European institutional arena. This makes it difficult to promote identity via existing institutions (Commission, EP, ECJ)<sup>26</sup>.

Figure 8 Attachment to the EU and perceptions of responsiveness and political efficacy



\*Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements (1-totally disagree; 5-totally agree): 1) The interests of (our country) are well taken into account in the EU (*Responsiveness of EU*); 2) My voice counts in the EU (*Political efficacy in EU*).

Source: Eurobarometer 77.3, 2012

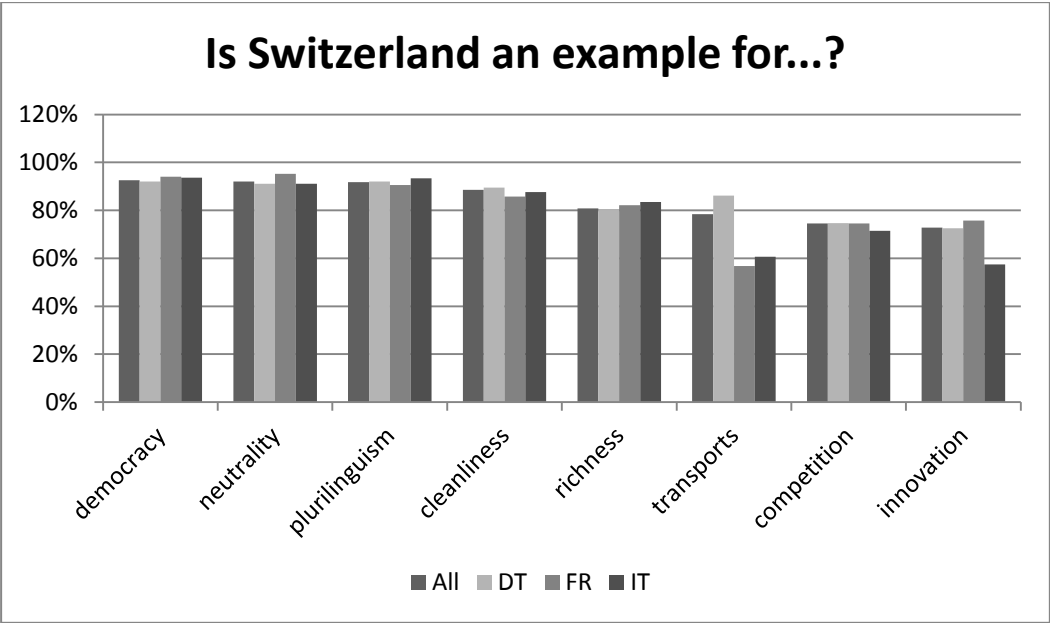
<sup>26</sup> This distribution seems to reflect how influential the citizens perceive their countries are within the European Union, and not only their evaluations of how responsive the EU is. The figure also points to the fact that EU identity might have an instrumental dimension: one defines him/herself as attached to the EU if he/she perceives that there will be gains coming from the EU. At the individual level there is a moderately strong correlation between attachment to the EU and perceptions of EU institutions: .26 for responsiveness of the EU; and .42 for political efficacy.

With the current data, we cannot conclude that a strong common identity will flourish in the European Union in the long run, as in the Swiss case, especially within the context of the current crises. We turn now to the examination of Switzerland more in depth to try on to identify possible practices in the future development of EU citizenship.

*3.1.3 PROMOTING MULTICULTURALISM<sup>27</sup> IN SWITZERLAND: A POSSIBLE WAY FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION?*

Switzerland is sometimes considered as an example of successful multiculturalism<sup>28</sup> (Linder 2010). How has this been possible? From the process of state-formation in the nineteenth century, two institutional features in particular appear to have been fundamental in order to consolidate the multicultural nature of the Swiss state: federalism and consensual democracy<sup>29</sup> (firmly rooted in direct democracy). Interestingly, not only are these two institutions a basic trademark of Swiss multiculturalism, but these are deeply entrenched in Swiss identity. The parallel development of multiculturalism and Swiss identity is surely among the sources of success of the Swiss case (see also Kaufmann 2011 on the success of the Swiss case). In the view of the Swiss, indeed, the three main aspects Switzerland can be considered an example for other countries is democracy, neutrality and plurilingualism. This is true for all three linguistic communities in Switzerland (see Figure 9). We go into these different aspects in the following lines.

Figure 9 Switzerland as an example for other countries



Note : Only respondents with Swiss nationality.  
 Source: Point Suisse 2014; representative sample.

Federalism was initially conceived as a way to incorporate the different communities into the same polity. “The creation of the Swiss federal state is based on the logic of relatively autonomous units that ‘come together to

<sup>27</sup> We distinguish here multicultural policies developed at the federal level from the policies developed at the canton level, which tend to have an assimilationist character.  
<sup>28</sup> A counterargument suggests, that Switzerland was possible only because it was created and conceived by external forces, which saw with good eyes the existence of a neutral territory in the core of Europe (Chollet 2011).  
<sup>29</sup> We follow Sciarini and Hug 1999 view that Switzerland cannot be categorized as a consociation.

pool their sovereignty while retaining their individual identities' (Stepan 1999: 23)." (Kriesi and Trechsel 2008, 34). The Swiss federation exists through and by the will of its cantons – diversity in unity<sup>30</sup> (Fleiner 2002). Considering that Switzerland was a composite of different territorial communities with very different sizes, economic resources, and identities, federalism was one of the key institutions to manage conflicts successfully in a multicultural context (Armigeon 2000; Linder 2010; Bächtiger and Steiner 2004 – in Kriesi). In words of Linder, "The minority, which has no chance to win, is likely to be frustrated and discriminated against. This was the exact problem when the Swiss cantons were ready to set up their central government: for good reasons Catholic and non-German-speaking cantons were fearful of being systematically overruled on questions of religion, language and culture. Thus, if a popular desire for government by the people gave momentum to unification, democracy was at the same time disadvantageous to the prospects of the creation of a Swiss nation-state. It threatened minorities, especially those in the Catholic and the French-speaking cantons. [...] Federalism allowed the sharing of power between central government and the cantons. [...]. Thus federalism permitted – and permits – cultural differences to coexist, and it protects minorities." (Linder 1994). Swiss cantons have conserved most of their autonomy, although some competences have been delegated to the federal level, in particular in relation to the protection of new risks for citizens and the environment, infrastructures, and social aspects – even if to a limited extent (Kriesi and Trechsel 2008, 35). Most importantly, the dual majority requisite for constitutional reform impedes that smaller communities are overridden by the bigger communities (Vatter and Wälti 2003; Vatter 2007). In addition to this, the principle of linguistic territoriality (making the dominant language of the canton or the commune – when in a multilingual canton – the schooling language) was of major importance to conserve the communities' cultural tradition in the context of complete freedom of movement (Wimmer 2011, 730). From the federal configuration and the importance of the local level within the federal structure emerged a particular identity: "Men and women, [...] began to imagine the nation as a concrete Gemeinschaft rather than an abstract Gesellschaft. Locally based people began to imagine the nation with the aid of a projection through which locality and nation coalesced into a single imagined community. They conceived of the nation as an extended family, village or canton; as a social unit, which, though considerably larger than these communities, was essentially of the same basic structure. It was this pattern of imagining the nation through the cognitive prism of a highly institutionalised locality – rather than an obsession with ethnicity and ethnic descent – that explains why a polyethnic society like Switzerland could evolve a rather exclusionary national self-image." (Zimmer 2011, 769).

Another relevant institution protecting Swiss multiculturalism is consensual democracy, a direct outcome of Swiss direct democracy<sup>31</sup> (Kriesi and Trechsel 2008, 66)<sup>32</sup>. "Only in a system that has as a target of the decision-making process achieving the highest majority possible, not just 51 percent, do minorities have a chance not only to be protected as a folklore minority but also to get their legitimate interests accepted by the majority. Thus, a consensus-driven democracy enables legitimization of policy with regard to minorities. Permanent losers will never identify with the state they live in. [...] Thus a multicultural state can only survive if it introduces a democratic system that has as its target a consensus in which minorities participate, and not just a simple majority." (Fleiner 2002, 110). Consensual democracy is not only reflected by the fact that consensus is always the ideal political decision, but also by the composition of the government. On the one hand, it is an informal but largely followed rule that all large political parties are proportionally represented by the Federal council. On the other hand, all religion and language communities must be equitably represented in the Federal government. Informal rules apply which ensure that the composition of the Federal council is regionally

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<sup>30</sup> It is telling that the EU has adopted the same motto.

<sup>31</sup> On the limitations of Direct democracy and consensus democracy see Stojanovic 2006a; Stojanovic 2006b.

<sup>32</sup> It is said that consensual democracy has been possible in Switzerland because of the existence of cross-cutting cleavages in Switzerland, meaning that the cleavages are not congruent across territory (both religious and linguistic communities are spread across more than one canton – and even inside the same canton) (Kriesi and Trechsel 2006; Kaufmann 2011). This could have been possible thanks to the role of citizens associations in the nineteenth century, which did not respond to linguistic boundaries (Wimmer 2011, 727) – these associates formed a trans-ethnic elite: ethnicity was never problematized nor politicized by the State.

balanced<sup>33</sup>, and that at least two of the seven members of the government belong to a non-German speaking community (Klöti 2007, 151-152). Consensual democracy favours therefore that all communities, independently of their size and political resources, perceive political decisions taken at the federal level as legitimate. The informality of the rules is important. It is a consequence of informality that the cooperation of the actors is mutually perceived as being based on goodwill and not only compliance with formal rules. This builds and perpetuates trust.

From an institutional perspective, the Swiss system appears to have an optimal configuration to deal with a multicultural society (considering the small size of Switzerland). Yet, as mentioned above, a number of internal and external pressures demanded for active policies to face new challenges of the Swiss system (e.g. big economic and social differences between the cantons; questioning of Swiss identity; etc.). A few of them are worth mentioning which have contributed to the existence of a mononational-multicultural identity (in words of Dardanelli 2011; Helbling and Stojanović 2011)<sup>34</sup>. Of relevance for the sake of comparison with the EU are policies related to 1) the promotion of solidarity and equal living conditions in all cantons; 2) the promotion of multiculturalism; 3) the reframing of Swiss identity. We shall see each of these into more detail in the following paragraphs.

As mentioned, there are many differences in relation to the economic and social resources of the 26 Swiss cantons. In order to deal with collective economic disparities (and therefore avoid discrimination of some of the communities), there have been some attempts to compensate the poorer cantons. Ideally, "Swiss federalism was inspired by the ideas of co-operation and inter-regional solidarity (Linder 1998), implying that the Federation and the cantons should ensure equality of living conditions. The strongly developed mechanisms of financial compensation between the cantons are an example of this arrangement. Their over-proportional influence in the decision-making process of the Federation thus compensates for their low level of economic development." (Linder and Steffen 2007, 25). Yet, some scholars are less optimistic with regard to the compensatory effects and the over-proportional influence in the decision-making of some cantons (Fleiner 2002, 113)<sup>35</sup>. As a matter of fact, the Swiss constitution does not strictly guarantee equality of living conditions, but only that "2) [The Swiss Confederation] shall promote the common welfare, sustainable development, internal cohesion and cultural diversity of the country; 3) It shall ensure the greatest possible equality of opportunity among its citizens." (Swiss Constitution 1999, Articles 2.2 and 2.3). From the federal level, however, some attempts have been made to promote solidarity (and consequently redistribution) between the cantons. For example, the federal Parliament has put into force in 1995 the Federal Internal Market Act (Federal Internal Market Act, SR 943.02), in order to diminish internal cantonal discrimination (Fleiner 2002, 113). In addition to this, the Federal Act of 3 October 2003 on Fiscal Equalisation and Cost Compensation and the Ordinance of 7 November 2007 regulate the new Swiss fiscal equalisation scheme. "The goals of the equalisation scheme are to 'strengthen the financial autonomy of the cantons' and 'decrease differences in terms of fiscal capacity and tax burden' between the 26 sub-national units (Art. 2a-b FiLaG). Money is redistributed both horizontally, from the 'richer' cantons, and vertically, from the Confederation, to the 'poorer' cantons in both cases." (Mueller and Keil 2013, 131; provide a very nice comparison with the EU)<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> "While the three largest cantons, Zurich, Bern, and Vaud, have almost always been represented in the government, there are five small cantons and half-cantons (Schwyz, Schaffhausen, Jura, Uri, and Nidwalden) which have to date never had a representative in the Federal council. Since 1848, the most under-represented cantons have been Geneva and Zurich, the latter because of its size, despite being almost permanently represented. By contrast, the cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel have been the most over-represented cantons (Altermatt 1991)." (Klöti 2007, 152).

<sup>34</sup> This is an open debate between Kymlicka and these authors, on whether Switzerland is multi-national (as Kymlicka argues) or mononational (as these authors argue) (e.g. Kymlicka 2001; Stojanovic 2003; Dardanelli 2011; Reinhardt 2011).

<sup>35</sup> "Diversity and autonomy are only possible if human beings pay the price of economic discrimination among different cantons and even different municipalities." (Fleiner 2002, 113)

<sup>36</sup> Looking at the data, there does not seem to be a relationship between richer/poorer cantons and identity/perceived discrimination, at least with what regards PIB/capita.

Today, it might be too early to evaluate the effects (and the real outcomes) of these specific policies, yet they might help to avoid that some communities perceive themselves as discriminated against the others.

Multiculturalism has also been actively promoted by the federal level. Assimilationist policies have been developed at the canton level<sup>37</sup>, with the consequence that, for example, in education policy and in communication with the public administration, no concessions to the other national languages are made. This has facilitated that the three linguistic regions remain intact (e.g. Even though most citizens have access to media in all languages, they only make use of media in their mother tongue (Kriesi et al. 1996)). However, the federal level has tried to promote multiculturalism (competence in culture is cantonal but the federal state has targeted competencies) (Linder and Steffen 2007, 20). “Switzerland has been able to avoid tensions between the different linguistic cultures, not least through its official policy of multilingualism and the proportional distribution of political offices among the different linguistic groups.” (Linder and Steffen 2007, 20). An important factor of success of Swiss multiculturalism is the internal diversity of the majority language group, the Swiss Germans. The only spoken languages by the population are Swiss German dialects. This divides the German-speaking majority into many minorities. For instance more people speak French than the Basle, dialect, etc. German is a language the Swiss Germans learn at school and that they only use in writing. Linguistic diversity is not only recognised as a constitutional right, but children are educated in at least two languages<sup>3839</sup>. Up to now, this discussion is not being closed, as we have seen above on the linguistic claims. The federal government also gives financial support to other cultural manifestations, such as cantonal media, but it is mainly the communal level which is in charge of cultural promotion (Kriesi and Trechsel 2008). A majority of Swiss citizens considers indeed that one of the main solutions to get rid of the Röstigraben (the cultural frontier between the three communities) is to promote all official languages in school, although here there are significant differences between the preferences of the three linguistic communities (see Figure 10). Again, we can see that multiculturalism is strongly embedded into Swiss identity.

After the end of the II World War and the Cold War, Swiss exceptionalism was put into doubt, and Swiss identity needed to be reframed. On the one hand, neutrality and militarization was put into doubt by Swiss citizens (also represented by political parties). After debates on the de-militarization of Switzerland, the concept of neutrality and military has been reframed in order to encompass mostly peaceful and solidarity actions over the world. As such, most people nowadays still perceive the military and neutrality as an important aspect in Switzerland, although with a peaceful emphasis (see Figure 11) (Church and Dardanelli 2005; Mirow 2012).

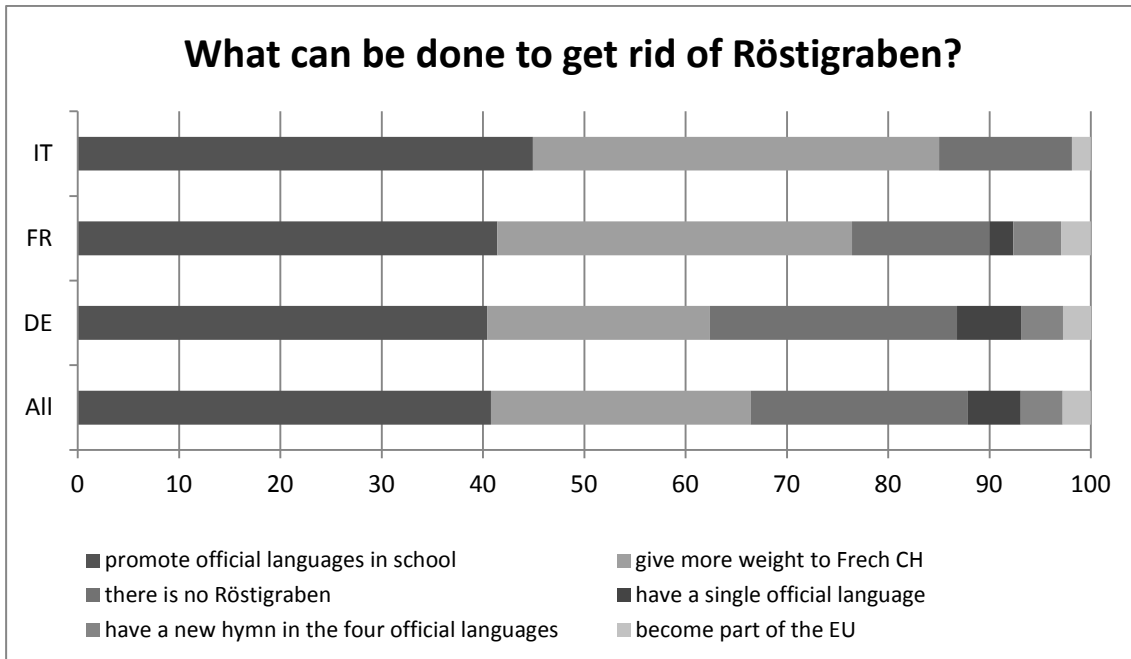
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<sup>37</sup> Except in Valais, Fribourg, Berne and Grisons, which are multilingual cantons.

<sup>38</sup> Laws on languages <http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/suisse-1Intro.htm>

<sup>39</sup> “The Swiss are very conscious of the need for multilingualism: in all schools children are instructed in at least two languages. It is a myth, however, that these efforts lead to widespread bi- or tri-lingualism. Most people find it difficult to read newspapers or listen to news in a language other than their own. When face to face with a person speaking another language, it is normal, however, to try to communicate. [...] Today young people, in order to overcome the language barrier, are more and more using English as the lingua franca among themselves. [...] Multilingualism requires public expenditure and fiscal redistribution in favour of the minority, both of which the Swiss are willing to bear. There are three complete public radio and television networks, one for each linguistic group. The smallest network, Radio Television della Svizzera Italiana, in 1992 received Sfr 150 million, or 25% of the whole budget of public radio and television, which is about five times more than its proportional share would be.” (Linder 1994, 10)

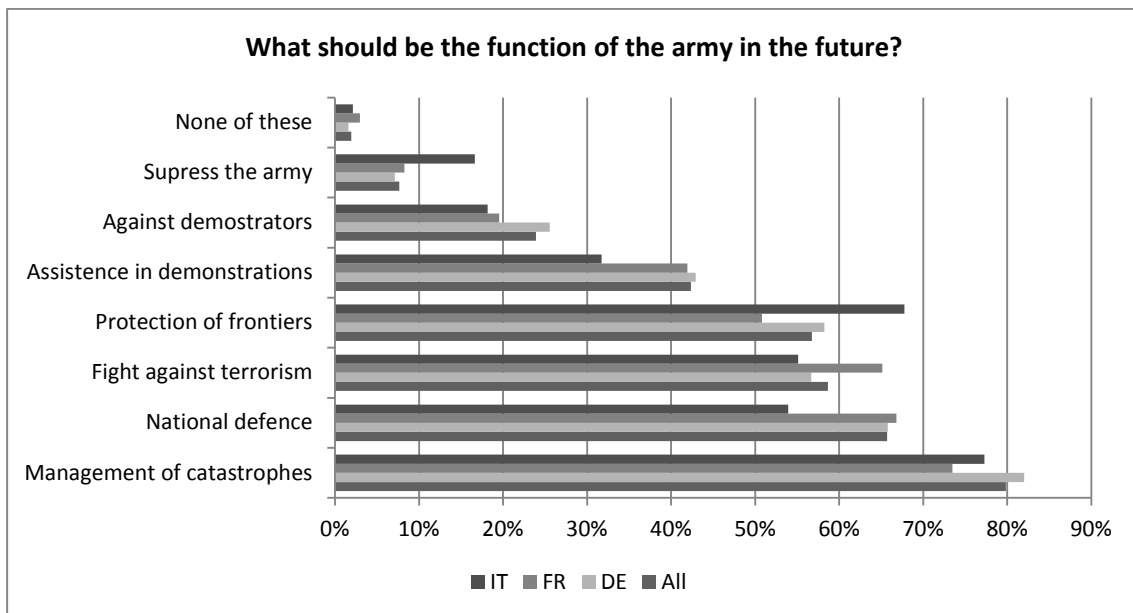
Figure 10 The solution against the Röstigraben



Note : Only respondents with Swiss nationality.

Source: Point Suisse 2014; representative sample.

Figure 11 The main function of the army (multiple-response)



Note : Only respondents with Swiss nationality.

Source: Point Suisse 2014; representative sample.

Swiss neutrality was also put into question by the possibility to become part of the European Union. Although it is technically possible for EU member states to be neutral, many Swiss see an incompatibility between their understanding of neutrality and being an EU member. If we consider attitudes to Switzerland’s membership to the EU as an indicator of Swiss preferences for neutrality, Table 7 shows that there are significant differences

between the three linguistic communities. While the French are more likely to support Swiss membership, both the German and Italian communities are less in favour<sup>40</sup>. There is therefore a potential political division across regions on the type of identity which should be promoted at the federal level, some cantons being more supportive of opening the borders towards the EU. Support for EU membership is nonetheless also very low among the French community (2.3 out of 5). In general the three communities are therefore in favour of keeping Switzerland as a neutral country.

Table 7 Citizens’ attitudes to Swiss membership into the EU

	EU membership* (1-5)
German	1.9
French	2.3
Italian	1.9

Notes: Only respondents with Swiss nationality. Mean support for EU membership (1=strongly in favour of staying out; 5=strongly for EU entry)

\* Differences statistically significant at p<0.000

Source: SELECT 2011

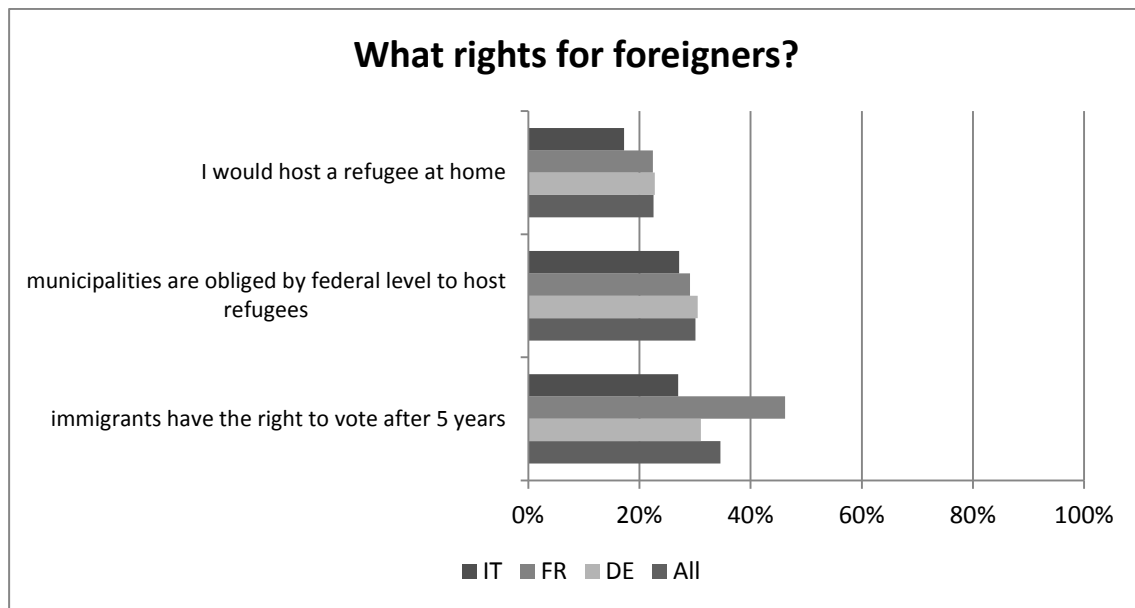
A more controversial issue related to identity is whether Swiss identity has been reinforced by anti-immigration discourses. According to some authors, “Switzerland stands internationally for a successful model of multiculturalism, at least when it comes to the cohabitation and political representation in the federal institutions of the four language groups – French, German, Italian and Retho-Roman speakers. Indeed, linguistic and religious pluralism is *the* pillar of the self-image of Switzerland, a democratic and federal state (Helbling and Stojanovic 2011). Yet the development of a common and cohesive Helvetic identity, one that was able to embrace linguistic-local belonging and diversity, has had its price: as the formation of a ‘we’ always works by foreclosing alterities, exclusionary boundaries towards diverse ‘others’ – notably migrants called ‘foreigners’ – were drawn based on essentialised and homogenised ideas of culture and ethnicity (Dahinden 2011).” (Dahinden, Duemmler, and Moret 2014; similar argument in D’Amato 2009; Wichman 2013). Figure 12 indicates indeed that there is still a restricted view in favour of immigration among the Swiss (either immigrant workers or refugees): only around 30% of the interviewees would give the right to vote to immigrants who have been living in Switzerland for more than 5 years, and even less Swiss citizens would be willing to host refugees either in the municipality or in their own homes.

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<sup>40</sup> Strange that the Italians identify more strongly than the other communities with the European level, but are the least supportive of EU membership.



Figure 12 The rights of immigrants and refugees



Note : only Swiss citizens.

Source: Point Suisse 2014; representative sample.

The success of the Swiss People’s Party (SVP) in recent years, whose political discourse is effectively framed as the primacy of ‘we’ against ‘the other’ (the immigrant), could also be considered as evidence in this regard<sup>41,42</sup> (Chollet 2011 provides however an optimistic perspective on the end of xenophobic nationalism (p. 752-753)). It has been shown that mobilization by stressing the issue of immigration by parties influences citizens’ attitudes (Helbling, Reeskens, and Stolle 2015). Yet, construction of Swiss identity based on opposition to the other is not a new phenomenon and not specific to the Swiss case. During the period 1880-1910, there was an attempt by the Swiss confederation to change naturalization from *ius sanguinis* to *ius soli*, so that the children born in the Swiss territory would become Swiss citizens immediately. Although this was seen as a sign of evolution and the only way to preserve the Swiss national character by the federal authorities<sup>43</sup>, local and cantonal authorities strongly opposed to this change, and proceeded to a little number of naturalizations (Zimmer 2011, 765–767). The ethnic component of local and cantonal communities predominated at that time over the civic identity of the federal level. What is interesting nowadays, after the rise of SVP, is whether the ethnic component has reproduced across different levels of identity. Data from Table 8 show indeed that voters from SVP tend to identify more strongly with the country than voters from other parties, although differences are not substantially big, and indicate that other parties are equally successful in defending attachment to the federal level. Table 8 also shows that voters of SVP (and cantons where share of votes of SVP is higher) tend also to be more negative with immigration than the others, and differences are quite big in this regard<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Manatschal (2012) does not find any relationship between percentage of SVP parliamentarians and more restrictive immigration policies. However, she does it without taking into account the link between immigration attitudes and SVP voters – and at the end she concludes that SVP influences migration policies at the federal level

<sup>42</sup> In relation to this there has been an important restrictive change in migration policies in the last years (Wichmann 2013).

<sup>43</sup> “The prospect of acquiring Swiss citizenship swiftly and without undue financial sacrifice was seen as the best guarantee – a precondition even – for successful assimilation and this for the preservation of Swiss national character.” (Zimmer 2011, 766)

<sup>44</sup> See Juan M. Falomir-Pichastor and Frederic 2013; Juan Manuel Falomir-Pichastor et al. 2013 on why right wing parties are becoming successful in shaping identities in EU and CH.

Table 8 Levels of attachment to different levels and attitudes to immigrants, by party voted for in Federal elections 2011

	Attachment local (1-4)	Attachment Canton (1-4)	Attachment Region (1-4)	Attachment Country (1-4)	Attachment EU (1-4)	Attitudes to immigrants* (1-5)
SVP	3.26	3.32	3.52	3.75	2.78	3.79
FDP	3.28	3.29	3.35	3.72	2.97	3.01
BDP	3.24	3.22	3.40	3.68	2.87	3.16
CVP	3.39	3.36	3.47	3.62	2.97	2.89
GLP	2.95	2.96	3.28	3.48	3.18	2.66
SP	3.14	3.16	3.23	3.42	3.07	2.37
CPS	3.03	2.90	3.15	3.33	3.07	2.17
Others	3.17	3.27	3.27	3.47	2.81	2.90

\*5-point scale (higher values mean more negative attitudes to immigrants)

Note: parties are ordered ideologically, from the more right-wing to the more left-wing

Source: SELECTS 2011

From this section, we have learnt that civic and institutional elements have been extremely useful in shaping and generalizing Swiss identity. Federalism and direct democracy are two of the markers of Swiss identity, although reinforced through active policies of cantonal re-distribution and multiculturalism. We come back to this in the conclusions on the possible lessons for the EU.

## 3.2 THE MOVERS

### 3.2.1 SWISS CITIZENSHIP: ROOTED IN THE CITY

The Swiss constitution grants citizenship to any person who is citizen of a Swiss city and a Swiss canton (article 37 Swiss Constitution).<sup>45</sup> The Helvetic Constitution of April 1798 abolished indeed cantonal boundaries, and created Swiss national citizenship. Yet, after the fall of the Helvetic Republic, Cantons and localities (Gemeinden) became the single authorities granting citizenship. With the new Constitution of 1848, Swiss citizenship derived from cantonal citizenship (Zimmer 2011, 762). This particularity of the Swiss citizenship regime implies that there are three levels of citizenship, which correspond to the three territorial levels: the federal level, the canton and the local level. A person becomes citizen at the federal level, once she has acquired citizenship at the local and canton level. To add complexity on the matter, Swiss citizenship distinguishes between the hometown (Heimatort or commune d'origine) and the place of residence. This distinction was valid and important until the nineteenth century in order to establish which city council had to take care of an individual from a social point of view, and also helped to avoid internal welfare migration to the most generous cities. Generally, the hometown is dependent on the history of the family, and most of the times does not correspond with the town of birth or place of residence of a citizen. Each Swiss person is indeed primarily identified by the hometown, although Swiss people can apply for citizenship of the town of residence without losing the citizenship of the hometown<sup>46</sup>. Nowadays, the city of origin is in charge of all registers related to a person, although it has gradually lost its assistance function in favour of the city of residence. As a matter of fact, the principle of assistance of the city of residence was introduced in the Swiss constitution (Art. 115 Swiss Constitution), depriving of social rights the citizenship of the city of origin. Yet in some cantons, some rights derived from the hometown citizenship have survived until today as witnesses of the past. It is the case of certain bourgeoisies (Bürgergemeinde, comune patriziale), composed exclusively of citizens of the city of origin, who do maintain some privileges in the locality (e.g. tree felling in the city council, participative quote of the commune bourgeoisie's goods, etc.)<sup>47</sup>. Apart from these, the functions of the city of origin are mostly limited as civil register of Swiss citizens (as such, the Swiss passport indicates the city of origin and not the city of birth) (Church and Dardanelli 2005: 173).

Swiss nationality is based on *ius sanguinis*<sup>48</sup> (Art. 38 Swiss constitution; enlarged as 'filiation, marriage or adoption'). Accordingly, a child becomes Swiss provided that at least one of the parents has Swiss nationality (Art. 1 of the Federal Law on Acquisition and Loss of Swiss Nationality 1954, 2003). In case the child has more than one nationality he/she needs to apply for conservation of Swiss nationality at age 22 in order to keep both nationalities (Art. 10 of the Federal Law on Acquisition and Loss of Swiss Nationality 1954, 2003). Explicitly, this article demands active citizenship to the person who holds double nationality. The federation sets up minimum requirements for naturalisation (12 years of residence; integration in society; familiarity with Swiss customs and circumstances; compliance with rule of law; be of no danger to internal or external security), but the cantons and municipalities are free to add additional requirements for naturalisation in their canton and municipality. Therefore, the naturalisation requirements differ widely between cantons and even between municipalities within most cantons (Wichman 2013). It is possible to hold several citizenships at the same time (from different cities and cantons) through acquisition, renunciation or reintegration, provided that cantonal

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<sup>45</sup> As in the four official languages: Bürgerrecht einer Gemeinde und das Bürgerrecht des Kantons; Droit de cité communal et le droit de cité du canton; Cittadinanza comunale e la cittadinanza di un Cantone; Dretg da burgais d'ina vischnanca ed il dretg da burgais dal chantun

<sup>46</sup> Women acquire the citizenship of origin of their husband, once they get married (even if they do not lose theirs)

<sup>47</sup> More information about the Swiss federation of bourgeoisies can be found here: <http://www.svbk.ch/>

<sup>48</sup> Swiss citizenship is closer to the German tradition on this aspect than to the French one, which is based on *ius soli*.

and communal laws are fulfilled (regarding the period of residence, the possibility to maintain several citizenships to several cities-cantons, etc.).<sup>49</sup>

As part of the basic rights of the Swiss citizens<sup>50</sup>, one of them is the right to move freely and live everywhere in Switzerland (article 24 Swiss Constitution). Freedom of movement guarantees all Swiss citizens the right to reside in any place of their choice within Switzerland. On the one hand, cantons and cities are obliged to authorize any Swiss citizen to reside in their territory; on the other hand, cantons and cities are forbidden to restrict or impede the change of residence to another canton or city or to a foreign country. Freedom of movement can however be limited on legal grounds, if it is in the public interest and if the principle of proportionality is respected.<sup>51</sup> Yet, it is quite difficult to limit it in the practice, since there are little margins for the cantons to act.

As compared to other citizenship regimes in Europe, the Swiss system appears to differ much. Contrary to all European countries, where citizenship is granted firstly at the national level, Swiss citizenship depends mainly on the canton and city level. If compared to the European Union, yet, the Swiss citizenship regime presents similarities: it is the members of the federal union – the cantons – that have the main prerogatives on citizenship issues. Contrary to the European Union, however, neither has the Swiss state actively promoted internal mobility of Swiss citizens, nor is Swiss identity – as EU identity is – based on mobility across the territory. In the following sections we try to provide a picture of the patterns of Swiss intra-mobility – the *movers* in our wording. How similar/ different are these to the EU intra-mobility? And how difficult is it to move across Switzerland?

### 3.2.2 PATTERNS OF MOBILITY IN SWITZERLAND

When dealing with internal mobility in Switzerland, a fundamental distinction needs to be made between commuters and movers. Indeed, mobility is very high in Switzerland, but it does not imply changes of residence from one canton to the other (the *movers*). The big bulk of mobile citizens are indeed the *commuters*, who travel everyday to their work place but do not change their place of residence. These represent a special type of movers within the country.

According to data of the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (2014), 9 out of 10 active persons commute to their place of work (around 3.7 million people)<sup>52</sup>. Of these, 65% commute to another municipality or canton (about 2.6 million people), without actually changing residence to this other locality or canton. 32% (1.2 million people) of commuters do in fact spend more than 30 minutes in their travel to the work place (10% employ more than 60 minutes in reaching their place of work). If we consider that travel distances are short in Switzerland (for example, travelling from Zürich to Bern by train takes only 58 minutes in average), the numbers provide an idea that many Swiss do effectively work in a canton different from their canton of residence<sup>53</sup>. The well-functioning transportation network makes it easy and possible that many Swiss commute

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<sup>49</sup> See, for example, for the canton of Geneva: <http://www.ge.ch/naturalisations/naturalisation-confederes/>

<sup>50</sup> These are: political rights (to vote and to run in elections), diplomatic protection, no expulsion nor extradition, military services obligatory for men.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, the sentence of the Court of Public Law 1992 BGE 118 Ia 410, on the permission of a public servant to live in another municipality.  
[http://relevancy.bger.ch/php/clir/http/index.php?lang=de&zoom=&type=show\\_document&highlight\\_docid=atf%3A%2F%2F118-IA-410%3Ade](http://relevancy.bger.ch/php/clir/http/index.php?lang=de&zoom=&type=show_document&highlight_docid=atf%3A%2F%2F118-IA-410%3Ade)

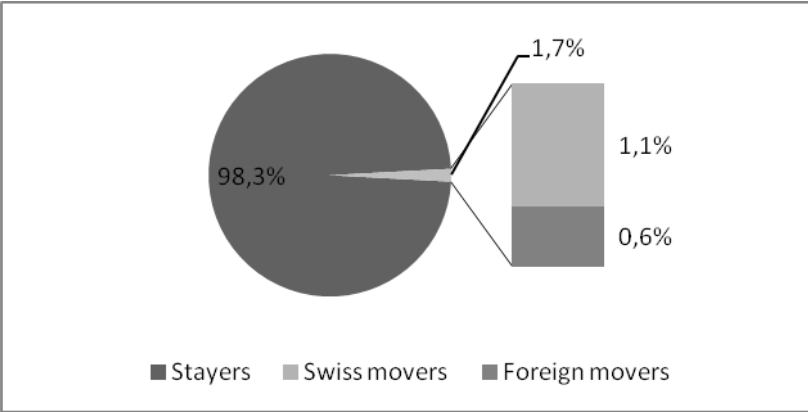
<sup>52</sup> The number has strongly increased in the last 12 years, whereas the number of non-commuters has decreased. The percentage of intercantonal commuters has also increased of 7% from 1990 to 2012 (Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2014).

<sup>53</sup> The numbers are even greater if we consider also Swiss citizens who study in a canton different from their place of residence.

from one canton to another without changing residence. Long-distance commuters are principally Swiss men, between 25 and 44 years old, who have tertiary education levels and full-time jobs. This indicates that commuting is related to professional mobility, while keeping the family home stable. Swiss commuters do not compare well with the EU movers due to the large distances within the EU. Therefore we will mostly focus on the group of the movers in this comparative report. But a real assessment of patterns and levels of intra-mobility in Switzerland (and the reasons for moving) is impossible without considering this context of commuting.

While the number of commuters is indeed very high, the number of movers is comparatively small. Figure 13 shows the percentage of stayers and movers in Switzerland, distinguished by nationality (Swiss and foreigners) in 2013. The percentage of movers is low (1.7% of the total population, 138,355 people) – especially if compared with the percentage of commuters – considering that around 3.3% of the European citizens moved to another European member state in 2013 (Eurostat: Labour Force Survey, 2013). Even if in absolute terms more Swiss nationals have moved within Switzerland than immigrants, in relative terms Swiss movers represent a smaller percentage of the Swiss nationals than the immigrants in reference to the immigrant population. Immigrants therefore are more likely to move to another canton than Swiss citizens, as it happened in the European Union in the context of the economic crisis (see Jauer et al. 2014). The following analyses are based solely on Swiss citizens in order to favour comparison to the EU case.

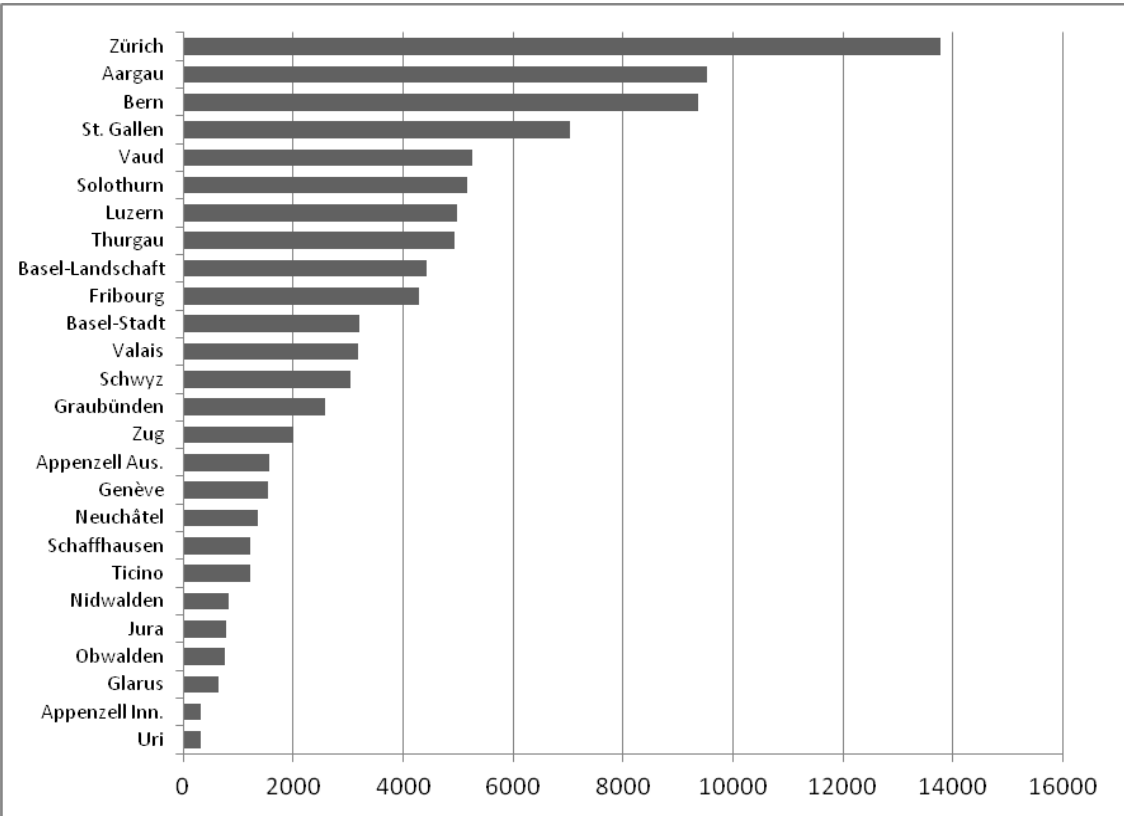
Figure 13 Percentage of stayers and movers in Switzerland 2013



Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2013

Naturally, as in the European Union, not all cantons are equally targeted when it comes to mobility. Figure 14 provides evidence in this regard. Zürich, Aargau, and Bern, are the three cantons which attracted more movers in 2013. Not surprisingly, these three cantons are among the five cantons (together with Geneva and Vaud) with the highest GDP in Switzerland during the last five years (Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2008-2012), and Zürich is the canton where salaries are in average the highest in Switzerland (Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2012). The patterns are reversed towards the low-end of the Figure 2: the cantons that are less attractive to movers (Uri, Appenzell, Glarus, etc.) are the least economically wealthy. Higher intra-mobility is also predominantly urban, where job concentration is high, as compared to rural areas.

Figure 14 Number of intra-mobiles to each of the cantons (2013)



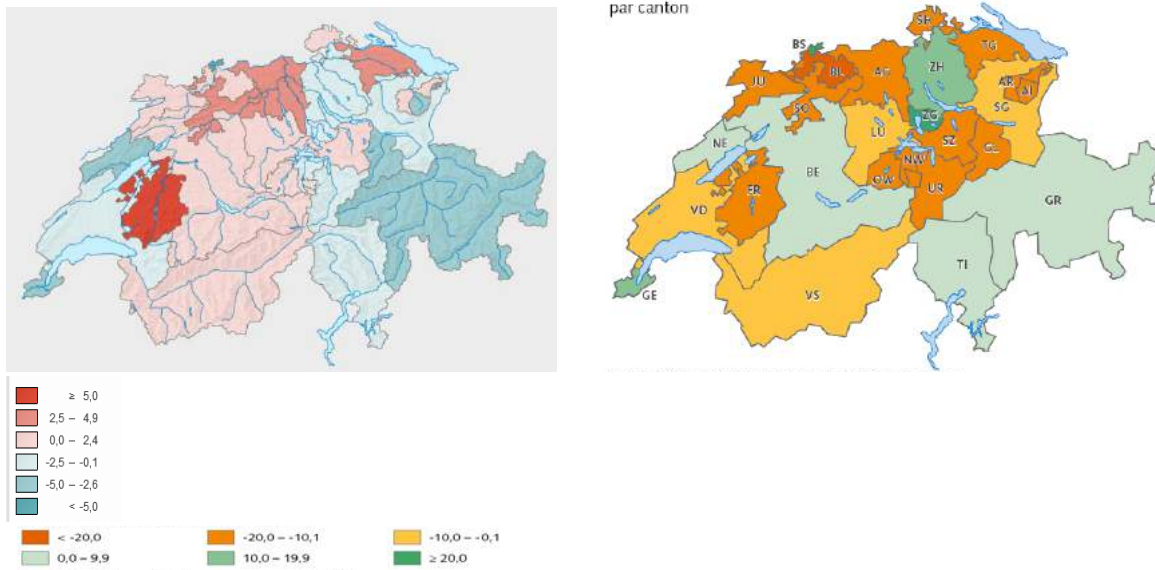
Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2013

Yet, to have a comprehensive view, we need to consider not only the number of people who move to a canton, but also the number of people who leave a canton. Figure 15 provides with the net internal mobility rates of movers (a) and commuters (b) in Switzerland in 2013 (movers) and 2012 (commuters). Data reveal not only that mobility to each of the cantons is overestimated when considering only inflow movements, but also that the picture differs much between movers and commuters. As such, Zürich is still the one of the first receivers of worker commuters. But the balance between movers-arriving and movers-departing is negative: newcomers are therefore less than “out-comers” in Zürich. On the contrary, there is a negative rate of mobility linked to commuting in cantons like Fribourg and Aargau, whereas the rate of mobility is positive for the movers in these two cantons. These data might be an indication that there has been specialization of the Swiss territory into ‘working-cantons’ and ‘living-cantons’, probably due to the limitations of the housing market in cantons where jobs are available. As a consequence, the Swiss would prefer to commute to the ‘working-cantons’, while preferring to move to ‘living-cantons’. Although with some exceptions, there is much correspondence between the net internal mobility rate of movers (positive/negative) and that of commuters (negative/positive) in most of the cantons. Movers and commuters do behave indeed according to different patterns.

Figure 15 Net internal mobility rates (arrivals - departures) of movers (a) and commuters (b)

a) 2013

b) 2012



Source: Swiss Federal Statistic Office – retrieved from :

[http://www.atlas.bfs.admin.ch/maps/13/map/mapIdOnly/17192\\_fr.html](http://www.atlas.bfs.admin.ch/maps/13/map/mapIdOnly/17192_fr.html) (11-03-2015) and Swiss Federal Statistic Office 2014.

Table 9 completes the picture on mobility patterns of movers in the last six decades. For each of the decades (departing from 1960), it indicates the percentage of movers of each type (to another canton, to another municipality, to another country, or back to Switzerland). Table 9 shows that Swiss citizens tend to move to another municipality rather than to another canton or abroad. This has been the tendency from the 1960, which has constantly increased from one decade to the next. To the contrary, inter-cantonal mobility, which was relatively pronounced in the 1960s and 1970s, has substantially decreased in recent years, in particular since 2000, according to the data. Considering that the Swiss population has continued to grow during the whole period covered by Table 9, longitudinal changes in the percentage of movers might reflect a deepened change in patterns of mobility in Switzerland.

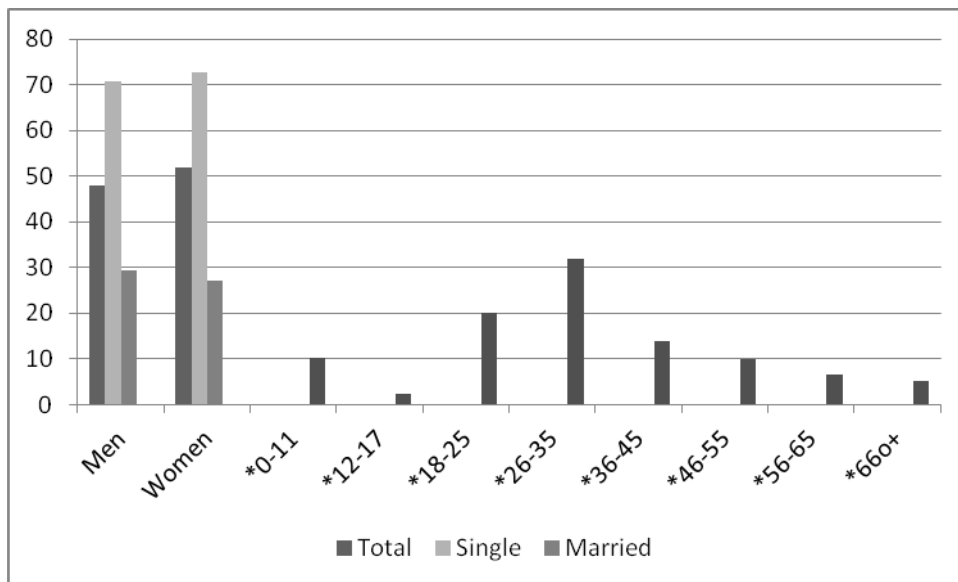
Table 9 Type of mobility in Switzerland, by period of mobility (percentage)

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2013
Intra-mobile (canton)	35.82	32.3	25.39	22.33	17.89	17.17
Moved local	47.05	48.24	58.35	61.07	66.6	69.23
Moved abroad	9.69	10.32	8.77	7.62	7.4	6.55
Moved back	7.45	9.13	7.5	8.99	8.12	7.04
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Swiss Household Panel 2013

Until now, the data show evidence that intra-mobility in Switzerland is mostly job-related, both for movers and commuters (although movers prefer some cantons to others, and the same applies to commuters). We already saw above that commuters tend to be Swiss men, aged 25 to 44 years old, with high education levels. Figure 16 shows that similar characteristics apply to movers, especially with regard to age<sup>54</sup>. Mobility seems to be related to a specific stage in life, when people are more productive in the labour market (Viry and Kaufman 2015). Although in the past women tended to be less mobile than men (Viry et al. 2006), the trend seems to have been reversed in 2013, since the percentage of women who have moved to another canton is higher than that of men<sup>55</sup>. Yet, the fact that only single women have significantly increased mobility as compared to single men, suggests that family life and care is still a barrier for women’s mobility.

Figure 16 Socio-demographic characteristics of the intra-mobiles



Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2013

<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, no data are available on levels of education and occupation of the movers by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

<sup>55</sup> Because there is concentration of labour in the big cities, mobility and residence in urban areas is normally less gender biased, since there are more opportunities to find jobs for women (normally more service oriented – teacher, etc. – jobs which tend to employ a higher percentage of wome).



Further analysis suggests that both women and men benefit from moving across Switzerland, since the percentage of workers is higher among the movers (of any type) than among the stayers, both women and men (Table 10). However, moving is particularly beneficial for men for most types of moves (except moving within the same commune and movers abroad), since they seem to increase the likelihood of being employed significantly more than women. Data from the Swiss Household panel also show that levels of education of the stayers are significantly lower than that of the movers (Table 11). In addition, different moves relate to different levels of education, those who have moved abroad being by far the most educated.

Table 10 Percentage of Swiss citizens who have a job, depending on their position as stayers or movers

	All	Women	Men
Stayers	60.53	55.95	65.41
Movers within commune	72.86	73.00	73.33
Movers within canton	80.31	75.25	85.87
Movers within region	72.41	55.56	100.00
Movers within CH	83.72	78.00	91.67
Movers from CH to abroad	64.71	58.33	80.00
Movers from abroad to CH	66.67	62.07	73.68
Movers staying abroad	82.61	77.78	85.71

Note: only respondents moving after 2005 are considered.

Source: Swiss household panel 2013

Table 11 Levels of education by mobility (mean)

		Average
Movers		5.39
	Intra-mobile (canton)	5.65
	Moved local	5.45
	Moved abroad	6.93
	Moved back	5.82
Stayers		5.22

Source: Swiss Household Panel 2013

To summarize, while commuting in Switzerland is extremely high, the percentage of movers who decide to live in another canton is relatively low. Only around 1% of the Swiss citizens have changed their canton of residence in 2013, a percentage much lower than that of the EU citizens who have moved to another EU country in the same year. Mobility in Switzerland – as in the European Union – is mostly job related, and therefore the profile of the movers tend to be very much alike to the profile EU movers: men, young, and high educated have become the Eurostars (Favell 2011). Also similar to Europe, some cantons have been specialized into job provision, while others are more focused on housing provision (in the case of the European Union, housing provision is more related to retirement of West and Nordic citizens in Southern European countries). These similarities between the Swiss and the EU cases are crucial in the next step: do Swiss citizens find similar barriers than EU citizens when trying to move?

### 3.2.3 WHICH DIFFICULTIES FOR THE SWISS MOVERS?

There is little information on the problems or difficulties faced by the Swiss citizens when trying to move to another canton. Yet, a number of issues have been raised by previous literature which might provide us with some idea on what makes it difficult to move in Switzerland and what discourages moving across Switzerland. To start with, even if Switzerland is classically considered as a single market, homogeneity is far from attained in the Swiss system. "If the supply of labour is homogeneous and if there are no barriers to mobility within the country, a national labour market can be considered a unit and there should not be significant differences in unemployment inside the country. This ideal situation does not however even exist in the reality of the small Swiss economic system. In fact, several factors play the role of powerful barriers to spatial mobility in Switzerland and divide the country into several markets for labour with different demand and supply conditions." (Filippini 1998, 51). Not only would mobility, from this point of view, be unable to react to the needs of the labour market, but the strong differences between cantons would actually set up a barrier to Swiss citizens' inter-cantonal mobility.

Federalism constitutes another potential barrier to Swiss mobility. Since most competencies are in hands of the cantons, cantons differ much from one another in what refers to educational, social and taxing policies, three of the main aspects which a citizen or family needs to first deal with when moving to another canton. At the institutional level, Swiss federalism fosters therefore residential immobility, as most policies (and particularly those related to family and child rearing) are determined at the municipal and cantonal level. Moving to a different canton means most of the times adapting to a complete new system. As an example, the school system differs substantially from one canton to another, which could hinder families from moving, since it might become very difficult for the child to adapt to a completely different system (Filippini 1998, 53; Schwab X; Linder X; Viry et al. 2006). Income taxation also differs significantly across cantons, which might restrain Swiss citizens from moving to cantons where taxes are higher, or where the tax system is more complex. Cantonal regulation reaches also liberal professions, sometimes precluding citizens from moving to another canton. It is the case of lawyers, medical doctors, or architects, for example, against which there is strong cantonal protectionism. In some liberal professions, cantons can issue regulations which in fact play the role of protectoral barriers for the professionals resident in the canton (Filippini 1998, 53; see, for example, related to the lawyers [http://www.parlament.ch/f/suche/pages/geschaefte.aspx?gesch\\_id=19943305](http://www.parlament.ch/f/suche/pages/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=19943305) ).

A recent Eurobarometer survey reveals that one of the main obstacles EU citizens find when moving to another EU country is language (Eurobarometer 72.5, 2010)<sup>56</sup>. As it appears, this might as well be the most important disincentive for Swiss citizens to move to another canton. In fact, when trying to map Swiss citizens mobility (see Appendix, Table A.1), one can tell intuitively about another mobility pattern: Swiss citizens tend to move to cantons which are closer to their canton of origin, and where the same language is spoken. Indeed, although the country as such is officially plurilingual, the population is mostly monolingual. Therefore moving from one canton to another where a different language is spoken might be costly for the citizen. This might be particularly difficult in German speaking cantons, where *Hochdeutsch* is spoken only by immigrants, whereas most people speak a local Allemanic dialect even at work (Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2000). Table 12 shows indeed that the four linguistic regions are strongly monolingual, especially the German linguistic region. To the contrary, it is in the Italian and the Romansh linguistic regions where there is more variety in terms of language. This might indicate two things: 1) that there are more movers from other linguistic regions in the Italian and

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<sup>56</sup> The other problems by order of importance are: problems finding a job; problems finding a suitable housing; problems adapting to a different culture; problems dealing with the necessary administrative formalities; problems accessing health care or other social benefits; problems finding a job for my partner; problems having educational and professional qualifications recognized; problems obtaining a work permit; problems having pension rights transferred; problem to return home and reintegrate into professional or private life after having been abroad; problems with income taxes of similar; problems with access to child care, school, etc. (Eurobarometer 72.5, 2010).

Romansh linguistic regions; or/and 2) that they are more willing to let people express in their own language in these linguistic regions. Yet data from 2000 show that there is more variation in the languages spoken in the German linguistic areas at work (including English) than in the French and Italian linguistic areas – especially by those who hold high-skill positions (Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2000). Since the use of a specific language is determined by the cantonal school system, moving to a canton where a different language is spoken might be even more difficult if having children in school.

Table 12 Language spoken by linguistic region (2013)

	German	French	Italian	Romansh
German linguistic region	94.6	2.9	2.1	0.5
French linguistic region	7.1	90.1	2.7	0.0
Italian linguistic region	10.2	5.0	84.5	0.3
Romansh linguistic region	35.9	0.8	2.4	60.9

Note: percentage of speakers of each of the languages within each of the linguistic regions (up to three languages were registered as main language)

Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2013

Housing is also an additional problem Swiss citizens might face when moving to another canton. The difficulty to find a house in big urban areas and agglomerations was already put into question in the post-war period (Filippini 1998), and seems to be a persistent difficulty which shapes today decisions of Swiss citizens to move (Viry and Kaufman 2015). This, together with the efficient transportation network which has developed in Switzerland in the last years “may encourage an increasing number of workers to opt for long-distance commuting rather than relocation.”(Viry and Kaufman 2015, 35).

Last but not least, a number of administrative burdens – also related to all the issues we just mentioned – might discourage Swiss citizens to move. A Web at the service of the citizens who want to move to another canton proves indeed that the to-dos constitute a long list (see <https://www.ch.ch/fr/demenagement/>). For example, movers are required to change the number plates of the car when moving from one canton to another. This and other requirements seem to be disproportionate (but yet, they apply to the EU context as well).

Perceptions of discrimination among the movers might be a symptom of the barriers they find when moving to another canton (Table 13). Movers describe themselves in general as more discriminated on the grounds of gender, sexual orientation, handicap, origin or skin-colour than the stayers, which might underlie the different problems Swiss movers encounter across Switzerland. It is only in relation to education and income that the movers feel less discriminated than the stayers, reflecting their higher levels of education (see Tables 10 and 11 above). Except for the Italian movers (maybe indicating that they have access to less high-quality jobs despite their higher level of education), movers feel in average less discriminated than the stayers.

Table 13 Perceived discrimination of stayers and movers

Discrimination on the grounds of:	All	German	Mixed	French	Italian
Gender					
Stayers	0.35	0.35	0.35	0.35	0.31
Movers	0.41	0.38	1.00	0.41	0.40
Sexual orientation					
Stayers	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.15
Movers	0.13	0.15	0.00	0.13	0.00
Handicap					
Stayers	0.20	0.19	0.19	0.24	0.15
Movers	0.22	0.28	0.00	0.15	0.40
Origin or skin-colour					
Stayers	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.07	0.08
Movers	0.11	0.13	0.00	0.11	0.00
Education					
Stayers	0.22	0.22	0.19	0.23	0.31
Movers	0.22	0.26	1.00	0.17	0.20
Income					
Stayers	0.40	0.37	0.39	0.45	0.50
Movers	0.36	0.33	1.00	0.35	0.60

Note: Only respondents with Swiss nationality. Percentage of respondents who affirm to have been discriminated on each of these grounds 'sometimes' or 'often'.

Source: Point Suisse 2014; representative sample.

This section uncovers several problems Swiss citizens might encounter when trying to move across Switzerland, which might effectively discourage their moving and hence their taking advantage of the right to move granted by Swiss citizenship. Apart from initiating legal procedures if perceptions of discrimination or obstacles are intense, so far we could not find any type of citizens' organization to deal with barriers related to mobility. Taking a view back to the second section of this paper, it is apparently the same elements that favour Swiss multiculturalism and coexistence of different linguistic communities that discourage internal mobility.

### 3.2.3. WHAT SOLUTIONS FOR SWISS MOVERS?

We have seen in previous sections that levels of inter-cantonal mobility in Switzerland are low. Swiss citizens tend to prefer commuting to their place of work rather than changing place of residence. In fact, opposed to the EU, the Swiss federal state has not actively promoted moving across cantons. Instead, the Swiss state has favoured the existence of a well-connected and efficient transportation system, which allows for high commuter mobility without costs of adapting to a new canton (or losing signs of identity). The size of the territory is indeed well adapted to this kind of policy, a political solution which applies with difficulty to the overall EU case under current transportation conditions but which might be possible on a trans-border regional level in the EU. Yet, even in the Swiss case, some actions have been taken at the federal level in order to facilitate internal mobility, either as commuting or as moving. Some of these are reviewed in the following lines, considering its applicability in the European Union.

From a legal point of view, the status of Swiss citizens differs much from the status of EU citizens. Swiss citizens are entitled to full rights wherever they decide to live in Switzerland, which is not the case for EU citizens living in another EU country, in particular in relation to political rights. Formally, freedom of movement is hence less

constrained in Switzerland than in the EU: there is neither limit of time a Swiss citizen can spend in another canton nor in the rights a citizen can exercise in a new canton.<sup>57</sup>

The Swiss federal state has also tried to facilitate homogenization of cantonal laws in order not to hinder mobility. This is the case, for example, with professional mobility. The Federal law on internal market of 1995 aims precisely at a) facilitating professional mobility and economic exchanges in Switzerland; b) support the cantons in their attempts to homogenize the access conditions to the internal market; c) increase competitiveness of the Swiss economy; and d) reinforce the economic cohesion in Switzerland (Art. 1, Federal Law on Internal Market, 1995). The law was later on modified in 2006, by increasing the transferability of cantonal decisions to the whole Swiss territory, sort of the Swiss version of *Cassis de Dijon*. The new Article 2.6 of the new law, for example, reads as: "Once a federal authority has decided that the access of a product or a service adjusts to the federal law or has authorized its access to the market, its decision is applicable in the whole Swiss territory." (Federal Law on Internal Market, 1995, 2006). Interestingly, the Federal Law on Internal Market was modified in 2006 after the agreement between Switzerland and the EU on freedom of movement was signed in 2002, in order to ensure that Swiss citizens would not be discriminated against the EU movers.<sup>58</sup>

As for the school system, the Swiss constitution was reformed in 2006 by referendum in order to coordinate the education system of the different cantons. The main objective, according to the parliamentary initiative was to promote the creation of a homogenous Swiss space of formation for the whole territory, which would facilitate inter-cantonal mobility through harmonization of the cantonal education systems (Parliamentary initiative, Constitutional Article on Education, June 2005).<sup>59</sup> After this initial change of the Constitution, further legislation strengthened coordination of the education system.<sup>60</sup> Although the taxing system was also modified recently, these changes only affect EU and EFTA citizens resident in Switzerland.<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, the Constitutional Court in Switzerland seems to be playing a similar role as in the EU in dealing with citizens' claims against the cantons' decisions, specifically in what refers to freedom of movement.<sup>62</sup>

The question of the languages has been more difficult to solve, since cantons are very conservative with identity elements. Still today, as mentioned above, there is a debate on which languages should be taught at school, mainly in the German cantons. In many of them, English is prioritized over the other official languages, which has triggered claims against discrimination in the French and Italian cantons (Swiss Federal Statistical Office 2000).<sup>63</sup>

Despite the efforts taken by the federal state to eliminate obstacles to mobility, the truth is that few Swiss decide to move to other cantons, and prefer to commute to their works, which might indirectly indicate that citizens do not find it easy or necessary to move.

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<sup>57</sup> There are some limitations in several cantons with regard to when a citizen can start to exercise some rights after her/ his moving to the new canton. For example, a citizen is only entitled to voting rights in some cantons after having lived more than three months in the new canton. The justification is that a citizen needs first to get informed about the situation in the canton before he/ she is able to take a reasoned decision in elections.

<sup>58</sup> <https://www.admin.ch/opc/fr/federal-gazette/2005/421.pdf>. Yet apparently, liberal professions are still not fully transferable across cantons: [http://www.parlament.ch/f/suche/pages/geschaefte.aspx?gesch\\_id=19943305](http://www.parlament.ch/f/suche/pages/geschaefte.aspx?gesch_id=19943305)

<sup>59</sup> <https://www.admin.ch/opc/fr/federal-gazette/2005/5159.pdf>

<sup>60</sup> For example: Federal law on taxes related to common projects within the Swiss space of formation, 2007 (<https://www.admin.ch/opc/fr/classified-compilation/20063360/index.html>), Federal Law on coordination of High Schools, 2011 (<https://www.admin.ch/opc/fr/classified-compilation/20070429/index.html>). In addition, the Swiss Conference of cantonal directors of public instruction was created which strongly supports intercantonal coordination, and played an important role in the modification of the constitution (<http://www.edk.ch/dyn/11703.php>)

<sup>61</sup> See <https://www.kpmg.com/US/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/flash-international-executive-alert/Documents/flash-international-executive-alert-2014-041-apr.pdf>

<sup>62</sup> <http://relevancy.bger.ch/cgi-bin/IndexCGI?lang=fr&zoom=IN&system=>; [http://servat.unibe.ch/dfr/dfr\\_bge00.html](http://servat.unibe.ch/dfr/dfr_bge00.html)

<sup>63</sup> Related to language: [www.bilinguisme.ch](http://www.bilinguisme.ch)

#### **4. LESSONS FOR THE EU – SUMMARY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

Comparing Switzerland and the EU has given us interesting insights on which lessons could be taken for the problems related to the barriers to European Union citizenship.

##### **1. POLITICS IN TIME**

From a historical perspective, it can be said that EU integration is trying to achieve more political integration and accommodation of a much higher degree of diversity in much less time than has ever been the case in Switzerland. Integration and expansion processes that were slower and non-linear in Switzerland and that happened in separate phases (e.g. religious diversification, linguistic diversification, territorial expansion, etc.) are all going on at the same time in the EU. Especially integration and accession with enormous shocks of diversification are engineered at the same time in the EU. From this point of view, the EU has already tried to go beyond many stages that took centuries to be completed in Switzerland. The speed and intergovernmental method of European integration and accession has been marked by relative success in times of peace, stability and economic growth. But what has been achieved seems a lot less politically stable and consolidated in time of crisis.

Indeed, the Swiss process leading from the 1814 Confederacy to the 1848 federal state was not exclusively a process of federal-state formation; it was first and foremost a process of democratization, liberalization and constitutional alignment of the cantons. What happened at the federal level in 1848 (federal constitution), 1874 (revision of the federal constitution, facultative referendum for all federal laws) and 1891 (constitutional initiative on federal level) was made possible by intra-cantonal reforms and an adaptation of the cantonal constitutions to each other in a time span of about 70 years. In the European Union, a democratization process of new member states also accompanied the process of ‘federal’ formation, but integration was driven mainly at an intergovernmental level and democratic institutions were very much entrenched in some of the member states. There is therefore much more rigidity in terms of sub-and supranational institutional innovation and incorporation of direct democracy mechanisms. In little less than 20 years, the European Union changed from an economic union of 12 members to a political union of 28 members, who joined the Union willingly. As compared to Switzerland, the EU-process was therefore much less conflict laden and much more democratic in the sense that no European member-state is forced into the EU against its will and has the right to leave. The creation of the Swiss federal-state was not free of force and coercion of minorities, first by (moderate) military power and then by roughly a two-tier majority of cantons (Unanimity was not an issue in the Swiss federal state formation).

The contextual differences between the EU and Swiss integration process notwithstanding, we think it is fair to say that the consolidation of the EU integration process may also be achieved by de-acceleration of integration and expansion and by abolishing the doctrine of strict process-linearity of ever more integration. Secondly, the comparison shows that the foundation of a few but robust federal state institutions in Switzerland in 1848 was a moderately coercive act that should not be romanticized by calling Switzerland a “nation of will”. The “will” to be a nation was construed *post factum* by a slow process in which the introduction of a coherent system of direct democracy at all levels of integration was key followed by the development of national welfare state instruments that guarantee a social minimum for stayers and movers on the territory.

##### **2. CITIZENSHIP AND FEDERALISM FROM BELOW**

From an institutional perspective, the European Union has adopted a kind of federal structure in which each member state retains the major part of competences, which at first sight is quite close to the Swiss system. From this perspective, the institutional design of the European Union seems to echo quite well the federal state formation process in Switzerland. The following precisions are however necessary in the comparative perspective. First, the momentary stage of European Integration, characterized by intergovernmental crisis management, resembles the (dysfunctional) intergovernmental centralism of the Swiss cantons during the

decades before the formation of the federal-state in 1848. Second, due to the greater diversity of the European Union, this quasi-federal system has derived in extreme asymmetries between the member states. Since EU identity is not well entrenched among European citizens (and politicians), it has been hard to design institutions and policies of common territorial protection and redistribution and there is mistrust towards centralistic EU institutions (specially in the countries more affected by the economic crisis). As seen above, most European citizens do not feel their interests are taken into account by the European Union. Third, it is important to note that in Swiss federalism the municipalities play an important role, they are much more than just administrative districts. The city or village is autonomous. It is the first lieu of citizenship. One becomes a citizen of Switzerland only by becoming a citizen of a city or a village. The connection between the municipal, cantonal, and federal levels is procedural: The granting of citizenship happens in the municipality via the application of a cantonal procedure by city officials whereby the federal state defines minimal conditions. The city is also the first lieu of direct democracy and an important provider of social security. Citizens practice direct democracy first and foremost in their city, dealing with topics that are directly accessible to them. The city has competencies in education and culture as well as fiscal competencies and responsibilities. This city-centred and bottom up construct of citizenship is guaranteed by the Swiss federal constitution. Citizens feel that their most immediate and local identity is not jeopardized but rooted in and guaranteed by the Swiss federal constitution. Compared to sub-national Swiss federalism, EU federalism is entirely focused on the nation-state and the EU institutions. Serious consideration ought to be given to the idea that European citizenship is not only about bringing citizenship to a higher European level but also about bringing it more to the root-level of citizenship: the city. This includes competencies of the city in matters of granting citizenship and collecting taxes, responsibilities of the city in educational, social and cultural matters as well as a bundle of political rights of direct participation and civic duties of every person as citizen of a city. Giving the final blow to the myth that modern citizenship was invented with the French revolution, D.3.1 of the *bEUcitizen*-project shows that there is a long European tradition of citizenship, in which the city played a decisive inclusive or exclusive role. Combined with recent insights that to a large extent the city plays an ever more important role as lieu of political and socio-economic life of people in the 21<sup>st</sup> century this drives home an important point. The city as the prime location of citizenship and access point to political rights could be a new focus of European citizenship policy as the EU could guarantee the autonomy of cities and monitor the rights of citizens in the context of transnational interdependence. This includes tax-equalization of commuters among cities and states as well as burden sharing due to gains and costs of mobility. On a small scale, Switzerland offers an example of how the old city-centred concept of citizenship can be accommodated in the context of political integration, transnationalization and trans-border mobility.

### **3. DIRECT DEMOCRACY**

Direct democracy has indeed acted as an *ex post* federator in the Swiss context. Switzerland made direct democracy and direct democracy made Switzerland. There has been a slow process of adaptation of structurally similar institutions of direct democracy at all levels (communal, cantonal, federal) of all units (all communes, all cantons, confederation roughly between 1830-1891. To the contrary, the EU is only incipiently in a process of introducing direct democracy (in some member-states and ECI), and so far direct democracy is mainly practiced as national plebiscitary democracy. Under this guise it is seen as a threat to EU integration and probably not without good reason.<sup>64</sup> However, direct democracy was a structural feature of the conservative anti-federalist cantons in Switzerland in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. While in Switzerland the systemically coherent introduction of direct democracy at all levels of the polity in the long run served as an important unifier, direct democracy has even not been considered at the European level.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> See the *bEUcitizen* blog: <http://beucitizen.eu/what-to-make-of-direct-democracy/>

<sup>65</sup> For more information see D8.7

#### **4. FORMAL RIGHTS TO MOBILITY AND THE RIGHT TO CULTURAL AND POLITICAL SELF-DETERMINATION**

Apart from the institutional design, the European Union has adopted a multicultural discourse (“unity in diversity”), but has had little effective presence in promoting multiculturalism and solidarity, and this has become even more problematic after the economic crisis. It is obvious from the analysis of mobility in Switzerland that the rights of stayers and the facilitation of commuting (as opposed to moving) are of foremost importance in a context of multi-layered citizenship. From this perspective, it is of great interest that the one element in which the European Union has based the construction of EU citizenship and identity – mobility of residence – has been discouraged in Switzerland. There is in fact a trade off in the Swiss case between multiculturalism and intra-mobility of residence that might help to better understand which course is to be followed at the European level. The institutional design as incorporated in Swiss multicultural identity (which aims fundamentally at the protection of cantonal and local autonomy, culture and language) has facilitated that Switzerland is called today a successful multicultural society. Most citizens identify with Switzerland as a country and they like it as it is, but they do not want to take advantage of their formal right to move to other parts of the country, especially not across language borders. The same institutional design that has made of Switzerland a successful case study of multiculturalism and democracy poses important barriers that make it difficult for the Swiss to move their residence across their country. Considering that one of the main features of European citizenship is the freedom of movement and residence, this poses a main concern. The Swiss compromise between the formal right and economic necessity of mobility on the one hand and the protection of political and cultural sub-identities on the other hand, is commuting. Due to the vast size, this is of limited applicability in the EU. However, in a Europe of cities and trans-border regions, commuting is an important option provided that every European citizen lives reasonably close to an important economic centre. Here again there is reason for the EU to not only focus on the member-states economies but on the urban centres and regions.

Furthermore, the necessary infrastructure for swift commuting is not only transportation. Supporting the Swiss system of commuting is fiscal federalism and shared fiscal revenue, a welfare minimum for all Swiss citizens and a system of redistribution of funds among cantons. Moving one’s residence is formally possible, bureaucratically difficult, and culturally burdensome. There is reason to believe that this is even more the case in the EU with 24 languages. In short, the Europe of commuters deserves attention.



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## APPENDIX

**TABLE A.1. MOBILITY FROM CANTON OF ORIGIN TO CANTON OF ARRIVAL**

Canton of Residence in 2013

Residence - canton	AG	AI	AR	BE	BS	BL	FR	GE	GL	GR	JU	LU	NE	NW	OW	SG	SH	SO	SZ	TG	TI	Ur	VD	VS	ZG	ZH
inapplicable	264	0	38	385	121	109	77	258	41	75	22	147	131	8	9	273	37	91	62	114	185	6	606	134	49	817
AG Argovia	1,366	1	4	93	10	34	8	5	5	7	0	64	2	6	8	30	12	35	9	26	21	0	13	9	12	161
AI Appenzell Inner-Rh	1	22	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
AR Appenzell Outer-Rh	6	1	83	4	0	3	0	1	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	39	5	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	1	12
BE Berne	83	0	0	3,121	5	50	69	32	2	17	31	61	36	4	3	38	2	92	5	27	13	0	71	27	9	120
BS Basle-Town	34	2	1	33	238	124	3	8	2	1	7	8	4	4	0	16	3	26	4	2	4	0	11	2	2	30
BL Basle-Country	44	0	0	41	43	478	4	3	0	11	0	15	7	1	2	4	0	33	0	7	0	0	1	4	2	38
FR Fribourg	8	0	0	50	2	13	517	16	0	2	7	16	9	2	1	6	3	5	4	4	12	0	45	14	1	17
GE Geneva	15	0	2	39	8	9	10	816	1	4	3	10	21	1	0	3	1	2	1	3	18	0	111	23	2	30
GL Glarus	2	0	0	17	0	0	1	0	159	1	0	2	0	0	0	15	0	1	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	18
GR Grisons	14	0	1	60	2	8	4	0	5	354	0	15	0	0	6	32	1	4	11	34	15	1	4	2	4	62
JU Jura	3	0	0	6	0	1	4	2	0	0	202	2	15	0	0	4	0	1	0	2	0	0	19	1	0	1
LU Lucerne	59	2	0	36	8	7	0	2	0	16	3	1,044	4	16	18	12	0	7	17	18	6	6	3	4	12	54
NE Neuchatel	6	0	0	39	1	4	21	27	0	1	1	7	528	0	0	10	2	0	2	2	9	0	55	14	0	13
NW Nidwalden	7	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	3	0	18	0	74	2	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	5	12
OW Obwalden	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	15	4	1	56	3	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	4
SG St. Gall	52	4	88	75	7	16	6	0	15	30	0	27	4	1	0	1,166	11	6	24	62	16	0	8	0	12	132
SH Schaffhausen	11	0	0	13	1	4	0	1	0	3	1	6	0	1	0	14	126	4	1	13	0	0	1	0	1	44
SO Solothurn	51	0	0	60	4	39	11	0	4	4	1	9	0	0	0	21	0	474	5	7	0	0	1	0	9	34
SZ Schwyz	14	0	7	5	0	0	4	0	9	1	1	18	1	5	3	27	1	2	278	1	1	0	1	5	13	36
TG Thurgovia	21	0	13	20	2	4	2	2	6	6	0	7	3	0	0	89	2	1	8	546	0	2	1	0	5	70
TI Ticino	7	4	1	15	3	4	4	15	2	8	0	7	1	1	1	12	1	2	1	3	626	0	10	0	0	18
UR Uri	1	0	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	9	0	1	1	2	1	0	2	51	2	1	6	7
VD Vaud	39	4	6	95	9	7	112	58	2	9	11	17	39	4	1	17	3	7	4	11	16	0	1,954	82	0	59
VS Valais	12	0	0	33	2	5	3	12	1	2	4	18	14	0	0	2	1	0	3	4	6	2	52	683	1	8
ZG Zug	13	0	0	6	3	3	0	0	5	0	0	13	0	3	2	4	2	1	21	2	3	0	4	0	184	31
ZH Zurich	241	0	18	177	27	33	14	4	37	33	8	63	12	11	8	165	22	29	76	155	45	0	40	18	51	3,040
Total	2,391	40	271	4,459	508	971	878	1,272	303	594	304	1,629	843	155	120	2,019	242	836	550	1,067	1,009	68	3,035	1,032	390	4,902