CAPITALIZING ON NATIONAL DIVERSITY

Modern Ideologies of Multilingual Switzerland and
the Regimentation of the Nation's Promotion under Late Capitalism

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Summary (German)

Diese Dissertation analysiert die Effekte des Spätkapitalismus für die Art wie die Schweiz in die nationale Mehrsprachigkeit investiert. Durch eine genealogische soziolinguistische Analyse von Regierungsdiskursen über die Promotion der Schweiz im Ausland, die zwischen 1970 und 2008 produziert wurden, und auf der Basis von institutionellen Texten erforsche ich die diskursive Konstruktion von Schweizer Mehrsprachigkeit als ein Promotionsargument und analysiere wie und warum die Schweizer Kapitalisierung auf Mehrsprachigkeit sich in der Zeit verändert. Ich diskutiere zudem, wie die Schweizer Mehrsprachigkeit durch Regierungsakteure instrumentalisiert wird, um die Schweizer Wirtschaft und Kultur, sowie den nationalen Tourismus global zu positionieren. In diesem Zusammenhang zeige ich, wie Mehrsprachigkeit als eine Form von "added value" konstruiert wird, um die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit des Landes zu garantieren in einem sich verändernden politisch-ökonomischen Umfeld, das durch eine Deregulierung der Märkte, die Transnationalisierung der Wirtschaft und eine zunehmende Konkurrenz zwischen den Ländern charakterisiert ist. Meine Analyse zeigt auch, dass der Promotionswert von Mehrsprachigkeit, sowie die Art wie diese kulturelle Ressource von den Akteuren im Feld konzeptualisiert wird, nicht konstant ist, sondern von den politischen und ökonomischen Interessen ebendieser Akteure abhängt. Schliesslich zeigt meine Analyse, dass dieser sich verändernde Wert von Mehrsprachigkeit weder im Bruch steht mit einer Ideologie der nationalen Mehrsprachigkeit, die auf Standard, Ethnizität und Stabilität basiert; noch mit der Art und Weise wie Sprache instrumentalisiert wird, um soziokulturelle Differenz zu legitimeren. Diese Diskurse über die Promotion der Schweiz im Ausland und insbesondere die beobachtete Kapitalisierung auf Mehrsprachigkeit scheinen vielmehr altbekannte Ideologien der Nation zu reproduzieren sowie die politischen und ökonomischen Interessen, welche sich hinter diesen Ideologien verbergen.

Summary (English)

This dissertation analyzes how late capitalism affects Switzerland's investment in national multilingualism. Through a genealogical sociolinguistic analyses of governmental discourses, produced between 1970 and 2008, on the promotion of Switzerland abroad, and drawing on archival data such as reports, minutes, and expertise, I discuss the government's construction of Swiss multilingualism as a promotional argument and analyze how and why Swiss capitalization on multilingualism changes over time. I furthermore demonstrate that Swiss multilingualism is instrumentalized by governmental actors as a capital of distinction that is employed to globally position the Swiss economy, culture, and tourism industry. Multilingualism is constructed in Switzerland as a form of added value to maintain the country's competitiveness in a political-economic environment characterized by an accelerated deregulation of national markets, a transnationalization of economic exchanges, and increasing competition between nations. My analysis also highlights multilingualism's promotional value and demonstrates how Swiss multilingualism, as conceptualized and defined by political actors, is not constant, but rather adapted to meet to the addressed markets needs. Moreover, the analysis shows how the economic appropriation of Swiss multilingualism and its hybrid and constantly changing conceptualization does not conflict with an ideology of national multilingualism that draws on standardization, ethnicity, and fixity. In addition, the changing aspects of this construction do not necessarily imply a rupture with how language is instrumentalized to legitimize sociocultural relations of difference. Indeed, while actors participating in discourses on the promotion of Switzerland tend to valorize what is traditionally considered to be "bad" diversity (linguistic diversity resulting from poorly qualified immigrants), in reality it provides the economic elite in Switzerland with a means to capitalize on a resource existing within Swiss territory with the end of reproducing the status quo in the distribution of capital in Swiss society.

Introduction

Since the foundation of the field of sociolinguistics in the late 1950s, Switzerland has traditionally represented a key site of investigation for researchers interested in phenomena of multilingualism, linguistic variation, and language contact. Switzerland's sociolinguistic situation has often been celebrated as a "Sonderfall" [exception] because of the country's seemingly rich linguistic and cultural diversity, the assumed exceptional multilingual competences of its citizens, and the Swiss state's apparent capacity to successfully govern this linguistic and cultural heterogeneity and to turn it into a key element of national pride.

Perhaps the hegemonic status of the ideology of linguistically homogeneous polities in Western Europe during the last two centuries, and the widespread idea of multilingualism and sociocultural diversity as a source of mental fragility, identitarian trouble, and sociopolitical instability, offers an explanation for the appeal the Swiss model holds for scholars aiming to challenge convictions concerning the negative individual and social consequences of multilingualism and cultural diversity. But, by focusing on disproving the dangers of multilingualism, little critical attention within the fields of sociolinguistics and anthropology has been dedicated to questioning beliefs on the nature and status of multilingualism in Switzerland.

Starting from the assumption that multilingualism and cultural diversity are neither a bad nor a good thing, but rather represent, as Bakhtin argued, the ordinary condition of linguistic life, I think the moment has come to go beyond a celebrative approach to Switzerland's multilingualism and cultural diversity. In line with critical studies on multilingualism that have emerged in the field of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology in the past two decades, I believe it is necessary to put forward a critical sociolinguistic inquiry that relates the Swiss nation-state's regulation and investment in multilingualism and cultural diversity to questions of power, sociocultural ideologies of the nation, and the distribution of capital on the Swiss territory.

This dissertation[1] proposes to take on this challenge and to engage in a inquiry of the role Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity has played for the Swiss nation-state during the era of late capitalism. The main site of investigation is represented by governmental discourses on the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad – i.e. legislative debates produced between 1975 and 2008 – directed toward regimenting and improving the

[1] The findings presented here are based on the research project funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) entitled "Performing Swissness: Discourse, Institutions and Social Transformations" under the joint direction of Prof. Vincent Kaufmann (University of St. Gallen) and Prof. Alexandre Duchêne (University of Fribourg). The project was conducted in collaboration with research assistants Alfonso Del Percio and Arthur Poget.

international promotion of the nation, thereby creating the right conditions for attracting various forms of capital, the desired labor force, and tourists to Swiss territory, but also to facilitate the international expansion of the national economy. My work describes, discusses, and explains the Swiss government's construction of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity as a national capital, the reconceptualization of this cultural resource in promotional terms, and the variability of value attributed to diversity.

The governmental debates on the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad represent a unique site of inquiry for scholars interested in gaining an in-depth understanding of the role played by language and culture for the nation-state in late capitalism. Indeed, an investigation of the materialization processes of these debates, including their spaces of emergence, give us access to spaces of expertise where diverging imaginations of Switzerland clash and where sociocultural ideologies of difference are (re)produced, legitimized, and even contested. This dissertation particularly consists of a genealogical analysis of three events in the history of the aforementioned debates, i.e. an investigation of practices of expertise, that a) have characterized the pre-parliamentarian legislative process leading to the adoption of three federal laws regulating the promotion of Switzerland abroad, or b) have been affected by the entry into force of these laws. These federal laws are:

- *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* [Bundesgesetz über die Einsetzung einer Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland] of 1975;
- *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad* [Bundesgesetz über die Pflege des schweizerischen Erscheinungsbildes im Ausland] of 2000;
- *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland* [Bundesgesetz über die schweizerische Landeswerbung] of 2008.

The emergence of these laws was constructed by the national government as a political reaction to the profound restructuring of global capitalism in the second half of the 20th century; furthermore, these laws were meant to provide a legislative framework, creating the conditionality for a political response to the recurrent international criticism directed at Switzerland. The levied criticism questioned the system of sociopolitical values – including neutrality, solidarity, pluralism and a strong humanitarian tradition – which for many decades had formed the basis for the success of Switzerland's political and economic system. In times of sociopolitical insecurity and transformation, the Swiss federal government feared that this criticism could threaten the access of Switzerland's industries to the economic and political possibilities represented by the integration of the global markets, and therefore could destabilize the distribution of social and economic capital on national territory. More particularly, in 1975, the official trigger to enact a law was political tension between Switzerland and the bordering countries. The strained relations were provoked by Swiss criticism of the economic integration plans of the leading European countries in the 1960s,

but also by the repressive migration policies adopted by the Swiss state in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which resulted in an accelerated precarization of the living and working conditions of the foreign labor force on Swiss territory. As such, the law was motivated by Switzerland's fear of losing its status as a privileged place of international political decision-making and economic exchange. In the 1990s, the trigger for reformulating the law was – again – the strong criticism expressed by part of the Swiss political elite regarding the advancing integration of the EU, and the resulting fear that part of the nation's economic elite had of being excluded from access to the European market – which the Swiss export industry had relied heavily on for many decades[2]. This law also occurred simultaneously with class action lawsuits by the United States against Switzerland and its financial sector – a major source of national pride – over the role of several Swiss banks during the Nazi regime. According to the Swiss government, these circumstances jeopardized both the hegemonic national and international imagination of Switzerland as a neutral and humanitarian state, an image that had underpinned the country's privileged political and economic role since World War II. They also tarnished the reputation of the secure, reliable, and serious Swiss bank industry (all features said to have characterized the added value of the Swiss banks for many decades) in times of economic change. In 2008, still according to the federal authorities, the cause for new legislation was the global economic crisis resulting from US subprime mortgages that coincided with international criticism of Switzerland's role as a financial center and, more particularly, of Swiss banking secrecy. This new law was also constructed as a response to European criticism of Switzerland's taxation policy (especially the company taxation regime), but also as a retort to polemic national and international reactions set off by a number of laws adopted by the federal government in the first decade of the 2000s that restricted minority rights in Switzerland.

While the legislation of 1975 was adopted to better coordinate the promotion of Switzerland abroad, the laws of 2000 and 2008 targeted the professionalization, flexibilization, and standardization of promotional practices and strategies. In the two latter cases, the creation of a centralized governmental PR agency composed of marketing and communication experts was discussed. Market-oriented propaganda campaigns were prepared, and, finally, a series of possible promotional arguments and marketing instruments were defined.

It is in the framework of these federal discourses on the promotion of Switzerland that the emergence of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity as both a key element of

[2] It must be noted that Switzerland's economy has always concentrated on the export sector, with 50% of current GDP constituted by the export industry, and that the national economy is constructed by the federal authorities as both traditionally reliant on the state of the global economy and highly dependent on the value of its image in the international markets (see Halbeisen et al. 2010).

national pride and as a promotional argument can be observed. The question, which arises, is: cui boni?

- In whose interest and according to which logics does this traditional element of national pride become an object of politico-economic capitalization?
- Which forms of diversity are considered (by whom) to be capitalizable? And why?
- Who benefits and who loses from the fact that diversity is invested in as it is?
- And, to what extent does this sort of valorization of diversity imply a reproduction or contestation of the sociocultural ideologies of difference legitimizing the social and economic order in Switzerland?

In my dissertation, I compile a historiography of discourses on the promotion of Switzerland in the form of a sociolinguistic genealogical analysis of the political and economic appropriation of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity; the analysis attributes particular importance to institutionalized strategies, processes, and spaces of knowledge production, as well as to the technologies of control regimenting this production of knowledge on Switzerland and transforming the investigated practices of expertise in discourses of authority. The historiography facilitates a reconstruction of the emergence, circulation, and transformation of discourses on Switzerland's promotion, and pinpoints not only the continuities in discourse production, but also moments of rupture in which established ideologies of nation and language and culture are contested and challenged. The analysis further highlights how the government's capitalization on national multilingualism and cultural diversity results from the logics of late capitalism itself, i.e. from the role the Swiss state has adopted in this specific politico-economic setting, and emphasizes how this capitalization is intrinsically related to the historical status and value of multilingualism and cultural diversity for the Swiss nation-state.

My analysis suggests that Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity is invested in by governmental actors first as a capital of distinction, thereby enabling them to construct an image of Switzerland that is unique and that facilitates successful positioning in the international markets; the same arguments advance the international promotion of the national economy, national culture, and the tourism industry. Secondly, the same governmental players apparently invest in diversity in times of socioeconomic uncertainty as a means to reproduce the system of cultural values that has historically guaranteed stability and peace within the nation's borders.

It must, however, be noted that the Swiss government's capitalization on diversity is not constant. Its variability concerns not only the way diversity is appropriated in political discourse on the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad; it also affects the way Swiss diversity as such – its nature and essence – is conceptualized and defined by the actors involved. Major fluctuations result from the demands of the markets (and the interest of the actors operating in it) and from what is held to be good or bad diversity.

My findings furthermore suggest that the political and economic appropriation of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity and its conceptualization as hybrid and constantly changing does not conflict with a modern ideology that draws on standardization, ethnicity, and fixity. On the contrary: Discourse on language and culture as a traditional identitary element actually co-occurs with an ideology of language and culture as a commodity. Discourse does not operate separately, but is intertwined in a complex dialectic, and it serves to legitimatize itself and reproduce itself. It must furthermore be stated that the emergence of new discourses on language does not necessarily imply a rupture with how language has traditionally been instrumentalized to produce and legitimize structures of domination and phenomena of inequality in society. Rather, although actors participating in the discourse on the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad tend under specific conditions to valorize and capitalize on what in Switzerland is traditionally considered to be bad diversity – for example, linguistic diversity resulting from migration – capitalizing on a stigma does not imply a renegotiation of hierarchies among speakers within Swiss society. It is, in fact, a way of permitting the political and economic elite in Switzerland to profit from a resource existing in Swiss territory while simultaneously reproducing the status quo in the distribution of capital and prestigious positions.

Chapter 1

The Governmental Regimentation of Switzerland's Promotion as an Object of Critical Sociolinguistic Inquiry

Introduction

The analysis of the Swiss state's capitalization on national multilingualism put forward in this dissertation is inspired by a critical sociolinguistic tradition interested in the ideological, structural, and material conditions that enable language and culture to emerge as key sites of possibility – or lack thereof – for people's life trajectories, for the production, circulation, and consumption of resources, and for the construction and maintenance of legitimacies, inequalities and sociocultural relations. The position I adopt regarding the nature of the object of my investigation, the way I define its sociopolitical relevance, and how I identify its place and status in what might be called social reality provide the foundation for the questions raised and the aims of this dissertation, and, more generally, inform the way I frame this particular social phenomenon as a research object. As shown in this *Chapter 1*, these premises also have implications for the conceptual framework I rely on to make sense of the discourses under investigation, for what counts as legitimate data, for the analytical tools I make use of, and, finally, for how I discursively structure the story of the regimentation of Switzerland's promotion.

The principle aim of *Chapter 1* is to situate my research object and the descriptions, interpretations, and explications put forward in my dissertation within a field of critical inquiry interested in the intersection of language, ideology, and the nation-state. This involves locating the investigated discourses on Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity by means of a research tradition that focuses on the history of European nation-states' investment in language and culture for the sake of legitimizing national existence, actions, and decisions. This also means positioning my own work in an academic discourse concerned with the historicity and processuality of the phenomena under investigation, i.e. in their inherently discursive, ideological, and political-economic nature. Furthermore, this chapter describes the discursive materiality on which my analysis draws, and presents the following aspects: How I gained access to the material, the institutional status and function of the material, and what statements can be made about the object of my investigation on the basis of this specific discursive material. Closely related to this last point, this chapter also discusses the analytical tools and lines of investigation guiding and structuring the analysis of the discursive materiality, and considers the institutional processes these represent.

In the following section, I present an overview of how scholars of critical sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have interpreted the co-emergence of nation-

states and the dominance of capitalism in the 19th century, followed by a discussion of how culturally framed assumptions on language were (and still are) instrumentalized by the political and economic elite to legitimize the creation of national borders and to justify the relations of power between urban centers and rural peripheries, between the economic elite and working class, between rich and poor, and between locals and foreigners. I also discuss the way sociolinguists have historically treated the case of the Swiss nation-state by drawing on studies highlighting the continuity and similarity between the Swiss model and what has been observed in other European cases. Finally, I present a set of reflections that discuss the role modern ideologies of language and the nation play in late capitalism, and describe the way such ideologies continue to be mobilized in order to produce and legitimize social difference. This final aspect also enables an examination of what conclusions about the subject of my research can be made on the basis of existing literature on language, ideology, and the nation.

Language, the Nation-State and Social Difference

The ideology of the monolingual nation-state

The starting point of my research is Hobsbawm's (1990) argument that the emergence of modern states was a means to construct, regulate, and control markets in order to secure the free circulation of goods and capital. In other words, the nation-state laid the groundwork for industrial capitalism itself. During the 18th century, when the economic and technological conditions of industry were changing and political transformations reshaped the power relations between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, an instrument was needed to make the new capitalist system function. It was in this context that the nation-state emerged as a governmental apparatus permitting the control and regulation of the economy in a given spatial configuration, i.e. the national markets (Hobsbawm 1990; Kaufmann 2004). Instead of creating greater equality among the classes, the reorganization of the population and boundaries, the rise of a powerful bourgeoisie, and the new ideology of the division of labor resulted in a dramatization of the social and economic inequality within European societies (Hobsbawm 1990). This new form of inequality imperiled the capitalist project.

Scholars investigating the role of language in the emergence of the nation-states have argued that language was seen as a means to neutralize inequalities (Bauman and Briggs 2003). As Duchêne (2008) writes, "The ideological manipulation consisting of allying the national question to the social question allowed the union of all social classes under the banner of patriotism, with nationalism thus becoming the solution to the states' social problems." This implies the following: By making an imagined "other" responsible for economic inequality (e.g. rival nations or newcomers) and constructing this "other" as posing a threat to the social achievements of the working class, the states were intent on creating a

communal sense of "we" that would go beyond the solidarity of class, and, instead, would result in a sense of national belonging and shared political rights (Duchêne 2008; Hobsbawm 1990). To produce and legitimize this form of social difference between the "we" and the "other," language was invested in as a key axis of differentiation. Despite their appartenance to different social classes, individuals of the same linguistic group were construed to be equal and legitimate members of a given nation-state and, as such, were eligible to acquire a set of political rights by virtue of their linguistic skills and ethnic belonging (Duchêne 2008; Gal 2009).

But why language?

Anthropologists (see Bauman and Briggs 2003) have shown that two opposing modern ideologies of language that circulated and became dominant in intellectual circles around Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries were appropriated by the political and economic elite to justify the new social and political order. On the one hand, the ideology often attributed to Herder (but see also Leibnitz or Cadillac's work) states that language is the expression of the authentic self of a given "Volk" (or "people") living in a specific place; a common language is a sign of the deep fellowship and the common heritage and tradition of its speakers. In this regard, a central issue during the invention of the nation was the cultivation of a common language of a people as a means to reproduce and maintain a sense of common heritage and tradition, thus establishing a common bond. On the other hand, however, we observe a strain of thinking inspired by Locke that (standardized) language (e.g. the variety spoken in the Royal Society) is the medium par excellence for expressing rigorous scientific thinking and objective reasoning in political discourse. While these two hypotheses on language seem at variance – with the former emphasizing language as an expression of the common tradition and history of its speakers, and the latter stressing language as a conditionality for expressing reason and universal truth in political debate – Gal (2009, see also Bauman and Briggs 2000) states that what they have in common is the idea that a shared and standardized language acts as a conditionality for the stability of a given polity (also see Kroskrity 2010).

Despite these apparently diverging theories on the role of language in establishing the nation-state, we can observe that, rooted in a hegemonic ideology of community, language was employed to justify the arbitrary definition of national borders by referencing tradition and history, thus reinforcing the idea that all people speaking the same language and living in the same territory have the same heritage and as such are part of the same community. This community can then be institutionalized in the political form of a nation-state. By the same token, a society structured around ethnic and linguistic affiliation can also serve to legitimize forms of social inequality and social difference through the value attributed to individuals' linguistic skills (Baumann and Briggs 2003; Bourdieu 1982). Whoever speaks a language other than the legitimate and authoritative language of the nation automatically proves

themselves incapable of thinking and reasoning and, consequently, is denied access to prestigious political and economic milieus and positions (Bourdieu 1977).

While every nation-state naturally has its own particular history and conditionalities, what the European nation-states apparently share is that their authorization relies as heavily on Herder's authenticity as it does on Locke's reason (Baumann and Briggs 2003; Gal 2011). As a result, instead of emphasizing the dichotomy of *ethnic* and *civic* nation-states (as scholars of nationalism have done for decades, see for example Smith 2000), the focus should be shifted to an examination of the nation-state as equally the product of tension between and reconciliation of these ideologies (Gal 2009). The nation-state indeed emerges as the resultant of ideological struggles between, on the one hand, champions of a political entity drawing on the principle of tradition and heritage and, on the other hand, partisans of a state resulting from an enlightened ideology of a viable polity made possible by a shared language. Two ostensibly variant motivations formed an alliance in the name of modernity and progress (see also Heller 2011).

Language, apart from its regulative role in leading to access to resources, is performative on a second level, as Bourdieu (1982) explains with his concept of "symbolic domination." Indeed, language imposes on the group it addresses a unique vision of its own identity as well as a unique vision of the world, of how it is and should ideally be structured. Based on this argument, Bourdieu argues that a nationalist project is always connected to the imposition of a certain worldview with its adherent values, yet also linked (see Billig 1995) to a certain discursive celebration of national symbols. National symbols include anthems, myths, and traditions in literature, narratives, and chants that are produced, legitimized, and even inculcated in the minds of the individuals through the medium of centralized school systems, cultural institutions, and folkloristic associations, as well as in print industries and job-markets (Anderson 1983; Billig 1995). The persuasive force of this discourse is inherently so powerful that often the oppressed themselves do not question or resist the structures or forces stigmatizing, oppressing, and devalorizing them. (See Gramsci's work on hegemony (1971) and Foucault's work on knowledge (1969) and on self-techniques (1993) for a theorization of how discourses exert power on individuals).

Now, because the ideologies of language and the nation discussed here draw heavily on homogeneity as the conditionality for a viable polity, one could logically assume that the story on the role of language for the modern nation-state told in this section does not apply in the case of the Swiss nation-state, which defines itself as multilingual. In the following section, however, I shed light on how the ideologies of language at the base of the European nation-state have also acted powerfully at the core of the political project represented by the foundation of the Swiss nation-state.

Switzerland: A "Sonderfall" [Exception]?

Switzerland has traditionally been constructed by (conservative) political actors (see for example Eidgenössisches Departement des Innern 1989), national associations (Altenweger 1981), and by part of the academic community (Coulmas 1991; Rossinelli 1992; Widmer et al. 2004) as a "Sonderfall" [Exception] in the spectrum of the European nation-states. This small country has been cast as a model of peaceful co-existence of multiple ethnicities within a single national territory (see for example Camartin 1982; Haas 2010; Kriesi et al. 1996; Schläpfer 1982). More particularly, it is claimed that, rather than the political and cultural uniformity normally believed to hold the ideal nation-state together, since the country's foundation in 1848 (and at the very latest since the revision of 1848 federal constitution in the mid 1870s), the main unifying feature of the Swiss state is entextualized in the formula "Unity in Diversity," or the willingness to be united through respect for regional linguistic, cultural and religious differences (Fleiner and Hertig 2010). In political and administrative terms, this formula is transposed into the principles of federalism since it reproduces the idea that sovereignty in the (political) decision-making process is delegated to lowest level of the state body, in this case: to the cantons (Vatter et al. 2008). Then, culturally and linguistically, the formula reflects the principle of national multilingualism by postulating that German, French, and Italian are the official national languages of the country (Rumantsch has been a semi-official national language of Switzerland since 1996) and by guaranteeing federal protection and maintenance of the cantons' linguistic differences and autonomy (Maissen 2010). Finally, "Unity in Diversity" is seen in the principle of linguistic territoriality, which attributes sovereignty in matters concerning cultural and linguistic regulation to the individual cantons (Achermann and Künzli 2012; Maissen 2010; Viletta 1978; Watts 1991).

Now, the question emerges as to why Switzerland invests in federalism and multilingualism as key features of national identification? Does this represent a break with the European model of the ideal nation-state?

In order to answer this question, to is necessary to put forward an (admittedly) brief recapitulation of the history of Switzerland's nation-state. (For an extensive account on Switzerland's history see Bergier 1984; Maissen 2010; Reinhardt 2011.) From a historical point of view, and in terms of the political and economic conditionalities of the emergence of the Swiss state, there actually appears to be strong continuity between what happened in Switzerland and what can be observed in other places in Europe (Hobsbawm 1990). The territory that today is part of the Swiss state was historically split into a number of small independent mini-states that for many centuries were politically allied by treaties and other legacies. (This alliance explains why historians often speak about a "Staatenbund" [Federation of States] when characterizing the political situation in Switzerland before 1798.) By forming a sort of interest group, these mini-states created the conditions for a more effective circulation of goods, individuals, and capital across these political entities, while at

the same time laying the basis for military pacts against foreign powers (see Maissen 2010; Sablonier 2008). Despite these alliances, historians (see for example Reinhardt 2011) have shown that the political coexistence of these independent states was not only peaceful, but also fraught with political strife, economic embargos, military conflicts, and even military occupation. The occupation of the French-speaking Vaudois and Fribourgois territories by the German speaking Bernese until the beginning of the 19th century is a conflict that even today is discernable in political and popular discourse (also see Watts 1988, 1999).

Since Napoleon's military campaign of 1800, and especially after 1813 and attacks by other foreign powers, the political project of a liberal Swiss nation-state (drawing on a Lockean ideology of liberal and egalitarian polities, see Bauman and Briggs 2000) experience accelerated. This was predominantly due to Napoleon's interests in assuring political stability in a geographic area connecting Northern and Southern Europe and, therefore, of strategic political, military, and economic importance. The movement toward forming a nation-state was sustained by the revolutionary progressive ideals circulating in Switzerland at the time; these principles were welcomed by circles that considered themselves victims of the old feudal political structures that had thus far governed the federation of mini-states. In the nationalist movements in the aftermath of the French revolution, these particular groups also recognized a means to challenge the established relations of domination (Maissen 2010). After 1830, the increased pace toward creating a nation was also due to liberal circles (mostly young, protestant men from the urban intellectual and economic upper bourgeoisie) attaining power in Switzerland. The political positions and responsibilities they held in the cantons aided these groups in pushing forward the political project of a unified Switzerland; they naturally had a vested interest in creating the conditions required for a stable market capable of providing the necessary demand for the increased supply of commodities brought about by the newly industrialized Swiss economy (Bergier 1983; Humair 2009; Maissen 2010).

In this specific political-economic situation between 1798–1848, and in the face of constant political transformations both in terms of political alliances and governmental forms regimenting the alliances and social relations in what is today Switzerland, historians (Bonjour 1973; Maissen 2010; Reinhardt 2011) have observed one strong constant: namely tension and struggle between the conservative political circles championing the reproduction of the political status quo (i.e. the "Staatenbund" [federation of states]) – with its feudal structures that guaranteed continued local political and economic sovereignty to the local elites – and liberal circles advocating the establishment of a centralized federal state ("Bundesstaat" [federal state]).

It is in this context that federalism (and its linguistic implications) emerged as key site for political investment, thus creating the conditions for a consensus between the liberal and conservative circles. This was possible because federalism assured political sovereignty and the reproduction of the social and political order to the cantons, which were equivalent to

the former mini-states. Equally, a federal state, as was argued, also enabled the local communities to maintain their own linguistic and cultural identity, and created the political conditions to protect this diversity from foreign powers (Maissen 2010). At the same time, it was also assumed that such a federal state would provide the framework for a unified and stable national market, thus assuring economic progress (Bonjour 1973). For several decades, the conservative powers had resisted the federal model championed by the liberals, a stance that resulted in a (short) civil war in the mid-1840s that was won in 1847 by the liberal forces; in 1848 the liberal nation-state Switzerland was instituted – and imposed on the conservative cantons.

Now, despite the construction of federalism as unifying feature of the Swiss nation-state, categorizing the Swiss model as an exception seems inappropriate. First, the ideology of multilingual Switzerland reproduces a Herderian ideology of language as an expression of the tradition, heritage, and authenticity of a given people; despite national multilingualism, the sovereign cantons were (and still are) officially monolingual and have put in place and/or financially sustain a governmental (cantonal constitutions, language concepts and policies, integration and migration policies) and cultural apparatus (obligatory school systems, print industry, cultural centers and institutes such as playhouses, cinemas, and literary centers) assuring the protection and reproduction of the local linguistic order and relations of power and domination sustained by this order (Watts 1988, 1991). There are four exceptions to the rule of cantonal monolingualism: The cantons of Bern, Fribourg, Grisons, and Valais are multilingual, but – always according the principle of territoriality and in line with the Herderian ideologies of language and culture – these multilingual cantons are organized in monolingual municipalities. In the rare cases of multilingual municipalities, such as Biel/Bienne or Fribourg, these again are divided into monolingual districts.

The second reason to refute the idea of Switzerland as an exceptional case concerns Locke's theories on language. The Swiss model also reproduces the Lockean ideology of language at the center of the nationalist project in several European states: While the federal state is effectively multilingual, this in no way suggests that there is no centripetal force on the federal level. Quite to the contrary, in order to create the conditions for a transparent political exchange, the federal state has resorted to investing heavily in translation within the Federal Administration, in both chambers of the national parliament, and in governmental spaces more generally. Here it is important to note that translations are restricted to the standardized varieties of the national languages; other languages, such as the languages of migrants, have no legal status on the federal level, and least of all on the cantonal level (see Achermann and Künzli 2012). Furthermore, the federal authorities engage energetically in the reproduction of the ideology of the multilingual Swiss speaker (here again, by multilingualism, the four national standard languages are meant) as a means to assure intelligibility between the several nationally legitimatized linguistic communities in

Switzerland and to create and assure a sense of nationality among the Swiss citizens (Duchêne and Del Percio 2014).

The ideology of multilingualism and of Switzerland's "Sonderfall" [Exception] has circulated over time and has been consistently reactivated by cultural and political actors in the past 150 years during times of political crises. We find examples during World War I when the bulk of the German-speaking community expressed their sympathies for the German Empire, while the French and Italian speaking communities voiced support for the Allies (Watts 1999), or during World War II, when Switzerland was in danger of being occupied by the neighboring powers. On these occasions, Switzerland's multilingual character was repeatedly invoked in different public speeches by the federal government in order to reinforce the sense of national cohesion among the German-speaking and the French-speaking community and legitimize political borders (Sarasin 2003). The ideology of multilingualism is also reactivated when the balance of representation of the linguistic communities within the bodies of the state shifts in favor of one linguistic community (Kübler 2009, 2010), or when one canton opts to teach schoolchildren a non-national language such as English or Spanish (Stauffer 2001; Watts 1999; Watts and Murray 2001). The ideology of multilingualism is also inculcated in the case of Rumantsch, the fourth national language, whose apparent endangerment has led to pledges to guarantee national multilingualism and cultural diversity (Billigmeier 1979, 1983; Coray 2010; Watts 1999; Widmer et al. 2004).

In this dissertation, I reflect on the role of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity for the Swiss nation-state under late capitalism, and put forward a discussion on how the ideologies of the Swiss nation discussed in this section are appropriated, mobilized, and transformed under current political-economic conditions. This discussion highlights the interests and logics governing current investment in national diversity on the terrain of the regimentation of the promotion of Switzerland abroad. By doing so, I aim to generate knowledge about who wins and who loses from the fact that national diversity continuous to be invested in, and, finally, what this reconceptualization of national diversity as a promotional feature implies for the form it takes: For what is considered to be the nature and the value of national diversity in the late capitalist era.

Language and the nation-state in the late capitalistic era

While late capitalism still reinvents language and culture for the purpose of legitimizing inequality between natives and foreigners (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Wodak et al. 2009), to legitimatize national borders (or to establish new ones), current political-economic transformations characterized by the saturation of the national markets, the consequent transnational expansion of capitalism, and the tertiarization, flexibilization and technologization of the economy (Appadurai 1996; Harvey 2005) have added a new dimension to governmental investment in national language and culture (Duchêne and Heller

2012). In a context where capital, products, individuals, and semiotic resources circulate freely across borders of national economies, and where neither production nor consumption is restricted to specific national locations, but changes according to the demands of the markets, a new form of a transnational market emerges, bringing states into competition for access to the labor force, foreign capital, tourists, and other primary resources of economic wealth. Under such conditions, the competitiveness of a nation depends on its global distinctiveness, indeed on its sexiness as a place of economic investment and exchange, or of touristic consumption and experience. Success is also contingent on a nation's appeal in terms of quality of life and work conditions (Duchêne & Del Percio 2014; Harvey 2005).

These politico-economic transformations have had a clear impact on the ideologies and practices of language and culture, on how social difference is negotiated, and on how relations of power are constructed and legitimized (Canut and Duchêne 2011; Heller 2011; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013). To begin, language and culture can now be constructed as a marketing argument by national and local governments as well as by enterprises (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). In this regard, cultural resources are seen as distinguishing features (in a Bourdieusian sense 1982) or as a form of added value that makes the promoted object (for example, a touristic destination, a business location, or a cultural product) unique by transforming it into something prestigious, desirable, and highly valued on the market (Duchêne 2009 a, b; Duchêne and Piller 2011; Heller 2003, 2010; Kelly-Holmes, Pietikäinen, and Moriarty 2011; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011). Language is mobilized and marketed as a form of authenticity in that it is constructed as a phenomenon related and belonging to a place (or to a nation), to a people, their heritage, and their identities (Canut and Duchêne 2011, Del Percio and Duchêne 2011, Duchêne 2009a,b; Duchêne and Del Percio 2014, Duchêne and Heller 2007, 2012, Flubacher and Duchêne 2012; Hall 1995; Pietikäinen 2013; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013). Seen in this light, language as symbolic capital is subjected to institutional regulations, scripting, and at the same time flexibilization, thereby enabling corporate actors (businesses, but also state officials) to take advantage of this unique symbolic capital and to turn it into monetary capital (Appadurai 1996; Cameron 1995, 2000a, b; Duchêne 2009a, b; Duchêne 2011).

Consequently, in late capitalism, the idea of language as an entire system bonding a population and legitimizing ethnic communities, nations, and minority movements coexists with the idea of language as a set of circulating and complex communicative resources that enter into economic logics and that can be commoditized (Duchêne & Heller 2012). If the commodification of language in a marketing discourse geared toward the international promotion of a nation differs from the nationalist discourses described by Hobsbawm (1990) in terms of their addressees and their political-economic motivation, the logics, functioning, and social consequentiality of both discourses are similar: While nation-branding discourses are produced to strategically position the nation in the global markets, modernist discourses

on national language and culture generally address the domestic public in the legitimization of the nation-state and, in doing so, also address rival nations to protect national borders

More particularly, scholars have used on critical theory to demonstrate that nation branding is never neutral, but rather ideologically charged and, in conformity with modern nationalism, impacts how nations are imagined and relations of domination are legitimized (Duchêne and Del Percio 2014; Kaneva 2012). These conditions also lead to the conclusion that both types of discourse on the nation draw on the same Herderian ideology of language as an index of local authenticity, heritage, and tradition (Gal 2009; Gal and Irvine 2000; Gal and Woolard 1995).

Furthermore, both discourse types are similar in the way they operate as instruments of power. First, modern nationalism and nation-branding practices are both produced by authoritative power institutions (by governments or marketing agencies mandated, and as such legitimatized, by state actors), thus defining through these discourses the limits of how the nation can be imagined (Foucault 1969). Second, both discourses obfuscate the possibility of alternative national histories (Roy 2007). Third, from a Bourdieusian perspective, both discourse types are produced by actors who have specific interests and positions (Bourdieu 1982). As such, these discourses represent both the result and the condition of a Bourdieusian market, and they affect processes of societal structuration and, consequently, influence the (de)capitalization of individuals.

Finally, both discourse types are ideological by nature in that they deny their inherent political significance along with the tensions and struggles reproduced through the promotional feature of the branded nation. At the same time, they also neutralize their ideological motivation.

Now, the analysis of the promotional investment in national multilingualism and cultural diversity put forward in this dissertation can be situated in the research tradition discussed here, with a focus on studying the commodification of language and culture in late capitalism. In doing so, my particular attention is directed at the logics and interests that transform this key object of national pride into a marketing feature in the government's debate on regimenting the promotion of Switzerland abroad. I am also interested in the value attributed to national diversity in these specific debates, as well as in the ways and conditions under which the modern ideologies of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity discussed in the previous section are reactivated in the discourses. In this regard, I hope to shed light on if and how transformations in the political economy influence what is considered to be Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity by determining which languages and culture are considered to be properly Swiss. In other words, the question arises as to how economic transformation has affected the nature of the promoted diversity and how, why and with which consequences for whom these processes transform the linguistic market and the value of language(s) in Switzerland.

I put forward the argument (this argument reemerges as a kind of leitmotif throughout the entire study, particularly in the analytical sections) that both continuities and transformations in discourse on the promotion of Switzerland as well as on diversity as a promotional argument are linked to and result from transformations of the role of the state, and that both consistency and change are inherently related to the spaces in which Switzerland and its promotion was debated in the course of the past 40 years. In order to understand how diversity emerges within the field of discourse on the promotion of Switzerland, and how its treatment transforms over time, these discourses must be analyzed as intrinsically related to their context of production and to the interests and ideologies they represent.

A Critical Approach to Language and Society

Building on critical sociolinguistic theory

My understanding of sociality and social difference generates both a historiographical and a genealogical framing of the object of my investigation, and it locates the investigated phenomena in the history of the European nation-state investment in language and culture. This approach also places my own practice of sociolinguistic inquiry in a historical continuity of sociolinguistic and anthropological research conducted at the intersection of language and society. For that reason, in order to fully explain the critical approach to language and society employed in this dissertation, it is necessary to position this approach in the history of the discipline of sociolinguistics.

This research tradition defines itself as being at odds with de Saussure's (Bally and Gautier 1916), Bloomfield's (1914), and Chomsky's (1964) approaches to language, all of which draw on concepts such as structure, language, synchrony, and competence, and which explicitly avoid any reflection and analysis of historical and social influence on language and speakers' linguistic performance. Critical sociolinguistics, by contrast, has historically focused on language as intrinsically linked to social processes, phenomena of social stratification, and hierarchies. Indeed, critical sociolinguistics is strongly inspired by and draws on three research traditions from the fields of anthropology, sociology and linguistics.

The first tradition concerned is work in social dialectology (Labov 1966) and its

examination of the correlation between features of language and social structure (social class) and the language practices of speakers. In line with Labov's work, Bernstein (2003) argued that there is a causal relationship between what he terms code and the production of social structures. While the work of variationists may be criticized as oversimplified and deterministic, their insistence on the fact that, under certain structural conditions, some codes appear to be more legitimate than others – that some codes are more useful than others to gain access to prestigious positions in society – is of great value for my work.

A second foundational tradition in critical sociolinguistics is the work produced in the field of microsociology as well as the branch of sociology pursued by scholars such as Ervin Goffman (1959; 1963), John Gumperz (1972, 1982), or Aron Cicourel (1974). These thinkers assert the necessity for understanding society as well as the phenomena of inequality and exclusion as produced and reproduced in interaction, i.e. through discourse. This position breaks with ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, and both scholars regard the process of social stratification as being conditioned by institutional frameworks and structures, while at the same time conditioning social structures. In their view, language serves to construct social reality and to sustain phenomena of social domination and inequality. In my work, taking an interactionist perspective into account enables better understanding of how, through language, Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity (as the object of discourse) are constructed as key element of national pride and of how it is instrumentalized to serve specific interests and to reproduce given hierarchies in society.

A third tradition inspired by the aforementioned microsociological approach – and that aims to go further than the somewhat deterministic conclusions of Labov's variationist studies – is the research of linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists such as Dell Hymes and linguists such as John Gumperz (1972). Their work has highlighted the need for an epistemological and methodological framework enabling research and investigation of language in its context of emergence. Arguing that language gains significance from its (spatial and social) context of production, Hymes and Gumperz proposed an ethnographic approach to communication that enables a deep understanding of how and why individuals speak as they do. Based on this anthropological approach to the production of discourse in society, I am able to present a discourse analysis that resituates its investigated discursive materiality in its institutional conditions of emergence. Stated differently, the discourse analysis I present unites how national diversity is capitalized on with where and by whom the discourse is produced, i.e. the institutional context and the interests of the individuals who invest in Swiss diversity.

The critical sociolinguist approach I propose here is strongly inspired by the aforementioned traditions. Yet – while I am in full agreement that language as well as processes of social stratification must be analyzed and investigated in their context of production, and while I am convinced that the processes of capitalization on linguistic diversity I analyze in my research must be investigated in their context of emergence and as product of interactional processes – I would like to introduce a sociolinguistic analysis that connects the observed practices with their politico-economic conditions of emergence (Bourdieu 1977; Canut and Duchêne 2011; Duchêne & Heller 2012; Gal 1979; 1989; Irvine 1989). In addition, my analysis situates the observed processes in their historical and ideological contexts (Bauman and Briggs 2003; Duchêne 2008; Duchêne & Heller 2007; Irvine 1989; Irvine and Gal 2000; Kroskrity 2000; Pavlenko 2008; Piller and Pavlenko 2007),

thus providing insight into how and why these practices and ideologies change (or not) and circulate (or not) through time and space (Briggs and Bauman 1992; Heller 2011; Silverstein 2003; Silverstein and Urban 1996). Finally, the critical sociolinguistic approach I propose here investigates how transformations in the political economy affect the value of languages and their speakers, and how these transformations produce and reproduce systems of inequality and social difference, most notably on the terrain of language and culture (Blommaert et al. 2003; Gal and Woolard 2001; Gumperz 1982; Heller 2001, 2003; Martin-Rojo 2013; Philips 2005).

Ontological positioning and conceptual implications

The analysis presented in this dissertation results from a viewpoint assuming that, while reality may be discursively constructed, it is constructed on the basis of empirically observable material and structural constraints. The implications for my research are that the emergence of linguistic and cultural diversity as added value in the discourse on the promotion of Switzerland must be conceptualized as discursive by nature. I am, however, convinced that these phenomena are not purely symbolic; instead they result from material conditions existing outside of discourse – conditions that constrain individuals' lives and actions and that lay the foundation for society and its stratification (Blommaert 1999; Heller 2009). Starting from these preliminary ontological reflections and no less inspired by them, my current research is designed and organized around three theoretical concepts: discourse, political economy, and ideology.

These three concepts determine the object of my investigation, and the clarification of these concepts allows an explication of the theoretical position for a comprehensive reflection of discourse on the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad. Despite the fact that the three concepts are presented separately, it seems evident to me that they are innately interconnected, that they presuppose one another, and are contingent on one another.

Discourse

To improve Switzerland's image in the international markets and to elevate its value internationally, the Swiss government capitalizes on national diversity by constructing it as a promotional resource. This construction of diversity as something valuable occurs through discourse. Based on a Foucaultian understanding, discourse has a double meaning. THE DISCOURSE is, first and foremost, the totality of symbolic conditions (resulting from material constraints) that make the emergence of an institutional object or a social practice possible (Foucault 1969; also see Pietikäinen and Dufva 2006). This specifically signifies the institutional, historical, and ideological conditions that make something sayable (Martin-Rojo and Pujol 2011). The second meaning conceptualizes discourse in a sociolinguistic and anthropological sense as an activity or a practice formulating social categories, organizing

cultural beliefs and ideologies, and equipping people with common cultural representations (Duranti 1997; Gal 1989; Heller 2001). These two approaches are not divergent, but presuppose and result from one another. Therefore, while THE DISCOURSE constrains institutional discourses on Switzerland and Swiss linguistic and cultural diversity by determining what is sayable about Switzerland and its diversity, these discourses have an impact on society, its organization, and stratification – and consequently on THE DISCOURSE as well. In other words discourse is both structured (i.e. constrained by rules, determinations, and ideologies) while at the same time a form of action that structures and produces society and social relations, thereby shaping the conditions of possibility for other actions (Blommaert 2005; Bourdieu 1982; Cicourel 1974; Goffman 1959). This dual understanding of discourse stands in opposition to a semiotic understanding of the linguistic sign characterized by the significant and the signified (Bally and Gautier 1916). Instead, a dual understanding of discourse focuses on meaning that is not stable but historically contingent and that, as a consequence, must be treated as such. Indeed, language cannot be isolated from its conditions of production, but must always be recontextualized and conceived of as a social praxis (Hymes & Gumperz 1972; Foucault 1969). This is the case especially when it comes to institutional discourse. After all, institutional discourse is regulated, controlled, and facilitated by its historical conditions of possibility, by institutional ideologies, by other discourses, and by the mission and the function of the institutions in which discourse is produced (Duchêne 2008). Yet, at the same time, through their authority and power, discourses produce legitimate meaning and knowledge, while also affecting the possibilities people have to act, speak, even exist.

The purpose of my argument at this point is to elaborate on how discourses on Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity as a promotional argument emerge, how people make sense of diversity and attribute a certain value to it, and what motivates them to do so. The question that emerges is why and how discourses on the promotion of Switzerland have taken the form they have and not another. In Foucault's terms, I analyze the conditions of the discourses' existence, meaning I identify the rules and ideologies constraining (and enabling) their emergence as well as their materialization.

Political economy

The historical fact that governmental actors discursively construct Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity as both a key element of national identity and as a resource that can be exploited in late capitalism is not neutral, nor is it a natural given. It is related to specific politico-economic conditions. In my usage, the term political economy refers to the conditions under which production and consumption are organized within specific borders – local, regional, national, and, in late capitalism, increasingly global borders (Harvey 1989; 2005; 2006) – at a specific moment in history. The concept additionally includes existing relations

between the laws of economics (regulating the production, buying, and selling of commodities) on the one hand, and governmental policies regulating said economy on the other. Finally, the term political economy signifies the distribution of income and wealth resulting from these laws and measures (Woods 2000). In other words, the political economy entails the organization and distribution of material and cultural capital as well as the impact of this organization and distribution on people, their social standing, on systems of domination and inequality, on ideologies, on cultural practices, values and beliefs, and on the way languages and speakers are capitalized and/or decapitalized (Bourdieu 1977; Briggs and Bauman 2003; Canut and Duchêne 2011; Duchêne, Moyer and Roberts 2013; Gal 1979, 1989, 2011a, b; Martin-Rojo 2013; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011; Pavlenko 2002, Philips 2005; Silverstein 1979; Tabouret-Keller 2011).

Several scholars of political economy (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991) have argued that the current politico-economic order, the power relations, and the existing equilibrium between national economies, should be understood as the product of the colonial economic exploitation that took place in the preceding centuries. They further claim that the forms of inequality existing in society today (including inequality between individuals, languages, and cultures) are related to the historical shift of resources and wealth from the peripheries (territories having been colonialized in the past) to centers (states having acted as colonists). In keeping with the theories of these political economists, the social dialectological work of Labov and Bernstein as well as Gumperz (with his concept of speech community) laid the basis for a sociolinguistic analysis of the political economy that presupposes a strong correlation between speakers' positions in social structures and ways of speaking.

In my view, however, this understanding of the historical emergence of systems of inequality and of structures of distribution of resources appears too static and too deterministic to make sense of the generally much more variable and complex processes of capitalization and decapitalization of languages and individual speakers that can be observed in the here and now (see Gal 1989; Irvine 1989; Philips 2005; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013 for a critical discussion of such approaches).

This is why the discussion of the promotional investment put forward in this dissertation strongly draws on Bourdieu's concept of the linguistic market, a concept aiming to transpose the concept of the political economy onto the terrain of language (1977). Bourdieu argues that languages and their speakers are not neutral; rather, they are positioned in a linguistic market, i.e. a political economy (Bourdieu 1982) that assigns them a price and a value and – when occurring in a given moment and at a specific place – results in the situation that a given language and its speakers are considered more legitimate than another/than others. In his theorization of language, he states that the political economy, especially the economic and social conditions resulting from it, is the basic source of inequality among speakers and their languages. Bourdieu (1977) proposes a rethinking of the linguistic concepts

of *grammaticalness*, *'the' language*, *relations of communication*, *meaning of speech*, or *competence* and replace them with sociological terms such as *acceptability*, *legitimate language*, *relations of power*, *value and power of speech*, *symbolic capital*. This nomenclature leads to a repositioning of linguistic processes in the social world and the relations of power that structure societies. In other words, Bourdieu maintains that the relationship between speaker and hearer is not only a pragmatic relationship. Instead, he holds that this exchange is an economic one, and that it emerges in the context of power relations resulting from material politico-economic conditions existing between a speaker possessing social capital and an addressed market harboring certain expectations. Language in Bourdieu's view is not composed of socially decontextualized (Saussurian) signs; language and the way a speaker speaks is not socially neutral, but must be understood as a capital that is continually evaluated and reevaluated, capitalized and decapitalized (Martin-Rojo 2013). Last but not least, language itself creates forms of inequality and social stratification (Bourdieu 1977). Nevertheless, the linguistic market cannot be interpreted as fixed or permanent. Instead, it is produced by individuals and sustained by the specific interests of social groups, classes, and communities. The value of language and its speakers varies, too.

Now, while Bourdieu's theory of the linguistic market seems to be a powerful tool to address processes of capitalization and decapitalization (Martin-Rojo 2013), the question remains open as to how these theoretical considerations regarding the formation of languages' and speakers' value materialize and become accessible and identifiable in the here and now. In this regard, scholars in critical sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have criticized the model of the linguistic markets as insufficient for explaining the processual side of the valuation processes of speakers and their language, and inadequate for describing the mechanism and logics (and also institutions, practices, and values) that sustain and govern the establishment and reproduction of such linguistic markets over time and space (Gal 1989, 2011, 2012; Irvine 1989). Furthermore, while the forces exerted by economic structures constrain individuals' possibilities in society, the affected people do not appear to be fully restrained by the structures of the political economy. Rather, they seem to aim for legitimacy – with varying success – to adapt to the given conditions and to pursue their interests and aims, often through new ways of speaking. (See Heller 2002, 2011; Gal 1979; Gal 2011, 2012; Philips 2005; Silverstein 1979; Vigouroux 2013). Based on these insights, in the next section I argue with Gal (1989) and Irvine (1989) that political economies are mainly produced through and sustained by cultural hegemonies, that they are the product of individuals or groups of individuals with specific interests and ideologies who use these structures to maintain and reproduce their interests in their society's systems of domination (see as well Duchêne & Heller 2007).

Ideology

The different forms of capitalization on Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity

discussed in this dissertation must be analyzed in relation to ideologies of language and the state that mediate the political and economic interests behind this capitalization within the borders of the Swiss Federal Administration during late capitalism. In doing so, I draw strongly on Gal's definition of ideology stating that "Ideology is [...] defined not as a neutral system of ideas, but rather as the way in which meaning, and thus language, serves to sustain relations of domination." (Gal 1989). This definition of ideology is, of course, closely related to Irvine's (1989) conceptualization of ideology as a "cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." As such, within the framework of valuation processes of language and speakers, ideologies are considered to mediate between the interests and standings within a political economy, thereby producing the valuation practice through discourse and the discursive valuation practices themselves (Gal 2006). While, in this context, both Gal and Irvine stress that ideologies and cultural systems are *mediating* factors between the political economy and discursive practices, they also contend that ideologies resulting from a given political economy secure the existence and reproduction of hegemonic systems of domination. Because ideologies reproduce the privileges of the ruling elite in society and, with these, the existing relations of domination, Irvine and Gal (2000) argue that an additional important characteristic of ideologies is that they obfuscate their political motivation, giving the impression that the existing cultural hegemony is, in fact, natural (see as well Irvine 1989; Woolard & Gal 1995). According to Irvine and Gal, such neutralization is realized through three interrelated semiotic processes: iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity. *Iconization* is the process that accords a specific identity to a specific object (e.g. the nation, a people, a linguistic community) and marks this link as necessary, consequential, and natural; the process of *erasure* removes any centrifugal, heterogeneous, and diverse aspects of this identity and consequently neutralizes the political implication of the hegemonization of a given identity; finally, the process of *fractal recursivity* projects the iconic relation between e.g. the nation and its identity onto other levels of the nation (e.g. its citizens).

It follows that the investigation of ideologies leads to an understanding of the interests determining the production and debate of discourses on the promotion of Switzerland.

Drawing on these considerations for the investigation of discourse on Switzerland and the promotion of Switzerland, and in order to understand the interest that enables their emergence as an institutional object, I propose an approach to ideologies as representational and collective, structured and structuring, and discursive; they should be seen as the result of power relations, dominance, and political interests (Duchêne 2008). Concretely, I argue that within an institution such as the Swiss Federal Administration, several (often diverging and contrasting) ideologies of the state, of the nation, and of language itself play a fundamental role in the production of discourse on Switzerland and its promotion.

My research aims to shed light on how these aspects affect the production of discourse on Switzerland and Swiss diversity. I further aim to identify how these ideologies tend to (re)produce the linguistic market and the systems of domination sustaining this market.

To operationalize the concept of ideology, to highlight its complexity, and to explain how and why it is pertinent for my research object, I propose the following definition of the ideology of the state: Ideology of the state refers to all ideas produced by the state in order to legitimize its regulating, disciplining, and oppressing practices (Harvey 2005). In addition, ideology of state is related to the knowledge that actors within the Swiss Federal Administration have about the nation, its frontiers, and ethnicities (which it regroups), as well as about its position in the global order (Billig 1995).

The second relevant ideologies are language ideologies conceived of as "a complex field of ideas about language [...] in relation to political, economic, and institutional interests" (Duchêne 2008). Regarding the previously raised questions, ideologies of language become pertinent on three levels: First, as politically informed beliefs associating languages with a nation and legitimizing linguistic communities (Duchêne & Heller 2007; Gal 2009; Heller 2011; Irvine and Gal 2000; Laihiala and Pietikäinen 2010; Pavlenko 2001; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2002; Silverstein 2000); second, as assumptions both resulting from and reproducing the logics of the linguistic market that create a hierarchy of languages and their speakers, consequently enabling and reproducing systems of domination (Baumann and Briggs 2003; Bourdieu 1982; Irvine 1989); third, as rules regulating, structuring, and scripting the institutional communication practices of promotion (Cameron 2000a,b; Duchêne 2009a, b).

The professionalization of Switzerland's organizational promotion implies the emergence of a series of measures regimenting the communication of the discursive promotion of Switzerland as well as the emergence of diversity as a promotional argument. Both are affected by language ideologies that are very worthy of investigation. An approach using the concept of ideology facilitates an understanding of why discourses on Switzerland are produced and why discourses on Switzerland take the form they take (and not another), while also providing insight into the interests and the domination systems that are reproduced. Furthermore, this approach allows production of knowledge to be situated in a very specific institutional, political, and historical context in Switzerland, thereby revealing how individual actors talk about diversity, who profits, and who loses from what is said.

I believe it is critical to state that ideologies are neither absolute nor stable. They result from material conditions and are stabilized, reproduced, or contested through discourse. This instability, of course, also results from the fact that the discourses under investigation need to be conceptualized as sites of ideological struggle (Blommaert 1999), meaning they must be understood as terrain where diverging ideologies of Switzerland, of the Swiss state,

its past, and its diversity become manifest and clash. The analytical challenge is to identify the manifestation of such ideologies, to understand the interests and positions these ideologies mediate and then to understand how it happens that (and with which consequences for whom), at a specific place at a given moment time, one set of assumptions, i.e. one ideology, takes precedence at the expense of others.

The analysis of the instability or fragility of ideology and its relationship to transformation in discourse on Switzerland's diversity and its promotion is at the heart of my research interest. I argue that the transformation of the political economy experienced under late capitalism affects (sometimes in terms of continuity and reproduction, sometimes in terms of rupture and transformation) dominant and dominating ideologies of the character of the Swiss and of the country's diversity. This, in turn, has consequences for discourses on the role of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity in relation to national identity – discourses that significantly influence practices of how Switzerland is promoted.

The Textual Materiality of Switzerland's Promotion

Questioning the structural, material, and symbolic conditions of the state's discourses on the promotion of Switzerland's image aboard – situating the capitalization of Switzerland's linguistic and cultural diversity in a historical order of governmental discourses on national diversity – necessitates a critical discussion of the data on which my analysis draws, as the data represent the conditionality of the knowledge I produce in my work. This particular interest for the materiality and status of my data is due to the fact that the collected data is neither neutral nor transparent. While (in line with constructivist logic) the data are clearly the product of a choice (which is mine) and are determined by my aims, by my research questions, and by my ontological and epistemological standpoint, as well as by the way I – as a sociolinguist – construct and delimit my field and object of investigation, their institutional status and quality influences what the data enable me to say about Switzerland's capitalization on national linguistic diversity.

I work with two types of materiality that have emerged in the context of three discursive events within Swiss Federal Administration, as presented in the introductory section. The first type are selected institutional documents collected while performing systematic research in the Swiss Federal Archive. In addition, I include promotional material collected more informally, for example, materials made available by former and current employees of the Swiss Federal Administration. All these documents have in some regard pertinence and relevance in the debates, discussions, and deliberations regarding the three events under investigation.

The second type of materials include interviews conducted with actors who have participated in the discourses on the promotion of Switzerland abroad, as well as interviews with actors affected by these discourses in their work for organizations promoting Switzerland

abroad. These materials contribute greatly to the quality of my work as they generate additional knowledge of my topic and the data collected, thereby leading to a more complete understanding of how the promotion of Switzerland is planned and organized.

In the following, I first present the multiplicity and heterogeneity of data used. This involves a brief reflection on the interviews, followed by an extensive reflection on the institutional status of the selected texts and on why such textual data are important for an understanding of the type of processes I am interested in (as a reminder: The disproportionate discussion of the two data types used is related to the fact that institutional texts represent the primary materiality of my investigation. The interviews have only a marginal status in my analysis.) Afterwards, I put forward a description of the process my data collection of institutional texts and reflect on how the logics and functioning of the Swiss Federal Archives have influenced the data collection process.

Working with semi-structured interviews

As mentioned above, I conducted several interviews for my analysis. These interviews have the form of semi-structured interviews and are extensive conversations (sometimes lasting several hours) with individuals who were involved in the promotion of Switzerland. For some interviews I was given the right to record our conversations (enabling me to draw on audio material) and for others not (forcing me to rely on my field notes). There are two basic types of conversations used in my research.

First, I conducted project-relevant conversations with actors involved in the promotion of Switzerland abroad. These conversations provide insight into what it means to promote Switzerland, which actors and interests are involved in this promotion, and how the governmental debates are perceived by individuals who did not directly participate in the actual debates, but who are concerned with and affected by these in their daily work.

In addition, I held conversations with actors who themselves are implicated in the events I am interested in. This data generated knowledge of how these persons reconstruct the current and the historical process, of how they contextualize and make sense of these processes, and, most interesting, of their assessment of the role of language and culture.

These conversations are analyzed as practices of historification (Duchêne 2009) as well as of decontextualization and entextualization (Silverstein and Urban 1996) of the processes and phenomena under investigation. When doing so, it is important to consider that these practices permit a reconstruction of the history of the process of creating discourse, but that this reconstruction is not neutral; instead, it is a reconstruction belonging to the individuals I speak with. We must not forget that the people I interviewed were all actively part of the processes; they had at that time, and still have today, an interest in the subject. They also represent specific ideologies, which they defend and which become manifest in their speech. By focusing and analyzing their positions and by comparing these positions with

the knowledge gained through analysis of the institutional documents, I win a more nuanced and multilayered understanding of how and why Swiss linguistic diversity is invested in as it is in the promotional discourses on Switzerland.

Reflecting on the status of institutional documents

The discursive processes I describe, explain, and interpret materialized as a set of institutional documents. A first example of the documents are textual data produced by the *Commission de coordination pour la présence de la Suisse à l'étranger* [Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad, COCO] and by the organization *Presence Switzerland* (the two spaces in which the suprasectorial promotion of Switzerland have taken place since 1975). This data consists of brochures, reports, and business plans, as well as annual and business reports in which the *Commission de coordination pour la présence de la Suisse à l'étranger* [Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad, COCO] and *Presence Switzerland* give an account of their business activities. There is also promotional material, such as brochures, flyers, books, websites, presentations, and speeches, through which both agencies promote Switzerland. In the process of collecting data, these texts materialized in the specific governmental spaces in which they were used as examples, as exemplifications, or as traces revealing how the promotion of Switzerland is carried out. I treat this data as a form of legitimizing and accounting discourse on the promotional and coordinative activities of the two promotional organizations.

The second group of documents is comprised of institutional documents from several governmental task forces mandated to work on the revision and adaptation of the suprasectorial federal promotion of Switzerland. This data can be grouped into the following four categories: A) So-called "zusammenfassende Protokolle" [summarized minutes] which reproduce the chronological order of the votes of the meeting, but which render these votes summarily rather than literally; B) Memoranda on decisions with a summary of the central decisions taken during the meetings. While some commissions produced the "zusammenfassender Protokoll" others produced the memorandums. In either case, there is a physical trace of the discussions and decisions for every meeting; C) A series of expert opinions i.e. reports and accounts which were collected by the task force and the parliamentarian commissions in order to produce knowledge about the way Switzerland is promoted, including knowledge about the way key political, academic, or economic actors imagined the promotion of Switzerland; D) Finally, I collected business plans (drafts and final versions) for the promotion of Switzerland. In the plans, practical examples of promotion are exemplified, and several drafts of the federal acts that were submitted to parliament are included.

The third type of documentation I work with is the official and public documentation (federal acts, messages, business plans, and similar documents) that is

generated in the context of the parliamentarian debates. I was also granted access to the minutes of the parliamentarian assembly in which the promotion of the Switzerland is debated. In contrast to the "analytische Protokolle" and the memorandums emerging in the committees and subcommittees, these minutes reproduce the integral interventions of the parliamentarians' speeches.

Finally, I collected a series of regulative documentation or "boss texts" (to use Dorothy Smith's term). These include guidelines, regulations, policies, templates, manuals, and other documents that regulate the production of texts within the Swiss Federal Administration and govern the production of knowledge on Switzerland and its promotion within the spaces that are the subject of my research.

This heterogeneity of textual data emerging from the various spaces treating the promotion of Switzerland is pertinent insofar as it represents the textual materialization of the discourse types I want to analyze (I come back to this aspect in *Chapter 2*). Furthermore, the textual data selected are analyzed and understood as the product of an interactional process. On the one hand, these documents are the product of a co-construction involving several actors who work in the Swiss Federal Administration. On the other hand, these documents were collected and chosen by me personally as a researcher, which gives them pertinence and legitimacy, and positions them in a network of other texts. As a result, I consider these texts as part of an institutional process and action that is further constrained by other actions and that has consequences for future actions (Smith 2005, 1987).

Reflections on the pertinence of textual data

In what follows, I discuss the pertinence of a discursive analysis of institutional processes that draw mainly on textual data. More particularly, I reflect on what the possibilities and limits of these institutional texts are in terms of what the textual data enable me to say about my object of investigation. In the upcoming argument, I start from the position of several anthropologists of the institution (Abèles 1990; Bellier and Wilson 2000; Duchêne 2004, 2008; Smith 2005), ethnomethodologists (Cicourel 1974) and discourse analysts (Maingueneau 1999) who argue that texts are a key element of the existence, logics, and functioning of institutions. Despite the different scholastic, ontological, and epistemological backgrounds of these scholars, and while their analytical interests may differ, what they have in common is an understanding of texts as key elements in the everyday work activities in bureaucratic institutions. Researching institutional texts and institutionalized processes of entextualization more generally means consequently having access to the logics and ideologies of such bureaucratic institution and on the way these institutions think (Douglas 1986) and act (Bellier 2005). More particularly, scholars have identified three major (interconnected) approaches on the role of texts in bureaucratic institutions.

First, texts – in their role as key objects of discursive materialization – coordinate,

regulate, and structure people's subjective opinions and activities in social life. This also applies to bureaucratic institutions (such as the Swiss Federal Administration), in which texts are both practices organizing the everyday work activities of the institution and its actors, but at the same time are also regulated by other superordinate texts. Here we can point to the theory of Smith (2005), which conceptualizes texts as part of a chain of action, i.e. that these are constrained by preexisting texts and determine new texts (for a discussion of these processes of intertextuality see Bakhtin 1981; Briggs and Bauman 1992; Gal 2008; Silverstein and Urban 1996). Moreover, since texts belong to a web of texts, they intertextually join organizational spaces (including the individuals who working in these spaces, who are represented by these spaces, or who are affected by these spaces) with other organizational spaces, and link institutions with other institutions (Smith 2005). Thus, from an analytical perspective, the focus on texts grants access to the operations and processes within the investigated organization and to its ideologies and needs. Further, an understanding of the intertextuality and of the circulation of texts through institutions and beyond them allows and investigation of the hierarchies between institutional spaces, their interconnections with other institutions, and the power relations among them.

Second, an analysis of texts reveals how bureaucratic institutions constitute themselves as an institution. In a Goffmanian sense (1959), through texts, we gain access to the staging of the institution's identity and to the institutions' communicated "self." Seen in this light, texts are a kind of showcase that makes institutions visible at the forefront and accounts for their activities and practices. This goes as well for a governmental institution such as the Swiss Federal Administration that constructs itself as one of the major liberal nation-states in world and that, consequently, is committed to making all activities and decision-making practices transparent based on the *Principle of Transparency,* which guarantees all Swiss citizens access to documents produced within the Federal Administration (see *Federal Act on Freedom of Information in the Administration* 2006).

Third, texts are invested in by bureaucratic institutions to produce authoritative knowledge through expertise, statistics, reports, evaluations, and other officially sanctioned actions (Foucault 1994; Duchêne 2008; Tabouret-Keller 2011). Consequently, they can be conceptualized as authoritative instruments of power, securing states and other power institutions the ability to control, discipline, regiment, and regulate their citizens (see Foucault 1982, but also, among others, Philips 1998 and Smith 2005 on how authoritative knowledge impacts the self). This aspect of text, of course closely correlates with the idea of the text as part of a chain of action; texts gain their authority through other, superordinated texts (as Smith 2005 would say), lending them and their producers a particularly powerful and legitimate voice, and transforming them into performative practices that affect the social order and people's lives. Thus, a critical analysis of institutional texts (in terms of their production, circulation, and consumption) ensures access to processes of knowledge construction,

attribution, and performance of expertise as well as of domination and control. It also helps us to better understand how bureaucratic institutions participate in governing individuals and their subjectivities.

In short, given their particular role in the functioning and existence of bureaucratic institutions, and in the authoritative knowledge that these entities produce, institutional texts are far from being neutral semiotic resources; they are fundamentally political and ideological in the sense that they form the object of ideological investment, tension, and struggle, and are subjected to institutional control in terms of their production, distribution, and consumption. As demonstrated in the next sections, the political and ideological nature of these texts not only has consequences on the way I treat and analyze them as materiality of the discursive processes under investigation. It also affects the way the Swiss Federal Administration controlled my access to these texts. As such, it is necessary to reflect on how the operations at the Swiss Federal Archives (where the institutional documents I am interested in are located) impact the type of data I was granted access to. The several steps and milestones that characterized the data collection process are presented in the following section.

Collecting data: The Archives, an institution of power

The institutional texts under investigation were made accessible by the Swiss Federal Administration. The Federal Administration has established a complex system of document storage, which includes two web-based databases that store legal texts, dispatches, and parliamentarian minutes (http://www.parlament.ch/ab/frameset/d/index and www.parlament.ch/d/suche/seiten/curia-vista.aspx). In addition, the federal authorities rely on the Federal Archives, which in their own terms "appraise, secure, describe, and provide access to Archives-worthy records of the Swiss Confederation" (Swiss Federal Archives: http://www.bar.admin.ch/org/00447/index.html?lang=en 26.04.2013). While the two web-based databases are freely accessible and can (and are) as such easily used as a source of historiographical data for the investigation of past phenomena and processes, these databases only provide access to already compiled discursive products giving accounts on political decisions; there is little information about the discursive processes leading to these products. Thus, while – in line with Foucault's theorization of discourse – I am not interested in some hidden truth, I chose to focus my main data generation process in the Federal Archives where I expected to discover more processual data. My hope was that this kind of data would enable a more nuanced understanding of the complex events and processes under investigation. But, while the Archives effectively gave me access to a diversity of documents making the debates on the promotion of Switzerland abroad more accessible, I realized that the Archives as an institution needs to be problematized as both a site granting access to knowledge as well as a site setting limits.

In the following two sections, I discuss how the logics of document access by the

Swiss Federal Archives affected my data collection and determine the type of knowledge that I can produce in my dissertation. In order to do so, I reconstruct my data collection process and discuss the challenges that I encountered this key phase of my research project.

Accessing institutional documents in the archival labyrinth

In the first phase of my data collection process, I wanted to inform myself about how the Swiss Federal Archives worked and how access to this institution was regulated. Despite the fact that the Archives' website granted me access to a set of guidelines and manuals on how to gain access to the documents stored within the Archives, and while the Archives' staff provided support in handling the databases and gaining access to the stored documents, navigating the labyrinth of the Federal Archives clearly represented a institutionally regimented and structured process of document access. The following section throws light on the institutional characteristics of how I was obliged to gather data.

The first challenge encountered was to make head or tail of the database giving me access to the documents stored within the Archives. I spent a considerable amount of time making myself familiar with how the database functions. As I began to understand how the database worked, I realized that the database itself and how it was structured guided my data research process: The database is designed to represent the architecture of the Swiss Federal Administration and is structured in nine categories: Parliament; Federal Department of Foreign affairs; Federal Department of Home Affairs; Federal Department of Justice and Police; Federal Department of Finance; Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research; Federal Department of Defence Civil Protection and Sport; Federal Department of Environment, Transport, Energy and Communication; and extra-parliamentary committees and foundations.

This structure enabled me to make sense of the multiplicity of spaces existing within the Federal Administration, about the links and connections between these spaces in terms of their hierarchical relations, but also in terms of a reconstruction of the workflow within the Federal Administration. However, because at the outset of my data collection process my knowledge of the spaces where the pertinent debates took place was very restricted, my initial attempts at using the database of the Federal Archives were characterized by an unsystematic search via specific key-words (such as "Promotion der Schweiz" [Promotion of Switzerland], "Landeskommunikation" [Communication Abroad], "Reform Landesmarketing" [Reform Country Marketing], "Nation Branding" etc.).

While I quickly was able to identify repetitive dossiers using these keywords, because the research in the database was purely virtual, it was difficult for me to make sense of the effective value and status of the dossiers, particularly as the database itself didn't provide access to the content of the dossiers. All I could see in the database was that, in a very precise place in the virtual architecture of the Federal Administration, there was a dossier

containing a set of documents related to the search word I entered. (To be exact, the database also provided information on when, where, and in which political context a document in the dosser had been produced.) So, in order to understand what these dossiers effectively contained, and to appreciate whether or not they were actually pertinent for my research, I needed to obtain the dossiers.

The documents stored in the Archives generally have a retention period of 30 years, in some cases even of 50 years. That means that during this period of time, no one has free access to the documents. As my research is based on documents produced from the 1970s until the present, an important part of data was unavailable. To obtain access to the documents that were still subject to access restrictions, I had to apply to the Federal Archives for special authorization. The requested special authorization included a written application with an explanation of my research object and of my potential use of the requested documents. On the basis of this application, the Archives decided in collaboration with the judicial agency of the Swiss Federal Administration and the concerned sector of the Administration what documents I had access to, and what documents would remain off limits.

It took three months to process my application. I was granted access to the major part of the requested documents, with the exception of documents that were considered to be potentially damaging to the reputation of the individuals who produced the documents or whose decisions or activities where reported in these texts. The Archives' authorization was, however, contingent on a set of conditions and guidelines. Some of the conditions – for example, the obligation to anonymize the names of individuals involved in the process and explicitly mentioned in the accessed document – are already part of the code of ethics to which I am committed. Others, such as restrictions concerning citation and material reproduction, are related to the logics and necessities of the Federal Archives. In some cases, I had the right to read the documents and to cite them in my dissertation, but not to copy them; with other documents, I had the right to use them for my dissertation, but not to quote them verbatim; others still could be quoted in their entirety. In order to make sure I would respect their conditions, the staff members of the Archives asked me to sign a contract in which I pledged to respect their requests and to submit my finished dissertation for review.

After having gained access to the required dossiers and documents, it took me several sessions to review all documents and to make sense of them, but also to put them into a logical order. This process, which is at the core of my analysis, was also subjected to regimentation by the staff of the Archives: I could not take the documents home or to my office, nor could I make copies (although I was allowed to take pictures of certain types of documents). These restrictions also represented a challenge for the other team members involved in the research project on the promotion of Switzerland, and they naturally posed a major problem in the course of my research when I left Switzerland for Chicago. I no longer had direct access to the data stored in the Archives.

Limits of control

While the functioning of the Federal Archives, the guidelines regulating my access to documents, and the restrictions imposed act as a limiting conditionality on both the quality and quantity of data I could access, and, consequently, on what I can and cannot say, in the course of my data collection process, I learned to decode the lacunas. Despite the major bureaucratic restriction, I was able to glean the missing information, and I discovered some alternative ways to access data.

To begin, I ascertained that the Archives themselves are not the only spaces within the Federal Administration used to store documents. Every section of the administration has its own storage system; these are generally less regimented and access is less restricted. When I originally applied at the Archive for access to the documents, I wasn't aware of this fact. It was only a few months later – while still waiting for an answer from the Archives concerning my application – that I was contacted by an Administration staff member asking why I had chosen the formal procedure when I could have access to the requested documents much more easily and with less red tape by directly contacting the sections where the texts were produced or that were discussed in the texts and the particular discourses under investigation. This demonstrates that, in taking the official procedure, I complicated my access to the data and exposed myself to a regimen of institutional control. Nonetheless, this does not mean that taking the informal route would have implied working in a control-free zone where I could access every kind of data. These centers would also have been guarded by a gatekeeper guided by their role and motivation when deciding what kinds of texts and documents I was given.

The interviews and the informal discussions also brought the limits of the institutional control to the forefront. These talks were conducted with the individuals who participated in the production and/or were affected by the discourses on the promotion of Switzerland abroad. In some cases these people gave me access to documents that normally would have required official permission from the Swiss Federal Archives. This, of course, was a good thing, because it enabled me to save time. At the same time, however, it also created another problem: How to legitimize the utilization (cited or not) of a document that I have no official right to review.

Finally, the technologization, virtualization, and informatization of the textual production within the Federal Administration, and in our knowledge society more generally, as well as the increased circulation of knowledge that these technological development imply (for those having access to these technologies) complicate how the control over the documents produced within Federal Administration is exercised. During my data collection phase, it happened several times that I found documents on the web that I normally would not have access to, or to which I had access, but only after having made the official request and

been granted permission. In this case as well, the obvious question is what to do with such texts.

Now how does this influence what I am able to say about the phenomena under investigation? Through reconstructing my data collection process, I problematize the Federal Archives as both a place of possibility for producing knowledge, and at the same time as a limiting instance. More particularly, by pointing out the milestones in the collection process and the challenges encountered, it was my intention to show that – in line with Foucault's notion of the "Archives" as system which regiments the emergence of knowledge and which contributes through its own logics and functioning to shape this knowledge (Foucault 1969) – the logics of document access by the Swiss Federal Archives are not neutral, but have influenced my data collection and determine the type of knowledge that I can produce in my dissertation. While the regulative function of our site of investigation and their effects on what can be said is an inherent characteristic of every site of inquiry, the mediating role of the Archives between the investigated object, my data, and the analysis provided must be taken into account when making conclusions on the basis of the data.

Analyzing Discourse on the Promotion of Switzerland

To capture the complexity and the heterogeneity, but also the unicity and contingency of the phenomena under investigation, the genealogical analysis put forward in this dissertation focuses on the processuality of the discourses under investigation, i.e. in their historical emergence in specific places at given moment in time (Duchêne 2008). Critical analysis focusing on the discursive practices constituting "Switzerland" and its promotion as an institutional object aims to investigate how and why individuals talk about Switzerland as they do, and how and why they valorize national diversity as they do in this specific institutional setting. This type of analysis is also interested in the actors' position in social structure and in their ideologies, and in how their assumptions on the nature of the nation and of the economic and political possibilities and limits represented in late capitalism affect their practices of speaking about Switzerland. All this necessitates a genealogical approach that one might call an "ethnography of history" (I ask methodological purists to excuse this transformation of the "ethnographic" approach), which does justice to the complexity and the heterogeneity of the researched phenomenon and enables me to describe the practices constituting it. Because forms of discursive production within the Swiss Federal Administration as well as the materiality of these discourses are varied, this multiplicity of materiality requires a set of analytical instruments to account for the given heterogeneity and complexity (Heller 2010; Cicourel 1974; Duchêne 2008). I have therefore chosen to adapt my analytical approach accordingly to the genre of data undergoing analysis, to the questions asked about my object of investigation, and to the specific problematic under discussion.

Taking as inspiration works in interactional sociolinguistics, anthropology, and

critical discourse analysis, I employed an analytical procedure that resituates the texts in their context of production, circulation, and consumption (Silverstein & Urban 1996). This highlights the institutional function by viewing these texts as part of organizational actions and constraints (Smith 2005) and as determined by historically and institutionally situated orders of knowledge (Foucault 1969) and indexicality (Blommaert 2005; Silverstein 1996). It further examines the interrelations and phenomena of intertextuality and interdiscursivity that connect my texts to other texts and non-textualized discourses (Bakhtin 1981; Pietikäinen and Dufva 2006). Finally, this procedure constructs the text as a product of interactional processes (Hymes and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1981; Goffman 1959, 1963) and focuses on the discursive processes erasing the ideological motivation of the governmental discourses on Switzerland and its diversity (Duchêne 2008; Irvine and Gal 2000).

Furthermore – modeled on Duchêne's (2008; 2004) work on the production of discourses within the UN – my analysis is structured by and consistently refers to the following three conceptual categories: the discursive event, the discursive space, and the production of knowledge.

To begin, the concept of the discursive event clashes with an understanding of history that assumes history is characterized solely by continuity. In fact, history is also conditioned by ruptures, shifts, and moments of discontinuity as well as by events that cannot be placed in a causal relation with preceding occurrences (Duchêne 2008; Foucault 1969). At the same time, these events have not fallen from the sky, but are discursively constructed and therefore the product of transforming knowledge orders and power mechanisms caused by changes in the political economy. Moreover, historical occurrences are subject to the possible conditions of the discursive spaces in which they emerge. As opposed to a traditional understanding of history, I argue that in the history of discourses on the promotion of Switzerland, key events occurred which then materialized in texts. Concretely: The discourses that make up the subject of my investigation materialized in texts of expertise and in other authoritative institutional genres, which then where entextualized and recontextualized in federal acts, and the production of these federal texts then further influenced institutional actions. Through analysis of various discourses on the promotion of Switzerland, I have isolated key events in which discourses on diversity and its promotion are transformed. This brings to light the contemporary politico-economic, ideological, and institutional conditions of the changes, the consequences they have, and why they take place. Phrased differently, the actors who profit and who lose from these changes become evident.

Second, my research presupposes that discourse on the promotion of Switzerland emerges in specific spaces (Heller 1999). The focus on these spaces is based on the assumption that language (as well as each semiotic resource) is without value if analyzed outside of its context of production (Hymes 1962) because discourses always gain meaning in relation to their context of emergence. An isolated analysis of a text that ignores the

institutional space where the promotion of Switzerland is debated, or where texts circulate and are received, disregards the value attributed to it from within the system. In an institutional governmental setting, these spaces are often bodies, commissions, or working groups, which, at a given moment in the history of the Swiss Federal Administration's discourses on Switzerland's promotion, receive a specific mandate and consequently become pertinent for my research. A historiographic approach became necessary in order to find spaces relevant for the phenomena in question and in order to locate these spaces, to understand why they exist, where they originate, who has access to them, and why the promotion of Switzerland is debated there and not elsewhere.

Finally, after selecting and investigating a discursive space, I analyze how it functions. This specifically entails examining which conditions regulate and regiment the production of discourse on the promotion of Switzerland (Smith 2005; Duchêne 2004). Anthropologists and sociolinguists hold that generated knowledge "[is] the result of a drafting process" (Smith 2005) that not only makes this knowledge possible, but that also defines its limits. Based on this premise, my work focuses on the ideology of the institution, in particular on the multiplicity of existing dominant ideas that causes the Swiss Federal Administration's regimentation of Switzerland's promotion to take the form it does. A further focus is placed on aspects that allow the government to function as an apparently homogeneous entity, creating the impression that discourse on Switzerland is generated by a single actor. Here, my attention moves to the institutions' bureaucratic, administrative, and managerial principles regulating and controlling the various discourses on the promotion of Switzerland abroad (Smith 2005). Phrased differently, my objective is a discourse analysis leading to a profound understanding of institutionalized rules of discourse production.

In conclusion, the conceptual categories of the discursive event, the discursive space, and the production of knowledge allow me to analyze discourses on Switzerland and its diversity from a processual and institutional point of view. Analyzing texts in regard to specific moments in history and to their precise institutional contexts highlights the situatedness and the contingency of the phenomena observed. This approach also enables the concepts to be linked to the transformation of the political economy and the state's apparatus.

Capitalizing on Linguistic and Cultural Diversity in Tension: Lines of Inquiry

On the basis of the aforementioned epistemological and ontological approaches, as well as on the framework of analysis delineated in the previous section, my investigation of the governmental investment in linguistic and cultural diversity in late capitalism is structured around five lines of inquiry emerging from the tensions caused by continuities and transformations of discourses on Swiss diversity.

The first line of inquiry is an analysis of the tensions between traditional discourses on Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity as heritage discourses and new discourses on diversity geared toward the future. The analysis focuses on the tension between several promotional arguments debated in governmental spaces and, particularly, the position diversity holds within this set of arguments. This specifically includes conflicts between (what are considered by the investigated actors) traditional identitary values and new promotional arguments.

A second aspect focuses on the tension existing between discourses standardizing Swiss diversity and Swiss diversity constructed as varied, unstable, and constantly evolving. Standardized diversity may sound somewhat paradox, but even in discourses promoting diversity, a standardization or homogenization of diversity can be observed, in which the status quo (inherent, yet invariable diversity) is stressed. Indeed, there seems to be very precise idea of what good diversity is held to be, and what is considered bad diversity.

The third line of analysis is a reflection of the tension between discourses on national identity and discourses on image. My data suggest that the actors involved tend to construct a dichotomy between what they think Switzerland really is and what image of Switzerland is to be conveyed abroad. This dichotomy emerges from a nation-branding theory and entered the political arena at the end of 1990s (see Kaneva 2012).

The fourth approach comprises an analysis of the tension surrounding the dichotomy of Swiss diversity as a discourse of pride that emphasizes the community-building element of Swiss diversity versus a discourse of economic potential of Swiss diversity and its commodification (see Duchêne and Heller 2012).

Finally, I investigate the tension emerging from negotiations on who counts as an expert on Swiss diversity. This refers to expert discourses clashing with discourse by actors who construct themselves as more legitimate to produce knowledge about Swiss diversity. These conflicts provide insight into the circulation of knowledge and interest. The discipline of nation branding is an aspect of marketing that is highly influential on discourse on Swiss diversity's role in the regimentation of the nation's promotion, and actors from the private economy are invited to participate in the debates within Swiss Federal Administration.

To sum up, the analytical section of my work is structured along the lines of the following (modernist) dichotomies emerging from my sites of investigation: old and new, pride and profit, traditional and expert, legitimate and illegitimate. These pairings enable me to highlight ideological clashes and to focus on the interests that condition these discourses.

Outline

The structure of my dissertation is determined by the ontological and conceptual preconditions I have presented in this first chapter, and contains two parts.

After initial remarks on my own ontological and epistemological positioning and on

the status of the data on which this dissertation relies, as well as statements concerning the way I analysis this data, in *Chapter 2* I begin my discussion of the regimentation process of promoting the nation abroad; more particularly, I put forward ways in which capitalizing on national diversity becomes manifest in these discourses by presenting the discursive spaces in which these debate occurred. In doing so, I pay close attention to the institutional mandate of the discursive spaces in which Switzerland's promotion is deliberated and reflect on the type of discourse on Switzerland that is produced in terms of its institutional status and its influence on future promotional practices. By reflecting on the place of emergence of the practices of expertise leading to a political and economic investment in multilingualism and cultural diversity and the reconceptualization of this cultural resource in promotional terms, I am able to put forward an initial discussion of the institutional conditionalities that cause the discourses under investigation to take the form they take.

The analytical chapters 3, 4, and 5 are concerned with three major events in the history of the governmental regimentation Switzerland's promotion abroad.

C*hapter 3* discusses the first event and subject of analysis in my dissertation: the federal act of 1975 instituting a coordinating committee for the presence of Switzerland abroad [Bundesgesetz über die Einsetzung einer Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland]. I begin by showing how, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Switzerland's political system became the object of international criticism on account of the nation's repressive migration policies and its skeptical attitude regarding the economic integration of Western Europe. My analysis demonstrates how, in reaction to these events, the national government decided to launch a reform of Switzerland's international promotional practices with the aim of creating the conditions for an enhanced coordination of promoting Switzerland's culture, tourism industry, and economy abroad. By proposing an account of this reform process, and more particularly by focusing on the practices of expertise having lead to the production of comprehensive plan containing the broad lines of an enhanced promotional strategy, I demonstrate how Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity was invested in by political actors in order to reproduce the international image of a humanitarian, cohesive, and neutral Switzerland, which for many years had laid the groundwork for Switzerland's privileged status as a center of international political decision-making and economic exchange.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the discourses materializing in the federal act on the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad [Bundesgesetz über die Pflege des schweizerischen Erscheinungsbildes im Ausland] of 2000. The analysis of this event enables a demonstration of how and why – in reaction to the advancing political and economic European integration (without Switzerland) and at the same time as a response to massive criticism and attacks coming from USA due to the role of Swiss banks in the Second World War – Switzerland is constructed by political actors as a brand; it also explains how and why Swiss multilingualism

is conceptualized as a central feature of this brand. More particularly, in this chapter, I put forward an analysis of the practices of expertise leading to the definition of the "Brand Switzerland," including the tension and conflicts characterizing the discursive production. In doing so, I discuss the place national multilingualism and cultural diversity have in the architecture of the national brand and reflect on the forms of multilingualism and cultural diversity that are considered to be promotionally exploitable, raising the question as to which political and economic logics and interests are behind this decision.

The final analytical chapter, *chapter 5*, concerns the third event, namely the adoption of the federal act on the promotion of Switzerland [Bundesgesetz über die Schweizerische Landeswerbung] of 2008. This chapter contains an analysis of the reform of the Switzerland's nation branding strategies in reaction to recurrent international criticism of Switzerland's political system concerning both its repressive migration polices and its taxation system; the reform was also a response to criticism related to the Swiss banks' role in the subprime mortgage crisis of 2008. The analysis demonstrates how the professionalization of Switzerland's nation branding results in a redefinition of the brand Switzerland. It furthermore leads to an explanation as to how and why, and with which consequences, multilingualism loses it status as a key feature of Switzerland's image and is instead reconceptualized by marketing experts as a central element of the "Brand Switzerland's" tonality, meaning the emotions and images associated with a communicated brand. This allows me to focus on the emerging tension between an ideology of Swiss multilingualism as a unique Swiss selling point and the social reality that linguistic diversity exists all over the world – as such, this argument alone is certainly not sufficient to clearly position and distinguish Switzerland in the international markets. All these elements lead to a focus on the way multilingualism as a static location factor is rethought, and on how it increasingly becomes a variable promotional argument, fluctuating according to the target audience, the promotional context, and the promoted aspect in Switzerland's economy, culture, political system, and tourist industry.

In my conclusion, *Chapter 6*, I seek to return to the main findings of this dissertation and to discuss which forms of diversity are utilized in the regimented promotional practices, and under which conditions they are employed. I then reflect on who wins and who loses from the fact that multilingualism and cultural diversity is capitalized on in promotional communications.

The general ambition of this dissertation is to gain an understanding of the complex mechanisms governing the valorization process of multilingualism and cultural diversity in the context of the governmental regimentation of the nation's promotion. This work will further contribute to the production of insights on the way the linguistic market functions and finally produce knowledge on linguistic nationalism and multilingualism's role in the reproduction of ideologies of difference under late capitalism.

Chapter 2

Debating Switzerland's Promotion in the Swiss Federal Administration

Institutional Spaces and Discursive Materialities

Introduction

As outlined in the previous chapters, in this dissertation I undertake a historiographical analysis of governmental discourses on the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad. If these discourses produced by experts in the employ of the government represent a key terrain where diverging images of Switzerland clash and sociocultural ideologies of difference are (re)produced and contested, these "practices of expertise" and their materialization in texts of authority do not occur in a vacuum. They are produced in specific institutional spaces at precise levels in the architecture of the Swiss Federal Administration, and their production follows given legislative logics. These particular conditions imbue the discourses and resulting texts with meaning and affect the limits of what can be said and imagined about Switzerland and its promotion; they also determine the institutional, legislative, and promotional status of the investigated practices of expertise in addition to establishing their authority and their performativity (Bourdieu 1982; Briggs and Bauman 1992).

The premises about the nature of the institutional discourses under investigation result from the epistemeological and methodological framework delineated in the introduction of this dissertation, and are rooted in the theory that, if discourses have effects, their value and consequentiality is heavily dependent on their positioning and function within an institutionalized process (Smith 2005). Consequently, from a methodological perspective, a major preoccupation of an analysis that questions the structural, material, and ideological conditions of capitalization on national diversity as well as the interests and logics related to such forms of valorization should be the problematization of the spaces of production, circulation, and consumption of the discourses, of the institutional function and role of the spaces, and of the effects of the institutional positionality and legislative function of such spaces for the status and value of discourses emerging in these specific contexts (Duchêne 20004, 2008).

Before presenting a genealogical analysis of the three selected events in the history of the governmental regimentation of Switzerland's promotion, my aim in *Chapter 2* is to put forward a problematization of the spaces in which the investigated discourses on Switzerland emerge. More particularly, I first situate the discursive spaces relevant to the analysis of the events and processes at the center of my investigation, both in the history of Switzerland's

regulation of the nation's promotion abroad and in the institutional architecture of the Swiss Federal Administration at the particular moments in time that concern the object of my analysis. This enables me to reflect on these spaces' strategic reasons for being, i.e. on the interests and logics related to their institution. It also helps me to analyze their institutional relations to other spaces of promotional regimentation and production, and to gain an understanding of their institutional mandate.

Afterwards, I discuss the implications the mandate of these spaces has for the status of the discourses on Switzerland's promotion produced, and for their role in the legislative processes and organizational practices. This approach permits me to gain an initial understanding of the institutional ideologies, logics, and necessities that cause the discourses to take the form they take. It also enables me to make sense of the discourses' effective role and value in the processes under investigation and of their structured and structuring nature, i.e. their effects on further practices of regimentation, their impact on the promotion of Switzerland, and their potentiality for contributing to a reproduction or challenge of broader sociocultural ideologies of Switzerland.

Finally, situating the discourses in their actual spaces of production allows me to better understand what the discursive materiality produced in these spaces permits me to say about the processes under investigation and, as such, shapes the possibilities and limits of my future analyses, explications, and conclusions.

The Emergence of the Federal State as a Space of Promotional Regimentation

The historical emergence of the nation-state as a key space for the production of discourse on the promotion of Switzerland abroad is a fairly recent phenomenon. Indeed, the governmental "appropriation" of the strategic governance of Switzerland's promotion abroad emerged as a reaction to the transformation and restructuration of the world economy during the 1970s.

This statement does not suggest that no prior spaces for debating the promotion of Switzerland existed; on the contrary, since the end of the 19th century, different private organizations have emerged in which expertise on Switzerland's international promotion was produced and promotional campaigns were conducted. The most prominent organizations operated in the fields of Swiss culture, Swiss tourism, and the Swiss economy. These organizations worked independently from one another, but operated at least in part on the same terrain. Some were direct competitors and some represented different interests.

However, regardless of the (liberal) ideology of the Swiss principle of "Subsidiarität" (a typically Helvetic term often rendered as "subsidiarity"), which postulates that the central state should perform only those tasks which cannot be performed effectively at a more immediate or local level, i.e. that no governmental agency should do what a private

agency or a lower-level agency could manage better (Subsidiarity is traditionally imagined as one of the main pillars of the Swiss liberal nation-state, see Stadler 1951; Aubert 1999 for the role of subsidiarity for the Swiss nation-state), most of the organizations promoting Switzerland have traditionally been, in one way or another, under partial state control. Some have representatives from the federal state or the cantons in their supervisory board, while others receive direct or indirect financing from the state itself.

This prominent position of the state in institutions that were fundamentally private and, consequently, independent organizations has had an impact on the evolution and on the daily work of these private institutions. Under the state's pressure during the first part of the 20th century, there was a clear attempt to create synergies and, in some cases, even some key mergers in order to reinforce the efficacy of the promotional activities through enhanced coordination and allocation of resources. This was the case for three major Swiss promotional agencies, each of them the product of a merger of several small institutions promoting Switzerland in different sectors: *Swiss Office of Tourism* (which promotes Switzerland as a touristic location), *Pro Helvetia* (which promotes Switzerland's culture), and *Osec/Office Suisse pour l'Expansion Commerciale* (promoting the Swiss economy). It was also the case for a whole number of other organizations representing Switzerland abroad, such as the Swiss embassies and consulates, the *Swiss National Science Foundation*, the *Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Switzerland*, *Swiss Label Association* (the former "Armbrust"), the former *Swissair* (*"Swissair" Schweizerische Luftverkehr-Aktiengesellschaft*), the *Swiss Media Union*, the *Swiss schools abroad*, the *Organization of the Swiss abroad* (which was part of the former *New Helvetic Society*), *the International Committee of the Red Cross*, and the *Swiss Cultural Institutes* abroad (see *Bericht der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Aulsand* 1975, a report on the presence of Switzerland abroad providing an extensive list of these organizations). All these organizations were in one way or in another affected by the necessity to professionalize and render their services more efficiently on the urging of the state authorities.

Despite the major sectorial fragmentation of promotional spaces, since the beginning of the 20th century there have been several subsequent historical spaces (indeed resulting from one another) where representatives of the above-mentioned organizations promoting Switzerland met to coordinate the promotion of the Swiss economy, tourism, politics, and culture. At the outset, there was the *Conférence pour l'expansion économique et la propagande suisse à l'étranger* [Conference for Economic Expansion and Swiss Propaganda Abroad], and which in 1932 was succeeded by the *Zentralkommission Schweizerischer Propaganda Institutionen* [Committee of Swiss Propaganda Institutions], which again in 1953 was transformed into the *Kommission der Amtsstellen und Institutionen für die Koordination der Kulturwerbung* [Committee for Coordinating Cultural Promotion]. These committees, in which the aforementioned promotional organization were represented,

were platforms for the discussion and planning of supra-sectorial promotional activities, e.g. planning the presence of Switzerland at major international fairs and expos or the participation of Swiss delegations at key political, economic, cultural, and promotional campaigns. While these spaces of coordination and exchange were officially institutionalized with an office, management, and administrative staff, and although they had the status of private organizations, the state was periodically represented at regular meetings by representatives from the cantons and the federal government; it should be noted that they were always present in the function of a guest, never as a controlling authority.

At the beginning of the 1970s, however, the state started to reflect on the possibility of incorporating the private coordination committee into the state apparatus. More particularly, after the Swiss parliament held debates on the fragmentation, sectorization, and redundancy of agencies promoting Switzerland and, particularly, on the matter of the allegedly inefficient allocation of public funding, in the 1970s parliament adopted the *Bundesgesetz über die Einsetzung einer Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland* [Federal law instituting a coordinating committee for the presence of Switzerland abroad], which endowed a relevant committee with legal status. As a result, in 1972, a new governmental space, the *Commission de coordination pour la présence de la Suisse à l'étranger* [Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad, COCO] was founded, replacing the private *Kommission der Amtsstellen und Institutionen für die Koordination der Kulturwerbung* [committee for coordinating cultural promotion]. This incorporation of a private entity into the state-apparatus was legitimized by the federal authorities on the basis the Swiss government's need to react to the internationalization of society and to respond to the transformation and restructuration of the global economy in the 1970s. The new committee, it was stated, would create the conditionalities for long-term competitiveness of Switzerland's national economy and ensure Switzerland access to the global markets during this specific time of political and economic instability (see *Message sur la coordination dans le domaine de la promotion de la Suisse à l'étranger* of 1975 for a legitimation of this measure).

Despite the hegemony of the ideology of subsidiarity, and the ideological sectorization and dichotomization of the "public" and the "private," the "political" and the "economic" at the core of the division of tasks between the multiple levels of the Swiss state apparatus (federal, cantonal, municipal), and which (at least in theory) is cast as the Swiss state's attitude in regard to the private economy (see Obinger et al. 2010 for a discussion of the ideology of subsidiarity in Switzerland), the interference of the state in a domain that, until this moment in time, was held to be private, was entirely uncontested. (It should be noted that at other moments in the history of the promotion of Switzerland's culture, economy, and tourism, the Swiss state's supposed intrusion in terrains considered to be private has often resulted in forms of contestation and resistance by economic and cultural

circles, as well as by representatives of the anti-regulatory parties within the Swiss parliament, see Buschor et al. 2010).

The lack of contestation was due to the fact that the government guaranteed the creation of a governmental oversight and that the coordination was not meant to supplant all other existing sectorial organizations nor would it cause them to disappear from the political and economic scene. In effect, over the past thirty years the central state has supported the emergence of an entire network of private (but partially state-funded) organizations promoting Switzerland, each having a specific task and precise objectives. More particularly, today there are multiple organizations which produce discourse on Switzerland and which represent and promote Switzerland not only on a federal level (such as *Osec*, *Pro Helvetia*, *Swiss Tourism*, *Swissnex*), but increasingly also on the regional and cantonal level (such as the organizations called *Basel Area*; *Greater Zurich Area*; *Greater Geneva and Bern Area*) and in the municipalities (multiple city marketing agencies such as *Basel Marketing*; *Location Promotion Winterthur Region*, and several other offices).

This clearly defined division of tasks in sectors of promotional activity (tourism, culture, economy, science), was also the reason for the broad acceptance in the promotional community when, in 2000, *the Coordination Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* was transformed into a governmental organization called *Presence Switzerland*. This new organization not only coordinated the promotion activities of other governmental agencies; it also assumed promotional and monitoring tasks. Specifically, and contrary to the more traditional organizations in charge of the sectorial promotion of Switzerland, *Presence Switzerland* took the lead in the supra-sectorial promotion of Switzerland and participated with its own promotional campaigns to advertise Switzerland in strategic markets.

The Discursive Spaces Regimenting the Promotion of Switzerland Abroad

Now, the discursive processes I investigate in this dissertation occur in three discursive spaces that can be located within the aforementioned spaces of coordination and control at the Swiss Federal Administration. The three spaces at the core of the three events investigated dare:

1) The *Kommissionsauschuss* [Committee Panel] of the *Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*, which between 1972 and 1975 was mandated to design a "Gesamtkonzeption" [a comprehensive plan] for measures to enhance the coordination of the promotional activities of the state-funded promotional organizations, thus providing the conceptual basis for the formulation of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland*.

2) The *Arbeitsgruppe 'Reform KOKO'* [Taskforce "Reform COCO"] of the *Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*, which between 1996 and

2000 was mandated to define what was called at that time the "Marke Schweiz" [Brand Switzerland] and to produce a business plan for the promotion of Switzerland abroad, thereby providing the basis for shaping the *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad.*

3) The organization *Presence Switzerland*, where, in 2009 – as a reaction to the reform process launched by the adoption of the *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland* and leading to a restructuring and reorganization of the network of organizations providing the promotion of Switzerland abroad – a redefinition of the *Brand Switzerland* and of the promotional strategies was developed.

While these three spaces are located at different levels of the Swiss Federal Administration and have different standings, functions, and purposes, what they all have in common is that, at several points in the history of the Swiss state's regimentation of the nation's promotion abroad, these spaces have been mandated to rethink the promotion of the nation and to generate knowledge enabling a more efficient and effective promotion of Switzerland in the target markets.

In the following sections, I focus on the institutional status of these spaces and their role in legislative processes at the core of my investigation of the three events in the history of the governmental regimentation of Switzerland's promotion abroad. Furthermore, I discuss the effects of the spaces' institutional and legislative function on the kind of discourses that are produced within these contexts, and consider the influence they have on the institutional genres in which this knowledge materializes. An exploration of institutional status also enables me to shed light on the effective performativity of the discourses under investigation in terms of their function within a legislative process and their effects on future promotional activities planned and conducted within and outside the Federal Administration. More generally, a problematization of the discourses under investigation, of their materiality and of their spaces of emergence allows me to identify the value of the discourses investigated in my dissertation, their status in an institutional logic and legislative process, and as such help me to better understand what an analysis of the documents at hand enables me to say about what aspects.

The Coordinating Committee's "Committee Panel"

Between coordination and expertise

The *Committee Panel*, which is the locus of materialization of the debates characterizing the first event discussed in my dissertation, is a sub-committee of the *Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad (COCO)*. In order to better understand the institutional role of the committee and the type of knowledge produced within these spaces, we need first to understand the function of *COCO* itself, its place within the Federal Administration, and

the conditions under which the establishment of the *Committee Panel* became

necessary.

In 1972, the Swiss federal government (specifically: the former *Federal* Department of Economic Affairs) instituted *COCO* with the mandate to work on a strategy to enhance the coordination of the state-funded organizations promoting Switzerland abroad. More particularly, while continuing to act as a space of exchange and coordination of the promotional activities (as we have seen above, *COCO* can be considered the successor of the *Committee for Coordinating Cultural Promotion*, and, in line with the former committees, all state-funded promotional organizations were represented within *COCO* by one delegate each. But, in contrast to the former committee, the director of the new committee was a representative of the federal state; the federal state also provided an secretary to assist the committee and its director in daily work), the committee was also ordered to conduct studies and surveys measuring the status and value of Switzerland's image abroad; to formulate suggestions and expertise directed to the organizations, federal offices, and departments regarding the promotion of the nation; and to provide a "Gesamtkonzeption" [a comprehensive plan] for the promotion of Switzerland. The knowledge produced should act as basis for the production, deliberation, and adoption of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland* (see *Reglement der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland* March 13, 1972).

More particularly, *COCO* was clearly identified as a committee of experts that, through the production of the mandated comprehensive plan, would provide the necessary knowledge for the production of an appropriate and effective federal act by means of a series of legislative events typical of the production process of a federal act. This process involves 1) a parliamentarian or governmental mandate; 2) the elaboration of the federal act's conceptual base by a committee of experts, which is institutionally situated within the federal department having the lead in a specific legislative issue; 3) the formulation of the federal act itself by this same committee of experts, or by a different committee within the same department; and 4) the discussion, transformation, and adoption of the federal act within the two chambers of parliament.

Although *COCO* was held to be an ideal space of exchange, coordination, and collaboration between the single organizations on account of its many members, the committee was not considered to be capable of producing expertise, surveys, and other research – all elements, which, as we have seen, were part of the committee's mandate. It was in order to create the institutional conditions for the desired conceptual work that the *Committee Panel* was instituted (*Reglement der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland* March 13, 1972).

In its constitutive meeting, *COCO*'s plenum designated seven individuals from among its members as members of the *Committee Panel*. These were, on the one hand, *COCO*'s director and the committee's secretary, who both represented the federal state. On

the other hand, there were the representatives of *Osec* (the organization promoting Switzerland's economy), *Pro Helvetia* (the organization marketing Switzerland's culture), *Swiss Office of Tourism* (the organization responsible for the marketing of Switzerland's tourism), *SRG SSR idée suisse* (the public national television and radio broadcaster), and of the *Organization of the Swiss Abroad* (representing the Swiss abroad). These members were chosen because of their leading status in the domain of Switzerland's promotion. (In *Chapter 3* I provide more information on *COCO*'s members, on the delegates within the *Committee Panel*, and on the interests represented by these actors.)

In this first, constitutive meeting of *COCO*, the division of tasks between the plenum and the *Committee Panel* was also defined, and, according to the committee meeting minutes cited in part below, the status of the *Committee Panel*, and more particularly its relation to *COCO,* was resolved.

> Zusammenfassendes Protokoll der Sitzung vom 29. Mai 1972 im Konferenzzimmer W 146, Bundeshaus West Bern 14.00h -16.00 h
>
> Traktandum 4: Kompetenzverteilung zwischen Kommission und Arbeitsausschuss
> Vorschläge des Arbeitsausschusses gehen an das Plenum, nicht direkt an die Departemente oder den Bundesrat, es sei denn, gewisse Aufgaben würden an den Ausschuss delegiert. Die Aufgabenteilung wird sich im übrigen aus dem Arbeitsverlauf ergeben.
>
> Traktandum 5: Nächste Sitzungen des Plenums und des Arbeitsausschusses
> a) Plenum: Wenigstens zwei Sitzungen im Jahren, grundsätzlich in Bern. Nächste Sitzung: 30. November 1972, 14.00h in Bern
> b) Ausschuss: Nach Artikel 5, Absatz 2 in der Regel monatlich eine Sitzung, grundsätzlich Zürich als Tagungsort. Sitzungsplan für 1972:
> 1. Sitzung: 23. August 1972 in Bern
> 2. Sitzung: 21. September 1972 in Bern oder Zürich, nachmittags
> 3. Sitzung: 26. Oktober 1972 in Zürich, nachmittags
> 4. Sitzung: 30. November 1972 in Bern, vormittags 10.00h
> c) Protokolle: Es sollen lediglich zusammenfassende Protokolle erstellt werden, aus
> d) denen die wichtigsten Erwägungen, die zu einem Beschluss führen, ersichtlich sind. Die Protokolle des Arbeitsausschusses sollen allen Mitglieder des Plenum zur Verfügung gestellt werden.

> [Summarized Minutes of the meeting from May 29, 1972 in the Konferenzzimmer W 146, Federal Parliament Building West Bern 2:00pm – 4:00pm
>
> Item 4: Division of Responsibilities between the Committee and the Committee Panel Suggestions made by the Panel are presented to the plenum, not directly to the federal departments or the Federal Council, unless certain tasks have been delegated specifically to the Panel. The distribution of tasks will result from the general work procedures.
>
> Item 5: Next meeting of the Plenum and the Committee Panel
> a) Plenum: At least two meetings in year, in Bern if possible. Next meeting: November 30, 1972, 2:00pm in Bern

b) Committee Panel: In accordance with Article 5, Paragraph 2, as a rule one meeting per month, in Zurich if possible. Meeting schedule for 1972:
   1. Meeting: August 23, 1972 in Bern
   2. Meeting: September 21, 1972 in Bern or Zurich, afternoon
   3. Meeting: October 26, 1972 in Zurich, afternoon
   4. Meeting: November 30, 1972 in Bern, morning 10.00am
c) Minutes: Only summarized minutes will be recorded. These are to contain the most important discussions that lead to a decision. The minutes of the Panel must be available to all members of the plenum]

A focus on the cited excerpt of the committee minutes allows me to make the following statements on the status of the *Committee Panel*, i.e. on the power relations, hierarchies, and the division of tasks between the two spaces.

While the *Committee Panel* was considered to be the operative authority, it was actually the plenum that supplied the committee with its specific mandate and tasks. Along these lines, the measures, propositions, or strategies defined within the committee needed to be communicated to and approved by the plenum before being transmitted to the federal departments, to the Federal Council, or to other political authorities. In other words, even if the designation "Committee Panel" chosen to label the space where the actual conceptual work was done could suggest that this body would act as a steering organ and take the lead in *COCO's* work, the *Committee Panel* was in reality a sub-committee under *COCO*'s control.

Taking as a basis these consideration on the institutional and legislative function of the *Committee Panel* as a space of expertise, in the next section I discuss the effects of this specific institutional status for the knowledge produced within its space, for the institutional genres in which this discursive production of knowledge materializes, and for these institutional texts performativity, i.e. for their role and place in the legislative process.

The Committee Panel's discursive materiality

As mentioned in the previous section, the *Committee Panel* was mandated to provide the conceptual work leading to the definition of specific knowledge on the status of Switzerland's image abroad – a definition that would create the basis for the production of the federal act regimenting the promotion of Switzerland abroad, but also a definition that would inform the debates and deliberations in the Federal Assembly. This specific mandate implied the production of three textual genres in which the production of knowledge of the committee materialized. As is apparent, these documents fulfill different institutional functions and are situated at different levels of the committee's work processes.

The first genre was generally designated as the *report* and is the main document of the *Committee Panel*. Since the production of market analysis, surveys, interviews, and other investigations measuring the value of Switzerland's image abroad and developing an entire spectrum of state-funded promotional practices was generally provided by the committee secretary, or was outsourced to other sections of the Federal Department of Economic Affairs

(in *Chapter 3* I provide more input on the division of tasks within the committee), the *report* was a means to entextualize the results of the conducted studies. In particular, given the fact that the raw data of these investigations were never submitted to deliberation in the committee, the *report* generally acted as the empirical basis for discussions and debates in the committee. Now, despite its main function as a working document produced by the secretary for committee members, these reports were also accessible (on demand) to members of the coordination committee, or were utilized as a form of evidence by the committee's members when legitimizing and/or presenting the proposed optimization suggestions or enhancement strategies to *COCO*'s plenum.

The *second* key institutional document produced within the *Committee Panel* was the "Gesamtkonzeption" [comprehensive plan] called *Bericht der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland*. This institutional genre represents the material fulfillment of the mandate accorded to *COCO* and, as such, was principally addressed to the Swiss government and the Federal Assembly. This text is intertextually linked to the genre of the *report* as it entextualizes the committee's practices of expertise (which materialize in the reports) with regard to the reorganization of the promotion of Switzerland abroad, and is thought to be a conceptual basis for the formulation of a new legislative framework regimenting the coordination of the promotion of Switzerland abroad. It contains information about *COCO*'s mandate and its work modalities, including the division of tasks between the committee and the *Committee Panel*. The report, however, also proposes an entextualization and recontextualization, i.e. explication, of the results of the surveys conducted in order to ascertain the status of Switzerland's image abroad. It presents the several organizations providing promotional activities abroad, and it pinpoints the promotional channels (promotional mediums, events, and platforms) that, up to this specific moment in time, had been capitalized on to market Switzerland abroad; the report also serves to identify the existing weaknesses in the national promotional apparatus and proposes suggestions to improve these activities. While in conformity with the genre of the *report*, the drafts of the comprehensive plan, including its final version, were produced by the committee's secretary, the different versions of the text were discussed, commented, and edited within the *Committee Panel*. However, since the report was produced by the committee in *COCO*'s name, this document's drafts were also regularly presented to *COCO*'s plenum, which commented and evaluated it, and which was also asked to approve and authorize the final version.

The third institutional genre is the "zusammenfassender Protokoll" [summarized minutes] that entextualize the debates conducted within the *Committee Panel*. In the work processes of the committee, this genre, which was produced by the committee's secretary and addressed to the members of the committee themselves, acted as a form of evidence and materialization of the discussions and decisions taken, and it enabled its members to make reference to past discussions at various stages in the overall process. The minutes also

functioned as an instrument structuring and guiding the work processes of the committee; according to the decisions reported in the minutes, the committee's secretary conducted the commissioned surveys and investigations, and produced specific *reports,* or made changes to the discussed drafts of the comprehensive plan. However, this textual genre, too, was directed to the members of *COCO* as a means to make the work activities and the decisions taken within the committee transparent for those members not participating actively in the work of the committee. The function of this genre within the committee's work processes, but also its role as instrument of control exerted by the committee, affected how the minutes were structured and written. They were written in such a way as to ensure (or at least give the impression thereof) maximum explicitness about the discussions within the committee. In addition, the minutes informed about who participated in the committees work and documented the agenda of the meeting. They also explicitly recorded the (summarized) statements made by the committee's members on a given issue as well as on the resolution of the debates, i.e. on the committee's decisions.

Along the lines of the information provided in this section, in the following I present the institutional mandate of the two other spaces at the center of my investigation. In doing so, as was the case with *COCO*, I also reflect on the consequences of the institutional and legislative role of these spaces for the type of knowledge they have produced and for the textual materiality, i.e. the institutional genre in which this knowledge materializes.

The Taskforce "Reform COCO"

A space of expertise

The second institutional space at the center of my investigation of the governmental regimentation of the nation's promotion is the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"*. As did the *Committee Panel* presented above, the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* also represented an institutional space related to the *Coordination's Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*. And, as in the previous section, in order to better understand the role and function of this taskforce, in the following I outline the group's mandate and institutional function, and discuss the type of knowledge produced within its framework. In 1997, the Swiss federal government requested *COCO* to work, again, on a strategy paper proposing suggestions concerning an enhancement of Switzerland's promotion abroad. In particular, the federal government required that *COCO* produce a business plan providing proposals for a reorganization and professionalization of *COCO*'s own structures and activities, including some in-depth reflections and concrete propositions about the possibility to transform the coordination committee into an independent organization responsible for the supra-sectorial promotion of Switzerland. In addition to this task, the business plan was required to define what was called *Brand Switzerland*, i.e. a set of promotional messages that would be at the core of the promotional strategies and activities of all existing state-funded promotional

organizations. In conformity with the discourses produced within the *Committee Panel* in the 1970s, and in accordance with their specific place and function in an institutionalized legislative process, the purpose of this requested knowledge was to provide a basis for the production of a *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad*.

It is in this context that, in December 1997, *COCO* instituted the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* with the mandate to provide the conceptual knowledge requested by the federal government. In this case again, the institution of a sub-committee was legitimatized by the fact that *COCO*'s plenum and its work modalities were not considered to constitute an appropriate space for producing the requested expert knowledge. Since the delegation of ongoing projects to sub-committees had become a convenient way of dealing with political mandates and promotional challenges (such as the coordination of promotional activities, the organization of a Swiss pavilion at international fairs or expos, or the production of common promotional campaigns) the establishment of the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* conformed naturally to the existing mode of operation.

While, in keeping with the operations of other sub-committees of *COCO* (and true to the way the *Committee Panel* functioned), the taskforce's members all belonged to *COCO*'s plenum and, as such, were delegates of the state-funded promotional organization represented in *COCO*. However, in this specific case, the working process was led by an external marketing consultant. Furthermore, in contrast to the *Committee Panel's* modes of operation, where the main work was performed by the committee's secretary and the decisions taken had be presented and ratified by the committee's plenum, in the case of the *Taskforce "Reform COCO,"* the main conceptual work was completed within the taskforce itself. More particularly, following the logics of a committee of experts, the knowledge at the basis of the requested business plan was generated through interaction between the external consultant – who was engaged to provide the necessary expert knowledge in marketing and who was considered a neutral actor and, as such, outside of the promotional and organization interests related to the reform project of the *COCO* – and the representatives of the promotional organizations, whose role was to supply the committee with the necessary knowledge acquired from their experiences in the field, but also to propose solutions and strategies that would be acceptable in the long run for the organization these individuals represented. Finally, while in the case of the *Committee Panel* the knowledge produced needed to be ratified by the plenum of the coordinating committee, in the case of the *Taskforce "Reform COCO," COCO* exerted no control on the taskforce's work and progress. If the taskforce was asked to regularly inform the members of the plenum about the workings, the taskforce directly responded to the Federal Council, and was therefore also directly responsible for the suggestions proposed.

The taskforce's instruments of work

The institutional purpose and role of the taskforce, and the knowledge about Switzerland and its promotion (both in terms of the organizational apparatus sustaining promotional practices and in terms of possible marketing strategies and campaigns) that was produced within this specific space naturally had consequences for the type of institutional genre, in which these practices of expertise materialize.

The first document of the taskforce I would like to consider here is the "Aktenotiz zur Sitzung der Kerngruppe 'Koko Reform'" [memo from the meeting of the Taskforce "Reform COCO"]. This genre, which was usually produced by the secretary of the taskforce in collaboration with the consultant, was addressed to the taskforce's members and had the purpose of entextualizing the main decisions of the taskforce's meetings. In contrast to other genres of minutes, which are usually produced within the Federal Administration, the memo is not a verbatim representation of the statements made by the members of the taskforce, and, as such, does not make the individual standpoints transparent. In the framework of the taskforce's work, the memo acted as a textual materiality of the knowledge produced within the taskforce and therefore served as the main textual source for the consultant producing *progress reports* (see the next genre) and for further discussions occurring within the taskforce itself.

The second genre I discuss is the main work document of the taskforce: the *progress report*. This textual genre was produced by the taskforce external consultant and was addressed to the members of the taskforce. It entextualized the information gained through the interviews conducted by the consultant with the members of the taskforce as well as with other nation-branding experts who were not represented in the taskforce. It also entextualized the conceptual discussions conducted within the taskforce as well as the decisions taken regarding the definition of a *Brand Switzerland*, the conceptualization of new and more effective promotional strategies and campaigns, and the reform of the organizational structures of *COCO*. Over the course of the entire process, the consultant produced four *progress reports*. For each taskforce meeting, the consultant compiled one report entextualizing both the knowledge produced in the previous meeting and the information gained through the interviews conducted in the interim period between two meetings (in *Chapter 4* I provide a more detailed account of the reports' content and structure). More generally, these four reports should be read as different versions or drafts of the same documents that acted as a basis for the conceptualization of a more complex and complete business plan.

Finally, the business plan called "Präsenz Schweiz: Ziele, Strategie" [Presence Switzerland: Goals, Strategy] is the taskforce's most important text. This document, produced by the consultant, but commented on and finally adopted by the members of the entire taskforce, is directed to the Federal Council and the Federal Assembly. It represents the

overall achievement of the taskforce mandate. (In this case the business plan is submitted in the name of the taskforce, not in *COCO*'s name as was the case in the previous events.) Indeed, the document, which, as we have seen above, is the final text in a sequence of practices of decontextualization, entextualization, and recontextualization, i.e. is the final version of a number of *progress reports*. This text provides the expertise requested by the federal government and delineates the broad lines of a reform of *COCO*'s structures and activities, as well as of the state-funded promotional organizations in general. Moreover, it suggests a new promotional strategy, including the conceptualization of a *Brand Switzerland*, a marketing concept, the organizational structure and resources, and a financial plan. In the institutionalized process of legislation within the Federal Administration, and true to the comprehensive plan's function, this genre must be understood as providing expert knowledge on which the parliamentarian debate draws in their deliberation of the *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad.*

In the subsequent section, I focus on *Presence Switzerland* and the knowledge and expertise generated within this space on Switzerland and its promotion. While in the previous sections I introduced two discursive spaces whose knowledge production was part of the pre-parliamentarian legislative process and, as such, led to the production and adoption of a federal law on the promotion of Switzerland abroad (the first in the early 1970s and the latter in the late 1990s), in the following section I focus on a third discursive space whose discourses on Switzerland's promotion should be constructed as a reaction to a legislative reform of Switzerland's promotion adopted in 2008. The different institutional status of *Presence Switzerland* has effects on both its mode of functioning and also on the type of discourse on Switzerland and its promotion that can be produced within its borders.

Presence Switzerland

From coordination to promotion

The organization *Presence Switzerland* is the successor of the *Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*. In summer 2000, the new organization was instituted as a consequence of the institutional reforms suggested in the business plan of the *Taskforce "Reform COCO*." Since 2000, *Presence Switzerland* has acted as the promotional organization providing the supra-sectorial promotion of the nation, and it has continued its work as an agency to coordinate the promotional activities produced by the existing state-funded organizations. Because of its key role in the promotion of Switzerland, I chose one specific moment in the life of this organization as the third event to be analyzed in my research. In 2008, in response to a reform of the legislative framework regimenting Switzerland's promotion abroad (which resulted in the adoption of the *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland*) that led to mergers and a reorganization of the existing network of state-funded promotional organization, *Presence Switzerland* was fully integrated in the

operations of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, thus becoming a section of this specific department and, as such, coming under the full control of the Swiss government.

This transformation of the institutional status of the organization also affected its mandate. More particularly, the new domains of activity of *Presence Switzerland* can be described as follows: First, the organization was responsible for coordinating and controlling the promotion of Switzerland abroad. As such, it was considered as a space ensuring and facilitating effective positioning of the nation in the international markets. Second, the organization was mandated to verify the validity of the *Brand Switzerland*'s promotional messages and to adapt these messages to the political and economic situation at hand. Third, the organization was also conceived as a provider of services addressed to the network of state-funded promotional organizations, i.e. it was asked to produce services in the form of promotional training activities, but also to create promotional guidelines, scripts, and information material setting the conditions for a professional and homogeneous presence of Switzerland abroad. The organization was also requested to conduct market studies and media monitoring to gauge the image of Switzerland abroad and the value of the Swiss brand in the international markets. Finally, the organization was mandated to provide its own supra-sectorial promotional activities. In this regard, *Presence Switzerland* was asked to take the lead in the promotion of Switzerland at international and highly mediatized events such as world expos and fairs, international sporting events, and other very visible events.

In order to fulfill this mandate, in 2009 the organization employed 32 specialists in the domain of marketing, communication, and event management, and was structured and organized into different areas of responsability. There was the section "Grundlagen und Beratung" [Fundamentals and Consulting], which was (co)responsible for the conceptualization and optimization of the promotional strategies and campaigns and for the realization and optimization of the *Brand Switzerland*. This section was also responsible for the coordination of its own promotional practices with those provided by other state funded promotional organizations, and for the promotional presence of Switzerland abroad more generally. Furthermore, there was the section "Instrumente und Ausbildung" [Instruments and Training], which was responsible for the development, production, distribution, and storage of the organization's promotional materials (brochures, books, leaflets, posters, videos, and other media). This section was also responsible for the organization of promotional trainings addressed both to the section's own staff members and to the employees of the other state-funded organization; the production of training material was a further task. In addition, there was the section "Internationale Grossveranstaltungen" [Major International Events], which was charged with the organization of Switzerland's presence at international events such as the Winter and Summer Olympic Games, international fairs and world expos, and Swiss houses and pavilions at other highly mediatized events such the World Cup, the European soccer championships, alpine ski championships, or other sporting events. Finally there was

the section "Unternehmenskommunikation und Zentrale Dienste" [Corporate Communication and Central Services], which was active in the domain of the definition of the more visual side (corporate design) of Switzerland's promotion abroad. It also outlined the internal communication practices (i.e. producing a newsletter and hosting the organization's website and intranet) and was responsible for the legal services of the organization.

In my dissertation, I focus on the knowledge produced in the two first spaces "Fundamentals and Consulting" and "Instruments and Training." I pay particularly attention to the organization's role as a space where the Brand Switzerland and the promotional messages it characterizes is delineated and where the promotional campaigns are conceptualized and implemented. I also examine the organization's role as a space where training material and promotional scripts are produced, and analyze its role as an authority that dictates to the existing state-funded promotional organizations the limits of what can be said about Switzerland and its strengths (in *Chapter 5* I provide a detailed account of the relation of *Presence Switzerland* with the other state funded organization and describe the effective impact *Presence Switzerland's* scripts and practices of control had on the promotional activities of these organization).

Presence Switzerland's institutional genres

According to its mandate, *Presence Switzerland* produces different forms of texts in which the discourses and knowledge produced on Switzerland materialize. These are reports, expertise, training material, guidelines, templates and promotional scripts, marketing brochures, clips, websites, newsletters and other promotional material.

The following institutional genres are of particular interest for the analysis I provide in *Chapter 5*:

First, I focus on training materials that script the promotional practices, giving particular consideration to a document produced by the section *Instruments and Training* called *Switzerland's Strength* that is addressed to those actors and organizations providing promotional activities financed by the state. This training material is composed of five documents focusing on Switzerland's strength in the domain of culture, science, economy, and population. More particularly, it provides pre-established promotional arguments, narratives, stories, citations, and examples that those charged with the promotion of Switzerland abroad are asked to entextualize in their promotional practices and to recontextualize according to the promotional situation or branded aspect of Switzerland.

A second institutional genre is the *newsletter* addressed to the staff members of the organization and to its partner organizations as well as to the various federal departments in the Swiss Federal Administration. *Presence Switzerland*'s newsletters are produced three times per year by the section *Corporate Communication and Central Services*. This genre aims to communicate transformations of the *Brand Switzerland*, and to present promotional

campaigns, events, and material provided by the organization or by other state-funded promotional organizations. The institutional genre of the newsletter also aims to disseminate knowledge on the value of Switzerland's image abroad as produced by *Presence Switzerland* or by other organizations. As such, this specific institutional genre can be conceptualized as: a) a tool facilitating the coordination of the promotional activities provided by the network of organizations that promote Switzerland abroad; b) as an instrument strengthening *Presence Switzerland*'s visibility within the Federal Administration and the network of promotional organizations more generally; and c) as a genre providing information on promotional campaigns and facilitating communication with the partner organizations.

A third textual genre produced within this space and which is at the center of my investigation are the *Stories from Switzerland*, a series of promotional texts that emerged in different promotional campaigns and that, by embodying the messages of the *Brand Switzerland*, are supposed to relate authentic stories about Switzerland. As promotional texts conceptualized and produced by the section *Fundamentals and Consulting* in collaboration with the other sections of the organizations, these promotional texts are addressed to the markets targeted by the organizations promotional campaigns. While they are usually employed by *Presence Switzerland* in their promotional campaigns, the texts can also be used as promotional scripts and therefore be appropriated by other state-funded promotional organizations that transform the stories' content according to the promotional need at hand.

In other words, while – in keeping with the two previously presented discursive spaces the *Committee Panel* and the *Taskforce Reform COCO – Presence Switzerland* contributes to the production of expert discourses on Switzerland and its strengths, the institutional status of the images and their materialization in institutional genres is strongly divergent than those of the predecessor organizations. If the practices of expertise by the *Committee Panel* and the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* were part of an institutionalized legislative process leading to a federal act on the promotion of Switzerland abroad, *Presence Switzerland*'s discourses on Switzerland must be conceptualized as part of an organizational practice that contributes to the coordination and standardization of the promotional practices provided by the existing state-funded promotional organizations and which itself are part of this international promotion of the nation.

Toward a Genealogical Analysis of the Regimentation of Switzerland's Promotion

After having put forward a first discussion of the discursive spaces in which the debates on Switzerland's promotion investigated in this dissertation emerge (the following chapters allow me to provide more in-depth insight into those spaces, the actors operating in them, and the relations between the observed practices and the sociohistorical processes in which these are

situated and which they react to), and after having stressed the institutional status of the debates and knowledge produced within these contexts, in the following chapters I move to what I consider to be the core of the story I want to tell in my dissertation.

In particular, I provide three analyses of three key events in the history of the governmental regimentation of Switzerland's promotion abroad, and focus on three moments in which the marketing of the nation has been rethought and in which questions emerged on the essence of Switzerland, its position in a globalizing economy, and the way Switzerland's essence should be communicated to these transformed markets. By questioning the structural, material, and ideological conditions of possibility of these specific events, and by focusing on the practices of expertize and ideological imaginations of Switzerland produced within the institutional spaces presented in this chapter, in the coming sections, I attempt to shed light on how it happens that, under specific conditions (which I make explicit) within the framework of the regimentation of Switzerland's promotion, national multilingualism and cultural diversity are constructed as a key features of promotional investment.

The type of analysis I seek to put forward is a genealogical inquiry interested in the processual emergence of the discourses under investigation. This reconstruction of the processes leading to the emergence of national diversity as a key object of promotional investment enables me to call attention to the complexities, interests, and phenomena of power resulting in the forms of capitalization I describe, i.e. I am able to reveal the mechanisms and logics that induce the investigated discourses on the nation to take the form they do, and not another.

Such an analytical approach also enables me to highlight the sociocultural ideologies of difference emerging in the discourses under investigation, and to pinpoint how these debates emerge as sites of ideological struggle, i.e. as a terrain where various imaginations of Switzerland and its diversity clash. Furthermore, it allows me to stress the interests and political economic positionalities that are mediated by these ideologies, and to underline the logics that, at a given moment in time, cause one concept of Switzerland's diversity to be considered as more appropriate and acceptable than another.

In relation to this last point, a processual analysis also leads to the identification of the status of multilingualism and cultural diversity within these debates. That means it allows me to treat the emergence of national diversity as an empirical question related to the issues at stake at the specific moment and in the specific place in which diversity materializes in discourse, and therefore to generate in-depth knowledge of the role played by this cultural resource in these specific contexts. It also implies a necessity to reexamine the status of the discourses on Swiss diversity with regard to other observed discourses on other ideologies of the Swiss nation. This in turn leads to a reflection on the moments in which diversity emerges as an object of promotional investment and raises the following questions: at the expense of which other ideologies of Switzerland does this occur, and when does diversity seem to play

no role, and why?

Finally, if such a processual analysis helps me to better grasp the processes and logics behind the capitalization of national diversity within these specific debates and spaces, this approach also leads to deeper insight into the institutional mechanisms that regulate the generation of knowledge within an institution of power such as the one represented by the Swiss Federal Administration. Specifically, it permits me to foreground the practices of what Deborah Cameron (1995) called in sites the "hygenization of speech" and which, in my field, would refer to the methods of regimenting ways of speaking about Switzerland and its tourism, culture, politics, and economy, and would reflect the logics and interests guiding the various methods of regimentation.

Chapter 3

Defending the Swiss 'Sonderfall' [Exception] Multilingualism and Cultural Diversity as a National Capital

Introduction

On December 15, 1975, the members of the Swiss National Council (one of the two chambers of the federal parliament, or National Assembly) were asked to deliberate on the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*. The aim of this bill was to create a legislative framework to legitimize the institution of a governmental organization (the *Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* (COCO)) mandated with the reorganization and coordination of the marketing practices, strategies, and campaigns provided by the existing network of state-funded organizations in charge of the promotion of Switzerland abroad.

In his speech defending this bill to the National Assembly, Federal Councilor, M. Seiler[3] [4], justified this new legislative framework by pointing to the importance of Switzerland's export industry for the nation's social wealth and economic prosperity. He furthermore highlighted the strategic political and economic value of a legislative framework that was intended to create the conditionalities for a major coordination and enhancement of Switzerland's promotion abroad. Improved marketing of the country would contribute to the reproduction of Switzerland's excellent reputation in its target markets and, as a result, to the long-term maintenance of the nation's competitiveness in times of profound political-economic transformation. In addition, at the end of his speech, the Federal Councilor also outlined those features of national pride that, according to the federal government, were to be at the core of the state's international promotion of the nation. More particularly, in the final passage of his speech he proposed the following considerations:

> Bundesrat Seiler: In Tat und Wahrheit sind wir daran interessiert, diesen vielsprachigen Staat mit seinen verschiedenen Zivilisationen und Kulturen auch unseren ausländischen Partnern darzustellen, nicht überheblich, aber als Ausdruck dessen, was wir als politische Nation empfinden: dass wir uns gegenseitig sehr viel zu geben vermögen und dass es uns dank dieser Landesteile und der verschiedenen

[3] All personal names are pseudonyms. Although the persons can be easily retrieved, I have maintained anonymity as agreed formally with the Swiss Federal Archives.

[4] The Federal Council's seven members constitute the federal government of Switzerland and serve as the country's head of the state.

> Sprachen auch möglich ist, in einfachster Weise einen direkten Kontakt zum französischsprachigen, zum italienischen oder allgemein zum lateinischen Raum zu finden, so wie wir andererseits als Deutschschweizer die deutschsprachige Kultur direkt erleben und mitgestalten können. Um dieses Suchen nach einer Synthese geht es letzten Endes. Ich fasse zusammen. Wir wollen die Schweiz als Stätte zur Begegnung, die Schweiz als Gliedstaat für viele Menschen verschiedener Kulturen, verschiedener Sprachen, verschiedener Religionen darstellen, und wir brauchen dazu neben gutem Willen auch ein Instrument, das wir uns mit diesem Gesetz geben. [...] Ich bitte Sie, dem Antrag des Bundesrates und Ihrer Kommission zu entsprechen. (Parlamentsprotokoll: Nationalrat 18.12.1975)
>
> [Federal Councilor Seiler**:** In fact and deed, we are interested in presenting our multilingual state with its diverse civilizations and cultures also to our foreign partners, not in an arrogant way, but as an expression of what we feel as a political nation: [we need to show them] that we have much to offer each other and that, thanks to these several parts of our country and these multiple languages, it is possible for us to easily communicate with the French speaking, the Italian speaking world, and more generally the Romance-language area, just as we as German speakers have the possibility to experience and contribute to the shaping of German- speaking culture. In the end, looking for this synthesis is the challenge. I recapitulate. We want to present Switzerland as a place where cultural encounters take place, as a federal state belonging to many people of different cultures, different languages, different religions. This does not require only good will but also an instrument that we can provide ourselves with through this federal law. [...] I therefore ask you to act on the committee's and the Federal Council's request. (Parliamentary Proceeding: National Council 18.12.1975)]

Seiler's speech to the National Council was successful as, following his request, a majority of the parliamentarians effectively voted for the adoption of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad.* In addition, on the basis of this parliamentarian vote, the *Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* (COCO) was instituted and could start its coordinating activities.

Now, for scholars interested in the emergence of the Swiss nation-state and in how and why language and culture has been invested in by governmental actors to legitimize this political entity, Seiler's construction of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity as a key feature of national pride probably sounds familiar, echoing as it does 19th and early 20th century modernist ideologies of the Swiss nation. However, the particular discursive context in which this capitalization on national diversity emerges (namely the deliberation on a law to regulate the promotion of the Swiss economy, tourism, and culture) and the way this national capital has been discursively framed by the head of the Swiss government (namely as a key feature of promotional investment) raises a new set of questions regarding the role of modern sociocultural ideologies of the nation at this very specific moment in the history of the Swiss nation-state and of western capitalism more generally.

On the one hand, there are questions concerning the logics and structural conditions that allow multilingualism and cultural diversity to emerge as objects of political investment at this specific moment in time and in this specific place. On the other hand, the questions

regard a reexamination of the modern ideologies of national multilingualism and cultural diversity mediating these conditionalities. In other words, it calls for an investigation of which forms of multilingualisms and cultural diversities are considered by Seiler to be particularly appropriate to qualify Switzerland, which are not, and why. Indeed, these questions address who wins and who loses from the fact that national diversity – at this specific moment in time – is capitalized on in the fashion it is.

In order to gain an in-depth understanding about the mobilization of such modern sociocultural ideologies of the nation at this specific moment in time, and in order to discover more about the logics and interest determining these processes, in this chapter I put forward a genealogical account of the pre-parliamentarian processes leading to the production of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* and then later to its deliberation and adoption in the parliamentarian chambers. By drawing on institutional genres such as committee and parliamentarians minutes, dispatches, reports, and comprehensive plans entextualizing the institutional processes under investigation, I investigate the Federal Councilor's speech as part of a chain of interconnected discursive events. More particularly, I demonstrate that, in order to understand the processes, interests, and logics making this particular capitalization on national diversity possible and necessary at this specific moment in time, we need to focus on the institutional emergence process of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*, i.e. we need to understand the socio-historical conditions that made this federal act necessary, and we must acknowledge the debates and practices of expertise as well as the tension and struggles characterizing the different legislative milestones and entextualization processes that constituted the pre-parliamentarian production process of this legislative text.

Reforming the Promotion of Switzerland in a Transforming World

Investigating the logics leading to the mobilization of Switzerland's multilingualism and cultural diversity as a national capital at this particular moment in time also entails a questioning of the political-economic conditionalities and an examination of the interests and ideologies leading to the capitalization of this resource. Therefore, to gain an in-depth understanding as to why, in the early 1970s, a reform of the international promotion of Switzerland was needed (and effectively became possible) and to win better insight into how and why national multilingualism and cultural diversity was valorized as it was in this specific context, I start my account in this section by addressing the particular political and economic moment that constituted the terrain in which the debates under investigation arise.

More particularly, I put forward a discussion of the political challenges and necessities that – according to the *Message sur la coordination dans le domaine de la promotion de la Suisse à l'étranger* [Dispatch on the Coordination in the Domain of the Promotion of Switzerland Abroad], which is the institutional genre providing the

institutionally legitimated reconstruction of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*'s social life and which also enables a more extensive discussion about the political and economic necessities of such a federal law[5] – were at the basis of this legislative project:

- The international criticism of Switzerland's skeptical attitude toward the economic integration process of the former *European Economic Community* (EEC) along with Switzerland's fear of losing its privileged economic status in a European political-economic order characterized by new alliances and relations of power.
- The international criticism denouncing Switzerland's repressive migration policies and the precarious working and living conditions of the foreign labor force in Switzerland paired with Swiss state's fear of losing its image as a model of democracy, humanitarism, and pluralism – a reputation that for many decades was held to be the source of the country's political and economic success.

Starting with a discussion of the conditionalities making the reform process and the governmental investment in national diversity possible and necessary, i.e. by presenting the political and economic challenges with which Switzerland was confronted at this specific moment in time, it is possible to delineate and make explicit the discursive fields of reference to which the debates under investigation constantly refer. Indeed, neither the debates under investigation nor the statements made by those participating in these debates are neutral, but should rather be conceptualized as a politically and economically "interested" positioning in relation to the expressed criticism of Switzerland. Therefore, we must first clarify the specific nature of political and economic challenges the individuals involved take a stand on in order to better understand the singularity and particularity of their position. In other words, for the processes under investigation here, it is important to understand why, at this specific place and at this specific moment in time, the actors participating in the debates under investigation chose the particular political and legislative measures and instruments they invested in and not others; it is also important to be aware of why these individuals decided to qualify Switzerland and its diversity as they did and not in another way. Neither the investment in modern ideologies of the Swiss nation nor the value attributed to the nation's multilingualism and cultural diversity at this specific moment in time can be analyzed as structurally fixed and stable, but as historically contingent and fundamentally related to the ideologies, interests, and positions of the people qualifying national diversity in a given context at a given moment in the history of the Swiss state.

[5] The dispatch is an institutional genre. It is annexed to a federal act submitted by the government for deliberation in parliament. Its function consists of giving the parliamentarians access to the federal act's history, i.e. to the debates, discussions, and expertise characterizing its emergence. As such, the text is constructed as a conditionality of the federal act's democratic deliberation in parliament.

Switzerland's economic view of an integrating Europe

After World War II, the Western economy underwent an extraordinary period of growth and prosperity supported at a supranational level by the *Bretton Woods* system of stable currencies, by the *General Agreement on Tarifs and Trade* which facilitated the transnational economic exchanges and the considerable growth of population in Western society; the latter was apparently due to the global feeling of freedom and of independent form dictatorial regimes (Harvey 2005). In this particular political-economic situation, Switzerland had a privileged status. This was due to the fact that, as a neutral nation during World War II, the national economic apparatus along with its industrial and transportation infrastructure was spared and could therefore profit directly from the demands for commodities, infrastructure, and services that emerged from the neighboring countries (see Bergier 1983; Fleury 1990; Studer 2012).

Now, despite Switzerland's key role in Europe's economy (or possibly exactly because of this role), when the economic and political integration of part of the European continent was advanced with the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 (which created the European Economic Community EEC, made up of the states Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany) and the Merger Treaty of 1967 (which provided the framework for the European Communities EC), a major part of the Swiss political and economic elite, and particularly the representatives of the Swiss small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and of the export industry, perceived these steps as a threat to Switzerland's privileged status in the European markets and for the national economy's competitiveness (Fleuy 1990).

Indeed, whereas one part of European public opinion celebrated the integration process as part of a political pacification process after the tragedy of World War II (see Bellier and Wilson 2000; Cheneval 2005), historians have demonstrate that, beginning with the very first essays toward economic integration – the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 – Swiss conservative circles had designated the budding consolidation of Europe's states as a new form of totalitarism, (supra)nationalism, protectionism, and bureaucratic hegemony (see Kreis 1998, 2008; Ruffieux et al. 1989). This stance adopted by part of the Swiss political community in regard to Europe's integration led to political tension between Switzerland and its neighboring states Germany, France, and Italy; on the one hand, all these countries were heavily involved in Europe's integration process, but, on the other, they were also among the major economic partners of Switzerland's export industry (see *Message sur la coordination de la présence de la Suisse à l'étranger* 1975 for how the federal government interpreted how such international criticism against Switzerland could affects the nation's export industry).

In the meantime, the attempt to counteract the economic project of the European

Economic Community (EEC) by founding a parallel economic area in Europa, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), comprising the states of Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom had failed; the main cause for failure was that the strongest partner of the EFTA, the United Kingdom, chose to adhere to the EC (see Enz 1990; Fleury 1994; Maurhofer 2001)for an account of these processes). And so, in spite of Swiss criticism directed toward the larger integration project, in order not to be excluded from the economic opportunities resulting from an integrated Europe, Switzerland's government undertook several measures to assure the national economies would have access to the integrating European market.

First, in 1961, Switzerland requested a formal association to the EEC (see the parliamentarian minutes March 17, 1960, September 27, 1961 for an account of the political strategies related to this request and of the coinciding parliamentarian tension). Then, Switzerland concluded a free trade agreement with the EEC and Switzerland in 1972 (see *Botschaft des Bundesrates ueber die Genehmingung der Abkommen zwischen der Schweiz und der Europaeischen Gemeinschaft* 1972).

According to the *Message sur la coordination dans le domaine de la promotion de la Suisse à l'étranger* 1975 [Dispatch on the Coordination in the Domain of the Promotion of Switzerland Abroad] – but see as well the parliamentarian debates on December 15, 1975 – the governmental demand for an increased coordination and enhancement of the promotional activities of the organizations charged with marketing Switzerland in the international markets coincided with the governmental attempt to maintain Swiss access to European markets during a period of profound transformation and restructuring.

Now, in the next section I would like to demonstrate that Switzerland's concerns with losing access to the newly integrating European market were also related to the international criticism of Switzerland's repressive migration policies. These policies created the conditions for Switzerland's economic growth as they enabled an effective and flexible provision of labor according to the seasonal needs of the national economy, but they also tarnished the image of Switzerland abroad and, as such, challenged the veracity of the ideology of a humanitarian Switzerland, an image which had characterized the national and international perception of the country for many years and which had granted Switzerland a key role as a world center of economic exchange and political decision-making (Kreis 2004, 2009).

Defending Switzerland's reputation of humanitarism

The economic success and prosperity of Switzerland after World War II was to a certain extent made possible by the migration policies in Switzerland, which were designed to provide the national industries with a cheap and flexible labor force according to their cyclical demands (Cerutti 1994; Gnehm 1966). In the late 1960s, 1 million of the 6.2 million residents

in Switzerland were immigrants. Switzerland mainly relied on a foreign work force from countries such as Italy (50% of the foreign labor force in Switzerland were Italians), Germany (11%), and Spain (11%), while to a lesser extent from Austria, France, Greece, Turkey, and Portugal (see Cerutti 2001, 2005; Piguet 2005 for a discussion of these influx of immigrants).

Despite the heavy reliance on foreign workers, between 1963 and 1973, the Swiss federal authorities adopted a set of migration policies that negatively affected foreigners' living and working conditions in Switzerland. The adverse regulations touched on family reunification, permanent residence and work permits, and restrictions limiting the possibility for a foreigner's to change jobs and/or the employer (see Mahning 2005; Piguet 2004; Vuilleumier 1987).

According to Piguet (2004, but see also Bergier 1983), the repressive policies were introduced in part as a reaction to first signs of an overheating national economy after years of economic expansion. In particular, the economic growth experienced by the country after World War II led to a rise in inflation on account of the growth of the national population and the increasing demand of commodities and accommodation (also see Guex 2012). In the early 1960s, the Swiss governmental authorities suggested that a reduction of the foreign labor force on the Swiss territory would contribute to a stabilization of the national economy (Cerruti 2001). It was suggested that because the foreign labor force provided the primary productive resource on which the expansion of the Swiss economy was drawing, a reduction of the number of new immigrants in Switzerland would force the national industry to slow down production, therefore bringing about a stabilization of the overheating economy (see the strategic report by the Federal Office for Industry, Commerce and Labor *Das Problem der ausländischen Arbeitskräfte* [The Problem Represented by the Foreign Labor Force] of 1964; also see Lorenzetti 2012).

But, the establishment of repressive migration policies was also interpreted by historians as a political reaction to the emergence of xenophobic circles in national parliament and in Swiss society more generally (Degen 2012). Indeed, these regulations are interpreted as pointed reactions to three popular initiatives launched and voted on between 1964 and 1974; all motions aimed to severely restrict the influx of the foreign population to Switzerland (*Initiative populaire "contre la penetration étrangère"* [Popular Initiative against the Foreign Infiltration] in 1968; *Initiative populaire "contre l'emprise étrangère"* [Popular Initiative against the Foreign Infiltration] in 1970; *Initiative populaire "contre l'emprise étrangère et le surpeuplement de la Suisse*" [Popular Initiative against the Foreign Infiltration and the Overcrowding of Switzerland] in 1974). While these initiatives were all rejected by the Swiss population, they engendered controversial debates nationwide about the attitude that Switzerland should adopt toward the foreign population. Whereas economic elite conceptualized these individuals as source of economic prosperity and growth, more conservative circles in the national parliament identified the immigrants as a destabilizing

factor for the Swiss political system and as danger for the country's social and economic peace (see Degen 1996; Gallati 1976; Vuilleumier 1987). For that reason, in order to prevent a radicalization of the debate on the foreign labor force, and to avoid an adoption of the popular initiatives, which in the opinion of the economic elite would have adversely affected the expansion of the national economy in times of economic change (as we have seen, the national economy strongly relied on the foreign labor force), the Swiss government decided on a further tightening of the existing migration regulations that, on the one hand, assuaged the voices that were wholly against the presence of foreigners in Switzerland, but that, on the other hand, still allowed the Swiss industries to profit from this labor force (see Degen 2012; Piguet 2004 for a discussion of these debates).

If these repressive migration policies enabled the Swiss government to create a consensus between the economic circles investing in foreign labor force for the sake of economic expansion and the conservative political circles viewing the foreign labor force as a source of social tension and instability (especially the Swiss democratic party and the Swiss Christian-Democrats), the measures adopted by the national government during those years were strongly contested and criticized by several groups. These included the countries of origin of Switzerland's foreign labor force as well as supranational and humanitarian organizations accusing Switzerland of inhumanity, slavery tendencies, and xenophobia (see Piguet 2004) – criticism that hit the nerve of a country that, as we have seen, was traditionally constructed as a model of humanitarism and solidarity in Europe,.

The criticism of the Swiss political system reached its peak in the first years of the 1970s, when the world economy was affected by two events that would profoundly restructure Western capitalism. First, there was the massive weakening of the dollar resulting from the US's indebtedness. This resulted in the crash of the *Bretton Woods* system and catapulted the cheap Swiss franc into an expensive currency that discouraged foreign investment in Swiss products, thus destabilizing Switzerland's export economy (Müller 2012). And second, the first oil crisis occurred, leading to a major economic crisis and strongly affecting the key European economic powers, which, again, had negative repercussions for Switzerland's export industry and on its capacity to sell its commodities and services to its traditional economic partners (Bergier 1983; Halbeisen, Müller und Veyrassat 2012; Gugerli et al. 2012). Thus, after many years of economic prosperity, between 1973 and 1977, this crisis resulted in 10% reduction of the number of jobs nationwide. These cuts mainly affected the foreign population in Switzerland due to their precarious legal status and the possibility to unilaterally void their labor contracts. Economists calculate that, during these years, 200,000 foreigners lost their jobs and were expelled from Switzerland (Degen 2012; Vuilleumier 1987). If the deportation of Swiss unemployment permitted the national government to internally exercise a certain control over the crisis, this strategy was again heavily contested outside of Switzerland (see Mahnig 2005).

The aforementioned international criticism of Switzerland was interpreted by the more conservative wing of the Swiss political elite (among others the former Swiss democratic parties and also the Swiss Christian-democratic party) as an attack by a foreign power on national sovereignty, political independence, and neutrality, further nourishing their already existing xenophobic tendencies (Piguet 2004). The newly negative reputation of Switzerland in times of economic instability, and especially the international mistrust of how well Switzerland was upholding traditional values of humanitarism and solidarity, transparency, and democracy was viewed by parts of the political and economic establishment as a serious threat to Switzerland's international status as a political and economic model and to its role as a hub of economic exchange and international governance (see *Message sur la coordination dans le domaine de la promotion de la Suisse à l'étranger* 1975; also see Bergier 1983; Müller 2012).

Investing in the promotion of Switzerland

These ongoing political-economic transformations, the political and economic feelings of vulnerability, and worries that Switzerland's tarnished reputation would have a negative impact on the economy were all factors that compelled the Swiss government to carry forward the reform process regarding the coordination of Switzerland's promotion abroad. For many years, reform proposals were hindered by various institutionalized structures of power and division of labor within the state apparatus and within the network of state-funded promotional organizations. But in 1972, the accumulation of the international criticism expressed and, at the same time, pressure from Swiss economic circles demanding that the state defend the nation's economy from its international critics as well as demands from Swiss conservative parties for a framework to generate international sympathy for the Swiss political system and, as such, to reproduce the system of values that had assured the stability of the nation's social and economic order since the state's foundation, led to the establishment of a federal committee: *Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of Switzerland Abroad* (COCO) (see COCO's minutes of May 29, 1972, which recapitulate the committee's establishment).

As demonstrated in *Chapter 2*, one of the principle mandates of this taskforce was to prepare a report that would a) provide an in-depth description of the status quo in terms of the promotional activities provided by the organizations charged with the international promotion of the nation, b) compile market research defining the way Switzerland is perceived in the major markets of the Swiss export economy, and c) prepare a new *Gesamtkonzeption der Promotion der Schweiz* [Comprehensive Plan for the Promotion of Switzerland] defining the broad lines of a future coordinated and enhanced international promotion of Switzerland. This report was to act as a basis for the formulation of a legislative framework (the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of*

Switzerland Abroad) that would create the legal conditions for an enhancement of the promotional activities of Switzerland abroad while also laying the groundwork for a major coordination of the marketing practices of the organizations responsible for the international promotion of the nation (see the document *Reglement der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Aulsand* of March 13, 1972 defining the committee's mandate).

In the next sections, I focus on the production process of the comprehensive plan. Specifically, by focusing on the several milestones achieved by the *Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of Switzerland Abroad*, I am able to reconstruct the different events and entextualization practices that led to the definition of this specific document. I show that the capitalization on national multilingualism and cultural diversity encouraged in Federal Councilor Seiler's speech to parliament (to which I return in more detail at the end of this chapter) corresponds and responds to the awareness of Switzerland's image abroad as defined in the report. Indeed, capitalizing on diversity at this specific moment in time as well as the specific features of diversity that are stressed must be understood as a means to create the conditionalities for the adoption of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* (which implies representing and assimilating multiple interests and sensibilities related to this legislative project) and a means to dictate a future promotional strategy that would reestablish an ideology of a humanitarian Switzerland, which for decades had guaranteed social and economic prosperity.

Defining the Image of Switzerland Abroad

The composition of COCO and its Committee Panel

Before focusing on the various discursive events that characterized the production process of the *Comprehensive Plan for the Promotion of Switzerland*, I would first like to focus on the members of COCO who were in charge of producing this specific document as well as on the interests represented by these individuals.

As mentioned above (also see *Chapter 2*), COCO was instituted on March 13, 1972 by the Federal Council and incorporated representatives of the various former state-funded organizations and sections of the Federal Administration that were in charge of the promotion of Switzerland abroad. The following organizations were represented (see *Reglement der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Aulsand* of March 13, 1972):

- The Bundeskanzlei [Federal Chancellery], represented by the Stefan Beck (Vice-Chancellor of Switzerland)
- The Politisches Department [Political Department] (replaced by the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs), represented by Patrice Dupont (State Secretary)
- The Departement des Innern [Federal Department of Home Affairs], represented by Ferdinand Kunz (Vice-Director of the Office for Cultural Affairs)
- The Volkswirtschaftsdepartement [Federal Department of Economy] (the

predecessor of the Federal Department of Finance), represented by Hugo Wettstein (State Secretary and Vice-Director of the Office for Commerce)

- The Verkehrs- und Energiewirtschaftsdepartment [Federal Department of Transport and Environment], (today the Federal Department of the Environment, Transport, Energy and Communication), represented by Robert Gisler (head of the section Migration of the Office for Transport Affairs)
- The Stiftung Pro Helvetia [The Swiss Arts Council Pro Helvetia] (the organization charged with the national and international promotion of Switzerland's culture and art), represented by Henri Leblanc (Director of Pro Helvetia)
- The Schweizerische Zentrale für Handelsförderung [the Swiss Office of Trade Promotion] (OSEC, recently renamed Switzerland Global Enterprise, which is in charge of the promotion of Switzerland's businesses), represented by Sascha Lang (Director OSEC)
- The Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale [Swiss Office of Tourism] (now: Swiss Tourism, the organization mandated with the promotion of Switzerland's tourism), represented by Kaspar Bieri (Director Swiss Office of Tourism)
- The Schweizerische Radio- und Fernsehgesellschaft [Swiss Radio and Television Corporation] (the Swiss public TV and Radio broadcasting system), represented by Marc Petit (Director of Swiss Radio International)
- − The Verein der Schweizer Presse [Swiss Media] (the Swiss media association), represented by Gustav Hürlimann (Director of Swiss Media)
- The Auslandschweizer-Organisation [Organisation of the Swiss abroad OSA] (the organization representing the interests of the Swiss living abroad), represented by Maurice Kägi (Director of OSA)
- The Union der Schweizer Handelskammern [the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Switzerland], represented by Benjamin Schäfer (Director of the Union der Schweizer Handelskammern)
- Swissair (the former national airline), represented by Reinhard Felber (Vice-Director Swissair AG)
- Armbrust [Crossbow] (the former Swiss label association, an organization which promoted Swiss products and services abroad), represented by Pascal Müller (Director of Armbrust)

It becomes readily apparent that the organizations represented in the committee operated in the very diverse domains of Switzerland cultural, economic, and touristic life. In order to legitimize and authorize the COCO as a key space of exchange and coordination, the represented organizations delegated their highest representatives. It is also why the Federal Council decided to give the committee lead to Wilhelm Rutschmann, who as former Federal

Councilor (1959-1970) and then director of Pro Helvetia was known to be an expert in international affairs and to have extensive knowledge about what the promotion Switzerland abroad requires, all of which contributed to further augmenting the prestige of COCO (see *Bericht der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Aulsand* where the choice of Rutschmann was legitimized). As committee director, Rutschmann was assisted by a member of the Swiss diplomatic corps, Alexandre Marot, who acted as committee secretary. As explained in *Chapter 2*, the plenum of COCO decided to create a *Committee Panel* that, under the direction of COCO president Rutschmann and secretary Marot, would fulfill the governmental mandate (i.e. generate expertise, surveys, and the requested report) and regularly inform the plenum on the status of operations (see committee minutes of May 29th, 1972 for an account of the taskforce's responsibilities and status). Furthermore, it was decided that one member from each of the following organizations would act as a representative in the taskforce: the *Political Department*, the *Federal Department of Home affairs*, the *Foundation Pro Helvetia*, *OSEC*, Swiss Office of Tourism, the *Swiss Radio and Television Corporation*, and *Organisation of the Swiss abroad*. This choice was justified on the grounds that *Pro Helvetia*, *Osec*, *Swiss Tourism* were organizations with the widest experience in the promotion of Switzerland abroad; they were also those organizations whose activities would most benefit from coordination efforts. Moreover, the inclusion of the *Organisation of the Swiss abroad* was regarded as important in order to capitalize on the input and experience of the Swiss living and working in the countries in which Switzerland's reputation needed to be enhanced. The presence of representatives from the two federal departments was explained by the necessity to represent the interests of the federal government. Finally, the presence of a representative from the *Swiss Radio and Television Corporation* was legitimized by the organization's knowhow in the domain of communication and media (see *committee* minutes of May 29*, 1972* and *Bericht der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland* for a legitimation of the committee's composition).

The committee minutes of May 29, 1972 (see also the minutes of the COCO's plenum of these years) allowed me to gather information on the work activities of the committee and to determine the position of the different members regarding the several debated objects. By drawing on this information, I can make the following observations on their interests in contributing to the production of a comprehensive plan that, in a further step, would lead to the definition of a new legislative framework allowing the coordination (and as such enhancement) of the promotion of Switzerland abroad. There were, on the one hand, the interests of the promotional organizations charged with the promotion of Switzerland's culture, tourism, and economy abroad, i.e. *OSEC*, *Swiss Office of Tourism,* and *Pro Helvetia*; these groups were primarily concerned with defending their own interests in the regimentation of a cause, namely the promotion of Switzerland abroad, as this would directly affect their own organizational structures and promotional activities. These very same organizations were

also concerned with defending the interests of those political and economic circles that would most profit from a governmental intervention resulting in Switzerland's long-term economic access to an integrating Europe and to what this emerging transnational space had to offer in economic and cultural terms.

On the other hand, an interest in recalibrating the dominance of economic interests represented in the committee can be made out. We observe the concerns of the *Organisation of the Swiss abroad*, which was a former section of the *Neue Helvetische Gesellschaft* [New Helvetic Society], whose major aims included safeguarding national cultural heritage, protecting the conservative values at the foundation of Switzerland's national identity and the Swiss nation-state, and, in the case of the section *Organisation of the Swiss abroad,* also representing and defending the interests of Swiss citizens living outside the national borders. Finally, the *Political Department* (the predecessor of today's *Federal Department of Foreign Affairs*) and embassies and consulates around the world worked to rehabilitate the ideology of humanitarian Switzerland in the interest of maintaining and reproducing the nation's role as a reliable and neutral political partner with the goal of continuing to capitalize on the nation's privileged economic and political status that for many decades had secured the international appeal of the Swiss political system and ensured global appreciation for Switzerland's role during World War II (as a neutral haven for refugees). In addition, we observe the concerns of the *Federal Department of Home Affairs* and its efforts to assure the creation of international sympathies and acceptance for Switzerland's migrations policies.

In other words, although all these organizations shared a common interest in creating the conditions for a more successful and effective coordination of the promotion of Switzerland abroad, their own presence and participation in the committee work was closely connected to their own mandate, priorities, and terrains of activity. This has obvious consequences for the way these actors positioned themselves in the committee's debates. In the following section, I demonstrate how the production process of the comprehensive plan was conditioned by these diverging interests, and that the expertise it entextualizes is strongly influenced by the necessity to find a consensus among the various interests represented.

The milestones of the Committee Panel's work

The *Comprehensive Plan for the Promotion of Switzerland*, which represented the material achievement of COCO's mandate, must be understood as the final event in a chain of texts that characterize the work process of the committee. The account I put forward in the following sections is structured around these events. To achieve a representative reconstruction the entextualization practices leading to the definition of the comprehensive plan, I particularly focus on the following texts:

September 12, 1972	Report: Principaux aspect de la présence de la Suisse en Italie [Principal aspects of Switzerland's presence in Italy]
September 21, 1972 September 28, 1972 December 15, 1972	Committee Panel's summarized minutes: Zusammenfassendes Protokoll der Sitzung des Arbeitsausschusses der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland [Summarized minutes of the taskforce of the Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad]
Spring 1973	Committee Panel's questionnaire: Fragebogen über die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland [Questionnaire on the Presence of Switzerland Abroad]
December 13, 1973 September 24, 1974 October 22, 1974	Committee Panel's summarized minutes: Zusammenfassendes Protokoll der Sitzung des Arbeitsausschusses der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland [Summarized minutes of the taskforce of the Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad]
December 1974	Committee Panel's Comprehensive Plan: Bericht der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Aulsand [Report of the Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad]
December 15, 1975	Parliamentarian minutes National Council

The detailed reconstruction of the production process of the mandated comprehensive plan forward in the next sections as well as the discussion of the discursive practices leading to the production of these texts highlight the tensions characterizing these discursive processes and the interests and logics causing the final document to take the form it did. The genealogical analysis, which also includes an investigation of the ideological positions of the individuals participating in the production of this document, sheds light on how the Federal Council invested in national diversity on behalf of a new federal law, which resulted from the expertise entextualized in the comprehensive plan.

The report on Switzerland's image in Italy

In the summer of 1972, the *Committee Panel* started its activities, which placed a special emphasis on the reputation of Switzerland abroad, with the discussion and analysis of the findings of a study about Switzerland's image in Italy. This study was the product of a survey conducted by the *Political Department* in July of 1971; the Swiss staff working at the Swiss embassy and consular representations in Italy were asked about Switzerland's reputation in this specific country. If, in 1971, this survey was a means to gain a better understanding of the effects of the political tension caused by Switzerland's migrations policies on Switzerland's reputation in Italy (see the summarized minutes of August 23, 1972, where the committee president explains the genesis of this survey), the committee chose to start its operations with

a discussion of this survey as a means to gain an initial impression of the image of Switzerland abroad. Whereas the committee members agreed on the exceptional status of the results of this survey – exceptional on account of the political tension between Switzerland and Italy caused by Italian criticism of the living conditions of their compatriots in Switzerland – they nevertheless believed this extreme example would reveal key information about the logics related to the image of the country and the possibility of influencing a foreign people's perception of Switzerland. Furthermore, because the committee had the task of conducting a broad survey researching the nation's international reputation, it was also a way of getting a better idea as to what a study investigating the image of Switzerland abroad would consists of in terms of the forms and modalities of research, in terms of the choice of the participants chosen, but also in the terms of the questions asked (see the committee's summarizing minutes of August 23, 1972, which comment on the survey's value for a future survey).

The committee's discussions of the survey conducted in 1971 drew on a report prepared by the secretary of the taskforce, Marot, that synthesized and exntextualized the main results of the *Political Department* survey. In the following sections I first present and discuss Marot's entextualization of the debated survey, thus also presenting the Italian criticism of Switzerland, and then investigate the way the taskforce debated this report.

Marot's report: First attempts to define the image of Switzerland abroad

Marot's 15-page report, entitled "Principaux aspects de la présence de la Suisse en Italie" and submitted for the deliberation of the taskforce on September 28, 1972, is structured as follows:

"Introduction" [Introduction]: The first part of the introduction recalls the history and aims of the survey (ascertaining the image of Switzerland in Italy during a period of political tension with a major part of the Italian labor force living in Switzerland) and outlined the technical modalities of the survey (staff members of the Swiss consulates and embassies in Italy were asked to report on the status of Switzerland's image in Italy and to comment on the promotional activities introduced as a response to negative publicity). Furthermore, in the introduction, Marot stresses the potential value of the survey's results for the taskforce and their potential as a basis for formulating questions that would be part of the taskforce's own broad survey. Moreover, the introduction comments on its own status by stating that the text at hand represents a selection of the answers gained through the survey. (Marot does not, however, provide any information about the criteria that guided his selection.) Finally, the introduction formulates an assessment of the significance of the answers that were gained through the survey. (I return to Marot's evaluation in the following sections.)

– "1. Image de la Suisse en Italie" [The image of Switzerland in Italy]: The first chapter presents a synthesis of what the survey participants believed Switzerland's image in

Italy was at this specific moment in time (presented more fully below).

– "2. Contacts personels avec la Suisse" [Individual contact with Switzerland]: Chapter 2 discusses the different forms of contact that the Italian population has with the Swiss country; it is important to note that the report differentiates between contact with Switzerland ("2.1 Séjour en Suisse" [a stay in Switzerland] and contact with the people of Switzerland "2.2 Contacts avec des Suisses [contact with the Swiss]) and examines the way this contact influences the Italian perception of Switzerland. The text points to the key role of the experiences made by Italian immigrants in Switzerland and emphasizes how the narratives of these experiences are shared with family members living in Italy. The text also highlights the role of Italian media reports on Switzerland in influencing how Italians think about the Swiss and their country, and stresses the negatives influence that the recent media coverage presenting the living conditions of the Italian workforce in Switzerland had on the reputation of Switzerland in Italy (2.1 Stay in Switzerland). Furthermore, the report points to the potential of the common Italian language and cultural roots between Italy and Italian-speaking regions in Switzerland as well as the capacity of Swiss tourists in Italy to influence the way Switzerland is perceived by the Italians (2.2 Contact with Swiss).

– "3. Types d'actions utiles à l'étranger" [Forms of useful promotional activities abroad]: Chapter 3 highlights the promotional practices that were believed to contribute to an enhancement of Switzerland's image abroad. In this regard, the report stressed the potential of facilitating personal contacts between the Italians and the Swiss population (3.1); of cultural, economic, and political events organized by the Swiss authorities in Italy (3.2); of having the Swiss authorities participate in political, cultural, and economic events organized in Italy by Italian organizations (3.3); of promotional material distributed in strategically chosen events and places (3.4); of Swiss movies broadcast on Italian TV channels or in Italian cinemas (3.5); the financial support of Italian research on Switzerland or on the relations between Italy and Switzerland (3.6); the organization of highly mediatized cultural events in Italy (3.7); and of humanitarian actions in Italy.

– "4. Structures permanentes susceptibles de soutenir les différents types d'actions mentionés sous 3" [Permanent structures being able to support the multiple forms of promotion mentioned under 3]: This chapter presents the many organizations being potentially able to contribute to the promotion of Switzerland in Italy. The text focuses on Swiss institutions located in Switzerland such as the Federal Administration, *Pro Helvetia*, the Swiss media; the report also explicitly states that participants did not indicate *Swiss Office of Tourism* or *OSEC* as institutions able to promote Switzerland in Italy. It also points to Swiss institutions located in Italy, such as Switzerland's embassy and consulates; Swiss schools in Italy; Swiss cultural institutes in Italy; Swiss Chambers of commerce in Italy; the Swiss press in Italy; and Swiss associations in Italy. And it singles out Italian institutions including Italian universities employing Swiss professors; Italian cultural institutes exhibiting Swiss cultural

heritage; Italian art galleries showing Swiss art; Italian media giving positive coverage of Switzerland's strengths.

– "5. Bilan des expériences faites sur nos représentations en Italie" [An assessment of the experiences hitherto regarding the promotional practices in Italy]: Building on chapter 4, this chapter presents criticism and failures of the promotional activities carried out by the existing organizations. Here, the report cites the lack of professionalism of Swiss promotional practices in Italy (5.1); the cumbersome operations of the Swiss government's administrative apparatus (5.2); the lack of coordination among the organizations providing these promotional practices (5.3); the insufficient funding for the promotional activities (5.4); and the inefficient use of financial and human resources in the promotion of Switzerland.

– "6. Conclusions" [Conclusions]: Chapter 6, the conclusion, presented some general methodological remarks about the quality of the survey and the reliability of the information resulting from this study.

In the following, I present the report's entextualization of the survey results on how Switzerland was perceived by the Italian population (this is the essential part of Chapter 1 of the report). This enables me to explicitly name the criticism directed at Switzerland, while also promoting a better understanding of how the report's author, Marot, by proposing this specific selection of the survey's result (and not another), positions himself in regard to survey's results. It furthermore lays the groundwork for what these results enable us to say about Switzerland's image in Italy.

> Image de la Suisse en Italie
> « La Suisse, sans aucun doute, a passé en Italie, non seulement au cours de ces dernières années, mais depuis la fin de la guerre, de la catégorie des pays modèles à celle des pays incompréhensibles. De pays d'avant-garde pour beaucoup d'Italiens, elle est devenue le pays de l'arrière-garde. » « Après la guerre, en effet, sortant du fascisme, retrouvant la liberté, l'Italie jouait à sa manière le jeu de la démocratie. » Toutefois, « tandis que notre pays restait fidèle à ces idéaux de conservation qui l'avait préservé de la guerre, l'Italie, vaincue, ruinée, s'efforçait de guérir ses maux et de les exorciser, en accélérant ses réformes sociales, en s'ancrant le plus rapidement possible dans l'Europe. L'écart grandit entre nos deux pays au fil des années, sans que l'on s'en aperçoive. L'un des maux dont l'Italie voulait guérir, le chômage et l'exode de la main-d'œuvre, devait cependant devenir peu à peu le révélateur de cet écart et d'une crise profonde. » « L'important soutien populaire dont bénéficia l'initiative Schwarzenbach, la suspension des travaux de la commission mixte apparurent à l'Italie comme les signes d'une « primauté de l'économique sur le social ». « La présence de la Suisse en Italie s'explique par cette apparente incompatibilité. Incompatibilité politique, sociale, culturelle. Elle s'exprime constamment.» « Certains évènements et l'exploitation qui en est fait ici par les médias, par exemple la mort de Alfredo Zardini, abandonné sur un trottoir de Zurich le 20 mars 1971, l'accident de chemin de fer du Simplon, le 22 Juillet, dans le quel 5 frontaliers italiens perdirent la vie pour un excès de vitesse du conducteur suisse, l'arrestation, le 24 Juillet, de 8 « chiens noirs » de Wohlen criants des slogans anti-italiens dans les rues de Luino, contribuent à créer dans l'esprit italien l'idée d'une Suisse méconnaissable. » (Principaux aspect de la présence de la Suisse en Italie (12. Septembre 1972))

[The image of Switzerland in Italy

"Switzerland, without a doubt, has shifted in Italy from the category of a model country to that of an incomprehensible country, and this not only in recent years, but since the end of the war [World War II]. For many Italians, Switzerland went from a country of high regard to one of low repute." "Indeed, after the war, in their attempts to find a way out of fascism, and having won back freedom, Italy tried in its own way to play the game of democracy." However, "while our country remained faithful to the conservative ideals which preserved the country from war, the defeated and ruined Italy, worked hard to heal and eliminate its own disorders by accelerating its social reforms and by integrating the country as soon as possible into Europe. A divide between our two countries increased over the years, without our even noticing it. One of the maladies that Italy wanted to heal –unemployment and the exodus of its [national] labor force – became, little by little, an icon of this discrepancy and of this deep crisis." "The considerable popular support that the Schwarzenbach initiative received, the suspension of the work of the joint committee [a bilateral Italian-Swiss committee debating and regimenting the flow of the labor force from Italy to Switzerland] seemed to Italy to be signs of a primacy of the economic over the social". "The image of Switzerland in Italy can be explained by this apparent incompatibility. A political, social, and cultural incompatibility." "Some events and the exploitation found here, for example the death of Alfredo Zardini, abandoned on a sidewalk in Zurich on March 20, 1971 [after having been beaten in a bar], the fatal Simplon rail accident of July 22, which, due to the Swiss conductor's excessive speed, took the life of 5 Italians, the arrest, on July 24, of 8 'chiens noirs' of Wohlen [a German speaking town in the north of Switzerland] for shouting anti-Italian slogans in the streets of Luino [an Italian tourist location next to the Swiss border], have contributed toward creating in the mind of the Italians the idea of a Switzerland beyond recognition." (Principal aspects of Switzerland's presence in Italy (September 12, 1972))]

While we can neither know according to which logic the presented citations were chosen, nor be certain of which other remarks were excluded, given the function of this specific report in this specific context – namely to communicate Switzerland's image in Italy and the events and logics having contributed to the fostering of this specific image of Switzerland in this country – we can fairly assume that the textual organization of the cited quotes and the choice of citations are subject to the report's specific function in the taskforce's work. Morever, the specific order proposed by Marot's entextualization can be interpreted as enabling production (or staging) of a coherent narrative about the way the Italians have perceived Switzerland since World War II.

Overall, the chosen excerpts and the order in which they are presented by Marot frame the Italian image of Switzerland as characterized by continuous decline. This sense of decline is discursively performed by the formulation "went from a country of high regard to one of low repute" and by the constructed dichotomy "the category of a model country to that of an incomprehensible country". This is also discursively done by the staged antipodal political development of Italy and Switzerland since World War II, with Italy constructed as country in constant transformation (note the investment in phrases such as *to find a way out of fascism*; *having won back freedom*; *Italy tried in its own way to play the game of democracy*;

by accelerating its social reforms and by integrating the country as soon as possible into Europe), while Switzerland is depicted as static and conservative (see *remained faithful to its conservative ideals*).

The selected excerpts further reveal and stress the major cause of friction between Switzerland and Italy, i.e. the events having led to the negative image of Switzerland. According to the excerpts, these are the "Schwarzenbach initiative"; "the suspension of the works of the joint committee [a bilateral Italian-Swiss committee debating and regimenting the flow of the labor force from Italy to Switzerland]", "the death of Alfredo Zardini", and the "Simplon rail accident," but also the perceived "primauté de l'économique sur le social" (primacy of the economic over the social).

Finally, the citations presented emphasize the Italian media's role in the dissemination of these negative events; note how the use of the term "exploitation" stages a picture of the Italian media as purposefully exaggerating these events and, as such, being co-responsible for Switzerland's increasingly negative image in Italy. As a result, the selected texts highlight the mechanism and logics governing the creation process of Switzerland's image in this specific country.

In what follows, I put forward an analysis of the discussion of the report within the committee and focus on the conclusions deduced from this report. I place particular emphasis on discussing the argumentative strategies the committee members adopted to defend their position.

Debating the report on Switzerland's image in Italy

The analysis of the report on Switzerland's image in Italy that I put forward in this section draws on four statements or, rather, positions taken by the members of the *Committee Panel* regarding knowledge of Switzerland's image in Italy as entextualized in Marot's report. While the first statement is the assessment provided by Marot himself and was part of the summarized and concluding part of his report, the other three statements (presented here in the order they appeared in the committee minutes) are part of the discussion of the report within the committee. This information is contained in the committee's summarized minutes.

> Committee Panel's secretary: Il va de soi que tous les problèmes n'ont pas été abordés par nos représentations diplomatiques et consulaires et que certaines remarques ne reflètent que l'opinion des chefs de mission ou de poste qui les ont émises.
> (Principaux aspect de la présence de la Suisse en Italie (12. Septembre 1972))

> [Committee Panel's secretary: It goes without saying that not all problems have been mentioned by our diplomatic and consular representatives, and that certain comments only reflect the opinion of the heads of missions or posts who have produced them.
> (Principal aspects of Switzerland's presence in Italy (September 12, 1972))]

Traktandum 2: Diskussion über die letztes Jahr in Italien durchgeführte Umfrage bei den schweizerischen Vertretungen

Bemerkungen

Verkehrszentrale: Da der Bericht aus der Optik der diplomatischen und konsularischen Vertretungen geschrieben wurde, gibt er kein umfassendes Bild. Interessant wäre eine Umfrage beim Volk beim Reisepublikum usw. [...] Das Image der Schweiz ist in Italien eher noch schlechter, als es sich aus dem Bericht ergibt. Die Verkehrszentrale hat sich damit auch schon befasst, und zwar vor allem deswegen, weil die Zahl der Besucher aus Italien sinkt. In der italienischen Presse kommt die Schweiz schlecht weg. Es ist eine gewisse Ablehnung gegenüber unserem Lande festzustellen. Die Agenturen der Verkehrszentrale könnten beauftragt werden, zur Ergänzung des Bildes eine ähnliche Studie auszuarbeiten.
Pro Helvetia: Der Bericht ist interessant und zeigt, was in Zukunft vermieden werden soll. Eine solche Umfrage darf aber nicht nur dazu dienen, Wünsche und Meinungen wiederzugeben; es sollte auch nach Vorhandenem gefragt und die Gründe erforscht werden. Die Umfrage muss als erster Anfang betrachtet werden. Eine präzise Fragestellung wäre von grosser Wichtigkeit.
Auslandschweizersekretariat: In den grossen Linien entspricht der Bericht den Ansichten der Schweizerkreise in Italien. Immerhin ist bemerkenswert, dass in gewissen italienischen Kreisen das Image der Schweiz doch nicht so negativ ist. Es ist zum Beispiel bekannt, dass gewisse schweizerische Firmen in Italien so gut wie keine Schwierigkeiten mit ihren italienischen Arbeitnehmern haben. (Kommissionsausschuss zusammenfassendes Protokoll (28. September 1972))

[Agenda Item 2: Discussion of the survey conducted last year in Switzerland's posts in Italy

Statements

Swiss Office of Tourism: Since the report was written from the perspective of the consular and diplomatic corps, it does not give us a global picture [of the situation at hand]. More interesting would be a survey targeting [Italian] citizens or tourists, etc. [...] The image of Switzerland in Italy is even worse than it emerges from this report. Swiss Office of Tourism has already worked on that, especially because the numbers of Italian tourists is decreasing. In the Italian press, Switzerland comes off rather badly. It can be observed as a certain repudiation of our country. The agencies of Swiss Office of Tourism could be mandated to provide a similar survey to complement the picture.
Pro Helvetia: The report is interesting and shows what we need to avoid in future. But such a survey must not serve just for expressing wishes or opinions; it should also ask for the status quo and investigate the reasons. This survey needs to be considered as a first beginning. More precisely framed questions would be very important.
Organisation of the Swiss abroad: In its major contours, the report corresponds to the views of Swiss circles in Italy. However, we should remark that in certain Italian circles, the image of Switzerland is not as negative as portrayed. For example, it is well known that certain Swiss enterprises [operating] in Italy have no difficulties at all with their Italian employees.
(Committee Panel's summarized minutes (September 28, 1972))]

In the four cited statements we can observe a consensus between the different members of the committee in contesting the factuality of Switzerland's image in Italy as it emerges in the

report entextualizing the evaluations provided by the members of the Swiss embassy and consulates in Italy. The committee's members also seem to agree that the source of this false representation of the value of Switzerland's image in Italy can be ascribed to a supposedly problematic methodological approach adopted by those having conducted the survey. The committee's secretary and the representative of *Swiss Office of Tourism* identify the subjective nature of the statements entextualized in the report as a weakness of the report itself; note how the use of the adverb "que" [only] in the secretary's statement, and the formulation "aus der Optik von" [from the perspective of] significantly question the status and value of the knowledge produced by Switzerland's representatives in Italy and, in doing so, construct this knowledge as biased. They furthermore consider the targeted interview sample as the source of the false image produced within the report; for example, the delegate of *Swiss Tourism* contrasts the "diplomatischen und konsularischen Vertretungen" [consular and diplomatic corps] with "Volk" [citizens] or "Reisepublikum" [tourists] and terms the latter targets more "Interessant" [interesting], which implies that the statements provided by the chosen interviewees are not interesting or relevant, or at least less interesting or relevant. The delegate from *Pro Helvetia* locates the source of the report's weakness in the lack of clear questions addressed to the interviewees (note how here the use of the adjective "präzise" [precise] implies that the questions of the survey were not precise), which resulted in a lack of accuracy of the knowledge gained (see how the termini "Wünsche" [wishes] and "Meinungen" [opinions] used to designate the statements entextualized in the report and which stress the biased nature of these statements are contrasted with "Vorhandenem" [status quo] and "Gründe" [reasons], terms that characterize the nature of the objective knowledge that should be produced by a future, methodologically improved survey.

Now, despite the consensus regarding the apparent methodological deficits of the survey and concerning the report's perceived failure to make reliable statements about the effective status of the image of Switzerland in Italy, we can observe that the committee's members nonetheless disagree on what Switzerland's image in Italy effectively consists of. We can even say that the methodological scruples voiced during the debates seem to emerge as a proxy to obfuscate and erase the committee members' diverging standpoints. If the delegate of *Swiss Office of Tourism* considers the image of Switzerland as worse than expressed in the report, the delegate of *Organisations of the Swiss abroad* tempers the statements on Switzerland's poor image; indeed, we can actually observe a direct opposition between the first evaluation ("eher noch schlechter" [even worse]) and the latter ("doch nicht so negativ" [not as negative]). In order to legitimize their evaluation, each delegate mobilizes their own expertise as the representative of an organization active in Italy with first-hand knowledge of the situation in Italy. Whereas the first makes reference to knowledge produced on this issue by its own organizations ("Die Verkehrszentrale hat sich damit auch schon befasst" [Swiss Office of Tourism has already worked on that]), the representative of the

Organisation of the Swiss abroad proposes a counter example that contests the generalized negative statements on the status of Switzerland image provided by the report. This delegate mobilizes knowledge on the relationships between Swiss firms and Italian employees in Italy, and the use of the formulation “so gut wie keine Schwierigkeiten" [no difficulties at all with their Italian employees] provides a strong contrast to the negative picture delineated by the report, but also by the statements provided by *Swiss Office of Tourism*’s delegate.

Now, of course the positions provided by the committee members in regard to the report are not neutral, but are connected to the mandate and function of the organization these individuals represent. For example, we have the interests of an organization such as *Swiss Office of Tourism*, which represents an industry that has traditionally capitalized on the positive image of Switzerland in the world in order to attract foreign visitors to Switzerland – and which consequently was interested in identifying the phenomena and logics causing the decline in the number of Italian tourists, as mentioned by *Swiss Office of Tourism*’s delegate. (Tissot and Moser, 2012, show that this decline not only concerned the Italian market, but that after two decades of strong increase in the numbers of foreign tourists, in these years an abrupt stagnation of tourists form the major markets addressed by Switzerland’s tourism industry could be observed. This particularly worried the national tourism industry because, in the 1960s, the infrastructure of the national touristic destination had been expanded and renewed).

In contrast to *Swiss Office of Tourism*, the representative of the *Organisation of the Swiss abroad* had a keen interest in defending Switzerland’s cultural heritage and traditions, and was therefore naturally reluctant to accept the legitimacy of the alleged negative attitude Italians have of Switzerland. After all, a poor image puts into question exactly those values and conceptions (such as humanitarism, solidarity, pluralism) that the organization was mandated to disseminate, defend, and reproduce.

Despite this divergent interpretation of the status of Switzerland’s image abroad (we should not forget that the situation in Italy is treated here as an emblematic case of what was happening elsewhere as well; in this regard, in the same summarized minutes from which the above-mentioned statements are cited, the Italian case is explicitly mentioned as a “typisches Beispiel” [typical example] for the more general image of Switzerland in its partner countries), all members agreed on the necessity to respond to the negative publicity caused by what was called in the *Committee Panel* the “Fremdarbeiterproblem” [the foreign labor force problem]. This was due to the fact that, in spite of the diverging interests represented within the committee, all participating organizations had in one way or in another profited from the formerly positive image of Switzerland abroad (Farago 1986). If, for some, the image of Switzerland as a model of humanitarism, neutrality, pluralism, and democracy, as well as of reliability, quality, and transparency had long represented a key competitive advantage in different domains of political and economic life, for others, these features had legitimized and

justified policies and political measures. In spite of the different types and contexts of capitalization, in all cases, these sociocultural ideologies of the nation had contributed to a reproduction of the social, political, and economic order sustaining and reproducing the relations of difference and inequality in Switzerland. It was a system from which the sectors of Switzerland's political and economic establishment represented in the committee had benefitted for many decades (see Degen 1987, 2012; David and Mach 2012 for a historical account of the foundations of political and economic inequality in Switzerland).

There was a long discussion on the extent to which the methodological reservations about the survey conducted in Italy should have consequences for the market analysis that the *Committee Panel* was asked to provide and that would define Switzerland's global image. Specifically, there were voices in the *Political Department* asking for an external, professional agency to perform the market analysis (see the committee's summarized minutes of September 28, 1972). However, the authorities decided to charge the committee with this task, first, on account of the enormous financial investment that outsourcing of the survey would have implied: increased costs would not been haven accepted by the parliamentarians. Second, the advantage of keeping the preparation and implementation of the survey internal was justified by the short time available for the study and by the already existing synergies and contact with participants. Finally, retaining the organization and implementation of the survey was conducive to maintaining control over the results of the survey as well as their circulation and consumption by both members of parliament and the Swiss public (see the committee's summarized minutes of September 28, 1972).

This is why, in the following weeks and months, the *Committee Panel* and more particularly its secretary, Marot, started to develop a questionnaire that would provide the basis for the mandated market analysis investigating the status of Switzerland's image in the world. While in the case of the survey conducted in Italy, only staff members of the Swiss embassy and consulates were targeted, the committee decided to address a more diverse public with their study. This time, the sample would include Switzerland's consular and diplomatic corps all over the world, members of international Swiss schools, representatives of the Swiss associations abroad, offices of *Swissair* and of *Swiss Office of Tourism* located in the target countries, and directors of chambers of commerce, as well as well-known Swiss and non Swiss personalities having lived or living in Switzerland. While it would be interesting to better understand the logics behind the definition of this sample, i.e. who was considered competent to give information about the image of Switzerland abroad, this element was not discussed within the committee (or at least the summarized minutes show no evidence of such discussions). This is particularly striking, since the delegate of *Swiss Office of Tourism* had found fault with the fact that citizens and tourists from the target countries themselves had not been consulted at any time during the preparatory phase of the study.

In the next section, I focus in more detail on the questionnaire, on its structure and

questions, and on how the members of the committee evaluated the questionnaire's results in terms of the gained knowledge about the status of Switzerland's image abroad.

Researching Switzerland's image in the world

The survey participants were provided with an eight-page questionnaire regarding the image of Switzerland and the promotional practices in their countries of residence. The questionnaire's questions were formulated on the base of the results obtained from the survey conducted in Italy (see the summarized minutes of September 8, 1972 and September 28, 1972). The questionnaire sent to the selected sample was structured as follows:

I. Allgemeine Wertung der nachstehenden aufgeführten Tätigkeiten in Ihrem Wohnsitzland [General evaluation of the abovementioned promotional practices in your country of residence]. The participants were asked to evaluate the promotional practices (a detailed list of promotional practices, promotional events, and cultural manifestations as well as political activities were proposed) in terms of their efficacy (the participants were asked to chose from, high, medium, low), their costs (high, medium, moderate), the public targeted (elite, youth, broad audience), the produced interest (high, medium, moderate), and the consumption of the provided practice (high, sufficient, insufficient).

II. Tätigkeitsgebiete der in der Schweiz und in Ihrem Wohnsitzland bestehenden Institutionen [Fields of activity of the institutions existing in Switzerland and in your country of residence]. In this second part of the questionnaire, a list of Swiss and foreign promotional institutions and a list of possible promotional activities was put forward. The participants were asked to name which institution provided which type of promotional activity.

III. Ansehen der Schweiz in Ihrem Wohnsitzland [Image of Switzerland in your country of residence]. The participants could choose between excellent, good, and bad to describe the image of Switzerland in their country of residence. Then, they were asked to specify their answer by selecting positive and/or negative characteristics from a list that drew on the results of the pre-study. The participants were allowed to choose as many qualities as they wished. The list with positive qualities was composed of the following items:

- Rotes Kreuz/Solidarität [Red Cross/solidarity];
- friedliches, neutrales Land [peaceful, neutral country];
- Gleichgewicht (Konfession, Kultur usw.) [balance (religion, culture, etc.)];
- gut regiertes, stabiles Land [well governed, stable country];
- arbeitsames Volk [hard-working population];
- Land mit beständiger Währung [country with a stable currency];
- sauberes, gut unterhaltenes Land [clean, orderly country];
- Qualität und Präzision [quality and precision];

- Idyllisches Land (Herden, Hirten usw.) [idyllic landscape (herds, shepherds, etc.)];
- Eldorado des Tourismus [Eldorado of tourism];
- Wiege der Demokratie [cradle of democracy].

It is clear that these qualities essentially reproduce modern conceptions of Switzerland nation as humanitarian, democratic, and pluralist, and that they point to values and characteristics that have traditionally characterized the ideologies of the ideal "Swiss" and authentic "Switzerland" see Kreis 1991, 2004a,b, 2009a,b; Watts 1998 for a critical discussion of Swiss myths and of modern ideologies of the Swiss nation). The list of negative characteristics consisted of the following attributes (according to the summarized minutes of September 28, 1972 the list of negative qualities standing for Switzerland resulted from the findings of the survey conducted in Italy):

- isolationistisches Land [isolationistic country];
- politisch wenig objektives Volk [politically not very objective people];
- Land ohne Frauenstimmrecht [country without women's right to vote];
- der modernen Welt wenig aufgeschlossenes Volk [population that is not very open to the modern world];
- Land ohne eigene Kultur [country without its own culture];
- Land des Bankgeheimnisses [country of banking secrecy];
- Land, das Fremdarbeiter schlecht behandelt [country that treats the foreign labor force poorly];
- fremdenfeindliches Land [xenophobic country];
- wenig liebenswürdige Bevölkerung [not very amiable population];
- Überlegenheitsgefühl [sense of superiority];
- Land ohne Phantasie [country without phantasy].

IV. Verschiedenes [Miscellaneous]. Finally, the participants were asked to define the public that should be addressed in the their country of residence in order to improve the image of Switzerland. The questionnaire proposed a list of possible addressees: *Jugend* [the youth]; *ein Publikum mittleren Alters* [a middle-aged public]; *behinderte Menschen* [disabled individuals]; *die Elite* [the elite]; *ein Fachpublikum* [a specialized public]; *das lokale Establishment* [the local authorities], *ein breites Publikum* [a broad audience]; *Schweizer Organisationen und Vereine* [Swiss organizations and associations]. The participants were also asked to prioritize the audiences to be addressed: they had to decide between first, second and third priority. In its comprehensive plan, the *Committee Panel* presented among other

things the results of the survey (I discuss the comprehensive plan in more detail in the next section). 389 individuals had answered the questionnaires: 160 from the consular and diplomatic corps; 34 from the consular agencies; 17 from *Swiss Office of Tourism offices* around the world; 50 from the international agencies by Swissair; five from the Swiss Chambers of Commerce and from other Swiss enterprises; eight from the Swiss international schools; 51 members of the *Organisation of the Swiss abroad*; 64 from high-profile Swiss and non-Swiss individuals. The organizers further categorized the participants in terms of their professional backgrounds: 149 had a diplomatic or consular profession; 103 individuals were representatives of the economic and touristic circles; 29 were teachers or representatives of academia; 25 were researchers and individuals with technical backgrounds; 34 had other professions; and 40 were retired individuals or persons who didn't state their profession.

Now, the summarized minutes of December 13, 1973, September 24, 1974, and October 22, 1974 reveal that, while the first questionnaires were coming back and the members of the committee were starting to acknowledge the results of the study, the committee members realized that, despite the diversification of the targeted respondents and major improvements in formulating precise questions, the results of the survey seemed to corroborate the findings of the survey conducted on Italy: namely, that despite the apparently excellent image of Switzerland in the majority of its European partner countries (but also in the US), especially in the entrepreneurial and leading circles of these countries, Switzerland's image is revealed as more precarious in the home countries of the foreign labor force living in Switzerland (such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey), but also in other parts of the world such as Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and in some countries of Northern Europe (such as Sweden). Furthermore, Switzerland's image seemed to be tarnished as well in intellectual, academic, and artistic circles, and among the younger generations more generally.

In keeping with what we have observed in the case of the committee's deliberations on the first survey conducted in Italy, in this case, again, the findings were interpreted as being the result of methodological weaknesses of the questionnaire. Of particular note is that a discussion arose within the committee as to the appropriateness of the pre-established categories of Switzerland's image – items that they themselves had established. Some members of the board wanted to reformulate the categories and the answers corresponding to these categories in order to make them more "serious." They indeed feared that the characteristics describing Switzerland in the questionnaire would not be considered as legitimate and appropriate by the parliamentarians because they would not be compatible with their image of Switzerland; this bore potential to delegitimize the survey as a whole. In addition, there were disputes within the committee concerning the appropriateness of such a survey for the definition of Switzerland's image abroad. Some members of the committee argued that a quantitative study could not do justice to the complexity of the phenomenon under investigation and that it would not leave enough room for the participants to clarify

their positions.

Now, the committee's member found a compromise based on the idea that the apparent methodological weaknesses of the survey could be compensated in the comprehensive plan, in which the results of the survey would be entextualize and presented to the federal authorities and to parliamentarians. These texts would then provide an opportunity to explain the complexity of the knowledge gained, and to recontextualize the survey's findings on Switzerland's image in their context of emergence. That is, they would explain the conditions and specificities of the places where the image of Switzerland did not correspond to the expectations, and describe the local and national logics and mechanisms causing the image of the nation to take the form it did.

In the next section, I put forward a discussion of the *Bericht der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Aulsand* [*Report of the Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*] entextualizing the expertise genereated by the committee, especially the results of the survey conducted around the world. This text, which represented the comprehensive plan the committee was mandated to develop, was addressed to the federal government and to the parliamentarian chambers. The comprehensive plan was devised as a product of expertise providing the foundation for the formulation of a federal law regimenting the promotion of Switzerland abroad, while also laying the groundwork for the parliamentarian debate on this law.

By focusing on the elements of the comprehensive plan that provide information on Switzerland's image in the targeted countries, in the following I analyze how these findings are presented and how the discursive work of compensation and recalibration decided within the committee is done. I aim to explain the effects this discursive work has on what becomes sayable about Switzerland's and its image in the world. In doing so, I prepare the terrain for the last section of this chapter, in which I return to the Federal Councilor's speech (presented in the introduction of this chapter) to demonstrate why this speech and the way national diversity is capitalized on in it should be understood as taking a clear position on the Switzerland's image abroad as presented in the comprehensive plan.

The report of the Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad

The comprehensive plan called *Report of the Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*, was produced in a German and a French version, as dictated by the rules on translation of the Swiss Federal Administration and national parliament; the French version is a translation of the German original. Taking the structure the questionnaire as a basis, the 110-page comprehensive plan was organized as follows:

1. Einführung [Introduction], relating the production process of the report and the mandate of the Coordinating Committee responsible for producing it; naming the members of the committee having participated in producing the report; outlining the modalities of work of

the committee; and, more particularly, describing the committee that provided the concrete data collection and editorial work. In addition, the introduction contains methodological explanations of the data collection process and stresses that the study was allegedly "highly" representative.

2. Das Ansehen der Schweiz im Ausland [The Image of Switzerland Abroad]. The second chapter extensively presents the results (first the positive factors, and then the negative factors) of the survey in terms of the quality of the image of Switzerland.

3. Die an der Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland interessierten Organisationen und Institutionen [The Organizations Interested in the Presence of Switzerland Abroad]. The third chapter entails a synthetic overview over the multitude of organizations providing a promotion of Switzerland abroad. This includes an account regarding their history; the cultural, political, or economic sector on which their promotional practices focused; and their financing and relation to the federal level of the Swiss state.

4. Hauptformen der schweizerischen Präsenz im Ausland [Forms of Presence by Switzerland Abroad]. In this chapter, the report enumerates the different types and genres of promotional activities that are provided by the organizations presented in chapter 3 as well as the several bilateral agreements between the Swiss government and the other western countries.

5. Gesamtkonzeption [Overall Conception]. Finally the report delineates an overall conception of the promotion of Switzerland, including some proposals in terms of reorganization of the promotional institutional apparatus of the Swiss nation, suggestions for specific promotional events and activities, and input about the financing of such activities, as well as the organizations providing them with some insight into the public groups that should be targeted.

In this section, I particularly focus on *chapter 2* of the report, namely on the way the results concerning the image of Switzerland are presented and commented. I first pay attention to two introductory paragraphs entitled *Kenntnis der Schweiz* [Knowledge of Switzerland] and *Vorbemerkungen* [Preliminary Remarks] which both aim to qualifiy the results of the research, to lessen the negative critique expressed against Switzerland, and, as becomes apparent, to delegitimize the voices expressing this critique.

> 2.1. Kenntnis der Schweiz
> Der Stand der Information über unser Land hängt in hohem Masse von der Haltung der örtlichen Massenmedien ab [...]. In der Tat und Wahrheit können nur verhältnismässig wenige Ausländer ihr Urteil auf eigene Erfahrung stützen, die sie im Laufe von Reisen in unserem Land (als Touristen, Geschäftsleute, Diplomaten usw.), anlässlich von Studienaufenthalten (an Privatschulen, Universitäten usw.) oder sogar als politische Flüchtlinge gesammelt haben.
>
> [2.1. Knowledge about Switzerland
> The level of knowledge of our country is highly dependent on the attitude of the

> local mass media [...]. In fact, proportionally speaking, only a few foreigners can form an opinion about Switzerland based on their own experiences during trips to our country (as tourists, business people, diplomats, etc.), in the context of studies (in private schools, universities, etc.) or even as refugees.]

This paragraph precedes the general discussion of the image of Switzerland abroad and can be regarded as a preamble to the presented statements about Switzerland. The discursively constructed picture of the foreign population judging Switzerland is one of unknowing subjects drawing their own conclusions about Switzerland based on information provided by the media. What is interesting here is the way the report hierarchizes foreign citizens, meaning the way the text gives legitimacy in terms of who is able to judge Switzerland and who is not. On the one hand, legitimacy has been given to "*tourists," "business people,"* and *"diplomats"* as well as "*foreign students"* and "*refugees*" (at this time in Swiss history, a major part of the refugees were part of an international cultural or religious elite, see Mahning 2005). In short: all these groups represent a certain economic and political elite. On the other hand, the foreign labor force and their families and relatives in their countries of origin, whose living and working conditions were the major source of Switzerland's negative image, were deliberately excluded from having access to what was considered to be legitimate knowledge of Switzerland.

This sort of hierarchization and the delegitimization of the judgments about Switzerland materializing in the report are not neutral, but rather tied to very specific needs and interests of the *Coordinating Committee* and its *Panel*. While the committee was supposed to provide a concrete picture of the reputation of Switzerland in the international markets and to propose some explanations for this negative image, it was not in their best interest to attack the national government and the parliamentarians. We should not forget that the negative image of Switzerland was to a major part the result of the repressive policies the Swiss state had adopted; as such, the government officials and the parliamentarians could be held directly responsible for the nation's negative image. However, offending the addressees of the reports would have meant endangering the passage of the new federal law on the promotion of Switzerland abroad and, with that as well, the existence of the committee itself, which was contingent on the adoption of the new legislative framework. Consequently, the committee's strategy was to prove they were able to fulfill their mandate, i.e. to produce an expert discourse on Switzerland and its reputation, while also highlighting the existing gap between Switzerland's image abroad and the actual nature of the national institutions. This strategy would allow the parliamentarians and the federal state more generally to save face while at the same time legitimizing the reform of the nation's promotion. Even if the poor image was considered to be based on false assumptions, it would not imply that a rehabilitation of the national reputation was unnecessary.

The delegitimation of the opinions, however, were not restricted to this introductory paragraph, but can also be observed in the actual presentation of the results. In the following,

I first briefly present the results of the study that concern the image of Switzerland. Then, in a second step, I focus more attention on some negative aspects of Switzerland's image and discuss the way these results are presented in the report; in addition, I highlight the discursive resources that have been activated to construct these results as not representing the "true" nature of Switzerland and its political institutions.

The factors contributing to a positive image of Switzerland were:

- *Qualität und Präzision* [quality and precision], and *gut regiertes, stabiles Land* [well governed, stable country], with 70% of the preferences;
- *friedliches, neutrales Land* [peaceful, neutral country],
- *Land mit beständiger Währung* [country with stable currency], mentioned by 55% of the sample;
- *sauberes und gut unterhaltenes Land* [clean, orderly country], which emerged in 50% of the cases;
- *Eldorado des Tourismus* [Eldorado of tourism], which emerged in 40% of the cases;
- and *arbeitsames Volk* [hard-working population], mentioned in 35% of the cases.

The negative aspects were:

- *Land des Bankgeheimnisses* [country of banking secrecy], mentioned by 80% of the participants;
- *Land ohne Frauenstimmrecht* [country without women's right to vote], which emerged in 30% of the cases;
- Überlegenheitsgefühl [sense of superiority], stated by 25% of the participants;
- *Land ohne Phantasie* [country without fantasy], chosen by 20% of the sample;
- *Land das Fremdarbeiter schlecht behandelt* [country that treats the foreign labor force poorly],
- *wenig liebenswürdige Bevölkerung* [not very amiable population],
- and *isolationistisches Land* [an isolationist country], emerged in 15% of the cases;
- *der modernen Welt wenig aufgeschlossenes Volk* [population that is not very open to the modern world],
- *Land ohne eigene Kultur* [country without own culture],
- and *fremdenfeindliches Land* [xenophobic country], all mentioned in 10% of the cases;
- and finally *politisch wenig objektives Volk* [politically less objective country], that was chosen by 7% of the sample.

While the positive components of Switzerland's image were presented without

comment, in the case of the negative factors, a major investment in discursive work providing contextualization and explanation as well as evaluation can be observed. The very first meta- comment is made in the paragraph immediately preceding the presentation of the negative comments:

> Vorbemerkungen. Die positiven Kriterien wurden nahezu doppelt so oft angeführt wie die negativen, was die verhältnismässig niedrigen Prozentzahlen für die Nennung der Negativa erklärt.
>
> [Preliminary remarks. The positive criteria were mentioned nearly twice as often as the negatives aspects, which explains the proportionally small percentages of negative criteria.]

Although this preliminary explanations may be understood literally as methodological meta-comment on the percentage of naming criteria and as a further means to frame the expertise of the coordinating committee and its panel in terms of the survey and interpretation of quantitative data, I read it rather as a way to qualify and temper the strongly negative statements made about Switzerland. This is due to the fact that, while the percentages clearly indicate that the negative components are less often mentioned than the positive, in terms of their material visibility within the report, both the negative and the positive criteria occupy the same space, thus giving the impression of a balance. Furthermore, because the loaded effect of negative factors might offend the national feelings of pride of an audience that already was skeptical about the validity of these results, these preliminary remarks were a means to attenuate the importance of these factors.

In the following section, I would like to pay particular attention to two of the negative criteria *Country, that treats the foreign labor force poorly*, and *Xenophobic country* and discuss the discursive resources employed in presenting, contextualizing, and mitigating these results:

> Land, das die Fremdarbeiter schlecht behandelt. Dieser ungünstige Ruf wird nur in ungefähr 15% der Antworten erwähnt. Er stellt aber die wichtigste negative Komponente in Italien und in Spanien dar, wo er in nahezu 70% der Fälle genannt wird.
> Immerhin ist diese Vorstellungsbild auch in einem Land wie Italien nicht einheitlich; man kann in einigen Landesteilen und bei bestimmten Kreisen ein beachtliches Verständnis für unsere Probleme feststellen.
>
> [Country that treats the foreign labor force poorly. This unfavorable reputation is mentioned in only circa 15% of the answers. It does, however, represent the most important factor [of Switzerland's image] in Italy and Spain, where it is mentioned in almost 70% of the cases.
> Nevertheless, even in a country such as Italy, this opinion is not consistent; in some parts of the country and in specific groups, considerable understanding for our concerns can be ascertained.]

The text invests a great deal of discursive work in minimizing the importance of this negative

factor. One strategy is represented by the use of the adverb *only* that qualifies the pertinence of the 15% for Switzerland's image abroad. A second strategy is characterized by a complexification of the 15%, that through the *however* is staged as being a consequence of the negative image of Switzerland in Italy and Spain, two countries, in which Switzerland's reputation is particularly bad. While this specification is, once again, a way to frame the committee's expertise in reading the data, it is also a way of producing complex interpretations of the study; in either case, it is a means to further question the validity of the 15%. Indeed, if 70% of the participants in Italy and Spain mentioned *Country that treats the foreign labor force poorly* as a key factor of Switzerland's image, their answers made up a major part of the overall 15%. This implies that almost no other person from another country used this factor to designate Switzerland, which in turn makes it possible to place the value of these 15% into question and to limit the significance of this negative factor more generally.

In addition, the second part of the excerpt entails a yet stronger qualification. While the term *such* in the phrase *in a country such as Italy* indexes the fact that everybody knows that Italy is one of the countries where the image of Switzerland is poor, the text explains that even in such a country, the image is not homogeneous. By explicitly stating that the 70% represents only one part of the Italian population, the authors are able to undermine the significance of the 70% along with the 15% (which, as we have seen, resulted from a 70% population sample). Finally, to defend the tarnished image of the Swiss political system and to regain legitimacy, the text uses the inclusive formula *our concerns* to stage the solidarity and unity of all governmental actors. Because the repressive migration laws were not only contested abroad, but also within parliament itself – where some groups had fought them for many years – this inclusive formula was necessary to prevent the negative image which became manifest in the report from resulting in new parlementarian conflicts regarding the restrictive laws.

Second, I propose a discussion of the criterion *Xenophobic country*.

> Fremdenfeindliches Land. Diese negative Komponente des Rufes der Schweiz wird nur in annährend 10% der Antworten erwähnt; sie muss jedoch mit den Kriterien «Land, das Fremdarbeiter schlecht behandelt» in Parallele gesetzt werden. Gewisse Schwerpunkte werden insofern wieder erkennbar, als die schweizerische «Fremdenfeindlichkeit» stärker in Italien, in den arabischen Ländern und auf der Iberischen Halbinsel empfunden wird.
> Die Initiative gegen die «Überfremdung», die Art, wie die Presse einzelne tragische Vorfälle ausgeschlachtet hat, sowie die Haltung gewisser Besitzer von öffentlichen Lokalen und von Liegenschaften haben viel dazu beigetragen, in den soeben genannten Ländern den Ruf der Schweiz als fremdenfeindliches Land zu verbreiten.
>
> [Xenophobic country. This negative component of Switzerland's reputation is mentioned in only 10% of the responses; however, this must be seen in connection with the criterion of "Country that treats the foreign labor force poorly." Some patterns can insofar be recognized, as the Swiss "xenophobic nature" is more

> strongly perceived in Italy, in the Arabic countries, and on the Iberian peninsula. The initiative against the "foreign infiltration," the way the media has exploited some single tragic events, as well as the behavior of certain owners of restaurants and buildings have contributed strongly to the spread of Switzerland's reputation in the aforementioned countries as a xenophobic country.]

While, in keeping with the aforementioned factor, in this case as well, the 10% were minimized by the adverb "only," two new qualifying strategies emerge. On the one hand, the 10% were related to the negative factor *Country that treats the foreign labor force poorly*. This enabled the authors to say that, after having termed Switzerland a country where the foreign labor forces are badly treated, choosing the factor *Xenophobic country* is a must, and is therefore not a separate or new statement. Consequently, the text asks its target audience not to add the 10% agreeing with the statement *Xenophobic country* to the 15% of *Country that treats the foreign labor force poorly*, but to see this 10% simply as a remanifestation of the dissatisfaction of the those having accused Switzerland of treating immigrants badly.

Further, the second discursive strategy emerging in the text consists in the highlighting of patterns, i.e. of recurrent choices that distort the results. The text explains that these negative factors are ascribable to the usual countries (Italy, the Arabic countries, and the Iberian peninsula), and that, consequently, the significance of these factors should not be overinterpreted.

Finally, to delegitimize the value of the negative opinions, the text questions through the noun *the way* (in German, when this noun is used in the given context, it generally functions as a method to express disapproval, thereby implying a bad habit, or *the bad way*) and the verb *exploited* (indicating, if not false, unduly exaggerated and sensationalist coverage) the quality of the media reports of these events.

To sum up, the discussion of the how the negative factors were presented in the report highlights how the results of the study were discredited by the report itself. More particularly, it shows how the report constructs the image of Switzerland as being at odds with the "real" Switzerland, and as being influenced by individual events that were unfairly exploited and distorted by politicized media or actors.

Now, as already mentioned, the comprehensive plan was initially submitted to the authorities of the Political Department, who took the expert knowledge generated to formulate a federal act creating the legislative conditions for a major coordination of Switzerland's promotion abroad. The plan was then submitted to the parliamentarian chambers, which were asked to deliberate on the federal act provided by the Political Department. The comprehensive plan was annexed to the bill and served as a piece of expertise enriching the parliamentarian debate.

In the following section, I focus on this parliamentarian debate, with special emphasis on the very last part of the deliberations, when Federal Councilor Seiler asked parliament to adopt the bill under deliberation. In the introduction to this chapter, I stated that

it is necessary to consider the legislative pre-parliamentarian process leading to the parliamentarian debates on the reform of Switzerland's promotion abroad in order to better understand how multilingualism and cultural diversity emerged as a key object of promotional investment in the Federal Councilor's speech. Now that the ground for an in-depth comprehension of the interests and logics at stake has been prepared, in the following section I put forward a more detailed analysis of the speech and reflect on the specific role the ideology of national multilingualism and cultural diversity had at this specific moment in the legislative process. In addition, I question which forms of national diversity are valorized and which are not, and I ask why; more generally, I reflect on what all this reveals about the ways and reasons for modern ideologies of the nation to be invested in and produced under late capitalism.

Deliberating the Report in Federal Parliament

As already stated in the previous section of this chapter, the Federal Councilor's speech was situated at the very end of the parliamentarian deliberation, when, according to the institutionalized sequence of the parliamentarian debate, a member of the Federal Council is normally asked to respond to the dissent emerging from the debates and to justify passage of the submitted bill with a final speech.

Now, in contrast to the fears expressed by the committee panel, the debates in the parliamentarian chambers (I will particularly focus on the debates occurring within the National Council, the chamber representing the Swiss people) were not as contested as expected. This also counts for the deliberations in the second chamber, the Council of States, representing the cantons. In this specific setting, only three parliamentarians took the floor to discuss the bill.

In the following, I first present the broad lines of the interventions of the three parliamentarians, and then focus more in detail on the Federal Councilor's speech. The presentation of the interventions preceding the final speech by the Federal Councilor enables me to better explain the communicative situation in which this interactional text is situated, i.e. to better understand how the parliamentarians position themselves in regard to the knowledge on Switzerland's image produced by the committee's comprehensive plan It furthermore enables me to situate Seiler's speech in an ongoing debate that, together with the institutional processes preceding the events at the federal parliament, acts as condition of possibility for the speech itself and, as such, promotes from an analytical perspective better insight into how it happened that Seiler capitalized in national diversity as he did.

Before starting with my analysis, I first would like to clarify that the analysis of the parliamentarian deliberation put forward in this section draws on the minutes of the parliamentarian session of December 15, 2013. This specific institutional genre, in contrast to other genres of minutes produced in the Federal Administration, is designed to reproduce the

literal wording of a parliamentarian intervention (see Geschäftsreglement des Nationalrates 2003). It therefore grants access from a discursive perspective to the argumentative strategies adopted by those participating in the deliberation process, thereby shedding light on the issues at stake.

Now, the first two speeches were held by the two "rapporteurs," i.e. the two representatives of the parliamentarian commission in which all parliamentarian groups are represented and in which every bill is discussed before being submitted to the plenary of the parliament (in this case it was the *Foreign Affairs Committee*). The role of the two rapporteurs (the logic behind having two rapporteurs is that a bill must be presented to the parliament in at least two national languages, with each rapporteur presenting the bill in one of the national languages) is then to present the federal act to the parliament and to highlight the aspects of the bill that were discussed controversially within the parliamentarian commission. By producing an account of the discussions of the parliamentarian commission, the rapporteur's speech is designed to reveal the major dissent surrounding the bill. In this specific case the bill was presented by the German speaking Social Democrat Furrer, and the French-speaking Berger, a member of the liberal Free Democratic Party.

In his presentation, Furrer first recollected the history of the bill under discussion and more particularly stressed the events having led to the mandate initiating this legislative reform process. He recalled the necessity expressed by both the federal government and the parliamentarian chambers of enhancing the insufficient coordination of the promotional activities of Switzerland's abroad in time of economic change. Second, he pointed to the expertise provided by the *Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* and particularly mentioned the survey conducted by the coordinating committee investigating the status of Switzerland image abroad. (In reference to the division of responsibilities between the Coordinating Committee and its committee that I have presented in *Chapter 2*, neither Furrer nor Berger mentioned the *Committee Panel* in his speech; Furrer only made reference to the coordinating committee when talking about the expertise providing the basis for legitimizing the new federal law). In his discussion, Furrer particularly emphasized the excellent quality of Switzerland's image abroad, as it seemed to emerge from the survey's results ("Das Image unseres Landes wird im allgemeinen als gut bis ausgezeichnet beurteilt" [The image of our country is generally evaluated as good to excellent]). He highlighted the positive qualities that according to the interviewed sample were particularly representative of Switzerland: *Qualität und Präzision* [quality and precision]; *gut regiertes und stabiles Land* [well governed and stable country]; *friedliches, neutrales Land* [peaceful, neutral country]; *Währungsstabilität* [monetary stability]; *sauberes Land* [clean country]. He also discussed the negative findings from the survey: *Bankgeheimnis und Business* [banking secrecy and business]; *Land ohne Frauenstimmrecht* [country without women's right to vote]; *Überlegenheitsgefühl* [sense of superiority]; *Land ohne Phantasie* [country without fantasy];

Herausfordernde Haltung gegenüber Fremdarbeiter [difficult attitude toward foreign labor force]; *Isolationismus* [isolationism]. In his speech, Furrer paid particular attention the preponderance of positive aspects ("Zahlenmässig überwiegen die positiven gegenüber den negativen Äusserungen" [positive statements outnumber the negative ones]) and downplayed the importance of the negative ones ("mit erheblichem Abstand an Nennungen folgen" [at a considerable distance follow]).

Furrer also mentioned the other chapters of the comprehensive plan and recalled the multiplicity of institutions operating in the domain of the promotion of the nation abroad. He then endorsed the suggestions provided by COCO to enhance the coordination of the organizations (support of the diversity of sectorial organizations promoting Switzerland abroad and creation of a institutionalized state-funded platform of exchange between these sectorial promotional organizations; establishment of an organization providing the supra-sectorial promotion of the entire Switzerland; transformation of COCO into an organization providing the supra-sectorial promotion of the nation; major promotional focus on strategically selected markets) and, finally, made known that the parliamentarian commission he represents, the Foreign Affairs Committee, unanimously decided to ask the plenary assembly to adopt the federal act.

The second rapporteur, Berger, also began his speech by recalling the conditions under which the federal government had decided to reform Switzerland's promotion abroad and to initiate a reform process leading to a legislative framework creating the conditions for a major coordination of Switzerland's promotion. He then focused on the composition of the commission, COCO, that worked on the comprehensive plan on which the federal act drew, and mentioned the different departments of the Federal Administration and state-funded organizations that participated in the production of the comprehensive plan. While, like Furrer, Berger also proceeded with a presentation of the results of the survey presented in the comprehensive plan, in contrast to Furrer, he proposed a more critical discussion of the results. While he, too, highlighted the excellent image Switzerland seems to have around the world, he explained that this was particularly the case in the "milieux dirigent" [decision-makers circles] and that, by contrast, the younger generations are much more critical in their attitudes toward Switzerland. He also added that if the majority of the interviewees did had a positive image of Switzerland, most of these respondents only judged Switzerland through clichés. Berger argued that the challenge Switzerland needed to face is to replace these clichés with facts, and this despite Switzerland's diversity and the multiplicity of its tradition and lifestyles. He further stated that the federal law under debate should be adopted in order to facilitate the communication of more factual knowledge on Switzerland – knowledge that would highlight the totality of the nation's characteristics ("la totalité des aspects d'une réalité qui n'est pas seulement économique, mais qui est aussi intellectuel, scientifique, artistique et politique" [the totality of aspects of a reality which is not only economic, but also intellectual,

scientific, artistic, and political]. Finally, he concluded his speech by stressing the key role of the image of Switzerland plays for the county's political and economic status in the world (Nous ne saurions pas négliger les incidences de l'image de notre pays à l'étranger sur notre situation politique et économique dans le monde [We should not neglect the effects the image of our country abroad has on our political and economic situation worldwide]), and by pointing to the necessity of tempering the negative reputation of Switzerland in times of economic restructuring. (It is interesting to note that he believed negative impressions of Switzerland drew on false assumptions of the Swiss country and character.)

After the two rapporteurs spoke, a third parliamentarian, Obrist, also from the liberal Free Democratic Party, took the floor. In his speech, Obrist welcomed the suggestions provided by COCO concerning the coordination of Switzerland abroad and more particularly the proposition to transform COCO itself into a organization that would be responsible for the coordination of all state-funded promotional activities and for the supra-sectorial promotion of the nation. Obrist stated emphatically that the alternative to the suggestions made by COCO, i.e. the merger of all state-funded organizations involved in the promotion of Switzerland abroad into a kind of "Propagandaministerium" [Department of Propaganda] would not be acceptable to his liberal party. According to Obrist, because these organizations would represent the diverging interests and aims of different sectors of Switzerland's political, economic, and cultural life, a transformation of these independent organizations into a centralized structure would contradict the basic principle of subsidiarity on which the Swiss political system draw. Therefore, Obrist said, the Swiss liberal Free Democratic Party would vote to adopt the debated federal act and he invited the other parliamentarian groups to follow his party's example.

At this point, I would like to come back to my point of departure, namely to Seiler's speech closing the parliamentarian deliberation of the federal act. At the outset, I would like to note that my reconstruction is naturally partial since I have focused only on one part of the multiple events characterizing the process under investigation; nevertheless, I think the events presented in this chapter promote better understanding of the value of Seiler's speech and how it happened that his speech took the form it did. Be that as it may, now that I have reconstructed the chain of discursive events leading to this particular speech, I propose a more detailed discussion of Seiler's talk and a reflection on how and why at this specific moment in the legislative process in the production and deliberation of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad,* a member of the federal government decided to invest in national diversity as he did.

But, before starting with my discussion of this excerpt, it seems important to clarify that the speeches held by members of the Federal Councilor in the parliament, in line with other public speeches provided by these members of the executive branch of government (and in conformity with what currently happens around the world in terms of political

communication, see for example Silverstein and Lempert 2013), are not arbitrary. These speeches are carefully planned and formulated by communication specialists. Although I had no access to the preparation phase of the speech, we can fairly assume that the way the Federal Councilor defends the federal act, and the legislative reform project more generally, is not an arbitrary result, but highly strategic and adapted to the moment and place of enunciation. His address is a reflection of the institutional and discursive function of the speech and of the target audience and their interests.

It is also important to recall that in accordance with the ritualized deliberations in the federal department, i.e. in line with the institutionalized, fixed structures and regulations of the discursive work that considering a federal act within the parliamentarian chambers implies, the Federal Councilor's speech at the very end of the debate has a precise function (see Geschäftsreglement des Nationalrates 2003). First it responds to the criticism and/or questions that have been raised during the interventions preceding the speech itself. Second, the Federal Councilor's speech is designed to clarify some aspects of the federal act or of the topic regimented by the federal act, which had not, or had only insufficiently been treated in the deliberations. Third, in line with the interventions by the rapporteurs, the Federal Councilor's speech should summarize the reasons leading to a legislative reform project and to highlight the different milestones that characterized the pre-parliamentarian legislative process. And fourth, the Federal Councilor's speech is meant to persuade the parliamentarians of the importance of the federal act under discussion.

The function of the final part of Seiler's speech corresponds to the necessity to defend the debated bill before the plenary session of the National Council and to legitimize its importance as key tool of foreign policy.

Now, the subsequent question is, what is the role of multilingualism and cultural diversity in the specific moment of Seiler's speech, but also in the federal act's deliberation process more generally? What was considered to belong to national diversity, what not, and why? In order to answer to these questions, we need first to look more precisely at the way diversity is mobilized in Seiler's speech, and to reflect on the qualities and functions attributed to this cultural resource.

In order to make it more convenient for my reader to follow my discussion, I once again present the final part of Seiler speech.

> Bundesrat Seiler: In Tat und Wahrheit sind wir daran interessiert, diesen vielsprachigen Staat mit seinen verschiedenen Zivilisationen und Kulturen auch unseren ausländischen Partnern darzustellen, nicht überheblich, aber als Ausdruck dessen, was wir als politische Nation empfinden: dass wir uns gegenseitig sehr viel zu geben vermögen und dass es uns dank dieser Landesteile und der verschiedenen Sprachen auch möglich ist, in einfachster Weise einen direkten Kontakt zum französischsprachigen, zum italienischen oder allgemein zum lateinischen Raum zu finden, so wie wir andererseits als Deutschschweizer die deutschsprachige Kultur direkt erleben und mitgestalten können. Um dieses Suchen nach einer Synthese

> geht es letzten Endes. Ich fasse zusammen. Wir wollen die Schweiz als Stätte zur Begegnung, die Schweiz als Gliedstaat für viele Menschen verschiedener Kulturen, verschiedener Sprachen, verschiedener Religionen darstellen, und wir brauchen dazu neben gutem Willen auch ein Instrument, das wir uns mit diesem Gesetz geben. [...] Ich bitte Sie, dem Antrag des Bundesrates und Ihrer Kommission zu entsprechen. (Parlamentsprotokoll: Nationalrat 18.12.1975)
>
> [Federal Councilor Seiler**:** In fact and deed, we are interested in presenting our multilingual state with its diverse civilizations and cultures also to our foreign partners, not in an arrogant way, but as an expression of what we feel as a political nation: [we need to show them] that we have much to offer each other and that, thanks to these several parts of our country and these multiple languages, it is possible for us to easily communicate with the French speaking, the Italian speaking world, and more generally the Romance-language area, just as we as German speakers have the possibility to experience and contribute to the shaping of German- speaking culture. In the end, looking for this synthesis is the challenge. I recapitulate. We want to present Switzerland as a place where cultural encounters take place, as a federal state belonging to many people of different cultures, different languages, different religions. This does not require only good will but also an instrument that we can provide ourselves with through this federal law. [...] I therefore ask you to act on the committee's and the Federal Council's request. (Parliamentary Proceeding: National Council 18.12.1975)]

An analysis of this excerpt enables us to identify the mobilization of a modern ideology of multilingualism and cultural diversity as key element of national identity. More particularly, diversity is first constructed as an icon of Switzerland's solidarity, humanitarianism, and pluralism. It is interesting to note how the text defines Switzerland as a place to encounter of different forms of diversity by presenting the country as "Stätte zur Begegngung" [place where cultural encounters take place], and as "Gliedstaat für viele Menschen verschiedener Kulturen, verschiedener Sprachen, verschiedener Religionen" [federal state belonging to many people of different cultures, different languages, different religions], and how it highlights the sense of solidarity between these different forms of diversity by using the formulation "dass wir uns gegenseitig sehr viel zu geben vermögen" [that we have much to offer each other]. Second, Switzerland's diversity is constructed as an icon of the nation's inherently European character. In reference to this point, see how the text constructs through the formulations "direkter Kontakt" [direct contact] and also by "direkt erleben und mitgestalten" [to experience and contribute to the shaping] the three Swiss linguistic communities as part of a larger transnational cultural space connecting Switzerland to German-, French- and Italian-speaking Europe. On the other hand, we also observe the emergence of an ideology of multilingualism and cultural diversity as a promotional feature, i.e. as key element of national pride, which needs to be communicated to Switzerland's partners.

In this regard, it becomes apparent that the Federal Councilor's systematic use of the first-person plural personal pronouns "wir" [we] and "uns" [us] and the use of the possessive pronoun "unser" [we] constructs himself and his addressees, i.e. the

parliamentarians, as a uniform community sharing the same interests and political and economic prospects; indeed, he defines his own voice not only as the voice of parliament, but also that of the nation ("was wir als politische Nation empfinden" [what we feel as a political nation]). This enables him to authorize and legitimize his valorization of multilingualism and cultural diversity as key features of national pride and also to erase the existing divergencies in parliament regarding what the parliamentarians consider at this specific moment in time to be national diversity and what not (I come back to this point below).

Now, of course this construction of multilingual and cultural diversity as key features of national identity and the transformation of this ideology of the nation in an object of promotional investment in this specific context is not neutral, but related to the criticism with which Switzerland was confronted during this period and which also became manifest in the committee's comprehensive plan on which the debate federal act relies. More particularly, the observed mobilization of an ideology of multilingual and multicultural Switzerland and the definition of this indentitarian feature as an element indexing Switzerland's traditional solidarity and humanitarianism, and European character is a means to respond to the criticism addressed to Switzerland by its partner countries regarding its supposed anti-European attitude and its economic management of diversity on the national territory.

However, if Seiler's construction of multilingualism and cultural diversity as a promotional capital can be interpreted as a way to delineate a future promotional strategy constructing Switzerland as unique place of humantarianism and solidarity, this mobilization of a modern sociocultural ideology of the nation in this specific communicational frame – in a context where the Federal Council is asked to defend the governmental enabling of an enhancement of the promotion of Switzerland abroad – must also be understood as a means to create the conditions for the adoption of this federal act. As Seiler explicitly mentions in the final part of his speech, the communicated message is that, in order to create the conditions for a international promotion of Switzerland's diversity thus reestablishing an international perception of Switzerland as a model of solidarity and humanitarianism, the parliamentarians must adopt the deliberated federal act, which is constructed as a tool facilitating the dissemination of the positive, traditional image.

Now, on the assumption that every mobilization of a semiotic resource (such as the modern ideology of Swiss diversity in Seiler's speech) for a specific communicative purpose (for example, as in this case, as a means to argue for the adoption of a federal law) implies a recontextualization and as such adaptation and transformation of this ideology according to the specific communicational situation, or according to a specific market defining the limits of acceptability of such an ideology, the question naturally arises as to which forms of multilingualism and cultural diversities are considered to be legitimate in Seiler's speech (and which not) to convince his addressees (the parliamentarians) of the importance of the federal act under debate.

In this regard, a more precise analysis of Seiler's speech enables a better understanding of what is meant by Swiss diversity in this specific context: which qualities and features are construed as Swiss diversity. We can observe the coexistence of a more diffuse discourse that constructs Switzerland's diversity as the product of multiple languages, multiple civilizations, and cultures, as well as different religions, but without specifying which language, which culture, and which religions are meant. The repeated use of "verschiedener" and "verschiedenen" [multiple] qualifying Switzerland's people languages, cultures and religions, but also terms such as "vielsprachig" [multilingual] enable the speaker to point out existing diversity, while at the same time leaving open a precise definition of these diverse people, languages, cultures, and religions. At the same time, we also observe the construction of Swiss diversity as characterized by three national languages and cultures (the French, Italian, and German language are explicitly mentioned, but the text does not refer to Rumantsch).

In other words, if by pinpointing Switzerland's European character, Seiler explicitly valorizes the German, French, and Italian-speaking community living on the national territory and constructs these forms of diversity as "national," in the overall picture of his celebration of Switzerland's as a place of solidarity and humanitarian cultural encounter, it is not clear what precisely constitutes Switzerland's diversity.

I would like to argue that this ambiguity is not arbitrary, but strategic. While on the one hand, Swiss diversity was constructed as a means to respond to the criticism addressed to Switzerland's political system at this specific moment in time and was therefore mobilized by Seiler in his speech addressed to the federal chambers to legitimize the necessity of a promotional framework creating the conditions for a communication of this feature of national pride, the investment in national diversity as an index of both Switzerland's European character and Switzerland's sense of solidarity and humanitarianism, i.e. as key features of the Swiss political model, was politically dangerous; it was dangerous because in years characterized by tense debates concerning the role and status of the foreign labor force in Switzerland and the nation's attitude regarding an integrating Europe, there was no political consensus about the nature of Swiss diversity, and more particularly about what this feature of national pride would signify for Switzerland's attitude toward forms of diversity resulting from migration or for Switzerland's innate Europeanness. Consequently, since a thorough clarification of the nature of Switzerland's diversity (for example an explicit valorization of forms of diversity resulting from foreign labor force as part of what could be considered Switzerland's national diversity) would have meant to take the part of one of these ideologies of the nation at the expense of others aspects, the ambiguity of the discourse produced by Seiler enabled him to justify the multiplicity of conceptions of Switzerland and its diversity and, as a result, to lay the groundwork for the adoption of the federal act.

Now, as I have already anticipated in my introduction, Seiler's speech was

effective: after the Federal Council's speech, the bill regulating a redefinition of the legislative framework for the promotion of Switzerland abroad was accepted by the majority of parliament and resulted in the establishment of the *Coordinating Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad*. As mentioned in previous sections, while COCO was already operational before the adoption of the law, until this specific moment in time, COCO had been neither allowed to produce own its promotional campaigns, nor to implement measures for a better coordination of the promotional practices. The official establishment of the committee and the ensuing mandate created the conditions for the organization's activities as a federal entity a) providing the conditions for an enhanced coordination of the promotional practices provided by the state-funded organizations and b) acting as independent organization responsible for the supra-sectorial promotion of the nation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I put forward a reconstruction of the chain of discursive events leading to Seiler's celebration of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity as key features of national identity and the act of capitalizing on this cultural resource as a major object of promotional investment.

It was my intention to demonstrate that Seiler's celebration of national diversity and the way he mobilized this modern sociocultural ideology of the Swiss nation in his speech is far from being neutral; it also in no way represents a philanthropic celebration of pluralism and democracy at the expense of uniformity and forms of inequality. It was much more my intention to show that the celebration of diversity (and the forms of diversity being considered as particularly valuable) is always political and fundamentally linked to specific interests and political projects. More particularly, Seiler's mobilization of a modern ideology of national diversity at this particular moment in time was related to the political necessity of adopting the federal act under debate, i.e. to institute a promotional framework creating the conditions for an appropriate response to the criticism addressed to Switzerland in these years and to re-establish an image of Switzerland abroad which, according to the national political and economic elite, has been at the base of Switzerland's political and economic success for decades.

But why invest in multilingualism and cultural diversity to respond to accusations of anti-European attitudes, materialism, and xenophobia? Why not highlight other aspects of Switzerland? And who wins and loses from the fact that diversity is invested in as it is?

Now, as we have seen, the investment in national diversity, i.e. the construction of national multilingualism and cultural diversity as a national capital can be explained in two interrelated ways:

On the one hand, capitalizing on Swiss diversity and its construction as a future promotional feature by Federal Councilor Seiler, can be explained by the potential this

modern ideology of the nation has for promotionally highlighting Switzerland's status as a "Sonderfall" [exception]. This is done in terms of the principle of "unity in diversity" as the federal state is traditionally cast, by its capability to discursively reproduce the international image of the Swiss nation as an icon of pluralism, solidarity, and humanitarianism, as well as by being inherently European and open. Indeed, “unity in diversity” is constructed by the consistent and systematic aptitude to discursively neutralize both the forms of inequality produced by the social and economic order in Switzerland and the nation's critical attitude in regard to Europe and its political and economic integration.

On the other hand, the knowledge of Switzerland's image abroad produced by the *Commission Committee*, and more particularly the criticism emerging from the survey entextualized in their comprehensive plan could be perceived as addressed directly to the governmental institutions, including the parliamentarians, as the individuals who adopted the repressive migration polices and who expressed strong disapproval of the European integration process (all of which were naturally polices and interventions that were highly contested within parliament itself). The investment in multilingualism and cultural diversity in Seiler's speech to the National Council, i.e. the celebration of the federal state and its unicity in being able to manage different forms of diversity (thus also implying a celebration of those political actors who through their legislative activity made this management possible) can also be explained by the necessity to avoid new tensions within parliament regarding the legitimacy of the policies having lead to this negative image abroad and therefore to not endanger the passage of a federal law that was considered as critical for Switzerland's long-term political and economic success.

It is important to be aware that this celebration of diversity does not have any consequences for the status of foreign labor force in Switzerland in terms of their living and working conditions, nor for other forms of social, political, or economic recognition. Nor does it have any implications for Switzerland's attitude in regard to European integration. This investment in national diversity is much more a means to reproduce and maintain the social and economic order in Switzerland and the relations of inequality and domination that this social order implies.

Seen from this perspective, the observed investment in national diversity in the context of the governmental regimentation of Switzerland's marketing abroad is in complete continuity with modern governmental discourses on Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity. This cultural resources has historically been invested in to legitimize the institution of a polity on the territory that is today called Switzerland, to justify forms of inequality resulting from this political entity, and to reinforce the relations of domination resulting from the distribution of capital on the Swiss territory. It would be false to say that the promotional framework of capitalization on national diversity is new, or different, or surprising. Indeed, historiographical research has shown that there is no prototypical space where individuals

have invested in national diversity to achieve political and economic goals, but that, to the contrary, a specific form of multilingualism and cultural diversity has always been constructed in specific context in Switzerland as a capital to invest in. This traditionally enables some members of Swiss society to have access to forms of symbolic and material recognition.

Along the lines of what I presented in *Chapter 3*, the next two chapters focus on two other major events in the history of the regimentation of Switzerland's promotion abroad. I continue to reflect on how, why, and under which conditions these practices of regimentation occurring with Switzerland's Federal Administration continue to emerge as terrain on which different imaginations of the nation and, more particularly, of national multilingualism and cultural diversity, materialize, crash, or get reproduced. And I question the sociocultural ideologies of difference that are responsible for – under certain conditions – specific forms of diversity being constructed as more valuable than others.

Chapter 4
SwitzerlandTM
In Search of a National Brand

Introduction

The production process of a comprehensive plan leading to an enhanced coordination of the worldwide promotion of Switzerland, to the adoption of the *Federal Act Instituting a Coordination Committee for the Presence of Switzerland* abroad and to the foundation of the *Coordination Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* was only the first phase in a long process of professionalization and reconceptualization of the legislative and institutional framework defining the conditions of possibility for marketing the nation. In this chapter, I focus on a second key event in the history of the governmental regimentation of the nation's promotion, and discuss the ways and the conditions under which multilingualism and cultural diversity reemerged as an object of political and economic investment.

Let me start at the very beginning:

On November 4, 1997, the *Foreign Affairs Committee (FAC)* – the parliamentarian committee focusing on foreign affairs policymaking – submitted the report *Promouvoir l'image de la Suisse* [Promoting the image of Switzerland] to parliament. This was a parliamentarian document evaluating the quality and effectiveness of the promotional activities of the *Coordination Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* (*COCO*).

While the FAC confirmed the strategic role of *COCO* for the economic and social prosperity of the country, the activities of the committee were not judged as sufficiently effective to assure a successful presence of Switzerland in the target markets or to address the challenges posed by late capitalism. Consequently, by means of two parliamentarian motions and one postulate, which were appended to the submitted report, the members of the *FAC* asked for a reform of *COCO*'s mandate and structures, a reconceptualization and modernization of its promotional strategy and campaigns, and a professionalization of its promotional activities.

The *FAC*'s demands found a large majority in the plenary parliamentarian session and gave rise to a three-year reform process. It was in this context that the governmental *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* was instituted and mandated to provide a business plan delineating the broad lines of a future promotional strategy that would do justice to the political and economic requirements arising out of the political-economic situation at hand. The strategy was also required to address the promotional challenges posed by the structures and complexities of the target markets, and explore the promotional possibilities represented by new technologies and promotional channels. Moreover, the business plan was to serve as a

conceptual basis for the formulation of a new law creating the legislative framework for the reform of *COCO*'s organizational structure and promotional strategy.

One of the taskforce's major tasks was the delineation of what was called a *nation-branding* strategy, i.e. a promotional framework that applied corporate branding techniques to Switzerland and its territory. This entailed the design of a "Brand Switzerland," i.e. defining a set of promotional messages entextualizing what at this moment in time were considered to be Switzerland's main positive qualities. In this regard, the "Brand Switzerland" was meant to act as a source of added value that could be mobilized in promotional campaigns to internationally market Switzerland's culture, tourism, and economy as particularly unique, appealing, and sexy. And it is in this context, that the emergence of national multilingualism and cultural diversity as a key element of the "Brand Switzerland" can be observed.

The political investment in this key element of national pride raises several questions concerning the promotional potential of multilingualism and cultural diversity and concerning the logics that construct these cultural resources as a national capital and then transform them into central factors of the "Brand Switzerland":

First, according to which logics and interests are multilingualism and cultural diversity capitalized on when defining the "Brand Switzerland?" Second, which multilingualisms and cultural diversities are considered (by whom) to be particularly legitimate features of the "Brand Switzerland," and which are not? And what are the underlying reasons for one type to be cast as legitimate, while another is considered undesirable? And, third, what does the valorization of (specific forms of) multilingualism and cultural diversity tells us about the role of modern sociocultural ideologies of the nation under late capitalism?

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the value of national multilingualism and cultural diversity as a key feature of the "Brand Switzerland," and particularly of the interests related to the valuation of this cultural resource, in this chapter I put forward a genealogical analysis of the taskforce's definition processes of the "Brand Switzerland." Institutional documents such as reports, memos, and minutes form the basis of my analysis.

In the following sections of this chapter, I focus on the different versions of the national brand in order to demonstrate how and why the brand changed over the course of its definition process. In doing so, I focus on reconstructing the chain of entextualizations leading to the stabilization of the national brand – specifically the five messages this brand consists of. This implies a particular focus on the production process of an initial list of positive qualities designating Switzerland; it also entails an analysis of how these qualities become the object of reformulations, erasures, and regroupings, and how they coalesce into the five message that make up the "Brand Switzerland."

A processual approach exploring the practices of entextualization produced within the taskforce and questioning the logics structuring the observed entextualization practices

enables me to demonstrate how and why diversity emerged as one of five messages of the national brand. It furthermore becomes possible to identify the qualities this specific promotional feature actually consists of, and to uncover existing tension caused by the contrasting ideologies of Switzerland and diverging political and economic interests that characterize the discursive processes under investigation, which ultimately cause capitalization on national diversity to take the form it does.

Sociohistorical Conditionalities of the "Brand Switzerland"

Before focusing on the definition process of the national brand and on the practices of expertise characterizing this institutional process, it is important to better understand how and why in this particular sociohistorical moment national multilingualism and cultural diversity is conceptualized as a key feature of the "Brand Switzerland" and to make sense of the different political and economic interests and ideological positions represented within the taskforce. For this reason, I first put forward an account of the sociohistorical conditionalities of the reform process under investigation. In keeping with the analytical procedure suggested in *Chapter 3*, I particularly focus on those events that, in the investigated discourses themselves, are constructed as being the key events of the processes.

In the *Botschaft über die Neuorientierung und Verstärkung der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland (KOKO)* [Dispatch on the Reorientation and Enhancement of the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad] – the institutional genre that was sent to federal parliament and which explained and legitimized the necessity of a reform of the existing state-funded promotional apparatus – the Federal Council constructed the following two circumstances as being at the root of the call for a professionalized promotional strategy and a definition of the "Brand Switzerland" :

− The international criticism and apparent loss of prestige [Prestige- und Gesichtsverlust] caused by Switzerland's distance [Abseitsstehen] to the European Union and the Swiss government's perceived obligation to create the conditions for Switzerland's access to the integrated European economic market. (It is interesting note how this first aspect strongly echoes the Swiss government's preoccupations observed in the early 1970s).

− The US class action lawsuits against Switzerland's banking industry alleging that Swiss financial institutions aided the Nazi regime by retaining assets of Holocaust victims, and by accepting illegally obtained Nazi plunder and profiting from slave labor during the Third Reich.

As explained in the previous chapter, taking these events as the point of departure could be construed as a risky thing because the actors in the field construct the historicity of the reform processes in which they are involved as "political" and thus related to their own political interests and positions in the debates under investigation. Nonetheless, the aforementioned events may fairly serve as the starting point for my argument precisely

because they constantly emerge as an object according to which the individuals participating in the debates position themselves and as a frame of reference to which they respond. In addition, these events are constructed as an object of legitimation for the decisions taken and for the practices of capitalization of cultural resources (particularly of multilingualism and cultural diversity) provided in these debates.

The following presentation of the "Brand Switzerland's" conditions of possibility named in the dispatch enables me to lay the groundwork for a differentiated understanding of how and why the "Brand Switzerland" took the form it took, and to shed light on the circumstances that made it possible for multilingualism and cultural diversity to merge into a single message of the national brand.

Contesting Switzerland's non-member status in the European Union

In the early 1990s, just a few years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the European integration process accelerated. While in the second half of the 20 century the European Economic Community (EEC) and its policy of deregulating the national markets had created the conditions for improved economic prosperity on the European continent, it was Europe's interest in gaining access to Eastern Europe and to the emerging Asian markets that resulted in an intensification of the will to integrate the European countries and to adopt the Maastricht treaty in 1993, thus giving rise to the European Union (Bellier & Willson 2000).

Despite Switzerland's geographic position in the middle of Europe, the majority of Switzerland's population had always declined to be part of the European political and economic project, an attitude that was consistent with the national myth of an independent and neutral island in the European continent (Kreis 2004). Swiss exceptionalism persisted, although, after World War I, multilingual Switzerland was regularly constructed by the Swiss themselves as the place where the European idea materializes (Sarasin 2003); the status of being a nation apart also remained in tact despite the foreign criticism of Switzerland and its political strategy, as we have seen in the previous chapter, (See my account of Switzerland's attitude regarding European integration in Chapter 3; also see (Goetschel 1994, Goetschel, Bernath, and Schwarz 2005)

Nonetheless, as a reaction to the advancing European integration process, in the early 1990s, a membership in the EEC on the part of Switzerland (and in a second step, in the European Union, which was planned for 1993) emerged at the center of the national political debate (Goetschel 1994; Widmer et al. 2004). On December 6, 1992, after months of intense debate, the Swiss citizens rejected Switzerland's membership in the EEC and, as such, in the new European Union. The results of the election were a close call, with only 50.3 % of the population voting against joining the EEC and 49.7% casting their vote for Europe – and they revealed a deep division in the nation (Reinhardt 2011). This split uncovered ideological differences between the pro-Europe urban centers and the more reluctant rural areas as well as

a rift between the social classes, with the economic elite advocating membership and parts of the middle and working classes preferring to retain Swiss exceptionalism out of fear of an increase in a cheap foreign labor force. It further laid bare ideological gaps between the political parties: The parties to the right were predominantly Eurosceptic (they feared the loss of political sovereignty and autonomy), while those to the left and the progressive parties supported Swiss membership (Goetschel et al. 2005; Maissen 2009). But the sharpest division was characterized by the opposition to membership on the part of the German[6] and Italian-speaking cantons, all of which rejected joining the EEC, and the espousal of membership on the part of the French-speaking regions, which were entirely pro-Europe. While the French-speaking cantons discerned a source of economic development and prosperity in the European market, the more conservative and rural parts of the German-speaking regions feared that exposing the national economy to a deregulated European market would weaken their economic position and result in a redistribution of economic power within the national territory.

Now, this renewed refusal to be part of the political and economic project represented by the European Union, in keeping with what happened in the 1960s and 1970s, resulted again in criticism of Switzerland by its neighboring countries and the European media (see *Dispatch on the Reorientation and Enhancement of the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad,* 1999, for how the federal government constructs the nature of this criticism). In particular, the European media constructed Switzerland's decision as a sign of the nation's egotism and materialism, of the country's political isolationism and arrogance, and as the result of political paralysis and inertia of the Swiss political establishment. The strong criticism addressed toward Switzerland questioned a number of sociocultural values that for decades had helped to legitimize and reproduce the social and economic order in Switzerland. This fact added salience to the already existing strong controversy within the Swiss population that the vote had caused (Leimgruber et al. 1999).

Indeed, the results of this vote led to strong feelings of discontent and frustration in the French-speaking cantons of Switzerland, which felt overruled and silenced by the German- speaking majority (Widmer et al. 2004). The disappointment in the French-speaking cantons materialized in several forms of protest by French-speaking political circles, in an increasing sense of a destabilized national unity, and in the reemergence of feelings of economic and political inequality among Switzerland's language or ethnic groups (Armingeon 2000). Especially the French-speaking Swiss media gave voice to the tension between the two major linguistic communities: On the front-page of the major French-speaking newspapers, the following statements could be read: *La Suisse*: "NEIN oui";

[6] With the exception of Basel-City and Basel-Country, and the bilingual cantons of Bern and Fribourg where the German speaking communalities had voted against membership and the French speaking ones for membership.

Tribune de Genève: "NEIN Les alémaniques imposent l'isolament aux romands" [*NO the German Swiss has imposed isolation on the French Swiss*]; *L'express*: "D'Schwiiz het nei gseit" [*Switzerland said no* [title is in Swiss German dialect]]; *Nouvelliste*: "Le oui perd contre le nein" [The Oui lost to the Nein]. In other words, in the days following the publication of the results, these press organs accused the German-speaking majority of disrupting the balance of power between the linguistic communities and the "Sprachfrieden" [language peace], which, in the French Swiss perspective, had guaranteed political stability and national cohesion for many decades (Maissen 2009; Lüdi et al. 2008; Widmer et al 2004). On the other hand, the German- speaking majority themselves accused the federal government and the sympathizers of Switzerland's membership in the European project more generally of betraying the values and traditions on which the Swiss nation-state has historically drawn: political independence, military neutrality, and financial and juridical equilibrium. This was due to the fact that the entire Federal Council, the majority of the parliament, and the majority of the represented parties supported Switzerland's membership in the EEC; indeed, the federal government had submitted a membership request to the EU before the vote itself, effectively delegitimizing the Swiss people's vote on the issue. Over the course of these months and years, the fragility of Switzerland's "Sonderfall" [Exception] in terms of the peaceful coexistence of diverse linguistic and cultural communities became clearly evident (Goetschel 1994; Leimgruber and Christen 1992; Lüdi et al. 2008).

In the years following Switzerland's refusal to join to the EEC, the federal authorities launched new negotiations with the EU for bilateral agreements regulating Switzerland's economic relationship with the European Union, thereby guaranteeing Swiss access to the European market (Bieber et al. 2000; Lutz 2007). On a promotional level, although Switzerland's unwillingness to become a part of the European process reaffirmed the country's bad reputation in Europe, the results of the referendum had no immediate consequences. It was only three years later that the political implications of the poor image and its potential economic effects became clear to the governmental authorities: namely in the context of the US class action lawsuits against Switzerland's banking sector.

Switzerland's banks and the greatest robbery in history

In 1995, another international scandal negatively affected Switzerland's reputation abroad and destabilized a further national myth. In the framework of US class action lawsuits against Switzerland's banking industry alleging that Swiss financial institutions aided the Nazi regime by retaining assets of Holocaust victims and by accepting illegally obtained Nazi loot and profiting from slave labor, the US Senate Banking Committee and the World Jewish Congress accused Switzerland of having participated in the greatest robbery in mankind's history (Maissen 2000). Due to the highly mediatization of these events, not only in the USA and Israel, but also in other Western countries such as Great-Britain (the BBC produced a

documentary film on these events) and Germany (the major press organs reported on these events over the course of many weeks), the Swiss government feared a repeat of the negative ramifications caused by the restrictive migration policy. In addition, the government worried that these circumstances would jeopardize the hegemonic ideology of a neutral and humanitarian Switzerland and tarnish the image of the secure, and reliable Swiss banking industry. The latter was feared to have negative consequences not only for the national banking sector, but also for Switzerland's privileged position in global capitalism and for the nation's socio-economic order to which the banks' standing had substantially contributed. (For one of many examples of such fear in political circles, see the parliamentarian debate on the political and economic consequences of the Nazigold affair from October 10, 1997).

This fear was not rooted only in historical events: At the outset of the scandal, both the Swiss banks and the Swiss government had shown little remorse for Swiss actions during and after World War II, but rather tried to make light of, or obfuscate, the facts. More particularly, immediately following the emergence of the scandal and the announcement of the lawsuits, one of the leading Swiss banks was accused of having deliberately tried to destroy documents containing information on the dormant accounts and the legitimate possessors of the money stored in these accounts. By contrast, the Swiss government reacted aggressively and emotionally to the allegations coming from the United States and the international Jewish community by accusing them of destabilizing the Swiss state, its institutions, and its economy (see the press conference of then Federal Councilor and Federal President Jean-Marie Daley from January 15, 1997). Consistent with the sharp rhetoric, the Swiss ambassador in the USA at the time called the situation a war that must be conducted and won (see Maissen 2000, 2004, 2005 for an extensive discussion of these events).

After the initial moments of panic (it is in these terms that today a leading Swiss diplomat, Michael Lutz, and historiographical research, see Leimgruber 1999, reconstruct these events), the national government adopted new measures to fend off international criticism and accusations (Maissen 2004). On the one hand, the Federal Council established a taskforce called *Schweiz – Zweiter Weltkrieg* [Switzerland – World War II], which included 15 high-level Swiss figures from the diplomatic corps, parliamentarians, and other experts in international relations; their role was to represent the interests of the Swiss state during crises. On the other hand, the federal government formed a committee of international experts, the *Unabhängige Experten Kommission Schweiz – Zweiter Welkrieg* (UEK) [Independent Expert Committee Switzerland – World War II]. This group was lead by Prof. Jean-Francois Bergier and other nationally and internationally renowned historians, and had the responsibility of researching the role of Switzerland during World War II and, particularly, of investigating the amounts and the fate of foreign financial assets that entered Swiss territory before and during World War II.

The results of this study, which became known as the *Bergier Bericht* [Bergier

Report], came out gradually in the second part of the 1990s and were published at the beginning of the aughts (2000s). The study confirmed Switzerland's key role in World War II in the financing strategy of Nazi Germany (Bonhage et al. 2001; Francini et al 2001). These results had a much stronger impact inside Switzerland than abroad. While the international community held the allegations of the US government to be sufficiently legitimate to substantiate Switzerland's role during the war (these accusations also confirmed the reconstructions proposed by the international media), the knowledge emerging from the UEK reports proposed an account on Switzerland's past that contrasted starkly with the national myths (humanitarianism, political independence, military neutrality, self-determination, for a discussion of the genesis of such national myths see Kreis 1991, 2004; see as well Bergier 1990) that for many decades had contributed to legitimize the existing social and economic order. In his book *Verweigerte Erinnerung* [Denied Memory] Maissen (2005) vividly demonstrates this discord. It practically goes without saying that the emerging data were disputed by a considerable part of the Swiss political and economic elite (2000; 2004).

In his book, Maissen (2005) also postulates that the destabilization of the old myth of a historically independent, humanitarian, and sovereign island in the middle of Europe served as a catalyst for progressive and liberal circles (local governments in urban and economic centers, small and medium enterprises, emerging industries, and young entrepreneurs) to reopen the debate on Switzerland's political integration in a unified Europe. The deconstruction of the myth apparently resulted in a reconsideration of the former ideals of the nation – ideals that increasingly seemed to present an obstacle to the aforementioned sectors of Switzerland's economy wanting to capitalize on what the globalized capitalism had to offer in terms of access to new markets. These groups wanted to position the nation as a highly technologized, innovative, creative, and competitive location (see as well Cottier and Liechti - McKee 2010). In this regard, in parliamentarian circles and in the framework of the *Foreign Affairs Committee,* it was stated that Switzerland's bad reputation and its presumed political isolation had caused the vulnerability of Switzerland and its bank system at this moment in time (see the debates within the *Foreign Affairs Committee* on Switzerland's international image in 1996). Indeed, some voices emerged in the *FAC* stating that the US justice department's insistence on prosecuting Switzerland while ignoring possible culpable behavior of other countries such as France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands that had also financially collaborated with Nazi Germany, was due to Switzerland's poor standing in the international political community, to Swiss hypocrisy concerning it political role in World War II, and to a lack of support by a supranational partner such as the UN, NATO, or the EU (see the many parliamentarian debates between 1996 and 1998 and the interpellations and motions on this subject: 97.3448, 97.3629; 97.3027, etc.).

Despite the struggles and tension caused by the UEK reports, the political actors agreed that the Swiss state must be better prepared for future reputation crises, and

consequently postulated a legislative and institutional framework to help recognize and deflect attacks from outside. While the political *taskforce Switzerland – World War II* had been charged with representing Switzerland's interests in the crises with the United States and to respond to criticism through a coordinated media presence, in order to assure a long-term competitiveness of Switzerland in the global markets, the *Taskforce* "*Reform* COCO" (instituted at the end of 1997) was called on to create its business plan with long-term solutions to Switzerland's image problems and to define promotional strategies going beyond the challenges posed by the crises at hand.

In the following sections, I aim to present the work processes of the *Taskforce* "*Reform* COCO" and to discuss the debates and practices of expertise leading to the definition of the "Brand Switzerland." As previously mentioned, developing a brand was one of the main objectives of the taskforce. In my discussion, I particularly reflect on how the "Brand Switzerland" materialized as it did within a discursive space characterized by a multiplicity of interests and political and economic agendas and marked by the resultant divergence of ideologies of the Swiss nation conceived by these various factions. In particular, I look into how it evolved that national diversity emerged as a key feature of promotional investment. In line with the approach taken in previous chapters, my analysis of this event is genealogical, i.e. I focus on its processual and historical nature.

The process I aim to make visible materializes in the following discursive events:

November 4, 1997	Rapport de la Commission des affaires étrangères "Promouvoir l'image de la Suisse" [Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee "Promoting Switzerland's Image"]
February, 1998	Business plan Version 1: Bericht der Kerngruppe KOKO Reform "Heutige Ziele der KOKO – Zukünftige Ziele der KOKO" [Report of the Taskforce "Reform COCO" "Current Aims of COCO – Future Aims of COCO"]
February 20, 1998	Aktennotitz zur Sitzung der Kerngruppe KOKO Reform [Memo of the meeting of the Taskforce "Reform COCO"]
May, 1998	Business plan Version 2: Bericht der Kerngruppe KOKO Reform "Image der Schweiz – Vorschläge zur Strategischen Neuausrichtung der KOKO" [Report of the Taskforce "Reform COCO" "Image of Switzerland – Suggestions for a Strategic Repositioning of COCO"]
May, 19th 1998	Aktennotitz zur Sitzung der Kerngruppe KOKO Reform [Memo of the meeting of the Taskforce "Reform COCO"]
March 30th, 1999	Business plan Version 3: Präsenz Schweiz – Ziele, Strategie, Business Plan: Bericht der Arbeitsgruppe «KOKO-Reform» [Presence Switzerland – Aims, Strategies, Business: Plan Report of the Taskforce "Reform COCO"]

Drawing on these institutional documents, in the following I reconstruct the legislative process leading to the adoption of a new federal law on the promotion of Switzerland abroad. This genealogical analysis highlights the interests, tension, and struggles that characterized this reform process and, more particularly, sheds light on the strategic and ideological conditionalities, which, in line with the conflict presented in the previous section, led to the construction of national multilingualism and cultural diversity as key elements of promotional capitalization. This genealogical analysis also promotes better understanding of the institutional constraints and technologies that set the limits of possibility of the discourses under investigations and caused the "Brand Switzerland" to take the form it took.

Designing the "Brand Switzerland"

The Taskforce "Reform COCO": In search of expertise and legitimacy

Before focusing on the legislative process, I would like to briefly recall some aspects of the account proposed in *Chapter 2* concerning the composition of the institutional space in which the debates under investigation emerged. Recognizing and assessing the place the discourses emerged is important, as this leads to a better understanding of how the interests and ideologies presented in the previous section reemerge in the spaces where the new "Brand Switzerland" was to be defined.

After parliament issued the mandate to reform the promotion of Switzerland, the Federal Council asked the former director of *COCO* to institute a taskforce called *Taskforce* "*Reform COCO*", whose role was to reflect on a strategic repositioning, i.e. to propose a business plan outlining the future direction of Switzerland's promotion, defining new promotional messages for a new "Brand Switzerland," and proposing new promotional campaigns and communication tools. This taskforce was partially made up of representatives of the *COCO* itself:

- State secretary Prof. Dr. Gabriel Tobler, Director COCO;
- Ambassador Raffael Zürcher, Vice Director COCO;
- Alain Tissot, Vice Secretary COCO;
- Alexandre Marot, Secretary COCO.

Other members included high-level representatives from different departments of the Swiss Federal Administration and of the diplomatic corps:

- Ambassador Dr. Andreas Jenni, State Secretary for Foreign Economic Affairs;
- Prof. Dr. Simon Bättig, Head Tourism, State Secretary Economic Affairs;
- Ambassador Dieter Erni, Head of Political Affairs Division VI (Swiss Abroad);
- Ambassador Cédric Strub, Embassy of Switzerland in the United Kingdom.

Finally, the taskforce included the delegates of a series of organizations that were

held to be important for the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad:

- Jakob Giger, Head of *Swiss Tourism*;
- Dr. Johannes Imhof, Vice Director *Pro Helvetia*;
- Dr. Sebstian Roos, Head of *OSEC*;
- David Gloor, Senior Advisor *SRG SSR idée suisse*;
- Heinz Schmid, Delegate of the *Swiss Bankers Association*.

The first phase of the taskforce (from January 1998 to May 1998) was coordinated by an external senior consultant, Prof. Dr. Tobias Burri (Burri and Partners Ltd[7].). His role was to facilitate the taskforce's activities by providing expert input and advice, by conducting surveys and investigations, and by producing reports and expertise. He was charged with elaborating a draft of the business plan together with the members of the taskforce. The business plan would later be submitted to parliament for deliberation. The involvement of specialists from outside the Federal Administration was a novelty in the 1990s and was related to the reform processes affecting the Swiss Federal Administration and the Swiss public sector more generally since the mid-1990s; the general aim of this strategy was to implement market-oriented management models into the public sector (New public management, see Hood 1991). While, in the 1970s, the reform of the promotion of Switzerland abroad was carried out with no external involvement, in the 1990s, involving a marketing specialist was viewed as way to legitimize and authorize the strategies and messages proposed by the taskforce and to satisfy the call for a professionalization of national promotional activities. Furthermore, as I demonstrate in the next sections, it was additionally a strategy for mediating between the diverging ideologies represented by the taskforce members.

The members of the taskforce presented above were selected by the director of COCO, State Secretary Tobler, and by its vice-director, Ambassador Zürcher. According to the minutes of COCO's plenary session of December 17, 1997, and the memo of February 2, 1998 addressed to Federal Councilor Rossi, these members had been selected according to their experience in the field of the promotion of Switzerland abroad. However, these same documents (especially the plenary minutes) reveal that, despite their investment in the national cause, this multiplicity of actors participating in the taskforce represented a heterogeneity of interests attributable to their individual domain of activity.

There were the interests of the national banking sector, which had traditionally capitalized on the Swiss national myth of a politically, socially, and economically secure, stable, and reliable haven, and which was interested in the rehabilitation of this image in times of economic expansion; the tourism industry, which relied heavily on the national myth of an idyllic, harmonic, and diverse Switzerland to attract tourists from all over the world, urgently

[7] The name of this specific firm is a pseudonym.

needed to rebuff the negative publicity caused by the class action lawsuits against the Swiss banks; the nation's export industry, which had historically drawn on the reputation of quality, precision, and innovation in order to sell their high quality niche products, was interested in reproducing an international image of a reliable Switzerland; the interests of part of the national culture industry, which for many years had stressed the necessity to go beyond the traditional, idyllic reputation of "Heidi's Switzerland," saw in the destabilization of the hegemonic ideology of Switzerland a chance to reposition Swiss artistic creativity on the same level as other trendy and sexy European metropolises; there were wishes on the part of more traditional and rural cultural circles to protect and valorize the traditional cultural practices from the influence of new and apparently non-Swiss cultural products; the interests of conservative political circles and cultural associations, which insisted on the necessity to protect the national values on which the Swiss state traditionally draws and to safeguard the social and economic achievement of the Swiss from the uncertainties of late capitalism and from the cultural and social influences that these transforming political economic changes entailed; and, finally, there was the interest of consultant Burri himself, who was naturally invested in displaying his own expertise and professionalism in the domain of marketing and nation-branding, but who, as board member of different Swiss enterprises operating in the domain of microfinance, was known in political and economic circles as a person engaged in the promotion of socially fair and sustainable economic growth and as an actor with an interest in the construction of a fair and humanitarian image of Switzerland.

In other words, defining the brand's messages took the shape of a (re)imagination of Switzerland in which – independent of the imminent promotional challenges posed by the crisis with the US and the criticism engendered by Switzerland's non-membership in the European Union – diverging ideologies of the nation converged with diverging political-economic interests; these, in turn, intersected with long-term political and economic agendas on the part of the organizations and corporate actors represented in the taskforce.

In the following sections, I put forward an analysis of the tensions caused by these diverging interests on how Switzerland was conceived as a brand and on the role that multilingualism and cultural diversity were allotted in the architecture of the "Brand Switzerland." To do so, I focus my genealogical analysis on different versions of the business plan the taskforce produced. This implies an analytical focus on the transformation of the plan itself and more particularly of the way the text defines the "Brand Switzerland."

In the following sections, I demonstrate that this national brand – specifically: the messages this brand consists of – is the product of a chain of entextualizations characterized by reformulations, erasures, and regroupings of an initial list of qualities standing for Switzerland. As such these messages are not only the product of an abstraction process in which a set of qualities crystallize as a single message embodying the several qualities, but that at the same time, the messages emerge with meanings that are mutually dependent on

each other. Consequently, in order to understand how and why diversity emerged as a key object of promotional investment, and what this promotional feature actually consists of, I focus on the practices of entextualization leading to the stabilization of the brand and more particularly inquire after the logics structuring the observed entextualization practices. This also promotes better understanding of the conflicts arising from the contrasting ideologies of Switzerland and diverging political and economic interests that characterize the discursive processes under investigation and that determined how national diversity would be capitalized on.

Consistent with what I have presented above, my analysis draws on three versions of the same business plan:

- Version 1: Report of the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* "Current Aims of COCO – Future Aims of COCO" produced in February 1998;
- Version 2: Report of the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* "Image of Switzerland – Suggestions for a Strategic Repositioning of COCO" produced in May 1998.

These first two versions of the business plan were produced by the external consultant Burri in collaboration with the members of the taskforce.

- Version 3: Presence Switzerland – Aims, Strategies, Business Plan, Report of the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"*, finalized in spring 1999.

This finalized version, which relied heavily on *Version 2* of the business plan, was produced by the two COCO secretaries, Tissot and Marot, together with the other members of the taskforce.

Furthermore, my analysis relies on memos of the taskforce's meetings, and on memos of interviews conducted by the taskforce with external marketing experts. Finally, my analysis draws on an entire set of memos addressed to the Federal Council, informing the councilors about the progress of the work, on letters and memos between the members of the taskforce itself, and on insight I gained through two interviews I conducted with Alexandre Marot and Alain Tissot, the former secretaries of COCO who participated in the taskforce.

Identifying promotional messages between diverging interest and heteroglossic conceptions of Switzerland

The first milestone of the taskforce's work was the production of *Version 1* of the requested business plan. This document was created on the basis of insight gained through a set of 25 interviews conducted with the members of the taskforce itself, with other COCO partners, with a series of ambassadors and cultural attachés of the Swiss embassies abroad, with additional representatives from private industry, and finally with members of parliament. All interviews were structured around three basic questions (see memo on the work's progress written on February 13 1998 by the Head of *COCO* and addressed to the Federal Councilor Luca Rossi):

- *Image der Schweiz: Ausgangslage, Tendenzen?* [Image of Switzerland: Status quo, tendencies?];
- *Zielsetzung der KOKO?* [Aims of *COCO*?];
- *Stärken und Schwächen der heutigen KOKO?* [Strengths and weaknesses of today's *COCO*?].

These three questions made generic reference not only to the parliamentarian mandate, but also to answers and solutions that the taskforce's business plan was asked to provide. The answers and solutions covered evaluating *COCO*'s activities as well as identifying and suggesting ways to improve the organization's activities. They also included the definition of new organizational goals and possible promotional strategies (including a national brand) and suggestions of new promotional instruments and channels.

The selection of the interview partners was done by external consultant Burri in collaboration with the two *COCO* secretaries, Tissot and Marot. The support of the two secretaries gave Burri access to an already existing network of key figures in the national political, economical, and cultural sphere. (The memos to which I have access explicitly stress the secretaries' role as facilitators). According to the memo of February 13, 1998 addressed to then Federal Councilor Luca Rossi with the aim of informing him on the taskforce's progress, the interview partners were selected on the basis of their "potential interest" in the promotion of Switzerland abroad. This does not, however, appear to be the sole selection criterion. In *Version 1* of the business plan, which was submitted to the taskforce deliberation, Burri stated that the intention behind the selection of such a heterogeneous group of interview partners was the "Sicherstellung einer hohen Qualität und einer breiten Akzeptanz der Reformansätze" [guaranteeing the reform's high quality and broad acceptability] (Report "Current Aims of COCO – Future Aims of COCO" 1998). The insistence on the necessity of a broad acceptance of the reform as well as the need to involve actors from the various domains and sectors of national society was reiterated in the aforementioned memo to Federal Councilor Rossi and in Burri's letter of January 16, 1998 addressed to the head of COCO. In this text, the consultant legitimizes the high number of interviewees and the added costs they implied.

The necessity to generate a broad acceptance for the reform and to take into account the multiple images and ideologies of Switzerland and its identity, and finally the political relevance that the choice of the interview partners apparently played at this specific moment in time becomes particularly evident in the choice of the interviewed parliamentarians. The four selected interviewees were members of the four major parties represented in federal parliament (the Swiss People's Party, the Social Democrats, the liberal Free Democratic Party; the Christian Democratic People's Party), and representatives of the two major linguistic communities (two from the German-speaking community and two from the French-speaking community). Furthermore, all four were directly involved in the reform process, as they were all part of the parliamentarian *Foreign Affairs Committee* (*FAC*), which, as

mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, had highlighted the necessity of reforming *COCO*. As such, these actors had a vital interest in the transformation process at hand. The explicit involvement of political actors at this early stage of the legislative process is unusual: This phase in the definition of a law is normally a technical undertaking (see Gesetzgebungsleitfaden 2008). The guidelines regimenting the production of federal acts and other legislative texts tend to show that, during this phase, political interests are to be excluded from the deliberations in order to gain a more objective understanding of the problems under discussion. Consequently, it is fair to assume that the explicit involvement of politicians in the definition process of the "Brand Switzerland" was linked to the salience of the debated object in times of socioeconomic uncertainty and ideological struggle. (As stated above, the events and criticism against Switzerland that created the impetus to professionalize the promotion of the nation also caused tension and debate within the nation itself). After all, the definition of how Switzerland wanted to be known in the international markets and the different interests involved were intricately linked to the definition of the "Brand Switzerland."

The 25 interviews were entextualized in the 11-page first version of the business plan, which was published in German only. This was due to the fact that Burri was from Zurich in German-speaking Switzerland, but it was due as well to the fact that this preliminary version of the business plan was exclusively addressed to the taskforce members, and that, in contrast to the previously mentioned selection of interviewees, a large majority of the taskforce members were German-speaking. Considering that the members of taskforce were all major figures in key organizations of the national political and economic system, the linguistic homogeneity of the taskforce reveals a great deal about the political and economic power relations between the linguistic communities in Switzerland.

Version 1 of the business plan, which was sent to the taskforce members in the second week of February 1998, was structured in the following four parts: Chapter 1, which states the modalities of the production of the report, presents the names of the interview partners, and formulates the aims of the report. Chapter 2 stresses the nature of the parliamentarian mandate. In particular, the report differentiated between what was called a functional aim – the production of an overall concept, the coordination of projects concerning the suprasectorial promotion of the nation, and the financial support of sectorial projects that could not be financed by other promotional organization – and a content aim, which implied the definition of the "Brand Switzerland." In this context, the report highlighted the lack of specifications and details in the parliamentarian mandate regarding the production of the "Brand Switzerland." Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 presented the results of the interviews. In Chapter 3, the status quo in terms of the promotion of Switzerland abroad was described and the domains requiring enhanced COCO activities were highlighted. The report basically stated that all elements of the parliamentarian mandate needed to be reformed. In Chapter 4, the

business plan presented a list of messages that should compose the "Brand Switzerland."

Now, while the report reproduces a synthesis of the knowledge gained through the conducted interviews, there is no information about which interviews produced which knowledge about Switzerland, since the text systematically deletes the identity of the interview partners. The business plan presents the main results of the interviews without attributing these to any individuals, group, or interests. Rather, the results are entextualized as general statements and unbiased information about the status quo of Switzerland's promotion. This is discursively facilitated by the structure of the business plan, which, as I already have mentioned, reflects the questions asked during the interviews and generally highlights the main results of the interviewees' answers (with bullet-points). Another discursive strategy adopted is the systematic use of the passive voice, which effectively cancels out the subject and, as such, the voices and interests behind the answers. Furthermore, in a very few cases (three times) the author of the text call the interviewees "die befragten Akteure [the questioned actors]. This discursive strategy effectively constructs the interviewees as a homogeneous group (in terms of their opinions and ideologies) and erases diverging positions and interests.

The only passage where the interviewees' identity becomes visible is in the introductory part of the proposed promotional messages in Chapter 4, which begins with the following phrase*: Von den befragten Akteuren zur Diskussion gestellte inhaltliche Kernbotschaften für Gesamktkonzept der Landeswerbung* [The core messages proposed by the interviewed actors for an overall concept of the country's branding]. In line with the rest of the document, the text does not reveal exactly who proposed which messages. But, while other parts of the business plan present a synthesized and homogenized version of the answers, the cited introductory phrase and the following list of messages (see below) does not erase the multiplicity and heterogeneity of recommended messages (nor does the text implies a hierarchization or structuration of the messages), but proposes a complete list (or at least the text pretends to be exhaustive). In opposition to a unifying discourse that focuses on the common elements of the interviews answers (or which displays those answers or elements that appear to be central to the consultant who produced the text), this rupture in the discursive strategy of the business plan turns the readers attention to the multiplicity and diversity of the proposed messages. Furthermore, by giving all proposed messages visibility, the text stages the interviewees and their input as egalitarian and creates a sense of transparency in the part of the business plan that concerns the various possible images of Switzerland. As I demonstrate later, this part of the plan is also the most contested.

The Report of the *Taskforce "COCO Reform"* "Current Aims of COCO – Future Aims of COCO

- Zuverlässigkeit [Reliability]
- Qualität [Quality]

- Humanität [Humanity]
- Vielfalt des Landes [Diversity of the country]
- Dynamik [Dynamic]
- hohe Lebensqualität [High quality of life]
- Solidarität und Partnerschaft [Solidarity and partnership]
- Demokratie und Freiheit [Democracy and freedom]
- Grosszügigkeit [Generosity]
- wettbewerbsfähige Wirtschaft [Competitive economy]
- Gastland [Host country]
- zentrale Lage in Europa [Central location in Europe]
- Multikulturelle Gesellschaft [Multicultural society]
- Innovationskraft [Innovative capacity]
- Schönheit der Landschaft [Beauty of the landscape]
- Kreativität und Originalität [Creativity and originality]
- Offenheit [Openness]
- Fröhlichkeit [Cheerfulness]

In the following, I take a closer look at the list of core messages and propose a discussion of the values and identitarian features that these messages are supposed to entextualize. First, in line with an ideology of a modern nation-state relying on the nexus "one nation, one people, one territory," the here-enumerated qualities are located on several levels of the Swiss state. On the one hand, there are messages referring to the Swiss people (*cheerfulness*, *openness*, *creativity and originality, solidarity and partnership, humanity*), and to Swiss society (*multicultural society*, *diversity of the country*, *generosity*). On the other hand, there are features indexing the national political system (*host country*, *democracy and freedom*, *high quality of life*) or the characteristics of the Swiss economy (*reliability*, *innovative capacity*, *quality*, *competitive economy*, *dynamic*). Finally there are elements making reference to Switzerland's geography (*central location in Europe*) and its landscape (*beauty of the landscape*). While some messages can be clearly attributed to a specific level of promotion, others are interchangeable.

Furthermore, while the lists contains messages that interdiscursively refer to traditional identitarian features of part of the national myths and of the concept of Switzerland as a nation (*reliability*, *beauty of the landscape*, *central location in Europe*, *democracy and freedom*, *humanity*, *quality*, *diversity of the country*, *solidarity and partnership*, *generosity*, *host country*, *cheerfulness*), it also proposes newer, future-oriented features such as: *innovative capacity*, *competitive economy*, *dynamic* but also *creativity and originality*. In the first list of messages indexing Switzerland's strengths, we can observe an initial explicit mobilization of two tokens of the modern ideology of multilingual and multicultural Switzerland, i.e. *diversity of the country* and *multicultural society*. They are situated at two levels of the nation's body: The former qualifies the Swiss "state," the latter explicitly points to the "societal" level. In addition, while the designation "diversity of the country" interdiscursively refers to traditional ways of referring to the coexistence of four supposedly homogeneous linguistic communities on the national territory (this token is of course still

strongly present in today's image of the Swiss nation), the terms "multicultural society" indexes more contemporary discourses on Switzerland that project the qualities of linguistic and cultural diversity traditionally associated with the nation at large onto the linguistic communities themselves, thus reinterpreting the communities as culturally diverse. (It must be noted that "diversity of the country" might also be interpreted as a token of an ideology of Swiss diversity that includes other forms of diversity. Indeed, the ideology of Swiss diversity is often connected with the two Christian denominations of the national populace (Catholicism and Protestantism) as well as to natural (geography, flora, and fauna) aspects of the country's landscape (Froidevaux 1997). While the communicative value of the proposed message cannot be conclusively identified here, the following version of the list demonstrates that my first interpretation of "diversity" construed as an index of Switzerland multilingualism and multiculturalism seems more appropriate).

I am particularly interested in observing how these two qualities indexing Switzerland's diversity became reformulated and transformed in the deliberation process of the list of identified messages and how it happened that diversity emerged as one of five messages of the "Brand Switzerland." Through a genealogical account, I reflect on how the proposed promotional messages were valued by the taskforce's members and how the valuation was legitimized.

The first valuation practice that can be observed occurred already in the business plan itself. Just before presenting the list of proposed messages, consultant Burri submitted the following remarks concerning the value of the following list:

> **Nur sehr summarische Vorstellungen der befragten Akteure zu inhaltlichen Elementen des angestrebten Image der Schweiz**: Eine Diskussion und Selektion tut not!
>
> **[Only very imprecise ideas on the part of the interviewed actors concerning substantial elements of the targeted image of Switzerland**: A discussion and selection is absolutely necessary!]

In this excerpt, a form of decapitalization (i.e. the discursive negation of value and legitimacy, see Martin-Rojo 2013) of the list of proposed messages becomes apparent. This decapitalization is discursively achieved by means of different discursive strategies:

First, the text's structuration and through the way the comment is positioned in the architecture of the whole business plan questions legitimacy. The comment is placed just before the list of messages in the introductory parts on the text's chapter 4. This strategic positioning effectively contextualizes the messages that follow and attributes them with a specific functional value that has the aim of conditioning the readers' reception of the messages themselves, i.e. the readers question the value of the messages. Second, the practice of judgment effects decapitalization of the messages. Because Chapter 3 and 4 of the

document are presented as a summary of the information gained and avoid any comment on these results, the fact that the text changes its genre in this passage and that the consultant's individual voice explicitly emerges is striking. All the more as Burri's statement is negative (*nur sehr summarische Vorstellungen* [only very imprecise ideas]) and is highlighted in bold by the consultant himself. Moreover, not only the modifier *sehr* [very] but also the exclamation point (*!*) at the end of the paragraph referring to the urgent necessity of a *discussion* and *selection* reinforce the decapitalization and delegitimation of the proposed messages. Third, the use of the adjective *summarisch* [imprecise] and of the two nouns *discussion* and *selection* call the value of the following messages into question. The adjective *summarisch* [imprecise] points to a lack of detail in the proposed messages, or, at the very least, to the assumption that a more exhaustive list Switzerland is required. In addition, the noun *discussion* implies that some of the messages are questionable and should be made the object of debate and/or transformation. Finally, the noun *selection* refers to the necessity of reducing the list and to make a choice between the pro osed messages.

Now, while I can identify how Burri discursively decapitalizes the messages proposed by the interviewees, I have no access to the reasons that lead to this decapitalization. Nevertheless, since it was his role within the taskforce to act as an expert and to give input and improve the quality of the discussion while professionalizing the promotional instruments, it can be assumed that in making these remarks and comments he was embodying his role as an expert and aimed as such to improve the quality of the proposed messages. In this regard, it may also be assumed that, as an expert, the consultant would judge messages such as *humanity*, *solidarity*, *generosity* as incompatible with the criticism confronting Switzerland at the time (materialism, egotism, hypocrisy, historical revisionism etc., see Maissen 2004). As such, employing these would be potentially incendiary and counterproductive for Switzerland's reputation abroad. Further – a point to which I return later in this section – the criteria contradicting the international perception of Switzerland, could also be interpreted as at odds with the parliaments' wish to produce a "straightforward" and "factual" promotion of Switzerland abroad (see the *FAC*'s report *Promouvoir la Suisse*).

Now, *Version 1* of the business plan including the here presented list of messages was discussed by the members of the taskforce on February 20, 1998. While this institutional genre provides no information on the interactional and discursive aspects of the debates, nor presents the positions of the several members, the memo produced by Tissot (see *Chapter 2* for a more in-depth discussion of this institutional genre) concerning the meeting of February 20 clearly indicates that the consultant's "negative" remarks on the proposed messages had an effect on the discussion within the taskforce. More particularly, the memo mentions three aspects referring to the tension that the list of messages provoked within the taskforce:

Wahrnehmung – Realität [perception – reality]: The memo makes reference to the fact that one part of the taskforce members apparently contested the lack of realism of some

of the proposed messages; tension between the *individual perception* of Switzerland's strengths and *reality* is clearly distinguished. In this case as well, the genre of the memo allows no reference to specific names or groups to which the criticism is addressed, nor does it explicitly name which of the messages were contested messages. Furthermore, the memo states that there is disagreement within the taskforce about whether or not to follow the British case (a member of the taskforce seems to have suggested learning from the British strategies) according to which the British had successfully adapted their promotional campaigns by shifting the focus from former trends and the tastes of the national classic-conservative messages to an emphasis on modern and trendy features of Great Britain.

Koordination von Projekten [coordination of projects]: The memo reports that an emerging tension can be observed in the taskforce between the parliamentarian mandate to define a "Brand Switzerland" allowing a coordinated, homogeneous, and coherent promotion of Switzerland and the fact that the members of the taskforce seem unable to find a consensus on key promotional messages [*in der Diskussion herrscht Uneinigkeit*] considered as acceptable by all members of the taskforce and by the organizations and interests that these members represent. Indeed, the memo negatively refers to the parliamentarian aim to define a set of promotional messages that are shared by all promotional organizations as a *hehres Wunschziel* [noble illusion].

Identität Selbstbild – Imagebildung [identity self-image – production of image]: The memo states that one of the main problems in achieving a consensual definition of a set of promotional message is a complete absence of a common and clear understanding of what national identity consists of. Further, the text constructs this lack of consensus on the nation essence as a serious problem [*ernstes Problem*] for the definition of a commonly accepted "Brand Switzerland."

Despite diverging interests and ideologies of the nation, the crises caused by the role of the Swiss banks during WWII and Switzerland's non-membership in the ECC, created an unlikely coalition in the interest of rehabilitating Switzerland's reputation abroad and of developing a professionalized promotional strategy and the definition of a "Brand Switzerland." But, despite sharing a common objective, the conflicting interests within the taskforce and the resulting tension regarding a common definition of the "Brand Switzerland" led to a stalemate. Indeed, although the mandated definition of promotional messages valid for all organizations and adaptable to different promotional situation and target markets called for a compromise between divergent images of Switzerland, and although the required reorganization and coordination of the nation's promotional practices necessitated collaboration between organizations that did not necessary share the same ideologies of Switzerland, the conflicting interests apparently made consensus impossible. This lack of consensus within the taskforce was sustained by the fragility and instability of the dominant ideology of the Swiss national identity during the Nazigold affair. This fragility weakened and

deauthorized the discursive reference to aspects that were traditionally considered to be authoritative ideologies of the nation and that were therefore routinely used to legitimize an organization's position concerning the definition of promotional messages. Consequently, in a context of ideological instability (or of crisis, as Gramsci would say) within the taskforce, concepts such as *lack of realism* and *individual perception* emerged as sites or discursive tropes where the delegitimation of rival imaginations of Switzerland became possible.

In the face of conflicting interests and diverging concepts, consultant Burri was believed to speak from a neutral, apolitical position. He would therefore provide disinterested marketing expertise, and he was asked to propose a compromise in the form of a new version of the report that would incorporate the input emerging from the taskforce meetings.

In the following section, I discuss how the debates that characterized the deliberation of the first list of qualities as well as the criticism expressed affect *Version 2* of the business plan. In particular, I reflect on the effects the search for a compromise had on the form that the "Brand Switzerland" would take and on the role multilingualism and cultural diversity would acquire in the new version of the national brand.

Looking for consensus

On May 19, 1998 Burri submitted a reworked version of the business plan to the taskforce, including a reframing of the list of promotional messages. This second proposition was also Burri's final contribution: His mandate only included the participation in the initial part of the taskforce, i.e. the phase planned for conceptual aspects of the task (see contract between the Swiss Confederation and Burri and Partners Ltd. from January 1998). The second part of the taskforce's activities (summer of 1998 through March 1999) was dedicated to the internal (i.e. within the Federal Administration and Swiss embassies) and external (the cantons, other promotional organizations, and additional marketing experts) consultation process of the conceptual framework proposed by the taskforce and to its adaptation and improvement according to the needs resulting from the consultation itself. As such, *Version 2* of the business plan, which represented the conclusive report by Burri, was to provide a synthesis of the discussions occurring within a taskforce incapable of consensus. In this regard, this new version was the product of tension between a) the necessity to do justice to diverging interests and concepts of Switzerland represented in the taskforce, b) the demands of the parliamentarian mandate requesting a common and transferable "Brand Switzerland" from which all state-funded promotional organizations could draw in their promotional campaigns, c) the challenges posed by the target markets under late capitalistic conditions, and d) the consultant's desire to display his own expertise as a professional in the marketing and communication sector.

Burri's reworked business plan is structured as follows: Chapter 1 recapitulates the taskforce aims and the mandate attributed to the taskforce by the national parliament. Chapter

2 discusses the political-economic conditions that made a professionalization of Switzerland's promotion necessary. In this context, the liberalization of the markets, its effects on nation-states in terms of increasing competiveness of location as well as the professionalization of the positioning and branding of the international competition are treated. Chapter 3 outlines potential promotional messages for the "Brand Switzerland" and proposes a definition of *COCO*'s place in the architecture of the organizations promoting Switzerland abroad. Chapter 4 offers initial reflections in terms of the organizational and financial consequences of the planned reforms.

In the following section, I focus on Chapter 3 of the report and pay special attention to its suggestions regarding the promotional messages of the "Brand Switzerland." In this regard, I give an account of the strategies adopted by the consultant to find a consensus within the taskforce. I also discuss the effects the necessity for a consensus had on how the brand's messages have changed (in terms of erasures, additions, and reformulations), and in terms of what images of Switzerland the national brand is effectively able to communicate.

Burri structured chapter 3 in two parts: A first section suggests a set of quality criteria that, from a marketing perspective, define the acceptability and appropriateness of the promotional messages to be defined; the second part presents a reworked list of promotional messages.

Before presenting the list of messages proposed by the external marketing consultant, I would like to briefly discuss the quality criteria defining the limits of acceptability of the brand's message and therefore legitimizing the list suggested by the marketing expert.

> Kommunizierbare Grundbotschaften. Für die Arbeit der zukünftigen "KOKO" scheint es unerlässlich, eine Fokussierung auf einige wenige inhaltliche Grundbotschaften zum Image der Schweiz vorzunehmen. Dabei ist klar, dass bei der Auswahl der Grundbotschaften nicht das Image der Schweiz als politische Institution im Zentrum stehen soll, sondern das Image der Schweiz als gesamtes Land, d.h. als Staat, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Natur und Kultur. Im übrigen ist bei der Selektion der Grundbotschaft von folgenden Grundsätzen auszugehen:
> – Für die Grundbotschaften sollen Eigenschaften der Schweiz ausgewählt werden, die grundsätzlich zu einem positiven Bild der Schweiz beitragen.
> – Die Grundbotschaften sollen auf Fakten basieren.
> – Die Grundbotschaften sollen sowohl tragende traditionelle als auch geeignete neue Elemente enthalten.
>
> In Abbildung 3-1 sind Eigenschaften der Schweiz zusammengestellt, die aus Sicht der Arbeitsgruppe KOKO Reform als Ausgangspunkt für die Entwicklung der Kernbotschaften dienen können.

> [Communicable Messages. For the work of a future COCO, it is indispensable to focus on a few clear messages regarding Switzerland's image. When doing do, it is clear that the selection should not focus on messages representing Switzerland only as a political institution, but create an image of the entire country, i.e. of the state, economy, society, nature, and culture. Furthermore, the following principles must

provide the basis for the selection of the basic messages:

- For the basic messages, we must choose features that contribute to a positive image of Switzerland.
- The messages must draw on facts.
- The messages must contain key traditional elements as well as appropriate new ones.

In image 3-1, those features of Switzerland are presented that, in the opinion of the taskforce Reform COCO, may serve as starting point for the development of core messages.]

The cited excerpt is situated in chapter 3, prior to presenting the reworked list of promotional messages. It represents a meta-comment and highlights the logics informing the lists transformations. The text then proposes five criteria that guided the definition process of the new list of messages. These are:

1. The message's conciseness and clarity, i.e. its ability to communicate clear values that make the "Brand Switzerland" coherent and recognizable in every context, and enhance the ability to position Switzerland in the international markets;

2. The message's transversality, i.e. the message's aptitude to be sufficiently abstract that it can be adapted and transferred to any promotional setting and promoted product or service.

3. The message's appeal, i.e. its power to effectively create an attractive picture of Switzerland that allows capitalization on the brand as a form of added value.

4. The message's factuality, i.e. its capacity to confirm that the promise communicated by the message can effectively be kept and can stage a form of authenticity that is in reality related to the Swiss territory.

5. The message's traditional AND modern nature, i.e. the faculty of a given message to address different markets with different requests and needs at the time [my reformulation].

We can observe a coexistence of two apparently opposing positions, namely the promotional necessity of a national brand that consists of a limited set of recognizable, i.e. standardized promotional messages indexing Switzerland's tradition and factuality set against the required adaptability of the promotional messages, i.e. their ability to address different levels of the state and their capability of highlighting Switzerland's strengths, appeal, and novelty. In other words, the nature of an ideal promotional message outlined in this excerpt emerges at the intersection of an ideology of authenticity and an ideology of instrumentality. As such, it does not appear to be in conflict with established sociocultural ideologies of language and culture; rather, it seems to reproduce the internal logics of the ideological formation we call "modernity" (Baumann and Briggs 2003; Gal 2009).

Now, in order to create the conditions within the taskforce leading to consensus and acceptance of the promotional messages and of the criteria on which the messages draw, the consultant's text adopts the following discursive strategies:

First, Burri constructs the presented "quality criteria" and the promotional messages (drawing on the "quality criteria") as the product of the taskforce's decisions. This is emphasized by the systematic use of impersonal formulations such as the modal verb *soll* [must] (4 times), and the syntactic constructions *ist auszugehen* [must provide the basis], *[es] scheint ... unerlässlich* [it is indispensable], and *Dabei ist klar* [it is clear], which negate the consultant's voice (who has effectively reworked the messages and proposed the quality criteria) and attributes the text's authorship to the taskforce, whose discussions and decisions are to become visible in the business plan. This is also made explicit in the last paragraph of the excerpt, where it is explicitly stated that the list is the product of the taskforce's propositions.

Second, Burri formulates the quality criteria in such a way that does justice to the diverging interests of all taskforce members. For example, the discursive insistence on the necessity of messages leading to a positive image of the nation (a necessity which is naturally shared by all members of the taskforce) avoids the need to define what a positive image effectively entails (a highly contested point). In line with that, demanding transversal messages (*als gesamtes Land* [as an entire country]) while explicitly stating that transversality includes messages about the state, the economy, society, nature, and culture, creates the possibility to fairly consider both the parliamentarian request of a transversal promotional practice and the sectorial interests represented in the commission. This also applies to the traditional AND modern aspects of the messages, which equally address the heterogeneous interests existing in the taskforce. Furthermore, the use of the qualifying *tragende* [key] (for traditional) and *geeignet* [appropriate] (for new elements) presents the conditions under which these elements can effectively be adopted. It implies that, in order to be acceptable, the pertinence and appropriateness of each element must be evaluated individually. The same applies to the factuality of the messages: While every member would insist that their own image of Switzerland is effectively factual, this factuality could easily be contested by other members of the taskforce.

However, the elasticity of the proposed criteria does not imply that they create the conditionality for the acceptability of every promotional message and image of Switzerland. That would be a false conclusion. What I am suggesting is that the way the quality criteria are presented takes the interests and ideologies of the nation represented in the taskforce into consideration.

Of course the question arises as to the criteria's effective impact on the revision of the promotional messages. To better understand how the messages have changed, in what follows I present a juxtaposition of the messages proposed by *Version 1* of the business plan to the ones proposed by *Version 2*. Further I show what has effectively changed in the list in terms of erasures, reformulations, and additions.

Version 1 Business Plan:
Report of the Taskforce "COCO Reform"
"Current Aims of COCO – Future Aims of COCO" (February 1998)

- Zuverlässigkeit [Reliability]
- Qualität [Quality]
- Humanität [Humanity]
- Vielfalt des Landes [Diversity of the country]
- Dynamik [Dynamic]
- hohe Lebensqualität [High quality of life]
- Solidarität und Partnerschaft [Solidarity and partnership]
- Demokratie und Freiheit [Democracy and freedom]
- Grosszügigkeit [Generosity]
- wettbewerbsfähige Wirtschaft [Competitive economy]
- Gastgeber und Gastland [Host country]
- zentrale Lage in Europa [Central location in Europe]
- Multikulturelle Gesellschaft [Multicultural society]
- Innovationskraft [Innovative capacity]
- Schönheit der Landschaft [Beauty of the landscape]
- Kreativität und Originalität [Creativity and originality]
- Offenheit [Openness]
- Fröhlichkeit [Cheerfulness]

Version 2 Business Plan:
Report of the Taskforce "COCO Reform"
"Image of Switzerland – Suggestions for a Strategic Repositioning of COCO" (May 1998)

- modern, innovativ, fortschrittlich [modern, innovative, progressive]
- Lebenslust, Vergnügen, Kreativität [zest for life, fun, creativity]
- hohe Lebensqualität, nachhaltige Entwicklung [high quality of life, sustainable development]
- human, solidarisch, werte-bewusst [humane, showing solidarity, value-conscious]
- verlässlich, sicher, zuverlässig, qualitätsbewusst [reliable, secure, sense of quality]
- vielfältig, multikulturell, tolerant [diverse, multicultural, tolerant]
- gastlich [hospitable]
- offen, selbstkritisch, selbstbewusst, transparent [open, self-critical, self-conscious, transparent]

Erasure	**Reformulation**	**Addition**
– dynamic	– reliability → reliable	– modern
– solidarity	– humanity → humane	– progressive
– democracy and freedom	– solidarity → showing solidarity quality → sense of quality	– fun – sustainable development
– generosity	– diversity of the country → diverse	– value-conscious
– competitive economy	– host and host country → hospitality	– secure
– central location in Europe	– multicultural society → multicultural	– tolerant
– beauty of the landscape	– innovative capacity → innovative openness → open	– transparent
– originality	– cheerfulness → zest for life	– self-conscious – self-critical

Consistent with the criterion asking for a concise set of messages (and the necessity of a selection announced in *Version 1* of the business plan), the new list entails an erasure of eight of 18 messages gathered from the interviews. A closer look to the qualities of those erased messages reveals that, in some cases, the deleted aspects seem to be explicitly ascribable to one specific promotional logic, interest, and target audience; as such, they are in contradiction

with the goal of a transversal brand with key messages applicable to all domains and sectors of promotion. Concretely, the messages *competitive economy*, *dynamic* and *central location in Europe* make strong reference to the promotional campaigns provided by the state-funded promotional organizations *OSEC* and *Location Switzerland* in their promotion of Switzerland's business location (see Duchêne & Del Percio 2014, for a discussion of the promotional arguments adopted in the promotion of the business location Switzerland). The same counts for the message *beauty of the landscape*, which is part of the promotional discourse produced by *Swiss Tourism* (see Duchêne 2012 for an analysis of the messages on which the marketing of Switzerland tourism draws). A similar explanation could be suggested in the case of the erased messages *solidarity*, *democracy and freedom,* and *generosity*, which, of course, are traditionally considered to be fundamental features of the Swiss state, but which could be interpreted as too specific to the Swiss state and national society. Furthermore, it could be suggested that these elements stand in overt contradiction to international criticism (the debates concerning Switzerland's potential EU membership, and the Nazigold affair) accusing Switzerland of egotism and materialism; as such, these aspects could be interpreted as not factual.

Furthermore, and in line with the necessity of a transversality of the promotional messages, in the context of the reformulation I observe a shift from the nominal to the adjectival form, such as in the cases of: *reliability*àà*reliable*; *humanity*àà*humane*; *solidarity* àà*showing solidarity* [the German term used is an adjective]; *multicultural society*àà *multicultural*; *innovative capacity* àà *innovative*; *openness* àà *open*. While the noun could be interpreted as indexing a specific and stable promotional object, which in some cases is made explicit (such as in the case of *multicultural society* or *innovative capacity*) and in other cases not, the syntactic nature of an adjective as a qualifier transforms this message into a much more flexible and transversal one: the adjective form may be applied to a variety of aspects at the different levels of the promoted nation. In yet other cases, the adaptation seems simply to clarify the messages, such as in the case of *host and host country*àà*hospitable*.

Finally, despite the necessity of selection and conciseness, yet consistent with the consultant's critique of the imprecise ideas of the future brand's content on the part of the interviewees (see *Version 1* of the business plan), the consultant adds ten messages that should apparently fill the gaps of the first list. These new messages index traditional national myths such as *secure*, *transparent*, *tolerant,* and *value-conscious*. They also point to more current qualities such as *progressive*, *modern*, *fun*, *sustainable development*, *self-conscious,* and *self-critical*. In keeping with what I have just mentioned, in this case as well, eight of ten keywords are formulated as adjectives, which can be transversally attributed to different objects of promotion.

The new list presents as well a modification of the message arrangement, with the messages presented in eight groups. On the one hand, this could be a way to avoid a

taxonomical list. On the other hand, the regrouping of the messages can be interpreted as means to clarify the content of the messages and therefore as a first step toward the crystallization of a complex promotional core messages of the "Brand Switzerland" – a sort of (still invisible) node around which a set of features are organized and which is simultaneously the product of the assembled features themselves.

Another observation is that, out of seven nodes, the emergence of a node or core messages results from the three features *diverse*, *multicultural*, *tolerant*. What does this message communicate? While in the previous version of the business plan there could have been doubts concerning the semantic content of the message of a diverse country, in this case the qualitative *diverse*, which is associated with the qualitative *multicultural* and *tolerant,* seems to confirm my theory that se *diverse* does not refer to Switzerland's geography, flora, or fauna (as evoked in traditional myths and current touristic discourse), but indexes Switzerland's cultural situation. Nevertheless, both the qualitative *multicultural* and *tolerant* cannot yet be clearly defined. On the one hand, there is no way to understand what is meant by *multi*, i.e. which cultures exactly? And there is also no way to specify what is meant by culture? Language? Religion? Lifestyle? Consequently, while it can be assumed that the qualitative *tolerant* refers to a certain attitude in the face of diversity and multiculturalism, not having any information about what is meant by diversity and multiculturalism leaves the semantic value of the qualitative *tolerant* open. However, as we have seen in the preceding paragraphs, the criteria suggested in the business plan seem to have effectively influenced the reformulation of the brand and opinions of what this brand can say about Switzerland. The presence of diversity as a node is apparently legitimized by the logics and necessities materializing in the criteria, i.e. by its recognizability, its generalizability, its sexiness, its factuality, and its transversality.

Now, on May 19, Burri's compromise was discussed in a taskforce meeting (see Memo of the meeting of the taskforce Reform COCO). The suggested list continued to be contested; as a type of compromise, it accounted for all interests represented in the taskforce but, nonetheless, still contained elements that met with disapproval from some members. Disputed aspects included the need for promotional messages to be transferable, the obligation to include the new national brand in the sectorial promotion of the promotional organizations, the close collaboration between the organizations and therefore the lost independence for these organizations. Despite the existing dissent, the text was adopted by the committee's members. Because no third version was foreseen in Burri's mandate, rejecting the text was technically not possible. Acceptance can also be attributed to the fact that the members agreed that the proposed list of messages only represented a philosophy [Philosophie] on which the sectorial promotion of Switzerland would be based; the individual organizations saw plenty of room for maneuvering. Yet approval was also due to the fact that Burri's report was not the final version of the business plan that would be submitted to

parliament for deliberation. The next step of the scheduled milestones was initiating consultation, which, in accordance with official legislative procedures (see Gesetzgebungsleitfaden 2008), prescribed that the text sent to all departments of the Federal Administration, to the national embassies abroad (England, Israel, Spain, Italy, Canada, France, South Africa, Denmark, Finland, and the Netherlands), to the cantons, to promotional organizations not directly involved in the taskforce work, and to further marketing experts to be evaluated and commented. Because of the complexities of sending the text to all required organs and offices, the members of the commission assumed there was still time to introduce changes to the text (see *Version 1* of the business plan where the different milestones of the reform process are outlined).

At this time, access to this consultation process is not granted. Parts of the statements provided by the embassies and the federal departments are classified. And the comments provided by the experts are only partially accessible and do not give a clear and systematic picture of their evaluation. Nevertheless, I have access to the final and official version of the taskforce business plan (*Presence Switzerland – Aims, Strategies, Business Plan* Report of the taskforce COCO), which entextualizes the results of the consultation process. In the following, I present *Version 3* of the business plan and focus on how the list of messages changed in this version of the document. This sheds light on what the effective communicative value of multilingualism and cultural diversity as promotional arguments was, and explains its place in the architecture of the "Brand Switzerland."

The "Brand Switzerland"

In March 1999, *Version 3* of the taskforce's business plan was finalized. This document represented the accomplishment of the parliamentarian mandate issued in November 1997 to the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"*; nine months later, it would provide the basis for the parliamentarian deliberation on a reform of *COCO* and of the promotion of the nation more generally. The report was a 17-page document entitled "*Presence Switzerland – Aims, Strategies, Business Plan*." The document was structured as follows:

Chapter 1: The necessity of a reform and professionalization of the promotion of Switzerland abroad is situated in the transforming political-economic conditions and as a reaction to international criticism of Switzerland concerning its role in World War II and its isolationist [das Abseitsstehen der Schweiz] political strategy. Furthermore, in its account of *COCO*'s history, the report states that this organization is no longer capable of responding to the political and economic challenges posed in late capitalism. Finally, the report delineates the main responsibilities of the new *COCO* while particularly emphasizing in its role as an institution that must take the lead in promoting an attractive image of Switzerland abroad.

Chapter 2: The future strategy of *COCO* is outlined. It first states that all future promotional activities of the *COCO* should draw on the basic messages contained in "Brand

Switzerland." The balance between the several messages may vary according to the promotional situation and the addressed markets. Consequently, and second, the organization's promotional activities should draw on a market analysis of the target markets, and the marketing campaigns should be adapted to the features of the addressed markets. Third, its promotional campaigns should correspond to the needs and demands of the target markets. Fourth, every promotional campaign must be produced in cooperation with the other partners of the network of organizations promoting Switzerland abroad. Fifth, the organizations are required to provide a constant monitoring of the image of Switzerland in the target markets in order to quickly recognize deficits or problems. Finally, the promotional campaign must be part of long-term programs and projects that are subject to political and economic interests and that require constantly supervision and reevaluation.

Chapter 3: The new organizational structure is presented. Specifically, the number of positions that need to be created is listed: ten positions in the domain of marketing, PR, communication, event management, administration, logistic, and law. It is stressed that every new employee must have a degree in marketing and/or communication. In addition to these general considerations, the report provides a detailed description of the qualities and expertise required of the new director. The following skills are listed: *management qualification*, *capacity for team work*, *negotiating skills*, *doer*, *marketing qualification*, *editorial skills*, *excellent communicator*, *media qualification*, *network of relationships*, *political understanding*, *international work experience*, *multilingualism*, *charisma*, *good general knowledge about Switzerland*.

Chapter 4: The funding modus of the new organization is introduced. While the planned budget of the new organization is fixed at 17 million Swiss francs per year (excluding employee salaries paid by the *Federal Department of Foreign Affairs* and participation in international expos, which receive ad hoc funding). Furthermore, the report stated that contribution to the funding on the part of private enterprise was desired, and that negotiations to this purposed were planned.

As already mentioned, this document was addressed to parliament. The document's new status (previous versions were addressed to the members of the taskforce) had consequences in terms of the languages in which it was produced. In keeping with federal law regimenting the use of languages in the national parliament, the text was translated into French (translation into Italian or Rumantsch is not obligatory). Moreover, the text had to correspond to regimentations regulating the production of parliamentarian documents and, more particularly, had to be entextualized according the criteria that regiment the production of the institutional genre "dispatch." In this respect, while the previous version of the business plan had been produced and signed by the external consultant, Tobias Burri, this version of the document was not signed, but rather submitted in the name of the entire taskforce. For this reason, the end of the business plan lists of the individuals (name, title, and affiliation) having

participated in the taskforce and having contributed to the production of the document. The authorship of the text is therefore attributed not to a single individual, as in the previous case, but to the entire taskforce. This erasure of the single members of the taskforce also had discursive consequences: While in previous versions, the diverging ideologies of the nation and the different interests were visible, all forms of disparity were removed in the final version of the document. In line with my observations in *Chapter 2*, this discursive construction of unity at the expense of diverse individual voices was a means to transform the document into a discourse of authority and expertise, i.e. into a form of authoritative knowledge on which the parliamentary deliberations could draw.

In the following, I focus on Chapter 2 of the business plan and more particularly present the new (and definitive) list of promotional messages characterizing the "Brand Switzerland." In this regard, I particularly focus on how the messages have evolved in the final version of the business plan and the effects these transformations have on diversity's place in the national brand.

Version 2: Report of the taskforce COCO Reform "Image of Switzerland – Suggestions for a Strategic Repositioning of COCO" (May 1998)

- modern, innovative, fortschrittlich [modern, innovative, progressive]
- Lebenslust, Vergnügen, Kreativität [zest for life, fun, creativity]
- hohe Lebensqualität, nachhaltige Entwicklung [high quality of life, sustainable development] human, solidarisch, werte-bewusst [humane, showing solidary, value-conscious]
- verlässlich, sicher, zuverlässig, qualitätsbewusst [reliable, secure, sense of quality]
- vielfältig, multikulturell, tolerant [diverse, multicultural, tolerant]
- gastlich [hospitable]
- offen, selbstkritisch, selbstbewusst, transparent [open, self-critical, self-conscious, transparent]

Version 3: "Presence Switzerland – Aims, Strategies, Business Plan" Report of the Taskforce Reform COCO (March 1999)

- **Vielfalt**: 4 Sprachen, 4 Kulturen, Hoher Ausländeranteil (Koexistenz), Föderalismus, Pluralismus
- [**Diversity**: 4 languages, 4 cultures, high percentage of foreigners (coexistence), federalism, pluralism]
- **Humanitäre Tradition**: Rotes Kreuz (ICRC), Direktion für Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit (DEZA), Int. Organisationen (Genf)
- [**Humanitarian Tradition**: Red Cross (ICRC), Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), intl. organizations (Geneva)]
- **Bürgernähe**: Direkte Demokratie, Dreistufiger Federalismus, Mitgestaltung durch den Bürger, Milizkultur, Politische Eigenwillikeit, Rechtssicherheit
- [**close proximity to the citizen**: direct democracy, three-level federalist system, citizen participation, militia culture, political self-determination, legal certainty]
- **Qualitätsbewusstsein**: Erstklassige Güter und Dienstleistungen, Effiziente Infrastruktur, Schöne Landschaft, Lebensqualität, Nachhaltigkeit
- [**Sense of Quality**: high-quality goods and services, efficient infrastructure, beautiful

landscape, quality of life, sustainability]
Innovation: Effiziente Wirtschaft, Hohes Bildungs-, Forschungs- und Entwicklungsniveau, Neue Informationsgesellschaft, Kompetitivität
[**Innovation**: efficient economy, high educational, research and development level, new information society, competitiveness]

While a quick scan of the changes adopted by the taskforce might give the impression of a fundamental reworking of the entire set of messages, I argue that the adopted changes are fundamentally the resultant of two decisions made within the taskforce.

First, in consonance with the promotional necessity of concise and clear messages (see the quality criteria in *Version 2*) and in conformity with the first condensation process of the messages described in the previous section, a decontextualization, entextualization, and recontextulization of six sets of messages in four core messages can be observed:

- diverse, multicultural, tolerant → diversity
- human, solidary, value-conscious → humanitarian tradition
- high quality of life, sustainable development and reliable, secure, sense of quality → sense of quality
- modern, innovative, progressive → innovation

In all these cases we can observe that one of the features composing the group of messages is entextualized (in some cases in a slightly modified form) as the concept designating the core messages: *diverse → diversity*; *humane → humanitarian tradition*; *sense of quality → sense of quality*; *innovative → innovation*. It can be fairly assumed that in these cases, the chosen feature is the aspect that already embodies, synthesizes, or represents in one way or another the other features of the entextualized set of messages, such as: *multicultural, tolerant* and *hospitable → diverse*; *solidary, value-conscious → humanitarian*; *high quality of life, sustainable development* and *reliable, secure → sense of quality*; *modern, progressive → innovative*.

We can also observe that the three sets of messages that appeared in *Version 2*, i.e. *open, self-critical, self-conscious, transparent*; *open* and *zest for life, fun, creativity* have been removed, and that a new promotional message emerges: *proximity to the citizen*. Because the erased features do not appear to be related to this new message, it can be assumed that they were removed on account of their potential unsuitableness as promotional messages. Especially the group of messages *open, self-critical, self-conscious, transparent* could easily be interpreted as counterfactual. In times when Switzerland was accused of being arrogant, obscure, and even unreasonable, the appropriation of those promotional messages in future marketing strategies could readily be deemed inappropriate.

Second, we can observe how the core messages are exemplified by concrete

political achievements, institutions, and qualities of Switzerland. This change is accountable to the suggestions proposed by one of the experts in the consultation process (see the memo of the interview with Prof. Dr. Mogler conducted by Ambassador Zürcher on December, 4 1998), who stressed the necessity to avoid messages with abstract values and the need to foreground concrete examples embodying the values themselves [Image-Anstrengungen müssen sich auf konkrete Leistungen und auf die politische Aktualität abstützen (Image efforts must draw on concrete achievements and on political topicality)].

- Diversity → 4 languages, 4 cultures, high percentage of foreigners (coexistence), federalism, pluralism
- Humanitarian Tradition → Red Cross (ICRC), Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, intl. organizations (Geneva)
- Proximity to the Citizen → direct democracy, three-level federalism, citizen participation, militia culture, political self-determination, legal certainty
- Sense of Quality → high-quality goods and services, efficient infrastructure, beautiful landscape, quality of life, sustainability
- Innovation → efficient economy, good educational system, research and development level, new information society, competitiveness

In line with what one could observe in earlier versions of the business plan, the presented examples index both traditional indentitarian features (*4 languages*, *4 cultures*, *federalism*, *pluralism*, *Red Cross (ICRC)*, *SDC*, *intl. organizations (Geneva)*, *direct democracy*, *three-level federalism*, *the citizen's participation*, *militia culture*, *political self-determination*, *high-quality goods and services*, *efficient infrastructure*, *beautiful landscape*, *quality of life*) as well as new characteristics (*efficient economy*, *good educational system*, *research and development level*, *new information society*, *competitiveness*, *sustainability*, *high percentage of foreigners (coexistence)*, *legal certainty*). Indeed, the cited examples are located at different level of the nation's body – society, political system, economy, culture, and nature – and therefore meet the demand for transversality that emerged in *Version 2* and reiterated in *Version 3*. In what follows, I particularly focus on how the core message *diversity* crystalizes, and discuss what the listed features enable us to say about the role attributed to diversity in the architecture of the "Brand Switzerland."

In this respect, and in keeping with what we have observed above, we can observe how the feature *diverse*, which in *Version 2* was one of three features, is transformed into the core message *diversity*. Furthermore, we observe how the features *multicultural society* and *diversity of the country* are entextualized under the label *diversity*, which is specified by the features: *4 languages* and *4 cultures,* referring to the four officially recognized linguistic communities; *high percentages of foreigners (coexistence)* referring to the Swiss state's ability to manage this diversity on the national territory; and, finally, *federalism* and *pluralism*, which index the distribution of power in Switzerland and the empowerment of the

national minorities.

The emerging question is why diversity? What was diversity's potentiality as a key feature of the future "Brand Switzerland"?

Drawing on two semi-directive interviews conducted with two members of the taskforce Reform COCO, Alexandre Marot and Alain Tissot, and in line with the analysis of the entextualization of the "Brand Switzerland" in concrete promotional practices that our research team investigating the promotion of Switzerland's culture, economy, and tourism abroad was able to provide (see Duchêne 2012; Duchêne and Del Percio 2014), what can be said is that diversity's potentiality as a feature of the "Brand Switzerland" was due to its compatibility with the multiple interests represented in the taskforce.

In particular, if diversity – the nation's "bright" side – enabled a response to the criticism directed at Switzerland and its banking industry on account of its capability to stress the nation's sense of democracy and pluralism, the general acceptance of the keyword "diversity" was also due to its capacity to be invested in for alternative political and economic projects. The term could be used to market Switzerland's cultural industry as cosmopolitan; to advertise Switzerland's touristic destinations as authentic and exotic, but all the same accessible to everyone on account of the local tourism workers' ability to communicate with the audience they address; to brand Switzerland's service industry and labor force as multilingual, thereby stressing Switzerland's ability to operate in the multilingual, globalized new economy; and, finally, to sell Switzerland as a sexy, cosmopolitan, and European place to be in order to attract a qualified labor force from abroad. In short, the transversality of *diversity* as a promotional message created the conditionalities for a convergence of the various interests in the taskforce surrounding this specific element of national pride. All the more, because transversality does not imply homogeneity, but rather the possibility to be adapted and concretized according to the promoted objects, target markets, and promotional strategy. The transversality of diversity as such creates enough room to maneuver to satisfy the political and economic groups represented by the members of the taskforce and by the interests these embody.

However, if *diversity's* transversality – i.e. its adaptability to different promotional situations creating the conditionalities for a convergence of the interests represented in the taskforce and to its recognizability by the target audience – a further aspect was also important for its acceptability within the taskforce. The message was entextualized in the list to clearly state that "diversity" stands for *4 languages* and *4 cultures* rather than for multilingualism and multiculturalism, which could also easily be construed to include languages and cultures indexing immigrants. In addition, the message constructs the presence of immigrants as an index of the Swiss state's capability of assuring peaceful *coexistence* and not as a resource per se. These points enabled the promotional capitalization on a cultural resource that, under specific late capitalistic conditions, can be exchanged with other forms of

capital without questioning the sociocultural ideologies of difference that had guaranteed the stability of Switzerland's social order for decades. We must not forget that, despite the celebratory discourses on Swiss diversity produced by the Swiss government itself as well as by part of the international community, there is a form of diversity in Switzerland that is constructed by a section of the political and economic establishment as a danger to the prosperity and welfare of the Swiss state. This potentially problematic diversity is naturally the diversity resulting from the low-skilled immigrant population that, even if promotionally speaking staged as sexy, was seen by the aforementioned actors as a social phenomenon that should be controlled, restricted, regimented, and at times even erased. (see Engler 2012; Gerber and Skenderovic 2011; Skenderovic 2009, 2013; Skenderovic and D'Amato 2008). Therefore, insisting too strongly on forms of diversity that would include what in Switzerland is considered to be "bad" diversity would have endangered not only the acceptability of the message "diversity," but of the entire architecture of the "Brand Switzerland."

This definitive version of the taskforce's business plan, and the finalized version of the "Brand Switzerland" entextualized in this document was submitted to the federal authorities. By drawing on the expertise formulated in the business plan, the authorities produced a first version of the *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad*. This legislative text was designed to create the legal framework for the professionalization of Switzerland's promotion abroad, for the reorganization of COCO's institutional structures and mandate (i.e. the transformation of COCO into an independent promotional organization charged with the suprasectorial promotion of the nation abroad and the coordination of marketing activities provided by other state-funded promotional organizations), and for the entextualization of the formulated national brand in future promotional practices marketing Switzerland's culture, tourism, and economy in global markets. In a further step, both documents (the business plan and the federal act) were submitted to the federal parliament in September 1999, which deliberated on both documents in December 1999.

Now, the parliamentarian debates focused neither on the "Brand Switzerland" nor on the promotional messages it entails, but rather was concerned with the *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad* itself. These debates were characterized by struggles and tension concerning the mandate of the new COCO. Specifically, there was discord concerning: the appropriateness of expanding the state apparatus by building new organizational structures and the inappropriateness of transforming an organ of the federal state into what was called a propaganda organization; the impossibility of enhancing the image of Switzerland abroad, in a political context, where the promotional activities are constantly contradicted and undermined by the effective daily conduct of Switzerland's economic and governmental actors; the legitimacy of a federal act imposing a promotional strategy on non-public organizations such as the state-funded, but legally independent organizations responsible for the promotion of Switzerland abroad.

Nevertheless, despite the conflicts, the *Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland's Image Abroad* was adopted by the federal parliament in March 2000. The passage of the act directly affected the old COCO, which underwent major restructuring in terms of its institutional status (the organization was given the status of a so-called decentralized administrative unit of the Swiss Confederation). In addition, its budget underwent reorganization (the budget of the new *COCO* was increased to 18 million Swiss francs per year, not including labor costs or the costs for organizing Swiss pavilions at international fairs and expositions), its domains of operation were expanded (beyond its investment in the coordination of the promotional practices provided by the existing network of state-funded promotional organization, the new *COCO* was mandated to provide its own suprasectorial promotional campaigns and to be active in the promotion of those sectors of Switzerland not already promoted by other organizations). Finally, the organization was given a new name (the new *COCO* was rechristened "Presence Switzerland," a name that provides clear insight into what the organization was to stand for: *Presence Switzerland*'s overarching task was to pursue a policy of promoting Switzerland's presence in those markets that were of political and economic interest to the nation's economy, and to create the conditions necessary to attract the attention of those markets to Switzerland). But, the new federal act did not only bring changes to *COCO*'s organizational structure: It also altered the promotional practices of state-funded promotional organizations. More concretely, the "Brand Switzerland" was entextualized in a whole series of promotional material and strategies.

The promotional messages defined by the taskforce Reform *COCO* continued to provide the basis for the promotion of Switzerland abroad until the year 2008, when a new image crises made a reform of the "Brand Switzerland" necessary. But that is the object of the next chapter.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the political and economic need to exert a certain control over Switzerland's reputation abroad resulted from the international criticism caused by the non-membership of Switzerland to the EEC and by the lawsuits by the US regarding Switzerland's role in World War II. These factors and the involvement of Switzerland's banks and national bank in the harboring wealth from Nazi Germany resulted in calls for professionalization of marketing Switzerland's image. Switzerland's efforts were mainly focused on reforming the existing legislative framework regimenting the promotion of the nation abroad. I explained how, in response to these crises, the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* was mandated to design what was called the "Brand Switzerland." In particular, I highlighted how in this context multilingualism and cultural diversity emerged as key factors of promotional investment and I stressed the logics and interests that transformed these key identitarian elements into a object of promotional capitalization.

It was my intention to demonstrate that the analyzed definition process of the "Brand Switzerland" emerged as a key site of both reproduction and contestation of ideologies of the nation on which the Swiss state and the nation's social order draws and that arising tension were not necessarily struggles opposing commercial profit from national traditions. To the contrary, in times of social uncertainty and political-economic transformations, the tension and conflict were rather clashes between diverging political projects, different ideas of capitalizing on what late capitalism has to offer in economic and political terms, and struggles for the reproduction of power and capital in Switzerland. It was therefore the aim of this chapter to show that the promotional capitalization on national multilingualism and cultural diversity allow the convergence of these different political interests in this single national capital.

Now who wins and who loses from the promotional capitalization on national multilingualism? It would be a misconception to presume that the promotional valorization of national diversity and the capitalization on a form of diversity that is traditionally conceptualized as "bad" diversity (namely the diversity resulting from the immigrant population) could effectively impact the "diverse" access to forms of capital and recognition. To the contrary, sociolinguists studying the management of multilingualism and cultural diversity in Switzerland have claimed that diversity is a "sexy" thing when it contributes to the reproduction of capital and the stabilization of the social order; it is however a "bad" thing when it challenges the established structures of power and dominations within national territory (see Watts 1988, 1999; Del Percio and Duchêne 2012; Duchêne 2009a,b; Flubacher and Duchêne 2012). Along these lines, investing in diversity as a key element of the "Brand Switzerland" is not a way of redistributing power and capital in Switzerland. Or at least it does not seem to be the objective of the member of the taskforce COCO. Investing in national diversity under late capitalism is rather a means for the political and economic elite in Switzerland to capitalize on a resource existing within Swiss territory with the end of enhancing their social and economic standing.

Chapter 5
Capitalizing on Affect
Multilingualism and Cultural Diversity as the Emotional Face of the Nation

Introduction

In the summer of 2009, nearly ten years after the reform process discussed in the previous chapter, the head office of *Presence Switzerland* announced a relaunch of the "Brand Switzerland" (*Presence Switzerland* Newsletter – 1 – 2009). Repositioning the national brand entailed, to begin, a reformulation of the Swiss brand's promotional messages. In this regard, the five core messages *diversity*, *humanitarian tradition*, *proximity*, *sense of quality*, *innovation* that had characterized the "Brand Switzerland" up to that point in time, were reduced to two messages: *secure future* and *self-determination*. Second, according to the head office's communiqué, the new design of the brand also occasioned a reconceptualization of its tonality, i.e. the style of the brand's communication and the values and character indexed by this communicative style. The future brand was to convey an image of Switzerland as being *trustworthy*, *reliable,* and *credible*, while also embodying *authenticity*, *humanity,* and *emotionality*. Third, *Presence Switzerland* announced a redefinition of the brand's visual identity. In particular, in an effort to convey a more *active*, *confident,* and *self-determined* image of Switzerland, the *Swiss cross* and its colors, the *Swiss population*, and the *Swiss Alpine habitat* were required to be dominantly present in all communication practices (see as well the *Corporate Design Manual Switzerland – 2009*, and *Working with Brand Switzerland – 2009* where these elements are specified in detail).

It is in this context that a transformation in the status of multilingualism and cultural diversity in the architecture of the "Brand Switzerland" can be observed. Heretofore, national diversity had been one of five core messages of the nation's brand; now, the brand relaunch necessitated a reconceptualization of multilingualism and cultural diversity as an essential element of the brand's tonality, i.e. as a promotional resource representing emotional and human characteristics of the nation.

The emerging question is naturally: Why? What political-economic conditions and interests in 2009 caused a redefinition of the "Brand Switzerland" to be deemed necessary and then actually implemented? What were the logics leading to the emergence of national diversity as a key factor of the national brand's tonality and as an icon of the nation's emotionality at this moment in time? Which forms of diversity were considered to have potential to promotionally stage the nation's emotionality and humanity? And which forms

were not? Why? And, finally, what were the consequences of the Swiss brand's relaunch on the way Switzerland would be promoted in future, on the role of Swiss linguistic and cultural diversity in the new branding strategy, and on the sociocultural ideologies of the nation (and its supposed diversity) that these discourses on Switzerland would (re)produce?

To gain a better understanding of this particular event in what Appadurai (1988) would term the social life of the "Brand Switzerland," and to attain in-depth knowledge about multilingualism and cultural diversity's value at this given moment in time, my analysis draws on parliamentarian minutes, dispatches, guidelines, manuals, newsletters, strategy papers, (annual) reports, and promotional materials (websites, brochures, and video clips). My analysis also draws on semi-directive interviews conducted with actors having participated in the events under investigation.

In this chapter, I first present the events leading to the relaunch of the "Brand Switzerland" and relate the brand's transformation within the professionalization process of the state-funded organizations between 2004 and 2008. I also stress the connection between the need to professionalize and the (perceived) renewed image problems facing Switzerland's banking industry and the nations' political system in the first decade of the aughts (2000s). Furthermore, an investigation of diversity's place in the new brand is presented and its operationalization in concrete promotional practices is discussed.

The overall aim of this chapter is to highlight the variability of the value of multilingualism and cultural diversity as promotional arguments and their potentiality as an icon of the nation's emotional and human face. I hope to demonstrate how national diversity increasingly becomes a variable promotional feature, fluctuating according to the target audience, the promotional context, and the promoted aspect in Switzerland's economy, culture, political system, and tourism industry. This chapter reveals that, if under certain conditions, certain forms of diversity (e.g. Swiss official multilingualism and cultural diversity as well as forms of diversity resulting from high-skilled European migration) effectively contribute to a successful marketing of the nation, under other conditions, diversity can emerge as an obstacle or even as an impediment to Switzerland's promotion.

On the Conditionalities of the "Brand's Switzerland's" Relaunch

The manual *Working with Brand Switzerland* (published by *Presence Switzerland* in 2009 simultaneously with the presentation of the new brand) presents and explains the new brand's architecture and functioning and defines its criteria of use; it was addressed to all actors participating in the promotion of Switzerland abroad, including partners of *Presence Switzerland*, the Swiss embassies and consulates, and other state-funded promotional organizations such as *Osec*, *Swiss Tourism*, *Pro Helvetia*. In the manual's introduction, the reform of the old "Brand Switzerland" is presented in the following terms (my paraphrase): First, in a world characterized by transnational societies and economies, where commodities,

information, and individuals quickly circulate across borders, countries compete to attract foreign investments, foreign capital, and the foreign workforce. How a country is perceived by potential partners and customers directly affects its access to resources, meaning no country may be indifferent to its international reputation. Second, a focused, consistent, and strategic national brand can grant Switzerland an advantageous and successful position in the global markets, allowing it to stand out among its competitors. Third, and consequently, to safeguard its long-term competitiveness and its political and economic role in the world, Switzerland must regularly reevaluate the validity of its brand and of the promotional messages it entails, with the aim of improving and strengthening the international communication of this brand.

Since the 1970s, the transnationalization of the economy and Switzerland's need to compete for access to resources, labor force, and capital has been constructed as the trigger for the diverse reforms projects of Switzerland's international promotion (see *Brief History of Presence Switzerland 2012*; see as well the three dispatches explaining the reforms in 1974, 2000 and 2008: *Dispatch on the federal act instituting a coordinating commission for the presence of Switzerland abroad* of 1975; *Dispatch on the federal act on the promotion of Switzerland's image abroad* of 2000; and *Dispatch on the federal act on the promotion of Switzerland* of 2008). Yet, the rationale proposed by the manual (this account is reproduced in other institutional documents such as *Annual Report – 2009 Presence Switzerland*; also see *Corporate Design Manual Switzerland – 2009*) provides no clues as to why, at this specific moment in time and only nine years after the original definition and implementation of the "Brand Switzerland," the national brand was deemed in need of a facelift. In looking for an explanation, in the following sections, I draw on institutional data such as parliamentarian minutes, annual reports, newsletter, and strategy papers to demonstrate that the redefinition of the "Brand Switzerland" was due to a reorganization of the apparatus of state-funded organizations involved in the promotion of Switzerland (and as such a redefinition of *Presence Switzerland's* mandate), to new international criticism addressed to the nation's banking sector and the country's political system, and to the resulting lack of credibility of some core messages of the "Brand Switzerland." This does not, however, imply that I contradict the manual's functional account of the reasons underlying the transformation of the brand. Nor do I question the explanation proposed in the three dispatches. The aim of the following sections is rather to better understand why, in the second half of the aughts, the governmental authorities judged the "Brand Switzerland" and the governmental promotional strategy more generally as insufficiently appropriate to ensure Switzerland of an attractive position in the international markets.

Redefining *Presence Switzerland*'s mandate and promotional aims

In the previous chapter I explained at several instances that the organizational status and

mandate of the former *Coordination Committee for the Presence of Switzerland Abroad* and of the new *Presence Switzerland* must not be considered independently from other state-funded promotional organizations. Indeed, all these organizations belonged to a network of organizations responsible for the promotion of Switzerland abroad, and the mandate and function of one organization was highly dependent on those of the partner organizations. For this reason, repositioning *Presence Switzerland* (or the former *COCO*) necessarily affected its partner organizations and, vice versa, a reform of Presence Switzerland's partner organizations had consequences for the institution itself.

Precisely this occurred in October 2004, when, during parliamentarian debates on refinancing of *Swiss Tourism* (the organization charged with organizing the promotion of Switzerland as a touristic destination and one of *Presence Switzerland*'s major partners), parliamentarians requested better coordination of *Swiss Tourism*'s promotional activities with the promotional organizations; the motivation behind this request was saving financial resources. As common in Swiss parliamentarian culture, the funding and the mandate of all state-funded promotional organizations are renegotiated every four years. While the national government regards the Swiss tourism industry to be of strategic importance for the prosperity of the national economy, and while the federal authorities consider *Swiss Tourism* to be THE organization creating the conditions for the global competitiveness of the national tourism industry, and despite the organization's leading position in terms of branding activities of Switzerland's tourism destinations (see *Message concernant l'aide financière allouée à Suisse Tourisme de 2005 à 2009*), in 2004, a majority of parliament voted against the unconditional refunding of the organization (see parliamentarian minutes of September 29, 2004 and of October 7, 2004). In particular, the objectors stated that, during an economic crisis and in the face of budgetary restrictions, the state could not afford further funding of the network of organizations mandated with the promotion of the nation. Consequently, parliament decided to restrict the funding of the *Swiss Tourism* to two years (instead of according the usual four-year budget) and to charge the national government with a reorganization of the state-funded promotional organizations, including the creation of synergies that would save human and financial resources. This decision was strongly criticized by the representatives of the mountain regions (historically the poorest regions of the country, see *Der Finanzausgleich - Stärkung des Federalismus 2012*), which were the areas that traditionally profit most from *Swiss Tourism*'s promotional activities. These regions considered the decision to contradict the principles of economic equality and social peace on which the nation's cohesion is built. Nevertheless, the necessity of finding synergies and optimizing collaboration between the promotional organizations was justified by the majority of the parliamentarians by the "debt brake" strategy, which aimed to better control the balance between public revenue and the public expenditure and which was approved by the Swiss population in 2001 (see parliamentarian minutes of September 29, 2004 and of October 7, 2004; see as well *Botschaft*

zur Schuldenbremse 2000). For that reason, only a few years after approving funding of *Presence Switzerland* in 1999, parliament requested a clear definition of the competences of every promotional organization, the identification of potential synergies, and proposals for merger strategies of the existing organizations.

In the years following these debates, several scenarios regarding the reorganization of the promotion of Switzerland abroad were discussed in different contexts and commissions of the Federal Administration (see *Entwurf zu einem Bundesgesetz über die Schweizerische Landeswerbung 2006*). The scenario that seemed most promising (and the option preferred by the federal government) was a proposal for the foundation of a so-called "Gesellschaft für Landeswerbung" [Society for Country Marketing], i.e. a merger of all organizations involved in the promotion of the national territory: *Presence Switzerland* (i.e. the organization mandated with the supranational promotion of the nation), *Location Switzerland* (i.e. the organization mandated with the promotion of Switzerland as a business location), *Swiss Tourism* (the organization providing the promotion of tourism in Switzerland), and *Osec* (the organization providing support services for national enterprises in their export activities).

The merger plans were not successful. A broad consultation process in Swiss political and economic circles had shown that the diverging economic and political interests represented by the four organizations would have led to a lack of acceptance and legitimacy for this solution (for an overview of these disputes, see the 76 written positions provided by the promotional organizations themselves, but also by the cantons and municipalities, economic, political, and cultural associations, lobbies and think tanks, as well as parties and labor unions that were appended to the document *Bundesgesetz über die Schweizerische Landeswerbung: Ergebnisse der Vernehmlassung 2007*).

While these disputes prevented the foundation of the "Society for Country Marketing," the reform plans affected the status and role of *Presence Switzerland*. Although previously *Presence Switzerland* was viewed as a state-funded, but highly independent organization, the reform process led to an integration of the organization into the *Federal Department of the Foreign Affairs* (FDFA), meaning that from January 2009 on, *Presence Switzerland* was one of many sections in this department (see *Verordnung über die Pflege des schweizerischen Erscheinungsbildes im Ausland 2008*; see also *Rapport annuel 2008 de Présence Suisse*). Its new location in a governmental department also had consequences for the organization's mission: Up to 2008, the organization was mandated to provide the supra-sectorial promotion of the nation (see *Botschaft über die Neuorientierung und Verstärkung der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der Schweiz im Ausland (KOKO)*), but the integration in the *Federal Department of Foreign Affairs* resulted in new tasks for the organization. Specifically, *Presence Switzerland* was charged with managing potential threats and crises affecting the national image as well as with the constant monitoring and analysis of foreign media reports about Switzerland. This also entailed explaining Switzerland's political

concerns and positions to a foreign public (see the government strategy paper *La stratégie de communication internationale 2009*; see as well *Verordnung über die Pflege des schweizerischen Erscheinungsbildes im Ausland*). Furthermore, integrating *Presence Switzerland* into the institutional structures of the *FDFA* affected its role as a coordinating tool regarding the promotional activities provided by the other organizations marketing Switzerland. Moreover, since the collaboration between the major promotional organizations was largely considered to be inadequate (see parliamentarian postulate 04.3199 of March 30, 2004 and postulate 04.3434 of August 24, 2004; see as well *Entwurf zu einem Bundesgesetz über die Schweizerische Landeswerbung - Vernehmlassungsunterlage*) *Presence Switzerland* was asked to rethink the "Brand Switzerland" and its core messages in such a way that would serve all organizations concerned with the promotion of the nation. And because the concomitant existence of a multiplicity of promotional strategies and national brands was no longer deemed justifiable – neither financially, as the parliamentarians assumed that the federal government could no longer afford the financial expense that managing all the brands implied, nor promotionally, as from a branding perspective, the coexistence of different, and sometimes divergent, core messages in "Brand Switzerland" was judged as contra-productive, even damaging to the nation's image abroad (see *Botschaft über die Standortförderung 2008–2011*).

The preceding section presented the events leading to the calls for a reform of *Presence Suisse*'s mandate, and highlighted the reasons for the political necessity of a promotional framework that can be adapted to the needs of the economic, political, touristic, and cultural promotion of the nation. In the following section, I focus on several crises and conflicts arising in Switzerland itself between 2001 and 2009 in order to better understand why the new brand's messages took the forms they did, and especially why the new brand's core messages *secure future* and *self-determination* were selected – and how it evolved that Switzerland chose to invest promotionally in national diversity as a tonality of the "Brand Switzerland" to stage Switzerland's emotionality and humanity.

The incompatibility of the "Brand Switzerland"

While the dormant bank account crisis of the late 1990s discussed in the previous chapter found an end with the Swiss banks' payment of a 1.25 billion dollar settlement, in the aughts, Switzerland persisted in being at the center of international debate and criticism.

The new criticism was addressed to the national government by the authorities of the European Union, which demanded an alignment of Switzerland's tax policies to the tax systems in the European countries. More particularly, the European members accused Switzerland of using low tax rates to attract European enterprises to Swiss territory; as such, Switzerland was deemed to be violating the free trade agreement between the European Union and Switzerland signed by both parties in 1972 (see the Federal Council's response to

the parliamentarian interpellation 07.3780 of December 12, 2007 providing a detailed account of this conflict; see Tobler 2008, 2009, 2011 for a discussion thereof).

Switzerland was also in the international hot seat due to criticism directed at the national banking sector, especially Switzerland's largest bank, UBS. In the mid-2000s, it became public that the American authorities were investigating UBS's role in helping US citizens evade taxes; the largest Swiss bank was confronted with potentially huge penalties in the US market, which was increasingly considered to be of the utmost strategic importance to UBS (For an in-depth account of this conflict, see Straumann et al. 2012; see also the parliamentarian debates reacting to the interpellation 08.3307 of June 11, 2008 and the debates following this interpellation, the press release by the *Committees for Economic Affairs and Taxation CEAT* of July, 2 2008.)

An additional cause for Switzerland's status as a negative buzzword was UBS's role in the US subprime mortgage crises in 2007, the basis of the world financial crises. (For an analysis of the banks' role in the current financial crises, see Acharya and Richardson 2009; Baily and Litan 2008; Baumann and Rutsch 2008; Sinn 2009.) Indeed, starting in early 2007, UBS was one of the first global banking institutions to admit significant losses in the subprime mortgage sectors and was therefore constructed by the international community as both one of the causes of the global financial crises as well as an icon of the corrupt and unstable capitalist system that was bringing misery to millions of citizens around the world (see the interpellations 07.5373, 07. 5374, 07. 5375, 07. 5378, 07. 5379, 07. 5380 and debates on this subject; see as well the press release by the *Foreign Affairs Committees FAC* of May 23, 2007).

Finally, the persistent negative headlines on Switzerland can be ascribed to a set of popular votes in Switzerland (between 2000-2009), aiming to regulate (actually: restrict) minorities' rights and access to forms of economic, political and social recognition, and capital, as well as regimenting Switzerland's relations to the European Union and the international community more generally. These were the

- *Initiative populaire "Pour une réglementation de l'migration"* [Popular initiative "For a reglementation of migration"] in 2000;
- *Initiative populaire "Oui à l'Europe"* [Popular initiative "Yes to Europe"] in 2001;
- *Initiative populaire "Contre les abus dans le droit d'asile"* [Popular initiative "Against abuse in the asylum system"] in 2002;
- *Initiative populaire "Adhésion de la Suisse à l'ONU"* [Popular inititative "Switzerland's membership in the UN »] in 2002;
- *Arrêté fédéral sur la naturalisation ordinaire et sur la naturalisation facilitée des jeunes étrangers de la deuxième génération* [Federal act concerning the regular naturalization and the eased naturalization of young second-generation

immigrants] in 2003;

- *Arrêté fédéral sur l'acquisition de la nationalité par les étrangers de la troisième génération* [Federal act concerning the acquisition of citizenship by third generation immigrants] in 2003*;*
- *Arrêté fédéral portant approbation et mise en œuvre des accords bilateraux d'association à l'Espace Schengen et à l'Espace Dublin* [Federal act concerning the adoption and implementation of the bilateral agreements governing Switzerland's association to the Schengen and Dublin area] in 2004;
- *Modification de la loi sur l'asile* [Modification of the federal act on the asylum law] in 2005;
- *Loi fédérale sur la coopération avec les Etats d'Europe de l'Est* [Federal act concerning the cooperation with the East European states] in 2006;
- *Loi fédérale sur les étrangers* [Federal Law on Foreigners] in 2006;
- *Initiative populaire «Pour des naturalisations démocratiques»* [Popular initiative "For a democratic naturalization process"] in 2008;
- *Arrêté fédéral concernant l'initiative populaire «Contre la construction de minarets»* [Federal act concerning the popular initiative "Against building minarets"] in 2009.

These popular votes were heatedly debated both in Switzerland and in the international community (see the parliamentarian debates regarding these popular votes accessible on the Swiss parliament's website www.parlament.ch). Now, independently of the bill's acceptance or rejections, what made the discussions on these issues so salient was the fact that these legislative frameworks were perceived by parts of the nation (urban centers, left-wing parties, liberal and progressive circles, intellectual milieus, but also large parts of the French-speaking electorate, which as we have seen in *Chapter 3* tended to vote for an international Switzerland) and the international community (international NGO's, supranational organizations such as the UNO, EU, and the OECD) as standing in violation of international standards regarding the protection of minority rights, and as being in conflict with existing treaties between Switzerland and other national and supranational entities. These popular votes were also constructed by parts of the national and international community as evidence for Switzerland's supposed materialism, racism, and egotism (for an analysis of these debates see Engler 2012; Gerber and Skenderovic 2011; Kreis and Wecker 2007; Kreis 2007; Skenderovic 2012; Tobler 2007, 2009).

Now, as discussed in previous chapters, the criticism of the national economy and political system was perceived by sections of the Swiss population (mostly right-wing, conservative, and Christian democratic circles) as a challenge to the values and myths on which Switzerland draws. As stated previously, these values included political autonomy and national sovereignty, fiscal federalism and cantonal independence, humanitarianism,

pluralism, and solidarity. Other traditional Swiss values were reliability, stability, and high quality, which for many years had characterized the international competitiveness of Switzerland's banking industry and the national economy more generally.

In this context, and in line with what happened in the 1970s and in the 1990s, in times of political economic instabilities, the international criticism re-emerged as a proxy to reassess the validity and pertinence of these values under late capitalism. It was deemed necessary to evaluate the effects of the criticism on Switzerland's relation to the European Union, on the political and economic status of the Swiss banking secrecy and on the degree of political regulation and control of the national economies' international business activities (for exemplification of these debates, see *Botschaft zu einem Massnahmenpaket zur Stärkung des schweizerischen Finanzsystems* and the parliamentarian debates of December 8, 9, 11, 15, 2008 responding to this document; see also the parliamentarian debates of June 13, 2008 on the extensions of the agreement of the free movement of workers to citizens of Bulgaria and Rumania).

While these debates did not result in a convergence of the various interests and ideologies, all parties agreed on the fact that Switzerland's government needed to be better prepared for what the political and economic elite considered to be foreign attacks to Switzerland's financial and political system (see the aforementioned debates on strengthening Switzerland's financial system). It is in this context and in the efforts to rebut the criticism that, during the reorganization of the state's promotional apparatus, *Presence Switzerland* received the explicit mandate to manage the crisis affecting the national image, including strategies to produce sympathy for Switzerland's political and economic system. This was also the reason (along with the need of a national brand able to adapt to the necessities of the several promotional organizations) that led to a redefinition of the "Brand Switzerland" and to an optimization of the brand's messages and of the nation's promotional strategies (see the *FDFA* strategy paper *La stratégie de communication internationale 2009*).

The more conservative circles of federal parliament saw the strengthening of the nation's promotional activities as a means to create the conditions for the defense and protection of Swiss values from what were considered to be illegitimate foreign criticism and attacks on national sovereignty, and therefore as a strategy to stabilize, legitimize, and reproduce the value systems on which the national social and economic order draw. For other, more progressive forces, however, this mandate was also a site where new concepts of Switzerland could take root and where new promotional instruments and strategies could be implemented to bring about an effective management of the reputation crises surrounding the national economy and political system. This would, they argued, assure Switzerland of a long-term competitiveness in the global markets (see the parliamentarian debates on the promotion of Switzerland between February 28, 2007 and October 5, 2007).

Having outlined the external factors leading up to the reform of *Presence*

Switzerland's promotional strategies and the "Brand Switzerland," in the following section I focus on how these factors effectively impacted the organization's activities in terms of their professionalization and optimization. I present how these events led to a transformation of *Presence Switzerland* organizational structures and the professional profile of its staff and collaborators. Finally, I pay particularly attention to the impact these factors had on the promotional activities themselves and on the ways the organization conceived and managed the national brand. The overall goal is to highlight the institutional logics and interests that choose to capitalize on specific forms of multilingualism and cultural diversity (the question is of course: which forms? Why these and not others?) in the reform process and to construct these aspects as Switzerland's bright side, i.e. as icons of the nation's emotional and human face.

Professionalizing the "Brand Switzerland"

The political and economic crises confronting the Swiss government in the first decade of the new millennium resulted in an acceleration of *Presence Switzerland*'s professionalization process, a process that had already begun in the mid-1970s (see *Chapter 3*,*4*). According to several documents to which I have access, while the reform adopted in the 1990s was viewed as a first step towards more professional and efficient promotional practices, according to these documents *Presence Switzerland*'s promotion had not yet achieved international standards in terms of nation branding (see *Corporate Design Manual Switzerland - 2009*, and *Working with Brand Switzerland - 2009*; see as well *Botschaft über die Standortförderung 2008-2011*). More particularly, while other industrialized countries had heavily invested in the development of efficient and modern nation branding strategies and activities drawing on current marketing and communication theories used in the private sector since the late 1990s, Switzerland apparently lost ground in this domain. Even if Switzerland was a country with a long tradition of marketing its touristic destinations or its agro-alimentary products (already in the 19th century, Switzerland had begun internationally promotion of the Alps as a touristic destination, see Bernard 1978; Bendix 1989; Gölden 1939; Tissot 2000), the political actors and *Presence Switzerland*'s head office did not believe the "Brand Switzerland" and the promotional strategies developed in the 1990s were up to the standards of national branding set by Switzerland's national competitors. The general opinion was that current structures were unable to issue an appropriate reaction to the political, economic, and cultural challenges posed by late capitalism and by the international criticism addressed to Switzerland (see Duchêne and Heller's 2012 volume for a discussion of how the new political-economic conditions were invested in as a means to guarantee the reproduction of capital and to legitimize or contest the hegemonic social and economic order in different economies).

The Swiss authorities considered the lack of professionalism, especially when Switzerland was made the object of negative media reports, all the more problematic because

– in a highly mediatized global society – the competition between locations was perceived as a competition for the most positive image that potential clients, labor forces, and investors could have of a given location. As such, falling behind in terms of the quality and professionalism of the nation's branding and, as a result, failing to create the conditions for an attractive reputation of the nation in the target markets was viewed as a major disadvantage in the competition for attracting capital, a skilled labor force, and investors to the national territory (see *Corporate Design Manual Switzerland – 2009*, and *Working with Brand Switzerland – 2009*; see as well *Botschaft über die Standortförderung 2008–2011*). This much was clear: *Presence Switzerland*'s repositioning in the architecture of Swiss promotional organizations also required a further degree of professionalization of its activities.

Rationalizing the implications of *Presence Switzerland*'s professionalization

To better understand the implications the professionalization process had, in fall 2012 I (together with Alexandre Duchêne) conducted two extensive, semi-directive interviews with Alain Tissot, the former vice-director of *Presence Switzerland*. Tissot was insofar a key interlocutor for the questions I wanted to pose in that he was part of *Presence Switzerland* since 1997. In addition, Tissot studied law and was active as general secretary of the right-wing Swiss people's party and, between 1997 and 2000, he was employed as assistant to the former director of *COCO*. As seen in *Chapter 4*, Tissot was a member of the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* and participated in the foundation of *Presence Switzerland*. Indeed, he was the only member of *Presence Switzerland* who had experienced the transition process from *COCO* to *Presence Switzerland,* and the only person who had actively participated in work concerning the conceptualization, implementation, and management of all professionalization projects of the organization over the past 20 years. He was also heavily involved in the reconceptualization and repositioning of the national brand in 2009. During the interviews we were able to conduct with him, we discussed the genesis of *Presence Switzerland* and the circumstances that led to the establishment of the organization after twenty years of *COCO,* and talked about the several milestones and transformations that *Presence Switzerland* had experienced during its 10 years of existence.

Now, in order to better understand the logics related to a redefinition of the "Brand Switzerland" and, more particularly, to have access to an institutionally legitimized, i.e. official and authoritative rationalization (Tissot talked to us in his role as the director of *Presence Switzerland*) of national diversity's value as a promotional feature of the "Brand Switzerland," in the next section I present how Tissot constructed the effects of *Presence Switzerland*'s repositioning on the organization itself and, more importantly, how he assessed the implications of the reorganization for the "Brand Switzerland" and its messages.

Implications for the organization and its employees

Tissot claimed that repositioning *Presence Switzerland* in 2009 greatly influenced the organization itself, particularly *Presence Switzerland*'s structure and domains of activity. As already mentioned, *Presence Switzerland* was fully integrated in the structures of the *Federal Department of Foreign Affairs*. According to Tissot, this allowed the institution to capitalize on the knowhow concerning the target markets available within the department. It also promoted potential coordination between the political authorities and the promotional organizations in the case of future crises. Finally, Tissot explained that establishing *Presence Switzerland* in the Federal Administration accorded the organization's promotional activity the necessary legitimacy and authority to dictate and coordinate the promotional agenda of the nation's branding (also see *Presence Switzerland Newsletter - 1 - 2009*; also see *Rapport Annuel Presence Suisse 2008* in which the advantages of the new organizational structures are explained). Furthermore, the new structure entailed a new domain charged with the constant and systematic monitoring of and intelligence gathering in the foreign media landscape to gauge the nation's reputation abroad (also see *Verordnung über die Pflege des schweizerischen Erscheinungsbildes im Ausland 2008*).

In addition, *Presence Switzerland*'s vice-director stressed the fact that the professionalization process particularly affected the makeup of staff members in the organization. In the 1970s, the staff of the former COCO and later of the new *Presence Switzerland* were mostly specialists in foreign affairs and international relations, and therefore often individuals with a professional background at the *Federal Department of Foreign Affairs*. Starting in the early 2000s, however, or at the very least with the organizational reforms of 2009, the organization began recruiting marketing, media, and communication specialists, event and product managers, strategists and market analysts. All these potential employees were required to have editorial, marketing, and communication qualifications, in addition to having experience in private enterprise and being multilingual (two of three national languages were requested, plus English and the language spoken in at least one of the target markets). According to Tissot, the new job profiles were ascribed a major role in enhancing professionalism in *Presence Switzerland*'s promotional activities.

Implications for the core messages of the "Brand Switzerland"

In addition to the structural changes brought about by the professionalization process, Tissot claimed that the reforms also implied a fundamental reconceptualization and modernization of the "Brand Switzerland" itself.

While the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* had identified five promotional messages composing the national brand, Tissot stated that several market studies conducted by *Presence Switzerland* (or by one of its suppliers) between 2001 and 2008 suggested the messages (diversity, humanitarian tradition, proximity, sense of quality, innovation) selected

in the 1990s were no longer adequate to successfully position Switzerland in international markets. This was apparently due to a lack of relevance and distinctiveness. In this context, and referring to the message "diversity," Tissot explained that because many other countries around the world were decidedly more multilingual and multicultural than Switzerland, the argument of diversity was too weak to successfully position Switzerland in the international markets. He explicitly mentioned Nigeria, a country, where he claims more than 100 languages are spoken ("dir hei laender was weiss ich nigeria wo si hundert sprache hei innerhalb vo eim land aso das positioniert ues i dr waelt z'wenig" [there are countries, for example, Nigeria, where there are one hundred languages within one country [consequently] that [referring to Switzerland's multilingualism] does not position us enough in the world]). He explained further that these studies had also revealed that the negative image stemming from the criticism addressed to Switzerland's banking sector and political system resulted in some of the messages composing the "Brand Switzerland" to be viewed by the target markets as lacking in credibility. (Tissot explicitly mentioned the messages "humanitarian tradition," "proximity" and "diversity"). For that reason, Tissot believed the five messages needed to be replaced by two new messages: "Zukunftssicherheit" [secure future] and "Selbstbestimmung" [self-determination]. These two keywords would better represent the essence of both traditional and modern Switzerland, and would effectively contribute to communicating a relevant, appealing, and distinctive Switzerland ("do händ mire us bewusst reduziert uff die zwoi sache well [...] üs geits drum e schwiz z kommuniziere wo einersits relevant isch attraktiv isch wo ebe üs au unterscheidet vo andere länder vo andere konkurränte" [we consciously focused on these two aspects because [...] we want to communicate a Switzerland that is on the one hand relevant, is appealing and that distinguishes us from other countries, from other competitors]).

Tissot also stated that the strategic choice of these two new messages was the product of a three-year reflection process occurring within the structures of *Presence Switzerland* itself, and that this process took place simultaneously with the above-mentioned debates on the reorganization of the promotional organizations. (Unfortunately, access to the definition process of the new "Brand Switzerland" is unavailable; all these documents are classified until 2039 and I consequently am forced to rely on Tissot's account). In the interview, Tissot explained that *Presence Switzerland*'s new mandate was to both manage international crises and criticism affecting Switzerland's reputation abroad and to take the lead in the definition and management of a national branding strategy valid for all state-funded promotional organizations. The new core messages – designed to index Switzerland's traditional values of *stability* and *autonomy* – provide a plausible explanation to the international community as to why Switzerland and its population tend to vote as they do; The messages furthermore positively communicate the logics behind Switzerland's banking secrecy and taxation systems, and they frame the integrity of Switzerland's political and

economic system. The two promotional messages created the condition for the construction and communication of the nationally and internationally criticized events (i.e. the repressive migration policies, Switzerland's tax regime, the Swiss state's liberal attitude towards the Swiss baking industry's aggressive acquisition strategies in the US market and in regard to bank secrecy more generally) as phenomena resulting from Switzerland's pluralism, democratic system, and political stability, and as such to transform these negative factors into positive and appealing characteristics for Switzerland to employ in its promotional discourse.

Moreover, Tissot argued that his choice was also related to the necessity to introduce flexible messages in accordance with the governmental mandate to design a national brand that would cover the promotional needs of the all organizations involved in the international promotion of Switzerland's cultural, economic, touristic, scientific, and political location. He argued that the required flexibility was conditioned by the fact that the two identified core messages were the product of a condensation process of a whole set of promotional features to which the sectorial organizations could refer in their branding activities. More particularly, he explained that the *self-determination* contained political and structural features such as Switzerland's pursuit of independence, its political system employing direct democracy, federalism, the tax system, and the protection of intellectual property. The core message *secure future* stood for elements related to living and doing business in Switzerland, including the high quality of life in Switzerland, the high life expectancy, security, political stability, the attractive location for international companies, the financial center, innovative environment protection strategies, life sciences, and the excellent healthcare system. (It is interesting to note the strong intertextual relationship between the features of the new core messages and the lists of messages provided by the *Taskforce "Reform COCO"* in the 1990s; see also *Corporate Design Manual Switzerland - 2009* confirming Tissot's account; I will come back to this aspect in the following sections).

In keeping with this thinking, Tissot also explained that, according to recent developments in marketing theory and drawing on the newest findings pertaining to corporate branding campaigns, a national brand should not consist only of a set of core messages communicating the quality of a given country: The professionalization of the "Brand Switzerland" should also include the definition of what is called in marketing theory the brand's *tone* or *tonality*, meaning the character, emotions, and values expressed through the style of the brand's communication (see *Presence Switzerland*'s manuals *Working with Brand Switzerland 2009* and *Corporate Design Manual Switzerland – 2009* where tonality is defined as: "The tonality of the communication must always express the values and the character of the brand." In our interview, Tissot defined tonality as "d'art und wis wie dass me komuniziert" [the way we communicate]; see also Gertner and Kotler 2002; Kapferer 2008 for how tone or tonality is defined in marketing theory). Tissot also explained that developments in branding research required the clear and consistent use of a brand's visual

identity to make a given brand instantly recognizable.

In reference to emotional content of a brand, *Presence Switzerland*'s market analysis had shown that, in the wake of the aforementioned scandals and the emerging financial crises, Switzerland, specifically the Swiss people, were apparently perceived internationally as cool, materialistic, task-oriented, and relatively unemotional. ("was mir festgstellt händ au ir wahrnämig vor schwitz im usland [...] es isch e wahrnämig wo relativ chüehl isch wo isch relativ sach orientiert me nimmt d schwitz chuum über emotione und me nimmt schwitz chuum über mönsche war" [what we discovered in regard to the perception of Switzerland abroad [...] it is a perception that is relatively cool, that is relatively task-oriented, people hardly perceive Switzerland emotionally, people hardly perceive Switzerland as people]) Tissot explained that the new brand and the new promotional campaigns needed to communicate Switzerland's emotionality and to provide a consistent visual display of the human side of the nation. It is in this specific context that (always according to Tissot) identitarian elements such as Switzerland's humanitarian tradition and more particularly the nation's multilingualism and cultural diversity required reactivation. While diversity as a core message was not suitable to internationally position the nation, diversity as a tone of the brand's character, i.e. as a key element of the modalities *self-determination* and *secure future*, would contribute to forging affective meanings (feelings of internationality, cosmopolitanism, integrity, reliability, humanity) and would stage a human and emotional face of the nation to counterbalance Switzerland's cool, materialistic, and task-oriented international reputation. This, in turn, would lead to the successful promotion the nation's commodities, political system, tourism industry, and cultural products. Along these lines, he added that a constant mobilization of visual resources staging the nation's typical landscape (the Alps) and the Swiss population would help transform the negative image of Switzerland abroad.

In the following, I discuss the way the new "Brand Switzerland" was implemented in the promotional practices marketing Switzerland's image abroad and focus on how national diversity was mobilized in these practices and how these practices imagine Switzerland and the forms of diversity present on the national territory.

Scripting the Promotion of the Nation

In order to assure the professional operationalization of the new "Brand Switzerland," i.e. of its core messages, tonality, and visual identity, in addition to the aforementioned manuals *Working with Brand Switzerland - 2009* and *Corporate Design Manual Switzerland - 2009*, the professionalization efforts of *Presence Switzerland* also entailed training sessions and seminars to ensure the successful reception and implementation of the new "Brand Switzerland" by its own staff and by its partner organizations (embassies, members of the Federal Administration, and other state funded promotional organizations such as *Osec*, *Swiss Tourism*, *Swissnex*, *Pro Helvetia*) and external furnishers. All involved needed to respect and

observe the guidelines and regimentations regarding the "Brand Switzerland" if they wanted to position their promotional practices under the umbrella of the official and governmentally authorized "Brand Switzerland" and to continue to have access to state funds for theirpromotional activities (see *Presence Switzerland Newsletter - 3 - 2010*). The clause obligating all state funded promotional organizations to respect the "Brand Switzerland" was introduced by the *Botschaft über die Standortförderung 2008–2011* (see as well *Presence Switzerland Newsletter - 2 - 2009* reminding this clause to all promotional partners), which also was the document providing the legal basis for the reorganization of the promotional organizations and the integration of *Presence Switzerland* in the *Federal Department of Foreign Affairs* (see also *Presence Suisse - Newsletter - 2 - 2009*; and the strategy paper *La stratégie de communication internationale 2009*). It is in this context that the marketing specialists of *Presence Switzerland* began producing working documents (guidelines, manuals, regulations, templates, etc.) addressed to the attendees of these seminars, training sessions and workshops in which on a more conceptual level the "Brand Switzerland" was explained and made explicit, and its serviceability was illustrated (see the aforementioned sources).

At this point of my argument, I would like to present an analysis of one set of these working documents called *Switzerland's Strengths* scripting the promotion of Switzerland abroad. Analyzing these texts leads to a better understanding of what the new "Brand Switzerland" consisted of, i.e. what the promotional messages *secure future* and *self-determination* effectively said, and made it possible to say, about Switzerland and its population. Furthermore, an investigation of these sources reveals what it means to capitalize on diversity as the emotional and human face of the nation, while demonstrating how multilingualism and cultural diversity as key elements of the national brand's tonality interact with the new promotional core messages *secure future* and *self-determination.*

The training documents *Switzerland's Strengths* had been produced just a few months before the relaunch of the new "Brand Switzerland" by *Presence Switzerland*'s section *Instrumente und Ausbildung* [Instruments and Training] in collaboration with the section *Grundlagen und Beratung* [Fundamentals and Consultancy], which was led directly by vice- director Tissot (see *Presence Suisse Rapport Annuel – 2008*). These texts were composed of four five-to-seven page PDF documents, both in a German and an English edition (no version in the other (national) languages was available). They focused on 1) The nation and population of Switzerland (*The Strengths of Switzerland and its People*), 2) Switzerland's economy (*Switzerland's Economic Strengths*), 3) Switzerland's culture (*Switzerland's Cultural Strengths*), and 4) Switzerland's science and education (*Switzerland's Scientific Strengths*).

Switzerland's Strengths was held to be key training material by *Presence Switzerland*'s head office; these documents entextualized an account of those national

qualities and features that were embodied by the "Brand Switzerland's" core messages *secure future* and *self-determination* (see the above-mentioned list of promotional features for which both core messages were meant to stand; see as well *Working with the Brand Switzerland – 2009* for the importance of this training material). These texts contain short stories, information, and content regarding Switzerland's population, economy, science, and culture. They also contain quotes by famous personalities as well as testimonials designed to embody the two promotional core message.

The textual products, and the knowledge on Switzerland they entextualize, were created to act as a discursive basis for preparing promotional campaigns and marketing materials. The actors in charge of promoting Switzerland (marketing specialists, communication specialists, editors, designers, illustrators employed by *Presence Switzerland*, the embassies, the Federal Administration, and the partner organizations such as *Osec*, *Swiss Tourism*, *Pro Helvetia*) were asked to use the documents, which contained pre-structured promotional arguments, including strategies and content, such as scripts or templates, that could be adapted to the promotional situation at hand. According to Tissot, the strategy of preparing preexisting stories or quotes as well as pictures or sounds that can be appropriated in the communicational practices and adapted to the specific promotional needs is not new; it is, however a key part of the strategy used not only in *Presence Switzerland's* definition and design, but also for its control and regimentation of the promotion of Switzerland abroad (see also *Rapport annuel 2008 de Presence Suisse* on this point). While, for *Presence Switzerland,* these documents were strategic insofar as they created the conditionality for a homogeneous and cohesive promotion of the nation by the several state funded organizations (and as such to meet the parliamentarian requirement of a major coordination of all promotional activities), analytically, the documents provide information on authoritative and legitimate forms of entextualization of the "Brand Switzerland," specifically the scripts, i.e. discursive resources provided by *Presence Switzerland* as a basis from which the actual promotional practices should draw. In addition, the documents shed light on instruments of control and regulation of the promotional activities, and, more generally, uncover the limits of what can be promotionally said about Switzerland at this specific moment in time (see Cameron 2000a,b; and Smith 2005 for a discussion of the role of such texts in institutions of power).

Switzerland's Strengths

In the following sections, I first present the content of the four documents and summarize what these texts say about the qualities of Switzerland's population, culture, and economy. Then, I pay close attention to those parts of the documents in which multilingualism and cultural diversity is discursively associated to the core messages *secure future* and *self-determination* and question the role played by national diversity for the presented core messages. This helps me better understand how national diversity is discursively activated as

a tonality of the national brand, and provides in-depth knowledge about its value as a qualifier of the promotional messages. Finally, it enables better understanding of what forms of national diversity are considered to be valuable for promoting Switzerland abroad.

The documents' content

Let me start with a brief summary of the four documents composing the training material Switzerland's strengths to demonstrate what the marketing specialists considered to be legitimate and authorized conceptions of Switzerland at this specific moment in time. The summary also provides an initial general understanding of the discursive resources that these scripts provide to those in charge of promoting the nation.

The Strengths of Switzerland and its People

The six-page document about Switzerland and its people is structured in two parts, both representing the core messages of the "Brand Switzerland":

Switzerland's security for the future: The first part presents what *secure future* says about Switzerland's population and entextualizes features that have been traditionally associated with the Swiss nation, such as stability, reliability, and sustainability. These features are constructed in the document as being the product of Switzerland's culture of consensus and the political equilibrium between the major political forces; they are also presented as being linked to the decentralization of power in the country. Along these lines, the document explains that this stability is the condition for Switzerland's economic success and for Geneva's importance as home of major international organizations such as the *International Committee of the Red Cross ICRC* and the European Office of the *United Nations*.

Self-determination: The second part of the document entitled *Self-determination* focuses on Switzerland's decentralized political system and on its effects on the Swiss sense of responsibility, freedom, and sense of justice. More particularly it constructs the history of the Swiss state as resulting from the nation's will to independence and *self-determination*. In this respect, it states that the federalist system represents the political materialization and crystallization of this traditional indentitarian feature of Switzerland's people. Indeed, national cohesion itself, i.e. the will to be united despite the cultural, linguistic, and religious differences, is linked to the aforementioned will to independence and self-determinism common to all Swiss communities. A further connection is made between Switzerland's self-determinism and the beauty of the national landscape. Because the Alps have traditionally been constructed as the natural conditionality of Switzerland's political independence from the neighboring political entities, the Swiss love for nature and protection of their landscape is associated with the fact that Switzerland's natural treasure is a form of peace, harmony, and independence.

Switzerland's Economic Strengths

The text *Switzerland's Economic Strengths* (seven pages) is structured in three parts:

Switzerland's security for the future: The first section highlights the positive effects that the nation's political stability and the peace among the classes have for foreign economic investments in the country and its national currency, the Swiss franc. It also emphasizes the advantageous implications of Switzerland's liberal policies (i.e. pro-business) and its "discretion" in terms of favorable taxes and trading conditions for a strong financial and banking market. The text stresses as well the added value of Switzerland's central location in the middle of Europe and both its appeal and success as headquarters for European institutions. Finally, the text enumerates the strengths resulting from Switzerland's diverse economic structure; this diversity is highlighted as a factor making the country less vulnerable to economic crises and market fluctuations.

Switzerland's self-determination: The second part of the text focuses on the positive impact of the federalist system and the resulting competitiveness in the cantons for creating excellent economic condition. The text demonstrates how the competition between cantons concerning their tax systems results in internationally competitive taxation levels, thus attracting multinational and highly innovative enterprises. In line with this thinking, the text highlights the positive effects of competition on the cantonal universities, which are considered to be of outstanding quality and which are funded in order to serve the interests of the nation and of its economy. Finally, the text stresses the quality of Swiss products. In particular, it describes how the high quality of national products are the result of Switzerland's small size: Because Swiss businesses cannot compete in terms of quantity, the solution to withstanding global competition is producing goods at the highest level of quality possible.

Switzerland's international tradition: In the third part, the text presents the Swiss national economy as strongly related to the international and especially European markets (this part of the text will be discussed more in detail below.)

Switzerland's Scientific Strengths

This five-page document discusses promotional resources on the nation's education and research and is structured into four parts:

Switzerland's security for the future: The first section, entitled "Switzerland's security for the future," constructs the Swiss educational system as an international hub for education and research. The documents states that the diversity of excellent universities and other research institutions as well as the major investment on the part of the federal and cantonal governments in these institutions are a conditionality of both Switzerland's internationally renowned education sector and the economic and social stability of the

country.

Self-determination in Switzerland: In the second part, the text highlights the independence enjoyed by Swiss scholars and researchers. It especially focuses on researchers' apparent independence from political and economic interests. The text also stresses that the private sector invests heavily in research, a highly significant factor in Europe. It argues that private and public investment enables Switzerland to compensate its comparative poverty in concerning natural resources with what is called "skilled craftsmanship" or "brainwork." As such, the investment in research is implied as being the condition of possibility for the competitiveness of the national economy in the global markets.

The quality of Swiss education and research: This section of the text discusses the quality of the national educational system, the excellent research conducted in the national universities, and the outstanding students graduating from these institutions. Specifically, the text points out the high number of Nobel Prize winners and the international renown of the two federal institutes of technology (EPFL and ETHZ). Furthermore, the text focuses on its what it terms the successful and unique dual system of professional education, which is seen as one of the key reasons for low youth unemployment and which, according to the text, enables a successful circulation of knowledge from academia and research to private enterprise. Finally, the text stresses the nation's strengths in continuing education programs. In keeping with factors mentioned in other parts of the text, all these qualities are judged to be the source of Switzerland high competitiveness in the international markets.

Swiss education and research: An international affair: In its final section, the document highlights the appeal of the nation's educational system, seen from its capacity to attract the best minds from around the world and its aptitude to create the conditions necessary for excellent and innovative research (this part of the text is discussed more in detail below).

Switzerland's Cultural Strengths

Finally, I present the document containing discursive resources on Switzerland's culture available for use in a promotional practice. This seven-page document is structured in six parts:

Swiss self-determination: In the first section of this document, Switzerland is constructed as a place where intellectuals and artists from around the world can escape political persecution and work in freedom; this willingness to offer a safe haven has helped convert Switzerland into a cultural and artistic center.

Feats of architectural design and civil engineering in response to a challenging landscape: The text also discusses how the natural challenges represented by Switzerland's geography have forced local architects and engineers to develop innovative buildings and building techniques, and that the difficult starting situation represents the conditionality for a

rich architectural tradition.

Switzerland's future security: The text also demonstrates how the national system of cultural promotion, which is often the product of private/public partnerships and which involves several levels of the state apparatus (local, cantonal, and federal) is a conditionality for rich and diverse cultural productions. Because of this tradition, Switzerland is a country with one of the highest percentages in terms of museum density and other cultural offerings.

Design in Switzerland, Dance and Theatre: In the section the texts highlight the Swiss sense of quality for its achievements in the domain of design and in art more generally. It shows how the skills found in the national economy and industry can be transferred as well to the cultural domain, which is equally defined in terms of excellence and high quality.

A lively folk culture: In the final section, the text stresses the fact that, in Switzerland, authenticity and tradition as well as innovation and creativity are highly valued features and contribute to enriching the national cultural production. The equal focus on the old and the new results in the coexistence of modern and cosmopolitan cultural products with authentic and traditional ones.

Now, the summary of the four documents leads to preliminary observations about the "Brand Switzerland" and about what concepts of Switzerland were considered legitimate to be reproduced by the promotional organizations at this specific moment in time.

First, since the four texts do not focus only on the brand's messages *secure future* and *self-determination* (but, as we have seen, also on *Switzerland's economic strengths*, *Switzerland's scientific strengths* and *Switzerland's cultural strengths*), we can safely assume that these two promotional core messages are not rigid categories, but that they can be adapted according to the promoted object. The persons responsible can capitalize on the general ideas, and then develop concrete promotional strategies depending on the specific situation.

Second, and related to the first observation, while the new "Brand Switzerland" and the messages *secure future* and *self-determination* represent a condensation of the promotional messages and features of the national brand developed in the 1990s, these multiple elements and features reemerged in the detailed accounts published in the training material. More particularly, we observe the interdiscursive reactivation of promotional features (those already encountered in the debates discussed in *Chapter 4*) such as stability, reliability, and sustainability, federalist political system, linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity, sense of responsibility, beautiful landscape (in *Switzerland and its People*); political stability, social and economic peace, liberal policies and trading conditions, strong financial marketplace and national currency, Switzerland's competitiveness, innovation, sense of quality (in *Switzerland's Economic Strength's*); the high quality of the nation's research and education, the highly skilled labor force (*Switzerland's Scientific Strengths*); and finally

progressive, innovative, linguistically and culturally diverse, sense of quality, creative (*Switzerland's Cultural Strengths*).

In addition, and still consistent with the old version of the "Brand Switzerland" in which concrete examples and achievements were preferred over abstract concepts, the four texts of *Switzerland's Strengths* also focus on concrete political, economic, and cultural achievements (the Swiss federalist system in *Switzerland and its People*; the stability of the Swiss franc, the political stability, the liberal policies, the competitive tax regime, the nation's economic competitiveness in *Switzerland's Economic Strengths*; hub for education and research, research's political and economic autonomy, quality of national education system in *Switzerland's Scientific Strengths*; private/public partnership in cultural promotion, hub of cultural and artistic production, highest percentage of museum density in *Switzerland's Cultural Strengths*), institutional qualities (the International Committee of the Red Cross and the European Office of the United Nations in *Switzerland and its People*; the EPFL and the ETHZ in *Switzerland's Scientific Strengths*), and additional general concrete examples (Switzerland's landscape in *Switzerland and its People*; Switzerland's central location in Europe, the strong financial and banking market place in *Switzerland's Economic Strengths*).

In short, while the relaunch of the "Brand Switzerland" and the redefinition of the promotional message, might give the impression of a rejection of the core messages and promotional features defined in the 1990s, what we can observe is that the new national brand seems to reactivate and draw on the very qualities that already were entextualized in the previous version of the "Brand Switzerland." What seems different is the degree of flexibility and adaptability of the new brand. While the old brand proposed a list of five core messages with fix promotional features characterizing these messages (see *Chapter 4*), the pared-down new version of the brand seems to reflect major insight by *Presence Switzerland*'s marketing specialists concerning how these core messages could be applied to the different domains of promotion.

National diversity's status in the new "Brand Switzerland"

After presenting the broad lines of argumentation of the four documents making up the training material *Switzerland's Strengths*, in the following sections I discuss those passages of the four documents in which national diversity is made the object of discussion (see below). More particularly, I investigate the role played by diversity in these documents and analyze the interrelation of national multilingualism and cultural diversity and the aspects of the "Brand Switzerland" discussed by the four texts. I question both what diversity contributes to promotional dialogue about Switzerland and what represents its added value for the national brand. Furthermore, I identify the elements these documents cast as legitimate forms of diversity that are to be stressed in the nation's promotional discourse. And, finally, beyond the proposed contents on the promotional messages, I reflect on other forms of promotional

resources that are provided by this training material in order to create the conditionalities for a successful capitalization on diversity as the national brand's tonality.

Switzerland's people[1]

"Geneva stands for tolerance, peace, and democracy. The languages, religions and cultures of the world meet here at the river Rhone. Here too civil society, the public and private sectors, work hand in hand. In a word: here you will find humankind in all its diversity."
(Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General)

Another Swiss characteristic which has been fundamental to the functioning of "International Geneva" is the reconciliation of opposing viewpoints, i.e. forging consensus between civil society, governmental organizations and the private sector. There are few countries in the world that have managed so successfully to peacefully reconcile "North and South" -- four different languages and cultures -- to the extent Switzerland has achieved.

Switzerland's people[2]

The Greater Zurich Area is home to a varied population that includes the citizens of over 170 nations. More than two fifths of all those born in wedlock today in Switzerland had either a father or a mother, or both, who were citizens of a foreign land. The multilingual abilities of people who live in Switzerland is a byword: in addition to at least one of the national languages knowledge of English can be taken for granted in the metropolitan areas, and knowledge of a second national language is widespread. Anyone who lives in Switzerland is daily confronted from childhood upward with product packaging, instruction manuals and a variety of signs in several languages. Familiarity with other languages is second nature to the Swiss.

Switzerland's economy

Numerous foreign companies that bring their own staff to Switzerland help make Switzerland a truly cosmopolitan country. This is the continuation of a Swiss tradition that can be traced back to the 16th and 17th centuries. Some of Switzerland's leading multinationals were founded by foreign entrepreneurs. Transport routes across the Alps were already in use in Roman times. Due to its central location on the major trade routes that linked the Mediterranean region and Italy with France, central Europe and the north, Geneva was already an important commercial center for Europe in the late Middle Ages. Its trade fairs attracted merchants, bankers, shippers, artists, and later on printers, from all over Europe. As a consequence of its close ties to other countries and the very early international orientation of the major companies, the people who live here, especially the local elite are well-versed in the ways of the world. In the IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook, Switzerland holds first place in the category "International experience of senior managers is generally significant". Furthermore, Swiss boards of directors have the most cosmopolitan composition in the world, along with their Dutch counterparts.

"We have 650 employees at this location that represent 65 nationalities."
(Laura McKeaveney, Human resource executive Medtronic)

It is therefore hardly surprising that the Swiss are so multilingual.

Switzerland's Science

"You can develop here, because you are surrounded by first-rate people at every level."

(Heinrich Rohrer, Swiss Nobel Prize winner)

With a foreign contingent of 63 percent in 2007 the teaching staff of the ETH Zurich is one place where Swiss nationals are in the minority; among doctoral students, meanwhile, they are just slightly outnumbered by foreigners (57%). At the University of Zurich, meanwhile, the numbers of Swiss and foreign teachers are roughly equal, although the proportion of professors from Germany alone stood at 32 percent at the end of 2005. The international character of Swiss higher education is reflected both in the student body in general and in the rising generation of scholars: with a 43% share of foreigners at post-graduate and doctorate levels, Switzerland leads the OECD's comparison [...]. All in all, therefore, Switzerland is doing its part for the construction of a European academic community.

Switzerland's culture

Switzerland is situated at the heart of Europe. North and south have come together in the Alpine habitat for ages, at the crossroads of seven nations, eight languages, countless dialects and a thousand valleys. [...] Forming the passage between Italy and Western and Central Europe, finally, the Alpine region was for many centuries not only of great strategic and political importance but also played a key artistic role. It was among the major sites of the Reformation, with Zwingli and Calvin spreading the Protestant message across the entire world from Zurich and Geneva, respectively.

To better understand the function of diversity in these excerpts and particularly its interrelationship with the contents of Switzerland's brand, I first discuss the forms national multilingualism and cultural diversity take (or are given) in these texts, highlighting the types of diversity that, at this particular moment in time, *Presence Switzerland*'s sections *Instrument and Training* and *Fundamentals and Contents* considered to be authoritative, legitimate, and particularly valuable for qualifying the "Brand Switzerland" and that were therefore believed to be indispensable discursive resources to the scripts represented by the training material *Switzerland's Strengths*.

The textual investment in diversity can be situated on different levels of the nation's body:

First, on the level of Swiss society and the individuals composing them, for example:

- Switzerland's people[2]: "citizens of over 170 nations"; "citizens of a foreign land"; "the multilingual abilities of people"; "knowledge of English can be taken for granted in metropolitan areas"; "knowledge of a second national language"; "familiarity with other languages is second nature to the Swiss".
- Switzerland's economy: "foreign entrepreneurs"; "local elite are well-versed in the ways of the world"; "foreign companies [...] own staff"; "the international experience of senior managers"; "merchants, bankers [etc.] from all over Europe"; "650 employees [...] that represent 65 nationalities"; "Swiss are so multilingual".
- Switzerland's Science: "foreign teachers"; "professors from Germany"; "43%

share of foreigners at post-graduate and doctoral levels".

Second, the textual construction of diversity can be detected on the level of the Swiss economy and its businesses, for example:

- Switzerland's economy: "foreign companies"; "the international orientation of the major companies"; "Swiss boards of directors have the most cosmopolitan composition"

And, *third,* instrumentalizing diversity is located on the level of the Swiss state (both as a political and as a geographic entity), for example:

- Switzerland's people[1]: "few countries in the world have managed [...] to peacefully reconcile four different languages and cultures"; "the languages, religions, and cultures meet here"; "here you will find humankind in all its diversity"
- Switzerland's culture*:* "Switzerland is situated in the heart of Europe"; "Switzerland is situated [...] at the crossroads of seven nations, eight languages, countless dialects"

In addition to situating diversity with the people, the government, and the economy, the texts suggest capitalizing on different qualities or forms of national diversity:

First, the texts invest in forms of diversity stemming from a supposed European culture, to which Switzerland claims to be part:

- Switzerland culture*:* "seven nations, eight languages, countless dialects"
- Switzerland's economy*:* "its central location on the major trade routes that link the Mediterranean region and Italy with France, central Europe and the north"; "an important commercial center for Europe"; "from all over Europe"
- Switzerland's science*:* "Switzerland is doing its part for the construction of a European Academic community"
- Switzerland's culture*: "Switzerland is situated at the heart of Europe"*

Second, the texts capitalize on forms of diversity that index humankind:

- Switzerland's people[1]*:* "the languages, religions, and cultures of the world meet here"; "humankind in all its diversity"; "North and South"
- Switzerland's people[2]*:* "population that included citizen of over 170 nations"; "citizen of a foreign land"
- Switzerland's economy: "650 employees [...] that represent 65 nationalities"

Third a more diffuse form of internationalism or cosmopolitanism diversity is highlighted:

- Switzerland's people[1]: "international Geneva"
- Switzerland's economy: "a truly cosmopolitan country"; "international orientation of the major companies"; "elite are well-versed in the ways of the

world"; "international experience of senior managers"; "Swiss boards of directors, have the most cosmopolitan composition of the world"

- Switzerland's science: "international character of Swiss higher education"

Despite the investment in forms of diversity that are not traditionally considered Swiss, it is important to note that the texts clearly differentiate between Swiss and non-Swiss diversity, for example:

- Switzerland's people[1]: e.g. "the languages, religions, cultures of the world" and "humankind in all its diversity" vs. "four different languages and cultures [in reference to Switzerland's officially recognized linguistic and cultural communities]"
- Switzerland's people[2]: e.g. "national languages" vs. "several languages"; "national language," "second national language" vs. "English"
- Switzerland's economy: e.g. "Switzerland's leading multinationals" vs. "numerous foreign companies," "own staff" [referring to those foreign employees brought by the foreign companies], and "foreign entrepreneurs"; "Swiss boards" vs. "cosmopolitan composition"
- Switzerland's science: e.g. "Swiss nationals" vs. "foreigners," "foreign contingent of [...] teaching staff "; "they" [referring to the Swiss doctoral students] vs. "the foreigners" [referring to non-Swiss doctoral students]; "Swiss" vs. "foreign teachers"

Finally, not all forms of diversity seem to be equally suited for use in marketing the country. In this regard, it can be observed in the excerpts *Switzerland's People*[2] and *Switzerland's Economy* that, while the multilingual and English language skills of the Swiss people are explicitly mentioned (see "multilingual abilities of people"; "at least one of the national languages"; "knowledge of English can be taken for granted"; "several languages"; "the Swiss are so multilingual"), and while the percentage of German professors at universities is explicitly mentioned, the texts do not refer to an eventual potentiality of the languages spoken by immigrants or other "diverse" individuals. Indeed, especially in the text *Switzerland's Economy,* there appears to be a hierarchization between elite and non-elite diversities through the exclusive focus on elite diversity ("foreign entrepreneurs"; "local elite"; "senior managers"; "Swiss boards"). Furthermore, if we can generally observe a strong capitalization on of multilingualism and cultural diversity, at the same time we also can observe an avoidance of explicitness in naming what these capitalized diversities consists of. In other words, we can tentatively say that if diversity seems to emerge as a feature of promotional investment, the capitalization on forms of sociocultural difference does not seem to be at odds with hierarchies of languages and speakers observed by sociolinguists in Switzerland (see Duchêne 2011; Watts 1999); instead, the types of diversity singled out for promotional uses reproduce established forms of sociocultural differentiation and

structuration characterizing the traditional sociopolitical order in Switzerland.

Investing in diversity

In order to better understand the promotional value and function of the forms of diversity emerging in these excerpts, in this section I plan to discuss diversity's place in the architecture of the "Brand Switzerland," with a focus on the interrelationship between the utilized forms of diversities and the national brand's core messages. In doing so, I reflect on the added value diversity brings to the core messages *secure future* and *self-determination*.

More particularly, in the following, I argue that the training material *Switzerland's Strengths* and the four documents composing the document mobilizes the presented five excerpts and the forms of Swiss diversity put forward in these scripts as promotional resources to help illustrate and "humanize" the more general topics (Switzerland's people, economy, science, and culture), and as such to exemplify the more technical and conceptual statements that are made on these generic topics.

For example, in the case of the document *The Strengths of Switzerland and its People*, the function of the excerpts *Switzerland's People*[1] and *Switzerland's People*[2] presented here is to illustrate the main topic of the document's section *Switzerland's Security for the Future*; this refers namely to Switzerland's political system and its unique capacity to guarantee social and political stability, peace, and cohesion under fluctuating conditions. While the section's topic is discursively introduced by the very first sentence of the entire document, "Switzerland is a byword for stability," and while the first three paragraphs technically explain how Switzerland creates the conditions for stability (for example, Switzerland's ideology of compromise, political equilibrium, neutrality, and the nations' interconnectedness with the international political and economic community), from paragraph four onward, the text proposes several examples embodying stability and giving Swiss stability an authentic touch. These include features of Switzerland as a place attracting international organizations; of Switzerland's tradition as a humanitarian center during World War I; of Switzerland's government as capable of developing policies to ensure economic equality between the cantons; of the policies and measures created to protect the Swiss environment and the national alpine region; and of Switzerland's excellent transport and telecommunication infrastructure. The cited excerpts provide the consciously chosen context for an image of *Switzerland's People to* emerge. While the first excerpt (*Switzerland's People*[1]) is a means to highlight the qualities of the national political system, the second (*Switzerland's People*[2]) both performs Switzerland's social cohesion (made possible by the multilingualism of those living in Switzerland; it is significant to note how the excerpts insist on the Swiss ability to speak a second national language) and stages the nation's ties with the globalized world (here I would like to point out the text's insistence on the English skills of the Swiss).

The same logic goes as well for the excerpts in *Switzerland's Economy*, which are situated in the section *Switzerland's International Tradition* and which are designed to embody the global activity and nature of the nation's economy. These thought processes are equally valid for the excerpt in *Switzerland's Science*, which is placed in the section *Swiss Education and Research: An International Affair,* and which stages the competitiveness of Switzerland as a scientific and educational hub. Finally, we see the same patterns in the text *Switzerland's Culture*, which is part of the section *Swiss Self-Determination*, and which exemplifies Switzerland's political stability and social peace as well as its role as a humanitarian center and a location conducive to intellectual prosperity.

Thus, parallel to Tissot's statements on the promotional potentiality of multilingualism and cultural diversity as key elements of the brand's tonality, in this section I have argued that national diversity is not per se a promotional argument. Indeed, in the training material *Switzerland's Strengths*, the cultural resource of diversity is invested in as a promotional capital imbuing the messages and content of the "Brand Switzerland" with appealing and sexy characteristics. In other words, diversity as a marketing tool enables the actors responsible for promoting the country to project a form of emotionality, humanity, and authenticity onto the content of the "Brand Switzerland." However, despite diversity's capacity to forge feelings of harmony, exoticness, cosmopolitanism, progress, and its capability to generate empathy toward Switzerland, in the previous section we have seen that not all forms of diversity seem to be a legitimate part of the tonality of the those qualities and contents implied by the "Brand Switzerland." Instead, depending on the message or content these different forms of diversity should embody and qualify, some diversities are construed to be more legitimate than others.

Promotional Resources

In addition to an entextualization of the qualities that the "Brand Switzerland" is designed to embody as well as a presentation of a set of discursive resources – such as different forms of diversity that could be utilized to highlight the human and emotional aspects of the nation – the training material *Switzerland's Strengths* also provided marketing specialists with a palette of discursive tools for transforming their branding practices into powerful instruments of persuasion. In addition, the documents made available the following technologies of persuasion.

First, in the excerpts *Switzerland's Population*[1], *Switzerland's Economy,* and *Switzerland's Science,* the text presents three testimonials celebrating Switzerland's diversity and praising the qualities and strengths these forms of diversity exemplify. As consistent with the function of the promotional genre "testimonial," these voices are constructed as voices of authority: In the case of *Switzerland's Population*[1] the authority is legitimized by attributing the excerpt's voice to an institution, the UN, and its former leader; both institution and leader

incarnate the values of humanitarianism and social peace that the promotional text aims to project onto Switzerland. In the case of *Switzerland's Economy,* the promotional potential of the testimonial results from the status of the enterprise represented by the person celebrating Switzerland's diversity; the voice that is employed is that of a representative of Medtronic, considered to be the world leader in medical devices technologies and therapies and which established its European headquarters in Switzerland. Medtronic can therefore be considered as a sufficiently credible judge of the quality of Switzerland's labor force. Furthermore, in the case of Medtronic, while many people may not be familiar with the name *Laura McKeaveney*, here her role and expertise as HR executive in such an important firm also play a key role in a promotional practice. Finally, in *Switzerland's Science*, while the name *Heinrich Rohner* may be largely unknown to the general public, the authoritative power of this statement relies on the display of the *Nobel Prize* that Rohrer won. Hence, while the voices of the three testimonials belong to three very different domains – the representative of humanitarianism and social peace, the spokesperson of an internationally leading enterprise, and the recipient of a highly renowned award – all three share the strategy of having authoritative voices confirm promotional resources that can be decontextualized, entextualized, and recontextualized in different promotional situations for different promotional contexts. The resources can be flexibly employed according to the needs of the specialists in charge of promoting the nation abroad.

Second, a further discursive resource provided by the training material and emerging in the cited excerpts involves the data and results of rankings and statistics produced by prestigious, internationally recognized, and authoritative institutions. In the case of *Switzerland's Economy* and *Switzerland's Science,* data from the *IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook* (published by the *International Institute for Management Development,* one of the top-ranked international business schools in the world) and from the *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)* are provided to legitimize and corroborate the statements made on Switzerland and its economy and science. Consistent with the function of the testimonials, the authority and power embodied by these reports and statistics and by the institutions that produce them can be appropriated through promotional discourse and exploited in order to legitimize and authorize both the promotional discourse and the object of promotion.

Third, these documents provide a further instrument of persuasion on which promotional practices can capitalize. Especially in the excerpts *Switzerland's Economy* and *Switzerland's Culture,* the texts index historical information on Switzerland and its diversity and, more specifically, include what can be termed markers of historicity. In the case of *Switzerland's Economy,* these markers include phrases such as "[...] the continuation of a Swiss tradition," "can be traced back to the 16th and 17th century," "in Roman times," and "in the late Middle ages." In *Switzerland's Culture* markers are made up of features such as "for

ages," "for many centuries." and "the Reformation."

Parallel to the function of the testimonials, the rankings, and statistics, the added value of historiographical information is that it lends a form of authenticity and legitimacy to the content, thereby establishing the promotional discourse as a discourse of authority; this, in turn, creates the conditionality for the persuasiveness and promotional efficacy of the discourse employed.

Now, the analysis of the training material *Switzerland's Strengths* has enabled me to gain a better understanding of the scripts and discursive resources that *Presence Switzerland* provides to those actors in charge with the promotion of the nation. In this regard, these documents provide key information on what – according to *Presence Switzerland* – is possible and legitimate to say about Switzerland in a promotional discourse; they also shed light on what the "Brand Switzerland" could mean in promotional terms. Furthermore, these texts generate an initial idea about the role of national diversity as a critical element of the Swiss brand's tonality.

In line with *Presence Switzerland*'s mandate (see the strategy paper *La stratégie de communication internationale 2009*, which names the defense of the national banking industry and the creation of sympathy for the nation's political system as the primary goals of Switzerland's promotional activities in 2009 and 2010), these four documents seem, on the one hand, to supply the discursive resources necessary for the international rehabilitation of the image of Switzerland's banks and political system. More particularly, they put forward different arguments for legitimizing and celebrating Switzerland's political system, while also highlighting the qualities of the nation's banking industry. In this regard, national diversity appears to assume a key role in transforming the materialistic, egotistic, cool, and task-oriented Switzerland into an appealing, human, and progressive image of the nation and its people. But, on the other hand, beyond the imminent promotional necessities caused by the criticism directed at Switzerland in those years, these scripts can also be mobilized for alternative promotional necessities and therefore are able to accommodate a multiplicity of political and economic agendas.

Drawing on the knowledge gained through analysis of these scripts, in the following sections I discuss the way these scripts are entextualized in concrete promotional practices. By presenting and discussing three promotional texts, I reveal the discursive continuities and shifts (in terms of what these practices enable marketing specialists to say about Switzerland and its diversity) that the adaptation of the scripts to three concrete promotional texts entails. In other words, I reflect on what this requirement of adaptability implies for how national diversity is entextualized in promotional texts and what effects it has on the value of this cultural resource in concrete promotional practices.

Investing in the Emotional Character of the Nation

The three promotional texts discussed in this section differ in their scope (insofar as they address Switzerland's political system, tourism, and business location), target markets, and in the organizations producing them (*Presence Switzerland*, *Swiss Tourism*, *Osec*). Nonetheless, what these texts have in common is their obligation to apply the new "Brand Switzerland" outlined by *Presence Switzerland* and to adhere to the guidelines and scripts discussed in the previous section (see the institutional documents *Corporate Design Manual Switzerland - 2009*, *Working with Brand Switzerland - 2009*, *Dispatch on the federal act on the promotion of Switzerland of 2008*, for a discussion of the binding character of the "Brand Switzerland" for promotional organizations and promotional events funded by the federal state). The choice to focus on texts produced by *Presence Switzerland*, *Swiss Tourism*, *Osec* is rooted in the major role these three organizations play today in the domain of marketing Switzerland abroad (together with Pro Helvetia). More particularly, the federal government invests heavily in the promotional activities provided by these organizations during image crises, but also more generally funds them in order to assure Switzerland's competitiveness in the international markets.

The analysis of the promotional texts put forward in this section aims to further insight into the effective promotional value of multilingualism and cultural diversity as key factors of the nation's humanity and emotionality. I therefore first present the promotional function of the texts under investigation. This implies a discussion of the texts' discursive contexts of emergence and of their promotional mobilization, i.e. where these texts are situated in the context of a promotional practice. It also implies a reflection on the markets these promotional texts address. I also analyze the ways these texts entextualize the scripts discussed in the previous section, which implies as well an analysis of the way they adapt the scripts to their target markets and to their promotional function.

Marketing Switzerland: Texts, Media, and Markets

"The loud voice of minority"

The *first* text I discuss here is entitled "The loud voice of minority." It is part of a set of promotional texts called *Stories about Switzerland* published by *Presence Switzerland*'s marketing specialists in the first month of 2009. According to *Presence Switzerland,* these stories embody the two core messages *self-determination* and *secure future* and put forward a promotional account of an accessible, authentic, and reliable Switzerland (see *Presence Switzerland Newsletter – 1 – 2009* for how the organization explains the promotional significance and function of these texts). Like the above-mentioned training material, these stories are categorized according to their potentiality for the promotion of the nation's economy, culture, science, and populace.

The following stories entextualizing the core message *self-determination* were

produced (see *Presence Switzerland*'s internal website, where among other things these promotional texts are electronically stored and categorized: www.image-schweiz.ch, accessed December 19, 2011):

- Culture: "A literary giant"; "The color artist"; "The most creative show"; "The pulsating lakeside promenade"; "The most exciting perspectives"
- Population: "Click and vote" "Emancipation through religion"; "Tell's apple"; "The desire to help"; **"The loud voice of minority"**; "The most famous girl in the world"; "The summit"; "The unlimited freedom"; "Unity in diversity"
- Economy: "A family who breaks records"; "Technology in space"; "The ambassador of quality"; "The unlimited freedom"; "Time proven financial center"
- Science: "Indispensable machines"; "The unlimited freedom"; "The most influential rendez-vous"

In keeping with the strategy to exemplify a core message, *Presence Switzerland*'s marketing specialists produced the following stories referring to the core message *secure future*:

- Culture: "The loveliest view"; "The most travelled row materials"; "Artistic constructions"; "The best script"; "The timeless elegance"; "The most attractive connections"
- Population: "The neutral country"; "The clean car of the future"; "The lake as a partner"; "The deepest breath"; "The desire to help"; "The proverbial punctuality"; "The legendary setting"; "The luminous vision"; "The loveliest cows"; "The sweetest temptation"; "From thought to action"
- Economy: "The house that produces its own energy"; "The deepest hole"; "The many uses of glass"; "The all-purpose tool"; "A precise overview"; "The green carpet"; "The fertile ground"; "The perfectly laid table"; "Tunnels inside out"; "Highly qualified specialists"; "The shared pleasure of driving"; "A trade hub"; "The lightest comfort"; "The reliable currency"
- Science: "CERN, the largest laboratory in the world"; "The most efficient way to Kyoto"; "The most productive liter"; "The sugar specialist"; "The summit of solar energy"; "The climate expert"; "The Swiss at the United Nations University"; "The most fertile synergy"; "The damped oscillations"; "Bone innovations"; "Precision in space"; "Small success"; "Science in the service of security"; "Research at the highest level"

All these stories are designed to attractively present Switzerland's *self-determination and secure future* through small texts, mostly illustrated with a picture. The specific text on which my analysis draws, "The loud voice of minority," was written to emphasize the characteristic of self-determination in Switzerland's population. These

promotional texts are mobilized in different promotional contexts, such as promotional brochures, flyers, or websites, and are utilized in the context of promotional events including Houses of Switzerland at international expos or highly mediatized international sport events, such as the Summer or Winter Olympics and the Soccer World or European Championships. The specific token of the promotional text "The loud voice of minority" emerged on the promotional website of *Presence Suisse* (www.swissworld.org Your Gateway to Switzerland). This website is one of *Presence Switzerland*'s main promotional tools. The organization makes reference to this website in all printed promotional material as well as in all Swiss Pavilions and Houses of Switzerland. These are promotional houses organized in the context of highly mediatized global sporting events, but also at international fairs and World Expos where Switzerland promotes itself as a touristic destination, as a cultural product, as a technological and scientific hub, and as a business location more generally.

As the name of the website (www.swissworld.org, Your Gateway to Switzerland) already implies, the website is conceptualized as a gateway to Switzerland and its population. It is geared to a foreign public looking for information about Switzerland. While the website's target audiences include current and future international political, economic, educational, cultural, and scientific decision-makers, foreign media representatives, and a foreign teaching staff, targeting a student audience is considered to be particularly relevant. According to the organization, this target group represents the leaders of tomorrow; students are considered to be the people who, from a long-term perspective, must be convinced of Switzerland's strengths in order to guarantee a durable appealing image of Switzerland – and to ensure competitiveness in the international markets (see *Presence Switzerland – Rapport Annuel 2008* and the strategy paper *La strategy de communication international 2009* for an account of *Presence Switzerland* targets and for an in-depth understanding of the website's target audience).

The promotional website reveals a whole set of information on Switzerland and its population. In particular, the website is organized in ten categories: "People," "Culture," "Leisure," "Geography," "Environment," "Science," "Education," "Economy," "Politics," and "History." Furthermore, the website provides over 600 images of Switzerland ("People," "Customs," "Mountains," "Scenery," "Nature," "Environment," "Politics," "Science," "History," "Contemporary," "Towns," "Transport," "Economy," "Sport," "Swissness") and Swiss specials, meaning thematic case histories of the country (World Heritage in Switzerland, Swiss Watches, Swiss Cheese, Swiss Chocolate, Swiss Bread, Swiss Mountains, Swiss Trains, Swiss Technology). The website also contains a series of electronic resources, such as video clips, downloads, e-books, animations, links, dossiers, and stories that present Switzerland and its features to the website visitors. Finally, the website provides a whole series of links to other promotional organizations such as *Osec*, *Swiss Tourism*, the Swiss Federal Railways, and the Swiss education and research network (*Swissnex*), as well as to a

list of links such as (Traveling in Switzerland, Innovation Switzerland, Life in Switzerland, Swiss Tags, Swiss Games).

The text "The loud voice of minority" is part of the available resources and, in keeping with the rest of the website, is translated into eight languages and targets ten markets (Presence Suisse - Annual reports 2008, 2012: see as well *La strategie de communication international 2009* for more information on *Presence Switzerland*'s markets):

- English: The USA, Great Britain, India (the English translation is also a way to target those markets not represented by their own language)
- German: Germany and Austria (the German version also addresses the German- speaking Swiss market, which is not excluded from promotional campaigns; these promotional materials are used in Switzerland as well and must include Swiss consumers and their vision of Switzerland. The same counts for the French and Italian texts/target audiences)
- French: principally addresses France and French-speaking Canada (in addition to the Swiss public; in the context of crisis communication, the French version also targets French-speaking Africa and other countries in the Francophone world)
- Italian: focuses on the Italian public.
- Spanish: addressed to Spain, but also – and in the context of the current political economic transformation – increasingly to emerging economies in Latin America such as Argentina, Mexico, and Chile, as well as to the Portuguese-speaking country Brazil.
- Chinese: which addresses China and more particularly its economic and urban centers including Singapore and Hong Kong.
- Russian: which targets the Russian markets as well as part of the emerging economies of the former Soviet bloc.
- Japanese: which focuses on Japan.

Because all versions are literal translation of the German original, for practical reasons (this dissertation is in English), my analysis focuses on the English version. Put briefly, the main function of "The loud voice of minority" as a promotional text published on *Presence Switzerland*'s promotional website consists in informing a specific target audience (mainly students from ten countries, but also other audiences) about Switzerland's population and its self-determination, and to contribute (along with a set of other resources provided by this website) to the reproduction of an appealing image of Switzerland in the world. Now, before proposing a more in-depth analysis of this specific text, I will first proceed with a discussion of the text's other two promotional functions.

"Customs and Traditions"

The *second* promotional text I discuss in this section is entitled "Customs and Traditions: Discover living traditions." It was published on *Swiss Tourism's* (the organization providing the promotion of Switzerland as a touristic destination) official promotional website, myswiterland.com in 2012 as an introductory text to an entire series of other texts (entitled "Music," "On the Alp," "Customs and sports," "Folk traditions through the year," "Arts and crafts," "Typical food and wine"). Promoting the multiplicity of local traditions, the promotional text "Customs and Traditions: Discover living traditions" was created as a commentary of a two-minute mute clip exemplifying the multiplicity of Switzerland's customs by showing images of Switzerland. The promotional text "Customs and Traditions: Discover living traditions" introduces the website's category *Customs and Traditions* placed in the section *About Switzerland* and designed to offer practical information about Switzerland and its touristic destinations. In particular, the section contains seven additional rubrics such as *General Facts*, *Map of Switzerland*, *Geographic Facts*, *History and Mentality*, *Sustainability*, *Order Brochures*, *Apps and Panoramic Pictures*, *Videos*. The other sections of the website are *Destinations*, *Accommodations*, *Transport, Interests*, *Services*. Furthermore the website provides contact information for international offices of *Swiss Tourism*s as well as for local tourism offices in Switzerland. The website additionally contains the links of the national railways, to what is generally considered the national airline, *Swiss International Airlines*, to an electronic hotel booking system, and to a call center providing support for national and international clients. Furthermore, the website displays a whole series of pictures and video clips about Switzerland's landscape, architecture, population, costumes, and traditions. Generally speaking, this promotional platform, which is addressed to Swiss and foreign tourists (see *Swiss Tourism*s annual report 2010, 2011, 2012 for an analysis of the websites visitors and for an evaluation of the promotional platform's success in attracting Swiss and foreign clients), is staged as a gateway to all sorts of information on Switzerland. However, far from being conceived as a platform solely providing information, the website is designed to offer an initial taste of the Swiss touristic experience.

The promotional text "Customs and Traditions: Discover living traditions" can be accessed on myswitzerland.com in German, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, and Chinese. In line with what we have seen in the previous case, the language choice is conditioned by the markets the text is addressed to. More specifically according to the annual reports 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, we can say that the languages German, English, French, Italian, and Dutch are chosen to target what are generally seen as *Swiss Tourism*'s priority markets: Switzerland (with German, French, and Italian), Germany (with German), Britain (also Ireland, in English), France (with French), USA (with English, in this case organization does not differentiate between British and US English), Italy (with Italian), and Holland (Dutch). Moreover, the Portuguese, Spanish and Chinese translations are all used to

target what, according to the annual reports 2011 and 2012, are viewed as strategic emerging markets; these include Brazil (from where Switzerland registered in 2011 an increase of 15% of accommodations), China (with 41% more accommodations), and other Latin American countries. In addition to the specific countries, the English version of the text is also a way to target what *Swiss Tourism* call the active markets Australia, Anglophone Canada, Northern Europe (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, all countries whose population is categorized as sufficiently Anglophone to be addressed in English). Similarly, the French version is also used to target francophone Belgium, Canada, and Luxembourg, and the German version addresses tourists from Austria.

Since in this case again, all versions seem to be literary translations with no localization efforts, my analysis draws on the English version. But, before presenting the analysis of these texts, I briefly focus on the function of the third promotional text.

"A place where life is enjoyable"

The *third* promotional text is entitled "A place where life is enjoyable" and is part of *Osec*'s brochure *Switzerland. Leading Center of Innovation*. In line with *Osec*'s mandate, the aim of this brochure is to promote Switzerland as THE place to do business, and to attract capital and investors to the national territory. The brochure's title refers to the *Global Innovation Index 2012* and capitalizes on Switzerland's first place position in the innovation ranking defined by the index.

This 32-page brochure, which was published by *Osec*'s marketing section in 2012, is one of the organization's main marketing instruments and is distributed in the framework of promotional events (such as investor seminars, fairs, expos, conventions), by Switzerland's embassies and consulates, by national and international chambers of commerce, and is also accessible on *Osec*'s website www.osec.ch. While *Osec* also publishes a more informative book on the strengths of Switzerland's business location (the "Handbook for Investors"), the former brochure is considered to be a teaser, meaning that its promotional function is to draw the attention of potential investors to Switzerland's qualities by means of an appealing, sexy, and concise promotional discourse. In short, the brochure's goal is to induce potential investors to contact the representatives of *Osec* in their own country (*Osec* has one or more branches in every target country; they are generally located in Switzerland's embassies or consulates) to get further information on Switzerland.

The brochure is structured in four sections, *Security and Confidence*, *Quick and Simple*, *Innovation and Technology*, *Quality and Life* and presents information on Switzerland's political and tax systems, economic structure and industrial clusters, labor force and population more generally, and its educational system, as well as statistics and rankings demonstrating Switzerland's competitiveness and innovation; the brochure also displays images of Swiss cities, buildings, technologies, and people. Furthermore, the brochure

provides contact information for local offices that assist foreign investors in establishing their European headquarters and branches on Swiss territory. The analyzed text, "A place where life is enjoyable", highlights Switzerland's purported exceptional quality of life and is part of the section *Quality and Life*. It introduces three additional texts: *Unlimited information flow*, *At the heart of Europe*, *Infrastructures that click like clockwork* focusing on life in Switzerland.

The brochure *Switzerland. Leading Center of Innovation*, is translated into English, German, Italian, French, Portuguese, Russian, and Chinese. These translations serve to target the US, Britain, and India (all in British English), Brazil (Portuguese), France and Francophone Canada (French), Germany (German), Italy (Italian), Russia and the emerging post-soviet countries (Russian), continental China, Hong Kong, and Singapore (Chinese). Along the lines with what we have seen in the other texts, these different versions are literal translations and their content is not adapted to the specificities of the target markets. This is why, in this case as well, I work with the English version.

In the subsequent sections, I put forward an analysis of the three promotional texts and discuss how the previously mentioned general scripts are entextualized and adapted to the branded objects; I also examine how national diversity is mobilized as an icon of the nation's authenticity, humanity, and emotionality. Furthermore, I treat the discursive work of erasure that this discursive capitalization on national diversity carries out in order to render the investment in national diversity credible, appealing, and desirable. Finally, I reflect on which forms of diversity are considered to be particularly valuable to promote Switzerland abroad, thereby identifying the limits of what can be said about Switzerland and its diversity in these promotional discourses.

Mobilizing diversity in a promotional discourse

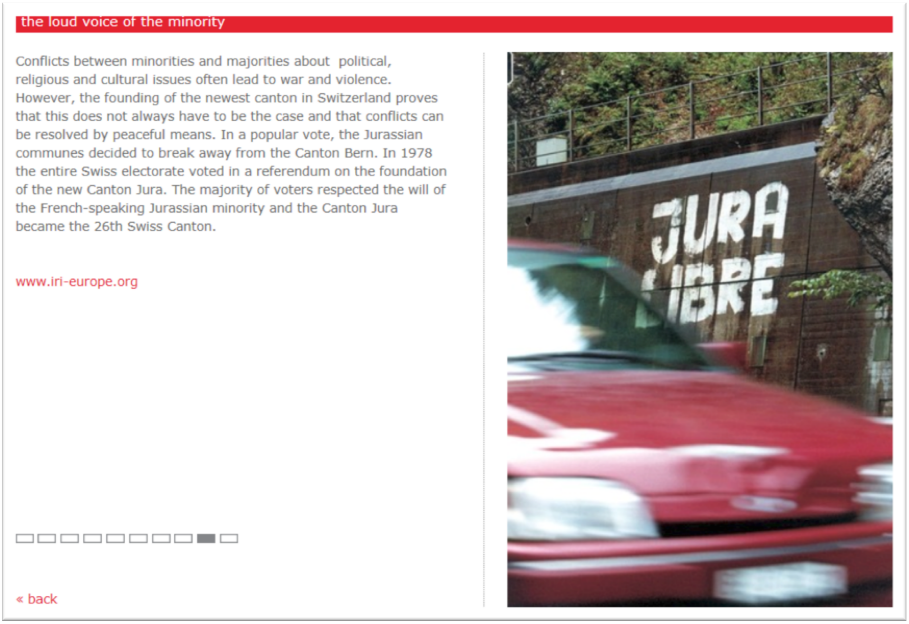
"The loud voice of minority"

The first text I discuss is *Presence Switzerland*'s story "the loud voice of minority" (see below). This text was written to make explicit the self-determination of Switzerland's population. More particularly, the text aims to promote Switzerland as a unique place, where conflicts between populations can be peacefully solved by virtue of its political system.

The story about Switzerland entextualized in this specific promotional text capitalizes on a political event that occurred in the late 1970s, when the Swiss electorate voted in favor of the secession of three French-speaking, Catholic districts from the bilingual and bi- confessional canton of Bern (where people speak both French and German, with a large German-speaking majority, and are both Catholic and Protestant, with a majority of Protestants); the districts were reassigned to the new French-speaking, Catholic canton of Jura (see for example Pichard 2004 for a discussion of these events).

This vote was preceded by decades of tension and struggles (including acts of

violence) between the Catholic, French- speaking secessionists forces, who wanted to form a monolingual French-speaking canton out of all French-speaking districts in the canton of Bern, and the Protestant, French-speaking, anti-secessionists forces, who wanted to remain part of the canton of Bern for economic and religious reasons; the latter group was reinforced by the German-speaking, Protestant majority in the canton of Bern, who wanted to retain the canton's territorial unity (see Ganguillet 1998; Prongué and Rérat 1994; Voutat 1992, 1993 for a critical discussion of these conflicts).



Despite these conflicts, and while the creation of the new canton of Jura did not imply an end to hostilities between the several linguistic and religious communities (see Pichard 2004; Schumacher and Schumacher 2005; Voutat 2000; Voutat and Knüsel 1997), the Swiss government traditionally capitalizes on these events as one of many example exemplifying Switzerland's capacity to manage diversity and to create the political conditions favorable to the coexistence of different linguistic and religious communities. As such, and similar to the scripts represented by the training document *Switzerland's People*[1] providing discursive resources on Switzerland's political and humanitarian qualities (and more particularly the idea that Switzerland makes reconciliation between different forms of sociocultural diversity possible), the promotional text "the loud voice of minority" points to the appeal and uniqueness of Switzerland's political system and the state's expertise in managing

sociocultural diversity.

The pertinent question here is how this appeal and uniqueness is discursively staged in this particular text?

On the one hand, this is achieved by a twofold structuration of the promotional text: The first sentence presents what are generally the expected consequences of conflicts between minorities and majorities (*war* and *violence*). The use of the adverb "often" discursively constructs the conflicts pertaining to *war* and *violence* as almost certainly resulting in a negative scenario. The second sentence of the promotional text points to Switzerland's uniqueness in solving such conflicts. This uniqueness is introduced by the use of the conjunction "however," placed to emphasize the opposition between the "often" pointing to the typical, negative results of conflicts between minority and majorities, and the positive, peaceful example of the canton of Jura, which is utilized as an icon of Switzerland's ability and expertise in governing the nation's diversity. It is interesting to note the explicit use of the formulation "by peaceful means," pointing to Switzerland's preferred way of solving conflicts and marking the contrast between the harmonious Swiss solution and the "war" and "violence" mentioned in the first sentence – and the usual resolution of such conflicts.

On the other hand, the text points to the social and political qualities leading to creating the conditions for a peaceful resolution of conflicts between different communities. In particular, the text stresses the role of the popular vote (and as such of Swiss direct democracy) for the successful management of diversity; it emphasizes the capacity and power of the minority to express their voice for their own concerns – and to have their voice heard. In this regard, the mention of terms such as "referendum", "popular vote", "voted", "voters", but also "decided" highlights Swiss political self-determination. (Here again, the mobilization of these aspects of Switzerland's political system is consistent with the discursive resources provided by the script *Switzerland's Strengths*.) This is also done by the text's title, which describes the minority voice as ostensibly loud. (This stands in clear opposition to more common ideas of a minority voice as remaining unheard, even silenced by nation-states). Constructing self-determination is achieved by describing the Swiss population's vote as an act of respect on the part of a majority toward a minority (see the use of the verb *to respect* to qualify the Swiss people's vote for Jura's independence). In addition, the explicit use of the adjective *entire* referring to the Swiss electorate is a means to imply the action of the entire Swiss population on behalf of a minority.

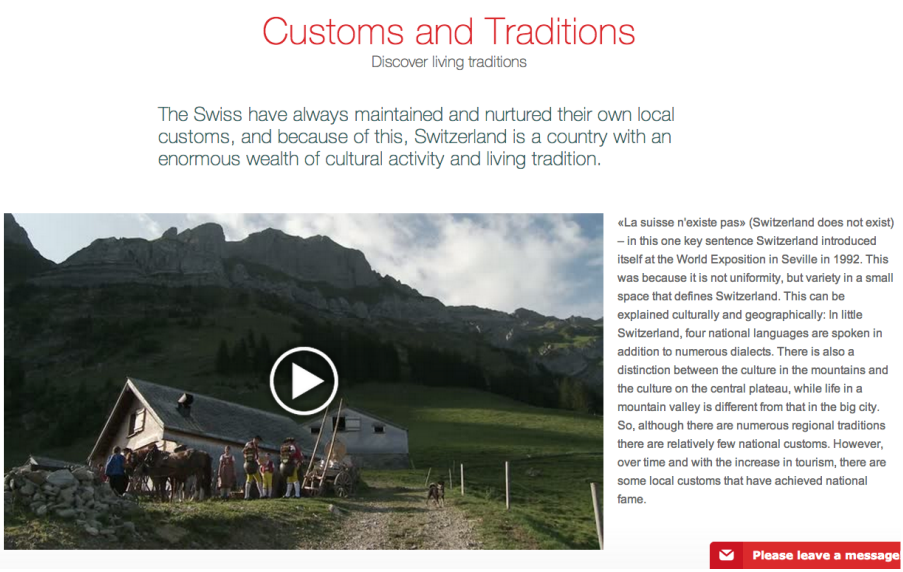
Finally, a third way to frame Switzerland's self-determination and the appeal of the nation's political system is by employing an image displaying the graffiti "JURA LIBRE." This semiotic resource, which originally discursively referred to the Jurassian conflict, also points to the internationally known, mundane, and under late capitalism highly commodified Cuban cause for independence (this double association is created by the adjective "LIBRE" which stands for "free" both in the Jurassian French and in Cuban Spanish, but also by the

terms “JURA” and “CUBA,” which both contain syllables ending in the same letters: “u” and “a”). This image capitalizes on the sexiness, desirability, and emotions associated with the Cuban cause by projecting these forms of affect (especially for young generations, who represent a key public in *Presence Switzerland*’s promotional strategy) onto the Jurassian cause.

Now, what is the promotional function of *diversity* here? In this context, and in line with what we have seen in the case of the scripts, national diversity (and more particularly the French-speaking Jurassian minority living in the predominantly German-speaking canton of Bern) is activated as a means to exemplify the Swiss state’s strengths in creating the necessary conditionalities for the peaceful balance between Switzerland’s linguistic and cultural communities (see the use of the verb *to prove* highlighting the status of the Jura issue cited in this text). Furthermore, according to this text, diversity helps emphasize the mutual respect (note the explicit use of the verb *to respect*) the linguistically, religiously, and culturally heterogeneous Swiss population (“Swiss electorate” or “Swiss voters”) has for each other, and it stages its human and harmonious aspects. The text also aids in framing the passions, desires, and concerns of the Swiss population (or, in this case, those of one specific minority and their will to be independent).

After having discussed how diversity is mobilized to brand the Swiss political system, in the following two sections, I discuss how multilingualism and cultural diversity are mobilized to promote Switzerland as a touristic destination and as a business location.

"Customs and Tradition"



In the promotional practice in the text "Customs and Tradition", a similar form of capitalization on national diversity making reference to the emotional, human, and authentic aspects of the nation can be observed. Consistent with the “Brand Switzerland” core message *self-determination,* and drawing on the discursive resources provided by the training material *Switzerland’s Culture* (especially the emphasis on a high concentration of forms of linguistic diversity within a restricted geographic area), *Swiss Tourism* aims to promote Switzerland as characterized by a multiplicity of local traditions and costumes and therefore as a unique place to be desired, experienced, and consumed by tourists visiting the country.

How is this goal discursively achieved?

It is realized through a video clip illustrating the promotional text and embodying Switzerland’s diversity by displaying images of Switzerland’s mountains, traditional choirs, alpine herdsmen, women dressed in traditional costumes, alphorn players, traditional buildings, suggestive rural landscapes, craftsmen, traditional cheese makers and cheese, alpine cattle drives, cow fighting, Swiss wrestling festivals (Schwingerfeste), Swiss alpine bells, and traditional flag spinning activities. It is also achieved by mobilizing the provocative slogan “La Suisse n’existe pas” [Switzerland does not exist], cleverly stressing the impossibility of reducing the nation to one single culture or identity. Other strategies include the explicit definition of Switzerland as place characterized by geographical and cultural variety (see how variety is explicitly opposed to “uniformity,” which is implicitly constructed as the normal sociocultural order) and the use of the formula an “enormous wealth of cultural activity” in the introductory sentences. (Note, too, how the concomitant use of “enormous” and “wealth” stresses the not only the amplitude, but also the high quality of the nation’s diversity). The explicit mention of the “four national languages” and “numerous dialects” spoken by the Swiss population also highlights Switzerland’s diverse character. Finally, Swiss diversity is presented as highly attractive through the projection of different forms of tradition and customs (or different diversities) onto the various Swiss geographical locations (mountains, valleys, Central Plateau, big cities).

But, in order to discursively assure the appeal of the touristic experience represented by Switzerland and its multiplicity of local customs, and to create the conditions allowing the target audience to feel that these forms of diversity are accessible – but to avoid the impression of artificially conserved traditions – the text stresses the vitality of Swiss local customs. In this regard, it is interesting to note how the traditions are twice qualified as “living” and how the languages and dialects are considered as “spoken” (here the use of the participle "spoken" can be interpreted as being conducive to building a contrast between Switzerland sociolinguistic situation, where dialects still play a key role, and what happens in other places around Europe, where the ideology of ethnolinguistic unite polity's has resulted in a stigmatization of dialect speech and in a - presumed - disappearance of dialects.) Also note the use of the verbs *to maintain* and *to nurture* used to explain the vital status of the local

customs. In this regard, it should also be pointed out that the use of “always” in the statement introducing the text "Customs and Traditions" engenders the sense of a historical stability of these cultural varieties in Switzerland. While this insistence on the Swiss local customs vitality could seam arbitrary, this is not at all the case. The vitality of diverse traditions (including languages and dialects) is invested in as a distinctive feature of the touristic product Switzerland. An additional reason that indexing tradition is not arbitrary is that the local traditions are often cast as endangered, and therefore as rare, unique, and desirable in the imagination of the postmodern tourist (see Duchêne and Heller 2007 for a discussion of such discourses on the supposed endangerment of forms of diversities; also see Moore, Pietikäinen, and Blommaert 2010). Consequently, the implied access to experiencing and understanding Switzerland’s local customs can be marketed as a feature unique to Switzerland and, as such, an aspect distinguishing the country form its competitors.

Finally, to prevent the diversity of local customs and traditions from negatively affecting the nation’s appeal as a touristic destination (we should not forget that diversity is generally constructed as a source of conflict and tension), the text emphasizes diversity as a key factor of national identity (as I have already mentioned the text explicitly explains that variety defines Switzerland). In doing so, it once again converts diversity into a location factor highlighting Switzerland’s distinctiveness. Here it is very important to be aware that, while explaining the slogan’s function during the World Fair, the text does not mention the debate and tension this slogan engendered in Switzerland, especially in those (conservative) cultural and political circles who, despite Switzerland's multilingualism and cultural diversity, identified the *Homo Alpinus Helveticus* as the common ancestor of the four Swiss national linguistic and cultural communities (see Hauser 2010 for a discussion of the tension and debates in Swiss political circles caused by the slogan “La Suisse n’existe pas”).

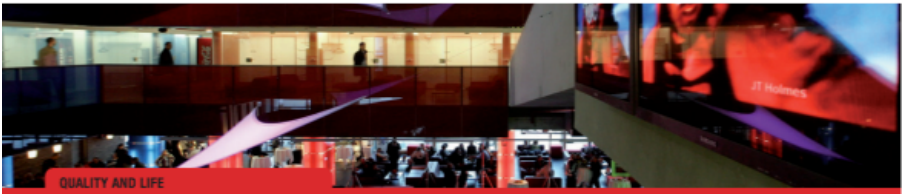
"A place where life is enjoyable"

The final text I present here is the promotional text by *Osec*, "A place where life is enjoyable", which was designed to market Switzerland uniqueness and distinctiveness in terms of quality of life for the purpose of attracting investors and a highly skilled labor force from around the world.

How is this goal discursively achieved?

To kindle the markets’ interest in Switzerland as an ideal business location and place to live, this text (see below) points to the Swiss educational and healthcare systems, to its advantageous tax and welfare system, high incomes, security, and its beautiful and clean landscapes. Similar to the discursive resources and scripts provided by the training material *Switzerland’s Strengths*, to authorize and legitimize Switzerland as a highly enjoyable place to live, the text quotes the *Mercer ranking*, which indexes the high quality of life in three major Swiss cities. It also appropriates the voice of a representative of an internationally

successful company that transferred its European headquarters to Switzerland.



QUALITY AND LIFE

A place where life is enjoyable.

Exceptional quality of life.

Unique natural landscapes, first-class infrastructure, a well-developed healthcare sector and an excellent range of sporting, recreational, educational and cultural opportunities – the high quality of life in Switzerland is well-known around the world.

Switzerland offers a high quality of life. The Mercer ranking of the world's most liveable cities puts Zurich, Geneva and Berne in the top ten. Both urban and rural regions of Switzerland regularly receive good marks for income, schools, climate and security. Additional positive factors are personal liberty, an extremely well-preserved natural environment with clean lakes and rivers, and a moderate tax burden. The Swiss healthcare system is one of the best in the world.

A dense network of public and private hospitals ensures first-class medical care. The organization of the welfare system is exemplary. Pension provision is based on the «three-pillar principal», which combines state, occupational and individual measures.

Switzerland lies at the heart of Europe. Several cultures live side by side here. There are four official languages in Switzerland: German, French, Italian and Romansh. As such, Switzerland is a country well acquainted with a variety of different lifestyles. The varied landscape covers alpine mountain ranges, the fertile Mittelland and the Mediterranean-influenced region of Ticino.

Leisure activities are also in abundance. Over an area of some 41,000 km², nature lovers, sports fans and culture enthusiasts will find something to interest them. It therefore comes as no surprise that the country can always find something new with which to impress its guests.

The company HolidayCheck AG in Bottighofen on Lake Constance is familiar with every aspect of the region in considerable detail. The company operates the biggest holiday rating portal in the German-speaking world.

TOURISM.

Travel and tourism
www.myswitzerland.com

«Support from the communes and economic advantages in the heart of Europe make Switzerland especially attractive.»

PATRICK FEIL, MANAGING DIRECTOR DACH REGION HOLIDAYCHECK AG

After the initial list of qualities presented in the three first paragraphs, paragraph four is

dedicated entirely to a discourse on national diversity. Indeed, along the lines of the scripts imposed by the texts *Switzerland's People*[2] (the diversity of languages and cultures on the Swiss territories), *Switzerland's Economy* (the European character of Swiss companies and the national economy more generally), and *Switzerland's Culture* (Switzerland's strong cultural bond with other European countries as well as its contribution to European culture), national diversity is utilized to construct the business location Switzerland as a highly appealing place to live, indeed it is pictured as an icon of the nation's enjoyable lifestyle and appeal.

What is the exact role of diversity in this promotional discourse? What is the status of this specific argument in regard to the other qualities mentioned in the first three paragraphs of the text?

On the one hand, the nation's multilingualism and cultural diversity is constructed as a conditionality for Switzerland's open-mindedness toward different lifestyles and, as such, toward forms of diversity that are embodied by potential investors. Diversity is employed to add additional value to the nation's strengths; for example, in the framework of the testimonial, Switzerland's qualities are referred to in terms of the "commune's support" and "economic advantages." The fact that all this occurs "in the heart of Europe" is constructed as an additional source of appeal. (Here, we note the use of the adverb "especially," pointing to the added value provided to the nation's appeal by the fact that Switzerland is situated in the heart of Europe).

Cultural diversity is also mobilized as an attractive object of consumption both in the introductory paragraph ("the excellent range of [...] cultural opportunities") and in the very last part of the text, where the text calls attention to several cultural leisure activities ([...] cultural enthusiasts will find something new) that this specific business location offers.

But which forms of diversities are valorized to construct Switzerland as a sexy place to live?

The only forms of identity that are explicitly named in this text are the four official languages. In all other cases, the text uses a set of discursive techniques to obscure the nature of the valorized diversities. To this end, we can observe the mobilization of a whole set of terms such as "several" (designating the cultures in Switzerland), a "variety" (pointing to the different lifestyles) or a "range" (indexing the cultural opportunities); these terms highlight the existence of a form of sociocultural diversity in Switzerland, but they equally create the discursive condition allowing the authors to avoid an explication of what these diversities actually consist. We can also identify the mobilization of the metaphor "in the heart of Europe" both in the first sentence of paragraph four and in the testimonial; in its first usage, this phrase addresses Switzerland's ostensible cosmopolitanism air (note the proximity of the metaphor to the second sentence of the paragraph, in which the coexistence of several cultures in Switzerland is recalled), while in the second usage, it points rather to the nation's

geographic proximity to the major European markets. (It is important to remember that foreigners investing in Switzerland are not principally interested in the small Swiss market. The business location Switzerland is considered as advantageous on account of the moderate taxation levels and the availability of good infrastructure and a highly skilled labor force, all of which leads to the lucrative European markets).

While we can only speculate about the reasons for this lack of explicitness concerning the exact nature of diversity in Switzerland, I would like to put forward the argument that avoiding a precise naming of diversity is clearly related to the promotional function of the brochure. Because the promotional discourse provided by the text under investigation is not adapted to a single target market, but is the same for each addressed market, we can assume that the indeterminacy of the adopted promotional discourse is a way to accommodate the multiplicity of audiences addressed by this text as well as the multiplicity of sensibilities in regard to diversity that these audiences represent. (I return to this point in the next section.)

Before concluding this chapter, in the next section I would like to briefly recapitulate what the discussion of these three promotional texts has enabled me to say about the value of linguistic and cultural diversity as a key feature of promotional investment and about those forms of diversity that seem to be particularly exploitable as features of the "Brand Switzerland."

Branding the bride side of the nation

The previous analyses of the promotional practices of three organizations and of the promotional capitalization on national diversity as key factor of the brand's tonality reveal the following discursive formations:

Multilingualism and cultural diversity in Switzerland are an index of the Swiss political system's ability to create the conditions leading to the peaceful coexistence of different cultures and languages on Swiss territory; the political structures furthermore guarantee high visibility and a loud voice to national minorities.

Switzerland's multilingualism and multiculturalism is the product of the nation's humanitarian tradition, and it is made possible by the compassion of the Swiss population and by the mutual respect that the different national communities show for each other.

Switzerland's multilingualism and cultural diversity is an object of touristic consumption; it is an index of the authenticity, vitality, and history of the different communities and groups of people living on the nation's territory. As such, it can be invested in as a capital of distinction transforming Switzerland into a unique, desirable, and appealing tourist destination.

Switzerland's diversity is an index of Switzerland's cosmopolitanism and European atmosphere. It is also an index of Switzerland's high quality of life and its enjoyability, and of

the Swiss people's freedom to live according to their own tastes.

But, while my analysis has stressed the promotional importance of national diversity as the human and emotional face of the nation, and has highlighted the mobilization of this cultural resource in different promotional contexts, what my analysis also seems to demonstrate is that not all forms of diversity can be equally invested in. More particularly, although the training material capitalizes on different forms of diversity traditionally considered as non-Swiss (such as diversity resulting from migration) to promote the human and emotional side of the nation, what can be observed in the actual promotional practices, is that such forms of diversity are not entextualized in the promotional discourse of the three organizations, at least not in the texts that have been analyzed here.

The question is of course why?

While we do not have access to reasons leading to an exclusion of such forms of diversity in the promotional discourses analyzed above, the following assumptions and hypotheses can be put forward with a fair degree of confidence:

In consonance with what was observed in the first section of this chapter regarding the sociohistorical conditionalities leading to the reform of the national brand, we can say that while a capitalization on diversity resulting from migration would be consistent with the image of a multilingual and multicultural society and would sustain the stable and humanitarian picture of the nation promoted, this strategy would be incompatible with the actual policies and practices of a federal government active in regulating, often restricting migration. As such, this promotional argument could be perceived by the target markets as contradictory and duplicitous. Furthermore, we could also assume that under certain conditions, especially in tourism marketing discourses, the promotional capitalization of diversity resulting from migration could be perceived as being at odds with the different forms of diversity that have traditionally represented the object of promotional capitalization, and that are also closely linked to forms of local authenticity and tradition. A concept of the Swiss nation based on diversity stemming from immigrants would clash with the idea of an authentic and historically stable Switzerland as presented to the potential customers and tourists. Finally, we can fairly assume that, since in some markets some forms of diversity are associated with social tension, disruption, and conflicts, and since the promotional organizations do not have control over the promotional texts' audience and particularly over the public's attitudes regarding these forms of diversity, to prevent these forms of potentially "bad" diversity from becoming an obstacle to the promotion of Switzerland, the organizations' marketing specialists may have decided to reject this using this argument.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how the place of national diversity in the architecture of "Brand Switzerland" was revised in the wake of the reorganization and professionalization of the

network of organizations responsible for the promotion of Switzerland abroad; more particularly, I demonstrated how *Presence Switzerland* was mandated to develop a new "Brand Switzerland" that accommodates the promotional needs of the individual, state-funded organizations providing these promotional practices. I have also shown how, in reaction to several image crises occurring during the first decade of the aughts, the necessity of highlighting the nation's humanity and emotionality emerged, and how national diversity was reconceptualized as a key element of the new Brand Switzerland's tonality. Furthermore, I highlighted how, in order to ensure the "correct" entextualization of the new "Brand Switzerland," *Presence Switzerland* produced training material defining the limits of what could be said about the nation in a promotional discourse. Finally, I provided an analysis of three promotional messages entextualizing the new national brand and adapting it to the promotional situation and the promoted object at hand.

It was my intention in it this chapter to highlight the variability and instability of the promotional value of national diversity. More particularly, the data discussed here enabled me to demonstrate that the promotional value of multilingualism and cultural diversity changes according to the demand of the markets and the (imagined) desires of the actors composing these markets; diversity's value is also influenced by the interests and necessities of the actors/institutions charged with the promotion of the nation. This also applies to when which forms of diversity (local, national, or international) are employed and in terms of what promotional function diversity has and what it implies. (Is national diversity itself the promoted object, as it was the case in the brand Switzerland developed in the 1990s? Or is it a tool indexing some aspects of what the marketing practice aims to promote? Or is it a feature of the promotional practice itself? Or is it its style?). But, I also aimed to point out the variability and instability of the value of this promotional item regarding diversity itself – in terms of which forms of diversity are effectively considered to be a feature contributing to a successful positioning of the nation in the international markets.

From a theoretical perspective, this of course helps us to rethink more static understandings of the linguistic market, respectively of the value and status that a language and its speakers can have in this specific market. While until now, we have assumed that languages are positioned in a clear hierarchy, with clearly defined values in the markets, this analysis has contributed to understand that the ways in which markets (the individuals and institutions these markets consists of) define the value of forms of diversity fluctuates strongly and changes according to the specific moment and context of valorization. Promoting Switzerland to an American audience will take a different form, depending on whether the promoted object is Switzerland as a business location or Switzerland as a tourist destination. The very same forms of diversity can have markedly different values, in accordance with the object the promotional discourse wants the target market to desire and consume. While, for one form of promotional object, diversity could be seen as a form of added value,

constructing this object as particularly appealing and sexy, or emotional and human, for another object, this same form of diversity could appear useless or even detrimental to the cause.

Nevertheless, the described instability of diversity's value does not imply a rupture with traditional ideologies of the Swiss nation. To the contrary, it was my intention to demonstrate – and the observed hesitance to mobilize forms of diversity resulting from migration seem to confirm this point – that the complex valorizations of languages and speakers observed in this chapter, in spite of their instable and variable nature, are all in one way or another guided and determined by foundational ideologies of the nation reproducing established hierarchies between forms of sociocultural difference. As such, instead of representing a form of discontinuity with the ideological formation we call modernity, the promotional exploitation of language and culture actually constitutes a reproduction of old ideologies and of the relations of difference these ideologies help to sustain.

Chapter 6
Capitalizing on National Diversity
A (First) Conclusion

The Regimentation of the Nation's Promotion and Modern Ideologies of Multilingual Switzerland

This work has sought to reflect on the role that ideologies of multilingualism and cultural diversity play in the regimentation of Switzerland's promotion abroad; more particularly, it has focused on the conditionalities and interests causing national diversity to emerge as a key object of ideological investment at different moments in the history of governmental debate on the promotion of the country.

The principle aim of *Chapter 1* was to situate the Swiss state's capitalization on national multilingualism within a critical sociolinguistic tradition researching the articulation between language, ideology, and the nation-state. This means the selected discourses are considered in the context of the historical practice of governmental investment in language and culture. It also implies an explication of my own ontological and epistemological positioning, and more particularly a discussion of what it means to analyze the processes under investigation as discursive, ideologically conditioned, and as a response to political-economic transformations. In the introductory chapter, I problematized the data representing the materiality of the discourses I am interested in, and reflected on what their status enabled me to say about how and why Switzerland's federal government continues to capitalize on this specific national capital under late capitalism.

In *Chapter 2,* I presented the committees, the taskforce, and the organizations responsible for producing expertise on Switzerland's promotion abroad and, more generally, on Switzerland's past, present and future, and presented conflicting sociocultural ideologies of Switzerland and of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity. I focused on the different mandates issued to these spaces as well as on the effects these mandates had on the materiality of the discourses on Switzerland and its diversity. I also examined the institutional role and the function of these discourses as well as their performative influence on the production and organization of the promotion of Switzerland abroad.

In *Chapter 3* through *Chapter 5,* the object of my investigation were three specific moments in the history of the governmental regimentation of Switzerland's promotion abroad in which national diversity emerged as an object of political investment. In *Chapter 3*, I discussed how, in the early 1970s, the governmental mobilization of national diversity as historical capital became necessary in order to prepare the way for the adoption of a federal law regimenting the coordination of the promotional organization. In *Chapter 4,* I continued

my account of the interrelationship between the regimentation of Switzerland's promotion and the investment in ideologies of national diversity. More particularly, I showed how in the framework of the production of the "Brand Switzerland" in the late 1990s, national diversity emerged as one of five promotional messages (together with *humanitarian tradition*, *proximity*, *quality*, *innovation*) of the national brand. In these two analytical chapters, it was my intention to demonstrate that capitalizing on national multilingualism and cultural diversity was in both cases a way to create the conditions for building a consensus between actors representing diverging political and economic agendas; utilizing diversity as a promotional feature furthermore enabled the (re)production of – in times of economic insecurity and restructuring – an image of Switzerland as a humanitarian, secure, and reliable country.

The actual image of Switzerland was, however, not always above reproach. As extensively discussed in *Chapter* 3, there were major political repercussions in the wake of events in the 1960s and 1970s, when the ideology of Switzerland as an icon of pluralism, solidarity, and humanitarianism – traditionally employed to legitimize and validate Swiss policy, the nation's status in the international community, and the resulting domestic social and economic order – was destabilized by national and international criticism of the living and working conditions of the foreign labor force in Switzerland. The investment in multilingualism and cultural diversity exhibited in the Federal Councilor's speech to the National Council – in which he celebrated the federal state's ability to manage diversity – can be explained by the political necessity of avoiding new tension within parliament concerning the legitimacy of the policies that led to the country's negative image abroad, especially as new conflicts could potentially have endangered the passage of a federal law that was considered as vital for the nation's long-term political and economic success. On a more general note, the promotional investment in national diversity at this specific moment in time must be understood as the governmental outline of a promotional strategy in response to criticism directed at Switzerland; the strategy was designed to (promotionally) neutralize the forms of inequality produced by the social and economic order in Switzerland as well as to (promotionally) qualify the nation's critical attitude toward Europe and its political and economic integration.

In *Chapter 4,* I then demonstrated how capitalizing on national diversity became a key element of the new "Brand Switzerland" in the mid 1990s when Switzerland's banking industry was under attack due to its economic collaboration with the Nazi regime during World War II, and the Swiss political system was criticized for eschewing membership in the European Union. In this case, focusing on diversity when marketing the country was the result of a professionalization of the nation's promotional practices. I particularly emphasized that the definition process of the national brand emerged as a site where diverging images of the nation and of Switzerland's future position in the transnational economy clashed; despite the

multiplicity and diverging interests represented in the committee responsible for developing a brand for Switzerland, national multilingualism and cultural diversity emerged as one of five promotional features, thus allowing the convergence of different political interests around this national capital. This was also possible because diversity as a promotional message was flexible enough to accommodate the multiplicity of promotional interests and goals. In this chapter, I also sought to demonstrate that the promotional capitalization on national diversity does not appear to be at odds with a modern ideology of national diversity, but rather that the observed practices of expertise sustain, reproduce, and promotionally exploit these modern ideologies of the nation.

In *Chapter 5*, I continued my account on the history of regimentation of the promotion of Switzerland abroad and on how multilingualism and cultural diversity emerged as key objects of investment. In doing so, I showed how the professionalization of the branding strategies for Switzerland entailed a rethinking of the "Brand Switzerland" and of the earlier strategies adopted by the federal government. I furthermore explained how, in this specific context, the political and economic necessity to rebut the image of Switzerland as egotistic, materialistic, and business-minded – a perception ascribed to the role of Switzerland's banks in the current financial crisis and the repressive policies adopted in Switzerland during the first decades of the aughts – led to a reconceptualization of national diversity as the emotional and human face of the nation. Despite having a different justification, this strategy effectively reproduced, once again, the old ideologies of the nation that for many years had created the basis for the relations of difference and domination characterizing the social order in Switzerland. *Chapter 5* also enabled me to demonstrate that not all forms of diversity are equally suited for capitalization and that, although some forms diversity are promotionally exploitable, others are potentially counterproductive for the goals and aims pursued by the federal government.

Now, in the following, I focus on this hierarchization of diversity, with a particular focus on what the events investigated in my dissertation enable me to say about which forms of diversity are considered to be useful, and under which conditions and for which purposes. This ultimately will lead to a better understanding of who wins and who loses from the fact that certain forms of diversity are invested in, and others not.

Capitalizing on Which Diversities? And in Whose Interest?

By discussing the three events in the history of the regimentation of the nation's promotion and by pointing out that multilingualism and cultural diversity have been cast as key features in the promotional discourses, it was my intention to demonstrate that what is actually meant by diversity is often ambiguous. To be sure, in all three events we can observe the recurrent mobilization of the trope of a quadrilingual Switzerland; what remains unclear, however, is whether "quadrilingual" refers to the Swiss (as individuals), the nation (as a community of

people living on the same territory), or the state (i.e. the institutional apparatus governing the Swiss state). In some cases (such as the Federal Councilor's speech examined in the framework of the first event analyzed), the multilingualism and cultural diversity of Switzerland is celebrated and promotionally capitalized on and, in others, this feature is projected onto subordinated levels of the state body (such as onto the cantons or the cities). In yet other cases, the Swiss citizens themselves are constructed as highly multilingual. Another ambiguity regards the way the discussed practices invest in diversity resulting from migration, i.e. in forms of linguistic and cultural difference that are traditionally considered to be non-Swiss. More particularly, while in all three events we observe the mobilization and inclusion of these forms of diversity and their construction as promotionally exploitable, again what remains unclear is which forms of diversities resulting from migration are meant, i.e. which languages and which cultures (or combinations of language and cultures) are included in diversity as a selling point. In some cases, the English language is explicitly mentioned (see for example in the scripts of *Presence Switzerland*), but other forms of "non-Swiss" diversity are never explicitly mentioned. By the same token, in the observed capitalization on migration in Switzerland, there seems to be a form of ambiguity as to whether these forms of valorization concern the existence of multiple migrant languages and cultures on the Swiss territory, whether the migrant themselves are meant, whether the state's capacity to govern this linguistically and culturally heterogeneous society is indicated, or whether these discourses signify a more general sense of cosmopolitanism – an atmosphere or a climate resulting from the presence of these forms of diversity. While in some cases this tends to be made somewhat clearer, in others the valorization is in no way evident.

Now, in keeping with my statements in the individual chapters of this dissertation, I would like to argue that this ambiguity is not arbitrary, but strategic. Both in Switzerland itself (despite its presumed humanitarian and cosmopolitan culture), but also in the markets, the regimented promotional practices concerning diversity are complex and multiple. While some people construct multilingualism and multiculturalism as the condition and the product of political and economic progress and prosperity and as individual and social emancipation and freedom, others see diversity as a source of social tension and political instability. Therefore, proposing a clear definition of what is actually meant would have signified making it impossible to form a consensus among the actors responsible for the regimentation of the nation's promotion – and consensus was necessary for the adoption of the strategy papers, comprehensive plans, business plans, and federal acts. In short, consensus laid the basis for the texts materializing the reform process. It is important to remember that in all spaces treating the regimentation of Switzerland's promotion, the work activities were structured and organized according to the ideology of consensus. As such, endangering the consensus would have meant endangering the adoption of the proposed reform projects. To be sure, especially in the cases discussed in *Chapter 3* and *Chapter 4*, where diversity is considered as part of the

"Brand Switzerland," an absolute definition of diversity would have rendered diversity as a promotional feature unusable for those markets in which this specific diversity is constructed as a bad thing. Furthermore, an exact definition of diversity would have contradicted the very idea of the "Brand Switzerland" itself, which aimed to provide a set of transferable message that only in secondary usage, namely in the actual promotional campaigns provided by those organizations charged with the promotion of the Swiss economy, tourism industry, and culture, would be specified and adapted according to the necessities of the situation at hand.

This naturally brings us to a set of further questions concerning who wins and who loses from the ways that diversity is capitalized on. To what extent does the established utilization of diversity imply a rupture with modern ideologies of Swiss multilingualism and cultural diversity? And, especially, to what extent do these practices represent a break with how modern ideologies of diverse Switzerland have affected access to forms of sociopolitical recognition and the distribution of capital in Switzerland?

In focusing on the interests represented in the debate I presented in this dissertation and upon reflecting on how and why the actors participating in these debates have invested in diversity as key feature of promotional capitalization, and on the assumption that the professionalization of the promotion of the nation abroad was essentially a means to create good conditions to successfully position the national economy in the global markets, we can say that the actors gaining from a capitalization on national diversity are the actors gaining from Switzerland's economic competitiveness under late capitalism. These include all those sectors of the national economy that operate in the international markets, for example, the financial sector, the tourism industry, the export economy (including the chemical and pharmaceutical industry, the metallurgy and machine industry, the agro-alimentary industry, the watch industry), and particularly those individuals and circles benefitting from the profits these industries make. These are made up of the owners of those industries and the individuals or groups investing in these companies (since the companies are often stock corporations). It is also possible to say that the employees of industries having access to labor and the state itself through tax revenues (which impact the living conditions of all citizen in terms of social benefits, healthcare, and lower tax rates) profit from the competitiveness of the national economy. This would mean that, in one way or another, the "diverse" people living in Switzerland themselves would (even if indirectly) capitalize on their own diversity. However, even on the assumption that these promotional campaigns would create a positive effect on the appeal of Swiss commodities and services in the global markets (but: there is no evidence that the promotional activities provided by the state funded promotional organizations have in anyway supported the nation's international competitiveness, even if we know that, despite the strong Swiss franc and fears that Swiss products would be too expensive for foreign consumers, Switzerland's export economy seems to have "digested" the financial crises of the past years fairly well and has generally remained internationally competitive) recent studies

on the working conditions of immigrants in Switzerland show that despite the country's prosperity and the increasing benefits of individual industries, immigrant jobs continue to be precarious and badly remunerated (see Bolzman et al. 2004; Duchêne 2009a,b, 2011; Flubacher & Duchêne 2012; Sassen 1988; Schultheis et al 2010; Crettaz 2011; Flückiger 1998).

It is almost a truism to state that political interests can be discovered behind the will to enhance Switzerland's image abroad. (A dichotomization between economic and political interests is purely artificial; I will return to this point). There is a natural political wish to reproduce the ideology of a humanitarian and solidary Switzerland, to foster sympathy for its status as a political "Sonderfall" [exception], and to defend the interests of the politicians responsible for the laws and political decisions that generated the perceived bad image of Switzerland abroad. In other words, from a political perspective, responding actively to voices that calls traditional Swiss values into question (such as pluralism, humanitarianism, political and military neutrality, and reliability) was a way to reproduce the status quo in terms of relations of domination and difference in Switzerland (Maissen 2005; Kreis 1991; 2005). This status quo, in-spite of an international perception of Switzerland as a safe haven and as model in terms of managing diversity, continues to be characterized by clear patterns of social, educational, and political inequalities between those be considered legitimate Swiss and the "others" (Dûchene 2012; Flubacher 2013; Kreis 2007, 2008; Ley 1981; Skenderovic 2013). This inequality is expressed in terms of who has access to political recognition and participation, labor, education, healthcare, and positions of prestige in Swiss society, and who is denied access.

To conclude, the people who constitute the "others," especially immigrants, do not seem to profit from the celebration of Switzerland's multilingualism and cultural diversity in the nation's promotion abroad, neither economically nor politically. This is because capitalizing on diversity in Switzerland apparently does not alter the precarious status of the diverse minorities in Switzerland. Rather than implying a the democratization of people's access to forms of recognition and capital, the promotional celebration of diversity is instead a way to discursively and ideologically erase the forms of exclusion that the social and economic order in Switzerland reproduces. Instead of representing a form of social, economic, and political equality or emancipation, this celebration contributes to a silencing and obscuring forms of precarity and inequality in Switzerland that result from socio-cultural differences.

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