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„The Tension between Social and Legal Citizenship“

Citizenship as a Framework of the Identification Process for Foreign Citizens Focusing on the Situation of Swiss Community Networks in Vienna.

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Wien, 21.08.2020

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1. Introduction

"Once you have the Swiss passport [...] then you remain Swiss at heart."¹ (interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 74). This statement from the vice president of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* can be considered representative for the understanding of the congruence between the passport, the citizenship as well as the identity. Hence, these three aspects are inevitably related and symbolize that citizenship must be understood as an expression of one's own identity. In this process, citizenship is the link between the emotional understanding of identity and the material proof conveyed by the possession of the passport. What is forgotten in this equation, however, is that citizenship is actually based on a legal concept which is constructed depending on the respective social, private or professional context.

Citizenship accompanies an individual from the beginning of their life. It serves as a means of identification as well as a central proof of personality. Hence, the right of citizenship is anchored on constitution level and is based on the logic that the state population in a given national territory is subject to the corresponding state power. This derives from Georg Jellinek's three-element doctrine² and still forms the basis of the legal citizenship principle today, according to the legal scholar Peters and her work *Völkerrecht: allgemeiner Teil* (Cf. Peters 2012: 27). Due to an increasingly connected world and a constantly flowing migration stream, this understanding is confronted with considerable problems. One reason for this is that migrants are gradually becoming an integral part of society, another one is that this is increasingly leading to a merging of population. As a child of parents with different nationalities, I grew up with the concept of two different citizenships. Hence, the concept of citizenship, which was not identical with my place of residence has always been connected through my family, specific culinary experiences or my second passport. I was so to speak part of or even trapped between two different citizenships. When the opportunity allowed it, I moved to the country of my second citizenship and found myself in a kind of conflict of conscience between my two affiliations. On the one hand, I was a foreigner there, but on the other hand, I was also a local from abroad.

Although historically these are not new phenomena, global connectedness has led to an increasing exchange among the migrants themselves. Everyone can be reached at any time and the new communication channels allow for even closer social connections. Furthermore,

¹ Original transcript: "[...] wenn meh de Schwizr Pass hät, ich würd mol sage im Herze bleibt meh Schwizr." (interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 74).

² Note: This three-element doctrine defines the state on the basis of three state characteristics, which must be present as a prerequisite for every state. These three aspects consists of the state territory, the state population and the state power (Cf. Peters 2012: 27-31).

this interconnection leads to work, family and friendship relationships being maintained on a global level. Especially in the era of transcontinental migration, this can be seen as a complement to the social connections as well as a potential for conflicts of loyalty between the two countries involved. While my conflict of conscience actually affected me in my everyday life, I still wondered how migrants identify with their citizenship, what role their social environment has on it and what relevance the legal basis for this identification plays.

Of particular interest are people who live in a country that is not identical with their own citizenship (e.g. expats, exchange students, dual citizens or citizens abroad). To explore this topic, the Swiss community in Vienna serves as a case study for this thesis. Hence, a subdivision of this community into two different case groups should do justice to the various perceptions and observations.

The focus of this thesis is oriented towards these thematic key areas and concentrates on the one hand on the identification process with the concept of citizenship and on the other hand on the significance of the networks. These two phenomena are to be examined in more detail using the concepts of social vs. legal citizenship, the associated sense of belonging, the production of exclusion or inclusion as well as the differentiation. The structure of the present work is based on these two thematic priorities.

Starting with a theoretical chapter, the legal concept of citizenship is defined. In a further step, the theoretical context as well as the theories on which the work is based on are to be briefly listed in order to illustrate why cultural and social anthropological research on this topic is necessary and essential. As a next step, methods, research questions and approaches are to be outlined before the case study under investigation will be dealt with in more detail in the fourth chapter. The result of the research work is then to be discussed. Subsequently, the fifth chapter focuses on the concept of citizenship for the process of identification. Of particular importance here are the three focal points that are set, namely the feeling of belonging by identifying through the common Swiss German dialect (compare chapter 5.1), the differentiation of identity by comparing one's home country – Switzerland – with others (compare chapter 5.2), and the identification through the use of stereotyped images or clichés of Switzerland (compare chapter 5.3). Building on this, the sixth chapter then focuses on the position of Swiss networks and examines their role in the relationship between social vs. legal citizenship. The case studies are to be examined individually (compare chapters 6.1 and 6.2) before in the seventh chapter a comparison between the two case studies is to be drawn. Finally, the last chapter draws a conclusion, highlighting the most important characteristics of

the identification process with citizenship and enables an outlook on possible further research questions.

This work is intended to investigate the identification process of foreign citizens abroad with their own citizenship. In doing so, the tension between the legal and the social citizenship is to be examined more closely in the context of the foreign Swiss community networks. Therefore, selected Swiss institutions abroad (e.g. *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*) as well as their related networks are to be analysed more closely in view of the perception of their citizenship and compared with individual Swiss citizens who are not part of such networks. Of particular interest here are the different senses of belonging or perceptions of citizenship as well as the presentation of one's own identity. Although the subject of citizenship is increasingly becoming a popular trend in the scientific literature, the majority of articles concentrates on a few limited areas and in particular lack the examination of further case studies. In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the current and future development of the identification process of foreign citizens, more research is required that focuses on small-scale case studies.

According to the two anthropologists Neveu and Filippova, the researches carried out in context of citizenship concentrate on North or South America and are mainly set in relation to an aspect of nationalism as to be seen in their work *Citizenship(s) in European Contexts* (Cf. Neveu and Filippova 2012: 182). This is because it was long assumed that there is a close overlap between citizenship and nationality (Cf. Neveu and Filippova 2012: 182). In addition to this focus, there is also a strong concentration of research on labour migration and within the EU. This is particularly evident in the publications on expats and disadvantaged minorities, which have appeared in recent years. Meanwhile, foreign citizens and their small-scale emigration movements are often forgotten, as they appear too insignificant. While there is a wealth of research on labour migration within Europe or the EU as well as on migration of the disadvantaged, there has been only little research on case studies of the identification process of specific foreign citizens abroad.

A good example of this is the Swiss population abroad. Although Switzerland is one of the richest countries in the world, countless Swiss people are still drawn abroad every year. More than 10.7% of the Swiss population already live abroad and the trend is rising (Cf. Bundesamt für Statistik 2020: Auslandschweizer/innen 2019). The results are countless Swiss abroad associations and a huge network of Swiss people distributed all over the world. Although some research was conducted on the importance of citizenship in Switzerland itself as well as

on a few selected Swiss migration movements (e.g. mainly in immigration countries classified as typical), these projects mostly analyse the situation within the country and rarely examine the circumstances in context of the global connectedness. Additionally, the few research projects that do exist are rather concerned with small comparative cases between Switzerland and neighbouring countries (e.g. through the article of the social scientists Giugni and Passy *Migrant Mobilization between Political Institutions and Citizenship Regimes: A Comparison of France and Switzerland*). However, hardly any reference is made to the actual situation of the Swiss citizens abroad, even though a considerable number of them are concerned.

The importance of research on this topic was also highlighted at a conference held in 2011. Under the title *Die Schweiz anderswo. AuslandschweizerInnen – SchweizerInnen im Ausland* both historical and current examples of research on Swiss citizens abroad as well as their identification with Switzerland were discussed (Cf. Keller and Ruchti 2012: 1). In the accompanying conference report, particular reference is made to two central results of the research, which are also of great importance in the context of the present work. On the one hand, there is the question of the definition of the Swiss abroad and the related question of what a “typically Swiss” is, while on the other hand an increasing nationalization of the Swiss abroad could be observed (e.g. a return to “real” and imagined Swiss values) (Cf. Keller and Ruchti 2012: 3).

However, the Swiss population abroad in Austria has not yet been examined in more detail from this perspective, which is why this thesis examines the significance of citizenship in the identification process of the Swiss abroad in Vienna. The lack of interest in this topic is also summed up briefly in the article *Aktuelle Entwicklungstendenzen des Profils der Auslandschweizerinnen und Auswanderer aus der Schweiz* in the *Politorbis*, by the cultural anthropologist Leimgruber. He states that “*Migration is a permanent topic, but only in one direction; emigrants appear not to be of interest.*”³ (Leimgruber 2016: 33). This research project therefore intends to examine the “other direction” of the migration process and to analyse to what extent the concept of citizenship is used as an identification process for foreign citizens in the context of the Swiss citizens abroad.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical embedding of the chosen topic is to be examined mainly from two different approaches, namely from the viewpoints of the anthropology of citizenship as well as the

³ Original transcript: “*Migration ist zwar ein Dauerthema, aber nur in die eine Richtung; Auswanderer scheinen nicht zu interessieren.*” (Leimgruber 2016: 33).

concept of associations and their network. While the concept of citizenship is mostly understood as an identification process in the context of this work, the second approach focuses mainly on networks or associations of foreign citizens abroad. To begin with, the concept of citizenship is to be introduced.

2.1 The Concept of Citizenship

The concept of citizenship is complex and must be considered and studied from different perspectives. Therefore, a (legal) definition of the term, which is essentially involved in the everyday understanding of this concept, is to be given first. A second chapter then discusses the historical background, before a third chapter examines the current perception of citizenship and its anthropological understanding. Finally, a fourth chapter focuses on the concept of citizenship in context of an identification process.

2.1.1 Definition of (Legal) Citizenship

The legal definition of citizenship has a long historical tradition and is based on the ideal of an exclusive and sovereign nation-state. The Swiss Federal Migration Commission explains this connection as follows, “*States possess distinct social, political and geographical spaces. Each ‘state population’ lives in a ‘state territory’ and is subject to a ‘state authority’ within this territory.*”⁴ (Eidgenössische Migrationskommission 2020: Staatsbürgerschaft). Based on the equation state citizens = state territory, it is presumed that a state territory is identical with the people living there. Consequently, the state population is subject to the state authority ruling there. Yet with increasing cross-border movements the inevitable question arises as to how this equation relates to immigration or emigration. Which state authority is responsible for immigrants and which one for emigrants and furthermore, which law is to be used in transnational connections?

Questions like these are not easy to be answered and provide insights into the complex system of citizenship. Hence, it is important to note that each nation-state is responsible for its own jurisdiction and therefore for the definition of its own citizenship, as the cultural and social anthropologists Clarke et al. explain in their article *Introduction: Questioning Citizenship/Questions de Citoyennetés*. This means that each nation-state is entitled to define the access, conditions, requirements and withdrawal of their citizenship. The only restriction that applies is that a citizen does not become stateless through these actions (Cf. Clarke et al. 2011: 949). Nevertheless, two different forms of citizenship in particular have established in

⁴ Original transcript: “*Staaten verfügen über klar abgrenzbare soziale, politische und geografische Räume. Jedes ‘Staatsvolk’ lebt in einem ‘staatlichen Territorium’ und untersteht in diesem Territorium einer ‘Staatsgewalt’.*” (Eidgenössische Migrationskommission: Staatsbürgerschaft).

legal practice: *ius sanguinis* vs. *ius soli* as the sociologist and political scientist Bauböck explains in his work *Transnational Citizenship* (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 32). While *ius sanguinis* is also known as the right of descent or blood, *ius soli* passes on the right over the territory (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 32). Traditionally, most countries in Europe have the right of descent, where citizenship is inherited from parents to their children. The majority of the classic immigration countries such as the USA on the other hand, have the territorial rights. There, a child born on this territory automatically becomes a citizen of that country. There are, of course, other species or hybrids of citizenship law, but the majority of them has never established in the long term or rather consist in theory.

In Austria there is a relatively rigid *ius sanguinis* law, which is based on article 6, paragraph 1 and 2 in the Austrian Federal Constitution as well as the Citizenship Act 1985. Every person born in Austria is entitled to an Austrian citizenship, provided their parents also hold one. This regulation therefore excludes all immigrants, who permanently live in Austria. The only way to obtain an Austrian citizenship as an immigrant is either through naturalization, inheritance/descent or legal notice (Cf. oesterreich.gv.at-Redaktion 2020: Erwerb der österreichischen Staatsbürgerschaft). In general, however, the actual citizenship must be returned with the receipt of an Austrian citizenship, as Austria no longer allows multiple citizenships (Cf. oesterreich.gv.at-Redaktion 2020: Doppelstaatsbürgerschaft). Multiple citizenship in Austria is usually only possible with the express consent of the authorities or if the parents have different citizenships, which they pass on to their child (Cf. oesterreich.gv.at-Redaktion 2020: Erwerb durch Abstammung). Hence, the Austrian citizenship includes different rights and duties. Among other rights, every Austrian is for example entitled to political rights, allowed an uninterrupted stay in Austria, while men are subject to compulsory military service (Cf. Austria Forum 2020: Österreichischen Staatsbürgerschaft).

In Switzerland, citizenship is also granted through the principle of descent and is based on article 37 in the Swiss Federal Confederation as well as the Federal law on Swiss citizenship 2014. In contrast to Austria, however, the Swiss citizenship is based on a trinity principle which apart from a citizenship also includes a cantonal and a municipal citizenship, as the legal scholar Schweizer explains in his article *Bürgerrecht* in the *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz HSL* (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 1). This threefold citizenship has historically grown out of the requirement to organize the population according to the law of the separate confederations (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 1). Hence, the Swiss citizenship includes various rights and duties such as political rights, diplomatic protection, freedom of establishment and compulsory military service (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 1). In addition, Swiss law has a greater tolerance in terms of the

acceptance of multiple citizenship. This tolerance is also defined in the article 40 of the Swiss Federal Constitution, which was introduced in 1966, according to the social scientist Perrenoud and his article *Auslandschweizer* in the *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz HSL* (Cf. Perrenoud 2014: 2). Here two paragraphs define the framework of the Swiss citizens abroad. Hence, the first paragraph defines that the Confederation shall promote relations between the Swiss abroad as well as with Switzerland and at the same time it should support organizations that have made this objective their own. The second paragraph, on the other hand, deals with the rights and duties of the Swiss abroad, in particular the political rights and military service (Cf. Perrenoud 2014: 2). Building on this foundation, there are other laws and ordinances that regulate further provisions concerning the Swiss abroad.

Although the legal norms of citizenship are the responsibility of the states themselves, there are also international norms that recognize the right to citizenship and prohibit that a person becomes stateless. At international level, for example, the right of citizenship is explicitly granted in article 15, paragraph 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the two educational scientists Kalekin-Fishman and Pitkänen describe in their work *Multiple Citizenship as a Challenge to European Nation-States* (Cf. Kalekin-Fishman and Pitkänen 2007: X). Further, it is specified that no one may be arbitrarily removed from his or her citizenship as well as no person can be refused the right to acquire any other citizenship. Through this international anchoring it is intended to define the fundamental entitlement of a person to this elementary right of belonging (Cf. Kalekin-Fishman and Pitkänen 2007: X). Naturally, there are other international enshrinements besides the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As an example, the European Union has also addressed this issue of citizenship and speaks of European citizenship in this context. Thus, its objectives are to complement national citizenship and to give citizens of the European Union more rights at EU level. Apart from the political rights at national level, an EU citizen is thus treated in the same way as a local. European citizenship can thus be seen as an attempt to complement or even replace national citizenship with a supranational concept as the political scientist Leggewie mentions in his work *Transnational Citizenship* (Cf. Leggewie 2015: 593).

Besides this legal anchoring, a political and societal understanding of the concept of citizenship has developed in parallel. The next chapter therefore focuses on the historical development of this concept and its social impact on society.

2.1.2 Historical Development of the Concept of Citizenship in Europe

The development of the concept of citizenship is closely linked to political events and developments in a country's history. An initial attempt to define the concept by the political scientist Isin in his work *Citizens without Frontiers* testifies this close connection. According to Isin, "*Citizenship is a dynamic institution of domination and empowerment that governs who are citizens (insiders) and non-citizens as their others (strangers, outsiders) and objects (aliens) and how these actors are to govern themselves and each other through body politics*" (Isin 2012: 150). As explained in the definition of Isin, the term of citizenship is inevitably linked to the concepts of authority and power over a particular population group. Through the separation between "what belongs to us" and "what is foreign", the concept of citizenship gains a colossal control that ruling actors in particular have been eager to use to their advantage. According to the article *Historical Development of Citizenship* by the historian and legal scholar Gosewinkel, from the beginning of history the focus of every human group lies on creating new institutions that try to define the members of society to separate them from the rest of the population. At the same time, it is also a matter of constructing a process that generates new members (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1852).

The first society to combine the legal requirement of membership with politics was the one of the ancient Athens. There, the membership was linked to a legal status that guaranteed the citizens of Athens equal rights and obligations. The fact that this did not include most of the inhabitants of Athens (e.g. foreigners, women or slaves) shows, according to the article *Citizenship: Political* by the political and cultural scientist Hoipkemier, that citizenship was not only used as an organization of membership, but also as a means of distributing power (Cf. Hoipkemier 2015: 651). To a large extent, this distribution of power also implied that equality among the Athenians thus constructed rather a straight boundary to the excluded (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1852).

Contrary to this was the Roman citizenship, which from the beginning was rather political, since it included the right to belong to the legislative assembly. According to Hoipkemier, however, this participation became increasingly meaningless over the years, which was why the Roman citizenship changed to a legal right that beared great similarities to our modern understanding of nationality (Cf. Hoipkemier 2015: 651). Then in addition to political participation, it included legal protection in particular. Furthermore, as a result of its massive expansion the Roman citizenship developed from a city-state law to a legal means of integration (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1853). This originally close connection between the city and citizenship law is explained by Hoipkemier as follows,

The word citizen derives from the Latin civis, meaning a member of an ancient city-state, preeminently the Roman republic; but civis was a Latin rendering of the Greek term polites, a member of a Greek polis. Innumerable scholars have told how a renowned resident of the Athenian polis, Aristotle, defined a polites or citizen as someone who rules and is ruled in turn, making citizenship conceptually inseparable from political governance. (Hoipkemier 2015: 650).

This political significance of the concept of citizenship also explained the great power it possesses. In addition to a forced loyalty to his subjects, the ruler, for example, tried to integrate those politically affected into his empire by means of this concept (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1853).

As Christianity and feudal forms of rule arose in the Middle Ages, the original idea of citizenship was pushed constantly into the background. According to Hoipkemier it was now difficult to claim the exclusive loyalty of the members of a community, since it was based mainly on social and moral values (Cf. Hoipkemier 2015: 651). This led to a limited distribution of power between the local rulers from below and the universal demands of the Christian church from above (Cf. Hoipkemier 2015: 651). During the Renaissance, however, some northern and central cities in Italy gained freedom and began to control their own rights or duties (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1853). Based on a Roman understanding of citizenship this led to the development of a strong and active urban citizenship in these newly founded city states (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1853).

Interesting in this context was the associated call for individual right of religious freedom as well as the self-administration, which were important precursors of the later law of citizenship. Especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, the concept of the citizen became a central element in the struggle for freedom against the old powers as Gosewinkel states (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1853). This included, in particular, the proclamation of the first republics and, subsequently, the writing of the first constitutions. Of great importance was here the transfer of citizens' rights and citizenship to the state level. This gave these rights of freedom a new quality and inevitably linked them to the later emergence of nation-states (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1853-1854).

As the cultural and social anthropologists Clarke et al. explain in their work *Disputing Citizenship*, the French understanding of citizenship is often seen as the beginning of our contemporary concept of citizenship. On the one hand, this included the transformation of the national idea into an exclusive mechanism that was simultaneously linked to a membership within the political community. On the other hand, it was about differentiating between foreigners and one's own population (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 16-19). Clarke et al. highlight, however, that citizens were initially defined by their membership while the territorialization

by birth, descent or permanent residence was added later (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 16-19). As Gosewinkel explains, this was due to the parallel development of the nation-states with an increased exclusion from national citizenship. Further he states that the,

Extended citizenship law came to define membership in the nation-state as well as the rules of naturalisation policy. Whether they were based on an inclusionary, territorial model (USA, France) or an exclusionary, descent-based model (Central and Eastern Europe), citizenship and citizenship law became key instruments for defining national identity and controlling migration in a modern world characterized by increasing transnational mobility [...]. (Gosewinkel 2001: 1854).

The right to citizenship was thus inevitably tied to the nation-state and its political interests. Here the nation-state acted as a central actor, defining the basis as well as the conditions of citizenship law. This enabled not only to control the increasing migration flow but also to determine which individual became part of the political processes as well as the social community (Cf. Hoipkemieer 2015: 651).

The sociologist Marshall describes a similar development in his famous work *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development: Essays*, in which he considers citizenship as a status that involves an access to various rights and powers (Cf. Marshall 1977: X). To Marshall, these rights focus mainly on three areas: civil rights (that result from the emergence of the bourgeoisie in the 18th century), political rights (that are constructed with the access to political bodies in the 19th century) and social rights (that develop with the spread of education in the 20th century) (Cf. Marshall 1977: X, 78f.). According to the sociologist, this is obviously a historical achievement, since the right of citizenship has grown from a local to a national institution (Cf. Marshall 1977: 84).

Through this spread to the national level, every full member of the society was given equal status in relation to rights and obligations. What is interesting in this context, however, was that there was no universal principle that defined these rights or duties. Rather, they were based on the construction of citizenship by the state itself (Cf. Marshall 1977: 92). This led to the assumption that the citizenship status created social equality within society. However, those who did not possess this status might be automatically discriminated against. This division of people was particularly problematic in view of the role of the nation-state and its right to define citizenship. Especially the events during the two world wars represented an example of how this position of power could be exploited to a large extent, or rather used for the very purposes of the nation-state itself. Racist and ethnic criteria were tied to the admission of citizenship and created a tight concept of exclusion of those who are not admitted (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1854). Therefore, there was an attempt to devaluate national citizenship after the Second World War. On the one hand, this was done by the means of an

international codification of rights, and on the other hand, attempts were made to establish other models of citizenship, such as the European Union citizenship. However, the European Union citizenship law per se does not exist as long as the individual EU states still have a monopoly over their citizenship (Cf. Leggewie 2015: 593). Nevertheless, the scope of citizenship at the national level has already been considerably reduced as the law was mostly detached from social and economic rights and is rather limited to a political participation (Cf. Gosewinkel 2001: 1854).

The developments of the concept of citizenship just described can also be explained using the actual case example of Switzerland. This is because Swiss citizenship has developed in a particularly exemplary manner over the last 150 years. According to the legal scholar Schweizer, the Swiss citizenship was standardized for the first time in the Swiss Constitution in 1798. Following the French model, this provided a general Swiss citizenship to all citizens living within the territory concerned. However, foreigners could only acquire this after 20 years living in these territories (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 3). During the so-called mediation from 1803-1815, the Swiss citizenship lost some of its significance as it was legally retained, but no longer actively granted to “new” Swiss citizens.

Interesting to note in this context, however, is that at this time the naturalization process already fell within the jurisdiction of the cantons. Thus, even with the de facto abolition of the citizenship law by the Federal Treaty of 1815, the individual cantons continued the law in the sense of a common Swiss citizenship (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 3). This was done mainly through a union of individual cantons, by which the citizens of the cantons concerned were granted freedom of establishment (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 3). Even with the enactment of the Federal Constitution in the year 1848 this regulation was not changed. Instead of introducing an independent Swiss citizenship, the cantonal citizenship law was now referred to. The competence to confer and create the conditions for a citizenship law still remained within the jurisdiction of the cantons. In practical terms this implied that all Swiss men of Christian confession were entitled to this citizenship, and in turn were granted equal political rights (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 3).

In 1867 the requirement of the Christian confession was then extended to the Jewish religion, which also gave the Jewish population the right of a cantonal citizenship (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 3). Finally, the revision of the Federal Constitution in the year 1874 led then to a shift in responsibilities with the cantonal authorities being considerably restricted as the Confederation was now responsible for supervising naturalization. This transfer of

competence was explained by a constant increase in the foreign population especially since the year 1910 as well as by the experiences gained during the two world wars. This in particular led to forced naturalizations of foreigners through the federal government of Switzerland (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 3-4). However, as the number of foreigners living in Switzerland increased, so did the rejection of them within the Swiss society. The tightening of naturalization laws and the increasing conditions for naturalization were only a small reflection of this social change. Added to this was the fact that the discussion of facilitating the naturalization of the second or third generation of immigrants is still a highly controversial issue in Swiss politics today (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 4-5).

In this rough overview of the development of the Swiss citizenship, the changes of the citizenship in terms of content appear particularly interesting. Starting with the freedom of establishment and the compulsory military service, the concept of citizenship then developed especially into a guarantee to exercise political rights. At this point, however, it must be mentioned that until the 1980s these political rights were mainly reserved for men and exclude women from the right to vote at the federal level (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 4). Only gender equality made it possible for Swiss women to be recognized as equal Swiss citizens. Nevertheless, while the development of the Swiss citizenship probably had less of an impact on the individual citizen, the importance of citizenship, especially for the Confederation, was crucial. This becomes particularly obvious when looking at the development of Switzerland as a nation-state. In this context, the concept of citizenship served as a good means of controlling and coordinating the state population residing on the national territory. In addition to the control mechanism of the Swiss citizenship, new Swiss citizens were "generated" at the same time through transnational marriages and the naturalization of foreigners (Cf. Schweizer 2011: 4).

In addition to attracting new Swiss citizens, a central issue since the end of the First World War had been the cultivation of relations with the Swiss citizens abroad. As Perrenoud puts it, while Switzerland hardly took care of the emigrants until the end of the 19th century, there was a growing requirement after the First World War to strengthen national sentiment and to preserve the culture of the Swiss abroad (Cf. Perrenoud 2014: 1). Thus, the Swiss citizens living abroad gained great support through the *Neue Helvetische Gesellschaft (NHG)*, which founded the *Auslandschweizer-Organisation (ASO)* in 1916 in its efforts to promote closer relations between Switzerland and its citizens abroad (Cf. Perrenoud 2014: 1). In addition to charitable activities, the main focus laid on supporting the media and associations of citizens abroad.

These efforts resulted in the creation of the article 40 on the Swiss abroad that was adopted at constitutional level in the year 1966. The Confederation was thus given the power to officially promote relations between the Swiss abroad and their home country as well as to actively support institutions that encourage these efforts (Cf. Perrenoud 2014: 2). However, the detailed composition and scope of these networks are the subject of the fourth chapter in this work, where the chosen case study of the Swiss community in Vienna is examined in more detail. First of all, the current anthropological understanding of the concept of citizenship is examined. The next chapter therefore deals with this.

2.1.3 The Anthropological Perception of the Concept of Citizenship

Despite the above-mentioned detachment of social and economic rights from political rights, the meaning of citizenship is still understood in a strong historical context. One possible reason for this is the legal anchoring of citizenship on the constitutional level. The anthropologists Appadurai and Holston explain this in their introductory chapter *Introduction: Cities and Citizenship* by the two closely intertwined concepts: citizenship and nationality. Based on the combination of these two terms, a meaningful membership of the society is established. Thus, the members of the society become citizens of a certain territorial nation-state (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 1). Clarke et al. further elaborate this aspect and justify that this leads to a particularly pronounced role of the national state as guardian of the constitution vis-à-vis the concept of citizenship. Thus, states always act as agents that "manufacture" citizenship. This includes the organization as well as the guarding of this good (Cf. Clarke et al. 2011: 949).

However, the production of citizenship also poses increasing challenges for states as the membership requirement for citizenship is becoming more and more of a "blurred concept" (Cf. Clarke et al. 2011: 949). This is mainly due to the fact that states have to act in an increasingly diverse, heterogeneous and transnational way to be able to adapt to global processes (Cf. Clarke et al. 2011: 949). In addition, the national monopoly on the regulation of citizenship is beginning to weaken and is gradually challenged by the influence of global rights (Cf. Leggewie 2015: 592).

Against the background of these aspects, social and political scientists are vehemently calling for the rejection of the understanding of citizenship as a national concept. As the cultural and social anthropologist Çağlar states in her article *Anthropology of Citizenship* it is difficult to operate with a concept of citizenship which is based on a historically constructed isomorphism that is situated in the tension between nationality and citizenship (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 637). The

political scientist Isin sees a similar problem. According to his explanation, citizenship is a concept inevitably attached to the state or nation. Within state borders this means that it is automatically linked to citizenship, which goes far beyond political affiliations. Yet, it is precisely in the age of migration and globalization that this concept is becoming increasingly problematic (Cf. Isin 2012: 5-6). From this point of view, Isin therefore calls for a separation between citizenship and nationality since in the context of membership, citizenship mutates into an understanding of nationality (Cf. Isin 2012: 37). In addition, he also pleads for a separation of the concept of citizenship from membership. This is mainly because membership determines the behaviour in a social group, whereas citizenship has more far-reaching consequences in a political body (Cf. Isin 2012: 151).

Furthermore, this detachment from the terminology of membership can also be explained by the fact that the concept of citizenship can no longer be understood only in the context of the democratic understanding of citizenship. According to Clarke et al., citizenship must always be seen in its respective context as it is the product of transnational or trans-local relations, connections and flows (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 13-14). This contextualization also makes it possible to examine certain groups of people who form communities that are not based on a national understanding of citizenship. It is therefore necessary to break away from the static concept of law and to offer citizenship a rather procedural understanding (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 637).

The anthropologists Ong und Rosaldo take this idea even further to conclude that citizenship is rather an active process of belonging and a practice of participation in social/political life. Thus, Rosaldo sees the concept of citizenship in his work *Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California* as a close examination of cultural aspects. Instead of legal aspects, cultural citizenship defines rather the right to be different in terms of language or ethnicity (Cf. Rosaldo 1994: 57). This right of otherness always takes place in the context of the dominant national community and is thus a process of claiming rights and renegotiation the belonging (Cf. Rosaldo 1994: 57-61). Although the identity and diversity of cultural practices is held in high regard, according to Çağlar, one crucial point is missing, namely, “[...] *it does not address the way in which persons who are not citizens participate in the common social, economic, and political life of a specific state and claim rights in these multiple domains.*” (Çağlar 2015: 638). Participation as well as the confrontation with the dominant power is thus completely left out by Rosaldo’s concept of the cultural citizenship.

In contrast, the anthropologist Ong solves this aspect differently. She removes the concept of citizenship from the rigid framework of the nation-state and instead proposes another form in her work *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. In this understanding, citizenship has to be seen within a certain flexibility that refers to the context of the capitalist world. Thus, Ong refers to the fact that individuals have to react to constantly changing conditions (Cf. Ong 1999: 6). These are particularly dependent on transnationality, which creates new forms of identity construction as well as subjectivation of individuals that go far beyond nationally defined state borders (Cf. Ong 1999: 18). However, this does not indicate that states are losing control over their territory, but rather that they are forced to react to global influences such as the international economy or labour movements (Cf. Ong 1999: 112). In defining citizenship as a flexible construction, Ong uses a new concept to describe the practices of refugees or business migrants who work in one place while their family lives in another one (Cf. Ong 1999: 214). The anthropologist thus speaks of the consideration of groups that do not per se fall within the national understanding of citizenship as previously demanded by Çağlar.

A concept of citizenship detached from the nation-state is also being studied by the two anthropologists Appadurai and Holston. They explore the role of urbanity or the city in the context of citizenship and highlight that citizenship does not have to be linked to nation-states per se but unfolds and becomes a reality in active life (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 2-3). Hence, the role of cities in the formation of citizenship should not be underestimated as the historical development in the chapter above has shown. As Appadurai and Holston highlight, the formal membership of a nation-state is increasingly losing its significance in connection with the material citizenship (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 4). At the same time, it is replaced by other forms of citizenship, for example in cities where specific forms of citizenship or affiliation arise which the people affected identify with. According to the anthropologists Koning et al. and their work *Citizenship Agendas in and beyond the Nation-State: Countering Framings of the Good Citizens* this can be traced back to the understanding of citizenship as a political community. This refers to an affiliation within a political community where the sense of belonging is often defined and implemented on a non-national scale, such as neighbourhoods or cities (Cf. Koning et al. 2015: 123).

In this context, social and political scientists also speak of a social citizenship. This refers to a concept that is formed by groups of people who claim to belong to a state or a city without actually having access to the legal citizenship. They are organized collectively to protect themselves against discrimination or to obtain rights and benefits from a state or a collective.

According to Bauböck, the holders of these social citizenship rights are always individual citizens or in some cases also social groups, but never a nation as collective (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289). This notion appears especially important as the manifestation of the social citizenship is not based on laws, but rather on social practice as well as on the presence of the individuals as Çağlar defines it (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 638). Social citizenship thus acts on a horizontal line between the social relations of persons instead of the vertical line between the state and the persons in the perception of a legal formal citizenship (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 638-639).

The political scientist Isin takes these attempts at definition even further in his work *Recasting the Social in Citizenship*. In his view, the concept of social citizenship compromises the static and universalistic status of an individual in a nation-state. Isin therefore refers to a citizenship that defines the social relationship to other people, which can be adapted to the circumstances in different situations and that can also be distinguished from others (Cf. Isin 2008: 7). As can be seen in this context, social citizenship implies a new definition that focuses on social networks and their reach. Additionally, Isin points out that social citizenship combines the three different social aspects: extent (e.g. rules and norms of inclusion), content (e.g. rights and responsibilities) and depth (e.g. thickness or thinness of loyalty) (Cf. Isin 2008: 12). In terms of extent, the political scientist refers to the rights or duties of membership that are to be assigned, while the content refers more to how the boundaries of membership between and within the community are to be defined. With depth, on the other hand, he is discussing how the identities of the members should be recognized and understood (Cf. Isin 2008: 11). Isin's explanation shows how complexly citizenship must be seen today. Although he does not per se demand a detachment of the citizenship from the nation-state, he does highlight that citizenship is probably always social before it becomes political (Cf. Isin 2008: 282). However, a contextualization into the global context remains necessary.

The sociologist and political scientist Bauböck goes much further with his demands. He calls for a conceptualization of the right to citizenship as a transnational right. Hence, he pleads for the renationalization of citizenship in order to ensure equal membership to all people in territorial polities (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 331). Bauböck elaborates this thought in the draft of a stakeholder citizenship. This means a merging of the different citizenship theories, which should enable all members to gain the status of a full membership. Closely linked to this is the right to vote, which is intended to guarantee all affected the same political status (Cf. Leggewie 2015: 591).

In addition to Bauböck's draft, there are countless other notions on how to break up the rigid concept of citizenship to meet today's demands and contexts. An attempt to do justice to the concept in its complexity must be understood and examined from several points of view. The political sociologist Joppke, for example, sees the development of the concept of citizenship in his work *Transformation of Citizenship* mainly based on three different aspects. Thus, citizenship can be understood as a status, as a right or as an identity (Cf. Joppke 2007: 38). Using the status, Joppke refers to the liberalization of access towards the concept of citizenship, while he sees citizenship in the context of a right, as a development from social rights towards minority rights. On the other hand, with identity Joppke refers to the paradox of a universalistic unity (Cf. Joppke 2007: 39-41).

The educational scientist Block applies a similar classification for his concept of citizenship in his article *Citizenship, Education and Global Spaces* referring to Osler and Starkey's work when he elaborates on the following three key dimensions, namely citizenship as a status, citizenship as a practice and citizenship as a feeling (Cf. Osler and Starkey 2005). The status addresses the legal dimension of citizenship, while the practice refers to the active exercise of citizenship. Citizenship as a feeling, on the other hand, describes the different identities and affiliations that an individual possesses (Cf. Block 2011: 162). This differentiation is also followed by the political scientist Leggewie, who adds a fourth one in addition to the three key dimensions of Block. Thus, he divides the concept of citizenship into the following meanings: citizenship as a formal legal status, citizenship as a set of legal social rights or duties, citizenship as a bundle of responsibilities, virtues or practices and citizenship as a collective identity (Cf. Leggewie 2015: 588). In making this classification, Leggewie concretizes, on the one hand, the aspect of citizenship as a practice or right raised by the other two scientists and, on the other hand, makes a straight distinction between the significance of the rights as well as the duties or the personal responsibility of the holders of the citizenship.

Regardless of the labels and explanations of these different aspects, it is striking that the subdivision of the concept of citizenship is almost identical in the considerations of these three scientists. While the status of legal execution of citizenship can often be seen as the basis of any investigation, what is of particular interest is how citizens deal with their citizenship and how this is done in their everyday life. Therefore, in the context of this work, the majority of findings refer to one aspect, namely the study of citizenship in the context of an identification process. The next chapter introduces this perspective.

2.1.4 Citizenship as an Identification Process

As just indicated, citizenship can be understood in the context of different aspects. In connection with the identity process, the concept of identity as such must be clarified first. Therefore, the term of identity is to be looked at briefly from a psychological as well as an ethnological point of view, before an anthropological discussion clarifies the relationship between identity and citizenship. However, in advance it must be pointed out that the use of the term identity is a difficult one. This is mainly due to its dual nature, being used both scientifically and popularly, according to the ethnologist Sökefelds and his work *Identität – Ethnologische Perspektiven* (Cf. Sökefeld 2012: 53). As a result, the approach to the term is limited to a few definition attempts and does not try to capture the term in its entirety.

Starting with the designation of origin, the term identity is rooted in Latin and can be translated as "the same, exactly the same" according to the work *Nationalstaatlichkeit und Identität: ein Essay über die Erfindung von Nationalstaaten* by the Romanic philologist Metzeltin. Consequently, the term identity denotes a state of being the same, of belonging as well as the existence of commonalities. However, this must always be considered in the context of communities within which the same characteristics are shared (Cf. Metzeltin 2000: 29). Without a counterpart, an individual actually does not need a form of identity since he/she has no requirement to differentiate himself. Therefore, Metzeltin believes that identity is a mental construct that varies according to its context and is used to differentiate oneself from the opposite (Cf. Metzeltin 2000: 34).

Similarly, the psychologist Keupp defines this term in his work *Identitätskonstruktionen: das Patchwork der Identitäten in der Spätmoderne*, regarding identities as constructions dependent on mutual social recognition. This means that a social validation is necessary (Cf. Keupp 1999: 27-28). This social validation is based on the verification of affiliation with the counterpart. If difference to the counterpart is emphasized, the other person becomes a stranger. However, if the similarities outweigh the differences, the other becomes a fellow human being (Cf. Metzeltin 2000: 49). This means that the concept of identity only emerges in contact with another person and is therefore dependent on these encounters.

In a similar way, Sökefeld defines the appearance of the concept of identity. He explains that identity must always be analysed in its context. This means that it is always dependent on its social environment (Cf. Sökefeld 2012: 40-45). Hence the decisive factor is the attribution by others as well as the self-attribution, which leads to the development of a sense of belonging. However, it is important to note that these attributions are never objective, but rather based on

subjective criteria (Cf. Sökefeld 2012: 44). Sökefeld furthermore states that identities are never given, but rather in a constant process of variability, which in particular depends on the aspects of difference, plurality and overlap or crossing. By difference he places the emphasis on the otherness, while plurality refers to the fact that an identity never exists in the singular. In contrast, the overlap or crossing refers to the fact that the different identities constantly influence each other and are thus in a field of mutual relations (Cf. Sökefeld 2012: 48). For individuals as part of a community, this means that they construct their identity in a constant process of variability in relation to the others.

In this context the psychologist Keupp even considers a direct comparison of individuals with actors in his work *Fragmente oder Einheit? Wie heute Identität geschaffen wird*. Thus, he identifies individuals as actors without scripts who develop their identity on stage according to their circumstances (Cf. Keupp 2004: 9). This comparison must especially be seen in context of the development of the identity in the last 70 years. In particular since the 1950s there has been a significant change in the values of identities. From an adaptation of identity in the 1950s/60s to an emancipation of identity in the 1970s and 1980s, Keupp predicts that today identity is strongly connected with its environment. Depending on the situation or context, the individual thus adapts their identity to the respective circumstances (Cf. Keupp 2004: 9). In this sense, identity must always be understood as an individual and autonomous process (Cf. Keupp 2004: 22).

Besides these attempts to define the concept of identity, it must also be seen as a model in strong relation to political actors. On the basis of the citizenship of nation-states, a state-owned identity is constructed to serve as sense of belonging. This is achieved through the production of an inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism. The next chapter discusses this in more detail.

2.1.4.1. The Construction of a Sense of Belonging in the Context of Migration

As already described above, the identification of a person always requires a differentiation from their counterpart. Thus, the mechanism of inclusion vs. exclusion differentiates between various groups and produces a sense of belonging. According to Clarke et al., the sense of belonging has two different meanings in this context. On the one hand, belonging can be understood as a feeling of attachment (e.g. “I belong here”) and on the other hand, as a feeling of proprietorship or ownership (e.g. “this belongs to me”) (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 151). When these two meanings are combined, the feeling of attachment often expands into a claim of ownership and links a territory to the mechanism of inclusion vs. exclusion (e.g. “this place

should belong to us”) (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 151). This should obviously define who has the right to be part of this sense of belonging and who should be excluded from it. However, the implementation of this inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism is carried out by a larger community, which further develops the criteria as well as the design of this mechanism. The identification of an individual with these communities therefore implements the basis for any exclusion.

According to Appadurai and Holston the starting point for a community is always the equal perception of the individual members within the group in order to work for a common purpose (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 6). In this context a community must contain three conditions in particular,

1. There are important common goals.
2. Active participation instead of admission establishes a basic right to goods.
3. Those who participate have equal rights despite any other differences.

Besides a commonly understood basis of mutual goals, active participation is therefore required, which makes equality among all members possible (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 6). Apart from these requirements that construct a community, the three conditions mentioned have a strong inclusive character, which draws a straight line towards all outsiders who are not part of the community itself. In other words, the outsiders are excluded from the community itself.

The human geographer Staeheli analyses things similarly in her article *Citizenship and the Problem of Community*. According to her, communities depend on an inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism to achieve inclusive goals in the first place. Thus, the decisive factors are always the construction of membership as well as the differentiation from non-members. As Staeheli explains, inclusion is rather passive, while exclusion is more active or conscious. In this respect, exclusion can also lead to the construction of a counterpart while inclusion often uses the concept of citizenship as a requirement for participation or admission in associations (Cf. Staeheli 2008: 9). As a result, citizenship becomes a marker of inclusion and at the same time produces a justification for exclusion (Cf. Staeheli 2008: 9). The same opinion is shared by Isin, who divides the citizenship regime into the two categories citizens and non-citizens (Cf. Isin 2012: 153). In order to be accepted into the community as a non-citizen, he explains, it is necessary to adapt to the behaviours of the insiders in order to absorb them through their own actions. The identification with these behaviours is therefore central in this context (Cf. Isin 2012: 151).

The social anthropologist Lazar also observes this point and describes the strong meaning of citizenship in the context of the exclusion of others in her article for the *Oxford Bibliographies*. Hence, she outlines the importance of citizenship against the background of how the state and its society organize the inclusion vs. the exclusion mechanism. Crucial for the organization therefore is the construction of the foreign migrant, which symbolizes the role of the typical non-citizen (Cf. Lazar 2019: Oxford Bibliographies). Through this conceptualization of the non-citizen as a foreigner or a migrant, the political community and its boundaries are explicitly shown. Lazar elaborates this aspect even further in her work *Citizenship* in the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Anthropology* and explains that this mechanism of exclusion leads to a shift in the understanding of citizenship. Either this is generated through the political affiliation or through the membership in a particular political community (Cf. Lazar 2016: 8).

However, this affiliation is always constructed in contrast to the individuals who are not part of the society. As Lazar already mentioned, this role is typically adopted by non-citizens or foreigners who are excluded and presented as a problem simultaneously. Nevertheless, the role of the outsider is not a problem for the majority of the population, but rather for the outsiders themselves (Cf. Lazar 2016: 8). For this very reason, the field of immigration is probably the one where the boundaries between citizens and non-citizens are most controversial, according to Lazar (Cf. Lazar 2016: 5).

Çağlar shares this view and questions the national concept of citizenship as a suitable framework to analyse migration flows. Thus, migrants are subjects to more than one jurisdiction and are seen as examples of being detached from their original legal status as well as their rights (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 638). This is particularly highlighted through the following statement,

[...] migrants who become citizens of a new state, continue to influence their homeland, even if they have abandoned their legal citizenship rights. (Çağlar, 2004; Levitt, 2001; Glick Schiller, 2005). Migrants who live their lives across borders may claim rights and membership in places where they do not have legal citizenship or in places where they no longer hold full legal citizenship. (Çağlar 2015: 639).

This defined political affiliation as well as the constant maintenance of networks between the home and the host country leads to a complex system of relationships. Thus, the claims go into both directions of host and home country and challenge the identification process of the individual in particular. Especially interesting in this context, however, is the identification process of migrants with their citizenship.

In this process, Bauböck defines migration as targeted movements between countries, which at the same time entails a shift in the social ties of membership (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 314). This shift refers to an expansion of society beyond the legally defined state borders. Although migrants live abroad, they nevertheless belong territorially and intergenerationally to the political community of their home country, according to the work *Dual Citizenship in Europe: From Nationhood to Societal Integration* by the sociologist Faist (Cf. Faist 2007: 16). This is important both in terms of institutional interactions as well as individual membership. Due to interconnectedness a wide social space is created to which migrants are more accustomed (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 314). According to Leggewie, this social space can also be called a transnational space as this refers to an increasing intensification of contacts between the individual countries. The transnational aspect is made possible by cheap means of transport and simplified communication as well as an unlimited border crossing. All these aspects contribute to intensifying and strengthening the networks between the migrants' home and their host countries. As a consequence, many migrants lead a kind of double life, as they live between two languages, two places and sometimes even identify with two different citizenships (Cf. Leggewie 2015: 589).

According to Block this leads to an inner conflict of the migrants as many feel they are strangers to themselves. Growing up in a different environment, they find themselves in new rooms or playing fields where they have to constantly position and reposition their identity. Although this continuously generates new experiences in language or culture, it often leads to a great deal of ambivalence and inner turmoil (Cf. Block 2011: 163-164). In a new environment and confronted with a new social surrounding, many migrants face the challenge of reorienting themselves. A common starting point here is the expression of identity through the national understanding of their sense of belonging. This means that citizenship can be understood as a beginning point of their identification. According to the study *Wir, ich – die anderen. Migrantenvereine und Identitätsbildung: eine Innensicht* by the social scientists Matthey and Steiner, this is due to the fact that migrants are more likely to define themselves through their place of origin rather than through their place of residence (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 4). This is also consistent with empirical studies that suggest that the majority of migrants prefers to retain their old citizenship (Cf. Faist 2007: 16). This indicates in particular that citizenship is understood by many migrants as much more than the simple material good that they possess according to the law. Added to this is the generational difference in the perception of citizenship. According to Isin, the majority of citizens identify themselves

through localities or nation-states. Younger citizens, on the other hand, are more likely to be attached to continental as well as global scales compared to their parents (Cf. Isin 2012: 159).

Another important aspect is mentioned by Leggewie in this context. He claims that an immigrant here is an expatriate there and therefore stands simultaneously under the authority of two nation-states (Cf. Leggewie 2015: 591). Although an emigrant usually does not have the same rights in both countries, the double authority leads to an overlapping of competences of both states involved. A conflict of responsibilities between the two states involved often arises. As Isin explains, this conflict of jurisdiction is often used by states for their own purposes. This is precisely done by granting citizenship to a second or third generation of emigrants abroad. Through that the transnational loyalty is encouraged and appears particularly attractive to those who experience alienation (Cf. Isin 2008: 141).

In addition to the extension of the loyalty of their emigrants, the states hope to gain greater influence over the other states at the same time. This is largely fought against by the host countries because of the fear of being undermined by a different system. The right or prohibition of multiple citizenship is usually the expression of this conflict. According to the work *The Scramble for Citizens: Dual Nationality and State Competition for Immigrants* by the political sociologist Cook-Martín, migration law is also the expression of who is seen as a future member of society by the state and who should be excluded from it (Cf. Cook-Martín 2013: 20). An important contribution to manifesting these boundaries between different individuals is the material possession of a passport or an identity card. This legal anchoring leads to a considerable influence on the attitude of an individual towards their own identity and its citizenship (Cf. Cook-Martín 2013: 64). As the legal scholar Spiro further elaborates in his work *At Home in two Countries: The Past and Future of Dual Citizenship. Citizenship and Migration in the Americas*, this also provokes a conflict of loyalties for individuals in particular. Grown up in another country, they usually maintain close social relations with their home country and its community. This loyalty to home, however, is challenged by a new social and business environment (Cf. Spiro 2016: 90-91).

In addition to the understating of citizenship as an identification process, foreign associations and their networks also play a decisive role for migrants abroad. The next chapter deals with the contexts in this regard.

2.2 The Concept of Foreign Associations and their Networks

As already discussed in the previous chapters, the concept of citizenship generally arises in close connection to social groups. The decisive factors in each case are the regulation of

membership, the process of inclusion/exclusion as well as the differentiation from non-members. In the following, a definition of association is to be discussed, before the context as well as the content of the foreign associations is analysed more closely.

2.2.1 Definition of Associations

There are countless attempts to define the extent of different associations. The sociologist and political scientist Bauböck, however, approaches the term in his definition through the connection to membership. Hence, he defines, *“Associations [...] [as] social collective in which membership is in some way consensual [...] either by the entry, the exit or by both.”* (Bauböck 1995: 160). In connection with the social collective, Bauböck continues to distinguish between five different models of associations and their rules of membership. Regarding associations he distinguishes between clubs, congregations, cities, companies as well as liberal democracies (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 161). In relation to the chosen thematic focus of this master thesis, the club model and its rules of membership appear particularly interesting. As Bauböck explains, access to a club is always voluntary and only requires a formal registration. In most cases, the deregistration from a club is similar and possible without restrictions. In addition, a member can be excluded at any time in the case of non-compliance with the association’s statutes (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 161-162). Although these rules still allow a multiple membership (e.g. within other associations), they also constitute an exclusive association which draws a straight line between its members and non-members (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 161).

Closely connected with this exclusion is the process of self-attribution as Matthey and Steiner indicate (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 4). It is precisely in connection with migration that an increased policy of attribution and classification occurs, which ends in the construction of a common identity. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the immigrants counteract this by trying to define their own sense of belonging (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 4). Particularly through emigration as well as through the global connections, the identity of the migrants is deterritorialized and detached from geographical space. An important way for migrants to adapt their identity to the circumstances is to form or join foreign associations. These can be seen as a vessel for a variety of identities as they are significantly involved in the invention, but also the formation of new identities (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 25). According to Clarke et al., such associations are actively involved in the production of identities as they are defined by shared experiences. This means that they provide a space for a multitude of identities and unite the different forms of expression into one common identity.

In this context one can also speak of a common collective identity (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 109).

The sociologist Snow combines these aspects in his definition of collective identity in his article *Collective Identity and Expressive Forms*. The term collective identity can be understood as "[...] shared sense of 'one-ness' or 'we-ness' anchored in real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collectively and in relation or contrast to one or more actual or imagined sets of 'others'." (Snow 2001: 2213). Based on a common foundation, the collective identity creates a strong sense of belonging with which all members can identify through specific attributes (e.g. the possession of the same citizenship, knowledge of the same dialect or language). Thus, this sense binds the collective together and allows them to become assigned to a superior identity. As a result, the collective identity produces a strong and deep bond between its members.

In this context, the considerations of the political scientist Anderson and his research *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* can be seen here. Anderson hence assumes that a nation state consists of a socially constructed community, which is imagined by the people concerned (Cf. Anderson 2006). This is mainly due to the fact that communities exist independently of time or space and connect across any national border. However, Clarke et al. highlight that this collective experience does not only concern individuals within central political institutions, but rather different collectives (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 107). This appears to be of great importance in the context of foreign associations, as they are usually in a tense relationship between the politics in their host and their home country. More on the context of associations and the coverage of their networks is to be clarified in the next chapter.

2.2.2 The Context of Foreign Associations and their Networks

As described before, Bauböck differentiates between five different models of associations of which the club model is of particular interest in the course of this work. Thus, a special expression of the club are the foreign clubs which usually consist of citizens of one nationality. Their main objective is to organize individuals in order to achieve common goals. Mostly, these goals are designed as representations of interests or as meetings to enable the exchange of information with each other as Matthey and Steiner define it in their research (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 6). According to the two social scientists, the actual field of activity of these migrant associations is determined in particular by three functional norms: communalism, unselfishness and modesty. Among other things, this means that members

generally work for the community free of charge as well as on a voluntary basis. Furthermore, the result of these associations is free for all members while the activities are constantly repeated (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 13).

The functions of the members, however, extend beyond the association and are closely linked to a certain distribution of roles that prevails in every association. Matthey and Steiner connect these roles with the available capital within the association. Thus, they distinguish between three different capitals, each of which is linked to a specific group of actors.

1. The first capital described by Matthey and Steiner, is a high cultural capital, which is usually provided by students or graduates. Through their education they enjoy a high degree of prestige within the association and at the same time act as representatives towards the state authorities.
2. The second capital constitutes the economic capital, which is represented by entrepreneurs and operators of the association's pubs or bars. To them, the association represents a market extension with which they can make a profit. Often, the actors of this group also act as patrons of the association itself.
3. The last group of actors represents the first generation of foreign citizens and possesses the social capital. In most cases, they are involved in founding and building up the association and thus usually play a mediating role. Furthermore, this first generation appears in the role of association agents, but in course of time they lose their social capital to a younger generation (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 13-14).

As can be seen from the descriptions of the groups, they are in strong competition with each other. During their research, Matthey and Steiner, however, have observed that the economic actors tend to gain the upper hand (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 14). What the reasons for this dominance are, remains unanswered by the two social scientists. Nevertheless, it could be explained by the economic benefits of the available networks, which appears especially attractive to the economic actors.

In order to understand the benefits or the range of the available associations, it is necessary to define the framework of the networks involved first. A network is not only understood by its economic benefit, but rather exceeds beyond that. As an example, every individual has an existing network which depends on various factors (e.g. family, friends, education, professional life). According to the work *Erfolgreich Denken und Arbeiten in Netzwerken: Networking als Kulturtechnik* by the sociologist Müller, a network can be understood as a kind of community which is based on common values and standards (Cf. Müller 2013: 7).

The rhetorician and business economist Fey elaborates this thought in her work *Kontakte knüpfen und beruflich nutzen: erfolgreiches Netzwerken* and defines networks as a highly complex form of organization. According to her each network is based on reciprocity rules, which consist of a mutual exchange system (Cf. Fey 2008: 18). As an example, when a product is received by the network from an individual member, something must always be given back (Cf. Fey 2008: 14). The decisive factor for the exchange within the network is that the members of the network are able to exchange information with each other personally and thus promote their own contacts (Cf. Fey 2008: 86). According to Müller this necessarily includes the so-called networking. By this he means an action-oriented form of activity by people who have similar interests, goals or requirements. Networking can therefore also be understood as voluntary relationship work, which promotes the exchange of information, contacts or knowledge and is of mutual benefit to all concerned (Cf. Müller 2013: 3-7).

In order to expand the activities of the network, a framework is necessary to bring the individual members together. In context of the above discussed capital and their group of actors by Matthey and Steiner, it appears obvious that this framework of the network is of particular interest for the economic actors. Besides that, the networks also create benefits for the other two actors as this concerns the active integration into a community. The community itself promises safety, security, but also protection as Fey describes it (Cf. Fey 2008: 22). According to Müller, the interests of the groups of actors can additionally be identified by the division into five different network groups. These are the following:

1. Environment networks as the personal or social network that begins in family, friends, sports or school circle (Cf. Müller 2013: 44).
2. Open networks or classic networks, where everybody has access to (e.g. associations or parties) (Cf. Müller 2013: 47).
3. Professional networks or so-called formal networks, where joining is only possible through the necessary proximity and competence (Cf. Müller 2013: 47).
4. Exclusive networks are only accessible to those who have distinguished themselves in their profession or in their social commitment and who are characterized by special competences (Cf. Müller 2013: 47-48).
5. Private informal networks are small networks which are only accessible to selected guests. They are tightly connected through closeness, shared memories or personal information (Cf. Müller 2013: 48).

In this context, the environment networks, the open classic networks as well as partly the professional networks are of particular interest. However, it should not remain unmentioned that the theory of networks is strongly simplified here.

A good example of the diverse result of networks is the context of migration. Here the connection between the two countries involved represent a further expansion in the network of an individual. Typical emigration countries in particular have an extensive diaspora of more than two generations that maintain close contact with their families or friends. Apart from the wide-ranging exchange of information, the physical distances can be overcome. Especially for home countries this extensive migration and its networks are becoming increasingly important. On the one hand, this is due to the migrants abroad who serve as representatives of their country, while on the other hand, it is possible to extend the influence or insights into another country. The political scientist Joseph Nye introduces the topic of soft power in this context. Thus, he intends to describe the force a specific country exercises over another one by the means of its population abroad (Cf. Nye 2004). However, a further discussion of this topic is not provided, as it is not the focus of this thesis.

Based on this theoretical embedding, the methodological approaches as well as the more detailed research questions are now to be explored.

3. Methodology – Research in the Context of Covid-19

The two main areas of theory are also distinguished by the methodological approaches used. However, at the beginning of a field research there is supposed to be a perfectly elaborated concept, which should guarantee an almost problem-free research. However, a researcher in the field becomes aware that this concept is only fiction when she or he is forced to make changes and adjustments. Global impacts, environmental disasters or social changes are just a few aspects which may pressure a researcher to reorganize and adapt the chosen thematic focus. The sudden outbreak of the Corona virus and the subsequent Covid-19 crisis had similar effects on my field research. In the middle of the data collection phase in March it was all about avoiding social physical contact and staying at home. Events planned long in advance, arranged meetings and interview dates were all cancelled, leaving me in a completely different situation. The planned execution of the methods of the participation observations suddenly became impossible and the interviews could not be implemented either as originally planned. It was therefore necessary to adapt to the current circumstances. This meant that the thematic focus had to be altered and adjusted and the whole concept needed to be restructured.

Therefore, it was necessary to expand the group of people investigated and to shift research rather towards data gathering in the internet. Social media such as Facebook or *SwissCommunity* were particularly helpful in this context. However, the field of research as such remained the same and was now simply explored using other approaches. As a result, the interviews planned were now conducted online via video conference programs such as Zoom or Skype, while the participation observation, on the other hand, was replaced by the method of netnography, which made it possible to examine the online appearances of those affected more closely. And last but not least, the measures taken in connection with the Covid-19 crisis also led to new survey possibilities, such as the realization of an online group meeting via Jitsi. In order to gain a better overview of the respective methods and the research questions used as a result of the crisis, the following chapters discuss these in detail. First, the research questions and hypotheses connected to them are to be looked at.

3.1 Research Questions and Hypotheses

Since the beginning of the research process, the same questions accompanied me. The starting point, however, was the following question: To what extent does the framework of social or legal citizenship serve as identification process for foreign citizens? In this way, the concept of citizenship as a process of identity is to be examined and understood in the tension between the social vs. the legal citizenship. The context in which citizenship can be viewed and what role the different results of citizenship (social vs. legal) play are of particular importance here.

Derived from this, there are further aspects related to the topic which are of central importance in the context of this work. First the question arises how this process of identity is linked to the sense of belonging. The following questions are raised in this context: How is the sense/feeling of belonging constructed in different contexts? What role does the exclusion vs. inclusion mechanism play and are there significant differences in the extent of identification? Secondly, this identification process is to be seen in the context of the environment of those concerned. Mainly, this includes different forms of networks. Questions such as how these identifications processes look like in different networks (e.g. university alumni association vs. *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*) and if there is a difference visible between them were of particular interest here. Furthermore, the role of networks in the construction of social or legal citizenship was analysed to discover whether networks use or misuse this construction for their own purpose (e.g. for social or economic reasons)?

In connection with the development of the questions listed and the focal points of interest, this work is also based on three hypotheses. The following statements are to be confirmed within the framework of the research carried out:

1. Social citizenship builds on legal citizenship and replaces it in the context of foreign associations abroad.
2. Members of a Swiss association abroad identify much stronger with their (social) citizenship than Swiss citizens abroad that are not part of such organizations.
3. The networks of foreign citizens abroad serve not only as a means of identification but rather to build social or business relationships in a foreign environment.

In connection with the research questions and the three hypotheses, it should be noted at this point that they are strongly related to the case study. Although it can be assumed that they also apply in the context of other (Swiss) foreign communities, they were only examined in the context of the Swiss citizens abroad that live in Vienna.

The research questions examined as well as its three hypotheses were answered by the means of three applied methodological approaches. The following chapter therefore deals with this topic.

3.2 Research Methods

The field research is based on three different methodological approaches (qualitative interviews, netnography as well as an online group meeting). Starting with the qualitative interviews, citizens from two different perspective groups were interviewed in order to gain more information about their identification process as well as their perception of citizenship. The method of netnography then allowed the information from the interviews to be directly compared with the digital appearance of these communities. As third method an online group meeting of one specific Swiss association abroad was joined, which made it possible to experience one examined association “live in action”. In order to gain a better overview of the applied methods, the following section is intended to deal with the approaches used. The first to be discussed is the method of the interviews.

3.2.1 Qualitative Interviews

The first pillar of the methodology are qualitative interviews. Hence, a total of nine interviews were conducted between 6th March and 6th May 2020. The interviews were all recorded using the recording app *Voice Memos* on the iPhone. Two of the interviews were conducted as expert interviews, while the remaining seven were anonymized. The interviews were all conducted on the basis of a guideline that was prepared in advance. After the interview, a

record of the meeting was immediately written to document the subjective perceptions such as mood, language, atmosphere and appearance of the interviewees. This protocol was then supplemented with a so-called “informant file” to list the basis data of the interview (such as age, work, duration of the interview). In order to gain a better overview of the interviews conducted, they will now be described separately in the two different case studies: individual Swiss networks as well as “formal” Swiss associations abroad.

3.2.1.1 Individual Swiss Networks

Six interviews lasting between 18 to 33 minutes were carried out on the subject of individual Swiss networks. Two interviews were conducted before the outbreak of the Covid-19 crisis on 6th March in the cheese shop Jumi and on 11th March in the Café am Heumarkt. The remaining four interviews were conducted online via Skype (on 19th March, 12th as well as 25th April and 6th May). Two of the interviewees were Swiss students in their mid-20s who are studying *Theatre, Film and Media Studies* in the bachelor’s programme and *German Philology* in the master’s programme at the University of Vienna. Both of them had moved to Vienna for their respective studies. The two other interviewees were Swiss foreign citizens abroad in their late 20s working in the theatre industry and journalism. They too moved to Vienna for their studies and then entered the Austrian labour market directly. The remaining two interviewees were a German cheese salesman (in a Swiss cheese shop) in his late 30s and a Swiss fitness trainer in her early/late 40s. Both have been living in Vienna for quite some time now and have a family and child here.

All the interviews conducted were guideline interviews, which were used to raise specific issues. Based on the ethnologist Schmidt-Lauber and her article *Das qualitative Interview oder: Die Kunst des Reden-Lassens*, the use of the guide raised a certain catalogue of questions and thus made it possible to learn as much as possible about the subject in question (Cf. Schmidt-Lauber 2001: 176). To this effect, it was necessary to prepare the guideline in advance and to divide it into three rough blocks. The first block served as an introduction, where it was clarified since when the person has been in Vienna, what their motives to move here were and how they experienced their move to Vienna. Building on this, the second block followed, which dealt with the established networks in Vienna. The main objective here was to define the interviewees’ own networks in Vienna and to show possible contacts to other Swiss citizens abroad or associations. The third and last block then mainly dealt with the perception of the interviewees’ own identity as well as the Swiss citizenship. Here the appearance of the identity needed to be described and to find out how the Swiss citizenship is received in an Austrian environment. Although all interviews started as guideline interviews,

most of them developed into narrative ones in course of the interview. This was due to the fact that during the interviews, I did not follow the strict sequence of the questions prepared, but let the person speak freely. As Schmidt-Lauber describes, this procedure allows an unrestricted scope of response and makes longer narratives possible (Cf. Schmidt-Lauber 2001: 176-177). Furthermore, the interviews were almost all conducted in Swiss German, except for the one with the German cheese seller of Jumi as well as the ones with the Swiss citizens working in the theatre industry, which was conducted in Standard German. This was due to the fact that my interviewees were free to decide in which language they wanted to conduct the interview.

The aim of these guideline interviews was to learn as much as possible about the personal position of the selected interviewees with regard to the perception and identification of their citizenship. Of particular interest were the different ways how the topic was dealt with and to what extent the social environment was involved in this perception. Furthermore, the interviews attempted to trace different life paths and to reconstruct the related networks. In this context, however, it must be pointed out that such qualitative interviews do not reflect the actual behaviour of the interviewees. Thus, qualitative interviews are always a reflection of how the interviewees would like to be seen or how they see themselves. According to Schmidt-Lauber, this aspect must always be taken into account when analysing the interviews (Cf. Schmidt-Lauber 2001: 168).

3.2.1.2 “Formal” Swiss Associations Abroad

In the study of the formal Swiss networks, three interviews were conducted lasting between 50 minutes and 1:18 hours. Two interviews were held before the outbreak of the Covid-19 crisis on 7th March in the office of the company *CH-BusinessDesign* and on 15th March 2020 on Karlsplatz. The remaining interview was held on the 3rd of April 2020 via Zoom. Thus, two interviews were conducted as expert interviews, while the third interview was a guideline interview. The first expert interview on 7th March 2020 was held with Christian Holzmeister, who is president and co-founder of the *ETH Alumni Chapter Vienna* (as well as the *ETH Alumni Chapter São Paolo* in Brazil) and who also founded the *CAS (Cercle Académique Suisse)*. He himself is around 60 years old and moved to Vienna for family reasons. At the moment he runs his company *CH-BusinessDesign*. In contrast, the second expert interview was conducted on 3rd April 2020 with Ivo Dürr, who is a delegate of the council of the Swiss abroad (*Auslandschweizerrat* or in short *ASR*), president in the making of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* (but currently still the vice president) and who is also responsible for the local section of the newspaper for the Swiss abroad called *Schweizer Revue*. He himself is

around 60 years old and is a freelancer in the trade fair as well as the exhibition sector. Initially he came to Vienna because of the occupational situation. The third interview was conducted on 15th March 2020 with a student of the University of Applied Science in her mid-20s, who also works for an international company. She herself is on board of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* and is also responsible for the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* in Vienna. Originally, she came to Vienna through her studies and has been living here for over five years now.

These three interviews were all conducted with the help of a guideline to structure the interview into four or five different blocks. The first block served as an introduction, where the most basic questions were clarified (e.g. number of years in Vienna or reasons to move here). This was followed by a second and third block, which dealt with the explanation of the Swiss associations concerned such as the *ETH Alumni Chapter Vienna*, the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich*, the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* or the *Schweizer Revue* (e.g. organization or structure of the Swiss association, number of members or range of the network). The guidelines vary here in great extent from each other, as they were individually adapted to the respective person. The fourth block then focused more on the personal experience of the Swiss networks in Vienna and how they are maintained. Finally, the topics identity and citizenship were dealt with in the last block. This was not only about the interviewees' own perception but rather their descriptions towards the Swiss community in Vienna.

Although the expert interviews were planned as relatively rigid interviews, one of them turned out to be more like a narrative interview, during which it was sometimes difficult to follow the structure of the guideline. The third interview, which was conducted with the student, was also similar. Even though this free narrative situation was desired, it also made it very difficult to ask the prepared questions. The second expert interview via Zoom, on the other hand, was a fluent guided interview. In addition, it should also be noted here that the interviews were all conducted in Swiss German, except for the interview with Christian Holzmeister, which was carried out in Standard German.

The aim of the two expert interviews as well as the third interview was to gather as much information as possible about the context of the various Swiss associations abroad in Vienna. This not only involved insights into the organizations and structures, but also their personal experiences, observations and perceptions of the members. A further insight into these associations was made possible particularly through the next method, the netnography.

3.2.2 Netnography

The second pillar of the methodology used is the netnography. After the extensive research of the network relationships of the Swiss community in Vienna, selected websites were examined more closely following the theories of the marketing scientist Kozinets in his work *Netnography: Ethnographic Research in the Age of the Internet* (Cf. Kozinets 2010: 75-93). Between the beginning of April and the end of May, the following websites were analysed in particular:

- Auslandschweizer-Organisation (ASO)
- SwissCommunity.org
- SWI swissinfo.ch
- Schweizer Revue
- Schweizerische Botschaft
 - Facebook Page Schweizerische Botschaft
- Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich
- Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien
 - Facebook Page Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien
 - Facebook Page Schweizer Stammtisch Wien
- Handelskammer Schweiz-Österreich-Liechtenstein (HKSÖL)
- ETH Alumni Chapter Vienna
- HSG Alumni Club Vienna

The websites listed were examined on the one hand for visual features (e.g. symbol images, colour design) and for thematic aspects (e.g. Swiss clichés and stereotypes as well as traditions or the use of the Swiss German dialect) and on the other hand for available documents (e.g. flyers, descriptions of events) of the Swiss community. Starting with the websites of the *Auslandschweizer-Organisation* and the *SwissCommunity*, a great deal of contextual knowledge on the complex structure of Swiss clubs worldwide was gained. This knowledge was combined with the two news portals *SWI* (which is financed by the *State Radio and Television Broadcasting Corporation SRF*) as well as the *Schweizer Revue* (which is financed by the *ASO*). Additionally, both news portals have an app version, which allows gathering more information via the direct communication of the app users with the journalists themselves (Cf. Kozinets 2010: 98ff.).

The netnography of the Swiss foreign associations located in Vienna then made it possible to obtain more information about the perception of the Swiss. Of particular interest here was the study of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* and the two related Facebook pages (*Schweizer*

Gesellschaft Wien and *Schweizer Stammtisch Wien*). The activity on the social media platform Facebook in particular allowed the reconstruction of the different networks in order to show the broad spectrum of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*. An investigation of the websites of the *Schweizerische Botschaft* and the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* supplemented this information. Finally, three other websites of institutions were examined, the majority of which are privately oriented. On the one hand, there were the two alumni associations of Swiss universities (*ETH Alumni Chapter Vienna* and *HSG Alumni Club Vienna*) and, secondly, there was the *Handelskammer Schweiz-Österreich-Liechtenstein (HKSÖL)*.

The aim of this method was to discover more about the self-description of the investigated Swiss associations. Especially their presentation, design and narrative were of interest, as they could be directly compared with the data generated otherwise. Particular attention was paid to the visual language, thematic aspects and self-advertising promoting, as this made it possible to determine the target audience of each group. By comparing the various pieces of information, it was also possible to discover how the individual associations presented themselves and how this differed from the actual image of these groups (Cf. Kozinets 2010: 2). An even more direct insight was gained by the next method: the participation in an online group meeting.

3.2.3 Online Group Meeting

The methods section is to be concluded with the recordings of an online conducted group meeting. Four days in advance an event was created in the Facebook group *Schweizer Stammtisch Wien*, where a link to a Jitsi meeting was posted. The actual virtual meeting took place on Thursday, 21st May 2020 at 20:00h and lasted about 2:46h. It included 12 to 14 people, who participated from Austria, Switzerland and the Czech Republic. The conversation was not recorded, but only documented with notes. These notes were then compiled into a meeting protocol.

Due to the given circumstances with the Covid-19 crisis, the dominant topic was the possible crossing of the border into Switzerland and the safe journey back to Austria. This was followed by a detailed introduction of all participants and their motivation to move to Austria. Of particular interest in this context was the description of how the Swiss in Austria adapted, how they felt their Swiss identity and how they perceived their Swiss citizenship here. Due to the large number of participants, the method of this online meeting was mostly limited to a passive observation. Nevertheless, it opened up the possibility to actively ask a few questions

during the introductory session and to briefly present the master thesis. It turned out that some participants already knew me from e-mail contacts with the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*.

The aim of this method was to gain direct insights into a small part of the Swiss community in Vienna. Through the “live” connection it was possible to capture the mood and the atmosphere within the group, which allowed to trace social relationships and to experience the motivation of the participants. Although the atmosphere of an online *Schweizer Stammtisch* is of course different, it was still possible to gain a small insight. In the next chapter, the evaluation of this and the other method used is to be shown.

3.3 Data Analysis

After the data collection, the next steps dealt with the complete transcription of the collected data with the aid of the analysis program MAXQDA. As the sociologist Strauss recommends in his article *Methodologische Grundlagen der Grounded Theory*, a triad of data was applied in connection with the Grounded Theory. This referred to the three steps – process of collecting, encoding and memo writing. In this way, the personal opinion and attitude of the researcher was controlled from the ground up (Cf. Strauss 2004: 440). These working steps were done in the last few weeks of April and May.

First, the interviews were transcribed using the transcription program of the data analysing program MAXQDA. Thus, the interviews were transcribed in their original language, since the language aspect was a central factor in the course of this work. The transcriptions as well as the interview protocols were then worked through and provided with individual codes using open coding. The individual codes were then combined into more generalizing categories. Through applying open coding using the Grounded Theory, it was possible to codify and extract the key terms from the interviews (Cf. Strauss 2004: 429-451). In a next step, the netnography of the websites was written down and evaluated. To this end, a separate folder was arranged on MAXQDA for each studied association to collect all information, flyers and protocols. These materials were also evaluated using the open coding. Finally, the online group meeting was analysed. To this end, both the protocol as well as the context information from the Facebook page were used and also evaluated with the help of the Grounded Theory.

The categories developed by the Grounded Theory can be roughly divided into the following five thematic blocks, which partly overlap:

1. Perception of one's own nationality
2. Relationship and comparison between Switzerland and Austria (or other countries)

3. Networks of the Swiss abroad (in and around the region of Vienna)
4. Organization of the Swiss citizens abroad
5. Question of the “common” German dialect or language

In addition, these categories were of course further subdivided and provided with notes and comments. Hence, the MAXQDA program served as a central data collection, which allowed a comprehensive overview of the entire material. The actual evaluation of the data will therefore follow in the next chapters. First however, the field of research is to be discussed in more detail.

4. Case Study: Characteristics of the Swiss Networks in Vienna

As mentioned above, the Swiss foreign community in Vienna serves as a case study for this research. In addition to personal reasons the choice fell on this community also because of the significant numbers as one of the most popular emigration countries for the Swiss citizens abroad is the neighbouring country Austria. Based on a similar number of inhabitants, a common language as well as a similar climate, it appears to be particularly attractive. This is also shown by current figures, as more than 16,707 Swiss citizens abroad are living in Austria at the moment. In contrast, only 12,145 Swiss citizens abroad lived in Austria 20 years ago (Cf. Bundesamt für Statistik: In der EU/EFTA niedergelassene Schweizer nach Wohnsitzstaat). This increasing number can be explained by the fact that most Swiss citizens emigrate for educational purposes, professional opportunities or family reasons. However, as diverse as the reasons for migration are, so are the networks of the Swiss living in Vienna. This is why a reduction has to be made to this group, as the focus is subsequently divided into two main research groups. On the one hand, Swiss associations in or around Vienna are studied while on the other hand, individual Swiss abroad who are not part of these associations are analysed. The two groups are presented separately now, starting with the networks of the individual Swiss.

4.1 Description of the Networks of the Individual Swiss

Besides the existing Swiss associations abroad in Vienna, there is also a large number of Swiss citizens who are not part of these. Either they move to Austria as children of Swiss parents and grow up here, or they move to Vienna for their education, profession or for family reasons. In order to gain a better understanding of these individual Swiss, the social environment is first to be examined, before the possible fields of work is to be described.

4.1.1 The Context of the Social Environment

As mentioned above, Swiss citizens are attracted to Vienna for a number of reasons. Often this change of residence is not intended to be permanent, but only for the duration of the education or the end of the employment contract. The majority, however, usually remains “stuck” here. In most cases, this is due to starting a family or a newly found social environment (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 49). Hence, the social environment appears to be decisive for a permanent stay in Vienna. As the result of the field research suggests, this social surrounding depends strongly on the chosen education or profession. As an example, the Swiss who enjoy an education here can fall back on a social environment in Vienna much more quickly. Studying in particular leads to a faster contact with other students and makes the environment much more international (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 21). This internationality is consciously sought by the Swiss and is also explained by the fact that they have no increased requirement for contacts with other Swiss citizens. This is also against the background that for many Swiss citizens, Switzerland appears too narrow and they almost “run away” from their home country. Of course, this requirement can change over the years, as some interview reports show. Especially with increasing age, a return to the “old roots” appears to occur more frequently, which might also be the reason for the age gap in certain Swiss associations (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 49 and interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 29).

Another important point for the successful development of the social environment is the language. Due to the common German language an understanding is possible and leads to faster contacts. This is particularly visible among students who seek faster contact to Austrian or German students. However, it is often easier to make contact with Germans because of the large presence of the German students in Vienna and the shared role of being “new” in Vienna or Austria (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 72 and interview with Mario Frey, pos. 32). In the case of the Swiss students, this also means that the environment consists mainly of German students and there is little contact with Austrians. This is particularly the case for subjects which are mainly taught in German (e.g. *Theatre, Film and Media Studies* and *German Philology*). However, this phenomenon is less pronounced in the working world, but also occurs in international companies with their international staffing.

As a result of the high degree of internationality, there is only little contact with Austrians or other Swiss citizens. At this point, however, it should not remain unmentioned that although German is the common language of Austria and Switzerland, the characteristics of the dialects differ considerably. This leads to the fact that the different Swiss German dialects are usually

not understood in Vienna and therefore Standard German must be spoken by the Swiss in everyday life. Some Swiss take this as an opportunity to learn or to adapt to the Austrian dialect, while others suffer from never being able to speak their mother tongue.

Another important fact that is decisive for many Swiss in Vienna is the possession of a multiple citizenship. According to statistics on the Swiss abroad, more than 50% of the Swiss living in Austria had another citizenship in 2019 (Cf. Bundesamt für Statistik 2020: Bestand der Auslandschweizer nach Wohnsitzstaat bzw. -gebiet). These figures were also confirmed during the interviews and show that the majority of Swiss citizens also has an Austrian citizenship. In the end, this leads to a different starting position for the development of a social environment in Austria. Due to the legal equality to the other Austrians, the Swiss are seen as equal to the Austrians. At the same time, many of these Swiss have family members in Austria as a result, which also makes it easier to build up a new social environment (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 49 and 51).

Apart from the aspects just described, the social environment is also strongly influenced by the choice of occupation. The next chapter focuses on this issue.

4.1.2 Preferred Fields of Work

Besides the education, the work area is also a central point of contact for one's network. Through its internationality and size, the city of Vienna attracts some fields of work in particular. As a sample survey of the *SwissCommunity* website shows, the majority of the Swiss citizens are mainly employed in the following areas (Cf. SwissCommunity: Netzwerk):

- university, research or development
- art, culture, theatre or design/layout
- banking and financial services, IT or telecommunication.

These fields of work also coincide with the result of the research. However, it is very difficult to estimate how the number of Swiss citizens is distributed among the various fields of work. This is due to the fact that no data exists in this respect. Similar trends can be observed internationally. As the economist Müller-Jentsch notes in an *Avenir Suisse* study *Die neue Zuwanderung: die Schweiz zwischen Brain-Gain und Überfremdungsangst* from 2008, Switzerland has the fourth largest proportion of academics working abroad after Ireland, New Zealand and Great Britain. However, there is no profound basis for the exact profile of these people (Cf. Müller-Jentsch 2008 and Leimgruber 2016: 34). Although the Swiss are obliged by law to register with the competent Swiss authorities abroad if they intend to reside abroad for more than twelve months, there is still a considerable number of Swiss citizens who fail to

do so (Cf. interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 60)⁵. In addition, many Swiss citizens only have a secondary residence in Vienna, which means that the official figures cannot reflect the exact situation. This naturally affects students but also people who work both in Switzerland and in Austria. The previously mentioned numbers of Swiss in Austria are therefore likely to be higher than the actual statistics show.

What nevertheless can be said is that Swiss emigration can mainly be divided into two different groups. On the one hand, there is a brain drain and on the other hand, there is a retirement as well as an old age migration. After all, many pensioners can no longer afford to return to Switzerland because of their low pensions. In Austria, on the other hand, the emigration of Swiss specialists can be observed particularly well in the cultural and art scene (Cf. SwissCommunity: Netzwerk). This means that in high working positions a Swiss citizen can be found throughout (e.g. Philippe Jordan as the music director of the Vienna State Opera or Sylvie Rohrer as actress at the Burgtheater). This phenomenon can of course also be found in other fields of work.

The individual Swiss are compared with the case study of the Swiss associations in Vienna. The next chapters introduce these organizations now.

4.2 Structure and Networks of the Swiss Associations

The Swiss associations in Austria are well connected and have close networks of contacts with each other. In order to better understand this network, the organization of these associations are first to be discussed in the following, before in a next step the content is looked at in more detail.

4.2.1 The Organization of the Swiss Foreign Associations

As already described, there is a great number of different Swiss institutions in Vienna, which is also reflected in the quantity of these associations. There are currently over 14 recognized Swiss associations in Austria, with each federal state having at least one. However, a distinction must be made between associations recognized by the *Auslandschweizer-Organisation* and those of private nature, such as private foundations or alumni associations which are supported by the university concerned. Although these associations overlap in their activities and members, they have some significant differences due to their different bases. These differences are to be looked at now.

⁵ Note: In some interviews there was also a reference in this context to the so-called “dark figure”, which was classified as particularly high in Austria. This number of unreported cases is also known to researchers and is listed as problematic in connection with the missing data (Cf. Keller and Ruchti 2012: 1-3).

4.2.2.1 Auslandschweizer-Organisation and its Associations

The studied Swiss abroad associations are part of a large global network of different associations all around the world. The *Auslandschweizer-Organisation (ASO)*, a foundation established in 1916 (Cf. Perrenoud 2014: 1 and Auslandschweizer-Organisation: Geschichte) builds the fundament for it. Based on Article 40 of the Swiss Federal Constitution, the *ASO* serves as a bridge between the Swiss abroad and their home country (Cf. Perrenoud 2014: 1 and Auslandschweizer-Organisation: Unsere Ziele). It represents their interests as well as rights and is also mandated by the Swiss Confederation to provide the Swiss abroad with regular information from Switzerland.

Hence, the actual fulfilment of the duty to inform the Swiss abroad as prescribed by the federal government (according to the article 40 in the Federal Constitution) is taken over by the *Schweizer Revue*. This is a newspaper free of charge for all registered Swiss abroad that appears six times a year, four of which have an additional local section. According to the journalist Lehtinen and his article *Die Schweizer Revue zwischen Leistungsauftrag und Sparvorgaben* it takes over a special bridging role between the Swiss abroad and their home country Switzerland (Cf. Lehtinen 2016: 95). The content of the *Schweizer Revue* focuses therefore mainly on politics, since the Swiss citizens are allowed to vote abroad and must be fully informed about political events in Switzerland (Cf. Lehtinen 2016: 95).

However, the main body of the *ASO* is the *Auslandschweizerrat (ASR)*. This is a parliament with 150 Swiss delegates from all over the world, divided according to the number of the Swiss abroad in the respective countries (e.g. the Swiss citizens abroad in Austria are entitled to three seats), which is also seen as the spokesperson for the “fifth” Switzerland⁶. This council meets in Switzerland twice a year to vote on important projects and financial issues, among other things. It is also responsible for the establishment and promotion of the Swiss associations abroad (Cf. Auslandschweizer-Organisation: Auslandschweizerrat). The topics that have occupied the *ASR* the most in recent years have included Switzerland's relations with the EU, the problem of holding a bank account for Swiss abroad and the right to e-voting in elections (Cf. interview with Ivo Dürri, pos. 26 and 28).

⁶ Note: The number five is an allusion to the four spoken languages of Switzerland (German, French, Italian, Romansh) and stands itself for the group of Swiss citizens abroad (Cf. Perrenoud 2014: 1).

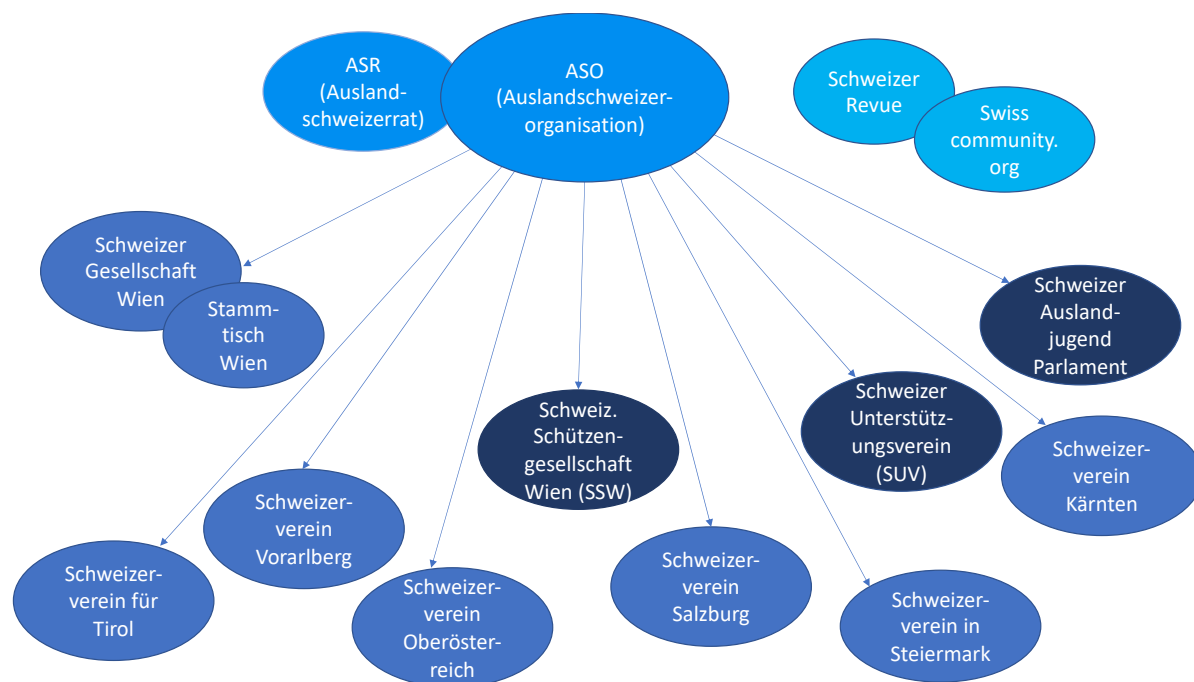


Fig. 1 Overview of all the recognized associations by the ASO in Austria. The different shades of blue stand for the various affiliations of the institutions. The blue arrows exemplify the close links between the different institutions.

In Austria there are a total of ten associations recognized by the ASO. In addition to the Swiss foreign associations in almost each federal state (these are the following: *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, *Schweizerverein Oberösterreich*, *Schweizerverein Salzburg*, *Schweizerverein in Steiermark*, *Schweizerverein Kärnten*, *Schweizerverein für Tirol*, *Schweizerverein Vorarlberg*), there is also the *Schweizer Unterstützungsverein Wien (SUV)* as well as the *Schweizer Schützengesellschaft Wien* (Cf. SwissCommunity: Schweizer-Vereine in Österreich). While the SUV is a financial as well as a social aid association (Cf. Schweizer Unterstützungsverein Wien: Mitgliederwerbformular), the *Schweizer Schützengesellschaft Wien* is dedicated to the practice of shooting as well as a general preservation of the Swiss culture and tradition abroad (Cf. Schweizer Schützengesellschaft Wien: 6-7).

In addition to these nine associations, there is also the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* to be mentioned here, which de facto is no association or club but instead a youth parliament. It specializes on young Swiss citizens abroad between the age groups of 15-35 years who grow up in Austria and are currently living here. As the official representative of the young Swiss, it aims to meet the requirements of young Swiss citizens abroad. In contrast to the long-established Swiss clubs abroad, it focuses only on the demands of young Swiss abroad who have never actually lived in Switzerland themselves and therefore have a completely different approach to the so-called Swiss. It is interesting to note at this point that the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* is part of a dense network of other Swiss

foreign youth parliaments, which are just beginning to develop and have established themselves since the year 2015. A few years ago, they were officially recognized by the *ASO* and have also been represented in the *ASR* since then (Cf. Youth Parliament Swiss Abroad: Startseite).

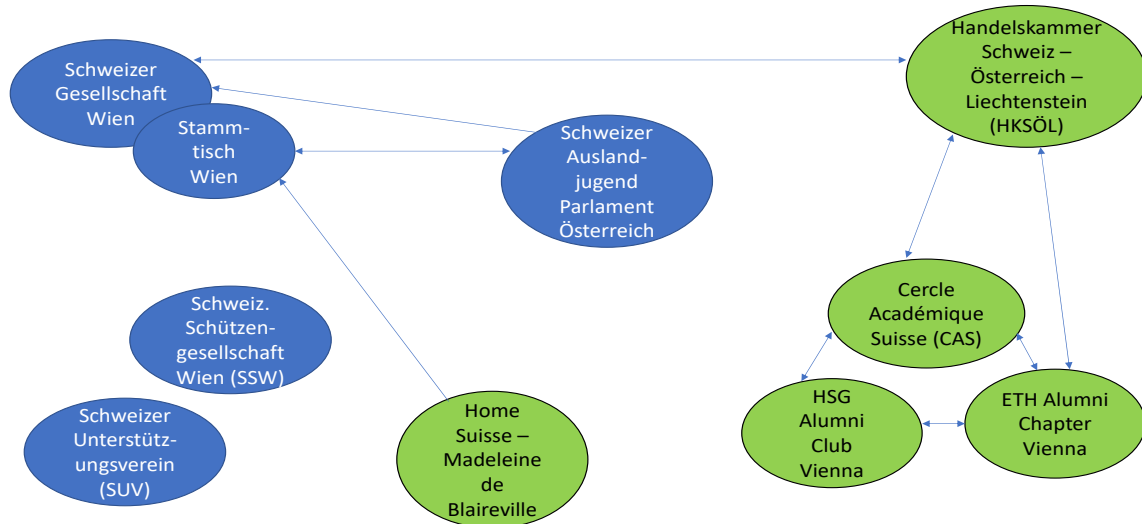


Fig. 2 Overview of all the Swiss associations in or around Vienna. On the left in blue are the foreign associations recognized by the *ASO*, while the green colour indicates private or other institutions. The blue arrows exemplify the close links between the different institutions.

In conclusion, it can be summarized that three of the nine clubs are located in or around Vienna (namely these are the *SUV*, the *Schweizer Schützengesellschaft Wien* as well as the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*). In addition to these three, there is also the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich*. This considerable number of organizations naturally offers a rich variety of services for the Swiss living in or around Vienna. However, they are also in direct competition with each other. Due to the fact that some members are also part of more than one association there is among other things an increased exchange. An example of this is the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, the majority of whose board members are active in more than one association. As one of the oldest associations in Austria it was founded in the year 1892, has a dense network and also established the monthly *Schweizer Stammtisch* (Cf. *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien: Geschichte*), which aims to bring Swiss citizens abroad together once a month in a relaxed round and to eat in a Swiss restaurant, namely the *Chamäleon* in the first district in Vienna. A membership in the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* is not required for participation (Cf. *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien: Jungschweizer Stammtisch*). This, however, will be dealt with in more detail later.

Apart from the associations just described, there are other initiatives which are also in direct competition with the aforementioned groups. The next chapter deals with them in more detail.

4.2.2.2 “Private” Associations such as Foundations or Alumni Chapters

In addition to the Swiss associations just described clubs of private nature have also developed in parallel. The first of these is the foundation *Home Suisse – Madeleine de Blaireville*, which has made it its goal to support students with scholarships. It still exists today and annually supports six to seven students at Austrian universities, who are qualified for it due to their financial needs or excellent performance (Cf. Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft 2020: Stipendien). However, there are also associations of a more economic nature, which have made it their goal early on to form a network for the Swiss residents in Austria and their companies. The *Handelskammer Schweiz-Österreich-Liechtenstein (HKSÖL)* is probably the most prominent example; it was founded in the year 1921 (Cf. HKSÖL 2019: 2). In the context of the fall of the monarchy, this private, non-profit organization made it its goal to establish and expand the existing networks. The three counties addressed (Switzerland, Austria and Liechtenstein) are to strengthen and densify the common economic area. Even today, the *HKSÖL* enjoys a good reputation and organizes a large number of events related to Switzerland, Austria or Liechtenstein in addition to its other duties. It usually works in cooperation with other Swiss institutions, such as the *Schweizerische Botschaft* or the *ETH Alumni Chapter Vienna* as well as the *HSG Alumni Club Vienna* (Cf. HKSÖL 2019: 4-5).

The alumni networks of Swiss universities have a slightly different background. They have existed for a relatively short period of time and primarily address Swiss citizens, but rather graduates who have studied at these universities. In Vienna there are two different Swiss alumni networks, one is from the University of St. Gallen (HSG) and the other one is from the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zürich (ETH). The *HSG Alumni Club Vienna* has been in existence for over fifteen years now and offers a good network of business contacts through its regular events (Cf. HSG Alumni Club Vienna: University of St. Gallen). In contrast, the *ETH Alumni Chapter Vienna* has only been in existence for three years. Although both associations have their own mechanism, they increasingly organize events and meetings together (Cf. Holzmeister 2017: Alumni Chapter Wien).

One result of this close contact between the two alumni associations is the establishment of a further institution: the *Cercle Académique Suisse (CAS)*. The *CAS* has set itself the goal of bringing together all former graduates of Swiss universities into one large network. On the one hand, this is intended to create more active contact between the individual graduates and, on the other, to guarantee that the organized events are well attended (Cf. interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 36). Furthermore, all graduates of Swiss universities are

addressed and not only those who have studied at the ETH or the HSG. Apart from these two associations there are currently no other active Swiss alumni associations in Vienna. The concept of these clubs is to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

4.2.2 Historical Context and Content of the Swiss Associations

The structure of the Swiss associations in Austria is dense and looks back on a long history. The first associations were founded as early as the middle of the 19th century and were mostly used to join forces with other Swiss citizens abroad (Cf. Zirrig-Ernst 2020: Tätigkeitsbericht 2019. SUV). In addition to this, it was also about supporting each other financially in emergency situations. To this end, if a Swiss citizen was in need, the membership fees of the association were used to provide financial support for the person concerned. Evidence of this can still be seen for example in the *Schweizer Unterstützungsverein Wien*, which has made it its task to provide financial as well as social support to Swiss citizens abroad in need. Another example is the *Schweizerverein für Tirol*, which still has a fund for such purposes (Cf. interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 78).

However, most other Swiss associations have now turned their original purpose into a more social orientation. The range of events on offer extend from a *Schweizer Stammtisch*, the federal celebration on 1st August, fondue evenings, “jass” tournaments⁷ to shooting exercises. However, the goal remains the same, namely, to guarantee an exchange between the Swiss residents, to establish contacts, to cultivate the Swiss German dialect⁸, to enjoy the Swiss cuisine as well as to swell in memories of the common homeland (Cf. Auslandschweizer-Organisation: Schweizer Vereine im Ausland).

Although the offer is so diverse, most Swiss associations are struggling with the problem of a lack of younger members and an obsolescence of clubs. While families usually actively bring their children into the association, there is a great shortage of 20-40-year-olds. However, it is precisely this age group which remains decisive for the continued existence of the associations. In the associations the lack of this age group is usually explained by the fact that there is little interest or that the young Swiss citizens abroad prefer to seek contact to international circles (Cf. Protokoll der Delegiertentagung 2019). Added to this is the problem of the short stay of young Swiss in Vienna. This particularly affects students who move here for the duration of their studies and only seek little contact to other Swiss citizens (Cf. interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 76).

⁷ Note: The “jass” is a classic Swiss card game, which is usually played by four people using 36 cards.

⁸ Note: During the research carried out, the other three official spoken languages in Switzerland appeared to be of less importance in Austria’s Swiss community.

Of course, the situation is somewhat different for associations with mainly economic interests, such as the alumni networks. Even though they also lack the next generation, this is due to other reasons. Mostly it can be traced back to financial aspects as well as the lack of knowledge about the existing networks (Cf. interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 2 and 40). Another important difference is the diverse orientation of events. Associations with mainly economic interests organize events of business benefit rather than events with a connection to Switzerland. Although they maintain a close exchange with Swiss institutions, such as the *Schweizerische Botschaft*, this is not the basis for their (future) existence. However, this primarily economic interest does not rule out the possibility that the Swiss citizens abroad feel invited to become part of this network. In contrast to the associations from the *ASO*, the citizenship is not a requirement for membership, but rather the graduation from the university concerned (Cf. ETH Zürich Alumni: Who can become a member?).

Due to the large number of different institutions, only five associations in Vienna in particular were examined for research purposes. In the selection process, care was taken to ensure that both “private” as well as associations affiliated to the *ASO* were investigated. The following five serve as a basis for the investigation:

- Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien and the corresponding Schweizer Stammtisch
- Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich
- Cercle Académique Suisse (CAS)
 - ETH Alumni Chapter Vienna
 - HSG Alumni Club Vienna

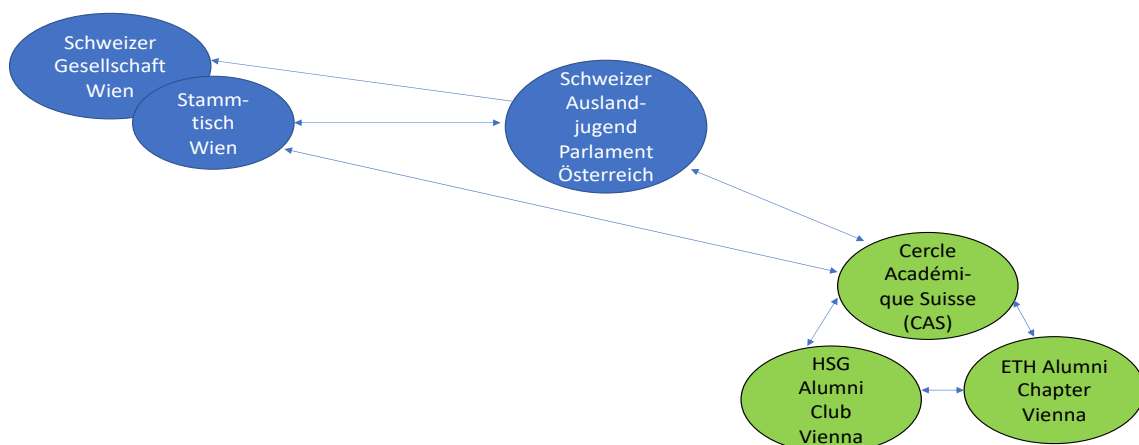


Fig. 3 Overview of the five associations in Vienna examined. While the fields marked in blue represent the institutions recognized by the *ASO*, the green colour marks the “private” institutions. The blue arrows exemplify the close links between the institutions.

The result of the comparison of these two case groups in terms of their different perceptions of citizenship is to be discussed in the next chapter.

5. The Concept of Citizenship as an Identification Process

As already described in the context of the theoretical embedding, the concept of citizenship is understood in this work as an identification process. Therefore, the term identity can be seen in the connection of the Swiss community in Vienna as a mental construct within which the individuals share the same characteristics, namely the Swiss origin or being, according to Metzeltin (Cf. Metzeltin 2000: 29). This Swiss identity exists only through a counterpart from whom one has to differ. For a community of the Swiss abroad, the counterpart appears obvious, since the Swiss form a minority group within the Austrian society. Thus, the term identity is largely dependent on mutual social recognition. Within the Swiss community in Vienna this requires a social validation which confirms the affiliation to a certain citizenship and at the same time differentiates it from others (Cf. Metzeltin 2000: 34 and Keupp 1999: 27-28). The concept of identity thus only ever comes to light when a Swiss identifies themselves as a Swiss citizen in Vienna (Cf. Metzeltin 2000: 49).

What is decisive here is the attribution on the part of others as well as the self-attribution of this Swissness so that a feeling of belonging can be developed according to Sökefeld (Cf. Sökefeld 2012: 44). As above-mentioned, these identities are each based on a process of variability, which depends in particular on the aspects of difference, plurality and overlap/crossing. Applied to the examined case study, the difference can be used to understand the distinction as well as the being different as Swiss, while the plurality refers to the fact that a Swiss identity can only exist in the context of a Swiss collective. The overlap/crossing, on the other hand, determines the fact that the different Swiss identities influence each other and are thus in a field of mutual relations (Cf. Sökefeld 2012: 48).

Within the framework of this thesis, the concept of identification could be reduced to three different aspects in particular. These are the production of the feeling of belonging through the common Swiss German dialect, the differentiation when comparing Switzerland with other nation-states as well as the identification through the use of stereotyped images and clichés of Switzerland. The basis for this is the use of an inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism that differentiates between the “own” and the “foreign”. In the following, the result under these three thematic aspects is to be discussed. First the focus is set on the identification through the common dialect.

5.1 Sense of Belonging through the Identification of a Common Dialect

Decisive for the formation of a sense of belonging is the process of self-attribution. In direct conflict with an increased foreign attribution as well as a classification on the part of politics, Swiss migrants have tried to find their own sense of belonging in their new home country (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 4). Through emigration from Switzerland the Swiss identity is deterritorialised and detached from the geographical area. According to Bauböck, this refers to an expansion of the Swiss society beyond the legally defined state borders of Switzerland (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 314).

The dialect of Swiss German serves as an important example of extending these geographical areas beyond the Swiss national borders. Thus, the inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism through language differentiates between individuals based on their ability to communicate on a common basis. Among individuals of the same dialect, this leads to a sense of inclusion, while it excludes the others due to their lack of understanding or knowledge (Cf. Staeheli 2008: 9).

In the case study examined, it is not a question of a knowledge of one's own dialect, but rather of the number of different dialects spoken in Switzerland. The *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* defines Swiss German as follows, "Swiss German is a collective term for the dialects spoken in the German-speaking Switzerland. The dialects of the German-speaking Switzerland [...] belong to the dialect group of Alemannic."⁹ (Schweizerisches Idiotikon: Was ist Schweizerdeutsch?). Hence, Swiss German cannot be described as a single dialect, but rather as a myriad of variations and dialects. Thus, it is not possible to determine exactly how many different dialects are spoken in Switzerland as they often merge into one another (Cf. Schweizerisches Idiotikon: Wie viele Dialekte gibt es in der Schweiz?). Despite this variety, there is a broad understanding among the Swiss that is often highlighted as a characteristic of Switzerland.

In contrast to the Swiss German dialect stands the so-called Standard German, which is understood as a language form that is primarily written or read, as the two linguists Siebenhaar and Wyler point out in their work *Dialekt und Hochsprache in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz* (Cf. Siebenhaar and Wyler 1997: 10). Therefore, the use of this Standard German is mostly limited to just a few occasions, such as school, politics or mass

⁹ Original transcript: "Schweizerdeutsch ist eine Sammelbezeichnung für die in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz gesprochenen Dialekte. Die Dialekte der Deutschschweiz gehören [...] zur Dialektgruppe des Alemannischen." (Schweizerisches Idiotikon: Was ist Schweizerdeutsch?).

media. In contrast, the dialect is typically used in almost all verbal situations (Cf. Siebenhaar and Wyler 1997: 10).

At this point it can be noted that Swiss German is not marked socially, but is rather spoken by the entire population of all social classes (Cf. Siebenhaar and Wyler 1997: 12). The Germanist and linguist Bickel elaborates this aspect further in his article *Deutsch in der Schweiz als nationale Varietät des Deutschen* and states, that this dialect is a natural oral means of communications of all German speaking Swiss (Cf. Bickel 2000: 1). In view of the great dominance in everyday language use in Switzerland, it may therefore come as no surprise that the Swiss German dialect must also be understood as a central element of the constitutive national self-image (Cf. Bickel 2000: 1). This is particularly evident in the ambivalent relationship between the Swiss German dialect and standardized German. This, however, will be dealt with in more detail later.

In addition, there are three other official languages in Switzerland such as French, Italian and Romansh. According to the Swiss constitution, the four official languages are equivalent, but due to the large majority of German speakers, this equivalence is questionable. One example of this is the dominance of Swiss German in the analysed associations. Although the four official languages are emphasized in the correspondence of the associations investigated (e.g. especially the general form of address or greeting is held in all four official languages at the beginning of general letters or invitations), the actual language is then to be reduced to Standard German. It is interesting to note here, however that this Standard German emphasizes the spelling which is common in Switzerland and particularly noticeable in the lack of a sharp ß (e.g. instead of “Liebe Grüße” “Liebe Grösse” is used) or the specific use of words that are common in Switzerland (e.g. French words such as vélo or porte-monnaie).

In Austria, and especially in Vienna, there is little understanding of the Swiss German dialects. This can be attributed to the fact that the majority of people in Austria do not speak an Alemannic dialect with the exception of Vorarlberg and certain parts of Tyrol (Cf. Schweizerisches Idiotikon: Was ist Schweizerdeutsch?). Although Austria and Switzerland share the German language, both countries have considerable differences in their respective dialects. This is usually to the advantage of the Swiss, since most Swiss citizens abroad understand the Austrian dialects without any effort and sometimes even learn to speak them (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 32 and interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 21).

Apart from typically Austrian expressions, most of the Swiss do not find it difficult to communicate in Austria. The other way around, however, it is difficult to understand the

Swiss German dialect, which leads to the fact that the Swiss mostly use Standard German to communicate in their everyday lives in Austria. As a result, Swiss German is only practised in contact with other Swiss people and becomes an exclusive good due to its rare use. This appears particularly obvious when taking a closer look at the two case studies examined. On the one hand, an attempt is made here to deal with the “loss” of the dialect identity and on the other hand, Swiss networks have a special significance due to the common use of Swiss German. The following chapters deal with these topics.

5.1.1 Dealing with the “Loss” of the Dialect Identity

The loss of one’s own dialect in everyday life is a hidden problem and only arises through specific observations. The reason for this is the will of the Swiss to integrate linguistically and to adapt to the use of the Austrian dialect. By using or having used Standard German, the Swiss do not want to attract attention. Mario Frey explained this by the fact that his family has a German background and that it is therefore important to him to explicitly distinguish his Swiss German dialect from Standard German. Furthermore, this includes the importance not to have a Swiss accent in his Standard German. However, this usually leads to the fact that he is mistaken for a German because of his pronunciation (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 22).

A similar view was taken by Lucas Möller, who uses only Standard German because of his social environment. It is very important to him not to be recognized as Swiss and to consciously avoid using specifically Swiss words or phrases (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 44). However, he did not give a precise reason for this concealment. Additionally, Jan Pfeifer took a close position on the language dilemma. In his opinion,

*[...] such a crass Swiss Standard German, I do not really speak that, that would be strange to me...just where you can immediately be identified as Swiss, I have never done that, except at school and I realize that is not my language...and it is easier for me to speak German, perhaps in a standard way, which is very similar to the pronunciation of the Germans and um...that's why it was difficult.*¹⁰ (interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 30).

According to Jan Pfeifer, the neutral use of Standard German is easier for him than a translation of the Swiss German dialect. This statement exemplifies that the Swiss German dialect is assigned to a certain environment, which per se is not to be revealed. It is preferred to use a more neutral pronunciation instead of being immediately recognized as Swiss.

¹⁰ Original transcript: “[...] sone krasses Schwizr Hochdütsch das red ich eigentlich nit, das wär mir fremd, halt wo meh eim halt sofort so identifiziert als Schwizr, das hani so eigentlich nie gmacht, ussr halt in dr Schuel, aber ich merk das isch nit mini Sproch...do und do gohts mir ringer vilicht imene Hochdütsch z'rede, wo denn halt eher a däm Bundesdütsch drane isch und ähm...drum isch das scho chli so schwierig gsi...wil mir halt.” (interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 30).

Because of the slightly different flow of speech or the emphasis of certain expressions, Jan Pfeifer is often asked about his German origin. However, this does not appear to bother him. On the contrary, being identified as a Swiss usually gives him a more benevolent reaction than attributing a German nationality (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 24).

This aspect of hiding the Swiss German dialect reveals a certain ambivalence. On the one hand, the young Swiss interviewees in particular do not want to stand out as Swiss, but on the other hand, they still feel a strong identification through their dialect. Jan Pfeifer, for example, likes to be recognized as Swiss and makes the adaption of his standard language dependent on this factor. By consciously integrating expressions, he tries to distinguish himself from Standard German and thus to find his own way of expressing his dialect in Vienna (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 30).

Anna Krause in contrast, has found another approach to her dialect. She prefers to combine the two different dialects and uses especially the endings of the Austrian dialect. As a result, the two dialects merge and produce a colourful individual dialect. This leads to the fact that she is often seen as a Tyrolean or Vorarlbergerin (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 32). However, Anna Krause pointed out that her merged dialect is her own and has nothing to do with the Swiss German as she actually only practises this with other Swiss. According to her, “[...] *these are two languages, so I cannot stay in my Swiss German and the other answers in Austrian or High German or whatever.*”¹¹ (interview with Anna Krause, pos. 50). This shows in particular that for Anna Krause there is a straight distinction between her mother tongue and the dialect she uses in Vienna itself.

The same applies to Laura Foerster, who pointed out that her Swiss roots appear to increase in importance as she is growing older. In addition to certain values or attitudes, this includes in particular the Swiss German dialect. Although her approach includes a separation of Swiss German from Standard German, she also utilizes these differences. Thus, the website of her fitness company is designed in two languages and juggles with the Swiss way of expressing as opposed to Standard German (Cf. interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 29). This is intended to convey not only her origins, but also the ideas and attitudes associated with Switzerland (Cf. interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 29). In this respect, the use of Swiss German can also be seen as an expression of one’s own personality.

¹¹ Original transcript: “[...] *für mi...wil für mi sins wie zwei Sproche, also ich kha denn nit i mim Schwizerdütsch bliebe und dr ander antwortet denn uf Östtrichisch odr Hochdütsch odr wie au immer.*“ (interview with Anna Krause, pos. 50).

A similar view was taken by Ivo Dürr. According to him, the importance of one's own personality can also be seen through the wish of meeting another Swiss abroad. This immediately leads to a special bond between them (Cf. interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 74). In other words, through the common origin another basis of understanding is immediately received. Combined with this there is also a far-reaching sympathy, which however, exists in this way only abroad. Ivo Dürr explained this by the common dialect as well as the immediate reference towards the home country. Although in Switzerland this effect only tends to exist within the same regions of origin, abroad it refers to the level of the common Swiss origin (Cf. interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 76).

The interaction with the Swiss German dialect was described slightly differently by Judith Greiner in a *Radio DRS 1* interview (Cf. Radio DRS 1 interview with Judith Greiner). Apart from the different way of communication in Austria, she finds it very difficult to switch to Standard German in Vienna. She described its use in her everyday life as a sort of foreign language. Thus, it became very exhausting for her to use Standard German in her daily life. In addition to a restriction due to her Swiss German dialect in private as well as in business life, the Austrian dialect uses substantially different expressions or designations. This led to a kind of identity crisis for her (Cf. Radio DRS 1 interview with Judith Greiner).

These statements are exemplary for the different explanations of the Swiss in Vienna. What can nevertheless be explicitly stated, is the importance of expressing one's self through one's mother tongue. To facilitate the integration or adaptation in Austria, the Swiss German dialect is pushed into the background and is missing in the daily lives of the Swiss. As the educational scientist Block elaborates, this loss of the dialect can even cause an inner conflict of the Swiss, as many feel as if they are strangers to themselves. Having grown up in a social environment in Switzerland, they suddenly find themselves in an Austrian environment, where they constantly have to position themselves as migrants, immigrants or finally as integrated. Although this positioning produces new experiences on the one hand, it also may lead to an identity crisis for most Swiss, on the other hand (Cf. Block 2011: 163-164).

How important Swiss German is in the everyday life of a Swiss citizen, is also discussed by the linguist Werlen in his article *Mundarten und Identitäten*. It is precisely the use of Swiss German that is decisive for the expression of one's local identity (Cf. Werlen 2005: 27). Hence, the linguist refers to the local origin, which is automatically reflected in the respective colouring of the dialect of each Swiss. The respective dialect can therefore be assigned to a specific language region in Switzerland itself. This leads to the fact that the Swiss identify

themselves territorially through their language (Cf. Werlen 2005: 27). Due to these linguistic differences, a Swiss has a special feeling for the Swiss German dialect from an early age on. This makes it possible to determine exactly which speaker comes from which region and who may not be able to speak Swiss German (Cf. Bickel 2000: 4).

However, the internal Swiss German discourse attributes the identity-forming significance of the Swiss German dialect primarily to three different reasons. The linguist Werlen elaborates these three explanatory approaches as follows, “[...] *Differentiation against the Germans, reflection of the democratic and federal structures, appreciation of Swiss German as a language of proximity, of the home – as some also say – of the heart.*”¹² (Werlen 2005: 28). The demarcation discourse refers to the differentiation from other German-speaking countries, especially Germany. Although German-speaking Switzerland belongs to the German-speaking area, the use of the German language is not identical. It is therefore important to set oneself apart from the big neighbour to the north (Cf. Werlen 2005: 28). The discourse of reflecting democratic and federal structures, on the other hand, refers to the widespread use of Swiss German in the everyday life of the Swiss. This is because all German-speaking Swiss people speak the same language, namely Swiss German, regardless of their social position or level of education (Cf. Werlen 2005: 29).

In strong contrast to this stands the last discourse which defines the language of proximity. This argument runs counter to actual developments, but enjoys great popularity within the Swiss population. Hence, the stereotype persists that the Swiss only feel at home in dialect and that there are no mistakes made using the Swiss German, unlike in Standard German (Cf. Werlen 2005: 29). Furthermore, this stereotype leads to a devaluation of the Standard German usage. This results in a demarcation which is transformed into a rejection or a defence against Standard German (Cf. Werlen 2005: 29). In this context, Bickel further explains that the German-speaking Swiss have a certain shyness towards the standard language due to their lack of practice. This leads to the fact that they feel linguistically inferior to the Germans and therefore prefer to speak their own dialect (Cf. Bickel 2000: 2).

Although these explanatory approaches cannot fully explain the complexity of this process, they are an indication of how difficult the relationship between the Swiss German dialect and Standard German is (Cf. Werlen 2005: 29). In addition, there is the great importance of dialect for national self-confidence. The linguist Bickel explains this as follows, “*The dialect*

¹² Original transcript: “[...] *Abgrenzung gegen die Deutschen, Widerspiegelung der demokratischen und föderalen Strukturen, Hochwertung des Schweizerdeutschen als Sprache der Nähe, der Heimat – wie manche auch sagen, des Herzens.*” (Werlen 2005: 28).

has thus been perceived for a long time now and again as one's own, the standard language as the foreign, the dialect as the formless, cosy, the standard language as the formal, regulated."¹³ (Bickel 2000: 3). Thus, the Swiss German dialect serves as a projection screen for one's own, familiar language, while sterilizing Standard German as foreign and unknown. Due to this sterilisation Standard German is deliberately rejected and therefore only little practised. Swiss German, on the other hand, is used as a language for expressing one's feelings as well as a non-standard language, as Siebenhaar and Wyler explain (Cf. Siebenhaar and Wyler 1997: 14).

In relation to the case studies examined, this ambivalent relationship between the two languages can clearly be seen. On the one hand, it is important to clearly distinguish oneself through one's own dialect and on the other hand, one is looking for a point of contact in Austria regarding one's own language. Therefore, a common starting point to express one's identity is either the contact with like-minded Swiss or the sense of belonging to the homeland. Maintaining or upholding the dialect of the home country appears a logical consequence within this context. In this respect, citizenship can also be understood as a starting point for the identification process of Swiss migrants as they identify themselves rather through their place of origin than through their place of residence (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 4). Thus, the networks of those concerned vary greatly and depend strongly on the social or professional environment. The next chapter deals with this aspect.

5.1.2 Swiss Networks as Vessel to Speak or Use the Swiss German Dialect

As already mentioned, an important opportunity to use the Swiss German dialect in everyday life in Austria is the contact to other Swiss citizens. On the one hand, this is enabled through the contact with individual Swiss or, on the other hand, through a participation in the Swiss clubs abroad in Vienna. In the following, the two cases are briefly dealt with.

5.1.2.1 Role of Swiss German within Networks of Individual Swiss

As described above, the networks of the individual Swiss differ substantially from those of the Swiss clubs abroad. A main difference between these two case studies can be identified in the exercise of the common dialect. After all, it is precisely the young Swiss who are seeking less access to larger-scale Swiss networks and who do not per se long for like-minded people. As a result, this group of people usually has less contact with other Swiss as most of them

¹³ Original transcript: *"Der Dialekt wird also schon seit langer Zeit immer wieder als das Eigene, die Hochsprache als das Fremde, der Dialekt als das Formlose, Gemütliche, die Hochsprache als das Formale, Geregelte wahrgenommen."* (Bickel 2000: 3).

have a more international or Austrian environment. However, the data collection carried out enables different explanations for this aspect.

The most common reason for the low level of contact with other Swiss is the lack of requirement for it. This was especially mentioned by younger students who are interested in a diverse and international environment (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 4 and interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 5 and 21). Through their education, they quickly got in contact with other people and had no problems finding access to new social environments. Swiss who have been living in Vienna for a longer period of time see things similarly. By completing their education in Vienna or through their professional environment they build up a social network. Thus, there is hardly any requirement for contact or exchange with other Swiss. Although they are not too critical of Swiss clubs, they do not seek close contact. As Anna Krause described, she once tried to participate in a *Schweizer Stammtisch*. However, fearing the dominance of old-established Swiss traditions or manners, she rejected this idea (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 22).

Jan Pfeifer described similar experiences and declared being part of the Facebook group only in order to be informed about respective news. Especially during critical times, such as the Covid-19 crisis, he found it especially useful to receive some more information from Swiss circles about border crossings or travelling to Switzerland (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 8). In contrast, Mario Frey had already taken part in a *Schweizer Stammtisch* through a Swiss friend and felt totally confined by this Swiss setting. Apart from the general conditions, he also found the compulsory use of Swiss German a very unpleasant experience. Regarding this point, however, he also mentioned that he left Switzerland for this particular reason and therefore does not intend to seek these experiences in Vienna again (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 6 and 10).

Anna Krause raised another central point with the passing of Swiss German on to her potential children. This was particularly raised in the context of her godmother, who speaks Swiss German with her daughter in Vienna (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 50). Hence, it is of great relevance for her to pass on Swiss German to her future children, especially if these children result from an international partnership (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 50). Although she cannot explain exactly why the passing on of Swiss German is so important to her, this can probably be attributed to the reason of her own socialization.

This lack of need to be a member of one of these associations is not the same as the attitude towards Swiss German. Although the interviewed Swiss have only a few Swiss in their

immediate environment in Vienna, Swiss German is still the dialect which most of them identify with. On the one hand, this is evident from the fact that most interviews with Swiss people are conducted in Swiss German. On the other hand, it can be concluded from the interviewees' answers that Swiss German is the central dialect, especially in contact with friends or family, who still live in Switzerland (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 30, interview with Mario Frey, pos. 22, interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 42 and interview with Anna Krause, pos. 50). Based on these aspects, it cannot therefore be assumed that Swiss German plays a less important role in the lives of individual Swiss people. Although its use is limited to restricted areas, this does not diminish the importance or significance of the dialect itself. An identification via the common dialect is nevertheless taking place. What the identification process looks like in Swiss foreign associations in contrast to the individual Swiss is to be discussed in the next chapter.

5.1.2.2 Importance of Swiss German within Swiss foreign Associations

The identification with the dialect of the Swiss clubs is substantially different from the one of the individual Swiss. As the interviews showed, the cultivation and practice of Swiss German is an elementary cornerstone for the continued existence of these associations in Vienna. Ivo Dürr explained that the importance of the Swiss German dialect for Swiss people abroad is one of the reasons for the continued existence of these associations (Cf. interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 76). This plays a crucial role, especially for people who live abroad for a longer period of time. Ivo Dürr explained this as follows,

Interesting is however, if you are then longer there ... abroad, whether it is now Austria or another country, then we notice already, [...] ... that at some point then suddenly, so it is also said, yes then at some point I thought actually it would be nice, if you know, if you have someone there with whom you can also simply ... speak Swiss German and can say things, which you can perhaps not tell an Austrian friend or colleague. Yes. And that plays [...], so... I know that's important, yes? And that's... that's why it exists. So that's why there are associations and stuff, yeah. Still.¹⁴ (interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 76).

In his opinion, over the years the need to speak Swiss German once again or to exchange ideas with Swiss people grows and can be met in the form of a Swiss association abroad. Especially the exchange with like-minded people is of great importance for many.

¹⁴ Original transcript: *“Interessant isch abr, wenn meh denn abr chli länger do isch....im Usland, obs jetzt Östrrich odr es anders Land, merke mir denn scho, [...] dass sie irgendwann denn plötzlich, also es wird au gseit, jo denn irgendwann hani denn denkt, eigentlich wärs scho nett, wenn meh wüsset....wenn meh do wer hät mit däm meh mol au eifach...Schwizerdütsch cha und Sache sage cha, wo meh vilicht eme östtrichische Fründ odr Kolleg nit sage cha. Ja. Und das spielt...[...], ich weiss dases wichtig isch, ja? Und drum...drum gits das. Also drum gits au d'Vereine und so...ja. Immer no.“* (interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 76).

Julia Schröder took a similar view, explaining that the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* always addresses issues that have a Swiss connection. What this Swiss connection essentially comprises, however, varies from member to member (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 29). As Julia Schröder explained, however, the central purpose of the regular meeting of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* is being able to speak Swiss German once again. In addition to the regular exchange, it is also important to discuss with each other, to cultivate the dialect and also to share experiences, as Julia Schröder maintained (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 29 and 49). These thematic dominances can probably also be explained by the context of the associations. It is precisely the ageing of Swiss clubs that signifies that most members are looking for common ground. Apart from the same origin, this usually implies the same mother tongue. However, it should be noted at this point that foreign associations play a decisive role in the production of Swiss identities. According to Clarke et al., they thus provide a common space for the development of different identities in order to unite them in a common collective Swiss identity (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 109). Although Julia Schröder pointed out that there are other languages spoken in Switzerland, these are usually pushed into the background (Cf. protocol Delegiertenversammlung). One possible explanation is the dominance of Swiss German as well as the good knowledge of this dialect on part of the Ticino or the Romans. However, due to the lack of data, no scientific statement is possible in this respect.

In connection with the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich*, Julia Schröder also demonstrated the importance of the mastery of Swiss German within this association's structure. It is precisely there that the common denominator is not the mastery of Swiss German. On the one hand, this lack of knowledge is binding among the young Swiss, but on the other hand, it is also difficult to find a common ground. According to Julia Schröder,

*[...] however most of them are somehow connected by the fact that they do not speak Swiss German...and that they do otherwise, so some of them extremely, very much...but just those who cannot do it...hmmm, it is just difficult...to find a reference somehow.*¹⁵ (interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 29).

As most young Swiss abroad who grew up in Austria speak Standard German, they lack the knowledge of the Swiss German dialect. This lack can also indirectly be seen as a hurdle for young Swiss people who seek access to other Swiss clubs in Vienna. Although they have Swiss origins, they cannot prove this through their language of communication.

¹⁵ Original transcript: “[...] was die meiste abr irgendwie verbindet isch, dass sie kei Schwizrdütsch rede...und dass sie sünsch, also doch einigi extrem...sehr, abr die was ebe nit tüen...hmm...jää, do isch halt schwer au...irgendwie Bezug z’finde.” (interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 29).

A similar problem was also described during the online meeting of the *Schweizer Stammtisch*. Here a Swiss regretted that his children do not speak Swiss German, in spite of his attempts to counteract this. Although he regularly speaks Swiss German with his children, they hear very little Swiss German because of their Austrian environment (Cf. protocol of the online *Schweizer Stammtisch*). In search of children of the same age who speak Swiss German, he ended up with another participant of the *Schweizer Stammtisch*. Having lived in Austria for barely a year, this other participant described how quickly his children adapt to the Austrian dialect. Just after a few weeks here, his children were already using words, phrases and terms from the Austrian dialect. At home, however, only Swiss German is spoken with the children (Cf. protocol of the online *Schweizer Stammtisch*).

This argument was shared by another Swiss woman who has experienced something similar. Having moved to Vienna at the age of just under 13, she picked up the Austrian dialect within a few weeks (Cf. protocol of the online *Schweizer Stammtisch*). The adaptation to another dialect thus appears to depend crucially on the respective social environment. While Swiss children appear to become used to the Austrian dialect quickly, Swiss children born in Austria inevitably find it difficult to learn Swiss German. This effect is further enhanced by a transnational relationship of the parents (e.g. if one parent is of Austrian origin).

Apart from this unique online *Schweizer Stammtisch*, this round usually takes place once a month. As already defined earlier in this work, the focus here is on getting together for a Swiss fondue as well as the exchange among Swiss people in Vienna. As an initiative of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, it has common points of contact, but participation in a *Schweizer Stammtisch* is free of charge. A membership is not a prerequisite here. Hence, the guests are composed of Swiss citizens abroad, as well as their family members, friends or partners, who do not speak the Swiss German dialect. Due to this composition, the conversations are therefore relatively versatile and range from Swiss German, Standard German to Austrian dialect. Although one tries to speak Standard German because of the poor understanding of the Swiss German dialect, in a direct exchange between two Swiss German speaking people they easily return to the Swiss German dialect (Cf. protocol of the online *Schweizer Stammtisch*). Apart from the aspect of understanding, the use of Swiss German is of course consciously practised and celebrated here. The reason for this may be, similar to what was mentioned earlier, the cultivation of the mother tongue or the search for familiarity. In a newspaper article in *Die Presse* from 2011, the participants of the *Schweizer Stammtisch* also refer to Swiss German with a homely feeling claiming that they are always happy about hearing their mother tongue (Cf. Marits 2011: 3).

In contrast, less importance is attached to the Swiss German dialect in the alumni and business networks. However, this is due to the different purposes of these associations. Thus, it is less a matter of cultivating the Swiss German dialect, but rather of economic and business interests. This can also be seen in the different access requirements for these networks. Instead of a Swiss reference, the focus here is on a Swiss university degree, which is not automatically linked to citizenship (Cf. interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 2 and 18). Accordingly, the membership of this network does not only consist of Swiss citizens but also of persons of other citizenships. Although this does not exclude the cultivation of Swiss German, it cannot be defined as a standard language here due to its international composition. The status of Swiss German therefore is considered completely differently in these alumni networks. Thus, the identification can only function to a certain extent via the Swiss German dialect. In alumni networks, it is rather done via the graduation from a joint educational institution as well as the common interest in business relations in Austria. In this context, it is important to differentiate between the various universities as well as the persons involved. In addition, this distinction also serves the purpose to compare as well as to construct a foreign counterpart with whom a person cannot identify. The aspect of the differentiation is examined more closely in the next chapter.

5.2 Differentiation of the Identity through a Country Comparison

As already described, the identification with one's own citizenship requires a differentiation from the counterpart. This further leads to a direct comparison with the opposite and conducts a separation from this. In this context, the historian Im Hof tries to elaborate in his work *Mythos Schweiz: Identität, Nation, Geschichte; 1291 - 1991* why it is so difficult for the Swiss citizens to differentiate themselves from others and to identify on a common basis (Cf. Im Hof 1991: 273). Among other things, this is due to three different aspects. First, there is a lack of a common language in the general perception, second there is no common ethnicity and, as third, Im Hof mentions the lack of a uniform denomination. Without the existence of any of these three factors, the Swiss like to call themselves a nation of will. What is meant by this is the common will to live together despite the seeming lack of a collective ground and to form a nation-state (Cf. Im Hof 1991: 273). Hence, the mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion are of great help to produce a sense of belonging for Swiss citizens.

In this context, however, it is important to differentiate between the two above-mentioned different meanings of the sense of belonging. According to Clarke et al., there is the feeling of attachment to Switzerland as well as the feeling of ownership, which means for example that the citizenship of Switzerland belongs to a specific Swiss (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 151).

Although these two meanings can be combined, this does not play any further role in this thesis. What appears interesting, however, is that the sense of belonging combines territoriality with the mechanism of inclusion vs. exclusion. The right to belong is thus based on the recognition of territorial affiliation and explicitly distinguishes between those who originate from Switzerland and those who do not. However, this mechanism is only possible through a larger Swiss community which regulates these mechanisms and recognizes the identifications.

The mechanism of differentiation is particularly striking due to the frequently mentioned comparison between the countries of Austria and Switzerland, which the Swiss citizens in Vienna often made during their interviews. In general, the comparisons tended to be fundamental and to cover all areas of life, which includes both the social and private sphere. In each case, the comparison culminated in an often more positive presentation of Switzerland compared with the new place of living, Austria. Although Switzerland was not consistently shown to have only positive characteristics, it was more about presenting Switzerland better in an overall conclusion than the direct comparison object. However, this positive presentation was being questioned very critically and was therefore also being contested, especially by the younger Swiss. They rather highlighted that the Swiss have a substantially different self-perception than the perception of Swiss people abroad. This refers to the positive self-attribution of the Swiss abroad, which is often not perceived as such by the other side. In this context Leimgruber also indicates a positive but critical patriotism. In other words, the stability and order of the Swiss system is praised, but on the other hand, Switzerland is also criticized for its lack of openness for example (Cf. Leimgruber 2016: 35). In order to better understand this argument, a few examples should exemplify this aspect.

The probably strongest comparison that the Swiss were most concerned with in Vienna is the perception of the world of work. Whether in terms of morale, discipline or attitude towards work, Switzerland tends to be portrayed as a harder-working nation. Julia Schröder attributed this to the fact that the Swiss are one of the hardest working folks in Europe in terms of discipline (Cf. interview report from the interview with Julia Schröder). In contrast to the lax, comfortable working style of the Austrians, this simply means that the Swiss have developed a completely different attitude towards work. Julia Schröder elaborated this aspect in the context of the higher wage level in Switzerland and by the fact that the Swiss simply work half a day more per week than the Austrians. She added that although this results in a completely different work-life balance, the importance of part-time work also differs in Switzerland. Whereas in Austria part-time work has been a widespread form of work for at

least one generation, in Switzerland it has only just been established (Cf. interview report from the interview with Julia Schröder).

Mario Frey also described this different attitude towards work. In contrast to Julia Schröder, however, he sees it as an opportunity. Although he still has difficulties with the different attitude towards work, he believes that it also has its advantages. He explained this as follows,

*Well, I guess a certain attitude towards work that I... that I'm still struggling with here. Where I notice several changes with me, so that I am no longer as hyper strict with myself as I used to be... as I used to be... and I also do not expect so much from the others anymore, respectively the tempo is different...um... well I think there is more... resistance against such a complete unleashing... capitalism (laughs). Yes, which is not questioned in Switzerland at all.*¹⁶ (interview with Mario Frey, pos. 48).

So, Mario Frey obviously noticed changes or adjustments in himself. On the one hand, this includes his own approach to work and on the other hand, his attitude towards others. He sees the reason for this in the different way capitalism is dealt with, which in his opinion is not questioned at all in Switzerland. He further explained the high work ethic in Switzerland by the historical context of the reformation. For a “good” Swiss citizen, it is important to strongly identify with the work itself (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 48).

Christian Holzmeister drew a similar comparison regarding education. As a graduate of the ETH, he explained that the technical understanding in Austria is quite different. In contrast to his technically oriented education, the Austrians only concentrate on the degrees and have a completely different technical understanding (Cf. interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 62). Although he did not elaborate on this comparison, he substantiated it with a few examples in his immediate environment. To illustrate what he means, he described the experiences of his father, who studied at two different technical universities both in Vienna and Zürich. According to him the university courses in Switzerland were far more demanding than the ones in Austria (Cf. interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 122). Furthermore, he also referred to an acquaintance who resigned after a few years of work in Vienna because she despaired of the lack of technical understanding (Cf. interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 18). These explanations are exemplary and raise the question of how Christian Holzmeister really experienced this himself. Although Switzerland is always viewed more

¹⁶ Original transcript: “Also ich glaub so eine gewisse Einstellung zu Arbeit mit der ich... mit der ich hier immer noch kämpfe. Wo ich auch merke, da verändert sich bei mir auch ganz viel, also das ich auch nicht mehr so hyper streng bin mit mir, wie ich das... früher war... und auch nicht mehr so viel von den anderen erwarte, beziehungsweise auch einfach das Tempo ein anderes ist. Ähm... also ich glaube es gibt hier schon noch mehr...Widerstand gegen so eine vollkommene Entfesselung... Kapitalismus (lacht). Ja, der in der Schweiz ja überhaupt nicht hinterfragt wird.” (interview with Mario Frey, pos. 48).

positive in a direct comparison, it is not obvious how the interviewee himself experiences the comparison described.

In strong contrast, Julia Schröder drew a comparison in this respect. In her opinion, technical studies in Vienna are much more demanding, as the teaching is organised in a completely different way. She herself studied in both Switzerland and Austria and finds the learning effort in Vienna to be much higher (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 15). Julia Schröder explained this by the fact that Austrian students have integrated in the working world much earlier and therefore all work part-time besides studying (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 15).

The other interviewees also referred to this observation and explained the involvement of young students in different ways. One important aspect, however, is the access to networks and the flowing transition from private to business. Lucas Möller explained that the Swiss are much more careful and polite than the Austrians. Thus, in Switzerland, everyone would work to achieve the best result possible, whereas in Austria, people are much more spontaneous and willing to take risks. In his opinion, this can be described as follows,

*[...] [in Switzerland] you make sure that you do your stuff well and then you just work like this... and I think the Austrians for example have more of the same thing from the Hungarians, that the ... then someone tells me, yes, I have an idea, let's do that and I know him and I know him and I know him and then we could do something and in Switzerland you do not do that at all, it is not a Swiss thing.*¹⁷ (interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 88).

Möller explained the reason for this behaviour by the indirect nature of the Swiss. Instead of directness, there is a kind of excessive politeness in Switzerland, which even turns a simple conversation into a complicated action (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 88). In Austria, on the other hand, this politeness is perceived as disturbing as there a rougher and more direct approach is widely preferred (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 88).

According to Judith Greiner, however, this direct approach does not apply to communication, as she explained in a *Radio DRS 1* interview (Cf. Radio DRS 1 interview with Judith Greiner). In contrast to the Swiss, much more is to be read between the lines in Austria, which also affects communication. Instead of a straight acceptance or rejection, people would therefore prefer to agree on an uncertain “let’s take a look”. This indirectness leads to a completely different kind of commitment, which Greiner finds unusual, especially in the

¹⁷ Original transcript: “[...]und...luegsch das dis Züg guet machsch und tuesch so chli vor dich aneschäfferle...und ich glaub d Östtricher hän au zum Biespiel das mehr vo de Ungare, das das...denn erzählt widr irgendöber, ja ich ha da e Idee, machet mir doch das und ich kenn dä und ich kenn dä und dä und mir chönnet da öbis machet und das machsch in dr Schwiz überhaupt nit, also das isch nit sones Schwizr Ding.” (interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 88).

working world (Cf. Radio DRS 1 interview with Judith Greiner). Cyrill von Planta also described this type of communication in his *Radio DRS 1* interview (Cf. Radio DRS 1 interview with Cyrill von Planta). Combined with a relaxed atmosphere, this kind of communication would compromise many topics. In this way, there is a smooth transition from business to private, which allows the working day to acquire a certain peace and quiet.

Another central comparison between Switzerland and Austria is that of art or culture. Younger people in particular observe the value for money in the two countries as well as the access to culture. Mario Frey explained this by the broader interest of the population in theatre and art. In his opinion, it is possible to discuss theatre plays with a taxi driver, for example, whereas the world of theatre in Zürich is only welcomed by a small privileged class. This disturbs him particularly because the government subsidies for the theatre need to be justified to the taxpayers (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 44). In this context, Mario Frey ignored the fact that this is also the case in Austria with regard to the subsidized cultural sector. This leads to the conclusion that clichés are deliberately used here in a direct comparison between Austria and Switzerland.

Julia Schröder, who particularly appreciates the broad access to culture in Vienna, sees things similarly. As a former music student, it was actually unaffordable for her to see high-quality pieces of music performed in Switzerland (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 85). Contrary to this, Vienna is really diversified and makes it easier to experience culture in everyday life. Relatively cheap tickets and subscriptions allow student to participate and benefit from cultural life (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 85). Lucas Möller has also noticed that and described his experiences as a theatre student. In addition to his own productions, he raved about the wide range of cultural events on offer, which Jan Pfeifer also appreciated in his comparison (Cf. interview report from the interview with Lucas Möller and interview report from the interview with Jan Pfeifer).

Apart from the great emphasis on the differences between Switzerland and Austria, reference was often made to the great similarities. This is particularly true in the context of answering questions such as why the Swiss feel particularly at home in Vienna, why integration is easier and why the number of Swiss abroad is constantly growing here. Especially in connection with the differences discussed above, this appears to be a straight contradiction with the identification process as it cannot be used in direct connection through the integration vs. the exclusion mechanism. Interestingly enough, however, the emphasis on the great similarities

between Switzerland and Austria helps to highlight the uniqueness of a distinct Swiss identity. A few examples will underline this.

In connection with the adaptation or integration in the new place of residence Vienna, the similarities between the two countries play a central role. The knowledge of the apparently same language, similar moral values and similar population figures represent a considerable advantage for integration, especially compared to other immigrants. Added to this is the federal state of Vorarlberg, which is often seen as a bridge or mediator between the two countries by the Swiss. Christian Holzmeister explained what facilitates the integration of the Swiss in Austria as follows,

*Ah yes, that's no problem at all. Forgot, here in Austria we have half a... half a Switzerland, this is the Vorarlberg. In the worst case they are similar to the Vorarlbergers... in principle it all goes quite well, right? So, it is no problem at all. They have much...surely much less difficulties than in Germany, [...]um, integration is certainly easier here, for sure.*¹⁸ (interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 10).

In his opinion, Vorarlberg represents a kind of small similar Switzerland, which also gives the Swiss' stay much more legitimacy. Since the Swiss resemble the people from Vorarlberg, it is therefore no problem for the Swiss to find their way around in Austria or to integrate here. This aspect raises the interesting question of whether the Swiss are seen as a kind of Vorarlbergers in Austria and if that is why they are so well accepted.

Besides the differences just described, there is also another comparison between Switzerland and Austria that is to be pointed out in this context, the differentiation from Germany. Being two small politically neutral countries, both Switzerland and Austria share the great neighbour Germany to the north. Apart from the ratio to Germany, in this context it is feared that the high flow of German migrants in particular is to underpin the chances of the population of Austria. This is particularly visible in the multiple descriptions of the Swiss reaction by the interviewees. Attempting not to attract attention through their Swiss German dialect, the Swiss are often mistaken for Germans in Vienna. If this mistake is clarified, the reaction to the Swiss is much more positive and friendly (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 30). This reaction on the part of the Austrians shows in particular the attitude towards German migrants. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Swiss abroad are much more likely to

¹⁸ Original transcript: *“Ah ja, das ist überhaupt kein Problem. Vergessen, wir haben ja hier in Österreich ja so eine halbe...eine halbe Schweiz, das ist das Vorarlberg. Im schlimmsten Fall sind die ähnlich wie die Vorarlberger...im Prinzip geht das alles ganz gut, ned? Das ist also überhaupt keine Schwierigkeit. Die haben viel...sicher viel weniger Schwierigkeiten, wie in Deutschland, [...]ähm die Integration ist hier sicher leichter, ganz sicher.”* (interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 10).

be accepted in Vienna than the Germans due to the highlighted similarities between Austria and Switzerland.

However as subjective these perceptions are, they provide a straight picture of the areas with which Swiss people in Vienna particularly identify. In addition to the issues of work, education or culture, they observe a different mentality and attitude towards daily life in Austria. Although these are not only seen as negative, especially with regard to work, there is a certain discomfort about how lax working life in Austria is. Interestingly, a straight age distinction can be identified in the perception of these differences. Whereas the younger students draw an unsparing comparison and see the negative as well as the positive sides of both countries, the older generation still adheres to the fixed idea of the “better” homeland. In their perception, everything in Switzerland is one level better, more professional, more correct and more straightforward. Apart from certain stereotypes, it is often pointed out that in Switzerland a straight line is followed, which is disciplined, exact and precise. This is particularly evident in the description of being Swiss or the sense of belonging to Switzerland (Cf. interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 29 and interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 106).

In this context, it was often pointed out what Switzerland does better, or could do better and why it is particularly important to have a Swiss citizenship. Thus, the Swiss passport is often seen as an expression of citizenship and is generally regarded as a valuable commodity. Besides the material proof, the Swiss passport is also regarded as an important means of identification. In addition to a legal understanding of citizenship, the Swiss passport can therefore also be considered an emotional asset. Interestingly, the younger generation can be included here. According to Matthey and Steiner, this is also based on the fact that the majority of migrants identifies via their place of origin rather than their place of residence (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 4). Isin elaborates on this thought and states that although the young Swiss tend to identify through continental or global spaces, they still appear to join the majority of the Swiss as they identify with the nation-state of Switzerland (Cf. Isin 2012: 159).

Similar observations were made by Ivo Dürr. He stated that the interviewees have found their new home abroad, but still have their “heart” attached to their homeland (Cf. interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 74). Besides the “heart”, this can simply be reduced to certain basic philosophies, which differ substantially from those in Austria. He expressed this as follows,

[...] so when I look at our club now, or when I look around at the people I know, it is already that Switzerland is ... uh, Swissness, is it not? Of course, it is very different from here in Austria and we

*simply already have a certain...a certain way of thinking, a certain basic philosophy, which is very different, yes? And um even if many, like me, but also many others who have been living here for a very long time...we have that...we...so you can really see that very explicitly.*¹⁹ (interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 74).

Apart from the basic philosophy, Ivo Dürr also mentioned the differentiation in mentality as well as another way of thinking, which particularly strikes the Swiss abroad in Vienna. This statement is not dismissive but rather intends to show how different the two countries are mentality wise with the differences in the respective identities appearing obvious. The connection between the identity and certain character traits which are attributed to all Swiss is interesting to observe.

In addition, to the demarcation of the differences, the perception of citizenship also plays an important role in the process of identification, as the statement by Ivo Dürr has just highlighted. Of particular interest here is the use of stereotyped images or clichés of Switzerland. This is what the next chapter focuses on.

5.3 Identification through the Use of Stereotyped Images or Clichés

Besides the importance of the dialect, the differentiation and comparison to other countries, the identification of those affected can be traced to another aspect. Although this does not appear obvious first, it can be explicitly identified from the field research conducted. Thus, the issue here is the identification through the use of specific stereotypes or clichés. Of great importance in this context is the loyalty of the Swiss abroad to Switzerland (Cf. Isin 2008: 12). This is expressed in particular through the use of typical expressions, food and the staging of Swiss symbols (e.g. such as the Swiss cross or the colours red and white, which often dominate the website of the concerned associations or the table decoration during the already mentioned events of the described institutions). In addition to the preference for these symbols, a certain emotional attachment to them can also be detected. The following example should help to explain this relation: *“You love to eat fondue, but at the same time you feel reminded of your own roots because of the origin of the food or the passed memories you have while eating this specific food”*. The same applies to another example, to the use of Swiss crosses. Next to the flag symbol, the Swiss cross is for many Swiss in Vienna a central distinguishing feature with which they identify themselves as Swiss (e.g. through wearing T-

¹⁹ Original transcript: *“[...] also wenni jetzt eini in üsem Verein lueg odr, wenn so chli lueg vo dene Lüt, woni halt chenn, es isch scho, dass das Schwiz...äh Schweizertum odr? Das isch natürlich scho sehr verschiene vo däm hie in Östrich und mir hän eifach scho e gwüssi...e gwüsses Denke, e gwüssi Grundphilosophie, wo sich sehr unterscheidet, ja? Und ähm au, wenn viele, wie ich, abr jo au viele anderi, wo scho sehr sehr lang do lebit, mir händ, dass...mir...also das merkt meh also wirklich sehr dütlich.”* (interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 74).

shirt with Swiss crosses on it or through the use of Swiss crosses during the common interaction of the analysed Facebook page of the *Schweizer Stammtisch*).

At this point, however, it should be mentioned that during the interviews it was pointed out that this Swiss being must also be seen critically as it stands in close relation to the socialization. In particular, the question about Swiss peculiarities shows a revealing result as for example in Anna Krause's opinion, "[...] [that is] simply the question of whether it is Swiss or ... um, the socialization, so to speak. But, of course, you are always told from the outside [...] that the stereotypes from the outside are then transferred back to you."²⁰ (interview with Anna Krause, pos. 38). Thus, the difference between serving specific stereotypes and the Swiss socialization is difficult, in her view. One reason for this is the further complication conveyed by the imposition of stereotypes from outside, which are transferred to oneself. This leads to a blurring of the boundaries between one's own view, the view from the outside as well as the social contexts. To clarify this, Anna Krause gave the following example,

*So if you are punctual, which I usually am, or even three minutes early now where, or above all, um... let's say in business life, I'm actually never late... and then of course it is always like, a yes, that is the Swiss woman and from my point of view, it is just...um...not necessarily Swiss, because I do not think that all Austrians are always late. But it is transferred from the outside more or less like this [...].*²¹ (interview with Anna Krause, pos. 38).

Accordingly, her environment consciously utilizes the stereotype of punctuality, which is closely related to the image of Switzerland. Thus, certain characteristics are ascribed to a particular picture of a citizenship. No distinction is made regarding individual criteria or differences, but rather generally known clichés are utilized. In Anna Krause's opinion, these characteristics have nothing to do with nationality, but are rather based on the way she was raised with certain values from her parents (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 38).

Lucas Möller shared a similar view. According to his observations, the citizenship of the Swiss abroad is often defined from the outside. By this he meant a stereotyped knowledge of Austrians, which is particularly prevalent in Vienna. Apart from the clichés of cheese, chocolate, banks and mountains, only a few Austrians have a sound knowledge of their western neighbour. These gaps are therefore replaced by stereotypes (Cf. interview with

²⁰ Original transcript: "[...] das isch jetzt halt d Frog, ob das Schwizerisch isch odr...ähm ebe so d Sozialisierung sozusage. Abr natürlich vo usse wird eim denn immer gseit [...], dass denn d Stereotype vo usse uf eim widr übertrage werde." (interview with Anna Krause, pos. 38).

²¹ Original transcript: "Also, wenn meh denn pünktlich isch, was ich meischtens bi odr sogar drei Minute z'früh jetzt neume odr vor allem ähm...sage mir im gschäftliche Lebe, kum ich eigentlich nie zspot...und denn heisst natürlich immr grad, ah ja das isch d Schwizerin und vo mir selbr us gseh, isches halt...ähm...nit unbedingt Schwizerisch, wil ich find jetzt nit, das alli Östrlicher immr z'spot chömmen." (interview with Anna Krause, pos. 38).

Lucas Möller, pos. 52). In this context he cited the image of rich Switzerland. Coming from a less privileged background himself, he predicted that it is sometimes inconceivable to Austrians that there are also non-wealthy Swiss. Instead, the picture would remain that the Swiss can afford and buy anything they want (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 26).

The dominance of these stereotyped images is also confirmed by an interview with Phillipp Baum, who explained the connotation of Switzerland and cheese in connection with his cheese shop Jumi. In his opinion, this relationship is often called upon and also deliberately brings certain types of cheese into focus. In particular, this naturally includes well-known varieties such as Emmentaler or Gruyère cheese. However, he went on to explain that this stereotype is actually irrelevant, as the regional origin of the milk is more important (Cf. interview with Phillipp Baum, pos. 32). Although Phillipp Baum emphasized this irrelevance of origin, his cheese shop Jumi nevertheless plays with the image of a rustic chalet-like alpine hut. The interior design of the shop is tailored to the cheese dairy and is very popular, as Phillipp Baum explained (Cf. interview with Phillipp Baum, pos. 42). The utilization or exploitation of certain stereotypes therefore appears to stimulate the sales of cheese in this context.

All the aspects just discussed show that the identification through the use of stereotyped images or clichés depend on the social environment each Swiss has grown up. Thus, these specific Swiss characteristics or peculiarities are combined with the Swiss citizenship, which is gaining in form, content and emotional significance. For the Swiss citizens abroad in particular in Vienna, citizenship therefore is a point of reference in their own identification process. It is created through social exchange or through the contact with other Swiss. However, this social exchange between the individual Swiss citizens differs and can be explicitly distinguished between the two comparative cases studied. Therefore, the next chapter discusses the role and significance of the various networks in the tension between the social vs. legal concept of citizenship of the Swiss community.

6. Swiss Networks between the Social vs. Legal Citizenship

In addition to identification via the dialect of Swiss German, the differentiation from Austria as well as the identification through the use of stereotyped images or clichés of Switzerland, the respective environments or networks of the Swiss in Vienna also play a decisive role in the process of identification. Thus, it is important to recognize that the Swiss networks in Vienna are not primarily about business benefits, but that their importance for the Swiss goes far beyond economic advantages. This is particularly evident if these networks are to be

understood as a kind of community based on the principle of reciprocity (Cf. Fey 2008: 18). There is a mutual and complex system of exchange among the Swiss, who "pay" for services in return (Cf. Fey 2008: 14). The services mentioned are mostly the exchange of information, contacts within the Swiss community in Vienna as well as the social relationships within the associations, which are useful both for oneself and for the other party (Cf. Fey 2008: 86).

In this context, the sociologist Müller also speaks of so-called networking. By this he means the deliberate promotion of the exchange of information among the Swiss in Vienna (Cf. Müller 2013: 3-7). Besides the exchange of information and contacts, the social aspect or sense must not be forgotten. In this way, a community also creates a strong sense of social belonging, which is of great importance in the context of the identification process. This, however, will be dealt with in more detail later.

On the basis of the respective networks, the next chapter will deal with the role of identification within the tension of the social vs. the legal citizenship in Swiss networks in Vienna. First of all, the focus will be on Swiss foreign association, before in a second chapter the individual Swiss will be analysed in more detail.

6.1 Citizenship within Swiss Foreign Associations

As described above, citizenship occupies a different position in all the associations studied. In order to understand the reasons for this different positioning, it is necessary to briefly examine the contexts and the functioning of the different associations. In general, an association can be understood as a social collective in which membership is consensual in some way, according to Bauböck (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 160). Access to the Swiss associations studied is always voluntary and only requires formal registration. In addition to the interest of network maintenance, this takes some additional requirements for certain associations. As an example, the alumni associations require a degree from the respective university, while the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* has an age limit of 35 years. Even though the Swiss citizenship is never directly mentioned as a prerequisite for admission to one of the associations mentioned, the interest in or connection to Switzerland itself is obvious and important for the members as well as for the profile of the associations. Furthermore, the registration is as informal as the deregistration, which takes place without further restrictions. A member can therefore be excluded from the clubs at any time if he or she violates the club statutes. The final exclusion is then subject to the discretion of the club management (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 161-162).

It is important to note at this point that these club statutes do not rule out multiple membership in different clubs, but rather deliberately permit it. This is particularly visible in the examined case study of Swiss networks, where board members sometimes have a dual function, as they are involved in different associations. Julia Schröder is thus both responsible for the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* and active in the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* as a board member. Ivo Dürr, the future president of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, is also the delegate of the *Auslandschweizerrat (ASR)* and a journalist for the regional section of the *Schweizer Revue*. A further example is Urs Weber, who is a member of the board of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* but is also the general secretary of the *Handelskammer Schweiz-Österreich-Liechtenstein (HKSÖL)* as well as a brand ambassador for Switzerland Tourism in Austria. These connections can now be extended to all other people involved and result in a densely woven network of contacts and relationships among each other. Nevertheless, the club statutes enable the creation of an exclusive Swiss community which constructs straight boundaries between members and non-members. An example of this is the invitations to events or the regular newsletters, which only members receive. Although non-members are not excluded from these events per se, they are often charged the full price without discounts (e.g. this applies to joint excursions to museums or the organization of common dinners) (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 161).

Due to the orientation of the Swiss reference, the majority of Swiss clubs abroad consists of members of one nationality, namely Switzerland. As has already been pointed out, this does not apply to the alumni networks, where the Swiss reference is understood on a different basis. However, the main purpose of all the studied associations is the organization of the individual members in order to achieve common goals together. These goals differ from association to association, but the majority of them lies in the interest of a common representation (abroad as well as towards the home country Switzerland), the exchange at meetings or events (e.g. *Schweizer Stammtisch* or fondue dinner) as well as the networking (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 6).

As mentioned above, the actual activities of the Swiss abroad associations can be defined by three functional standards: communalism, unselfishness and modesty. (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 13). This is particularly evident among the Swiss institutions studied. Here, all the executive committees work on a voluntary, unpaid basis and are (re-)elected at regular intervals by all the members. The *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* explicitly pointed out these three criteria in its circular writing before the election in March 2020:

*As you know, all members of the board work on a voluntary basis. We never have our own, but always your interests, dear members, in mind. The board hopes that we have succeeded in offering you as much variety as possible. We are always pleased when you are satisfied, as well as happy to hear your suggestions or wishes and are open to honest criticism.*²² (Rundschreiben Generalversammlung 2020).

In addition to the voluntary work, the representation or the working for the interests of all members is particularly pointed out here. This is to highlight that, despite the "political" organization of the board, it is not about its own interests, but rather about the common good. In this context, the board continues and hopes that its work during the last year was to the satisfaction of all members of the association. In order to guarantee this satisfaction in the future, it openly requests to receive wishes or criticism from all members. This should further guarantee the legitimacy of the elected board.

Besides the characteristics of the functions of these associations, there are further activities, events and happenings. These follow a certain time cycle, which is constantly repeated throughout the years (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 13). In the case of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, this can be seen from the fact that the same events are held every year, such as the board elections in spring, the regular hikes in Vienna's vineyards, the fairy tale afternoons for children, the federal celebrations on 1st August or the fondue evenings in autumn/winter. Another example are the events of the *Schweizer Stammtisch*. Here every first Thursday of the month the association comes together to eat a fondue at the restaurant *Chamäleon*. Even the alumni networks follow this regular time circle of events as can be seen, for example with the *Business Lunch*, which is held at frequent intervals.

According to Appadurai and Holston, in addition to this contextual content, the existence of the Swiss networks also requires an equal perception and acceptance of the members among themselves (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 6). Thus, three conditions in particular must be considered. In the case of the Swiss clubs abroad, the first condition in the majority of these objectives is about promoting and preserving the Swiss identity as well as maintaining Swiss contacts in Vienna itself. The second condition, however, is promoted by the Swiss abroad associations in particular by offering different events to encourage the Swiss to participate actively. On the one hand, participation is desired in order to guarantee their own continued

²² Original transcript: "Wie Sie wissen, arbeiten alle Mitglieder des Vorstandes ehrenamtlich. Wir haben dabei nie unsere eigenen, sondern immer Ihre Interessen, liebe Mitglieder, vor Augen. Der Vorstand hofft, dass es gelungen ist, Ihnen möglichst viel Abwechslungsreiches zu bieten. Wir freuen uns immer, wenn Sie zufrieden sind, hören gerne Ihre Anregungen und Wünsche und sind offen für ehrliche Kritik." (Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien: Rundschreiben Generalversammlung).

existence; but on the other hand, the high attendance also tries to guarantee a more active exchange between people.

This becomes particularly apparent when looking at the *CAS* network, which has set itself the goal of bringing together a critical mass from different environments and contexts. According to Christian Holzmeister, “*If you do not offer anything and the offering is not a lecture or anything else, but new people, to have a critical mass...then it is very hard and that's why I came up with the idea of the CAS...because otherwise it does not work.*”²³ (interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 40). In the search for new members, a framework must therefore constantly be constructed. The third and last condition, applies in particular in the case studies examined to age or occupational distinctions. Regardless of the different sources of income, for example, each member is equal and must be recognized as such. In the investigated alumni networks as well as in the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich*, there are restrictions regarding the admission requirements, but within the institution itself, all members are equal (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 6).

Based on the research of Matthey and Steiner, it is also possible to identify certain role distributions among the members of each association. Linked to the generation of different capital goods, this results in three different groupings. The first capital can be understood as cultural capital provided by the younger generation of Swiss students in Vienna or by Swiss academics. In the associations studied, this cultural capital can only be applied to the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, since the alumni associations and the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* create other conditions. In the alumni network, such an education is inevitably a prerequisite for the entry into the network, whereas the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* consists only of young students or Swiss citizens. In the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, on the other hand, the young Swiss have a special position as they form a minority and yet as important recruits, they ensure the survival of the community. Whether they also represent the cultural capital because of their educational context is rather questionable in this context. The second capital represents the economic capital, which is managed by Swiss entrepreneurs and the operators of the association's bar (e.g. the restaurant *Chamäleon* where the regular *Schweizer Stammtisch* takes places).

In the Swiss case study, profit is usually based on a dense network and close business relationships. This is especially true within the alumni networks, where the names of the

²³ Original transcript: “*Wenn man nichts bietet und das Bieten ist nicht ein Vortrag oder sonst was, sondern neue Leute, eine kritische Masse zu haben...dann ist es sehr schwer und deswegen bin ich auf die Idee gekommen, das CAS...,weil sonst geht's nicht.*” (interview with Christian Holzmeister, pos. 40).

events already indicate the professional purpose of this exchange (e.g. business lunch or network evening). However, the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* also benefits from its extensive relationships as well as the close networking of the members. This is due to the multiple membership in various Swiss associations and results in many personal acquaintances or exchange opportunities. Finally, the last group of actors, represent the first generation of the association and thus the social capital. In the case of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, this group of actors is divided among the oldest generation, which upholds the old traditions and values of Switzerland. In the other associations studied, the first generation still exists because these associations are still relatively young. In the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich* as well as in the *Schweizer Stammtisch*, the founding generation has already handed over to a second or even third generation, while the alumni associations still benefit greatly from the first generation (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 13-14).

Although these capitals do not play a dominant role in the daily life of the studied associations, it is nevertheless evident that the group of economic players explicitly has the upper hand (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 14). This is especially true for the alumni networks, but also for the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*, which works in close collaboration with other Swiss actors in Vienna. In contrast, social capital and especially cultural capital play a subordinate role in the analysed Swiss foreign associations.

On the basis of this background knowledge, the role as well as the relationship of social vs. legal citizenship in Swiss foreign associations in Vienna is to be examined now. Hence, the meaning of social citizenship is often confused with that of legal citizenship. This is particularly visible in the case study of the Swiss foreign associations. There, the Swiss being is based on the possession of a citizenship with which the individual identifies. Although this possession of citizenship is usually not explicitly named, citizenship nevertheless functions as a tool of the inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism. As mentioned above, citizenship can strongly be understood as a marker of inclusion, as it helps the Swiss to form an exclusive group as opposed to the other. (Cf. Staeheli 2008: 9). Thus, access to this exclusive group can only be received through a membership, whereby the Swiss citizenship often mutates into an understanding of Swiss nationality (Cf. Isin 2012: 37).

However, this mutation is misleading, as it results in a blurring of the two terms membership and citizenship. While Swiss citizenship entails a far-reaching consequence in political bodies, membership is determined more by the behaviour within a particular social group, such as the Swiss clubs studied (Cf. Isin 2012: 151). An objective separation of these terms is

difficult, especially in view of the emotional attachment, as the Swiss like to call themselves members of the Swiss community abroad in Vienna. In addition to the identification with Switzerland, this includes in particular the material proof of possession of a Swiss passport. In this way, the emotional attachment to Switzerland is conveyed to the outside world and at the same time it thus also serves as the basis for a justified exclusion (Cf. Staeheli 2008: 9).

In addition to the self-attribution as Swiss, citizenship continues to serve as an essential means of being regarded as part of a Swiss association abroad. According to Ong and Rosaldo, Swiss citizenship can therefore be understood as an active process of belonging and participation in social and political life. While Rosaldo's cultural citizenship does not apply in this context, Ong's idea of flexible citizenship can be explained in more detail. Although Ong's concept refers mainly to refugees or business migrants, the concept of flexible citizenship can also be applied in part to the Swiss community. This is because the Swiss community must also continually and flexibly adapt to new contexts that are closely related to global changes. The process of finding a specific identity thus goes beyond the nationally defined border of Switzerland although most of the close family or friends of the Swiss foreign citizens still live in this country. The search for identity is therefore based on a completely new and detached environment abroad (Cf. Ong 1999: 6 and 18).

The revival of Swiss citizenship appears obvious in this context, as it becomes a reality in active life (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 2-3). This signifies that Switzerland's formal membership abroad is becoming less important and is increasingly being replaced by other forms of citizenship (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 4). In the case of the Swiss abroad, this means that they possess their own form of citizenship or affiliation with which they can identify. The associations of the Swiss abroad therefore offer a non-national space with which communities can identify (Cf. Koning et al. 2015: 123).

As already mentioned, the construction of social citizenship is spoken of in this context. This refers to the social community of the Swiss foreign associations which does not have access to the legal citizenship in Austria. For the historical purpose of protecting themselves, they now function as a social collective of the Swiss minority (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289). In order to maintain this purpose, these associations possess strict statutes, which regulate the admission of further members into this community. Firstly, this requires the acceptance of an individual Swiss within an already existing community. Besides the formal registration and admission to the respective association, this secondly includes the adaption of the individual's behaviour towards the general expectations of the Swiss community (Cf. Isin 2012: 151). Naturally, the

acceptance into the communities studied is not formulated so strictly, but it does require a common point of reference.

The *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* defines this point of reference within two different formulations. First, they define themselves in their folder as “*The association for all Swiss people and friends of Switzerland in Vienna, Lower Austria and Burgenland.*”²⁴ (Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien: Folder), while the description on their website is as follows, “*The association for Swiss people in Vienna, Lower Austria and Burgenland and for all who are interested in Switzerland! We offer monthly cultural and social events for people interested in Switzerland.*”²⁵ (Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien: Home). As can be seen from these descriptions, the frame of reference here fluctuates between the target audience of Swiss citizens in Vienna, friends of Switzerland and people interested in Switzerland. How difficult the agreement on this Swiss reference is, nevertheless, Julia Schröder pointed out in her interview by declaring that all events or tasks of these associations should have some connections to Switzerland itself. According to her,

*[...] it is always put down...uhm as Schweizer Gesellschaft we fit in all things we do; we look for the Swiss reference. We all interpret it differently [...] but yes, the Swiss reference is important, and it is quite difficult. So Switzerland in itself is not a... you cannot wrap the word in a singular... the word like "reference"... um, it means then simply "references"... yes... and that is... many, if you now ask our board of directors, [...] say... um... they want to speak the language... um... with... each other... so they want to cultivate the language and... also experiences [...].*²⁶ (interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 49).

This excerpt for the interview indicates that there is no single Swiss reference, but rather different frames of reference, which are viewed depending on the individual position. Thus, the Swiss singular does not exist per se, as Julia Schröder explained in connection with the diversity of the four national languages of Switzerland. Often, they are forgotten in the context of practising the Swiss German dialect. Nevertheless, in most cases the reference to Switzerland is based on the Swiss origin, the Swiss descent or a Swiss life partner, who is introduced into the community. This access is further facilitated by the already mentioned

²⁴ Original transcript: “*Der Verein für alle Schweizerinnen und Schweizer sowie Freundinnen und Freunde der Schweiz in Wien, Niederösterreich und im Burgenland.*” (Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien: Folder).

²⁵ Original transcript: “*Der Verein für Schweizerinnen und Schweizer in Wien, Niederösterreich und dem Burgenland und für alle, die an der Schweiz interessiert sind! Wir bieten monatlich kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Veranstaltungen für Schweiz-Interessierte.*” (Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien: Home).

²⁶ Original transcript: “*Also...ganz klar...wird immr anegstellt...ähm...als Schwizr Gsellschaft passe mir in allne Sache, wo mir mache, isch dr Schwizr Bezug. Mir tüen dä ebe alli chli anders uslege [...] abr... jo es goht ume Schwizrbezug und dä isch no schwierig. [...] also Schwizr allei an sich, isch nit ei...kasch nit imene Singular...s Wort wie Bezug...ähm...ipacke, es heisst denn halt Bezüge...jä...und das isch...vieli wennd frogsch, jetzt usem Vorstand, was...sie au, wil mir au dä Ustusch händ, saget sie...ähm...um sie wennd Sproch...ähm...mitenander...rede, also Sproch pflege und...au Erfahriga [...].*” (interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 49).

extensive knowledge of the Swiss German dialect. Within the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* many transnational families are part of the community and actively involve the next generation in the activities of the association structures. Through events which explicitly address the younger generations, the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* tries to include them. In this way, contacts with other Swiss families are established at an early stage, which may also enable them to develop further in the near future. Furthermore, this is also an attempt to promote and activate the relationship to Switzerland for members of the younger generations. Thus, the intensification of all the social contacts involved is intended to bring the foreign Swiss citizens closer together and to simultaneously learn more about the Swiss community in Vienna.

The *Schweizer Stammtisch* has a similar approach to citizenship. Although the access restrictions to its community are much less strict as they are not based on an actual membership or a formal admission, it is still difficult to connect with its community. This is due to its much looser organization. It appears easier first to receive access, but at the same time it is more difficult to adapt to a general group behaviour here. Mario Frey's experiences of participating in one of the monthly *Schweizer Stammtisch* bears witness to this. In his eyes, the behaviour of the group in particular was difficult to understand for an outsider. He described his experience at the *Schweizer Stammtisch* as follows,

[...] we were definitely welcomed by the guy who organized this... so and then you could just sit down somewhere (laughs)... but they were like this... they all knew each other for a long-time and...yes, so, it ... it was somehow strange with Swiss social behaviour... yes (laughs) to organize a *Schweizer Stammtisch*. ... so, it was not very open... it was not as far as I remember.²⁷ (interview with Mario Frey, pos. 10).

Mario Frey described his visit to the *Schweizer Stammtisch* as particularly difficult. Although he attended it with a Swiss friend, he found it incredibly challenging to include himself in the group due to the exclusive and unfamiliar atmosphere. None of the guests present appeared to show great interest in the new members. Apart from the actual circumstances, Mario Frey explained his experience at the *Schweizer Stammtisch* by the fact that he himself has no great requirement to identify himself as Swiss in Vienna and therefore felt out of place (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 6). In addition, the *Schweizer Stammtisch* provides a relatively frequent cycle of events, where the same people take part. This promotes intensive friendships and contacts through years following this tradition. Newcomers therefore find it

²⁷ Original transcript: “[...] ähm also wir wurden auf jeden Fall von dem Typen, der das organisiert begrüßt... so und dann konnte man sich halt irgendwo dazu setzen (lacht)... das waren aber so... also die kannten sich alle schon länger und...ja, also, es... war irgendwie merkwürdig bei Schweizer Sozialverhalten... ja (lacht) einen Stammtisch zu organisieren... also sonderlich offen war das... war das nicht, soweit ich mich erinnere.“ (interview with Mario Frey, pos. 10).

difficult at first to stand against these long-lasting friendships. However, as the organizers of the *Schweizer Stammtisch* claimed during the online meeting, new visitors should not be deterred by this fact. Although these small social groups do exist, they are happy about every new member from Switzerland or elsewhere (Cf. protocol of the online Schweizer Stammtisch).

In this context, it is difficult to speak of a legal citizenship, as the Swiss citizenship is not the primary focus. Furthermore, the social citizenship also applies only to a limited extent, as the *Schweizer Stammtisch* is a loose subgroup of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* that focuses more on maintaining social contacts or relations than on the political representation of the Swiss abroad. The common Swiss roots are nevertheless consciously cultivated by the regular consumption of the Swiss cuisine (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289).

The situation is different in the case of the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich*. Since the reference to Switzerland is explicitly required here as a prerequisite for registration, the members find themselves in a different starting position. As children of Swiss citizens abroad, they all inevitably have a connection to Switzerland. Interestingly, the majority of this connection is made by identifying as a foreign Swiss abroad, since the identification through the common Swiss German does not work due to missing knowledge of this language (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 29).

As Julia Schröder pointed out in this context, especially for many of these young Swiss this creates the feeling of being not understood by the older generations or by the foreign Swiss associations in general. Despite their lack of Swiss German dialect skills, they still identify themselves as Swiss and have a great interest in Swiss politics as well as other procedures within Switzerland (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 29). The Swiss nation-state has recognized this potential and utilizes this fact by granting Swiss citizenship to the second or third generation of Swiss citizens abroad (Cf. Cook-Martín 2013: 64). On the one hand, it is hoped that the material proof of a passport increases the loyalty of a young Swiss generation and, on the other hand, it indirectly gives Switzerland greater influence in Austria. However, this influence is only limited to a small number of Swiss citizens (Cf. Isin 2008: 141).

However, this can also lead to a conflict of loyalties, especially for young Swiss citizens. Having grown up in an Austrian environment, perhaps possessing more than one citizenship, they nevertheless hold close ties to their Swiss homeland and its community there through their family. By their socialization in Austria their loyalty to Switzerland then undergoes a test as they start to build up a loyalty for their actual country of residence (Cf. Spiro 2016: 90-

91). In this context, legal citizenship is probably much more important simply because of the emotional ties. Although a social citizenship can be formed within the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich*, this requires a regular exchange in order to be able to establish a feeling of belonging as well as a common ground (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289).

The importance of citizenship is also different in relation to the two alumni networks. Although there the requirement of a Swiss connection is replaced by the graduation from a Swiss university, a conflict of loyalties also arises in this context. This is due to another reason as described in the case study discussed above. Besides the identification through the mutual completion of an education in Switzerland, the move to Austria also signifies the building of a new environment. Thus, the previous work or study environment is replaced by a new social and professional environment. Although those Swiss citizens affected usually maintain close relations with their Swiss communities, the old environment as well as its networks are in direct competition with the new environment in Austria (Cf. Spiro 2016: 90-91).

It is interesting to note that these environments are evaluated, whereby the completed education in Switzerland is usually regarded as the ideal starting point. This appears particularly obvious when taking a look at the *ETH Alumni Chapters Vienna* website. The reason for joining as a member is justified here as follows, “*We have one thing in common – we all studied at the best university in the world. As a world-class university, ETH also has one of the best structured and most diverse alumni networks in the world. Members include renowned scientists and people from a whole host of disciplines.*” (website Chapter Vienna Alumni). The ETH is presented here as the best university in the world, while on the other hand, the commonality of the studies completed there is highlighted. The excellence of the completed studies therefore should further be enhanced by building up an excellent network abroad, which should enhance the opportunities of the former students abroad.

A somewhat different approach is taken by the *HSG Alumni Club Vienna*. According to their website, their goal is the following, “*We would like to offer our HSG alumni in the greater Vienna area a network in which they can exchange social and business information. We would like to make it easier for new alumni to settle in.*”²⁸ (website HSG Alumni Club Vienna). Here the main focus of the network for the alumni is promoting the exchange of information, thus addressing the immediate requirements of the members. The focus on social

²⁸ Original transcript: “*Wir moechten unseren Ehemaligen der HSG im Grossraum Wien ein Netzwerk bieten, in dem sie sich sozial wie geschaeftlich austauschen koennen. Neu hinzugezogenen Alumni moechten wir das Eingewoehnen erleichtern.*” (website HSG Alumni Club Vienna).

and business information, which must particularly be seen in the context of the business oriented HSG, becomes obvious. In summary, it can be said that the role of legal citizenship is a reduced one here. Rather, one can speak of a kind of social citizenship, which is mainly dedicated to the establishment and development of business relationships (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289). Thus, the starting point of identity formation is the already existing network of the former alumni in or around Vienna next to the commonly completed education at a university in Switzerland

As the detailed explanations of these foreign Swiss institutions highlight, each of them uses a different reference point in the process of establishing its own identity. It is interesting to note that this process is always adapted to the purpose of the institution (e.g. same origin, upholding the same traditions or language as well as the common education) and always utilizes an emotional component. This usually refers to Swiss clichés or stereotypes to converge the Swiss closer to their homeland. This is achieved especially through events. As an example, the members of the associations are invited to a typical Swiss brunch with a so-called “Zopf”²⁹, while in winter cheese fondues are served. Although it appears obvious that the implementation of these events constructs a certain image of Switzerland, it also signifies that the target audience is defined through these stereotypes. This automatically includes the acceptance that Swiss citizens who do not identify themselves with such images are not addressed by the discussed institutions. This is particularly obvious through the interviews, in which the majority of individual foreign Swiss citizens shows no interest in these institutions. In addition to the lack of requirement, the fear of encountering such traditional and long-established images of Switzerland is a key factor to not join these institutions (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 22, interview with Mario Frey, pos. 6 and 10, interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 26 and interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 8 and 10).

In addition to the formation of a specific target group, the question arises here as to whether citizenship and Swiss references are utilized for the purposes of Swiss clubs abroad. Although no conclusive result can be formulated on the basis of the data collected, it can be pointed out that reference is often made to the typical characteristics of Switzerland as well as being a Swiss to keep the foreign clubs alive. Thus, this Swiss being is based on the legal understanding of citizenship. The possession of a Swiss passport serves as material proof and so does the practice to vote in Swiss elections as a Swiss citizen abroad.

²⁹ Note: A “Zopf” is a typical Swiss yeast pastry, which is formed like a plait.

As the case study of the Swiss abroad in Vienna shows, the Swiss Confederation promotes these relations and supports associations, societies and organizations that safeguard and cultivate its interests. Suzanne Wolf explained this in a *Radio DRS 1* interview what it is like for her as a Swiss abroad to vote in Vienna (Cf. Radio DRS 1 interview with Suzanne Wolf). Due to her increasing distance to Switzerland, she does not see the point of voting in Swiss elections anymore. However, this attitude is unimaginable for many of her colleagues on the board of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*. Additionally, the *Schweizerische Botschaft* in Vienna also actively encourages Swiss citizens abroad to make use of their voting rights. As Suzanne Wolf pointed out, this is due to the power that the "fifth" Switzerland has, which can be played out in particular through voting (Cf. Radio DRS 1 interview with Suzanne Wolf).

Although this does not appear to be of great importance for the alumni networks, the common attending of political events on Swiss related topics does indicate that this political debate is encouraged as well as strongly desired. A similar tendency can be seen on the part of the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich*, which has set itself the task to inform young Swiss about their political rights and other duties (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 29). Apart from the just mentioned examples, the institutions of the Swiss abroad have only little to do with legal citizenship. Instead they build their social citizenship on the foundations of the legal citizenship. As a minority within the Austrian society, the Swiss community stands for a nationally defined group that represents the interests of its Swiss members to the outside (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289). They themselves actively live out their Swiss citizenship, which further develops itself through the social ties, relationships and activities within as well as outside the community. However, it is precisely within these social relations that the formulation of social citizenship emerges collectively (Cf. Isin 2008: 7).

Hence, the production of new spaces is an interesting aspect in the context of the Swiss foreign institutions. Swiss references are utilized on the one hand by the associations and on the other hand consciously adopted by the members themselves. This is intended to produce a safe and familiar space which is particularly appealing to newcomers. Therefore, the production of identities can be assumed within the different Swiss institutions, which are generated by the common experiences. Thus, the many different identities of the Swiss abroad are merged into a common collective identity (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 109). This is visible in the continual attachment to certain traditions or Swiss characteristics by the Swiss abroad associations. In addition to their own identification with these Swiss characteristics, the members of these institutions increasingly associate their features with those of the institution itself.

In this context, a collective identity is adopted by the individual members, which is seen as a sign of the close relations to Switzerland (Cf. Snow 2001: 2213). This link is supported though the intermediary role ascribed to foreign clubs between the small Swiss enclave in Vienna and the nation-state of Switzerland. Thanks to the (financial) support of the *ASO* and the close exchange relations with the Swiss consular community, the Swiss abroad associations receive a certain power of authority, which is actively promoted by the Swiss government. The local section of the newspaper of the Swiss abroad *Schweizer Revue* gives a broad account of the various activities of the individual clubs abroad and conveys the image of a far-reaching Swiss identity in foreign countries. In this context, Anderson's theory of the imagined community, which appears to exist independently of time and space, comes to mind. However, this theory must be treated with caution as it does not only concern political institutions, but rather different social communities (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 107).

These are of course just a few observations and results that have been made during the research. Although it is difficult to make a conclusive statement about the conscious implementation of social citizenship for the purpose of Swiss institutions abroad, it can nevertheless be stated that the production of a collective identity in particular can be followed back to a conscious process (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 109). This process is promoted in particular by the ideal of the culinary peculiarities of Switzerland as well as the characteristic of the Swiss German dialect, which has to be served and maintained at all the events organized by these institutions. The introduction of new concepts for events in connection with these ideas is not discouraged, but rather openly confronted. Apart from the constant and new “offering”, this is probably also due to the fact that there is an acute shortage of new members and it is hoped that different events will attract other as well as more members (Cf. interview with Julia Schröder, pos. 49 and 51). Nevertheless, the embodiment of these Swiss ideals, is particularly disturbing for the individual Swiss people. Rather, a new or different embodiment of Swiss citizenship seems to be required. The position of the individual Swiss is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

6.2 Individual Swiss and their Interaction with Citizenship

In contrast to the foreign Swiss associations and their networks, the networks of the individual Swiss in Vienna are based on different aspects (such as family, friends or work). Shaped and expanded by the steps in life, the network of an individual Swiss produces a kind of community (Cf. Fey 2008: 18). As already mentioned in the context of Swiss clubs abroad, there is a principle of mutual exchange between those involved (Cf. Fey 2008: 14). The prerequisite for this exchange is the construction of a framework which creates a space for the

construction or development of such activities. In the case of the individual Swiss in Vienna, it is not a foreign Swiss association that provides this basis, but rather their own social or private environment. As above-mentioned, the environment network, and on the other hand, the business or formal network are of particular interest here (Cf. Müller 2013: 47).

At this point it should also be noted that particularly young, Swiss citizens, who have just moved, have strong ties to their former networks in Switzerland. Although these networks no longer exist to the same extent as they did before they left Switzerland, there are still strong ties to close family and friends. The original networks are still maintained in certain forms and are partly combined with the new network built up in Vienna. However, the extent to which Switzerland's networks compete with those in the new place of residence should be left aside here (Cf. Spiro 2016: 90-91).

In the course of the research, the environments and roles of the individual Swiss people are studied in particular for workers in the field of art/culture as well as for students in the area of university. In the following section it is necessary to examine these two environment groups in order to better understand their relationship or their perception of Swiss citizenship.

Two students were interviewed in the course of this research project and asked about their networks as well as the influence of their citizenship on their identity. As diverse as the answers appear, the result shows that both of them have a largely international environment (Cf. Müller 2013: 44). Jan Pfeifer, for example, moved here two years ago to study *German Philology* at the University of Vienna. Beside the purpose of studying, a colourful network has been created surrounding his student life. Thus, the majority of this environment network is made up of students who are either from Austria, Germany or Switzerland. Jan Pfeifer explained the emergence of this composition as follows,

[...] I think that's how it turned out, which is very much connected to the fact that student life, as it appears to me, is very merged, especially, um, I would say mainly from Austria and Germany, as far as people are concerned, but also, um, with Swiss people especially [...], but that's a coincidence. But when I think about it, of the three countries, it is actually very heterogeneous.³⁰
(interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 4).

According to Jan Pfeifer the reason for this composition lies in his student lifestyle, where a lively exchange among different students takes place. Thus, the predominance of the German speaking citizens in his social environment is mainly explained by his German-language

³⁰ Original transcript: “[...] das hät sich glaub so ergäh, was sehr drmit zämme hängt, dass bi de studentische Lebe, wies mi dünkt, das sehr durchmixt isch vor allem ähm würd säge schwerpunktmässig vo Östrich und Dütschland, was d Lüt abelangt, aber au ähm mit Schwizr und Schwizerinne vor allem, [...], abr das isch Zuefall. Abr wenni so drüber nochedenke, isches tatsächlich vo dene drü Länder ähm sehr heterogen.” (interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 4).

studies, which attracts mainly Austrians, Germans and Swiss (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 4 and 6). However, the mentioned contacts with other Swiss citizens in Vienna can mainly be reduced to three people. The first contact with another Swiss citizen in Vienna is established by a family member, while the contact with the other two persons was not deliberately forced, but rather came by chance. In both cases, however, these are young Swiss, who have moved to Vienna to study for a master's programme. What appears interesting in this context is Jan Pfeifer's description of his lack of requirement to meet other Swiss in Vienna. He appreciates the cultivation of these three Swiss contacts in Vienna, but at the same time he has no conscious need for further Swiss contacts (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 6). In his opinion, this is mainly due to the fact that he has not been in Vienna for so long so that this requirement has not yet developed.

The second student interviewee was Lucas Möller. He moved to Vienna for his bachelor's programme in *Theatre, Film and Media Studies* and sees things similarly as Jan Pfeifer. He has been living here for three years now and has almost no contact with other Swiss citizens in Vienna. On the one hand, he explained this by the fact that he does not meet many due to its studies and on the other hand, the contacts to his friends in Switzerland provide sufficient "Swiss" interactions for him. He went on to predict that it is precisely his field of study, which probably attracts fewer Swiss, as it is also offered at Swiss universities (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 22). Still, he is happy about every Swiss person he meets in Vienna, but he does not consciously seek them. He expressed this as follows,

*It is in the case...well it does not come...I am happy when I meet someone from Switzerland again and then you talk, but it is not somehow a big require that it must be a Swiss person to exchange and I have Swiss friends with whom I simply talk on the phone, so then there is somehow an exchange with Swiss people.*³¹ (interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 24).

Similar to Jan Pfeifer, he therefore sees no greater or deeper requirement for an exchange in Vienna, as he can always communicate with his friends in Switzerland over the telephone if necessary. Nevertheless, he knows about the Swiss associations in Vienna, as he studied them in detail at the beginning of his stay in Vienna. However, he explained that he finds their composition strange so that it does not appeal to him. In this context, it can therefore be concluded that Lucas Möller's environment network is sufficiently based on his student life. Another fact that is added in his case is that his girlfriend is German. Due to her lack of

³¹ Original transcript: "Es isch imfall...also es kunt nit...ich freu mich, wenni widr mol öbr triff, wo Schwizr isch und denn redet meh au, aber es isch jetzt nit irgendwie mega es Bedürfnis, dasses unbedingt Schwizr sie müen zum Ustusche und ich ha jo Schwizr Fründe, won ich eifach telefoniere, also denn gits doch irgendwie e Ustusch mit Schwizr Lüt." (interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 24).

knowledge of the Swiss German dialect, he sees no requirement for Swiss German communication in his everyday life in Vienna (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 42).

These two cases are only exemplary for the behaviour of Swiss students. Having come to Vienna to begin or continue their education at a university, they quickly find their place in a largely international environment, which later facilitates the establishment of their environment network (Cf. Müller 2013: 44). This network usually begins with friends and the social circles of sports clubs. The family, on the other hand, is rarely part of the environment network in Vienna and is usually concentrated in Switzerland. Despite this seemingly great distance, the two students identify themselves largely through their citizenship. Although they cannot be actively regarded as part of a social citizenship group in Vienna, they still have a strong relation towards their Swiss citizenship. This is particularly visible in connection with the importance of the Swiss German dialect, which is usually forced back in everyday life. Nevertheless, it is seen as a central Swiss characteristic to identify with.

Added to this is the straight differentiation of the two students from "the other" Swiss citizens in Vienna, who are members of Swiss clubs abroad. They are labelled as strange or peculiar and classified as representing a different interpretation of their own citizenship. In contrast, the students prefer to refer to the actual legal meaning of Swiss citizenship. In addition to the general rights and obligations abroad, this also includes emotional as well as personal aspects. In other words, an inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism is produced, which conducts a far-reaching differentiation within the Swiss abroad community in Vienna (Cf. Staeheli 2008: 9). The respective interpretation or perception of the Swiss citizenship is decisive in each case.

Regarding the case of the two Swiss students interviewed a certain closeness expressed towards Austria is interesting. They both feel connected to the Austrian way of life in some way, however for different reasons. In Jan Pfeifer's case, this special affinity to Austria is due to his Austrian grandmother. As a quarter Austrian, he grew up with a certain proximity to Austria. Especially in Vienna, he discovers certain familiar processes or products that he has known from his childhood in Switzerland (Cf. interview with Jan Pfeifer, pos. 2, 16 and 22). As a result of his family connections, he sees himself, especially in Vienna, partly as an Austrian or remembers his Austrian roots. Although this does not change his view of his Swiss citizenship, Jan Pfeifer explained his effortless integration in Vienna to a certain extent through this background. In the case of Lucas Möller the proximity to Austria is explicitly different. He himself is a dual citizen and has in addition to his Swiss citizenship a Hungarian citizenship. Especially because of the physical proximity to Hungary and the large number of

Hungarians in Vienna, he recognizes certain Hungarian characteristics even in Austria. Besides a certain mentality, he usually attributes this to the way people treat each other. Since he moved to Vienna, he has recognized some of these traits in himself, which he sees as part of his Hungarian-Swiss socialization (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 78).

Despite this described proximity to different nation-states, it is not possible to identify this as a conflict of loyalties in this context (Cf. Spiro 2016: 90-91). After all, both students grew up in a Swiss environment and explicitly identify themselves with the Swiss citizenship. Certainly, in the case of Lucas Möller in particular, there is a straighter connection to Hungary through his dual citizenship. However, in his eyes both citizenships function side by side (Cf. interview with Lucas Möller, pos. 86).

The composition of the networks of the working Swiss, who are interviewed in the course of this work, is different. Although all three of them work in the art or cultural sector, their perceptions differ significantly. In Mario Frey's case, his environment network depends heavily on his work. Through his profession in the theatre sector, he has found a relatively international network in Vienna, which can be identified to a certain extent as a melting pot for different people from all around the world (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 44). He further explained that through his studies as well as his work he quickly developed a German dominated circle of friends from the very beginning. In his opinion, this can be explained by his German mother, who gave him a certain proximity to Germany from an early age. Apart from certain linguistic references, this also included books or songs with which he grew up, that made him especially connect with other Germans in Vienna (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 32). The constant feeling of not belonging as well as not being Swiss enough for Switzerland with his German background has accompanied him.

He further elaborated the fact that he has always felt strange in Switzerland as if he did not belong there. The classic feeling of home towards Switzerland does not exist for Mario Frey. Therefore, the requirement to meet other Swiss citizens in Vienna has never really existed. Rather, moving away from Switzerland was a main reason for him to leave the country and to move to Vienna (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 18). An attempt to make contact with other Swiss people by attending a *Schweizer Stammtisch* showed him once again that he has no need for further contact with other Swiss people. He therefore is not anxious to make up for the lack of proximity to Switzerland abroad (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 18). Given his context, Mario Frey did not per se speak of a strong identification with Switzerland. Although he utilizes his rights and duties that are ensigned in his legal citizenship, he does not

associate this with any great emotional value. This could also be seen in his remarks about the Swiss passport. In this context, he appreciates the security and stability the passport gives him. The identification with Swiss citizenship is, however, difficult for him (Cf. interview with Mario Frey, pos. 40). In this context he defined himself also as a “Swiss submarine”, who, so to speak, lives well-hidden abroad.

The perceptions of Anna Krause and Laura Foerster can be seen in strong contrast to Mario Frey. While Anna Krause has been living in Vienna for almost nine years, Laura Foerster has lived here for more than 26 years. Both women moved to Vienna for their education and have developed a strong, dense working network in addition to their environment network over the years. In the case of Anna Krause, this signifies that she has had the same circle of friends for a long time now. It is interesting here that there is no other Swiss contact in her network apart from her godmother (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 44).

Although she has occasionally more contact with other Swiss people in Vienna through family, friends or through her former working position, she has no requirement to further expand these contacts in Vienna (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 64). On the one hand, she explained this by her relative stable, long-established environment network and on the other hand, by the fact that the Swiss networks in Vienna do not appear attractive for her. As regards the Swiss abroad associations, she has knowledge of the *Schweizer Stammtisch* in Vienna, but the idea of attending this event together with her godmother was quickly rejected. Their fear of encountering a strange setting was too strong here (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 22). To enjoy the typical Swiss cuisine, she does not require a special frame of a foreign Swiss association. Instead she prefers to celebrate the Swiss cuisine in a private setting, where she can and wants to let her Austrian environment take an active part (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 68). Despite her rejection of the rigid Swiss clichés or stereotypes, which in her opinion are embodied in particular by Swiss clubs abroad, she nevertheless identifies herself as Swiss. As already mentioned above, being Swiss can rather be traced back to socialization, according to Anna Krause (Cf. interview with Anna Krause, pos. 62).

Laura Foerster, who was able to build up a large environment as well as a professional network, especially through her musical education in Vienna, sees things differently. According to her, there is a close exchange between the Swiss in Austria and the Austrians in Switzerland, particularly in the working networks. Due to the size of the network, people know each other and promote the further exchange. That is why she herself has repeatedly

come into direct contact with Swiss people. However, she herself never felt the requirement to intensify these contacts with the Swiss in Vienna (Cf. interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 51). The lack of requirement is also the reason why she does not know the various Swiss abroad associations in Vienna. Although she is not averse to them either, she pointed out that there must be a reason why she does not know them better or why has never really come into contact with them (Cf. interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 57).

Despite this lack of need to meet other Swiss citizens in Vienna, Laura Foerster identifies strongly with Switzerland. This is particularly noticeable to her as her Swiss roots are constantly increasing in importance to her especially as she grows older (Cf. interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 29). A good example of these roots can be mentioned in connection with the company she and her husband founded over a year ago. Starting with the name of the company, the term "Swiss" is already included in the firm's name. This is intended to convey certain Swiss values and ideas, which are the guiding principles behind her fitness studio. Laura Foerster described the aspects that appear to be central to her as follows,

Well, on the one hand, I associate Switzerland with very high quality...um, reliability and [...] I simply wanted to connect that this is what is transported, straight lines...um, simply that this is transported by the name. First my Swiss roots and um just quality, reliability without frills...just straight lines [...].³² (interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 29).

According to Laura Foerster, the name of her fitness company is supposed to represent a certain image of Switzerland, which is closely connected with specific Swiss values and should also highlight her Swiss roots. As an example, she defined the high quality, the reliability as well as straight lines without major distractions. Although she spoke of her stage background and her dancing origins in the same sentence, she attributed the discipline or the goal orientation only to Switzerland and not to her own character or the requirement of her working context. In addition to representing a certain Swiss image, the Swiss German dialect also plays a central role for Laura Foerster in conveying these values. In particular, she plays with the two languages "Swiss German" and "Standard German" on her company's website and has thus made the website bilingual.

In addition to these professional aspects, passing on the Swiss language to the next generation also plays an important role for Laura Foerster. Therefore, her daughter is a dual citizen and holds a Swiss passport in addition to an Austrian one (Cf. interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 45). Based on these remarks, it becomes obvious that for Laura Foerster the emotional aspects

³² Original transcript: "Also, es isch so, dassinersits mit dr Schwiz sehr hochi Qualität verbindet ähm...Zuverlässigkeit...und [...] do hani eifach wele verbinde, dass das jo ebe transportiert wird, klari Linie...ähm...eifach öhm, dass das durch dä Name transportiert wird...I. mini schwizer Wurze und ähm ebe Qualität, Zuverlässigkeit ohni Schnörksel...eifach gradlinig [...]." (interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 29).

play a more important role than the legal aspects of Swiss citizenship. Specific characteristics as the reliability or the straightforwardness are associated with an image of Switzerland that is also to be represented externally. On the one hand, she can identify with these herself and on the other hand, it is also important to her that these are perceived as an integral part of her company (Cf. interview with Laura Foerster, pos. 29).

These three individual Swiss are only exemplary for the identification of the Swiss citizens in Vienna with their professional or environment networks. Nevertheless, the three cases show how differently the identification with the Swiss citizenship can be interpreted. From a fragile identification to a culinary heritage or a company name-giving component, the identification process with Switzerland is diverse. What the three interviewees nevertheless have in common is that, based on their completed education in Vienna, they were all able to build up a network which has little contact with other Swiss citizens. There is also no connection to other Swiss communities, which explains the lack of knowledge about the Swiss associations abroad for these three cases. Although two of the interviewees have a slight knowledge of the monthly *Schweizer Stammtisch* in Vienna, due to their negative or lack of experiences, a visit of these meetings is rather dreaded. Combined with this is a certain perception of what the members of these clubs are linked and what opinions or attitudes they represent. Since these are fundamentally seen as different from their own attitudes, it is not attractive to try out the events of the *Schweizer Stammtisch*. Furthermore, this lack of demand is also explained by the fact that as an individual Swiss citizen in Vienna one can also cultivate Swiss culture without the given context of the Swiss foreign associations (e.g. by representing certain Swiss characteristics through a company or by cultivating the Swiss culinary tradition in small circle of friends). What nevertheless appears interesting is the often-mentioned fact that the three women are not averse to further Swiss contacts, but they do not want to consciously seek them.

As the above-mentioned examples show, the relationship between the social vs. the legal citizenship in the cases of the individual Swiss is structured complexly. They have a general legal understanding of their Swiss citizenship, which is attributed to emotional ties, certain stereotypes as well as characteristics or qualities. None of the interviewees mentioned, for example, the right to vote abroad as well as the military or the alternative community service to be accomplished. Rather, the essential aspect is the image of the Swiss in Vienna, which they indirectly convey and represent to the outside. In addition, they are rather poorly informed about what offers they can receive as foreign Swiss citizens abroad (e.g. *Schweizer Revue*). Detached of a collective community, the formulation of social citizenship is therefore

hardly applicable for the individuals, as they barely meet any Swiss in their environment or their work network with whom they could form a “Swiss” social community (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289). The identification process of the individual Swiss therefore shifts to the understanding of a legal citizenship that is connected to the emotional factors described above.

A more detailed and direct comparison between the two investigated cases of the foreign Swiss citizens is to be dealt with in the next chapter.

7. Comparison and Differences between the two Case Studies

As has already been highlighted before, there are considerable differences between the two case studies examined. This concerns not only the composition of the respective networks, but also the perception as well as the self-attribution of the Swiss citizenship. Thus, a significant expression of this attribution is the identification process and its effects on the everyday life of the person concerned. To what extent the environment of these processes contributes to this, is clarified in the following.

The Swiss institutions abroad cater for a wide variety of different purposes and are all characterized by a relatively active club structure, which is strongly committed to the interests of its members. Thus, the connection to Switzerland has to be present in every institution, which is reflected in the range of events or the appearance of these institutions (e.g. the utilization of Swiss symbols, the mentioning of the four national languages or the typical culinary aspects). Although this reference is interpreted differently depending on the context and framework, it remains an essential content of the institutions. This is particularly visible through the members' identification with Switzerland. Apart from the common basis within the Swiss foreign association, the majority of members identifies with being Swiss. This can be seen, on the one hand, in the strong requirement for other Swiss contacts in Vienna and on the other hand, by the cultivation of the common Swiss German dialect. Reminiscent of one's origin, the common experience produces a strong feeling of belonging (Cf. Appadurai and Holston 1999: 6).

This becomes obvious through the experiences during the online *Schweizer Stammtisch*. Swiss German was spoken here from the very beginning, although not all participants were able to speak the Swiss German dialect. Even if not intended, an inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism was obviously established, which differentiated on the basis of the respective language skills (Cf. Staeheli 2008: 9). Those who did not understand Swiss German in this context therefore could not become part of the Swiss community (Cf. Isin 2012: 151). At the

same time, this example also shows how important the position of the Swiss institutions abroad is in relation to the daily construction of the identity of their members.

Besides a first point of contact, regular events construct a framework where like-minded people can exchange ideas or information (Cf. Müller 2013: 7). This framework is extended online and enhanced by the Facebook group of the *Schweizer Stammtisch* as well as the Facebook page of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*. Here, people exchange or compare information on Swiss recipes, events as well as important travel tips or help each other with governmental regulations. In this way, experiences can always be shared directly at any time as well as made accessible to a Swiss audience, which primarily lives in or around Vienna (Cf. Leggewie 2015: 589). Through enjoying or describing events together, a shared experience is produced. This signifies that the different identities of the Swiss in Vienna are bundled into a superior Swiss identity by such collectives. Based on this a collective identity is constructed which various Swiss people in Vienna can identify with (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 109 and Snow 2001: 2213).

The individual Swiss organize differently regarding this collective identity of the Swiss community. As they have only little contact to other Swiss, the option of this collective identity per se is not available to them. This becomes particularly apparent by examining their networks. Mostly consisting of environment or working networks, there is rarely an exchange with other Swiss people in Vienna, which makes it difficult to produce or to recall a common collective identity (Cf. Snow 2001: 2213). In addition, most of these persons have established a stable social environment in Vienna by completing their education or through their jobs and therefore do not consider it necessary to seek further contact. Interestingly still, they are usually not averse to further individual contacts with other Swiss people. However, this does not include the Swiss abroad associations, which are viewed far more critically. Apart from describing them as old-fashioned, they are usually considered to be too traditional or even Swiss-oriented. Although very few individual Swiss people have come into contact with them themselves, their attitudes or knowledge is based on how the clubs present themselves on their websites or Facebook pages.

However, this does not signify that they do not identify themselves as Swiss. Although at first sight they appear to identify less strongly with the typical Swiss symbols, the reference to Switzerland remains an important part of their identity, especially if they were born and socialized in Switzerland. The research carried out in this context shows that individual Swiss people define themselves to a large extent through the common Swiss German dialect as well

as other as characteristics typically defined as Swiss (such as certain character traits or behaviour patterns). This is particularly obvious in the case of raising one's own child in relation to their Swiss context, the return to Swiss roots with an increasing age or the explicit distinction from others due to the Swiss German dialect.

At the same time, however, they see these typical Swiss facts far more critically than the other group of cases. This includes critical questioning of clichés or stereotypes which are often attributed to the Swiss in Vienna. Leimgruber calls this examination a positive but critical patriotism (Cf. Leimgruber 2016: 35). Thus, the Swiss being is viewed positively but with a sceptical reflection. At the same time, this questioning also produces a dilemma, as the attribution of the Swiss from the outside often does not coincide with their own perception of the Swiss. As a result, the individuals are in a constant process of adapting or renewing their identification with their Swiss identity. To a large extent this includes both questioning and comparison with the other (Cf. Staeheli 2008: 9). In addition, the individual Swiss in Vienna utilize modern communication media and technologies to connect with their existing networks in Switzerland and thus identify with these Swiss collectives (Cf. Faist 2007: 16). In other words, the individual Swiss also refer to a collective identity which is based on a slightly different foundation than that of the Swiss abroad associations in Vienna (Cf. Clarke et al. 2014: 109 and Snow 2001: 2213).

As differently as the identification as Swiss is shown by the two case studies, as diverse the relationship to their citizenship is. While the institutions of the Swiss abroad are strongly oriented towards a social citizenship, the perception of individual Swiss citizens differs considerably from this perspective. This is due to the fact that the majority of this case group defines themselves through the legal understanding of citizenship. It must be noted, however, that this is not a legally defined understanding, but rather that the legal requirements serve as a basis for the identification. In this context, understanding one's own citizenship extends far beyond political participation and is rather a proof of belonging to a state (Cf. Faist 2007: 16). This signifies that the requirements or contents of the legal Swiss citizenship are recognized, but additionally supplemented with emotional components.

As just mentioned, general stereotypes are deliberately rejected in this context, while certain images and characteristics are still utilized as they appear generally Swiss to the individual. Of course, these values, which are considered Swiss, are closely related to one's socialization and the current environment in which the respective persons find themselves. Furthermore, the existence of social citizenship cannot be excluded in this context; however, it is difficult to

position it in the framework of the Swiss nation-state, since the individual Swiss do not define themselves per se as a minority in Austria (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289).

In contrast, the formulation of social citizenship within the framework of Swiss institutions abroad plays a substantially different role. Based on a constructed collective identity, they produce a social community which can be identified with a Swiss reference (Cf. Bauböck 1995: 289 and Snow 2001: 2213). This social citizenship is based on social practices and horizontal relations between the Swiss concerned within these groups (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 638-639). Depending on each situation or context, this citizenship behaves differently and is related to the respective social networks as well as to their reach (Cf. Isin 2008: 7).

Through the three social aspects (extent, content and depth) that are combined within the Swiss social citizenship, a complex network of the Swiss community in Vienna is constructed (Cf. Isin 2008: 11-12). In the given case study, the extent concerns in particular the access restrictions of the networks as well as the related rights of the Swiss abroad in the respective networks. These rules are also set out in the writing of an association statute. A central requirement in each case is the possession of a Swiss passport or a Swiss reference in order to become an active part of these institutions. Of course, these requirements vary depending on the organization, but the connection to Switzerland must be present in each case. The content, on the other hand, particularly concerns the different positions within the various institutions. Although the members all have the same rights and duties on the basis of the institution, differences do arise in this respect at the administrative and organizational level. As last and third aspect, Isin defines the depth. In the specific case of the Swiss abroad, this leads to a merging of social vs. legal citizenship. Although the Swiss concerned identify themselves through the basis of their legal citizenship, the execution of this citizenship extends the legal concept. In particular, the daily life and experience of this citizenship indicates a social rather than a legally defined citizenship. Their own identity, for example, is classified or portrayed as deliberately Swiss in order to be able to distinguish themselves from the counterpart

In addition to a first point of contact, the Swiss community also offers the option of exchanging information or contacts as well as providing valuable business connections or even jobs. The personal contacts of the members themselves promote the intensification of these networks as well as the regular meetings. Furthermore, these close contacts between the members are strengthened with each additional member. In this context, it is also possible to speak of a reciprocity system (Cf. Fey 2008: 86). This is particularly visible through the great social as well as professional potential each network has to offer in relation to the Swiss

citizens abroad in Vienna (Cf. Müller 2013: 3-7). In addition, the foreign Swiss institutions abroad also utilize reach and the diverse composition of this described network. To promote the acquisition of new members events are organized with other Swiss institutions in order to considerably increase the reach of the respective association.

In this context, however, it is difficult to establish whether the members also identify with their respective associations. Although these associations are the first point of contact in Vienna for many newly arrived Swiss citizens, it is not obvious whether this does not lead to a merging of identification with the respective social citizenship. Rather, it can be concluded that for many foreign Swiss citizens, the Swiss associations abroad studied have become an important anchor or a kind of family, which acts as a bridge or mediator to the distant home country Switzerland.

Of course, there is a great variety of opinions, attitudes or views of different Swiss identities in Vienna. Within the framework of this thesis, however, only a small number of these could be examined more closely. They should therefore be seen as examples of the wide range of different identities in relation to Swiss citizenship.

In the final chapter the conclusion sums up the most important results and findings of this thesis. In addition, a short outlook on further questions and possibilities for research is to be presented.

8. Conclusion and further Outlooks

In the context of my master's thesis I considered the identification process of foreign citizens with their social vs. legal citizenship in more detail. To illustrate this suggested tension, two case studies within the community of the Swiss abroad in Vienna were used to examine the identification framework. On the one hand, this was illustrated by the case study of the individual Swiss and on the other hand, by five selected Swiss associations. These two case studies were used to examine the significance, the perception as well as the effects of the citizenship on individual Swiss and their networks. To this end, nine people were interviewed on the most important aspects of their perception of their citizenship, while detailed internet research was used to try to define the respective contexts. Finally, the additional method of an online group meeting allowed an active participation in an event of the Swiss community abroad during the Covid-19 crisis. The theoretical embedding for the evaluation of the collected material was based on the understanding of citizenship as an identification process as well as the contextualization of foreign associations and their networks.

Based on the case studies examined, three focal points within the identification process can be identified in particular. This involves the production of a sense of belonging through the Swiss German dialect, the strong differentiation from other as nationally defined identities, as well as the identification through the use of stereotyped images or clichés of Switzerland. Thus, my research has shown that the identification process in foreign communities is strongly dependent on the respective environment as well as the networks of those concerned. However, the general starting point for any identification process can be seen in the understanding of a legal citizenship. The legal citizenship, in this context does not only include the legal anchoring at the constitutional level, but rather a link to emotional or socialized aspects that are classified as typically Swiss. It is understood as a framework through which the Swiss feel that they belong to the nation-state of Switzerland despite the physical distance. A central feature of this process is the constant utilization of the inclusion vs. exclusion mechanism, which obviously distinguishes between the Swiss and the non-Swiss (e.g. on the basis of the Swiss German dialect or the differences between Switzerland and other countries) (Cf. Isin 2012: 150).

Building on these aspects, there are considerable differences between the two case studies with regard to the perception of one's citizenship. While citizenship is regarded as a central element in the lives among individual Swiss abroad, the construction of a social citizenship can be assumed in the context of the Swiss abroad associations. Based on the requirement of a Swiss reference, social citizenship unites a Swiss minority in order to represent their interests to the outside. An extensive social network is produced through the social relationships and connections between its members (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 638). Furthermore, the social citizenship creates an obvious and protected framework within which the members can identify themselves as part of an existing foreign community. The Swiss institutions abroad follow a defined pattern of action which produces a consensus among the members. This certain feeling of belonging is constructed. Regular series of events and the opportunity to exchange information online via exclusive platforms gives members an inclusive effect. In this context it is also necessary to highlight the production of a collective identity. However, this is not based solely on the common Swiss origin, but rather on a sense of community or belonging to the same association (Cf. Snow 2001: 2213).

This is significantly shown through the shared experience within the framework of the studied institutions as they further strengthen the sense of belonging among the members. At the same time, a central side effect of these associations is the networks which are constructed between the Swiss in Vienna. Through double or multiple memberships in the various organizations, a

dense, overlapping system is created within the Swiss in Vienna. In this way, the environment network defined by Müller is deliberately combined and merged with the business network as well as the open classic network (Cf. Müller 2013: 44-47). In addition to the social contacts, these networks therefore also serve an economic purpose. In other words, it is a matter of actively cultivating business relations and, to some extent, of mutually procuring jobs. Thus, the joint practice of the Swiss origins provides a good basis for cultivating these relationships. In this context, it can also be pointed out that the majority of these networks are of financial benefit, which is particularly important for the group of economic actors as well as their economic capital (Cf. Matthey and Steiner 2009: 13-14). After all, it is well known that personal contacts, especially in business relationships, play a major role for the success of the economic activity. The dominance of the economic actors in the respective networks can probably be explained precisely by these benefits.

The situation is different in the case of the individual Swiss. In possession of a strong local environment network, they are usually rarely in contact with other Swiss in Vienna and strongly reject the images of Switzerland conveyed by Swiss clubs abroad. On the one hand, this can be attributed to the critical questioning of their Swiss identity and, on the other hand, to the search for an explanation of the traditionally Swiss, which is often seen in close connection with the socialization. However, this critical attitude does not mean a less strong identification with Switzerland and its citizenship. As Leimgruber emphasizes, this is rather a positive but critical patriotism. On the one hand, the individual Swiss are proud of being a Swiss, but at the same time they are also critically questioning this citizenship from abroad (Cf. Leimgruber 2016: 35). Nevertheless, the connection to Switzerland and the existing Swiss contacts are maintained actively. However, this is only possible by using modern technology while they compensate the requirement for further Swiss contacts in Vienna. As globalization and migration increase, Swiss citizenship can thus be understood in its development from a primarily spatial to a network concept (Cf. Leimgruber 2016: 36).

In conclusion, it can be stated that the separation of the concept of nationality from that of citizenship, which has long been desired, is a far-reaching demand (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 637 and Cf. Isin 2012: 5-6). Although the process of identification in the context of citizenship is critically questioned, in particular by the individual Swiss citizens, it is not detached from national circumstances. As the research carried out has shown, there is a strong relationship to Switzerland despite the physical distance, which is expressed to a large extent through one's identity. Although this distance is accepted and adapted to the given circumstances of life, Switzerland still plays a decisive role in describing one's identity. This is simply because

citizenship is still understood as the legal basis on which the identification process takes place. This appears particularly interesting in the case of the Swiss abroad, who have built up a strong local network and do not feel the requirement of meeting other Swiss. Nevertheless, certain Swiss characteristics are pointed out in this context, which can only be found in Switzerland and which present them as unique (e.g. Swiss German dialect as well as certain stereotypes). This leads to an explanation of the identity based on the legal understanding of citizenship. Although it is precisely in this context that a procedural understanding of citizenship is desirable, the link between nationality and citizenship remains partly consciously constructed by the Swiss abroad (Cf. Çağlar 2015: 637). The same applies to the case of social citizenship, where the actual legal definition of citizenship does not have much in common with the social collective of the Swiss abroad institutions and its social relations.

Against this background, the two conclusions of the conference presented at the beginning of this thesis also apply to this case. On the one hand, both case groups identify strongly with their “original home country”, but on the other hand, there is an increased orientation towards Switzerland, especially abroad (Cf. Keller and Ruchti 2012: 3). Separated from the general Swiss population, there is a return to true or imagined Swiss values that are strongly supported through the Swiss nation-state. However, it is difficult to answer the question of how far the second point refers to an increased nationalization. In the view of the individual Swiss, however, this is particularly obvious in the case of the Swiss clubs abroad. In the view of the individual Swiss, this nationalization applies in particular to the Swiss abroad associations in Vienna. The extent to which these stereotypes or clichés are used for the purpose of the economic and social network of the Swiss community, however, is not questioned by the group of the individual Swiss citizens.

A separation of the two concepts mentioned above also appears to be particularly difficult due to the national interests behind this equation. In the case of the Swiss abroad in particular, this affects over 10.7% of the population, who are currently abroad and who represent an important aspect of the Swiss foreign policy. Therefore, it is not surprising that much effort is invested in strengthening and expanding these relations by the nation-state itself. A particularly striking example of this extent can be found in a foreword of the *Politorbis* by a former Federal Councillor of Switzerland, which explicitly addresses the Swiss abroad, “*You, dear Swiss abroad, are an important part of our country. You embody an open-minded, outgoing and well-connected Switzerland. You stand for a Switzerland that can cope well with*

change - and at the same time is aware of its traditions and cultivates them.”³³ (Burkhalter 2016: 6). In addition to the values or traditions mentioned, it is also obvious that the Swiss abroad are an important figurehead for Switzerland and its policies abroad. This includes not only an increasing political interest, but also a certain possibility of exerting influence in the emigration countries. However, the extent to which this influence is exercised in the specific case has to be left open here.

In this context, it would be interesting to carry out more extensive research on the topic of the Swiss abroad in Vienna or even Austria. In addition to the two case studies examined, age differences, possible distinctions in perception between the sexes and the language groups in Switzerland would also be of great interest in this context. However, answering these questions would require a broader and additional research priority. At this point, a comparison between different countries would also be of great interest, as this would reveal a great deal about the different views, the self-attributions as well as the identification processes of the individual communities of the Swiss abroad. Furthermore, the lack of literature or research on this thematic focus reveals considerable gaps and problems, which give an idea of how unexplored this topic actually is. The reason why research has not yet come to a closer and more intensive examination cannot be answered conclusively. It can only be assumed that, in contrast to immigration, emigration is of less interest in the Swiss society and is therefore usually suppressed by the strong discourse of immigrants within Switzerland (Cf. Leimgruber 2016: 33).

In addition, dealing with the emigration of Swiss citizens would probably require a more direct and critical view of the Swiss society itself in relation to its own structures. This would involve a blunt questioning of certain processes and systems that play a major role in the emigration of a large part of the Swiss (Cf. Keller and Ruchti 2012: 2). However, there is no doubt that it is worthwhile paying more attention to the issue of the identification with the Swiss citizenship and to learning more about the social effects of this process. After all, life without Swiss citizenship is unthinkable for many Swiss abroad. This is, as Ivo Dürr remarked at the beginning of his thesis, due to the fact that *“Once you have the Swiss passport [...] then you remain Swiss at heart.”*³⁴ (interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 74). In other

³³ Original transcript: *“Sie, liebe Auslandschweizerin, lieber Auslandschweizer, sind ein wichtiger Teil unseres Landes. Sie verkörpern eine offene, eine kontaktfreudige, eine gut vernetzte Schweiz, Sie stehen für eine Schweiz, die sich im Wandel gut zurechtfinden kann - und die sich zugleich ihrer Traditionen bewusst ist und diese pflegt.”* (Burkhalter 2016: 6).

³⁴ Original transcript: *“[...] wenn meh de Schwizr Pass hät, ich würd mol sage im Herze bleibt meh Schwizr.”* (interview with Ivo Dürr, pos. 74).

words, a Swiss remains a Swiss throughout his life, regardless of their immediate environment.

9. References

9.1 Primary Sources

9.1.1 Qualitative Interviews

INTERVIEW 1: Mr. Phillipp Baum*; cheese seller in the swiss cheese shop Jumi in Vienna; 6th March 2020 at 09:30am. The interview took place at the Jumi shop (Lange Gasse 28, 1080 Vienna). Duration: 24:08 minutes.

INTERVIEW 2: Mr. Christian Holzmeister; owner of *CH-BusinessDesign*, founder and head of the *ETH Alumni Chap*

ter Vienna and *São Paolo*, founder of the *CAS (Cercle Académique Suisse)*; 7th March 2020 at 3pm. The interview took place at the office of the firm *CH- BusinessDesign* (Mahlerstr. 3, 1010 Vienna). Duration: 1:18:04 hours.

INTERVIEW 3: Mr. Mario Frey*; dramatic advisor of the theatre Schauspielhaus in Vienna; 11th March 2020 at 3:15pm. The interview took place at the Café am Heumarkt (Heumarkt 15, 1030 Vienna). Duration: 33:32 minutes.

INTERVIEW 4: Mrs. Julia Schröder*; Student at the University of Applied Science and working at an international company in Vienna, head of the *Schweizer Auslandjugendparlament Österreich*, member of the executive board of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*; 19th March 2020 at 3pm. The interview took place outside at the Karlsplatz (Karlsplatz, 1010 Vienna). Duration: 1:09:45 hours.

INTERVIEW 5: Mrs. Laura Foerster*; owner and fitness coach of a fitness company and studio in Vienna; 19th March 2020 at 12:30pm. Interview through Skype. Duration: 21:15 minutes.

INTERVIEW 6: Mr. Ivo Dürr; Freelancer in the trade fair and exhibition sector, journalist of the *Schweizer Revue* for the regional section Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czech Republic and Hungary, delegate of the council of the *Auslandschweizerrat*, president in the making of the *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien* (at the moment vice president); 3rd May 2020 at 11am. Interview through Zoom. Duration: 50:10 minutes.

INTERVIEW 7: Mrs. Anna Krause*; Video Journalist and Reporter; 12th April 2020 at 1pm. Interview through Skype. Duration: 25:44 minutes.

INTERVIEW 8: Mr. Lucas Möller*; Student of *Theatre, Film and Media Studies* at the University of Vienna; 25th April 2020 at 11am. Interview through Skype. Duration: 31:47 minutes.

INTERVIEW 9: Mr. Jan Pfeifer*; Student of *German Philology* at the University of Vienna; 3rd May 2020 at 7:30pm. Interview through Skype. Duration: 18:50 minutes.

*The names of the interview partners were made anonymous due to data protection.

9.1.2 Online Group Meeting

DIGITAL VIDEO GROUP MEETING with members of the *Schweizer Stammtisch*, between twelve to fourteen members; 21st May 2020 at 8pm. Video group meeting through Jitsi. Duration: 2:46 hours.

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10. List of Figures

Fig. 1 *Overview of all the recognized associations and organizations by the ASO in Austria.* Created by Nora Schmid using PowerPoint, 21.07.2020.

Fig. 2 *Overview of all the Swiss associations and organizations in or around Vienna.* Created by Nora Schmid using PowerPoint, 21.07.2020.

Fig. 3 *Overview of the five associations and organizations in Vienna examined.* Created by Nora Schmid using PowerPoint, 23.07.2020.

11. Abstract

Abstract (English)

This thesis is intended to investigate the identification of foreign citizens with their respective citizenship. In doing so, the tension between the legal vs. the social citizenship is to be examined closely in the context of a particular foreign community network, namely the Swiss community in Vienna, which looks back on a long and far-reaching history of associations. Selected Swiss associations (e.g. *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*) as well as their related networks are examined in view of the perception of their citizenship and compared with the one of individual Swiss citizens who are not part of such networks. Of particular interest are the different perceptions and the identification with one's own citizenship, which is mainly constructed through the common Swiss German language, the differentiation through a country comparison as well as the identification with stereotypical images of Switzerland. Although the two case studies show clear differences in the perception of their citizenship, the understanding of the identification process is nevertheless based on legal citizenship to a large extent. Although social citizenship also plays an important role in Swiss clubs abroad, this is rather due to social interactions or benefits and has little to do with the actual identification.

Abstract (Deutsch)

In dieser Masterarbeit soll die Identifikation von ausländischen Bürgern und Bürgerinnen mit ihrer jeweiligen Staatsangehörigkeit untersucht werden. Dabei soll das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen der legalen und der sozialen Staatsbürgerschaft im Kontext einer bestimmten Auslandsgemeinschaft genauer untersucht werden. Als Fallbeispiel dient die Schweizer Auslandsgemeinde in Wien, die auf eine lange und weit reichende Vereinsgeschichte zurückblickt. Ausgewählte Schweizer Vereine (z.B. die *Schweizer Gesellschaft Wien*) sowie die mit ihnen verbundenen Netzwerke werden im Hinblick auf die Wahrnehmung ihrer Staatsbürgerschaft untersucht und mit der von einzelnen Schweizer Bürgerinnen oder Bürgern, die nicht Teil solcher Netzwerke sind, verglichen. Von besonderem Interesse sind dabei die unterschiedlichen Wahrnehmungen sowie die Identifikation mit der eigenen Staatsbürgerschaft, die vor allem durch die gemeinsame schweizerdeutsche Sprache, die Differenzierung durch einen Ländervergleich zwischen Österreich und der Schweiz sowie die Identifikation mit stereotypisierten Klischees der Schweiz konstruiert wird. Obwohl die beiden Fallstudien deutliche Unterschiede in der Wahrnehmung der eigenen Staatsbürgerschaft aufweisen, basiert das Verständnis des Identifikationsprozesses dennoch zu einem großen Teil auf der legalen Staatsbürgerschaft. Zwar spielt die soziale

Staatsbürgerschaft auch in Schweizer Auslandsvereinen eine wichtige Rolle, doch ist dies eher auf soziale Interaktionen oder Leistungen zurückzuführen, welche nur wenig mit einer eigentlichen Identifizierung zu tun hat.