Szwajcaria: sfragmentaryzowany naród w szkole? Analiza porównawcza uczenia historii w starszych klasach szkół średnich w kantonach Vaud, Ticino i Zurich.

Praca magisterska

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Kraków 2015
Master of Arts Thesis
Euroculture

University of Groningen (Home)

University of Krakow (Host)

Switzerland: a fragmented Nation at School?
A cross-comparative analysis in history teaching at upper-secondary level between the
cantons of Vaud, Ticino and Zurich

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Declaration

I, Mickaël Maillé hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “Switzerland: a fragmented Nation at School?”, submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within this text of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the bibliography.

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INTRODUCTION

The global economy has enabled prodigious mobility of people; societies are closely intertwined and the resulting cross-border movements of people generate multiple identity belongings. Consequently, cultural norms are being shaken and reshaped into a larger frame than the Nation-State. European societies have been experiencing profound identity crises in the last decades.¹ Heated debates over the topic of national identity take place in most European countries, often catalysed by anti-immigration movements. Last year, Switzerland triggered a new wave of controversy after a national popular referendum lead to a drastic constitutional change, which considerably reduced the amount of immigrant workers coming to Switzerland ²; although populists movements across Europe capitalise mostly on economic and social factors, the Swiss have not been as affected by the economic crisis³ and the rejection of foreigners seems to be grounded in cultural issues. In the same year, a national survey revealed that a substantial part of the Swiss population considered immigrant workers as the largest threat to Swiss national identity.⁴ In fact, citizens of EU border countries - France, Germany and Italy alone - constitute approximately one quarter of the Swiss total population and about a third of the Swiss active labour force.⁵ The confrontation with EU citizens from neighbouring countries might have provoked a revival of inward-looking attitudes towards Swiss identity and nourished nationalist movements. However, this seems quite paradoxical as Switzerland’s great cultural diversity directly derives from its neighbouring countries. Furthermore, multi layers of identification exist within the country in relation to the local communities, the cantons, the linguistic regions and the nation, which interrelate in a complex manner. Swiss express a strong feeling of local patriotism⁶ and the language barrier between the French, German and Italian speakers leads in many respects to a “bunkerization” of the three linguistic regions.

¹ John Hoffman, Citizenship Beyond the State (SAGE, 2004).
⁵ ‘La Population de La Suisse 2013’ (Office fédéral de la statistique OFS, 2014).
⁶ Ibid. "Trotz dieses hohen Nationalstolzes fühlen sich die Schweizerinnen und Schweizer, wohl für niemanden überraschend, am stärksten ihrer Wohngemeinde zugehörig (44%). Es folgen die Nation (20%) und der Wohnkanton (18%) und, mit etwas Abstand, aber in den letzten Jahren doch etwas aufholend, die Sprachregion (14%)."
The complicated interrelation between the various cultural minorities and linguistic communities raises the following question: on what basis is a cohesive national identity built and how is it achieved? A survey institute recently published that Swiss people consider history as the greatest bearer of national identity. As a matter of fact, the transmission of memory and the construction of national consensus around History plays an important role in building a "national identity", as shown by the example of the "Commission Bergier", a committee entrusted from 1996 to 2005 with the mission of reviewing the controversial relationship to Nazi Germany during the Second World War. This example emphasises the role of the State as a guardian of national memory.

Historically, public schooling is one of the main instruments of the State to transmit national memory. Public education thus becomes the instrument of mobilisation *par excellence* to instruct the pupils of the nation to whom and to what we owe our existence as a country. In the case of Switzerland however, the State presents a loose control over the education system and in particular the teaching of (Swiss) History at school. The profound federal decentralized structure is also reflected in the education system. Since the creation of the modern Switzerland in 1848, the Swiss education system has declined in 26 variations. In other words, each canton has its own Ministry of education, which is granted extensive legislative and directive powers. Additionally, cantonal schools enjoy great autonomy in determining subject content and objectives. Ultimately, teachers are free to choose and create their own teaching material; the federal government does not impose any particular history textbooks or other type of teaching material. It results in great variations in the conception of teaching curricula and subject content, which might cause different reading of (national) history. Moreover, the various linguistic communities might present different conceptions of society and bring forward different viewpoints upon Swiss past and identity. Furthermore, History as a subject is taught only to a low amount of students. The Swiss education system is characterized by the importance dedicated to vocational training; indeed, two-third of the students enrolled in secondary education attend vocational schools. A large amount of those students are allocated only a minimum number of hours to the learning of History or not at all. Moreover, recently the subject History was even removed from the curricula of twenty-one German-speaking cantons at the first circle of upper-secondary education.

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Since teaching education and, in particular, history at school represents one of the main instrument for conveying national identity, how can Swiss identity be constructed upon a loose legal framework, which allocates great legislative autonomy to the cantons as well as schools and grants upper-secondary teachers an extensive freedom in deciding over which subject content and teaching material they employ? We can assume that great variations in history teaching, and therefore in the transmission of collective past, would hinder the construction of a Swiss identity. Consequently, we need to raise the question why is the Swiss federal State not willing to impose instructions over the conception of history curricula and the teaching material in use by teachers, especially in regards to sensitive periods of Swiss history, such as both World Wars which continue to polarize public opinion. We thus need to understand what alternative forms of collective consensus have emerged instead in the various linguistic regions and across the Swiss cantons.

In order to answer my research question, I will conduct a cross-cultural comparative analysis between the French, Italian and German speaking parts of Switzerland. More specifically, I have selected three cantons to compare the variations of History teaching in Switzerland; namely the cantons of Vaud, Zurich and Ticino respectively from the French, German and Italian speaking regions. The Swiss diversified cultural and societal landscape is ideally suitable for a cross-cultural study, which will enable me to crystalize cultural trends and ontological differences in relation to the teaching of history; more importantly, the comparative study will enable me to identity whether a unified vision of national past and national identity is made possible despite all the disparities, or if social consensus is in place in regards to Switzerland as a collective unit in history. I place my research within the field of comparative education, which allows me to analyse internal social and cultural specificities\textsuperscript{10} as it is motivated by the desire of „understanding the other in its differences“\textsuperscript{11} and offers a suitable framework for examining variations in history teaching. In general, the Nation-State is considered as a default unit of comparison for comparative studies.\textsuperscript{12} Since the 1990s, trends are to compare national school systems from different countries, largely because schools are considered the mirror of society.\textsuperscript{13} However, international comparative studies mainly involve international ranking comparisons,
measurement of performances and rarely take a sociologist and anthropological approach.\textsuperscript{14} In this respect, my research departs from the traditional prism of political sciences and economic studies. Moreover, the majority of educative comparative studies conducted in Switzerland have „looked out rather than within“ \textsuperscript{15}, therefore the State of research in Switzerland is not exploiting the fertile ground that presents the Swiss education systems and the Swiss multi-cultural landscape. Already at the beginning of the 19th century, Marc-Antoine Julien, who is considered as one of the founders of comparative education, saw in Switzerland a „microcosm that exactly mirrored the European macrocosm because of the great variety of climates, languages, religions, political organizations and governments in the 22 cantons of the Helvetic Confederation, an infinite variety of educational establishments and systems, reproducing every possible known form to be found there“\textsuperscript{16}. Since few studies on the topic of Swiss identity have used comparative education as a unit of observation, I place my thesis research into a wide research gap.\textsuperscript{17} I also wish to contribute to the academic field of comparative education as well as to the field of sociology in conducting a national comparative research on identity building in view of the teaching of history in Switzerland.

My analysis focuses on the post-obligatory schooling period of the upper-secondary level or so-called „secondaire 2“ in French; which relates to the last four years of study of high school. This specific schooling period is particularly of interest since it is rarely a subject of study in Switzerland. Over the last few years, much focus was placed on the primary part of the upper-secondary level (so-called „secondaire 1“) because regional initiatives have been undertaken for harmonizing school requirements and curricula objectives separately in the German, French and Italian speaking cantons; whereas the „secondaire 2“ remains largely fragmented in terms of curricula objectives and subject content. Therefore, upper-secondary level is a suitable ground for comparative analysis and allows me to bring a substantial contribution to the field. Moreover, the advanced age of students enrolled in higher education is a significant factor because their reasoning capacity influence greatly the way they perceive and understand history and conceptualize the significance of collective history and national identity. Furthermore, the three selected cantons for my case study can be considered samples of the three Swiss linguistic minorities. In this respect, they are officially “monolingual”; in

\textsuperscript{14} Leonie Schüssler and Bruno Leutwyler, ‘The Ambiguous Future of a Discipline: Comparative Education in Switzerland’, in Comparative Education at Universities World Wide. (The University of Hong Kong - Bureau for Educational Services, 2008).

\textsuperscript{15} Bruno Leutwyler and Leonie Schüssler, ‘L’éducation Comparée En Suisse – Statut et Développement D’une Discipline de Recherche’ (Centre Suisse de coordination pour la recherche en éducation, 2008).

\textsuperscript{16} ‘Marc-Antoine Julien (“Julien de Paris”), p16.

\textsuperscript{17} Schüssler and Leutwyler, ‘The Ambiguous Future of a Discipline: Comparative Education in Switzerland’.
other words, they represent a population of respectively German, French and Italian speakers for the cantons of Zurich, Vaud and Ticino in comparison of other cantons such as Freiburg and Valais, which promote bilingualism because they find themselves on the borders of French and German linguistic territories. Moreover, the three cantons of my case study are geographically opposed and even though their populations size differ, the proportion of students enrolled in Gymnasium schools is relatively even for 1.12%, 0.64% and 1.64% in relation of the total population respectively for the cantons of Vaud, Zurich and Ticino.18

At the upper-secondary level, the same three types of school are represented in each canton; my study focuses on the „Gymnasium“ school type, which assigns the most importance to the teaching of History. In fact, it is the school with the greatest humanist tradition and a large amount of the students are pursuing humanist studies into tertiary education, therefore the teaching of History is likely to have a greater impact on them. Moreover, unlike vocational schools with multiple and fragmented study tracks, the Gymnasien offer comparable courses of study, which will enable me to conduct a more accurate comparative study. For the purpose of my case study I have selected three Gymnasium schools with similar profiles: the “Kantonalschule Gymnasion Hohe Promenade” in the canton of Zurich, the “Gymnase de Nyon” in the canton of Vaud and “Liceo cantonale Lugano I” in the canton Ticino. The three schools offer general studies similar in length and structure with emphasis on humanities subjects, and thus history. Moreover, I was able to engage a fruitful correspondence with the coordinators for the subject history of each of the school, who eventually shared bits of their teaching practices and pedagogical material with me for the purpose of my research analysis.

The thesis is structured in three main chapters. The first chapter intends to ground my work into a conceptual framework. In this first section I will consider public education in view of collective memory; for this purpose I will define the concept of nation and Nation-State and illustrate the role of State education as a potent instrument in the construction of Nation-States. Thereupon, I will present how collective memory can influence collective identity and explain why collective memory delivers an account of our place in the world as a national collective unit. The second chapter aims at delivering an in depth-view of the Swiss cultural and societal landscape and illustrates the reasons why identities tend to be extremely localized in Switzerland. In this regard, I will explain how the Swiss federal and decentralized political system strengthens the local and regional identity; thereon I will analyse the way the

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18 ‘Statistique de L’éducation En Suisse 2013’ (Office fédéral de la statistique OFS, 2014).
decentralized political structure is reflected upon the education system and provide a strong basis for cantonal autonomy. In that last section of the second chapter, I will investigate what views on history teaching result from the localized ontological differences from the French, German and Italian linguistic communities, and how they seem to confront the national past, in particular in view of the Second World War.

The third chapter is dedicated to my empirical research, in which I will conduct a comparative analysis of the normative legal framework and curricula for the subject history as well as a content analysis of sample of teaching material. In the first section, I will analyse the various cantonal laws, school decrees and federal regulations that compose the educative legal framework and therefore lay the basis for my analysis. In this regard, the three cantons I have selected are of particular interest since they present three different decision-making models for the conception of curricula. In Zurich, curricula content are decided at the school level, whereas in Ticino a committee of historians and teachers conceives them, and in the canton of Vaud school representatives negotiate with the cantonal department of education. It thus lays the basis for a comparative analysis of history curricula, which I will conduct in a second part of this chapter. More specifically, I will compare the history curricula in use in the three schools of my case study as well as the “umbrella curriculum” from the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education. The analysis of curricula is central to my study because they determine the nature of subject content, that is to say that they deliver directives on what historical facts and events to tackle in the classrooms. Curricula also provide instructions on the methodology to employ and give conceptual definitions of what is the role of history teaching. The choice of teaching material remains however a teacher’s prerogative and responsibility.

Nevertheless, in the last section, I will illustrate that the choices of material made by the teachers are based upon cooperative work that involve interrelation and exchanges among the teaching community. Therefore, teachers’ individual choices might in fact reflect academic and social consensus. Finally, I will compare three samples of teaching material in use by three teachers respectively from the three schools selected for my case study. In order to delimit my research analysis, I will study samples of material regarding the teaching of the Second World War and analyse how collective memory and national history is constructed and encoded in view of this tumultuous period of time in Swiss and World history. Therefore, I am conducting a “historical discourse analysis”, in which I am comparing what significant events, facts and figures are emphasised and which ones have been omitted. In this context, I
am analysing the place dedicated to Swiss history and how Swiss history is presented. From a broader standpoint, I am considering what perspective on history is used; whether it is a reading of history that takes Switzerland as a unit of observation or whether it promotes pluri-perspectivness and a more holistic approach on history. However, my study does not comprehend an analysis of the pedagogical methods employed by the teachers, neither does it enclose the actual impact on the students as I am primarily concerned with the „intended impact“ through the teaching material. Therefore, this study does not intend to measure the actual impact of the teaching of history on the students; that is to say, how is the teaching affecting the students in view of Swiss national identity.
Chapter 1 – Public education in view of collective memory

1) The place of education in nation building

“The nation is a spiritual principal, a family; it results of the profound complications of History.”

In his speech “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” delivered in 1882 at the Sorbonne University, Ernest Renan exposes three essential elements of what constitutes a nation: the spiritual character, the family aspect and the link to history. Renan rejects the essentialist approach, which bases its existence on ethnological criteria, in other words on the basis of a common race. He also rejects the argumentation that a unique language or religions alone are factors strong enough to determine a nation. In fact, numerous populations of the same nations at his time already practiced different religions and languages; not least Switzerland, which allowed two official religions and three national languages already since the foundation of the Swiss Confederation in 1848. Switzerland finds itself in an undecipherable mountain landscape, which runs indiscriminately into French, German and Italian speaking territories; therefore the geographical boundaries cannot be held synonyms of cultural boundaries. What elements then compose a nation, what binds members of the same nation together?

According to Renan, nations answer to spiritual principles, by extension they can also be considered spiritual families.Montserrat Guibernau supports Renan’s view and explain that “people regard the nation as some of kind of an extended family, as a community within which they have a stake, as a homeland within which they matter and they can expect to be assisted when in need”. The allegory of the family gives a sense of continuity to the nation but also emphasizes the bound of solidarity, which unites the members of the community; it provides a basis and perspective for the construction of a collective future and thus reveal a significant aspect of what compounds a nation. Indeed, nations want to place themselves in a broad space-time continuum in promoting a vision of a shared future and present unbroken

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19 Jean-Marie Tremblay, ‘Ernest Renan - Qu’est-Ce Qu’une Nation?’ (Les classiques des sciences sociales, 4 October 2010), p49 Une nation est un principe spirituel, résultant des complications profondes de l’histoire, une famille’.

20 Ernest Renan, Qu’est-ce qu’une nation ?, Réédition (Mille et une nuits, 1997).

21 Tremblay, ‘Ernest Renan - Qu’est-Ce Qu’une Nation?’, p39 Comment la Suisse qui a trois langues, 2 religions, trois ou quatre races, est-elle une nation, quand la Toscane, par exemple qui est si homogène, n’en est pas une?

A common destiny and continuity are indeed two essential aspects of what constitute a nation. In his book “Nationalism”, John Hutchinson gives the following definition of what is a nation: “A named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with homeland and a sense of solidarity at least among some of its members.” The relation to history and the past plays a crucial role in defining what is a nation; therefore a nation relies on the transmission of the memory of a common past and the cultural legacy, which underlines the necessity of providing the people with national binding elements.

Furthermore, Benedict Anderson presents the nation as realm of mental constructs; henceforth communities are still to “be distinguished by the style in which they are imagined”. In this respect, Anthony D. Smith recognizes the concept of nation as a “socially engineered and constructed community”. The national community is socially created; as a result, nations appear and disappear. In this respect, Ernest Gellner claims that nationalism has sometimes transformed existing cultures, invented new ones or destroyed others for the sake of shaping a nation.

Indeed, since the French Revolution, States as political entities have incorporated nation into a more comprehensive framework until the cause of the nation became the cause of the State: a national cause. In 1792, the “Convention Nationale” declared that the nation became “the body of society, in which people live under the same rule of law and are represented by the same rule of law”. The metaphor used henceforth is the one of a living body, which binds all its members by the force of law. The nation and the State become one entity indisociable from one another. The French Revolution is commonly considered to have brought upon the modern concept of nation-State. Ever since, the model of nation-State has mushroomed over the world while each State wanted to justify and legitimate its existence insofar that Benedict Anderson declared that today “Nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time”.

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26 Berton, The Identity of Nations.
Since nations are constructed, it is relevant to reflect upon the means deployed by the States to ensure the existence of the nation and its continuity. In fact, the legitimacy of a nation-State starts as an inward-looking process. By definition, Nation-States need to distinguish themselves in relation of others and by an “ethnocentric” attitude; they are looking, judging and evaluating other cultures from its own perspective. In this respect, State education has greatly contributed and still greatly contributes to internal justification processes upon which nations-States are building their national identity.

Karina Korostelina claims that “history education is one of the most important mechanisms in the continuing process of the establishment of the modern nation-State” and thus underlines that the “establishment” of the nation-State is an evolving construction. Moreover, national school instruction enacts and extends memberships to all the members of the national community; thereupon individuals are expected to find their primary identification with the nation. Beyond that, the school becomes the State’s principal organ of transmission as well as living memory, therefore, school can be considered as the physical embodiment of the nation. As such, it binds all “nationals” together and set cultural boundaries. From a constructivist approach, cultural patterns are the essence of our identity as individual but also of society as a whole. The factors responsible for our identity development are variable but they are also a matter of choice; although it is difficult to determine how much choice we really have since we are conditioned by our social environment. Therefore, it makes us raise a significant question: what is the place of State education in shaping our social environment and determining our choices?

Louis René de Chalotais, a French jurist published an “Essay on national education” in 1763, in which he urged the French State to substitute to the education provided by the Catholic Church and declared “the children of the State should be educated by the State”. By the turn of the 18th century, most States in Europe had indeed compelling interests in providing

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34 Dieckhoff, La Nation dans tous ses États.
education to the masses or at least to a large part of society in order to ensure loyalty and construct citizenry in the newly formed or forming nation-States. The desire or need to create universal education responded to different historical conjecture in the different European countries. As a matter of fact, the implementation of State education systems have taken place since the late 18th century until the early 20th century, during which the two World Wars marked a watershed in the history of mass education. The first country in Europe that enacted a national State education system was Prussia in 1763 and the last one was Belgium in 1914, nearly 150 years later, which testifies of a long and unequal process. Independently from economic health, the political and social forces at stake varied greatly from one country to another in Europe. Some countries have forged an homogenous institutionalized educational system, in this respect France is often considered as a leading example whereas Switzerland is seen as counter example because the Helvetic Confederation has always promoted a decentralized education system, which grants extended autonomy to local and regional political entities. As further detailed in chapter 2, Switzerland has opted for a “soft harmonization” of its public educative system, which is built upon 26 autonomous departments of education and thus presents numerous local variations in public schooling.

At the beginning of the 19th century, European States had to breach from the monopoly of education hold by the Church; they tried to overcome the religious forces, do compromises or impose their will on them. Certainly, the Church was until then part of the spiritual and political landscape and contributed largely to the shaping of individual identities and beliefs. In reply, religious forces tended to block the creation of national education systems in numerous countries, most of all in France where the French State tried to subordinate the Catholic Church to the State power and mainly reduce its influence to the spiritual sphere. The Swiss Confederation equally took on from the Church as the main and legitimate body in charge of educating the people but the profound divisions between the Catholic, Protestants and Lutheran communities remained vivid and this disunion was also reflected at school.

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38 Laurence and Nicola, Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c.1870-1930.
39 Ibid.
41 Foster Simone, ‘La Suisse, Le Pays Des Multiples Systèmes de Formation’ (Institut de recherche et de documentation pédagogique - IRDP Neuchâtel, 2007).
Over the course of the XXth century, States in Europe have grasped the value of achieving universal education within their territories. Education was long conceived as a privilege granted to a few and eventually became available to the masses beyond the primary classes. Teachers became the extended arm and voice of the State and were charged to inculcate citizens’ rights and duties. Nevertheless, most families from poor or underprivileged backgrounds had no interest in the spread of an educated workforce and regarded the massive enrolment of the populations into newly created State schools negatively for it would mainly benefit the already educated classes; therefore it was often referred to as a “bourgeois desiderarium”. Indeed, many families could not spare sending their children to schools since they were their main labour forces and sources of income. However, traditional ties had broken because of the industrialized economy model and pushed for a shift in the mentality. Henceforth, public education increasingly becomes a synonym for social mobility.

Yasemin Nuhoglu argues that State education helps constructing national citizenry regardless of social class, regional origins, ethnic group and gender differences and prepares the citizens to “undertake the role necessary to enhance the external power of the State”. In Switzerland, public education was largely used as an instrument for promoting social cohesion and a better balance of social forces. From the end of the 19th century to the Second World War, public school attempted to remediate to poverty and improve health condition. By the end of the 1950s, the upper-secondary school becomes available to all and thus fosters the concept of meritocracy. Therefore, public instruction in Switzerland was not perceived in such as means for increasing the power of the State but rather attempted to put all members of society on a “horizontal comradeship” by fostering social integration.

The advancement of mass public education logically followed the curve of development of nation-States; therefore it is also largely framed into a context of interState competition. States had a keen interest in emulating their European counterparts if they had had any success in implementing a modern State educational system. Countries went so far as to

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43 Francois Stocco, ‘École - évolution, regards croisés’ (Institut de recherche et de documentation pédagogique, September 2009).
44 Laurence and Nicola, Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c. 1870-1930.
46 Laurence and Nicola, Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c. 1870-1930.
47 Francois Stocco, ‘Écoles, Évolution et Regards Croisés’ (Institut de recherche et de documentation pédagogique - IRDP Neuchâtel, September 2009).
48 Anderson, Imagined Communities, p8.
confront publicly their innovations at the international exhibitions, where they dedicated special attention in exposing entire pavilions devoted to education at the occasion of international fairs. Maroussia Raveaud explains that “school progressively becomes considered as part of a broader social body, in which we search for the keys of the specificities of society; education asserts itself as a national matter”. Therefore, States in Europe increasingly become aware of the fact that public educational systems can be used as an instrument for fulfilling their “political raison d’être”.

The First World War became a national matter of higher instance and became a turning point in the history of national mass educational schooling. State national education systems promoted the inculcation of a sense of a common territory to love and defend, which already went beyond the positive endorsement of citizen-subjects. Nationals were also called to defend the cultural boundaries of the nation. In this respect, the war acted as a catalyst for enforcing social and national identity. In Switzerland, the society was extremely polarized during the events of the First War and there were significant tensions and frictions between the French and German speaking part of the country, which respectively supported France and German during the conflict. However, we can assume that the social and cultural tensions were not much reflected through the decentralized education system since the central government could not impose official national views on the conflict.

With the intensification of the nation-State model, mass education systems became central in this model and expanded rapidly through the 1940s and 1950s. An extensive education bureaucracy comes into being. The State pays greater attention to the design of curricula and the training of teachers. Those are two fundamental elements; on the one hand, school curricula set directives and guidelines on subject content and create the frame, which places the Nation-State into a broader historical time line. On the other, teachers are entrusted with the mission of delivering a shared vision of the future and a common reading of the past. In

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50 Raveaud, ‘L’éducation comparée’, p381 L’école devient progressivement à être considérée comme un élément dans un ensemble sociale plus vaste, on y cherche les clées de la spécificité de la société; l’éducation s’affirme comme un enjeu national".
51 Ibid. ‘La naissance au XIXiem siècle de systèmes publics d’éducation conduit à une prise de conscience de la diversität dans les réalisations concrètes et dans les raisons d’être politiques”.
this regard, curricula reflect the most recent academic works that scientifically demonstrate and justify the origins of the nation. For this purpose, national archives are built in which national documents related to the formation and origins of the nations are carefully stored; State seminars are organized for teachers, during which they are instructed which historical lines to follow in their classes.\textsuperscript{55} Mass education allows a top-down process in which the State establishes a dialogue with its people, teachers may then be considered as the symbolic and tangible link between the nation-States and the people.\textsuperscript{56} The primary goal of the teachers is to explain the geographical and mental limits of the nation; they give a sense of a collective territory, of collectiveness and appeal the people to conceive the nation as their home from a spiritual and physical perspective.\textsuperscript{57} In other words, they are delivering the people a sense of national identity.

In Switzerland, an “educative fewer” swallows the country since the early 1910s, which is accompanied by the construction of school buildings according to a new national invented fashioned: the “Heimatstil”\textsuperscript{58}. The word derives from the German word “Heimat”, which signifies the local patria and bears the meaning of a mental patria as well as the land of origin. In the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the schools were given the name of “palaces of the people” because they aimed at attracting the lower class citizens, generate a sense of belonging with the homeland; the architecture in itself had to show the importance of public education.\textsuperscript{59} Unlike most of European countries, the teachers did not have to comply with a top-down process from the State to the people because of the very nature of the Swiss localized school system. Therefore, we can argue that the limits of the nation, both mentally and geographically, may also be reduced to the local or regional community.

John Stuart Mill argues that the role of school is to build up social relations among individuals and arouse a sense of collectiveness. Those are absolute conditions for the continuity of society because society is above all a consciousness: the consciousness of the collective.”\textsuperscript{60} In the following part, we will attempt to determine how school is helping achieving a national identity through the collective consciousness.

\textsuperscript{57} Berdün, The Identity of Nations, p21.
\textsuperscript{58} Simone, ‘La Suisse, Le Pays Des Multiples Systèmes de Formation’, p2.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{60} Raveaud, ‘L’éducation comparée’, p381’L’école a pour rôle d’apprendre à tisser des relations sociales et de succiter une vie collective, condition même de la pérennité d’une société: la société est avant tout une conscience: c’est la conscience de la collectivité’.
2) How collective memory constructs collective identity

In the previous part we have established that the nation may be understood as the largest collective entity we can conceive. In order to keep the memory of the collective alive, a nation possesses its own “historical capital” and “reserves of memory”\(^61\). Indeed, people need to keep believing in the nation for it to continue existing.\(^62\) The nation partly justifies its existence or finds its legitimacy through collective remembrance; which places the nation into a broad time continuum and therefore validates its *raison d’être*. In other words, the collective memory forges the character of the nation. In this regard, we must raise the questions: what should the collective remember? And what is it to be remembered of the collective? Provided that education is the extended arm of the State, how is collective remembrance instrumented in the form of public mass education and how is it able to shape identity? To a further extent and from a more general perspective, on what do we build and share our memories?

Emile Durkheim explains that education, instruction and language are “ready-made social patterns”\(^63\); as a result their collective representations become “mental reality”. As a matter of fact, school is the main conveyer of education as well as instruction; in this respect it contributes shaping what Norbet Elias refers as the “social habitus”\(^64\), that is to say that individuals are the resulting product of their external social environment. Unmistakably, pupils build up the greater part of their knowledge and understanding of society at school since an early age; therefore they are very much likely to be conditioned by the school environment. However difficult it is to outline what particular aspects related to school and its teaching are responsible for identity development of the students; we can nevertheless assume that the teaching content contribute to it greatly.

Maurice Halbwachs explains that every man “retains the imprint of society”.\(^65\) He demonstrated that it is barely possible to distinguish between individual psychology and individual consciousness from the collective psychology and collective consciousness because “collective thought exists only in individual consciousness and represents the

\(^{61}\) Nora, ‘Between Memory and History’.

\(^{62}\) Julia Haldemann, ‘Sprachnationalismus, nationale Standardvarietät und nationale Identität in einem mehrsprachigen Land am Beispiel der Deutschschweizer Sprachsituation’ (Germanistisches Institut der Universität Wien, 2013), p3 “Ihre Existenz ist das Ergebnis des Glaubens an ihre Existenz”.


\(^{65}\) Halbwachs, ‘Individual Consciousness and Collective Mind’.
interacting States of consciousness of a number of individuals comprising the group”.

Collective consciousness manifests itself mainly through a common memory of the collective; State education provides for such a memory of the collective in creating “collective acts and representations”, which in return shape collective identity partly because it places national identity above other social groups and allows transcending other individual and collective identity’s association. In this regard, Durkheim argues that the school’s mission is to emancipate the individual from other social groups, which would also enable the State to ensure that the identification with the nation prevails over other social groups.

Collective identities are indeed multiple and they are not the results of one single collective memory construction. Paul Connerton explains that individuals derive their identity from the “narratives” of multiple groups, which interconnect and overlap with one another. The “school of the nation” thus becomes the binding organ across all groups since it “overcomes social boundaries and creates public representation of a collective identity as an ideology.”

Ideology is intimately linked to collective memory because memory is driven by ideologies. Par nature, man is a social and ideological creature and thus feels the need to belong with larger groups of individuals. Maurice Halbwachs puts forward the concept of “pensées sociales” and “temps collectifs”, which can be understood as collective social constructs of time. Social constructs are plural, which underlines that individuals can identify themselves with various collective thinking or collective thoughts. However, the school is entrusted with the mission of providing the nation with a collective consciousness and in so doing it places itself over the course of History.

In this regard, Halbwachs declares that “no society could exist, endure or even become aware of its own being if it did not show and use the capacity of embracing elements of the present and the past as well as the capacity of hovering over the marks it left on History.”

Halbwachs raises the question of how a nation becomes and remains self-aware of its own

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66 Ibid., p812.
70 Connerton, How Societies Remember.
71 Anderson, Imagined Communities.
73 Ibid., p64 ‘Comment une société, quelle qu’elle soit, pourrait-elle exister, subsister, prendre conscience d’elle-même, si elle n’embrassait point d’un regard un ensemble d’événements présents et passés, si elle n’avait pas la faculté de remonter le cours du temps, et de repasser sans cesse sur les traces qu’elle a laissées d’elle-même?’.
history, how should we look upon the national past from a present perspective and what past events should we retain?

According to Aleida Assmann, societies create and preserve self-interpretation images, in which State schools are important organs of transmission. She argues that the respective creation and preservation of memories play a key role in setting the path for the future. In order to better understand how important collective memory is for self-interpreting society, Paul Connerton illustrates it with the case of a national amnesia. In the case of a collective amnesia, Connerton argues that if a nation had to be deprived of her national consciousness because the citizens were stripped of their collective memory it would result in a loss of oneself at the scale of the nation, a loss of collective entity. It is referred as a “deconstruction of social memory”. Connerton explains that the phenomenon is typically experienced under totalitarian regimes, which attempt to suppress the memory of the people in muzzling the intelligencia and shaping a new collective memory more suitable to the ideology and the needs imposed by the ruling elite. School thus becomes an instrument of mobilization par excellence in promoting and fostering aggressive State ideologies. Totalitarian regimes such as Nazism or Fascism turned the masses against the minority groups; school became a powerful instrument for indoctrinating the masses, which were taught the regime’s ideologies that denied the minority group their legitimacy and identity.

It is then crucial to understand what means are employed for selecting and (re)producing memory. Connerton States, “our memories are located within the mental and material space of the group”. Our memory of the collective is made through the construction of a collective or self-image, which requires the use of collective acts as much as tangible elements or places with great significance, “lieux de mémoire”. In his book “how societies remember” he States: “The group could not be born, survive, and become aware of itself without relying on certain visible forms in space. That is why it is necessary to study the material manifestations and expressions”. The visible forms in space can refer to architecture or memorial monuments. Moreover, material manifestations can also take the form of school material, which also

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75 Connerton, How Societies Remember, p14.
77 Connerton, How Societies Remember, p37.
78 Connerton, How Societies Remember.
greatly contribute to the creation and preservation of national collective memory. In this respect, textbooks are useful instruments for divulging national history based on national coordinated history curricula. Halbwachs claims that “time is only real in regards of the flow of events it can present,” which explains why some historical facts may be presented and explained in different manners from one country to another. Consequently, memories of the same events are passed differently from one generation to another according to the country and therefore create different collective memory of the same historical events. For example, the Second World War is “remembered” differently in the various European countries. In this respect, German and French governments published a common history textbook, which is meant as a powerful symbolic reconciliation gesture after three destructive wars in less than a century. The joint effort project aims at presenting a common understanding and appreciation of the past; the first common history book was published in 2006. The initiative was shortly emulated by the Polish and German authorities as another powerful gesture of reconciliation between the two countries.

Indeed, the construction of a collective memory provides a suitable framework for placing and prioritizing historical events, values and norms; Jan Assmann refers to it as the “hierarchy of memories.” Within such a hierarchy some facts and events are more emphasized than others, which can maximize or minimize the role of a country towards specific events; notably in relation of a disturbing past. One of the nation central raison d’être thus remains to enable its members to transcend individual destinies; as a large collective unite, the nation gives us a more “ambitious account of our place in the world by telling us about the historic achievements and failures.” In this regard, collective memory creates and sustains national myths that tell about the origins of the nation and who were the first people to inhabit the present national territory. In this respect, Fernant Braudel States that our individual and collective acts are largely (pre) determined by the acts and memories of our ancestors, which have been passed on to us through the collective memory and names it: “retrospective

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80 Halbwachs, ‘La Mémoire Collective et Le Temps’, p65 ‘Le temps n’est reel que dans la mesure où il a un contenu, c’est à dire où il offer une matière d’évenements à la pensé.’
83 Assmann, *Kollektives Gedächtnis Und Kulturelle Identität*.
determinism”85. However, “national myths need to be constantly reinvented because individuals and collective identities evolve continually.”86 In other words, national narratives need always to be adapted or at least revised in order to cope with the transformations occurring within the nation.

85 Ibid., p272’L’élément decisive, ce n’est pas la terre, la nature ou le milieu, c’est l’histoire, c’est l’homme – prisonier en somme de lui-même, car héritier de ceux qui l’ont precede sur sa propore terre et en ont modelé le paysage, l’engageant, à l’avance, dans une série de déterminismes rétrospectifs’.
86 Giesen and Seyfert, ‘Kollektive Identität’, p41 ‘Da die kollektive wir die eigene Identität sich stetig im Wandel befinden, müssen die Mythen standing neu erfunden werden: die Arbeit an der gemeinsamen Identität ist immer auch Arbeit am Mythos’.
Chapter 2 – Localized history teaching in a decentralized political and education system

In the first chapter, I illustrated the role of State education in regards of the construction of national-State and how collective memory helps constructing national identity. The second chapter aims at presenting the cultural and linguistic disparities in Switzerland and illustrating the reasons why identities tend to be extremely localized. In this regard, I will analyse the way the decentralized political structure is reflected upon the education system and how the declination into twenty-six autonomous cantonal Ministers of education seems to promote an educative laissez-faire. In a final part, I will investigate what views on history teaching result from the discrepancies between the various linguistic communities and cantonal autonomous educational systems and how they confront the national past; in particular in view of the Second World War.

1) Local, cultural and linguistic disparities in Switzerland

Switzerland can be considered the nexus of the diverse physical and cultural geography of Western Europe. Indeed, the country is situated at a geographical and cultural crossroad since it is located between four prominent countries in Europe: France, Italy, Austria Germany from where originate the Swiss three national languages. Its multi-cultural character can therefore be interpreted as a reflection of its European neighbours. In this regard, we need to raise the question: how do Swiss people understand their national identity? Or maybe it would be more accurate to refer to it as a plural reading of one national identity? Internationally, the “made in Switzerland” continues to convey the image of one single-minded country. In the eyes of many, Switzerland poses as a healthy economy built upon a strong currency and a jealously protected banking system shrouded in banking secrecy. Additionally, Switzerland is also internationally recognized for its “traditional” diplomatic stance of neutrality and its political system, which presents strong elements of direct democracy. However, in the last couple of years, heated debates around the topic of

national identity have raged in Switzerland as much as in many other European countries. Europe-wide we have experienced the revival of nationalist movements. In this respect, Switzerland recently made the headlines after the Helvetic Confederation had enacted laws reducing the number of incoming foreign workers by imposing quotas on the incentive of anti-immigration movements. Those “drastic” political decisions have added fuel to the discussions on what it means to be Swiss and thus served as an identity boost.

By the end of 2014, the “Crédit Suisse” published the breaking report of a national survey, which revealed that 80% of the Swiss consider immigrants as the greatest threat to national identity; under which 38% of the interviewees declared national identity as „seriously threatened“ and 41% as „extremely threatened“. The results unequivocally illustrate a fear of losing Swiss identity. Since Switzerland has been far less affected by the economic crisis than its European counterparts, the rejection of foreigners seems to be grounded in cultural and social issues. Moreover, the survey exposed a greater misgiving towards immigrant in large urban centres and border territories, especially on the border to France, which coincides with the high number of border workers coming from France. Out of 287 000 border workers, 150 000 are estimated to commute every day from France to Switzerland for work, that is to say more than half of the total amount of frontier workers (with respectively 59000 and 680000 border workers coming from Germany and Italy). Additionally, 1 900 000 EU citizens are officially resident in Switzerland among which 1 600 000 originate from France, Italy and Germany alone. In other words, citizens of EU border countries alone constitute approximately one quarter of the Swiss total population and about a third of the Swiss active labour force. The confrontation with EU citizens from neighbouring countries might have provoked a revival of inward-looking attitude from the Swiss in searching for Swiss national identity. In this regard, Garnier explains that “identities are necessarily strongly linked to the territory.” Indeed, territory is an important component in identity.

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89 Hoffman, Citizenship Beyond the State.
90 ‘L’acceptation de L’initiative Sur L’immigration de Masse et Ses Conséquences Sur La Participation de La Suisse Au Programme Horizon 2020’ (Département fédéral de l’économie, de la formation et de la recherche DEFR, 5 December 2014).
93 ‘Die Gefähr für unsere Identität’.
95 ‘La Population de La Suisse 2013’.
construction because the territory on which we live defines, influences and shapes our identity belonging. In other words, the territory we live in largely defines our social and cultural environment97; in this respect Switzerland presents an “ambiguous territorial integrity”. The country is composed of four linguistic regions; the German speaking community counts for 64% of the population whereas the French and the Italian communities respectively compose 19% and 7.5% of the Swiss population; finally the Rhaeto Romansch speakers are evaluated for less than 1% of the Swiss total population.98 (a linguistic map of Switzerland has been joined in annex for better visibility). The ratio is certainly favourable to the German speaking community, which overwhelming majority is reflected in terms of political power (because it signifies higher representation at the federal instances) as well as economic power. Besides, the statistics do not take into account the remaining 10%, which are composed of the sum of numerous nationalities, among which the Portuguese and Albanese are the largest minorities.99 Nevertheless, the Confederation provides a clear legal basis and a tolerant social framework related to the use of languages. Indeed, the Swiss federal constitution grants official status to all four languages100 and guarantees individual freedom in choosing the language.101 As per the Swiss federal constitution each canton is free to choose its official cantonal language among the four official ones, while they are obliged to take into account the linguistic majorities and minorities on their territories.102

The complex linguistic repartition refers in fact to an equally complex societal landscape. Friedrich Meinecke defines the Swiss linguistic and cultural landscape as following: “the Swiss are the representatives of various national cultures”103, Meinecke perceives the various linguistic regions of Switzerland as micro nations within one country, which confirms that Swiss national identity is far from being obvious. In fact, the artist Ben Vautier illustrated the „nebulous“ Swiss character in 1992 at the occasion of the Universal exposition in Sevilla in using the slogan: „La Suisse n’existe pas“, which can be translated by „there is no such thing

99 Georges Lüdi and Iwar Werlen, ‘Recensement fédéral de la population 2000 - Le paysage linguistique en Suisse’ (Office fédérale de la statistique OFS, 2005).
101 Ibid.”Art. 18 NBV Sprachfreiheit; Die Sprachfreiheit ist gewährleistet”.
102 Ibid. ”Art. 70 NBV Sprachen; Die Kantone bestimmen ihre Amtsprache. Um das Einvernehmen zwischen den Sprachgemeinschaften zu wahren, achten sie auf die herkömmliche sprachliche Zusammensetzung der Gebiete und nehmen Rücksicht auf die angestammten sprachliche Minderheiten”.
103 Haldemann, ‘Sprachnationalismus, nationale Standardvarietät und nationale Identität in einem mehrsprachigen Land am Beispiel der Deutschschweizer Sprachsituation’, p5’ In der Schweiz leben die Angehörigen verschiedener Kulturformationen”. 22
as Switzerland". André Reszler declared that even though Vauter successfully provoked controversy and indignation, many people in fact gave credit to his provocative work whereas it would have certainly been ignored in other European countries such as France or Germany. The slogan became so successful that it was reused at several significant occasions such as the commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the creation of the Swiss confederation in 1991 in order to underline that Swiss national identity cannot be taken for granted. In fact, multi layers of identification exist within the country in relation to the local communities, the cantons, the linguistic regions and the nation, which interrelate in a complex manner. This complex interrelation added to linguistic incomprehension often lead to misunderstandings and misconceptions from the Swiss of their own country. Simone Foster refers to a “tremendous cultural and linguistic gap” between the German and Latin parts of Switzerland and explains how much the mutual resentment can hinder social cohesion.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the Swiss cultural disparities are also the results of strong local identities. The identity variations are exacerbated by local dialectal forms, which originate from French, German and Italian. Historically, the Swiss are mountain people which communities were able to well preserve local heritage and traditions through relative geographical and social isolation; this partly explains the reason why the use of a large number of dialects have been maintained until today. The German dialects are the most utilized, they are in use as much among friends, family members as on public television or radio channels and are commonly referred as “Schwyzerdütsch” (“Schweizer Deutsch” or Swiss German). The Swiss German dialects experienced a strong revival during the Second World War as the Swiss German community tried to distance itself from Nazi Germany. In fact, local dialectal forms are considered partly responsible for local patriotism. The extensive use of dialect presupposes a strong feeling of belonging with the local community, mostly

108 Ibid.
with the community of origin. Haldemann argues that in average Swiss people identify themselves stronger with the local community than with their linguistic region.\textsuperscript{110} The 2014 national survey “Identity barometer” confirms his saying by stating “44% of the interviewees identify themselves with their local community on the first place, for 20% with their nation and 18% with their cantons”.\textsuperscript{111} Identity belonging in Switzerland seems to be indeed largely localized.

It can be argued that the Swiss democratic model encourages the development of local identity. Switzerland presents a singular model of direct democracy, which enables the Swiss citizens to be actively involved in political decision-making processes, notably through the calls for local referenda. Therefore, local matters are chiefly resolved locally. In this regard, the political map of the Swiss Confederation is designed around 26 cantons declined in 2600 local communities (referred as Gemeinde in German or communes in French).\textsuperscript{112} In a way, the development of local patriotism is made possible through the utmost form of the Swiss decentralized system. From an historical and political perspective, the cantons are territorial units, which gather five fundamental elements for collective identity; namely psychological, cultural, territorial, historical and political components.\textsuperscript{113} Political life and cultural identity development evolve around what can be referred to as a “bunkerization of the cantons”. The cantons are conceived and perceived as the pillars of Swiss society. The Swiss political system is largely based on the “culture of consensus”, which can be understood as a significant feature of the Swiss national character. Indeed, the Swiss political culture privileges the use of horizontal dialogue, which aims at reaching mutual agreement. Since the creation of the Helvetic Confederation in 1848, Switzerland has a political decentralized structure in terms of decision-making processes and competences. The concept of decentralization is well anchored in the Swiss mentality; any attempt to grant extended powers to the federal authorities is mostly rejected by the people for any constitutional amendment requires both the approval of the cantons and the people according to the double majority principle.\textsuperscript{114} The tax system is equally aligned with a decentralized fiscal structure.

\textsuperscript{110} Haldemann, ‘Sprachnationalismus, nationale Standardvarietät und nationale Identität in einem mehrsprachigen Land am Beispiel der Deutschschweizer Sprachsituation’, p10 ‘Auch steht Ihnen ihre Gemeinde näher als ihr Sprachgebiet’.

\textsuperscript{111} ‘Beziehung und Abgrenzung zur EU als Treiber der Schweizer Identität’ ‘Trotz dieses hohen Nationalstolzes fühlen sich die Schweizerinnen und Schweizer, wohl für niemanden überraschend, am stärksten ihrer Wohngemeinde zugehörig (44%). Es folgen die Nation (20%) und der Wohnkanton (18%)’.

\textsuperscript{112} Bernd Mayerhofer, Franz Kohout, and Andreas Vierecke, Atlas Politik (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2012), p159.

\textsuperscript{113} Berdün, The Identity of Nations, p11.

\textsuperscript{114} ‘Le Système Politique de La Suisse’ (Département fédéral des affaires étrangères, 2014).
and becomes a keystone for local and cantonal autonomy. An extensive cantonal autonomy may lead to a strong inward-looking attitude, which can in return nourish misgivings towards the federation and dig further the gap among the various cantonal entities. Additionally, the strong cantonal autonomy is also granted by a favourable division of competences towards the cantons.

Switzerland is organized around the “subsidiarity principle” which means that the central government would only interfere if the cantons cannot solve an issue by themselves since it would require national coordination.\textsuperscript{115} Even then, the Swiss would expect a decentralized solution.\textsuperscript{116} In this regard, we can argue that the distribution of competences in Switzerland based on an extremely decentralized political system encourages fragmented identity formations rather than a common national identity. In this respect, Switzerland’s official motto “Unity in diversity”\textsuperscript{117} points at an internal social fracture. In 2014, the Swiss Federal department for External Affairs published that the Swiss federal system was intended to provide a common ground for national identity: “Unlike its European neighbours, the Swiss federal State doesn’t aim for national unification. The State concept was to recognize equal status to all linguistic and religious groups. The population could always manifest different types of loyalty and identity (attachment to the local community, religious and linguistic identity). Therefore, the country had all interest in searching for a common identity, which would not lie upon ethnic and cultural components”.\textsuperscript{118} The Swiss State strives for social harmony rather than social unification and thus underlines the will to leave extensive room for cultural distinctiveness. In this respect, the Confederation privileges „consensual democracy“. In other words, any given canton is given the possibility to negotiate with the Federation; however, cantons favour horizontal dialogue among one another. Inter-cantonal horizontal cooperation is also in use in relation of education affairs in which the Confederation has extremely limited binding power. On the other hand, the lack of unification is also greatly reflected on the education system. Indeed, the Swiss education system is declined in 26 cantonal variations, which sometimes present strong divisions in terms of education structure but also manifest ontological differences in teaching and display

\textsuperscript{115} Mayerhofer, Kohout, and Vierrecke, *Atlas Politik*.

\textsuperscript{116} ‘Le Système Politique de La Suisse’.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., p58.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., p19 ‘Contrairement à ses voisins, la création de l’Etat (fédéral) en Suisse ne poursuit pas un but d’unification nationale. (…) Le pays a développé un concept étatique reconnaissant l’égalité des différents groupes linguistiques et religieux. (…) Depuis toujours, la population manifeste plusieurs sortes de loyautés et d’identités (attachement à la commune et au canton, identité religieuse et linguistique). Il était donc dans l’intérêt du pays tout entier de rechercher une identité commune qui ne repose pas sur des éléments éthniques et culturels’.
different curricula content and objectives. What types of social and cultural norms are being transmitted as a result? Despite the division in autonomous cantonal units and the cultural and linguistic differences, can the cantonal variations still provide for a common basis for national identity development? I will attempt to bring some responses to it in the following parts.

2) Twenty-six education systems within one country

Last year, the group of artists and sociologists “Point de Suisse” realized a survey, which intended to portrait the opinion of the Swiss population on contemporary societal and political questions. The survey was conducted with the help of a private polling organization and interviews were carried throughout Switzerland. To the question: “what do you think should be school main purpose?” the answer “the school purpose is to make study cultures and traditions” scored the lowest. In Switzerland, cultures and traditions are embedded into a complex cultural and social landscape, which norms and codes can be extremely localized. The relation between school and national culture is equally complex. Until today, Switzerland has no national coordinated education system; instead it is fragmented into various regional and local varieties.\footnote{Stefan C. Wolter and Stefanie Hof, ‘Swiss Education Report 2014’ (Swiss coordination center for research in education, 2014).} If mandatory education was installed with the revised 1874 constitution a national department for education was formed only two years ago under the name of: Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research – EAER.\footnote{Simone, ‘La Suisse, Le Pays Des Multiples Systèmes de Formation’, p2.} However, it focuses mainly on coordinating professional training, research and relation with other countries; more importantly it cannot interfere in cantonal directives related to upper-secondary education.\footnote{‘Plädoyer Für Eine Nationale Bildungsstrategie Verfasst von Der Arbeitsgruppe «Zukunft Bildung Schweiz»’ (Akademien der Wissenschaften Schweiz, 2014).} The only moment in Swiss History where there had been a unique educational system was during the years of the Helvetic Republic forced upon by the Napoleon invading troops (1798 – 1803), which also enforced the systematic learning of at least one other Swiss national language.\footnote{Stocco, ‘Ècole - évolution, regards croisés’, p20.} Historically, public education has always been extremely decentralized. Simone Foster argues that the complex variety of education systems has an historical explanation, since they are the legacy of small and fragmented sovereign
territories, which managed to maintain their cultural identities and specificities until today.\footnote{Simone, ‘La Suisse, Le Pays Des Multiples Systèmes de Formation’ ‘Pourquoi vingt-six systèmes d’éducation plutôt qu’un seul? (...) L’extrême diversité des systèmes de formation découle de l’histoire de ces petits Etats souverains qui se sont unis, au fil des siècles, tout en préservant leurs prerogatives et leur identité’.}

As a result, education is declined in 26 cantonal variations, each canton with its own department of education. Traditionally, cantons even compete among one another for education performances. From 1874 onwards, a comparative ranking system was put in place, which results are regularly published in the various regional press.\footnote{Stocco, ‘École - évolution, regards croisés’, p16.} Some argue that the inter-cantonal competition contributes to an increase of education quality whereas it can be also interpreted as a important factor of national division.\footnote{Simone, ‘La Suisse, Le Pays Des Multiples Systèmes de Formation’}. Furthermore, the bilingual cantons of Berne, Valais and Fribourg have established a two-speed education system, one for each linguistic community,\footnote{Gilles Grin, ‘L’histoire suisse à l’école’, Valeurs politiques et jeune génération, January 2002, p7.} which induces profound internal fractures even at a very localized level.

In fact, the Swiss educational system presents a seemly laissez-faire from the federal authorities that is reflected upon decision-making procedures of curricula content and objectives, which illustrate that the federal authorities have a limited interest in controlling subject content, as further explained in the following chapter. Furthermore, in 2014, a group of Swiss experts in the field of education published a report that the “Swiss education system distinguishes itself among numerous countries by its rather opacity; its educational structure has paralyzing effect and makes cooperation work tedious”\footnote{‘Plädoyer Für Eine Nationale Bildungsstrategie Verfasst von Der Arbeitsgruppe «Zukunft Bildung Schweiz»’ ‘Le système éducatif suisse se distingue par son manque de transparence par rapport à un grand nombre d’autres pays. Ces données structurelles ont un effet paralysant et épuisant’}. Such a Statement raises several significant questions: what common standards are in use throughout the country? To what extent are the cantons willing to coordinate their efforts? More importantly, are the Swiss willing to promote a “common orientation” which would reflect a cohesive national identity discourse?

The cantons and local communities take on themselves 87\% of expenditure related to education below the tertiary level\footnote{Wolter and Hof, ‘Swiss Education Report 2014’}; thereupon they enjoy great legislative and formative autonomy. Cantons privilege horizontal cooperation among one another; in which regional platforms for integration play a crucial role and become ground for inter-cantonal cooperation par excellence. The activities and jurisdiction of those regional organizations are framed by legal documents; some have been incorporated into the constitutional framework upon the
will of the cantons. In 1874, the “Organization for public instruction in the Swiss Romandie and Ticino” was formed and became the first supra-regional body in Switzerland, which role was to coordinate education activities among the French and Italian speaking cantons.129 The organization is still very much in place today, although the “Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education” has taken over as the most successful instrument for promoting inter-cantonal cooperation countrywide since 1897.130 One of its greatest achievements was the creation of national standards for federal high school diploma, which are recognized in every canton. However, even though those federal high school diplomas lay the basis for school objectives in all Switzerland, they remain vague and leave significant room for interpretation; which demonstrates that the cantons remain jealous of their legislative autonomy in educational matters. Nevertheless, even though mutual agreements are achieved only after tedious negotiations, they are reached through consensus and the Confederation is kept at bay.131 In this regard, the loose control over education from the Confederation provides a suitable basis for the development of localized identities since micro bodies such as schools, teacher committees or cantonal authorities are given full legitimacy in pursing their own goals and interests through the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education.

Notwithstanding, in the last decade Switzerland has pushed for a timid increase in harmonization of the school objectives and systems. In 2006, the profound structural internal divisions in Switzerland have lead to a revolutionary reform in education at the lower secondary level, which aims at „harmonizing school internal practices“.132 Yet, the harmonization reform is not to be understood as a will for more centralization since the Confederation is to intervene only as the last resort in the events any given canton would not comply with the new resolutions; consequently it is referred to as „cooperative federalism“.133 Similar reforms in education failed in 1882 and 1973 because they were rejected by popular votes134, which underlines that a great shift in mentality occurred since then. Before the reform, the starting school age of pupils and the number of schooling years for obligatory school varied from one canton to another. Until then, it made it hardly feasible for Swiss

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132 Markus Maurer and Bruno Leutwyler, ‘Teacher Education in a Decentralized Setting: The Case of Switzerland.’, in International Handbook of Teacher Education Worldwide, Athen - Atrapos edition 2010 (Atrapos, 2010), p564.
133 Stocco, ‘Ècole - évolution, regards croisés’.
134 Simone, ‘La Suisse, Le Pays Des Multiples Systèmes de Formation’.
families with children to move from one part to another of the country – even to cantons of the same language – which once again demonstrates how complex it is to overcome the isolation of the cantons. Moreover, the greatest achievement of the reform was to agree on common school programs and objectives. Nevertheless, the objectives were deliberately vaguely defined, which grants cantonal and school authorities a significant room for interpretation and implementation. Moreover, the reform is currently still in progress, therefore it is early to evaluate its impact.

However, despite the ground-breaking initiative no joint efforts were made at the national level and three different programs have been issued respectively for the German, French and Italian parts. In other words, common school programs were issued separately for the French, German and Italian speaking cantons. Furthermore, the harmonization efforts have been confined to the lower-secondary school whereas the upper-secondary level (or post-obligatory high school period) is still much characterized by significant variations in terms of curricula content and objectives. Indeed, the last four years of the upper-secondary level (so called „secondaire 2“ in French) still present profound differences in curricula and subject contents as well as different decision-making procedures. Each canton is free to legislate on pedagogical goals, subject content and curricula in accordance with inter-cantonal directives. Those directives derive from horizontal cooperation among the cantons within the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education. However, they vaguely define school objectives. Curricula objectives and subject content for Baccalaureate schools can therefore be determined with large autonomy by cantonal and school authorities. Moreover, the decrees mainly apply to Baccalaureate schools; indeed the upper-secondary level is organized around 3 types of schools. One third of the students prepare for a federal graduation diploma through Baccalaureate schools (lycées or Gymnasium) and the “specialized secondary schools” (Ecole de culture générale or Fachmittelschule) whereas around 65% of the students pursue vocational training paths and complete an apprenticeship without necessarily continuing into higher education. Since vocational trainings largely depend on market demands, the Confederation is extensively involved in coordinating training-job adequacy.

Until today, Baccalaureate schools present widely non-harmonized curricula, least of all for history teaching and school teachers are free to decide on what pedagogical material to use, including history textbooks if any.\textsuperscript{138} The choice of teaching material is then a teacher’s prerogative and responsibility, which interrogates us on the consequences of granting school teachers such a vast margin of action since teachers can commit historical mistakes, political faux-pas and even indoctrinate the students to a certain ideology of society or vision of history. On the other hand, the usage of unique teaching material such as a single history textbook for all schools of a same canton or even country-wide raise some important questions: how much would the teachers be allowed to distance themselves from its content, from its ideological scope and how much criticism would they be allowed to exercise towards it. The latitude of action granted to high school teachers is indeed a crucial component in evaluating the intentions of political authorities in regards of the teaching of history. Since 2005, teachers are trained at the tertiary level within “High Pedagogical Institutes”\textsuperscript{139} but remain subjugated to cantonal directives since the pedagogical institutes are managed by the cantons. Teacher training is thus largely localized, even though they are given the opportunity to teach countrywide, they often remain teaching in their canton of origin or canton of training.\textsuperscript{140} More importantly, the native language largely determines teaching mobility as well as teaching methods and pedagogical material. Indeed, teachers are not likely to move to a canton for work, which official language they do not master. There are also strong ontological differences in teaching pedagogy in the German, French and Italian speaking cantons, in which the methods and the teaching material in use can vary greatly as demonstrated in the next chapter. Moreover, the attachment to hinterland countries (France, Italy, Austria and Germany) also contributes to further widen the gap between the various linguistic communities in Switzerland. Indeed, native speakers of French, German and Italian might privilege relations and contact with people of the same language but from different countries rather than with their fellow Swiss citizens originating from other linguistic regions.\textsuperscript{141} As a matter of fact, the teaching material is sometimes borrowed from neighbour countries, which becomes particularly interesting in view of teaching Swiss national history with the help of history textbooks from other countries, which might underline other historical events and facts and even not comprehend Swiss history at all. In the French speaking cantons of Neuchâtel and Valais, it became a common practice to use history textbooks conceived for

\textsuperscript{138} Maurer and Leutwyler, ‘Teacher Education in a Decentralized Setting: The Case of Switzerland.’, p567.


\textsuperscript{140} Maurer and Leutwyler, ‘Teacher Education in a Decentralized Setting: The Case of Switzerland.’

\textsuperscript{141} Loetscher, ‘Schweizstunde - Essay über die Schweizer Identität’, p1.
French students, to which the teachers added elements of Swiss history themselves.\textsuperscript{142} Similarly, Rosario Talarico Stated that until recently the textbook „Fragnière“ edited in the canton of Fribourg for French speakers were translated into Italian with additional information on the regional history of Ticino.\textsuperscript{143}

In the last decades, teachers for secondary education from neighbour countries have come to work in Switzerland in order to meet the shortage in teachers.\textsuperscript{144} As a result, history teachers from other countries were having difficulties teaching about Swiss history. It became even more of a problem in the Italian speaking canton Ticino where a great number of history teachers presented limited knowledge of Swiss history because they were either originating from Italy or trained in Italian universities.\textsuperscript{145} Students of teaching, including future history teachers, would rather move to hinterland countries of the same language than to study in another linguistic region of Switzerland because of language barrier and lack of cultural affinities, which greatly highlights the symptoms of a cultural “trench warfare”.

3) Internal divisions over history teaching in Switzerland

Despite the great fragmentation of the education system and the cultural and linguistic variations in teaching, the Swiss have ranked the need for „a common history“ as the greatest bearer of national identity before sharing common values, a common language or religion.\textsuperscript{146} According to the public survey, the amount of people who consider a common history as the most significant marker of national identity is twice more important within the German speaking community than among French speakers. This discrepancy reflects some of the results of the 2014 „Identity barometer“ survey, which outlined the German speaking community as by far prouder of their Swiss identity than their Swiss fellow counterparts; 52% German speakers answered to be very proud of being Swiss for 30% in Ticino and 10% in French speaking cantons.\textsuperscript{147} The German speaking community thus demonstrates a stronger

\textsuperscript{142} Simone Forster, ‘Quelle Histoire En Classe?’ (Institut de recherche et de documentation pédagogique - IRDP Neuchâtel, 2008), p26.


\textsuperscript{144} Simone, ‘Les querelles de l’enseignement de l’histoire: interview de Pierre-Philippe Bugnard’.


\textsuperscript{146} ‘La Guilde Sondage: De Quoi La Suisse Est-Elle Faite?’.

\textsuperscript{147} ‘Beziehun und Abgrenzung zur EU als Treiber der Schweizer Identität’.
link to national history and national identity. Thereupon, can we establish a relationship between the teaching of history in the German speaking cantons and the importance assigned to history? In other words, could variations in history teaching be responsible of discrepancy in identity building between the various speaking communities in Switzerland?

In order to answer those questions, we should reflect on the way history is taught at school, how is it presented and with what intentions. March Bloch explained that the teaching of history is a „science of alteration and differences“. How do we comprehend changes in history and how do we place ourselves in relation to those changes? More importantly, how do we look at ourselves in confrontation of others over the course of history? As demonstrated in this chapter, Swiss identity is plural and complex. In this respect, studying Swiss history would imply looking through a kaleidoscope of localized identities, linguistic communities and cantonal identifications. Since the default framework of history teaching at school is the nation-State, we need to understand what points of reference are used for teaching Swiss history; whether World history is considered from the perspective of the country, so from a national standpoint or is it considered through more localized units such as the region, the canton or the community.

The design of history curricula and history teaching material for school is shaped according to our present stance upon the past and we analyse the consequences of past events into the present. It is an important reasoning to start with since States tend to instrumentalize the exploitation of past events in order to decide what should the collective remember and what is to be remembered of the collective. Simon Fosters argues that the political exploitation of historical facts is also conceived around an instrumentalization of methodology, which often forces the memorization of specific facts and events upon the students. In this regard, Dick Cheney, Vice-President of the United-States until 2009, proposed to intrumentalize history textbooks in a way that they would hide the „dark corners„ of American history, such as slavery, the extermination of native Americans or the deeds of the Ku Klux Klan in order to teach a positive vision of the historical development of the United States. Similarly, in

149 Forster, ‘Quelle Histoire En Classe?’ quand on sait combien a toujours été grand le décalage entre les finalités historiennes et leur récupération sur la sphère politique”.
150 Ibid., p35,”On voudrait des citoyens repliés sur le glorieux passé de leur pays, un passé revisité, épuré et dépourvu de toutes les références à une histoire qui pourrait entacher sa réputation. Ce repli épistémologique se double d’un repli méthodologique. Il plaide pour un enseignement centré sur la mémorisation et la restitution de faits sélectionnés à des fins politiques et qui ne développent pas l’esprit critique”.
151 Ibid.
2003 under the Presidency of Jacques-Chirac, a bill of law from the Parliament intended to revise the involvement of France in its ex-colonial territories by underling the „positive role of colonization“. The law proposal was highly criticized by public opinion and history teacher committees in particular because it was interpreted as a denial of collective responsibility towards a disturbing past. Eventually the motion „positive“ was removed but the law came into force in 2005.152 A similar initiative took place in Switzerland a year before when members of the Swiss political party “Union Démocratique du Centre” urged the Federal Council to support a bill of law that would advocate “a school teaching, which fosters a positive image of Switzerland, its cultures, values and traditions and promotes understanding towards the previous generations, encourage patriotic feelings in order to maintain unity, force and honour within the Swiss nation”. Eventually the bill did not pass the Swiss Federal Council.153 In this respect, an instrumentalization of history by the federal authorities seems difficult because of the utmost decentralized nature of the Swiss education system would prevent one-single vision of history to be imposed nation-wide through the education system.

Notwithstanding, history teaching is much disputed in Switzerland and so is the national past.154 In 2008, Pascal Couchepin, President of the Swiss Confederation declared: “Swiss history is not a succession of uninterrupted peaceful years during which economic well-being and democracy flourished regardless of community, religious, linguistic and social divisions. Our society was also built upon political and ideological confrontations“.155 In this regard, André Reszler explains that one of the main reason why Swiss people have been questioning the past so vigorously in the last years is because Switzerland is being under a process of „demystification“ of the national past.156 He argues that modern Switzerland mostly built its identity upon national myths, which largely contributed to the creation of the Swiss Confederation. Hugo Loetscher disputes that the actions of the Swiss federal authorities during the Second World War in relation of the controversial asylum policy, in particular

152 Loi Portant Reconnaissance de La Nation et Contribution Nationale En Faveur Des Français Rapatriés, 2005.
155 Lyonel Kaufmann, ‘Histoire suisse: histoire vivante ou histoire morte?’ (HEP Lausanne . UER Sciences humaines, 6 December 2011)‘La Suisse moderne a une histoire déjà longue. Or cette histoire n’est pas une suite d’années paisibles au course de laquelle se bâtissait sans à-coup la prospérité, la démocratie et la cohabitation positive des communautés divisées par la langue, la religion ou la situation sociale. Notre pays a connu des confrontations d’idées, des affrontements politiques, des changements profonds de société.’
156 Reszler, ‘La Suisse En Quête D’elle-Même.’
towards Jewish refugees and well as the sympathy for Nazi ideology from the bourgeoisie have greatly caused to trigger the „demystification process“. The controversy was provoked by the so-called „Commission Bergier“, a committee entrusted from 1996 to 2005 with the mission of reviewing the relationship to Nazi Germany during the Second World War, notably in respect of gold and money transactions. The committee was formed upon a federal mandate under popular pressure and given unlimited access to State archives. The initiative was triggered by a scandal over dormant accounts from Jewish families, who were deported during the Second World War. At the time of the Second World War the Swiss society was polarized, so was it during the First World War when the German community favoured Germany and the French speaking community supported France. Today, opinions upon past events still diverge between the French, Italian and German communities. The report from the Bergier Committee has provided a drastic revision of the Swiss past in regards of the Second World War and is considered as the “historical research of all the superlatives”. In this respect, although the conclusions of the report have not been imposed on cantonal Ministries of education or on teachers, it is nevertheless central to my study to evaluate how its content and its meaning has been incorporated into school curricula and reclaimed by history teachers in the various cantons and linguistic communities.

The German speaking community seems to have reacted more strongly to the historical controversies that have swiped the country. At the level of the post-obligatory education, several history textbooks have been edited in the German part, which question the involvement of Switzerland during the Second World War and bring the students to question the leeway from the Swiss population and the Swiss authorities during the war. The textbook „Hinschauen und Nachfragen“ (which can be translated by „Enquiring about the past“) questions the student upon the relation to authority, presents pluri-perspectiveness on history and generates room for self-interpretation. Similarly, the history textbook for French speakers “Histoire – Géographie 9” reuses bits of the report in the section that covers the

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period of the Second World War. Moreover, history teachers may also present parts of the report to their students for analysing or use reference academic work on the subject such as “La Suisse dans la Deuxième Guerre – Acquis du rapport Bergier (2012-2012)” (Switzerland in relation of the Second World War – Results of the Bergier Committee) by Dominique Dirlewanger or “La Suisse et les nazis : Le rapport Bergier pour tous”.

Thereon, we can raise the questions: what impacts do have the disparate confrontations with the past on history teaching in the various linguistic communities? Do the personified readings of history from the teachers essentially hinder the construction of a national identity? In this regard, Ruth Dreifuss declared, “Switzerland keeps being obsessed with the fear of its internal divisions, which causes Swiss people to turn a blind eye on problems that would need to be discussed thoroughly”. Those internal divisions may be caused by a lack of common reading and understanding of the national past. Peter Gautschi declared that most controversies over national memory are due to a lack of history teaching at school, which is a minor subject. At the lower-secondary level, the German speaking cantons have taken a new pedagogical stance towards the teaching of history; the subject history as such was removed from the newly formed joint curricula and reshaped into a broader frame named “Nature, People, Society”. In view of the low amount of teaching hours dedicated to the subject history, one fundamental question remains to decide on what subject content to emphasize and how to strike national consensus. Thereupon, Peter Gautschi declared: “the teaching of history at school used to keep alive and strengthen national identity, it was an attitude. Today it’s about acquiring competences; practical skills now prevail over the transmission of knowledge”. The new curricula objectives aim at fostering self-reasoning and self-interpretation. In this respect, Leone Schüssler declared that „pedagogy isn’t neutral since it conveys a conception of learning and thereof of society itself.” Therefore, in the

164 Ibid.
167 Bruno Leutwyler and Leonie Schüssler, ‘L’éducation Comparée En Suisse – Statut et Développement D’une Discipline de Recherche’ (Centre Suisse de coordination pour la recherche en éducation, 2008), p384’Ces travaux comparatifs montrent à quel point le fond de l’enseignement est intimement lié à sa forme; combien les
following chapter, I will conduct an discourse analysis of teaching content for the subject history and compare variations in the use of pedagogical material between the German, French and Italian linguistic communities in order to understand whether they offer similar conception of the Swiss past in view of national identity.

Techniques pédagogiques, loin d’être neutres sue le plan des valeurs, véhiculent en elles-mêmes des conceptions de l’apprentissage, de l’élève, et même la société”.

36
Chapter 3 – The (de)construction of Swiss identity at school: variations of history teaching.

In the previous chapter, I have illustrated the Swiss complex educative and societal landscape and demonstrated how localized the teaching of history is in Switzerland. Even though history is considered a significant bearer of national identity, no national consensus on history teaching is in place; therefore in this last and final chapter, I will investigate cantonal and school forms of consensus over the teaching of history. For that purpose, the empirical analysis is divided in three parts. On a first instance, I will present the normative legal body, which frames directives on history teaching about the conception of curricula and defines the margin of action of teachers. Since teaching content and objectives are more narrowly delineated in the curricula, I will also consider in a second part the three cantonal curricula that have been issued at the upper-secondary level as well the “umbrella curriculum” from the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education. Thereupon, on a last part I will examine what pedagogical material in relation of the teaching of history is in use in the three schools that compose the sample of my case study and therefore what content is put at the disposal of the students. Since the choice of the material greatly depends upon the decision of the teachers, I will particularly analyse three sample of material in use by high school teachers respectively in the cantons of Vaud, Ticino and Zurich. In order to delimit my research analysis, I will study the teaching material in view of the teaching of the Second World War and attempt to expose what conception of society, national identity and national memory they convey in relation of this tumultuous period of time in Swiss and World history. As illustrated in chapter 2, memory of the Second World War continues to divide public opinion and remains a contentious issue in many respects; especially in view of the role of Switzerland during the war and its relationship towards Nazi Germany. In this regard, the report delivered by the Bergier Committee in 2001 is still matter of discussion and the debate has been taken to schools. The case study will thus enable me to reveal if it exists internal divisions on the conception of the past and understanding of Swiss identity.
1) The normative legal framework

In order to conduct the comparative education study, it is crucial to understand what are the actors in the field of education, how they interrelate and where lay the formative, regulative and controlling powers. In the Swiss decentralized education system, it becomes fundamental to identity what is the relation between the federal, cantonal and school authorities in order to understand what are the legislative norms in education making. More specifically, it is central to understand the decision-making mechanisms in view of the conception of history curricula and understand what consensuses are in place over the subject content history. In countries with strong centralized systems, nearly all decisions in respect of education are hold by central authorities, as it is the case in France where the central government decides on the content and objectives of national curricula, organizes the recruitment of teachers country-wide and legislates upon the terms of service. It demonstrates a rigid top-down process in view of a unification of procedures and teaching content. However, legislative procedures in Switzerland go very different paths. In order to understand where lay the normative and legislative powers in relation of the conception of curricula for history teaching, I contacted numerous actors in the field of education, who helped me to see through the complex mechanisms in relation of the creation of teaching content and objectives. In doing so, I was also able to test and confront the view of numerous professional actors in education. I thus contacted cantonal departments of education, regional integration organizations, horizontal committees of history teachers, the federal department of education; which are listed in more detail in the acknowledgments section.

Unanimously, I was advised that the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education does effectively lay the basis for cantonal departments of education to further legislate on curricula. More specifically, the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education provides a general legislative framework from which has been issued an “umbrella curriculum” and all cantons are to legislate in accordance with the guidelines stipulated in the umbrella curriculum.

As a result, cantons undertake different decision-making procedures that imply different manners to reach consensus over the conception of curricula. I will illustrate the respective decision-making procedures in the cantons of Ticino, Vaud and Zurich.

Curricula are conceived by a committee of history teachers and then submitted for revision to the cantonal department of education authorities, which ascertain that the curricula are in accordance with the decree that regulates upper-secondary study in Baccalaureate schools.\(^{170}\) As a result, the same curriculum for history is in use in all “licei” schools in Ticino. Temporary representatives of Baccalaureate school committees for the subject history compose a cantonal committee for history teaching and conceive a cantonal curriculum, which is then submitted to the cantonal department of education as it must comply with the cantonal law, which regulates upper-secondary teaching and the studies in Baccalaureate schools. \(^{171}\) One single cantonal curriculum for the subject history is thus in use for all “gymnase” schools. Each “Gymnasium” school is allowed to conceive its own curriculum; history teachers and school authorities jointly decide on the curriculum. The curriculum comes into force after it has been accepted by the cantonal department of education if in line with the cantonal regulations on upper-secondary schools. \(^{172}\) Consequently, history curricula are tailored made for each Baccalaureate school.

Although the three decision-making models vary from one another, they all have in common the significant involvement of teachers; that is to say that the conception and validation of curricula are largely the result of a bottom-up approach. Notwithstanding, my analysis of the legal body has revealed that the cantonal and inter-cantonal directives related to studies in Baccalaureate schools provide little instructions in terms of objectives and content for designing curricula.

\(^{170}\) Regolamento Degli Studi Liceali, 2008.
\(^{171}\) Loi Sur L’enseignement Secondaire Supérieur (LESS), 1985.
\(^{172}\) Mittelschulgesetz, 413.21, 1999.
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The Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education has enacted a “law on the recognition of federal Baccalaureate diploma”\(^{173}\) that poses the basis for the pursuit of studies in Baccalaureate schools at the upper-secondary level. It lays down the directives for the Baccalaureate diploma to be recognized in all cantons\(^{174}\) and imposes that cantonal curricula must be issued in accordance with the “umbrella curriculum”.\(^{175}\) Yet, the federal law on the recognition of federal Baccalaureate diploma is surprisingly succinct and the objectives it sets remain rather conceptual. It imposes the teaching of history to be a mandatory subject\(^{176}\) and establishes that subjects within the field of humanities altogether must be taught up to 35% of the total amount of hours but does not specify the exact amount of hours dedicated to history.\(^{177}\) The law decree from the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education indicates that Gymnasium schools are to offer a “balanced general education” in an open-minded attitude and should enable the students to situate themselves in relation to their natural, social and technical environment in view of the present and the past. In this regard, students shall develop their reasoning skills, grow a social ethic, foster their sensitivity towards art and learn to apply scientific methodological methods. The law decree stipulates that Gymnasium high schools must prepare the students to become responsible persons in view of themselves and society and in regards of nature. Eventually, they are encouraged to “take on responsibility within society”.\(^{178}\) The law decree thus mainly frames conceptual objectives and does not deliver instructions on specific subject content.

Equally important, my analysis has also exposed that the various cantonal law decrees and regulations do not deliver additional directives on subject content and thus mainly restate the directives from the “Law on the recognition of federal Baccalaureate diploma”\(^{179}\) issued by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education. As a result, they also mainly frame conceptual objectives. Therefore, in the following part I will be analysing the curricula for the subject history of the canton of Vaud, Zurich and Ticino as well the umbrella curriculum issued by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education in order to outline the guidelines and instructions that lay down the path for history school teachers at the upper-secondary level.

\(^{173}\) Ordonnance Sur La Reconnaissance Des Certificats de Maturité Gymnasiale - ORM, 2013.
\(^{174}\) Ibid., art.1 – 2.
\(^{175}\) Ibid., art.8.
\(^{176}\) Ibid., art.9.
\(^{177}\) Ibid., art.11.
\(^{178}\) Ibid., art.5.
\(^{179}\) Ordonnance Sur La Reconnaissance Des Certificats de Maturité Gymnasiale - ORM.
2) Comparative analysis of curricula

In the previous part, I illustrated the legal body and legal procedures for the three cantons of my case study that provide the legal basis for the conception of curricula. It is central to my research study to dedicate a comparative analysis of the various curricula in order to outline what conceptions of society are being promoted and how Swiss identity is presented in it. The analysis of curricula shall deliver significant information on objectives and guidelines that need to be observed by history teachers in selecting and assembling the teaching material and teaching to the students. Paul Morris declared, “a curriculum is often a complex set of tensions and contradictions that is shaped by ideological and historical construction (…) it involves notions of social change and the role of education in the reproduction and transformation of society.” 180 In this perspective, I will analyse what “historical constructions” in relation of the Swiss past are promoted and what notions of Swiss society are encouraged to be “reproduced” in the curricula. In this regard, I will consider what perspectives on history is promoted; in other words, I will outline whether they use cantonal, national or global points of reference for reading history. I will also consider what place is granted to Swiss history compared to “World history” and compare whether the various curricula emphasise on similar period of (Swiss) history or historical events. From a more conceptual point of view, I will attempt to outline whether the curricula take position on what should be the role of teaching (national) history and whether they promote any particular ideology.

For that purpose, I will be analysing and confronting four different curricula. The “umbrella curriculum” for the subject history in Baccalaureate schools was issued by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education and lays the basis for further cantonal and school curricula; in other words the conception of cantonal or school curricula is to be done in accordance with the guidelines stipulated in the umbrella curriculum. Therefore, I will be analysing each curriculum individually and try to identify differences in terms of content and objectives among the three cantonal curricula and evaluate to what extent the respective cantonal curricula have narrowed down the directives and objectives stipulated in the umbrella curriculum. I have displayed the samples of curricula into the table on the next page for better visibility.

Swiss Conference of
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**Analysis of the umbrella curriculum**

My analysis of the umbrella curriculum has revealed that it mainly promotes conceptual objectives and does not deliver directives on any historical period or events, nor does it illustrate temporal points of reference. Although it stipulates that the “most significant periods of World and Swiss history” must be taught, it does not indicate what specific historical periods and historical events should be tackled. As a result, it leaves a substantial margin for cantonal and school authorities to decide on subject content. The umbrella curriculum is structured around conceptual goals and rather practical objectives that comprehend general knowledge, know-how and “attitude” to acquire towards the teaching of history. It presents a holistic approach of human history through “anthropological, political, economic and social dimensions” and promotes inter-disciplinary work. From a general perspective, it indicates that the students “shall learn what man is capable of, for good and bad”, therefore they need to understand the functioning of political systems as well as mechanisms and abuse of power. However, the place of Swiss history is not explicitly laid out and students are advocated to

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\(^{181}\) ‘Plan D’étude Cadre Pour Les Écoles de Maturité’ (Conférence Suisse des directeurs cantonaux de l’instruction publique - CDIP, 1994).

\(^{182}\) ‘Plan D’études Pour Les Écoles de Maturité - Sciences Humaines’ (Département de l’instruction publique du Canton de Vaud, n.d.).

\(^{183}\) ‘Piano Degli Studi Liceali - Scienze Umane’ (Dipartamento dell’educazione cantone Ticino, 29 June 2002).

\(^{184}\) ‘Lehrplan Gymnasium Kantonal Schule Zürich Hohe Promenade’ (Gymnasium Kantonal Schule Zürich Hohe Promenade, n.d.).
learn about their own culture and origins in confrontation with other societies, lifestyles and different systems of values. Nevertheless, students are encouraged to identify historical myths, notably by studying and comparing historical sources on their own. The examination of national myths relates to the recent debates over the “demystification” of national origins that I illustrated on chapter 2. In a broader perspective, the umbrella curriculum emphasises the necessity to understand the modifications that have taken place in society over the course of history and the importance to contextualize past events and relate them to the present time. For that purpose, it largely insists on developing self-reasoning skills and providing methodological know-how.

Analysis of the cantonal curricula

It must be underlined that the umbrella curriculum consists of less than four pages and is a remarkably short document and so are the three other cantonal curricula. Furthermore, all three cantonal curricula largely reflect the structure and arguments of the umbrella curriculum. In this regard, my analysis has exposed that there is no focus on “subject content” as such since none of the curricula delivers a substantial account of historical events and facts to tackle. In fact, all curricula have a strong conceptual character and insist on methodological reflection upon the teaching of history and what scientific methods should be used for the study of history. The emphasis is then placed on methodological objectives rather than on knowledge content, which in fact echoes with Peter Gautschi’s claim as illustrated in chapter 2, who declared that today the teaching of history mainly focuses on acquiring competences; therefore practical skills thus now prevail over the transmission of knowledge. Furthermore, All four curricula present a holistic approach of human history over time and promote the understanding of mutations in human societies. In fact, all three cantonal curricula propose a holistic view of the various dimensions of history in line with the umbrella curriculum by studying foreign civilizations, alternative societies and thereof alternative systems of values but also by exploring the notions of powers, political, social and economic mechanisms (and their limits). Nonetheless, I would argue that a latent focus on Occidental-Central European history shows through the various cantonal curricula and therefore rather presents a holistic approach of “Western-European” civilization.

Aside from the promoted holistic perspective on history, all four curricula stress the necessity to undertake trans-disciplinary work; that is to say that the teaching of history needs to be

185 Girardet and Teuwen, ‘Geschichtsunterricht in Der Schweiz: “Da Bin Ich Nicht Unschuldig”.’
completed by other subjects such as literature, philosophy or economic. In other words, the study of particular topics, arguments, events or facts is permitted from different points of reference. It then calls for a pluri-perspective on historical events or historical figures, which allows confronting viewpoints and thus encourages embracing different aspects in regarding history.

In this respect, I have found few explicit references to the “place of Swiss history” in the curricula and no indications on what historical aspects; facts, events or periods of Swiss history should be taught, albeit in the cantonal curriculum of Ticino. In fact, Swiss identity is mostly evoked in an indirect manner vis-à-vis foreign societies and systems. The Ticino cantonal curriculum however stands out as it openly refers to the notion of national identity and collective memory in stating as an objective that students shall “become aware that our society is based on a common past”\(^{186}\) and that “history is a narrative construction”.\(^{187}\) The curriculum presents a timeline constructed around the three years of High School and stipulates how Swiss history shall be tackled each year. The first year shall illustrate the creation and development of the old Confederation whereas Swiss society, economy and political institutions are to be explained during the second year. Lastly, teachers are demanded to portrait Switzerland within the 20\(^{th}\) century on the final year of “liceo”. None of the other curricula present directives on particular aspects of Swiss history to tackle; nevertheless, those directives remain vague and leave room for self-interpretation for the teachers. Furthermore, the timeline is conceived around thematic points rather than actual historical time periods. A thematical approach facilitates indeed a trans-disciplinary work. As an example of what is requested on the first and second year of studies of high school are the study of “feudal systems” and “population and resources”; on a third year of study; teachers are demanded to illustrate “cultures, sciences and lifestyles in the 20\(^{th}\) century”. Moreover, the Ticino curriculum highlights the importance of the relation between the past and the present; in this regard, it States the importance to act in favour of the “cultural and civil development of the citizens of tomorrow”.\(^{188}\) This injunction can be correlated with the construction of a Swiss identity.

Similarly, the cantonal curriculum of the canton of Vaud lightly touches upon the concept of collective memory and identity construction as it sets as objective to “clarify the relationship

\(^{186}\) ‘Piano Degli Studi Liceali - Scienze Umane’’Prendere coscienza che la società in cui si vive si fonda su un passato commune’ .
\(^{187}\) Ibid. “La storia è costruzione del racconto”.
\(^{188}\) Ibid. ‘Formazione culturale e civile dei cittadini di domani’.
between history and memory and between history and myths”.189 Notwithstanding, it delivers no temporal indicators except that the history teaching should cover the origins of the contemporary world and the history of the 20th century. Instead, the three years of study are conceived around a three dimensional structure; the first year of study should promote a factual and anthropological approach whereas the second and third years must respectively be built around analytic and reflexive approaches. On the last year of study, teachers are compelled to engage the students with one subject of Swiss history of their choice. Otherwise, no other directives have been expressed in regards of the teaching of Swiss history. Similarly, the curriculum for the Gymnasium school Hohe Promenade in the canton of Zurich designates as fundamental objective the teaching of the “most significant topics and time periods of World history in view of Swiss and European history”190 but does not otherwise specify what historical content should be taught. The lack of directives about subject content as such is nevertheless supplanted by on focus on delivering methodological tools to the students for them to be able to interpret themselves historical facts and events.191

Conclusion of my comparative analysis on curricula

As illustrated, all four curricula are succinct documents, which mainly deliver conceptual objectives. They rather advocate a reflection on the role of the teaching of history and focus largely on acquiring methodological skills. Moreover, my analysis has revealed that none of the curricula promote a national or local reading of history and present instead a holistic view on European and World history. As a result, we need to raise the following question: what are the reasons for not not delivering substantial directives on specific historical events, facts and personalities; especially in view of Swiss national history?

As a consequence, school teachers at the upper-secondary level enjoy a considerable latitude in selecting subject content and how to present Swiss collective past and collective memory. This liberty is added to the teacher’s prerogative to decide on the teaching material. The combined freedom enjoyed by the upper-secondary teachers for the subject history testifies of a significant confidence placed upon them from the cantonal authorities. The trust factor would also imply a complex relation between the community of teachers, school authorities,

189 ‘Plan D’études Pour Les Écoles de Maturité - Sciences Humaines’ ‘Clarifier les rapports entre l’histoire et la mémoire, l’histoire et le mythe’.
the students and the parents, which in return testifies of extensive social interrelation. In this regard, the choices made by the teachers in terms of content and material is based upon cooperative work that involves interrelation and collaboration with their peers. Therefore, teachers’ individual choices might in fact reflect academic and social consensus. Accordingly, an analysis of the pedagogical material at hand might thus reveal consensus among the history teacher’s community across the various Swiss cantons and outline similarities as much as differences in the choice of material and thereof of content.

3) Comparative analysis of teaching material in view of the Second World War period

As demonstrated in the first part of this chapter, the lack of directives on subject content from the legal body and the various curricula imply that school teachers or school teacher committees are relatively free to substantially decide what historical events, historical figures and historical facts to tackle. Since teachers are also granted freedom in the choice of pedagogical material, we can then assume that significant variations in teaching content result from the loose framework, notably in view of Swiss history. Since teaching content is intimately related to its teaching support, I will conduct a comparative analysis of the teaching material in use in three different cantons in order to identify differences and similarities in the choice of material for teaching Swiss history. The comparison should reveal whether there exists a (tacit) consensus over the teaching of Swiss past and collective memory.

My comparative analysis is composed of three steps and will move from the general to the particular. In a first part, I will provide the reader with an overview of the sources available to teachers for finding teaching content in relation to Swiss history across the various linguistic communities. This first part does not intend to deliver an exhaustive account of the sources available, but it should rather outline the most significant ones and thus draw differences and similarities among them. I will narrow down my analysis in a second part by presenting the material in use in the three high schools of my case study and draw a second comparison in order to crystallize what reading of history they imply. In a last part, I will conduct a content analysis of three samples of material on the topic of the Second World War. The material reflects the choice of three different teachers, respectively from the cantons of Vaud, Ticino and Zurich. Through this content analysis, I will be comparing the perspective on history, what facts and events are emphasised and what discourse strategies are in place.
a) **Sources of pedagogical material for history teaching**

Since no pedagogical material is imposed on teachers for the subject history in Switzerland, we need to take into consideration what alternative material is in use by teachers and where it originates from.

In this section, I will present some sources available to upper-secondary teachers for Baccalaureate schools that provide pedagogical material in view of history teaching. The following account is not meant to be exhaustive but intends to present the most significant institutes, platforms and organizations. More specifically, it will illustrate that the choices of teaching material from the teachers are made through common reference framework and therefore have common basis, which also implies that eventually the same pieces of material might be employed by a large number of teachers, such as history textbooks, historical documentaries, speeches of political personalities etc. The sources I have displayed into the tables below for greater visibility reflect a combination of teachers’ individual and collective projects as well as federal and cantonal initiatives in education. They also underline that textbooks are not the pedagogical means of teaching history *per excellence* and display numerous other alternatives even though in the field of history teaching there is still a strong competition for textbooks in the respective French, Italian and German speaking markets.

The four tables below play out important institutes, organizations and platforms in relation to history teaching in the Italian, French, German speaking regions as well as trans-national initiatives and give a brief description of their role and why they are significant sources for history teachers.

### National level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original title</th>
<th>English translation(^{192})</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diplomatische Dokumente der Schweiz - dodis.ch</td>
<td>Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland</td>
<td>State archives that gather numerous historical documents available for download, history teachers select documents for the students to analyse them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Société Suisse des Professeurs d'Histoire – SSPH</td>
<td>Swiss Society of History Teachers</td>
<td>History teachers from various cantons gather and exchange pedagogical practices and material, which can be further shared with their peers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{192}\) Own translation
Conférence Suisse des Directeurs Cantonaux de l’Instruction Publique - CDIP

Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education

It also enables exchanges of pedagogical material and practices and the creation of joint pedagogical projects.

Centre Suisse de Coordination pour la Recherche en Education

Swiss Coordination Centre for Research in Education

Research studies and material are available for download on the website and mostly benefit to the teachers themselves.

Fédération Suisse des Communautés Israélites

Swiss Federation for the Israeli Community

The Federation has created and made available for download pedagogical material in view of teaching the Shoah.

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In the French speaking cantons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original name</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cliotexte</td>
<td>Cliotexte</td>
<td>Collective online platform that enables upload and download of teaching material for history teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Université de Genève – Faculté des sciences de l’éducation &amp; Institut Universitaire des enseignants du secondaire &amp; Hautes Écoles Pédagogiques francophones</td>
<td>University of Geneva – Faculty of Education Sciences &amp; Institut for the training of upper-secondary teachers &amp; High Pedagogical Schools for the French Speaking cantons</td>
<td>Those institutes are in charge of the training of high school teachers in French speaking territories and also provide teaching material and academic studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conférence intercantonale de l’instruction publique de la Suisse Romande et du Tessin – CIIP</td>
<td>Conference in Public Education for the French and Italian speaking cantons</td>
<td>Pedagogical material is available for download on the online platform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Réro doc – Bibliothèque numérique</td>
<td>Réro doc – Digital library for French and Italian speaking documents</td>
<td>Pedagogical material for humanities subject is available for download on the online platform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memorado.ch - Association pour la redécouverte de l’histoire suisse</td>
<td>Memorado.ch – Association for the rediscovery of Swiss history</td>
<td>Collective initiative from history teachers that proposes material available for download.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Université de Lausanne – Section histoire</td>
<td>University of Lausanne – Department of History</td>
<td>Academic publications on history topics and addresses mainly history teachers for following up and debating on historical narratives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the German speaking cantons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original title</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pädögische Hochschule</td>
<td>High Pedagogical Schools for the German speaking cantons</td>
<td>Eight institutes are in charge of the training of teachers for the German speaking cantons and also provide teaching material and academic studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zentralschweizer Bildungserver (zebis.ch)</td>
<td>Education server for the cantons in central Switzerland</td>
<td>It is an online pedagogical platform that enables the upload and download of pedagogical material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lehrmittelverlag Zürich &amp; St. Gallen</td>
<td>Publishing house specialized in teaching material, Zurich &amp; St. Gallen</td>
<td>It publishes pedagogical material and textbooks adapted for the teaching in Swiss Baccalaureate and professional schools.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Italian speaking canton of Ticino

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original title</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dipartimento formazione e apprendimento – Alta scuola pedagogica</td>
<td>High Pedagogical Institute for the training of teachers</td>
<td>The institute is in charge of the training of teachers for the Italian-speaking canton Ticino and also provide teaching material and academic studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATIS – Associazione Ticinese degli Insegnanti di Storia</td>
<td>Association of history teachers for the canton Ticino</td>
<td>The association gathers numerous history teachers from the canton Ticino who jointly elaborate teaching material for the subject history that is made available online through the website.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scuolades: sito didattico della scuola ticinese</td>
<td>Scuolades: didactic website for public schooling in Ticino</td>
<td>It is an initiative from the cantonal department of education in Ticino and offers an online platform for exchanging pedagogical practices and material.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trans-cantonal organizations provide documents in several languages even though the majority of the publications are to be found in German and then French; it is evidently to be related with the number of German speakers, that is twice more important than French and Italian speakers combined. However, teachers rarely use material in different language than the one in which they teach because the students would not be able to understand it mostly. Therefore, cooperation works take place in all three linguistic regions. As a result, pedagogical material is being created and exchanged separately in the three linguistic regions. In this respect, the importance of the institutes that provide for high school teacher training is to be underlined since they exert significant influence on the newly trained teachers in introducing them to methodological practices and material for the teaching of history.
Moreover, they continue being used as platforms (physically and digitally) for exchanging practices, material and debates on current historical debates.

In view of the relatively small size of Italian speaking Ticino, the Association for History Teachers (ATIS) and the cantonal initiative of the department of education “Scuoladecs” facilitates the centralization of exchange of practices and pedagogical material for history teaching. Similarly, in the French speaking cantons some collective online platforms such as cliotexte enable the teachers to centralize the exchange of pedagogical practices and material. In this perspective, the German speaking Zentralschweizer Bildungserver provides pedagogical material for teachers in accordance with German speaking regulations; it is to be noticed that cantonal authorities have implemented the “education server” for German speakers whereas most of the educative collective platforms in French language are the result of collective initiatives from history teachers. Furthermore, the German speaking cantons dispose of publishing houses specialized in teaching material applied to the Swiss education system such as Lehrmittelverlag Zürich. It thus testifies of a large-scale cooperation work among the German speaking cantons, which probably implies a relative consensus over the textbook content. In fact, all three German-speaking countries are federal States and promote decentralized education systems; as such teaching material is commonly conceived according to regional or local regulations. Therefore, history textbooks are declined in numerous variations, as it is the case with the “Cornelsen Schulverlag” for German speakers, which offers numerous variations for the same history textbook “Anno”, declined according to the country, region and level of studies and school type.

Since the Swiss Confederation does not provide instructions on what material should be used by teachers, alternative forms of cooperation have flourished instead under the form of inter-cantonal initiatives or initiatives among teachers. The elaboration and exchange of teaching material remains nevertheless for a greater part confined to linguistic borders.

b) **Comparison of teaching material between the cantons of Vaud, Zurich and Ticino in relation to the Second World War**

In this section, I will compare the choice of material in use in the three schools of my case study, and to a lesser extent in some other Baccalaureate schools in the cantons of Vaud, Zurich and Ticino. This second comparison will enable me to outline the differences in the
choice of pedagogical material for history teaching and investigate to what extent and under which form Swiss identity is represented. Detailed information have been kindly provided to me by Mr. Peter Neumann, Mr. Pierre Jaquet and Mr. Maurizio Binaghi; respectively coordinators for the subject history at the Kantonschule Hohe Promenade in Zurich, the Gymnase de Nyon in Vaud and the Liceo Lugano 1 in Ticino. The information provided by history teachers of six other Baccalaureate schools in the same three cantons has also significantly enriched my comparative analysis; a detailed list of acknowledgment has been inserted into the appendix.

In the Zurich Kantonschule Hohe Promenade, the use of history textbooks seems to be common practice among history teachers, which correlates with the fact that the German speaking cantons produce tailored-made history textbooks for Swiss Baccalaureate schools. Teachers then dispose of a consequent pool of textbooks; in fact some textbooks are intended as pedagogical support for teachers whereas other type of textbooks are handed to students along with additional pedagogical material such as historical atlas or video-documentaries. Recent press articles are sometimes also handed to students in order to relate to contemporary social debates upon historical facts. Some history textbooks deal with World history whereas some are specialized in Swiss history or incorporate full chapters on Swiss history. From my correspondence with several history teachers in the canton of Zurich, the textbook “Die Schweiz und Ihre Geschichte” (Switzerland and its history) and “Durch Geschichte zur Gegenwart” (From History to present time) seem to be commonly used and dedicate entire sections to Swiss history; both are published in the canton of Zurich. In this regard, it is to be noticed that the majority of textbooks selected by the school committee of history teachers are published in Swiss publishing houses specialized in teaching material for the Swiss education system. It can also illustrate the will to centre the teaching of history around the Swiss past or at least to offer substantial account of Swiss historical events. However, in the Gymnase de Nyon in the canton of Vaud, history teachers traditionally use few textbooks; instead they elaborate and assemble the content of the classes themselves on individual or collective basis. Besides the sources I have illustrated in the previous section of this chapter, the material originate also from French speaking countries such as Belgium, Canada and France. History teachers in the liceo Lugano 1 in the canton of Ticino equally privilege the use of self-made material including the (partial) use of Italian history textbooks.

It must be said that the three schools may not be representative of their respective cantons or
linguistic regions. However, as illustrated previously, choices of material and practices are not isolated, therefore the differences crystallized above can nevertheless be correlated with other Baccalaureate schools. In this regard, it seems that history teachers in the German speaking cantons have found a privileged ground in the publishing houses specialized in teaching material as space for conceiving joint teaching content. It appears indeed to be a suitable way of conciliating twenty-one German-speaking cantons upon school history content, especially in view of sensitive historical period such as World War 2. In this regard, all the teachers in the canton of Vaud and Ticino with whom I have had a correspondence acknowledged that the classes dedicated to the Second World War period focus largely on Swiss history. In other words, the position of Switzerland in view of the events of Second World War is a central element of the classes. The choice is all the more significant since the history of the 20th century is usually conceived around thematic axes under a more holistic approach of European history, which do not consistently relate to Swiss history. Moreover, the number of hours dedicated to the teaching of history on the last year of study in the Baccalaureate schools is low compared to other subjects, which implies that teachers must select the subjects to teach all the more judiciously. In this respect, the teachers demonstrate a common will to confront the students with the events of the Second World War in relation to their own country. For that purpose, similar topics were brought forward by all teachers such as the asylum policy towards immigrants during the war and financial as well as business transactions with Nazi Germany. Such thematical points can be considered a legacy of the Bergier Committee, which was primarily entrusted by the Swiss federal authorities to scientifically revise the relationship of Switzerland with the Axis powers. The textbooks for German speakers edited in Switzerland also devote sections on the position of Switzerland during the War and present similar thematic lines. Moreover, two controversial textbooks upon the place of Switzerland in the Second World War ("Hinschauen und nachfragen" and "Vergessen oder errinern?") are now commonly used in numerous Gymnasien, which implies that the controversy and rejections they once raised have been appeased to a certain extent. Teachers make otherwise use of a plurality of similar supports to tackle Swiss history in view of the Second World War, which comprehend historical advertisement pictures advocating spiritual and physical defence of the country, military documents, political speeches made during the conflict. Some teachers in the French and Italian cantons also englobe the study of war testimonies to the classes and place emphasis on the study of works with revealing title such as the documentary of Daniel Monnat “L’honneur perdu de la Heimberg, ‘Commission D’experts et “Histoire Vécue”: Une Forme Helvétique D’instrumentalisation Des Témoins’.

Suisse” (Switzerland’s lost honour) or the book of Pietro Bischetti: “La Suisse et les nazis” (Switzerland and the Nazis).

This comparative analysis in the choice of teaching material from history teachers in three different cantons respectively from the three linguistic regions has revealed that teachers demonstrate a common will of placing Switzerland as a central component in their classes on the teaching of the Second World War regardless of their linguistic disparities, even though it implies the use and study of different historical (pedagogical) material.

c) Switzerland in time of the Second World War – a content analysis of three samples of teaching material

In this final section, I will analyse and compare three samples of teaching content in relation to the Second World War. The three samples of material I am analysing were provided to me by Mr. Peter Neumann, Mr. Pierre Jaquet and Mr. Maurizio Binaghi; respectively coordinators for the subject history and history teachers at the Kantonalschule Hohe Promenade in Zurich, the Gymnase de Nyon in Vaud and the Liceo Lugano 1 in Ticino. The material sample cannot be hold representative for the whole school canton, linguistic region because they reflect the individual choices and responsibility made by each teacher. However, as illustrated in the first part of this chapter, history teachers privilege nonetheless teamwork; indeed, teachers from the same school or from the same cantons regularly exchange teaching practices and material. Furthermore, teachers were trained in the respective High Pedagogical Institutes; therefore, they share a common training, which provides for a common basis in teaching. Consequently, we can assume that this common basis is reflected in the choice and use of material. In this respect, the choices in teaching material can also be correlated with common reference frameworks as the ones illustrated in a first part of this chapter and are influenced by language affinities. It is however complex to evaluate to what extent the individual choices reflect the ones of their peers.
Presentation of the three samples

- **Kantonalschule Gymnasium Hohe Promenade / Mr. Peter Neumann.**

Mr. Neumann is history teacher at the *Kantonalschule Gymnasium Hohe Promenade* in the German speaking canton of Zurich. He advised me that his teaching is largely based on the use of the following history textbook “*Schweizer Geschichtsbuch*” (Swiss history textbook) Band ¾ - Cornelsen Verlag; which the students are entitled to purchase. Although other type of material are made available to the students during the class such as historical atlas, press articles or extracts from other (text)books, this particular textbook consists of the main pedagogical element that accompanies the students throughout their last year of study. Therefore, it is particularly relevant for my analysis.

- **Gymnase de Nyon / Mr. Pierre Jaquet**

Mr. Pierre Jaquet is history teacher at the *Gymnase de Nyon* in the French speaking canton of Vaud. For the year 2015, he dedicated an entire course unit on the Second World War and composed a historical “dossier” himself entitled: “*Suisse 1914 – 1945 Le temps des crises*” (Switzerland between 1914 and 1945 – time of crisis). It consists of a 70 pages booklet handed to the students for the purpose of teaching the Second World War period. Although the class is based to a great extent on the booklet, Mr. Jaquet uses further pedagogical supports such as video documentaries, which I will not include in the analysis.

- **Liceo cantonale Lugano 1 / Mr. Maurizio Binaghi**

Mr. Maurizio Binaghi is history teacher at the *Liceo cantonale Lugano 1* in the Italian speaking canton of Ticino. Similarly to Mr. Jaquet, the class dedicated to the teaching of the Second World War is conceived around a collection of various documents, which consists of explanatory texts, archive texts, videos and audio items. Mr. Binaghi also participated in a joint initiative on the creation of a digital dossier about the teaching of the Second World War entitled “*La guerra e la Svizzera*” (The War and Switzerland). The pedagogical material is made available on the website of the Association of history teachers for the canton Ticino (ATIS). However, I cannot ascertain to what extent the material is being used by Mr. Binaghi, therefore, I will confine my analysis on the personal material he kindly shared with me.
The three samples of my analysis have been displayed anew in the table below for better visibility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of the material</th>
<th>Gymnasium Hohe Promenade / Mr. Peter Neumann</th>
<th>Gymnase de Nyon / Mr. Pierre Jaquet</th>
<th>Liceo cantonale Lugano I / Mr. Maurizio Binaghi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History textbook</td>
<td>“Schweizer Geschichtsbuch - Vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart” Band ¾ - Cornelsen Verlag</td>
<td>Unit of teaching on the Second World War composed by Pierre Jaquet “Suisse 1914 – 1945 Le temps des crises”</td>
<td>Unit of teaching on the Second World War composed by Maurizio Binaghi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Switzerland in time of the Second World War: a content analysis**

In order to delimit my research analysis, I will study the content of three sample of teaching material in view of the teaching of the Second World War period. As illustrated in the second chapter and in the first part of the third chapter, this historical period continues to raise controversial debates, the role of Switzerland during the war and its relationship towards Nazi Germany remains a contentious issue. In this respect, it is crucial to understand how those internal divisions are reflected upon the teaching at school. In other words, what should be taught to the students and how? The comparative analysis will help me reveal if it exists internal divisions on the conception of the past, expose whether there are ideological confrontations and outline what readings of historical events and facts are promoted. However, it is to be said that the analysis focuses on the comparison in teaching content in view of Swiss national identity and collective memory and does not comprehend the pedagogical methods as such employed by the teachers since I lack the necessary information in order to include it into my analysis. Moreover, the teachings methods can vary since the teachers need to adapt to the groups of students. Thereupon, the analysis does not intend to measure the actual impact of the teaching on the students, which can nonetheless be the core focus of another type of study.

In a first part, I will study the three samples individually and deliver an account for each one respectively. In a second part, I will deliver a synthetic comparative analysis in order to outline the differences and similarities in content.
Analysis of the History textbook “Schweizer Geschichtsbuch”

The textbook covers the history of the 20th century from the First World War to the end of the 1990s in seven chapters. The Second World War period is mainly illustrated in two chapters; one chapter presents a pan-European approach of the events related to the conflict and the other chapter focuses on the economic, social and political situation of Switzerland in the 1930s and during the War. Moreover, it is to be underlined that another whole chapter is dedicated to Switzerland in the aftermaths of the Second World War. The chapter “Der Faschismus in Europa und der Zweite Weltkrieg” (Fascism in Europe and the Second World War) is constructed around the following thematic lines: the rise of fascism in Europe, explanation of fascist ideologies, power mechanisms and confrontations, the conduct of the Second World War, the Holocaust and resistance against the Nazi regime in Germany. In this regard, it delivers a “classical” approach to the conflict and tackles historical events such as the Bolshevik revolution, the policy of expansion followed under the “third Reich”, anti-semitist movements across Europe, political and military alliances and significant military battles. For that purpose, it incorporates for example the analysis of official documents of the Nazi regime, extracts of “Mein Kampf”, propaganda advertisement and caricatures from Italy and Germany in the 1930s and in the 1940s and political map of the time.

The chapter “Die Schweiz in der Zwischenkriegszeit und im zweiten Weltkrieg” (Switzerland in the interwar period and in the Second World War) completes the precedent and focuses on the social and economic unrest in Switzerland in the aftermath of the First World War and during the economic crisis in the 1930s. It also insists on the military and “spiritual” defence of the country during the war period, as well as the Swiss asylum and economic policy. In this respect, it takes a critical stance towards the policy of the Swiss government at the time as well as towards the actions of Swiss companies. The chapter relates the confrontation of ideologies that took place in Switzerland in the 1930s and in the 1940s between the “bourgeoisie and working class” but also between the various political parties by displaying the various advertising campaigns that took place at the time. Moreover, extracts of speeches from Swiss politicians and extract of law enacted during the War period intend to illustrate the government policy of the time, which official stance was to guarantee “security, independence and neutrality”. The military defence of the country is presented through the order of general mobilisation of the army and significant Swiss (controversial) historical figures such as the politician Marcel Pilet-Golaz and the general Henri Guisan. Map of the defence lines should attest of the defence strategy of the time. Furthermore, diagrams
representing money and gold transactions intend to underline the money loans and the purchase of gold to Germany; on the other hand, some documents exhibit ration cards used in Switzerland during the war. Moreover, clear sections are dedicated to the stance of Swiss authorities towards refugees and Jewish people in particular as attested by the so-called “Judenstempel” (Jewish stamp) in use to discriminate Jewish people. In this respect, the textbook presents a revisionist approach on Swiss history and shows that the population has not been left untouched by the war and also sympathized with Nazi ideology to a certain extent. Finally, it is to be noticed that almost no historical documents originate from the French or Italian speaking regions, therefore it presents a dominant view of the German speaking Switzerland.

B/ Analysis of the course unit “Suisse 1914 – 1945 Le temps des crises”.

My analysis has revealed that the teaching booklet is composed only of historical documents and incorporates no explanatory account of historical events. As a result, the teaching is based on the analysis of the documents, which intend to trigger a reflection from a particular event or fact and move to broader historical narratives. Therefore, it implies on the one hand a strong focus on the methodological analysis instead of the learning of a succession of historical facts and events. On the other, it demonstrates that the transmission of knowledge as such is mostly done in the classroom, which I cannot evaluate within the framework of the research study. Moreover, although Mr. Jaquet has confirmed that additional material is provided to the students during the classes, the class is nevertheless based to a great extent on the booklet.

The booklet covers the period from 1914 to 1945 but is largely conceived in thematic points divided in three time periods, which are the first World War (1914-18), the interwar period (1918-1939) and the Second World War (1939-1945). More importantly, the course focuses mainly on the political, social and economic situation of Switzerland in the interwar period and during the conflict. In other words, the period of the Second World War is presented mainly under the prism of the Swiss position in relation of the conflict and does not take a pan-European approach, as it is traditionally the case in history textbooks. Furthermore, even though the documents incorporate sources from the German and Italian speaking regions, an emphasis is placed on the French speaking cantons. In this respect, it brings forwards numerous articles from the French speaking newspapers such as “L’illustre” or “Gazette de Lausanne” or speeches from French speaking politicians such as Charles Gorgerat, then
member of the Swiss National Council but also war testimonies as for example extract of “Mémoire d’une Suisse en guerre” (Memoirs of Switzerland under the war) from Fabienne Regard and Laurent Neury. It also relates to a great extent to events that took place in the Swiss Romandie as for example the bombing of Geneva in 1940. In this regard, the course unit has a “social approach” of the Second World War period and thus lays emphasis on how the Swiss population coped with the conflict, notably the role took on by the women and children under the war. Through the testimony of people who witnessed the war, one document introduces the rationing card system. In fact, numerous chapters portray the population and depict the lives of the masses, the working class, the middle class, factory workers and country men. However, political, diplomatic and military history is also brought forward through the documents. Similarly to the textbook “Schweizer Geschichtsbuch”, two speeches of the Guisan general, chief commander of the Swiss army and Marcel Pilet-Golaz – federal councillor (and today controversial figure) have been selected for manifesting that political and military actions were undertaken for defending the country and lift the spirits of the Swiss population. Some more documents deliver testimonies on citizens who served in the army at the time of the conflict and thus insist on human dimension in times of war. In this regard, ideological confrontations throughout the 1930s and 40s are also evoked through political programmes of political parties and tend to present a critical stance as for example in the political programme of the “Union Nationale” with the revealing title: “Un fascisme en Suisse romande” (Fascism in Swiss Romandie). Lastly, it is to be noticed that some efforts are placed in linking up historical narratives to the present time; as notably underlined by the interview with history professor Hans-Ulrich Jost: “La Suisse doit-elle avoir peur de découvrir ce qu’elle a fait entre 1939 et 1945?” (Should Switzerland be afraid of looking back at what she did between 1939 and 1945?). Students are therefore urged to reflect upon historical arguments in relation to Swiss collective memory and responsibility in a direct and provocative manner.

C/ Analysis of the course unit composed by Mr. Maurizio Binaghi

The material assembled by. Mr. Maurizio Binaghi is highly diversified; it is composed of pedagogical written accounts designed for school students, similar to those that are to be found in “classical” history textbook, and alternate between texts and images. It also presents extracts of academic books on history, scientific journals articles and research papers, law texts, transcripts of political speeches, photo archives, video documentaries, audio items and
extracts of historical movies related to the Second World War. In other words, the course unit is a combination of factual knowledge, historical primary sources and academic references. In this regard, it is to be noticed that a large number of documents or audio supports are in another language than Italian, mainly in French but also in English and German. On that account, it is difficult for me to ascertain whether all the pieces of material are intended to the students. The emphasis lays on the period from the end of the 1930s to the end of the Second World War in 1945 and focuses greatly on the place of Switzerland during the war with particular attention dedicated to the canton Ticino and the relation to Italy. Moreover, a consequent part of the material is allotted to the topic of the Holocaust and its implications until today. Original documents present some of the racial laws that were enacted under the third Reich but also under the fascist regime of Mussolini as underlined in the extract of the book: “Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo in Italia” (Story of the Jewish people under the fascism regime in Italy) by Renzo de Felice. In this respect, the strict policy on refugees coming to Switzerland during the war is also greatly thematized; for that purpose, the book of Silvano Calvo illustrates the national policy towards Jewish refugees during the War and some articles of the year 1938 relate anti-Semitism discourse in the local Ticino press. The topic is thus considered from four different standpoints. Moreover, some documents propose to reflect on the treatment given to the perpetrators of the Shoah as for example in the process of SS commander Adolf Eichmann, and how to face the Shoah still today. In this regard, a particular focus is placed upon testimonies such as school children, customs officer or soldiers, who deliver their memories of the conflict. Testimonies are a way of depicting the social situation in the Second World War period but also the economic one. Indeed, some narratives are used to present ration cards introduced at the beginning of the conflict and the resulting smuggling of goods over the borders.

The choice of material also underlines the military dimension of the conflict by explaining on the one hand the conduct of hostilities over Europe and worldwide through extensive written accounts supported by maps but also video documentaries from French, Italian and English channels. On the other hand, the military actions undertaken for the defence of Switzerland are illustrated through documents such as the general mobilization order of the Swiss army, an extract of the speech given by general Guisan in the 1940s or an account of the Swiss foreign policy in the 1930s and during the time of the conflict. Furthermore, the business relations with Germany are exposed through the presentation of economic documents, which illustrate the nature and volume of trade exchanges with the Nazi regime. In this perspective,

the selection of material induces a critical stance towards Swiss history during the Second World War and even includes an adapted version of the Bergier report for students. Lastly, it must be said that it is difficult for me to evaluate to what extent the material is used with the students since the list is exhaustive and the teacher needs to adapt to the groups of students and the time allocated.

Results of the content comparative analysis

My content analysis of the three samples of teaching material has revealed similar conceptions of the place and role of Switzerland in time of the Second World War even though the selected material greatly differs. However, the choice of the material was influenced to a large extent by language affinities; as a result, I have noticed a strong linkage to the respective linguistic communities. In other words, a large number of documents originate from the respective linguistic regions as for example historical extracts of local newspapers, regional political advertisements or report of testimonies. In this respect, a discernable amount of facts and events relate to the respective linguistic communities. Furthermore, focus is placed on the analysis of primary historical sources, which intend to contextualize historical facts and events and thus better acknowledge the historical context.

All three samples have exposed a certain emphasis on the economic, social and political situation of Switzerland in the Second World War period and relate of the military and “spiritual” defences of the country during the war period. In this regard, it must be noticed that some symbolic documents are used by all three teachers such as the speech delivered by General Guisan in 1940, then chief commander of the Swiss army or the call for general mobilization of the Swiss army; which implies that they have a great significance nationwide. Similarly, all three teachers have chosen to present documents, which manifest the usage of rationing cards in wartime and government plans for achieving food self-sufficiency. In this respect, similar pieces of historical documents illustrate costs of living and salaries during in the 1930s and in the 1940s and thus demonstrate a common will to bring to light that the Swiss population was also affected by the war nonetheless its neutral status. In this regard, sheet accounts of State monetary, gold and good transactions with Nazi Germany are equally given to the students in the three cases in order to emphasise that the Swiss economy was based to a large extent on exchanges with Germany throughout the conflict and therefore propose a critical stance towards the behaviour of Swiss politicians and business men in the early 1940s.
The material sample for the French and German speaking cases relate to the economic crisis of the 1930s, which lead to bitter political struggles, including the rise of fascist ideology and the spread of proletarian masses movements. In a context of ideological confrontation, they tackle the “spiritual defence” of the country embodied by the Universal exhibition in Zurich in 1939. In the same perspective, both Mr. Jaquet and Mr. Binaghi have selected some extract of speeches delivered by Marcel Pilet-Golaz, then federal councillor and significant personality whereas it has become a controversial figure today. The use of such a controversial historical figure intends to make the students reflect upon the way history can be constructed and deconstructed. On that account, the selected material by Mr. Jaquet and Mr. Binaghi lays emphasis on local history narratives by offering numerous historical testimonies. The different testimonies then offer multiple individualized visions of the same historical period by sharing their different experiences. The use of testimonies is particularly related to the Shoah and the asylum policy in Switzerland during the time of the conflict. However sensitive, the topic of the asylum policy is particularly depicted in the German history textbook and the large number of documents assembled by Mr. Binaghi on that account. Mr. Jaquet has privileged the analysis of historical speeches, which enables to move from a particular fact or event to a broader historical narrative; which can be completed by some additional material such as video-documentaries. In this regard, it must be said that my analysis has been confined to the three samples I described on the first part of this section and their usage is adapted according to external circumstances that imply to accustom the teaching to the groups of students and the time allocated.
CONCLUSION

“Memory is blind to all but the group it binds, history on the other hand belongs to everyone and no one”.195

My comparative analysis has demonstrated that a soft harmonization of teaching content was achieved despite education system’s disparities; therefore, in view of my case study, the variations in history teaching practices and material have not hindered the transmission of similar conceptions upon collective past.

Switzerland is characterized by important internal divisions that are manifested by multi-layers of identifications between the local communities, cantons, linguistic regions and the nation, which in return are strengthened by an extensive decentralized system that enables a “bunkerization” of the cantons. It can then be argued that localized decision power structures widen cultural and societal disparities and thus strengthen local identities. In this regard, my analysis of the various cantonal laws, school decrees and federal regulations that compose the educative legal framework has demonstrated that the federal State shows a limited interest in imposing a nationwide history curriculum. In this regard, my analysis of the umbrella curriculum from the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education, the school curriculum for the Gymnasium school “Hohe Promenade” in the canton of Zurich and the two respective cantonal curricula in the cantons of Vaud and Ticino has exposed that the emphasis is placed on methodological objectives rather than on knowledge content. All curricula frame conceptual objectives and rather insist on methodological reflection upon the teaching of history and what scientific methods should be used for the study of history. On that account, I have found few explicit references to the “place of Swiss history” in the curricula and no indications on what historical aspects, facts, events or periods of Swiss history should be taught, albeit in the cantonal curriculum of Ticino.

Although the decision-making procedures on the design of curricula differ between the cantons of Vaud, Ticino and Zurich, they all have in common the significant involvement of teachers; that is to say that the conception and validation of curricula are largely the result of a bottom-up approach. As a result, history teachers at upper-secondary level are granted great liberty in the choice of the teaching content and teaching material, which implies that the

transmission of knowledge and therefore the transmission of national history is all the more subjected to the choices of the teachers. Furthermore, the number of hours dedicated to the teaching of History varies greatly from one type of school type to another. In this respect, two-third of the students enrolled in secondary education attend vocational schools; a large amount of those students are allocated only a minimum number of hours to the learning of History or not at all. As a result, we observe a great disparity in the teaching of history in terms of content, the amount of time dedicated to history teaching and use of pedagogical methods and teaching material.

Notwithstanding, my content analysis of pedagogical material in use for the teaching of the Second World War in the cantons of Vaud, Ticino and Zurich has revealed similar conceptions of the place and role of Switzerland in time of the Second World War. All three sample lay great emphasis on the economic, social and political situation of Switzerland in the Second World War period and manifest critical stance towards the place and actions of Swiss people and politics. In fact, Switzerland has come to grips with the past in the last decade and the report from the Bergier Committee provided the basis for a drastic revision of the Swiss past in regards to the Second World War. It thus illustrates a general will from the Swiss people to reinvestigate its national past\textsuperscript{196}. However, it must be said that my content analysis has been confined to the study of three sample of material, which reflect the respective choices, and responsibility of three history teachers from three different schools. Moreover, the analysis has been delimited to the Gymnasium school type at the upper-secondary level; therefore, the results of my analysis may not be entirely representative for the three respective cantons and linguistic regions.

We may explain the seemly loose legal framework and the apparent lack of will from the federal State to introduce a common history curriculum and teaching material by its acknowledgment of horizontal cooperation between the education professionals. The latitude of action from which the teachers benefit enables them to innovate with new teaching methodologies, but also to adapt to the needs and knowledge of the students. More importantly, the leeway granted to the teachers enable them to revise their teaching position and content in relation to contemporary societal debates and polemical issues, as demonstrated in the outcome of my content analysis; all three teachers commonly - but

\textsuperscript{196} ‘La Guide Sondage: De Quoi La Suisse Est-Elle Faite?’, Readersdigest.ch, March 2011.
independently from one another – adopt a critical stance on the classical teaching of Swiss history during the Second World War period. In this regard, the cooperative work among teachers plays a significant role; indeed, the choices of teachers reflect an on-going exchange of teaching practices and material among peers. The teachers could not be the cornerstone of the coordination work without the trust of the Swiss people and the State, and a sort of social consensus has been built around the wide latitude granted to teachers, albeit a tacit one.

Therefore, I would not argue that a more centralized education system would be beneficial for the construction of Swiss identity. In this respect, in the future cantonal and federal authorities might continue to lay emphasis on acquiring methodological skills rather than harmonizing subject content as such since educative authorities appear reluctant to promote directives on the teaching of specific historical knowledge, even though there are some signs for restructuring the upper-secondary level or cantonal curricula objectives. Reforms would however imply extensive negotiations since decisions are made upon inter-cantonal agreements and would therefore make way to local initiatives including a limited number of cantons.

This study has shown the relevance of comparative education methods in the study of the current developments of national identities. Further studies in this perspective could comprehend the analysis of more historical time periods such as the creation of the Swiss Confederation and the First World War. Moreover, further cross-comparative studies, which take into account a larger number of cantons and schools, would provide us with more accurate results in view of the role of education in the building of Swiss national identity.
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Acknowledgements

I would like to express my very great appreciation to Doctor Senka Neuman-Stanivukovic and Professor Doctor Zdzislaw Mach for guiding me throughout the writing of my research thesis. I am particularly grateful to Professor Karolina Czenska-Shaw for advising me during my research work.

I would also like to warmly thank Mr. Peter Neumann, Mr. Pierre Jaquet and Mr. Maurizio Binaghi for sending me sample of their pedagogical material in view of the teaching of the Second World War.

- Mr. Peter Neumann, history teacher and coordinator at the Kantonalenschule Hohe Promenade in the canton of Zurich
- Mr. Pierre Jaquet, history teacher and coordinator at the Gymnase de Nyon in the canton of Vaud
- Mr. Maurizio Binaghi, history teacher and coordinator at Liceo cantonale Lugano 1 in the canton of Ticino.

I would like to offer my special thanks to Enora Palaric for her patience, assistance, support and faith in me.

Further acknowledgments and thanks are due to John Brookes for his proofreading and to Cristalle Maillé for making me benefit from her computer skills.
I am also grateful to Kinga Noworol for her constant enthusiasm and encouragement.

I would like to acknowledge all the teachers who have assisted me throughout my research and who took out of their busy schedules for providing me with information, councils and material.

- Mr. Fabiano Vogt, teacher at the Kantonalenschule Zürich Nord in the canton of Zurich
- Mr. Roland Butikofer, teacher at the Gymnase de Bugnon in the canton of Vaud
- Mr. Dominique Dirlewanger, teacher at the *Gymnase de Provence* in the canton of Vaud
- Mr. Adriano Martignoni, teacher at *Liceo cantonale di Bellinzona* in the canton of Ticino
- Mr. Aureliano Martini and Gianluca D'Ettore, teachers at *Liceo cantonale Lugano 2* in the canton of Ticino
- Mr. Diego Fiscalini, teacher at *Liceo cantonale di Locarno* in the canton of Ticino

Finally, I wish to thank all the experts in the field of education who kindly replied to my inquiries on the functioning of the Swiss education System. I appreciate all the time and assistance as I navigated through my research.

- Professor Doctor Béatrice Ziegler, at *Fachhochschule Nordwestschweiz*
- Mr. Roger Morger, *Erziehungsdepartement Basel-Stadt*
- M. Müller Dagmar, *Geschäftstelle NW-EDK*
- Doctor Martin Wirthensohn, *Interkantonale Lehrmittelzentrale*
- M. Bea Oberholzer Munziger, *Bildungsdirektion Kanton Zürich*
- Mr. Pierre Faoro, *Direction générale de l'enseignement post-obligatorire Valais* - *DGEP*
- Mr. Joël Grau, *Service de l'enseignement Valais – DFS*
- Mr. Jean-Pascal Mougin, *Domaine post-obligatoire CIIP*
- Mr. Jérôme Blanc, *Direction générale de l'enseignement Secondaire 2 – Genève*
- Mr. Aldo Della Piazza, *Conférence des Directeurs de Gymnases Suisses – CDGS*
- Doctor Martin Leuenberger, *Generalsekretariat EDK*
- M. Andrea Jossen, *Schweizerische Koordinationsstelle für Bildungsforschung*
- M. Elsbeth Roos, *EDK-OST*
Appendix

Annex document 1: Linguistic map of Switzerland
Annex document 2: Zurich cantonal education system

BILDUNGSSYSTEM KANTON ZÜRICH
Vorschulstufe – Sekundarstufe II

- Gymnasiale Maturitätsschule
  - ISCED 3A
  - FaMa = Fachmaturitätssausbildung
  - Option 2: Berufliche Grundbildung
    - Option 2: Berufsfachschule + Lehrbetrieb + überbetriebliche Kurse | Vollzeitschulen (HMS, IMS, Lehrwerkstätte)
    - Option 2: Im Anschluss an die Lehre (Vollzeit 1 Jahr oder Teilzeit 1 1/2 bis 2 Jahre)

- Sekundarschule
  - Besondere Klassen

- Primarschule
  - Einschulungs-klasse

Sonderpädagogik
Kinder und Jugendliche mit besonderem Bildungsbedarf werden mit besonderen Massnahmen in ihrer Ausbildung unterstützt (ab Geburt bis zum vollendeten 20. Lebensjahr).
Die sonderpädagogische Förderung erfolgt integrativ (im Rahmen der Regelstufe), in Besonderen Klassen oder separativ (in Sonderschulen).

ISCED 3A
ISCED 2A
ISCED 1
ISCED 0

- Kindergarten
- Besondere Klassen

Schuljahr 2014/2015/EDK-IDES
In Zusammenarbeit mit der Bildungsdirektion des Kantons Zürich erstellt
www.bildungsdirektion.zh.ch
© EDK CDIP CDEP CDPE, August 2014
SYSTÈME ÉDUCATIF DU CANTON DE VAUD

Scolarité obligatoire 11 ans

PCEDS = Pédagogie compensatoire pour élèves en difficulté scolaire

OPFI = Organisme de perfectionnement, de transition et d'insertion

* Enseignement en 2 niveaux pour le Français, les Mathématiques et l'Allemann. Tant que la scolarité obligatoire dure, les deux voies s'appliqueront à tout le degré secondaire.

** Durant l'année scolaire 2014/2015, les trois voies ne s'appliqueront que jusqu'à la 11e année de la scolarité obligatoire. Depuis l'année scolaire 2015/2016, les deux voies s'appliqueront à tout le degré secondaire.

Enseignement en 2 niveaux pour le Français, les Mathématiques et l'Allemann. Tant que la scolarité obligatoire dure, les deux voies s'appliqueront à tout le degré secondaire.

Enseignement en 2 niveaux pour le Français, les Mathématiques et l'Allemann. Tant que la scolarité obligatoire dure, les deux voies s'appliqueront à tout le degré secondaire.
SISTEMA EDUCATIVO DEL CANTONE TICINO
Livello prescolastico – Livello secondario II

Livello prescolastico e primario
Scuola dell’infanzia

Livello secondario I
Scuola media:
- ciclo di orientamento (esigenze estese)
- ciclo di orientamento (esigenze miste)
- ciclo di orientamento (esigenze di base)

Livello secondario II
Scuola media:
- ciclo di osservazione

Opzione 1: parallela al tirocinio (3 o 4 anni)
Opzione 2: alla fine del tirocinio (tempo pieno 1 anno o tempo parziale 1 1/2 – 2 anni)

SMS = Scuola di maturità specializzata
OO = Formazione professionale di base (tirocini)
Complemento: Formazione maturità professionale

Opzione 1: parallela al tirocinio (3 o 4 anni)
Opzione 2: alla fine del tirocinio (tempo pieno 1 anno o tempo parziale 1 1/2 – 2 anni)

Formazione maturità professionale

Soluzioni transitorie (p.es. Pretirocinio di orientamento, Semestre di motivazione)

Pedagogia speciale
Dalla nascita all’età di venti anni compiuti, i bambini e i giovani con bisogni educativi particolari hanno diritto a misure appropriate durante la loro formazione. Il sostegno specifico è effettuato in modo integrativo (nel’ambito della scuola regolare) o in una soluzione di separazione (scuola speciale). Parallelamente esistono anche gli istituti di pedagogia speciale.

Anno scolastico 2014/2015/CDPE-IDES
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