Of Documents, Discourse & Democracy –
The Züri City Card between Politics and Public Debate

Master thesis submitted by: Nouri Abdelgadir

Erasmus Mundus Master in Urban Studies [4CITIES]

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Bas van Heur & Dr. René Kreichauf

Second Reader: Dr. Yvonne Franz

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Dear reader

This version of my thesis (intended for public upload on the 4cities website) contains many primary quotes that I translated to English.
In the initial version I had turned in to graduate from 4cities, I kept all German language quotes untranslated after consulting with my supervisors. For a thesis concerned with the political implications of language in use, maintaining as much in the original as possible seemed appropriate. Hence, if you are interested in reading the original (with the German quotes), do not hesitate to get in touch with me!

Thank you for showing interest in my work!

All the best

Nouri Abdelgadir

Zürich, October 2023

Abstract Deutsch

Diese Masterarbeit untersucht den Mediendiskurs über die Züri City Card (ZCC), einem Vorschlag für eine kommunale Identitätskarte in Zürich, Schweiz, der 2017 in Aktivistenkreisen entstanden ist. Die Idee wurde von städtischen Entscheidungsträgern aufgegriffen, die einen Umsetzungspfad entwickelten, der im Mai 2022 in einer Volksabstimmung knapp angenommen wurde. Die ZCC ist ein Projekt, das in der *Urban Citizenship* verwurzelt ist, einem Konzept, das in akademischen und aktivistischen Diskursen als geeignet beschrieben wird, die Hegemonie nationalstaatlich sanktionierter Staatsbürgerschafts- und Migrationsregime zu durchbrechen. Die der ZCC beteiligten Akteure bezeichneten das Projekt als pragmatischen Ansatz, um der zunehmend restriktiven nationalen und europäischen Migrationspolitik entgegenzuwirken. Sie beabsichtigten, das Projekt zu nutzen, um eine breitere öffentliche Debatte über Demokratisierung zu fördern. Mithilfe eines medienanalytischen Ansatzes, der auf den *Critical Discourse Studies* (CDS) beruht, wird in dieser Arbeit untersucht, wie die ZCC im Mediendiskurs dargestellt wurde, wie dieser Diskurs zusammengesetzt wurde, und welche Rolle Mediendiskurse im politischen Prozess und bei der Aushandlung von *Urban Imaginaries*, in sie eingebettet waren, spielten. Der ZCC-Mediendiskurs entstand 2017 und entwickelte sich parallel zum politischen Entscheidungsprozess. Das ZCC wurde vor allem als kommunalpolitische Angelegenheit verhandelt. Es wurde auch oft mit illegalisierten Migrant*innen in Verbindung gebracht. Das ZCC wurde als lokales Projekt dargestellt, das in Opposition zur Politik höherer Regierungsebenen formuliert wurde, und als Beispiel erfolgreicher *Policy Mobility* Praktiken. Es wurde gezeigt, dass Akteure anderswo von der ZC inspiriert wurden. Der Mediendiskurs trug mit dazu bei, dass das Projekt über Zürich hinaus bekannt wurde. Auch beteiligten sich die Medienakteure an Strategien zur Einbettung der ZCC in sich konkurrierenden Narrativen der Stadt als politischer Akteur. Diese Narrative sind einerseits eine Vision der Stadt als progressive Avantgarde, und andererseits der Stadt als agonistischer Ausreißer in der nationalen politischen Landschaft. Ich komme zu dem Schluss, dass im ZCC-Mediendiskurs *Urban Imaginaries* entstehen, die dazu beitragen können, Kritik am Status quo zu formulieren, und die die Artikulation politischer Visionen ermöglichen, die gegebenenfalls mit postpolitischen Paradigmen brechen könnten.

Abstract English

This thesis examines media discourse generated by the Züri City Card (ZCC), a municipal ID card proposal in Zurich, Switzerland which started in activist circles in 2017. The idea was adopted by municipal policy makers, who developed an implementation pathway which was narrowly approved in a municipal referendum in May 2022. The ZCC is a project rooted in *urban citizenship*, a concept described in academic and activist discourses as capable of disrupting the hegemony of nation-state sanctioned citizenship and migration regimes. Actors involved in the ZCC framed the project as a pragmatic approach to counter increasingly restrictive national and European migration policies. They intended to use the project to foster wider public debate about democratization. Through a media analysis approach rooted in Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), this thesis analyzes how the ZCC was featured in media discourse, how this discourse was assembled, as well as what role media discourse played in the policy process and in negotiating urban imaginaries in which it was embedded. ZCC media discourse emerged in 2017 and evolved in parallel to the policymaking process. The ZCC was negotiated as an issue of municipal policy. It was also often related to undocumented migrants. The ZCC was portrayed as a local project formulated in opposition to the politics of higher levels of governance, and as an outcome of policy mobility. The ZCC was shown to inspire actors elsewhere. Media discourse contributed to the recognition of the project beyond Zurich. Finally, media actors participated in strategies of embedding the ZCC in competing narratives of the city as a political actor. These are a vision of the city as a progressive vanguard, and as an agonistic outlier in the national political landscape. I conclude that in ZCC media discourse, urban imaginaries emerge which can help to formulate critique of the status quo, allowing for the articulation of political visions that might eventually break with post-political paradigms.

Keywords: urban citizenship, municipal ID cards, municipal activism, critical discourse analysis, news media analysis, urban imaginaries

Acknowledgements

List of Tables and Figures

List of abbreviations

AL	Alternative Liste
FDP	FDP.die Libralen (formerly Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei)
FR	Frankfurter Rundschau
GLP	Grünliberale Partei
NZZ	Neue Zürcher Zeitung
SP	Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz
SPAZ	Sans-Papier Anlaufstelle Zürich
SVP	Schweizerische Volkspartei
VZCC	Verein Züri City Card
WOZ	WOZ Die Wochenzeitung
ZCC	Züri City Card

1. Introduction

In the evening of Sunday, May 22nd, 2022, a group of activists and politicians posed for a photo in front of the *Piccolo Giardino* bar in the central Langstrasse neighborhood, a former working-class district- turned red light district- turned gentrification hotspot. With fists raised and relief written all over their faces, they had gathered to celebrate a political victory. Here in Zurich, and in all of Switzerland, some new policies be approved by referendum, turning four Sundays every year into a collective exercise in waiting for results. On this day, the group at *Piccolo Giardino*, most of whom belong to the *Verein Züri City Card (VZCC)*, had just received word that they had won a municipal referendum. The result, with 51.69% approval for their proposal, was narrow, much narrower than they had hoped for. Nonetheless, they considered the moment to be politically and symbolically important, as one of them told a journalist from Geneva:

> This is an absolutely historic decision, […] we are delighted. This is a step forward that will certainly be scrutinized, both in French-speaking Switzerland and internationally.
> (Busslinger, 2022, author's own translation (OT))

The proposal Zürich's citizens had just voted on, and which the people gathered had advocated for, was the introduction of a so-called *Züri City Card (ZCC)*. The card is intended as a document of identification that will be issued to all inhabitants of the city, regardless of their legal immigration status (Stadtrat Zürich, 2020). The municipal government plans to offer benefits to any person who uses the card (in the form of reduced fees for municipal services, for instance), but the main beneficiaries of the ZCC are said to be undocumented migrants[1]. The card will not alter sans-papiers' legal status, yet it would allow them to access municipal services. When the ZCC was first proposed in 2017, it was presented as a first step towards ensuring "the legal, political, social and cultural participation of all residents of the city - regardless of residence status or permit category" (SDA, 2017, p. 1, OT). In addition, it was intended to provoke debate about issues of democracy and local practices in opposition to national political trends (Morawek, 2016, 2019). This intention to „use the Züri City Card to foster public debate about the rights of residents without a Swiss passport" (Bauder & Weisser, 2019, p. 5) was highlighted in much of the existing academic literature on the case.

Analyzing how the ZCC project developed, from a demand for social rights for all to a concrete policy proposal, offers an opportunity to trace the evolution of potentially disruptive political concepts. In the Swiss contexts with public referenda, the ZCC proposal had to be publicly debated. Therefore, the tensions between the disruptive concept and institutional constraints that determine concrete policy implementation played out discursively in public. This provides researchers with an opportunity to investigate how marginal political positions and movements enter mainstream discourse in the public sphere.

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[1] In the secondary literature, there is a variety of terms for people without a legally recognized status. The most common term by far is *undocumented migrants,* with *irregular migrants* as a second somewhat widespread option. In Swiss political, activist, and academic discourse, the French term *sans-papiers* is used in all language regions, including in German-speaking Zurich.

The debate around the ZCC that has emerged in Zurich echoes contemporary academic scholarship at the intersection between migration scholarship and urban studies. It resonates particularly with the dynamics of reproduction and contestation of the exclusionary logic of national migration regimes at the local scale (Darling & Bauder, 2019; de Graauw, 2014; Spencer, 2020). In addition to the traditional forms of border control by nation states, bordering processes required for the (re-)construction of national sovereignty are moved beyond the outer borders of the Schengen area[2]. At the same time, bordering processes are also increasingly occurring in urban areas across the European continent (Balibar, 2002b; Lebuhn, 2013; Szary & Giraut, 2015; Walters, 2006). In response, urban social movements and local governments attempt to elaborate inclusive counternarratives and polities (Darling & Bauder, 2019; Garcia, 2006; Lebuhn, 2013; Schilliger & Ataç, 2017).

What unites many local projects aiming to break with national paradigms, including the ZCC, is an engagement with the concept of *urban citizenship* (UC). The UC concept is often evoked in the context of the *sanctuary city* movement that started in the US in the 1980s (Kaufmann, 2019). As actors outside North America, particularly in Europe, started taking inspiration from the experiences with sanctuary cities, urban citizenship served as a guiding concept for diverse attempts at reconceptualizing political identity formation beyond the nation state (Darling & Bauder, 2019). Conventionally, citizenship is understood as state-sanctioned set of rights bestowed on the individual. In contrast, *urban* citizenship is rooted in acts and practices of claims-making whereby outsiders collectively constitute themselves as political subjects and gain recognition as political subjects. As a participatory and collective practice that explicitly includes undocumented migrants, urban citizenship is often considered as harboring the potential to fundamentally destabilize the inherent logic of exclusionary (national) citizenship and migration regimes (Bauböck, 2003; Garcia, 2006; Lebuhn, 2017; Schilliger & Ataç, 2017).

In cities across Europe, local governments were receptive of ideas and proposals inspired by urban citizenship, with municipal governments adopting concrete policies in support of undocumented migrants (Bot, 2022; Delvino & Spencer, 2019). This translation of urban citizenship-inspired ideas into concrete policies and practices is well studied (Baban & Rygiel, 2020; Kron & Lebuhn, 2020; Swerts, 2017, 2021), as is the need of activists and advocates to conform to hegemonic national political discourses. This can limit disruptive political potential (Swerts, 2021; Swerts & Nicholls, 2021).

However, urban citizenship is not only a matter of policy. The construction of notions of citizenship and political identity formation "[…] does not take place only within the confines of the policy sphere, but it is also shaped by the continuous re-elaboration of discourse in the public sphere" (Ambrosini et al., 2020, p. 9). Adopting concepts and practices rooted in urban citizenship therefore not only requires policy innovation at the local scale instead of the national, but also the articulation of "alternative political narratives", as proposed by Darling & Bauder (2014, p.4). Only in few cities have proposals inspired by urban citizenship developed far enough for the topic to

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[2] The agreement signed between the EU and the Tunisian government in 2023 is a prime example for this. The *Khartoum Process* in the 2010s is another illustrative example of the outsourcing of bordering duties beyond the European borders. See for example: (Babiker & Oette, 2017; Baldo, 2017).

enter wider public discourse[3]. Hence, it remains relatively poorly understood how urban citizenship is negotiated as a topic of debate in the wider public sphere, where dominant framings of migration, citizenship and political subjectivity remain largely centered on the scale of the nation state.

The ZCC is an insightful case study to occupy this niche. Early actors involved in its inception explicitly communicated their understanding of urban citizenship not only as a conceptual foundation on which a concrete policy proposal could be developed, but also as an idea to initiate public debates about democratization and political identity formation beyond national citizenship paradigms (Morawek, 2016, 2019). As such, the ZCC project allows for incorporating analyses of public discourse into discussions of urban citizenship by proxy of media representation. This approach is inspired by recent media studies scholarship on migration & citizenship (Bleich et al., 2015; Dolea et al., 2021; Gonzalez O'Brien et al., 2019; Hoekstra, 2017; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). Even though methodological approaches and research interest differ widely between these texts, they all suggest analyzing media discourse regarding migration policy and political identity formation as a promising path to incorporate a public sphere of debate in which political and ideological narratives are articulated.

In terms of methodology, a *Critical Discourse Studies* (CDS) approach (Fairclough, 2012; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak et al., 2009) can be applied to study media for issues of political discourses, migration, and citizenship regimes as it is "sensitive to the social production and ideological operations of news discourse" (Kelsey, 2018, p. 510). It is therefore well suited for the analysis of urban citizenship and its negotiation in the public sphere. Building on these considerations, a corpus of 148 media texts mentioning the ZCC will be analysed as a proxy for public discourse. The CDS distinction between text, discursive practice, and social practice (Fairclough, 1992) informs the research questions guiding my analysis:

> RQ1: How was the ZCC represented in media discourse, how did this representation evolve over time, and what other themes was it related to?
> RQ2: How was ZCC media discourse assembled through journalistic practice, and what ideological positions are identifiable?
> RQ3: What was the role of media discourse in the ZCC policy process, and in negotiating the urban imaginaries in which it was embedded?

To answer these questions, I will first review academic literature (chapter 2) on national citizenship regimes and undocumented migrants, on urban citizenship and policies inspired by it, and on the role of urban imaginaries in articulating political narratives that reinforce and/or disrupt ideological positions. Linking this conceptual literature to my research interest, I then discuss the value of incorporating media analysis into scholarship on urban citizenship and policies inspired by the concept. This subchapter further expands on my rationale for approaching urban citizenship as a matter of discourse.

Afterwards, I introduce CDS as my methodological foundation, and demonstrate how its assumptions can be put into practice for media analysis of an urban citizenship policy (chapter 3).

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[3] Barcelona (Islar & Irgil, 2018) or Amsterdam (Bot, 2022; Kaufmann et al., 2021a) are mentioned regularly in the academic literature.

I describe my process of close reading and coding the texts, and the process of developing analytical categories.

To introduce my case, I then discuss the political, historical, cultural, and institutional context of ZCC media discourse (chapter 4). It is here that I summarize the events & decisions that occurred before and during the period I analyze, and where I introduce key actors. This step is intended to set the stage for the discussion of discursive strategies and political implications that follows.

After that, I present the results of my empirical work. In an initial descriptive step, I present an overview of my corpus, structured along prominent themes in ZCC media discourse (chapter 5). This step provides an overview of ZCC media discourse and thus answers RQ1. The analysis shows that ZCC media discourse closely followed the policymaking process, with increased coverage as it became clear that a public vote would take place. I also introduce other prominent topics in ZCC media discourse here.

Moving on from the content of ZCC media discourse, I identify the discursive practices involved in its construction (chapter 6). To answer RQ2, the journalistic practice of selecting and assembling texts comes into focus here, and I differentiate prominent ideological positions regarding the role of the city in politics discernible in the discursive practices of prominent media actors. I differentiate between a primarily conservative position which remains within a nation-state-centered logic and considers the city as a site for the implementation of higher-level political decisions, and a more progressive ideology which understands the city as a site where resistance and counter narratives to exclusionary politics at higher level can be formed.

Combining these insights with the contextual information and the secondary literature, I then discuss the role of media discourse in the development of the concrete ZCC policy, in the negotiation of this policy in the local political landscape, and in the discursive construction of political ideologies rooted in competing imaginaries of the city of Zurich (cf. chapter 7). This chapter thus answers RQ3. It becomes evident that the media was a crucial actor in construing the ZCC as controversial policy issue, closely following the argumentation of political actors. The ZCC played a central role in characterizations of the city of Zurich as a political actor. These were embedded in competing urban imaginaries articulated prominently in media discourse. Urban citizenship features in media discourse as the underlying concept motivating local actors, but it is understood and implemented in Zurich in ways that tend to omit its more radical aspects and that tend to naturalize the municipal scale in territorial terms.

I aim to conclude by suggesting a few lessons that could be learned from the ZCC by activists, policymakers, and academics engaged with undocumented migrants. I hope to argue that in the discrepancies between competing narratives of the city as shown in ZCC media discourse, an alternative normative ideal from which to formulate critique of the status quo emerges in the form of urban citizenship. This allows for the articulation of political visions that go beyond managerial and post-political paradigms. The emergence of these imaginaries is not to be read as a 'success' in terms of shifting hegemonic paradigms. After all, both supporters and opponents of the ZCC project mostly remain within status quo or reformist and liberal paradigms of political change. Yet, a radical egalitarian alternative becomes *conceivable* in the gaps and contradictions in ZCC discourse.

2. Literature Review

This thesis draws on various, often overlapping, bodies of literature. Their discussion is structured in multiple parts, which broadly mirror the argument and narrative I pursue.

First, I discuss literature on sovereignty & the (nation-) state, borders & bordering processes, citizenship regimes and migration (chapter 2.1). These issues are relevant to understand the hegemonic logic of contemporary national citizenship regimes the ZCC is positioned against.

After a discussion of the multi-scalarity of the contemporary European border regime, I introduce *urban citizenship*, the concept which had inspired the ZCC, with regard to the normative foundation of urban citizenship in opposition to national citizenship regimes (2.2), to its alleged potential to re-politicize issues of political subjectivity and participation in the context of migrant activism, and to the translation of urban citizenship into concrete policies in what some call *municipal activism*.

I then connect the literature review to my research topic of urban citizenship in public discourse. I introduce academic literature on the ZCC case (2.3), explore approaches to the city in terms of narratives and imaginaries, and discuss policy and media discourse regarding migration in general and undocumented migrants in particular (2.4).

Lastly, connecting the topic to my research problematic, I discuss literature on the relationship between policy discourse and media discourse, and the importance of media discourse for analyzing migration (2.5). A critical assessment of hegemonic paradigms of migration, the potential of urban citizenship to disrupt this status quo, and the (media) discourse perspective on urban migration politics provide the framework of my thesis.

2.1. State Sovereignty, Borders, and Citizens

A clear grasp of state-sanctioned citizenship regimes and their relationship to the territorial logic of the nation state are indispensable to understanding what urban citizenship activists, including those in Zurich, want to see disrupted.

Contemporary policy and academic discourse on urban citizenship is often analyzed in the context of changing patterns of migration and increasingly restrictive national migration policies (Haas et al., 2018; Riaño & Wastl-Walter, 2006; Szary & Giraut, 2015). Changing patterns of (global) migration are generally portrayed as a challenge to questions of inclusion, border enforcement, and identification from the perspective of the (nation-) state (Darling & Bauder, 2019). Influenced by an inherently state-centered perspective (cf. Scott, 1998), writing about sovereignty until recently tended to consider sovereignty as a norm that legitimizes central state authority and the concentration of political power (Agnew, 2005). Agnew (1994) called this territorial view, which regards the border as fixed and which normalizes and legitimizes a Westphalian conceptualization of political order, a 'territorial trap'[4].

In this view, sovereignty is rooted in states' capacity to distinguish between an inside and an outside through inclusion and exclusion processes. These manifest spatially at the border, which is the

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[4] He describes this territorial trap as resting on three broad assumptions:
The first assumption […] is the reification of state territorial spaces as fixed units of secure sovereign space. The second is the division of the domestic from the foreign. The third geographical assumption is of the territorial state as existing prior to and as a container of society. (pp. 76–77)

primary site where "both sovereignty and citizenship are performed by individuals and sovereigns" (Salter, 2008). Border spaces, and bordering practices, have long been key themes of scholarship on migration and citizenship (cf. Balibar, 2002a, 2004; Salter, 2008; Szary & Giraut, 2015).

In much of the existing literature in the traditions of political geography, international relations scholarship and other fields, the authority over the designation of inside and outside is located at the scale of the nation state. This preoccupation with nation states, and their territorial boundaries also contributes to a 'methodological nationalism' in the fields like the social sciences & political geography (cf. Wimmer & Schiller, 2002), which continues to haunt not only individual case studies, but also comparative, cross-national research.

Migration, and the related questions of inclusion and exclusion, are conventionally similarly focalized through the perspective of the nation- state and its capacity to enact control over bordering processes. Bordering entails decisions about who the constitutive members of a state are, resulting in categories of 'citizen' and 'foreigner', categories which determine individuals' experiences of border spaces (Salter, 2008). Biometric forms of sorting and classifying migrants have become more widespread, as have attempts of rerouting migrants through increasingly dangerous channels on the borders of North America and Europe (Darling & Bauder, 2019). The focus of policymakers and academics thus often lies on regulatory policies and the sorting and classification of migrants.

The categorization occurring in bordering processes is essential for the stabilization of (state) power (Walters, 2006, p. 144), and for the continual discursive (re-)construction of national identity based on the exclusion of the 'other' (Dahinden et al., 2021; Dolea et al., 2021; Wodak et al., 2009). The nation, and the exclusionary logic it requires for its continued re-constitution, can thus be understood as a social formation that reproduces itself through a discourse of nationalism that is both socially constituted and institutional (Özkırımlı, 2017, p. 220), thereby constructing a normative *homo nationalis* (Balibar, 1990, p. 345). In nation-centered paradigms, the persona of the *citizen* as a *homo nationalis* is defined in relation to the state's capacity to determine an inside and an outside – and thus to designate insiders and outsiders.

The continual process of determining an inside and an outside of sovereignty, of producing citizenship and non-citizenship, requires all persons to be categorizable. Citizens are envisioned as having rights, privileges, participation, status, and the 'right to claim rights' vis-à-vis a specific institutionalized expression of power (Swerts & Nicholls, 2021). People who fall outside this binary are often excluded from civil rights and access to institutional channels to voice their grievances.

The most prominent example are undocumented migrants, who are sometimes construed as 'denizens', subjects whose existence is denied by the political order (Swerts & Nicholls, 2021). Undocumented immigrants exist outside the binary logic of conventional citizenship, while still being subjected to state-sanctioned bordering practices. As "political subjectivity is expressed primarily in relation to sovereignty" (Salter, 2008, p. 373), their subjectivity is transformed into a state of abjectivity, in which acquiring political agency becomes impossible. In this view, undocumented migrants not only lack access to rights, but are precluded from participation in the political process to gain access to political rights. Their marginal position is a consequence of the exclusionary logic of the nation-state.

Passport historians have long argued that politics of documentation have historically been a central aspect to the performance of state power (Torpey 2018). The authority to classify

migrants enables the institutionalization of a desirability-hierarchy of groups of migrants, reinforcing what Bot calls 'passport fetishism' (2022). He introduces this term to describe how "the monopolization of the means of identification and documentation by nation-states fetishizes passports and disguises the actual relations between people as relations between passports" (5). Similarly, Bot (2022) describes nation-state practices that lead to people becoming undocumented as *undocumentation:* "requiring specific documentation in a wide variety of situations, while refusing to issue such documentation to people without legal residency" (2).

2.2. Urban Citizenship: From Activism to Policy Practice

This subchapter discusses what is gained by approaching undocumented migrants from an urban studies perspective, and it introduces the concept of urban citizenship as a guiding concept for municipal responses to irregular migration.

2.2.1. Bordering Across Scales

While the nation state remains pivotal for border control and the categorization of migrants, scholars in recent years have asked "how migration is experienced, politicised, and policed when framed as a concern for cities, communities, and everyday life" (Darling & Bauder, 2019). The governance of migration has been widely recognized as a multilevel process involving different institutional actors at least since the late 1990s. This manifests in

> the devolution of decision making in monitoring and execution powers upward to intergovernmental fora, downward to elected local authorities, and outward to private actors such as airline carriers, shipping companies, employers, and private security agencies (Guiraudon & Lahav, 2000, p. 164).

Bordering processes now occur not only at the location of territorial borders. Instead, as Balibar argued, "the border is everywhere" (2002, p. 80) since the state as a regulatory system increasingly depends on the production of boundaries throughout its territory. Scholars and activists alike are concerned with the enforcement and contestation of border functions, exclusion processes, and the implementation of national migration policy at local and regional scales (Lebuhn, 2013; Sassen, 2013; Varsanyi, 2006, 2013; Walker & Leitner, 2013; Walters, 2006; Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017).

Scales other than the nation-state are also important for practices that aim at the inclusion of migrants. Cities take a central role in this body of literature since migrants, and undocumented migrants in particular, tend to live in cities for reasons ranging from ease of access to employment, security, accommodation, as well as anonymity and social networks (Spencer, 2020). In cities, claims to political rights can be are articulated, and there is often more institutional receptiveness for such claims (Bauder, 2017; Lebuhn, 2013). Prominent social movements, politics of solidarity, activist organizing, and mutual support for migrants are all overwhelmingly described as urban (Baban & Rygiel, 2020; Kreichauf & Mayer, 2021; Kron & Lebuhn, 2020; Uitermark et al., 2012). Many movements focus on belonging and inclusion in local communities and the 'right to the city' in their practices. A prominent conceptual foundation for many urban migrant movements is *urban citizenship*, which is the topic of the next subchapters.

2.2.2. Urban Citizenship

Urban Citizenship is the core concept for many key actors in the ZCC case and must be introduced in relation to undocumented migrant activism and the responses it provokes. What is at stake in attempts to disrupt the hegemonic logic of the nation-state with decidedly *urban* concepts is best summarized, according to some scholars at least (cf. Merrifield, 2015), by Lefebvre in the last sentence of his last essay: "The right to the city implies nothing less than a revolutionary concept of citizenship."(Lefebvre, 2014). While specific demands and practices differ widely, many practices that aim at local support for undocumented migrants can be understood as *urban citizenship* (Bauböck, 2003; Garcia, 2006; Lebuhn, 2013):

> Notions of urban citizenship are discussed to denote the introduction of local political instruments which grant or extend social participation not only to (state) citizens, but also to urban inhabitants who have no formal citizenship status or rather cannot assert it due to their marginalized social position. (Kron & Lebuhn, 2020, p. 86)

Citizenship is understood here not solely as relating to state sovereignty, but also as a set of social practices (Ambrosini et al., 2020). Prominent vantage points in include Hannah Arendt's (1991) discussion of 'the right to have rights', and claims-making in 'acts of citizenship' (Isin, 2002; Isin & Nielsen, 2008), where citizenship is a process and contestation whereby "individuals and social groups engage in claiming, expanding, and losing rights" (Isin & Turner, 2002, p. 4). Urban citizenship also hinges on individuals' sense of belonging to a place (Schilliger, 2020a). Commonly, this is framed in terms of a *ius domicilii*, a right to citizenship based on one's presence and involvement in the local community (Kaufmann & Strebel, 2021). Instead of conceptualizing citizenship as inherited (often through patriarchal structures) and bestowed by the state, it is viewed as an appropriated right, earned by living in a place, engaging with it, and thus being part of the production of the city. Urban citizenship can thus offer a "non-binary and non-hierarchical re-articulation of citizenship and belonging to a political community through discourses and practices of solidarity and radical cosmopolitanism" (Kron & Lebuhn, 2020, p. 87). In the understanding of citizenship as a collective right, the concept is sometimes also read as breaking with a liberal notion of individualized human rights (Holston, 2008).

2.2.3. Activism and Disruption from the Margins

The practices and policies associated with urban citizenship are not solely the outcome of top-down policy making, but often involve on bottom-up mobilizations who manage to "to make demands within the formal political arena" (Kron & Lebuhn, 2020, p. 92). These social movements are often spearheaded by undocumented migrants and are represented by some authors as key to reimagining political subjectivity and belonging because they are seen as exemplifying the exclusionary logic of the nation state (Swerts, 2017; Swerts & Nicholls, 2021; Swerts & Oosterlynck, 2021) (cf. chapter 2.1). A body of literature has thus emerged that understands undocumented migrant activism as politically disruptive (Dikeç, 2017; Swyngedouw, 2014, 2018).

Undocumented activism and related demands are interpreted as agonistic in the current era of deficient democratic politics or 'post-politicisation'. Swyngedouw defines the post-political as a

> contested and uneven process by which consensual governance of contentious public affairs through the mobilization of techno-managerial dispositives sutures or colonizes the space of the political (2018, p. xv).

Here, 'the political' is based on an ontology that conceives of a socio-spatial process of political subjectivation as key to disruption. Undocumented migrants are seen as embodying the political paradox, "the promise of equality that is disavowed in the policing, categorisation and naming of some as outside the symbolic order of the Law" (Swyngedouw, 2011, p. 374)[5]. By asserting presence as individuals incongruent with the hegemonic logic, undocumented migrants can emerge as political actors and expose the inconsistencies in a system of national sovereignty (Swyngedouw, 2014). Following this conceptualization of political disruption resulting from marginalized subjects acting in the name of equality, undocumented migrants and their acts of protest can represent the political *par excellence* (Swerts, 2021; Swyngedouw, 2018)

Various scholars have identified limitations to the disruptive potential of (undocumented) migrant activism (Darling & Bauder, 2019). Cook (2010), for instance, discusses the *advocate's dilemma* of struggling to move beyond hegemonic paradigms:

> Advocates employing a global frame may find themselves talking past the mass publics they want to influence and unable to counter their opponents effectively. Yet the advocates' dilemma is that those who tackle these arguments head on may find themselves trapped within a national paradigm and unable to lay the discursive groundwork for a significant shift in the way the public views unauthorized migrants. (p. 160)

Swerts & Nicholls (2021) describe conformity, oligarchy, and fragmentation as factors that can inhibit or counteract the disruption of the political order. Conformity manifests itself in the use of discourses and practices that resonate with national norms and cultures. Oligarchic leadership essentially means that activists or allies in more privileged positions tend to assume more prominent positions due to uneven power relations within movements. A risk of fragmentation, finally, can result from the prevailing practice of categorizing immigrants into groups who are more or less deserving of membership or from disagreement about political visions (Morawek, 2019). This reinforces the hierarchy of migrants according to desirability from the perspective of a state sovereign (Riaño & Wastl-Walter, 2006) (cf. chapter 2.1). Moreover, there is a risk of reifying a clear dichotomy between exclusion and inclusion by portraying undocumented migrants as either rightless victims, or emerging political subjects enacting their right to have rights (Oudejans, 2019). This is particularly evident in calls for the legalization of undocumented migrants, which can be seen as acknowledging conventional forms of citizenship and reinforcing the regime that produces them (Swerts & Oosterlynck, 2021) (cf. chapter 2.1).

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[5] There are other popular frames used to analyze undocumented migrants as politically disruptive actors. Undocumented migrants are discussed by Spivak in her discussion of subalternity, which harks back to Gramsci (Díaz, 2019; Spivak, 1995). To Giorgio Agamben (1998), the illegalized represent a *homo sacer*, "stripped of every political status and wholly reduced to bare life" (171) who is subject to state-sanctioned bordering practices. Balibar (1996) called them the 'excluded amongst the excluded'. What unites these framings of irregular migrants is that they locate the possibility of disruptive politics at the margins of society.

Striving for recognition as legitimate actors who can stage political claims seems to depend on a degree of institutionalization. Undocumented migrants must cooperate with or aid in creating more recognized civic organizations (Swerts, 2017). Instead of distinguishing a binary between 'disruptive' and 'reinforcing the status quo', Swerts thus asks the questions of "what gets disrupted, how, by whom, and to what effect" (2021, p. 2). He then identifies three socio-spatial conditions for disruptive politics. These are the creation of "shared, collective intentions to challenge the institutional order through joint action", effective interruptions of "everyday routines symbolising the status quo" which instigate replication, and the unsettling of and forcing "a response from the order in ways that defy existing institutional logics" (Swerts, 2021, p. 3). The last condition, the receptiveness of institutional actors, is a crucial condition for the formulation of policies in support of undocumented migrants. The formulation of state responses, often by local governments, is the subject of the next chapter.

2.2.4. Local Pragmatism and Municipal Activism

The first policies in support of irregular migrants in response to urban social movements were introduced in the US, where the term *sanctuary cities* emerged to describe municipalities which instated policies and practices preventing deportations (Bauder, 2017). In continental Europe and Latin America, other terms, such as *solidarity cities* or *cities of refuge*, have been adapted to designate a variety of local responses to restrictive national migration legislation (Bauder, 2021a). Many of these are framed in terms of urban citizenship.

The receptiveness of many local governments for demands for inclusive policies towards undocumented migrants is often related to a broader trend of shifting focus from 'Seeing like a state' (Scott, 1998) to 'Seeing like a city' (Amin & Thrift, 2016). Various popular (beyond academia, that is) publications in recent years, including Magnusson's *Politics of urbanism: Seeing like a city* (2011) and Barber's *If mayors ruled the world* (2013) have lauded the supposed 'pragmatism' of local political actors. The thesis is that the city as a "self-governing and interdependent cosmopolis" can offer a "formidable alternative to the conventional nation-state paradigm" (Barber, 2013, pp. 14, 18). This hypothesis assumes that cities represent a "unique combination of representing a level of governance that is local and thus able to represent pragmatism, efficiency and legitimacy, but at the same time being able to learn from each other through horizontal networking" (Doomernik & Ardon, 2018, p. 92). Hoekstra (2018) summarizes this local pragmatism hypothesis the following way:

> Municipal or regional governments would be more directly confronted with the consequences of policy implementation as they are closer to the situation 'on the ground'. Contrary to national governments, they would, therefore, prefer an instrumental or pragmatic approach. […] Rather than adhere to specific paradigms, responses to policy problems would be dictated by the practical means and techniques available and the short-term consequences of policy decisions. (365)

This hypothesis has often been used to describe municipal initiatives in support of undocumented migrants. It has also been prominent in discussing the multi-dimensional exchange of practices and ideas across space, and on the importance of local political, cultural & societal contexts. This context dependency manifests in the variety of practices of activists, allies, and policy makers, and in the vocabulary used to describe their ideas and demands (Bauder, 2021b; Kaufmann et al., 2021;

Kaufmann & Strebel, 2021). Essentially, urban citizenship-inspired activist practices can be seen as "constituting trans-categorical and trans-border forms of mobilization and alliance building" (Ataç et al., 2016, p. 537) which inspire highly mobile, but locally rooted policy changes. The local scale is thus not an end in itself, but can serve as a "as a strategic entry point for developing broader practices and theories of transformative social change" (Russell, 2019, p. 991). As such, many policy solutions can be understood as examples of policy mobility (McCann & Ward, 2013; Ward, 2010).

Cooperation between actors in multiple European cities regarding support for undocumented migrants has indeed become more intense and more institutionalized in recent years, with the formation of organizations such as the *European Solidarity Cities* network (cf. Bauder, 2021b; Kron & Lebuhn, 2020; Solidarity City, 2019), or the *City Initiative on Migrants with Irregular Status in Europe (C-MISE)*[6].

There is debate about the degree to which these types of policies, and the movements that brought them forth, manage to avoid the 'local trap' of assuming the local scale is inherently more inclusive and more suited to progressive politics than other scales (Purcell, 2006; Russell, 2019). Focusing on municipal activism risks replacing one scale of territorial organization (the nation state) with another, also territorially defined entity (the city). This has been described as a *methodological cityism* (Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2015) and can preclude more nuanced understandings of urban politics as a multiscalar process.

Spencer & Delvino (2019) use the term *municipal activism* to describe institutional practices to support undocumented migrants. They define this as "actions that facilitate access to services for irregular migrants that are taken in spite of, and to a degree mitigating, restrictive national legal and policy frameworks." (2019, p. 27) The concrete practices can range from access to health care and education to safe reporting of crimes, which has led to a diversification of practices and local narratives. Spencer & Delvino (2019) identify six frames used by policy makers to explain their municipal activism, namely an (inclusive) security, a humanitarian, a human rights, a deserving worker, a socio-economic, and an efficiency frame (cf. chapter 5.2). Spencer (2018) finds that "socio-economic and individual consequences of exclusion dominate in shaping local framing of policy responses in contrast to national government priorities" (p. 2034), while humanitarian and ethical concerns also figure as common drivers for legitimizing engagement of municipal authorities with activist proposals.

Various authors have introduced various ways of classifying practices of municipal activism. Kaufmann, for instance distinguishes three categories, namely *regularizations*, *sanctuary cities,* and *local bureaucratic membership* (2019)[7]. His categorization builds on urban citizenship as a normative foundation which informs concrete local practices. *Regularizations* occur in cooperation with or under the authority of national migration agencies and naturalize the status of undocumented immigrants, effectively legitimizing and legalizing migrants' presence. Prominent examples of cities

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[6] While the focus of the *solidarity city* concept is a broader movement for inclusive cities that is concerned with a variety of issues of migration, asylum, and integration, initiatives like *C-MISE* limit their scope to irregular migrants while providing resources and guidance for engaging in policy mobility processes of adapting insights from cities across the continent locally (Delvino & Spencer, 2019).

[7] He does not use the term *municipal activism* though.

who have regularized some or all undocumented migrants are Barcelona and Geneva. In cases where regularizations are impossible, as is the case in most European cities (Lutz et al., 2020), cities often turn towards mitigating the effects of exclusionary national policies. *Sanctuary cities* aim to improve migrants' situation by refusing to cooperate with national migration policies that request inquiries in people's legal status. Cities in the United States have adopted this model, as has Amsterdam. *Local bureaucratic membership* (e.g municipal ID cards, the subject of this thesis) aims at enabling undocumented immigrants access to public services that are under the jurisdiction of local governments without authorization from national governments (Kaufmann & Strebel, 2021). Bot (2022) claims municipal ID cards "can disrupt the monopolization of the means of identification and documentation by the nation-state, and reclaim these means for everyday use" (cf. chapter 2.1)

A policy survey of 95 large cities in Europe in 2020 found that 25 of them formulated policies in support of undocumented migrants (Kaufmann et al., 2021b). Despite questions regarding the disruptive potential of migrant activism (cf. Swerts & Nicholls, 2021), these urban policies are generally understood as pragmatic and meaningful attempts at contesting the exclusionary logic of national migration regimes (Kaufmann et al., 2021). As institutionalized practices, these can be read as examples where Swerts' (2021) condition of institutional receptivity is fulfilled.

2.3. The ZCC in Academia

Zurich is one of the European cities where the municipal authorities have been receptive of demands voiced by activist and civil society actors (cf. chapter 4.1). Here, I review academic articles on urban solidarity practices in Zurich to demonstrate how the concept of urban citizenship has been understood and applied, and how the ZCC is characterized as an example of successful, pragmatic municipal activism.

Kaufmann & Strebel (2021) focuses on governance systems and institutional conditions, discussing why a partial collective regularization of undocumented migrants was possible in Geneva but not in Zurich. The insights are based on interviews with NGO representatives and institutional actors at the federal, cantonal, and municipal levels[8]. Their main finding is that the difference in policy outcomes of undocumented migrant activism can be explained by contrasting Geneva's intact and multilevel governance network with Zurich's position as a city within an un-cooperative canton[9]. The actors interviewed, and the authors of the paper, characterize the practices of Zurich's activists and policy makers as pragmatic, identifying local civil society organizations as central strategic actors. They describe how the ZCC activists sought contacts with the city parliament, which then successfully lobbied the city government to pursue the ZCC

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[8] Cantons are the intermediate administrative level in Swiss politics. While the power of the federal government is relatively limited, the cantons traditionally hold a lot of power and have a lot of autonomy. Today, no canton is governed by a left-wing government, while almost all large cities are (Loser & Häfliger, 2023).

[9] Geneva is essentially a city-state in Switzerland, with the whole canton only consisting of the city and a handful of suburbs.
Zurich, on the other hand, is a much larger canton. Only about 25% of the population live in Zurich city.

project. The paper provides valuable insights into the governance structures and strategies employed by ZCC between 2017 and 2020.

Morawek's (2019) report on the ZCC for a *Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung* publication on Solidarity Cities in Europe is the most extensive piece of writing about the origins of the ZCC. Morawek provides historical and political context to the ZCC project by describing Zurich's development as a global city that was based on immigrant labor, its membership in European transnational networks like *Solidarity Cities*, and the current situation of sans-papiers in the city. She summarizes the origins of the ZCC, and its translation into a concrete policy proposal. Based on interviews with various *VZCC* and city government representatives, Morawek proposes that the ZCC movement had gradually split into two groups: one stayed committed to the idea of urban citizenship as a concept that enables connecting various urban struggles under the banner of democratization. The other had a narrower focus on the city card as a concrete, pragmatic policy intervention aimed primarily at undocumented migrants. She explains that framing the ZCC as a humanitarian project allowed a broader coalition of actors to emerge and that focusing on a simple solution-oriented proposal instead of a fundamental reconceptualization of political subjectivity allowed for a successful institutionalization of the movement. In addition to the two strands within the ZCC movement, Morawek proposes a third approach to the ZCC which focuses on integration and legal conformity, which she identifies as favored by the city government. She ends her article by discussing this split of the ZCC movement into a pragmatic, an integrationist, and a transformational approach, which has been "counterproductive for their efforts to promote a democratic city for all" (Morawek, 2019, p. 50). I build on Morawek's text by investigating how the process of developing the ZCC has proceeded in the years since 2018 (cf. appendix 10.1), and whether this alleged split was discernible in public discourse on the ZCC.

Bauder (2021a, 2021b) published two texts which feature the ZCC movement. The first (2021b) explores the concept of solidarity as it is used by migrant organizations in Freiburg, Berlin, and Zurich. He distinguishes four ways of framing solidarity (as self-interest, as based on compassion, in relation to human rights, and in reference to political participation and democracy). He discusses how the term *urban citizenship* became more prominent in Zurich than *solidarity*. Some of Bauder's interviewees echo Morawek's (2019) observations, noting that the idea of urban citizenship as a process of democratization in a post-migrant society has been partly relegated to the sidelines in favor of focusing more on securing residence for undocumented migrants. Bauder concludes by highlighting local contingencies that influence terminologies and argumentations in different places.

   The second paper written engages with the complex geographies of urban solidarity. Bauder (2021a) discusses how urban solidarity practices can reach beyond the territorial confines of administrative boundaries to connect places and actors across space and scales. In contrast to Freiburg & Berlin, Bauder characterizes the scope of the ZCC as limited. He explains this by institutional constraints and by strategic choices to focus on solution-oriented local practices. He further describes how top-down and grassroots efforts often converge in the context of urban solidarity movements. In line with Russell (2019), he concludes by positing that such local approaches can nonetheless serve as "strategic entry point[s] for developing broader practices and theories of transformative social change' (Russell, 2019, p. 991).

Lastly, a short policy brief co-authored by Bauder (Bauder & Weisser, 2019) also discusses the ZCC. The text is an overview of solidarity initiatives in Europe and features a quote by an activist that was part of the inspiration for my own research question. The interviewee stresses that instead of a singular focus on policy implementation and legal constraints put on the ZCC, it should be understood to "foster public debate about the rights of residents without a Swiss passport" (Bauder & Weisser, 2019, p. 5) (cf. chapter 1).

This claim of the ZCC being a means to promote public debate has not been explored further. Doing so necessitates an understanding of how urban citizenship can be understood not simply in terms of policy implementation, but as a matter of discourse and collective identity formation. This is of particular importance for municipal ID card projects, which depend on the active participation of a majority of a city's inhabitants. The next chapter thus discusses how urban citizenship can help to promote political narratives that break with hegemonic paradigms of migration and position the city as a political unit based on participation and collective practice.

2.4. Urban Citizenship as Urban Imaginary

Going beyond reform-oriented policy implementation in the analysis of urban citizenship remains important, particularly considering the limits on the disruptive potential of migrant activism (cf. chapter 2.2.3). What is at stake is not simply a shift to the local, amounting to a replacement of methodological nationalism with methodological cityism (Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2015). The question remains "whether refocusing the politics of migration on scales other than the nation-state generates a critique in order to reform national-scale migration policy, or to reject the nation-state and consider what might emerge 'thereafter'" (Darling & Bauder, 2019, p. 13). To develop a politics oriented towards this 'thereafter' is a matter of "alternative political narratives" (Darling & Bauder, 2019, p. 4) that can conform with "the necessity both to think within, and simultaneously beyond, current framings of migration, bordering, and sovereign authority." (Darling & Bauder, 2019, p. 13).

Such narratives focus on diversity and community, and cannot always be grasped either through national discursive frames, or through the lens of urban pragmatism. Hoekstra, for instance, suggests such narratives can be influenced by "how migrants are (not) included in narratives of a city's past, present, and future" (365) and proposes to analyze them through Soja's (2000) concept of *urban imaginaries*. These not only consist of mental representations of the city, but also include "the envisioning of an urban utopia" (p. 11). Local historical and political contexts act as contingencies that constrain certain forms of political practice while facilitating others through a "set of collectively available and routinized ways of doing things that regulate meaningful practices at a particular place and time (Barbehön & Münch, 2016, p. 39). As such, they are a matter of ideology (cf. chapter 3.1) These local characteristics then inform conceptions of the city and its imagined future, and can provide guidance for identifying and addressing broader political struggles.

This conceptualization of the city as not an inherently superior scale of politics, but as a space in which collective visions of the future can be crafted, aligns well with my research topic: Competing

ways of imagining the city have an impact on the articulation of urban migration policy and can tell us something about the way political concepts are negotiated locally. Disruptive urban imaginaries and narratives hinge on a radical reconceptualization on how the city is envisioned, and who is included in this vision. Importantly for this case here, undocumented migrants are not only implicitly included, but play a central role.

My intention is to adopt these ideas and consider not only concrete policies and practices themselves, but also their discursive framing in the public sphere. The process of translation from activist demands into political discourse has been thoroughly theorized, both generally and specifically for concrete cities and policies (Kron & Lebuhn, 2020). However, how urban citizenship is translated into an issue of wider public debate, not just into concrete policy, was not discussed prominently in the literature surveyed thus far. The assumption described in the ZCC case (cf. chapter 2.3), that advocating for and implementing local policies is accompanied by changes in public discourse, has not been expanded upon. I intend to investigate how the relationships between the discursive arenas of activism, policy making, academia, and the public sphere are best conceptualized, and how the overlaps and discrepancies between these different arenas can be understood. This requires incorporating more substantial conceptualizations of the 'public sphere' (cf. Ambrosini et al., 2020; Siim & Meret, 2019, 2020), and of the constellations of actors involved in these translation processes (Kaufmann & Sidney, 2020).

Understanding debates in the public sphere in terms of discourse allows for analyses of relationship between claims-making, policy development & implementation, and shifts in public perception and representation (Jacobs, 2021). This means that citizenship, whether conceptualized as a (nation) state-sanctioned status, or as a locally embedded process of social participation and of mounting claims, is understood as a social practice whose cultural construction "[…] does not take place only within the confines of the policy sphere, but it is also shaped by the continuous re-elaboration of discourse in the public sphere" (Ambrosini et al., 2020, p. 9). This public sphere is envisioned by scholars of citizenship practices as an "open political field in which no person is excluded and in which all issues can be debated" (Garcia, 2006, p. 752). The constitution of such a public sphere, and the debates that occur within it, can link issues of governance and citizenship across scales (Flowerdew, 2018). Theorizing such a public dimension allows for an analysis of how ideas, practices, and demands resonate beyond the discursive arenas of activism, policy making, and academia.

The thoughts introduced in the preceding paragraphs provide the rationale for my approach to the ZCC as a matter of public discourse. Developing a methodological approach based on this rationale requires identifying a proxy for a public sphere, and a conceptual framework to analyze discourse in it. I expand on the conceptual angle I want to take in the next chapter, where I propose my media analysis approach for this thesis, and then go on to introduce CDS as a methodological foundation (cf. chapter 3).

2.5. A Modest Proposal for Media Analysis
2.5.1. Mediatized Public Discourse & Migration

To enable engagement with such a public, a proxy for an arena of public debate and hegemonic paradigms within it is required. Media discourse can serve as such a proxy, both generally for sociopolitical issues, and particularly in the context of migration. As Lecheler et al. (2019) point out, "mass media as agents of societal discourse and political debate take centre stage in increasingly mediatized societies» (p. 692). Media discourse also delineates what is representable in public, essentially demarcating an ideologically determined discursive field: "the media serves as gatekeepers that determine what is public and hold agenda-setting power through their selection of which information to report" (Bleich et al., 2015, p. 859). There is a substantial amount of academic work that applies analyses of public political and mediated discourse to issues of migration, citizenship, as well as national identity and nationalism (Bleich et al., 2015; Cinalli & Giugni, 2013; Kim et al., 2011; Wodak et al., 2009). It is argued that media discourse can be of interest to scholars of migration because it is a source of information about social actors and issues related to migration and diversity, because media is key in the representation of minorities and migrants, and because media can provide space for the participation of migrants and minorities in a public sphere (Bleich et al., 2015). Media discourse can provide valuable insights into the ways in which migration and migrants are portrayed (Dolea et al., 2021; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011).

Generally, most of the literature focuses on the salience of migration in the media, the tonality with which migrants are medially represented, the framing of such coverage, the visual representation of migrants, and the silencing of migrants' voices in media (Lecheler et al., 2019). Lecheler et al. (2019) lament a pronounced 'problem orientation' regarding migrants, both in media texts themselves, and in a lot of academic writing on the topic. In a literature review on European media discourse on immigration, Eberl et al. (2018) conclude that "migrants are generally under-represented and shown as delinquents or criminals" (207). Most studies concerned with migration and media discourse remain firmly rooted in methodological nationalism, and primarily engage with often nationally oriented newspapers of record. Beyond traditional media, recent innovative approaches to media analysis include Farris & Mohamed (2018), who analyze the use of images in reporting on migrants, and Heidenreich et. al (2020) who analyzed political migration discourses on social media.

Relevant examples of publications about irregular migrants employing analyses of (media) discourse that inspire this thesis include a study of framings of municipal policies in support of irregular migrants (Spencer & Delvino, 2019), an article analysing grassroots citizenship practices in Barcelona (Islar & Irgil, 2018), a Master thesis covering the media representation of a regularization program for undocumented migrants in Geneve (Quijano, 2021), and a study investigating the discursive construction of Swiss national identity during the 2014 voting campaign on Switzerland's *Masseneinwanderungsinitiative*[10] (Dolea et al., 2021).

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[10] The initiative was introduced by the right-wing Swiss People's party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei SVP*). the initiative called for hard immigration quotas to be introduced and was narrowly accepted by 50.3% of voters. Its core demand was never enforced because it would have risked Switzerland's membership in the Schengen agreement. The initiators of the proposal attempted to indirectly enforce the original demands of hard quotas with the 2020 *Begrenzungsinitiative,* which failed at the polls by a wide margin.

2.5.2. Media Discourse and Urban Studies

There are multiple connections between urban studies and media studies, spanning approaches "that consider the city as *content* of communication, as a *context* of media engagement, and as a *medium* of communication" (Tosoni & Aiello, 2019, p. 466). Rodgers et. al (2014), for instance, argue that the media play a "significant role in the emergence of urban politics, a role that extends beyond a traditional view of media as merely representational supplements of one sort or another" (1055). Instead, they point to the importance of mediated political spaces, which create "the possibility for the appearance of political issues which are understood as having urbanized causes, urban locations, or calling for urban-based solutions" (1055).

The media can also be seen as crucial to the articulation of political narratives, and to the formulation of identities in relation to these narratives (Vatansever 2023), by participating in the discursive (re-)production of the city as a dynamic space of political contestation and possibility. Like Hoekstra (2018) (cf. chapter 2.4), Vatansever (2023) also references Soja (2000) to develop a media discourse analysis of urban politics. She proposes to "examine news media discourse beyond its potential to construct reality and mediate the world but to recognise its capacity to constitute identity at the same time that it constructs spatiotemporal reality" (6).

Different scales are thus important for analyzing media texts. To theorize local journalism, Ali (2016), proposes conceptualizing the local as a mediatized social space that "goes beyond place to include elements of culture, identity, and language" (p. 107). This allows placing local media in relation to wider geo-socio-political context, to their relationship with the community, and to their position in macro media ecosystems (Gulyas & Baines, 2020). The following conceptualization of the local from the *companion to local media and journalism* aligns with core assumptions of critical urban studies. In reference to Lefebvre (1991), Gulyas & Baines (2020) see the "local not just as a geographical setting but, equally importantly, as a social one too, where geographical and social context together create the meaning of locality". (p. 3) Such calls to go 'beyond place' align well with my understanding of the urban as, among other things, a matter of imaginaries and narratives.

The existing literature on media approaches to migration, and the existing overlaps between (local) media studies and urban studies, suggest that analyzing urban citizenship discourse in the case of the ZCC is a promising approach. What is key to do justice to the ideas presented thus far is a methodological approach that allows for analyzing policy and media discourses, and for relating them to the question of urban imaginaries. The approach I applied in this thesis is introduced in the next chapter.

3. Methodological Assumptions and Methods

3.1. A Brief Introduction to Critical Discourse Studies

In the preceding chapters, I introduced the concept of urban citizenship as an inspiration for practices that attempt to break with hegemonic paradigms, and I raised the question of how urban citizenship can be analyzed beyond activist demands and policy implementation. To answer my research questions regarding the articulation of urban citizenship in the public sphere, I now introduce the ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin my approach, as well as the methods I used to analyze ZCC media discourse. Doing so requires looking at discourse as a crucial as a component of policy processes and political change.

At least since the cultural & linguistic turns in the social sciences, engagement with discourse as a component of urban processes and changes has had its place in urban studies (cf. Hastings, 1999). What is at stake is how connections between language use and other social phenomena can be theorized and researched. A focus on discourse does not entail deemphasizing questions of structural inequalities in society by conceptualizing them merely as discursive practices. Instead, many contemporary, socially embedded understandings of discourse assume a recursive or reciprocal (rather than uni-directional), or in Fairclough's more Marxist-inspired terminology of the 1990s, a *dialectical* relationship between language and power (Fairclough, 1992), considering discourse to be both socially constituted and socially constitutive (Flowerdew, 2018; Hastings, 1999). As such, discursive practices can both help to sustain the status quo, and contribute to transforming it (Wodak et al., 2009)[11].

   Discourse, as a non-count noun, may refer to language use in general, but Fairclough explains that the term can be used to designate a range of phenomena, including "(a) meaning-making as an element of the social process, (b) the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g., 'political discourse'), (c) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective." (2012). My starting point is an understanding of discourse as "a specific set of meanings expressed through particular forms and uses which give expression to particular institutions or social groups" (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 2). This means it can be a countable noun, allowing for the discussion of different discourses which are characterized by ideologies, and the linguistic and other semiotic structures through which they are expressed (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 3).

This conceptualization to understanding language in use is the foundation of *Critical Discourse Studies* (CDS) (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018). Rooted in critical linguistics and understanding language as a social practice, this approach can be traced back to Austin (1962) and Wittgenstein (1965). Critical Discourse Analysis emerged in the 1990s as a sort of "middle ground" in debates about the status of discourse between post-structuralist and Marxist scholars (Phelan, 2018). Approaches in CDS tend to "study society through discourse, and contextualise (and understand)

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[11] In this view, sometimes called a weak realist or moderate constructivist perspective (Reisigl, 2018), all knowledge is considered as socially contingent to some degree. This includes any insights produced by the researcher (cf. Hastings, 1999). As such, any insights gathered here, even though they are theoretically grounded and methodologically legitimated, rest partially on the subjective interpretation of me, the researcher.

discourse through an analysis of its historical, socio-political and cultural foundations." (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 2)

Practitioners of CDS engage critically with discourse in three interrelated dimensions of *text*, *discursive practice*, and *social practice*, (Jacobs, 2006) to formulate *critique*. Political critique can be understood here as judging "the status quo, e.g., a specific discourse or (dis)order of discourse, against the background of an alternative (ideal) state and preferred values, norms, standards or criteria with respect to shortcomings or contradictions" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 88). This requires text or discourse immanent critique as well as socio-diagnostic critique. While the former is concerned with contradictions and inconsistencies at the textual level, the latter is concerned with issues of ideology, power & hegemony (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).[12] These are key concepts of CDS that I will introduce in detail in the next paragraph.

CDS considers discourses to be underpinned by *ideologies*, understood as "not just any system of ideas of beliefs but [as] ways of thinking in which historically transient exploitative forms of social organisation are represented as eternal, natural, inevitable or 'rational'" (Jones, 2001, p. 227). This normalization occurs through a process of legitimization of which discursive practice is a crucial part. It stabilizes the authority of the positions from which these views are disseminated. In line with the assumption of both socially constituted and constitutive dimensions of discourse, ideologies do not simply reflect social relations, but help to constitute them. (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018) The success of ideological work depends on the maintenance of *power relations*, which emerge through practices such as discursive acts and are not considered to exist a priori. Power here refers to "an asymmetric relationship among social actors who assume different social positions or belong to different social groups" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 88).

It is assumed that power is ubiquitous in society, and the concept of *hegemony* is crucial to explain how existing power relations are (re-) produced. In reference to Gramsci, it is assumed here that power is exercised less through physical coercion, but through ideology and discursive practice. Fairclough (2003), for instance, understands hegemony in terms of assumptions and common sense: "Seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance, and this is ideological work" (p. 67). Discursive power is understood in CDS as manifesting in three ways:

> *in discourse*, where social actors struggle over the interpretation of meaning; *over discourse*, where social actors are included or excluded from a given discourse; and *of discourse*, where discourse conventions exercise power over social actors (although individuals might exercise agency and themselves influence and contribute towards changing such conventions). (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 4)

Closely related to the concepts of ideology, power, and hegemony is the question of *identity*, essentially referring to the ways in which groups and individuals perceive themselves in relation to others. Identity, or rather *identities* as multiple, manifest through social practice, of which discursive practice is a crucial part. Certain identities may also be projected onto others through discourse,

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[12] According to prominent CDS authors (cf. Fairclough, 1992, Wodak et al., 2009, Kelsey, 2018), adapting a critical stance as researchers implies that attempting to analyze politics from a supposedly neutral and objective position only serves to naturalize hegemonic paradigms and existing power structures. The inherent subjectivity of this thesis therefore should not be understood as a weakness. Instead, my intricate familiarity not only with the ZCC itself, but also with the sociopolitical context in which it developed certainty facilitated my research. My knowledge of the local media landscape also proved advantagous for the collection of primary data, and in the analysis.

regardless of whether these identities are accepted by the recipients. Identities may thus differ depending on perspectives, and the discursive practices by which identities are (co-) produced are subject to existing power relations and the associated issues outlined above (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018).

Due to the media's power to shape discursive practices (cf. chapter 2.5), CDS researchers have long engaged with media, and news discourse in particular. Assuming Fairclough's (1992) three layered model, journalistic work can be analyzed as a discursive practice of textual production which involves decision making processes in professional and cultural context (Phelan 2018). Intertextual and interdiscursive analysis can help to identify ideological (in)consistencies within and across discourses. Where social and discursive practice overlap, these (in)consistencies can be analyzed and related to broader questions of the role of (news) media in the reproduction of social relations. Kelsey, for example, analyzes mythology and ideology in news media through what he calls *discourse mythological analysis.* He considers journalistic practice as a form of mythological storytelling which draws on archetypical conventions which can reinforce dominant beliefs and values (Kelsey, 2018).

While I do not follow Kelsey's approach tightly, its assumptions about the importance of uniting narratives and political visions in local politics and media aligns well with my understanding of urban citizenship and the ZCC in terms of public discourse. As exemplified in the research of Vatansever (2023) (cf. chapter 2.5.2), adopting a CDS perspective to media analysis allows for an understanding of the city as a space where collective identity construction occurs through social practice, of which discursive practice is an integral part. This allows for a critical perspective on alternative narratives and urban imaginaries (cf. Flowerdew, 2018).

These concepts of ideology, power relations, hegemony, and identity, will form a basis for the discussion of ZCC discourse and urban citizenship later in this thesis. Equally as important in CDS is an engagement with intertextuality and with context. A discourse is made up of texts, which can be any set of utterances or discursive acts. Such texts can be assigned to genres, which designate a standardized and socially legitimized use of language in connection with a specific social activity. Newspaper articles are an example of such a genre of texts. In CDS, intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are taken into consideration, between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses. Intertextuality refers to the way texts are linked to other texts. Interdiscursivity similarly means that discourses are variably linked with each other, and that their boundaries are fluid and subject to change. Making sense of texts, their relationships to other texts, and the discourse(s) they are part of requires paying special attention to historical, social, political, and cultural context (Flowerdew, 2018). Usually, four dimensions of context are distinguished (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 93): 1) the immediate, language or text-internal co-text and co-discourse, 2) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses, 3) the extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation', and 4) the broader socio-political and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to.

The assumptions about the relationship between language use, social structures, and power outlined here inform my methodological assumptions. How I applied them my research topic will be outlined on the following pages.

3.2. From CDS as Epistemological Foundation to Research Practice

CDS, as an interdisciplinary field, does not prescribe any specific methods. Rather, CDS can provide a set of methodological assumptions, with the specific methods employed depending on the research interest and research questions to be answered, and the data used in this process. Jacobs (2021) identifies four broad steps required for using CDS in analyses of urban politics, which I followed loosely in my research and writing process:

> 1) the justified selection of relevant texts
> 2) providing information about the micro-, meso-, and macropolitical context in which the texts were produced
> 3) textual analysis, including the structure of the text and its intertextual interaction with other texts, and
> 4) an assessment of what type of discursive practice the texts exemplifies, and how this relates to broader social practices.

Accordingly, I start with the contents of my texts, scrutinizing discursive and social practice to relate the texts to the academic literature to critically engage with ZCC media discourse.

3.2.1. Case Selection

This thesis is designed as an extended case study concerned with ZCC media discourse. In addition to my positionality[13], the case was selected mostly for the characteristics of the ZCC project itself. As an ongoing process of implementing an urban citizenship project, it has not been extensively studied, and its media representation has not been analyzed yet. Hence, the highly publicized and prolonged media debate provoked by the referendum provides a unique opportunity for tracing an urban citizenship- inspired policy proposal as it emerged in activist circles, entered municipal politics, and has recently become an item of widespread public political and media debate. As such, this case allows not only for insights into the specific processes in Zürich, but also for demonstrating how discourse analysis can be fruitfully applied to complement the existing toolbox available to scholars of urban politics.

3.2.2. Data Collection & Corpus Overview

In line with the steps taken both in traditional content analysis (Mayring, 2014) and in almost all CDS research projects, the first steps taken consist of a definition of the source material, the analysis of the material's situation of origin, and its formal characteristics.

The activist discourse concerning the ZCC and urban citizenship has already been analyzed in academic publications (see chapter 2.3). Therefore, I did not include any primary sources solely representing activist discourse (such as leaflets, stickers, demonstration communication). Instead, I focused on media texts. The corpus for this thesis consists of news articles and was compiled primarily by searching the *LexisNexis* database using the keywords "Zürich"/"Züri"/"Zurich" &

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[13] As a native *Zürcher*, I am familiar with the constellation of actors (politicians, civil society, media), with the political landscape & the decision-making processes under Swiss semi-direct democracy. I'm also familiar with most of the media brands featured in the corpus, and I speak German and French, the languages the overwhelming number of texts were written in.

"city card".[14] In addition to print media articles found in *LexisNexis*, I included other print media, online, TV, and radio sources that I acquired through google searches and on local news websites. Finally, I included information about the ZCC that was published in relation to the referendum in May 2022. These sources include campaign material as well as press releases by political parties.

Initially, I collected a total of 167 primary sources, 109 of which were news articles collected through the *LexisNexis* online data archive. 39 additional newspaper articles which were not in the *LexisNexis* database were manually collected, along with 19 other media texts. In addition to media publishers and journalists, the authors and publishers of the texts in the corpus include the city government, political parties, and other civil society actors such as associations and activist groups. Of the initial texts, I coded 147 for analysis, while the other 20 were discarded either because they were not connected to the ZCC, but mostly because they were duplicates of texts I already had in my corpus[15]. In total, there were 58 different publications in my data. Most common were *Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)* and *Tagesanzeiger,* which are the two largest traditional daily newspapers in Zurich. Together, they account for over a third of all texts (table 1), while a small number of journalists at each newspaper's local Zürich departments contributed a large share of these articles[16]. Linguistically, the diversity in sources was limited, with 134 texts in German, 9 in French, and two each in Italian and English. Geographically, the production of texts about the ZCC was highly localized, with over half of all texts published in Zürich, and over 80% in Switzerland (table 2). The ZCC is featured in some form in all texts in the corpus, as this was the criterium for inclusion in the dataset. I differentiated between texts which feature the ZCC as the main topic (90 texts), the ZCC as one among multiple topics (12 texts), the ZCC as an example of a larger theme (28 texts), and the ZCC as inspiration for (policy) projects elsewhere (17 texts).

Table 1: Most frequent media titles in the corpus

Media title	Number of texts in Corpus
Tagesanzeiger	35
NZZ	25
SDA	8
Frankfurter Rundschau	7
Tsüri	6

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[14] LexisNexis is a large database of documents, including an extensive collection of news articles.

[15] A complete overview of the corpus can be found in appendix 10.2

[16] For example, Daniel Fritzsche (co-)authored 12 texts for *NZZ*, Beat Metzler (co-)authored 6 articles for *Tagesanzeiger*. The most common single author, however, was the SDA, the Swiss news agency whose short news bulletins sometimes appear as texts in the corpus, but are sometimes also reprinted with only minor changes in other newspapers.

3.3. Data Analysis

My first step of data analysis consists of categorizing the sources into four phases[17]:

- a 1st phase between the founding of the *VZCC* in 2017 and the passing of the ZCC motion in the city parliament in October 2018 (17 texts).
- a 2nd phase between the parliamentary vote in 2018 and the announcement of the referendum in September 2021 (55 texts).
- a 3rd phase between the announcement of the referendum and the vote on May 15th, 2022 (49 texts).
- and a 4th phase between the referendum, and the end of October 2022 (26 texts).

Publications by era and region

	Era 1	Era 2	Era 3	Era 4
■ DE		7	2	5
■ CH	5	18	9	8
■ ZH	12	30	38	13

Figure 1: Overview of the number of publications by era and by region.

Next, I conducted a summarizing content analysis, considering the totality of all sources and using whole texts as the unit of analysis. I identified the primary topic of the text (policy making, activism, the proposal itself, broader questions related to urban citizenship etc.). Additionally, I registered information about all texts regarding publication dates, the publisher and author, the location of publication, and the role of the ZCC in the text (cf. appendix 10.2).

I developed the socio-political contextualization of the ZCC in line with the CDS assumptions (Flowerdew, 2018; Kelsey, 2018; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) (cf. chapter 4, appendices 10.1 & 10.2) This step was based on the academic literature regarding migrant activism and policy in Zurich, as well as additional official documents. I also gathered information about the Swiss media landscape, as most texts were published by traditional Swiss publishers (cf. chapter 4.2).

A more in-depth analysis followed these steps of meta-analysis and contextualization. Inspired by the analysis of the discursive construction of national identity by Wodak et al. (2009),

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[17] I had picked 2017 as a starting point for my corpus creation, as this was when the first media text featuring the term *Züri City Card* was published. However, I decided to include an unofficial '0th' phase for relevant media texts published before 2017 that were of interest because urban citizenship was featured prominently in them.

a close-reading and coding of the primary sources was conducted. To do so, I used the data analysis tool MAXQDA[18]. This step of text analysis was concerned with the explicit content of the sources and intended to answer RQ1.

Individual elements of the primary sources served as units of analysis (anything from individual words and phrases to paragraphs, as well as recurring examples and ideas). I traced social actors, events, themes, spatial references, temporal references, and intertextual references. I also formed thematic categories that allowed me to relate the primary texts to the themes of the secondary literature:

1. codes related to the ZCC as a singular urban policy issue
2. codes related to migration and undocumented migrants
3. codes related to multiscale politics and policy mobility
4. codes related to political concepts, paradigms, and imaginaries (e.g urban citizenship, pragmatic vs. radical politics, democratization)

Afterwards, I moved to answering RQ2. I scrutinized intertextual and interdiscursive dimensions in the corpus and analyzed patterns in codes and categories. In line with Wodak et al's (2009) approach to CDS, I was interested both in concrete utterances or means and forms of realization, and in discursive strategies. These strategies are understood as advancing a goal, but not necessarily planned or strictly instrumentalist[19]. I discuss how a specific ZCC media discourse is assembled, and what ideological positions are prominent in ZCC discourse. By observing discursive strategies across publications, authors, and texts, I identified distinct ideological positions in ZCC media discourse. These differ in their assessment of the ZCC, and in the urban imaginaries they articulate (cf. chapter 6).

Subsequently, I moved to the analysis of social practice to answer RQ3. I discuss ZCC policy discourse, the role of ZCC media discourse in municipal politics in Zurich, and the role of media actors in constructing competing narratives of what the city of Zurich is, and what it could be (chapter 7).

Taken together, these dimensions of analysis allow for a tracing of text (analysis at word level), discursive practice (the assembling of discourses), and social practice (relating discourses across scales, and to power structures and ideology). This approach allows for the tracing of a multi-dimensional discursive network on different overlapping spatial and discursive scales. Before engaging with ZCC media discourse, however, the next chapter outlines the context in which it developed.

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[18] An overview of the categories and corresponding codes and subcodes can be found in appendix 10.3.

[19] Wodak et al. understand strategy in Bourdieu's terms, meaning they do not fully equate practices and acts. They explain that they "locate acts on the level of realisation: they are realisations of strategies. 'Behind' or 'within' acts we can discern specific, more or less conscious or automatised, strategies which serve certain purposes or help to achieve a particular objective. Only by looking at these – for example, discursive – acts may we draw conclusions about potential underlying strategies." (32)

4. Zurich and the ZCC Project

4.1. Zurich, Switzerland, and a History of Migration

4.1.1. Switzerland: A Post-migrant Society?

The ZCC was initiated in 2015 in reaction to a significant shift to the right in the 2014 Swiss federal elections[20], to the 2014 *Masseneinwanderungsinitiative*, and to the 2015 summer of migration (Morawek 2019). More information about the history of migration and migration policy in Switzerland can be found in appendix 10.1. Of note is that Switzerland's population, in urban areas in particular, is very international[21]. About 30% of the population were born abroad, and almost 40% of the population have a 'migration background' (Bundesamt für Statistik, 2023a), a number which is arguably an underestimate due to how migration background is defined[22]. Switzerland is thus often called a prime example of a postmigrant society (Espahangizi 2019).

4.1.2. Undocumented Migrants in Switzerland

Like many other modern nation-states, the Swiss migration regime is not able to account for the presence of undocumented migrants (cf. chapters 2.1 & 2.2.3). Nonetheless, in countries like Switzerland, immigrants without legal status have existed for decades, which is acknowledged by state actors across scales. These actors' reactions to undocumented inhabitants, however, differ widely between levels of governance, and between the cantons and municipalities.

The first sans-papiers were former guest workers whose visas were not extended in the late 60s and early 70s (SPAZ, 2022a). Guest workers' families legally were not allowed to immigrate, but often did so regardless. Many found work in homes, construction, or gastronomy. They became the first cohort of Swiss *sans-papiers*. At the time, these workers were able to obtain a residence permit, regardless of their origin, if they could prove that they were financially independent and had lived in the country for a set number of years. With the introduction of the so-called *3-circles-model*[23], this possibility ended for immigrants from outside the EU (SPAZ, 2022a). By this time, it is assumed that between 100'000 and 300'000 sans-papiers worked in agriculture, gastronomy, and construction. This generation of sans-papiers no longer had a legal path to

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[20] Significant for Swiss standards, that is. The proportional size of the large Swiss parties (SVP, SP, FDP, CVP/Mitte, and increasingly also the Greens) has historically remained relatively stable, with about a third of the population voting for the left, historically primarily the SP, with the greens growing progressively larger sin recent decated. The remaining two thirds usually vote for conservative or liberal parties. The 4.1% cumulative increase for SVP & FDP in 2014 was significant because gave them an absolute majority in the lower house.

[21] The proportion of foreign citizens in the population rose from 20.7% in 2005 to 26% in 2022 (BFS, 2023c). Restrictive and expensive naturalization procedures, which differ between cantons and municipalities, mean that many long-term residents retain their foreign citizenship. Due to the Swiss *ius sanguinis* citizenship regime, many 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants also do not have Swiss citizenship.

[22] I, the author, for example, am not counted in this statistic because both my parents have Swiss citizenship, even though my father is a first-generation immigrant.

[23] The 3-circles-model was intended to facilitate cooperation with the EU and immigration for EU & EFTA citizens. The ease of immigration correlated with on 'cultural proximity': migration from 'third countries', meaning countries outside Europe, North America, or Oceania was limited to highly qualified specialists (Morawek, 2019). While this 3-tiered model was ended in 1998 in favor of a dual system, the legal distinction between European and other immigrations has stayed in place and became further institutionalized with Switzerland's ascension to the Schengen agreement in 2004.

residency. It was also around this time that state actors started to acknowledge the presence of sans-papiers by allowing undocumented children to attend schools[24] (SPAZ, 2022b).

As in many other European countries (cf. Kron & Lebuhn, 2020), the late 90s and early 00s saw the emergence of undocumented migrant activist movements in Switzerland. The Swiss parliament refused to act on calls for collective legalizations, but introduced the so called *Härtefallverfahren*, which gives sans-papiers the possibility to have their case individually assessed by the authorities[25]. In German-speaking cantons, only few people are regularized each year (SPAZ, 2022a). Some improvements in the everyday life of sans-papiers were granted: in 2010, Swiss parliament allowed sans-papiers children that visited a Swiss school for 5 years to be legalized automatically if they have a confirmed vocational training position [Lehrstelle].

The most notable success in calls for legalization arrived in 2017 in Geneva. As part of *Operation Papyrus*, around 3000 of the estimated 13'000 Sans-papiers in the city were legalized. The project mainly targeted domestic workers, predominantly women, who were employed in diplomatic households. All levels of governance were involved, which is why this project is described as a successful instance of cooperative multilevel policy making by Kaufmann & Strebel (2021)[26].

Similar proposals in Zurich were rejected multiple times by cantonal and federal authorities (Bundesrat, 2020; Regierungsrat Kanton Zürich, 2020). They are of the opinion that the current status quo for sans-papiers does not require reform, basing this assessment on the fact that basic human rights are afforded to undocumented migrants. Yet, there are legal contradictions between migration law and basic social rights in Swiss legal code. Sans-papiers in Switzerland *de iure* have basic social rights, including health insurance and medical care, legal working conditions, access to Swiss social security services (federal pension and disability funds, accident insurance), and the right to education for children. In these cases, the protection of basic rights is explicitly prioritized over the enforcement of federal immigration law, which means the institutions involved in these fields, are exempt from enforcing migration law. This is partly the outcome of concrete political struggle by undocumented migrants and their allies in political institutions in recent decades (Morawek 2019). Schools and emergency medical facilities are generally considered safe to access (*SPAZ*, 2022b). Most other governmental institutions are legally required to cooperate with migration authorities. Non-cooperation, as it is practiced in many *sanctuary cities* in the US, is not possible. This restricts the opportunity for sans-papiers to exercise the basic rights the Swiss legal

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[24] As education is a cantonal matter in Switzerland, there are large differences between cantons. In Zurich, elementary schooling for undocumented children was officially allowed in 1991 (Masullo & Brun, 2022a)

[25] The criteria are set by the federal government, and cantons have the leeway to specify them. The law is formulated in terms of *can*, therefore, fulfilment of the criteria does not automatically grant legalization. The criteria concern 1) the social integration of the applicant, including proof of language proficiency and employment, 2) family situation and children, 3) financial situation, 4) duration of stay, 5) heath status, 6) the possibility of integration in the country of origin, and 7) disclosure of identity. (SEM, 2023)

[26] The cantonal authorities in Geneva (not the municipal government), in cooperation with unions and NGOs, developed strict criteria for eligibility (Halle, 2020). The NGOs would then screen applications and only transfer those that qualified to the cantonal authorities, which checked the applicants for criminal records and employment status, and then in turn recommended legalization to the federal government. All agreements between involved actors, and all legal questions were settled behind closed doors and without much public discourse accompanying the developments. Officials involved stressed that it was not a collective legalization effort, but a pragmatic approach that made use of the leeway provided to cantons by federal legislation (Kaufmann & Strebel, 2021).

system presumes they have, with many not taking the risk of signing up for social security or health insurance, for instance (SPAZ, 2022b).

The preceding paragraphs provided an overview of the historical and institutional context, and the legal situation of undocumented migrants in Switzerland. Gathering information about sans-papiers themselves is more difficult. Almost all information that is publicly available beyond anecdotes is either based on estimates by the state or by NGOs like *SPAZ*. According to a 2015 study, most estimates assumed a sans papier population between 58'000 and 105'000 (Morlok et al., 2015), while the *SPAZ* estimates between 80'000 and 300'000 (SPAZ, 2022b).

A distinction is made between *primary* and *secondary* sans-papiers by state actors and NGOs alike. *Primary* sans-papiers are any persons living in the country who have never had a legal residence status[27]. *Secondary* sans-papiers are people who have lost their legal status. There are various ways in which people can be made undocumented by non-renewal of permits, or by cancelling a formerly valid permit.[28]

4.1.3. Solidarity City Zurich?

Zurich, as the country's largest city and economic heart, is home to many sans-papiers (Morlok et al., 2015; Rissi et al., 2020; SPAZ, 2022b) and has long been a destination for migrants[29]. Zurich has also long been a stronghold of the (mostly unsuccessful) Swiss left. Local social movements are central to the political identity of the city's left. Since 1994, the city has been governed by a red-green majority (*Sozialdemokratische Partei SP* and *Grüne*) (Stadt Zürich, 2021), and earlier social movements have left their mark on the cityscape and municipal politics[30].

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[27] This group mostly consists of people who arrive on tourist visas, but this group also includes family members whose application for family reunion were not approved, or who were not eligible for family reunion in the first place. Often, this applies to children, or elderly people who require care from family members living in the country. This group also includes people who immigrate without a visa over the green border (SPAZ, 2022b).

[28] This group includes former guest workers whose working visas were not transformed into a residence permit, and whose country of origin is not part of the EU. Other examples are people who lost their permit because they depended on state welfare programs, who obtained a permit through marriage and lost it because the marriage was cancelled within three years, who had an educational visa and stayed in the country after obtaining their degree, and those whose asylum request was rejected but who cannot be deported (SPAZ, 2022b).

[29] In the early 20th century, Zürich attracted many foreign citizens, who made up 34.2% of the city's population in 1912. This proportion fell to a low of around 7% in 1945, before steadily rising ever since to 33.1% in 2022 (Präsidialdepartement Stadt Zürich, 2023). This rise accelerated with Swiss Schengen membership in 2004. Today, about half of the city's population was born abroad, about 65% have at least one parent who was born abroad, and 28% of Swiss citizens in the city are naturalized (Präsidialdepartement Stadt Zürich, 2021).

[30] The *80er* Bewegig is an important example here. The movement popularized squatting practices and advocated for progressive cultural politics. Prominent exponents of the *80er Bewegig* became relevant actors in urban scholarship and urban politics and beyond local social movements, maybe best personified in two of the founders of INURA (the *International Network for Urban Research and Action*): Christian Schmid was professor for urban sociology at *ETH* until 2023 and is arguably best known for his work on planetary urbanization (cf. Brenner & Schmid 2015). Richard Wolff was elected to the city's executive body in 2013 as a candidate for the left-wing *Alternative Liste* (AL).

The left-wing political tradition in Zurich facilitated the emergence of solidarity practices and organizations. Ever since the *mitenand* movement[31], migrant activists and their demands have played a key role in Zürich's extra-parliamentary left (Espahangizi, 2019). (Undocumented) migrant activism emerged in the late 90s and early 00s, and like in other cities in Switzerland, information centers and mutual help organizations were founded. In Zurich, the *Sans-papier Anlaufstelle (SPAZ)* was founded in 2005. It has been at the forefront of campaigns advocating for the rights of sans-papiers, as well as providing counseling and mediation with authorities[32]. Various people involved in *SPAZ*, particularly chairwoman Bea Schwager, were key figures in the development of the ZCC. The *Colectivo sin Papeles*, founded in 2003, also offers counseling in cooperation with Zürich's Spanish-language Catholic Mission. *Meditrina* is a network of various health professionals who provide health services to undocumented migrants (Morawek, 2019). The *Autonome Schule Zürich ASZ* is a self-organized school founded in 2009 in the wake of a church occupation by refugees, sans-papiers and activists associated with the no border movement (Mauch & Cuche-Curti, 2018).

All of these organizations are directly or indirectly supported by the city government[33]. The city is a member of transnational networks supporting inclusive migration politics (e.g *Solidarity Cities* network) (Stadt Zurich, 2022). However, the executive has long argued that it cannot take a more active role in supporting undocumented migrants without the cooperation of higher levels of governance, primarily the canton.

Like in many other cities in Switzerland, Zurich has been governed by the left in recent decades. The political polarization between left and right hence took on a spatial dimension. Urban politics are often opposed to national strategies and to cantonal politics (Hermann et al., 2021).[34] This conflict becomes evident in the primary sources discussed in this thesis. Another trend that is rarely discussed in the case of Zurich concerns increasing socio-economic spatial segregation (Ritterhoff & Frank, 2008): most migrants with lower socio-economic status tend to live outside the city limits, where rents have not risen as much as in the city proper. This most likely is of a greater concern to undocumented migrants, who are some of the most precarious inhabitants of the region.

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[31] The *mitenand* movement, meaning 'together' in Swiss German, was a coalition of migration activists and the Swiss left. They proposed to reform Swiss immigration policy and enable democratic participation for foreign citizens. This idea was rejected by over 80% of the voting population, and is considered one of the last significant attempts of the Swiss left to productively influence migration policy on a national level (Espahangizi, 2019).

[32] For example, in case uninsured undocumented migrants require hospital treatment, the *SPAZ* organizes retroactive health insurance plans at reduced rates (Morawek, 2019).

[33] The indirect support of the municipal government was institutionalized in 2020, when financial contributions to organizations like the *SPAZ* were introduced.

[34] In most cantons, there have almost exclusively been conservative & liberal political majorities in the last decades. On the national scale, liberal and conservative parties have held a majority in parliament and government since the creating of the Swiss federal state in 1848. The mismatch with the mostly left wing cities in the country becomes evident in many of the topics that are currently debated prominently in Zürich, such as mobility issues, climate mitigation and adaption, and housing (Loser & Häfliger, 2023).

4.2. The Swiss Media Landscape

As a last piece of context before engaging with the primary media texts, I describe the media landscape in which most texts in my corpus were published. I focus on print media because most texts in my corpus are newspaper and magazine articles.

The press in Switzerland is considered free and independent, with the country ranking high in indices of press freedom & freedom of expression (Bonfadelli & Meier, 2021). The cultural and linguistic diversity of Switzerland has also long been reflected in a differentiated media landscape. As in many countries (Gulyas & Baines, 2020), most traditional media outlets have seen a drastic reduction in readership and advertisement revenue in recent years (Bonfadelli & Meier, 2021; eurotopics, 2020)[35]. Another general trend in the Swiss media landscape is an increase in the proportion of the population that is considered 'news-deprived', i.e people who seldom interact with news media (Eisenegger & Vogler, 2022). In Switzerland's political system that depends on a well-informed population, this trend has been described as having negative impacts on democratic processes (Urdis et al., 2022).

With 269 print media titles with a total circulation of 5.9 million copies in 2019, Switzerland remains a country with a high number of newspapers in proportion to its population and size (Bonfadelli & Meier, 2021). Recent years have seen an accelerating centralization of news media production in the hands of a decreasing number of publishers in the large metropolitan centers of the country. This started at the end of the 20th century and has been accelerated by the growing importance of online media (Bühler & Moser, 2023). This centralization has led to the closure of editorial offices, particularly in rural regions, to fewer journalists employed in the country, and to a reduction in the number of national news agencies to one: the *Schweizerische Depeschenagentur SDA* now is the sole provider of press releases (Bühler & Moser, 2023; eurotopics, 2020). In economic terms, the effect of this centralization is that very few large media companies now dominate the press market in Switzerland[36] (Bonfadelli & Meier, 2021). Of note for this thesis are *TXgroup* and *NZZ Mediengruppe*, who publish the *Tagesanzeiger* and the *NZZ* respectively, which are the two most prominent titles in the corpus. They are also the most prominent daily newspapers in the Zurich region, and are read throughout the country. The *Tagesanzeiger* was founded in 1893 and is positioned to the center-left since the 1950s. It is the most read subscription-based newspaper in Switzerland (eurotopics, 2019). The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung NZZ* is the oldest newspaper still in rotation in Switzerland (founded 1780). It has traditionally been closely associated with the liberal-

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[35] A notable exception here is the *WOZ*: The *Wochenzeitung* WOZ is the largest left-wing weekly newspaper in Switzerland, based in Zurich. As one of the few newspapers in Switzerland, the number of newspapers sold has increased steadily in recent years. It was founded in 1981 by actors involved in the university of Zurich student newspaper, the 80er-*Bewegig* social movement, and older small publications that had emerged in the aftermath of 1968 in Zurich. It is organized as a worker cooperative, with an equal salary distribution across the company. (Howald, 2018).

[36] In economic terms, the most significant groups are:
The *TX Group,* the largest publishing company in the country. It publishes over 50 brands, most notably the *Tagesanzeiger* and the 3 leading newspapers in French-speaking Switzerland. It had a total revenue of 1080 mio CHF in 2019. *Ringier AG*'s most notable brand is the tabloid *Blick*. The total revenue in 2018 was 1004 mio CHF. *NZZ Mediengruppe* publishes the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and adjacent titles. Its revenue was 281 mio CHF in 2019. It outsourced the regional newspapers it had owned to a joint venture with *CH media*. *CH Media* is a joint-venture of *NZZ Mediengruppe* and *AZ Medien* founded in 2018, and publishes a wide range of regional newspapers. Its total revenue was 448 mio CHF in 2019.

right *Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei* (FDP)[37] (eurotopics, 2019a). Both titles have a separate department for local Zurich news.

The structural concentration also manifests both in terms of readership (a small number of large publishing houses accounting for a majority of the media consumed) and in terms of media content (the large publishing houses sharing the same content across different media). Both of these are partly the result of large mergers of publishers in the 2010s, with national and international news articles now shared across many publications[38]. When it comes to reporting on regional issues, however, reporting remains more diverse, even among publications owned by the same media company (Vogler, 2022)

In addition to the large private companies, the Swiss Public Broadcasting Corporation *SRF* bears mention. It produces TV & radio programs in German, French, and Italian, and publishes many news stories in written form[39].

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[37] The *NZZ Mediengruppe* is a private company, with the acquisition of stock limited per its statutes to FDP party members or party-unaffiliated individuals with a "demokratisch-freisinnige Grundhaltung" [liberal-democratic attitude] (Statuten Der Aktiengesellschaft Für Die Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2011, OT). After restructuring the editorial board in the mid 2010s, the NZZ has become increasingly popular with the right in Germany, and a general shift to the right has been observed, which the editorial board denies (Eigenmann & Loser, 2017; Schmidt, 2018; von Matt, 2016).

[38] An example. Across the various titles of the TC group, which include the *Tagesanzeiger* in Zürich, the two largest daily newspapers in Bern, 44% of all editorial content was shared between titles in 2021, up from 16% in 2017 (Vogler 2022).

[39] In recent years, its fee-based financing model has come under attack from the political right, with the *SVP* launching an initiative to abolish the household fees that finance the company in 2018. The proposal failed by a wide margin at the polls, but is exemplary of a general trend of increasing "right-wing populist attacks" on public service media in Europe analyzed by Holtz-Bacha (2021).

4.3. The Origins of the ZCC

After providing sociopolitical and historical background to the ZCC, this last part of the contextualization concerns the ZCC project itself. This subchapter recounts the origins of the ZCC proposals. The insights here are based on secondary literature as well as the corpus texts. A full timeline, also covering historical context, and the policy negotiations that started in 2017, can be found in appendix 10.1.

By the time the ZCC idea was starting to be discussed in 2015, multiple attempts atcollective regularizations had been rejected by the cantonal government (Kaufmann & Strebel, 2021). Therefore, activists in Zürich showed interest when New York City introduced a municipal ID card in 2014 (Morawek, 2019). Schwager and allied activists suggested advocating for a similar approach in Zürich. Katharina Morawek, who was the director of *Shedhalle Zürich[40]*, had been involved in planning an exhibition called *The Whole World in Zurich – Concrete interventions into the Swiss migration politics*. The project was rooted in "the tradition of socially engaged art" (*Die Ganze Welt in Zürich*, 2018). It is described as follows:

> It aims developing concrete interventions in dominant migration and participation policies, testing out the feasibility of these proposals in Zurich, and suggesting them publicly. In addition, it creates a location where in the sense of a social utopia, it is possible to collectively contemplate, negotiate, and take political action beyond practical constraints. (*Die Ganze Welt in Zürich*, 2018).

As part of the project, three open forums were held for knowledge exchange, and for the development of concrete practices to enable incursions into hegemonic order in the face of democratic deficits (Morawek, 2019). Academics who have published on urban citizenship were invited. Henrik Lebuhn (2013; 2017; 2018) and Ilker Ataç (Ataç et al., 2016; Schilliger & Ataç, 2017) attended, for instance (cf. chapter 2.3). The guiding concept for the project was *urban citizenship*, which they defined as follows in reference to Garcia (2006):

> While the term "citizenship" [StaatsbürgerInnenschaft] ties fundamental rights to the borders of a nation state, to the control of mobility, and permanent residency, urban citizenship is the adaptation of political instruments to the diverse normality of modern metropoles In concepts of urban citizenship, the problem addressed is therefore not migration, but the unequal distribution of social rights and the related unequal access to resources. (*Die Ganze Welt in Zürich*, 2015, OT)

The project engaged with questions of "legal, political, social, and cultural participation and investigate[d] how the concept of urban citizenship for everyone living in Zurich can be concretized and realized" (*Die Ganze Welt in Zürich*, 2015). Out of this project, multiple working groups emerged, focusing on cultural and representative dimensions of citizenship, and on the possibilities of kickstarting local policy processes.

The actors around Morawek & Schwager forged alliances with activists involved in the trade- union-backed *congress of migrants and people with an immigration background* in Bern in 2015 and with the *wir sind alle Zürich* initiative which advocated for an expansion of voting rights and a new unifying narrative of Zurich as a postmigrant society (Morawek 2019). The goals of these various initiatives closely aligned. Historian Espahangizi, who was central to the *wir sind alle Zürich* [we are

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[40] The *Shedhalle* is a center for contemporary art at *Rote Fabrik*. The *Rote Fabrik* is cultural center in former silk factory on the shores of lake Zurich. It was founded as an autonomous cultural venue in the aftermath of the *80er Bewegig*, and has become one of the city's most important spaces for critical art projects.

all Zurich] initiative, stressed in a 2018 interview that they intended a perspective shift in migration discourse and policy, away from nationally dominant problem framings of migration and integration, and towards a discourse of democractization and "a different register of political communication" (Espahangizi, in Morawek, 2019, p. 43)

In 2016, Morawek published an essay about *the whole world in Zurich* and the topic of urban citizenship. She referenced Garcia (2006) and Lebuhn (2015), and stressed that urban citizenship has the potential to unite interests in the name of radical democratization. Crucially, it could do so without the need of approval by the dominant forces in society[41]. She also discusses municipal ID cards and their potential, highlighting the importance of nuance when engaging in policy mobility. This is also where the term city card first appears, here called "city card Zürich" (2016, p. 8). In her concluding paragraph, she calls for translocal progressive urban politics and highlights the disruptive potential of the urban citizenship concept:

> So it is not only about [...] developing a new, fancy (because it is related to participation) tool for the management of migration or populations, but it is primarily about taking politics into one's own hands, as social movements have always done. (Morawek, 2016, pp. 8–9, OT)

Out of the *wir sind alle Zürich* movement and the policy working group at Shedhalle, the *VZCC* emerged in 2017. The first sources in my corpus appear in reaction to the first public appearance of the *VZCC* in September 2017.

After forming alliances with the parliamentary left in the *Gemeinderat*, Zurich's municipal parliament, a motion to prepare the introduction of a municipal ID was introduced in July 2018. In September 2018, the *Stadtrat* published a published a positional paper (*Positionspapier*) regarding Sans-papiers, outlining plans to improve access to services, but remaining sceptical regarding the ZCC (Mauch & Cuche-Curti, 2018). A legal opinion was commissioned to determine the potential for a municipal ID card. The *Gemeinderat* approved the ZCC motion nonetheless and in October 2020, after the legal opinion had been published (Kiener & Breitenbücher, 2020), the *Stadtrat* presented a 5-phase plan to introduce a ZCC. In September 2021, the *Gemeinderat* approved of the plan, and the FDP and SVP opposition announced they would call for a referendum. The vote then occurred on May 15th, 2022 and passed narrowly, with a majority of 51.69%. The city government is now tasked with preparing the introduction of the municipal ID card, which is expected to take a few more years (Stadt Zürich, 2022). A detailed overview of the policy negotiations, including interference by higher levels of governance, can be found in appendix 10.1.

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[41] She makes this argument by referring to the introduction of women's voting rights at the federal level in Switzerland, which did not occur until 1971. Morawek (2016) argues that the goal of urban citizenship movements should be to break with the paternalistic patterns in which earlier struggles progressed. Instead of depending on those who already have voting right to grant them, she calls for radically questioning representative or semi-direct democratic systems.

4.4. Key Actors

Before moving on to ZCC media discourse, this section provides an overview of relevant actors as they appear in the texts. In the coding process, I grouped them into categories according to fields of political action[42].

4.4.1. Civil Society Actors

The first category of actors contains NGOs, activist collectives, and other civil society organizations. Many central figures in the development of the ZCC with NGO-background appear very early in the corpus, and stay prominent throughout. Most notable here are the *VZCC* and the *SPAZ*. Bea Schwager, who acts as president of *SPAZ* and of *VZCC*, is first mentioned early and remains prominent throughout the corpus, both as an expert on sans-papiers and as an advocate for the ZCC. Other members of the *VZCC* are sometimes also quoted, notably lawyer Peter Nideröst. Other organizations supporting undocumented migrants in Zurich appear sporadically in the corpus after 2018, as are organizations in other places in the country. A representative of the national sans-papier organization is featured only once, after the referendum had passed.

Table 2: Prominent civil society actors

	# coded segments	# documents
Bea Schwager	52	22
Verein Züri City Card	33	24
Sans Papier Anlaufstelle	27	21
Employers of sans-papiers	23	18
Peter Nideröst	7	3

4.4.2. Actors in the Policy Sphere

The second group of actors belong to the policy sphere and state institutions across administrative levels. These were mentioned the most in the corpus, by a wide margin.

Table 3: Prominent spheres of politics

	# coded segments	# documents
Municipal politics	453	107
Political parties	155	50
Cantonal politics	155	49
Federal politics	108	49

Most prominent across all four eras was the *Stadtrat*: its intentions, opinions, and plans in reaction to the *VZCC*, and to the continued calls for cooperation with the canton, remained

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[42] These are not discrete groupings, but often overlap significantly. The description of relevant actors here is mostly qualitative. An overview of all actors that appeared in the corpus, as well as how many times they appeared, can be found in appendix 10.3.1

prominent. Corine Mauch (SP), the head major[43] was the single person explicitly named most throughout the corpus. Members of the *Gemeinderat* are featured, from all large parties. The *Gemeinderat* itself, as the institution where the ZCC policy was being developed, was referenced more often than individual members.

Political actors at the level of the canton features less prominently early on, but would become more prominent in the corpus over time, mainly the executive *Regierungsrat*. Mario Fehr[44], who heads the security department, is the only member of the cantonal government named multiple times. The canton as a political actor is mostly referred to as acting non-cooperatively. As the policy process progressed, the cantonal scale was discussed more and more as the scale where alternatives to or next steps after the ZCC should be implemented.

The national level is also featured, starting in era 2. It is mostly only referred to indirectly, with few federal actors appearing explicitly in the texts.

Starting in era 2, the grouping of politicians into the left (e.g the parliamentary left [die Ratslinke], the 'red-greens'.) and the right (e.g 'die Bürgerlichen'[45], 'the right') became more prominent in the texts. Opponents to the idea of the ZCC also appear as distinct actors early in the corpus, both in reference to various parties' opinion on the issue, and in quotes with individuals. The opponents would become more prominent in ZCC media discourse in Era three, after they had announced the referendum.

4.4.3. Undocumented Migrants

Undocumented migrants are mentioned in over 90% of all texts. The term *sans-papier* is the most common by far. References to their lack of legal status is a common descriptive feature. Estimates for the size of the undocumented population in Switzerland and Zurich in particular appear in over half of all texts. The portrayal of sans-papiers in the corpus in relation to the ZCC is further discussed in chapter 5.2.

Table 4: Prominence of sans-papiers

	# coded segments	# documents
Descriptions of sans-papiers	37	27
first hand account of sans-papiers	15	6
individual sans-papiers	65	19
Sans papier children	20	12

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[43] The 9-member Stadtrat mentioned earlier is formally headed by Mauch, who oversees the presidential department, at which most ZCC related matters were determined. The role does not bestow her morepower vis-à-vis her colleagues.

[44] Mario Fehr used to be a member of the SP until 2021, when he left the party after years of internal criticism, particularly from the young socialists regarding his departments management of the canton's asylum system. He had suspended his party membership for a few months in 2015 after he was sued for acquiring a remote forensic software for Zurich's cantonal law enforcement (SRF radio, 2021).

[45] 'Die Bürgerlichen' directly translates to 'the bourgeois'. The is used to describe liberal and conservative forces or, in other words, any party that is not part of the left. In Switzerland, this traditionally includes the FDP, the SVP, and 'die Mitte' [the center].

19 texts feature individual sans-papiers as active and passive actors. All of them are introduced with pseudonyms. Sans-papier children are mentioned in 12. All but two of the sans-papiers featured are women, mostly from Latin America. Not all texts mention their country of origin. In the texts that feature them, they are usually prominent with long quotes.

4.4.4. Other Actors

Employers of Sans-papiers are mentioned mostly in relation to the issues of illegal employment and exploitative labor conditions, but are never featured as active participants in either the policy process or the discourse.

Swiss academics are another group featured in the corpus. The most prominent is Regina Kiener, Professor of public law at UZH, who co-authored the two legal opinions. Sarah Schilliger (cf. Schilliger, 2020; Schilliger & Ataç, 2017) is featured twice and both times relates urban citizenship to Hannah Arendt. David Kaufmann (cf. Kaufmann, 2019; Kaufmann & Sidney, 2020; Kaufmann et al., 2020; Kaufmann & Strebel, 2021) is featured in three articles, in which he discusses the importance of civil society organizations for the ZCC project, the institutional differences between Zurich and Geneva, as well as the role of the ZCC in an international context.

The police were referred to throughout the corpus (in about a third of all texts), initially mostly in discussions of the lives of sans-papiers. The police appear in these texts as an antagonistic force that instills fear. As the policy process progressed, the police were also increasingly mentioned in the context of how the ZCC might complicate their activities. The question of whether presenting a ZCC would amount to reasonable suspicion was prominent. Only one text in the corpus mentioned the author consulting police officers (Huber, 2022). Individual police officers never appear in the corpus.

The general population of Zurich is mentioned as potential beneficiaries of the ZCC. The notion of the citizenry as sovereign in Switzerland's voting system appears sporadically, for example in this 2022 *NZZ* interview with a GLP[46] *Gemeinderat* representative:

> [a yes vote] would be a sign by the sovereign of the largest municipality in Switzerland – to the institutions, to approach these persons with more empathy and openness. (Von Ledebur & Heusser, 2022, p. 4, OT)

In summary, many actors, including persons, organizations, and institutions are referred to in the texts. Many of these are only mentioned a few times. A small number of actors also appear as active participants in the discourse as interviewees, and other type of direct references, quotes, and paraphrases. Of these active participants, Schwager and Mauch appear most commonly throughout the corpus. Other actors, particularly social movement and art-based actors that were relevant in the initial phase of developing the ZCC, are largely absent from the discourse. Individual Sans-papiers are given a lot of room in the few texts in which they appear, but they are overwhelmingly only referred to passively. Despite the large number of actors who appear in the texts, the discursive network represented in media discourse is centered on a small number of influential actors.

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[46] The *Grünliberale Partei* is a centrist party that split off from the *Grüne* in the late 2000s.

5. ZCC Media Discourse

After the previous chapters, where I introduced the events that occurred and the actors involved, I now start the engagement with ZCC media discourse itself. This chapter is concerned with the content of the texts in the corpus and thus aims at answering RQ1. The chapter is in four sections corresponding to the major themes discernible in ZCC media discourse: the ZCC as a concrete policy issue, the ZCC in relation to undocumented migrants, the ZCC as a matter of multilevel governance and policy mobility, and the ZCC discussed in the context of other political issues, ideologies, and imaginaries. In most texts, the ZCC is featured as the primary topic. The primary topics and the role of the ZCC in the texts can be seen in appendix 10.2.

5.1. ZCC as a Municipal Policy Process

The portrayal of the ZCC as an issue of municipal policymaking runs through the whole corpus, from the first texts (an SDA notice about the first *VZCC* press conference (SDA, 2017)) to the last (a German newspaper article featuring the campaign coordinator for the ZCC referendum (Geisler, 2022b)).

5.1.1. The Policy Process in Media Discourse

The process of developing a concrete proposal and the negotiations among actors take center stage in the corpus. Most texts were written in reaction to decisions by the *VZCC*, institutional actors (e.g the *Stadtrat* or *Gemeinderat*) or organized opposition (e.g the committee announcing the referendum). Some texts were published dispersed throughout the 5-year period. Developments in the policy process events usually were followed by extensive media coverage.

A good example is the *Stadtrat*'s *Positionspapier* (Mauch & Cuche-Curti, 2018): The *SDA* summarized the document after the press conference, publishing texts in German and French. *Tagesanzeiger* and *NZZ* published articles, expanding on the underlying issues of sans-papiers' contradictory situation vis-à-vis the state. The *VZCC*, its supporters in the *Gemeinderat*, and political opposition are featured in both texts. Ezgi Akyol, *AL* representative in the *Gemeinderat* and board member of the *VZCC*, is featured in the *NZZ* text, saying she wishes "the city would act 'a little bolder'", calling the ZCC "a visible sign of a solidarity city" (Fritzsche, 2018a, p. 2, OT). Exponents of the political right in municipal and cantonal parliaments were quoted, questioning the legality of municipal ID cards. An *SVP* representative in *Tagesanzeiger* says: „The Stadtrat is tricking the legal state [Rechtsstaat], because it does not want to enforce migration law [Ausländergesetz]" (Zander 2018a, p. 2, OT). The *NZZ* article closes by observing: „The Züri City Card is controversial – not only legally, but also politically" (Fritzsche, 2018a, p. 2, OT). This assessment of the project as politically controversial would remain prominent as the negotiations would continue.

The importance of civil society organizations is mentioned often as well. Their intentions and assessment of the situation, and the framing of the policy proposal as a reaction to the failures of other attempts appear in many texts, as seen in this *Tagesanzeiger* example:

> The Verein Züri City Card believes that hardly anything can be achieved regarding the sans-papiers-question without civil society engagement. Indeed, political proposals to regularize sans-papiers have failed regularly. (Sturzenegger, 2017a, p.2, OT)

5.1.2. The ZCC as a Legal Issue

Central to the coverage of the policy process were the potential characteristics of the card, exploring what the card could and could not do. This was often discussed in legal terms. Initially, legal arguments and concepts mostly appeared as mentioned by the political right. For example, an FDP-*Kantonsrat* is quoted in an early *NZZ* article: „A legal state [Rechtsstaat] which is committed to helping people conceil their unlawful actions no longer is a legal state [Rechtsstaat]" (Fritzsche, 2018a, p. 2, OT). The topic of the ZCC's illegality became more prominent as higher levels of governance positioned themselves to the project. The *Republik*[47], for instance, writes:

> The conservative [bürgerliche] critics receive support from the *Bundesrat* [...].The federal government writes: The city card would give the impression of a situation in accordance with the law. And further: "A card issued by a city that recognizes a de facto right to residence on the city's territory would violate federal law" (Hürlimann, 2021, p. 8, OT)

After the vote, Mauch discussed the difficulty of winning a referendum on a proposal for which many legal details were still unclear:

> It was "completely clear from the outset" [...] that the city would act within the law. Even if the referendum committee had suggested the opposite. (von Ledebur, 2022a, p. 2, OT)

Embedded in the broader legal discussion were the questions of what qualifies as reasonable suspicion and what the introduction of the ZCC would mean for policing practices in Zurich[48]. This was discussed by opponents of the card for the first time in 2018, and framed as an obstruction of justice and law enforcement:

> By announcing to refrain from determining the migration status wherever possible, the city would willfully complicate the tasks of the police and the judiciary (Fritzsche, 2018a, p. 2, OT)

Nideröst contradicts this assessment in a 2018 guest editorial published in *NZZ*:

> As an identity card issued irrespective of residence status, the City Card does not give rise to any reasonable suspicion of unlawful residence and thus - e.g. in the event of a police check – it does not trigger any investigation and reporting obligations. Of course, the City Card must be enshrined in law and designed in such a way that it does not conflict with higher-level cantonal and federal law. (Nideröst, 2018, pp. 1-2, OT)

In late 2020, the *WOZ* published a long article called *City Card: Does this card protect against nosy police officers?* [City Card: Schützt diese Karte vor neugierigen PolizistInnen?]. Nideröst is featured discussing policing and reasonable suspicion. The underlying issue is summarized as follows:

> In its communiqués, the city always emphasizes that presenting the City Card is of no use if there is an initial suspicion of illegal residence. In this case, the city police are nonetheless required to clarify the residence status in more detail. "Ex officio", says Christof Meier, head of the municipal integration

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[47] The *Republik* is an independent online magazine founded in 2018 by former multiple high-profile journalists in Switzerland. It is a subscription-based platform that is known for its long, in-depth texts. It is fully funded by its readers and has been called the "most competent media brand in Switzerland" (Horizont, 2021).

[48] The issue of policing is further complicated by the existence of two independent police corps in the city: the *Stadtpolizei* is the municipal police and reports directly to the Stadtrat. The *Kantonspolizei*, however, is headed by the cantonal security department, whose leadership made clear that they would instruct their officers not to accept a ZCC under any circumstance (Koponen, 2020a).

support agency, on the phone. Anyone who refuses to do so would be liable to prosecution for favoritism. (Schmalz, 2020, pp. 1-2, OT)

Nideröst discusses when reasonable suspicion would be legally tenable:

> Nideröst comments on this: 'Legal practice shows that it can only exist when someone is charged, usually by the cantonal migration office'. In the case of a random street check, on the other hand, there can be no reasonable suspicion of illegal residence. 'Unless racial profiling is practiced' (Schmalz, 2020, p. 2, OT)

5.1.3. The ZCC as Pragmatic Policy

The ZCC was sometimes discussed as a question of political will and experimentation. This assessment often contradicted legalistic framings and understands the ZCC project as an experiment to test the limits of the municipality's autonomy. Early on, this was framed as an issue of fundamental human rights being more important than specific national migration legislation. The understanding of the ZCC as not only a legal issue, but a political issue is best exemplified in the following sentence from an *NZZ* article featuring Akyol (AL, *VZCC*) after the *Gemeinderat* approved the ZCC motion in 2018: "'A municipal ID card does not have to remain a utopia'. The issue is less about legal feasibility and more about political will" (Fritzsche, 2018a, p. 1, OT)

This political will for testing limits and experimentation is often portrayed in terms of the urban pragmatism hypothesis (Hoekstra, 2018; Doomernik & Ardon, 2018) (cf. chapter 2.2.4). The ZCC is framed as a pragmatic policy that achieves incremental change because their more radical demands of regularization cannot be met. This view of the ZCC as s a provisional fix is prominent, for example here in *Tagesanzeiger*:

> As eagerly as the proponents promote the Züri-City-Card - they actually want something else. From their point of view, the card is mainly a crutch, necessary because a better solution is missing: that sans-papiers receive papers. (Manz, 2020, p. 1, OT)

The *Frankfurter Rundschau (F*R) similarly describes the ZCC as: "Not a revolution, but a pragmatic way to make life easier for sans-papiers (Butz, 2020, p. 7, OT).

The supporters' vision of the ZCC as a means to go beyond concrete policy is also reproduced in media discourse. This is exemplified in the following quote from *SRF*:

> The leftist parties also concede that even with the Züri city-card, sans-papiers would not be completely safe from being deported. But the card would give them a few more rights, within the city of Zurich at least, said the Green Luca Maggi: 'It is a first step with which we exhaust what is realistically possible in the city' (Brunner, 2021, p. 2, OT)

The pragmatism trope was key in the SP's campaign for the referendum, as the title of an interview with two prominent national SP parliamentarians illustrates: *The Züri City-Card is a pragmatic proposal by the Stadtrat* [Die Züri City-Card ist ein pragmatischer Vorschlag des Stadtrats] (SP Stadt Zürich, 2022, OT). Schwager also often repeated this argument, as in 2021 *Deutschlandfunk* article, where she stressed:

> This is only a small pragmatic step with this city card. This is not at all the solution or the great success, that would really be the collective regularization of sans-papiers. But because that's not politically feasible at the moment, we just decided to take this concrete step." (Hartmann, 2021, p. 7, OT)

5.1.4. Arguments and Negotiations

Before moving on to discuss prominent themes that go beyond the concrete policy implementation of the ZCC, I want to supplement the discussion thus far with other prominent pro- and contra ZCC arguments as presented in the media texts. These were commonly tied to descriptions of the card itself.

An argument in favor of the ZCC that emerged early on was the characterization of the card as beneficial for the whole population. The card could be used as a gesture of solidarity and would ease access to municipal services. A text in Zurichs's student newspaper describes it as follows:

> In this respect, there is symbolic significance in the ZCC: it is intended to raise awareness of the living conditions of undocumented migrants and to highlight the need for action.
> The city itself not only counts on solidarity, but wants to make the ZCC attractive for everyone by other means: In the future, the inhabitants of the city of Zurich [Stadtzürcher*innen] should be able to combine swimming pool and theater passes on the ZCC, to benefit from discounts, and use the card as an e-ID (Frauchiger, 2021, p. 2, OT)

Akyol is quoted in a 2018 *NZZ* text as saying: „A municipal ID card would be 'a visible sign of a solidarity city'" (Fritzsche, 2018a, p. 2, OT). The following statement by Mauch, attempting here to shift focus away from the legalistic framing, uses a similar formulation and appeared multiple sources:

> The *Stadtrat* has always stressed that the city has no competency to regulate residence status under migration law with a municipal ID card, or to regularize an unlawful residence. However, a city card can, if sufficiently widespread, strengthen our urban society [Stadtgesellschaft], solidarity, and coexistence" (Scharrer, 2021, p. 3-4, OT)

Schwager phrased this similarly in multiple texts, for example in *Deutschlandfunk*:

> What we also hope for is a more solidarity-based city feeling [solidarisches Stadtgefühl]. That people show solidarity with the sans-papiers. That they identify themselves with this identity card. (Hartmann, 2021, p. 4, OT)

The argument for the ZCC as a gesture of solidarity was referenced by opponents of the card, as seen in this quote by an SVP-*Gemeinderat* in *Der Spiegel*:

> The Züri City-Card benefits no one, it undermines the rule of law [untergräbt den Rechtsstaat], and it is merely a project for the leftist city government to distinguish itself [ein bloßes Profilierungsprojekt der linken Stadtregierung] (Petter, 2021, p. 3, OT)

This *NZZ* passage published after the 2020 presentation of the 5-phase plan reads similarly:

> The Zurich resident [Stadtzürcher] Andreas Egli, an FDP *Gemeinderat* and lawyer, had already criticized the Züri City Card in its first attempt. That the city government now wants to revive the old idea, he describes as "ideological symbol politics" [ideologische Symbolpolitik] and "label fraud" [Etikettenschwindel]. (Koponen, 2020a, p. 3, OT)

In addition to the legalistic critique and the criticism of purely symbolic politics, the problem that the ZCC might provide sans-papiers with a sense of false security, which was one of the initial arguments against the ZCC used by the *Stadtrat*, remained prominent with opponents:

> Whether such a municipal ID could fulfil a protective role regarding migration law is doubted by the Stadtrat. "It could even lead to sans-papiers lulling themselves into a false sense of security," said head mayor Mauch. (Zander, 2018a, p. 2, OT)

The *Spiegel* text (Petter, 2021) features a former sans-papier who reacts directly to this claim:

> "The sans-papiers know that they are tolerated at best in any case", says Fany Flores. Those affected are in a gray area anyway. In her view, the card would nevertheless be a sign of recognition. (p. 4, OT)

Starting in 2020, the cost of the proposed ZCC implementation was also starting to be mentioned, usually in conjunction with claims that the card would be ineffective and illegal. The passage from an *NZZ* interview with an FDP representative in *Gemeinderat* shows this:

> The result is clear already: what the proponents truly want is not legally possible. And the supposed benefits of the card for Sans-papier, we already have today. We do not need to spend millions for that. (von Ledebur & Heusser, 2022, p. 3, OT)

Another argument used against the project concerned the possibility of the ZCC acting as a pull factor for migrants, who would move to Zurich in greater numbers if such a card would be introduced. This was first argued in the *Weltwoche*[49] in 2018, and became more prominent after 2020. It was also brought up by various journalists in interviews. *NZZ* journalists, for instance, told a *GLP* parliamentarian:

> Mrs. Garcia, with the city card, the signal is sent that foreigners can live in Zurich without legal residence status. Isn't this wrong? [Das ist doch falsch] (von Ledebur & Heusser, 2022, p. 2, OT)

A last argument raised against the ZCC that bears mention is one which most supporters also agreed with: The underlying issue, the precarity of undocumented migrants under current national and cantonal law, cannot be addressed. The agreement about this point was made most explicit shortly before the vote, as seen in this quote form a *tsüri*[50] article:

> Regardless of the outcome of the vote on May 15th: Bea Schwager stresses that a lot of time, energy and work is still required to solve the problem with which sans-papiers find themselves confronted with on a daily basis (Masullo & Brun, 2022a, p. 6, OT)

In summary, the ZCC as a matter of municipal policymaking was the most prominent topic of ZCC media discourse, with most texts explaining the policy process and reproducing the arguments raised by advocates and opponents in the policy sphere. The next subchapter will discuss how this policy issue was related to the broader questions of undocumented migrants and their representation in media discourse.

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[49] The *Weltwoche* is a weekly magazine usually associated with the far right wing of Swiss politics. Its owner and editor Roger Köppel is a representative in the federal parliament for the SVP. (eurotopics, 2022)

[50] *Tsüri* is a digital *Stadtmagazin* that has published on political and social issues in Zurich since 2015. The outlet often positions itself explicitly on the political left, and has been involved in various activist campaign in the city over the years.

5.2. The ZCC and Undocumented Migrants

In addition to the negotiation of the ZCC as single-issue policy proposal, it was usually linked to (undocumented) migrants and possible policy approaches to interacting with them. I differentiated portrayals of sans-papiers according to frames identified by Spencer & Delvino (2019) to describe policy discourse on municipal activism (cf. chapter 2.2.4). Individual sans-papiers were sometimes featured, mostly describing their living situation. Some also voiced their opinion on the ZCC. Those who did all of them clearly support it, as seen in this quote from a 2020 *NZZ* article: "Rodriquez says the Züri City Card would give here new hope for a safer life" (Koponen, 2020a, p. 1, OT).

5.2.1. A Security Framing of Undocumented Migrants?

The first frame identified by Spencer & Delvino (2019) is a security frame which is rooted in a nation-state logic of citizenship. It is intended to reassure national citizens that the rule of law is being upheld, and that the state provides effective control over migration. Commonly, this entails an exclusionary attitude towards migrants and advocacy for restrictive policies. This security frame was not prominent in ZCC media discourse, only discernible in descriptions of the SVP's stance on migration. This is seen in this contextualization of the ZCC in an *NZZ* article:

> Meanwhile, some conservative [bürgerliche] politicians attempt to make life as difficult as possible for the undocumented, in the hope that they will eventually return voluntarily to their countries of origins or at least that no new sans-papiers will arrive. For example, the SVP faction in the Nationalrat [the large chamber of federal parliament] demanded that persons with illegal residence status be excluded from all social services and insurance schemes (Koponen, 2021b, p. 1, OT)

This quote from an SVP press release also evokes this frame:

> It is outrageous how leftist circles stylize people with illegal residence status as victims. They are not victims, they are perpetrators, who deliberately disregard the law and reside in Switzerland illegally. (SVP Stadt Zurich, 2018, p. 1, OT)

There are cases when elements of a security discourse are employed in favor of supportive initiatives. This framing of inclusive security aims at crime prevention and protection of victims by enabling undocumented migrants to access the legal system or institutions like safety shelters. The intended beneficiaries here are undocumented migrants but also the wider public, who benefit when undocumented migrants could act as witnesses. This inclusive security frame was present in the corpus, primarily when the potential of the ZCC to enable access to the legal system was discussed (cf. chapter 5.1.2).

5.2.2. The ZCC and Humanitarian Paradigms

Very common were humanitarian and human rights frames (Delvino & Spencer 2019), used to describe undocumented migrants in terms of vulnerability, welfare needs, and deservingness of municipal support. The human rights frame is understood as a subset, where irregular migrants are portrayed not simply as deserving of welfare, but as requiring the protection of their basic human rights.

In many characterizations of sans-papiers, vulnerability and fear are prominent tropes. *Tagesanzeiger* journalist Zander, for instance, describes Sans-papiers on the basis of a study[51] as follows:

> A typical woman, according to the study, comes from South America and works illegally in a private household. There is a good chance that she is being exploited by her employer. Perhaps he even hits her. She can have her injuries treated because doctors are not required to report her residence status. But the woman does not report her tormentor [to the police]. She would have the right to do so, but the risk of her residence status becoming known is too great. Which also means: the risk of being deported is too great. (Zander, 2018b, p. 1, OT)

Politicians are also shown to use it to describe Sans-papiers and to advocate for municipal activism in their support. An SDA text about the 2021 *Gemeinderat* debate contains this passage:

> An estimated 10'000 people live and work as sans-papiers in the city of Zurich, said Maya Kägi Götz (SP). Their living conditions are precarious. Among other things, they do not have acess to rights and the justice system. These vulnerable people are to be protected. (awp, 2021b, p. 2, OT)

The ZCC was also understood as a matter of dignity, as seen in this *Spiegel* quote:

> Previous emergency regulations, according to which activists like Bea Schwager or her colleagues first have to arrive and ask for help, would thus become obsolete. "Everyday life in the city, which is already lived, would thus become easier, and living together would become a little more dignified", says Schwager. (Petter, 2021, p. 3, OT)

A more specific focus on human rights instead of general humanitarian reasons is also popular, particularly with the executive. The *Stadtrat* initially framed their intention of improving access to the legal system and pressuring higher levels of government in terms of basic human rights:

> The Stadtrat of Zurich „recognizes Sans-papiers as part of society with corresponding rights and obligations". They should be able to exercise their central basic and human rights without danger and should be regularized under transparent conditions (SDA, 2018, p. 1, OT)

The human rights frame was also evoked by opponents of the ZCC. One of their arguments against the card according to a press release before the referendum read as follows:

> The Züri City-card does not solve any problem: The access to all state services that are based on universal human rights is already guaranteed today. This is especially true in the fields of education and health care. The Stadtrat itself states in its directive that the card would not decisively improve the situation of Sans-papiers. (Bourgeois et al. 2021, p. 2, OT)

The assumption in their use of this framing is that the *de iure* guarantee of basic human rights is sufficient to allow sans-papiers to exercise these rights.

5.2.3. Deserving Workers and Exploitation

The deserving worker frame describes sans-papiers as crucial to the local economy, but as unable to legal working conditions. Many texts describe economic exploitation and precarious working conditions. Here, the argument for inclusive policies is not rooted in the vulnerability of migrants. Instead, they are portrayed as deserving because they perform a socially desirable function: they

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[51] I assume Zander is referencing the 2015 SEM study (Morlok et al., 2015) here.

work. While the primary beneficiaries of supportive policies are still undocumented migrants, "the ultimate beneficiary is the city's population, through a thriving labor market" (Spencer & Delvino, 2019, p. 31).

This frame was common in discussion of economic exploitation and in the characterization of sans-papiers as workers. This *Tagesanzeiger* example illustrates this well:

> They clean our toilets while we drive to work in the morning, and they look after the children when we go out partying in the evening: the sans-papiers. Many work seven days a week on request, always on call. An unbeatable offer of human flexibility that the economy is only too happy to take advantage of. Why pay 30 francs an hour when half is also possible? (Sturzenegger, 2017a, p. 1, OT)

First-hand accounts by sans-papiers also often feature descriptions of precarious working conditions and the issue of illicit employment, as here in *Tagesanzeiger*:

> Cleaning, babysitting, cleaning, babysitting - that's how my everyday life is structured. Seven days a week, always on call. I have six different jobs. Last week I still had seven. But my employer fired me. For fear of being exposed. He is currently transforming his company into a limited liability company, so he could no longer afford the risk of illegal employment. (Sturzenegger, 2017b, p. 2, OT)

This frame is also where economic reasons for the presence of sans-papiers in Zurich are discussed:

> However, the critics of the Züri City Card cannot ignore that Sans-papiers perform duties in many Swiss households for which there is stable demand (Zulauf, 2020, p. 1, OT)

The discussion of Sans-papiers as exploited workers was linked to humanitarian concerns, and used as an argument for the ZCC or for alternative proposals like better enforcement of labor legislation to protect against exploitation.

5.2.4. A Socioeconomic Frame

This aspect of economic factors as key determinant for the continued presence of Sans-papiers also relates to the next frame discernible in the discourse: the socioeconomic frame. Here, the exclusion of undocumented migrants is understood as causing economic and social harm because the state's capacity to register and tax them is foregrounded. This frame only appeared sporadically, usually in conjunction with other frames. A good example is this quote from 2017, in which a *Tagesanzeiger* journalist calls for a legalization campaign in Zurich:

> The liberal security director Pierre Maudet, with his Operation Papyrus, has already brought hundreds of migrant workers out of illegality – but only if they meet strict criteria. In this way, the sans-papiers are given a face and legal security. Employers no longer have to fear legal trouble for illegal employment. And yes, a little tax revenue is also created. (Sturzenegger, 2017b, p. 1, OT)

The fact that sans-papiers' work is often not registered was also mentioned by opponents of supportive policies. The SVP is quoted in a *nau.ch*[52] article after the 2018 motion as follows:

> "Such behavior by people who pay neither taxes nor AHV-contributions[53] must not be rewarded as well" (Fischer, 2018, p. 2, OT)

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[52] nau.ch is an online boulevard news platform, usually publishing short texts on current events.
[53] The *Alters- und Hinterlassenenversicherung (AHV)* is the Swiss federal pension system.

While all these characterizations of Sans-papiers were usually evoked in relation to the ZCC directly, they were also commonly featured in discussions regarding alternatives to the ZCC. Most advocates, both civil society and institutional, proposed collective regularizations as the actual goal of their activism. Some opponents of the city card voiced support for partial legalizations, while other also opposed these ideas. Opponents and supporters of the ZCC alike agreed that these issues ideally were not to be debated at the municipal level. These negotiations of appropriate scales of governance are subject of the next subchapter.

5.3. Multilevel Governance and Policy Mobility

The various ways in which sans-Papiers featured in ZCC discourse, outlined in the previous subchapter, were primarily discussed in reference to the ZCC. The ZCC policy development process was not, however, treated as only a local issue, but related vertically across scales to other levels of governance, primarily cantonal and federal, and horizontally to other local initiatives and practices elsewhere. This chapter will explore these links by showing how a multilevel governance perspective manifested in ZCC discourse, and how this municipal ID card project was portrayed as an example of policy mobility, albeit the term was never explicitly used in the corpus.

5.3.1. Negotiating across Scales

Kaufmann & Strebel (2021) concluded that the absence of an intact multilevel governance network was a key reason why regularizations were unfeasible in Zurich. The (absence of) multilevel cooperation is featured in the media discourse. The impetus for the ZCC project was commonly formulated in reference the no-cooperation of higher levels of governance.

Describing the origins of the ZCC proposal, Schwager is quoted in *WOZ*:

> Everything started in 2015 when it became clear to us that, in light of the political constellation in the canton of Zurich, it would hardly be possible to legalize Sans-papiers for the forseeable future (Stern, 2022, p. 2, OT)

Many other texts also framed the origins of the ZCC in these terms, often explicitly referencing unsuccessful regularization demands, as seen in this Genevan text:

> Last May, it was a cold shower for Zurich's undocumented migrants. At the time, the Canton refused to accept any regularization project modeled after Geneva's Operation Papyrus. But the counter-offensive is getting organized, and the hope of seeing their daily lives improve persists. (*La Tribune de Geneve,* 2018, p.1, OT)

The lack of cooperation between city and canton is shown in media discourse as provoking two differing attitudes. Some argue for renewed attempts at higher levels of governance, while others call for strengthening local action. These attitudes are exemplified well in this account of a parliamentary debate in *Tagesanzeiger*:

> "For us, there is no question that Sans-papiers have to be recognized and supported", says GLP Gemeinderat Nicolas Cavalli. "But this must be regulated at cantonal and national scales". It is not the responsibility of the city to bear these costs.
> Natasha Wey of the SP says this is perscisely the reason why the city must act: "The canton is doing little for Sans-papiers [...]. This is why we have to take this on" (Zander, 2021b, p. 2, OT)

The role of the city as an independent municipality embedded in overarching structures was a prominent issue in this context. On the one hand, this was relevant in debates about the ZCC itself, as has been demonstrated above. On the other, this issue also came up where the ZCC was not the primary topic in a text, but where it served as an example for something else. Particularly the SVP, but also various FDP representatives discuss the ZCC as an instance of the city of Zurich overreaching its constitutional competencies. This position becomes clear in this quote by an FDP-*Kantonsrat* in an *NZZ* interview:

> Since the elections, however, the city parliament no longer sees its limits. The only thing that prevents the city from exercising its absolute power is the fact that it is not a city-state, but merely the lowest level of our federal state structure (Fritzsche, 2019, p. 2, OT).

This was often formulated within the legalistic framework laid out above (cf. Chapter ???). The importance of "übergeordnetes Recht" (Fritzsche, 2019, p. 2) is mentioned repeatedly. The *no*-campaign framed the ZCC as an attempt to circumvent higher-level legislation:

> It is authorities above the city that declare unregulated residence illegal and determine the obligation to leave the country. An instrument which is de facto intended to complicate this can only be interpreted as an attempt to circumvent the law (Dufournet & Zumsteg, 2022, p. 1, OT)

This debate about the opposing political visions between administrative levels was sometimes also framed in terms of a polarization between urban and rural areas. Conservative actors evoke this idea at multiple points in the corpus (cf. chapter 4.1).

There are thus two broad paradigms in ZCC media discourse regarding the scalar relationships between actors: one criticizes the lack of cooperation of higher levels of governance due to opposing majorities and thus advocates for more local solutions, the other criticizes the city for not complying with its role as subordinated to higher levels. Productive synergies between the administrative levels, as Kaufmann & Strebel (2021) identified in Geneva, are absent in the policy sphere and in ZCC media discourse. Various actors advocate for more cooperation, but political visions differ strongly between the dominant actors at different scales. Various actors voice their hopes for increased cooperation between levels, but regarding the ZCC, the non-cooperation became more, not less pronounced over time.

5.3.2. The ZCC as Policy Mobility

While multilevel cooperation in support for sans-papiers seemed unattainable, horizontal cooperation among localities was portrayed promisingly in the ZCC discourse. The exchange of political concepts and policy ideas among cities was a prominent feature in the corpus, but this was never explicitly called 'policy mobility'. Two general strands exist: ones that describe cities that the ZCC actors took inspiration from, and texts that frame other projects as inspired by the ZCC.

City card policies elsewhere appeared in 54 different texts, with New York being named in an overwhelming number of them. Early on, this connection was usually reported on in reference to

the early communication by *VZCC*, but over time, the reference to New York became common in most texts that introduced the issue of the city card, regardless of whether the *VZCC* featured in the text. Often, other cities are named as well, and the term sanctuary city is usually introduced in this context, as seen in this *FR* example:

> And in addition to New York, there are multiple other international examples - so-called sanctuary cities, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Barcelona. They have limited their cooperation with the respective state government when it comes to undocumented migrants, so they don't automatically report them to authorities who would have them deported. (Butz, 2020, pp. 6-7, OT)

The *Stadtrat* was initially skeptical of comparisons to US cities, as exemplified in this *Tagesanzeiger* article:

> But, according to press spokesperson Nat Bächtold, it is surprising that American cities are cited as examples in this context, even though the federal structures of Switzerland and the United States are very different (Hohler, 2018, p. 2, OT)

The ZCC was also often mentioned as inspiring actors elsewhere. It was mentioned as inspiration for similar projects in other Swiss municipalities, and as an example of innovative approaches to local politics more generally. A prominent example is this quote from an *NZZ* article about a study (Kaufmann et al., 2020) of the perception of Zurich's role in the Swiss political landscape:

> The survey showed […] that many cities wish for Zurich to play a stronger role as a pioneer [Vorkämpferin] for pressing problems (Kälin, 2021, p. 1, OT)

The ZCC is named as a possible high-profile policy proposal that other municipalities could attempt to emulate:

> In order to be able to play the pioneering role, Zurich should also experiment more with new measures and develop them further. As possible examples, the report will recommend, for instance, […] the Züri City Card. (Kälin, 2021, p. 2, OT)

Proposals for municipal ID cards have emerged in other Swiss cities. In Bern, a project was launched around the same time as in Zurich. The differences between the two cities are discussed in the corpus[54]. The Bernese project is linked to the ZCC in multiple texts (Marti, 2022b; Hürlimann, 2021). Actors from other towns reference the ZCC as an inspiration, as this example in *WOZ* show:

> The city of Lucerne is following the efforts in Bern and Zurich with great interest. As soon as it will become known what the City Card will include there, we will start our own clarifications. [...] The decision in Zurich is a signal to other cities that are also considering the introduction of the city card and are thus taking a step towards Urban Citizenship [sic]. (Schmalz, 2020, p. 3, OT)

In May 2020, a City Card project was launched in St. Gallen, a town in eastern Switzerland. The proponents of the City Card St. Gallen project explicitly and repeatedly referenced the ZCC, and voiced interest in the outcomes of the second legal opinion expected to be published early 2020 (Gadze, 2022a). After the referendum in Zurich, SP representatives in St. Gallen were hopeful that the project in their city would be accelerated (Hagmann-Bula, 2022).

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[54] A key difference to Zurich discussed at length is that Bern no longer has a municipal police force, giving the city less power to influence law enforcement practices. (Marti, 2022a)

In February 2021, the small city of La Chaux-de-Fonds approved a city card project. The ZCC was named as inspiration in multiple articles covering the developments, such as a 2021 SDA news bulletin:

> Inspired by the Züri City Card approved by Zurich's city council, and the universal identity cards introduced in some US cities, the card is intended to be a tool for integration and reinforcing a sense of belonging to the community. (SDA, 2021a, p. 1, OT)

A 2022 article called *all eyes on Züri* in a small Basel-based online magazine also explicitly references the visibility of the ZCC and its impact elsewhere: " Not only in Switzerland, but also beyond the country's borders, eyes are now likely to turn to Zurich" (Zaslawski, 2022, p. 3, OT).

Indeed, the ZCC appeared in media discourse outside of Switzerland. In April 2019, the ZCC was mentioned in the German TAZ[55] in the context of the potential of a municipal ID card. In addition to references to the USA and Canada, the ZCC project is mentioned as an inspiration (Nietfeld, 2019)

In some texts in newspapers based outside of Zurich and Switzerland, actors involved in the ZCC were also featured. Schwager, for example, appeared in a 2021 text in the *FR*. Regarding difficulties of transferring policy ideas to and from Switzerland, she told the journalist:

> However, I have already heard an interview with a German attorney who said that the principle of Zurich could not be transferred to Germany as easily […]; but I am also not as rigid on the matter. We actually copied this from New York and at the beginning, it was said: This can't be transferred at all. Until there was a legal opinion which said: Yes, this can indeed be transferred. So I would recommend to all to try something like this. (Butz, 2021, p. 2, OT)

The international perspective was also brought up by academics, for example in *WOZ*, where the issue is connected to the idea of Zurich as a vanguard (cf. chapter 6.2):

> "Cities like Barcelona or Amsterdam are closely following the vote", knows David Kaufmann. Many municipal governments in Europe are also looking for solutions to make the life more bearable for illegalized parts of their populations. "A rich city like Zurich can lead the way here", Kaufmann is convinced. (Stern, 2022, p. 3, OT)

The repeated references to sanctuary city policies in other cities discussed here point to the last major theme in ZCC media discourse: the ZCC as the implementation of a concrete political concept rooted in academic and activist discourse. The terms sanctuary city and urban citizenship were prominent and presented as specifically urban issues. In the next subchapter, I present how these political concepts were featured in the corpus, and how they were related to mediated political narratives of the city of Zurich.

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[55] a German left-wing daily newspaper

5.4. Political Concepts and Urban Imaginaries in the ZCC discourse
5.4.1. Urban Citizenship and Sanctuary Cities

The terms *sanctuary city* and *urban citizenship* were featured in some form in about 20 % of all texts in the corpus. The ZCC project was related to the sanctuary city movement in the US from the start, and the urban citizenship concept, sometimes translated to "Stadtbürgerschaft", was already featured in the very first text in the corpus (SDA, 2017). Urban citizenship as a guiding concept was usually linked directly to municipal ID card projects, with the underlying reconceptualization of citizenship being expanded on. The historical context features in some of the longer texts in the corpus, such as in *Republik*:

> Underlying the City Card, this small step with limited possibilities, is a big idea. It is the idea of solidarity cities with an open society in which everyone can participate. The beginnings were made by individual municipalities in the USA and Canada; hundreds of thousands of people fled there from Latin American war zones in the 1980s - and the sanctuary cities did everything to ensure that the refugees were not deported again. Even though this went against the intention of national policy - until today. (Hürlimann, 2021, p. 6, OT)

The German magazine *Der Spiegel* related the sanctuary city movement to city card policies as well:

> The fact that the initiative for the City Card emerged at the local level follows a pattern that can be observed worldwide. In New York, a similar document has existed since 2015. Other metropolises are also becoming increasingly involved in migration politics. There is now an international network of so-called sanctuary cities, cities of refuge that are committed to liberal migration politics - bucking the trend of increasingly closed-off states. (Petter, 2021, p. 4, OT)

The emergence of urban citizenship in Europe is also put in the context of increasing migration in the 2010s and related to other demands, as seen in this article about the Bernese city card project in *Berner Zeitung*:

> Indeed, the proponents of the City Card refer to the concept of 'Urban Citizenship' (municipal citizenship [städtische Staatsbürgerschaft]). Behind this is the idea that cities should be an inclusive place for all, regardless of the residence status of the inhabitants. The idea received a boots during and after the 2015 refugee crisis, when various cities explicitly spoke out against the strict asylum regimes of their respective countries and demanded the additional reception of refugees, for example from camps like Moria in Greece. (Marti, 2022, p. 2, OT)

The focus on these political concepts and practices being decidedly urban was also emphasized by Sarah Schilliger in an article about the launch of a Zurich-inspired city card proposal in Basel:

> Schilliger: "The concept of the solidarity city has become an important point of reference for social movements, NGOs, migrant associations, communal politics and municipal administrations that oppose the increasingly restrictive national and European border and migration politics at the local level. Cities are seen here as spaces of possibilitiy in which nation-state- based bordering practices and isolationist politics can be challenged" [Städte würden dabei als Möglichkeitsräume gesehen, in denen nationalstaatliche Grenzziehungen und Abschottungspolitiken in Frage gestellt werden können.] (Zaslawski, 2022, p. 4, OT)

Akin to Schilliger's quote here, understandings of the city as a distinct space in which political visions could be experimented with was often evoked in ZCC media discourse. A vision of the city as a place of solidarity and refuge was sometimes presented as competing with more

mainstream narratives, which see the city as merely the lowest scale for implementing polities. How the city was construed as a distinct place, and as a space for political action as part of unifying urban imaginaries, is discussed in the next paragraphs.

5.4.2. Citizenship and Urban imaginaries

As shown above (cf. chaper 5.1.3) the decision to pursue local action was often framed in terms of pragmatism and immediacy of impact. The ZCC was often also evoked in references to broader narratives of what characterizes cities in general, and Zurich in particular. In this analysis, I take inspiration from Hoekstra's (2017) discussion of the role of urban imaginaries in the formulation of inclusive municipal migration policies, and Vatansever's (2023) description of the role of media discourse in their construction (cf. chapter 2.4).

Various actors in the discourse are shown to engage in the discursive construction of 'the city' as a concrete entity with recognizable characteristics that distinguishes it from other scale. Schwager is one of the few actors who reflects on the spatial and scalar dimension of the ZCC. She mentions the construction of a new territorial trap, so to speak, in a *FR* text:

> One reservation, however, is shared by Schwager. For it is problematic indeed that many Sans-papiers live in peripheral areas which are not part of the city's territory, so that these people would also be excluded from the city-card. (Butz, 2020, p. 7, OT)

Very common, however, are social and political characteristics of 'the city'. For instance, the fact that migration is a predominantly urban issue (cf. chapter 2.2.1) appears in the corpus, such as in this *tsüri.ch* excerpt:

> According to the report, the number of Sans-papiers is also higher in cities than in rural areas. This has to do with the fact that it is easier to live in the shadows of society in a city like Zurich. (Masullo & Brun, 2022a, p. 2, OT)

The idea of the ZCC as pragmatic policy making (cf. chapters 2.3 & 5.1.1) is prominently embedded in a narrative of Zurich as a progressive vanguard. Many actors explicitly use this framing, exemplified well in this *Tagesanzeiger* quote:

> Last week, the SP Zurich published a letter at its delegates' meeting with the headline "City for all". It is a somewhat pompous declaration of love for its own city. An ode to the left-wing, cosmopolitan Zurich as it has developed in recent years: "Zurich is a beacon that carries the light of freedom and equality to the borders of our country and beyond." The sans-papiers would count as much in the city as the gentlemen from Zürichberg with the thick bundle of paper in their pockets. "Zurich does not ask, but demands: that this city remains a city for all." (Sturzenegger, 2017, p. 2, OT)

SP representatives also appear elsewhere as arguing for the ZCC as a symbol of Zurich's progressive identity:

> In Europe, too, various cities in Spain, Holland and France attempt to introduce a city card, so that no one falls through the cracks. As an open and progressive city, it is iomportant that Zurich now also takes a step foreward. (SP Stadt Zürich, 2022, p. 2, OT)

The *Stadtrat* formulated their support for the ZCC project in similar terms:

> The city of Zurich could thus also strengthen its image as a progressive place. Exactly this is intended by the Stadtrat, who now backs the City Card and wants to use it for Zurich to "be positioned and made visible as a solidary, diverse and cosmopolitan city" (Stern, 2022 p. 3, OT)

The characteristics that make the city a supposedly progressive vanguard are often framed in terms of multiculturalism, as this interview with the organizer of an anti-racist festival in *tsüri* exemplifies:

> We have long been a multicultural city and this has many advantages: We get to enjoy food from all over the world, we listen to their music and dance to it, and these people's stories encourage us to learn new languages and travel to foreign countries ourselves. The different cultures enrich city life, they broaden our horizons. Unfortunately, this opinion is still underrepresented in the media. (tsüri.ch, 2018, OT)

These narratives are also discussed by conservative and liberal voices. An SVP press released mentioned in *Tagesanzeiger* identifies a the ZCC as an example of a "left-green power craze [links-grüner Machtrausch]" (Hohler 2018, p. 2). An FDP -member references the ZCC in an *NZZ* interview as an example of the city distancing itself from the non-city:

> It is interesting that the cities rely on the same methods as the SVP. They also consciously distinguish themselves from the surrounding areas – in the case of Zürich from the canton and the federal government. (Fritzsche & von Ledebur, 2021, p. 1, OT)

These oppositional positions regarding the ZCC remained largely within legalistic discourse and framed the ZCC policy as a utopian or ideological proposal. The words ‚utopia' and ‚ideology' appear multiple times in this context, and are clearly frame das negative terms. This quote from a 2018 *NZZ* opinion piece summarizes demonstrates this well:

> The red-green city is simply trying to implement its utopias, even if it sometimes lacks the legal basis to do so (Troxler, 2018, p. 2, OT)

The narrative of the city of Zurich as a progressive vanguard, framed positively by the left, and negatively by the right, are evoked throughout the corpus. Crucially, they are prominent in opinion pieces that either concern the ZCC directly, or mention it as an example. These narratives in which the ZCC is embedded will serve as the foundation for chapter 6, where I demonstrate how the media not only serves to convey information about the political process, but also plays a key role in the construction of ideological narratives in which proposals like the ZCC can be made sense of.

6. Assembling a ZCC Discourse

The previous chapters provided an overview of relevant events, actors, and themes, describing ZCC media discourse at textual level. In line with a CDS-inspired approach, the next step entails analyzing how the individual texts and their content are assembled through discursive practice (cf. 3.4. First, I explore intertextual and interdiscursive relationships. The intertextuality that connects text to form specific discourses is crucial to CDS, and of particular importance in media discourse (Phelan, 2018).

I then move on to identify different ideological positions taken by media actors across texts. This last step is based on a selection of opinion pieces and guest editorials written by recurring authors in the corpus. This is intended as a point of triangulation before the final discussion of the results because it allows for a differentiation between more and less dominant actors in the construction of a ZCC discourse. Journalistic practice, and the actors involved in it, occupy a crucial role in the construction of urban imaginaries and the contextualization of concrete policies like the ZCC within them (Hoekstra 2018, Vatansever 2023). 'The news' is not simply a reflection of what happens in society, in this case at the intersection between civil society demands and municipal authorities, but it is actively put together through journalistic practice (Phelan, 2018). Due to the reciprocal relationship between discourses and social reality, the narratives and motives present in ZCC media discourse also act as contingencies on the actors developing the ZCC itself.

Afterwards, I move on to some reflections about the ZCC, its impact in the media, and the role of the media in embedding the ZCC into coherent narratives of politics and urban imaginaries (cf. chapter 7)

6.1. Intertextuality and Journalistic Practice

Explicit connections between media texts in the corpus are rare. In multiple instances, *Tagesanzeiger* and *NZZ* published articles about the ZCC and opinion pieces written by the journalists simultaneously at multiple points[56]. The connections between these corresponding articles are usually only implicit within the text. Nonetheless, these informational articles and comments are closely linked, mainly because in print form, they would usually appear on the same page. This relation that is immanent to the medium of a physical newspaper, however, cannot be traced in my purely digital corpus. Intertextual references between different publishers were also almost completely absent[57].

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[56] For example, after the 2018 presentation of *Positionspapier* (Mauch & Cuche-Curti, 2018), Zander (2018a, OT) wrote an article about the press conference titled *Stadtrat want to better integrate Sans-papiers* [Stadtrat will Sans-Papiers besser integrieren]. He also wrote an opinion piece called *City must exhaust leeway for Sans-Papiers* [Stadt muss für Sans-Papiers Spielraum ausreizen], in which he advocated for testing the legal limits of the city's power to support undocumented migrants (Zander, 2018b, OT).

Similarly, Fritzsche for the *NZZ* wrote an article about the press conference called *Legal Hurdles for the City Card* [Rechtliche Hürden für die City Card] (Fritzsche, 2018a, OT), and an opinion piece called *Radical Parliament* [Radikales Parlament] (Fritzsche, 2018b, OT) a few days later, in which he discussed the ZCC as an example of the *Gemeinderat* pursuing strategies that are too radical and often illegal.

[57] A notable exception here is the *Republik* article (Hürlimann, 2021): The reportage is the only text that is named multiple times in other sources. It also text also contains quote from a 2020 *NZZ* opinion piece (Fritzsche, 2020), exemplifying typical arguments by the liberal and conservative opposition.

References to non-media texts, in contrast, were common. The 2015 study commissioned by the federal migration agency (Morlok et al., 2015), for example, is referenced multiple times, and the size estimates for Swiss and regional Sans-papiers populations originating with this study appear throughout the corpus.

Reports and opinions by the executive institutions *Regierungsrat* & *Stadtrat* are very common. Many of the texts that deal primarily with the ZCC were published in reaction to new official information. Most articles paraphrase and report key elements of official texts accurately, and some opinion pieces engage critically with these official texts[58].

Press releases by political parties in reaction to official releases were sometimes mentioned in the corpus, as seen in this example:

> The Greens want to hold onto the "Züri City-card" and, like the SP, they were pleased in a press release that the Stadtrat had recognized Sans-papiers as part of society (Zander, 2018, p. 2, OT)

Other institutional texts referenced often included the 2018 *Positionspapier* (Mauch & Cuche-Curti, 2018), the 2020 report that outlined the 5-phase ZCC plan, as well as the late 2020 answers by *Regierungsrat* (2020a, 2020b) and *Bundesrat* (2020). The voting documents for the referendum were referenced a few times, primarily in articles that inform of upcoming votes. An *NZZ* opinion piece also quotes from the document to substantiate criticism of the ZCC project:

> Anyone who studies the official text of the vote will get the impression that the city is breeding a bureaucratic monster here [...] In order for the trick to work, as many Zurich residents as possible are being encouraged to carry this card as a sign of solidarity. "This strengthens the cohesion and the identification of the population with the city," the voting text states. (Heusser, 2022b, pp. 1-2, OT)

Direct mentions of academic texts were sparce relatively few[59]. Publications by Lebuhn (2015) and Garcia (2006) regarding urban citizenship are mentioned by Morawek (2015, 2016) in her publications that precede the ZCC corpus itself. The legal opinions (Kiener & Breitenbücher, 2018 Kiener & Breitenbücher, 2020) were the texts referenced the most in the corpus. Some texts engaged with the legal argumentation put forth by the authors, and related them to the opinions of *Bundesrat*, *Regierungsrat*, and the local opposition to the ZCC. The *Republik* article (Hürlimann 2021) and a 2022 *Tagesanzeiger* article (Huber, 2022) were the thorough in the discussion of the legal details.

6.1.1. Journalists and Editors

Despite the relative sparseness of explicit intertextuality in many sources, there are distinct patterns: most articles were published in response to a few key events in the institutionalization process (the founding of the *VZCC*, the 2018 motion, the 2020 plan by the *Stadtrat*, the referendum). In each of these instances, there were multiple texts by multiple publications and authors that often overlapped significantly in their reporting. This became noticeable not only

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[58] An example: An early *Tagesanzeiger* opinion piece criticized a study commissioned by the canton: "The Zurich Regierungsrat recently delivered a tidbit of impressive ignorance. In a report, it is mentioned that the Labor Market Control Office of the Office of Economic Affairs 'could not find any employment of Sans-Papiers'. One who does not look, does not find" (Sturzenegger, 2017a, p. 1, OT)

[59] As has been outlined above (cf. chapters 4.4.4 & 5.3), academics were featured, mainly personified by Kaufmann and Schilliger.

through the close reading and coding process conducted for this thesis, but also in the sources that were present in the texts.

The journalists who assembled the ZCC discourse mostly consulted official documents and people involved in the policy process. *VZCC* and *SPAZ* actors also were prominent experts and interviewees. In some instances, sans-papiers were also featured, usually serving the function of embodying precarity and vulnerability in a humanitarian frame.

Moreover, the increasing centralization of the Swiss media landscape could well have impacted the ZCC discourse (cf. chapter 4.2). The number of texts that completely or partly contained SDA notices was high from the beginning. Many texts in the corpus also were duplicates, with the same texts published in multiple publications belonging to the same company.

6.1.2. Local, National, and Foreign News

ZCC media discourse was spatially differentiated. The majority of texts was published by Swiss newspapers, many of which are based in Zurich. *NZZ* & *Tagesanzeiger* are two of the largest news brands in the country and are both centered in Zurich, with specialized editorial offices for Zurich-related issues. The journalists in these departments are also the ones who contributed the most to the ZCC discourse. Regional publications and explicitly nationally oriented ones like the SDA and SRF reported on the ZCC as well.

Some publications from abroad are featured in the corpus, mostly from Germany. Some simply mention the ZCC as an example, for example the TAZ article mentioned above (cf. chapter 5.3.2). Others (e.g Hartmann, 2021; Petter, 2021) are extensive portraits of the ZCC and its central actors, primarily Schwager. The *FR* published 7 texts in which the ZCC is featured[60].

Table 5: Most frequent publisher locations

Location of publisher	Number texts in the corpus
Zürich	93
Bern	14
Frankfurt	8
St. Gallen	6
Genf	4

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[60] Some discuss the ZCC itself and some mention the ZCC in the context of Schwager's appearance at a conference in Frankfurt, where she was invited to present the ZCC as an example of cosmopolitan politics and experimentation with utopian ideas (e.g Geisler 2022).

In late March 2021, the ZCC is portrayed as an attempt as institutionalizing cosmopolitanism at the local scale in an opinion piece by a German NGO representative. The article implies that the ZCC had already been introduced at that point: "A right to global citizenship [Weltbürger:innen-Recht] does not have to remain a utopia. How this can already be achieved locally is demonstrated by the Züri City-Card, whose introduction was decided by Zurich's municipal administration in the fall of 2021. With it, all people living in Zurich, regardless of their origin and residence status, now have an official identity document. This has been fought for many years." (Gebauer, 2021, p. 1, OT)

6.2. Journalists as Political Actors

The role of the media in political processes is not solely generating an informed public. The actors involved, journalists and editors, are embedded in specific cultural and professional contexts where political and socio-economic interests are at play (Bleich et al., 2015; Gonzalez O'Brien et al., 2019; Kelsey, 2018; Phelan, 2018). Hence, before moving beyond discursive practice to discuss broader socio-political and theoretical implications of the ZCC discourse, I will briefly outline ideological positions of influential actors in the discourse.

The two positions that are most prominent in ZCC discourse align closely with the binary framing between pro- and contra- ZCC positions in the political sphere. A third, albeit increasingly marginal position, incorporated some of the more theoretical argumentation influential in the early days of the ZCC. While many of the arguments and frames correspond, I will point out some differences, and how these are discernible in the different discursive strategies that are prominent in each.

The first ideological standpoint was embodied primarily by *NZZ* journalists. It aligns closely with the legalistic standpoint championed by many opponents of the ZCC discussed above. The second, discernible across multiple news sources, including *Tagesanzeiger*, echoed many of the pragmatic assumptions championed by local politicians in Zurich. This one was less distinct, and overlapped considerably with the third, which was discernible in a few texts by smaller publications like *WOZ* and aligned with the vision of the initial proponents of urban citizenship in Zurich.

The ideological positions put forth are not necessarily consciously pursued strategies, but emerge as identifiable patterns that align across texts (cf. chapter 3.4).

6.2.1. Naturalizing the Status quo: *NZZ* & Weltwoche

The *NZZ* is featured with many opinion pieces or guest editorials in the corpus, written by the newspaper's Zurich correspondents. All of them are featured in this subset of texts, which is relatively consistent in its ideological position. This set also includes two opinion pieces in the *Weltwoche*. These texts formulate a political narrative that is characterized by legalistic argumentation and the discursive construction of Zurich as an increasingly radical political outlier overreaching its legal competencies.

Text #	In text citation	Author	Date	Title	Publication
9	Baur 2018	Alex Baur	09.08.2018	Illegal bleibt Illegal	Weltwoche
40	Fritzsche, 2020	Daniel Fritzsche	13.11.2020	Die City Card gaukelt einen Schutz vor	NZZ
53	Koponen, 2021b	Linda Koponen	09.02.2021	Symbolpolitik nützt den sans-papiers nicht	NZZ
65	Koponen, 2021c	Linda Koponen	11.05.2021	Das Migrationsrecht gilt auch in Zürich	NZZ
72	Fritzsche, 2021a	Daniel Fritzsche	03.09.2021	Die Linke steckt in der Aktivistenfalle	NZZ
98	Heusser, 2022b	Isabel Heusser	19.04.2022	Die Stadt ignoriert übergeordnetes Recht	NZZ
112	Frenkel, 2022	Beni Frenkel	28.04.2022	Stärkung des Zusammenhalts Innovativer als Cumulus	Weltwoche
136	Fritzsche, 2022	Daniel Fritzsche	16.05.2022	Misstrauen gegen Pseudoausweis	NZZ

The city card itself is discussed prominently, not only in vague terms as the eventual outcome of a policy process, but as a concrete object. References to 'the card' or 'the ID' are quite common, as are characterizations of it as a "Rainbow card for illegals [Regenbogenkarte für Illegale]" (Baur 2018) or as "pseude ID [Pseudoausweis]" (Koponen 2021, Fritzsche 2022, Heusser 2022b). The legalistic paradigms popular with the opposition to the ZCC are echoed in these texts, for example in references to the national rule of law [Rechtsstaat] as authoritative and democratically legitimized (cf. chapter 5.1.2). The ZCC proponent's practices are introduced as attempts to circumvent this legal order and its democratically legitimized foundation:

> This is tantamount to actively undermining migration law in Switzerland, which was democratically legitimated multiple times, and is unacceptable. (Fritzsche, 2020, p. 1, OT)

The local actors in Zurich are characterized (cf. chapter 5.4.2) as ideologically radical and as striving for local political hegemony, parroting the narrative of Zurich embracing its role as a progressive vanguard. This paragraph from Heusser's comment before the referendum demonstrates how municipal activism is framed negatively:

> The demeanor of the red-green dominated parliament and Stadtrat shows unhealthy tendencies. What doesn't fit is made to fit, seems to be the credo. It is true that the majorities in the newly elected parliament are no longer quite as clear as in the last legislature. However, this will not change the fact that the leftists are acting with an unpleasant sense of self [unangenehmes Selbstverständnis] when drafting new regulations (2022b, p. 2, OT).

The characterization of the city as a single actor who is unwilling to cooperate with higher levels of governance is prominent. Fritzsche (2022) criticizes „city of Zurich, which is increasingly acting autonomously" (p. 1, OT) and connects the ZCC to other political issues:

> The leftist city of Zurich is an exotic within the conservative canton. And it celebrates this role regularly. […] With the Züri-City-Card, the progressive city dwellers are now even to receive their own identity card. One could assume that the independent, red-green city republic of Zurich will soon be proclaimed (Fritzsche, 2022, OT).

This discursive construction of an increasing polarization between the city and its surroundings is also exemplified well in a text called *Utopia ends at the city limits* [Utopia endet an der Stadtrenze] (Troxler, 2018):

> In the red-green dominated city of Zurich, for example, a lifestyle dominates today that sociologists would call post-materialistic. People no longer strive so much for money and goods, but for idealistic values. [...] In addition to ecology, social ideals determine the public discourse: a welcoming culture is cultivated toward immigrants. [Outside the city,] a weary smile is all that is left for the highfalutin utopias of the city dwellers and their social ideals, then people turn back to the daily challenges of life. Homo economicus - the economically thinking person - is in the majority outside the city limits, while his influence among the red-green electorate of the cities is rapidly dwindling. (p. 1, OT)

The sentiment of the urban inhabitants self-identifying in opposition to others is echoed in other *NZZ* opinion pieces as well:

> The "urban society" [Stadtgesellschaft] as Mauch calls it, can "strengthen solidarity and coexistence" thanks to the ID card for everyone. The tolerant, open city population thus distinguishes itself from the dull surrounding countryside, which insists on law and order in a backwoods and provincial manner: this is the image conveyed by the campaign. The City Card thus becomes the hallmark of the red-green voting, "progressive" city dweller. "Aren't we all a bit illegal?" could be the appropriate slogan. On top of that, discounts for cultural offerings and service are granted with the card. (Fritzsche, 2020, p. 2, OT)

In the last *NZZ* article in the corpus, even though it is nominally about an entirely different topic, the ZCC is evoked again as an example for a highly publicized, but illegal and ineffective political project:

> In all these cases, nothing has been won - except for left-wing Zurich politicians, who were able to present themselves publicly as fighting heroically against the evil world outside Zurich's city limits. (von Ledebur, 2022c, p. 3, OT)

The is *NZZ* is the medium in which these authors voice their views, but the newspaper also emerges as its own political actor involved in the formation of public will. In a non-opinion piece article describing the 2022 referendum, the *NZZ* shares the opinion of the editorial board after describing the stance of major political parties: „The NZZ rejects the proposal." (Heusser ,2022b, p. 2, OT)[61]

These quotes coalesce into a relatively coherent narrative. The argumentation against the ZCC is usually not rooted in a security frame or the intention to further criminalize Sans-papiers. Generally, sans-papiers do not figure prominently in these texts. Discussions of policy mobility, sanctuary cities, or the underlying concept of urban citizenship are all also absent in this subset of texts. All this closely mirrors the argumentation against the city card formulated by the FDP. The more restrictive and exclusionary stance taken by the SVP is not reproduced by these media actors. If alternatives to the ZCC or the precarious situation of Sans-papiers are discussed, these authors champion the current system of individual legalization through the *Härtefallverfahren* as just and,

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[61] The arguments the authors cite correspond with the no-committee's positions: "In fact, the city of Zurich wants to enable a sham legality for the paperless with the card. This violates higher-level law. Apart from that, the benefits of the card are very limited; the residence status of the sans-papiers does not change. Moreover, the preparatory work for the card entails a tangle of bureaucracy and costs." (Heusser, 2022b, p. 2, OT)

more importantly, legitimate because it conforms with higher level legislation[62]. They argue that Sans-papiers who can demonstrate deservingness of legalization should contact the authorities, and they consider municipal activism as undesirable. The underlying assumption running through this argument considers the internal logic of federal state not as a political issue itself, but as the playing field in which (parliamentary) politics can occur. As such, it can be considered exemplary of what Swyngedown (2018) characterized a post-political approach to politics (cf. chapter 2.2.3).

6.2.2. Municipal ID Cards as Pragmatic Policymaking

In contrast to the texts discussed above, this second subset of texts aligns more closely with the localist and pragmatic positions of many ZCC supporters. The subset contains texts mainly from *Tagesanzeiger*, but also Nideröst's guest editorial in *NZZ* (2018), the *Republik* reportage (Hürlimann, 2021)[63], as well as *WOZ* & *tsüri* articles.

Table 7: Texts included in the pragmatist subset.

Text #	In text citation	Author	Date	Title	Publication
3	Huber, 2017	Martin Huber	18.09.2017	Die Dreamer sind hier	Tagesanzeiger
15	Zander, 2018b	Corsin Zander	14.09.2018	Stadt muss für sans-papiers Spielraum ausreizen	Tagesanzeiger
17	Nideröst, 2018	Peter Nideröst	25.10.2018	Die City Card eine Frage des politischen Mutes	NZZ
35	Kissling, 2020	Hans Kissling	27.06.2020	sans-papiers legalisieren ist möglich	Tagesanzeiger
48	Schmalz, 2020	Sarah Schmalz	19.11.2020	Schützt diese Karte vor neugierigen PolizistInnen?	WOZ
68	Hürlimann, 2021	Brigitte Hürlimann	31.08.2021	Ein Ausweis für die Unsichtbaren	Republik
97	Stern, 2021	Daniel Stern	16.04.2022	Ein Ausweis für alle	WOZ
106	Jacoby, 2022	Simon Jacoby	25.04.2022	Zürich City Card Wenn Lokalpatriotismus allen nützt	Tsüri

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[62] Koponen (2021), for example, discusses this at lenght in *Symbolic politics does not benetif the Sans-papiers* [Symbolplitik nützt den Sans-papiers nicht]. She explicitly considers the current *Härtefallverfahren* as sufficient, and considers their legalization as desirable for the wider public: "It is in everyone's interest that those people who have been working here for years and are well integrated be granted a residence permit" (2021, p. 3, OT)

[63] Its august 2021 article *Ein Ausweis für die Unsichtbaren* is the longest article in my corpus, and contains the most codes (208). It is based on conversations with multiple Sans-Papiers and other involved actors, including Schwager and Kiener. It contains detailed descriptions of the issues facing sans-papier, of the potential reasons for migrants to stay in Switzerland without a residence permit, and of the dangers involved in applying for a *Härtefall*. The ZCC project is introduced related to the idea of solidarity/sanctuary cities. Evoking the *Stadtluft macht frei* principle, historical and international comparisons are discussed, as is the issue of initial suspicion [*Anfangsverdacht*] and racial profiling. In addition to these themes, the article also serves as a comprehensive summary of most other issues brought up by the supporters of the ZCC. The opponents are featured, but not given as much space as in other texts in the corpus. The stance of the authors is made explicit, and they see their text as part of a campaign to carry the idea of the ZCC beyond policy discussions.

| 107 | SP Stadt Zürich, 2022 | SP Stadt Zürich (Min Li Marti & Daniel Jositsch) | 25.04.2022 | Die Züri City-Card ist ein pragmatischer Vorschlag | SP party newspaper |

* note that some texts appear in both the pragmatist and urban citizenship subsets

The municipal parliament takes a central role in these texts. Instead of being framed as increasingly radical and agonistic, the urban left is portrayed positively as stepping in where higher levels of governance fail. Humanitarian and human rights frames (cf. chapter 5.2) dominate this discourse. This is exemplified well in a 2018 *Tagesanzeiger* opinion piece titled *Stadt muss für sans-papiers Spielraum ausreizen:*

> The Stadtrat is tricking the legal state [Rechtsstaat] and weakening it, opponents are ranting. But it is not about the law book. It is about women, men and children. About people about whom little is known. (Zander, 2018b, p. 1, OT)

Here, 'Rechtsstaat' is not understood as a container that determines political possibilities, but as socially constructed with internal contradictions that allow for a plurality of political strategies:

> The legal state [Rechtsstaat] operates in a field of tension: Does it apply migration law consistently, or does it grant all people their fundamental rights? It is one of many areas of tension. For this reason, the principle of proportionality applies, and there is room for discretion for authorities.
> The city should use this legal leeway: instruct its police not to clarify residence status if it is not relevant; introduce a city card that allows sans-papiers to move around more freely and that records how long someone has lived in Zurich. In this way, it does not implement migration low with all consistency. But the basic rights of people must be given higher priority. As many people as possible should be able to exercise their basic rights. That is what characterizes strong rule of law. And it justifies trickery. (Zander, 2018, p. 2, OT)

The ZCC is framed here as necessary because the legalizations were turned down by higher levels. Collective legalization is seen as the ultimate goal, and Operation Papyrus is referenced often as an example of pragmatic local policy making. In a *Tagesanzeiger* article, the author argues:

> The legalization of Sans-papiers is not a dream of left-wing utopians, but sensible *realpolitik* [sic]. Geneva demonstrates this. The liberal security director Pierre Maudet, with his Operation Papyrus, has already brought hundreds of migrant workers out of illegality – but only if they meet strict criteria. In this way, the sans-papiers are given a face and legal security […]. It is a politics of unambiguously taking a stance, which would also suit Zurich's security director Mario Fehr (SP) well. (Sturzenegger, 2017b, p. 1, OT)[64]

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[64] What is evident here us that the differentiation between more or less deserving migrants is reproduced as well (cf. Morawek 2019), albeit not as explicitly as in some of the NZZ texts, or in the quotes of many political opponents who appear the corpus.

Generally, these texts echo many of the positions taken by the local SP party, as was demonstrated in text mentioning an open letter in 2017 (cf. chapter 5.4.2). As with the opponents of the city card, legal arguments are common. Here, however, they are used to argue for local political experimentation:

> The [...] legal opinions mentioned show that the city has a lot of leeway to improve the situation of sans-papiers. There are rarely perfect solutions in politics. But progress only happens when people dare to look for pragmatic solutions and tackle challenges instead of pushing them in front of them. The Stadtrat has succeeded in doing this with the City Card. (SP City of Zurich, 2022, p. 3, OT)

The presence of Sans-papiers is here also constructed as an issue that needs to be managed, but the argumentation is less nation-state-centered.

The political polarization between the city and higher levels was prominent in this set. The re-orientation to the local is framed as a matter of political convenience, not of an inherent superiority of the city over other scales of political organization, as some proponents of a more triumphalist ‚seeing like a city'- paradigm sometimes claim (cf. chapter 2.2.4). A *tsüri* author links the ZCC explicitly to collective identification with the city:

> If all Zurich residents - regardless of origin or residence status - use this identity card, no one will stand out anymore, we are all the same, we are all Zürcher:innen [residents of Zurich].
> Patriotism is usually the devil's work. If, in this case, love for one's own city leads to more people being able to live here without worries, then this is a rare form of benign local patriotism. It benefits everyone. (Jacoby, 2022, p. 2, OT)

What unites the texts in this group is that their authors all indicate support for the ZCC by appropriating many of the arguments used by political actors, particularly the SP and their strategy of positioning Zurich as a forerunner of progressive municipal politics. The authors sometimes are more explicit in their priorization of inclusive politics over rigid legalistic paradigms, both with regard to national migration law, and the role of the city in the political landscape. The texts in this group, arguing strongly in favor of the ZCC, overlap considerably with texts that represent the initial, more disruptively oriented art- and activist actors that initiated the urban citizenship debate in Zurich. This third perspective is briefly outlined in the next subchapter.

6.2.3. The Initial Urban Citizenship Paradigm

Clearly delineating this last subgroup posed some difficulties because its ideology strand was only marginally noticeable in ZCC media discourse post-2017. However, it played a more central role at the beginning of the project and in early media texts between 2015 and 2017. Some texts included in the previous group also fit here as well, such as the *WOZ* & *tsüri* texts. This group further contains a *FR* reportage (Butz 2020) and an essay published by Morawek (2015) in the *WOZ*.

Table 8: Texts included in the urban citizenship subset

Text #	In text citation	Author	Date	Title	Publication
/	Morawek, 2015	Katharina Morawek	09.07.2015	Essay: Städte statt Staaten	WOZ
15	Zander, 2018b	Corsin Zander	14.09.2018	Stadt muss für sans-papiers Spielraum ausreizen	Tagesanzeiger
36	Butz, 2020	Sabrina Butz	05.10.2020	Für einen Alltag ohne Angst	Frankfurter Rundschau
48	Schmalz, 2020	Sarah Schmalz	19.11.2020	Schützt diese Karte vor neugierigen PolizistInnen?	WOZ
97	Stern, 2022	Daniel Stern	16.04.2022	Ein Ausweis für alle	WOZ
106	Jacoby, 2022	Simon Jacoby	25.04.2022	Zürich City Card Wenn Lokalpatriotismus allen nützt	Tsüri
123	Metzler & Unternährer, 2022	Beat Metzler, Pascal Unternährer	09.05.2022	Braucht es einen Ausweis für sans-papiers?	Tagesanzeiger
150	Grefe, 2022	Christiane Grefe	24.09.2022	Wir müssen eine andere Form von Globalisierung erfinden	Zeit Online
151	Lenz, 2022	Ramona Lenz	30.09.2022	Die Fähigkeit, über sich selbst hinauszudenken	Frankfurter Rundschau

* note that some texts appear in both the pragmatist and urban citizenship subsets

The *WOZ*, as the foremost explicitly left-wing newspaper in Switzerland, was the first media outlet to engage with the actors who would start the ZCC project. In her essay *Cities instead of States* [Städte statt Staaten], Morawek (2015) championed an understanding of citizenship that aligns closely with academic discourses (cf. chapters 2.2.2 & 2.3):

> Urban citizenship is also always a result of concrete conflicts in which those affected become protagonists. By not seeing migration as a problem and instead focusing on social rights, it is possible to talk about unequal access to resources. And this is also the difference to the idea of the multicultural, which always looks at migration only from a distance: once negatively as a fantasy of fear [Angstfantasie], once positively in the sense of a "colorful enrichment". (p. 2, OT)

She concluded her essay with a reference to the right to the city:

> The urban researcher David Harvey puts it like this: "The right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after our heart's desire." Why not in Zurich, Basel or Geneva as well ? (p. 3, OT)

Morawek also related the concept of urban citizenship to the peculiarities of the Swiss democratic system, and to the increasingly restrictive migration policies in Switzerland:

> Since the result of February 9, 2014[65], at the latest, it has become clear that votes on migration policy issues are always a direct signal to those people who already live in Switzerland. They pay taxes here, but are not allowed to have a say in how these taxes are used and how the laws that influence our coexistence should be designed. But actual democratization also means involvement in defining what the topics are that are discussed and argued about. What is needed is a democratization of democracy. (Morawek, 2015, p. 1, OT)

The other texts in this subset reference some or all of the points raised by Morawek and are thus somewhat distinct from the more pragmatically oriented ideology identified in the previous subchapter. Many of the arguments and tropes overlap significantly between the two, but in referencing the more radical aspects of urban citizenship, these text hint towards a disruption of the discursive naturalization of liberal notions of democracy and citizenship.

The underlying economic causes for the continued presence of undocumented migrants in Switzerland and the migration policies that necessitate their undocumentation (cf. chapters2.1 & 2.2.2) are discussed this *WOZ* excerpt:

> Now, in the referendum campaign, the opponents are falsely claiming that the City Card violates federal law. Moreover, it would undermine the law on foreigners; apparently the purpose of this law is that tens of thousands of people in Switzerland are allowed to care for old and sick people, clean apartments or work in construction, but not allowed to have any rights whatsoever (Stern, 2022 p. 2, OT).

The legalistic argumentation prominent in the previous two strands is not absent here, but its legitimacy is called into question. Some of the characterizations of the ZCC as a pseudo-ID or similar predications are inverted here. The ZCC is not framed simply in terms of a symbolic gesture that communicates solidarity and celebrates diversity. Instead, the legitimizing function of an identificatory document is discussed (cf. chapter 2.1), for instance in this *Tagesanzeiger* excerpt from a pro- and contra article shortly before the referendum:

> Opponents deride the Züri-City-Card as a "fantasy ID" [Fantasieausweis]. They are right. But the term doesn't speak against the Züri City-card in the slightest.
> Every identification document is a fantasy ID card. A piece of paper with a stamp on it. What makes the difference is acceptance. The more people and institutions recognize an ID, the more effective it becomes. The City Card is somewhere in the middle. Outside the city of Zurich and in dealings with non-municipal offices, it would remain a fantasy ID, as useless as a passport drawn by children. In dealings with municipal authorities, on the other hand, the City Card is valid - unless it is a police check on residence status. (Metzler & Unternährer, 2022, p. 1, OT)

Some texts from Germany also discussed some of the underlying assumptions of urban citizenship. This excerpt from *FR*[66] shows how urban citizenship is based on solidarity and cosmopolitanism:

> In Zurich, the right to have rights is no longer tied to a nation-state affiliation; a great step towards a world society based on solidarity and proof that cosmopolitan ideas are not in such bad a state (Gebauer, 2021, p. 1, OT)

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[65] This refers to the *Masseneinwanderungsinitiative.*

[66] This quote is a misrepresentation of the ZCC project itself, implying the ZCC is an already- existing policy.

In addition to linking to the ‚right to have rights' (cf. chapter 2.2.2), this quote also shifts focus away from national paradigms, much like this older FR article:

> The often prevailing national tendency towards isolation is countered by a local, more solidarity-focused politics; the relationship of belonging and rights is renegotiated beyond the nation state (Butz 2020, p. 3, OT)

Evidently, the more radical potential of urban citizenship to unite political struggles and move beyond national paradigms was discernible in this subset of texts. However, these texts mostly occupy a rather marginal position in ZCC media discourse: with the exception of the *Tagesanzeiger* texts where these ideas are hinted at, all of them were published in rather small outlets, or outside of Switzerland. The authors who wrote these texts clearly position themselves in favor of the ZCC. Like the more pragmatically oriented authors in the prior chapter, they stress the ZCC's potential to improve the lives of sans-papiers and to further identification with the city. In addition, these texts also engage with urban citizenship in a way that points beyond the confines of concrete policy implementation and an urban imaginary of multicultural diversity, and they point out contradictions in national paradigms or hint at a redistributive justice dimension of urban citizenship.

7. Urban Politics and Media Discourse

As the previous chapters have shown, ZCC media discourse developed in parallel to the institutionalization process, and key actors in the construction of that media discourse explicitly positioned themselves vis-à-vis the ZCC and its role in Zurich's local politics. Moving on from text and discursive practices, this chapter contains some reflections about the ZCC (chapter 7.1), about the role of urban citizenship in discourse on Zurich's municipal activism (chapter 7.2), and about the role of the media in construing the ZCC as a central element of an alternative political vision (chapter 7.3).

As the last step of analysis in this thesis, this chapter will discuss implications for the political potential the ZCC, and the constraints put on the articulation of its underlying political vision in the public sphere. This then leads to a brief reflection about (local) media as a key actor in the construction of urban imaginaries in which inclusive policies like the ZCC can be coherently embedded (cf. Hoekstra 2018). I relate ZCC media discourse, and the discursive practices that constructed it, to the tension between reinforcing and disrupting discursive hegemony, and to urban citizenship as a guiding narrative not of the city as it exists today, but of what it *could* be in an imagined future.

7.1. The ZCC as a Topic of Media Discourse

ZCC media discourse, as has been shown, is centered on the municipal ID card proposal as a discrete policy issue and developed along the lines of division in local politics. The ZCC was initially intended as a project with two interrelated goals: one was to improve the living conditions of sans-papiers through municipal activism, of which the ZCC was a crucial element. The other was to use the ZCC as a highly publicized issue to pressure higher levels of governance and to reflect Zurich's values as an inclusive and diverse place.

The ZCC is not yet a concrete policy, no single card has been issued yet. It has had an impact on the policy sphere nonetheless, having provoked responses from state actors across all administrative levels, and in executive, legislative, and judicative fields[67]. In terms of policy, the ZCC could not initiate further reaching change across levels. However, the further debates on the ZCC progressed in the policy sphere, the more it appeared as an issue of media discourse. In terms of provoking public debate and increasing the visibility of the project in the public sphere, it can certainly be considered a success. As a municipal ID card project whose eventual effectiveness hinges on broad participation by the wider public, this aspect is crucial.

The ZCC also appeared in many texts that were not part of the local Zurich media landscape, but centered in other regions of the country, or in Germany. As a policy proposal, the ZCC garnered interest from local state actors elsewhere in Switzerland, and thus facilitated processes of policy mobility (cf. McCann & Ward, 2013; Ward, 2010). That increased cooperation among municipal actors across space is framed as crucial in times restrictive national policy and

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[67] To recall: the *Stadtrat* engaged with the proposal substantially and eventually switched course to support the idea; the *Gemeinderat* voted on the ZCC twice, and was thus pivotal for the building of political pressure to further pursue the proposal. In the cantonal and federal parliaments, representatives brought up the issue multiple times and thus forced the executives to respond (cf. chapter 4.3).

increasing political polarization between more progressive municipalities and more conservative regions (cf. chapters 5.3 & 5.4).

The ZCC was characterized as a radical and utopian proposal primarily by opponents, and by actors abroad who were inspired by the project. Key actors involved with developed the proposal, on the other hand, explained their strategy in terms pragmatic incrementalism (cf. Doomernik & Ardon, 2018, Hoekstra, 2018) (cf. chapters 2.2.1 & 5.1.3). While the roots of the project are in universalist calls for the inclusion of all migrants, the concrete practices were articulated within the discursive framework of the federal system while leaving room for further-reaching political change.

The main lines of argument in ZCC media discourse largely mirrored existing political divides in Swiss politics. Many texts, particularly nationally oriented ones, primarily covered the ZCC as a policy. More local publications, as well as outlets that understand themselves as political actors (like *WOZ* & *Republik*), engage more with underlying concepts and how these fit in coherent ideologies: Supporters of a triumphalist narrative of Zurich as a progressive vanguard consider the policy a pragmatic best practice to be emulated. Opponents, on the other hand, understand it as yet another misstep furthering the agonistic politics of increasingly detached urbanites. This binary became evident in the assessment of the ZCC itself, in practices of intensification and mitigation, and in the way the ZCC was related to other topics (cf. chapter 6).

After the referendum was announced, the discourse shifted further towards a for-or-against dichotomy. This can be partially explained by the institutional logic of the Swiss political system: most of the specific negotiation of legal and administrative details occurs in expert circles, while 'the public', often 'das Volk' in German, made up of Swiss citizens exclusively[68], has to approve or disapprove of what is proposed.

This narrowing of the scope of ZCC discourse can be understood as the discursive reproduction of the known constraints on undocumented migrant activism (Swerts & Nicholls, 2021) (cf. chapter 2.2.3). The limitations of conformity (the use of discourses and practices that resonate with national norms and cultures) and oligarchy (actors in more privileged positions assuming more prominent roles due to existing power relations) were clearly noticeable in ZCC media discourse. The issue of fragmentation (Swerts & Nicholls, 2021) was also discernible in the discourse: The differentiation between more or less deserving migrants was reproduced discursively in texts which discussed the current system of individual legalization through the *Härtefallferfahren*, which is explicitly based on criteria of deservingness, and in discussions of *Operation Papyrus*. These limited the potential to connect to non-city card proposals and concepts in Zurich and beyond[69].

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[68] Unlike in other cantons and municipalities in Switzerland, particularly in the French speaking regions, multiple attempts to introduce voting rights for foreign citizens failed in Zurich in recent years, both at the polls, and in cantonal parliament.
[69] Fragmentation among activists and actors in support, as discussed by Morawek (2019) (cf. chapter 2.3) for the early ZCC, was not as readily identifiable in media discourse.

The focus on the ZCC as a singular policy issue partly constrained advocates' potential to connect to other struggles in the public sphere. It precluded further incursions into hegemonic understandings of democracy and the body politic as made up of national citizens. The *democratization of democracy* highlighted by Morawek in her *WOZ* guest essay (2015) had largely disappeared from the media discourse by the time the policymaking process had started. It seems that by the time when all local institutional actors were in support of the policy, local ZCC discourse sedimented into an ideological disagreement between a reformist municipal activism paradigm and a mostly legalistic liberal opposition. The roots of the ZCC in urban citizenship visions and its more radical core assumptions were still present in the corpus, but were most pronounced in non-Zurich specific media sources that looked to the ZCC for inspiration.

The activist, academic, and art-based faction of ZCC initiators had largely disappeared from focus by the time the institutionalization process started. NGO actors like the *SPAZ* became much more prominent and remained at the forefront of the political process and in the media (cf. chapter 4.1). Over time, the supporters of the ZCC seemed to increase the degree of discursive unity in messaging and framing.

The primary potential beneficiaries of the ZCC, undocumented migrants, occupied a central position in the discourse as well. In texts that mention them, as well as in text that actively feature them as active actors, humanitarian frames predominated across supporters and opponents of the project (cf. chapter 5.2). The discursive strategies of municipal authorities identified by Spencer & Delvino (2019) were reproduced in the media sphere. The advocate's dilemma (can be observed here (cf. chapter 2.2.3).

Despite these constraints on the ZCC as a policy, those in favor highlighted its potential to create awareness, to coordinate actors and movements, and to link to a conceptual framework that is broad enough to incorporate a range of demands and ideas. This dimension rests not only policy negotiation, and as such it is not solely a matter of how existing power relations were *reflected in* media discourse. Instead, discursive media practices are crucial to the construction of uniting narratives and visions in which a project like the ZCC can be embedded. This requires investigating how ZCC discourse interacted with broader socio-political narratives and visions, which is the topic of the next section of this sectoins.

7.2. Going beyond the ZCC: Municipal Activism and City Image
7.2.1. The ZCC and Identification

The claim that the ZCC could serve as an impetus for further reaching debates about the inclusion of undocumented migrants featured prominently in ZCC media discourse. This was often related to urban citizenship, which served as a foundational narrative for the ZCC (cf. chapters 4.3.1& 5.4). The threats of higher-level actors to curtail the ZCC further reinforced focus on local strategies, which was criticized as further removing the city from the national political consensus. Municipal actors strengthened this identity as an opposition to the political majorities in the rest of the country, albeit in positive terms. The ZCC would serve as a sign of inclusion in the *Stadtgesellschaft*, and it would provide a narrative to connect to other and further-reaching political struggles. In this view, the ZCC is not a goal in itself, and it is not only intended to provoke further

improvements for Sans-papiers. Instead, the ZCC would be one integral part of municipal activist practices that are united under a vision of a progressive city which would serve as the primary scale of identification. The ZCC would thus not serve primarily as an ID, but as a symbol for identification with the city (cf. chapter 5.4.2).

The conditions for disruptive outcomes of undocumented migrant activism can be interpreted to be mostly fulfilled (cf. Swerts, 2021, Swerts & Nicholls, 2021). Collective intentionality was achieved through broad coalition building. The prevalence of the pragmatic ZCC paradigm can be read as public performance incongruent with the hegemonial logic, and institutional receptivity was achieved both in terms of political institutions, and the media as well (cf. chapter 2.2.3). The discursive hegemony of national citizenship paradigms was thus disrupted insofar as the legitimacy of purely legalistic views was called into question. Humanitarian, human rights, and deserving worker frames regarding undocumented migrants were crucial here (cf. chapter 5.2), and were used to argue for the ZCC as an effective policy solution to support sans-papiers. However, these arguments still stayed mostly within the representative logic of Swiss semi-direct democracy: the decision about the expansion of social rights had to occur through the standard processes of majority approval, and the media discourse on this expansion of social rights stayed firmly within a frame of the voting national citizens as sovereign, albeit this sovereign was conceived here as locally constituted instead of nationally.

7.2.2. ZCC as Urban Citizenship light

This implies that the more radical aspects of urban citizenship were not only omitted in the context of the policy itself, but also in in media discourse. The fragmentation observed by Morawek (2019) (cf. chapter 2.3) was reflected in the development of ZCC media discourse. This limits the ability of the ZCC to serve as a "strategic entry point[s] for developing broader practices and theories of transformative social change" (Russell, 2019, p. 991). (cf. chapter 2.3)

Prominent talking points for the ZCC's initiators that relate to a more far-reaching understanding of urban citizenship were absent from the media discourse. The initial framing of the ZCC as it emerged from *the whole world in Zurich* hinged on shifting the discourse from migration as a problem towards a debate on social rights and the inequal distribution of resources. Morawek explicitly understood this as a move beyond multiculturalism (cf. chapter 5.4.2) ZCC discourse did not engage with calls for an expansion of voting rights, for instance, or with a reconceptualization of how participation in the political process could be improved beyond representative parliamentarism and incremental yes/no voting. The disruption of hegemonic understandings of citizenship thus was not really a matter of democratization, but more a matter of at what scale citizenship and politics were considered.

The way urban citizenship as a guiding narrative was featured in the discourse, and the way the ZCC was contextualized with other discourses of migration and urban politics, make it a good example of what Lebuhn calls *urban citizenship light* (2018). The ZCC and its representation fit into his description of projects which focus on diversity, anti-discrimination, and intercultural dialogue while lacking material, redistributive, and structural aspects. This understanding of urban

citizenship only partially breaks with managerial, post-political, and technocratic paradigms (Lebuhn, 2017).

Lebuhn (2018) argues urban citizenship is not a right to inclusion in existing structures of political organization, but a right to the city in the form of a fundamental democratization. Limiting the focus to diversity and inclusion is read by Lebuhn as depoliticization, and as a departure from an original Lefebvre-inspired understanding of the right to the city and 'revolutionary citizenship' (Lefebvre, 2014).[70] In a city like Zurich, which increasingly becomes unaffordable even for people with legal documents, the impact of a policies that celebrate diversity and solidarity without entailing a distributive justice dimension remains limited. Lebuhn (2018) aptly formulates this contradiction as follows:

> What good are the most beautiful measures to promote intercultural dialogue if a large part of the "oh-so-diverse" urban population can no longer afford to live in the city in the end? Diversity then becomes the diversity of urban elites (p. 331, OT).

The critique by Lebuhn (2018) and Mayer (2011) is echoed by Morawek in her 2015 *WOZ* guest essay (cf. chapter 6.2.3), and aligns with her 2019 analysis of the ZCC project: "So far, however, the initiators have barely endorsed the potential of 'urban citizenship' to democratise society." (p. 48). This becomes evident in the portrayal of the ZCC by a majority of involved actors (cf. chapter 5) and in most media discourse (cf. chapters 6).

Evidently, a key outcome of the ZCC was a shift of focus to the city as a scale of political practice, instead of a vision of what might emerge beyond the logic of existing political structures. Urban citizenship in Zurich, in the form of the ZCC, would stay within the constraints of what little legal leeway exists, and within administrative city limits. The ZCC is thus best understood as an ambivalent implementation of urban citizenship ideals: Its policy potential is limited due to the lack of scope of the underlying understanding of citizenship, and the lack of connection with other struggles. However, because the ZCC has been prominently incorporated into wider media discourses of Zurich's city image, it can still be considered as provoking further reaching debates, albeit not about democratization *per se*, but about city image and about how to assess the city's increasing opposition to higher level political trends. Media actors played a central role in embedding the ZCC in a narrative of Zurich as a progressive vanguard, and in reflecting differing judgments of this narrative. The last part of the discussion thus concerns the role of ZCC media discourse in the negotiation of Zurich's image as an exemplary city of solidarity and inclusion.

7.3. Are we All Zurich? – Urban Imaginaries in Media Discourse

To conclude the analysis of ZCC media discourse, the role of the media in the constitution of urban imaginaries must be explored. The specific image of Zurich as a progressive, inclusive vanguard was prominent in media texts across the whole corpus It reappeared in most opinion pieces found in the corpus, ranging from supportive leftist publications like *tsüri* (Jacoby, 2022) to

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[70] Lebuhn also references Mayer's warning of this view omitting "that a fundamental democratization of the city is always mediated by a struggle for power, which can hardly be left to local governments and administrations, not even social democratic ones" (2011, p. 67, OT)

a piece in *Weltwoche* (Frenkel, 2022). The reorientation to the local scale was also picked up by journalists who oppose the ZCC. They reified the city as a relevant political actor as well, albeit in more negative terms. What thus becomes evident is that political identities depend on their articulation in the public sphere (cf. Ambrosini et al. 2020) and as such indeed are also a matter of discursive practice. Taking seriously the CDS assumption of the reciprocity between social reality and discourse, the role of media actors in the construction of these political identities and urban imaginaries comes into play (Hoekstra 2018, Vatansever 2023). Within the media landscape, multiple competing imaginaries coexist, overlap, and compete (cf. chapter 6). They differ mainly in the way they related the ZCC to other political issues and discourses. Thereby, they connect to narratives of what the city is and should be.

The competing urban imaginaries in which the ZCC was discursively embedded, namely of the city as a progressive vanguard and of the city as an uncooperative outlier, depended on the media for their articulation beyond policy spheres. While they differ in the ideological assumptions that underpin them and from which they draw their claims to normativity, they are united in their need to conform with the conventions of what can be articulated in the media sphere. Different media actors are not all equally able to articulate political narratives that break with hegemonic discourse conventions, which is why this sphere is best understood as differentiated. Journalists and news organizations are not independent, individual actors, but must be understood as embedded in specific cultural and social practices, and as constrained by editorial interests and possibly socioeconomic agendas (cf. Jones, 2001; Kelsey, 2018; Phelan, 2018) (cf. chapter 2.5). Concretely, there are large differences in what views can be printed in the, for instance, *NZZ, Tagesanzeiger*, or *WOZ*. The type of media sources a member of the public consult thus greatly impacts their exposure to different ideologies. That is not to say that the formation of political attitudes is determined by media consumption, but that the constraints put on what can be articulated in specific media sources also act as contingencies on what ideals of politics one is confronted with (cf. Vatansever, 2023).

The ZCC was primarily featured as an example of the city becoming an agonistic outlier in the various opinion pieces discussed in chapter 6.2.1. Discursive media practice can be seen as actively upholding the hegemony of liberal understandings of the state, and of the role of the city within it. The employment of political narratives popular with liberal and conservative political forces not only in opinion pieces, but also in general reporting on the issue, should be read here as a crucial part in the naturalization of an ideology in which the city figures primarily as the lowest level at which national policy should be enforced.

Other prominent voices in the media discourse constructed an alternative political narrative that differs from the hegemonic paradigm of the state as the natural container for politics. Thereby, these media actors enable the articulation of political visions that break with the normative assumptions of the state-centered logic. Unlike elected officials, the confines of legalistic argumentation are less strict for journalists. An ideological stance rooted in a collective local identity as urban citizens instead of national ones could be articulated. This local identity not only

underpinned the intentions of key ZCC actors[71], but also played a role in its referendum campaign and in the communicative strategies by political and media actors. The *VZCC* appropriated the *wir sind alle Zürich* slogan and used it prominently. Media discourse actively contributed to the construction and maintenance of this narrative by highlighting corresponding quotes by ZCC actors, by characterizing sans-papiers as local inhabitants[72], and by reinforcing these ideas in opinion pieces in support of the ZCC. In many ways, these discursive strategies can be read as furthering *Lokalpatriotismus*, which was explicitly discussed in one text in the corpus (Jacoby, 2021).

Media discourse helped to convey this urban imaginary rooted in an inclusive and multicultural narrative to actors beyond the city. The localist paradigm underpinning this urban imaginary rooted in inclusivity was framed as an inspiration for driving translocal solidarity and the adoption of similar narratives and slogans elsewhere[73]. This dispersal of an urban imaginary depended on media actors outside of Zurich or Switzerland to report on the ZCC, and to incorporate these imaginaries into media discourse elsewhere. The projection of such an image was sometimes hinted at as part of the rationale for pursuing the ZCC proposal in the first place.

The power of an urban imaginary that breaks with national paradigms partly rests on the naturalization of the city as a unit of organization. As such, the notion of urban citizenship that was dominant in Zurich partly falls into the local trap and can be read as reinforcing a methodological cityism perspective (cf. Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2015; Brenner & Schmid, 2015) (cf. chapter 2.2.4). Even though the urban citizenship paradigm discernible in ZCC media discourse is a departure from national paradigms, the reduction of the concept to a matter of municipal policy essentially replaced one scale of political organization with another. This helps to naturalize territorial and static conceptualizations of *the city* as a territorial unit, and implies the exclusion of anyone living outside the city limits. This contradiction, which had been discussed by

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[71] This is exemplified well in the following claim by an early ZCC activist in Bauder (2021b): "For me personally, I am a second generation [foreign national], so I am naturalized Swiss, but I also have a [foreign] passport and the urban citizenship idea was very enriching for me personally, because I don't feel personally as Swiss, but as a Zuricher … That's why it was also very personal for me, that's why I believe that [urban citizenship] can also be understood in a broader sense than just the sans-papiers and the topic of refugees." (p. 884)
The demonym 'Zuricher' is incorrect here, the interviewee would have most certainly said 'Zürcher' in the original interview in German. This is of note here because local dialects are crucial in local identity formation in Switzerland, where the density of dialect varieties remains very high.
[72] A good example for this are the various attempts of conveying how many undocumented migrants live in Zurich. This *Tagesanzeiger* excerpt creatively references local transport infrastructure as follows: "The state secretariat for Migration (SEM) estimates approximately 14'000 Sans-papiers - in the city of Zurich alone. Demonstrated in visual terms: In a full *Cobra* tram [custom built model only existing in Zurich] with 150 passengers, 5 are Sans-papiers." (Sturzenegger, 2017b, p. 1, OT).
The claim popularized by the VZCC in their campaigns that ‚more sans-papiers than bankers live in Zurich' (VZCC, 2019) similarly engages with local stereotypes and characteristics.
[73] *Wir sind alle Bern*, for instance, feature das a slogan in some texts about the Bernese city card project.

Bauder (2021a) as an issue the actors in the policy process were aware of, was mostly absent ZCC media discourse[74].

Discursively construing the city as a political actor implied unified political intentions within the city. Such an understanding of the city as a political monolith fails to account for how political decisions taken at the municipal levels are also always the product of internal negotiations[75]. The issue here is that understanding the city a discrete spatial unit also strengthens the assumption of unified interests and identities across the city's population. For political actors, this can be a promising strategy, as seen in the ZCC case, because it can unify various factions by creating insider-outsider distinctions and thus create collective intentionality (cf. Swerts 2021). If this unifying perspective becomes hegemonic, however, meaning if all inhabitants rely primarily on the city for political subjectivation and identity formation, then existing inequalities within the city are obscured. In combination with the absence of the redistributive aspect of urban citizenship discussed above, this normalizes socio-economic inequalities and class relations. This is further compounded by the relative absence of economic themes in the discourse. While the framing of sans-papiers as (exploited) workers was prominent in the discourse (cf. chapter 5.2.3), it was only ever framed in individualist terms. The cause of economic exploitation was firmly placed on the individual employers, with little discussion of structural economic conditions that necessitate the presence of a disenfranchised and illegalized precariat for crucial functions in society.

That the media served a key role in the articulation of urban imaginaries in which the ZCC could be embedded speaks to the CDS assumption that discourse is both socially constituted and socially constitutive (cf. chapter 3.1). ZCC media discourse, then, should be seen here as much as a structuring force for the development of the ZCC project, as it was a product of it.

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[74] It shows up in 5 texts, to be precise: In an FDP press release as an argument against the ZCC *per se* (Bourgeois et al., 2021); once mentioned by Schwager as an inherent contradiction of the proposal (Butz, 2020); twice by journalists who discuss it along the lines of 'at least within city limits, the card would help' (Stern, 2022, Metzler & Unternährer, 2022); and once as part of a characterization of Zurich as an isolationist, agonistic outlier in an NZZ opinion piece (Troxler, 2018)

[75] This assumption of 'the city' as a singular political actor was also very prominent with opponents in ZCC media discourse. Their portrayal of the city as opposed to the national body politic arguably obscured differences within the city more than the imaginary rooted in diversity and multiculturality that was popular with supporters. Incidentally, after the narrow result, the same authors who highlighted the overreach of the radical urbanites called for a reading of the outcome as proof that the city is not politically homogenous.

8. Conclusion

In this thesis, I discussed how the ZCC was featured in media discourse, how this discourse was assembled, and how the ZCC was incorporated into wider narratives of the role of the city in politics. The ZCC originated in activist circles in 2015 and developed into a municipal policy proposal that was approved in a referendum in 2022. From its inception, it was represented publicly as rooted in the concept of urban citizenship, and framed as a pragmatic approach to counter increasingly restrictive national migration politics. The ZCC was framed prominently as improving the living conditions of undocumented migrants. It was intended to form the basis of a broader political movement, and to increase identification with the city of Zurich through a narrative of solidarity and inclusion. These assumptions, of the ZCC provoking debate beyond the policy itself, served as the starting point for my thesis: they pointed to an approach to (urban) citizenship as a matter of discursive negotiation in the public sphere (Ambrosini et al., 2020). I thus developed a discourse analytical framework to approach the ZCC as a matter of discourse in a mediated public sphere. The analysis was based on a comprehensive corpus of (news) media texts. Guiding my analysis were the following research questions:

RQ1: How was the ZCC represented in media discourse, how did this representation evolve over time, and what other themes was it related to?

RQ2: How was ZCC media discourse assembled through journalistic practice, and what ideological positions are identifiable?

RQ3: What was the role of media discourse in the ZCC policy process, and in negotiating the urban imaginaries in which it was embedded?

I first identified the characteristics of ZCC media discourse, particularly regarding the actors, events, and themes present in the texts (cf. chapter 5). I found that the ZCC was primarily presented as an issue of municipal policymaking. Media discourse closely followed the process of policy negotiation. This media discourse overlapped with discourses on undocumented migrants, on multilevel politics and policy mobility, and on characterizations of the city of Zurich. The initial claim of ZCC actors, that the ZCC was intended as a first step towards further policy goals, was also featured prominently in ZCC media discourse. These goals were framed as politically unachievable within existing political structures due to incongruent political majorities at different administrative levels.

ZCC media discourse was then analyzed not as a mere representation of political processes, but as the product of specific discursive practices (chapter 6). Prominent media actors were grouped according to their ideological positions, which remained largely consistent over time. These differ in the arguments they commonly employed, and discourses they connected to the ZCC.

Based on these insights, I discussed the ZCC, its role in Zurich's municipal politics, and the urban imaginaries in which it was discursively embedded (chapter 7). Generally, two prominent narratives of the city could be distinguished. The first, mostly favored by the political right, is a territorial view of the city as the lowest administrative scale at which higher level policy is implemented. The second is an understanding of the city as a relevant scale to address exclusionary and contradictory nation-state centered political paradigms of citizenship and migration. The latter stayed closer to the idea of urban citizenship, albeit the concept's more radical theoretical foundations were largely

omitted. The institutionalization of urban citizenship into concrete policy practice is sometimes problematized in critical scholarship because more redistributive perspectives and multiscale perspectives are omitted. This can render meaningful disruptions of citizenship regimes unlikely, and could impede the incorporation of calls for wider democratization into debates over migration.

In a few years, the first ZCC will be introduced in Zurich, provided that the expected second referendum passes. The adoption of urban citizenship in Zurich hence will depend on at least one more cycle of policy negotiation and accompanying media discourse. It remains to be seen how the municipal government's narrative of solidarity and inclusion progresses, and whether the actual implementation of an urban citizenship- inspired municipal ID card will amount to more than a symbol of multicultural diversity. The initiators of the ZCC advocated for an understanding of urban citizenship not simply in terms of municipal policy, but as a framework to connect various political struggles. Yet, a strategy to integrate the ZCC into policy debates beyond the inclusion of undocumented migrants has only been hinted at the margins of ZCC media discourse.

The ZCC is understood by media actors and those involved in its development as a decidedly urban issue that speaks to the unique characteristics of, and challenges faced by cities. The ZCC has thus been embedded in competing narratives of the city. In this mediated political space, the ZCC emerged as a political issue which was "understood as having urbanized causes, urban locations, [and] calling for urban-based solutions" (Rodgers et al., 2014, p. 1055) (cf. chapter 2.5).
        Resorting to the local is a common strategy among progressive political actors in the face of increasingly restrictive national migration policies and the more pronounced experience their effect at the level of the everyday. However, this local turn can lead to reproduction of some assumptions underlying national paradigms at the local level. What is at stake in my analysis of media discourse was what can be gained by looking beyond the policy itself. Media discourse co-determines how policies and politics are negotiated, and what narratives of the city ordinary urbanites are enabled to interact with. With the more fundamental democratization of society envisioned by radical urban citizenship proponents nowhere in sight, media discourse remains a crucial means for people to interact with the political process. After all, the media are key in delineating what ideas can be articulated and embedded in coherent narratives. The increasing appearance of the ZCC in media beyond Zurich and even Switzerland implies that media discourse can also help to enabling translocal dynamics of solidarity.

I understand this importance of media discourse for the articulation of political visions not just as an abstract, theoretical argument, but a personal one as well. I must have first heard of the ZCC in *Tagesanzeiger* or *WOZ*; two newspapers I consult regularly. The narratives and ideologies I could familiarize myself with thus also depended on what types of media I had access to. After all, unless I am in the streets demonstrating, or at the polls to cast a vote, I am not actively involved in what is considered 'the political process' under the status quo. As an (urban) citizen, as a political subject, and as a researcher, I thus depend partly on the media to relate to negotiations of policies by powerful actors, and to experience the articulation of imaginaries of the cities I inhabit. Until the right to the city is understood as "not merely a right of access to what the property speculators and state planners define, but an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord

with our heart's desire, and to re-make ourselves thereby in a different image", as Harvey (2003, p. 941) formulated it, the mediation through media discourse will remain pivotal.

The disruptive potential of the ZCC hinged on its embeddedness in an alternative political narrative to a nation-state centered paradigm of citizenship and political identity in the public sphere. The prominent pragmatist paradigm that emerged as the primary narrative is not a complete departure from the hegemonic logic, but has provoked a response from the powers-that-be nonetheless. The more critical strands of ZCC media discourse can thus be read as providing the discursive conditions that allow for the articulation of systemic critique: In the interstices of media discourse, they create space to envision political practices that might emerge beyond the nation-state. The status quo should thus not be understood as an immoveable, all-encompassing fact of nature, but as a constructed ideology that needs to be upheld and reinforced through social practice, which includes discursive acts. All that is to say: if we want to enact meaningful, structural change and move beyond a supposed post-political condition in which no meaningful alternatives seem conceivable, maybe the best thing we can do for a more egalitarian and inclusive future in our cities is to *imagine* it – collectively and with unequivocal conviction that another world indeed *is* possible!

9. Bibliography

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Note: this is the APA bibliography. For more information and metadata on the corpus texts, see appendix 10.1.

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10.Appendix

10.1.　　Timeline: History, Context, and Policy Process

ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
1888		Switzerland has a positive migration total for the first time	
1925		centralization of immigration policy restrictive regulation, visa, immigration controls	
1931		Bundesgesetz über Aufenthalt und Niederlassung der Ausländer (ANAG) in force until 2008	
1948		bilaterales Anwerbeabkommens mit Italien rotation principle: migrants would stay a set amount of time before moving back home first irregular migrants arguably people who overstayed	
1960		Rotation principle ended Concepts of Integration and Assimilation emerge	
1970er	start population of decline in the city	Fear of 'Überfremdung' as a prominent discourse in Swiss politics Saisonnier contingents smaller first migrants become sans-papiers, mostly former guets workers & families path to legalizatin: 4-10 years until Saisonnier status and Jahresaufenthalter (allows family to migrate)	
1970		Development of Stabilisierungspolitik (Globalplafonnierung) Introduction of annual immigration quotas (in place in some form ever since!) and the restriction of the rights of immigrants, e.g. when changing jobs and places of residence, this was intended to slow down immigration	
1970, June 7		Schwarzenbach Initiative failed by a narrow margin	
1974, October 20		Initiative "gegen die Überfremdung und Überbevölkerung der Schweiz" failed by a wide margin	
1980er	80er movement AAA Stadt		
1981		First Swiss Asylum Law	
1981, April 4		Mitenand Initiative rejected by a very wide margin (one of the) last attempts of the Swiss left to proactively engage in migration policy making	

ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
1990er		closer cooperation with EU started100'000-300'000 sans papiers estimated to live in the countryWorking in houskeeping, agriculture, hospitality, construction à new generation of sans papiers without path to legalization after 1992	
1991	Sans papier children allowed in ZH schools		Masullo & Brun, 2022a
1992		Introduction 3 Kreise Modell in pursuing close cooperation with the EU, EU & EFTA nationals are priviledged ease of immigration correlated to on 'cultural proximity' migration from 'Drittländer' only for highly qualified specialists	
1994			
late 1990s		Undocumented migrant movememtns emerge across Europe Key demands and grievances taken up in Switzerland	
1998		3 Kreise Modell ended, introduction of a dual system EU/EFTA migrants are priviledged (maintained after 2008)	
2000		Bilaterale 1 granting freedom of movement to EU 15 citizens	
early 2000s		First Beratungsstellen für Sans Papiers Mit Unterstützung von Gewerkschaften, Ärzten, Kirchen und engagierten Einzelpersonen in mehreren Städten (Genf, Lausanne, Bern, Basel, Zürich) Beratungsstellen für Sans-Papiers gegründet. Supported by Unions, doctors, churches, and engaged individuals, counseling organizatoins for undocumented migrants are founded (Geneva, Lausanne, Bern, Basel, Zurich)	
2000/2001		First public awareness in 2000 with occupation of churches, inspired by occurences in France. Calls for regularizations (Del Torre) Key demands rejected by Parliament, Introduciton Härtefallregelung	
2001, December 21		Kreisschreiben Metzler main goal being to clarify what "personal cases of extreme gravity" should stand for. Increased legal leeway and flexibility, giving weight to the passing of time and, therefore, to the length of the foreigner's presence within the country, providing more room for possible case-by-case regularization procedures	
2003	Colectivo sin Papeles founded		

	ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
2004			Bilaterale 2Dublin & Schengen	
2005		SPAZ founded		
2005, Fall			Parliamentary debates on Härtefälle - Parliament in the process of amending ANAG to replace it with the new and currently valid one. - Introduction proposal härtefallgesuche proposal after 4 years, but did not pass parliament	
2006			Freedom of movement expanded to the 2004 EU additions	
2006, September 24			Vote Asyl- und Auslängergesetz	Koponen, 2021b; Heusser, 2022b; Scharrer, 2022b; von Ledebur & Heusser, 2022; Masullo & Brun, 2022b; Huber, 2022; Metzler & Unternährer, 2022; Fritzsche, 2022; website nein, 2022
2008			Kein Kind is Illegal campaign by Swiss sans-papier organizations	
2008, January 1			*Bundesgesetz über die Ausländerinnen und Ausländer* (AIG) in force replaces the 1931 *Bundesgesetz über Aufenthalt und Niederlassung der Ausländer* (ANAG)	
2010, November 28			Ausschaffungsinitiative Approved by 52.9% of the vote	
2010			Parliament eases access to Vocational training --> Sans-Papiers children who have attended a Swiss school for five years and have a confirmation of an apprenticeship can obtain a residence permit by means of a *Härtefallverfahren*	
2013, February 1			Härtefälle for vocational training goes into effect --> relatively little success in the years to follow	Masullo & Brun, 2022a; Masullo & Brun, 2022b; Metzler & Unternährer, 2022; MacGregor, 2022
2013		Richard Wolff elected, becomes head of Police		
2014			Masseneinwanderungs- initiative approved with 50.3%	Morawek, 2015
2014			*Keine Hausarbeiterin ist illegal* Kampagne *Nationalrat* rejects demand that a proof of employment as a household worker would qualify for a residence permit (principle 1 job = 1 permit)	
Mid 2014	planning for the whole world in ZH started -> highlight CH democratic deficits -> Project aimed at immediate impact on policy making			

	ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
2015, February			'Congress of migrants and people with an immigration background' in Bern -> emergence of sanctuary, solidarity city discourse in ZHUNIA funding, migrant organisations Second@s Plus and Colonie Libere Italiae and individual supporters.Against the mass immigration referendum (cf. Dolea et al. 2021), connecting the initiative to demands for a democratization at the federal level	
Mid 2015	The Whole world in Zurich spark a new political praxis in addressing migration at the local level (cf Morawek 2015) ZCC working group emerges			Butz, 2020; Butz, 2021; Stern, 2022
2015, October 15			CH elections	
2016, February 7	Wir Alle Sind Zürich Auftaktkongress Closely tied to the whole world in ZH project attracted more than 550 participants from over 30 organisations.			
2016	spring 2016 We are all Zurich event tied to the whole world in ZH project alliance building etc.			
2016, June			Revision Asylum Law	
2016		Wa Baile racial profiling case in Zurich, which Schillinger (2020) connects to broader anti- racism movements in Zurich.		
2017, July	ZCC working group becomes independent entity as Verein Züri City Card (VZCC)goal: interaction with institutional decision makersboard members: former sans-papiers, lawyers, civil society actors and council membersIts board consisted of representatives of political, religious, cultural, and public institutions as well as multiple NGOs. The stated goal of the association reads as follows: "Zweck des Vereins ist die Einführung einer City Card für die gesamte Wohnbevölkerung des städtischen Grossraum Zürich. Damit sollen die Rechte und deren Durchsetzung sowie die gesellschaftliche und politische Stellung der Inhaber*innen dieser City Card unabhängig von einem geregelten Aufenthaltsstatus gestärkt werden. Der Verein arbeitet mit politischen und sozialen Bewegungen in Zürich und anderen Städten in- und ausserhalb der Schweiz zusammen." (VZCC, 2019)			SDA, 2017; Huber, 2017; La tribune de Geneve, 2017; Stern, 2022
2017, September 13	Press Conference Verein ZCC *Start of Analysis period for this thesis*			SDA, 2017; Fritzsche, 2017; Huber, 2017; Sturzenegger, 2017

	ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
2017, September 16	Supportercard ZCC launched. The card that would give discounts at various businesses in the city, and which was intended as a symbol of solidarity for "alle, die bekennen, dass sie gegen Diskriminierung und für Grundrechte für alle sind" (SDA, 2017, p. 1).In response to the VZCC's demands, the Stadtrat, the municipal executive, announced they would examine the legal possibility of introducing a municipal ID card, and that a working group would be created. They commissioned a legal opinion to assess possibilities of improving sans-papier's access to the legal system.			SDA, 2017; La tribune de Geneve, 2017
2017			Opération Papyrus starts in Geneva	Huber, 2017; Sturzenegger, 2017; La tribune de Geneve, 2017; Pfändler, 2018; Baur, 2018; SDA, 2018b; Zander, 2018a; 24 heures, 2018; Fritzsche, 2018a; Nideröst, 2018; SDA, 2018c; SWI swissinfo, 2018; Fritzsche, 2018c; Fritzsche, 2018d; Fritzsche, 2019; La tribune de Geneve, 2019; SDA, 2019; Kissling, 2020; SDA, 2020a; Koponen, 2020a; Zulauf, 2020; Koponen, 2021a; Koponen, 2021b; Hürlimann, 2021; Frauchiger, 2021; von Ledebur & Heusser, 2022; Metzler, 2022d; Masullo & Brun, 2022b; Metzler & Unternährer, 2022; von Ledebur, 2022; von Ledebur, 2022b; Zaslawski, 2022
2017, November 1		Motion pilot project medizinische VersorgungThe motion was introduced by the small left-wing party Alternative Liste (AL) in the Gemeinderat, the municipal parliament. It tasked the Stadtrat with developing a pilot-project to explore how sans papiers could be granted access to municipal medical infrastructure.		Pfändler, 2018; Hohler, 2018; Scharrer, 2020; Zander, 2021b; Sinovcic, 2018
2018, February	The municipal working group presented preliminary results, and the legal opinion Justizzugang von Sans-Papiers (Kiener & Breitenbücher, 2018) was published. It showed that sans-papiers theoretically have access to the justice system, but that this access could not be realized unless higher levels of government changed their practices (Kiener & Breitenbücher, 2018).

The legal opinion and the working group identify this as the main contradiction in the situation of sans-papiers (Stadtrat Zürich, 2020). | | | |

	ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
2018, March 4		municipal elections were held.candidates asked about indruduciton of id card. 80% of responses definitively or broadly supportive.The left emerged from the elections victoriously: prior to the elections, SP, Grüne, and AL had a combined 62 of 125 seats in parliament, they increased this share to an absolute majority of 69. This meant that they would no longer need an additional party (often, particularly for environmental issues, the Grünliberale Partei GLP) to pass legislation.		
2018, April 12			Postulat in Nationalrat to inform of what was learning in Operation Papyrus that could be relevant for elsewhere in Switzerland	La tribune de Geneve, 2019; SDA, 2019; Hürlimann, 2021
2018, July 11	Petition to introduce a city card handed over with 8400 signatures SP, Grüne, and AL representatives in the *Gemeinderat* introduced a motion to develop a municipal ID card. The *Stadtrat's* response was hesitant, questioning the feasibility of adopting an idea from originating in the US to the Swiss institutional context. The cantonal executive, the *Regierungsrat* declined to comment on the matter until more details were available.			
2018, July 27	Question Kantonsrat ZCC (FDP Bourgeois)FDP Kantonsrat Marc Bourgeois and others ask questions in the *Kantonsrat* about the ZCC. the *Regierungsrat* will have to resond			Zander, 2018a; Fritzsche, 2018a

	ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
2018, September 5	*Positionspapier* Stadtrat, based on the preliminary report of the working group and the Kiener & Breitenbücher (2018) legal opinion. It stressed that the *Stadtrat* considered Sans-papiers as "Teil der Gesellschaft mit entsprechenden Rechten und Pflichten" (Mauch & Cuche-Curti, 2018, p. 1). They were in favor of regularizing sans-papiers who have lived in the city for multiple years and called on the canton and the federal government to allow for such regularizations. The text also outlined how the city government intends to improve access to education and health care: by directly financing private aid organizations, and announcing "eine vertiefte Prüfung und eine weiterführende Diskussion zur Stärkung einer auf die Stadt Zürich bezogenen 'Urban Citizenship'" (Mauch & Cuche-Curti, 2018, p. 2). Regarding the ZCC, the Stadtrat warned that its potential was limited, that some expectations fueled by comparisons with US sanctuary cities could not be met, and that they would commission another legal opinion to determine the potential for a municipal ID card. --> Discussion of growing resistance by FDP & SVP on municipal and cantonal level, v.a Rechststaatsdiskurs, Ausländerrecht durchsetzen, Hilfe zur illegalität			
18, September 9	Petition ZCC submitted by the VZCC with 8400 signatures			
2018, September 12	Press conference Positionspapier *Stadtrat*			Zander, 2018a; 24 heures, 2018; Fritzsche, 2018c; Fritzsche, 2020
2018, October 29	ZCC Dringlichkeitserklärung Gemeinderat			
2018, October 31	municipal council approves ZCC motion, with 64:41 votes. *Stadtrat* has time until 2022 to develop it			Hohler, 2018; Zander, 2018a; Fritzsche, 2018a; Nideröst, 2018; SDA, 2018c; Fischer, 2018; SWI swissinfo, 2018; Fritzsche, 2018c; Fritzsche, 2018d; D'Incau, 2018; La tribune de Geneve, 2019; SDA, 2019; Prößer, 2019; Kissling, 2020; Butz, 2020; SDA, 2020a; Scharrer, 2020; Schmalz, 2020; Iseli, 2020; Koponen, 2021b; Hürlimann, 2021; Frauchiger, 2021; Stern, 2022; Metzler, 2022b; Scharrer, 2022b; Rathgeb, 2022; Metzler, 2022; SRF, 2022; Sinovcic, 2018
2019, January			Revision Ausländergesetz, new name: Ausländer- und Integragtionsgesetz	
2019, March			New Asylum law implemented	

	ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
2019, October 20			CH elections	
2020, February	the second legal opinion commissioned by the Stadtrat was published (Kiener & Breitenbücher, 2020). It discussed four for broad themes from a legal perspective, namely 1) ZCC itself, 2) the relationship between resident's registration law and immigration law, 3) issues relating to identity checks by the police, and 4) the access to the justice system.			
2020, March		a study commissioned by the Regierungsrat was published that assessed situation of sans-papiers in the canton of Zurich (Rissi et.al 2020).		
2020, March		SPAZ and VZCC launch a donation campaign to support sans-papiers who, due to the Covid pandemic, had lost their income and were unable to benefit from state benefits.		Koponen & von Ledebur, 2020; Fassbind, 2020
2020, September			Begrenzungsinitiative fails	
2020, September 7		Silvia Rigoni (Grüne) and other represetnatives introduce a postulat in K*antonsrat* calling for the regularization of sans-papiers akin to Operation Papyrus		Koponen, 2021a; Koponen, 2021b; Metzler, 2022d; von Ledebur, 2022b
2020, October 29	5 phase plan Stadtrat The city administration published its answer to the parliamentary motion, which states that the city aims to introduce such a city card in 2025 or 2026.			
2020, November 11	Antrag 3.2 Mio in Gemeinderat by Stadtrat Press Conference Stadtrat: ZCC process presented At the press conference, head-major Mauch (SP) reiterated that expectation were too high: «Die City Card kann die hohen Erwartungen nicht erfüllen. Es braucht auf den übergeordneten Ebenen eine realitätsnahe, menschliche Migrationspolitik.» (Koponen, 2020, p. 2) She also explained that further legal questions had to be answered, and a legal basis would have to be created by the Gemeinderat and, if necessary, confirmed through a referendum. *This is where the existing academic literature ends.*			SDA, 2020a; Scharrer, 2020; Koponen, 2020a; Koponen, 2020b; Wey-Eberle, 2020a; Schmalz, 2020; Iseli, 2020; Koponen, 2021a; Koponen, 2021b; Scharer, 2021; awp , 2021a; Tagesanzeiger, 2021a; Hürlimann, 2021
2020, November 30	43 Kantonsräte, mostly from the SVP, confronted the Regierungsrat with questions about the ZCC. They disagreed with the legal opinion authored by Kiener & Breitenbücher (2020), and asked for an assessment.			Wenzler, 2021; Koponen, 2021a
2020, December 16		the Regierunsrat published its answer to the postulat calling for legalizations (200907), recommending the parliament reject the proposal in favor of the current system of individual regularization		

	ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
2020, December 23	The *Regierungsrat* released its answer to the SVP questions. Referencing federal law, the Regierungsrat opined that as a municipality, the city of Zurich did not have the right to intervene in immigration law. The ZCC could not be a legal identification document, but that it could be used whenever immigration status is irrelevant. The Regierungsrat also confirmed that the police would have to request another piece of identification in case of suspicion.			Koponen, 2021a; Koponen, 2021b; Scharer, 2021; awp , 2021a; Tagesanzeiger, 2021a; Stern, 2022; Blick, 2022
	First media reports that the referendum is likely to happen (Zander, 2021a).			Zürcher Unterländer, 2021; Luzerner Zeitung, 2021; Butz, 2021; Koponen & von Ledebur, 2021; tsüri, 2021; Heusser & Kälin, 2022; Kälin et al. 2022; Scharrer, 2022b; Rathgeb, 2022; Metzler, 2022; SRF, 2022; watson, 2022; Blick, 2022
2021, January		Postulat Regularisierung (200907) recejted in *Kantonsrat*		Koponen, 2021a; Koponen, 2021b; Scharer, 2021; awp , 2021a; Tagesanzeiger, 2021a; Stern, 2022; Blick, 2022
2021, February	The federal government published a response to multiple questions posed in national parliament about the ZCC. Its answer aligned with the Regierungsrat: a city card could not be considered a legal identification document, and it would not help in cases where reasonable suspicion (Anfangsverdacht) exists (Scharrer, 2021).			
2021, May 10		Pilot Project Basishilfe starts, Press conference		Koponen, 2021c; Koponen, 2021d; Fritzsche, 2021a; Fritzsche, 2021b; Koponen & von Ledebur, 2021; Heusser & Kälin, 2022; Heusser, 2022b; von Ledebur, 2022c
2021		Pilot medizinische Versorgung starts		Zander, 2021b
2021, September 1	ZCC debate and vote in Ge*meinderat* Vote on the 5-phase implementation plan for the ZCC and the budget to prepare the card. Despite opposition from FDP and SVP, the proposal passed comfortably: Against Rückweisungsantrag (38:74) and for Rahmenkredit 3.2 Mio Franken (65:40) opponents start collecting signatures soon after. In the city of Zurich, 2000 signatures are required to force a vote on a parliamentary decision.			Hürlimann, 2021; Huber, 2021; Brunner, 2021; awp , 2021b; Zürcher Unterländer, 2021; Luzerner Zeitung, 2021; Butz, 2021; Tagesanzeiger, 2021b; tsüri, 2021; Frauchiger, 2021; Petter, 2021; Heusser & Kälin, 2022; Brunner, 2022; Goldküste24, 2022; Ineichern & Ochsner, 2022; Stern, 2022; SRF, 2022
2021, November 8	Submission of Referendum signatures			Tagesanzeiger, 2021b; Muster, 2021; Frauchiger, 2021

	ZCC developments	Other Zurich developments	Developments beyond Zurich	Primary texts mentioning selected events (*only for thos coded as plot*)
2022, February 13		municipal electionsIn the Gemeinderat, the SP lost multiple seats, with the SP-GP-AL block shrinking to the narrowest majority of 63 seatsIn the Stadtrat Richard Wolff did not run again for the AL, his seat was won by an SP candidate. The other eight incumbent Stadtrat member were all reelected. The Stadtrat now consists of 4 SP, 2 GPS, 1 GLP, and 2 FDP representatives. This shift did not significantly alter the political leaning of the executive.		
2022, April 29			Motion Nationalrat: ease of access to vocational training	Brandt, 2022; Masullo & Brun, 2022a; Masullo & Brun, 2022b
2022, Spring	Referendum campaignin the months before the referendum, supporters and opponents of the ZCC project had formed committees. These committees organized public campaigns including billboards, online advertisement, press conferences and releases, as well as the handing out of leaflets and promotional material to households. The pro-campaign was coordinated by the VZCC and supported by municipal, cantonal, and national politicians from all major parties except the SVP. Meanwhile, the opponent's committee consisted of FDP and SVP members, with a few centrist representatives featured as well.			Stern, 2022; Scharrer, 2022b; Geisler, 2022b
2022, May 15	Referendum & press conference(s)there were multiple votes on all institutional levels in Zurich (federal, cantonal, municipal), including the Vorbereitungsarbeiten für Züri City-Card, Rahmenkredit 3.2 Mio. Franken proposal, which passed with 51.7% This was much narrower than what Zurich's left is used to. Most districts in the city voted against the proposal. With the referendum passed, the municipal government can continue with their 5-phase plan for preparing the ZCC. Most actors expect the actual implementation to require another referendum. With the referendum passed, the policy process underpinning the emerging ZCC discourse has come to its provisional end point.			Butz, 2020; Scharrer, 2020; Hartmann, 2021; Huber, 2021; Bourgeois et al. 2021; Muster, 2021; Frauchiger, 2021; Petter, 2021; Scherrer, 2022a; Zürcher-Böni, 2022; Goldküste24, 2022; Ineichern & Ochsner, 2022; Stern, 2022; Heusser, 2022b; Scharrer, 2022b; Unternährer, 2022; Jacoby, 2022; SP Stadt Zürich, 2022; von Ledebur & Heusser, 2022; Metzler, 2022d; Frenkel, 2022; Wyss, 2022a; Wyss, 2022b; Brandt, 2022; Maillart, 2022; Rathgeb, 2022; Masullo & Brun, 2022a; Huber, 2022; Marti, 2022b; Marti, 2022; Marti, 2022a; Metzler, 2022; SRF, 2022; Zürcher Unterländer, 2022; watson, 2022; Hapuoja, 2022; Busslinger, 2022; Zaslawski, 2022; Hagmann-Bula, 2022; St. Galler Tagblatt, 2022; Masullo, 2022; MacGregor, 2022; Keller, 2022; Huber & Schneebeli, 2022; Geisler, 2022a; Grefe, 2022; FR, 2022; von Ledebur, 2022c; Geisler, 2022b

10.2.　　　Corpus Metadata

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
1	13.09.2017	Era 1	Zürich Städtische Identitätskarte für alle gefordert	SDA	SDA	Bern	German	LexisNexis	kurzmeldung	primary	ZCC	26	
2	15.09.2017	Era 1	Papiere für die Papierlosen Idee einer Züri City Card	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	25	
3	18.09.2017	Era 1	Die Dreamer sind hier	Martin Huber	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	34	
4	18.09.2017	Era 1	Leben ohne Gesicht	Martin Sturzenegger	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	107	
5	28.09.2017	Era 1	Zurich réfléchit à une carte d'identité pour clandestins	SDA	La tribune de Geneve	Genf	French	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	42	title wrong in LexisNexis
6	25.05.2018	Era 1	Medizinische Versorgung für Sans-Papiers	Nils Pfändler	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	access to services	26	
7	21.07.2018	Era 1	Zürichs Linke will ID für Sans-Papiers einführen	Stefan Hohler	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	49	
8	31.07.2018	Era 1	Das Äms Fäscht – Für eine Welt sans Frontières - Tsüri.ch	nn	Tsüri	Zürich	German	active acquisition		secondary	Äms fest	22	
9	09.08.2018	Era 1	Illegal bleibt illegal	Alex Baur	Weltwoche	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	57	
10	12.09.2018	Era 1	Stadt Zürich will Lebensumstände von Sans-Papiers verbessern	SDA	SDA	Bern	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	39	
11	12.09.2018	Era 1	Zurich rejette l'idée d'une City Card pour sans-papiers	SDA	SDA	Bern	French	LexisNexis	kurzmeldung	primary	ZCC	20	
12	13.09.2018	Era 1	Stadtrat will Sans-Papiers besser integrieren	Corsin Zander	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	96	
13	13.09.2018	Era 1	Zurich dit non à une carte d'identité pour clandestins	nn	24 heures	Lausanne	French	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	55	
14	14.09.2018	Era 1	Rechtliche Hürden für die City-Card	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	74	
15	14.09.2018	Era 1	Stadt muss für Sans-Papiers Spielraum ausreizen	Corsin Zander	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	primary	ZCC	46	

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
16	20.09.2018	Era 1	Radikales Parlament	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	radical urban politics	19	
17	25.10.2018	Era 1	Die City Card eine Frage des politischen Mutes	Peter Nideröst	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Gastartikel	primary	ZCC	52	Gastkommentar Peter Nideröst (ZCC)
18	01.11.2018	Era 2	motion pour une carte d'identité pour les sans-papiers	SDA	SDA	Bern	French	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	27	
19	01.11.2018	Era 2	Stadtrat muss Vorlage zur Züri City Card unterbreiten	Livia Fischer	nau.ch	Köniz	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	47	
20	01.11.2018	Era 2	Zurich wants ID cards for all – even illegal immigrants	SDA	SWI swissinfo	Bern	English	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	33	
21	02.11.2018	Era 2	Rot-Grün setzt alles auf eine Karte	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	89	
22	08.11.2018	Era 2	Utopia endet an der Stadtgrenze	Irène Troxler	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	example	urban-rural split	67	
23	16.11.2018	Era 2	Auch wir haben ein Herz	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		secondary	Regularization of undocumented migrants	65	
24	30.11.2018	Era 2	Ein Stadtausweis gegen die Angst	Patricia D'Incau	WORK Die Zeitung der Gewerkschaft	Bern	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	76	
25	14.01.2019	Era 2	Ihr seid zu radikal Und ihr ignoriert unsere Bedürfnisse	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Interview	example	urban-rural split	98	
26	10.02.2019	Era 2	record d'étrangers sans droit de séjour en 2018	SDA	La tribune de Geneve	Genf	French	LexisNexis		example	Regularization of undocumented migrants	46	
27	10.02.2019	Era 2	record d'étrangers sans droit de séjour en 2018	SDA	SDA	Bern	French	LexisNexis		example	Regularization of undocumented migrants	46	
28	12.04.2019	Era 2	Ein städtischer Ausweis, der Geflüchtete schützt	Joana Nietfeld	TAZ	Berlin, DE	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	Berlin	14	off hand example for city card, with NYC
29	13.04.2019	Era 2	Die Linke träumt einen schönen Traum	Claudius Prößer	TAZ	Berlin, DE	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	Berlin	10	off hand example for

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
													city card, with NYC
30	25.03.2020	Era 2	Schwache trifft die Corona-Krise besonders hart	Linda Koponen, Michael von Ledebur	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	Covid	22	
31	25.03.2020	Era 2	Wer keine Papiere hat, geht nicht zum Arzt	Ev Manz	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		secondary	Sans papiers generally	46	
32	19.05.2020	Era 2	Eine Stunde lang anstehen für ein Hilfspaket	Tina Fassbind	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		secondary	access to services	20	verein collected corona support
33	25.05.2020	Era 2	Zwei Parlamentarier fordern eine städtische Identitätskarte	David Gadze	Rheintaler	Berneck SG	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	St. Gallen	39	mostly identical to #34
34	25.05.2020	Era 2	Zwei Parlamentarier fordern eine städtische Identitätskarte	David Gadze	St. Galler Tagblatt	St. Gallen	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	St. Gallen	39	mostly identical to #33
35	27.06.2020	Era 2	Sans-Papiers legalisieren ist möglich	Hans Kissling	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	primary	ZCC	54	
36	23.08.2020	Era 2	Für einen Alltag ohne Angst	Sabrina Butz	Frankfurter Rundschau	Frankfurt, DE	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	113	
37	02.10.2020	Era 2	St.Gallen prüft die städtische Identitätskarte	nn	St. Galler Tagblatt	St. Gallen	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	St. Gallen	14	
38	11.11.2020	Era 2	Zurigo fra quattro anni la City Card in versione light	SDA	SDA	Bern	Italian	translated documents		primary	ZCC	36	
39	11.11.2020	Era 2	Zurigo municipio lancia la City Card per i sans-papiers	SDA	SDA	Bern	Italian	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	10	
40	13.11.2020	Era 2	Die City Card gaukelt einen Schutz vor	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	primary	ZCC	48	
41	13.11.2020	Era 2	So will der Zürcher Stadtrat die Lage der Sans-Papiers verbe	Matthias Scharrer	Tagblatt für den Kanton Thurgau	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	58	
42	13.11.2020	Era 2	Stadtrat holt City Card aus der Schublade	Linda Koponen	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	132	
43	13.11.2020	Era 2	Zürich plant Ausweis für Papierlose	Linda Koponen	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	24	
44	16.11.2020	Era 2	Sans-Papiers sollen ein Bankkonto eröffnen können	Vera Deragisch	SRF	Zürich	German	active acquisition	SRF Regiojournal, radio	primary	ZCC	66	

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
45	17.11.2020	Era 2	Ein Papier für Sans-Papiers	Johannes Wey-Eberle	St. Galler Tagblatt	St. Gallen	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	St. Gallen	44	
46	17.11.2020	Era 2	Stadt St.Gallen prüft Ausweis für Illegale	Johannes Wey-Eberle	St. Galler Tagblatt	St. Gallen	German	LexisNexis	kurzmeldung	inspiration	St. Gallen	10	first appearance of "illegale"
47	18.11.2020	Era 2	Ein Ausweis für alle Menschen der Stadt	Julia Weber	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	18	
48	19.11.2020	Era 2	Schützt diese Karte vor neugierigen PolizistInnen?	Sarah Schmalz	WOZ	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	63	
49	27.11.2020	Era 2	Ein Papier für Papierlose	Daniel Zulauf	Börsen-Zeitung	Frankfurt, DE	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	45	
50	05.12.2020	Era 2	City-Card für Sans-Papiers sorgt für Kritik SVP hat Interpel	Chris Iseli	Aargauer Zeitung	Aarau	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	50	
51	07.01.2021	Era 2	Nach Intervention der SVP: Polizei darf Zürcher City-Card nicht anerkennen	Michel Wenzler	Limmattaler Zeitung	Dietikon	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	39	
52	09.01.2021	Era 2	Regierungsrat gegen eine City Card	Linda Koponen	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	55	
53	09.02.2021	Era 2	Symbolpolitik nützt den Sans-Papiers nicht	Linda Koponen	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	primary	ZCC	88	also in Limmattaler zeitung
54	11.02.2021	Era 2	Heftiger Widerstand gegen Züri City Card	Corsin Zander	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	49	
55	19.02.2021	Era 2	Les sans-papiers auront leur carte d'identité à La Chaux-de Fonds	Amit Juillard	Le Temps	Genf	French	LexisNexis		inspiration	La-Chaux-de-Fonds	18	
56	19.02.2021	Era 2	La Chaux-de-Fonds carte d'identité pour sans-papiers	SDA	SDA	Bern	French	LexisNexis		inspiration	La-Chaux-de-Fonds	11	
57	25.02.2021	Era 2	Bundesrat erklärt City-Card als Identitätsausweis für rechtswidrig	Matthias Scharer	Limmattaler Zeitung	Dietikon	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	68	
58	25.02.2021	Era 2	Bundesrat kritisiert Pläne für Stadtzürcher City Card	SDA	awp Finanznachrichten	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	40	
59	25.02.2021	Era 2	Zürcher City-Card verstösst gegen Bundesrecht	SDA	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	38	

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
60	15.03.2021	Era 2	Zürich als Vorkämpferin	Adi Kälin	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	cities' influence in national politics	26	
61	26.03.2021	Era 2	Ein Ausweis für alle	Thomas Gebauer	Frankfurter Rundschau	Frankfurt, DE	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	16	
62	30.03.2021	Era 2	Streit um die medizinische Behandlung von Sans-Papiers	Corsin Zander	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	access to services	65	
63	26.04.2021	Era 2	Die Paulskirche liegt im Dornröschenschlaf	Florian Leclerc	Frankfurter Rundschau	Frankfurt, DE	German	LexisNexis	Interview	example	Interviwe Thomas Gebauer	10	
64	03.05.2021	Era 2	Zürich will einen Ausweis für alle	Jannis Hartmann	Deutschlandfunk Kultur	Köln, DE	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	82	
65	11.05.2021	Era 2	Das Migrationsrecht gilt auch in Zürich	Linda Koponen	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	access to services	26	
66	29.06.2021	Era 2	Macht Raphael Goltas Projekt Zürich zum Anziehungspunkt für arme Migranten?	Linda Koponen	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	access to services	15	
67	30.06.2021	Era 2	Zweifelhafte und unausgegorene Aktion	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	example	access to services	18	
68	31.08.2021	Era 2	Ein Ausweis für die Unsichtbaren	Brigitte Hürlimann	Republik	Zürich	German	active acquisition	long reportage	primary	ZCC	207	
69	01.09.2021	Era 2	Die Züri-City-Card nimmt eine wichtige Hürde	Martin Huber	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	54	
70	02.09.2021	Era 2	ID für Sans Papiers soll 10'000 Menschen helfen	Christoph Brunner	SRF	Zürich	German	active acquisition	SRF Radio	primary	ZCC	43	
71	02.09.2021	Era 2	3,2 Millionen bewilligt Die Züri City-Card wird nun aufgegle	SDA	awp Finanznachrichten	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	72	
72	03.09.2021	Era 3	Die Linke steckt in der Aktivistenfalle	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	radical urban politics	23	
73	03.09.2021	Era 3	Fraktionserklärung der FDP Stadt Zürich zur City Card	Yasmine Bourgeois, Michael Schmid, Severin Pflüger	Meh Blau Website	Zürich	German	active acquisition	campaign material	primary	ZCC	29	

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
74	10.09.2021	Era 3	Gegenwind für Einführung der Züri City-Card	SDA	Zürcher Unterländer	Bülach	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	19	
75	10.09.2021	Era 3	Gegenwind für Züri Card Komitee erhebt Referendum gegen Ausweis	SDA	Luzerner Zeitung	Luzern	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	35	
76	21.09.2021	Era 3	Keine Angst mehr vor dem Alltag	Sabrina Butz	Frankfurter Rundschau	Frankfurt, DE	German	LexisNexis	Interview	primary	ZCC	49	
77	28.09.2021	Era 3	Der besonnene Sozialvorsteher verhält sich plötzlich wie ein Aktivist	Linda Koponen, Michael von Ledebur	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Porträt Raphael Golta	example	access to services	22	
78	07.10.2021	Era 3	Der Angriff der SVP-Buchhalter auf die Städte	Kevin Brühlmann	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	urban-rural split	9	
79	08.11.2021	Era 3	Referendum eingereicht gegen Kredit für Sans-Papier-Ausweis	SDA	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	28	
80	15.11.2021	Era 3	Mit Urban Gardening tragen Sie nichts zum Wohlstand bei	Daniel Fritzsche, Michael von Ledebur	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Interview	example	urban-rural split	7	Interview with Peter Grünenfelder (Avenir Suisse).
81	20.11.2021	Era 3	7 Zahlen & Fakten zu Sans-Papiers in Zürich	nn	Tsüri	Zürich	German	active acquisition		secondary	Sans papiers generally	56	
82	26.11.2021	Era 3	Ein Postfach gegen Papierlose	Simon Muster	PS Zeitung	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	18	
83	05.12.2021	Era 3	Ein Ausweis für alle – Zürcher Studierendenzeitung	Anna Luna Frauchiger	Zürcher Studierendenzeitung	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	75	also in Luzerner Zeitung
84	23.12.2021	Era 3	Warum Zürich einen Ersatzausweis für Illegale einführen will	Jan Petter	Spiegel	Hamburg, DE	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	88	
85	04.01.2022	Era 3	Ich bin überrascht über die Heftigkeit der Debatte	Mario Stäuble	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Interview	example	Interview Corine Mauch	18	
86	11.01.2022	Era 3	Der Stadtrat foutiert sich um Bundesrecht	Isabel Heusser, Adi Kälin	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Interview	example	municipal election	39	
87	22.01.2022	Era 3	Vier Jahre rot-grüne Dominanz in Zürich - was bleibt?	Adi Kälin, Michael von Ledebur,	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	municipal election	9	

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
				Isabel Heusser, Daniel Fritzsch									
88	31.01.2022	Era 3	Die Stadtmauern erleben eine Wiederauferstehung	Toni Brunner	Appenzeller Zeitung	St. Gallen	German	LexisNexis		example	urban-rural split	7	Toni Brunner was the national head of the SVP for many years
89	01.02.2022	Era 3	89_Zürich City Card und das übergeordnete Recht	Mélissa Dufournet, Patrice Martin Zumsteg	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Gastartikel	primary	ZCC	31	
90	07.02.2022	Era 3	Die, die nicht wählen können	Giorgio Scherrer	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		example	may 15 voting information	31	
91	31.03.2022	Era 3	Gut gemeint, aber nicht durchdacht	Martina Zürcher-Böni	Wipkinger Zeitung	Zürich	German	active acquisition	Gastartikel	primary	ZCC	31	
92	06.04.2022	Era 3	Züri City-Card soll vor Benachteiligung schützen	SDA	Goldküste24	Rapperswil	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	26	
95	10.04.2022	Era 3	Pragmatische Lösung oder illegal? Zürcher stimmen über Ausweis für Sans-Papiers ab	Michelle Ineichern, Shila Ochsner	20 Minuten	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	46	
96	13.04.2022	Era 3	Was bringt die Züri-City-Card für Sans-Papiers?	Isabel Heusser	NZZ	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	59	
97	16.04.2022	Era 3	Ein Ausweis für alle	Daniel Stern	WOZ	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	93	
98	19.04.2022	Era 3	Die Stadt ignoriert übergeordnetes Recht	Isabel Heusser	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	primary	ZCC	95	
99	20.04.2022	Era 3	Unsichtbar sein ist anstrengend	Beat Metzler	Landbote	Winterthur	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	74	also in Tages-anzeiger, Zürichsee-zeitung
100	20.04.2022	Era 3	Ein offizieller Ausweis für alle Bewohnerinnen und Bewohner	Beat Metzler	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Kurzartikel	primary	ZCC	30	

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
103	23.04.2022	Era 3	Ob die Züri City-Card die Lage der Sans-Papiers verbessern würde, ist umstritten	Matthias Scharrer	Limmattaler Zeitung	Dietikon	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	88	
104	24.04.2022	Era 3	Elternzeit, Stimmrechtsalter, City-Card; Abstimmungen vom 15. Mai	Pascal Unternährer	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Abstimmungsartikel	secondary	may 15 voting information	13	
106	25.04.2022	Era 3	Zürich City Card Wenn Lokalpatriotismus allen nützt	Simon Jacoby	Tsüri	Zürich	German	active acquisition	Op Ed	primary	ZCC	43	
107	25.04.2022	Era 3	Die Züri City-Card ist ein pragmatischer Vorschlag des Stadtrats	SP Stadt Zürich	SP website	Zürich	German	active acquisition	website	primary	ZCC	68	
109	25.04.2022	Era 3	Die Karte gaukelt eine Scheinlegalität vor	Michael von Ledebur, Isabel Heusser	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Interview	primary	ZCC	120	
111	28.04.2022	Era 3	Wieso die Zürcher Linken Genf um Pierre Maudet beneiden	Beat Metzler	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		secondary	Operation Papyrus	84	
112	28.04.2022	Era 3	Stärkung des Zusammenhalts Innovativer als Cumulus	Beni Frenkel	Weltwoche	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Satire (?)	primary	ZCC	14	
113	29.04.2022	Era 3	Leserstimmen zum Transplantationsgesetz	nn	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Readers' letter	primary	ZCC	14	
114	30.04.2022	Era 3	Alt Bundesräte machen sich für Sans-Papiers-ID stark	Rebecca Wyss	Blick	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		primary	ZCC	23	
115	30.04.2022	Era 3	Alt-Bundesräte befürworten Sans-Papiers-ID	Rebecca Wyss	Blick	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	32	
116	02.05.2022	Era 3	Kommission will Sans-Papiers Zugang zu Ausbildung erleichtern	Hans Brandt	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis		secondary	access to services	25	
117	03.05.2022	Era 3	Züri City Card: Was bringt der neue Stadtausweis?	Joelle Maillart	ZüriToday	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	31	source no longer online

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
													per 29.10.2022
118	03.05.2022	Era 3	Züri City Card: Was bringt ein Stadtausweis?	Stephan Rathgeb	SRF Regionaljournal Zürich Schaffhausen	Zürich	German	active acquisition	Radio discussion Gespräch Susanne Brunner & Luca Maggi	primary	ZCC	67	
119	04.05.2022	Era 3	Warum Jugendliche unter den rechtlichen Bestimmungen leiden	Emilio Masullo, Isabel Brun	Tsüri	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	128	
120	06.05.2022	Era 3	Jugendliche Sans-Papiers brauchen Perspektiven	Emilio Masullo, Isabel Brun	Tsüri	Zürich	German	active acquisition	Interview	secondary	access to services	74	
121	06.05.2022	Era 3	Die heikle Seite der City-Card	Marius Huber	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Artikel Zürich	primary	ZCC	58	
122	06.05.2022	Era 3	Team Freiheit Nein	Sandro Frei	Website team freiheit	Zürich	German	active acquisition	campaign material	primary	ZCC	26	team freiheit emerged as an anti-lockdown movement
123	09.05.2022	Era 3	Braucht es einen Ausweis für Sans-Papiers?	Beat Metzler, Pascal Unternährer	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Artikel Zürich	primary	ZCC	98	
124	13.05.2022	Era 3	Stadtberner Alternativ-ID kommt nicht vom Fleck	Andres Marti	Der Bund	Bern	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	Bern	32	
125	13.05.2022	Era 3	Pläne für Alternativ-Ausweis stossen in Bern auf Kritik	Andres Marti	Berner Zeitung	Bern	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	Bern	14	
126	13.05.2022	Era 3	Pläne für Berner Alternativ-Ausweis stossen auf Kritik	Andres Marti	Der Bund	Bern	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	Bern	15	
127	15.05.2022	Era 4	Nun muss es der Stadtrat besser machen	Beat Metzler	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	primary	ZCC	15	
128	15.05.2022	Era 4	Knappe Mehrheit sagt Ja zur Utopie	Boris Busslinger	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Abstimmungsnews	primary	ZCC	57	
129	15.05.2022	era 4	Ein hauchdünnes Ja zur Züri-City-Card	nn	SRF	Zürich	German	active acquisition	SRF radio	primary	ZCC	49	
130	15.05.2022	Era 4	Zürich will Stadtausweis für Sans-Papiers	SDA	Zürcher Unterländer	Bülach	German	LexisNexis	kurzmeldung	primary	ZCC	14	
131	15.05.2022	Era 4	Ausweis (auch) für Sans-Papiers	SDA	watson	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	35	

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132	16.05.2022	Era 4	Stadtpräsidentin Mauch will jetzt gut zuhören	Maart Hapuoja	ZüriToday	Zürich	German	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	28	includes video of interviews with C. Mauch, Luca Maggi, others
133	16.05.2022	Era 4	Carte d'identité locale pour les sans-papiers en ville de Zurich	SDA	Blick	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Abstimmungsnews	primary	ZCC	29	
135	16.05.2022	Era 4	Knappes Ja für die Züri-City-Card	Giorgio Scherrer, Zeno Geisseler	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Abstimmungsnews	primary	ZCC	11	
136	16.05.2022	Era 4	Misstrauen gegen Pseudoausweis	Daniel Fritzsche	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Abstimmungsnews	primary	ZCC	40	
137	16.05.2022	Era 4	Nur ein lauwarmes Ja für eine City-Card	Michael von Ledebur	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Abstimmungsnews	primary	ZCC	47	
138	16.05.2022	Era 4	Une carte d'identité pour les sans-papiers	Boris Busslinger	Le Temps	Genf	French	LexisNexis	Abstimmungsnews	primary	ZCC	45	
139	17.05.2022	Era 4	Eine Alternative zur City-Card	Michael von Ledebur	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Artikel Zürich	secondary	Sans papiers generally	68	
140	17.05.2022	Era 4	All eyes on Züri	Valerie Zaslawski	bajour	Basel	German	active acquisition		inspiration	Basel	64	
141	20.05.2022	Era 4	St.Gallen will von Zürich lernen	Diana Hagmann-Bula	Rheintaler	Berneck SG	German	LexisNexis	news	inspiration	St. Gallen	60	
142	20.05.2022	Era 4	City Card: Folgt St.Gallen Zürich?	nn	St. Galler Tagblatt	St. Gallen	German	LexisNexis	Kurzmeldung	inspiration	St. Gallen	9	
143	20.05.2022	Era 4	Verein lanciert City-Card für Sans-Papiers	SDA	Berner Zeitung	Bern	German	LexisNexis	Kurzmeldung	inspiration	Biel	6	
144	02.06.2022	Era 4	Die Geschichte von Weimar Vom Sans-Papiers-Kind zum Sozialarbeiter	Emilio Masullo	Tsüri	Zürich	German	active acquisition		secondary	Sans papiers generally	73	
145	22.06.2022	Era 4	City Card Welcome news for undocumented migrants in Zürich	Marion MacGregor	Infomigrants	Issy-les-Moulineaux, FR	English	active acquisition		primary	ZCC	74	
146	08.07.2022	Era 4	Stadtrat will keine City-Card	Jonas Keller	Landbote	Winterthur	German	LexisNexis		inspiration	Winterthur	23	
147	25.08.2022	Era 4	Bei Genderfragen haben viele in der	Martin Huber,	Tagesanzeiger	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Interview	example	SVP	7	with Camille Lothe and Domenik

#	Date	Era	Title	Author	Publication	Place of publication	Language	Source acquisition	Type of Article	role of ZCC	Primary topic	Coded Segments	Comment
			Stadt langsam die Nase	Daniel Schneebeli									Ledergerber (SVP)
148	07.09.2022	Era 4	Menschenrechte in Zeiten der Krise	Lukas Geisler	Frankfurter Rundschau	Frankfurt, De	German	LexisNexis		example	Initiative „Der utopische Raum"	19	
149	08.09.2022	Era 4	Zürich legt integrationspolitische Ziele bis 2026 fest	nn	nau.ch	Köniz	German	active acquisition		example	Urban development strategies	7	
150	24.09.2022	Era 4	Wir müssen eine andere Form von Globalisierung erfinden	Christiane Grefe	Zeit Online	Hamburg, DE	German	LexisNexis	Interview	example	radical urban politics	17	Interview mit Thomas Gebauer
151	30.09.2022	Era 4	Die Fähigkeit, über sich selbst hinauszudenken	Ramona Lenz	Frankfurter Rundschau	Frankfurt, DE	German	LexisNexis	Interview	example	Initiative „Der utopische Raum"	17	Interview with Ramona Lenz, Medico-Stiftung
152	05.10.2022	Era 4	Rot-Grün kriegt den Hals nicht voll	Michael von Ledebur	NZZ	Zürich	German	LexisNexis	Op Ed	example	Neubaugasse	15	Example for lack of willingess ot compromise from the left
153	07.10.2022	Era 4	Solidarische Städte in Europa – kein Mensch ist Illegal	Lukas Geisler	Frankfurter Rundschau	Frankfurt, DE	German	LexisNexis		secondary	Solidarische Städte, Verweis zu moving-cities.eu	73	
154	02.11.2018	Era 2	Einladung an Illegale Migranten	Dubravko Sinovcic	SVP ZH Website	Zürich	German	active acquisition	campaign material	primary	ZCC	29	Rubrik 'aktuelll', aber lange Datum nicht gefunden.
155	01.01.2022	Era 3	Nein Webseite Argumente	nn	Website Nein Kamagne	Zürich	German	active acquisition	campaign material	primary	ZCC	33	

10.3.   Code descriptions, structure, number of coded segments
10.3.1. Social actors

Code categories	Description of categories
in relation to the ZCC	Actors defined by their relation to the ZCC
by location and/or nationality	Actors defined by their relation to the ZCC
civil society	Actors and institutions belonging to civil society
institutional politics & political landscape	Actors in the political sphere, includes political parties, political orientation, elected officials, and authorities
Sans-papiers	Includes all mentions of and appearances by Sans-papiers
Academia	References to academics
Non human	Non-human actors that appear as agents in discourse (mainly the ZCC itself)
Media/metalevel	Media actors featured in the texts
Other	Any other social actors, organizations, or groups

Code structure Social actors	Number of coded segments
in relation to the ZCC	1
supporters of the ZCC	26
opponents	39
Referendumskomitee	19
Bund der besorgten Bürgerinnen und Bürger	3
by location and/or nationality	0
foreigners	2
inhabitants of ZH	11
immigrants from "3rd countries"	1
agglomeration/rural inhabitans	3
EU/EFTA citizens	1
civil society	6
Sans Papier & migrant organizations	0
wir-sans-papiers	1
Verein Secondas Zürich	3
Verein City Card Biel	1
Ada Marra (national Sans Papiers platform)	1
Verein Züri City Card	33
Intentions and Demands verein	10
ending invisibility	5
Demand of social participation	3
Thomas Schmutz (Verein ZCC)	2
Komitee ZCC	2
ZCC Arbeitsgruppe (Shedhalle/pre verein)	1
Caspar Zollikofer (Verein ZCC)	7

Salvatore Di Concilio (Ex-Gemeinderat, ZCC)	2
Peter Nideröst	7
Sans-Papiers-Anlaufstelle Zürich (SPAZ)	27
Bea Schwager (SPAZ)	52
Verein Incontro	1
Colective sin Papeles	1
meditrina (ICRC)	7
Interessengemeinschaft Sans-Papiers SG	1
economic actors	1
private organizations and businesses	4
employers of sans papiers	23
public services etc.	2
stadtspitäler	3
social security Sozialversicherungen	3
social services	2
private aid organizations	6
Max Elmiger, Direktor der Caritas Zürich	1
Schweizerischen Roten Kreuzes	1
religious organizations	4
Katharina Morawek	4
Gewerkschaften	1
UNIA	1
institutional politics & political landscape	2
police	83
Stadtpolizei	17
Beat Oppliger (neuer Oberkommandant Stadtpolizei)	1
Kantonspolizei	12
Stadt Zürich politics	1
other Zh political actors	0
Monika Stocker (gp.)	2
Camille Lothe	4
Stadtrat/Verwaltung	108
intentions & goals Stadtrat	32
supporting private initiatives financially	5
stadtrat in support of Urban citizenship	1
Anna Schindler (Direktorin Stadtentwicklung ZH)	1
Michael Baumer	1
Simone Brander	1
Christof Meier (Städtisches Intergrationsamt)	2
Daniel Leupi	4
Gesundheitsvorsteher Andreas Hauri (GLP)	5

	Raphael Golta	8
	Nat Bächtold , Sprecher Präidialdepartement	4
	Richard Wolff (AL)	1
	interdepartmentale Arbeitsgruppe	6
	city administration	1
	Stadtpräsidentin Corine Mauch (SP)	63
Gemeinderat		42
	Dubravko Sinovcic (SVP)	1
	Alan David Sangines (SP)	2
	Oliver Heimgartner (SP)	1
	Përparim Avdili (FDP)	1
	Sandra Bienek (Gmdrt. GLP, Ja Komitee)	1
	Karin Weyermann (Die Mitte)	1
	Bettina Balmer (FDP)	2
	Tanja Maag (AL)	1
	Martina Zürcher-Böni (FDP)	1
	Roger Föhn (evp)	4
	Roland Scheck (SVP)	4
	Mélissa Dufournet (fdp)	2
	Isabel Garcia (GLP, now FDP)	14
	Ueli Bamert (SVP)	4
	Dominik Waser (Grüne)	1
	Walter Angst (AL)	1
	Luca Maggi (Grüne)	5
	Urs Riklin (Grüne)	1
	Alexander Brunner (FDP)	1
	Elisabeth Schoch (FDP)	1
	David Garcia Nuñez (AL)	2
	Natasha Wey (SP)	1
	Nicolas Cavalli (GLP)	1
	Rolf Müller (SVP)	1
	Walter Anken (SVP)	1
	Davy Graf (SP)	19
	Andreas Egli (FDP)	4
	Susanne Brunner (SVP)	5
	Ernst Danner (evp.)	1
	Ezgi Akyol (AL, ZCC)	5
	Samuel Balsiger (SVP)	4
	Elena Marti (Äms Fest, GP)	1
	Marco Geissbühler (SP)	3
	Yasmine Bourgeois (FDP)	20

Stefan Urech (SVP)	7
Ratslinke	35
Natalie Eberle (AL)	1
Maya Kägi Götz (SP).	1
Kanton ZH	23
canton as not cooperative	18
Regierungsrat/Verwaltung/"der Kanton"	37
Fachstelle «Interkulturelle Pädagogik» Bildungsdirektion	2
Markus Truniger (Lehrer K5, Fachstelle Interkulturelle Pädago	3
Migrationsbehörden ZH	9
Härtefallkommission	2
Sicherheitsdepartement	2
Urs Grob Mediensprecher kantonale Sicherheitsdirektion	1
Amt für Wirtschaft und Arbeit ZH	1
Mario Fehr	12
Kantonsrat	9
Domenik LEdergerber (SVP co präsi)	1
Silvia Rigoni (Grüne Kanton)	3
Marc Bourgeois (FDP)	30
anonymous Grüne Kantonsrätin	1
Ulrich Pfister (SVP, EGG)	1
Bund	30
Ständerat	0
Daniel Jositsch	5
Mauro Tuena (SVP)	2
Nationalrat	6
Migrationskommission	2
Celine Widmer (Nationalräting SP ZH)	4
Min Li Marti	8
Doris Fiala (FDP)	4
Gregor Rutz (SVP)	5
Jaqueline Badran (SP)	1
Staatssekretariat für Migration (SEM)	12
Lukas Rieder (SEM Sprecher)	2
Bundesrat	24
Karin-Keller Sutter	1
Simonetta Sommaruga	2
Political Parties	0
JSVP ZH	1
Jungfreisinnige ZH	2
Benjamin Fischer (SVP)	1

FDP ZH	26
SP Kanton ZH	1
Grüne Kanton ZH	1
Die Linke (DE)	3
SP Bern	1
SVP	6
Kantonalpräsident Konrad Langhart	1
Thomas Aeschi (SVP)	1
Claudio Zanetti (SVP)	7
SVP ZH	36
Juso	1
CVP/Die Mitte	7
EVP ZH	9
GLP ZH	10
AL ZH	9
FDP	8
Grüne ZH	12
SP Zürich	12
political positions	0
the political left	19
liberals	4
the political right	15
other	0
Regierung Stadt bern	1
Ruth Dreifuss	4
Nicolas Galladé (Exekutive Winterthur, SP)	1
Pierre Maudet	9
Markus Notter (Ex Regierungsrat)	2
Moritz Leuenberger	3
Winterthurer Stadtrat	1
Sans Papiers	30
predications Sans Papiers	0
terminology of Sans papier	2
origins of sans papiers	35
first hand account of Sans Papiers	15
individual sans papiers	3
anonymour Sans Papier(s)	1
Weimar Arnez	11
Ling (Sans Papier Basel)	1
Maria T. (Blick, wir sans papiers)	1
Olivia (SRF2205)	2

Maria (99_Unsichtbar)	6
Alexandra (99_Unsichtbar)	7
Juan (99_Unsichtbar Sein ist Anstrengend)	7
Maria (NZZ nicht wählen können(	1
Fany Flores (Spiegel Artikel)	2
76-jährige (Republik Artikel 2021)	1
Allison (Republik article 2021)	8
Marta Benito (Deutschlandfunk 21)	1
Juan (24)	1
Lucía Perez (30)	1
Maria Hernández (42)	1
Lucia Rodriguez (42)	2
Ludmilla (4)	3
Ana (Wir sind die Sans-papiers)	1
Rafaela (Wir sind die Sans-papiers)	1
Noemi (Wir sind die Sans-papiers)	1
Lena (Wir sind die Sans-papiers)	1
Maria (Wir sind Sans-papiers)	1
Sans papier children	20
academia	0
Danielle Breitenbücher (Rechtsanwältin, Gutachten)	1
David Harvey	1
ETH	1
David Kaufmann (ETH)	5
Konjunkturforschungsstelle der ETH (KOF)	1
Sarah Schilliger(Uni Bern)	5
Hannah Arendt	4
Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften (ZHAW)	1
Patrice Martin Zumsteg (Anwalt, ZHAW)	1
Universität Zürich	1
Prof. Regina Kiener	5
Universität Genf	3
non human	0
the card	112
contradictory	1
costs of ZCC	23
ZCC as controversial	5
characterizations, nominations of the card	22
Fantasieausweis	3
limits of the card	30
ZCC not valid outside city limits	5

ZCC valid only with municipal authorities	1
benefits of the card	91
Covid-19	11
municipal ID cards (plural)	1
Supporterkarte	5
Oversized Card Corine Mauch	2
media/metalevel	2
SRF	2
Deutschlandfunk	1
Republik	2
NZZ	1
Brigitte Hürlimann (Republik)	1
Hans Kissling (Tagi Op ed)	1
Keystone ATS	2
NZZ am Sonntag	2
other	0
Hauseigentümerverein Zürich	5
Albert Leiser (HEV)	2
citizens /voters	10
Stimmbevölkerung/Stimmberechtigte	24
das Volk	3
Ausländerinne- und Ausländerbeirat	1
Gesine Allemann	2
Donald Trump	1
Peter Grünenfelder	1
Ramona Lenz von der Medico-Stiftung	2
Marianne Pletscher (Film maker, author)	1
Expert*innen	1
anonymer Anwalt/"Experte" (20min)	1
Schweizerischer Städteverband	3
Thomas Gebauer	2
SBB	1
Bill de Blasio	3
trans & non-binary people	2
homo oeconomicus	1
Solidarity Cities (European Network)	6
Dreamers	1

10.3.2. Plot: Events, actions, decisions

Note: The dates are structured as yymmdd/yymm/yy, depending on how precisely a reference or event could be dated.

Code Structure Events, actions, decisions	Number of coded segments
mid-00s previous Stadtausweis attempt Monika Stocker	1
91 Sans papier children allowed in school ZH	1
060924 Abstimmung Asyl- und Auslängergesetz	10
130201 Lehrstellen/ access to vocational training	7
140209 Masseneinwanderungsinitiative	1
15 Initiation ZCC/whole world in Zürich	6
16 urban citizenship	1
Hafen Foren, link to Sichere Häfen movement and 2015 migration	1
15 long summer of migration	2
151015 CH elections	1
17 founding VZCC	4
17 start proactive Härtefall processes Canton Zürich	2
1702 - 1812 Operation Papyrus Geneva	43
170913 press conference Verein ZCC	5
170916 launch Supportercard	2
171101 Motion pilot project "medizinischen Versorgung"	6
180412 Postulat Nationalrat Learnings Papyrus	3
180711 Postulat Gemeinderat support for refugees	1
180801 Äms Fest 2018	3
180827 Question Kantonsrat ZCC (FDP Bourgeois)	2
180912 Press conference Positionspapier Stadtrat	5
181031 Motion ZC "Einführung einer städtischen Identitätskarte"	39
181029 Dringlichkeitserklärung ZCC Motion Gemeinderat	0
Antrag Umwandlung Motion 2018 in Postulat v. Stadtrat	3
Motion ZCC the vote & debate itself	1
Presentation & Foti oversized card	2
2003 donation collection SPAZ & ZCC Covid	2
200907 Postulat Kantonsrat regularization	5
201130 Kantonsrat Interpellation ZCC by SVP	2
201111 Press conference Stadtrat	14
201111 Budget request 3.2mio for ZCC developments	16
201129 municipal vote free swimming pools	1
late 20/early 21 Questions Nationalrat ZCC/ Response Bund	7
21 Städtischer Gleichstellungspreis	2
21 Pilot project "medizinischen Versorgung"	5
21 Pilot project Basishilfe	11
210510 press conference Basishilfe	1
210901 Bewilligung 3.2 Kredit	21

210901 Debate & Vote 3.2 mio Gemeinderat	3
210901 Zurückweisungsantrag	1
220515 Frontex Vote	1
220515 referendum	62
21/22 referendum campaign /Abstimmungskampf	3
results	27
Announcing the Referendum	14
211108 submission of referendum signatures	3
220429 Motion Nationalrat Zugang zu beruflicher Ausbildung	6
220515 press conference	1
22 proposal anonyme Härtefälle FDP (Bourgeois)	4
elections	0
191020 CH Elections	1
151018 CH elections	1
180304 Municipal elections	4
220213 municipal elections	4
campaigns SPAZ etc.	1
Projekt "Stadt der Zukunft"	1
second vote ZCC (future)	8

10.3.3. Themes and arguments

Code categories	Prominent subcodes	Description
ZCC concretely	ZCC development process Legal and/or political arguments Explicit pro- and contra arguments Attitudes towards the ZCC Assessments of the ZCC	Codes relating to the ZCC itself, as a proposal, a topic of debate, and issues of policymaking
Migration and Sans-papiers	Migration generally Presence and living situation of sans-papiers (inclusive) security frame Humanitarian & human rights frames Deserving worker frame Socioeconomic frame Alternative policy approaches to undocumentation	Codes relating to migration and sans-papiers
Multilevel governance and policy mobility	Scalar relations Policy mobility	Codes relating to the raltionships between scales and places
Guiding concepts and ideas	Urban citizenship/ Sanctuary cities Pragmatism Utopia Democracy	Codes relating to political ideologies, guiding concepts

Code Structure Themes and argumentation	Number of coded segments
Themes and argumentation	3
ZCC concretely	1
development process	1
comparisons ZCC to other processes & events in Zurich	2
(vergleich) Drogenpolitik	4
process of ZCC development explicit	48
legal discovery process	20
decision Stadtrat how to proceed with ZCC	3
the more people use it, the more useful it becomes	33
specific implementation	31
open questions	21
narrow approval	24
debating the ZCC	0
political & legal topics in relation to the ZCC	5
political	0
bottom up	3
progress through cooperative policy making	12
popular support as political force	2
political will	1
civil society actors required for political change sans papiers	1
pressure higher levels of governance	17
broadening debate/ZCC as first step	16
legal discourse	50
legal leeway, testing limits of what is possible	17

legal legitimacy of ZCC?	0
illegality of ZCC	25
"scheinlegalisierung"	33
Legal gray area	14
policing/law enforcement issues	0
calls for enforcment of current law	4
racial profiling	6
Anfangsverdacht	37
rechtsstaat	16
higher level of governance/übergeordnetes Recht	89
clear legal circumstances	2
legal requirement SEM/ausländerrecht cooperation	34
contra ZCC	5
trickery	6
rewarding illegality	2
bureaucracy	3
Data security	2
impracticability	5
undemocratic	4
Parallelrecht	20
policing issues	45
underlying issues not addressed	8
supporting policies as pull factors for migrants	17
false security/counterproductive	35
pro ZCC	1
access to banking system	6
inclusive security	4
(public) safety, securit	3
Beneficiaries: all inhabitants	38
increased insecurity as a result	4
reducing fear	22
Beneficiary: undocumented migrants	18
show of solidarity	23
attitudes towards ZCC	16
ZCC as success (social movement/supperts)	2
symbolism/vanity project/perormativity	10
hesitation by Stadtrat	2
Lowered expectations	25
institutional support for ZCC	1
Stadtrat in Opposition zur ZCC	27
Migration and Sans-papiers generally	0

Migration generally	5
broader 'illegality' discussion	4
economic pull factors	1
hierarchy of migration regime	8
postmigrant society	9
Voting Rights	2
SVP known for anti migration stance	3
Asylum	1
integration	3
restrictive national migration policy	3
descriptions sans papiers and their situation	26
contradictory situation of sans papiers vis-a-vis state	13
current situation as hard, but clear	1
mistrust among sans papiers	2
sans papiers as not without rights	3
status	154
denial of sans papiers by Regierungsrat/canton	6
size of sans papier population	103
sans papiers as "problem"	1
sans papiers & gender	5
diversity of sans papier population	1
sans papiers as independent from the state	5
failure of the state	4
security frame/exclusionary frames	0
"illegale"	4
illegality of Sans papiers themselves	37
sans papiers not as inhabitants	1
humanitarian frame	0
sans papiers as dependent on others	8
living in constant fear	42
vulnerability/dangers	13
deportation	49
precarity	19
lack of access to legal system	28
insecurity	2
protection	5
lack of access to services	16
access to municipal services	43
lack of access to social services	3
societal inclusion & participation (health, social inclusion...	9
inclusive policies more general (provisional)	1

housing issues	13
current situation as impractical and legally difficult	3
acknowledgment of sans papiers as inhabitants	23
Sans papiers as hidden	41
Sans papiers as victims	4
dignity	4
pity	1
human rights frame	0
Human rights	30
(no) protection of basic human rights	39
access to health services	46
access to education	27
deserving worker frame	1
economic, employment etc.	14
poverty	11
Grauarbeit	1
(economic) exploitation	32
remittances	5
acknowledgement/ anerkennung /recognition	4
Sans papiers as workers	54
socioeconomic frame	0
schwarzarbeit	29
integration in workforce	2
financial/tax incentives for inclusion	2
efficiency frame	0
possible policy approaches to Sans-papiers	0
push factors	1
no definitive solution possible	2
alternative proposals	1
alternative proposal anti migration measures	2
alternative proposals federal level	1
alternative proposal Härtefallklausel	19
alternative proposal regularization	11
alternative proposal deportation	3
Regularization	26
regularization fallacy	4
failed regularizations ZH	22
sanctions for employers	2
härtefall process & requirements	37
No legalization possible	1
regularization as ultimate goal	25

Multilevel governance and policy mobility	0
scalar relations	0
urban-rural difference/similarities/overlaps	7
urban-rural split	8
nation/federal - urban relation	23
Subsidiaritätsprinzip principle of subsidiarity	3
urban-global relation	5
canton city relation	7
policy mobility	9
Inspiration from ZH	23
inspiration for ZH	5
USA	3
Oakland	1
New Haven	1
New York	5
San Francisco	6
inspiration North America	17
Inspiration New York	40
inspiration barcelona	2
Inspiration Swiss cities	2
inspiration from Bern	1
Inspiration Los Angeles	3
comparison Geneva Zurich	5
Guiding ideologies/ideas/ideals	0
urban citizenship/sanctuary city/solidarity city	39
ius domicili	1
documentation, pasportfetishism etc.	0
every of ID is imaginary, acceptance determines validity	1
pragmatism/ pragmatic politics	15
pragmatism	3
idealism/idealist politics	3
Utopianism	16
egalitarianism & equality	1
"ideological"	5
democracy/democratization	10
humanitarian perspective	2
modernity	1
Other	0
spatial Planning	2
hochschulquartier	1
ZH autofrei	2

gender	8
Care work	5

10.3.4. Spatial references

Code categories	Prominent subcodes	Description
Discursive construction of spatiality	Characetrizations of the city of Zurich Physical characteristics of the city Urban identity and image Charazterizatoins of the non-city	Codes wherein specific spaces are characterized and reified
Territoriality	Citiy limits & administrative boundaries	Codes where territorial borders and units are discussed
Places	Zurich Bern New York Latin America	All places that are mentioned, grouped according to distance from Zurich. Mostly country and city names Includes places in Zurich that appear in the texts
Characterizations of the urban generally		Codes that characterize 'the urban' or 'cities' in general

Code Structure spatial dimension	Number of coded segments
characterizations of cities generally	2
municipal / leftist overreach	13
(urban) sustainability	3
social movements	1
entrepreneurial city	1
discursive construction of spatiality	0
characterizations of Zurich	13
'local patriotism'	1
multiculturalism/cosmopolitalism/weltoffenheit	7
city oppressed by canton	3
anti ZH / anti urban sentiment	4
Halbkanton ZH	2
administrative borders, urban space	2
urban lifestyle	6
Zurich trendsetter, vorreiter, vanguard	10
physical characteristics of cities	1
urban identity & image, imaginaries	28
right to the city	2
city as progressive, leftist (vanguard)	16
leftist cities	11
urban exceptionalism	10
characetrizations of non urban space	1
Outside the city	1
other urban themed references	7
inter urban competition	1
independence of the city /Gemeindeautonomie	9

purely municipal approach not possible	1
urbanization and migration	11
territorial limits/boundaries/borders etc	0
territorial limit of usefulnes	4
City Limits	10
places	0
Europa	0
Switzerland Schweiz Suisse	9
La-Chaux-de-Fonds	0
La-Chaux-de-Fonds city card project	8
Bern	7
Susanne Rebsamen, Fachstelle Migration Rassismus Bern	3
City Card Bern	27
Biel	4
Luzern	5
Geneva	11
Vaud	4
Lausanne	6
Basel Stadt	6
city card Basel	2
Basel SBB	1
Jura	2
St. Gallen	4
City Card St. Gallen	21
Oberwil Lieli	1
Sion	1
Neuchâtel	1
Fribourg	4
baden	1
Zürich	7
Places in ZH	0
escher-Wyss Platz	1
Langstrassenquartier	2
Redaktion Republik	1
Hauptbahnhof Zürich HB	1
Shedhalle	2
Piccolo Giardino	2
Stadthaus	2
Rathaus Zürich	3
Bäckeranlage	1
Kanton Zürich	3

Winterthur	3
Uster	1
Stadt Uster	1
Italy	1
Spain	2
Deutschland	7
Berlin	5
Frankfurt	1
Hamburg	1
Netherlands	1
Rotterdam	1
France	2
Eastern Europe	1
Global	0
Canada	1
Latin America	17
Peru	1
El Salvador	1
Bolivia	2
"Ausland"	2

10.3.5. Intertextual references

Code Structure Intertextual References	Number of Coded Segments
references to texts by civil society actors	0
17 Forderungen Verein ZCC	1
22 Who cleans Switzerland	1
22 Offener Brief pro ZCC	3
180911 Petition ZCC	4
kein mensch ist illegal reference	3
references to texts by political actors	0
22 SP Abstimmungszeitung ZCC	1
211108 Mitteilung Referendumskomitee	1
1709 Stadt für Alle SP Brief 2017	1
references to institutional texts	0
1805 Kurzbericht Arbeitsgruppe	1
22 Abstimmungstext	7
201029 Bericht des Stadtrats zur Motion ZCC	3
reaktionen	0
201111 Medienmitteilung FDP ZCC	1
communiques Grüne SP Vorschlag Stadtrat 2020	1
2012 Sans Papier Bericht Bundesrat	7
201223 Antwort Regierungsrat Interpellation ZCC Kantonsrat	9
180905 Positionspapier Stadtrat gegen ZCC	17
180523 Mitteilung Stadtrat medizinische Versorgung	2
1706Antwort Regierungsrat Interpellation zu Sans Papiers	1
references to studies & academic texts	0
06 Marisol Garcia 2006	1
Lebuhn 2015	1
15 Studie SEM Sans papiers	7
17 Urban Citizenship bericht Schilliger & Ataç	1
18 Fakhoury UNIGE studie papyrus	3
180125 erstes Rechtsgutachten "Zugang zu Recht & Justiz"	22
20 zweites Rechtsgutachten	29
200223 Rechtsgutachten ZCC 1-3	0
200518 Rechtsgutachten ZCC 4	0
200311 Studie Kanton 14'000 sans papiers, ECOPLAN & KEK	12
2010 Vorstudie Bern	3
210827 Studie ZHAW Migration & Sozialhilfe	3
Bericht Konjunkturforschungsstelle der ETH (KOF)	0
references to other media texts	0
media coverage of migration in general	4

40_Die City Card gaukelt einen Schutz vor	1
68_Ein Ausweis für die Unsichtbaren	2
180721 Medienmitteilung SVP Motion ZCC 2018	1
180912 Reaktionen Medienmitteilungen Positionspapier Stadtradt	2
180912 Medienmitteilungen SP ZH Positionspapier Stadtradt	1
180912 Medienmitteilungen Grüne ZH Positionspapier Stadtradt	1