WE ALL ARE URBAN CITIZENS TRACING THE CONCEPTION OF ZURICH'S CITY-ID

GEO 630 Master's Thesis

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30.09.2019
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"I am not afraid of what the people with voting power will decide about us, who cannot vote. Will they recognize our value this time? If not for us, then maybe for the sake of the rule of law? No, this time I am weary of hoping for recognition from so-called "mainstream society", to wait breathlessly for this nervous "racial corpus's" twitching. I like to take matters into my own hands. And I want to begin here, right where I live, in my city: Zurich."

– Shpresa Jashari (2017: 321),
Opening Speech to the Congress We All Are Zurich

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1. INTRODUCTION

In spring 2020 the Swiss electorate will likely vote on yet another initiative on immigration. The «Begrenzungsinitiative» which demands the independent control of immigration for Switzerland is the seventh initiative on the subject of migration since the turn of the century. In Switzerland, it appears, debates about migration issues have become day-to-day political life. Migration is, thereby, mostly regarded as a problem. Kjian Espahangizi (2016), Managing Director oft he Center «History of Knowledge" at the ETH in Zurich, however, argues that not migration, but citizenship is the problem. After the "Durchsetzungsinitiative" was rejected in February 2016 he writes:

> "Switzerland's notably discriminating regularization procedure combined with notorious culture of non-recognition and over-problematization of postmigrant realities have over the last decades created a situation in which one quarter of the permanently resident population does not have a Swiss passport. With rising tendency. The no has not changed anything. The Swiss constitutional state which in the view of many has just been saved, still keeps producing the foreigners he deports, and in masses. Before and after the vote it holds true: Switzerland does not have a foreigner problem, but a citizenship problem."

In her work, Dominique Strebel (2018) writes that especially cities are most affected by migration and sans-papiers issues. Accordingly, foreigner account for 32.5 percent of the city of Zurich's population (Bundesamt für Statistik 2019). The city of Zurich estimates that over 10'000 of them are sans-papiers (Stadt Zürich 2019). Therefore, the difficulties this population is facing, manifest themselves particularly in cities, while their legal situation is defined at the cantonal and national scale (Bauder 2016: 252-253). One possible solution is the implementation of a municipal identification card, a so-called *Züri City Card*. The Züri City Card is an official identification card for all residents of the City of Zurich

independent from legal status. The original idea comes from the USA and dates back to 2007, when the city of New Haven in Conneticut (de Graauw 2014: 315) launched the first municipal identification program. Over time, the idea also gained momentum in Switzerland where Zurich has been at the forefront of discussions about city IDs. My research will show that there are two different approaches in the conception of the *Züri City Card*: the legal and the social approach. Especially, the official city authorities concentrate on the legitimation of the city card. Whereas activists put more emphasis on social participation. It is between these two approaches that the *Züri City Card* is currently being negotiated.

1.1 Research objective

This master's thesis wants to add to the existing literature on urban immigration and citizenship policies. It does so by examining the ongoing process of conception of the *Züri City Card* – a prospective municipal identification card (ID) program in the city of Zurich. The literature review in chapter 2 shows that urban immigration and citizenship policies first emerged in the United States. From there these policies are currently spreading around the globe. In Switzerland, urban immigration and citizenship policies only gained momentum around the end of 2014 (Morawek 2019). Following the example of New York, different Swiss cities are currently working on the conception of municipal IDs. The city of Zurich has been at the forefront of these developments. As Naomi Jones (2016) writes: "Zurich leads the way, Bern does not want to be left behind, and both cities look to New York". However, there exists only little research about the *Züri City Card*. The very few studies carried out in Switzerland at the outset of this master's thesis mostly focus on the overarching concept of urban citizenship (Brunner 2017; Hardegger 2018; Huonder 2017). This master's thesis seeks to fill this research gap.

1.2 Research Questions

This master's thesis examines the process of local production of a municipal ID program – the *Züri City Card* – in the city of Zurich. At the center of interest are therefore, the imaginations of the involved local actors. Accordingly, this master's thesis seeks to answer the following research question:

How is the Züri City Card being negotiated in the specific context of the city of Zurich?

This research question seeks to highlight different aspects:

- o Who are the actors/institutions involved in the conception of the *Züri City Card*?
- o How are the content of the *Züri City Card* and the requirements to obtain a city identification card being discussed?
- o What are the perceived challenges to the possible implementation of the *Züri City Card*?

In order to answer these questions, qualitative interviews with involved local actors will be conducted. They will be evaluated using qualitative content analysis. The survey and evaluation methods are discussed in chapter 4.

1.3 Aufbau der Arbeit

Chapter 1: In the following, the present chapter sets the stage for the discussion of urban immigration and citizenship policies generally, and the *Züri City Card* more particularly, by providing a conceptual definition of urban citizenship and illegalized migrants. Furthermore, it briefly outlines the Swiss migration and asylum policy and illegalized migrants' legal situation.

Chapter 2: This chapter introduces the state of the art on urban citizenship and urban immigration and citizenship policies. It discussed, in a first step, the

backdrop against which citizenship is being relocated to the urban scale. In a second step, it then highlights the different urban policy options resulting from conceptions of urban citizenship. Finally, the chapter gives a detailed account of the *IDNYC*; the municipal identification program of the city of New York, before it ends by presenting the state of the art on city identification cards in Switzerland.

Chapter 3: Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework that will serve as lens through which the conception of the *Züri City Card* will be looked at. This framework is given by the policy mobilities approach, which will be outlined and linked to the subject of this master's thesis.

Chapter 4: Chapter 4 illustrates the different stages of the research process. It addresses the choice of interview partners, the access to the field, and the composition of the sample. Furthermore, it presents the survey method and the drafting of the interview guide. Finally, it describes the data collection through semi-structured expert interviews and the qualitative content analysis.

Chapter 5-6: The chapter 5 presents the results of the qualitative content analysis Chapter 6 then summarizes the main findings and connects them to existing literature and research, connects the findings to the theoretical framework in chapter 3 and refers back to the research objective of this master's thesis. Finally, it entails some concluding remarks.

1.4 Urban Citizenship

As aforementioned, Espahangizi (2016) argues that Switzerland has a citizenship problem. The concept of urban citizenship can solve this problem. Indeed, urban citizenship can meet the call for a fundamental rethink. Conventionally, citizenship has come to be defined as a formal legal status attached to a specific nation-state. It defines who is a member of the nation-state and subject to rights

and obligations within the respective territory and who is not. Formally, all citizens are the same and enjoy equal rights and obligations (Hardegger 2018: 8; Schilliger 2018:19). Urban citizenship changes this understanding of citizenship in three fundamental ways. First of all, it is based on a new relationship between state and citizenship. Citizenship no longer falls within the authority of the nation-state. It is granted based on the current place of residence (Kaufmann 2019: 444). At first, this may sound revolutionary. However, a brief glance at the history of citizenship is enough to put the matter into perspective: before citizenship became nation-state institution in the wake of the French Revolution, it was associated with the Greek city state (polis) and the whole of the Roman Empire (Hardegger 2018: 4-11). It has thus not always been exclusively tied to the nation-state, but has already been granted at other scales below and above. Secondly, urban citizenship is based on a new understanding of rights. Hardegger (ibid.: 12) points out that whereas the German term "Staatsbürgerschaft" refers merely to the formal legal status, its English equivalent is closely associated with the idea of participation and emancipation. This understanding goes back to the British sociologist T.H. Marshall (1950) and his seminal work *Citizenship and Social Class* (ibid.: 8-11). Citizenship, Marshall argued, entails more than simply the rights and obligation attached to the status, what he called "formal citizenship" (ibid.). According to him, citizenship necessarily also entails the ability to claim and make use of the rights granted through the formal status (ibid.). In other words, citizenship also means participation in all areas of society, what he called "substantive citizenship" (ibid.). Marshall only spoke of "full citizenship" when both formal and substantive citizenship are guaranteed (ibid.). In contrast to the passive understanding of citizenship that prevails in the German-speaking literature, the anglophone literature thus attributes citizenship a more active meaning. Finally, urban citizenship entails a new kind of participation by the residents, which become active agents in the constitution of their citizenship

(Morawek 2017: 164). The most commonly used definition is given by García (2006: 754) who speaks of urban citizenship when

> "policy instruments are introduced locally and regionally in order to maintain and/or create social entitlements as a result of citizens' demands or as a result of local institutions' innovative practices; and when the mechanisms for political integration provide an open sphere for participation and contestation not only for established citizens, but also for denizens."

Accordingly, the concept of urban citizenship centers around social participation and access to resources instead of migration as a problem (Morawek 2016). It can be seen that the main reason for a city ID is the improvement of the situation of illegalized migrants. This will also become apparent in my analysis.

1.5 Background

Essentially, the debate on urban citizenship in Switzerland focuses on the question of irregular migration. Efionayi-Mäder et al. (2010: 11) point out that the terminology used to refer to irregular migration varies depending on the field and/or perspective it is used in. Internationally, the term "irregular migration" has become established (Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010: 11). Migration becomes irregular through restrictions and prohibitions (De Genova 2002; Donato & Massey 2016; Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010).

through which they create irregular migration in the first place. This is what Donato & Massey (2016: 7) refer to as "The Paradox of Twenty-First-Century Globalization": "countries limiting and controlling international migration and [...] a global economy in which all markets are globalized except for labor and human capital, giving rise to the relatively new phenomenon of illegal migration." In this

respect, irregular migration is a social construct resulting from the interrelations between economy, migration, and politics (De Genova 2002; Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010: 6). In this context, the term "irregular migration" is thus understood to denote the breaching of normative rules (Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010: 11) leading to the illegalization of migrants. Accordingly, following Bauder (2017: 174) the term "illegalized" migrant will be used to "draw attention to national laws, policies, and practices that deny migrants full status or legal residency". In the context of Switzerland, the more commonly used term "sans-papiers" will be applied. The terms "illegalized migrant" and "sans-papiers" are used interchangeably to refer to all individuals that reside in a country without a valid residence permit (Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010: 11).

Who is granted residence and who is not, is decided at different levels of the Swiss federal system. The laws regulating the framework of Switzerland's migration and asylum policy are defined at the federal level (Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010: 39; Wichman et al. 2011: 5). The Confederation, or more precisely the State Secretariat for Migration (SEM), thus formally regulates the admission and residence of individuals (Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010; Wichman et al. 2011). At the same time, these laws are implemented by the cantons, which enjoy great discretionary powers in doing so (Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010; Wichman et al. 2011). This means that decisions about residence permit, family reunification, or hardship lie within the competencies of the respective cantonal authority (ibid.). In Zurich this responsibility falls to the Migration Office of the Canton of Zurich. Wichman et al. (2011) point out that therefore practices vary considerably between different cantons.

In Switzerland there are four possible ways in which individuals can end up without a valid residence permit: (1) by staying in Switzerland in spite of a negative asylum decision; (2) by overstaying the length of the authorized stay in Switzerland in the case of loss of a formerly acquired B or C permit, or in the case

of entry as tourist; (3) by entering Switzerland without residence permit; and finally (4) by being born in Switzerland to parents without residence permit (Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2010: 6; Morlok et al. 2015: 35-36). Figure 1 illustrates these different possibilities:
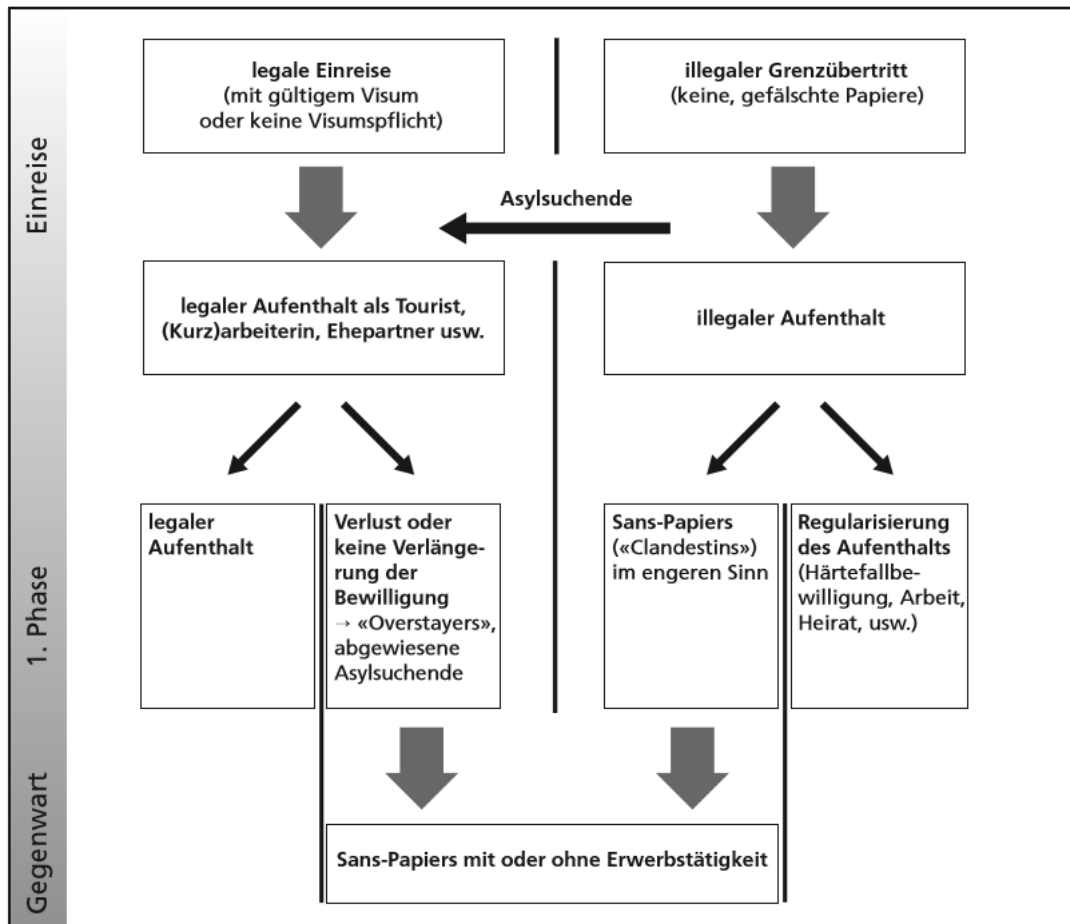
Figure 1. Source: Efionayi-Mäder, D., Schönenberger, S., & Steiner, I. (2010). Leben als Sans-Papiers in der Schweiz. Entwicklungen 2000-2010. Bern: Eidgenössische Kommission fürMigrationsfragen EKM: 22.

It is estimated that there are about 76'000 sans-papiers in Switzerland (Morlok et al. 2015: 34). A substantial number of them, approximately 28'000, are said to live in the canton of Zurich (Morlok et al. 2015: 21). The majority thereof, over 10'000, reside in the city of Zurich (Stadt Zürich 2019). In Switzerland, Zurich is thus the city with the estimated highest number of sans-papiers. That sans-papiers tend to live in cities is well known from the literature. Cities are attractive for sans-papiers for different reasons; they offer job opportunities, provide anonymity,

and often have some sort of support system for sans-papiers (Morlok et al. 2015: 26).

2. STATE OF THE ART

This chapter outlines current academic debates surrounding urban citizenship. It discusses the background against which modern citizenship is criticized – and urban citizenship considered. It then examines possible ways in which urban citizenship has been implemented in reality. In this sense, it serves the purpose of identifying the research gap, which this thesis will try to fill.

2.1 Citizenship and Globalization

The starting point for any considerations of alternative conceptions of citizenship is the fact that neoliberal globalization puts pressure on modern citizenship. According to Donato & Massey (2016: 9-10) neoliberal globalization created a tension between the logic of the global economy seeking openness, and the logic of nation-states seeking to exercise their sovereignty. This tension leads to a situation in which there is the labor demand of the economy which is met by migrants, on the one hand, and nation-states that want to prevent, respectively, control immigration, on the other hand. Accordingly, nation-states then implement different regulations. This leads to complex hierarchies of different status and rights, whereby people are classified along a continuum that spans from sheer lawlessness without hardly any rights to almost full citizenship and enjoyment of rights (Hess & Lebuhn 2014: 18; Schilliger 2018: 19-20). Which status and rights are assigned to an individual, is increasingly influenced by economic considerations and made dependent on specific conditions as e.g. the pursuit of an economic activity (Hardegger 2018: 13; Schilliger 2018: 20). In this context, Jürgen Mackert (2006) uses the expression "neoliberalization of citizenship" to speak of the growing influence of neoliberal values on citizenship

practices (Hardegger 2018: 12). Accordingly, citizenship is granted to individuals with valued forms of capital, whereas individuals with a lack thereof face considerable barriers to citizenship (Donato & Massey 2016: 10). In its most extreme form the neoliberalization of citizenship leads to what has been referred to as the "economization" (Mavelli 2018) or "marketization" (Shachar 2017) of citizenship. This leads to "cash-for-passport practices" whereby citizenship is commodified and sold like a good on the market to those able to afford it (Shachar 2017: 790). By now the trade with citizenship is a thriving business. Nation-states like Cyprus, Malta or Austria charge up to 24 million US dollars for a passport (Grundlehner 2018). For people whit money, the price is well worth it: Holding a Cyprian, Maltese, or Austrian passport automatically also grants EU-citizenship (Grundlehner 2018). Accordingly, the neoliberalization of citizenship leads to the fragmentation of citizenship and the stratification of societies. This contradicts modern citizenship's basic assumptions of universality and equality. It also creates a situation in which large groups of individuals are excluded from the enjoyment of full citizenship. That this is highly problematic goes without saying. The most frequently mentioned argument is that the exclusion from political and legal participation creates a problem of legitimacy for democratic states (Morawek 2016: 2).

Moreover, with neoliberal globalization authority is increasingly shifted to institutions above (e.g. the European Union) or below (e.g. local governments) the nation-state. In the context of citizenship this means that the scales at which rights and participation are provided have shifted. Hess & Lebuhn (2014: 17), for instance, note that many welfare services are nowadays provided on the regional or local scale. Ultimately, this means that access to rights and participation depends less and less citizenship in a nation-state. On the one hand, citizens are denied substantive citizenship because of, for instance, ethnicity, gender, sexual or religious orientation (Holston & Appadurai 1996: 190; Torres 2017: 345). On

the other hand, legal and non-legal noncitizens are given access to substantive rights (ibid.). Holston and Appadurai (1996: 190) state that

> "although in theory full access to rights depends on membership, in practice that which constitutes citizenship substantively is often independent of its formal status. In other words, formal membership in a nation-state is increasingly neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for substantive citizenship."

2.3 Collective Citizenship Struggles

The shortcomings of modern citizenship have led to a reconceptualization of citizenship. In the context of the growing field of Critical Citizenship Studies, citizenship is reimagined from a static, state-centered legal regime to a fluid political practice from below (Schilliger 2018: 21). Hess and Lebuhn (2014: 20) describe this development as "dynamization of the concept" because the citizen is no longer conceived as passive object which is granted rights and obligations, but rather as active subject involved in their negotiation (Schilliger 2018: 21). According to Isin & Turner (2002: 4) this means that

> "Rather than merely focusing on citizenship as legal rights, there is now agreement that citizenship must also be defined as a social process through which individuals and social groups engage in claiming, expanding or losing rights."

According to Isin, individuals, independent of their status, constitute themselves as citizens through "acts of citizenship"; moments of engagement in which they actively claim the rights they are entitled to (Hess & Lebuhn 2014: 20; Schilliger 2018: 21). They empower themselves by intentionally breaking the laws that keep them from being citizens (Köster-Eiserfunke et al. 2014: 187). These acts of citizenship are thus also moments of rupture with the dominant citizenship regime. As Köster-Eiserfunke et al. (2014: 187) explain

"The concept of *Acts* means breaking with the existing: *To act* neither means to follow the script of a specific scene, nor to completely disappear from it, *to act* means to constitute a new scene with one's own role."

Lefebvre's right to the city (Le Droit à la Ville) goes even a step further. It goes beyond both the existing citizenship regime and the neoliberal world order (Bauder 2016: 256; Purcell 2003: 564-565). The right to the city also starts from the premise that individuals need to take action because neoliberalism has left them with little power to shape their city (Purcell 2002: 99). It has reoriented urban policy towards competition and transformed the urban space into a means of accumulation, serving the interest of the capital world order, and not the interest of the people inhabiting it (Purcell 2002: 100-101; 2013: 312). The right to the city gives inhabitants – all those people who live in the city including illegalized – the possibility to take back control over urban space. Purcell (2002: 102) states that "Under the right to the city, membership in the community of enfranchised people is not an accident of nationality or ethnicity or birth; rather it is earned by living out the routines of everyday life in the space of the city". The right to the city empowers inhabitants in two ways. On the one hand, it gives all of them the equal right to participation; to be in charge of decisions about the production of urban space both within and outside of it. As a consequence, because all inhabitants are equally involved in the decision-making process, it challenges citizenship as a national institution (Purcell 2002: 102-103; 2003: 577-579). On the other hand, it gives them the right to appropriation; to use and occupy and produce urban space according to their needs. The inhabitants' interest outweigh those of the capital and therefore it directly challenges the capitalist system (Purcell 2002: 102-103; 2003: 577-579). Ultimately, the right to the city takes citizenship as a practice one step further: inhabitants are not simply

empowered within the existing structures but beyond – it wants to move to a society beyond capitalism. Purcell (2014: 150) explains that

> "The right to the city is not users claiming more access to and control over the existing capitalist city, a bigger slice of the existing pie. Instead it is a movement to go beyond the existing city, to cultivate the urban so that it can grow and spread."

Ultimately, with newer conceptions like Isin's acts of citizenship or Lefebvre's right to the city, struggles for rights and participation become the focus of inquiry. These kinds of struggles take place at the local scale where people come together and mobilize. Accordingly, the local rather than the national scale becomes the locus of citizenship (Hess & Lebuhn 2014: 22; Schilliger 2018: 23).

2.4 Urban Immigration and Citizenship Policies

As indicated above, neoliberal globalization destabilizes the relationship between citizenship and nation-state. National citizenship can no longer guarantee universal and full access to rights and participation. Against this backdrop, urban citizenship has been proposed as an alternative. As Kaufmann (2019: 444) points out it is the normative foundation for the development of different urban immigration and citizenship policies. He states that "urban citizenship empowers cities to formulate their own immigration and citizenship policies" (Kaufmann 2019). These policies seek to fill the existing gap between immigration and citizenship policies at the national scale and illegalized migrants at the local scale (Bauder & Gonzalez 2018: 124; Kaufmann 2019: 443). In the following, three different types of urban immigration and citizenship policies will be discussed.

2.3.1 Regularization

Regularization is the process through which nation-states legalize migrants who were hitherto present within their territory illegally (Kaufmann 2019: 445;

Levinson 2005: 4). Because the formulation of regularization programs lies mainly within the competence of a given nation-state, they do not undermine its authority over immigration and citizenship (Kaufmann 2019: 445). In general, nation-states are extremely cautious with regard to regularization programs. One the one hand, because they fear that these programs will lead to more irregular migration (Levinson 2005: 5). On the other hand, because their formulation is tantamount to acknowledging that irregular migration does actually exists (Levinson 2005: 5). Accordingly, regularization programs are measures of last resort which are commonly avoided until there is no other option available (Levinson 2005: 5). As a result, regularization programs are usually highly selective. Most nation-states only offer regularization based on narrowly defined criteria (Kaufmann 2019: 445) including, for instance, length of residence, humanitarian emergence or, medical necessity (Levinson 2005: 4). In practice there are thus different types of regularization programs: permanent or one-shot, fait accompli or protection, individual or collective, expedience or obligation, organized or informal (*for further information see* Apap et al. 2000). Usually, different types are combined in practice (Apap et al. 2000: 292).

Because regularization programs are formulated at the national level, they are not primarily associated with urban citizenship (Kaufmann 2019: 445). Nevertheless, cities can exert influence by lobbying in favor of regularizations and/or by using their relative autonomy implement them (Kaufmann 2019: 445). In this way, cities have successfully influenced policy decisions by the nation-state in the past. Kübler & Wälti (2001), for instance, show that Swiss cities have indeed played an important role for the implementation of drug policies in Switzerland. Their findings, moreover, suggest that cities can even increase their influence by forming metropolitan networks (Kübler & Wälti 2001: 51).

The *Operation Papyrus* in Geneva is a good example of how a city played an important role for the regularization of illegalized migrants. The *Operation*

Papyrus is a pilot project launched by the city of Geneva in February 2017 for a period of two years with the objective of legalizing 2000 to 3500 sans-papiers (Gabus 2017; Strebel 2018: 40-41). It is the first and only one of its kind in Switzerland. Regularization, in form of a B-permit, is granted to illegalized individuals based on four criteria: (1) length of residence in the canton of Geneva (a minimum five years for families with children and a minimum of ten years for couples without children or singles), (2) financial independence and permanent employment situation, (3) A2 knowledge of the French language, and (4) absence of criminal record (Gabus 2017; Strebel 2018: 42). The criteria is checked and verified first by NGOs, and then by the canton before promising dossiers are handed over to the SEM, the State Secretariat for Migration, which decides whether or not to approve them (Strebel 2018: 43). The *Operation Papyrus* operates thus within the Swiss legal framework.

One year after its launch, the program had already regularized approximately 1'100 illegalized migrants (Kaufmann 2019: 445). This success has, however, to be put into perspective: regularization through *Operation Papyrus* is highly selective. Rejected asylum seekers, for instance, are excluded a priori (Gabus 2017). As a result, the program discriminates certain groups of individuals that are facing difficulties entering the country (Gabus 2017). As Gabus writes: "Papyrus is for Latinos, but not for Blacks and Arabs" (Gabus 2017). In this sense, the *Operation Papyrus* exemplifies well how the neoliberalization of citizenship plays out in practice. Nevertheless, regularization programs remain undisputedly the best solution for illegalized migrants; they ensure substantial access to rights and security (Kaufmann 2019: 445). Often, however, their implementation is met by considerable political and legal challenges. Accordingly, cities have the possibility to choose sanctuary policies and/or local bureaucratic membership (Kaufmann 2019: 445).

2.3.2 Sanctuary Cities

Sanctuary policies and practices are nothing new. Already in mediaeval Europe there existed the saying "city air makes free" describing how cities freed runaway serfs from their obligations to their masters (Bauder 2017: 175). Many mediaeval cities created thus spaces of protection, or safe havens outside the feudal system. Today's sanctuary cities have similar goals. They originated from a movement in the 1980s when hundreds of thousands of people fled from civil wars in Central America to the United States, where the Reagan administration only granted asylum to very few of them (Wenke & Kron 2019: 5). As a response, cities looked for ways to protect illegalized immigrants from federal authorities (Wenke & Kron 2019: 5). Consequently, they passed legislation such as Don't' Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) policies, which "typically prohibit municipal police forces and city service agencies from requesting, recording, or disseminating status information, and deny cooperation with federal immigration authorities unless required by federal or state law" (Bauder 2017: 176). In other words, illegalized immigrants' residency status remains unchanged, but is intentionally ignored when interacting with city employees (whose inaction has no negative legal consequences for them) (Bauder 2017: 177; Kaufmann 2019: 444). This means that while sanctuary policies and practices make illegalized immigrants' everyday lives easier, they cannot offer full protection from federal authorities to them (Bauder 2017: 177; Kaufmann 2019: 444). As of April 2019, 9 states, 34 cities and 136 counties in the United States have adopted sanctuary policies and practices (Griffith & Vaughan 2019). Over time similar movement were formed outside of the United States.

Bauder's (2017; 2018) research on sanctuary cities, however, shows that the formulation of sanctuary policies and practices are highly context-specific and differ across national contexts. Unlike in the United States, cities in the United Kingdom, for instance, do not implement legislation to protect illegalized immigrants, but rather "promote […] a culture of hospitality" through "a range of

practices, such as the placing of signs […] which bear the words: 'We welcome asylum-seekers and refugees'" (Squire & Bagelman 2012: 155). Sanctuary cities in the UK are thus quite distinct from their US precursors. Nevertheless, through an international comparison of sanctuary policies and practices in the United States, Canada, Latin America, and Europe, Bauder (2017: 180-182 ; 2018: 125-126) depicts four characteristics most sanctuary city movements across national contexts have in common. First of all, sanctuary policies and practices are officially supported by a municipality's legislative organ. Secondly, they provide alternative narratives to negative hegemonic immigrants and refugee discourses. Thirdly, they transform cities into spaces that convey a sense of shared belonging and identity. Finally, sanctuary policies and practices generally undermine federal immigration law and include illegalized immigrants on the local scale based on residence. Accordingly, the notion of sanctuary city can be understood as a "common label" (Bauder 2017: 176) or "regime of practice" (Kaufmann 2019: 444) including different kinds of arrangements.

Studies have shown that generally communities benefit from the implementation of sanctuary policies and practices (Lyons et al. 2013; O'Brien et al.2019; Wong, 2017). Indeed, both safety and the local economy proved to be higher where sanctuary policies and practices have been implemented (Wong, 2017). However, they also have possible shortcomings. Bauder (2016: 264-265) points out that sanctuary cities cannot completely blur the distinctions created by formal citizenship. While alliances are formed between citizens and non-citizens, they still enjoy different privileges and possibilities. Similarly, Espahangizi (2018) observes that in Switzerland alliances and cooperation between activists and immigrants alone could not lift existing perceptions of "Swiss and foreigners" and related behaviors. He criticizes that solidarity is about jointly changing and transforming society rather than simply forming alliances. Furthermore, critical voices have argued that sanctuary policies and practices do not only leave

distinctions and unequal relations unchanged, but actually create new ones. Houston & Lawrence-Weilmann (2016) for instance, highlight how neoliberal values influence sanctuary legislation which leads to the creation of different categories of migrants who do or do not deserve sanctuary. On the one hand, there is the undeserving "criminal alien'" (Houston & Lawrence-Weilmann 2016: 103), and on the other hand the deserving "model migrant, a valuable economic resource, in sanctuary legislation" (Houston & Lawrence-Weilmann 2016: 106). Ultimately, this stratification of migrants has mainly two consequences. First of all, it reduces solidarity in and hinders the mobilization of society (Houston & Lawrence-Weilmann 2016: 111). Secondly, sanctuary policies and practices become more about safeguarding migrants' productivity than about producing safe spaces for them (Houston & Lawrence-Weilmann 2016: 113). Moreover, Houston & Lawrence-Weilmann (2016: 103; 116) argue that the incorporation of neoliberal values leads to a situation in which this stratification is not challenged, but praised as diversity. Migrants become representatives of diversity Difference and particularity become important but at the same time normalized. As a consequence, inequalities are legitimized. Accordingly, the overarching neoliberal order that produces these inequalities is not challenged. Houston & Lawrence-Weilmann (2016: 120) that ultimately the potential of sanctuary policies and practices for radical social change or the creation of safe spaces is limited. Similarily, Bagelman (2013: 50) finds that sanctuary policies and practices "ease and domesticate a serious problem that many asylum seekers and refugees face; namely the problem of waiting in a state of limbo." Consequently, their precarious situation is normalized, instead of really discussed and changed.

2.3.3 Local Bureaucratic Membership

Local bureaucratic membership is a term developed by Els de Graauw (2014) to describe the local inclusion of individuals into communities through so-called

municipal or city identification cards (IDs). As their name suggests, these kinds of IDs are issued by municipalities and not the nation state (de Graauw 2014: 313; Kaufmann 2019: 444-445). They are, furthermore, issued based on residence within a given municipality and not based on legal immigration or citizenship status (de Graauw 2014: 313). This means that everyone – legal or illegal – who resides within the municipality is entitled to receive one. Within the municipalities who issued them, they are a valid form of identification and are accepted by all relevant local actors and institutions such as the police, schools, hospitals or banks (de Graauw 2014: 313; Kaufmann 2019: 444). Apart from identification they have a wide range of further functions and can, for instance, serve as local library, transit or benefits cards (de Graauw 2014: 313). Municipal IDs are thus, first and foremost, directed towards individuals without official papers such as illegalized migrants who have difficulties to access municipal services (de Graauw 2014: 313). They do not, however, replace legal status and cannot be used to work, to drive, to prove legal age, or to get access to any social benefits (de Graauw 2014: 313; Kaufmann 2019: 445). Accordingly, municipal IDs do not create new entitlements, but merely make it easier for individuals to access municipal services they are already eligible for (de Graauw 2014: 314). Local bureaucratic membership does, therefore, not undermine the nation-state's supremacy over citizenship and immigration. It is thus more feasible than urban citizenship or sanctuary city policies (de Graauw 2014: 315). Els de Graauw (2014: 315) argues that

> "urban citizenship scholars tend to be idealists who celebrate the demise of the nation-state but give insufficient consideration to how their normative visions of city citizenship can or cannot take shape in real life. The concept of local bureaucratic membership is more grounded in the reality that US cities [or any other city for that matter] are still subservient to the real and lasting power of the federal

government. It recognizes that advances in local membership rights and benefits for noncitizen immigrants do not happen in a policy or political vacuum, but instead result from federalist dynamics where cities must test and negotiate their discretionary administrative powers with the federal government's exclusive power over both immigration and citizenship policy."

The first municipality to implement local membership policies was New Haven, Connecticut (de Graauw 2014: 315; CPD 2013: 5). In 2007 it launched the first municipal identification card program; the Elm City Resident Card (de Graauw 2014: 316; CPD 2013: 11). Several other cities such as, for instance, San Francisco, California (2007); Oakland, California (2009); Los Angeles, California (2012); and New York City, New York (2015) (de Graauw 2014: 315-316). Especially the IDNYC, New York's municipal ID card enjoys widespread attention as it is the largest existing program of its kind (Daley et al. 2016: i).

The IDNYC program was launched in January 2015 under the slogan "8 Million New Yorkers – 1 Card for All of Us" (Daley et al. 2016: i). The impetus for its development was given by New York's largest community organization Make the Road New York (Lebuhn 2016: 116). Make the Road was established in 2007 and fights for the rights of migrants (Lebuhn 2016: 116). By now, it has over 23'000 members all over town (Make the Road New York 2019). Eventually, the group took advantage of a political swing to the left in New York's City Council in November 2013, when former mayor Michael Bloomberg was replaced by Bill de Blasio, and put the issue on the political agenda (Lebuhn 2016: 114; 116). In the following months, the city government, the New York Police Department (NYPD), and community-based organizations jointly worked on putting the idea into action (Daley et al. 2016: 4). A city-wide marketing and outreach campaign was started to inform residents about the program (Daley et al. 2016: 6-7). The campaign found its greatest expression, visible to all, in the many multilingual ads

placed all over the city reading: "I AM NYC - Get your free IDNYC today", "Yo soy NYC – Su IDNYC es gratis solicítelo hoy", "   -

          IDNYC   " (Lebuhn 2016: 114). In July 2014, de Blasio signed the bill into law (Daley et al. 2016: 4). The IDNYC became reality and applications started. Everyone age 10 and older who can provide proof of identity and residency in the city of New York is eligible to apply for an IDNYC card (City of New York 2019). Different types of documents are admissible to prove identity and residency, but are of different value in the process (documents are awarded from 1 up to 4 points. A total of 4 points must be collected in order to apply (City of New York 2019). Identity can, for instance, be proven by presenting a US-passport, an expired foreign passport, or a student card (City of New York 2019). And residency, for instance, through a current residential property lease, a cable or phone bill, or an insurance bill (City of New York 2019). People who do not have an address or who do not want to disclose their address, such as the homeless and survivors of domestic violence, can use a "care-of" address or a state-run P.O. Box (Daley et al. 2016: 51). The application is free and can be completed online or directly at one of the 18 permanent Enrollment Centers as well as at alternating Pop-Up Enrollment Centers. It is, however, in any case mandatory to submit the application in person at a center (City of New York 2019). It is not necessary to speak English in order to apply. The application process can be completed in 30 languages other than English (Daley et al. 2016: 13). Once the application is completed the card is sent to the applicants by mail and is valid for 5 years (the first ones will expire at the end of 2019) (City of New York 2019).

From that moment on, it can be used as official means of identification during interactions with city agencies, the NYPD, and employers as well as to access public buildings such as schools (City of New York 2019). It even allows cardholders to take the high school equivalency exam (City of New York 2019). Especially noteworthy in this regard is the fact that cardholders can chose their

preferred gender (Daley et al. 2016: 11). They have the option to identify as Female, Male, X, or decide to leave the box blank (City of New York 2019).

Beyond identification cardholders can access a wide range of other benefits including, for instance, opening a bank account, free membership at over 35 museums and cultural institutions, or discounts for local sports, entertainment and educational establishments (City of New York 2019). Apart from these practical advantages, the IDNYC can also foster a sense of belonging to the city of New York.

In the summer of 2016, the IDNYC program was evaluated for the first time. The evaluation was carried out by Westat and Metis Associates and is available for download on the city's official IDNYC website. The independent study is based on anonymized administrative data, an online survey, and individuals as well as focus group interviews (Daley et al. 2016: 2) The findings are striking. During the first 1.5 years after its launch, an impressive number of almost 900'000 New Yorkers owned an IDNYC. This amounts to approximately 10 percent of all residents (Daley et al. 2016: 9). Over 70 percent of cardholders stated that they had applied simply to support the idea (Daley et al. 2016: 17).The card was then primarily used for identification. For over half of the cardholders it was the main means of identification and for over one quarter it was the only form of US photo identification (Daley et al. 2016: ii). It was, however, also highly popular among cardholders to get membership at cultural institutions (52.3 percent), and as a discount (25.3 percent) and library (24.1 percent) card (Daley et al. 2016: 35-39). Perhaps most striking: 58 percent of cardholders who were born in the US, and 77 percent of migrant cardholders felt more connected to New York City through their IDNYC (Daley et al. 2016: 42). The study, however, also finds that people are hesitant towards the IDNYC because they fear it could be used to monitor them (Daley et al. 2016: iv). Indeed, privacy concerns are at the heart of current debates. The IDNYC program's database is strictly separated from law

enforcement databases and law enforcement agencies cannot access it without judicial warrant or subpoena (Daley et al. 2016: 5). Copies of cardholders identity and residency documents are destroyed two years after the application (Daley et al. 2016: 5). In 2016, the IDNYC made headlines with two Staten Island Assembly members, Nicole Malliotakis and Ron Castorina, filed a lawsuit against the city of New York to prevent it from destroying cardholder information (Nahmias 2016). A year later, however, the New York State Supreme Court ruled in favor of the destruction of the data (Robbins 2017). For now, New York City has been successful in implementing and safeguarding its city ID program. The number of cardholders is constantly growing. As of March 2019, 1'414'319 cards have been issued (Banks et al. 2019: 3). Ultimately, the IDNYC has become a role model for similar national and international programs. In Switzerland, several cities including Zurich, Bern, and Basel are currently discussing the possible introduction of city IDs.

2.3.4 Züri City Card

In Zurich, the foundations for considerations of urban immigration and citizenship policies were laid in 2015. At the time, Katharina Morawek was curator of the Shedhalle – an institution for contemporary and critical art and "birthplace of a politically involved artistic practice in the German-speaking world" – looking for a way to address the democratic deficit in Switzerland resulting from contemporary citizenship practices (Morawek 2017: 179-181). Morawek teamed up with artist Martin Krenn to help develop what was to become the art project *The Whole World in Zurich* (Morawek 2017: 181). The idea was to use art as a medium through which to spark a debate on the potential implementation of urban citizenship policies in the city of Zurich (Morawek 2016: 4). In this context, the Shedhalle served as "safe haven" where people could meet and reflect and discuss possibilities free of all constraints (Morawek 2016: 4). The goal was to

come up with concrete political measures on how to expand the political, social, and cultural participation in the city of Zurich – which itself should become a safe haven (Morawek 2016: 4).

For this purpose, Moraweck and Krenn set up a working group consisting of key local actors in the fields of science, law, social movements, and unions (Morawek 2016: 5). The group met for the first time in June 2015 (Morawek 2016: 5). Participation in the group was paid and the respective projects (and the follow-up projects in the following year) received their own budget (Morawek 2016: 5). The working group developed three different foci, namely, freedom from discrimination, freedom of expression, and freedom of movement (Morawek 2016: 6). These foci were concretized during so-called *Harbor Talks* that were held between project members and further experts (Morawek 2016: 5-6). These private talks were, however, complemented by so-called *Harbor Forums* which were meant to foster public debate and involvement (Morawek 2016: 6). At the same time, alliances with other social movements such as We all are Zurich were built (Morawek 2016: 7).

This is the genesis of the project The Whole World in Zurich generally, and, more specifically, of considerations on urban citizenship and urban immigration and citizenship policies in the city of Zurich. The project ended with an exhibition titled *#urbancitizenship. Stadt und Demokratie* which took place from June to September 2016 at the Shedhalle (Morawek 2016: 8). The work continued, however, within follow-up projects that formed out of the projects' three focal points: the *Alliance against Racial Profiling* with a focus on freedom from discrimination, the *Salon Bastarde* with a focus on freedom of expression, and the *Working Group Züri City Card* with a focus on freedom of movement (Morawek 2017: 94-95) . Figure 2 gives an overview of the abovementioned developments:
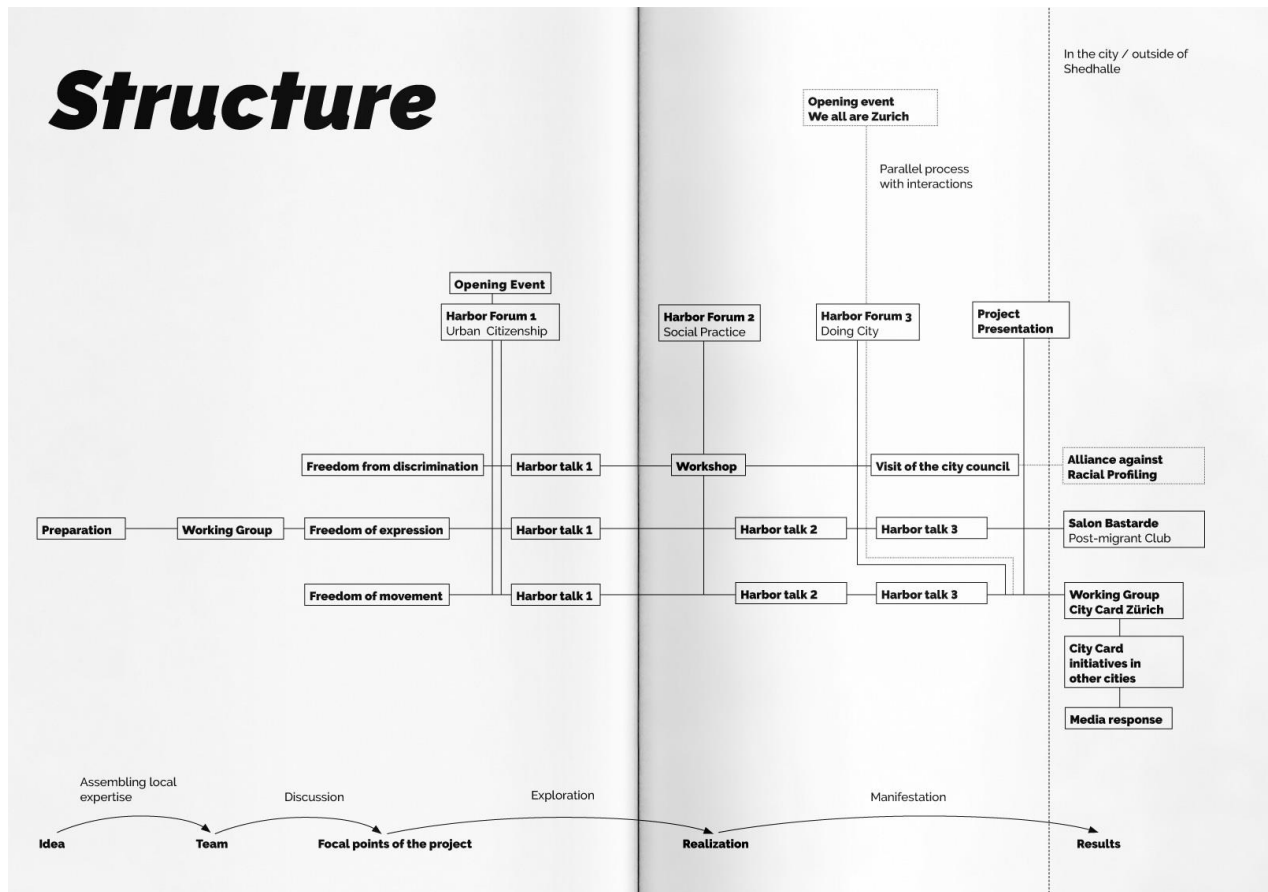
Figure 2. Source: Krenn, M., & Morawek, K. (2017). Urbæn cit'zënŞhip: Zur Demokratisierung der Demokratie / Democratising democracy. Zürich: Verein SHEDHALLE, 94-95.

In 2017, the *Working Group Züri City Card* became an independent association (Morawek 2019: 43). The association is made up of representatives of political, clerical, cultural, and public institutions and describes its mission as follows:

> "The purpose of the association is the implementation of a city card for the entire resident population in the greater Zurich urban area. The aim is to strengthen rights and their enforcement as well as the social and political standing of cardholders independent from official legal/residence status. The association cooperates with political and social movements in Zurich and other cities in- and outside of Switzerland" (Verein Züri City Card 2019).

Up to now there were three major milestones in the association's efforts to implement a city ID program in the city of Zurich. First of all, in 2017 it launched a support card which costs 20 CHF and is available for purchase on the

association's official website (Verein Züri City Card 2019). For 50 CHF anyone interested can, in addition to getting a support card, become a member of the association (Verein Züri City Card 2019). Secondly, in July 2018 the association launched a petition for the implementation of the card (Morawek 2019: 43-44). The petition, with over 8'400 signatures, was presented to Zurich's mayor Corinne Mauch in October of the same year (Morawek 2019: 44). Third, a motion for the implementation of the *Züri City Card* was filed in the City Parliament in July 2018 (Morawek 2019: 44). Eventually, the City Parliament approved the motion on October, 31 2018 with 64 votes in favor, and 41 against (Gemeinderat der Stadt Zürich 2018; Morawek 2019: 44). Accordingly, the City Council has until 2022 to work out the implementation of the *Züri City Card* (Morawek 2019: 44). This is the status quo of the conception process of the project. In the meantime, the city has requested the draft of two legal opinions (Morawek 2019: 44). The first one was published in January 2018 and addresses the questions of access to justice and of sans-papiers and of police checks (Kiener & Breitenbücher 2018). The second has yet to be published and will examine the compliance of the city card with higher-tier cantonal and national law (Morawek 2019: 44).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework that will serve as lens through which the conception of the *Züri City Card* will be looked at in this master's thesis. This framework is given by the policy mobilities approach, which will be outlined and linked to the subject of this master's thesis.

3.1 Policy Mobilities

This master thesis looks at the conception of the Züri City Card through the lens of policy mobilities. Recently increasing scholarly attention has focused on how policies move between places. It is well established that nowadays policies rapidly

move from place to place with ease, finding adherence and reference points all around the world. Mainly two strands of research are concerned with this process: the policy transfer tradition in political science and the policy mobilities scholarship in human geography, the latter emerging out of the criticism of the former.

Policy transfer, as Bennett (1991; 1997) argues, "attempts to subsume concepts about the alteration of domestic policy by external influences and 'convergence' of policy in different countries" (James & Lodge 2003: 182). Policy transfer is thereby understood as a "process by which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, and ideas in one political system [e.g. New York] (past or present) are used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, and ideas in another political system [e.g. Zurich]" (Dolowitz & Marsh 2000: 5). The transfer is perceived to be based on "rational choice presumptions", whereby "policy transfers are stylized as a distinctively conspicuous category of boundary-crossing practice, the occurrence of which is (implicitly or explicitly) traced to superior performance in exporting jurisdictions" (Peck & Theodore 2010: 169). Actors are assumed to act rationally, leading to "a tendency for good policies to drive out bad, in a process of optimizing diffusion" (ibid.). Consequently, policy transfer is considered to lead to worldwide policy convergence (Künkel 2015: 10; McCann 2011: 110; Peck & Theodore 2010: 169). The approach is primarily concerned with explaining the reasons for transfer; why policy transfer between countries happens and to what extent, what circumstances facilitate or prevent transfer, and what actors are involved (Künkel 2015: 10).

However, in recent years, more complex views have begun to spread under the umbrella of critical policy studies. Scholars such as Peck and Theodore (2010) and McCann (2011) have increasingly criticized the simplistic policy transfer scholarship. In their view, it falls short in its understanding of the involved actors

and spatiality, as well as the transfer process itself. To fill the gap, they propose the concept of policy mobilities. Contrary to the policy transfer tradition it accounts for (1) a wide range of different actors such as inter alia "'mid-level technocrats', NGOs and social movements or private consulting firms" (Künkel 2015: 11), (2) the fact that policies change as they move, (3) that policy transfer takes place between nation states as well as between cities and regions, and that (4) actors do not necessarily act rationally (Cook 2015: 835; Künkel 2015: 11-12; McCann 2011: 11; Temenos & McCann 2013: 346). As McCann and Ward (2012: 326) put it: "We argue that while the notion of policy transfer, narrowly defined, has lost significant amount of intellectual currency outside political science, the emergence of multidisciplinary perspectives on how, why, where, and with what effects policies are mobilized, circulated, learned, reformulated and reassembled highlights a wealth of opportunities for further conceptualization and empirical investigation" (Künkel 2015: 12). Thus, for policy mobilities scholars the question is less about whether policies move and for what reasons, but much more about how. The main debate revolves around how policies change when they are introduced into already existing local contexts (Künkel 2015: 12). Accordingly, policies do not exist everywhere in the same form. As Temenos and McCann (2013: 344) state "While they are familiar, they are strangely familiar: they are estranged from – partly foreign to – the context in which we encounter them, even as they are being actively embedded and made familiar, normal, or desirable by local politicians and policy actors". The impact of policies is thus contextually specific. As McCann and Ward (2010) put it: "all policies are local" (Peck & Theodore 2010: 170), or more precisely "while at the same time apparently global phenomena – globalized policies – are capable of realization only in particular, grounded and localized ways" (Cochrane & Ward 2012: 6). Therefore, critical policy scholars speak in terms of "mobility and mutation" rather than "transit and transaction" (Peck & Theodore 2010: 170).

Hence, situating the conception of the Züri City Card in the context of critical policy studies and policy mobility will allow to account for the complex networks of different actors involved in its elaboration as well as the mutations taking place as the policy instrument moves between the US and Switzerland. It moreover allows to connect different places, scales, and actors.

4. METHODOLOGY

The following chapter outlines the different stages of the research process. On the one hand, it describes the research group, the access to the field, and the examined sample. On the other hand, it illustrates the methodological approach used for the collection and evaluation of the data. This is meant to guarantee the transparency of the research.

4.1 Sample

The first step of the research process entailed the specification of the unit of analysis, or in other word of the respondents on which the data collection will focus. Because the objective of this master's thesis is to examine the local process of conception of the *Züri City Card* it makes sense to focus on experts of the subject. Here the term "expert" is defined according to Gläser and Laudel (2009). Gläser and Laudel (2009: 11) do not view experts as members of special elites as it is conventionally done, but rather understand them to be individuals who act in specific social contexts and therefore have special knowledge about the specific social contexts. The experts are thus not the focus of the inquiry, but "witnesses" through which the focus can be studied (Gläser & Laudel 2009: 12). Therefore, every person who is in some way or the other involved in the process of the conception of the Züri City Card is considered to be an expert. Accordingly, the principle of "purposeful sampling" according to Patton (1990: 169) was applied. Purposeful sampling provides that respondents are selected based on their in-

depth knowledge about the respective subject in order to obtain as much information as possible (ibid.). The goal is not to be able to generalize (as it is with quantitative methods) findings, but to be able to offer a detailed account of the particular research interest at hand (ibid.). The review of literature in chapter 2 showed that generally a wide range of different actors are involved in the conception and implementation of urban citizenship and immigration policies. These actors are involved for different reasons and in different ways. There is no single common characteristic that describes all of them besides the fact that they are all somehow involved in the local conception and implementation process. Accordingly, demographic characteristics like age or gender are not a criterion for the selection of respondents. Nor is it possible or makes sense to select homogenous respondents. Rather respondents should specifically be chosen to represent the involved heterogeneity. Therefore "maximum variation sampling" (Patton 1990: 172) is chosen as purposeful sampling strategy. Maximum variation sampling entails the intentional choice of heterogenous respondents (ibid.). Usually this is problematic, but as Patton (ibid.) points out maximum variation sampling is based on the idea that "common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central, shared aspects or impacts of a program." Consequently, I purposefully looked for local actors that were involved in different ways along various parts of the conception process of the *Züri City Card*. My unit of analysis, therefore, comprises nongovernmental as well as governmental local actors with different professional backgrounds. It was especially important to me to select respondents linked to the police because they play an important part in the implementation of city ID programs. Moreover, it was especially important to select illegalized respondents as well in order to counter the familiar reproach of them being silenced while at the same time being at the center of the inquiry.

Access to the Field

For the search of respondents, the principle of "snowball sampling" according to Patton (1990: 176) was applied. Snowball sampling provides that key informants act as gatekeepers for the selection of further respondents (ibid.). Potential interview partners are thus continually found and added to the sample based on suggestions from previous respondents and as a consequence the "snowball" grows along the way (ibid.). Because I did not have any personal contacts to involved actors, I started by reaching out to all the members of the Association *Züri City Card* as those were the actors publicly known to work on the conception of the city ID. I got in touch with them through the contact information available on the internet. Some of them reacted quickly to my interview request and I could thus conduct the first interviews in a short period of time. This initial success was, however, followed by a challenging period during which I could not find new respondents. I was facing different challenges.

With regard to the Association's members the challenge was that they are limited in number and work on the conception on a voluntary basis while at the same time exercising their profession. Therefore, they were extremely busy. Some of them were also on a sick leave. It was thus often very challenging to get in touch with them. This was further complicated by the fact that the different members of the Association often suggested each other as potential interview partners. On the one hand, this further proved that there is only a limited group of actors involved in the conception of the *Züri City* Card. On the other hand, it showed the limits of the snowball sampling strategy with regard to the heterogeneity and broadness of the sample (Helfferich 2009: 176). By staying persistent and by trying different ways to get in touch with them (phone calls, passing by), after a while the snowball system started to work again.

With regard to other activists that were not as directly involved as the Association's members the challenge was that often they felt they did not have

enough knowledge about the subject and therefore rejected my interview request. This might have had something to do with the specificity of my interview questions (cf. annex). Finally, with regard to governmental actors the challenge was that there was one spokesperson within the city's administration that I kept being directed towards. Attempts to still speak with actors of other departments were often unsuccessful.

Composition of the Sample

Existing literature and research on urban immigration and citizenship policies shows that their conception touches different groups of governmental and nongovernmental actors. The respondents for my sample were thus specifically selected to represent the different groups involved in the local conception of the *Züri City Card*. Accordingly, my sample comprises 15 local actors (whereby one interview was conducted with five respondents at the same time) that can be divided into three different groups: activists (6 respondents), city employees (4 respondents), and sans-papiers (5 respondents). They also represented professional groups that are relevant in the conception process. Respondents were active in the fields of law, politics, migrant activism, administration, and law enforcement. Some of them were also members of relevant local activist organizations. All actors were thus involved in the conception process in different ways because of their profession and/or membership in local activist organizations. Apart from one respondent, all remaining 14 actors were directly involved in the conception process. They can thus be considered as experts according to Gläser und Laudel (2009). The single actor who was not directly involved had for a long time worked within law enforcement and was, at the time of the research, employed at the migration office of the canton of Zurich. This actor can thus also be considered as an expert. Out of the three respondents working in politics, two were members of the City Council (the parliament of the

city of Zurich), whereas the third respondent also used to be a member. One actor was employed within the cantonal administration. Figure 3 gives an overview of all involved actors:
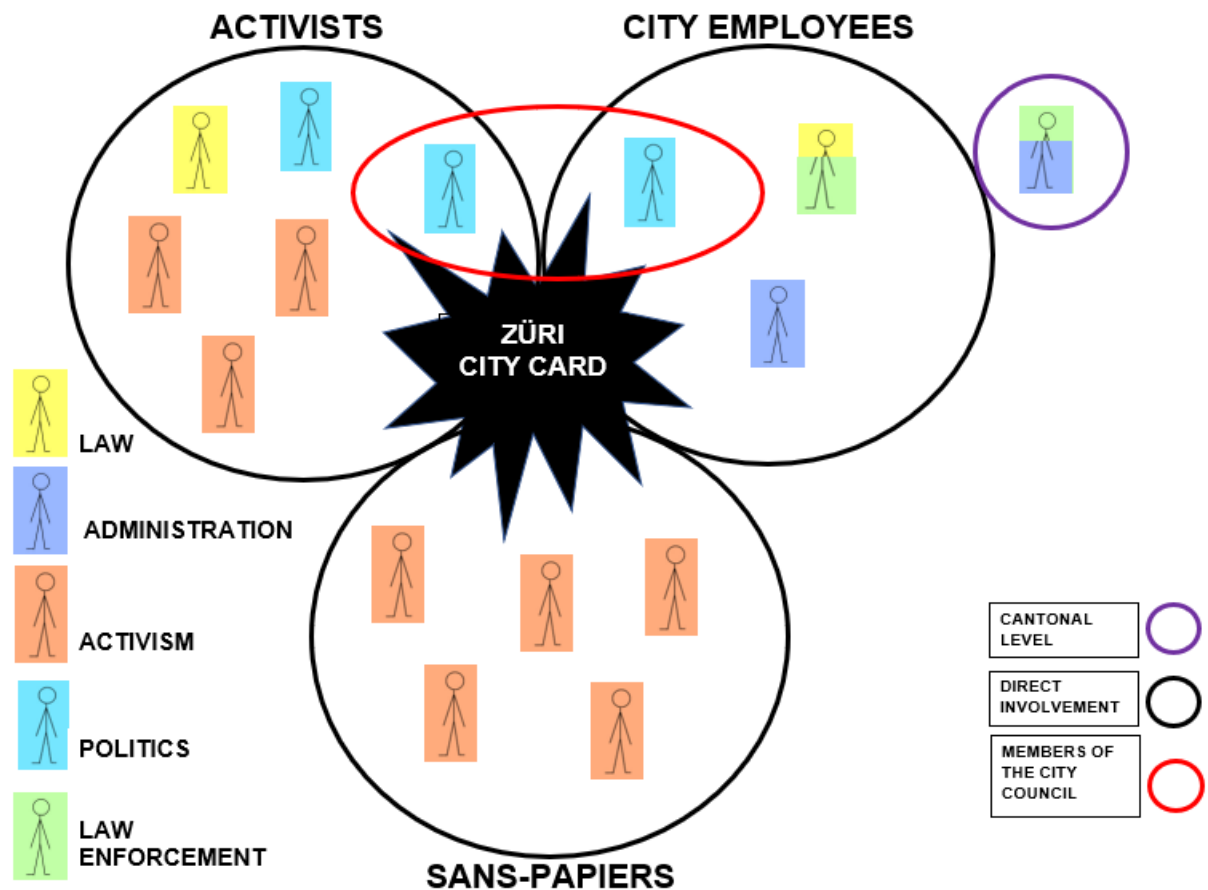

Figure 3. Actors involved in the conception of the *Züri City Card*. Own illustration.

Based on Patton (1990: 186) the deciding criterion for the size of the sample was "*redundancy*". Redundancy is reached when no new information can be gained from new respondents (ibid.). Accordingly, in qualitative research the samples can vary in their size, even be quite small, but at the same time still be useful (depending on the context even more than large quantitative samples) (ibid.: 184-185). Purposeful samples are not meant to provide generalizations (ibid.). This master's thesis findings are thus only representative in the specific context of the city of Zurich where the data was collected.

4.2 Data Collection

This master's thesis seeks to look at how the *Züri City Card* is currently being discussed in the specific context of the city of Zurich. At the center of interest are therefore, the imaginations of the involved actors in Zurich. According to Helfferich (2009: 21) "subjective views" can be best investigated by adopting a qualitative research approach. With regard to the research question and the unit of analysis, the data for this master's thesis was thus collected through semi-structured expert interviews. The goal of semi-structured interviews is to touch upon certain themes, while not interfering to much into the conversation to make it seem largely natural (Gläser & Laudel 2009: 42). Accordingly, a semi-structured interview is based on a list of questions – the interview guide – that determines the questions to be answered and thus the themes to be discussed (Gläser & Laudel 2009: 42). It gives, however, the freedom of formulating the question differently and changing their order if necessary (ibid.). Semi-structured interviews are thus open and flexible, but at the same time structured. A significant advantage of semi-structured interviews is that they facilitate the analysis and comparison of the collected data because encourage recurring themes (Helfferich 2009: 180).

Design of the Interview Guide

For the design of the interview guide, I proceeded according to the "SPSS-Principle" developed by Helfferich (2009: 182). The SPSS-Principle helps to design an interview guide by following four steps according to which interview questions are (1) collected, (2) revised, (3) sorted, and (4) subsumed (ibid.: 182-185). Accordingly, I first collected as many questions as possible that were related to my research objective. In a second step, I critically assessed the usefulness of the collected questions with regard to the research objective. During this step, many of the collected questions were deleted or formulated differently. I then sorted

the questions into different parts according to different themes and subsumed each theme under one main question. Afterwards, I conducted a pre-test with an actor that was involved in the conception of a city ID program in the city of Bern. This was meant to test if the research questions were formulated adequately and comprehensively and if the structure of the interview guide worked. While the themes and respective questions proved to be good, the overall structure of the interview guide left room for improvement. I thus re-structured the interview guide one last time. As the end of this process, the interview guide entailed five parts, whereby questions about the *Züri City Card* were put at the beginning, and questions about the wider context of urban citizenship and sanctuary cities were put at the end (cf. chapter 8).

Conducting the Interviews

Overall, I conducted 11 interviews: 10 individual interviews and 1 group interview with 5 respondents. The interviews took place in a timeframe of seven months from January 2019 to July 2019. I let the respondents decide on the exact place and time for the interviews so that they would feel comfortable and relaxed. Eight interviews took place at the workplace of respondents, in their offices, and two interviews were conducted in public places. Generally, I also let the respondents decide what language they preferred for the interview as long as I was able to understand it. This was meant to guarantee that no information was lost because respondents were not able to put it into words. Eight interviews were conducted in Swiss German, two interviews in High German, and one interview in Spanish. With the consent/approval of the respondents the interviews were recorded and finally transcribed (cf. chapter 4.3).

4.3 Transcription of Interviews

The term "transcription" refers to the process of transferring (by typing it by hand) the content of an audio or video file – usually conversations, interviews, or

dictations – into written form (Dresing & Pehl 2017: 17). The interviews were transcribed without using any particular transcription software. During the process of transcription, the interviews were translated from Swiss German into High German with the exception of the Spanish interview which was transcribed in its original language. The interviews were transcribed word by word. All the names and places were anonymized. Each interview was attributed a number in order to be able to properly cite it in the analysis.

4.4 Data Analysis

Finally, the data was analyzed using qualitative content analysis according to Gläser and Laudel (2009). Originally, the content analysis was developed as quantitative method in order to identify the frequency and distribution of categories of information within texts (ibid.: 197). The *quantitative content analysis* was soon criticized for not being able to capture the entire complexity involved in the study of the social world (Mayring 2016: 114). Accordingly, Philipp Mayring developed an approach which entailed the systematic analysis of texts without hasty quantifications: the *qualitative content analysis* (ibid.). For Mayring (ibid.), this meant that the theory-based development of a system of categories which determines the aspects to look for in the texts. For Gläser and Laudel (2009: 198-199) this is problematic because the application of fixed categories does not allow finding new information that does not fit them. They argue that, therefore, Mayring's approach continues to focus on the *frequency* of information and not on the *content* of the information. Gläser and Laudel (ibid.) thus extend Mayring's qualitative content analysis to "allow the extraction of complex information of texts, while simultaneously staying open for unanticipated information during the entire process of analysis". Essentially, they propose to do so by following four basic steps: (1) the preparation of the extraction, (2) the extraction, (3) the preparation of the generated data, and finally the (4) analysis of the data (ibid.:

199-260). Gläser and Laudel (ibid.) propose to use a computer system in order to facilitate the extraction process. I renounced due to personal preferences.

5. RESULTS

This chapter presents the findings of the research. The findings are structured into three parts representing the three different groups of local actors involved in the conception process: city employees, activists, and sans-papiers (cf. chapter 4.1). The findings for each group of actors are presented by means of two approaches: *legitimation* and *equal opportunities*. These two approaches lie at the heart of actors' imaginations about the conception of the *Züri City Card*: an official ID card available to all the residents in the city of Zurich independent from resident status. They appeared in respondents answers to the questions regarding the goals and functions of the *Züri City Card*. Respondents imagine the Züri City Card to be official (legitimation) and for everyone (equal opportunities). This is best captured by the quotes below:

> *"There's an ID card for all people who live in the city of Zurich […] with which they can interact with all city authorities. Especially in regard to identity checks by the police, people can identify themselves." (8: 285-289)*
> *"We want an ID card for everyone. Like in New York, all people are entitled to get one. And it should be officially distributed by the administration […] This means it is something official and for everyone."*
> *(9: 96-99)*

Accordingly, *legitimation* means that the *Züri City Card* is an official recognition. *Equal opportunities* means that the *Züri City Card* makes everyone the same by giving everyone equal opportunities to social participation.

5.1 City Employees

5.1.1 Legitimation

The city employees represent the legal dimension in the conception process. For them the legitimation of the Züri City Card is the most important aspect; it is legally not feasible. Based on this they dismiss the project right away. Accordingly, the legal dimension was predominant during the interviews.

> *"This city card would have to make sans-papiers legal. Otherwise, it is of no use to the sans-papiers. [...] The sans-papiers does not need a city card to go to school. The sans-papiers does not need a city card to go to the hospital. He gets medical treatment there. Not the luxury version, but the essential."* (3: 155-158).

In particular for law enforcement, namely for the police officer in the streets, this unsolved legal situation constitutes the main challenge because his role as law enforcement officer gives him clear tasks for his professional practice.

> "It's not a highlight for the police when they catch an illicit worker. But it's simply part of the job. Law is law and the police have to implement it." (3: 246-248)

> *"generally police officers have an obligation to report a crime when they are aware of it. And unlawful residence is of course a crime. Hence, the police is principally requested to report it. In contrast to other authorities where it is not as strict. And then there's the question if police officers make themselves liable when they don't check a person closer they assume to be in Switzerland illegally."* (Müller 66-72)

How the next quotations show, every discussion leads back to the legal question. The clarification of the legal situation seems possible, but leaves open various questions in the eyes of the city employees:

"Then you would have to change the law. To change the law is possible. Law are constantly changed because the values in society change and therefore laws are adapted. That would absolutely be a possible solution. But as long as we have this law, I do not see what the city card does for sans-papiers." (3: 77-81)

"There are essentially two challenges. First, who is authorized to issue such a card. [...] Does it have to be a state authority, or can it be a private organization. And the recognition of this city card by different authorities, on the one hand. That's an issue, like school, social, sports, healthcare, hospitals, and so on. And of course with regard to us, the recognition by the police of such a city card." (1: 53-58).

The federalist structure makes it complicated to find a solution in this unclarified legal situation because in the views of the city employees the competencies lie in particular at the national or cantonal scale:

"The city has not the competence to issue formal IDs. They can at most issue an informal card. But then there's again the question, then it's not solved. The Confederation, or at least the canton, the migration office, issue such a card. And then the foreigner law would probably have to be adapted. And then we are once again back to the legal issue." (1: 153-159)

"I mean, he [the City Council] cannot and will not rebel against the Government Council [executive of the Canton of Zurich]. That is unthinkable. How should I say, we are very consensus-oriented in Switzerland. [...] And that would almost be a declaration of war on the canton" (2: 146-149)

During all the interviews with the city employees it became clear that the federal structures prevent the implementation of the city card. Respondents emphasized that a municipality in Switzerland cannot be an island, in which different law applies than in the rest of the country (3: 147-150). Moreover, a city card with

missing legitimation lulls individuals into a false sense of security because sans-papiers in spite of an official paper still have to fear deportation:

> *"it has a great potential to lull people into a false sense of security. Because we are dealing with very vulnerable people. We are also dealing with people that clearly live on the outside of society that are, I think, simply unfamiliar with some areas, customs and legal situations and political circumstances. And if you give them something and they take it seriously with today's legal situation and they can still at all times be deported, in that case I find it negligent on the part of the people that demand something like this. [...] don't believe that the majority of the sans-papiers realizes the non-significance this paper will have." (2: 181-190)*

Finally, it can be said that there is also awareness from the part of city employees that sans-papiers situation needs to be regulated. However, this task is considered to be a political one:

> *"They should be regularized. It's also a possibility that we say all sans-papiers get a residence permit. That would of course be a huge step and would probably not have majority backing" (3: 51-53)*

> *"The political courage is already lacking to start where it would already be possible today." (2: 617-618)*

Once again this shows how decisive the regional conditions are. If there is the political balance of power, the political will and the structures for a change, a solution like in Geneva seems possible:

> *"What is also special about Geneva, it [Operation Papyrus] can of course be traced back to one person. To Maudet himself [...] who in whatever way touched on this issue and who then practically designed this solution. [...] then there is also the fact that if it is someone from the FDP, he will anyways be able to convince his leftist colleagues, or*

relatively easily convince them. He will also be able to convince the [political] center. He thereby already has the majority. [...] And then there is another special situation in Geneva and that is that all relevant authorities that play a role for this naturalization program are within the same department, namely Maudet's. [...] Every canton is organized a bit differently in this respect. In Zurich this is not the case, here three different departments are responsible for this subject" (2: 280-296)

On the part of the City Council there is the concern that the voices of the opponents of such a card prevail during a democratic process and that then the already achieved social participation of sans-papiers is lost:

"In general, the city adopts a quiet approach with regards to the issue of sans-papiers. A bit à la "Do good, and do not talk about it". Because as soon as you approach something more actively, more loudly in that sense, you make yourself vulnerable" (4: 36-39)

Overall, it can be said that from the viewpoint of city employees the implementation of the city card is a legal question. The politics – in line with the rule of law – would have to create a legal basis on which the conception of the city card could be based (1: 132-140).

5.1.2 Equal Opportunities

As determined, for city employees the social aspect is in the background. Nevertheless, it is not denied:

"from a human point of view, I feel sorry for the people, the housemaids, working for dumping wages, are not medically insured. It's really obscene from the part of employers. They pay monthly wages of 600 / 700 francs, and when something arrives health wise, they are not insured. That's unpleasant" (3: 117-122)

"I do really understand the motive for saying solutions need to be found for these collectively and individually tragic human destinies. [...] That is undisputed." (2: 178-180)

At the same time, the possibility of social participation is met by concerns of a pull effect:

"Finally, everything has to do with the pull effect [...] and as brutal as it sounds, the better asylum seekers are off in Switzerland, the more will come. Therefore, we have to look closely what we can give with regard to services, financial means, comfort of accommodation, an what is counterproductive." (3: 257-261)

5.2 Activists

5.2.1 Legitimation

The activists represent the social dimension in the conception process. For them the legal situation is not the main challenge because it could be achieved through a political process. However, the political will to do so is missing:

"We should not turn the issue into a legal debate. It is a question of political will, not of legal problems. I never questioned that legal problems need to be solved. It is without doubt that in such a constitutional state like Switzerland you will have to legislate when you make something new." (5: 291-295)

"We are convinced that the problems that the City Council always addresses – the legal problems too – that they can all be solved. Every political project needs legal changes, it needs to be clarified, data protection, and so on. That is clear. But everything is feasible. Everything can be implemented. But you just have to go for it. You must have the courage. You have to move forward" (5: 179-183)

Nevertheless, they do not deny the significance of a legal basis in order to protet the vulnerable sans-papiers. It is their declared objective to create an official ID card, which is based on a legal basis because the claims are based on rule of law, human rights, and solidarity (5: 319-320; 5: 214-215):

> *"We have for a long time dealt with the question of whether we want an official ID, or whether we want, almost a bit through the backdoor, bypass the authorities with a card that is, for instance, issued by us [the Association Züri City Card]. [...] The first approach provides more security, but there are way higher obstacles to overcome. The second approach, kind of the Guerilla-approach, is tempting because we can just start right away. But we run the risk of not providing enough legal certainty which we technically strive for with regard to the sans-papiers. [...] we then said, we need an official ID which is based on a clear legal framework. It needs to be unconditionally guaranteed politically and legally." (5: 85-98)*

The official ID card would also solve the problem of police controls. If it were to be compulsory for all the people living in the city of Zurich, the police could not refer to initial suspicion during police checks. That would simplify the police's work.

> *"When the city police makes identity checks in the metropolitan area of the city of Zurich it has to be guaranteed – according to our targets for the city card – that you can identify yourself and that the city of Zurich not only accepts this city card as an official ID [...] but also that it is sufficient. [...] On the one hand, it has to be accepted as an ID by the police and it has to be a sufficient ID. Hence you cannot ask for further identification papers. And the showing of the city card must not allow an initial suspicion of unlawful residence to be substantiated." (5: 248-256)*

With regard to the objection from the city employees that the city card would lull sans-papiers into a false sense of security activists respond with the argument that sans-papiers should not be underestimated and that they are very well informed (8: 435; *5: 618-623*). Moreover, the wide use of the card by the city's residents would avoid the problem of stigmatization. The activists want to prevent that the city card becomes a sans-papier document, which puts people in pigeonholes (8: 33-35). During the interviews it became clear that the understanding of a city card is not yet clarified with regard to this. Counter to the concept of urban citizenship – which provides participation for everyone – the situation of the sans-papiers is at the center of attention for the activists, which is rather linked to the concept of sanctuary city. The shared identity of all city residents is not mentioned until the concrete implementation is concerned.

5.2.2 Equal Opportunities

As shown, the activists consider it wrong to put the focus of attention on legal questions. In order to conceive the city card in line with the concept of urban citizenship – participation and democratization for everyone – the focus should be put on equal opportunities:

> *"that would kind of be a model as known from mountain regions where the access to the cable car is cheaper for locals than for tourists. [...] That we say those who live here and pay their taxes here, they can go to the Seebadi or the Kunsthaus at a reduced price." (5: 566-570)*

That individuals can enjoy their rights and have access to education and health care is weighted higher than the violation of residence permit:

> *"All these people [sans-papiers] have a higher priority, because these are rights that are granted to them by the Federal Consitution and the Human Rights. That really should be of higher importance than an illegal residence." (10: 122-124)*

However, at the same time the interviews showed that the activists do not agree to what extent the pragmatic approach – more safety and the overcoming of everyday problems such as the opening of a bank account – is to be weighted with regard to the cultural participation. On the one hand, they emphasize solidarity and a shared identity:

"A solidary city. And the other important keyword for us is identity. There the idea is that this urban citizenship creates a new identity for the residents of a city, which is not defined by classical citizenship, nationality, right of residence, but simply says that people who live in the same place pull in the same direction. And everything else does not matter at all. This creates a shared identity." (5: 56-63)

On the other hand, the function of the city card of overcoming daily obstacles is emphasized (10: 264-279; 7: 180-183):

"It should be possible to have the same access to public services [for everyone]. That's the basis. Additionally, it should also help to overcome certain things in the private sector. To conclude rental, insurance, bank contracts and so on." (5: 557-561)

"The problem is not that the police is looking for them [sans-papiers]. […] Rather, it is in particular important to us that sans-papiers can live their life in a more integrated way. […] That they simply have to sneak less along the wall. That thy have to live less in the underground. That is actually our central objective. With this in mind, it become quickly clear that our concept is not sanctuary city which want to protect the people from the mean deportation authorities, but rather that we want to integrate people into the society. Urban citizenship. We want to turn them into equal members of society with the card." (5: 848-857)

5.3 Sans-Papiers

5.3.1 Legitimation
The sans-papiers represent the human dimension in the conception process.

They want legitimation; to be seen as a human being:

"we have the toughest jobs. Since I have been her, I have not seen one Swiss woman clean. All of them are bosses. And that's fine, but we should be recognized. Because we have the toughest jobs, we should be recognized." (11: 105-107)

"I have felt like I am not worthy as a person. Because I don't have the same rights as those living here [...] And I have often said wow I feel like I am worth nothing, like I am not even existing in the world. " (11: 250-253)

"We have to realize the Züri City Card because it's the only way to enter the circle. And that they take note of us [...] that we can live like humans, that's the most important thing. No more masks. No more hiding. That's all we want." (11: 287-290)

"I always tell myself: I am not a criminal. But the police sees me as criminal for not having documents and for breaking the law. But I always think, I am not harming anyone, I am here working, seeking a better future for my daughter." (11: 499-502)

5.3.2 Equal Opportunities
On the other hand, the sans-papiers also depend on practical advantages. This is

reflected when they narrate everyday situation they experienced:

"They [sans-papiers] think that there's exchange of data with the migration office, even though in theory there shouldn't be, and they are scared. [...] When a Swiss person or a person with official papers is sick, they can be cured, get treatment. In the case of a sans-papiers the illness

gets so bad that – if they go to the doctor its really serious. They would never go for something like a cold or a fever." (10: 120-124)

"One day I got to my home and saw a police officer standing in front of it. As soon as I saw him, I thought they [federal migration authorities] are looking for me. I immediately made a run for it because the officer had not yet seen me. [...] It was eleven o'clock in the evening and I was in the streets [...] wondering what to do. [...] I called the landlord but she did not answer, did not answer. And I decided I had to find someplace to spend the night because I was not going to go back to the apartment. And then around half past midnight someone called me and told me that they had spoken to the landlord and that she said the police had been there but not because of me. [...] and that is a feeling of stress, of fear, of tension you live and you feel helpless, that you cannot do anything." (10: 503-514)

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

My objective was to find out how the *Züri City Card* is being negotiated in the specific context of the city of Zurich. In the city of Zurich, the card is being negotiated between three different groups of actors. First of all, there are the city employees. For them the problem is that the *Züri City Card* is legally not feasible. Secondly, the perspective of the activists. For them the problem is that the *Züri City* Card is politically not feasible. Third, the perspective of the sans-papiers themselves. For them the Züri City Card means recognition and access to services. In retrospect, it becomes evident that in particular the two groups of actors - the city employees and the activists – insert themselves in different ways into the negotiation of the *Züri City Card*. Accordingly, the *Züri City Card* is being negotiated in the field of tension between a legal and a social/democratic dimension. On the one hand, there's the legal dimension in the sense of a sanctuary city. On the other hand, there the social aspect of participation in the sense of urban citizenship. Kaufmann (2019: 445) shows that indeed both

dimensions are necessary in order for city cards to work. He states that: "in order for local bureaucratic membership policies to work they must be accompanied by sanctuary city policies, meaning that being a sanctuary city is a necessary condition for local bureaucratic membership" (ibid.) In the specific context of Zurich, however, sanctuary policies seem to be without a chance.

These two differing viewpoints then also affect how the card is being imagined: should it be especially designed for sans-papiers in order to guarantee their protection, or should the card be conceived in order to create a shared identity between all the city residents. In Zurich the negotiation of the *Züri City Card* is blocked between these two poles. As a consequence, more detailed questions about how it would be issued, or what exactly its functions are, what benefits it would allow to access are yet missing:

> *"The final details are of course not yet an issue. We are discussing a lot with regard to the implementation, what do to best in order to help this idea gain a majority, in order to create pressure […] In order to help the idea to achieve a breakthrough." (8: 263-266)*

Existing findings about the conception of a city card in the city of Bern suggest that there the local actors are going more into detail (Hardegger 2018). Similarly, research that compares the Papyrus project in Geneva and the *Züri City Card* shows that the political and institutional context in which cities are embedded in largely influences how these policies are conceived and implemented in practice (Strebel 2018). Overall, this is proof that policies cannot simply be transferred from one context to another, but that rather they change along the way and adapt to local circumstances. In the case of Zurich this has led to the development of two different viewpoints which will define if and how the Züri City Card will be realized.

«I keep asking myself: do we really have to accept discriminatory and restrictive policies merely because they are written in legal language?"

– Roula Saleh (Neumann 2019: 32)*,*
Pressekonferenz United Against Racism-Parade Hamburg

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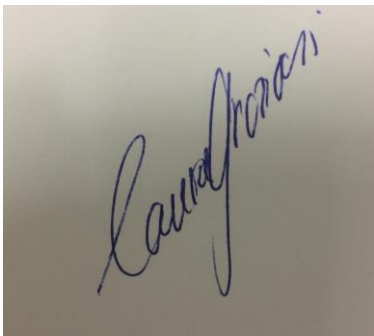
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8. ANNEX

8.1 Personal Declaration

Personal declaration: I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own, independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

Bern, 30.09.2019

8.2 Interviewguide

LEITFRAGEN (Erzählaufforderung)	VERTIEFUNGSFRAGEN
TEIL I: ZÜRICH **Bitte erzählen Sie mir die Geschichte der Züri City Card ganz von Anfang an: Was ist bis heute in Zürich für die Einführung einer City Card passiert?**	Welche Hintergründe haben in Zürich Ihrer Meinung nach zur Diskussion über die Einführung einer City Card geführt? ☐ Was können Sie mir über die bisherigen Aktivitäten erzählen? ☐ Wo steht der Prozess im Moment? ☐
Sie setzen sich für die Umsetzung der City Card in Zürich ein. Wie sind Sie persönlich involviert?	Wie sind Sie zum ersten Mal mit der Idee einer City Card in Kontakt gekommen? Mit welchen Akteurinnen und Akteuren arbeiten Sie zusammen? ☐ Mit welchen Institutionen arbeiten Sie zusammen? ☐ Wie gestaltet sich diese Zusammenarbeit? ☐ Wie ist die Zürcher Bewegung für eine City Card konkret organisiert? ☐

TEIL II: UMSETZUNG	Wie geht man in Zürich politisch vor? ☐
Welche Strategien werden für die Einführung einer City Card verfolgt?	Wie geht man in Zürich rechtlich vor? ☐
	Inwiefern gibt es Diskussionen über das beste Vorgehen für die Einführung einer City Card? ☐
Was können Sie mir über die geplante Funktionsweise der City Card in Zürich erzählen?	Welche konkreten Inhalte werden diskutiert? ☐
	Welche Ziele verfolgt die Züri City Card? ☐
	Wer soll von der Züri City Card profitieren? ☐
	Welche Vorteile sehen Sie für Sans-Papiers? ☐
	Welche Vorteile sehen Sie für CH-Staatsbürger? ☐
	Wem wird es möglich sein die Züri City Card zu beantragen? ☐

	Wie wird man die Züri City Card erhalten können? ☐
	Welche Gefahren birgt die City Card? ☐
	Inwiefern gibt es Diskussionen darüber, was die Funktionen einer Zürcher City Card sein sollen? ☐
	Welche Punkte führen innerhalb der Bewegung für eine City Card zu Aushandlungsbedarf? ☐
TEIL III: HERAUSFORDERUNGEN **Welche Herausforderungen stellen sich Ihrer Meinung nach für die Umsetzung der City Card?**	Was sind die Herausforderungen zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt? ☐ Welche politischen Hürden stellen sich in Zürich? ☐ Welche rechtlichen Hürden stellen sich? ☐ Welche administrativen Hürden stellen sich? ☐

	Wo sehen Sie weitere Herausforderungen in Zukunft? ☐
Wo stösst die Idee der City Card auf Widerstand?	Welche Aspekte der City Card werden kritisiert? ☐ Welche Punkte führen in der Aushandlung mit staatlichen Stellen zu Auseinandersetzungen? ☐
TEIL IV: KONTEXT **Die Idee der City Card stammt aus den USA. Inwiefern dient die USA/New York als Vorbild für eine City Card in Zürich?** ⍰	Inwiefern kann das New Yorker Modell Ihrer Meinung nach für Zürich übernommen werden? ☐ Inwiefern muss das New Yorker Modell angepasst werden? ☐ In der Stadt Bern gibt es auch eine Bewegung für eine City Card. Inwiefern dient Bern der Stadt Zürich als Vorbild? ☐ Städtische Identitätskarten werden manchmal im Zusammenhang mit der Debatte um 'Urban Citizenship' diskutiert. Welche Rolle spielt dieses Konzept im Zürcher Kontext? ☐

	Städtische Identitätskarten werden manchmal im Zusammenhang mit der Debatte um 'Sanctuary City' genannt. Welche Rolle spielt dieses Konzept im Zürcher Kontext? ☐
TEIL V: SCHLUSS **Ich habe alle meine Fragen gestellt. Was möchten Sie dem Gesagten noch hinzufügen?**	
Wen könnten Sie mir für weitere Interviews empfehlen?	