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**FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES
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FRAMING THE SWISS MEDIA DISCOURSE ON OPERATION PAPYRUS AND UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS

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**Thesis for the Master's degree in sociology under the supervision of
Prof. Claudine Burton-Jeangros**

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FOREWORD

In the summer of 2019, I began an internship at the Parchemins Study, an interdisciplinary team at the University of Geneva tasked with analyzing the social, economic and health related effects of “Operation Papyrus”, a political project that provided clear guidelines to the regularization of undocumented migrants in the canton of Geneva, Switzerland. Simultaneously, the project put in place accompanying measures to tackle the issues surrounding undeclared work, mostly in the domestic economy. Having arrived in the second year of the study, I was charged with getting in contact with the participants of the previous year and conduct with them a face-to-face interview, completing the questionnaire required for the quantitative portion of the study. Some of the participants were Papyrus candidates, some had already obtained their work permits and others were unable to qualify and remained unregulated.

While getting in contact with the participants through phone calls and emails, we reminded them that they were at liberty to refuse to participate for which ever reason, and that they could quit the study at any time. There was a plethora of reasons why participants refused to continue with us, before during or after my interview with them, but one in particular captured my attention. A participant who took this option mentioned during our phone call that the main reason she wanted to opt out, was her lack of trust in the Parchemins Study following the publication of an article in one of Geneva’s leading newspapers, *La Tribune de Genève*. This press article portrayed the undocumented migrants as generally suffering from poor mental and physical health, plagued with depression and anxiety-related issues as well as living in overall precarious conditions. The same article also outlined how Papyrus offered a particular opportunity to social researchers in terms of obtaining new data from this often-hidden population. The journalist used terms such as “fragile” in reference to the undocumented and newly regulated migrants, which the participant felt was denigrating and incorrect. She did not contest the research or the findings, but rather the label and the judgement imposed on her and her peers by two powerful institutions: the University and the press.

Within the research team, we had discussed many times the ethical concerns and issues that come along with studying a “vulnerable” population, a label that went unquestioned. It is considered “common sense” in academia to classify undocumented immigrants as a “vulnerable” population, after all, the Parchemins Study takes place within the University of Geneva’s institute for studies on gerontology and vulnerability (CIGEV). From the beginning of my internship, and all throughout, we talked of what it means to study a vulnerable population and the implications to the research process. It is a very important question to keep in mind and much literature has been dedicated to this issue. However, there is one question that the research team, and I as an intern, had not taken into account: the effects of the “vulnerable” label as perceived by the participants and how this labeled is conveyed, either by us or by other communicators. What does it mean for a participant to know they are seen as “vulnerable”? In giving the participants the right to refuse participation we rightfully acknowledged their agency. Therefore, we should also

question how other institutions influence their knowledge of, and participation in, academic studies, and their overall perception of academia. Though scholars cannot determine the way a study or a project is portrayed in the press or the media, they should be aware of how these portrayals can hinder a research project. This is the first question that led me to develop this study. How does the media shape our perception of current and former undocumented migrants? How does this influence our attitude towards the Papyrus project or its candidates?

These questions are complex, and the answers can vary greatly depending on if they are asked of a Swiss citizen or an immigrant, undocumented or not. Since Papyrus is a policy that seeks the integration of undocumented workers, this integration process is influenced by other institutional actors. Therefore, I wanted to question what the depiction of immigrants that is being produced and reproduced by the media. “The perception of the other is a core aspect of the integration of ethnic minorities and immigrants.” (Trebbe and Schoenhagen 2011: 411). By analyzing the ways in which the press perceives the population concerned with Papyrus and the political project itself, I hope to further understand the dynamics influencing the larger social integration process.

INTRODUCTION

In early 2017, “Operation Papyrus”, was introduced to the general public, a political project that would allow the regularization of undocumented workers in the canton of Geneva. After more than fifteen years of lobbying and negotiations by associations, NGOs and labor unions, Papyrus was approved and operating for a trial period of two years. Generally well-received, the project gave undocumented migrants a clear guideline to enter the regularization process while putting in place a campaign to fight against the informal labor market, specifically targeting employers of domestic workers. Since Papyrus ended in December 2018, the project continues to be a topic of discussion in the whole of the Confederation, seen as either a policy to be recreated and built upon in other regions, or as a risky model to avoid. Since the project was not voted on by the population, the public sphere debates have mainly taken place through the media and the press, the main sources of information and opinion for Papyrus. Bringing in key institutional and government actors as the main contributors, journalists and the media have framed the development of Papyrus, and the debate around it, during its two-year lifespan.

Though an innovative project for Switzerland, Papyrus joins other legalization and regularization programs in the global North such as Spain’s settlement program of 2006 or the United States’ Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) act. These programs seek to regulate undocumented immigrants based on integration and merit and respond to several immigration questions. With varying levels of requirements and benefits granted, these programs encompass all categories of migrants whether newly arrived asylum seekers or, as in the case of Papyrus, long established undocumented laborers. “In recent years, there has been a divide between policies enacted in northern and southern Europe. Programs in the north have been more focused and typically limited to migrants seeking asylum for humanitarian reasons, while programs in the south have been broader.” (Bansak 2016) Since 2007, migration towards Europe has grown exponentially, and the debate has become a much more urgent and polarizing topic since the 2014-2015 highly mediatized “refugee crisis”.

In Switzerland, the debate has been ongoing and contentious, all throughout the 20th century. From actively recruiting foreign workers to move into the country in the first half of the century, to the other extreme of imposing severely limiting quotas of migrant workers through xenophobic policies, Switzerland has experimented with many different immigration models, though always based on an integration-through-work concept (for a more complete overview, see Piguet, 2004). Helvetic federalism also allows for the different regions and cantons to modify – slightly – the rights and regulations imposed on immigrants, such as the right to vote at some levels or hold public office. At a state-wide level, the debate has become much more heated, particularly since the signing of the 1999 agreement with the European Union. It is a recurring topic in the public agenda: there have been 25 popular votes on foreign, European and immigration/asylum policies between 1992 and 2006, (Dolea et al. 2020) and in the last decade seven different referendums and initiatives have been voted on concerning asylum and immigration reforms. The ensuing and recurring debates shape the way the general public perceive migrant and ethnic minority populations and how the individual members of these groups perceive themselves within larger society. The ideas and notions portrayed and spread throughout the media and

political sphere are shaped by various public actors, particularly in this question, the conservative right party, the Swiss People's Party (UDC/SVP). They provide the frame of discussion and set the tone for its development. These concepts are then taken and reproduced by the media, amplifying their message, playing a crucial role in the establishment and reinforcing of ideas and attitudes towards migrant populations. "The exposure of particular population groups as, e.g., migrants by the media and their recognition respectively interpretation of the media's content play a fundamental role with regard to group identities" (Trebbe et Schoenhagen citing Viswanath and Arora 2000: 412). Media discourse is vital in understanding what is the "generally accepted" version of an issue, what is the dominant discourse on a specific subject. In the process of simplifying complex political issues into more comprehensible and palatable messages, media communicators must include some aspects while excluding others. (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) By providing a source of information on issues related to migration and diversity, the media conveys and co-constructs particular representations of minorities as well as acting as a space for the participation of migrants and minorities in a public sphere where they can advance their interests and identities (Bleich et al. 2015).

Many scholars have delved into the role and the power of media in the political democratic process specifically concerning the topic of immigration, and the specific dimensions concerning television, online media, and the press (Entman, 2010; Bleich et al. 2015, Lünenborg and Fürsich 2014, Weigand 2020 among others). This study will specifically look at how 7 Swiss news outlets covered Operation Papyrus and the population concerned, undocumented immigrants. This study seeks to understand the ways in which the press constructs and establishes a dominant discourse through a qualitative analysis of 66 articles taken from both the German-speaking and francophone regions of Switzerland between January 2017 and February 2020. The analysis will draw mainly from the concept of news "framing" (Entman 1993, Pan and Kosicki 1993, and de Vreese 2005), particularly useful in understanding how an issue can be framed in multiple ways, and how these various frames compete. Framing analysis allows us to identify the dominant frame in the political debate and understand how the media can produce and reinforce specific representations of migrants and migrant populations. Once the dominant frames have been established for both objects of study, Papyrus and undocumented migrants, I will employ concepts from Fairclough's (1996, 2012, 2015) Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) to further analyze how the frames interact in order to strengthen a dominant perspective regarding migration policy in Switzerland.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This first part will look at previous research on migration and media. It is a wide area of scholarship with academics studying all dimensions of creation, representation and participation in the media by migrant and minority populations, as well as how the media treats immigration policy debates and what are the main discourses presented. It is important to first understand the role of media in society, and specifically the press and news media, as they are often considered to be the most “rooted in reality” (Abraham & Appiah, 2006). This understanding allows for a critical understanding of media institutions and the weight they carry in conveying messages, ideas and concepts.

The importance of independent media and a free press is virtually embedded in the constitutions or legislations of liberal democracies. “The general notion of media as a means to generate informed public discourse is prominent in much academic work.” (Bleich et al. 2015: 859). The concept of this public sphere as a free “marketplace of ideas” pushes scholars to inquire into the accuracy of information and portrayals. “The media serves as gatekeepers that determine what is public and hold agenda-setting power through their selection of which information to report, at times in ways that are not in keeping with objective reality” (Bleich et al. 2015: 859).

Questions of migration, migrants and immigration policy are widespread in the media. Scholars may therefore look at questions of portrayals of migrants within larger society (relevant to this study: Bleich et al. 2015; Weigand 2020; Brouwer et al. 2017; Jacquez 2017) as well as the participation and creation of media by migrants and minorities (Lünenborg and Fürsich 2014; Veron 2013). Representation is not only relevant in the greater media landscape but influences how immigrants and minority groups are perceived by the general population and how they perceive themselves within the larger society. (Etchegaray and Correa 2015; Trebbe and Schoenhagen 2011). “Fair media portrayal is an important dimension of migrant participation in mainstream society and is regarded as a key resource of identity foundation and the development of civic belonging.” (Lünenborg and Fürsich 2014: 860). Coexistence of old and new media creates a hybrid public sphere where active participation and frequent production can constantly challenge pre-established representations, for example through comment sections, blog posts and alternative publications (Dolea et al. 2020, Veron 2013) transforming the boundaries between media communicators (journalists, television anchors, etc.) and audiences at a quicker pace than ever before.

Concerning media representation, scholars are concerned with two main dimensions: quantity and content. Is a specific social being group being portrayed in proportion to their presence in general society and how are they being portrayed? In their study of migrant representation in Swiss television, Trebbe and Schoenhagen (2011) identified three main and recurring deficiencies concerning media representation of minorities and migrants: underrepresentation or marginalization, labeling or stereotyping and negative contextualization or framing. All three notions can operate at the same time. The authors confirm that these deficiencies hinder the social integration process of ethnic minorities. “Since social reality is permanently constructed in a collective process of communication, being excluded from this process means also being excluded from the

collective construction of reality. From a normative point of view, deficiencies in representation hinder social integration and may influence the affected members of society in a negative manner, ultimately having an impact on everyone.” (Trebbe and Schoenhagen 2011: 412).

Most studies concern themselves with content and discourse analysis, mostly about print media and the written texts. Bonnafous (1999) identifies a negative progression regarding the immigration question in the French political discourse, marked by a noticeable shift in the 1980s. Whereas previously, the question was framed from the perspective of immigrants and the issues they experienced, the more recent frame looks at the problems the immigrants cause to France and the French people. She refers to authors who were able to demonstrate the ease with which the association immigrant-criminal could be constructed (Lavergne and Siblot 1993) and the evolution of the terminology employed. Textual and discourse analyses are placed within the larger process of mediatization: “a complex process ensuing from the interaction between various collective and individual actors and resulting in the presence of a subject in mass media and conflicts concerning the interpretation and attribution of symbolic values.” (Bonnafous 1999: 2; my translation). In this process she identifies three main type of actors: the State and institutions, both private and public, the experts, which include journalists, researchers and commentators, and lastly, those directly concerned: migrants and ground militants. Mediatization is the larger process within which the meaning-making competition takes place.

In the last few years, the migrant question has become a much more polarizing issue, particularly with the rise of rightist, populist movements in Europe and anti-immigration legislation in the United States. This has led to a new scholarship focusing on how media portray migrants, minorities and refugees. In Switzerland, the various anti-immigration projects by the UDC/SVP party have been the main focus of research. Dolea et al. (2020) looks at how the Swiss media covered the debate surrounding the 2014 referendum on “Stop mass migration”. The authors analyze how the country image is constructed and reinforced by the populist party discourse to firmly establish the “us” and “them” divide. This discourse is addressed by other authors in regard to the integration process (Lünenborg and Fürsich 2014) and themes of security threat (Kovàr, 2020). “Participants in discourses that are rooted in Us versus Them recourse to empirical data that can be contradicted (e.g., crime statistics, public opinion polls, and employment and wage rates) and normative arguments based on systems of moral values that people understand differently (e.g., undocumented immigrants as breaking the law).” This discourse which is widespread in the UDC/SVP political discourse on immigration is reproduced by the Swiss media, without any critical reflection. Their recurrence on the public sphere in this issue reinforces this discourse, of a fragile “us” and a menacing “them”. “The collective actor, “the migrants”, is constructed through strategies of singularization and emphasizing difference... New migrants (after the establishment of free movement with the EU) are rather negatively portrayed as a source of present threat (they are dangerous and “criminals”, in prison, etc.)” (Dolea et al. 2020: 14). This threat is not only external but reinforced by internal divides – regional and linguistic divisions: Röstigraben/Polentagraben, The French Swiss vs the rest of the Swiss. The ongoing debate in Switzerland is also connected to the larger political debate between a pro-EU and economically liberal state versus the more protectionist and conservative position. “Contradicting ideals of globalization as the unconstrained mobility of goods, services, and

people, the media tend to take up a national ethno-centric position that questions the possibility of integration.” (Lünenborg and Fürsich 2014: 961). This dichotomizing discourse often presents the other, the migrant, as deviant and criminal, and instrumentalizes this notion to present solutions to the problem, through restrictive-anti-immigration legislation and attitudes (Brouwer et al. 2017).

The question of adequate and accurate representation and misrepresentation is also important in the democratic process. Does the information that circulates correctly inform the citizenry, or does it prime audiences to respond to a certain type of response? “Many authors who study negative media portrayals view them as a reflection of broader societal representations, and as a possible causal force, influencing people, group relations and institutions.” (Bleich et al 2015: 862) This larger impact can be empirically observed in the policymaking process and the problematization of specific issues such as the “refugee crisis”. Scholars such as De Cleen et al. (2017) have shown how dominant media discourse transforms and adapts in the construction of an ideological discourse that strengthens the idea of the “refugee crisis” as a cultural, security and economic threat, and putting forward the right-wing’s securitarian logic as the only solution. In France, Jacquez (2017) has contextualized dominant media discourse within the evolution of social movements and struggles for integration rights. Contrasting two highly mediatized cases, one in 2006 and the other in 2013, the author shows the change in the general public’s attitude towards immigrants. The latter’s highly negative coverage reflects the changes in social beliefs and collective adherence to an integrative political project, a project that considered migrants as useful workers in the construction of the new nation state.

This tension between restrictive and liberal policies regarding migrants differs significantly between Europe and classical immigrant-receiving countries such as the United States. However, one pertinent question that can be found in both regions is the debate on terminology, how does the media refer to undocumented migrants? Merolla, Ramakrishan and Haynes (2013) study how different opposing political groups compete for meaning and framing of immigration policies, and how these opposing frames sway public opinion. Whereas conservative factions favor terms such as “illegal”, more liberal outlets and actors employ the term “undocumented”. “Terms carry with them emotional affect and stereotypes, which in turn can mold impressions and sway public opinion.” (Merolla et al. 2013: 793). Their findings however reflect that that issue and policy framing has a bigger effect than the wording alone. “When it comes to swaying public opinion, we find differences in issue frames, even if they involve varying only a few words, have a fairly strong effect on immigration policy preferences. By contrast, the fight over “illegal immigrants” versus “undocumented immigrants” seems to have little effect.” (Merolla et al. 2013: 790). This suggests that difference in terminology alone does not construct meaning, but their association to specific perspective and policies grant them greater significance.

In French media, Akin (1999) describes the generalized usage of “sans-papiers” as a victory over other terms such as “clandestins” or “illégaux”. Much like in the English sense-making process, “sans-papiers” refers to the non-possession of a permit. The lack of authorization is a temporal status in relation to an institution and does not emit a value judgement on the individual. This classification is most useful within the wider social movement for migrant rights. It allows for a development in terms of status and social

identity. Considering that the migrant experience is one of constant categorization and change of status, “sans-papiers” is merely one among others. The usage of a “sans-” term is not only applied to the immigrant question but is applied to other issues that often are closely linked, such as “sans-abri” (shelter less), “sans-emploi” (jobless), “sans domicile fixe” (homeless). By connecting the undocumented struggle to other struggles, the social movement can create stronger demands that demonstrate how many of these issues are combined. “If undocumented immigrants consider themselves as a category of foreigners, victims of an administrative arbitrariness, they also include their struggle in the fight against social exclusion... The proliferation of expressions created with “-less” results then in the emphasizing of this suffix, endowed with an integrative value and becoming the symbol of a project of struggle against exclusion.” (Akin 1999: 73; my translation). The wording effect cannot be separated from the issue framing, as each term references a larger perspective. In general, however, many scholars agree that since the majority of the population that consumes mass media is not greatly informed on the immigration question and policies, they are highly susceptible to framing effects and dominant discourse (Merolla et al. 2013; Dolea et al. 2020; Trebbe and Schoenhagen 2011).

Studies on media and political discourse on migrants, minorities and immigration policies continue to be a fertile source of research with important changes and events happening every year. This literature review shows that the media both reflects and shapes the general public’s attitude and views on immigration policy and migrant populations. By putting forward on set of ideas, stereotypes and notions, over another, the mediatization process establishes a dominant way of considering these political issues, it establishes the dominant discourse. Although these frames can be contested and evolve throughout time, it is a slow process.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In choosing what type of media to examine and which methodological approach is more fitting, the first question that arises is whether print media and newspapers are still as influential today in the digital era. Though competing with more televised and exclusively online news sources, flagship newspapers often set the agenda of coverage through their news agencies which reproduce their news articles through other media outlets. Their circulation is also not limited to the physically printed newspaper, “virtually all of their articles are published online, thereby extending their impact well beyond the traditional local readership. Finally, printed newspapers are better at raising the public’s awareness about a range of issues, compared to other media types, including TV and online publications.” (Bleich et al. 2015: 864). Though the reach and influence of print media is evident, the process of selection of information and coverage is not always quite so clear. In order to understand the news information process and its role in the larger social and political context, this study employs a framing analysis approach.

FRAMING ANALYSIS

Among the leading scholars within the framing paradigms is Entman who defines the process as the selection “of some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (1993: 52). Frames define an issue as a problem, diagnoses its causes, make a moral judgement and prescribe solutions. These frames are present throughout four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. Pertinent to this study and to this framing analysis is how the frames manifest in the text: through the “presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements.” (Entman 1993: 52). All four locations are socially contextualized: the communicator and receiver are guided by and influenced by the stock of common frames exhibited in their respective social grouping, or culture. Frames are produced through salience: highlighting, repeating or emphasizing a specific information so as to make it memorable to the reader of the text. The meaning assigned and conveyed through frames is socially constructed and changing. In the larger public sphere, different frames compete with each other to establish themselves as the main definers, and solution prescribers, of specific issues. In political communication this is particularly relevant as the frame of a news text is the current winning frame, it is the “imprint of power, it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text. Reflecting the play of power and boundaries of discourse over an issue, many news texts exhibit homogenous framing at one level of analysis yet competing frames at another.” (Entman 1993: 55) Frame analysis allows us to uncover the competition for meaning within the political debate. Though we might be aware of other points of view, there is one specific take on an issue, one frame, that is more salient than the others. Here, saliency means “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences.” (Entman 1993: 53) This is done through placement, repetition, or by associating it with culturally familiar symbols. So, while

a debate might reference other frames, one will clearly prevail. Dominant meaning refers to “a particular framing of the situation that is most heavily supported by the text and is congruent with the most common audience schemata” (Entman 1993: 56).

Two other scholars concerned themselves with specifying frame analysis to the news discourse: Pan and Kosicki (1993). In their work, they detail which are the framing devices that work within a news text to give it a specific meaning. The larger frame of news text is the theme of the story, “an idea that connects different semantic elements of a story (e.g., descriptions of an action or an actor, quotes of sources, and background information) into a coherent whole” (Pan and Kosicki 1993: 59). These elements are the tools with which a newsmaker constructs a news discourse. Framing devices can be categorized as follow: syntactical structures, script structures, thematic structures and rhetorical structures. Syntactical structures refer to the general organization of structural elements in a news article: i.e., headline, lead, episodes, background, and closure, with each element providing a different signifying value. Here, the headline is the most salient, and therefore the most powerful framing device of the syntactical structure. The script structure is the way in which the text is able to fully tell a story, all the information is present and clear. The news article gives a complete story, and the reader can accept this account. The thematic structure refers to the way the two main parts of an article (head and body) create an argument. For example, if the headline gives a thesis statement, how does the body support it. Lastly, rhetorical structures refer to the stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects. These choices are the most easily identifiable in a framing analysis and refer to five framing devices: metaphors, historical examples, catchphrases, depictions and visual imagery. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Pan and Kosicki (1993) also mention a fifth element that interacts within each of the preceding structures: the “designator”, this is a lexical choice used by newsmakers to quickly include a widespread recognized label. This dimension is especially pertinent to this study when analyzing the uses of “undocumented” worker versus “illegal” or “clandestine”. This model of framing analysis allows for an examination of the dynamic of constructing public discourse on policy issues. Instead of a fixed reading of a text, the larger framing perspective examines the diversity and fluidity in how issues are conceptualized, how frames emerge and compete for meaning.

ISSUE-SPECIFIC FRAMES

More recently, scholars on political communications have applied framing analysis to immigration policy debates identifying salient frames. Bleich, Bloemraad and de Graauw’s 2015 article explores how media information, representation and participation by migrant and minority populations influence public opinion and policymaking. The authors emphasize the importance of tone in media representations, and how “stories about migrants and minorities consistently have a criminality or economic threat frame, [conveying] a representation of those groups as deeply problematic for society as a whole.” (Bleich et al. 2015: 861). Tone is understood as the larger frame of a news text, the positive or negative evaluation on the issue at hand. Pertinent frames that are mentioned are: migration as a threat and invasion in relation to undocumented migration and a humanitarian frame in regard to refugees. The authors also state that frame competition differ according to the arena: local newspapers might frame immigration and migrant communities differently from national papers. Furthermore, outlets that clearly identify as

leaning more politically left or right will have fewer competing frames and be more explicit with their tone and biases.

Bos, Lecheler, Mewafi and Vliegthart (2016) use framing analysis to understand the effects of media discourse in the attitudes of Dutch citizen towards immigrant populations and policy. Their focus on effects results from the understanding of frames as suggesting “specific judgments, attitudes and decisions to the individual. [Studying them] allows for the observation of how (often small) changes in the presentation of an issue or an event produce (sometimes large) changes in opinions, attitudes and behaviors.” (Bos et al. 2016: 98). Framing effects, in this case, highlight the power conveyed through the news discourse in the process of shaping public opinion. They state that all media frames entail a specific valence or evaluation, whether the issue being communicated is positive or negative.

In regard to issue specific frames, the authors identify two polarizing frames for immigrants and minority groups: either threats to the host society (illegal or criminal) or as innocent victims. They present three frames in the Dutch debate that can also be applied to this study: the multicultural frame, “which sees cultural diversity as an asset that enhances the quality of society”, the emancipation frame, which “claims participation should be enhanced by immigrants themselves as well as by governmental policies” and the assimilationist frame that focuses on “how ethnic minorities adopt the native society’s norms and values.” (Bos et al. 2016: 99)

Finally, an important element in framing analysis is understanding audience autonomy. The establishment and reproduction of a dominant frame does not mean the general public will always accept it. If a frame does not resonate with the public, or if a competing frame is stronger at a particular moment, it can cause undermine a long-established dominant frame. This process is complex and takes place across all framing locations. Contesting frames can be developed in alternative media, where the audience has more agency to contest. This is particularly true of online media where readers can comment on news articles directly and directly contest a dominant frame. Nevertheless, firmly established print media, is a public sphere in which minorities and subculture groups cannot directly participate, which is why they create their own spheres of public communication. (Veron 2013; Lünenborg and Fürsich 2014).

The inclusion or exclusion of minorities and migrant populations from these spaces of collective construction of reality, “hinders social integration and may influence the affected members of society in a negative manner, ultimately having an impact on everyone.” (Trebbe and Schoenhagen 2011: 412) This understanding permits framing analysis to be approached through a CDA lens.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

According to the leading scholars, CDA is interested in “the study of ideologically biased discourse and the ways these polarize the representation of us (ingroups) and them (outgroups).” (Van Dijk 2001, as cited by Dolea et al. 2020: 7) This identification and construction of “us and them” is not a static social concept, but rather one that evolves through processes of negotiations and struggles for what and who is defined how and why.

For Fairclough, discourse refers to: “(a) meaning-making as an element of the social process; (b) the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g., ‘political discourse’); (c) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective.” (2012: 12). CDA is useful in understanding the social phenomenon occurring within a news text, how certain meanings are constructed and in turn can construct the material reality. For Fairclough, “the struggle over language can manifest itself as a struggle between ideologically diverse discourse types.” (1996: 90). Two larger elements are at play in this struggle: ideology and power. Firstly, ideology, “Discourse is ideological in so far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination” (2012: 15). When he refers to power, Fairclough begins by stating that contrary to face-to face communication, mass media discourse is one sided. More importantly, in regard to cross-cultural discourse, which include members of migrant and ethnic minority populations, the one-sidedness is compounded with racial and language barriers in which members of a societally dominant grouping dictates the communication process. “Power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants.” (1996: 46) Two other CDA concepts can be added here: hegemony and identity. The former refers directly to Gramsci’s concept of the “exercise of power through implicit means” (cited by Weigand 2020: 10). For Fairclough hegemony relates to “common sense” and “assumptions”: “Seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance” (2003: 67) This is done through the social process of meaning-making. “Elements (words, phrases, etc.) are constantly being combined and divided in texts; prior combinations and separations are constantly being subverted. The point that texts are constantly combining some elements and dividing others is a rather obvious one. But what I am suggesting is that we see these processes as part of the textual moment of the social process of classification.” (2003: 101). Lastly, this understanding of dominant hegemonic meaning leads to the concept of identity and identification. For Fairclough, identification cannot be isolated, it exists in a dialectical relationship with action and representation. “All three can be seen in terms of a relation involving the persons in the event (‘subjects’) – their relation to knowledge, their relation with others (power relations), and their relation with themselves (as ‘moral subjects’). Or we can say for instance that particular Representations (discourses) may be enacted in particular ways of Acting and Relating (genres) and inculcated in particular ways of Identifying (styles).” (2003: 29). Within a discourse, the representation of an individual, their identity, is constructed through how the individual acts and relate to other socially acknowledged discourses. Does the subject embrace or contest a specific identity?

By integrating Entman’s framing analysis approach and Fairclough’s CDA, this study will examine the dominant frames employed in the press article discussing undocumented workers and Papyrus immigration policy.

METHODOLOGY

The corpus of this study has been selected from the seven largest newspapers in French and German speaking Switzerland: la Tribune de Genève, Le Temps, Le Matin, 24h, Tages-Anzeiger and Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ). These outlets were chosen due to their widespread distribution and readership across both linguistic regions, both in terms of paper sales and online audience.¹ I used two data bases: Lexis Nexis and Swissdox to also include articles distributed by the news press agency Keystone SDA/Keystone ATS, which are released through smaller local newspapers such as the Basler Zeitung and the Luzerner Zeitung. Being a cantonal issue, I also included the articles of a local Geneva newspaper, Le Courier, which I manually collected from their online data base. As Papyrus is a recent issue, all articles were accessible online. The corpus reflects the debate in the two largest political regions which include the cities most concerned with undocumented migrants: Geneva and Zurich.

The corpus was built with the following criteria: the only search term was “OPERATION PAPYRUS” and with a date of publication between January 2017 (Papyrus was publicly launched in February of that year), and the 29th of February of 2020 (the last official press conference took place in February 2020). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, press articles concerning undocumented migrants have changed to reflect new emerging issues. The search came up with 133 articles published during that time period. Of these articles, 65 specifically discussed the issue. The other 68 articles mentioned Operation Papyrus but had other central themes such as the Maudet Affair, the Zuri City Card project, the International Film Festival on Human Rights (FIFDH), or other political debates. No distinction was made between published opinion pieces or journalistic articles. Blog posts, from the official news outlets’ blog sections, were not included.

The articles in French were analyzed directly and the ones in German were with translated with DeepL. The text was coded using Atlas Ti and each article was coded as a single text unit. The headlines and the bodies of articles were not coded separately. Photographs, illustration and other images were not taken into account (some of which included screenshots of Tweets or other texts).

The research instrument was designed to determine:

- What is the central theme of the article?
- What is tone employed in the text discourse of Operation Papyrus/undocumented workers?
- What are the frames present in the text discourse?
 - o Which stylistic devices are present? Metaphors, historical examples, catchphrases, depictions and visual imagery?
- Which is the most salient frame? Through centering or repetition or by associating it to a cultural symbol?

¹ <https://medialandscapes.org/country/switzerland>

- What are the terms employed in the texts to refer to “undocumented migrant”?

RESULTS

The initial research of the term “OPERATION PAPHYRUS” in the data base resulted in 113 articles, no including reprints or blog posts. 20 articles from the online data base of Le Courier brought the total number of articles to 133. I then proceeded to the first filter: what is the central theme of the article? With the remaining 65 articles I proceeded to determine whether the article portrayed Operation Papyrus as positive or negative and did the same with the undocumented migrant population. I also looked at how many people are cited by the authors, and whether they are institutional actors, migrants or others. I then proceeded to identify devices that support one or another frame. During the coding process, I also searched for the various terms used to describe undocumented immigrants.

Of the 65 articles,

- 32 were published between January 1, 2017 and December 31, 2017,
- 18 were published between January 1, 2018 and December 31, 2018,
- 7 were published between January 1, 2019 and December 31, 2019 and
- 8 were published between January 1, 2020 and February 29, 2020.

Table1: Articles by newspaper

Newspaper	Language	Articles
Tribune de Genève	French	22 articles
Le Temps	French	11 articles
Le Courier	French	8 articles
Le Matin	French	4 articles
24h	French	6 articles
NZZ	German	2 articles
Tages-Anzeiger	German	6 articles
SDA / ATS News Agency	French / German	6 articles

The first analysis of the corpus consists of the identification of the central issues of the articles. About half the articles, 32, were reports on Operation Papyrus whether as a presentation of the project, a half-way evaluation or a final assessment. This group of articles were published around the same period, following official press conferences in the month of February of each year. The other half of the corpus could be categorized in the following themes:

Table 2: Main themes

Central theme of article	Articles
Report or evaluation of Operation Papyrus policy	32 articles
Policy debate on the application of Operation Papyrus or similar policies in other cantons	9 articles
Interviews or opinion pieces by “experts” (lawyers, union secretaries, universities, etc.):	9 articles
Political debate at the cantonal or federal level regarding undocumented migrants	7 articles
Profiles of Papyrus candidates or beneficiaries or specific migration cases	5 articles
Reports on fraud	3 articles

The next step consisted of categorizing the overall tone of the article: 1) is Operation Papyrus portrayed positively or negatively and 2) are undocumented workers portrayed positively or negatively? In each case the article could be categorized as positive, medium-positive, neutral, medium-negative, negative or not applicable (N/A), when no tone or value judgement was present in the text. Table 2 shows a generally positive view of Operation Papyrus. This contrasts with the more varied results concerning the portrayal of undocumented migrants. Though they are perceived as positive or mostly positive in the majority of the articles, they are not mentioned in 17 articles. The focus of the media discourse is the policy rather than the concerned population.

Table 3: General tones of the article

N=65	Positive	Mostly positive	Neutral	Mostly negative	Negative	N/A
Operation Papyrus	47	7	9	2	0	0
Undocumented migrants	25	10	5	3	5	17

Other pertinent descriptive statistics have to do with who is interrogated by the journalists. What kind of actors are given most space in the press? Besides articles that profile individual migrants and include detailed interviews, 5 other articles cite migrants, though in two cases it is through a secondary source, for example: “«Je peux enfin regarder les gens dans les yeux», a déclaré une dame à Marianne Halle.” (21/02/2020, Genève Opération Papyrus : 2390 personnes régularisées, in *Tribune de Genève* and 24b). On the

other hand, throughout the whole corpus, institutional and governmental actors were referenced 155 times. This is consistent with Trebbe and Schoenhagen's (2011) findings on media deficiencies: underrepresentation. Though there are over 2300 Papyrus beneficiaries, they account for a minuscule percentage of speakers in the articles. This imbalance reinforces the power structure of the participating institutions, including the University.

Lastly, regarding the terminology specifically applied to undocumented migrants, the term "clandestin" was employed 118 times versus the term "sans-papiers" which was used a total of 290 times. The German-language press employs the French term besides its own "papierlosen", a direct translation. The other terms employed refer to the following:

- Illegal or referencing a legal status:
 - o "...personnes en situation d'illégalité"
 - o "...personnes vivant et travaillant en Suisse sans statut légal..."
 - o "...travailleurs illégaux..."
 - o "...des migrants vivant illégalement en Suisse..."
 - o "...ceux qui ont enfreint la loi..."
- Their administrative status:
 - o "...personnes non déclarées..."

The rest of the terms are more neutral, referring to the concerned population as migrants, workers or foreigners. Though the "undocumented" term is much commonly used it is not sufficiently consistent and established. Authors use "clandestin" or "illegal" almost interchangeably with "undocumented", creating an equivalency between the various terms. This shows how one frame can be greatly weakened by the presence of a competing frame.

It is also important to look at the use of imagery as a framing device. The authors' use of darkness and shadowy images reinforce a negative view of this population. This device can be used to support frames such as migrant-as-threat and make it more salient.

- o "...travailleurs de l'ombre..."
- o "...590 fantômes sont sortis de l'ombre depuis 2015 à Genève..."
- o "...gens de l'ombre..."

This is the type of device that can be identified through the coding process. Visual and symbolic elements that resonate with the culture of the audience increase the appeal of the frame, make it more salient. These well-known symbols (light=good, dark=bad) are firmly established in Swiss culture.

FRAMING ANALYSIS

In order to determine the frames employed, I proceeded with coding identifying elements that explicitly reflect one or more of the frames identified in the literature. These frames usually operate in dichotomous form, where one is clearly more salient than the other. It is not always a clear domination of one over the other, they can both be present in some way. The known frames can be coupled as such:

- Multicultural frame vs. assimilation frame
- Humanitarian Frame vs. threat frame (whether economical or other)
- Victimization frame vs. criminalization frame

MULTICULTURALISM VS. ASSIMILATION

With nearly all the articles mentioning and reinforcing the “strict criteria” for Papyrus candidates, there was very little place for a multicultural ideology to be present. The articles emphasize the migrants’ qualifications and capacity to integrate. Through the language requirement, clean record and financial autonomy they can earn the regularization and furthermore, show how they have adopted local norms and values. This reinforces the assimilationist ideology.

Considering the few testimonies of migrants within the corpus, the ones that are included comply to the assimilationist perspective of full integration:

“...au fil des années, j'ai connu des gens, notamment des Suisses, en faisant du bénévolat, par exemple aux Colis du Coeur. C'est comme cela que Genève est devenue mon pays...Je me sentais presque comme une voleuse d'être sans-papiers, de ne pas payer d'impôts, poursuit-elle. C'est aussi pour redonner quelque chose que je faisais du bénévolat. Vous ne pouvez pas imaginer quel grand moment cela a été pour moi lorsque j'ai rempli pour la première fois ma déclaration fiscale! ...Pour moi, le but n'a jamais été d'avoir un permis, mais d'avoir une vraie vie ici. ... Malgré ces impressions positives, la Genevoise a ressenti comme un malaise. «Mes connaissances, mes amis vivent à Genève désormais. Quand j'ai expliqué à mes proches au pays que je devais rentrer chez moi, ils n'ont pas compris. Pour eux, chez moi, c'était forcément l'Équateur. »”

04/07/2017, “Ex-clandestine, Tania Alvarez à la prison racine », *Tribune de Genève*.

In this one testimony, the speaker highlights her many qualifiers in her integration process, including volunteer work and paying taxes. She is “rewarded” with the qualifier of “Genevan”, she has sufficiently assimilated to merit it.

More generally, the distinction is made between the “correct” candidates for regularization, those who fulfill the strict criteria, and the greater undocumented

population. Papyrus is available only to those individuals who have sufficiently assimilated and whose qualifiers can even out the infringement inherent to their status.

“...migrants vivant illégalement en Suisse et qui sont intégrés dans la vie économique et sociale bien qu'ils n'aient pas de permis de séjour. ”

12/07/2017, Le papyrus genevois fait des envieux, *Le Courrier*

“C'est donc le profil d'un groupe de personnes dotées d'une bonne formation, relativement bien intégrées en regard de leur statut et de l'âge moyen qui se dessine. Un portrait qui sera encore à confirmer par l'évaluation définitive qui interviendra à la fin du processus.”

20/02/2018, Papyrus a fait de 1093 sans-papiers des Genevois comme les autres, *Tribune de Genève*.

“...le conseiller d'Etat Pierre Maudet. « Ils sont sans papiers mais avec une vie normale, engagés dans la vie genevoise, financièrement autonomes, sans antécédents pénaux, leurs enfants scolarisés. Ils occupent des emplois peu qualifiés qui participent à la prospérité du canton. Aujourd'hui, nous voulons valider la réalité, régulariser les personnes déjà en règle.» ”

22/02/2017, Régularisation enfin !, *Le Courrier*.

“ «Nous ne pouvons pas simplement fermer les yeux sur tout un pan de la population qui vit au noir ou au gris, dont une bonne partie paie ses impôts ou scolarise ses enfants.» Elle parle de personnes « fragilisées », avec un «accès très difficile» aux soins. ”

07/03/2017, La droite refuse de régulariser « en masse » des clandestins, *24 heures*.

In many cases the assimilationist frame overlaps with an “economic consequences” frame. Since the project contains a strong economic dimension it is not surprising that this aspect should be highlighted as a strong positive consideration.

“ «Il ne s'agirait pas d'une régularisation collective, mais d'une régularisation massive», estime Jean-Michel Dolivo – (SolS) «Cela signifie que vous en voyez tous les jours. Ces gens travaillent et paient des impôts. On ne peut pas accepter que ces personnes soient précarisées. Leur régularisation serait un moyen de lutte contre le dumping salarial et le travail au noir.» ”

07/03/2017, La droite refuse de régulariser « en masse » des clandestins, *24 heures*.

“Reconnaissant leur contribution à l'économie et leur intégration sociale, le canton veut faciliter leur régularisation tout en luttant contre le travail au noir et la sous-enchère salariale... avec un «intérêt financier [...] non négligeable»,

puisque «chaque année, des dizaines de millions de francs générés par l'économie clandestine échappent aux caisses de l'Etat. »

22/02/2017, Sans-papiers : les médias saluent l'initiative genevoise, *Le Temps*

An important argument for the proponents of Papyrus is the insistence that it is not an amnesty. As a preemptive way to counteract this criticism, supporters of Papyrus use repetition to establish this. It is not an open-door policy, but rather a reward for the well assimilated foreigner. All others must abstain or face deportation.

“La solution concoctée au bout du Lac et avalisée à Berne ne sera pas une usine à permis. Car les conditions posées aux postulants sont exigeantes et cumulatives. ”

21/02/2017, Genève va régulariser des clandestins, *Le Temps*.

“...l'opération Papyrus ne s'apparente ni à une amnistie ni à une régularisation de masse; les demandes de régularisation sont dès lors examinées au cas par cas par l'OCPM. Les soupçons de fraude qui peuvent apparaître après cet examen sont dénoncés aux autorités pénales. De tels cas problématiques demeurent l'exception comparativement à l'ensemble des dossiers déposés et ne sont pas, au demeurant, spécifiques à l'opération Papyrus.”

07/01/2020, Fraude à la régularisation : deux personnes sont arrêtées, *Tribune de Genève*.

HUMANITARIAN FRAME VS. MIGRANTS AS THREAT FRAME

The humanitarian frame has traditionally been employed in issues concerning refugees and asylum seekers (Bos et al. 2015). Though both populations are occasionally mentioned in the corpus, in regard to undocumented migrants it takes on a slightly different dimension. The strict assimilationist and meritocratic frame that is present throughout all the articles, as mentioned above, dominates any most humanitarian elements. However, a depiction of undocumented migrants as a precarious population is very present. Used mainly by proponents in the debate, it is a fragile image that can serve both frames: humanitarian and migrants as threat. This precarious image can weaken the assimilationist, merit-based frame. If they are fragile, then they have not properly integrated.

“ Ils contribuent à notre économie mais sont livrés à l'exploitation, à la dénonciation ou à la violence. ”

12/07/2017, Le papyrus genevois fait des envieux, *Le Courrier*.

“L'objectif poursuivi est double. D'une part, reconnaître l'existence et la légitimité des sans-papiers qui assurent au quotidien nombre de tâches

indispensables à la société et à l'économie. Et de l'autre, lutter contre le travail au noir et la cohorte d'abus et d'exploitation qu'il engendre. ”

22/02/2017, Régularisation enfin !, *Le Courrier*.

“C'est une préoccupation non seulement humaine, mais aussi économique, déclare Martine Brunschwig Graf, présidente de la Commission fédérale contre le racisme, qui soutient le projet de Genève. Si les personnes ne sont pas enregistrées, c'est un problème pour l'État de droit et les institutions. Mais c'est aussi un problème social : "Ces personnes travaillent souvent dans des conditions inacceptables, ce qui est également inacceptable d'un point de vue humain. ”

21/02/2017, Genève va régulariser des milliers de sans-papiers, *Tribune de Genève*

“Le paradoxe est le suivant: qu'en est-il de leur situation une ou deux années après? La vie de ces résidents est très difficile car, après s'être acquittés de leur assurance maladie coûteuse malgré les subsides, dans la plupart des cas, leur manque de qualifications ne leur permet pas d'accéder à un salaire suffisant pour conserver leur permis B, obtenir le bail d'un logement modeste et pour mener une vie décente. ”

20/01/2020, L'après- Papyrus : peu réjouissant, *Tribune de Genève*.

The migrants-as-threat frame is actively put forward by both sides of the debate. For the proponents, it helps support the differentiation of the integrated beneficiaries of Papyrus from the other “threatening” migrants.

“Mais la régularisation des sans-papiers va de pair avec une politique d'expulsion rigide, que Pierre Maudet défend depuis son arrivée au pouvoir. "Il est important que les deux choses soient liées", dit Maudet dans un entretien avec TA: "Des déportations cohérentes d'une part - et la légalisation des sans-papiers d'autre part". ”

11/04/2017, SP-Politiker stellen Forderungen an Mario Fehr, *Tages-Anzeiger*.

“Tout en régularisant certains travailleurs, les autorités ont renvoyé un nombre important de sans-papiers dans des conditions parfois discutables. Le projet n'était pas à sens unique, il comportait une contrepartie trop souvent oubliée. ”

21/02/2018, La justice genevoise plus généreuse avec les sans-papiers, *Le Temps*

“ Philippe Jobin, il juge qu’« abaisser les critères et le faire savoir serait irresponsable dans un contexte international avec une forte immigration ». Pour la libérale-radical Véronique Hurni, l’idée d’une régularisation massive revient à « insulter » les travailleurs étrangers légaux. ”

07/03/2017, La droite refuse de régulariser « en masse » des clandestins, *24 heures*.

Another important argument within the migrants-as-threat frame concerns the possibility of a vacuum effect, the idea that the regularization will bring more undocumented migrants. This threat is almost as recurring as the “strict criteria”, appearing in half the articles. Considered the main concern of the policy, it is a salient frame.

“Dans un communiqué, l’UDC-Genève a évoqué un appel d’air et révélé que plusieurs décisions de justice ont donné raison à des étrangers invoquant une inégalité de traitement par rapport aux bénéficiaires de Papyrus. ”

20/02/2018, Grâce à Papyrus, mille sans-papiers régularisés, *Le Courrier*.

“Au final, il s’agit «de lutter contre un appel d’air qui aurait pour conséquence de remplacer les travailleurs au noir par d’autres travailleurs au noir, commente Pierre Maudet, faisant référence aux critiques émises, notamment dans les rangs de l’UDC. ”

10/04/2017, L’Etat lance une campagne contre le travail au noir, *Tribune de Genève*.

“Il faut le reconnaître, cette crainte d’un appel d’air était fondée. Mais, en l’état, il n’a pas eu lieu. Parce que le dispositif Papyrus n’est pas qu’un processus clarifiant les conditions d’octroi d’un permis de séjour et offrant un encadrement efficace et sécurisant aux demandeurs. Il est aussi une machine de guerre contre le travail au noir dans l’économie domestique. ”

21/02/2020, Selon un rapport, Papyrus a fait tout juste, sans créer d’appel d’air, *Tribune de Genève*.

VICTIMIZATION VS. CRIMINALIZATION

Though closely linked to the migrants-as-threat frame, the criminalization frame explicitly represents undocumented immigrants as criminals. As mentioned above, the first element in this process is the use of the term “illegal” or other related terms and phrasings. The references to the infringement of the law, carries with it a moral value, even if the very law is being questioned. The framing is identified in the casual use of this loaded word.

“Papyrus continuera à déployer ses effets jusqu’à la fin de l’année 2018. Au final, ce sont 2200 à 2500 personnes séjournant illégalement à Genève – mais financièrement indépendantes et sans passé judiciaire – qui devraient obtenir des papiers. ”

20/02/2018, Papyrus a fait de 1093 sans-papiers des Genevois comme les autres, *Tribune de Genève*.

“dans le cadre de l’opération Papyrus, qui vise à régler le statut des "sans-papiers", c’est-à-dire des migrants vivant illégalement en Suisse et qui sont intégrés dans la vie économique et sociale bien qu’ils n’aient pas de permis de séjour. ”

20/02/2018, Genf hilft den Sans-Papiers, Bundesbern droht ihnen, *Tages-Anzeiger*.

“Le canton ne doit pas mettre en place les mauvaises incitations. Ceux qui vivent délibérément dans l’illégalité ne devraient pas être mis dans une meilleure position que ceux qui suivent la bonne voie. ”

19/05/2017, Kantonsregierung will Sans-Papiers nicht legalisieren, *Tages-Anzeiger*.

“Mais devrions-nous récompenser les personnes entrées illégalement (au lieu de postuler en tant que ressortissants de pays tiers hautement qualifiés ou d’épouser immédiatement un Suisse) ? ”

24/02/2017, Gebt den Putzfrauen Papiere, *Tages-Anzeiger*.

The articles that mention specific cases of fraud can be considered anecdotal, but the recurrent mention of the fraudulent cases as well as the threat of further fraud reinforces the criminalization frame. It even serves as the lead in an article despite only being mentioned in the context of the final evaluation.

“Sur les 2390 personnes régularisées grâce à Papyrus, on compte principalement des familles (437), soit 676 parents et 727 enfants. S'y ajoutent 24 couples sans enfants et 939 célibataires. Environ 700 dossiers sont en cours de traitement. Quelques cas de fraude ont été dénoncés à la justice. Mais ils sont restés «l'exception» .”

21/02/2020, Genève Opération
Papyrus : 2390 personnes
régularisées, *ATS/SDA Keystone*.

A CASE SPECIFIC FRAME

An issue specific frame worth mentioning is the “Genferei” frame. A colloquial Swiss-German word, used to describe an event or a characteristic particular to the canton of Geneva, it has a mostly negative connotation. Identified in both Geneva and Swiss-German press, it is not a new device. Dolea et al. (2020) refers to similar elements that are employed to serve a larger migrant-as-threat ideology. Geneva is perceived as too different from the rest of the confederation. Since the Swiss political project is founded on consensus, a policy that is too “different” threatens the stability of the Confederation. This type of political project, seen as typical of Geneva, is not Swiss. Genferei establishes a divide between the more international canton and the rest of the “proper” and “real” Switzerland.

“Pour une fois, Genève offre à la Suisse une «Genferei» épatante. Le canton annonce avoir régularisé 590 sans-papiers et promet le même sort à tous les travailleurs de l'ombre qui rempliront les conditions de cet accord obtenu en secret.”

21/02/2017, « Dans d'autres cantons, le débat reste tabou », *Le Temps*.

“Le groupe UDC a déposé deux interventions aux Chambres fédérales contre ce qu'il appelle la «Genferei Maudet» Le groupe UDC va porter le débat devant les Chambres fédérales. La distribution d'autorisations de séjour «émet un signal désastreux», estime l'UDC dans un communiqué”

08/03/2017, L'UDC s'attaque au projet genevois de régulation des sans-papiers, 24 heures.

“Le Conseil d'Etat zurichois a rejeté le modèle de régularisation genevois, arguant que la situation du canton romand, avec sa forte présence de diplomates, était complètement différente. ”

12/07/2017, Le papyrus genevois fait des envieux, *Le Courrier*.

This frame minimizes the causes and effects of Papyrus, it is constrained to the canton and therefore, cannot be implemented elsewhere.

DISCUSSION

Among the known frames identified in the literature, three dominant frames have emerged in the corpus: the assimilationist frame, the migrant as- threat frame and the criminalization frame, though this last one is less salient. Both dominant frames fit in the context of immigration policies that have been prevalent in the Swiss political discourse over the last few years. (Dolea et al. 2020). The “strict criteria” required of the candidates reinforces the established Swiss citizenship regime: an ethnic-assimilationist “model of citizenship in which immigrants are pushed to incorporate the norms and values of the national community on an ethnocultural basis and tends to exclude those who are not entitled to sharing its norms, values and symbols.” (Giugni and Passy, 2004: 58). Policies such as Papyrus give undocumented migrants an entryway to citizenship that is strongly conditioned by the integration and assimilation process. Any individual that deviates from the cultural integration dimension is consequently excluded from belonging to the citizenry. This is why the integration frame includes elements of the security framework. The undocumented migrant starts off as trespasser, a law breaker, he or she is illegal. The process of regularization, then becomes a process of redemption, of earning his or her citizenship through merit. If the criteria are not fulfilled, the “illegality” of their identity is reinforced, and their other merits questioned. This is what happens in the few articles that mention the few fraudulent cases: the whole policy is questioned. All the other Papyrus candidates become suspects by association. The criminalization frame is mobilized here to stress the threat to the nation. The devious and criminal migrant is seen as a threat, whereas the assimilated migrant reinforces the national model of citizen. The two possibilities are dichotomized, the migrant can either conform to the criteria or is expelled from the country. Here, the two dominant frames work together.

This black-or-white notion of citizenship rejects all elements of multiculturalism. Assimilation requires new citizens to cast-off their previous foreign identity. In stressing the “otherness” of migrants and foreigners, this discourse presents a very limited but powerful “us”. When an immigrant is “rewarded” with citizenship, they reproduce this same attitude, “othering” populations seen as “more migrant” than them. Trebbe and Schoenhagen (2011) identify a hierarchy of migrant “others”, starting at the cantonal borders. The migrant groups that are culturally closest to the host culture are placed above other migrant groups. In the media this is rendered more explicit. When portraying “migrants with different origins: the more foreign the people, the more negative their representation in the media.” (Trebbe and Schoenhagen, 2011: 424). Though the geographical distance might count less than other integration markers, a hierarchy is certainly identified among the Papyrus population.

By creating this ladder of assimilation, each migrant is pushed to be more local than the next person. It is the process to no longer being “the other”, but one of “us”. This process is reflected in the media discourse, where identities are constructed and represented. In their study, Lünenborg and Fürsich identify this tendency in migrant media professionals in Germany of actively working towards “normalizing (their) biography as “regular German”, by calling themselves “new Germans”. They often refused to “represent” migrant identities”. (2014: 970) Through their integration efforts, migrants hide or erase

their migrant identity, which in turn reinforces this label on another social group. “If I am sufficiently integrated, then the migrant is somebody else.”

The articles of the corpus do not include many migrant testimonies; however, the descriptor of the “ideal” Papyrus candidate is explicit: a Latin American mother in her forties, well-educated and working in the domestic economy. By identifying this ideal type, candidates from other populations are either underrepresented or portrayed negatively. This is the case with the Kosovar population. The only mentions are in articles reporting on fraud, violent crimes or as uncooperative with the criteria. The ideal type is a non-menacing, law-abiding, working mother who speaks French and does not require social assistance or anything else for that matter and does not question the norms or values, she simply accepts them. This follows the discourse of the “respectful”, “good citizen”, “good worker” and “good immigrant” (Veron 2013).

This image is constructed by both media and political institutions, it is embedded in policy and reinforced in the media discourse. The reiteration and emphasis on the well-assimilated and hardworking migrant, goes largely uncontested, at least in the media sphere. The corpus does not give any evidence of any contesting frames. This is how the meaning of “good” immigration is constructed. It is however possible, and even probable, that contesting frames develop and grow in alternative communication spaces, written or not. An example of this is the Black Lives Matter movement in Geneva, which connects the immigration to the race question.² The image of undocumented migrants breaks from its institutional mold and creates new ways of framing the issue. This process takes place in an “alternative” location, its reach is limited, and it is therefore much more difficult for the frame to transcend into mass media.

It is not only important to identify the main dominant frames of an issue but understand where they are communicated from. The press is a powerful and wide-reaching institution insofar as it is supported by other powerful institutions. In return, it must limit its discourse to reproducing the dominant ideologies. By controlling and constraining who can contribute to the media discourse, it promotes an unbalanced account of reality. This is necessary to establish these “common sense”, hegemonic ideas of what makes a “good” migrant. The mediatization process in which meaning is produced only includes certain actors. In the corpus this is very evident by the unequal representation of institutional actors versus migrants. The notable absence of migrants in the press discourse shows how inaccessible the media sphere is to this population.

While Operation Papyrus is portrayed in nearly all articles as something positive or medium-positive, only half the articles portray the undocumented migrants in a positive way. Their voices and testimonies are largely absent, mostly referenced in terms of statistics which are more pertinent to the political debate. Although Papyrus is presented as much more than a regularization project, the salient frames show that it is not innovative, rather, it perpetuates hegemonic ideas of regularization. Media discourse on the immigration debate is also limited in that it only includes official and political actors and institutions. Throughout the two years of Papyrus, the general public did not participate in the debate, neither through democratic votes nor through a social movement, as was the case with the DACA act DREAMers movement (Mora et al. 2018). It went largely uncontested and

² <https://lecourrier.ch/2020/07/04/le-racisme-na-plus-carte-blanche/>

unnoticed. The competing frames on the immigrant question is produced by political actors, from dominating institutions, that stand to benefit from one frame being more dominant than another. Through the media discourse these frames shape the public's conception of "us" and "them". It shapes the identity of what it means to be Swiss and what it means to be a foreigner in Switzerland, a foreigner that is actively pushed up the assimilation ladder, lest they be expelled from the country.

CONCLUSION

These findings must serve as an initial step into our understanding of how the Swiss print media perceives undocumented migrants and an immigration policy such as Operation Papyrus. The scope of the policy is in itself quite limited, in time and space and since it has been mostly considered as an experiment, a pilot project, it does not represent an actual change in citizenship regime. The new conditions related to the COVID-19 pandemic affecting undocumented migrants and the worsening of working conditions for most domestic workers has already brought new attention to this population. In the dynamic process of framing competition, the smallest elements can have great effects. Furthermore, due to highly federated and segmented particularities of Swiss policy making, multiple frames can be dominant at the same time in different geographical regions or political spaces. The corpus of data did not take into account the many articles written on other immigration policies occurring in this period in other cantons such as Zurich with the Züri City Card. It is difficult to consider the Swiss press as a single entity, as can be the case in other monolingual States, here, the dominant discourses must be considered locally and regionally. A greater study could take a comparative approach to the different framing processes taking place in each region, including the Italian speaking media, which was not included here.

The main concept employed in this study, framing analysis, is inherently limited. In most framing studies, authors recognize identifying dominant discourses is only one part of the process. (Entman 1993; Lemarier-Saulnier 2016). It does not explain how frames emerge or compete in other communication locations. Who are the actors that influence the strengthening or weakening of frames? How are they contested in oral communication forums? How do undocumented migrants and militants construct alternative frames in alternative publications or sites of media production?

In the dominant press discourse concerning Operation Papyrus and undocumented migrants in Switzerland, the assimilationist frame is clearly the most salient. It can therefore be considered as a continuation of previous policy debates which creates the opposing categories of the “bad” deviant migrant versus the “good” well integrated migrant. This study sought to understand how the media discourse portrays migration policy and migrant populations and how do these portrayals influence the general public’s attitude toward a specific policy or population.

Representation, proportionate and adequate, matters. Diverse and accurate portrayals cannot exist in a society that does not value it. While the assimilationist frame persists, diversity and multiculturalism cannot develop. Both politicians and academics should be aware of the dominant frames and how they influence the democratic process. The framing process is meaning-making, and dynamic. It can change very drastically. Different actors, engaging in various meaning-making locations can construct- and reconstruct- new meanings that in turn can influence material reality.

While CDA and Framing analysis are not often combined, they can be complementary. Recognizing dominant frames allows us to reflect on the larger ideologies that give rise to these frames and understand that the meaning-making competition is not an abstract one. As social actors every member of a community can participate in the

development of new frames. The media is not solely responsible for the way we perceive other social groups or our own, it is, instead, a sphere to challenge and question.

In analyzing discourse, particularly through a CDA perspective, the researcher's bias, cannot be ignored. Having worked mostly face-to-face with former and current undocumented migrants during my internship, I truly discovered Operation Papyrus through their eyes and their experiences. This study is informed and inspired by their experiences shared with me. My critical analysis is also shaped by my position as an immigrant in Switzerland, susceptible to the influence of dominant discourse.

The Parchemin study continues to research the different effects of Operation Papyrus on the participants and society at large. These findings will certainly influence the future debates on immigration, whether it is an expansion of Papyrus or a new policy. Research, however, is contingent on the cooperation and participation of former and current undocumented immigrants, a population that cannot be simply reduced to the category of "vulnerable". It is a heterogenous and contradictory population. The label of "vulnerable", by both academics and media communicators can create obstacles to the research process. Hopefully, this study can shed some light into how migrants perceive themselves to be perceived by dominant institutions, like the university, the State or the press.

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