

## **We are all Zurich!**

### Examining the advocacy for the Zueri City Card for undocumented residents through an ACF perspective

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*“The politics of the city have a very different character to the ideological politics of the nation. [They] are about making things work - you’ve got to pick up the garbage, you’ve to keep the hospitals open, it doesn’t matter if the immigrants are legal or illegal - they have children who get sick and who have to go, to school, they ride buses, they drive cars. If you asked a mayor, ‘Do you think immigrants should be allowed in or not?’ they’d say ‘They are here.’”*

Benjamin Barber, ‘If mayors ruled the world’ in Wood, 2018

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**Abstract:**

This research answers the request of local actors in Amsterdam who seek insights in advocacy strategies to extend the function of the municipal city card improving the position of undocumented residents in their city. This request falls into the context of a growing number of ‘solidarity cities’ facing the challenges of restrictive national immigration regimes resulting in a growing undocumented population. The need for exchange of knowledge and experience amongst cities has been highlighted by several academics. In order to provide the actors in Amsterdam with concrete recommendations, the advocacy for a city card in Zurich has been researched. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 2018 the municipal parliament in Zurich voted in favor of the implementation of the Zueri City Card.

The Zueri City Card is a city pass that aims for legal, political, social, and cultural participation of all people living in the same city irrespective of their nationality and of their residence permit. The outcome in the parliament is a result of years of advocacy by urban actors.

Guided by the Advocacy Coalition Framework, this research identifies the involved actors and their form of cooperation. It sheds light on the resources that have been used to employ various strategies. This has been done based on interviews with the key actors that were involved during this advocacy process. From this study it can be concluded the involvement of a diverse group of actors with various backgrounds, professions and expertise have served as an important foundation. Through these people, the coalition had access to deep knowledge as well as important networks. The most important contributions came from academics, a migration lawyer, the head of the SPAZ and members of the municipal parliament. The last group enabled direct access to the municipal parliament where intense lobbying campaigns took place. This research also shows how the actors have continuously adapted their strategies to the context in which they were working. They have taken into account the timing of their proposal, the sensitivity of the topic and the drastic new way of thinking they promoted.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. ‘The right to the city, for everyone’

Since World War II, western European and traditional Anglo-Saxon immigration countries have consistently increased the restrictiveness of migration policies targeting irregular migrants (De Haas et al., 2018). This direction of policy making translates into a growing undocumented population. Particularly cities are faced with the consequences of this trend. Irregular migrants regularly reside in the urban space as this increases the likelihood of employment, accommodation, social networks and most importantly, anonymity (De Haas et al., 2018). Given their precarious way of life, city governments increasingly feel a certain urgency ‘to support, protect, and regularize irregular migrants because they “are de facto members of the community” (Kaufmann, 2019, 443). Consequently, undocumented people have become a target group for urban policies. This feeling of responsibility of city actors becomes, amongst others, apparent in the city of Amsterdam.

On the 24st of January 2019 three political parties in Amsterdam, GroenLinks, BIJ1 and DENK, submitted a proposal to the city council of Amsterdam called ‘The right to the city: city rights and a city pass for all citizens of Amsterdam (regardless legal residence)’<sup>1</sup>. The proposal entailed the request to the mayor and the aldermen of Amsterdam to research the possibility of making the city pass available for all citizens in Amsterdam, regardless of their legal residence, and to extend the functions of the city pass. Currently the city pass of Amsterdam is available for citizens with a low income or receiving the state pension. The city pass allows users to receive discounts at cultural and social services such as the library, museums and sports, but it also provides the possibility to apply for the Dutch identity card for free. The proposal stresses the necessity to research whether the city pass could become a form of identification for undocumented persons in Amsterdam. This would provide undocumented citizens with a more secure and safe position in society. Thereby, it would enable them access to for instance healthcare and electronic payments but also to cultural and social services. Moreover, the city pass could serve as a symbolic recognition for all Amsterdam citizens belonging to the city.

On 2 July 2019, Rutger Groot Wassink, on behalf of the mayor and eldersmen of Amsterdam, advised against the proposal ‘the right to the city’.

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from Dutch: ‘het recht op de stad: stadsrechten en een stadspas voor alle Amsterdammers (ongeacht papieren)’.

The administrative response stated there would be a lack of support as it would not be cost-effective and objections from the national police were expected (Bot, 2020). In September 2019 the initiators announced during a council meeting they are withdrawing the proposal.

However, the urgency of the proposal has not disappeared. Femke Roosma, chairman of GroenLinks in Amsterdam, has expressed the need to pursue with this proposal and seeks for strategies to put the minimum social protection of this marginalized group on the municipal agenda (F. Roosma, personal communication, February 27, 2020,). This call for action falls into Amsterdam's self-declaration as a 'Human-rights city' in 2016, and its commitment to the 'Fearless City' movement in 2019 (Roodenburg, 2019, GroenLinks, 2018). It is amongst others in the light of these events relevant to examine how other municipalities employ strategies to pursue the implementation of municipal ID's accessible to undocumented citizens. Furthermore, not only the actors in Amsterdam seek to understand how to pursue with this initiative. Various cities in predominantly North America and Europe explore and implement the use of city ID cards for undocumented residents and have expressed the need to cooperate (Christoph and Kron, 2019). Thus, in order to improve the exchange of information and cooperation on this matter it is necessary to shed light on the 'sanctuary' initiatives of each individual city, argue Bauder and Gonzalez (2018).

In Europe, Paris, Madrid and Barcelona offer a municipal ID card to their residents regardless of their legal status. Thereby, various other cities such as Bern, Naples and Zurich are examining the possibilities of implementing a similar type of municipal ID card.

As a result of the need for a deep understanding of useful strategies in advocating for a municipal city ID in Amsterdam, and in line with the call from Bauder and Gonzalez (2018), this research examines how actors in Zurich have joined forces to convince the municipal council to provide undocumented residents with a municipal ID card. Approximately 10.000-14.000 undocumented people reside in Zurich, subject to the constant state of 'deportability' (De Genova, 2002). Their precarious way of life is amongst others due to the lack of an institutionalized protection scheme for secure residency.

The advocacy for the Zueri City Card launched in 2015, and is currently coordinated by the association 'Zuri City Card'. After intense lobbying and campaigning for public support a majority of the municipal parliament declared its support for the Zueri City Card in October 2018. The advocacy in Zurich is particularly remarkable for its (1) long-term grassroots character and (2) the initial municipal skepticism it faced (Wood, 2018). The argumentation for this case selection will be further explained in chapter 3.

In order to explore in what way this advocacy takes place, this research follows theory on policy change as outlined in the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). This theoretical body is developed to examine intense public policy processes and seeks to understand under what circumstances actors join forces through coalitions to translate their beliefs into policy objectives and aim to achieve the particular policy change they envision (chapter 2).

In sum, this research seeks to understand how the advocacy for the Zueri City Card took place and aims to present recommendations to the actors in Amsterdam based on the findings of this research.

### **1.2. Research question**

These course of events lead to the following research question: *In what way have actors advocated for a city ID card for undocumented citizens in Zurich?*

### **1.3. Relevance**

The following section outlines the academic and the societal relevance of this research and includes the following points: first, this research is relevant as it builds upon Varsanyi's (2006) call to highlight the position of the undocumented population in the urban citizenship debate. Second, the relevance of the ACF application in a unique context and more specifically the 'strategic modus operandi' of an actor coalition is illustrated. Third, as part of the societal relevance, this research sheds light on the position of a marginalized and invisible population, and lastly, this research is relevant as it seeks to foster international exchange in knowledge and experience on solidarity city initiatives.

#### Academic relevance

The academic relevance of this research is particularly derived from the case study of Zurich and will be discussed first.

The local initiatives to propose a municipal ID card fall into the context of a broader municipal movement named 'new municipalism' (Bauder and Gonzalez, 2018). This movement seeks to call for policies based on 'urban citizenship' (Bauder and Gonzalez, 2018, Varsanyi, 2006). The urban citizenship debate explores the forms of (political) membership at the local level and follows the work of Lefebvre (1968) who emphasizes everyone's 'right to the city' (Purcell, 2002). The importance of Lefebvre's work and his ideas will be further discussed in chapter 2. However, as Varsanyi illustrates in her work, the position of undocumented persons is generally ignored in the expanding scholarly work on urban citizenship, despite the urgency to acknowledge the increasing number of undocumented residents in nation states.

This is partly due to the fact that the legal dimension of citizenship is generally downplayed or even ignored in the urban citizenship discourse (Varsanyi, 2006). Therefore, in the light of this argument, this research is of relevance because of its engagement with the advocacy for city rights for this left out group. Furthermore, this research aims to reveal the importance of citizenship as a legal institution by addressing the legal aspects of the planned municipal ID card in Zurich.

Besides the abovementioned, this research seeks to contribute by exploring the employed resources and strategies of the Zueri City Card advocates based on certain elements of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). By employing the ACF, this research adds to the enrichment of applications of the ACF in a rather unique context, as the majority of applications is used in policy processes concerning the environment, energy, public health and education (Pierce et al., 2020).

Additionally, this research' focus on the employed strategies is of relevance. Although Morawek (2019) has explored to what extent the planned Zueri City Card can be seen as a 'successful solidarity practice', the 'strategic modus operandi' of the involved actors in Zurich has so far not been investigated. The examination of the resources and strategies follows Pierce's call for more systematic research on the resource-strategy relationship in advocacy coalitions (Pierce, 2016).

### Societal relevance

The following section explains the societal relevance of this research, and returns to the position of the undocumented population in Amsterdam. As this research is triggered by the request of the actors in Amsterdam, it is necessary to explain the precarious position of the undocumented residents in Amsterdam. Naturally, the position of the undocumented population in Zurich is of equal importance, but will be discussed in chapter 4 with a broader explanation on the context of the case in Zurich.

The Dutch government has implemented numerous exclusionary mechanisms, amongst others the Dutch Compulsory Identification Act (1994), the Aliens Employment Act (1995), the Linking Act (1998) and the Aliens Act (2000), in order to prevent 'illegal migrants' from being able to extend their 'illegal stay' and mingle in with 'the normal society' (Bot, 2020).

The consequences of these legal mechanisms have however not led to an exodus of 'illegals' back to their nation-state, but instead to a situation in which approximately hundred thousand persons have been sentenced to a marginalized and isolated way of living (Spijkerboer, 2013).

Undocumented persons are not allowed to work, cannot apply for social assistance, (health) insurance(s), public transport subscription, open a bank account, get a driver's license nor rent a house, amongst others. It is estimated approximately 10.000 undocumented individuals reside in Amsterdam (Bot, 2020). Thus, as Wildavsky (1978) argues, 'public policies as solutions often tend to become their own cause' (Cobb and Elder, 1984, 125).

Finally, an important aspect for the societal relevance of this research lies in the fact that international exchange on experiences and knowledge is needed to pursue with local advocacy for marginalized groups. This entails sharing urban policy options and ideas, and fostering international cooperation and networks amongst activists, NGO's, policy makers and other relevant stake holders. Bauder and Gonzalez (2018) and Kauffman (2019) stress this exchange is highly requested by urban actors.

## 2. Theoretical framework

### 2.1. The Advocacy Coalition Framework

This research seeks to identify and understand how actors have advocated for the zueri city card and convince the municipal parliament in Zurich of their policy proposal. In order to do so, the body of theory derived from the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is used. As the ACF enables the breakdown of the involved actors and their advocacy work, it offers guidance for a systemic analysis of this process. Therefore, this theoretical framework has the most prominent role throughout this research.

This being said, two other bodies of academic work are of great importance as they offer a deeper understanding on the context in which the advocacy work has taken place. First this concerns the agenda setting literature, which will be discussed based on the work of Cobb and Elder (1971) and Kingdon (1984). Next, the urban citizenship literature offers a substantive explanation on the normative foundation of the proposed Zueri City Card.

The ACF is developed to examine intense public policy problems. It seeks to identify how problems are translated to policy objectives and under which conditions actors form and maintain coalitions to achieve their objectives (Jenkins Smith et al., 2014b). The core of this policymaking framework follows the idea ‘people engage in politics to translate their beliefs, rather than their simple material interests, into action’ (Cairney, 2015, 485). This framework is distinctive in the sense that it has been subject to ‘an unusually high number of revisions’ because the framework has been used and tested extensively and is consequently one of the most advanced political frameworks of the policy process (Cairney, 484, Bekkers et al., 2017). As the actors in Zurich address a value oriented problem and due to the political system in Switzerland, (see section 2.1.4) this is a useful framework to examine the case.

The ACF is a rather broad and extensive framework. In order to understand the case of Zurich, several elements from this framework serve as the foundation for this research. These include the advocacy coalitions within policy subsystems, the belief systems and the resources and strategies as identified by the ACF, and will be discussed in the following sections.

#### 2.1.1. Policy subsystems

The ACF stresses the most useful unit of analysis for understanding the overall policy process is at the level of policy subsystems. Subsystems are composed by actors from several private and public organizations that are concerned with a policy problem and aim to influence public policy in that sector (Jenkins Smith et al., 2014b,).

Policy subsystems can consist of the relevant executive agencies, legislative committees, researchers, analysts, interest groups, journalists, and others who play a part in policy formulation and often provide some authority or potential for authority (Jenkins Smith et al., 2014a). Subsystems are not separate entities but overlap with other subsystems and are alterable (Jenkins Smith et al, 2014b). In order to understand policy change, the ACF proposes a decade or more is necessary to make a reasonable assessment of policy impact (Sabatier, 1998). This is based on the fact that policy processes have no absolute beginning or end (Jenkins et al., 2014b). Furthermore, the ACF states the vast majority of discussion on a particular problem is based on scientific and technical theories (Jenkins Smith et al., 2014b, Sabatier, 1998). Finally, public policies can be conceptualized as the translation of the beliefs of actors in policy subsystems. This will be further discussed in section 2.1.3. (Sabatier, 1998, 99).

### **2.1.2. Forming advocacy coalitions**

Actors within subsystems attempt to translate their beliefs into public policy. To do so, actors will compare existing public policies, ‘the aggregate sets of rules, incentives, sanctions, subsidies, taxes, and other instruments’, with their own beliefs (Jenkins Smith et al., 2014a, 486). Based on the discrepancies actors will form coalitions with like-minded actors sharing similar ‘policy core beliefs’. These advocacy coalitions will consequently mobilize resources and coordinate actions in a ‘nontrivial’ manner in order to influence public policy (Jenkins Smith et al., 2014a).

### **2.1.3. The importance of the belief system**

The ACF presumes individuals filter their perceptions through a belief system, ranging from the most general beliefs to the most specific (Jenkins Smith et al., 2014a). In order to conceptualize this, the ACF uses a three-tiered hierarchical belief system (Sabatier and Weible, 2007a). The most fundamental and general beliefs are the ‘deep core’ beliefs, ‘consisting of normative and ontological axioms that shape an individual’s beliefs about such things as the fundamental nature of human beings, appropriate norms for basic social justice, and the ordering of primary values’ (Jenkins Smith et al., 2014a, 485). The next level concerns the policy core beliefs, referring to normative and empirical beliefs on the severity and causes of subsystem-wide problems. They represent basic value orientations directly related to the problem and the perceived effectiveness of policy instruments (Sabatier and Weible, 2007a). Policy core beliefs are expected to hardly change. They are seen as the ‘fundamental glue’ keeping the advocacy coalition together (Sabatier, 1998).

Moreover, coalition actors' alliance is believed to be strengthened when their beliefs are rejected by opposing actors. Thus, coalition actors can experience two processes, as they align based on shared beliefs and strengthen based on the presence of opposing coalitions. Finally, the most specific tier of a belief system are the secondary beliefs. These include empirical beliefs and policy preferences on a subcomponent of a policy subsystem. For instance, they include policy participants' preferences for specific government tools to achieve public policy change (Sabatier and Weible, 2007a, 127-128).

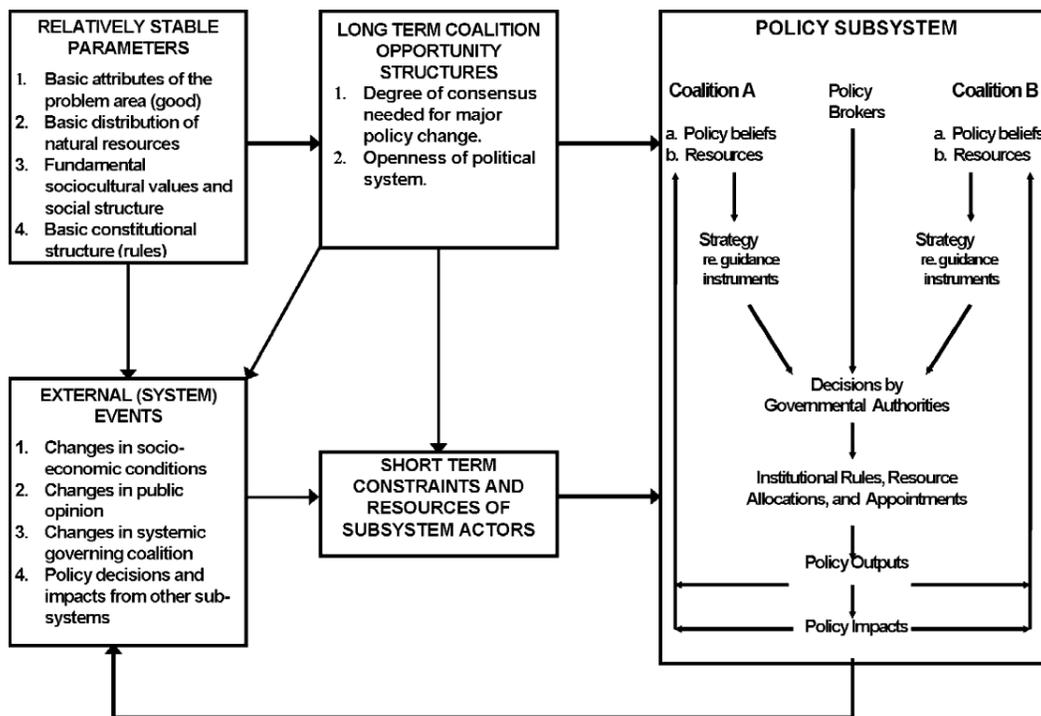


Diagram of the Advocacy Coalition Framework

**Figure 1.** Sabatier and Weible (2007b), 2005 Diagram of the Advocacy Coalition Framework

### 2.1.4. Policy change in subsystems

Policy change in a subsystem can be caused by various factors. The ACF distinguishes between 'internal and external shocks'. On the one hand, the subsystem can be affected by relatively stable factors, which include 'the basic attributes of the problem, the basic distribution of natural resources, fundamental sociocultural values and structure and the basic constitutional structure' (Sabatier and Weible, 2007b, 193, see figure 1).

These factors are not likely to change rapidly. However, any internal shock directly challenges the policy core beliefs of the dominant coalition. On the other hand, the more dynamic external factors include changes in the governing coalition, changes in socioeconomic conditions and policy decisions from other subsystems. Their potential to radically change can affect the division of resources and constraints within the subsystem more critically. Furthermore, as outlined in figure 1, two other context-specific factors have the competence to influence policy change, namely the openness of the political system and the degree of consensus needed for major policy change. Given Switzerland's powerful national, cantonal and municipal governments, their accessible bureaucracy, and their form of direct democracy, there are numerous decision-making venues. This creates 'a very open system with many different actors involved' (Sabatier and Weible, 2007b, 200). Consequently, Sabatier and Weible (2007b) consider Switzerland's political system suitable for the application of the ACF.

This section translates into the following expectation:

*E1: If actors show substantial consensus on the seriousness and the causes of a certain subsystem-wide problem, they will join forces in an advocacy coalition seeking to translate their shared beliefs into public policy. Their attempt to pursue their policy core beliefs can be influenced by internal shocks, external events and political opportunity structures.*

#### **2.1.4. The resources of advocacy coalitions**

In order to convert these policy core beliefs into public policy, actor coalitions share and use resources with each other to engage in certain advocacy strategies (Sabatier 1988 in Pierce, 2016). Sabatier and Weible (2007b) list 6 typologies of coalition resources, which are inspired by the dissertation of Sewell (2005) who applied the ACF to global climate change. These resources include 'formal authority to make policy decisions', 'public opinion', 'information', 'mobilizable troops', 'financial resources', and lastly, 'skillful leadership' (Sabatier and Weible, 2007b, 202-203).

Sewell (2005) views political resources as sources of political power. He defines political power as the coalition members' ability to make decisions, affect decisions or persuade actors to cooperate with them in order to achieve certain decisions. Consequently, the effectiveness of the strategies and tools employed by the coalition members is ultimately dependent on the coalition's sources of power. The different available resources are inherently unequal. The value of each of them is derived from- and influenced by different parameters and the circumstances in which they are used.

The first resource Sabatier and Weible (2007b) list is having coalition members in positions of legal authority to make policy decisions. This includes judges, agency officials and legislators. This resource is to be of major importance as it enables an actor coalition to acquire a dominant position within the particular subsystem. Next to law-bound decision making, authority over procedural and administrative issues and the ability to make ‘non-decisions’, are important (Sewell, 2005). At first sight it seems this resource is to a certain extent available in the advocacy coalition advocating for the Zueri City Card, as the board of this organization consists of actors with varying backgrounds, including a lawyer and two members of the municipal council, which holds legislative power. Nevertheless, it must become clear whether the positions of these members actually serve as resources.

The second resource concerns the support of the public opinion for the coalition’s policy position. The power of this resource lies in the fact that public supporters are most likely to elect coalition members for positions in which they can exercise legal or decision making authority.

Access to information on the severity and causes of the problem is the third listed resource. This point also includes access to information about the costs and benefits of policy alternatives. Information can be used as a strategic asset by ‘solidifying coalition membership, arguing against an opponent’s policy views, convincing decision making sovereigns to support your proposals, and swaying public opinion’ (Sabatier and Weible, 2007b, 203). Specifically technical and scientific information is considered necessary to convince policy participants. Sewell follows Weber(1978) in stating individuals within the bureaucracy that have control of knowledge and technical information, have power (Weber, 1978 in Sewell, 2005). Therefore, the involvement of researchers is considered as a major strategic asset.

The fourth resource is labeled as ‘mobilizable groups’. This entails coalition actors have access to members of the ‘attentive public’ who participate in public demonstrations and political activities that support the policy position. Sabatier and Weible (2007b) mention this resource is of great importance for coalitions that have limited access to financial means.

This leads to the fifth resource, financial resources, which is considered of importance as it enables access to other resources. This could include the funding of think tanks, research, media campaigns and advertisements, amongst others. From the website of the Zueri City Card it becomes clear the actors generate money by receiving donations, membership fees and the sale of support cards and t-shirts. There is however no transparency in what way the generated means are used.

Lastly, skillful leadership serves as an important resource. Skillful leaders are able to create a vision for a coalition and understand how and when to strategically use resources.

They assess the relative costs and benefits of using a particular resource and are able to generate new resources to a coalition (Sabatier and Weible, 2007b).

This section translates into the following expectations:

*E2: If actor coalitions have access to a substantial level of resources, they will ascertain themselves a powerful position. This enables the coalition to employ the necessary strategies. In an open political system, especially coalition actors in formal positions and their access to public support will foster the effectiveness of the strategies.*

*E3: Furthermore, if the coalition has access to rich technical and scientific information on different elements of the addressed problem, this will improve the coalitions' ability to persuade the relevant actors into their proposed solution.*

### **2.1.5. The strategies of advocacy coalitions**

Resources enable advocacy coalitions to carry out strategies as means to achieve governmental behavior suiting the policy core beliefs (Pierce, 2016). Sabatier often refers to 'guidance instruments' when discussing the set of tools, strategies and approaches actors can employ to achieve their goal (Sabatier, 1998). A factor that critically influences the choice for a certain strategy is the accompanied costs when employing a particular strategy. These costs are influenced by the presence of other advocacy coalitions, and their power within the subsystem. If the addressed actors don't favor the particular policy position, the costs tend to be high or even impossible. Sabatier refers to this as the 'veto points' these actors can activate. Vice versa, if the addressed actors have sympathy for the envisioned goal, the costs tend to be low. Furthermore, these costs generally reflect the efficiency and duration of a particular strategy. For instance, an expensive strategy such as obtaining a major change in law, is durable and effective, whereas low cost strategies such as persuading actors by testimonies are generally less impactful (Sabatier 1993, in Sewell, 2005).

Pierce (2016) identifies 10 strategies based on the guidance instruments proposed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993; 1999). 'The 10 strategies include (1) forming and maintaining a coalition, (2) participating in public meetings, (3) posting information or advocating online, (4) communicating with the news media, (5) lobbying elected officials, (6) generating and disseminating research and reports, (7) testifying at public hearings, (8) formal complaining to regulatory commissions, (9) organizing or participating in public protests, and (10) taking legal action' and will be discussed in the following section (Pierce, 2016, 1159).

The ACF assumes actors sharing particular goals and beliefs will form and maintain a coalition, because ‘pooling resources will increase the probability to success’ (Sabatier, 1998, 115). Coalitions committed to a certain ideology concerning the collective welfare are expected to have less distributional problems and less free-riders, instead of actors in coalitions seeking to maximize their own material self-interest (Sabatier, 1998). In the case of Zurich the dedication and work of the involved actors is embedded in an autonomous association named ‘The Zueri City Card’. It needs to become clear how the actors have formed this association and in what way the coalition has evolved and maintained.

The second strategy concerns investing in the participation of (public) meetings concerning the particular policy position, in order to defend the coalitions’ interests, influence relevant actors and promote the policy proposition (Sabatier and Weible, 2007a).

Third, actors can share information through various online and offline means in order to promote the policy position (Pierce, 2016). For instance, through social media, public events or one on one communication. Due to the Swiss form of direct democracy, campaigning appears to be of great importance as a high level of public involvement is necessary to foster decision-making.

A fourth strategy entails involving media outlets to spread information and gather public support. Media outlets can persuade the public by informing them about particular issues and thereby influence the political agenda (Sewell, 2005). Sabatier and Weible (2007b) describe gathering public support as a typical strategy coalitions spend a lot of time on. This strategy is especially of great use when a policy position is rather unknown and/or invisible. In line with the importance of campaigning, this could be a useful strategy for this particular advocacy coalition.

Lobbying elected officials is the fifth strategy. A coalition needs elected officials to sympathize with their policy position in order to gain success (Sewell, 2005). Especially for coalitions without having members in decision making positions, like the coalition in Zurich, launching lobbying campaigns is of utmost importance to sway officials with (legal) authority.

The next strategy concerns generating and spreading research and reports. The more people are properly informed about the policy proposal, the more public support a coalition can expect.

A seventh strategy is testifying at public hearings. This includes filing a complaint against a certain agency decision (Sewell, 2005). Given the urgency to avoid any publicity for the undocumented population, this strategy is considered rather impossible for this coalition, unless a case took place in which this reasoning was not applicable.

Formal complaining to regulatory commissions is another strategy. Regulatory commissions are public institutions exercising autonomous authority over a given domain and are typically set up to protect consumers and safeguard safety and standards. In Switzerland, the financial market supervisory authority is an example of a regulatory commission, and appears at first insight not to have been involved by any members of the advocacy coalition. As mentioned for the previous strategy, it is unlikely coalition members engage in formal complaining given the necessity to avoid any publicity on individual undocumented' cases.

Another strategy is organizing and/or participating in public protests. This strategy is as well very relevant to gathering public support.

The last strategy concerns taking legal action. This entails a coalition seeks to pursue (major) changes in legislation/legal authority, either directly as the implementation of the policy objective or as a step within the advocacy process. This strategy is considered as one of the most effective instruments to achieve lasting policy change. However, given its weight, it is also often a rather expensive and complicated strategy.

*This section translates into the following expectations:*

*E4: If advocacy actors have access to a sufficient amount of resources, they are able to employ the necessary strategies to convince the relevant actors of their policy objective. More specifically, if the problem is a rather invisible one, the coalition actors use strategies to gather public support and raise awareness on the problem they address and the solution they propose.*

*E5: Furthermore it is expected advocacy actors need to employ strategies that directly influence important officials in (legal) decision making positions.*

### **2.2.1. Agenda setting**

This research seeks to understand how actors were to convince the municipal parliament of a city ID in Zurich, which is inherently an agenda setting process. Therefore, the following section aims to conceptualize agenda setting based on the work of Cobb and Elder (1971) and Kingdon (1984) whose ideas are the 'more widely accepted in policy sciences' and therefore relevant to discuss (Zahariadis, 2016, 6).

Cobb and Elder define the agenda as 'a general set of political controversies that will be viewed as falling within the range of legitimate concerns meriting the attention of the polity' (Cobb and Elder, 1971, 905).

Agenda building can be characterized as a diffuse, loosely structured and context-dependent decision making process (Cobb and Elder, 1984). In their work, they distinguish between the agenda universe, the institutional - and the systemic agenda.

The agenda universe is the largest level and contains ‘all ideas that could possibly be brought up and discussed in a society or a political system’(Birkland, 2007, 64). This differs from the systemic agenda, which has legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority. Thereby the systematic agenda covers issues which are commonly viewed as meriting public attention from the political community. (Cobb and Elder 1983, in Birkland, 2007). The institutional agenda is a subset of the systematic agenda and concerns the issues that are ‘explicitly up for the active and serious consideration of authoritative decision makers’(Cobb and Elder 1983, 85–86 in Birkland, 2007, 65). This does not entail the priorities on the systematic agenda are reflected in the priorities on the institutional agenda. There could be considerable discrepancy between them (Cobb and Elder, 1972).

Kingdon (1984) introduces one more type of the agenda, namely the decision making agenda (Kingdon in Zahariadis, 2016). A relatively small amount of issues will arrive at this stage. At the decision making agenda issues receive immediate consideration and are to be acted upon by a governmental body (Birkland, 2007, Zahariadis, 2016). Kingdon explains agendas are preoccupied with a certain filtering process which, next to the values of the involved actors and accessibility of items, also depend on the degree of action ability. This means policymakers tend to prioritize issues they believe they are able to affect directly. This does not mean symbolic items will be ignored by policymakers, but actionable issues will be prioritized (Zahariadis, 2016).

Another defining aspect of Kingdon’s work needs to be mentioned here, which is his emphasis on timing. Kingdon argues the coupling of three independent streams, namely problems, solutions and politics, lead to policy windows, or windows of opportunity (Zahariadis, 1995). These moments are ‘critical moments in time’ in which the advocates of problems, labelled as policy entrepreneurs, need to promote their imagined solution. When policy windows occur policy entrepreneurs need to be alert and act immediately before the window closes again. Thus, policy entrepreneurs need to be ‘skilled at coupling’ (Zahariadis, 1995, 32).

It is relevant to mention and discuss the different ‘levels’ of agendas because they all carry their own bias and thresholds, for instance due to ‘historical practice and routine patterns of adaption’ (Cobb and Elder, 1984, 121). Particularly the institutional agenda prioritizes to work with older items which have not been resolved yet or are subject to alteration (Cobb and Elder, 1971).

The dominant biases tend to limit both the type of problems as well as the proposed solutions to them. This means actors need to define problems ‘largely in terms of incremental modifications of existing policies’ (Cobb and Elder, 1984, 122). New problems, or drastically redefined problems, that fall outside the purview of the dominant bias often face high thresholds in accessing a place on the formal agenda. In this case mass mobilization of the public concern and aggressive advocacy is necessary to elevate an issue to the systemic agenda (Cobb and Elder, 1984).

### **2.3. Problem definition**

Agenda setting is not only about which problems will be addressed but also how problems are defined. Therefore, Agenda setting is inherently linked to problem definition.

The language that used to describe a problem has lost its previous ‘neutral’ status and is now seen as a ‘medium’ through which actors can create reality (Hajer, 1993). Problem definition occurs within the given discourse that is present at that time, because discourse ‘forms the context in which phenomena are understood’ and is a result of the actor(s)’s frame of reference (Cobb and Elder, 1984, Hajer, 1993, 46)

However, even if multiple actors share a common frame of reference, the relevant facts about the problem are seldom fully available and thus inferences and presuppositions often play an important role in describing the reality of a problem (Cobb and Elder, 1984).

Consequently, the agenda universe is full of problem definitions that compete for priority and attention from decision makers (Bekkers et al., 2017).

### **2.4. Urban citizenship**

This final section provides a brief review on the urban citizenship literature which has inspired actors in urban contexts dealing with the intersection of globalization, migration and urbanization.

The work of Lefebvre (1968) is often cited as a vocal point in the urban citizenship discourse (Purcell, 2002). It is worth going deeper into Lefebvre’s ideas as he proposes an alternative form of citizenship for the traditional Westphalian order. This is of great relevance for the advocacy for irregular migrant’s rights, and has been referred to in the proposals for City ID cards in both Amsterdam and Zurich.

Lefebvre believes ‘the right to the city is earned by living in the city’(Lefebvre in Varsanyi, 2006, 240).

He imagines being member of the political community is not based on formal national citizenship, but rather on one's lived presence and residence in the city (Kaufmann, 2019). 'La vie quotidienne', everyday life, is at the heart of the right to the city: 'those who go about their daily routines in the city, both living in and creating urban space, are those who possess a legitimate right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1991a in Purcell, 2003, 577). Thus, rights are derived from contribution to the city, which is according to Lefebvre, one's obligation (Purcell, 2003). More concretely, Lefebvre imagines city residents to have two main rights. First, 'the right to appropriate urban space'. This entails working in the city, living in the city, playing in the city, characterizing, representing and occupying urban space in a certain city. Secondly, 'the right to participate' refers to the ability to take a central role in decision-making on the production of urban space (Purcell, 2003). In order for this right to prevail, power relations need to be restructured. The power to make decisions on cities must fundamentally be shifted to the level of urban inhabitants (Purcell, 2002). Purcell explains Lefebvre's ideas are particularly relevant for 'imagining a new politics' resisting the current growing neoliberal practices (Purcell, 2003, 579).

Although a great amount of scholars agree on the importance of Lefebvre's work, the role of citizenship as inherently a legal and formal institution is often downplayed (Varsanyi, 2006). Varsanyi observes the growing undocumented population is structurally ignored in the urban citizenship debate, which is problematic.

For instance, Isin (2000), an scholar often cited in this context, defines citizenship as 'the social process through which individuals and social groups engage in claiming, expanding or losing rights' (Isin, 2000, 5). However, Isin downplays the importance of the essential legal aspect of these rights as he explains the emphasis is on 'norm, practices, meanings and identities' instead of on legal rules (Isin, 2000, 3).

Varsanyi stresses this ignorance threatens the power and saliency of the literature on urban citizenship, especially given the fact that unauthorized migration is a growing reality within the current global migration regime (Varsanyi, 2006). As a response Varsanyi refers to the importance of the local policies of sanctuary cities in which undocumented residents are invited to be part of sub-national communities by means of several rights, the right to vote and avoid deportation, amongst others.

### Urban citizenship inspired policies

This final section aims to bring clarity about how urban policies inspired by urban citizenship can be perceived.

Bauder and Gonzalez observe a variety of chosen labels cities use to describe rather similar ‘sanctuary’ policies and initiatives. These include sanctuary cities, cities of refuge, solidarity cities, and communes of refuge, amongst others (Bauder and Gonzalez, 2018). Cities are naturally not able to offer exact similar responses, as they are confined by varying factors influencing their capabilities. The research of Kaufmann (2019) serves as a good starting point as he categorizes the various city initiatives based on three approaches.

First, sanctuary cities don’t cooperate with the national immigration authorities. They ignore or don’t enforce national immigration legislation. However, they are not able to offer absolute protection from national immigration authorities. Second, cities can lobby for- or implement regularization programs. Regularization programs provide irregular migrants with a certain type of residency within the national legal framework. They can take the form of permanent, one-shot, individual, or collective programs. Lastly, local bureaucratic membership is a pragmatic approach aiming to provide irregular migrants access to city services and certain city rights. ‘A crucial feature’ of this category is the municipal- or urban ID cards. The ID card is valid in the city that issues them, and comes with a range of benefits which the particular city is able to provide for (Kaufmann, 2019). These categories are interrelated and interdependent.

### 3. Research design

This chapter discusses the employed research methods in order to answer the main question of this research.

#### 3.1. Research question

*In what way have actors advocated for a city ID card for undocumented citizens in Zurich?*

In order to answer this question several sub questions will be used to come to an answer:

- (1) Which actors were involved in advocating for city rights for undocumented citizens in Zurich?
- (2) To what extent did the involved actors in Zurich share policy core beliefs in addressing their proposal for a city ID?
- (3) To what extent were the involved actors in Zurich able to access resources in order to advocate for a City ID?
- (4) Which strategies were used by the involved actors in Zurich to place the proposal for a city ID on the decision making agenda?

The first sub question will be answered in chapter 4 (4.3-4.4) in which a more detailed account on the context in Zurich will be discussed. The other three sub questions will be answered in chapter 6, in order to finally come to an answer on the main research question in the conclusion of this research.

#### 3.2. Operationalization

The operationalization of the discussed theories is based on the following statement by Sabatier: 'In order to translate these policy core beliefs into public policy, policy actors share resources with each other to engage in various advocacy strategies' (Sabatier 1998). Therefore, the policy core beliefs (1), the resources (2) and the advocacy strategies (3) will be operationalized based on the work of Jenkins Smith et al., 2014a, 486, Pierce, 2016, 1159. Sabatier and Weible, 2007b, 202-203 and Sewell (2005) as discussed in sections 2.1.3-2.1.5. Furthermore, given the supposedly important role of the urban citizenship rationale as a foundation for the policy ideas of this actor coalition, urban citizenship is included in the operationalization.

As a result of the discussion on resources in chapter 2, the two typologies 'public support' and 'mobilizable troops' are converted into one indicator named 'public support'. They are both concerned with the contributions of the public as a resource.

Also, the two strategies ‘advocating online and/or posting information’ and ‘collecting and sharing research reports’ are merged into one indicator ‘distributing information’, as they both address spreading information on the addressed problem and solution. Furthermore, ‘participating in public meetings’, ‘organizing and participating in public demonstrations’, ‘testifying at public hearings’ and ‘formal complaining to regulatory commissions’ have joined into one indicator called ‘participating in- and/or organizing public gatherings’. All these four strategies are concerned with the aspect that advocacy takes place in public space. As explained in chapter 2, it is not expected that testifying and complaining are important strategies, as these entail individual cases are highlighted in public, which is necessary to be avoided. The operationalization is presented in the following table. In the appendix a more detailed topic list and the interview questions can be found, which are derived from this operationalization.

<b>Theoretical element</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Interview questions</b>
Policy core beliefs (1)	The seriousness of the problem	Actor has a clear view on the seriousness of the problem and shares this view to a great extent with the other actors	What is the problem you are addressing? Why is this an urgent and serious problem?
Policy core beliefs (1)	Perceptions on susceptibility to resolution	Actor has a clear view on how to solve the addressed problem and shares this view to a great extent with the other actors	Can you describe what solution(s) you envision to solve the addressed problem?
Policy beliefs on urban citizenship (1.1.)	Familiarity with – and role of urban citizenship	Actor is familiar with the urban citizenship rationale and builds upon this discourse in the advocacy	Are you familiar with the urban citizenship rationale and to what extent is this rationale included in (the motivation for) the advocacy for the Zueri City Card?
Resources (2)	Coalition members are in positions of formal authority	Coalition members are in positions of formal (legal) authority (e.g. legislators, agency officials, judges)	Do you think your work or work related experience, or that of others in the coalition, influences/plays a role in the advocacy for the Zueri City Card?
Resources (2)	Public support	There is public support: people are openly engaged with – and in favor of the Zueri City Card (e.g. through public demonstrations, fund-raising campaigns, voting)	Do you believe there is public support for the Zueri City Card and if so, how does this take form?
Resources (2)	Information	The coalition has access to the necessary information to	To what kinds of information about the addressed problem and the

		understand the essence of the problem as well as the costs and benefits of alternative solutions	envisioned solution do you have access to?
Resources (2)	Financial resources	The coalition has access to financial resources to purchase other necessary resources (e.g. information, launching media campaigns, advertisements)	Is there access to access to financial resources and how does this play a role in the advocacy for the Zueri City Card?
Resources (2)	Skillful leadership	The coalition enjoys the guidance of skillful leaders that take responsibility for, amongst others, strategic decisions and allocation of resources	In what way is the advocacy for the Zueri City Card organized and coordinated?
Strategies (3)	Forming and maintaining a coalition	Actors seek allies and form and maintain a coalition based on shared policy core beliefs	Can you identify the actors involved in the advocacy for the Zueri City Card and explain in what way their cooperation emerged?
Strategies (3)	Participating in- and/or organizing public gatherings	Coalition members participate in- and/or organize the relevant public gatherings that are useful for the advocacy of the Zueri City Card (e.g. demonstrations, important meetings with particular actors/institutions)	In what way do you participate in- and/or organize public gatherings that are relevant for the Zueri City Card?
Strategies (3)	Distributing information	Coalition members generate and share (online) information on the addressed problem and the solution to it(e.g. research and reports)	In what way do you generate and share information on the addressed problem and your envisioned solution to it?
Strategies (3)	Communicating with media outlets	Coalition members involve multiple media channels in the advocacy for the Zueri City Card	Are certain media outlets involved in the advocacy for the Zueri City Card and in what way are they engaged?
Strategies (3)	Lobbying elected officials	Coalition members actively lobby elected officials that can bring about policy change	In what way have you engaged with lobbying campaigns as part of your advocacy?
Strategies (3)	Taking legal action	Coalition members aim to pursue changes in legislation that are beneficial to the problem	In what way do you try to pursue legal changes that benefit the addressed problem or enable the solution you envision?

### 3.3.1. Data collection

The data to answer the research question has been gathered based on qualitative methods, namely through semi structured interviews. Given the fact that the researcher has no Swiss or German language skills, no data has been analyzed from the relevant (policy) documents.

In order to prepare the interviews, an exploratory meeting took place with one of the board members of the Zuri City Card association, Sarah Bonavia, in which the more general context of the specific advocacy coalition has been discussed, as well as her specific role within the coalition. This meeting provided the researcher with a clear overview of the steps the coalition has been taken since 2015 and served as a solid starting point for executing the interviews. Furthermore, in order to gain a clear understanding of the institutional and political dynamics of the past and ongoing events in the context of this case, publications on undocumented immigrant incorporation in Zurich have been studied as part of the preparation for the interviews. These include the work of Morawek (2019), studies from Solidarity Cities in Europe (2019), Intercultural Cities: background paper on urban citizenship (2018), as well research from the 'Cities of Refuge' project based in Amsterdam.

The research of Katharina Morawak (2019) on urban citizenship in Zurich gives an insight in the key actors that were involved with the Züri City Card. This research served as a starting point for approaching interviewees, thus using purposive sampling (Babbie, 2012). Katharina Morawek herself as well as the mentioned actors in her research have been approached to participate in interviews. This led to the interviews with Katharina Morawek, Kijan Espahangizi and Christof Meier. However, the interview with Christof Meier, the integration commissioner in Zurich, has not contributed to insights about the policy core beliefs, resources and strategies of the advocacy coalition, as he does not necessarily welcome the Zueri City Card. The interview has provided useful insights as he has contributed to shape the context in which this advocacy coalition operated. Therefore no data has been retrieved from this interview.

Another foundation for sampling has been the website of the Zuri City Card association, which lists the board members of the organization. The listed board members were all approached for interviews via e-mail, which resulted in two completed interviews with two board members, Sarah Bonavia and Marco Geissbuehler. Both of them recommended to interview Caspar Zollikofer, the campaigner of the Zuri City Card association.

Sarah Bonavia discussed this ongoing research during one of the board meetings of the Zuri City Card association. Therefore all board members were aware of the research and the participating interviewees.

In sum, the following actors have participated in the interviews:

<b>Interviewee &amp; Number of interviews</b>	<b>Role</b>
Bonavia, Sarah (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Board member of the Zueri City Card association</li> <li>• Key role in international exchange on city initiatives</li> <li>• Responsible for (financial) administration of the organization</li> </ul>
Espahangizi, Kijan (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Researcher, historian</li> <li>• Key role as organizer of the events that led to the emergence of the Zueri City Card association</li> <li>• Involved since 2015, the early start of the advocacy until the end of 2016</li> </ul>
Geissbuehler, Marco (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Board member of the Zuri City Card association</li> <li>• Member of the Social Democratic Party, the largest party in the city of Zurich</li> </ul>
Morawek, Katharina (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Researcher, art curator, director of artspace the Shedhalle in Zurich</li> <li>• Initiator of 'Freedom to reside' working group</li> <li>• Key role in forming the advocacy coalition</li> </ul>
Zollikofer, Caspar (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaigner</li> <li>• Key role in gaining broad support from the inhabitants of Zurich for the Zuri City Card.</li> </ul>
<b>Exploratory interview:</b>	<b>Role</b>
Bonavia, Sarah (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Board member of the Zueri City Card association</li> <li>• Key role in international exchange on city initiatives</li> <li>• Responsible for (financial) administration of the organization</li> </ul>
Meier, Christof (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Zurich's integration commissioner.</li> <li>• In charge of the interdepartmental working group on Sans-Papiers in Zurich.</li> <li>• Advices the city government to take a decision on the implementation of the Zueri City Card.</li> </ul>

Due to the covid-19 pandemic, the researcher was confined to using online communication methods. The interviews took place by using the app zoom, and have been recorded and transcribed with the consent of the interviewees. All participation in the interviews was on voluntary basis. Participants were informed about the aim of the research and were asked to sign the form of consent. The transcripts of the interviews have been shared with the respondents.

They were asked to check their quotes that were to be used in the research. Some of the respondents have amended their statements or deleted phrases that were too detailed, sensitive or personal. All respondents have given consent to refer to their full name in this research. The researcher has worked in safe and protected environments and used a password during the digital interviews. The recordings of the interviews and the retrieved data are as well stored in a protected setting.

### **3.3.2. Data analysis**

The data retrieved from the interviews has been analyzed by first transcribing the interviews using the online tool Otranscribe. Next, the researcher sought to recognize the themes, concepts, events and examples mentioned related to the operationalized concepts (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The policy core beliefs, the resources and the strategies as described in the operationalization table served as a guiding framework for the coding. After the retrieved data was coded, they were grouped into data units. Consequently, these data units were summarized and examined by analyzing the references related to the policy core beliefs, the resources and the strategies deployed by the several actors in the advocacy coalitions in Zurich. The coding has been done manually. The data has been used to draw conclusions in relation with the theory, on the most important resources and strategies deployed, to draw lessons that will be presented to the involved actors in Amsterdam.

### **3.4. Case selection**

The trigger for this research comes from actors in Amsterdam who seek to understand what strategies are useful to place their proposal for an extended city card on the political agenda. Like Amsterdam, various other cities in mainly the United States, Canada and Europe experiment with policy initiatives following the urban citizenship rationale (Bauder and Gonzalez, 2018, Kauffman, 2019). Naturally, all these cities are confined by different migration laws and policies, and have different relationships with their national governments. They all act within varying political, economic, geographical and demographic circumstances. Moreover, these policy initiatives and experiments are results of their unique geopolitical and historical contexts (Bauder and Gonzalez, 2018).

Given the geographical location of Amsterdam, it is relevant to examine the European context. The Council of Europe and its partner cities cooperate through The Intercultural Cities (hereafter ICC) network.

In 2018, the ICC network gathered together to explore how cities can safeguard the protection of human rights for undocumented residents, inspired by the urban citizenship rationale. The background paper for this gathering served as a starting point for the case selection (Wood, 2018).

In order to examine relevant and important strategies that are useful for Amsterdam, it is necessary to research a city that seeks to offer a similar solution. In the ICC background paper, the case of Zurich is referred to as an outstanding case because of the long-term advocacy for the Zueri City Card. The paper highlights that the approval by the city parliament to develop the Zueri City Card was a result of a long term grassroots approach facing initial municipal skepticism (Wood, 2018, 10).

The (1) long term grassroots approach and (2) the initial municipal skepticism are two important reasons for this case selection. In order to discuss these, the case in Amsterdam is referred to again.

#### Grassroots approach

In an explorative meeting with the involved actors in Amsterdam, Femke Roosma referred to Carlos Menchaca, the Council member for the 38th District of the New York City Council, who had a leading role in the development of the New York City ID card (F. Roosma, personal communication, February 27, 2020,). He provided the actors in Amsterdam with feedback on their activities, and stressed the importance of a grassroots approach, as their attempts so far had mainly been institutionally and politically oriented. Consequently Femke Roosma expressed her interest in exploring how other city initiatives have engaged with bottom-up approaches in their advocacy. The grassroots approach thus is an important factor to examine.

In Switzerland, Peter Nideröst, lawyer and board member of the Zueri City Card explains the little results from national advocacy have fueled the grassroots movements in Zurich fighting for basic rights at the local level (Morawek, 2019).

#### Municipal skepticism

Like the case in Zurich, the actors in Amsterdam have faced initial municipal skepticism for their proposal. As mentioned in the introduction, Rutger Groot Wassink, on behalf of the mayor and aldermen of Amsterdam, advised against the proposal. Moreover, Femke Roosma explained the timing of the proposal could be described as rather sensitive, as the municipal parliament recently approved to open a shelter for undocumented people, which had been a difficult decision making process (F. Roosma, personal communication, February 27, 2020,).

In Zurich, the involved actors have advocated for the position of the undocumented population at the municipal government since 2015. It took them three years until a majority in the municipal parliament declared to be interested in developing the Zueri City Card. Given the skepticism in Amsterdam, it is relevant to research which strategies the actors in Zurich have used to achieve this support.

### [The right to the city](#)

A third reason for this case selection is the content of the proposal for the Zueri City Card. Like the proposal in Amsterdam, the actors in Zurich refer to - and build on Lefebvre's ideas on 'the right to the city'. The next chapter builds further on this argument and provides a more detailed account on the context of this case study.

### **3.5. The aim of this research**

In short, this research aims to identify and analyze how actors have used resources and employed strategies to convince the municipal parliament in Zurich of the need for a city card. Furthermore, it aims to contribute to the current academic debate as outlined in the theoretical framework and seeks to offer concrete recommendations on useful resources and strategies to the actors in Amsterdam

### **3.6. The validity of this research**

This section evaluates the value of this research based on the criteria proposed by Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2013). They seek to move beyond the often employed positivist framework and offer a set of criteria suitable for interpretative research. These include 'Trustworthiness', 'Thick Description', 'Reflexivity', and 'Intertextuality'.

Trustworthiness seeks- and enables to ensure the researchers' efforts are 'self-consciously deliberate, transparent, and ethical' (Schwartz-Sea and Yanow, 2013, 131).

Here, I'd like to refer to the research design in which the steps I have been taken to acquire the data are described in detail. I attempted to be as transparent as possible in order to give a clear insight in the employed methods. Moreover, it must be mentioned I am aware of the normative topic of this research. I am aware of the bias I have, and the potential influence it has had to shape my reflections during the research process. In order to challenge my own bias I have kept a research journal and checked the objectivity of the reflections I had written.

Thick description refers to the presence of 'sufficient descriptive detail' in order to understand the context dependent nuances.

First of all, it is important here to mention all respondents were at home during the interviews, as result of the covid-19 pandemic. It is thus possible the physical context has influenced the type and amount of information shared by the respondents. Besides mentioning the physical context, I presented the research data by referring to the context and the broader story in which the quoted remarks were made. Important nuances of respondents' statements have been outlined in chapter 6 where I discuss my interpretation and the analysis of the research data.

Reflexivity refers to the researchers' understanding she is aware of her role as 'means' or 'instrument' through which the research is produced, and her own 'embodied self' may provoke reactions. In order to reflect on my position, it is necessary to mention I am aware of my unconscious judgements. Therefor I have documented my reflections in a research diary and analyzed my position by testing my beliefs during conversations with peer-master researchers.

Replacing the positivist oriented term 'triangulation', Schwartz-Shea and Yanow refer to 'intertextuality' which serves as 'a standard for assessing the robustness of a particular study's knowledge claims' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2013, 134). In order to increase the robustness of the presented data during the interviews, I have interviewed all participants based on the exact same questions. Thereby, I always posed follow up questions, asked the same question in a slight different manner and sometimes came back to a certain topic in a later moment during the interview. Moreover, when a participant elaborated more detailed on a certain element, I asked the other participants to similarly expand on that topic.

## 4. Context and background of the Zueri City Card

### 4.1. Sans-Papiers in Zurich

With the state's capability decide who's eligible for legal residence, it does not treat all migrants the same, but instead 'selects and differentiates', based on certain categories (Castles et al., 2012, 119, De Haas et al., 2018). In Switzerland, The Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration (2019) regulates who is allowed to enter and reside in Switzerland (article 1). The state's selectivity and its legal framework to do so is evidenced in the preference for knowledge migrants and certain types of labour migrants, the possible recognition of refugees and the exclusion of all other 'categories' (Handmaker and Mora, 2014). Furthermore, one's country of origin is of importance. Switzerland's 'two-circles policy' outlines the different legal treatment for EU/EFTA nationals and third country nationals (Kurt, 2017). It is beyond the scope of this research to dive into the complex Swiss residency and citizenship regimes. However, they do define who falls out of these categories and is ordered to leave immediately as long as there is no valid residence permit. The table below seeks to illustrate the categories of undocumented residents as a result from these exclusionary mechanisms.

Switzerland has adopted the term Sans-Papiers, originally coined in France in the 1970s, to describe the people that are not authorized to reside in Switzerland. The Swiss state secretariat for migration (SEM) refers to Sans-Papiers as 'foreigners who enter Switzerland (with or without a visa, depending on the requirements for their country of origin) and remain in the country although the legal duration of their stay has expired. It therefore describes people who are not authorized to stay in the country. The term "Sans-Papier" does not mean that these people do not possess identity or travel documents' (SEM, 2020).

The city of Zurich refers to two categories of Sans-Papiers, namely primary and secondary Sans-Papiers.

<p><b>Primary Sans-Papiers</b> <i>Never had a residence status in Switzerland</i></p>	<p><b>Secondary Sans-Papiers</b> <i>Lost their permission to reside in Switzerland</i></p>
<p>Migrants with a denied family reunification request. For instance: children of Sans-Papiers entered Switzerland without initial authorization, or were born in Switzerland and grew up here.</p>	<p>Former seasonal workers whose 'Saisonniers' status has not been converted into a residence permit (b) and whose country of origin is not in the EU (this primarily affects people from the Balkans).</p>
<p>Migrants who overstayed their tourist visa</p>	<p>Migrants who received a residence permit through marriage to a person with a residence permit or Swiss citizenship and lost it because of divorce within three years after the marriage started</p>
<p>Migrants entering without a visa</p>	<p>Migrants with an expired residence permit for an apprenticeship in Switzerland</p>
	<p>Rejected asylum seekers from regions who cannot be deported</p>
	<p>Migrants whose residence permit has been withdrawn due to criminal offenses</p>
	<p>Migrants whose residence was based on social assistance and whose residence permit was withdrawn by the cantonal migration office</p>

**Figure 2.** Table of categories of Sans Papiers in Zurich. Visualization based on: The SPAZ (2020) and the City of Zurich (2020).

The table illustrates the individual situations and profiles of Sans-Papiers are very diverse. Possibly there are other reasons for lapsing into the state of a Sans-Papiers, nevertheless these are the main reasons the SPAZ and the City of Zurich mention.

If a Sans-Papiers does not have the possibility to obtain a certain type of residence permit, there are two options to regularize.

The first is to file an asylum application if there is a reasonable substantiation to do so, or to file a ‘*cas de rigueur*’ application. Sans-Papiers need to file their hardship application at the local migration authority, which will assess the application and may decide to pass it to the State Secretariat for Migration for a final decision (Della Torre, 2017). Bea Schwager, head of the SPAZ, mentions in an interview in May 2020, the canton of Zurich has since 2001 approved approximately 30 hardship cases and thus does not serve as an approachable mechanism (Schwager, 2020).

#### **4.2. The daily life of Sans-Papiers in Zurich**

As a consequence of lapsing into the state of deportability, the Sans-Papiers population is characterized by its invisibility (De Genova, 2002). Sans-Papiers do anything to avoid any contact with authorities in fear of being deported. They therefore take part in very small social networks. It is thus impossible to know the number of Sans-Papiers residing in Zurich. The Zueri City Card association refers to approximately 10.000-14.000 Sans-Papiers. The core problem of this group is the lack of a protection regime ensuring a secure residency, explains Morawek (2019). Sans-Papiers cannot claim their rights under international human rights law due to a lack of means and information, and are therefore subject to the national and local regulations defining their participation in the city. Consequently, Sans-Papiers are subject to the constant exclusion from a normal everyday life, as they have very limited access to medical care, no access to the housing market, no access to bank accounts and no access to insurances, amongst others.

Civil society initiatives and grassroots organizations have been able to ensure access to some basic tangible rights. In 2018, the Interdepartmental working group of the City of Zurich on Sans-Papiers observes homelessness and hunger were no common problems because of civil society involvement and pragmatic interventions by the local administration. Nevertheless, the working group raises awareness for the ‘exploitation of many irregular migrants and regular violation of their dignity and integrity’ (Stadt Zurich, 2018).

In 2017 the Zueri City Card association was established in order to promote the Zueri City Card as ‘an ‘antiseptic’ against disenfranchisement in situations where people are denied access to basic rights’ (Schwager in Morawek, 2019, 45).

#### **4.3. The Zueri City Card: 2015-2018**

With the approved legislation for the New York City ID card in 2014, immediate discussions started on the possibility of such a municipal ID in Zurich, explains Morawek (2019).

Bea Schwager, head of the SPAZ, Katharina Morawek as the director of Shedhalle Zurich, a centre for contemporary critical art, and others immediately rose attention for a City ID in Zurich. Morawek(2019) identifies three categories of involved actors, namely a movement based group of different actors, The Zueri City Card association and the interdepartmental working group at the Zurich City Council.

A number of events laid the foundation for the emergence of a working group addressing the importance of the Zueri City Card. These events include the Shedhalle art project: ‘The whole world in Zurich’ (2015), ‘The Congress of migrants and people with an immigration background’ (2015) in Bern, and the Zurich based project ‘We are all Zurich’ (2016), also taking place in the Shedhalle. The opening of the ‘We are all Zurich’ congress attracted over 550 people from over 30 different organizations to discuss ‘the right to have rights’, ‘the democratization of democracy’ and the political shaping of Zurich. Particularly at this congress the idea of a municipal ID card was raised and discussed.

Katharina Morawek and Kijan Espahangizi were both organizers and involved in these events, and highlight the importance of the events for the Zueri City Card. They explain these events created momentum to foster the urban citizenship inspired debate and aspired to directly impact policy making processes (Morawek, 2019). It is these actors that can be identified as the so-called ‘movement based actors’ which have laid a foundation for discussions on urban citizenship inspired practices, amongst others.

Eventually, mainly as a result of the events in the Shedhalle, Katharina Morawek set up a working group dedicated to exploring types of local citizenship (Morawek, 2019). As a result of the discussions in this working group, the independent association ‘The Zueri City Card’ was launched in 2017. This independent organization was assembled by different individual actors with all different profiles is solely dedicated to the city card. It’s board currently consists of the following persons:

- Bea Schwager, head of the SPAZ
- Sadou Bah, Autonomous School Zurich
- Peter Nideröst, lawyer
- Salvatore Di Concilio, founding member the SPAZ
- Ezgi Akyol, councilor Alternative Liste (political party)
- Marco Geissbühler, municipal councilor Social Democratic Party (political party)
- Samuel Häberli, Zurich Open Space Campaign
- Sarah Bonavia, graphic designer

In August 2017 a coordinator for the working group was assigned, and in September 2017 ‘the support card’, a symbolic ID card, was launched.

#### The proposal of the Zueri City Card working group

The proposal for the Zueri City Card addresses the same target groups as the proposal in Amsterdam does, namely: undocumented migrants, large parts of the regular residents in the city, the urban administration and public and private institutions. The advocates in Zurich claim for legal, political, social, and cultural participation of all people living in the same city irrespective of their nationality and of their residence permit.

#### **4.4. Interdepartmental working group of the City of Zurich on Sans-Papiers**

The City of Zurich was not unfamiliar with the position of the undocumented population. In an explorative meeting with Christof Meier, the integration commissioner of Zurich, he explained the city had implemented several ‘silent policies’ that targeted the undocumented population. These policies entailed for instance collaborations with certain hospitals to provide health care and access to several city services (e.g. library, swimming pool). The city council did not want to shed a light on these policies, as they were afraid this approach would trigger suspicion from the national government and consequently lead to an end of these policies. However, as a result of the official demands from the Zueri City Card association, the City of Zurich Integration Delegation set up an interdepartmental working group under the department of the Mayor to reassess the situation of irregular migrants (C. Meier, Personal communication, May 25, 2020). The working group published an influential position paper (2018) on the situation of Sans-Papiers in Zurich (C-Mise, 2019). This paper outlined recommendations on several ‘problem areas’ such as education, access to justice and the courts, and health care. The paper acknowledges the precarious situation of this population, however, it clearly highlights it does not see benefits of a municipal ID card: ‘access to justice and the courts remains merely theoretical and, in the working group’s view, would not be improved with a «City Card»’ (Stadt Zurich, 2018).

Thus, three groups of actors can be identified that were involved with the Zueri City Card. First, a movement based group of actors promoted urban citizenship inspired discussions at the local level. Second, the Zueri City Card association advocated for the introduction and implementation of the Zueri City Card.

Third, the interdepartmental working group is involved as it advises the city council with its decision on the implementation of the Zueri City Card. However, this last group declared it does not support the Zueri City Card.

As a result of the ongoing advocacy since 2014, the municipal council voted in favor of the adoption of a municipal ID card on the 31<sup>st</sup> of October 2018. The following chapters will discuss which actors have used which resources and strategies to achieve this voting outcome.

## 5. Results

The following chapter discusses the results of the interviews based on the operationalization scheme as laid out in chapter 3. It follows the sub questions to give structure to the descriptions.

### 5.1. Policy core beliefs

*(2) To what extent did the involved actors in Zurich share policy core beliefs in addressing their proposal for a city ID?*

The policy core beliefs refer to the advocators' basic value orientations directly related to the cause and the severity of the problem. (Sabatier, 1998). Policy core beliefs are important as they function as a glue holding the coalition actors together. The respondents showed consensus on the policy core beliefs, however, the approach of the individual actors on the problem stemmed from different perspectives.

On the one hand, three of the five respondents emphasized the undocumented population's structural lack of access to fundamental human rights as the main problem: *'We have 14.000 undocumented migrants in the city of Zurich, estimated. 14.000 people on itself that's like a hidden city in the city of Zurich. With people who are denied very basic rights, like go out freely, or go to the police when they become a victim of crime'* (Geissbuehler). These three respondents illustrated this argument with the same examples, namely the fear of going to the police and the fear of going out in public spaces, amongst others. Thus, the problems in the daily lives of Sans-Papiers in Zurich and their inability to enjoy fundamental human rights is one category of the policy core beliefs in this coalition.

The other perspective, mainly put forward by academics in the coalition, is derived from broader themes. These entail the perceived fundamental democratic failure in Switzerland and the need for a post migrant society. The respondents emphasized the need to restructure democracy in Switzerland, specifically at the local level, to embed the current demographical society. This approach is clearly summed up in one of Espahangizi's explanations: *'We are not talking about a situation in which certain people have to integrate or not, we have to talk about how we have to organize society in a way that doesn't celebrate migration as the big shiny thing nor dehumanizes it, but just say that's a fact and if you want to be a democracy, you have to reorganize, you don't have to like it'* (Espahangizi). The respondents which approached the problem from this perspective saw the idea of a Zueri City card as a practical translation of their believes.

Furthermore, all respondents referred to the urban citizenship discourse as a substantial inspiration for their policy proposal. The coalition actors emphasized the urgency to rethink what citizenship means and the need to put forward a type of citizenship that is in line with how society has changed. Especially the impact of globalization and migration on democracy and political participation was critically highlighted. Moreover, one of the researchers emphasized the need to get rid of thinking in categories. Instead, the city must be viewed as a place *‘where everybody who lives here has the same basic rights and the same possibilities and the same access’* (Geissbuehler).

Finally, The role of urban citizenship becomes naturally clear, as the working group which eventually led to the establishment of the Zueri City Card Association was called ‘Freedom to reside’. This group will be further discussed in section 5.3.1.

Thus, the respondents’ approach to the problem can be grouped into two categories. On the one hand, human rights based explanations directly concerning the undocumented population itself, and on the other hand the beliefs that a broader transformation of society is necessary, of which the undocumented population is part. All respondents saw the Zueri City Card as a practical translation of their beliefs about the problem.

## **5.2. Resources**

*(3) To what extent were the involved actors in Zurich able to access resources in order to advocate for a City ID?*

### **5.2.1. Resource 1: Coalition members in formal authority**

The coalition members were either themselves actors with formal authority or they had a close connection with actors in a formal position. Before discussing these, it is important to mention several respondents emphasized the importance of the small context in which the advocacy took place. This entailed the advocacy was part of a set of networks in which a lot of people were familiar with each other and each other’s’ work (Morawek, Bonavia, Zollikofer). This served as an important foundation for this resource.

A few of the actors in the coalition were repeatedly mentioned due to their formal position and their importance for the advocacy work (Zollikofer, Bonavia, Maro, Morawek).

First of all, Bea Schwager has been involved in activism for Sans-Papiers since the 80s/90s.

Bea's role as the director of the SPAZ, her years of experience with the undocumented population and consequently the network she built means the coalition had access to expert knowledge on the position of the undocumented population as well as the events and politics around it.

Another important actor has been Peter Niderorst, a migration lawyer. His position was of great value given the fact that only a select amount of people work with the complicated Swiss migration law. Therefore, the coalition had access to a professional who had authority as a lawyer but also possessed the necessary information, and was thus an important expert in this coalition.

Next to these expert figures, Marco Geissbuehler as member of the social democrats, the biggest political party in Zurich and Ezgi Akyol as member of Alternative Liste, another big political party, deeply understood the parliamentary dynamics and had the technical know-how to participate in the political debate. They were as members of parliament able to directly interact with parliament members on the issue of the Zueri City Card. One of the respondents believed this relationship between the association and the parliament was a crucial factor in the vote for the Zueri city card (Morawek).

Furthermore, the roles of Espahangizi and Morawek as academics have been of great importance as they contributed with their academic expertise as well as their academic network they had access to.

Finally, the networks of the coalition members have been of great importance (Bonavia). This was especially important during the first phase of the advocacy, which consisted of secret informal talks with relevant key actors in Zurich. These included different politicians, policy makers, bureaucrats as well as directors of hospitals and the head of the police. With these talks it became clear also these participating actors spoke with each other: *'It was interesting to see when our guests realized who else we talked to. They started to understand this is a bigger scale'* (Morawek). This illustrates how the idea of a city card spread throughout these networks and increased access to the relevant actors.

Thus, the positions of the coalition actors themselves as well as their networks was of great importance for this coalition, and has enabled the necessary strategies to convince the municipal parliament.

### **5.2.2. Resource 2: Public support**

The importance of public support is inherent to the political system in Switzerland, namely the direct democracy. The support of the citizens thus plays a decisive role when it comes to any political proposal. The support for the Zueri City Card became clear in different ways.

First of all, the association sold merchandise and a support card through which citizens were able to declare their support and simultaneously contribute financially. The support card is a symbolic card which represents the Zueri City Card.

Morawek recalls the success of the support card: *‘People started to use it even, when the police asked for their ID they showed this piece of paper which was only artistic fake. So it was almost like a pre enactment to actually having this card’* (Morawek).

Further concrete evidence of public support were the testimonials of Zurich’s citizens on the website of the association. Also, public events were organized which attracted a certain amount of supporters (See section 5.3.2)

The support for the Zueri city card was at its most concrete through the signatures that were collected in the form of a petition. Geissbuehler reflects on this process: *‘This means we were on the street talking to people trying to get their support and get signatures. We got over 8000 signatures in that time. That’s like 1 in 50 people in Zurich have signed this petition’*. Consequently, this resource was used as a strategic asset, as the signatures were presented to the mayor on the day of the vote in the parliament (Geissbuehler).

In spite of the abovementioned strategies, Morawek and Geissbuehler explained gathering public support for the Zueri City Card was not at all phases of the advocacy a focus of the coalition, as this heavily depended on the phase of the process as well as the available resources in the form of time and money. Nevertheless, the coalition’s various efforts to attract public support and consequently have access to this resource, can clearly be identified.

### **5.2.3. Resource 3: Information**

With the coalition members’ access to the relevant actors and networks, access to information naturally follows.

The type of information can be categorized into two sets: first, it became clear in the interviews the actors deeply understood the context in which they operated. Secondly, the actors had a very clear understanding of the problem they advocated for.

With regards to the first category, Morawek and Geissbuehler both emphasized the importance of the political, institutional, but also the historical context in which the coalition operated.

Zurich didn't have such a solid leftwing majority in parliament since before the second world war, so the timing to put forward leftwing projects was considered very beneficial. Also, leftwing parties needed to prove their credibility by putting forward proper leftwing projects.

Geissbuehler explained this timing was seen as a window of opportunity and triggered a lot of eagerness and motivation of the involved actors.

The second category of information concerns the expertise of the different actors involved. In this context especially the importance of Peter Niderorst was often mentioned (Bonavia, Zollikofer, Geissbuehler). He understood the legal technicalities of the solution the coalition proposed.

Furthermore, Marco Geissbuehler and Ezgi Akyol were experienced with the parliamentary dynamics. The technical know-how and experience of the coalition actors was an important resource used during the advocacy at the parliament. Geissbuehler explained during the lobbying at the parliament intense consultancy with the board members took place to work out strategies and gather the necessary information to proceed.

Also, the coalition had access to actors from other cities in which similar initiatives took place. The coalition invited relevant international actors from time to time to share information and to exchange knowledge (Bonavia, Morawek, Geissbuehler).

Finally, remarkably four out of the five respondents emphasize the low chances for actual implementation. Bonavia declares: *'I participated in this project being very conscious there is a high possibility that we don't win, that we don't succeed in the voting and maybe we don't even go to the vote'*. Similarly Zollikofer states: *'I'm not very optimistic for a Zueri City Card... I don't know, it is my toss but it could be very difficult, maybe in ten years'*.

This amongst others illustrates the respondents' deep understanding of the problem and the complexities of the solutions this group proposes. Moreover, the awareness of the complexity of the problem has determined the character of the advocacy, which becomes clearer in the section on the strategies of the coalition.

In sum, the coalition had rich access to different kinds of information and technical know-how experience.

#### **5.2.4. Resource 4: Financial resources**

Access to resources is considered a very important resource as it enables access to other resources (Sabatier and Weible 2007b). For this coalition, the institutional setting from which they operated defined their access to financial resources. The coalition has worked from two different institutional bases.

In the first two years, the Zueri City Card project started as part of a broader project under the name ‘The whole world in Zurich’(2015-2017). This was an art project curated by Katharina Morawek as director of the Shedhalle and was funded with tax money. For the coalition actors this entailed they received a financial allowance for their participation in the working group and they had access to an office. When Morawek’s contract ended after five years, *‘the project had to find another institutional home’* (Morawek). As a result, the project was transformed into an association.

In this new context the association started with a loan and the involved members worked on voluntary basis (Bonavia). The association launched the support card which people could buy to support the organization. Furthermore, the coalition members started to raise money with fundraising campaigns. However, these campaigns were not broad, and eventually mainly worked in a way that rose awareness for the Zueri City Card, but did not lead to sufficient resources. The available money was mainly invested in events that were organized to gain public support.

All in all, the organization did not possess a lot of money at the time when the municipal parliament had to be convinced. Nevertheless, the financial means available during the first two years of the advocacy enabled a stable beginning and solid basis for the advocacy work.

#### **5.2.5. Resource 5: Skillful leadership**

Kingdon (1995) in Sabatier and Weible (2007b) explains a skillful leader is necessary ‘to bring about actual changes in policy’ (Sabatier and Weible, 2007b, 123). The leadership styles within the coalition shifted with the transformation of the institutional organization.

Initially, Katharina Morawek took the lead to launch the project. Her leadership was shaped by her position as director of the art project and her deep dedication for a transformation of society. Together with an artist, Martin Krenn, she gathered a group of experts that were invited to work on the concept of a city card. Morawek explained the leadership of the project itself was in the hands of this expert group: *‘the leadership of this project was very much these eight people that we invited as a steering board and there was a very analytical approach and a very political approach’* (Morawek). This strategic approach also becomes clear in section 5.3

When the project transformed into the association, Bea Schwager, director of the SPAZ, took the lead. This was mainly due to the fact that she and others were able to turn this working group into a rather *‘pragmatic project’* (Espahangizi). Her leadership was perceived more practical in contrast with the earlier approach.

Finally, during the whole phase of the actual advocacy in the parliament, Ezgi Akyol took leadership in the coordination of this process. Geissbuehler explains this leadership entailed the following: *'She wrote the bill, the text we put on the agenda of the parliament and she coordinated all of those activities...like having the overview where the discussion stands in all parties, answering questions from party members and so on...she put together all the information, the groundwork...there is a lot of coordination effort when you put forward a bill of this magnitude in parliament'* (Geissbuehler).

Thus, different types of leadership can be identified in this coalition, dependent on different phases, processes, responsibilities and shaped by different leadership styles.

### **5.3. Strategies**

*(4) Which strategies were used by the involved actors in Zurich to place the proposal for a city ID on the decision making agenda?*

#### **5.3.1. Strategies 1: Coalition forming**

The rise of rightwing politics, particularly the Swiss Mass Immigration Initiative in 2014, spurred national debates on the future of democracy and citizenship (Espahangizi). Local debates in Zurich followed quickly. These debates triggered the urge for action and in this context, as discussed before, Katharina Morawek formed a working group to discuss a transformative change of Swiss society. The art project consisted of three subprojects, of which 'the freedom to reside' was one. This was the starting point for the coalition. The group consisted of diverse actors: activists, law practitioners, academics and artists, who all brought in their own approach and expertise. In this group the idea of the Zueri City Card was developed. The different approaches on the different policy core beliefs were clearly present within this working group. For instance, Espahangizi explains actors like Bea Schwager were mainly involved because this enabled possible improvements for the position of the undocumented population. In contrast, other members (e.g. the researchers) were involved as the project served *'as a possible practical entry point for transforming the society'* (Espahangizi). The group of actors operated for two years from this institutional base and approximately a year before the municipal vote the working group transformed into an autonomous association. Most of the people who were part of the project group continued their work in the association. Naturally some coalition actors quit and some others joined over time, nevertheless, the respondents remarked this was a very organic process. The few actors who joined over time became involved through their networks and/or were personally asked (Zollikofer, Bonavia, Geissbuehler).

### 5.3.2. Strategies 2: Participating in- and/or organizing public gatherings

The coalition actors organized events on broader themes, in which the idea of a city card was promoted. These events mainly took place in the last 1 to 1,5 years before the municipal vote. Morawek explained the content of the events was built up in a strategic way: *‘On a popular level, we addressed a broader question of ‘Listen, 25% of the Swiss population don’t have citizenship rights, this is a big democratic failure’. So we didn’t only advertise for the city card but we also addressed a lot of people with migration background who don’t need a city card, but they need to be citizens, they need to be part of the ‘family portrait’. So this was somehow the strategy...there is a larger discussion to be held about the broader horizon of a post-migrant society in relation to singular projects like the city card’* (Morawek). During these events international guests were invited who were either artists, academics, or actors who were similarly engaging with urban citizenship initiatives. All in all, in these 1,5 years the coalition organized 4 big events, of which one attracted approximately 500 persons. Besides that, they incidentally organized panel discussions and workshops, or joined other events to promote the city card.

### 5.3.3. Strategies 3: Distributing information

Given the fact that the undocumented population resides as invisible as possible, not a lot of citizens are familiar with their position in society, explains Zollikofer. However, the Zueri City Card association itself did not necessarily play a big role in spreading information on the position of this population. Nevertheless, coalition actor Bea Schwager did so through her work for the SPAZ by investing in public communication, marketing and visiting schools and universities, amongst others.

The association instead focused on the distribution of the idea of a city card. They did so through various ways.

First, by spreading and selling visuals and tangible products, such as merchandise and the support card. Geissbuehler reflects the goal was to link a certain rationale with the support card: *‘having this card is being a part of progressive and inclusive city... and to get out of this left wing bubble... I mean right now it’s just a symbolic [card].. the support card is not an official document like identification but it’s a goal standing to get the idea in the heads of people.’*

Moreover, they spread information during public events, which emphasized the need for a transformation in society as outlined in the previous section.

Furthermore, after the bill was presented at the parliament in July, the coalition members launched a petition. Gathering signatures served as a moment to make contact with Zurich's inhabitants and explain the concept of a city card. Nevertheless, several coalition members also emphasized the difficulty of this part, as amongst others, the legal technicalities of the card were not sorted out yet. It was therefore difficult to present a complete solution.

Thus, the coalition actors promoted the idea of a city card, and did so to the extent it was possible, but also considered this as a difficult strategy.

#### **5.3.4. Strategies 4: Communicating with media outlets**

The media played an important role in raising awareness for the Zueri City Card. The coalition actors mentioned the media were specifically useful when the parliament members were informed about the city card and parliamentary discussions took place. However, the media was not necessarily welcomed at all phases of the process, as the coalition members were in the early stages rather hesitant to interact with the media.

Nevertheless, the media responded in a rather neutral, positive way, Morawek explains. In the end the project was featured in approximately 30 news articles and radio broadcasts over the course of one year, which the involved actors considered to be very helpful (Morawek).

#### **5.3.5. Strategies 5: Lobbying elected officials**

The coalition actors had direct access to relevant actors and employed '*classic lobbying strategies*' to convince them of the Zueri City Card (Morawek). The lobbying took mainly place in two phases.

During the early start of the project, the coalition invited different politicians, bureaucrats, policy makers, as well as directors of relevant organizations like hospitals and the Zurich police, for non-public informal talks. During these talks the coalition members investigated whether there would be support for the card and checked the preferences and positions of the actors. Katharina Morawek explains there were different strategies within these lobbying talks. First, the invited actors were confronted with their work ethics. For instance, hospital directors were asked whether they thought they were in the place to decide who to treat and who not, as the work of a doctor should be helping anyone in need. Similarly, multiple police officers were confronted with a certain case in which the police refused to file a report on the sexual harassment of an undocumented woman because of her legal status. Another strategy was to organize secret gatherings in which these participating actors and undocumented persons could exchange their experiences.

Katharina Morawek explains: *‘We also invited undocumented people to tell their story...We made 2 hour boat trips so that the participants had to confront themselves with each other and these were very interesting situations that opened a social dialogue that did not have a place before...so we initiated these contacts, this was an important part’* (Morawek).

The second phase of lobbying took place in the municipal parliament. Marco Geissbuehler and Ezgi Akyol presented a bill on the Zueri City Card in their parties and consequently sought to convince and mobilize all party members through *‘endless one-on-one conversations’* (Morawek). Additionally, Marco Geissbuehler was supported by a member of another political party, which similarly spread the message amongst those party members. The advocacy within the political parties took place in an organized manner: *‘During parliamentary sessions we met at the entrance lobby to discuss how to proceed strategically and to, like, discuss the feedback from our parties, from influential people in our parties, what they said, discussed how we should adapt the bill, how to proceed, what the next steps are, with whom we should talk next’* (Geissbuehler). During this process, they regularly consulted with the other board members on how to proceed (see section 5.2.3.).

Besides this all, Geissbuehler emphasized it was not only this strategic mindset, but even more so the timing which was of crucial importance for the success of the advocacy (5.2.3).

In sum, the coalition actors lobbied in a preparatory way to embed this idea in the minds of relevant actors outside of the parliament and consequently actively lobbied for the Zueri city card at the municipal parliament.

### **5.3.6. Strategies 6: Taking legal action**

The advocacy actors have not been taking legal action in the sense they pursued changes in the law. The actors are very aware of the legal difficulties in their solution. The lawyer, Peter Niderorst, plays an important role in building the legal arguments in support of the Zueri City Card, however, they have not been in the position to change the law. Zollikofer explains *‘He [Peter Niderorst] always says that’s not our task, he always says that’s the task of the government to say how they will implement the Zueri city card. So no he doesn’t do any legal work like that’*. Thus, up until the municipal vote no strategies were employed in this category.

## 6. Discussion

In order to answer the research question of this thesis, this chapter first seeks to answer the sub-questions based on the outlined results in the previous chapter as well as the literature discussed in chapter 2.

### 6.1. The actors' policy core beliefs

*(2) To what extent did the involved actors in Zurich share policy core beliefs in addressing their proposal for a city ID?*

The joined beliefs of the individual key actors have formed a solid basis and inspiration for the advocacy work. This can certainly be described as the glue of the advocacy coalition, as Sabatier (1998) describes this. Moreover, the beliefs have as well served as catalyst for the advocacy work. This is in accordance with how Jenkins-Smith et al., (2014b) expect the belief systems to function. However, in contrast with E1, not only policy core beliefs but also deep core beliefs were at the forefront when the actors allied to cooperate.

#### A combination of deep core and policy core beliefs

The ACF follows the idea that coalitions are built when actors share similar policy core beliefs. In Zurich, actors joined forces based on a combination of more fundamental beliefs as well as more specific ideas.

On the one hand, there were actors who believed Switzerland did not keep up with the demographic change that resulted from the forces of globalization and migration which led to a failure of democracy. They argued this was particularly felt at the local level. Given these dynamics, the actors emphasized the need to abandon thinking in categories and instead focus on the right to have rights and the right to participate in the city. The argument resonates with the urban citizenship rationale. As Purcell explains, 'Lefebvre's ideas are particularly relevant for 'imagining a new politics' resisting the current growing neoliberal practices' (Purcell, 2003, 579).

This failure of democracy directly affected the position of the undocumented population, amongst others. Therefore, the deep core beliefs concerned with the transformation of society translated into a concrete policy position, namely the development of the Zueri City Card.

Thus, in the words of Jenkins Smith et al., (2014a), the welfare of this population was ‘of priority amongst the affected groups’(Jenkins Smith et al., 2014, 486). Following the belief system as outlined in the ACF, this first approach on the problem is predominantly presented at the ‘deep core’ level instead of the policy core level.

On the other hand, there were actors who directly emphasized the precarious position of the undocumented population in Zurich as the problem. In this perspective the daily struggles and the breach of this populations’ fundamental human rights were emphasized.

The different approaches on the policy problem, and consequently the level in which this was explained, deep core vs. policy core, was clearly shaped by the background, profession and expertise of the coalition actors (activists, academics, politicians).

Furthermore, the actors commitment to the city card strengthened as they starkly opposed the national and cantonal rightwing policy directions. The ACF explains that beliefs of coalition actors can be reinforced by the presence of opposing coalition actors and lead to the strengthening of the coalition. Although the national government did not directly address these actors, they did feel the urge to actively speak out their explicit disagreement with these rightwing policies, which consequently bolstered the urgency of their beliefs and the need to translate these into concrete actions.

In sum, the role of deep core beliefs has played a bigger role than initially expected. The constantly expressed need for broader transformation has played a significant role in the early stages of the advocacy work and has served as a foundation from which the project could position itself in its advocacy context.

### The power of ideas

The coalition actors were deeply committed to their beliefs and dedicated to make the Zueri City Card happen. The function of the ideas can therefore be described as a catalyst in this case. They have clearly nourished action. It is therefore useful to view the joined set of ideas of the actors as an important source of action and can be viewed as a powerful asset.

In the ACF, the function of power has mostly been attributed to the resources of a coalition whereas policy core beliefs are not directly linked to power (Sewell, 2005). This research shows that the role of shared ideas should not be underrated as solely the ‘glue’ and catalyst of the coalition. Instead, a coalition with a strong dedication for an idea is in itself powerful as the shared vision triggers them to act. Working towards a goal gives them meaning.

This has also been put forward by Cairney in his 2015 discussion of the ACF: ‘actors may be influential because they articulate important ideas, not simply because they can exercise power’ (Cairney, 2015, 484).

Naturally, there is a fine line between having ideas and having access to information, as ideas follow from having access to information, amongst others. Nevertheless, access to information as a resource and policy core believes as part of the belief system are two different concepts in the ACF. Therefore, the link between influence and policy core believes deserves more attention within the ACF literature.

In sum, broadly in line with E1, there was a deep shared common ground on the so-called policy core believes, which has clearly resulted in a dedicated, committed and convinced coalition advocating for the Zueri City Card. Nevertheless, in contrast with this expectation, the emphasis on the broader problems in Swiss society, expressed on the level of the deep core beliefs, played a bigger role than initially expected.

## **6.2. The coalitions’ access to resources**

*(3) To what extent were the involved actors in Zurich able to access resources in order to advocate for a City ID?*

As discussed above, in the context of the ACF, the possession of resources means the possession of power (Sewell, 2005). Resources ultimately define the effectiveness and range of the employed strategies that are employed to achieve the coalition’s goal. The coalition in Zurich did have access to all 6 resource typologies as set out by Sabatier and Weible (2007a). All these resources have contributed to the vote of the municipal parliament and are of value. However, naturally not all resources were equally critical and the relevance of a few resources particularly stand out. These include the access to information, the involved actors’ expertise, financial resources and the leadership skills of coalition actors.

In line with E2, the coalitions’ access to resources has provided them with a powerful position and enabled them to employ the necessary strategies. Specifically the direct access to the municipal parliament has proven to be of great value. Also, E2 emphasizes the importance of public support. The public support for the city card became mainly clear through the support cards and the signatures for the petition. The coalition presented the petition as concrete evidence of public support to inform the parliament about the position of Zurich’s residents.

E3 expects the access to information will foster the coalition’s ability to influence relevant actors. This advocacy coalition clearly illustrates the decisive impact of access to information as well as access to actors (in formal positions) through whom information was accessed. In order to further explain the relevance of these resources and also sustain the final answer to the research question, the following graph visualizes the advocacy process and illustrates the most relevant events during the process. As the graph shows, a few resources have constantly been available to the coalition, whereas other resources have mostly contributed at particular phases or events.

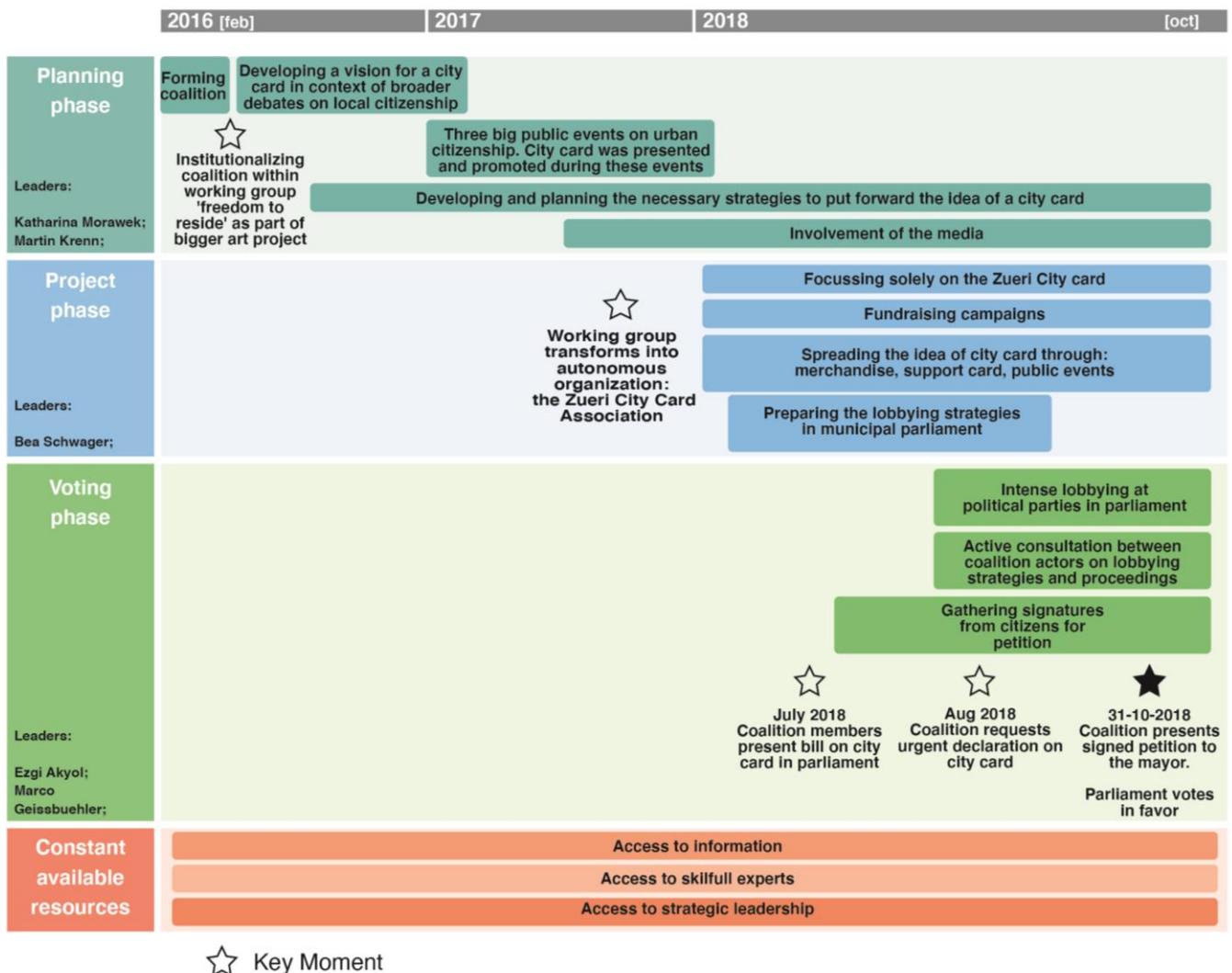


Figure 3. Visualization of the advocacy process between Feb. 2016 – Oct. 2018.

### Access to skillful experts

The diversity of the involved actors and more specifically their (formal) position, background, networks, and professional expertise has played a major role in the advocacy. With the input of, amongst others, academic, artistic and legal expertise, the advocacy was pursued in a holistic manner. Particularly the experts' continuous efforts to share their expertise at the necessary stages of the process, such as developing the vision and strategies and writing the bill, has boosted the contribution of this resource. This became especially clear during the phase in which the actual lobbying at the municipal parliament took place. When the coalition believed they had done sufficient groundwork to put forward the proposal for the city card in the parliament (as visualized in figure 3), the coalition actors themselves were members of the parliament, and thus could directly do this work. This resource enabled the continuous consultation between the actors in the parliament and the other experts in the coalition.

### Access to information

Access to skillful experts naturally results into access to information. The deep technical and scientific knowledge of these actors, in the ACF labeled as the resource 'access to information' defined the quality of the advocacy and the proposed solution. This deeply resonates with Weber's ideas, who states power is derived from control over knowledge and technical information (Weber, 1978 in Sewell, 2005). Moreover, the actors had a deep understanding of the context in which the advocacy took place. This entailed the actors knew who to engage and also who needed extra convincing. Furthermore, the actors were aware about the timing of their proposal. For a longer time, the position of the undocumented population was placed on the agenda of the parliament, but with the newly elected left wing parliament, the actors felt the need to make use of that window of opportunity, or in ACF terms, this 'external system event'. Thus, in line with E3, and further discussed in section 6.3, the actors' awareness of the sensitivity of the problem made them act in a highly strategic manner.

### Access to strategic leadership

Sabatier and Weible (2007b) emphasize the importance of skillful leaders for actual policy change. Their conclusion is much in line with how leaders in the advocacy for the city card have positioned themselves in the advocacy process. Furthermore, this research illustrates the importance of a combination of leaders with different qualities that stand up depending on the phase of the process and the work that needs to be done.

In the context of this resource it is relevant to emphasize the work of Katharina Morawek.

As director of an art space, she invited several actors for a tax funded working group to think about local citizenship in Zurich. This enabled the coalition with an institutional basis. On a practical level this meant the working group had access to a physical working space and there were salaries for the coalition members that were part of the working group. Therefore it is also important to mention here the access to financial means has clearly played a significant role and can to a big extent be linked to the efforts of Katharina.

The combination and joined strengths of the different leadership styles is in line with the work of Meijer, who explains the different phases of innovation need different types of leadership: 'a (multilevel and multi-phase) collection of individuals can bring processes of innovation to a successful end' (Meijer, 2014, 214).

All in all, the major strength of this coalition has been its access to the involved actors' expertise and formal positions, financial resources, leadership skills and information. These resources have played a decisive role over the course of the advocacy process.

### **6.3. The coalitions' employed strategies**

*(4) Which strategies were used by the involved actors in Zurich to place the proposal for a city ID on the decision making agenda?*

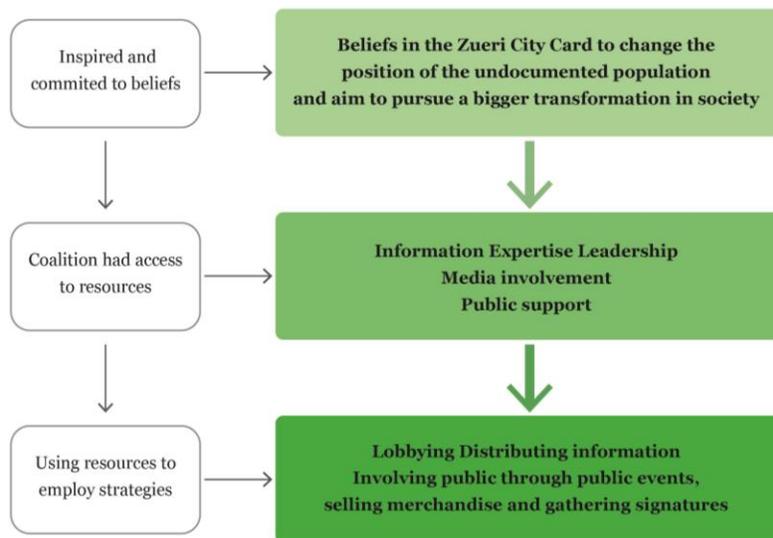
The actors' access to information about the context in which the advocacy took place and the sensitivity of the problem, resulted in a firm strategic mindset. This strategic mindset has evidently shaped the actors' proceedings. Before elaborating on the decisive contributions of particular strategies, the strategic character of the coalition will be discussed.

#### Strategic mindset

The strategic character of this coalition is predominantly evidenced through the actors' cautiousness to take steps, the pace in which they worked and the volume in which they employed strategies. This last point entails the actors did not launch a massive advocacy campaign, but instead worked in a delicate manner that fitted the specific context of a particular strategy, such as during public events or at the parliament. As visualized in figure 3, the actors have over the course of the advocacy constantly worked on the development of necessary strategies.

This is in line with how the ACF explains coalition actors will weigh the costs of the strategies before they actually employ them (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993 and Sabatier, 1997 in Sewell, 2005). For instance, if the goal is not necessarily a preferable idea by other powerful coalitions in the subsystem, the costs of the strategies will be high, as much effort is needed to convince them. Resulting from the actors' understanding of the context and their awareness of the sensitivity of the problem, the actors immediately attempted to lower any potential costs as much as possible. This was mostly done by taking an inventory of the positions of relevant actors, for instance the head of the police, directors of hospitals and politicians. Thereby, they tried to involve the actors with the problem.

As outlined in chapter 4, these addressed actors were not unaware of the position of the population, as the city had implemented several 'silent policies' for this target group. However, the goal of the coalition was to elevate these silent policies from the systemic agenda to the decision making agenda and propose an (additional) drastically different solution (Cobb and Elder, 1983 in Birkland, 2007). By first embedding the coalitions' perspective of the problem in the mindsets of these actors, they already 'lowered the costs' for when they would present the city card to the municipal parliament. Thus, this first step served as a foundation from which they could operate, as they had the support of several of the persons they had spoken to. After this first phase of lobbying took place, the actors started to present the ideas for a city card in public.



**Figure 4.** Visualization of the coalition actor's beliefs, their access to resources and the employed strategies.

As put forward by the ACF, in order to translate policy core beliefs into public policy, coalition actors have used several strategies to make the municipal parliament vote on the city card (see figure 4). The coalitions' access to resources as well as the beneficial timing has naturally defined the range and effectiveness of their used strategies.

#### Distributing information

As expected (E4) coalition actors did seek to attract public support and raise awareness for the city card. Especially because the city card predominantly addresses an invisible population, public support was necessary. It helped the coalition to present the city card as a broader societal need. Thereby they were able to inform the mayor as well as the parliament about the presence of public support.

When the broader public in Zurich was addressed, the coalition framed the city card as part of a bigger problem in Zurich, namely the democratic deficit as a result of the restrictive citizenship regimes. Basically, they branded the city card by linking it to the necessity that Zurich must become a city for all its citizens, in line with Lefebvre's standing point. The actors' understanding of the demographic context determined this framing. They specifically paid attention to the substantial amount of residents without Swiss citizenship. Thus, this strategy entailed that the public events covered broader issues than solely the city card. Also, the distribution of the support card was connected to this bigger vision on Zurich as an inclusive city.

In sum, actors have put substantial efforts to embed the idea of a city card in Zurich and raise awareness for the unequal chances to reside and participate in the city.

#### Lobbying

Lobbying took mainly place in two phases. First, as discussed above, series of informal meetings with important key actors in Zurich took place in order to present the idea of a city card. Second, lobbying took place directly at the municipal parliament. The coalitions' direct access to the parliament has been of major importance. A challenging aspect was the coalition advocated for a rather new way of thinking that was not yet part of the parliament members' mindset.

Therefore, endless one-on-one conversations with almost all parliament members took place to convince the members of the city card. Although this lobbying process was a result of the years of preparation work, the determining influence of the lobbying work cannot be stretched enough. Thus, in line with E5, the act of influencing important officials has been of decisive impact in this advocacy process.

## 7. Conclusion

Triggered by the request of political actors in Amsterdam who seek to expand the functions of the Amsterdam city pass for undocumented residents, this research's aim was to investigate how actors in Zurich have advocated for a city pass. In order to contribute to the city-wide need for more exchange of knowledge and expertise on local solidarity initiatives, and the specific request in Amsterdam, this research has sought to answer the following question: *In what way have actors advocated for a city ID card for undocumented citizens in Zurich?* In order to answer this question, several actors that have advocated for a city card in Zurich were interviewed. To process, categorize and give meaning to the results of the interviews, the Advocacy Coalition Framework has served as a guiding framework, together with literature on agenda setting and urban citizenship. The advocacy coalition framework literature follows the idea actors with the same policy core beliefs on a certain policy problem will join forces in a coalition and subsequently translate these beliefs into public policy. In order to do so, coalition actors share resources with each other to engage in various advocacy strategies.

### Summary and interpretation of results

Based on the findings the research question is answered by illustrating in what way actors advocated for the city pass between 2016-2018 and are summarized below. In this process a few factors have naturally had a determining contribution.

First of all, this research highlights the importance of the relationship between ideas and power in this case study. These beliefs concerned the right to have rights and the need to think in terms of a post migrant society. The coalition actors believed the precarious position of the undocumented population and their inability to access their fundamental human rights was unacceptable. The merged deep- and policy beliefs of the different involved actors has served as a powerful asset. The actors' strong conviction and dedication to their beliefs triggered the continuous attempt to influence the agenda of relevant key actors and the municipal parliament. This has been a determining foundation for the advocacy work.

Secondly, the coalition had access to several resources which enabled them to employ the necessary strategies. A few resources have been of critical importance, namely the combined knowledge and expertise of the coalition actors as well as the networks they brought in. With the involvement of a diverse range of actors, the coalition had access to various types of knowledge and experience. This enabled the coalition to develop a thorough understanding of the issue the city card addresses. In the ACF this is considered as a highly important asset.

Moreover, the different leadership capabilities of several actors ensured the coalition was guided during different phases requiring different styles. Furthermore, the actors were able to institutionalize their advocacy work, initially as part of an art project, later as an autonomous association, which meant there was a continuous basis to work from.

Third, the strategic proceeding of the coalition has played an important role in their work. With the awareness of the sensitivity of the problem as well as the deep understanding of the relevant key actors, networks, organizations and political parties in Zurich, the actors were able to spread the idea for a city card in a rather strategic way. Most importantly in this context was their knowledge of the parliamentary setting, where the coalition actors themselves carefully lobbied for the implementation of the Zueri City Card.

Finally, the political context in which the advocacy took place was a determining factor for this coalition. On the one hand, the increase of rightwing discourse at the national and the cantonal level triggered the direct need to act. On the other hand, with the newly elected parliament, the local context facilitated new progressive leftwing initiatives. With the understanding of this dynamic, the actors eagerly used this window of opportunity to put forward the idea of a city card.

To conclude and answer the research question, the advocacy for the Zueri City Card has been strategic, sensitive, delicate and thoughtful. Actors with various backgrounds have joined forces to organize themselves and carefully prepared and employed strategies that fitted with the political and societal context.

### Relevance of results

This research contributes to the enrichment of ACF applications as this research analyzes the ‘strategic modus operandi’ of a coalition and illustrates a resource-strategy relationship, as Pierce (2016) called for. Although the emphasis in this research lies on the beliefs, resources and strategies of this coalition, the advocacy has been inspired by the urban citizenship discourse. This discourse has served as a normative foundation for the coalition actors and played an important role in framing the problem. Whereas the undocumented population is largely ignored in this academic debate, this research adds to that gap by emphasizing the importance of the undocumented population’s right to participate and reside in the city. Finally, the insights acquired in this research contribute to the enrichment of exchange and knowledge on solidarity city initiatives and will be outlined further in chapter 8.

### Limitations and directions for future research

This research illustrates an advocacy trajectory with a positive result in the municipal parliament. Nevertheless, this is a one-sided illustration on an advocacy process derived from the use of one single theory on policy processes, the advocacy coalition framework. As a result, this research did not shed light on the socioeconomic context of the city, nor did it dive into the interests of the parliament, the city, or the canton in which the advocacy took place. Moreover, the coalition actors have emphasized the importance of similar solidarity initiatives in Bern, Palermo and Barcelona, from which they learned and with whom they exchanged knowledge and contacts. It has been beyond the scope of this research to investigate in the specific relationships between these cities and their initiatives, nevertheless, also in line with Bauder and Gonzalez (2018) it is necessary for further research to shed light on (partner) cities engaged with similar dynamics.

Furthermore, this research leaves it unclear to what extent these particular actors would be able to pursue the necessary change to actually implement the Zueri City Card. As emphasized by the respondents, the legal as well as the political position of the cantonal and national political context is currently predominantly rightwing oriented. Also, the influence of the current pandemic on the implementation process still has to become clear. Therefore, it would be relevant to further follow this coalition and this case study, to see in what way the next steps necessary to come to an actual implementation are taken.

Apart from the relevance of highlighting different aspects on this advocacy process in further research, it is necessary to illustrate how cities face the challenges an undocumented population brings. Saskia Sassen (2014) warns for the increase of ‘expelled’ populations, amongst others climate refugees, for whom there is no legal framework acknowledging nor protecting them. The undocumented populations will grow worldwide and require experienced, thought-through urban responses. Therefore, cities need to keep innovating and use their experience as a powerful asset influencing the relevant institutions, governments and regimes, and research should follow and shed light on these proceedings.

## **8. Recommendations**

The investigation in this advocacy process has provided several insights that appear to be of relevance for actors who seek to advocate for a politically sensitive issue in a local context. These recommendations are based on the results and findings of this research and are presented as conditions which can be of decisive influence when incorporating them in the early stages. Adopting these recommendations can provide advocacy actors with a powerful position, as they will have a higher chance to influence decisions.

These recommendations will be presented to the actors in Amsterdam who requested knowledge and experiences on strategies with advocating for city rights for undocumented residents. These actors include members of GroenLinks who initiated the request for a city pas in Amsterdam, Savannah Koolen from Amsterdam City Rights and Lisa Saris who was involved as a researcher.

### **Recommendation 1: Articulate ideas**

The advocacy process in Zurich illustrates the importance of ideas. In Zurich, the involved actors all demonstrated their beliefs on how they perceived the problem. Based on their beliefs they eventually designed a formal mission for their policy goal. The clear and transparent communication about each-others' ideas and positions stimulated cooperation. This formed a very important foundation for the process. Therefore, when advocating for a politically sensitive issue with a relatively small core group, make sure all involved actors have the chance to articulate their ideas and perspectives on the issue, and seek to understand how you can align here and build further.

### **Recommendation 2: Address the bigger public**

Consider in what broader context a city card is necessary, and find actors who think alike. In Zurich, the dedication to a transformative change in society has fueled the commitment to the advocacy. This broader vision gave a bigger meaning to the city card. Thereby, it reinforced the commitment to work together for an important transformation in society, and also served as a proper framework for public engagement, publication and lobbying. Thus, seek to understand why the city card is not only necessary for the undocumented population, but as well how this contributes to the city of Amsterdam, and potentially on the regional and/or national level.

**Recommendation 3: Formalize advocacy work**

The advocacy process for the Zueri City card took place in an institutional setting. Initially as part of a bigger art project in Zurich and eventually it transformed into an autonomous association solely dedicated to the advocacy for the city card. Through the agreements as part of these institutional settings, cooperation between the actors formalized and was taken seriously. This served as an important underlying structure as it fostered commitment and is therefore highly recommended. Thus, seek to embed the advocacy work for a policy goal within a type of an organization and make concrete agreements about the cooperation with each other.

**Recommendation 4: Work with a diverse group of actors**

Spend a significant amount of time and energy to understand what you are advocating for and who you address in your advocacy. Based on that knowledge, build a strategic plan, with a timeline, on how to address these different actors and in what way this can be done. The success of the advocacy in Zurich has proven to be spurred by its sensitivity, pragmatic style and strategic base. In order to do so, aim to compose a group of actors with different backgrounds and expertise. The coalition in Zurich consisted, amongst others, of researchers, activists, people from the arts scene, a migration lawyer, key actors in important NGO's, a campaigner and members of the parliament. This gave the advocacy actors access to a rich amount of information, networks and input from experts and had a decisive impact on the quality of the advocacy work.

**Recommendation 5: Use the skills of the involved actors**

Aim to understand the different roles all of your coalition partners can take on. Use the talents and expertise. This is specifically important with regards to the leadership skills within the group. In Zurich, good leadership skills of certain actors, and thus also different leadership styles, dependent on the demand of the phase of the process, have proven to be of great contribution.

**Recommendation 6: Investigate the political context**

Consider the timing of your policy proposal and try to understand what the specific political context requires. Find out which key actors, politicians and decision makers are necessary to have on your side. In Zurich, the involved actors have taken the time to prepare the foundation for their lobbying work, and have been very careful in doing so. Thus, don't rush with the necessary steps and see if there are any openings that you can use to put the policy goal forward.

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## 10. Appendix

### Appendix 1 Topic list and interview questions

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Interview questions</b>
The problem	What is the problem you are addressing? Why is this an urgent and serious problem?
The solution	Can you describe what solution(s) you envision to solve the addressed problem?
Urban citizenship	Are you familiar with the urban citizenship rationale and to what extent is this rationale included in (the motivation for) your advocacy?
Resource: Coalition members in formal authority	Do you think your work or work related experience, or that of others in the coalition, influences/plays a role in the advocacy for the Zueri City Card?
Resource: Public support	Do you believe there is public support for the Zueri City Card? If yes, how did you encounter this and in what way is this an asset for your advocacy?
Resource: Information	To what kinds of information about the addressed problem and the envisioned solution do you have access to and what role does this information play in the advocacy for the Zueri City Card?
Resource: Financial resources	Do you have access to financial resources? If yes, how do you use these in your advocacy for the Zueri City Card?
Resource: Skillful leadership	In what way is the advocacy for the Zueri City Card organized and coordinated? Are there certain roles and responsibilities for certain people?
Strategies: Forming and maintaining a coalition	In what way has the cooperation between the involved actors emerged, and how is this maintained?

Strategies: Participating in- and/or organizing public gatherings	In what way do you participate in- and/or organize public gatherings that are relevant for the Zueri City Card? Can you elaborate on these gatherings?
Strategies: Distributing information	In what way do you generate and share information on the addressed problem and your envisioned solution to it?
Strategies: Communicating with media outlets	Are certain media outlets involved in the advocacy for the Zueri City Card and in what way are they engaged? Which media outlets?
Strategies: Lobbying elected officials	Do you use lobbying strategies during the advocacy for the Zueri City ID card? If yes; what did this look like? Which officials?
Strategies: Taking legal action	Do you try to pursue legal changes that benefit the addressed problem or enable the solution you envision? If yes; which changes and in what way?