Use of Islam in the Definition of Foreign Otherness in Switzerland: A Comparative Analysis of Media Discourses Between 1970-2004

Anaïd Lindemann
Institut de Sciences Sociales des Religions Contemporaines, University of Lausanne

Jörg Stolz
University of Lausanne

Use of Islam in the Definition of Foreign Otherness in Switzerland: A Comparative Analysis of Media Discourses Between 1970-2004

Anaïd Lindemann

Institut de Sciences Sociales des Religions Contemporaines, University of Lausanne

Jörg Stolz

University of Lausanne

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, Switzerland has become well known for its strict policies of immigration and minority integration, especially after three votes from 2004: the rejection to facilitate naturalization, the expulsion of foreign criminals, and the banning of the construction of minarets. Citizens voted for each of these initiatives in Switzerland using a direct democratic system. The influence of the media on the decision-making of voters is central to understanding these decisions, resulting in the need to investigate the media discourses concerning foreigners. In this context, several sociologists have suggested that foreigners in Switzerland are mostly represented as Muslims in media and public debates. More specifically, Martin Behloul claims that an Islamization of public debates has been at work since the beginning of the 21st century and that the representation of immigrants has shifted from "immigrated / foreign workers" to "Muslims" (Behloul, 2009). Moreover, it is often stipulated that the "typical foreigner" in Switzerland shifted from Italian workers to Muslims between the 60s-70s and the 2000s, changing the discourse from "italophobic" to "islamophobic" (Helbling, 2008). Other studies have focused on the representation of Muslims in the Swiss media and public debates, whether they were categorized as immigrants or not (Ettinger & Imhof, 2006). Their results revealed that the media and public discourse used notions based on Islamic terrorism, criminality, and religious ideology as its basis for the treatment of Muslims. While some scientists analyzed these representations in newspaper commentaries in the US (Joseph & D'Harlingue, 2012), others chose to shed light on the ones present in literature over the centuries (Gottschalk & Greenberg). Finally, scientific investigations have been carried out to understand and explain Islamophobia in its various manifestations in the Western world over both time and space (Grosfoguel, 2012). These studies look at the way newspapers and literature address the thematic associations of Muslims in the United States and Europe, in parallel to studies dealing with Islamophobia in a more general way (Stolz, 2005).

What is lacking from the literature are studies that empirically show just how the construction of otherness and Islam have changed in the past decades, and that cross the study of Islamophobia and migration. More specifically it seems important to test the claim that the construction of "Muslim immigrant" has replaced the "Italian worker." Through our research, we are filling this gap by analyzing Swiss newspapers in order to see *how and to what extent Swiss newspapers of 2004 and 1970 differ in the use of the (presumed) affiliation to Islam to define foreign otherness (in comparison to other features).*

Was religion, more specifically Islam, an important criterion in defining otherness in journalistic entries thirty years earlier? Is it true that Muslims have become the predominant immigrant figure of the 21st century? Does the Muslim presence in newspaper representations parallel their sociological existence in Switzerland? And finally, what are the themes used to frame media discourses on Muslims in comparison to other figures of foreigners? These questions will structure the present paper, broken down into six parts that address each question. Their answers shed light on the construction of the "foreign Muslim" in newspapers in Switzerland, along with testing claims and hypotheses never verified heretofore.

SOCIOLOGICAL, TEMPORAL, AND MATERIAL DELIMITATIONS

Our aim is not to determine what the category of "Muslim foreigner" is "in its essence" or what it should mean sociologically, but how it is *represented* as a *constructed category* in journalistic discourses. The journalistic and sociological realities have to be distinguished and may – but do not have to – overlap. We can indeed question the terms "foreigner" and "Muslim," in the sense that they ignore and conceal the extreme sociological diversity and cultural heterogeneity inherent in these groups amalgamated under such denominations. However, since the aim of this study is to analyze their representation, we assume that "foreign Muslim" refers to *every individual defined in the Swiss newspapers as a non-Swiss citizen living in Switzerland and affiliated with Islam, independent from the criteria upon which these definitions are based.* In order to facilitate the reading of this paper, no quotation marks are going to be used. In addition, the expression of "foreign otherness" will refer to the *result of the designation, by the Swiss media, of people considered as distinct of the Swiss society (other) and non-citizen (foreign).*

In terms of temporal definition, we chose the years 1970 and 2004 according to specific criteria: the years analyzed had to contain an important vote concerning immigration, based on the expectation that the number of articles and public debates would intensify right before and after the vote. For that reason, only the articles appearing two weeks before and two weeks after have been sampled. Popular initiatives are particularly interesting because they can be considered as "excellent indicators of the nature and the evolution of discourses" (Windisch, 2002, translation ours). In 1970, the Swiss were called upon to decide the faith of the people's initiative *"against foreignization" (Überfremdung),* proposed by the politician James Schwarzenbach in order to dramatically reduce the percentage of foreigners, and it was rejected on June 7, 1970. At this time, foreigners made up 17% of the resident population, which constitutes an increase of 85% percent in the former ten years. Italians represented half of this population,[1] while 2% of this same foreign population was identified as Muslim.[2] Thirty-four years later, the people's initiative on "facilitated naturalization for foreigners of second and third generations" was rejected on September 26, 2004. It aimed to facilitate the "naturalization" (obtaining the Swiss citizenship) of first and second generations of immigrants, since *jus soli* does not exist in Switzerland. In 2004, Switzerland counted 22% foreigners, most of whom were Italian,[3] and 20% of the resident foreign population was Muslim.[4] Both initiatives involved the degree of accessibility to Switzerland and its institutions for foreigners in general (not specifically for Muslims), allowing for comparability of the way Islam is or is not used in order to define otherness.

METHODOLOGY

Our analyses aim to analyze how media discourses construct Muslim foreigners in comparison to other representations of immigrants - in 1970 and 2004. Consequently - concerning our *research design* - this study is a so-called "controlled comparison," being circumscribed in relatively short lapses of time and in a small-scale geographical space.

Our *sampling* was conducted as follows. The media discourses under exploration were gathered in two different newspapers: *Le Temps* and *Le Matin* in 2004, and their predecessors *La Tribune de Genève* and *Le Journal de Genève*, and *La Gazette de Lausanne* respectively for 1970. The former is known as a popular daily paper and the latter belongs to a higher standard of journalism. Both of them are French-speaking daily newspapers, ensuring that there is no bias due to regional variations. Only articles dealing with foreigners in Switzerland were sampled.

Our method is a *Media Content Analysis*, understood as a "research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952). More specifically, we chose to use the *core sentence* method: the unit of analysis is the core sentence, made up by a subject and its relation to an object. In this context, the subject is the enunciator – or the subject presented as such – and the object is the foreign otherness. The relation is the attitude of the former toward the latter, seen as an "index of the degree to which a person likes or dislikes an object, where 'object' is used in the generic sense to refer to any aspect of the individual's world. [...] irrespective of the object under consideration, the attitude is determined by the person' salient beliefs about that object" (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

Frames are used in these discourses to orient the reading of the issues with which the media deals. In other words, "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993). Finally, each element constituent of the core sentences was coded according to its characteristics and its intensity for the attitudes, measured on a scale ranging from -1 to 1. The entire sample was made up of 433 articles, from which 2,217 core sentences have been selected and coded. After the statistical analyses had been processed, we could present the following results.

RELIGION: A NEW TOOL IN THE DEFINITION OF FOREIGN OTHERNESS

In 2004, religious affiliation, real or assigned, was a new feature mentioned in the newspapers when they dealt with immigrant issues, while it was almost totally absent thirty-four years earlier. In fact, as *Figure 1* clearly shows, religion is mentioned in 23% of the coded core sentences in 2004, whereas it is noted in only 1% of those in 1970, which consists of a dramatic increase in the use of religion in the definition of foreign otherness in the 21st century.

Figure 1 Percentage of the mention and absence of mention of the religion in the definition of foreign otherness.
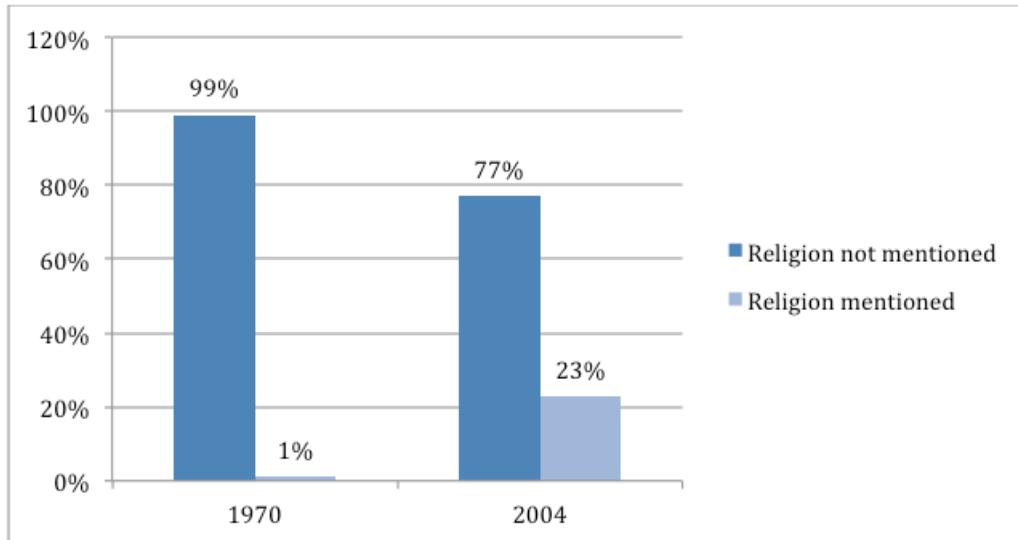
Along with the increase of references to religious affiliation, we observed an important decrease in the number of generic terms used to designate the "foreign other." The relationship between these two variables is statistically significant (Cramer's V = 0.404): in other words, the probability of using generic terminology to categorize foreigners decreases when a reference alludes to their religious affiliation. The mere allusion to religion is sufficient to set a boundary between the Swiss *in-group* and the *out-group*. This trend is particularly visible in an anti-naturalization campaign published in *Le Temps*, in which its committee states that the increase in the number of Muslims will make them a majority in Switzerland within twenty years:

> *No other religious community increases as fast as the Muslim one. In 1970, 4000 inhabitants of the canton of Zurich declared belonging to Islam. It represents one inhabitant out of 280. In 1990, Muslims were already 30,700 in the canton of Zurich. This number has doubled until 2000 where approximately 67,000 Muslims were registered in the canton. […] on the Swiss level as well, we notice that the number of Muslims doubled in a lapse of time of ten years. If this evolution continues, Muslims will soon be the majority in the country.[5]* ("Muslims soon the majority?" *Le Temps*, September 19, 2004)

This example suggests that there exists, in media discourses, an absence of distinction between Swiss Muslim and non-Swiss Muslim, leading to the equation "Muslim = foreigner", even though the distinction is present in the official population census used in this campaign.

ISLAMIZATION OF MEDIA DISCOURSES ON IMMIGRATION

Religion thus appeared in media discourses on immigration at the beginning of the 21st century, while it was almost nonexistent three decades earlier. But which religions are mentioned in Swiss newspapers and to what extent? Our analysis clearly shows that the only

religious affiliation designated to foreigners in the sampled articles is Islam, since less than 1% of the core sentences of 2004 refers to other religions. These two new trends – increase of references to religion and focus on Islam – corroborate Behloul's hypothesis stating that an Islamization of public debates has been at work since the turn of the century. Concretely, public debates would frame the discourse on immigration through religious identity and a concentration on immigrants from Islamic countries would supplant the former focus on Italian workers of the 70s. Indeed, as *Figure 2* highlights, the mentioning of Islamic affiliation was totally absent in 1970, but appears in an overwhelming majority in 2004.

Figure 2 Religions mentioned in the core sentences referring to religion, by year and in absolute numbers in 2004.
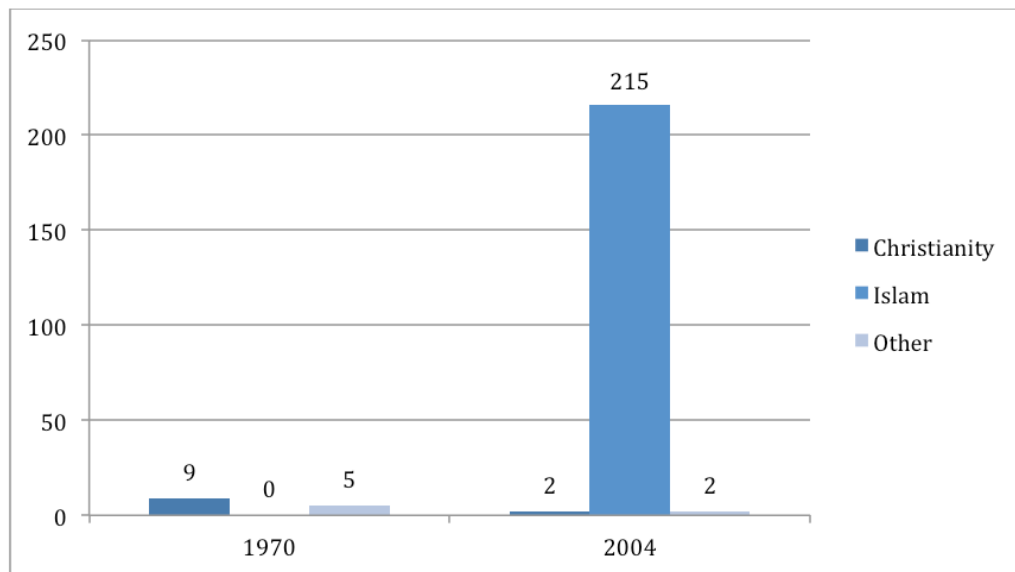
Compared to 1970, it is important to evoke the particularity of constructing a specific *out-group* on the basis of its – supposed – affiliation to a religion in the media of 2004. This should have been expected for 1970, when Italian workers were mostly Catholic and migrated to protestant Swiss cantons. This antagonism and an idea of a catholic invasion were, in fact, discussed in public debates and were present on the popular minds at that time, as this extract suggests:

> *This time, M. Schwarzenbach highlights the necessity of defending Swiss particularisms, and stimulates the fright of the Helvetian to be overwhelmed by aliens. In passing, he raises the specter of the massive arrival of Catholics that will dominate and set their own mark on a protestant minority. The leadership of the movement wrote a letter to the evangelical Church to warn it […].[6]* ("Campaign review", Tribune de Lausanne, June 2, 1970)

The construction of a catholic otherness and a protestant *in-group* was at work in the Swiss society of the 70s. However, and surprisingly, it did not appear in the other articles of this year, suggesting that journalists did not consider this criterion to be pertinent at this time. Thus, the construction of a foreign otherness based on the criteria of Islamic affiliation

is specific to the 21st century. What is more, the almost unique mentioning of Islam at the expense of other religions implicitly sets another equation: foreigners affiliated to a religious tradition are necessarily Muslim, since other religions are not represented when foreigners are discussed in Swiss newspapers. This also echoes Behloul's thesis, stating that migrants from Islamic countries are mostly defined through their religious belonging (Behloul, 2009), ignoring other features such as social or professional background, language, geographic origin, or even the goal of migration.

MUSLIMS FOREIGNERS AMONG OTHER REPRESENTATIONS

Such results could bring support to sociological theses and hypotheses involving the typical representation of how foreigners evolved from Italian worker to Muslim between these years (Behloul, 2009). However, other analyses of our samples reveal that the state of affairs is more complex.

First of all, the assumption that the typical foreigner in Switzerland during the 1970s was the Italian worker needs to be revisited. Further analyses of our sample allowed us to assert that another figure of foreigner, numerically as important as Italians, was present in newspapers in 1970 despite the fact that they are totally absent from the discourse held by sociologists of migration: Spanish migrants.

A similar observation in the sampled articles of 2004 came to light, as we were now able to prove that the Muslim other was not the primary representation of a foreigner in the media discourses of this year. In reality, articles were frequently found mentioning ex-Yugoslavian foreigners. In this case, the criterion used to categorize certain people into the *out-groups* is the geographical origin, used in 40% of the core sentences coded in our 2004 sample. Moreover, an important diversification of origins is visible, in comparison to the media discourse of 1970, having increased from a dozen to almost forty nationalities. Comparative graphs (*Figure 3*) allow for a better overview of this complex landscape of media discourses: an absence of religion and important representations of Spanish and Italians in 1970, in comparison to a diversification of origins, the important figure of ex-Yugoslavian migrants, and the emergence of Muslims in the media discourses of 2004.

Figure 3 Distribution of the religions and origins mentioned, by year and in absolute numbers.
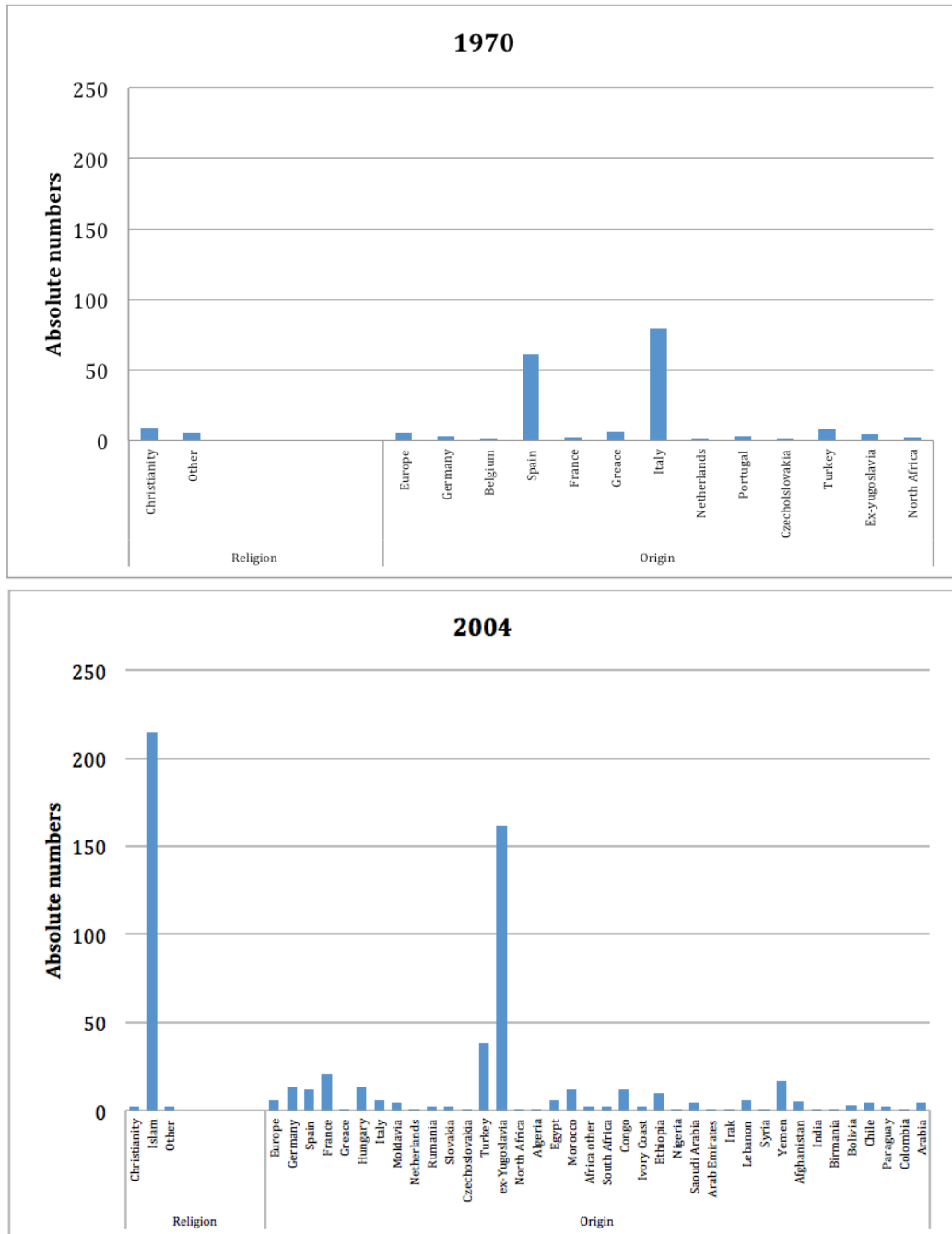
As such, it is necessary to moderate the former claims stating a shift of representation from Italian to Muslim: religion, more specifically Islam, is indeed a new and important tool in the definition of foreign otherness in the 21st century, but by a lower

percentage (25%) in comparison to the feature of geographical origin (40%). However, an important finding illustrates that, when articles refer to the (supposed) religion of foreigners, Islam seems to be mentioned almost automatically.

OVERREPRESENTATION OF MUSLIM MIGRANTS IN SWISS MEDIA

One could wonder if this focus on Muslim migrants in the newspapers reflects a sociological reality in the foreign population in Switzerland. In terms of religious affiliation, do Muslims constitute a majority of the foreigners living in Switzerland? A comparison with the official data of the population census of 2000, gathered by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) was used to answer this question. As no census was held in 2004, we use the data of 2000.[7]

In order to set up this comparison, we use only core sentences referring to the religious affiliation, and exclude the "no affiliation" category in the OFS data. This way, only comparable categories in both "realities" are used in order to make the comparison valid.

Table 1 Comparative table of proportions of religious affiliations according to media and OFS in 2004.

Religion	SFSO Data	Media Representation
Islam	23.2%	98.2%
Christianity	72.5%	0.9%
Others	4.3%	0.9%
Total	100%	100%

A quick glance at the official data, displayed in *Table 1*, is sufficient to give a first answer to this question: although Muslims are represented in a massive majority in the media discourses referring to religious affiliation, they are in fact a minority in the sociological reality. Notice also the difference existing between the proportion of Christian foreigners in the official data and those in the articles. Even though they are the majority in the sociological reality, they are almost absent in the newspapers articles.

Thus, we can assert that Swiss newspapers represent religious affiliations of the migrant population in a way that is not in numerical accord with the sociological reality. Further analyses reveal a similar situation for the figures of ex-Yugoslavian foreigners who were overrepresented in the newspapers articles examined. In 1970 however, Italians are proportionally more important in the population than in the media, whereas it is the opposite for Spanish migrants.

As a result, such differences certainly affected the view of public opinion on the numerical importance of this minority in the country. It is therefore not surprising that one of the arguments used to reject the initiative of the "facilitated naturalizations" is that there existed a possibility that Muslims could become the majority in Swiss society, although the SFSO stated that it was statistically impossible:

The Swiss federal statistical office (SFSO) wanted to pinpoint, on Saturday, that it was not originally the source of the extrapolations contained in the controversial announcement in preparation of the vote on facilitated naturalizations, published by several newspapers in their advertising space, included Le Temps. *The 2.2% and 4.5% of Muslims respectively for 1990 and 2000 are correct, confirms the SFSO, but the projections for the years 2010 and 2040 are not plausible[8].* ("The «hateful soliloquies» of the UDC", *Le Temps*, September 21, 2004)

NEGATIVE DISCOURSES CONCERNING MUSLIM MIGRANTS

We have shown that a disproportionate focus on Muslim immigrants is present in Swiss newspapers from 2004 at the expense of other religious communities. What can be said about the media discourses surrounding Muslim immigrants at the level of attitudes and framing? First of all, precisions about enunciators have to be made in order to avoid any misinterpretation of our results. It is important to keep in mind that journalists not only write articles, but also transmit views, sayings, and information that are not theirs; as such, "media discourses" does not equal "journalists' discourses." That said, impartiality, objectivity, and fidelity of this communication are never assured. This contributes to constructing a certain media reality that does not necessarily fit with the sociological one.

By coding the core sentences regarding the attitude towards foreign otherness, ranging from -1 for very negative attitudes to +1 for very positive ones, we were able to compute the average attitude of media discourses when they were dealing with Muslim foreigners in 2004. Our findings show that, on average, Swiss media discourses are moderately negative (-0.3) when they involve Muslim foreigners. In other words, the statements transmitted in daily newspapers regarding Muslim immigrants are, on average, negative. Comparing this with the discourses presenting non-Islamic foreigners makes these findings even more significant. The average attitude towards foreign otherness without a presumed affiliation to Islam equals -0.1, which is significantly different from the average attitude towards Muslim foreigners. This verifies that when foreigners are categorized as Muslims in the Swiss newspapers of 2004, the attitude towards them is significantly more negative than when they are not defined through Islamic affiliation. In the same way, when origin is mentioned, media transmit significantly more negative attitudes than when no mention of the origin is made. We can thus assume that, when media discourses of 2004 specify some characteristics of foreigners (origin or religion), the attitudes are, on average, more negative than when they use more vague discourses.

However, a considerable standard deviation (0.8) around the mean of -0.3 suggests that an important debate, consisting of very negative and very positive comments, was at work in 2004, whereas neutral attitudes were rare. Furthermore, when we qualitatively analyze our sample of articles, it is important to point out that an enunciator rarely directly expresses very negative statements towards Muslim foreigners. On the contrary, hostile sayings are usually in the shape of reported speech attributed to other sources, as illustrated by this extract:

Can freedom of thought accommodate itself to almost explicit advocacy of hatred of the most disgusting kind – here, the aim is to oppose Muslims and Christians, to raise the specter of a quantitative invasion, the ineluctable defeat. How can we avoid foundering into paranoia in front of the repeated and omnipresent persecution in newspapers and

rumors against Muslims, and even more Arabs?[9] ("Polemics provoked by the announcement on Muslims", *Le Temps*, Septembre 22, 2004)

Here, the speaker transmits views that she/he applies to the anti-naturalizations campaign. On the other hand, very positive sayings are usually more straightforward:

The political advertisement that Le Temps *allowed three times expresses an insult to the Muslim community of Switzerland that, since decades, has demonstrated its integration in our country and the respect for our institutions[10]*. ("Freedom of thoughts has limitations", *Le Temps*, September 20, 2004)

In this case, the author explicitly states her/his personal opinion on the integration of Muslim foreigners. This suggests that the enunciators, including the journalists themselves, are either careful or sympathetic when they speak about Muslim foreigners. However, since the average attitude is negative, we can assume that enunciators more frequently display negative views, even though they do not agree with these opinions. This, even though it may not necessarily be the intention of the Swiss journalists, contributes to a negative representation of Islamic immigration by offering quantitatively more negative opinions than positive alternatives.

FRAMING THE DISCOURSE ON THE MUSLIM OTHER

Besides just the attitude towards Muslim foreigners, it was also possible to analyze the way Swiss media framed the discourses surrounding these attitudes in 2004. Due to our systematic coding procedure, we were able to display the different themes of articles dealing with foreign otherness and, more specifically, with Muslim otherness. The three main themes were "pragmatism," "identity," and "moral considerations," subdivided in different, more precise categories.

Regarding general trends, in comparison to 1970, we could observe that demographical and economical considerations (part of the pragmatic frames) were more employed than thirty-for years later, since half of the entire sample of 1970 resort to these two frames. In 2004, however, a diversification of frames was at work, with a noticeable increase in securitarian themes, national identity and biographical focus. The comparative graph below highlights the specificities peculiar to the discourse on Muslims in comparison to these general framing trends regarding issues about immigrants in 2004.

Figure 4 Percentages of categories of frames used in the discourse about Muslim foreigners and foreigners in general in 2004.
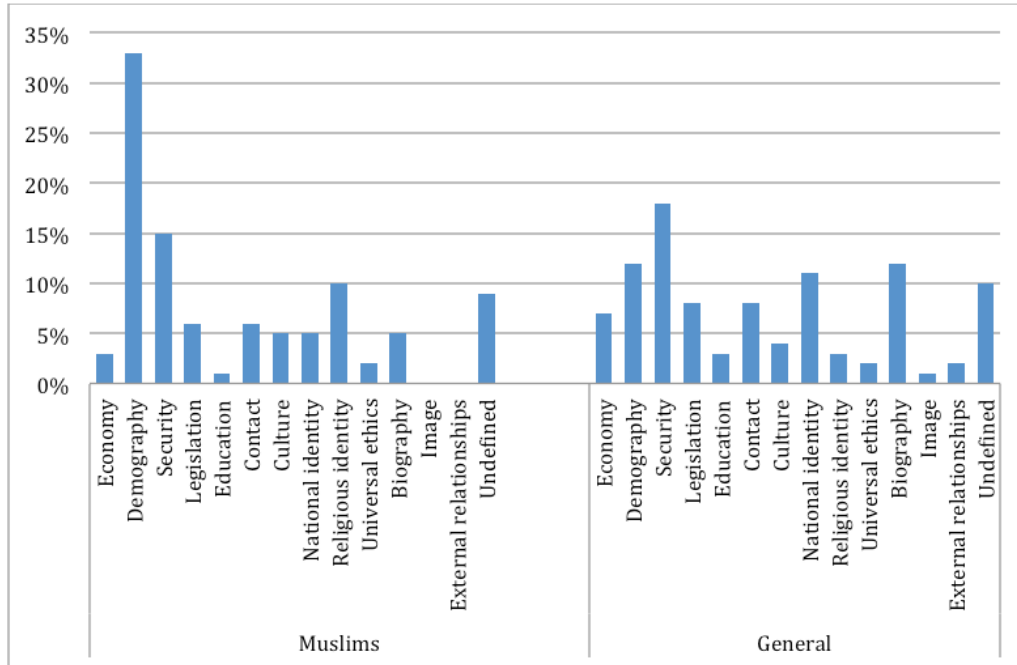
Due to this graph and further statistical analyses used to detect significant differences, we can assert that six out of fourteen categories of frames are different from the general discourses on foreigners, which constitutes a minority. First of all, Swiss newspapers resort to demographical and religious identity more frequently when referring to Muslim foreigners. While the second difference is passably obvious, the first is more noteworthy. As previously mentioned, the theory of a numerical invasion of Muslims in Switzerland was discussed in 2004 and stated in a poster of the anti-naturalization committee. Although the vote of September 26 concerned all immigrants, including children, it seems that the concern of a growing population of foreigners focused on Muslims. An inverse trend was observed in 1970, as demographical considerations were used in a quarter of the discourses concerning foreigners in general, but constituted only 7% of the discourse on Spanish and Italians, the main figure of foreigners at the time.

Another observable dissimilarity is a lower use of *economic, contact,* and *biographical* frames when core sentences dealt with Muslims. Media discourses focused more on the economical aspect of foreigners in Switzerland in general and did not necessarily link it to the specific Muslim immigration. Regarding the lesser presence of frames referring to the contact between the immigrant population (out-group) and the autochthonous population (in-group), we can speculate that this may reflect a lack of actual contact and willingness to meet and understand Muslim communities in the Swiss society. Finally, the data displayed a dramatic increase in the biographical references in the general discourses of 2004 in comparison to 1970: in other words, Swiss newspapers tended to focus more on the individual trajectories of migrants than they did thirty years ago, when foreigners were discussed in terms of impersonal groups. This general new trend is however less important

when it comes specifically to Muslim foreigners that are conceived as a homogenous group to a larger extent than foreigners not categorized as Muslims.

Finally, among others, the securitarian frames are used to the same extent in both the discourses surrounding Muslim and "non-Muslim" foreigners in newspapers in 2004. We observed an increase of this category of frames, becoming the more prominent in the general discourse of this year (more than 15%), while it was hardly present in 1970. Concerning Muslim foreigners, it should have been expected to see an important part of *sub-frames* concerning terrorism, as it was often stipulated that Muslims were discussed in terms of Islamic terrorism (Ettinger & Imhof, 2006). However, our results contradict this claim, as only a tiny part of core sentences contain reference to this very theme. Even so, other analyses did reveal a noticeable difference in the distribution of references to criminality in the media discourse about Muslims among popular and higher standard newspapers: they are indeed concentrated in *Le Matin* (popular) and almost absent in *Le Temps*.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have shown that religion was a new tool in the definition of foreign otherness in Swiss newspapers in 2004, whereas it was totally absent in 1970. Interestingly, the only religion mentioned in the media discourses surrounding foreigners was Islam, which leads to the construction of the "Muslim foreigner." This finding supports the theory of an "Islamization" in the discussions about immigrants in newspapers, where only Islamic affiliations are highlighted. This focalization conceals other religious belongings present in the immigrant population, thereby distorting the sociological reality described in the official population census. In other words, Muslim immigrants are overrepresented, while all other religious affiliations are absent from the discourses. This is all the more noteworthy since Christian religious affiliations are majoritarian among foreigners living in Switzerland.

On the other hand, we have shown that the representation of foreigners in Swiss newspapers is more complex than some sociologists have suggested. We cannot, in the light of our results, assume that the typical foreigner of the seventies was an Italian worker and that the Muslim immigrant has substituted this figure in 2004. The representations did not simply shift from the "Italian worker" to the "Muslim immigrant," but rather from a passably homogenous and poor representation of origins that were mentioned in less than 15% of discourses, to a more diversified and important range of origins (40%), along with, indeed, the appearance of the Muslim foreigner as the only religious affiliation referenced. More specifically, next to Italian foreigners, sociologists omitted the social construction of the Spanish workers in 1970 and the ex-Yugoslavians in 2004. Muslim foreigners are thus a representation among others and are not a majority (20%) in the media discourse, although this still deserves a special attention on behalf of social sciences.

An important finding regarding media representations of Muslim foreigners as unveiled by our analysis is that they are statistically overrepresented vis-à-vis their sociological representation in official censuses: as a minority religious affiliation in the foreign population, they make up almost the entirety of the references to religion in Swiss newspapers in 2004. At the same time, articles display an underrepresentation of Christian affiliations; they are majoritarian in the immigrant population but virtually absent in the media discourses on foreigners. This phenomenon is characteristic of the mentioning of religious belonging, but this same trend also appears in reference to geographical origins: while some origins are underrepresented (Italian in 1970 and in 2004), and others are overrepresented (Spanish in 1970 and ex-Yugoslavians in 2004). This is how the media

discourse offers a distorted landscape of the numerical presence of certain categories of foreigners about whom they report, which necessarily leads to skewed communications.

As our study reveals, the media discourses on Muslim foreigners are on average moderately negative. However, it is important to note that these media discourses do not necessarily reflect the personal beliefs of the journalists themselves. We emphasize the fact that very negative discourses were usually expressed in the form of indirect speeches, being attributed to other enunciators. Moreover, journalists often unintentionally contribute to negative images of Islamic immigration by displaying more negative claims than positive alternative views regarding Muslim foreigners. As such, it becomes difficult to talk about actual "Islamophobia" on behalf of Swiss media. This study could serve as a warning and recommendation to the Swiss media concerning their handling of immigrant issues, and more specifically Muslims, to prevent the formation of negative stereotypes and stigmas.

Another component of media discourse about Muslim foreign otherness relates to its framing. We discovered that while the discourse on Muslim foreigners shares similarities with the discourse on foreigners not categorized as Muslim, it also contains specificities: a more important part of demographic and religious identity frames on the one hand, and a smaller use of economical, biographical, and contact frames on the other hand. A majority of frames are used interchangeably when it comes to general versus Muslim foreigners, one being securitarian framing, especially in regard to criminality. We also notice a concentration of these frames in the popular newspaper, which supports hypotheses formulated in previous studies. However, we need to moderate some claims from Swiss sociologists about the use of the terrorist theme, which was hardly present in the articles under analysis.

Predictions are difficult, yet one can recall that in 1970, the national origin was the criterion used to define foreign otherness and that it was used very homogenously, singling out the Spanish and Italian majority. Three decades later, this criterion was still utilized, but through an important diversification that exceeds even the official categories used in population censuses of the SFSO. The distinctive criterion of religious affiliation seems to be a recent development and, even though it is used homogenously, we may speculate that it will go through a diversification similar to that of the evolution of foreign origins.[11]

ENDNOTES

[1] Population résidente permanente et non permanente selon le sexe et la nationalité par pays, à la fin de l'année http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/02/blank/data/01.Document.88340.xls

[2] Wohnbevölkerung nach Religion, Geschlecht und Nationalität, 1970-2000, data provided by the SFSO.

[3] Population résidente permanente et non permanente selon le sexe et la nationalité par pays, à la fin de l'année

[4] Wohnbevölkerung nach Religion, Geschlecht und Nationalität, 1970-2000

[5] Translated from French: Aucune communauté religieuse n'augmente aussi rapidement que celle des Musulmans. En 1970, 4000 habitants du canton de Zurich s'étaient déclarés comme appartenant à l'Islam. Il s'agissait donc d'un habitant sur 280. En 1990, les Musulmans étaient déjà 30'700 dans le canton de Zurich. Ce chiffre a doublé jusqu'en 2000 où l'on comptait quelque 67'000 Musulmans dans le canton. […] au niveau suisse aussi, on relève un doublement en l'espace de dix ans. Si cette évolution se poursuit, les Musulmans seront bientôt la majorité dans ce pays. (« Les Musulmans bientôt en majorité ? », Le Temps, September 19,2004).

[6] Translated from French: *Cette fois-ci, M. Schwarzenbach met l'accent sur la nécessité de défendre les particularismes de la Suisse, joue sur la peur de l'Helvète de se voir submergé par les allogènes. Il agite au passage le spectre d'une arrivée massive de catholiques qui domineraient et s'imposeraient à une minorité protestante. L'état major du mouvement a même écrit une lettre à l'Eglise évangélique pour la mettre en garde […].* (« Bilan de la campagne », *Tribune de Lausanne*, 2 juin 1970).

[7] *Wohnbevölkerung nach Religion, Geschlecht und Nationalität, 1970-2000.*

[8] Translated from French: *L'Office fédéral de la statistique (OFS) a tenu à préciser, samedi, qu'il n'était pas à l'origine des extrapolations contenues dans l'annonce controversée en vue de la votation sur les naturalisations facilitées, publiée par divers medias dans leur espace publicitaire, dont Le Temps. Les 2,2% et 4,5% de Musulmans respectivement pour 1990 et 2000 sont juste, confirme l'OFS, mais les projections pour les années 2010 à 2040 pas plausibles.* (Les "tirades pleines de haine" de l'UDC, *Le Temps*, 21 September, 2004).

[9] Translated from French: *La liberté d'opinion peut-elle s'accommoder de l'appel quasi explicite à la haine la plus nauséabonde – ici, il s'agit d'opposer Musulmans et Chrétiens, de brandir le spectre d'une invasion par le nombre, la défaite inéluctable. Comment ne pas sombrer dans la parano face à la persécution réitérée dont regorgent les journaux et la rumeur à l'endroit des Musulmans, et plus encore des Arabes ?*
("La polémique suscitée par l'annonce sur les musulmans", *Le Temps*, 22 septembre 2004)

[10] Translated from French: *La "publicité politique" que* Le Temps *a autorisée à trois reprises exprime tout à la fois une injure à la communauté musulmane de Suisse qui, depuis des décennies, fait la démonstration de son intégration dans notre pays et dans le respect de nos institutions.* ("La liberté d'expression a des limites", *Le Temps*, September 20th 2004).

REFERENCES

AJZEN, Icek, FISHBEIN, Martin (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

BEHLOUL, Samuel Martin (2009). "Discours total! Le débat sur l'islam en Suisse et le positionnement de l'islam comme religion publique", in SCHNEUWLY, Mallory Purdie, GIANNI, Matteo, JENNY, Magali (2009). *Musulmans d'aujourd'hui. Identités plurielles en Suisse*, Geneva: Labor et Fides, pp. 53-72.

ENTMAN, Robert M. (1993). "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm", *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 43, No. 4, Autumn, pp. 51-58.

ETTINGER, Patrik, IMHOF, Kurt (2006). "Ethnisierung des Politischen und Problematisierung religiöser Differenz. Schlussbericht", research carried out in the context of NFP 58 *Religiongemeinschaften, Staat und Gesellschaft*.

GOTTSHALK, Peter, GREENBERG, Gabriel, "Common Heritage, Uncommon Fear: Islamophobia in the United States and British India, 1687-1947", *Islamophobia Studies Journal*, n° 1, Spring 2012, pp. 82-106.

HELBLING, Marc (2008). *Islamophobia in Switzerland: A new phenomenon or a new name for xenophobia?*, report prepared for the Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, 3-6 April.

JOSEPH, Suad, D'HARLINGUE, Benjamin, "The Wall Street Journal's Muslims: Represnting Islam in American Print News Media", *Islamophobia Studies Journal*, No. 1, Spring 2012, pp. 131-162.

STOLZ, Jörg (2005). « Explaining islamophobia. A test of four theories based on the case of Switzerland », *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 547-566.

WINDISCH, Uli (2002). *Suisse-immigrés, quarante ans de débats, 1960-2001*, Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme.