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Media Content Analysis of the Indian Community in Switzerland

Ivan Obadić

DEMO-India Research Report 2015/09



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DEMO-India
Developing Evidence based Management and Operations in
India-EU Migration and Partnership

Research Report
Thematic Report
DEMO-India RR 2015/09

Media Content Analysis of the Indian Community in Switzerland

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DEMO-India – Developing Evidence based Management and Operations in India-EU Migration and Partnership (DEMO: India-EU MaP)

The Demo: India-EU MaP project, co-funded by the European Commission, is a continuation of the Carim India project (www.india-eu-migration.eu) and it examines the multiple facets of Indian migration to the EU. Its overall aim is to improve migration management between India and the EU, strengthen EU-India relations, and produce in-depth empirical knowledge about the different migration streams and pathways of Indian nationals in the EU. Its specific goals include providing:

1. Evidence based research for more informed policy making and state intervention.
2. Improved source country capacity in managing migration.
3. Raising awareness among potential migrants of the risks of irregular migration.
4. Collaboration with civil society groups.
5. Empirical research and analysis of Indian communities across the EU, and their impact.

The project is led by the Indian Centre for Migration in Delhi with the partnership of the Migration Policy Centre, RSCAS, EUI.

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Abstract

This report outlines the findings of a two-year analysis of media coverage of the Indian community in Switzerland. The focus of this study is on issues related to business/investment, crime, education, labour market, culture, integration initiatives and religion. The analysis revealed that the Indian community in Switzerland receives relatively little attention in the media.

Key words: Indian migration, Switzerland, press coverage

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1. Introduction

Since the 1980s, there has been significant immigration to Switzerland and today Switzerland is one of the western countries with the highest proportion of immigrants (more than 20% of the total population).¹ The largest immigrant groups are European: nearly half of all resident foreigners are of Italian (298.9), German (292.3) and Portuguese (253.2) nationality.² Certainly, a Swiss dual system, which distinguishes immigrants from EU/EFTA member states, and all other countries (the so-called third states), greatly facilitated immigration from European countries. Additionally, EU/EFTA citizens acquired significant benefits from agreements on the free movement of people that were put into force in 2002. In recent years, however, the increase in the number of foreign nationals has sparked widespread concerns about the impact of immigration on the welfare system.³ Therefore, in 2012 the Swiss government re-introduced quotas for immigration from eight eastern European countries. The following year Switzerland extended immigration restrictions to all 27 European countries.⁴

As a consequence, obtaining a Swiss working permit has become increasingly difficult in recent years. This is especially true for non-EU/EFTA citizens, as they can be hired only if a person suitable for the job cannot be hired from within the Swiss labour market or EU/EFTA state.⁵ Still, over the last ten years there has been a continuous increase in the emigration of Indians to Switzerland (see Table 2). India enjoys a priority status in Switzerland's foreign economic policy and this has enhanced Indian migration. Apart from trade and direct investments, cooperation in the domain of science and education is particularly significant.⁶ At the same time, this is the result of an increase in the emigration of highly-skilled and professional Indians to industrialised countries and Swiss policies to attract skilled workers. In addition, to migrants coming for jobs, more and more Indians are using the academic stream to emigrate as students (Sahoo and Pattanaik 2014: 41-42). In fact, according to the Cooperation and Development Centre (CODEV) survey of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Lausanne, 46% of those who work are employed in academia and research. The level of academic Indian migrants is higher than in other European countries. Another important feature of Indian migration to Switzerland is its high mobility. As Gabriela Tejada of CODEV noted: "the uniqueness of Indian skilled migrants is that they use Switzerland as a jumping board. They come here first, and then they move on to either the United States or the UK, before eventually returning to India".⁷

Today, the Indian community in Switzerland stands at about 16,000 Indians including over 5,000 Persons of Indian Origin (PIO). The majority of Indian immigrants are professionals in engineering, IT, pharmaceuticals and the paramedical field. There are, as well, a number of Indians who are working in international organisations that are located in Switzerland. There are about ten Indian Associations in various parts of Switzerland with Cantonal jurisdiction including the Indian

¹ In 2013, Switzerland's permanent resident population was 8139.6 (in 1000), while a total number of foreign nationals was 1973.4, accounting for 23.8% of total population. Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office: Population – Key figures, available on: <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/01/key.html> [Accessed 19 April 2015].

² In 1000; Swiss Federal Statistical Office: Foreign permanent resident population by nationality, available on: <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/01/01.html> [Accessed 19 April 2015].

³ *Time*, 1.5.2013: Bachman, H., As Europe Reels, Switzerland Builds New Barriers Against Immigrants.

⁴ *Euronews*, 25.04.2013: Switzerland angers Brussels over immigration quotas.

⁵ See: http://www.expatica.com/ch/visas-and-permits/Work-in-Switzerland-Swiss-work-permits_102462.html (Work in Switzerland: Swiss work permits) [Accessed 17 April 2015].

⁶ See The Federal Administration, FDFA: Switzerland and India; Bilateral Relations, available on: <https://www.eda.admin.ch/countries/india/en/home/switzerland-and/bilateral-relations.html> [Accessed 19 April 2015].

⁷ www.swissinfo.ch, 19.12.2013: Chandrasekhar, A., Switzerland's Indian migrants as agents of change.

Association of Zurich, the Indian Association of Bern, the Bharatiya Association of Bern, and the Indian Association of Geneva. There are, also, three regional Associations and also Indian Students Association based in Zurich coordinating various activities amongst youngsters from India. The main places of residence for the Indian community in Switzerland are Zurich, Geneva, Basel, Baden, Bern and Lausanne.⁸

This report outlines the results from an analysis of media coverage of the Indian community in Switzerland over a two-and-a-half-year period. The focus of this study is on issues related to business/investment, crime, education, the labour market, culture, integration initiatives and religion. The following section of the report analyses the scope of this research, while sections 2-6 focus on particular topics mentioned above. At the end of the report, after the conclusion, there is an appendix that briefly describes each newspaper (media website) sampled during this research and a bibliography of analysed articles in order to illustrate the extent of coverage under discussion.

Table 1. Foreign permanent resident population by world regions in Switzerland (in 1000)

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
EU-28/EFTA countries	1135.0	1177.5	1223.4	1276.9	1326.9
Other European countries	369.1	368.3	368.4	369.9	371.4
Africa	71.5	74.8	78.2	83.9	86.7
America	74.5	76.6	77.7	78.4	79.0
Asia	110.5	113.6	117.2	122.9	128.8
Oceania	4.0	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.2
Stateless, unknown nationality	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.5
Total	1766.3	1816.0	1870.0	1937.4	1998.5

Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office: Foreign permanent resident population by nationality, available on: <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/01/01.html> [Accessed 19 April 2015]

Table 2. Indian population in Switzerland from 2000 to 2009

Year	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Indian population in Switzerland	6253	8579	9150	10090	11189	11735

Source: Sahoo and Pattanaik 2014: 42.

1.2. Scope of Research

The sample for this study was selected from 1 January 2013 to 16 June 2015. A total of sixteen newspapers (media websites) were included in the analysis (see Table 3). The newspapers were selected on the basis of circulation and relatively high readership levels. A second criteria that governed the newspaper selection process was coverage areas: we took care to include national, regional and local newspapers in the research. This sample was developed to accommodate diversity in terms of the size of the media market and circulation size as well as characteristics of the coverage. Overall, six national, eight regional and two local newspapers were included in the total sample. The search yielded 56 valid articles for analysis. However, this analysis has certain limitations. One of the most significant was the decision to include only Swiss media published in German (French-language media is analysed in a separate report).

⁸ See Embassy of India in Bern, Switzerland: Indian Community in Switzerland, available on: <http://indembassybern.ch/eoi.php?id=Community> [Accessed 19 April 2015].

Table 3. Breakdown of articles by sections and newspapers

Media/Section	Education	Business/ Investment	Crime	Labour- market	Culture	Integration initiatives	Religion	Tot
<i>Appenzeller Zeitung</i>		1	1		1	1		4
<i>Basel-landschaftliche Zeitung</i>		1	1	2			1	5
<i>Basler Zeitung</i>								
<i>Berner Zeitung</i>			1		1		1	3
<i>Bieler Tagblatt</i>								
<i>Blick</i>		3	2		1		1	7
<i>Blick am Abend</i>	1				2			3
<i>Der Bund</i>		1			1			2
<i>Freiburger Nachrichten</i>		4	1		2	1	1	9
<i>Jungfrau Zeitung</i>		1						1
<i>Neue Luzerner Zeitung</i>		5			2		1	8
<i>Tagblatt</i>					4	1	1	6
<i>Tages Anzeiger</i>				1				1
<i>Wiler Nachrichten</i>						2	2	4
<i>Zürcher Oberländer</i>							1	1
<i>20 Minuten</i>	1		1					2
Total	2	16	7	3	14	5	9	56

Table 3 illustrates the breakdown of articles by sections in the researched period. As can be seen from the table, the business/investment and culture section (29% and 25% respectively) dominates Swiss media coverage, followed by religion (16%) and crime (12.5%). Other sections get less attention in the media: integration initiatives account for 8.92%, the section on labour market constitute the next largest category (5.35%), while the last sections on education make up 3.57% of the coverage. There is a clear distinction concerning the interest in a given topic and the range of a newspaper: that is whether it is national, regional or local. As can be seen, the articles published in the regional and local newspapers account for almost three-quarters of all articles. While the national newspapers focused attention on culture, business/investments and crime, the regional and local newspapers cover a broader range of topics from religion and business/investment to integration initiatives. On the whole, however, the Indian community in Switzerland gets scant attention in the sample. The prevalence of coverage as “news” (82%) and the average length of the articles (386 words) reaffirm this conclusion.

Table 4. National, regional and local coverage of Indian community in Switzerland

Newspapers / Section	Education	Business/ Investment	Crime	Labour-market	Culture	Integration initiatives	Religion	Tot
National	2	4	4	1	5		2	18
Regional		8	2	2	7	2	4	25
Local		4	1		2	3	3	13

Table 5. How the article appears

Genre	News	Culture	Lifestyle	Business	Column	Other
Article(s)	46	3	1	4	1	1

2. Swiss-Indian Trade and Investment Relations

The opening up of the India's economy in 1991 marked a turning point in Indo-Swiss commercial relations. Since then India and Switzerland have strengthened bilateral relations and intensified trade and investments at a fast pace. From 1994 to 2003 Indo-Swiss bilateral trade increased by 43.51 percent.⁹ And despite the global economic slowdown, trade and investment relations continued to expand at double-digit rates in the following years, even though from 2012 Swiss exports were hit by a weak rupee (see Table 6). Moreover, in last fifteen years, with more than USD 3000 billion of investments, Switzerland has become the tenth largest foreign investor in India. Today, there are more than 200 Swiss companies with joint ventures or subsidiaries in India in diverse fields such as engineering, pharmaceutical, precision instruments, etc. The number of Indian companies active in Switzerland has also increased in recent years, and today there are more than 100 Indian companies operating in Switzerland.¹⁰

Overall, until 2013 India was Switzerland's sixteenth largest trading partner and one of Switzerland's most important partners in Asia (Embassy of Switzerland and Swiss Business Hub in India 2013: 8-9). More than that, India has a significant role in the framework of Switzerland's Foreign Trade strategy as significant emerging and developing market (Balaster, Bernhard, and Weber 2004: 16, 25). In 1998, Swiss President Flavio Cotti emphasized that "we consider India one of the most important strategic countries in the world... India is potentially the most important market in the world."¹¹ At the moment, the two countries are negotiating a free trade agreement aimed at further reducing barriers to bilateral trade and allowing Swiss companies to export to India under more favourable conditions.¹² For all the above-mentioned reasons, it is not surprising that the section on business and investments, emerges as one of the most dominant topics in Swiss media coverage of the Indian community.

⁹ India's Trade Partners: Switzerland, available on:

<http://www.indiaonestop.com/tradepartners/switzerland/swissoverview.html> [Accessed 19 April 2015].

¹⁰ Embassy of India in Bern, Switzerland: Indian Community in Switzerland, available on: <http://indembassybern.ch/eoi.php?id=india-switzerland> [Accessed 19 April 2015].

¹¹ India's Trade Partners: Switzerland, available on:

<http://www.indiaonestop.com/tradepartners/switzerland/swissoverview.html> [Accessed 19 April 2015].

¹² *The Economic Times*, 8.12.2014: Switzerland expects to sign Free Trade Agreement with India soon, available on: http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2014-12-08/news/56839706_1_india-linus-von-castelmur-swiss-exports-switzerland [20 April 2015].

Table 6. Bilateral Trade 2009-2014 (In Million Swiss Francs)

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
India's Exports	800.1	1010.4	1303.4	1400	1524	1615.4
India's Imports	2156.1	2156.4	2986.4	2600	2010	1742.0
Total trade	2956.2	3166.8	4289.8	4000	3534	3357.4

Source: Embassy of India in Bern, Switzerland: India-Switzerland Relations, available on: <http://indembassybern.ch/eoi.php?id=india-switzerland> [Accessed 20 April 2015].

Despite the importance of the Swiss-Indian trade and investment relations, coverage is sometimes ambivalent. On the positive side, there is a clear understanding of the potential of emerging Indian markets and its possible benefits for the Swiss economy. *Freiburger Nachrichten* published several articles dealing with results of particular Swiss manufacturing companies. These analysis clearly point to the significance of India for some of these businesses.¹³ For example, an article about the textile machinery company Rieter emphasizes the positive effect of company investments in China and India for the company's results.¹⁴ Another article reporting on the Swiss watch industry's excellent results in the first half of 2014 underlined the importance of free trade agreements for further increases in exports to the Indian market. As Jean-Daniel Pasche, the President of the Federation of the Swiss watch industry FH pointed out, "At twenty-seventh place among exporting markets India is not highly significant for Swiss watchmakers, however, a free trade agreement could accelerate our expansion in this market."¹⁵

In general, the positive experience of Swiss companies in India receives little attention. On the contrary, the difficulties that they face were subjected to a much greater scrutiny in the Swiss media. In particular, three recent cases highlighted some of the challenges that Swiss companies have to deal with when operating in India. In 2013, pharmaceutical company Roche decided not to pursue a patent application for its breast cancer drug Herceptin in India. Effectively, this decision was not a severe blow to the company since India is still, in terms of market share, unimportant for overall Roche sales.¹⁶ However, this case was only one among many in a series of legal battles by large Western pharmaceutical companies over intellectual-property protection. The Indian government has set tougher standards for awarding patents in order to make medicine more accessible to the large part of its population living in poverty.¹⁷ Another similar story emerged only a month later when the Indian Supreme Court, in a landmark decision, upheld the Indian patent office's rejection of the Novartis patent application for its cancer drug, Glivec. The decision was a culmination of seven years of litigation. Novartis subsequently decided to invest less money in research in India.¹⁸

Another story that had much more coverage in the international and Swiss media was the recent incident with the Nestle's Maggi Noodles. In May 2015 India, Food Safety Regulator found that samples of the popular two-minute Maggi Noodles were not complying with food safety laws: that lead levels exceeded legal limits. Nestle India, the country's top seller of noodles with 80 percent of

¹³ E.g. in 2014, Bucher Industries specialised glass division profited from a substantial Indian orders. See: *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 6.3.2014: Industriekonzern Bucher mit höchstem Gewinn der Firmengeschichte [Bucher Industries biggest profit in history].

¹⁴ *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 23.7.2014: Weniger Bestellungen aber mehr Gewinn bei Rieter [Fewer orders but more profit at Rieter].

¹⁵ *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 26.6.2014: Schweizer Uhren ticken einem neuen Rekordjahr entgegen [Swiss watches tick against another record year].

¹⁶ *Basellandschaftliche Zeitung*, 19.8.2013: Roche verzichtet auf Durchsetzung von Teilpatent in Indien [Roche gives up on patent in India].

¹⁷ *The Wall Street Journal*, 5.8.2013: India Blames Roche for Patent Problems.

¹⁸ *Basellandschaftliche Zeitung*, 2.4.2013: Novartis investiert nach Patenturteil nicht mehr in Indien [Novartis will no more invest in India after the court decision].

the market share, removed the product from the market, but challenged the test results by claiming that its products were in compliance with food safety standards. The Maggi Noodles affair is still ongoing.¹⁹

While Swiss investments in India have received considerable attention, this is not the case with the media coverage of Indian investments in Switzerland. Switzerland is among the top five Indian's European investment destinations since the Indian business community recognized the advantages of Switzerland as a gateway to European markets (Embassy of Switzerland and Swiss Business Hub in India 2013: 9). But there were only a few articles mentioning Indian investments in Switzerland in the period under examination.²⁰ The low level of coverage given to India investments could be explained by the fact that India is not a major foreign investor in Switzerland.²¹ Therefore, it is difficult to appraise the reception of India's investment in Swiss media and public. The most revealing article was published in a local newspaper, *Jungfrau Zeitung*, about the acquisition of a hotel in Ebligen by an Indian investor. Local business circles expressed their concern regarding this investment, especially since tourism is so important for the region. The president of the tourist office went so far as to say: "we will give a new business an opportunity. But when I see how the Indian and Korean companies in Interlaken or Wilderswil are developing, I am extremely sceptical."²² Swiss business and political circles have invested considerable efforts in attracting the Indian investments to Switzerland and this kind of publicly-expressed opinion is exceptional.²³

Unlike the press coverage of Indian investments, the strengthening of tourism relations has received a good deal of attention in the Swiss press. Certainly, increased media attention is a direct consequence of the rapidly rising number of Indian tourists coming to Switzerland over the last several years. Between 2005 and 2011 the number of Indian tourists increased by 85 percent, and according to the Bangalore-based Consulate General of Switzerland Rofl Frei, 20 to 30 percent of foreign tourists in 2014 were from India.²⁴ Even the titles of the articles, *Ein Viertel der Fahrgäste stammt aus Indien* [A quarter of the passengers comes from India] and *Logiernächte-Rekord dank Gästen aus dem Osten* [Record overnight stays thanks to guests from the East]; show that India has become an important market for Swiss tourism.²⁵ Media coverage of these kinds of developments is overtly positive. Such articles tend to emphasize the importance of the Indian tourists for the Swiss tourist industry, especially, as for example in Luzern, the number of visitors coming from traditional markets, like Great Britain and Holland, decline.²⁶ On the negative side, one article reported the illegal activity of the "flying chefs" that accompany Indian tourist groups across Switzerland and Europe.²⁷

¹⁹ *Blick*, 16.6.2015: Nestlé vernichtet Skandalnudeln [Nestlé destroyed by scandal with noodles]; *Blick*, 12.6.2015: Keine Nestlé-Nudeln in Indienmehr [No more Nestle noodles in India]; *Blick*, 11.6.2015: Nestlé wehrt sich für seine Maggi-Nudeln [Nestlé defends itself for its Maggi noodles].

²⁰ See, e.g.: *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 25.4.2014: Knapp 300 ausländische Firmen in der Schweiz angesiedelt [Nearly 300 foreign companies have settled in Switzerland].

²¹ Swiss National Bank: Direct Investment 2013 – Foreign direct investment in Switzerland by country [online], available on: http://www.snb.ch/ext/stats/fdi/pdf/en/2_1_Ausl_Direktinve_Kapitalimporte.pdf [Accessed 7 October 2015].

²² *Jungfrau Zeitung*, 19.7.2013: "Hirschen" geht in indische Hände ["Hirschen" goes into Indian hands].

²³ *The Hindu Business Line*, 21.3.2013: Sarma, R.S., Switzerland invites Indian investments.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ *Neue Luzerner Zeitung*, 22.3.2013: Ein Viertel der Fahrgäste stammt aus Indien [A quarter of the passengers comes from India]; *Neue Luzerner Zeitung*, 26.2.2013: Logiernächte-Rekord dank Gästen aus dem Osten [Overnight stays record thanks to guests from the East]. See also: *Neue Luzerner Zeitung*, 18.6.2014: Verkehrshaus lockt Besucher mit Schokolade [Transport Museum attracts visitors with chocolate].

²⁶ *Neue Luzerner Zeitung*, 26.2.2013: Logiernächte-Rekord dank Gästen aus dem Osten [Overnight stays record thanks to guests from the East].

²⁷ *Neue Luzerner Zeitung*, 18.4.2013: Mobile Köche sind oft ohne Bewilligung unterwegs [Mobile chefs are often on the road without a license].

Finally, the last two articles from this section offer insight into successful Indian restaurant owners in Switzerland. These articles portray Indians as optimistic people, imbued with a positive, entrepreneurial attitude. It also shows how they have adapted well to life in Switzerland and how they are well integrated in Swiss society and culture. In a broader context, the significance of such articles goes well beyond their personal stories as they, to a certain extent, create an image of Indians in Swiss society. Note that one of these articles was published in a national,²⁸ and another in a regional newspaper with significant reach.²⁹

The Swiss press, on the whole, have produced rather fair and balanced accounts of the Swiss-Indian trade and investment relations. The media did record the efforts of Swiss companies to increase its presence in Indian markets. Furthermore, they have followed delicate issues in Swiss commercial relations with India in a very sensitive fashion. At the same time, the media coverage of Indian investments and the business community over this two-year period has received relatively little media coverage. In addition, in many articles Indian investments have been of only incidental importance. Nonetheless, most of the news about Swiss-India relations was positive in tone.

3. Education and labour market

As explained in the introduction, many Indians who come to Switzerland are graduate and postgraduate students. There are several reasons why increasing number of Indians have decided to study in Switzerland. First, Swiss universities are reaching out to students from countries like India and other regions by offering English-language business and management and science courses, *inter alia*. Second, in the last decade India and Switzerland have established close cooperation in education, research and innovation by launching a number of bilateral programmes and projects such as Swiss VET Initiative India, Indo-Swiss Joint Research Programme, Indo-Swiss Collaboration in Biotechnology, Student Exchange Program, etc.³⁰ In addition, in 2011 a Memorandum of Understanding was signed on establishing the “Rabindranath Tagore Chair” on Indian Studies, and in 2012 another memorandum was signed between the Indian Council of Social Science Research and the University of Lausanne for institutional cooperation.³¹ An Indian student, Natesh Deshpande, explained his decision to study at the University of Zurich in the following words: “I think Zurich is impossible to beat when it comes to the standard of life and safety of students. While living costs and rent might be high, the tuition fees, on the other hand, are much less than the US or UK. Additionally being home to so many different corporates and banks makes the city a great choice for management students.”³²

Despite notable cooperation in the field of education and research, significant numbers of Indian students coming to Switzerland (with associated student associations),³³ this matter has only received meagre media attention. Save a short and rather vague article on eighteen students from Nepal and India who have been deceived by the College of Management in Bern, and whose destiny is uncertain

²⁸ *Der Bund*, 25.8.2013: Storz, A., Indien verschwindet aus der Länggasse [Indians are leaving Länggasse].

²⁹ *Appenzeller Zeitung*, 17.9.2014: Indische Küche ohne Kitsch [Indian cuisine without kitsch].

³⁰ The Federal Administration, FDFA: Switzerland and India; Bilateral Relations, available on: <https://www.eda.admin.ch/countries/india/en/home/switzerland-and/bilateral-relations.html> [Accessed 19 April 2015]; Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne: International Relations – India, available on: <http://ri.epfl.ch/india> [Accessed 19 April 2015].

³¹ Embassy of India in Bern, Switzerland: India-Switzerland Relations, available on: <http://indembassybern.ch/eoi.php?id=india-switzerland> [Accessed 10 May 2015].

³² *India Today*, 10.3.2014: Study in Switzerland.

³³ E.g. Indian Students Association – Zurich (InSAZ) is a student’s organization managed by the students and scholars of ETHZ and UNIZH (see <http://www.insaz.ethz.ch/index.php> [Accessed 10 May 2015]).

regarding their studies,³⁴ there is only one additional article relevant for this section. This article on Aditi Maheshawri, published by *20 Minuten* in section *Meine Heimat* (My Homeland) describes a foreigner's personal experiences of living in Switzerland. Aditi came to Switzerland together with her husband in 2008 where they both finished their studies (she completed a PhD in Biochemistry at ETH). They, unlike many others well-educated Indians, decided to stay and work in Switzerland. As she puts it, "a job in Switzerland is a great reference for your resume. It opens to us many opportunities worldwide. Also, the work-life balance is much better here. In India, there is stiff competition in the job market, so people are always under pressure and have to assert themselves over and over again."³⁵

Aditi and her husband are actually exceptions among Indians studying in Switzerland. As previously noted, most Indian students do not stay in the country after completing their education. According to the CODEV survey, only one third plan to remain, while others move abroad or return to India. Rishikesh Kulkarni, the PhD student at EPFL, underlined that "I will definitely go back to India. I feel that there are more opportunities in India than in Switzerland right now."³⁶ Nonetheless, the percentage of highly-skilled Indians in the Swiss Indian immigrant population is very high, and this is reflected in the media coverage of the Indian workforce in Switzerland.

Once again, it should be noticed that this topic has received surprisingly little media attention, especially in light of a controversial anti-immigration initiative, *Initiative gegen die Masseneinwanderung* [Stop mass immigration initiative] launched by the Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei – SVP) in 2014. This initiative called for the reintroduction of immigration restrictions amid growing concerns about the increasing number of foreigners entering the country and the consequences of immigration such as wage dumping, increased crime, rising rental and property costs, etc. In some ways, this debate has influenced the focus of Swiss media coverage of the Indian workforce. Their attention was aimed solely at the highly contentious issue of importing mostly Indian IT workers to replace Swiss IT workforce because they could be paid for less.³⁷ Also, one article reported on the pilot project of outsourcing IT jobs to Poland and India.³⁸ Even though the negative sentiment of the Swiss public towards such corporate policies was evident in these articles, they portrayed Indian IT workers as a good colleagues and programmers, but inexperienced and without the specific knowledge required in the banking industry.³⁹

4. Integration of Indians into Swiss society

In Switzerland, the stated objective of immigrant integration policy is "living together peacefully and offering equal opportunities to all." However, it is difficult to make this kind of goal a social reality. This was especially the case in Switzerland in the past decade with the vigorous campaigns of far-right political parties, particularly the SVP, on immigration and asylum law (Schindall 2009). As to the Indian community, integration initiatives are a relatively new phenomenon. They are closely connected to the increased inflow of immigrants from India to Switzerland over the last twenty years. Today there are several Indian organizations in Switzerland organising Indian social and cultural

³⁴ *Blick am Abend*, 5.2.2014: Asiatische Schüler in Bern gestrandet [Stranded Asian students in Bern].

³⁵ *20 Minuten*, 30.4.2015: In der Schweiz hat es so wenig Menschen [In Switzerland, there are so few people].

³⁶ www.swissinfo.ch, 19.12.2013: Chandrasekhar, A., Switzerland's Indian migrants as agents of change.

³⁷ In addition, one article examined the rise in remittances from migrants from Switzerland to developing countries, including India: *Basellandschaftliche Zeitung*, 29.10.2014: Starke Zunahme der Geldüberweisungen von Migranten [Strong increase in financial transfers from migrants].

³⁸ *Basellandschaftliche Zeitung*, 23.6.2013: Swisscom verschiebt IT-Auslagerung ins Ausland [Swisscom shifts IT outsourcing abroad].

³⁹ *Tages Anzeiger*, 26.03.2014: Schletti, B., Credit Suisse ersetzt Schweizer durch Inder [Credit Suisse replaces Swiss by Indians].

events, and helping Indian immigrants to integrate into Swiss society and get a better understanding of the culture: the World Malayalee Council Swiss Province (established in 1995);⁴⁰ the Indian Association of Greater Zurich (established in 2010);⁴¹ the Indian Community in Switzerland (established in 2013),⁴² just to name a few.

The press has been tracking stories regarding Indian integration in Switzerland. For example, in 2014 *Appenzeller Zeitung* reported on the activities of a recently founded Indian Community in Switzerland. Reporting on the activities of the Community, the article underlined the main goal of the organisation with the following words: “Indian culture to get familiar with, practice and share with all interested Swiss people”. The article describes a range of activities organised by the Community with the aim of facilitating the integration of Indians into the Swiss society, while familiarising Swiss people with Indian culture. The president of the association explained this idea by emphasising that “integration is being promoted when the Community does not practice Indian culture behind the closed doors.”⁴³ The most important measures of integration, mastery of one of the Swiss national languages, and an understanding of Swiss culture, were also a subject of newspaper articles. *Wiler Nachrichten*, a local newspaper, speaks of this issue in the article *Sprache und Kultur als grosse Aufgaben* [Language and culture as important tasks]. Even though this article only incidentally mentions Indian immigrants, it examines some pressing problems that the Indian community is also confronted with in its integration into the Swiss society.⁴⁴

Besides reporting on the local integration initiatives and projects targeting Indian immigrants, news articles also recorded several Indian experiences of living in Switzerland. These articles portray the Indian community as reasonably well-integrated into Swiss society, and Indians are portrayed as open and hospitable people who hold in high regard family values and give particular importance to social events and culinary delights.⁴⁵ Even the story about a young Swiss politician Sarah Bösch, a member of the above-mentioned national-conservative and right-wing Swiss People’s Party (the SVP), who was adopted as a child from India, could also be regarded as an example of successful integration.⁴⁶

5. Crime

The stories on crimes perpetrated by Indians or committed against them rarely appeared in the researched period. As there are only several cases that are related to this section, we can only make some very general remarks. Most notably, there were no racist incidents or hate crimes involving Indian nationals or persons of Indian origin. There was only one high-profile crime committed against a Swiss national, Jonas L, or Joban Singh as he called himself, who has turned to Sikhism. The attack was a family dispute in which five people were shot dead, and, therefore, the story made the headlines in the Swiss press.⁴⁷ Another story that caught the attention of the worldwide and domestic media was

⁴⁰ See <http://www.wmcswiss.com/> [Accessed 7 October 2015].

⁴¹ See <http://iagz.ch/> [Accessed 7 October 2015].

⁴² See <http://indoswissclub.ch/> [Accessed 7 October 2015].

⁴³ *Appenzeller Zeitung*, 7.8.2014: Bühler, S., Je mehr Leute, desto mehr Spass [The more people, the more fun].

⁴⁴ *Wiler Nachrichten*, 3.4.2014: Riesen, T., Sprache und Kultur als grosse Aufgaben [Language and culture as important tasks].

⁴⁵ *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 13.8.2014: Rotzetter, M., Indisches Essen ist mehr als nur Curry [Indian food is more than just Curry]; *20 Minuten*, 30.4.2015: In der Schweiz hat es so wenig Menschen [In Switzerland, there are so few people].

⁴⁶ *Wiler Nachrichten*, 19.2.2015: Züst, T., Weibliche Verstärkung für die SVP [Female enhancement for SVP]; *Tagblatt*, 22.2.2015: Weik, R., SVP Wil holt Gemeinderätin aus St. Gallen [SVP Wil brings Councillor from St. Gallen].

⁴⁷ *Blick*, 13.5.2015: “Er war der friedlichste Mensch der Welt” [“He was the most peaceful person in the world”]; *20 Minuten*, 13.5.2015: Sikhs trauern am Tatort um getöteten Jonas L. [Sikhs grieve at the scene to murdered

the delicate issue of Indian “black” money deposited in Swiss banks. Although these affairs were widely covered by the Swiss press, both stories are only distantly related to the Indian community in Switzerland.⁴⁸

Other articles that are related to this section provided merely crime-related facts, without particular portraying Indian nationals as perpetrators of the crime.⁴⁹ Only in one article does a biased perception of Indian community come to light, though no Indian was in fact involved in the crime. A spokesman of St. Gallen Cantonal police observed, after the robbery of some sheep, “without wanting to assume anything”, that he knows from his brother, a butcher, “that people from India and Sri Lanka are especially crazy about sheep.”⁵⁰ Aside from this negative observation, other comments about members of the Indian community were in fact either neutral or positive.

6. Culture and Religion

The most common kind of article were, along with news on Swiss-Indian trade and investment relations, those involving Indian culture. The press articles included in this part cover a variety of events, from film festivals and other movie-related events which dominate the news coverage of Indian culture, to theatrical performances, news about Indian fashion, a workshop on Indian demons, Indian cooking, etc. Although the media coverage of these events gives some insight into Indian culture, they do not touch upon the Indian community in Switzerland.⁵¹ Still, some of these stories have a broader meaning for Indians living in Switzerland as they offer different perspectives on Indian society. For example, a one-man theater show, “Shilpa, The Indian Singer App” performed by Indian singer/actress M.D. Pallavi and produced by Sophia Stepf, gives an insight into the insecurity and sufferings of Indian women and the problem of rape in Indian society.⁵² Even though this play

(Contd.)

Jonas L.]; *Aargauer Zeitung*, 13.5.2015: Nach Bluttag: Schweizer Sikhs trauern um Würenlingen-Opfer [After bloodbath: Swiss Sikhs mourn Würenlingen victims]; *Blick*, 24.5.2015: Bewegende Gedenkfeier für Jonas L. (†31) [Moving memorial for Jonas L. († 31)].

⁴⁸ For example, an article published both in *Basellandschaftliche Zeitung* and *Freiburger Nachrichten* reports about the Indian delegation of tax inspectors to Switzerland who were trying to get information on a list of 700 Indians suspected of tax evasion. *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 14.10.2014: Indische Steuerinspektoren kommen in die Schweiz [Indian tax inspectors come to Switzerland]; *Basellandschaftliche Zeitung*, 14.10.2014: Indische Steuerinspektoren kommen in die Schweiz [Indian tax inspectors come to Switzerland].

⁴⁹ E.g. *Blick*, 12.6.2015: Viagra, Appetit-Zügler, Schlafmittel, Illegale Pillen überschwemmen die Schweiz [Viagra, appetite suppressants, sleeping pills, Illegal pills overflow the Switzerland]; *Berner Zeitung*, 18.4.2013: Verfahren gegen Langenthaler Geschäftsmann wird eingestellt [Case against Langenthaler businessman is dismissed].

⁵⁰ *Appenzeller Zeitung*, 15.1.2013: Allenspach, C., Gestohlen und gleich geschlachtet [Stolen and immediately slaughtered].

⁵¹ *Neue Luzerner Zeitung*, 31.3.2014: Indische Filme im Fokus [Indian movies in the spotlight]; *Neue Luzerner Zeitung*, 25.10.2014: Grüter, R., Sursee zeigt Kino-Träume aus anderen Kulturen [Sursee shows cinema dreams from other cultures]; an article by Kugler published in *Tagblatt*, 8.9.2014: Kugler, H., Indische Nacht in Wattwil [Indian night in Watwill]; and *Appenzeller Zeitung*, 8.9.2014: Kugler, H., Indische Nacht in Wattwil [Indian night in Watwill]; *Tagblatt*, 4.9.2014: Ein Koch nimmt sein Schicksal in die Hand [A chef takes his fortune into own hands]; *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 24.12.2014: Wyss, A., and A. Holz, Schüler machen Bekanntschaft mit indischen Dämonen [Students get acquainted with Indian demons]; *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 22.7.2014: Solarkino in Freiburg und Bulle [Solar Cinema in Fribourg and Bulle]; *Blick am Abend*, 12.9.2014: Binder, C., Indiens Geheimnisse werden verpulvert [India's secrets are frittered away]; *Blick*, 25.8.2014: Neue Fahion aus Indien: Brav war gestern [New fashion from India: Chastity is out]; *Tagblatt*, 18.10.2013: “Siddharta” nach dem Roman von Hermann Hesse [“Siddharta” based on the novel by Hermann Hesse]; *Basellandschaftliche Zeitung*, 23.11.2014: Berwerger, G., Hessigkofen: Indien zu Gast [In Hessigkofen: Indian for guests].

⁵² *Berner Zeitung*, 24.8.2014: Scheu, N., Die Live App singt, was das Publikum will [The Live app sings what the public wants]; *Tagblatt*, 30.8.2014: Auszeichnung am Zürcher TheaterSpektakel [Award at the Zurich Theatre spectacle].

focusses on the difficult social and cultural position of women in modern Indian society, it also discloses, as Aditi highlighted, that “there are lots of young, modern and well-educated women who oppose the outdated image of women and the fight against the violence.”⁵³

More interestingly, some articles point to the cultural differences in everyday life. As an illustration, in a newspaper column Jeannine Pilloud described her experience during the train trip to Zurich. An Indian asked her to borrow her mobile phone to make a short phone call to his mother. She was, however, completely surprised when she realized that he was going to make a call to India. But at the end she brought out the cultural difference: “And what I’ve learned: In India, it is customary to borrow the phone if someone has an empty battery. Actually this is generous!”⁵⁴ Another article that brings out similar observations is a report that examines the financials of a Hindu spiritual leader and guru Amma on the occasion of her visit to Switzerland. Although the way in which her finances were managed were criticised, the article ends with a comment from Werner Iser, board member of the Swiss Amma Centre “that in the discussion about the donations cultural differences collides. That is to say that in India they deal with questions of financial transparency differently than we do.”⁵⁵

The media coverage in Swiss newspapers brings to light the complexity of the Indian religious life. According to official data, in 2000 in Switzerland there were over 3,000 Indian Catholics, 500 Orthodox Indians, 300 Muslims and almost 2,300 Indian Hindus. There is no information about Indian Sikhs (Schindall 2009: table 2, data from Swiss Federal Statistical Office). The press articles focus on different issues regarding India religions: be they cultural issues or Indian (religious) communities and respective peoples.⁵⁶ However, on the whole, this issue received modest press coverage and public attention. Indian Sikhs drew attention from the press in the aftermath of the Würenlingen shooting.⁵⁷ In addition, Sikh demonstrated in 2013 in Geneva at the United Nations demanding that the UN recognizes, as genocide, the massacre against the members of their community in India 30 years ago. This also appeared in the newspapers.⁵⁸

Thus, the Swiss media has only recently put the Sikh community in Switzerland under public scrutiny. As *Berner Zeitung* noted, “Almost inconspicuously they lived until now among us: the followers of the Sikh religious community.”⁵⁹ The press portrayed the Sikh community and religion in positive tones. The articles described Sikhs as a small, but well-integrated community; as a peaceful religion that accepts the differences and that fosters interreligious dialogues. A good example of this kind of image established in the Swiss press is a statement of the late Jonas Singh that was quoted by a reporter: “A good Sikh does not smoke, does not drink, and does not eat meat. He fears the Almighty, earns his living in an honest way and shares (his wealth).”⁶⁰

⁵³ *20 Minuten*, 30.4.2015: In der Schweiz hat es so wenig Menschen [In Switzerland, there are so few people].

⁵⁴ *Blick am Abend*, 11.4.2014: Pilloud, J., Wie bitte? [I beg your pardon?].

⁵⁵ *Der Bund*, 10.10.2013: Stamm, H., Amma hat Millionen umarmt – doch wo sind ihre Millionen? [Amma has embraced millions – but where are her millions?].

⁵⁶ *Tagblatt*, 19.3.2015: Im göttlichen Kontext [In the divine context]; *Wiler Nachrichten*, 14.1.2015: Rückkehr ins Heimatland [Return to the homeland]; *Wiler Nachrichten*, 13.12.2014: Isler, S., Es liegt am Schweizer Klima [It is because of the Swiss climate]; *Freiburger Nachrichten*, 11.12.2014: In Bern wird Haus der Religionen eingeweiht [House of Religions will be inaugurated in Bern]; *Zürcher Oberländer*, 28.10.2014: Ein Gottesdienst für Indien [A Mass for India].

⁵⁷ See, e.g.: *Blick*, 13.5.2015: Indien trauert um Opfer von Würenlingen [India mourns victims of Würenlingen].

⁵⁸ *Neue Luzerner Zeitung*, 1.11.2013: Sikhs fordern Anerkennung von Massaker [Sikhs demand recognition of massacre].

⁵⁹ *Berner Zeitung*, 22.05.2015: Die Sikhs trauern im weissen Tempel [The Sikhs mourn in white temple].

⁶⁰ *20 Minuten*, 13.5.2015: Sikhs trauern am Tatort um getöteten Jonas L. [Sikhs grieve at the scene to murdered Jonas L.].

7. Conclusion

This study explored how the Indian community is covered in Swiss German media for just over two years (2013-2015). The analysis revealed that the Indian community in Switzerland is little discussed in the media: the search yielded only 56 valid articles predominantly of news stories, average length of 386 words. It might be argued that this is a direct consequence of the relatively small Indian community within the sizeable immigration in Switzerland. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of news stories covering the Indian community in Switzerland take the form of event-driven, factual articles, while only a few of the news stories express an opinion about Indian immigration.

Thus, the sample size does not provide grounds to draw far-reaching conclusions. Still, it is possible to make certain points based on this research. First, a few issues, most importantly business/investments, culture, and religion are better covered in the media. Second, there is a tendency in regional and local media to dedicate more attention to the news concerning the Indian community than national newspapers. There is some evidence to suggest that this is an outcome of the different orientation of distinctive newspaper types towards varied stories and topics. Finally, the overall tone of the coverage of the Indian community was positive and neutral, with a few negative stories. This could be explained by the dominance of topics such as business/investments and culture.

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Appendix 1. List of newspapers

Media	Description
Appenzeller Zeitung	<i>Appenzeller Zeitung</i> is a regional daily newspaper for the Appenzeller region.
Basel-landschaftliche Zeitung	<i>Basellandschaftliche Zeitung</i> is a Swiss German-language daily newspaper, published by Luedin in Liestal, Basel-Landschaft. Covering the Basel region, its daily circulation in 2004 stood at 23,500 and the Wednesday edition's circulation at 81,000.
Basler Zeitung	<i>Basler Zeitung</i> is a Swiss German-language regional daily newspaper, published in Basel. The newspaper is owned by the Basler Zeitung Medien which also publishes the free daily newspaper <i>Baslerstab</i> . In 1997, <i>Basler Zeitung</i> had a circulation of 115,297 copies. The circulation of the paper was 104,000 copies in 2003. The 2006 circulation of the daily was 98,645 copies.
Berner Zeitung	<i>Berner Zeitung</i> is a Swiss German-language daily newspaper, published by Tamedia in Bern. With a daily distribution of 174,162 copies in 2012, the newspaper was one of the largest daily newspapers in Switzerland and the leading newspaper in the Bern Canton.
Bieler Tagblatt	<i>Bieler Tagblatt</i> is a Swiss German-language daily newspaper, published by Gassmann AG in Biel/Bienne, Canton of Bern. It was established in 1850. The newspaper's estimated readership in 2013 was 54,000.
Blick	<i>Blick</i> is a Swiss German-language daily newspaper. <i>Blick</i> was established in 1959. The newspaper was the first Swiss tabloid publication. His format was broadsheet until 2005 when it was switched to a tabloid format. The new format induced controversies. It was nevertheless an enormous financial success. However, in 2009 the daily changed its format to back broadsheet. The paper had a circulation of 214,880 copies in 2010, making it the third most read paper in the country. <i>Blick</i> is center-left. Its sister paper is <i>Blick am Abend</i> , an evening free daily. Both papers are owned by Ringier and are based in Zurich
Blick am Abend	<i>Blick am Abend</i> is a free newspaper owned by Ringier. The journal was first published on 1 June 2008 as a successor to the afternoon free daily <i>Heute</i> . It is an evening newspaper published in tabloid format. Its sister publication is <i>Blick</i> , a leading daily in the country. Both papers are based in Zurich. The audited circulation of <i>Blick am Abend</i> in 2008 was 211,000 copies. The paper had a circulation of 225,226 copies in 2009, and 329,418 in 2010.
Der Bund	<i>Der Bund</i> is a Swiss German-language daily newspaper published in Bern. Established in 1850 and associated with the cause of liberalism, it was among the leading quality newspapers in Switzerland for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In economic distress since the 1980s, its circulation has dropped, and it has changed ownership several times since then. It is now owned by the Tamedia publishing group.
Freiburger Nachrichten	<i>Freiburger Nachrichten</i> is a regional daily newspaper from Freiburg.

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Media	Description
Jungfrau Zeitung	<i>Die Jungfrau Zeitung</i> is a German-language regional newspaper of the Jungfrau region, published in the canton of Bern. The journal was founded in autumn 2000 by merging three local newspapers. The publisher is Gossweiler Media AG in Brienz.
Neue Luzerner Zeitung	<i>Neue Luzerner Zeitung (Neue LZ)</i> is a Swiss German-language daily newspaper, published in Lucerne. It was created in 1996 through the merger of <i>Luzerner Zeitung (LZ)</i> and <i>Luzerner Neuste Nachrichten (LNN)</i> . AG für die Neue Zürcher Zeitung owns the paper. In 1997, <i>Neue Luzerner Zeitung</i> had a circulation of 127,244 copies.
Tagblatt	<i>St. Galler Tagblatt</i> , commonly shortened to <i>Tagblatt</i> , is a Swiss German-language daily newspaper, published in St. Gallen. Covering the eastern Switzerland, St. Galler Tagblatt has a center-left political leaning.
Tages Anzeiger	<i>Tages Anzeiger</i> is a Swiss German-language national daily newspaper published in Zurich. Although <i>Tages Anzeiger</i> is a national newspaper, it focuses mainly on the Zurich region. In 2003, <i>Tages Anzeiger</i> had a circulation of 282,222 copies, making it the second best-selling paper in the country. In 2010, its circulation was 203,636 copies. <i>Tages Anzeiger</i> is the first Swiss newspaper with no political affiliation (the paper was first published in 1893). Although politically and economically independent, the newspaper's political stance is center-left.
Zürcher Oberländer	<i>Zürcher Oberländer (ZO)</i> is a regional newspaper from Wetzikon in the Zurich Oberland. It covers the area of the districts Pfäffikon and Hinwil. In 2013 was the WEMF-certified circulation 30,526 copies.
20 Minuten	<i>20 Minuten</i> is a German-language free daily newspaper in Switzerland. It was first published in 1999 by 20 Minuten Schweiz AG. Since 2005 the newspaper has been owned by Express-Zeitung AG, which is jointly owned by Tamedia (majority holding) and <i>Berner Zeitung</i> (17.5%). Starting with September 2004 the German-language edition has been the most widely read daily newspaper in Switzerland, surpassing <i>Blick</i> . The audited distribution in 2004 was 329,242 and it had a readership of an estimated 782,000.