

Irregular Migration and the City

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Irregular Migration and the City

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Introduction

Irregular migrants tend to live in cities. Cities offer to irregular migrants anonymity, opportunities to find a job and other ways to make a living, different forms of accommodation, and access to potentially existing relational, ethnic, social, or cultural networks. Irregular migration can therefore also be understood as an urban phenomenon. The urban aspects of irregular migration are the focus of this bibliography. We discuss the precarious life situations of irregular migrants, as well as the complex urban governance of migration. From a national-state perspective, the term, "irregular migrant," refers to a person who enters or resides in a country without the necessary authorization or documents required by immigration regulations. Irregular migrants have either never obtained any sort of authorization or status or they had a status but then fell out of it, or the status has lapsed. This definition also includes rejected asylum seekers and persons that lost their temporary projection. This bibliography applies the term "irregular migrants," which is used in the literature and in practice alongside other terms such as *undocumented migrants*, *sans-papiers*, *illegalized migrants*, or *migrants in a situation of administrative irregularity*. We are aware that all of these terms carry certain normative assumptions with them and that they therefore have to be applied with caution and context-dependent. The term illegal migrants should be avoided due to its stigmatizing association with illegality and criminality, and also because being present without an authorization is in most countries not a criminal offence but an administrative infringement. This interdisciplinary bibliography focuses on cities as places where irregular migrants live (see *Cities as Places for Irregular Migrants*), cities

as (political) actors that support irregular migrants (see *Cities as Actors that Support Irregular Migrants*), and on other important (political) actors such as civil society organizations and irregular migrants themselves (see *Civil Society Organizations and Irregular Migrants as Political Actors*). While we only include articles written in English, we try to integrate articles that cover cities from different world regions.

General Overviews

UN OHCHR 2014 estimates that 30 to 40 million migrants live in an irregular situation worldwide. Spencer and Triandafyllidou 2020 review recent estimates: more than 50% of the migrant population lives in irregular situations in Asia and Africa, about 11 million irregular migrants live in the United States of America (US), and between 2.9 and 3.8 million live in Europe. The article of Tsoni 2016 describes the liminal living situation of irregular migrants because they cannot arrive, stay, and, in a few cases, they cannot even leave. According to De Genova 2002, this liminality and the constant threat of being deported contribute to the precariousness of the everyday life of irregular migrants. Dauvergne 2008 emphasizes that irregular migrants are produced and constructed by national migration regimes, which determines what kind of presence is assessed as legal or illegal – a distinction that is often arbitrary and does not justice to the complexity of migrants' lives. In addition, Düvell 2011 detects variation in these legal and political constructions between different national states. This comparative perspective reveals that these categorization in immigration law and policy are constructed, and can thus also be contested. Willen 2007 outlines that the social construction and framing of irregular migrants can also be reconsidered, for example from benign, excluded "Others" to criminal "Others" through government-sponsored campaigns and changes in policy orientation. Darling 2017 argues that the irregular and precarious living situation of irregular migrants and the diverse contestations of this situation have to be read as part of the more general phenomenon of urban informality. While we will mainly focus in this bibliography on cities and urban actors that contest the above described national immigration regime (see *Cities as Actors that Support Irregular Migrants*), we want to note that urban policies and practices may also be exclusionary. As an example, Ambrosini 2013 examines local policies that exclude irregular migrants from various rights and municipal services. Moreover, Roy 2019 argues that local practices that intend to support irregular migrants can also represent another set of terms through which state authorities protect and include some while excluding others.

Ambrosini, Maurizio. "We Are against a Multi-Ethnic Society: Policies of Exclusion at the Urban Level in Italy." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36.1 (2013): 136–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.644312>

This article discusses local policies in Northern Italy that aim to exclude migrants from various public benefits and rights. This article describe regressive municipal responses to migrants. The article is an important addition to this bibliography, because a lot of the scholarship that we will present focuses on the inclusive role of local and urban policies towards irregular migrants.

Darling, Jonathan. "Forced migration and the city: Irregularity, informality, and the politics of presence." *Progress in Human Geography* 41.2 (2017): 178–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516629004>

This article explores the relationship between forced migration and the city. It highlights how informality as one characteristic of the urban environment shapes the city as a place for irregular migrants to live, but also as a place for them to politically contest the informality produced by migration policies and governance.

Dauvergne, Catherine. *Making People Illegal: What Globalization Means for Migration and Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

This book examines the relationship between migration, globalization, and migration law. It views migration law as one of the last bastions of national state sovereignty in today's globalized world. Dauvergne also tackles how migration law and its enforcement construct categories of migrants, some who are determined to be a regular and some who are determined to be irregular migrants.

De Genova, Nicholas. "Migrant 'illegality' and deportability in everyday life." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002): 419–447. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085432>

This article discusses aspects of the everyday life of irregular migrants from an ethnographical perspective. It critically reflects on and problematizes the categorization of migrants, and argues that we should look beyond illegal, irregular and other precarious or absent statuses and analyze how sociopolitical processes construct and produce them.

Düvell, Franck. "Paths into irregularity: The legal and political constructions of irregular migration." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 13.3 (2011): 275–295. <https://doi.org/10.1163/157181611X587856>

This article examines the political and legal construction of irregular migration across different national states in Europe. It reveals how migration policies and laws produce and construct irregular migration by emphasizing the diverse and divergent policies and practices that exist.

Roy, Ananya. "The city in the age of Trumpism: From sanctuary to abolition." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 37.5 (2019): 761–778. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775819830969>

This article offers a critical reading of the concept and the modern practice of sanctuary in North American and European cities. Roy argues that these cities seek to offer protection from state exclusion while resting on a liberal notion that presumes that the state can include some but exclude others. Roy discusses the more expansive concept of hospitality and argues for critically engaging with it and the concept of sanctuary in view of their colonial and imperial histories.

Spencer, Sarah, and Anna Triandafyllidou, eds. *Migrants with Irregular Status in Europe: Evolving Conceptual and Policy Challenges*. Cham: Springer, 2020.

This edited volume examines how states deal with ethical, legal, and social dilemmas when they engage with irregular migrants. It discusses evolving policy responses at the European, national and municipal levels. Chapter 2 offers an overview (including estimates of irregular migrant numbers from different world regions) and chapter 10 focuses on the urban and municipal dimension of policy responses.

Tsoni, Ioanna. "They won't let us come, they won't let us stay, they won't let us leave.' Liminality in the Aegean borderscape: The case of irregular migrants, volunteers and locals on Lesbos." *Human Geography* 9.2 (2016): 35–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/194277861600900204>

This paper draws on ethnographic observations from the Aegean Sea and the Greek border island of Lesbos where the European crisis of migration and asylum centrally unfolds. In this interstitial transit space, the liminality of migrants can be understood as a form of sustained social marginality and exclusion produced through incoherent EU and national policies as well as participation and resistance in migration policy-making.

UN OHCHR. **The economic, social and cultural rights of migrants in an irregular situation*[https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/HR-PUB-14-1_en.pdf]*. New York: United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2014.

This report, initiated by numerous international organizations, builds on the observation that irregular migrants are more likely than other groups to face discrimination, exploitation, and abuse. It provides data, terminology, and a policy discussion and stresses that irregular migrants have fundamental human rights including economic, social, and cultural rights. The reports states that migration restriction by states are only justifiable if they pursue a legitimate aim and if they are proportionately enforced.

Willen, Sarah S. "Toward a critical phenomenology of 'illegality': State power, criminalization, and abjectivity among undocumented migrant workers in Tel Aviv, Israel." *International Migration* 45.3 (2007): 8–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2007.00409.x>

Willen employs a "critical phenomenological" approach to the study of migrant illegality involving a three-dimensional examination of it: as a form of juridical status, as a sociopolitical condition, and as a mode of being-in-the-world. The article studies communities of irregular migrants of West African (Nigerian and Ghanaian) and Filipino origin in Tel Aviv, Israel.

Cities as Places for Irregular Migrants

Cities are spaces of rapid social and economic transformations and inequalities. Residents without a legal status live in precarious situations and their economic and social opportunities and activities are deeply constrained. In addition, irregular migrants experience greater exposure to various forms of discrimination and exploitation within today's urbanized and globalized capitalist economy. Growing cities worldwide haven taken advantage of the precarious and dangerous economic situations of (irregular) migrants. In numerous large cities, especially in Africa, Asia, and South America, the informal labor sector has become the main income source for millions of migrants. Within these informal economies, irregular migrants experience harsh working condition and various forms of physical or mental exploitation and abuse. The following three sections provide a selective overview of the existing literature on cities as places in which irregular migrants live and work. The first section discusses what it means to participate in an urban economy with an informal status. The second section emphasizes the embodied vulnerability of irregular migrants who work and live in the city and discusses literature that focuses on how they manage and survive these harsh and exploitative living conditions. Finally, the third section concentrates on the phenomenon of children and underage youth without a residency status, and how they struggle to pursue their educational development.

Informal Economy

Rapid economic globalization, migration, and urbanization processes are intertwined. The globalization of (urban) labor markets has led to an increase in the demand for cheap labor, which tends to encourage informal economies. The high demand for cheap labor in cities explains how irregular migrants can survive without access to state sponsored welfare assistance. Most irregular migrants face exploitative working conditions, various kinds of abuses and physical and psychological harms (see also *Embodied Vulnerability*). Wong and Rigg 2011 examines how different types of labor migration contribute to the transformation of Asian cities and how their presence in urban economies is needed, but simultaneously contested. Kassa 2019 focuses more on forced migrants who live and work in Nairobi. In insecure and uncertain circumstances, they work as bus drivers, ushers, cleaners, cooks, waiters and waitresses, guards, janitors or as small shop owners. The contribution by Massey and Coluccello 2015 paints a similar picture by examining the exploitative working conditions under which West African irregular migrants work as fruit pickers, sex workers, or installers of photovoltaic systems in Italian cities. Hing, Lun, and Phann 2011 scrutinizes the motivations, causes and experiences of Cambodian irregular migrants working in cities worldwide. The studies by Datta et al. 2007 and Ahmad 2008 focus on the situation of irregular migrants participating in London's informal economy. While Datta et al. 2007 finds a wide range of coping strategies that irregular workers adopt in order to survive, Ahmad 2008 stresses that their heterogeneous experiences largely depend on the type of work they are able to get. Demographic and societal changes in Europe have led to a huge demand for care work, which is one of the main areas of employment for irregular migrant women. In this context, Ambrosini 2013 shows that these so-called domestic workers are a crucial

resource for the local welfare state as they care for children, the elderly, or an entire household. However, they hardly benefit from the economic gains and the welfare systems to which they contribute. Briones 2009 studies the experiences of Filipina domestic workers in the cities of Paris and Hongkong and highlights the central role rights play in enabling domestic workers to secure a livelihood in cities. Martin 2010 focuses on migrant workers in Chicago and finds that not only market demands reproduce the informal economy, but that also non-governmental organizations can stabilize the informal economy by providing support to migrant workers.

Ahmad, Ali Nobil. "The Labour Market Consequences of Human Smuggling: 'Illegal' Employment in London's Migrant Economy." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34.6 (2008): 853–74.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802211158>

This article studies short- and medium-term labor market consequences for irregular migrants smuggled from Pakistan or Afghanistan to London. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with migrant workers, employers, and migrant organizations, Ahmad questions the overly negative general description of the working situations of irregular migrants and finds that the experience of these irregular migrants is heterogeneous and influenced by the type of work they can get.

Ambrosini, Maurizio. *Irregular Migration and Invisible Welfare*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

This book focuses on the growing need for care work in Southern Europe, especially care for the elderly, which is increasingly provided by irregular migrants. Ambrosini also sheds light on the challenges irregular migrants face to improve their living conditions and the daily personal problems they face while making a living by providing care work.

Briones, Leah. *Empowering Migrant Women Why Agency and Rights Are Not Enough*. Farnham: Ashgate Pub, 2009.

This book addresses the question of how to best to protect the rights of migrant domestic workers. It argues that the widespread protection paradigm is not enough and we need to develop an empowerment approach. Drawing on the experiences of Filipina domestic workers in the cities of Paris and Hong Kong, Briones argues that the empowerment of domestic workers requires the capability to successfully mediate victimisation, and that protection rights does not guarantees that irregular domestic worker can develop livelihoods.

Datta, Kavita, Cathy McIlwaine, Yara Evans, Joanna Herbert, Jon May, and Jane Willis. "From Coping Strategies to Tactics: London's low-pay Economy and Migrant Labour." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 45.2 (2007): 404–432. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2007.00620.x>

This article examines the means by which (irregular) migrants aim to survive in London's rapidly changing and unequal labor market. Workers adopt a range of coping strategies and tactics that enable them to 'get by', if only just, on a day-to-day basis. The article explores these tactics, and demonstrates the role of national, ethnic and gender relations in shaping migrant workers' experiences of the London labour market.

Hing, Vutha, Pide Lun, and Dalis Phann. "Irregular Migration from Cambodia: Characteristics, Challenges, and Regulatory Approach[<https://pidswebs.pids.gov.ph/webportal/CDN/PUBLICATIONS/pidspjd11-cambodia.pdf>]." *Philippine Journal of Development* 38.70 (2001): 1-25.

This comprehensive report examines the causes, motivations, and experiences of returned and intended Cambodian irregular labor migrants through survey research and focus group discussions. It highlights the challenges and exploitative situations they face while trying to make their livelihood. The second part adopts a more policy-oriented approach to support irregular migrants and to present recommendations to facilitate (international) labor migration.

Kassa, Derese G. *Refugee Spaces and Urban Citizenship in Nairobi: Africa's Sanctuary City*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018.

This book studies forced migrants from East Africa that choose to live in Nairobi instead of in designated refugee camps. They base their choice on enhanced economic opportunities and better access to basic social services such as schools or health facilities. These urban refugees engage in a range of insecure and sometimes dangerous economic activities and livelihood strategies.

Martin, Nina. "The Crisis of Social Reproduction among Migrant Workers: Interrogating the Role of Migrant Civil Society." *Antipode* 42.1 (2010): 127–51. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2009.00734.x>

This article focuses on the harsh working conditions of irregular migrants and the role non-governmental organizations play in helping them with labor conflicts in Chicago. Martin highlights that these organizations provide support to migrant workers while simultaneously playing an integral role in the functioning of the informal economy because the wide range of programs and services that they provide are essential to the social reproduction of migrant workers.

Massey, Simon, and Rino Coluccello, eds. *Eurafrican Migration Legal, Economic and Social Responses to Irregular Migration*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

This book focuses on irregular migration between Africa and Europe. From an urban perspective, chapters 3 and 4 are particularly interesting in their investigation of the exploitive working condition of West Africans within the agriculture sector (fruit-pickers) in Rosarno, the photovoltaic industry in Lecce and Brindisi as well as the study of Nigerian women irregular migrants who engage in sex work in Italian cities.

Wong, Tai-Chee, and Jonathan Rigg, eds. *Asian Cities, Migrant Labor and Contested Spaces*. Routledge Contemporary Asia Series. London: Routledge, 2011.

This edited volume examines labor migration in the context of the rapid and extensive growth of major Asian cities. The chapters present different categories of migration to illustrate the heterogeneity of the phenomenon in Asian cities. The book contributions focus on how labor migration contributes to the transformation of Asian cities and how the presence of migrants is contested by city residents as well as policymakers.

Embodied Vulnerability

Irregular migrants' precarious legal situation often bring along insecure economic and social situations and negative physical and mental health impacts. They often report exploitative and abusive interactions with state authorities, non-state organizations or individuals, which negatively impact their physical and mental health. Sigona 2012 shows that the condition of 'illegality' permeates migrants' everyday lives and it constraints their interactions and encloses their social networks. Tedeschi and Gadd 2021 stresses that past and present experiences of fear and uncertainty become physically embodied in migrants and negatively influence their abilities to manage their everyday life. The comprehensive report David, Bryant, and Joudo Larsen 2019 provides insights into the scope of the phenomenon and highlights irregular migrants' vulnerability along multiple dimensions and their exposure to many forms of exploitation. Khosravi 2010 examines vulnerability with regard to work, housing, healthcare, safety, and social life and by doing so demonstrates how much irregularity contributes to irregular migrants' everyday life. Ahmad 2008 describes how they have to cope with poor working and living conditions but that they also suffer from psychological burdens and the feeling of being trapped in a desperate situation. Franck 2016 studies how irregular migrants perceive danger and safety in the city. They fear the police and behave as imperceptibly as possible so as to remain concealed. This also means that they cannot report crimes and other exploitations. To overcome this dilemma, Madsen 2004 reports on how the Mozambican community in Johannesburg established a code of conduct to police themselves. This code of conduct specifies proper and improper behavior with the overarching goal of protecting the community. Jauhainen and Tedeschi 2021 finds that irregular migrants in Finland often do not visit medical practitioners because they lack knowledge about the health system, are afraid of visiting a doctor in the public system, or do not have the money for private healthcare. Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004 sheds light on women's situation in in the globalized and informal economy with a focus on sexual abuses and exploitations within global care chains. Awumbila, Teye, and Yaro 2017 demonstrates that gender is a crucial vulnerability factor for irregular migrant domestic workers because men are more likely than women to overcome exploitative conditions in some situations.

Ahmad, Ali Nobil. "Dead Men Working: Time and Space in London's ('illegal') Migrant Economy." *Work, Employment and Society* 22.2 (2008): 301–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017008089106>

This article investigates the specific vulnerabilities and precarity faced by irregular migrants smuggled from Pakistan to London compared with other groups of migrants. Besides long working hours, poor working conditions, low wages, and the general environment of insecurity, irregular migrants also suffer from the material and psychological burdens that stem from this insecurity, high costs of migration and the impossibility to achieve upward mobility.

Awumbila, Mariama, Joseph Kofi Teye, and Joseph Awetori Yaro. "Of Silent Maids, Skilled Gardeners and Careful Madams: Gendered Dynamics and Strategies of Migrant Domestic Workers in Accra, Ghana." *GeoJournal* 82.5 (2017): 957–70. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-016-9711-5>

This study investigates the gendered experience of migrant domestic workers by focusing on the city of Accra in Ghana. The study finds that male domestic workers are more capable of overcoming exploitation in some situations. The authors therefore call for more attention to the role of gender as a crucial factor when discussing migration and domestic work.

David, Fiona, Katharine Bryant, and Jacqueline Joudo Larsen. 2019. *"Migrants and their vulnerability to human trafficking, modern slavery and forced labour[https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migrants_and_their_vulnerability.pdf]*." Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

This report provides a comprehensive collection of sources on various exploitative experiences faced by (irregular) migrants around the world. It is a useful starting point for research, and it contains an up-to-date systematic literature review. The report illustrates that irregularity makes migrants vulnerable along multiple dimensions and exposes them to many forms of exploitation at different stages of migration.

Ehrenreich, Barbara, and Arlie Russell Hochschild. *Global Woman Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*. First Owl books edition. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004.

This book contains a collection of various essays that shed light on the increasing migration flows of women from poor to rich countries. It centers on the role of migrant women and their intersectional vulnerable position in our highly globalized economy, for example in the global care chain, and their experiences of abuses and exploitations.

Franck, Anja K. "A(nother) Geography of Fear: Burmese Labour Migrants in George Town, Malaysia." *Urban Studies* 53.15 (2016): 3206–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098015613003>

This article investigates how irregular migrants' perceptions of safety and danger influence their navigation through the city in the case of the Malaysian city of George Town. Migrants have different

perceptions of safety and danger depending on their residency status and their rights but also based on other characteristics such as their gender or appearance. In general, fear of police practices is much more intense than fear of crime.

Jauhiainen, Jussi S., and Miriam Tedeschi. *Undocumented Migrants and their Everyday Lives: The Case of Finland*. Cham: Springer, 2021.

This book provides an overview of the everyday lives of irregular migrants in Finland. Chapter 5 focuses on their health and access to health care. Most irregular migrants have health issues requiring constant care or frequent medical interventions; yet not all of them visit medical practitioners because they lack knowledge about the health system, fear visiting doctors in the public system, or do not have the money for private healthcare.

Khosravi, Shahram. "An Ethnography of Migrant 'Illegality' in Sweden: Included Yet Excepted?" *Journal of International Political Theory* 6.1 (2010): 95–116. <https://doi.org/10.3366/E1755088210000479>

This article sheds light on the everyday life of irregular migrants in Sweden. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Stockholm, Khosravi demonstrates the considerable vulnerability associated with an irregular status in the areas of work, housing, healthcare, safety, and social and family life.

Madsen, Morten Lyng. "Living for home: policing immorality among undocumented migrants in Johannesburg." *African Studies* 63.2 (2004): 173–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00020180412331318742>

This study investigates how Mozambican irregular migrants police themselves and their community to tackle and prevent crime, police abuse, and deportation. By developing a code of conduct that defines proper and improper behavior with the overarching goal of protecting the community, irregular migrants in Johannesburg have established an effective tool to avoid police attention and to provide themselves with a certain level of security.

Sigona, Nando. "'I Have Too Much Baggage': The Impacts of Legal Status on the Social Worlds of Irregular Migrants." *Social Anthropology* 20.1 (2012): 50–65. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8676.2011.00191.x>

This article investigates how the condition of 'illegality' permeates migrants' everyday lives in UK cities, and how it is gradually invading their social and community networks. The lack of a resident status constrains with whom they are able to interact, the range of social activities and the places where they socialize, and with what type of organizations and groups they interrelate.

Tedeschi, Miriam, and Katri Johanna Gadd. "On Multiple Spacetimes in the Everyday Lives of Irregular Migrants in Finland[<https://rgs-ibg.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/geoj.12378>]*." *The Geographical Journal*. Early Online, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12378>

This study explores how irregular migrants in urban areas of Finland deal with fear of the police, harmful experiences from their past, and their uncertain future. The authors argue that these intersecting spatio-temporal experiences and emotions became physically embodied in migrants and shape their ability to cope with their everyday lives.

Irregular Youth Migrants

The literature on underage irregular migrants is, to our knowledge and despite a few examples, very US-centric. Therefore, most of the contributions in this section are from the US context. The consequence of not having a regular residency status are apparent throughout the childhood. Yoshikawa 2011 demonstrates how the irregular status of parents negatively impacts the (educational) development of their children because parents' fear and avoidance of state authorities often prevents them from accessing valuable resources for their children. Chavez 2013 describes how the US media covers Latino immigrants and stigmatizes them as illegitimate and undesirable with a specific focus on the media's negative portrayal of the children of undocumented migrants as "anchor babies." Irregular migrants often have the right to attend primary and secondary education. Lundberg 2017 shows how schools in the city of Malmö navigate the tensions between the human right to education and the immigration law and how different interpretations of this right exist in practice. Focusing more on irregular migrants as students, Enriquez 2011 discovered that some students are able to make use of "patchworking," which is the haphazard piecing together of various resources and support opportunities to navigate US K-12 education institution. However, Enriquez 2017 also shows that the irregular status of students overshadows the other intersectional disadvantages and, as Abergo 2006 shows, severely limit their chances of upward mobility. In his book, Gonzales 2016 shows how "college-goers" as well as "early exiters" share an uncertain future because their lack of a secure status hampers their educational and economic opportunities. Gonzales 2011 examines what happens from the moment on when irregular youth leave the K-12 education system and suddenly have to learn to navigate illegality. In contrast to the wide used dichotomy between legal and illegal, Cebulko 2014 discovered that the irregular youths make a more differentiated distinction of their status and their rights. Similar, Ruszczyk 2021 developed the concept of "moral career of il/legality" to refer to the sequences characterized by changes to legal status over time that re-shape self, mobility, and social roles. In the European context, Bloch, Sigona and Zetter 2009 portray the hopes and dreams that young people (still) have, and which differentiates them from elders in the irregular migrant community.

Abrego, Leisy Janet. "I Can't Go to College Because I Don't Have Papers': Incorporation Patterns of Latino Undocumented Youth." *Latino Studies* 4.3 (2006): 212–31. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.lst.8600200>

This article compares the different upward mobility opportunities available to undocumented and documented youth from working-class Latino immigration backgrounds in Los Angeles. The end of

their regular and protective status after high school exposes undocumented youth to nearly insurmountable legal and economic obstacles that severely limit their chances of upward mobility.

Bloch, Alice, Nando Sigona, and Roger Zetter. 2009. **No right to dream: The social and economic lives of young undocumented migrants* [<https://documentation.lastradainternational.org/lisidocs/no%20right%20to%20dream.pdf>]*. London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

This comprehensive report looks at various aspects of the lives of youths with an irregular status in the UK, with a main focus on London. Drawing from 75 in-depth interviews and testimonials from groups of different countries of origin, the report focuses on the differences between irregular youth and their adult counterparts in terms of their experiences, motivations, and hopes.

Cebulko, Kara. "Documented, Undocumented, and Liminality Legal: Legal Status During the Transition to Adulthood for 1.5-Generation Brazilian Immigrants." *The Sociological Quarterly* 55.1 (2014): 143–67. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tsq.12045>

Based on interviews with undocumented youth in the metropolitan area of Boston, this article questions the widely known dichotomy of "legal vs. illegal" and proposes a more fluent classification consisting of undocumented, liminal legality, lawful permanent resident, and citizen

Chavez, Leo Ralph. *The Latino Threat Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*, Second Edition. Stanford: University Press, 2013.

This book describes and analyses how the US media covers Latinos and Latino immigrants. It deconstructs the so-called "Latino Threat" narrative, which ascribes contemptuous stereotypes to undocumented Latinos. Chapter 8 examines how the media frames children of undocumented migrants, and it analyzes their degrading label as "anchor babies."

Enriquez, Laura. "Because We Feel the Pressure and We Also Feel the Support": Examining the Educational Success of Undocumented Immigrant Latina/o Students." *Harvard Educational Review* 81.3 (2011): 476–500. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.81.3.w7k703q050143762>

This article explores how undocumented youth, as marginalized individuals, use their social capital to successfully navigate K–12 educational institutions and to pursue a higher education. Enriquez finds that undocumented students pursue a strategy called "patchworking" that is the haphazard piecing together of various resources and support opportunities to achieve their educational goals.

Enriquez, Laura E. "A 'master status' or the 'final straw'? Assessing the role of immigration status in Latino undocumented youths' pathways out of school." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43.9 (2017): 1526–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1235483>

This article investigates whether an irregular residence status of students overshadows the impacts of other disadvantaged social positions within the society. By shedding light on the intersection of various social and economic constraints faced by undocumented migrants, this article shows that multiple disadvantaged social locations disrupt educational pathways but that an undocumented status serves as a severe, relatively insurmountable, legal barrier that provides the “final push” for undocumented youth to leave school.

Gonzales, Roberto G. "Learning to Be Illegal: Undocumented Youth and Shifting Legal Contexts in the Transition to Adulthood." *American Sociological Review* 76.4 (2011): 602–19.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122411411901>

Drawing on 150 interviews with young adults from Latino backgrounds in Southern California, this article illuminates the transition that every undocumented youth goes through: from the protected status of a K-12 student to an unprotected one. The loss of the protected status forces these youths to “learn to be illegal.”

Gonzales, Roberto G. *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2016.

This ethnographic book studies the lives of children and youth without a secure residency status in the US. It presents the different lives of underage irregular migrants who, despite their differences, share an uncertain future and limited educational and economic opportunities. The book highlights the lack of integration after K-12 school, showing that the US immigration system ultimately denies irregular migrants meaningful opportunities for a successful and secure future.

Lundberg, Anna, and Michael Strange. “Struggles over Human Rights in Local Government – the Case of Access to Education for Undocumented Youth in Malmö, Sweden”. *Critical Policy Studies* 11 (2) (2017): 146–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2016.1142456>.

This article focuses on the human right to education for irregular children in Malmö and analyses the challenges that arise for different actors and their legal interpretations at the local level. The authors find two distinct narratives of how actors justify their interpretation of the right to education: the legalistic and the experiential. The first emphasises the legal framework, whereas the second is oriented towards the practical needs of irregular youth. The case study thus shows the legal tensions and different conceptualizations that come together at the local level and with which urban actors are confronted in their everyday practices.

Ruszczuk, Stephen P. "Moral career of migrant il/legality: Undocumented male youths in New York City and Paris negotiating deportability and regularizability." *Law & Society Review* 55.3 (2021): 496-519.

In this paper, Rusczyk expands the theory of "learning to become illegal" with his concept of the "moral career of il/legality". This is based on an extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Paris and New York with male undocumented youths. The paper focuses on how changes in the socio-legal structure shape changes in identity, social roles and experience of irregular youths over time. In doing so, the paper follows a life course logic based on personal accounts of experiences in order to illustrate the various life phases of undocumented youth and to highlight their differences and commonalities in the context of the two metropolises.

Yoshikawa, Hirokazu. *Immigrants Raising Citizens: Undocumented Parents and Their Young Children*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011.

This book explores how the lack of parents' residency status affects the lives of their US-born children that do hold a regular residency status. Based on extensive ethnographic field research, Yoshikawa finds that parents' long working days, their isolated social network, and the fear of being discovered and deported affects their children's (educational) development.

Cities as Actors that Support Irregular Migrants

Given that irregular migrants tend to live in cities, many city governments worldwide formulate and implement policies and practices in support of irregular migrants. These urban policies and practices are often motivated and legitimized by the normative concepts of urban citizenship, inhabitation and/or hospitality, which all challenge the prerogative of the national state over citizenship and migration regulations. This section then distinguishes between different manifestations of urban policies and practices in support of irregular migrants, namely regularization programs, sanctuary cities, and other administrative practices. Regularization programs operate within the legal framework of national states. City governments can only sometimes influence these programs through lobbying or through local administrative discretion within the implementation processes. When regularization programs are not legally possible or politically feasible, city governments tend to turn to sanctuary city policies or other administrative practices. In tendency, these practices are not able to give rights to irregular migrants, however they seek to ensure some form of protection from deportations and increased access to local services. Sanctuary cities are a particularity of US federalism because US local governments are not obliged to cooperate with federal immigration authorities in the implementation and enforcement of US migration law. However, the concept of sanctuary cities also resonates with cities and urban actors globally as they share the struggles to protect irregular migrants from deportations and to challenge exclusionary national immigration policies. Other types of administrative practices include a wide range of local practices and services in support of irregular migrants with the goal to alleviate their precarious situations. They often depend on the local autonomy of cities within national political and legal frameworks, and the obligations and leeway that cities have when implementing and enforcing national migration laws as well as on place-based governance networks.

Normative Foundations: Urban Citizenship, Inhabitation, and Hospitality

The concept of urban citizenship offers a vision of membership based on residence and inhabitation in a community. As such, it rejects the state sponsored migration categories and the prerogative of national states over immigration and citizenship policies. Bauböck 2003 elaborates on the different elements that can comprise the aspirational concept of urban citizenship. Varsanyi 2006 conceptualizes urban citizenship using the notion of *jus domicile* (membership upon residence), which contrasts with the prevalent national citizenship notions of *jus soli* (membership upon place of birth) and *jus sanguinis* (membership upon nationality of parents). The concept draws inspiration from the notion of inhabitation in Lefebvre 1968, which claims that those who inhabit the city have a right to the city. According to Purcell 2003, inhabitation challenges traditional concepts of citizenship that view that national state as the primary political community. Instead, it proposes that residence and lived presence in an urban space is the most central fact of membership. Whereas inhabitation requires the actual presence in a given community, Derrida 2001 introduces the concept of hospitality that the city should provide for all, even for the absolute unknown "other" that is not yet present in the city. Hospitality is Derrida's basis for his vision of a city of refuge.

Kaufmann 2019 argues that city governments and pro-immigration urban actors often mobilize the concept of urban citizenship (and to a lesser degree inhabitance and hospitality) as the normative foundation for articulating and justifying urban policies in support of irregular migrants. Urban citizenship empowers and legitimizes different visions of how urban actors may engage with and support irregular migrants. Villazor Cuison 2010 examines how the articulation and conceptualization of urban citizenship ideas encourage local sanctuary laws. Darling and Bauder 2019 discusses how various cities and municipalities try to become guarantors of rights and protections that are largely absent at other scales of government. Thus, cities are and become spaces that challenge the exclusion perpetrated at the level of the national state. Using the example of Barcelona, Eizaguirre, Pradel-Miquel, and García 2017 illustrates how cities can mobilize urban citizenship to justify a wide-ranging of inclusive migration policies, including efforts to grant basic human rights to irregular migrants.

Bauböck, Rainer. "Reinventing urban citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 7.2 (2003): 139–160.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1362102032000065946>

This article sketches elements that can constitute urban citizenship, such as reuniting cities with their peripheries, mitigating residential segregation, challenging national policy-making monopolies in immigration, trade and foreign policy, and establishing a formal status of local citizenship based on residence that allow for voting rights. In this sense, urban citizenship is understood as constitutional politics that could strengthen local self-government.

Darling, Jonathan and Harald Bauder. *Sanctuary Cities and Urban Struggles: Rescaling Migration, Citizenship, and Rights*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019.

This edited volume explores how cities and urban actors challenge the primacy of national states in the governance of irregular migrants and how they can thereby act as their key guarantor of rights and entitlements. It focuses on place-based practices and diverse articulations of sanctuary that are the product of political interactions between urban social movements and city governments.

Derrida, Jacques. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. New York and London: Routledge, 2001.

This book consists of two essays by Derrida that focus on ethical and political issues surrounding migration and asylum. The concept of hospitality plays an important role and serves as the basis for Derrida's vision of a city of refuge. He argues that the city should provide hospitality for all, even for the absolute unknown and anonymous stranger. Therefore, the city is the place that can challenge the membership provided and enforced by the national states.

Eizaguirre, Santiago, Marc Pradel-Miquel, and Marisol García. "Citizenship practices and democratic governance: 'Barcelona en Comú' as an urban citizenship confluence promoting a new policy agenda." *Citizenship Studies* 21.4 (2017): 425–439. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2017.1307609>

This article discusses how the economic crisis and the subsequent austerity policies led to the articulation and development of urban citizenship in Barcelona that was amplified by the local movement *Barcelona en Comú* that won mayoral office in 2015. The city government created a number of policies that aims to ensure the granting of basic human rights to refugees and irregular migrants based on the ideal of urban citizenship.

Kaufmann, David. "Comparing urban citizenship, sanctuary cities, local bureaucratic membership and regularizations." *Public Administration Review* 79.3 (2019): 443–446. <https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.13029>

This article provides a conceptual distinction between urban policies and practices in support of irregular migrants. It argues that urban citizenship often constitutes the normative foundation on which city governments and urban pro-immigration actors can justify urban policies in support of irregular migrants. It then proceeds to conceptually distinguish and discuss three different manifestation of these urban policies, namely sanctuary cities, local bureaucratic membership, and regularization programs.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Le droit à la ville [The right to the city]*. Paris: Anthopos, 1968.

Lefebvre's seminal book sketches the idea and claim of the right to the city. It constitutes a radical rethinking of the political community, what it entails, and who can actively participate in it. Lefebvre argues that the national political community's concept of citizenship should not define membership. Instead, he introduces inhabitation as the basis for an urban type of membership and that those who inhabit the city have a right to the city.

Purcell, Mark. "Citizenship and the Right to the Global City: Reimagining the Capitalist World Order." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27.3 (2003): 564–90. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00467>

This article discusses urban citizenship as a notion that is potentially capable of expanding the local decision-making control of citizens. It contextualizes Lefebvre's concepts of the *right to the city* and *inhabitation* and views it as particularly useful bases for thinking about the construction of alternative forms of citizenship.

Varsanyi, Monica W. "Interrogating 'urban citizenship' vis-à-vis undocumented migration." *Citizenship Studies* 10.2 (2006): 229–249. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020600633168>

This article discusses different approaches to citizenship. Based on the concepts of *jus domicile* and *inhabitation*, it sketches a normative vision of urban citizenship in which a person could become a "citizen" without the explicit consent of fellow citizens but rather through the mere presence and residence in a place.

Villazor Cuisson, Rose. "'Sanctuary Cities' and Local Citizenship." *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 37.2 (2010): 573-598.

This article discusses how sanctuary laws in the US have led to tensions over national and local conceptualizations of citizenship. It explores how sanctuary cities can aim to articulate and construct membership for irregular migrants and how they contest a national-oriented citizenship.

Regularization Programs

Regularization programs offer the opportunity for irregular migrants to obtain a residency status within the legal immigration and citizenship framework of the national state. The national state controls regularization as it has the prerogative to decide on the categories of regular immigration and pathways to citizenship. Irregular migrants and pro-immigration actors prefer regularization programs over other types of policies and practices in support of irregular migrants as they alleviate migrants' main source of vulnerability and provide stability and certainty. Apap, de Bruycker and Schmitter 2000 discuss various forms of regularization programs such as permanent or one-shot programs, those that regularize individual hardship cases, or collective regularization programs. Similarly, Levinson 2005 compares nine national regularization programs in the US and Europe. Kraler 2019 offers an update about regularization policies in seven European countries, and also systematically compares the various reasons and justifications of these regularizations (such as more social or humanitarian-oriented reasons as in the case of hardship clauses or more labor market- motivated reasons when regularizing labor migrants). Based on her study of the hardship clause in France's regularization program, Ticktin 2011 reveals that designing regularization programs requires making existential decisions because the formulated criteria ultimately define who the (national) state deems worthy of a secure life. What makes regularization programs specifically urban? Cities can lobby relevant national governmental actors to establish regularization programs or they can take an use their discretion to the benefit irregular migrants in the implementation of regularization programs. Kaufman and Strebel 2020 review the case of "Operation Papyrus" in Geneva that was able to grant around 3000 irregular migrants (most of them women and children) a residence status. Operation Papyrus was possible because non-governmental organizations and labor unions were able to convince the canton of Geneva to adopt such a program. In Spain, municipalities enjoy high administrative discretion in the regularization process. Irregular migrants can register in the administrative municipal record, called the *Padrón Municipal*. The *Padrón Municipal* then can serve as a proof of social integration within Spain's permanent regularization mechanism. Moffette 2018 shows how Spanish municipalities enjoy very high administrative discretion with regard to the documents that they require for the registration as well as in their assessment of the social integration of irregular migrants within the regularization process. Gebhardt 2016 describes how Barcelona in particular takes a deliberately benevolent approach to incorporating irregular migrants by favorably assessing integration requirements within the regularization process.

Apap, J., Philippe De Bruycker, and Catherine Schmitter. "Regularisation of Illegal Aliens in the European Union: Summary Report of a Comparative Study." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 2.4 (2000): 263–308. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718160020958953>

This article distinguishes between five conceptualizations of regularization programs in Europe: permanent or one-off; individual or collective; fait accompli or those conducted for protection reasons; state-led or forced via court decisions or international relations; and informal and individual-based petitions by migrants or large-scale programs.

Gebhard, Dirk. "Re-thinking urban citizenship for immigrants from a policy perspective: the case of Barcelona." *Citizenship Studies* 20.6-7 (2016): 846–866. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2016.1191431>

This article studies how Barcelona has conceptualized and implemented urban citizenship since the local movement, *Barcelona en Comú*, won mayoral office in 2015. Barcelona put forward inclusive ways of regulating citizenship, and this article highlights some of the leverage cities possess when modifying the boundaries between the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants at the local level.

Levinson, Amanda. **The Regularisation of Unauthorized Migrants: Literature Survey and Country Case Studies* [<https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/ER-2005->

Regularisation_Unauthorized_Literature.pdf]*. Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford, 2005.

This report compares nine regularization programs in the US and the European Union. It provides a literature review and a case analysis of these programs as well as brief country overviews that include information on current migration policy, legal channels of immigration into the country, and the undocumented population in relation to the country's demographic profile.

Moffette, David. *Governing Irregular Migration: Bordering culture, Labour, and Security in Spain*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018.

This book analyzes migration governance in Spain. It examines mass regularization programs as well as the local process of including irregular migrants in the administrative municipal record (*Padrón Municipal*). The book highlights the high administrative discretion Spanish municipalities enjoy through their responsibility in implementing the *Padrón Municipal* as well as in the case assessment of irregular migrants in the Spanish regularization process.

Kaufmann, David, and Dominique Strelbel. "Urbanising migration policy-making: Urban policies in support of irregular migrants in Geneva and Zürich." *Urban Studies* 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098020969342>

This article compares policy-making in support of irregular migrants in Geneva and Zürich. Whereas Genevan authorities and local societal actors established a successful regularization program

(Operation Papyrus), actors in Zürich have been struggling to create an urban ID card program (Zürich City Card). This comparison reveals that cities formulate place-based urban policy responses yet these endeavors can be seen as part of global struggles to improve the precarious situations of irregular migrants.

Kraler, Albert. "Regularization of Irregular Migrants and Social Policies: Comparative Perspectives." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 17.1 (2019): 94-113.

The article examines regularization programs and policies in seven European national states (Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, and Sweden). It reveals that regularization policies can be motivated by explicit social and humanitarian-concerns (such as in the case of seriously ill persons) or, in more cases, by labor market or wider integration-reasons. The article highlights that the access to social rights made possible through regularizations is the most important impact of regularization noted by regularized migrants.

Ticktin, Miriam. *Casualties of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

This book offers an ethnographic study of the unintended consequences of compassion and care in today's migration regimes. It focuses on the hardship clause in France, which offers a regularization opportunity for irregular migrants based on health reasons. The book reveals that this type of migration regime permits few sick migrants to stay at the expense of other impoverished migrants who the national state does not deem worthy enough to stay.

Sanctuary Cities

The literature portrays sanctuary cities in two ways. On the one hand, sanctuary cities are a specific product of US federalism and politics because US local governments are not obliged to cooperate with federal immigration authorities; and on the other hand, sanctuary refers to global struggles by cities and urban actors to provide protection and fight exclusionary national migration policies. Delgado 2018 describes the historical development of US sanctuary cities from their origin in faith-based organizations' provision of safe havens to protect El Salvadorian and Guatemalan refugees fearing deportation. A new generation of sanctuary cities emerged following the more restrictive immigration laws after the September 11 attacks. Sanctuary city policies and practices in the US thus changed from protecting Central America irregular migrants to protecting irregular migrants in general. Ridgley 2008 reviews the history of municipal sanctuary policies and how they seek to formulate alternative visions of political membership. Mancina 2016 offers a thorough review of San Francisco's history, as the seemingly earliest large US city to symbolically declare itself as a sanctuary city. By conceptually comparing US sanctuary cities, Houston 2019 and Cruz-Lera 2019 remind readers of the broad spectrum of policy endeavors, laws and informal practices that comprise sanctuary cities and argue that providing sanctuary constitutes a process of policy formulation and implementation rather than a binary state of being. Collingwood and Gonzalez O'Brien

2019 examines whether sanctuary cities have an effect on crime rates given because the claim that growing crime in sanctuary cities was a central, yet false, claim in Donald Trump's presidential campaign and tenure. They also examine the media coverage and public opinion surrounding sanctuary cities and its effect on Latino political incorporation. Gonzalez O'Brien 2020 helpfully summarizes the literature on US sanctuary cities. While the idea of cities providing sanctuary resonates worldwide; cities have varying policy-making scopes depending on their institutional settings, local autonomy constraints, and national immigration laws. Bauder 2017 and Bauder and Gonzalez 2018 review different sanctuary policies and practices in North America, Europe, and Latin America. Lippert and Rehaag 2013 compiled an edited volume that collects international urban practices that provide sanctuary to forced migrants and irregular migrants. A common feature of these diverse sanctuary practices is how irregular migrants, their supporters and, in some instances, city governments, try to find ways to avoid and resist state authorities' arrests and deportations of irregular migrants. *Administrative Practices in Support of Irregular Migrants* these worldwide struggles in support of irregular migrants in more detail.

Bauder, Harald. "Sanctuary Cities: Policies and Practices in International Perspective." *International Migration* 55.2 (2017): 174–187. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12308>

This article studies sanctuary policies and practices in the US, UK, and Canada. Bauder shows that there is heterogeneity in these practices that researchers can study and compare by focusing on different aspects of sanctuary cities: legal, discursive, identity-formative, and scalar.

Bauder, Harald, and Dayana A. Gonzalez. "Municipal Responses to 'Illegality': Urban Sanctuary across National Contexts[<https://www.cogitatiopress.com/socialinclusion/article/view/1273/1273>]*." *Social Inclusion* 6.1 (2018): 124-134. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v6i1.1273>

This article studies and compares sanctuary policies and practices in Barcelona, Spain, Freiburg, Germany, and Quilicura, Chile. It first compares the respective countries' legal and political contexts and then the urban initiatives taken by these three cities to cope and respond to the precarious situation of irregular migrants that arise because of the different national migration regimes and contexts.

Cruz-Lera, Estefanía. 2019. "The spectrum of sanctuary cities in the United States: Contrasting the genesis and practices of proimmigrant local policies." *Estudios fronterizos* 20: 1-22.

The article argues that sanctuary cities comprise of a set of laws, policies and informal practices of different nature, with varied political genesis, different compositions of political alliances, and different degrees of insurgency. If we want to engage in comparative case studies, we can therefore understand sanctuary cities as a spectrum that we can analyze by using different analytical categories, such as a focus on rhetoric elements, informal sanctuary practices and welcoming sanctuary practices.

Collingwood, Loren, and Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien. *Sanctuary Cities: The Politics of Refuge*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.

This book offers a compelling overview of the historical development and the recent debates surrounding sanctuary cities in the US. It then conducts different analyses of sanctuary cities such as its coverage by the media, public opinion of it as well as the effects of these policies on crime rates and Latino political incorporation.

Delgado, Melvin. *Sanctuary Cities, Communities, and Organizations: A Nation at a Crossroads*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

This book presents a historical overview of the rise of sanctuary movements and sanctuary cities in the 1970s and 2000s. It centers on social movements, NGOs, health institutions as well as their frontline workers as central actors in the everyday defense and implementation of sanctuary cities.

Gonzalez O'Brien, Benjamin. "Sanctuary Cities." In *Oxford Bibliographies in Latino Studies*. Edited by Ilan Stavans. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020. DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199913701-0141

This Oxford Bibliography discusses articles on sanctuary cities with a focus on the US and the Latinx population. It provides an overview of articles that examine the historical development of the sanctuary movement and US sanctuary cities, the effects of media framing, support and opposition to sanctuary cities, and the effects of sanctuary city policies and practices.

Houston, Serin. "Conceptualizing Sanctuary as a Process in the United States," *Geographical Review* 109.4 (2019): 562-579. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gere.12338>

This article focuses on the broad spectrum of local policy responses to immigration policy change and enforcement from 2001 to 2014 in the US. It helpfully argues that providing sanctuary is a process rather than a binary state of being a sanctuary city.

Lippert, Randy K., and Sean Rehaag, eds. *Sanctuary Practices in International Perspectives: Migration, Citizenship and Social Movements*. London: Routledge, 2013.

This edited volume compiles different international urban practices that provide sanctuary to forced migrants and irregular migrants. It reviews how the sanctuary tradition has been renewed in the 1970s through efforts of faith-based organizations. A central and common feature of sanctuary practices revolves around how irregular migrants and their supporters seek to circumvent and resist arrests and deportation by state authorities.

Mancina, Peter. "In the Spirit of Sanctuary: Sanctuary-City Policy Advocacy and the Production of Sanctuary-Power in San Francisco,

California[<https://ir.vanderbilt.edu/bitstream/handle/1803/12924/Mancina.pdf.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>]*." Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 2016.

This Ph.D. dissertation provides a historical and ethnographic analysis of sanctuary city formation in San Francisco, one of the first US cities to symbolically declare itself a sanctuary city. It argues that sanctuary city practices created a "sanctuary-power" that simultaneously integrates both sanctuary practices and municipal deportation practices. The city routinized, normalized, and codified sanctuary and deportation practices into policy, leading to increased stability for some immigrants and a rupture for others.

Ridgley, Jennifer. "Cities of Refuge: Immigration Enforcement, Police, and the Insurgent Genealogies of Citizenship in US Sanctuary Cities." *Urban Geography* 29.1 (2008): 53–77. <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.29.1.53>

This article studies the criminalization of migration in federal US law as well as the concomitant development of municipal sanctuary policies. Ridgley studies San Francisco's "City of Refuge Ordinance" that seeks to develop an alternative vision of security and political membership that challenges the federal migration regime and its enforcement.

Administrative Practices in Support of Irregular Migrants

Administrative practices represent a broad category of urban activities in support of irregular migrants. De Graauw 2014 establishes the concept of *local bureaucratic membership*, which incorporates various policies and practices that aim to facilitate irregular migrants' access to city services without focusing on expanding their rights. Cities often experiment with issuing urban ID cards as a vehicle for administrative practices. The goal of this card is to allow migrants to identify themselves to relevant local frontline actors. Kaufmann et al. 2022 conducted a policy survey of the biggest 95 European cities and reveal that cities provide a wide range of services that cover legal counselling, health care, housing, and welfare provision. Delvino 2017 offers a comprehensive policy report that reviews practices from different European cities. Smith and LeVoy 2017 focus on the different ways through which European cities facilitate access to health systems. Ataç et al. 2020 compare housing services and the provision of local welfare to irregular migrants. They point out that such urban administrative practices go beyond pragmatic responses and that they are also controversial and contested because they operate against national intentions to harshen the life of irregular migrants to "incentivize" their return. Crépeau and Hastie 2015 examine the administrative practice of installing firewalls in city administrations to separate immigration enforcement activities from public service provision. Timmerman et al. 2020 focus on a very specific form of firewalls surrounding the "free in, free out" practices pioneered in Amsterdam that guarantee irregular migrants the right to freely report a crime as victims or witnesses. Bauder 2019 goes beyond the prevalent North American- and Euro-centric review of urban policies and practices in support of irregular migrants to review the practices of cities in the Global South. He concludes that cities are often not the most important actors. Instead,

irregular migrants themselves as well as civil society organization are crucial in organizing support for irregular migrants (see also *Civil Society Organizations and Irregular Migrants as Political Actors*). Varoli 2016 analyzes the Latin American *Ciudades Solidarias* (Cities of Solidarity) network. Cities in this network cooperate with the UNHCR to provide basic services (housing, food, education) to forced migrants. Missbach et al. 2018 examine the endeavors of actors in the Indonesian city of Makassar to provide basic services to forced migrants in a context in which the city is more a transit place than a destination place.

Ataç, Ilker, Theresa Schütze, and Victoria Reitter. "Local responses in restrictive national policy contexts: Welfare provisions for non-removed rejected asylum seekers in Amsterdam, Stockholm and Vienna." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43.16 (2020): 115–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1723671>

This article examines various urban welfare provision practices in support of non-removed rejected asylum seekers in Amsterdam, Vienna, and Stockholm. This comparative case study explains the diverse practices employed within these cities' respective legal-institutional frameworks and the diverse governance networks of civil society actors and city governments in establishing and providing these welfare provisions.

Bauder, Harald. *Urban Sanctuary and Solidarity in a Global Context: How Does Africa Contribute to the Debate?*[[https://www.ug.edu.gh/mias-africa/sites/mias-africa/files/images/191127%20MIASA%20WP_2019\(1\)%20Bauder.pdf](https://www.ug.edu.gh/mias-africa/sites/mias-africa/files/images/191127%20MIASA%20WP_2019(1)%20Bauder.pdf)]* MIASA Working Paper No 2019.1: 2019.

This article reviews the English language literature on urban policies and practices in support of irregular migrants in the Global South. While there are some similarities between cities in the Global North and Global South, there are fundamental differences that challenges the universal applicability of the concepts of urban sanctuary and solidarity.

Crépeau, François and Bethany Hastie. "The Case for 'Firewall' Protections for Irregular Migrants." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 17.2-3 (2015) 157–183. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718166-12342076>

This article argues for the installation of firewalls in (city) administrations to ensure the separation between immigration enforcement activities and public service provision. The goal of firewalls is to ensure irregular migrants' ability to access fundamental rights and basic public services.

De Graauw, Els. "Municipal ID cards for undocumented immigrants: Local bureaucratic membership in a federal system." *Politics & Society* 42.3 (2014): 309–330. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329214543256>

This article proposes the concept of local bureaucratic membership to cover various urban policies and practices that facilitate irregular migrants' access to city services without aiming to expand their rights. It empirically studies how New Haven and San Francisco capitalize on their discretionary administrative

powers to establish municipal ID programs. Municipal ID cards allow irregular migrants to access basic city services and to identify themselves to city officials.

Delvino, Nicola. **European Cities and Migrants with Irregular Status: Municipal initiatives for the inclusion of irregular migrants in the provision of services*[<https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/City-Initiative-on-Migrants-with-Irregular-Status-in-Europe-CMISE-report-November-2017-FINAL.pdf>]*. Oxford: COMPAS, University of Oxford, 2017.

This report reviews numerous policies and practices in European cities that respond to the social needs of irregular migrants and their access to city services. The report is informed by long-term exchanges between city practitioners and academics and it aims to share and encourage learning from these European city-led practices.

Kaufmann, David, Nora Räss, Dominique Strebel, and Fritz Sager. "Sanctuary Cities in Europe? A Policy Survey of Urban Policies in Support of Irregular Migrants." *British Journal of Political Science*. 52.4 (2022):1954–1963.

This article examines the variety of urban policies in support of irregular migrants in European cities. It reveals two types of policies: status and services. Status policies aim to provide irregular migrants with a (more) secure status. Services policies engage in the provision and facilitation of a wide range of basic services such as legal counselling, health care, housing, and welfare provision.

Missbach, Antje, Yunizar Adiputera, and Atin Parbandari. **"Is Makassar a 'Sanctuary city'? Migration Governance in Indonesia after the "Local Turn*[<https://aseas.univie.ac.at/index.php/aseas/article/view/2443/2038>]*." *Aktuelle Südostasienforschung – Current Research on Southeast Asia* 11.2 (2018): 199-216. <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0003>

This article examines urban responses in the city of Makassar to a national refugee regulation that delegated migration governance autonomy to subnational governmental levels. The authors argue that this governance shift is more of a downward shift of responsibility for refugee protection and migration management, without the corresponding provision of adequate resources and capacities to local stakeholders.

Smith, Alyna C., and Michele LeVoy. **Cities of Rights: Ensuring Health Care for Undocumented Residents*. PICUM: Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants[https://picum.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/CityOfRights_Health_EN.pdf]*, 2017.

This report reviews a number of policies, practices, and pragmatic measures that cities and regions formulate and implement to ensure irregular migrants' access to health systems. It reveals that these subnational entities use whatever authority they have to legislate or otherwise act in the field of health policy and delivery.

Timmerman, Ruben, Arjen Leerkes, Richard Staring, and Nicola Delvino. *"'Free in, Free out': Exploring Dutch Firewall Protections for Irregular Migrant Victims of Crime[https://brill.com/view/journals/emil/22/3/article-p427_5.xml?language=en]*." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 22.3 (2020): 427–455. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718166-12340082>

This article reviews the Dutch "free in, free out" policy that guarantees irregular migrants the right to freely report a crime as a victim or witness. The city of Amsterdam pioneered the policy, and it was then introduced at the national level alongside the implementation of the EU's "Victim's Rights Directive." Various migrant and human rights organizations have recognized this policy as a European "best practice."

Varoli, Fabio. *"'Cities of Solidarity: Local Integration in Latin America[<https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/urban-displacement/varoli.pdf>]*." *Forced Migration Review* 34 (2016): 44–46.

This article studies the Latin American *Ciudades Solidarias* (Cities of Solidarity) network. Cities in this network cooperate with the UNHCR to provide basic services (housing, food, education) to forced migrants. Beyond the provision of these basic services, Varoli perceives cities in Latin America as places of opportunities that allow for long-term integration of forced migrants.

Civil Society and Irregular Migrants as Political Actors

This bibliography has thus far focused on the precariousness of irregular migrants' everyday lives and the role of city governments in improving the legal and political situation of irregular migrants. It is important to add that civil society actors as well as irregular migrants themselves constitute important political actors in these struggles. Civil society actors and organizations such as social movements, NGOs, faith- and community-based organizations and other collectives play a crucial role in representing irregular migrants' interests, providing expertise and linkages as well as acting as intermediaries between immigrant communities and governments. These actors operate in a delicate position given the tension between staying outside of state activities to avoid reproducing the current order and cooperating with authorities by aiming for (incremental) changes with the threat of being co-opted by them. These organizations also play a role in defining who is worthy and deserving of receiving support and protection and who is not. They thereby have to be careful to not implicitly reproduce the status quo or producing further exclusions. The last part of the bibliography is devoted to the agency and political activities of irregular migrants. Irregular migrants' precarious legal status and living situation often leads the public to assume that they lack political agency. However, their presence and survival is a political act in itself and some migrants go beyond this act to organize and mobilize themselves through campaigns or public demonstrations and take great risk through this exposure.

Civil Society

The literature generally assumes that civil society actors and organizations play an important role in providing material support to irregular migrants and in organizing political support for them. Nicholls 2016 highlights that the urban environment, with its density of activists, movements and (irregular) migrants, enables the weaving of networks of solidarity that, among other things, facilitates the politicization of irregular migrants' interests. Hoffstaedter 2015 offers insights from Malaysian cities where the government surveys and suppresses civil society actors who nevertheless find ways to provide access to shelter, health care, and education. Kuljian 2013 describes how a church in central Johannesburg managed to provide mental and material support for a large number of irregular migrants who lived in a hostile environment. Sidney 2014 discusses versatile NGO strategies in US cities and the ability of NGOs to navigate fragmented and multilevel government landscapes to advocate for the rights of irregular migrants, to seek policy change, and to counter the public's stigmatization of them. Ruszczyk 2019 shows how civil society actors and organizations in Paris operate as intermediaries between irregular migrants and state actors, thereby facilitating the regularization of irregular migrants. Lambert and Swerts 2019 finds that radical activists constantly have to negotiate the conditions of social inclusion and exclusion with local government authorities and with less radical civil society actors. They find that the involvement of less radical activists campaigns increases the risk of depoliticizing the rights and precarious situation of irregular immigrants. Civil society actors and organizations can reproduce or worsen the status quo by reiterating or manufacturing new distinctions between deserving and underserving migrants. For example, Swerts and

Nicholls 2020 argues that because civil society actors inhabit an intermediary position they must be especially cautious when engaging with state actors because of the danger to help reproducing the status quo of exclusion. Houston and Morse 2017 and Yukich 2013 focus on different framings and discourses of US sanctuary movements that explicitly or implicitly create distinctions between migrants that are “deserving” and “undeserving” of support and citizenship. These social constructions can limit activist support to particular groups of migrants, thereby restricting the diversities of migrant identities and rendering migrants figuratively mute in the paternalistic activities of these organizations.

Hoffstaedter, Gerhard. “Urban Refugees and UNHCR in Kuala Lumpur: Dependency, Assistance and Survival”, in *Urban Refugees: Challenges in Protection, Services and Policy*, edited by Koichi Koizumi and Gerhard Hoffstadter, 187-205. London: Routledge, 2015.

This chapter focuses on the steadily increasing number of forced migrants living in Malaysian cities. Despite economic opportunities, irregular migrants lack legal stability and often live in hostile societal environments. Despite being surveilled by the national government, local civil society actors find ways to provide irregular migrants with access to shelter, health care, and education by, for example, collaborating with the UNHCR.

Houston, Serin D., and Charlotte Morse. “The Ordinary and Extraordinary: Producing Migrant Inclusion and Exclusion in US sanctuary movements.” *Studies in Social Justice* 11.1 (2017): 27–47.

DOI:10.26522/ssj.v11i1.1081

This article focuses on how faith-based social movements as part of sanctuary movements have supported irregular migrants in US cities. It shows that these pro-immigrant efforts often paradoxically render migrants figuratively mute by only granting support to migrants with certain religions, identities, and experiences. Migrants are positioned, and often celebrated, as “others.” These framings and constructions restrict activist support to particular groups of migrants and limit the diversities of migrant identities.

Kuljian, Christa. *Sanctuary: How an Inner-City Church Spilled onto a Sidewalk*. Auckland Park, S.A.: Jacana Media, 2013.

This book documents how the Central Methodist Church in downtown Johannesburg became a first entry point to the city for irregular migrants and offered opportunities to connect people in similar situations. This church in Johannesburg, under the leadership of Bishop Paul Verryn, has provided hospitality and mental and material support to many irregular migrants that mostly come from Zimbabwe.

Lambert, Sébastien, and Thomas Swerts. “From Sanctuary to Welcoming Cities’: Negotiating the Social Inclusion of Undocumented Migrants in Liège,

Belgium[<https://www.cogitatiopress.com/socialinclusion/article/view/2326/2326>]*." *Social Inclusion* 7.4 (2019): 90–99. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v7i4.2326>

This article focuses on the Sanctuary City campaign in the Belgian city of Liège. It explores the relationship between radical activists and immigrant rights professionals when negotiating the conditions of social inclusion and exclusion with local government authorities. An interesting finding shows that the involvement of less radical activists in the campaign increased the risk of depoliticizing the rights and precarious situation of irregular immigrants.

Nicholls, Walter. "Politicizing Undocumented Immigrants One Corner at a Time: How Day Laborers Became a Politically Contentious Group." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40.2 (2016): 299–320. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12334>

This article focuses on how irregular migration has become politicized in the US. It examines the evolution of its politicization and problem construction from its origin as an irregular day laborers' issue to a national immigrants' rights movement. The author conceptualizes the urban as a crucial relational space that is home to irregular migrants while simultaneously providing access to immigrant support organizations.

Ruszczyk, Stephen P. "Non-State Actors in the Regularisation of Undocumented Youths: The Role of the 'Education Without Borders Network' in Paris." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45.15 (2019): 3023–3040. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1495068>

This article studies how civil society actors in Paris are active in network building to link irregular youth and state actors with the goal to facilitate the regularization of irregular youth. Civil society actors' relationship with irregular youth, their expertise, and their ties with state actors puts them in an intermediary position which they can use to connect irregular youths to social, bureaucratic, and political resources.

Sidney, Mara. "Outsiders/Insiders: How Local Immigrant Organisations Contest the Exclusion of Undocumented Immigrants in the US." In *New Border and Citizenship Politics*, edited by Helen Schwenken and Sabine Russ-Sattar, 103-122. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

This book chapter studies how NGOs working with immigrants in US cities navigate the political tensions and negative images surrounding irregular migrants and their interaction with government actors and the wider public. It highlights NGOs' ability to navigate fragmented migration policy landscapes that shape migrants' everyday experiences and how they create discursive frames that counter the negative image surrounding irregular migrants with the goal of enabling immigrants to build lives in US cities.

Swerts, Thomas, and Walter Nicholls. *"Undocumented Immigrant Activism and the Political: Disrupting the Order or Reproducing the Status Quo?"[<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/anti.12678>]*" *Antipode* (2020): 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12678>

This introduction to a special issue on activism in support of irregular migrants in North American and European cities reveals the challenge activists face when building alliances with state actors. The authors argue that status quo reproduction and status quo disruption constitute two logics of activist collective action in migrant rights mobilizations.

Yukich, Grace. "Constructing the Model Immigrant: Movement Strategy and Immigrant Deservingness in the New Sanctuary Movement." *Social Problems* 60.3 (2013): 302–320. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2013.60.3.302>

This article examines stereotyping and the distinction between different migrant groups. Within the US sanctuary movement, pro-immigrant activists construct distinctions between migrants that are "deserving" and "undeserving" of support and legal residency and citizenship.

Agency of Irregular Migrants

The everyday agency irregular migrants exhibit in their lives and as political subjects that challenge their precarious situations often becomes directly or indirectly restricted, suppressed or neglected in academic, policy, and public debates. Irregular migrants challenge dominant assumptions of what citizenship entails and who should sponsor it, and thus they are central actors that contest migration policies and politics. Strange et al. 2017 identify different strategies that irregular migrants employ to contest their precarious situation. These range from everyday creative politics, solidarity practices, activism, and the decision to contest their lack of status or to reject engaging at all. Monforte and Dufour 2011 compares different political mobilization strategies of irregular migrants that include modest forms of lobbying and campaigning, public demonstrations and occupations, as well as extreme forms of protests such as hunger strikes. Van der Leun 2003 reveals that irregular migrants can exploit legal loopholes that arise from the inevitable ambivalence of migration policies and that this exploitation is a form of agency. Chauvin and Garcés-Mascreñas 2014 show that some irregular migrants actively engage with economic and public actors to accumulate official and semiofficial proofs of presence and other emblems of good citizenship with the long-term goal of creating opportunities for a future legalization or decreasing their chances of getting deported. Schweitzer 2017 suggests that irregular migrants simultaneously employ practices that make them political subjects and others that make them imperceptible. Landau and Freemantle 2009 reveals tactics of cosmopolitanism "from below". This means that irregular migrants respond to harshening societal and political environments with a variety of strategies that do not make them feel bounded to the place in which they currently live. Kihato 2007 focuses on South Africa when describing how communities of irregular migrants establish their own support infrastructures to cope with their "illegality." Triandafyllidou 2017 explores the complex decision-making of irregular migrants by focusing on how they

mobilize their resources, interact with their peers, intermediary organizations and actors and state actors, and how they navigate migration policy and government strategies. Bastia and Montero Bressán 2018 shows that irregular migrants use the neighborhood level to articulate political claims around labor, housing, and health issues. Swerts 2017 focuses on opportunities for irregular migrants' political expression and finds them in so-called urban interstices, the spaces between visibility and invisibility and formality and informality that offer strategic opportunities for activism.

Bastia, Tanja, und Jerónimo Montero Bressán. "Between a Guest and an Okupa: Migration and the Making of Insurgent Citizenship in Buenos Aires' Informal Settlements." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 50.1 (2018): 31–50. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X17736312>

This article studies how irregular migrants organize themselves in Buenos Aires' informal settlements. The authors argue that irregular migrants remain outsiders in city-level discussions and political activities, but they become active citizens in the neighborhoods where they live. Participation at the neighborhood level allows them to make political claims around labor, housing, and health issues.

Chauvin, Sébastien and Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas. "Beyond Informal Citizenship: The new Moral Economy of Migrant Illegality." *International Political Sociology* 6.3 (2012): 241–259. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-5687.2012.00162.x>

This article focuses on how irregular migrants manage to engage in integration practices despite not having a residency status. Irregular migrants accumulate a range of official and semiofficial proofs of presence, certificates of reliable economic and legal conduct, and other formal emblems of good citizenship, all with the hope of lesser deportability or future legalization.

Kihato, Caroline. "Governing the city? South Africa's struggle to deal with urban immigrants after Apartheid." *Africa Identities* 5.2 (2007): 261-278. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725840701403556>

This article studies the urban governance of migration in South Africa as well as the strategies of migrant populations. The author argues that urban migration governance does not function well because it does not understand the mobile activities of migrants and the multiple ways in which irregular migrants are able to "exit" out of the state system.

Landau, Loren and Iriann Freemantle. "Tactical cosmopolitanism and idioms of belonging: Insertion and self-exclusion in Johannesburg." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36.3 (2009): 375–390. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903494901>

This article focuses on the tactics irregular migrants use in the face of increasing nationalism, xenophobia, and a restrictive immigration regime in South Africa. The authors conceptualize this reaction as "tactical cosmopolitanism," a cosmopolitanism "from below." This means that these

migrants respond with a variety of rhetorical and organizational tools that allow them to feel as if they are not bounded to the place in which they currently live.

Monforte, Pierre, and Pascale Dufour. "Mobilizing in Borderline Citizenship Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Undocumented Migrants' Collective Actions." *Politics & Society* 39.2 (2011): 203–232.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329211405436>

The article analyzes how, and under which conditions, different forms and strategies of mobilization of irregular migrants occur in the cities of Paris, Montreal, and Berlin. These forms of mobilization include lobbying and campaigning, demonstrations, occupations, and even hunger strikes. Different degrees and experiences of exclusion lead to different mobilization strategies and collective action as well as affecting the contents of their political claims.

Schweitzer, Reinhard. "Integration against the State: Irregular Migrants' Agency between Deportation and Regularisation in the United Kingdom." *Politics* 37.3 (2017): 317–31.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395716677759>

This article focuses on the kinds of agency irregular migrants in London exhibit in the face of state authorities who try to harshen their life motivated by the idea 'to incentivize their autonomous return'. It conceptualizes irregular migrants' strategies of (self-)integration, including practices that facilitate their active conversion into political subjects as well as practices that represent their deliberate refusal to do so.

Strange, Michael, Squire, Vicki, and Lundberg, Anna. "Irregular Migration Struggles and Active Subjects of Trans-Border Politics: New Research Strategies for Interrogating the Agency of the Marginalised." *Politics* 37.3 (2017): 243–253. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263395717715856>

This introduction of a special issue discusses the agency of irregular migrants as part of their struggle to cope with their precarious situations. It aims to explore how the most marginalized individuals reclaim or reconfigure their subjecthood. The article suggests examining the different set of strategies they employ including everyday creative activities, solidarity practices, activism, and other means of contesting their lack of status.

Swerts, Thomas. "Creating Space For Citizenship: The Liminal Politics of Undocumented Activism." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 41.3 (2017): 379–95. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12480>

This article focuses on how irregular migrants have become political actors in Chicago and Brussels despite their precariousness and their lack of access to institutional channels and resources. The author conceptualizes irregular migrants' activism as liminal politics, which consists of innovative methods of

political expression in so-called urban interstices that are the spaces between visibility and invisibility and formality and informality and that provide strategic opportunities for irregular migrants' activism.

Triandafyllidou, Anna. *"Beyond Irregular Migration Governance: Zooming in on Migrants' Agency[https://brill.com/view/journals/emil/19/1/article-p1_1.xml?language=en]*." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 19.1 (2017): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718166-12342112>

This introduction of a special issue focuses on migrants' agency during their migration to Europe and their complex decision-making processes. It thereby removes the focus on policy and governmental actions in analyses of migration governance and puts irregular migrants, their decision-making and their interactions with a variety of other actors at the center of the analysis.

Van der Leun, Joanne. *Looking for Loopholes: Processes of Incorporation of Illegal Immigrants in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003.

The book investigates how irregular migrants manage to incorporate themselves into civil life in the Netherlands. It is an early study that emphasizes that irregular migrants are not only passive recipients of exclusionary policy measures; they also create their own opportunities. It points to the exploitation of legal loopholes as a form of agency. These loopholes arise from the inevitable ambivalence of migration policies.