

Review Essay

A second generation of immigrant illegality studies

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Everyday Illegal: When Policies Undermine Immigrant Families. By Joanna Dreby. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015. 287 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-28340-4.

Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America. By Roberto G. Gonzales. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015. 256 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-28726-6.

Sans Papiers: The Social and Economic Lives of Young Undocumented Migrants. By Alice Bloch, Nando Sigona, and Roger Zetter. London and New York: Pluto Press, 2014. 190 pp. ISBN 978-0-7453-3390-8.

Constructing Immigrant 'Illegality': Critiques, Experiences, and Responses. Edited by Cecilia Menjivar and Daniel Kanstroom. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 399 pp. ISBN 978-1-107-61424-6.

In the last two decades, social scientists have advanced the concept of immigrant 'illegality' to signify governmental-administrative systems that dehumanize millions of international migrants marking them as law-breakers and the effects of such systems on individuals and communities (Chavez 1997; De Genova 2002; Ngai 2004; Willen 2007). For those targeted, deportability becomes thus the context for social life (De Genova and Peutz 2010). This first wave of immigrant illegality studies explains much of the increase in restrictions of immigrants with a national political economy rationale: immigrants' otherness is exploited as they work in jobs that are considered non-native while immigration laws and social practices hold their social vulnerability and precariousness in place (Calavita 2005). The four books reviewed here capture a more nuanced picture of how variation in experiences of illegality, both in terms of limitations and resistance, is based in diversification of legal and social contexts.

The grounded, interdisciplinary study of issues of undocumented residents has coalesced top-down and bottom-up perspectives under this pragmatic rubric of illegality studies. Illegality studies unpack the policies and practices of the growing immigration enforcement and examine the lived experiences and challenges of those immigrants who temporarily or more permanently fall under the 'illegal' category. Three of the four books reviewed here train the illegality lens on the expanded landscape of this concept in the USA since 2001: the

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enforcement of US immigration policy has expanded from the political border with Mexico to the interior, and the means of regularizing one's immigration status are more limited than in the past. At the same time, enforcement has also diffused within the European Union. What new forms of immigrant illegality result from this escalation? How does this turn towards heightened enforcement affect non-citizens and citizens in receiving societies?

Though investigating the contours of immigrant illegality in various contexts and sub-national regions in the USA and the UK for migrants from different countries of origin, the four books discussed here give us a consistent social scientific response to those questions. Each book characterizes emergent and novel forms of illegality as detrimental to the individual, family, group, community and social life of international migrants under global capitalism.

A note on our use of the word 'illegality': the concept or category of immigrant illegality, without quotation marks, should be taken with caution and analyzed critically—beyond binaries and lack of contextualization—due to its complexity as an historical sociopolitical construction. We subscribe to this position taken by the authors of these books and numerous migration scholars.

These works advance new intersectional understandings of immigration status based on an impressive methodological depth. *Everyday Illegal* (Dreby 2015) examines how legal status intersects with the geographies of Ohio and New Jersey; gender and family composition; and most powerfully, during childhood and inside immigrant family households. *Lives in Limbo* (Gonzales 2015) compares those who left schooling with those who went on to college degrees in greater Los Angeles. *Sans Papiers* (Bloch, Sigona, and Zetter 2014) contrasts how illegality varies by national origins, gender, and geographic location in three regions of the UK (London, the North West and the West Midlands). The chapters in *Constructing Immigrant 'Illegality'* (Menjívar and Kanstroom 2015) juxtapose the salient features of such a condition in different social ecosystems in North America and the Caribbean, from the US-Mexico border to states in the South or communities on the East and West Coasts of the USA, and for those deported to Caribbean countries. These original comparisons refine the analytical frame and social construct of early illegality studies, and highlight contingencies at many levels. Furthermore, taken as a whole, the four books reviewed in this essay underscore how immigrant illegality takes different forms across the life course and places.

Each of these four works is notable in conducting research on individuals that are difficult to reach. Undocumented immigrants are highly stigmatized and usually lumped into one group in the public opinion and mainstream media. However, as these authors showed, there are key distinctions and variability within this group; for instance, in terms of national origin, social class, ethno-racial and gender identities, human capital, social networks and life stages. Conducting research on unauthorized immigrants entails a great deal of challenges not only trying to get access and gain trust, but also regarding the adequate methodology to follow this population and develop cases or profiles across particular dimensions of interest. For example, Dreby reflects on an insider/outsider approach in relation to the communities and families she studied; Bloch, Sigona and Zetter relied on ethnic insiders/interviewers to approach the dissimilar groups they studied; while Gonzales was able to count on interviews and fieldwork for more than a decade with a large number of undocumented young adults. Menjívar and Kanstroom's book aims to advance an interdisciplinary critical examination of illegality by concentrating on its conditions and

production, mainly relying on qualitative methodologies. In the following sections we provide a more detailed account of these four noteworthy oeuvres followed by a discussion of broader themes.

Illegality: ‘A peculiarly powerful but amorphous legal concept’

Constructing Immigrant ‘Illegality’: Critiques, Experiences, and Responses, edited by Cecilia Menjivar and Daniel Kanstroom, comprises the work of twenty-three experts focusing on the American immigration experience. This edited volume makes an exceptional and unique contribution to the study of contemporary unauthorized immigration in North America. The book is organized in three parts. *Part I. The Construction of ‘Illegality’* includes four chapters that analyze how the concept in question has been emerging in both society and the legal history of the USA. Overall, these contributions highlight the role of the nation-state and its bureaucracies and borders, as well as the relevance of political parties, social movements, or the media, and how the category of illegality is discussed in the public discourse. In sum, these authors pay attention to the ways in which structures and institutions restrict migrants’ agency in the production of illegality. Heyman’s focus on *la frontera* with Mexico (and Latin America) is stimulating, arguing that the border ‘is the first place where legal status changes’ and ‘involves material, ideological, and political techniques of power’ (129).

In *Part II. Complicating Lived Experiences of ‘Illegality’* the authors deal with how this undesirable legal condition/categorization affects communities, immigrant generations, gender, age groups, family life, and the experiences of deportees. Four chapters present to the reader a multifaceted panorama of practices and voices in which the fluidity of changing migratory status stands out. Illegality affects those with a range of immigration statuses—undocumented youth, members of mixed-immigration status families, and of those with a temporary valid visa or US Legal Permanent Residents (LPRs)—and their testimonies articulate details about daily struggles, forms of precariousness, and fears of deportation. One example of a distressing and negative change of status is the case of those legal migrants who are sent back by the US government to their country of origin. These chapters raise theoretical and empirical questions on how immigrant legal status could be racialized or stigmatized for certain groups with particular phenotypical, socio-demographic, and economic conditions (e.g. poor, uneducated, labor migrants from Latin American countries). Furthermore, according to some of the findings presented in these chapters, the condition of illegality not only affects non-citizens or unauthorized foreign-born residents, but could also impact young US citizens with undocumented parents and undermine trust among communities and local institutions. This is a key contribution also present in *Everyday Illegal* and recent studies by Yoshikawa (2012) and Bean, Brown, and Bachmeier (2015), among others.

Four chapters in *Part III* look into the *Responses and Resistance* of immigrant groups to the sociopolitical and legal violence imposed by restrictive policies. These texts are also based on recent studies, and like Part II, accentuate the analysis of agency over structure in

the lived experience illegality. Nicholls examines the case of DREAM Act advocates and activists, and as a point of future comparative research he argues that ‘in spite of important differences between the United States, the Netherlands, and France, high levels of xenophobia within them required immigrant rights advocates to pursue nearly identical discursive strategies’ (242). In the subsequent chapter, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ruiz raise the cultural and spatial dimensions of lived illegality in the case of urban community gardens in Los Angeles, where they observed seeds of political mobilizations around local issues. Similar to *Lives in Limbo*, they essentially observed social practices based in a sense of inclusive cultural citizenship: ‘feelings of belonging and community well-being, homeland familiarity and political empowerment,’ though the authors conclude that ‘Illegality is socially constructed through legislation, and it can only be dismantled through legislation’ (266).

Two chapters on *Policy* in Part IV integrate the last part of the book. In the first one Kerwin applies the rule of law principle to the US immigrant system—viewed in aspirational terms—suggesting as an area of further research to analyze immigration enforcement actions and ‘the economic, social, and human costs of these strategies on families and communities’ (347). In the other chapter in Part IV, Ong Hing provides historical background on state regulations of immigrants in American history and brings up the concept of institutionalized racism, which according to the author is used against Latinos/as in the enforcement of immigration laws. Both chapters offer rich information to discuss the prospects of a comprehensive immigration reform in the post-IRCA era. Furthermore, these authors invite the reader to view the new executive actions to defer deportation by the Obama administration, DACA and DAPA, as examples of the fluidity and complexity of changing immigration categories-statuses.

Liminal legality and mixed-immigration status families

Joanna Dreby’s book, *Everyday Illegal: When Policies Undermine Immigrant Families*, examines the blurry nature of illegality, in particular in mixed-immigration status families. Her comparative study appraised the social effects of increased enforcement on 81 Mexican-origin families and 110 children of different legal statuses in two ‘new destination’ states: New Jersey and Ohio. Fewer resources and diminished trust, outcomes of illegality, characterize the social networks of their mixed-status families, schools, and communities. Thus, the scope of social effects of illegality extends beyond the more than 11 million undocumented residents in the USA but also includes younger American citizens or other older family members who are permanent residents or have a valid visa (see Fix and Zimmermann 2001; Menjívar 2006; Menjívar and Abrego 2012; Yrizar Barbosa and Alarcón 2015).

Dreby’s participant-observation shows intimate, out-of-public-view effects of legal status. For example, illegality has its own set of social meanings for these immigrants, which vary between married couples, communities, and children at school. Using different types of household work as indicators of different social positions within the family, Dreby argues that legal status asymmetry leads to greater household responsibilities for mothers and Mexican-born children compared to their husbands and US-born children. According

to Dreby, ‘the story of the impact of legal status on family relationships is a gender story’ and she observes that undocumented mothers and daughters are more negatively affected than men: ‘legal-status differences heighten gender inequality in the everyday lives of women’ (95).

Within the family, experiences of illegality differ by one’s individual status but also by one’s position within the family and the legal status of the rest of family. Family members then use the symbols of such a system in their everyday interactions, shifting power dynamics, the distribution of household chores, and even parents’ access to their children. Most extraordinarily, Dreby uncovers the different ways that children use these symbols in their own social worlds to stigmatize those associated with illegality.

This comparison provides fresh data on illegality in new destinations for immigrant families. New Jersey families lived in Latino/a communities areas with much higher concentrations of immigrants compared to Ohio. Though fear, vulnerability, and dependency on authorized family members persisted in both states, the greater and more accessible information about immigrants in New Jersey social networks led children there to more openly negotiate legal status. With more of an overlap between home and school, New Jersey kids played cops and robbers as immigration police and clandestine migrants during recess.

With fewer community resources than traditional urban cities of immigration, family members, especially mothers, manage fragile everyday lives under the threat and fears of deportation. Dreby includes the example of a mother in New Jersey who ‘relocated 8 times with her two children in the three years after her husband’s deportation’; she also tells the story of a mother in Ohio who returns home with an ‘ankle monitor locked to her leg,’ and because of this technology ‘her cousins—who shared the home—moved out because they did not want to risk ICE [US Immigration and Customs Enforcement] finding them there’ (32). According to Dreby, children equated the concept of ‘immigration with legal exclusion’ (51), and even those children in families *with* legal status expressed fear of deportation. These findings raise questions about the extent to which such patterns hold for other ‘relational contexts’ or other ethnic/migrant groups (Dreby and Schmalzbauer 2013).

Transition to adulthood by undocumented youth

In *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America*, Roberto Gonzales presents his longitudinal study of 150 undocumented youth, overwhelmingly of Mexican origin, in the greater Los Angeles area. With its rich contextualized material, this book presents the most comprehensive picture to date of the transition to adulthood of American undocumented youth.

Gonzales’ study is an excellent empirical test of the ‘cooling out’ process outlined by Erving Goffman (1952), in which facts conflict with someone’s claim to a role or status, putting the fragile self at risk. By the end of childhood, the youth in this study feel ‘American’ because they came of age and attended schools in the United States. The ‘objective fact’ of a lack of legal status becomes salient, however, as college, job, credit card and driver’s license applications require a Social Security Number. Gonzales presents convincing evidence that undocumented status then ‘cools out’ the social mobility aspirations of

undocumented youth as they become adults. But does it destroy undocumented youths' sense of self?

Gonzales argues this cooling-out transition to illegality differs by how long undocumented youth stay in school. Teachers, counselors, and others saw some students as deserving of extra support and opportunities, which propelled them to college despite their families' lack of formal schooling. Gonzales calls this selective group 'College Goers' (CGs). Others sadly are neglected or discouraged by school officials; Gonzales calls those who do not have at least two years of college 'Early Exiters' (EEs). Although attending college classes is atypical for undocumented students, Gonzales argues that theoretical sampling tilted towards the most academically tenacious undocumented students captures a wide range of possible transitions to illegality. Further, the inclusion of EEs shows the many experiences of exclusion of those who do not fit the popular all-American Dreamer narrative.

Undocumented students' schooling experiences influence their identity development, aspirations, and means of resisting illegality. EEs, without special school-based support, were made aware of how arduous college will be, for themselves and their families. These obstacles lowered their aspirations and mitigated the sense of damage to their sense of self. Although their worlds shrunk when they left school and they took low-wage jobs that often lacked worker protections, many had families and maintained some social activity. CGs needed a deep personal and family commitment to college in order to overcome financial, transportation, and bureaucratic obstacles. CGs thus maintained a school-based sense of self, with its upwardly mobile aspirations and acculturation-inducing extracurricular courses/activities, much longer than EEs, and so the cooling out process when they leave schooling is more brutal. Families and others have invested much in CGs' social mobility, and (especially) due to exclusions from the job market, CGs are unable to redeem those investments. The clock ran out on CGs' ability to resist illegality through self-advocacy and retaining the student role, and they eventually entered a discriminating workforce. Meanwhile, Gonzales' EEs had some edge/advantage at their jobs and workplaces thanks to longer tenure and experience compared to CGs.

These concepts build towards the central argument that undocumented status has become a 'master status' for undocumented youth in America. While school socializes most students to a belief in meritocracy, distinctions based on being seen as deserving only serve as temporary protection for undocumented youth. All undocumented young adults in their late 20s have had their social worlds shrunk by limitations related to status. They, 'despite greater levels of education [than their parents], end up in similar jobs making comparable wages because of limitations imposed by their own immigration status' (121). In Goffman's 'cooling out' process, those with more diverse roles may find solace in other roles, and Gonzales may downplay how undocumented youth compensate for their lack of opportunities in the mainstream arena. More data on intergenerational wage differentials and a clearer counterfactual case—what would happen to EEs if they had legal status—would strengthen this claim of undocumented status being a master status for all undocumented youth. Some of the respondents cannot benefit from DACA, the (politically contingent) program that offers two-year reprieves from deportation and work permits. College-going undocumented students exiting college with DACA, however, may be

better positioned to enter the workforce with jobs suitable to their education (Gonzales, Terriquez, and Ruszczyk 2014).

Young and without papers in the United Kingdom

Comparing the contexts of illegality in different countries is one important angle to better understanding how contingent systems of illegality can lead to different outcomes in the everyday lives of undocumented people. In *Sans Papiers: The Social and Economic Lives of Young Undocumented Migrants*, Alice Bloch, Nando Sigona, and Roger Zetter put forth an efficient compendium examining undocumented young adults in England, filling a geographical and contextual gap in the literature. This qualitative study examines 75 undocumented young adults from five ethnic groups: Chinese, Kurds from Turkey, Ukrainians, Brazilians, and Zimbabweans. The sample is divided between women and men; between those living in London and a few other English settings; and between those who had lived more than three years in the UK and those who had not. Their guiding question is how 'policy plays out in the lived experience of young [adult] undocumented migrants as they go about their lives on an everyday basis' (24). This work has two complementary components: a well-researched theory/literature review section and an unprecedented interview-based qualitative study including different immigrant groups.

The first part, which covers the first three chapters, brings together the literatures on illegality from the USA and Europe. The authors' synthesis of the complex contours of theorizing on undocumented migrants is particularly useful as the literatures emphasize different themes. The European one has focused more on pathways of unauthorized migration, especially those seeking asylum, and its US counterpart has focused on the lives of undocumented youth growing up in families. Bringing these together more fully represents the migration process, including the pre-migration decision, the initial integration, and the settlement and long-term trajectory. This approach thus also emphasizes the number of contingencies that affect how one experiences illegality. This is the theoretical starting point for the empirical chapters that follow (Chapters 4 to 7).

In contrast to the American literature that focuses on Mexican migrants, Bloch, Sigona, and Zetter show how different countries of origin can shape experiences before migration and reasons for emigration; means of migration; social networks; job prospects; support from community organizations; and the role of remittances. While some Brazilians and Ukrainians come for adventure or to fulfill short-term economic goals, others, especially Turkish Kurds and Zimbabweans, are escaping persecution and trying to survive. These reasons create different short- and long-term aspirations. Chinese and others must pay off smuggling debts while others entered legally with a visa or to apply for asylum.

Without access to social welfare, all must work. The state and businesses co-produce a precariousness that begins but does not end with work conditions and opportunities. This context leads undocumented young adults to share several experiences. All experience a feeling of being trapped by their lack of legal status. Most youth were working regularly at jobs that limited outside social life. Their best chance at finding better work, however, lay in avoiding the long hours, low pay, and difficult work conditions of those jobs. To work required some degree of law-breaking. Most found it challenging to move to better

opportunities. Two factors drove this pattern. First, work conditions made it difficult to gain human capital, especially language skills and other education. Second, expanding the social network one needs for the better job opportunities proved formidable, given the initial social network, poor working conditions, and migrants' own efforts to conceal status. These undocumented migrants thus become socially immobile, stifled by the lack of social and legal capital.

Bloch, Sigona, and Zetter engage Gonzales' 'learning to be illegal' process although the school-based socialization experiences of undocumented youth as nationals, central to Gonzales' concept, are quite different for young adults who arrived as adults (most of the sample) and entered the workforce (Gleeson and Gonzales 2012). A final concern involves providing additional support and systematic research for the notion that 'mobility between [legal] categories over time and space is a prevalent feature of the new migration' (26). Including more details in the narratives, especially key elements or mechanisms in the processes of moving in and out of undocumented status, would provide a richer empirical basis for this claim.

Discussion of broader themes: Agency and structure in undocumented lives

Pioneering theorists of migrant illegality emphasized the political economy that produces the undocumented population and how lack of legal status creates a precariousness stemming from deportability. These four works—the second wave or generation of illegality studies, one could argue—confirm many aspects of that first wave of historical, sociological, and anthropological work on illegality. In rich detail, we see examples of how undocumented residents' deportability shapes their experiences in their communities, workplaces, schools, families, peer groups, and more. The breadth and depth of qualitative data in these works, taken as a whole, are outstanding. Understanding inclusion/exclusion as based on one legal dimension does not do justice to the complicated experiences of belonging, discrimination, and exclusion that undocumented people have. Though somewhat specific to immigrant countries and societies, these books make the case that undocumented status is an important *social* characteristic for contemporary global migrations. Showing the shifting nature of both those legal aspects *and* the social context is a contribution of these works. Differentiating the latter by point in the life course, local context, schooling experiences, and social networks tells us much about the nature and range of the illegality category. These books thus understand illegality as pernicious yet highly contingent, emphasizing the extreme uncertainty that undocumented residents face. A second contribution of this second wave is articulating how individual and collective agency respond to growing legal restrictions.

The four books depict different means of agency at different points in the life course and in different social spaces. Parents and schoolchildren conceal their status and often try to pass for legal residents; the backstage of family life precludes such strategies at home, following Dreby. Gonzales stresses the importance—and eventual limitations—of school-based support. For the working youth in Bloch and colleagues' book, agency is

manifest in individuals' strategies of reliance on social networks, concealment of status, avoidance of potentially dangerous situations, use of fake documentation, and walking away from bad working conditions. In the edited volume by Menjívar and Kanstroom, other institutions and places appear as shelters providing some relief and protection, such as faith-based organizations or urban community gardens.

Experiences in different institutions, especially in school and work, shape a shifting notion of illegality over the life course. Bloch, Sigona and Zetter examine young adults, most of whom expected to work, which strongly informs their sense of precariousness. For those who immigrated as children, Gonzales sees how their inclusion in schools leads to a 'nightmare' at adulthood. Dreby, however, shows how illegality is now a social variable even in elementary school contexts. This research articulates how *expectations* for integration strongly shape lived experiences of deportability. *Lives in Limbo* and *Sans Papiers* employ the concept of youth 'learning to be "illegal,"' involving the effects of deportability *and* a process of cooling out expectations. Each of these two aspects can vary based on the agency and structure of the socio-legal context.

These studies show how socialization to illegality shapes one's lived experiences of illegality. Peer groups and educators largely play this role for children. In *Everyday Illegal*, classmates ostracized third grader Preciliano, because of his accent and Mexican-style bravado, which they associated with illegality, and avoided him. Well-resourced schools, in combination with recognition and attention from teachers, buffer not only the production of illegality but also change future expectations regarding illegality, as we see in *Lives in Limbo*. Most undocumented young adults in *Sans Papiers* did not experience these school contexts, and set their expectations before migrating. Perceiving Britain as a place of freedom and opportunity, the fear of deportation that sets in after arriving disabuses them of this optimism. They learn that unlike other young people, they do not have a 'right to dream' (142) and so lack 'ontological security' (143). However, 'after the initial disorientation, migrants gradually learn to get by' (145). This pattern is closer to that of adult migrants.

Building on Menjívar's (2000) early work on the social networks of those with liminal legality, a second way to investigate these differences in experiences of illegality is to look at how social networks exacerbate or mitigate them. Engaging this literature, Bloch, Sigona, and Zetter find that sources and levels of social and emotional support differ according to several factors. Ethnic community support differs by country-of-origin and by geographic location and did not automatically translate into trust for interviewees. While Brazilians and Ukrainians lacked support from ethnic organizations, Zimbabweans and Kurds benefited from organizational assistance. Chinese did not connect with the extant ethnic associations. Those with close family in the home country and an intention to return (and without children) were more likely to feel pressure to send remittances.

Dreby looks more closely at how lack of legal status frays social ties, as mentioned before in the case of the woman with an ankle monitor and her relatives. Dreby's auto-ethnographic experiences as a mother in a mixed-status family show under what conditions social networks can—and cannot—mitigate stigma and possible deportation. Likewise, Gonzales shows the limits of social networks in changing the fundamental process of learning to be illegal in the transition to adulthood. Supportive teacher-based and peer networks do not translate into commensurate jobs for those with college diplomas.

Diversity among experiences of illegality

Bloch, Sigona, and Zetter's findings on the impact of legal status, community and youth on the labor market and social activities demonstrate that undocumented young adults in the UK are, in fact, considerably diverse. Their range of social positions, especially in terms of socialization factors and different ethnic social networks, raises questions for future research, particularly in the North American experience. When contrasted with the other three books, *Sans Papiers* helps us to be aware of key differences and social distinctions across different unauthorized groups, for example in terms of social class, socio-economic or political backgrounds, racial and ethnic identities as well as border crossing experience or time of arrival and migration experience in general.

This social diversity is matched by a growing recognition of regional and local *legal* contexts to the better-studied national context. Shifts in the global context push undocumented migrants out of their home countries and pull them into post-industrial ones; militarized borders look to keep them out. Enforcement strategies such as this respond to the symptoms of unauthorized migration rather than the underlying push and pull factors. Meanwhile, 'both the sending and the receiving countries benefit' (Bloch et al. 2014: 3) from undocumented labor. Nation-states clearly are central actors in the production of illegality, although cities and regional governments can also exclude undocumented residents (e.g. from post-secondary education, health or through policing) or mitigate such exclusion (e.g. sanctuary city policies or governments providing ID cards). The degree to which cities, regions and subnational states become important mediators of illegality affects how undocumented residents can exert agency. As illegality studies evolve, scholars will pay more attention to the local conditions that affect deportability.

These four books highlight the important work qualitative approaches can accomplish: theoretical development of a challenging area to research. They trace how contingent factors shape undocumented people's sense of everyday life: the segmented labor market, the nature of enforcement policy, education, participation in local organizations, and the re-partition of immigration status across families, schools, and communities. In so doing, the authors carve space for new research. In particular, we need more comparison: comparisons between youth of different statuses but similar background, 'natural experiments' that are the result of regularization practices (see Smith 2013), and studies on the effects of different manifestations of illegality within and between countries. We see a norm of family-based immigration in the USA in contrast to the more frequent case of solo migrants and/or asylum-seekers in the UK. Further research can show to what extent this represents an important cleavage in the literature. If legal status has become an axis of social stratification like gender or race, scholars can move to examine how its effects intersect with other forms of disadvantage (especially poverty), how undocumented residents accomplish passing as legal residents or citizens, and how the power asymmetries (inside the household or other spaces) change if and when legal status shifts.

Notes

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