

Local vs Federal Enforcement: Sanctuary Responses from San Francisco, Philadelphia, and New York City to Obama's and Trump's administrations

Thesis to obtain the degree of Master of Science in Governance of Migration and Diversity – Public Administration Track



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Abstract

This thesis investigates the evolution of sanctuary policies in San Francisco, Philadelphia, and New York City (NYC) in the United States during the administrations of Barack Obama (2009-2016) and Donald Trump (2017-2020). The study focuses on the differing local approaches to sanctuary during these periods and how municipalities responded to changing federal pressures.

The central research question of this study is: *How were the sanctuary policy approaches of San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC modified once Donald Trump became President of the United States?* To address this question, the thesis provides a qualitative and quantitative comparative document analysis of the sanctuary policies employed by these cities, through a theoretical framework that includes terms such as multi-level governance, local turn and sanctuary ideal types.

Key findings highlight the resilience and adaptability of cities in the face of federal challenges. San Francisco, Philadelphia, and NYC each developed unique strategies to protect their vulnerable immigrant populations, despite the federal government's efforts to undermine their sanctuary.

This thesis concludes that sanctuary is significantly influenced by the local context rather than by the federal administration's stance on immigration. This study also shows the importance of local governance in shaping immigration policy and the critical role of cities in safeguarding the rights and well-being of irregular migrant communities.

Keywords: irregular migration, local turn, multi-level governance, sanctuary.

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Local vs Federal Enforcement: The Sanctuary Responses from San Francisco, Philadelphia, and New York City to Obama's and Trump's administrations

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This thesis analyses the implementation of sanctuary policies in three sanctuary cities located in the United States (U.S.), San Francisco, Philadelphia, and New York City (NYC), during Barack Obama's (2009-2016) and Donald Trump's (2017-2020) administrations. Sanctuary cities in the U.S. have faced significant challenges due to federal attempts to curtail their policies. The constant re-adjusting of the federal migration enforcement leads municipalities to update their sanctuary approach to protect their irregular residents constantly. For researchers, this presents an opportunity to understand how cities maintain their sanctuary status despite federal modifications and opposition.

Therefore, the goal of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the sanctuary policies implemented in the three cities mentioned and understand whether a new federal government can modify, and how, the local approach towards sanctuary. Consequently, this study seeks to answer the following research question:

How were the sanctuary policy approaches of San Francisco, Philadelphia and New York City modified once Donald Trump became President of the United States?

To guide the analysis towards the answer of the presented question, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. What sanctuary policies were implemented in San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC during Obama's administration?
2. What sanctuary policies were implemented in San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC during Trump's administration?
3. What federal measures led San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC to enact such sanctuary policies?
4. What were the differences and similarities between the sanctuary policies implemented in San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC?

The study highlights the differences and similarities in local sanctuary policy approaches and how the different municipalities responded to changing federal pressures. It is divided into five chapters with different sub-sections. The second chapter presents the theoretical framework, the third chapter the research design, the fourth the policy analysis and the last offers a conclusion and recommendations to policymakers.

Chapter 2 - Theoretical Framework

This section introduces the main theoretical concepts to explain the phenomenon of sanctuary cities in the U.S. and the role of multi-level governance and the local turn. The political, migratory and integration contexts are also described, along with the different ways sanctuary can take place. The expectations of this study are presented by the end of each theoretical sub-section and, to finalise, an operationalisation table is introduced as a means of summary.

2.1. MLG and Local Turn in Migration Policy: Cities as Key Actors

Multi-level governance (MLG) defines multiple-layered governments and public policy processes that result in different interactions between diverse actors at different levels (Caponio & Jones-Correa, 2017). As Schmitter (2004) explains, MLG is “[...] an arrangement for making binding decisions that engages a multiplicity of politically independent but otherwise interdependent actors at different levels of territorial aggregation in more-or-less continuous negotiation/deliberation/implementation, and that does not assign exclusive policy competence or assert a stable hierarchy of political authority to any of these levels [...]” (p. 49).

In an MLG setting, as the federal government provides less attention to migrant welcoming and integration, being busy with immigration enforcement and border control management, local governments become key actors of migration management (de Graauw, 2019; Kaya, 2023) in what authors define as “local turn”. This way, cities rise as a more active agent to promote their own interests and migration integration goals. They do this through the development of their own agenda and strategies that align with their local values and respond to their concerns.

The concept of local turn consists of two dimensions: a horizontal and a vertical one. This research concentrates on the second one, which contemplates the complex

relationship between policymaking processes in the different levels of governance (federal and local) (Zapata-Barrero et. al., 2017). Such inter-governmental relations are not to be assumed as ones of constant cooperation and solidarity. Rather, they take place through a mechanism of co-production of rules, practices and policies in which the federal government continues to be in charge of the reception of immigrants while delegating the integration aspect to the local governments and the actors that operate in the cities (Kaya, 2023).

In the U.S., the political orientation of the governing party at the federal level is another important element that affects the cooperation between actors, especially when their ideals differ. On the one hand, left-wing, Democrat parties usually foster liberal “de-ethnicizing policies” (Joppke, 2003) based on moral universal arguments such as equality, fairness, human rights and non-discrimination, which provide migrants with more open access to citizenship and membership through a less nationalistic frame (Hebling, 2013). On the other hand, conservative, Republican right-wing parties tend to favour “re-ethnicization” by focusing on the country’s common values and cultural heritage (Joppke, 2003) and aiming at more restrictive, anti-immigrant measures (Abou-Chadi, 2016). As Alonso and da Fonseca (2011) explain, “[...] the more to the right a party stands, the more sceptical its attitudes to immigration [...]” (p. 873).

When the political objectives of federal and local governments do not align vertically, a phenomenon known as "decoupling" can occur, as described by Bak Jørgensen (2012) and Scholten (2013). This decoupling leads to a disconnection between national and local policy processes, resulting in contradictions and conflicts as different approaches to immigration coexist (Seidle & Joppke, 2012). These tensions can also arise when one level of government perceives the other as overstepping its boundaries (Hudson, 2022).

Despite being a member of the Democrat party, Obama took strict migration measures but did not focus much on challenging sanctuary cities. On the other hand, as a representative of the conservative Republican party, terminating the existence of sanctuary cities in the U.S. had been part of Trump’s platform ever since his presidential campaign started, threatening to cut their federal funding (Lasch et al., 2018). In opposition, left-wing municipal administrations, such as the ones operating in San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC, campaigned for an open approach regarding immigration management and gravitated towards a more positive discourse, highlighting the importance of diversity (Cappiali, 2019). All the mayors who were in office in the

cities studied during Obama's and Trump's terms were part of the Democratic party, except for NYC's independent Mayor Michael Bloomberg (2002 – 2013)¹. Such a complex national and local political context generates a vertical decoupling between municipalities and the U.S. federal government, as cities become more central to migration politics while distancing themselves from the federal immigration law enforcement mechanisms by reinforcing their sanctuary stance towards irregular migrants (Sotomayor & Gilbert, 2022).

This research expects MLG, the local turn, and vertical decoupling to have been more prominent in the three analysed cities during Trump's administration. This is anticipated to have been evidenced by the enactment of a greater number of sanctuary policies during his term when compared to Obama's administration. This expectation is based on the fact that Trump adjusted the focus of migration enforcement to enlarge the deportation scope and expel everyone who had entered the country illegally, and therefore cities could have enacted more policies to fight against this measure.

2.2. The Role of Sanctuary Cities in Migrant Integration

As de Graauw (2019) explains, despite the U.S. being a country built on immigration, it lacks a national integration programme for newcomers. Instead, migrants are expected to become part of American society without the state providing any facilitation towards that goal (Bloemraad & de Graauw, 2012). Besides, even though the federal government designs national immigration strategies and policies, the decisions to apply them are under the local governments' jurisdictions (Freeman & Tandler, 2012). This is why sanctuary cities, such as San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC, are key to welcoming, accommodating and integrating migrants.

In this sense, sanctuary cities' approach helps migrants in an irregular situation to avoid existing "under the radar", working in inhuman conditions, not having access to basic human rights and not approaching civil services in fear of detention and deportation. They do this by giving them the space to live, move and work inside the city limits without feeling discriminated against and in danger of deportation because of their legal status. This way, irregular immigrants are also granted political presence and a voice for their

¹ Bloomberg was a representative of the Republican party when he was elected, after being a member of the Democrat party. He later became an independent candidate in 2007 (Chan, 2007) until 2018 when he registered as a Democrat again to run for the presidential elections (AP, 2018).

claims (Sotomayor & Gilbert, 2022) with measures such as protection policies and democratic participation at the local level that promote a sense of belonging and recognition (De Graauw, 2021). Nevertheless, despite all efforts, sanctuary cities are still limited by the national government as they cannot provide regularisation paths to their residents (Sotomayor & Gilbert, 2022), given that matters such as entry requirements, residency conditions, citizenship path and funding fall under the federal government's jurisdiction (Freeman & Tandler, 2012; Seidle & Joppke, 2012).

Based on this, this research expects San Francisco and NYC to have had an important role in enacting policies to integrate irregular migrants into the community during the Obama administration. This is because, at the time, deportations were more targeted to a specific demographic instead of towards all irregular migrants. Therefore, cities could focus on other areas such as inclusion, also because they had a long history with sanctuary and already-existing protection policies. After Trump came to office, it is expected that both cities turned the focus towards protection, given Trump's enlargement of deportation targets. Because Philadelphia was newer to sanctuary, gaining its official status in 2014, it is not expected to have focused much on integration during Obama's government, as protection from deportation first needed to be settled to then offer migrants other benefits such as integration assistance. On the other hand, this research expects the city to have focused more on integration during Trump's government once the protection of migrants had been assured.

2.3. Different types of sanctuary types for different cities

Bazurli and de Graauw (2023) proposed four ideal types of sanctuary cities: 1) **symbolic-conformist**, including cities which take on rhetorical activities, such as welcoming declarations celebrating diversity, without actually challenging national law's exclusion of immigrants; 2) **symbolic-confrontational**, including those that explicitly recognise irregular immigrants as integral to the community while blaming the federal government for their plight; 3) **substantive-conformist**, for cities with policies that extend rights such as health-care and education to irregular immigrants based on constitutional laws, human rights or court decisions; and 4) **substantive-confrontational**, cities that make education and healthcare services accessible to everyone living in them no matter their legal status, while also enacting policies that protect irregular immigrants from federal authorities and deportation.

Because of the different local contexts and history, distinct ideal types are expected for each city and presidential period. This research anticipates San Francisco and NYC to have had a similar evolution, given their long history with sanctuary and their liberal local administrators. On the other hand, it expects Philadelphia to have evolved differently because of its lack of experience and its need for strong policies to create its sanctuary backbone. Consequently, it is expected that during **Obama's** administration, **San Francisco and NYC** took a **substantive-conformist** approach, focusing on extending the rights and integration of irregular immigrants given that the federal government was not keen on challenging sanctuary cities but rather on deporting who they considered serious criminals. However, the cities are expected to have taken a turn towards the **substantive-confrontational** type during **Trump's** administration, to protect the sanctuary environment and all irregular migrants from his mass deportation plan.

Compared to San Francisco and NYC, **Philadelphia** is a much younger sanctuary city, with a smaller immigrant population, less funding (Vitiello, 2022) and a not as institutionalised sanctuary stance. Because of this, it is expected that the city fell in the category of **symbolic-confrontational** during **Obama's** administration by trying to challenge the government's stance on irregular immigration. This was intended to create its sanctuary pillar while protecting its irregular citizens from deportation through symbolic gestures and declarations, given its lack of experience in the topic. Nevertheless, this is expected to have changed once **Trump** became president, taking a **substantive-confrontational** approach to protect irregular migrants from his zero-tolerance policy and integrate them further into the community.

2.4. Operationalisation table

A summary of the main theoretical concepts and how they have been operationalised in this research can be found below:

Table 1 - Operationalisation table

Concept	Definition	Sub-concept	Definition	Sub-Dimensions	Indicators
Multi-Level Governance	Governance involving multiple levels of government	Local Turn	Local governments become key actors in migration management	Vertical	A relationship between the different levels of governance (local and federal) exists and both levels produce and sometimes co-produce policies.
Political Orientation	Ideology of a party and its representatives which defines the objective of their policies	Democrat	One of the two biggest political parties in the U.S., under which Obama won the elections	Liberal	Policies based on equality, fairness, human rights and non-discrimination are fostered, which provide migrants with more open access to citizenship and membership through a less nationalistic and more universal frame.
		Republican	Another one of the two biggest political parties in the U.S., under which Trump	Conservative	Policies are based on the country's common values and cultural heritage, aiming at more restrictive, anti-immigrant measures.

			won the elections		
Sanctuary Ideal Types	Essential characteristics that sanctuary cities could contain.			Symbolic-conformist	There are declarations that celebrate immigrant diversity while not challenging immigrants' exclusion in national laws.
				Symbolic-confrontational	There are city laws that explicitly recognise undocumented immigrants as integral to the local community and blame the federal authorities for their plight.
				Substantive-conformist	There are city policies that extend services to irregular immigrants based on constitutional norms, human rights laws or court decisions.
				Substantive-confrontational	There are city policies that extend services to irregular

					immigrants in contravention of national restrictions, creating a firewall between local police and national immigration authorities.
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Source: self-made using definitions presented in the chapter.

Chapter 3 - Research Design

This section delves into the case selection, providing a summary of the sanctuary context of each chosen city. Afterwards, the methodology and the sample chosen for this study are presented. The codebook creation process on which the analysis of the policies was based is later described. Finally, comments are made on the ethical considerations taken into account during the research.

3.1. Case selection

San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC were chosen as case studies because of both their similarities and differences. All three are sanctuary cities in the U.S. and between 2009-2020 were run by Mayors who supported the inclusion of irregular migrants into the local community. However, they officialised their sanctuary status over different decades, hosted a diverse number of irregular migrants, and are located in different states – San Francisco in California, which was majorly run by Democrat legislators during Trump’s era, as well as the New York state, where NYC is located, and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, where Republican legislators were majority –. Additionally, they have distinct local policy contexts and have been targeted and affected by federal programmes differently. Therefore, by analysing these three cases this study aims to show how these differences might affect the outcome of sanctuary when a new federal government arrives with a different migration strategy.

Other sanctuary cities were contemplated as case studies before making the final selection, such as Miami, Florida and El Paso, Texas, but they were discarded in the end

as they dropped their sanctuary status once Trump became president (Aguilar, 2017; Gómez, 2017). Because of that, there was not enough documentation to allow the finding of patterns within the cities during different presidential periods and among them and other municipalities.

Regarding the timeframe, the presidential administrations of Obama (2009-2016) and Trump (2017-2020) were selected to analyse how sanctuary cities modified their approach when faced with a federal change in the approach towards irregular migration. During Obama's presidency, irregular migrants and sanctuary cities were affected by the continuation of Secure Communities (S-Comm), which had been put into place in 2008. This programme allows the automatic transmission of fingerprint data from local police units to the federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency to proceed with the deportation of irregular migrants detained for any type of crime. To achieve this, ICE processes a "detainer" requesting that local law enforcement detain suspects for 48 additional hours to further investigate their legal status (ICE, n.d.). In 2015, during Obama's second term, S-Comm changed to the Priority Enforcement Programme (PEP) and the focus shifted towards the detention of irregular migrants who had only committed serious or violent crimes, encouraging the release of individuals who were not considered a threat to public safety (Sanders, 2018).

When Trump arrived in office, he not only re-activated S-Comm but also put his zero-tolerance policy into practice (Lasch et al., 2018). His strategies included terminating the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)² programme, detaining and deporting all irregular migrants that were caught by ICE (Lasch, 2022), rather than having them face administrative or civil charges like before, and separating children from their families at the border with Mexico (Amuedo-Dorantes et al., 2023). As part of his mass deportation and anti-sanctuary plan, he enacted Executive Order 13768 "Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States" stating that sanctuary jurisdictions would no longer be eligible to receive federal grants because they presented a threat to national security, based on the justification that irregular migrants were a threat to public safety (U.S. Federal Register, 2017).

Is it therefore intended for the timeframe selected to highlight how sanctuary cities adapted to two different national migration strategies. More in-depth information about each jurisdiction during each presidential period is provided below as context.

² DACA protects migrants who entered the U.S. as children from deportation.

- 3.1.1. *San Francisco*

San Francisco is home to 875,000 residents, of whom 34% are migrants and 49,000 hold an irregular status (Bazurli & de Graauw, 2023). It hosts a large Latino and growing foreign-born population (Collingwood & González O'Brien, 2019). The city officialised its sanctuary status in 1985 with the City of Refuge Ordinance, which stated that “no department, agency, commission, officer, or employee of the City and County of San Francisco shall use any City funds or resources to assist in the enforcement of Federal immigration law or to gather or disseminate information regarding release status of individuals or any other such personal information [...]” (San Francisco Administrative Code, 2019, sec. 12H.2) except for those who have committed a serious or violent felony.

In San Francisco, government officials have enough fiscal resources to apply different sanctuary policies thanks to the area’s technological boom and tax revenues. This, together with the pro-immigrant, Democrat legislators that had ruled the city and the large and pressuring immigrant organisations environment, helped to develop different sanctuary policies through the years to integrate irregular migrants into its community (Bazurli & de Graauw, 2023). The city also has an Office of Civic Engagement and Immigrant Affairs which funds immigrant-oriented programmes (San Francisco Government b, n.d.), and an Immigrants Rights Commission (IRC), which publishes statements on the different local, state and federal migration decisions and develops initiatives to foster integration and prevent deportation (San Francisco’s Government a, n.d.).

During Obama’s government, local policies stood in place to protect migrants from ICE deportation, with the local police refusing to honour their detainers. During his second term, in July 2015, U.S. citizen Kathryn Steinle was shot and killed in San Francisco by an irregular immigrant who had previously been convicted and deported seven times for minor crimes. The last time he was arrested, for an outstanding drug warrant, ICE had filed a detainer asking for his deportation, but San Francisco did not grant it (González O’Brien et. al., 2019). This act served Trump’s campaign against irregular immigration and sanctuary cities, which he called “crime infected” and, particularly Californian cities, “ridiculous [...] and [a] breeding concept” (Politico, 2018, par. 3).

Once Trump became president, San Francisco was one of the first cities to react to his federal funding cut threats by suing the administration, noting that it violated the national constitution's state's rights provision which grants the spending powers to Congress and not to the President. Therefore, the federal funding that did not bear relation to immigration enforcement should not have been threatened based on the President's decision to disapprove a local immigration strategy (Roy, 2019).

- 3.1.2. Philadelphia

Philadelphia is a more recent case of sanctuary, officially gaining its status in 2014 during Obama's second term, despite being a receptor of a large number of Latino, Asian, African and Caribbean migrants, and hosting the second-largest Muslim migrant community in the U.S. (Vitiello, 2022) and 47,000 irregular migrants (MPI, 2020).

Philadelphia first tried becoming an official sanctuary city in 1986, during a time when refuge cities were at a peak given the large number of Central American refugees reaching the U.S. However, activists decided to abandon the campaign since the city did not hold a large number of refugees as compared to other cities. This started to change in 2001 when a formal opinion was issued informing all officials in the city that they were not obliged to report irregular migrants to the federal government as long as they abided by the law, and that everyone could enjoy city services and receive assistance from the police irrespective of their migration status and without fear of being deported. Finally, Philadelphia was officially named a sanctuary city in 2014, but a year later such policies were put on hold and only the promise that the police would not report the identities of crime victims and witnesses to ICE was kept in place, as Obama pressured cities to obey the PEP (Vitiello, 2022).

Nevertheless, in 2016, with the change of Mayors and when Trump's presidential campaign and anti-immigrant rhetoric were at their peak, the jurisdiction was officially declared a sanctuary city again. Afterwards, the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs was expanded to become a permanent city department, organising services for newcomers and assisting migration advocates. Following Trump's victory, Philadelphia defended its sanctuary policies in Court and supported its immigrant communities. Additionally, the newly assigned District Attorney committed to preventing the deportation of migrants accused of non-violent crimes.

This way, the number of asylum seekers hosted in the city grew and Philadelphia became an important migration centre. Nonetheless, difficulties continued to exist as the state of Pennsylvania's capitol held a majority of anti-immigrant, Republican legislators, which led to many city suburbs and actors choosing to collaborate with ICE, including the Local Police Union and the Philadelphia Adult Probation and Parole Department (Vitiello, 2022).

- 3.1.3. *New York City*

37% of NYC's population is foreign-born (Gross, 2019) and approximately 476,000 irregular migrants live there (NYC Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs, 2020). Economically speaking, the city's GDP is almost USD 2.2 trillion, being a large manufacturing centre with a successful technological sector and a shipping port. Additionally, it is located in the state of New York, which has the third largest economy in the country after Texas and California (Ross, 2024). This context not only fosters migration to the city but also allows it to support arriving migrants through different programmes.

Migration is part of NYC's identity (Scholten, 2019), having attracted people from Europe, Africa and Latin America since its creation (Levitt, 2019). Perhaps this is the reason why NYC was the first city in the U.S. to create an office specifically dedicated to immigration matters, in 1984, which offers a large number of programmes and resources for migrants and their civic, socioeconomic and political integration through collaboration with migration-related organisations (de Grauw, 2019).

The first sanctuary policy was enacted in NYC in 1989 through Executive Order 124, which demanded city workers neither request nor share information about people's migration status and highlighted that local police were not obliged to investigate and report on it either (Gross, 2019). After the terrorist attack of 9/11 in 2001, which led to the strengthening of migration control nationwide and the creation of ICE in 2003, and to fight back its detainer requests, the NYC Council published various documents that made the city one of the municipalities with the strictest detainer policy in the nation. This way, it mandated that detainers would only be complied with for individuals who have committed serious crimes and that ICE field offices in the city should be closed (Sanders, 2018).

Obama's administration was challenging to the city as S-Comm continued to be implemented and its subsequent PEP was put into action. Given this context, the city focused on protecting irregular migrants who have been involved with law enforcement not only as detainees but also as defendants and witnesses. Besides, many programmes were implemented, such as IDNYC, which offers municipal IDs to irregular migrants and served as an inspiration to Philadelphia (Sanders, 2018) as well as "One New York: The Plan for a Strong Just City" which incorporated the needs of migrants into the city's vision (Gross, 2019).

After Trump became president, NYC reaffirmed its commitment to receiving and accommodating irregular migrants (Robbins, 2017) by continuing its policies limiting cooperation with ICE (Sleiman-Long, 2020). This led to NYC being one of the cities targeted by the national agency the most (Sanders, 2018), with total arrests increasing by 88% in Trump's first year, twice as much as nationally, and the number of non-criminal arrests by 414%. While national deportations increased by 46%, in NYC the number was 150%, with the increase of non-criminal removals being 266% (MOIA, 2018).

3.2. Methodology and sampling

A mixed qualitative-quantitative methodology was followed throughout the research. The qualitative section of the analysis allowed to find similar meanings and patterns (Babbie, 2013) between the sanctuary policies implemented in the three cities during both administrations, to denote the change in approach once Trump arrived in power. On the other hand, the quantitative methodology served to quantify the data in a numerical format by coding it to compare the policy's content (Babbie, 2013).

The method applied was the content analysis of secondary sources obtained from the official city governments' web pages. This thesis is a comparative study of 87 sanctuary policies (41 for San Francisco, 12 for Philadelphia and 34 for NYC) implemented at the local level between 2009 and 2020. This includes all the ordinances, resolutions, statements, codes, executive orders, regulations and some press releases published by the cities related to sanctuary. By examining a wide range of policy instruments, this research ensures a comprehensive understanding of the strategies employed by the cities to address immigration issues at the local level and maintain their status amidst challenges from the federal government.

3.3. Coding

Once the data was collected, it was categorised to transform it into a suitable body of information for its analysis (de Haas et. al., 2014). With that objective, the sources were coded with the help of the Atlas.ti software, categorising it into individual pieces (Babbie, 2013). An inductive approach was followed through the development of an open coding. Through such coding, the data was broken down into smaller units of analysis to be closely examined and compared (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), developing a “codebook”. As the research moved forward, such codes were refined and re-categorised to make sure the information was still valid (Babbie, 2013). For that matter, the code categories were revised after coding 50% of the material, to check for its reliability, and once again after having coded 75% and 100% of the sources (Mayring, 2000). Other documents, such as the federal administration’s press releases and news reports were used as sources for context but were not coded.

The coding was developed following de Haas et. al.'s approach in *Compiling and coding migration policies - Insights from the DEMIG POLICY database* (2014), by considering the following four points and their assigned codes:

1) Policy area addressed:

- a) Access to city services: policies that provide irregular migrants with access to basic services such as health and education.
- b) Assistance programmes: policies aimed at creating special programmes to assist irregular migrants, for example, by providing IDs so they can access city services.
- c) Integration: policies that include irregular migrants to the community, such as documents allowing them to participate in local elections.
- d) Legal rights: policies that maximise the rights of irregular migrants despite their migration status, such as their right to work or to vote in school board elections.
- e) Non-discrimination: policies preventing the discrimination of irregular migrants based on their legal status.
- f) Protection of migrants: policies aiming at protecting irregular migrants from deportation when they have not committed a serious crime, such as documents blocking the access of ICE to local databases or refusing the honouring of detainers.

- g) Public safety: policies aiming at improving the communication between irregular migrants and the local police to foster trust and reduce crime.
- h) Regularisation: policies allowing irregular migrants to obtain legal residence.
- i) Scope of work of the local government: policies defining the area of work of the local government, especially when the federal government oversteps it such as with detainer requests.

2) Policy tool used to regulate a specific issue:

- a) Codes: local laws that are part of the municipal code.
- b) Executive orders: local laws ordered by the mayor.
- c) Ordinances: local laws which amend municipal codes, creating new legislation.
- d) Press releases: official statements from the local government.
- e) Regulations: document stating requirements that need to be fulfilled to implement a new legislation.
- f) Resolutions: document expressing approval or disapproval of a local, state or federal policy measure.
- g) Statements: declarations from governmental, migration-related organisations or commissions expressing their views on the local, state, or federal migration context.

3) Level of change

- a) “1” - fundamental changes: documents that generated new policies
- b) “2” – non-fundamental changes: when an already existing policy was only modified or extended

An extended definition of each code can be found in Appendix 1.

3.4. Ethical considerations

Considerations were taken to avoid setting irregular immigrants in a more vulnerable situation in which their human rights could be violated by law enforcers. Additionally, the fact that they may fear being identified by the government and deported, thus staying “in the shadows” (Birman, 2005), can make governmental statistics not 100% accurate, which was also taken into account. Moreover, it was kept in mind that governmental and news sources may be biased according to their political views.

Chapter 4 - Analysis

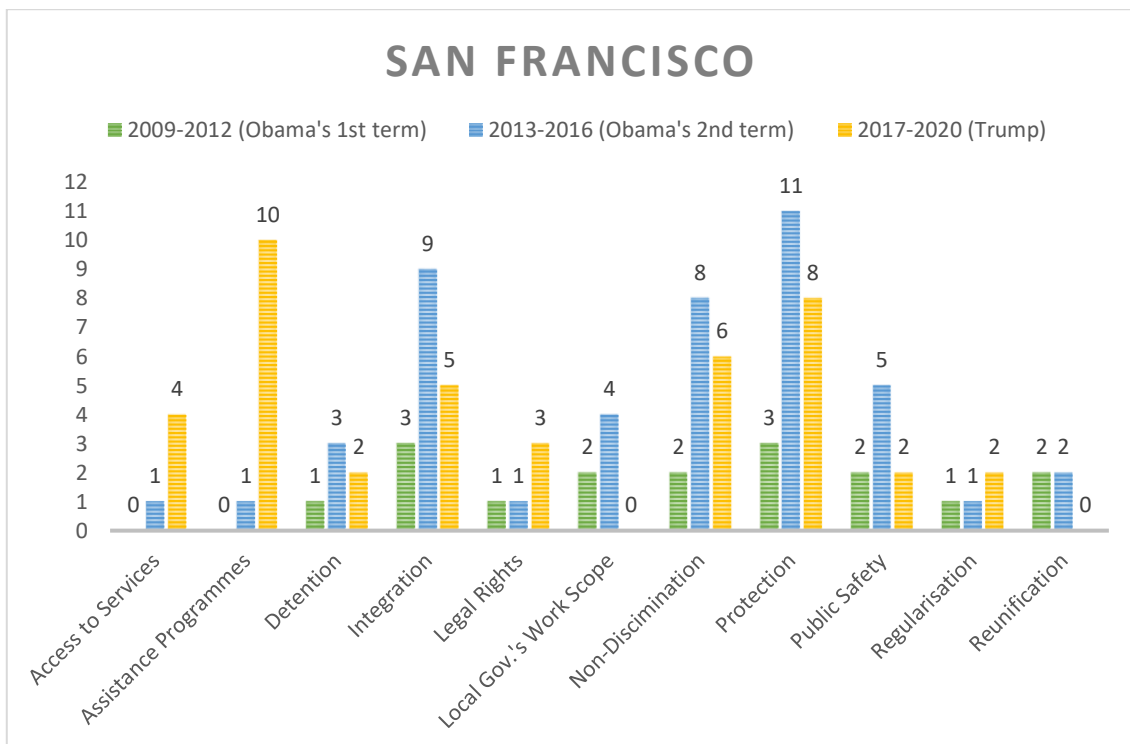
4.1. Local Policy Analysis

This section delves into the study's main findings, analysing the sanctuary policies enacted by the three cities during both presidential periods, based on the codebook and coding developed, while answering the previously-mentioned sub-questions.

The chapter first introduces each city's policies, offering an insight into the area targeted and the tool of choice, as well as the level of change achieved. Before moving on to the next city, a summary of each case is provided. Next, a comparative analysis between cities is offered, linking the findings to the theoretical framework.

4.1.1. San Francisco

Graph 1 – San Francisco's sanctuary policies areas



Source: self-made via the coding policies listed in Appendix 2.

21 and 20 sanctuary documents were enacted by San Francisco during Obama's and Trump's presidencies, respectively. Through the coding of the documents, and as seen in Graph 1, it could be concluded that during Obama's presidency, the city mostly focused on protecting irregular migrants from deportation. An example is Resolution 198-10 calling the U.S. Congress to pass a Comprehensive Immigration Reform that, among

other matters, reforms the visa programmes to keep families together and avoid their separation by detention/deportation. The topic of integration was also highly mentioned, addressing the need to include irregular migrants in different community activities, such as article 10 of the updated city code which allowed immigrant parents, regardless of their legal status, to vote in city elections, integrating them to the local civic sphere and the school community.

When disaggregating the policies by the 4-year terms, it can be asserted that most policies were enacted during Obama's second term and there was a rise in protection-related enacted policies. Examples include Ordinance 96-16 which amended the Administrative Code to prohibit the use of local funds to assist in the enforcement of federal immigration law. Of eleven protection-related documents approved in Obama's second period, eight correspond to the years 2015-2016, which correlates to the period of the presidential campaign which resulted in Trump's victory. This can be understood as the reason behind the growth in this type of policy, with San Francisco fearing that Trump's win would harm its sanctuary character and elevate the deportation levels in its community. In such context, the IRC published statements mentioning that anti-immigrant, bigotry, rhetoric and xenophobia had increased because of the presidential elections, without mentioning Trump but remarking the "calls across the border walls", referring to his plan of enlarging the border fences between the U.S. and Mexico. Another example is Resolution 484-16 "Responding to the election of Donald Trump and reaffirming San Francisco's commitment to the values of inclusivity, respect and dignity", which was enacted after the elections and ensured that despite Trump's threats, the city would remain a sanctuary for irregular migrants, citing "This is the Golden Gate - we build bridges, not walls" (p. 1).

Once Trump's era started, there was a rise in documents aiming at creating assistance programmes for irregular migrants, as protection was already assured thanks to the many policies developed in the previous term, and additional needs emerged given the COVID-19 pandemic. An example is Resolution 192-20, "Urging the United States Congress to Ensure the Inclusion of Immigrants in the Next COVID- 19 Federal Relief Bill" which mentioned that "there is an estimated eleven to twelve million undocumented migrants in the U.S. actively contributing their labor to the nation, a great majority of them paying taxes without the benefit of work authorization documents, vulnerable to labor abuses, and forced to live in fear of family separation due to [...] ICE" (p. 2). Nevertheless, "protection" was the second most-mentioned policy, such as in Resolution

221-18 “Condemning the Trump Administration's "Zero-Tolerance" Immigration Policy – Separating Children from their Families” given the large number of kids that were separated from their parents in the border with Mexico during this administration.

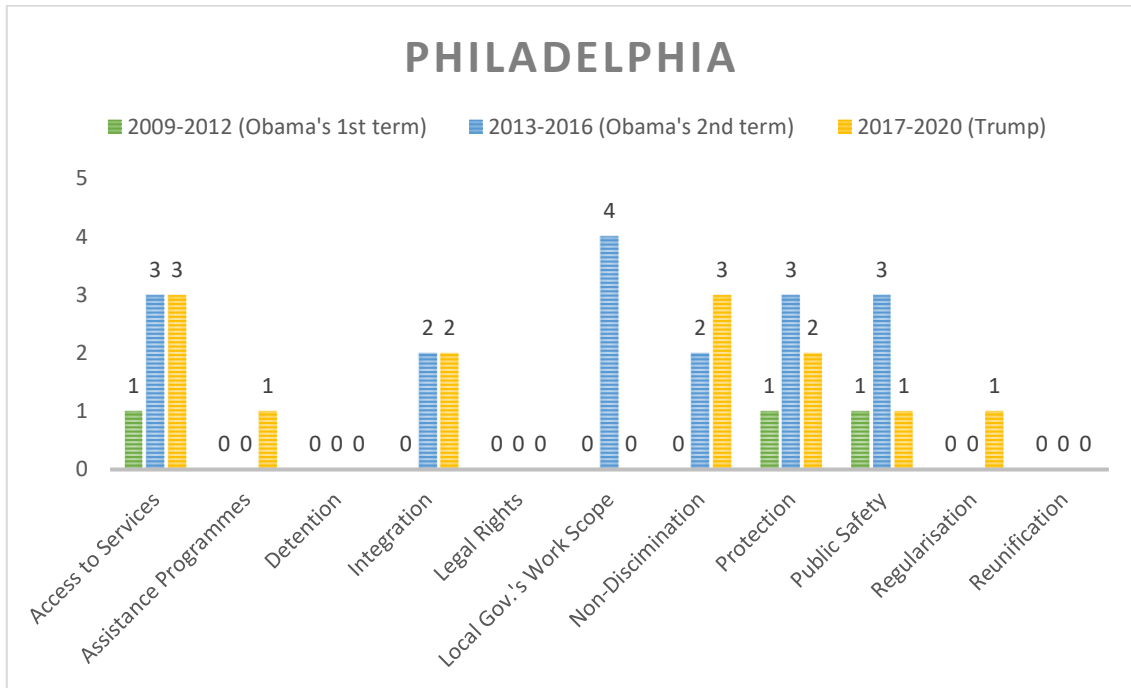
The 20 policies enacted during Trump's four-year period represent a significant increase compared to the 21 policies enacted throughout Obama's eight-year presidency. This proves that San Francisco was indeed moved by Trump’s threats to cut the funding and deport its citizens and therefore found itself in the need to publish new sanctuary documents. However, during both presidents’ periods, the majority of the policies were resolutions, which serve to prove approval or disapproval of a decision taken by the federal or local government or by judges, but do not create any new policy (San Francisco Board of Supervisors b, n.d.). This means no fundamental changes were achieved but rather small modifications to the existing policies.

Because San Francisco has a long history of being a sanctuary city, fundamental changes that created new measures and programmes were not required because they already existed. Instead, the city focused on making small modifications to the existing protection framework to adjust to the context at the time. These adjustments aimed to protect migrants from being deported or to ensure the provision of assistance and the continuation of the sanctuary despite Trump’s threats and enforcement. In this manner, the strong backbone of San Francisco’s sanctuary environment saved it from needing to make fundamental modifications to its existing policies, which already limited ICE.

To summarise, most of the policies enacted in San Francisco during Obama’s period aimed at protecting irregular migrants from deportation, who were threatened by S-Comm and PEP. During his second term, Trump’s threats to terminate sanctuary cities if elected led the municipality to enact more policies. Integration of all irregular migrants was also a highly mentioned topic, and most documents were resolutions that did not aim at making fundamental changes. During Trump’s government, there was high tension between federal and local authorities regarding immigration enforcement, which led to the enactment of a large number of documents, reflecting the city's commitment to protecting irregular migrants despite federal opposition. The policies were mainly aimed at providing assistance programmes and protection to migrants who saw their lives threatened by Trump’s mass deportation plan. Non-fundamental changes were needed thanks to San Francisco’s previous sanctuary policies which already limited ICE’s work.

4.1.2. Philadelphia

Graph 2 - Philadelphia’s sanctuary policies areas



Source: self-made via the coding of policies listed in Appendix 2.

Philadelphia’s sanctuary status is contemporary to Obama’s presidency. Therefore, not many sanctuary documents have been enacted by the city in the periods studied. The only policy approved during Obama’s first term was Executive Order 8-09, which promoted the use of city services by all residents regardless of their status and without fearing deportation (Sanders, 2018).

The number of policies enacted rose to seven during Obama’s second period, starting with Executive Order 3-13, which established the Immigrant and Multicultural Affairs Office to improve migrant’s access to city services, including people with irregular status. However, the key policy was Executive Order 1-14 which turned Philadelphia into an official sanctuary city and challenged the PEP, as it prevented the local police from honouring ICE detainers and limited the information shared with them. This document allowed the protection from deportation of irregular migrants who have committed minor offences and established the scope of work of the local government, mentioning that the PEP had shifted the burden to the local government, including the costs related to detention, and therefore the city would ignore detainer requests from ICE.

After a short lapsus where Mayor Nutter took back the sanctuary status of the city to comply with the PEP (Newhouse, 2015; Vitiello, 2022), newly elected Mayor Kenney

expanded the Immigrant and Multicultural Affairs Office and brought back the sanctuary status to protect irregular migrants against Trump's campaign threats. Even though none of the policies mentioned the next president, three policies were approved during Trump's presidential run to prepare for his mass deportation plan, stating that the local police would not honour any detainers to maintain trust with migrant communities, and, consequently, public safety. To improve access to services, Executive Order 7-16 was enacted, requiring all city officers to implement Language Access Plans to make services more accessible to migrants who had limited English proficiency.

Compared to the other case studies, a strong focus could be observed on delimiting the scope of work of the local government and on protecting public safety. This is related to the objectives that mayors had, which included fostering the economy and reducing costs, for example, by not taking up activities that should not be under the local government's responsibilities, such as honouring detainers, and lowering the high crime levels in the city (Sanders, 2018). This way, Philadelphia created its sanctuary structure which benefited not only the municipality itself but also irregular migrants who could feel more protected against deportation. Another difference with the other cities is that only two of the documents were resolutions and most policies were enacted via municipal executive orders, with four of them making fundamental changes, justified by the fact that sanctuary had to be created from scratch. This means that despite being a new player in the game, Philadelphia started strong with meaningful policies.

Once Trump came to power, the number of enacted policies shrunk to only four. Nevertheless, most of them made fundamental changes through two additions to the municipal code and one regulation. The majority of the policies were aimed at expanding the services available to irregular migrants and reducing their discrimination. For example, they made municipal identification cards available to all despite legal status, allowing irregular migrants to have proof of identification to access local services. Also, they created the Office of Immigrant Affairs to develop migration-related policies and promote access to city services and the integration of migrants, also providing language assistance. Additionally, Resolution 180922 urged the U.S. Department of Homeland Security not to modify the definition of "public charge". This change would have undermined access to essential services by discriminating against irregular migrants and families and perpetuating stereotypes and biases against them, according to the resolution. Those policies also tackled the topic of protection by ensuring that the information provided by applicants when applying for an ID would not be shared with other state

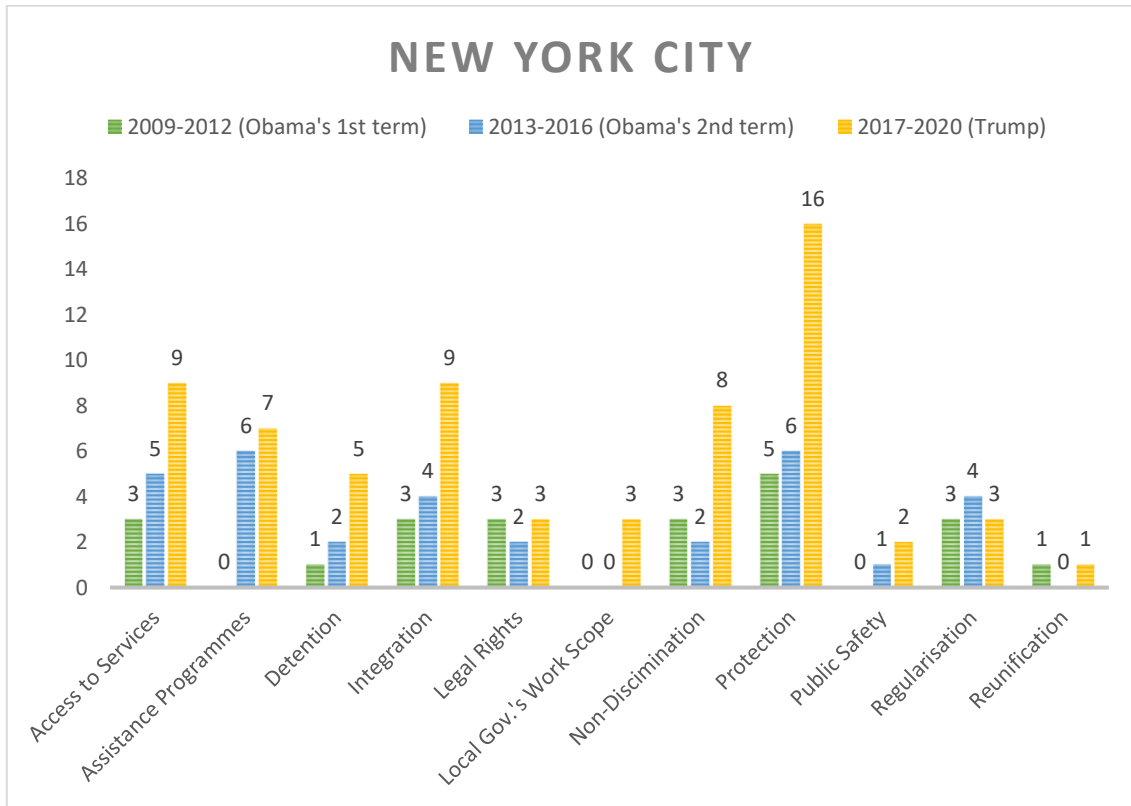
agencies and implying a change in the definition of “public charge” would have caused irregular migrants to fear deportation, restrain them from enrolling in assistance programmes and making their access to regularisation paths more difficult. The local scope of government was not mentioned in the policies this time, having enacted successful documents of that type during the previous administration.

The low number of policies enacted during Trump’s period relates to the fact that Philadelphia had just become a sanctuary city in the past presidential term when strong policies had been developed. However, the national political context also impacted its activity. Following Trump’s zero-tolerance policy, the State Capitol of Pennsylvania obstructed the negotiations between government levels. To make it more challenging, the Local Police Union and the Philadelphia Adult Probation and Parole Department were Trump supporters and did not comply with the sanctuary approach, continuing to honour ICE detainees (Vitiello, 2022).

To summarise, Philadelphia enacted eight sanctuary policies during Obama’s term and four during Trump’s. In the first case, the majority aimed at limiting the local scope of work and providing migrants with access to services and protection from deportation while also highlighting public safety. Most of them made fundamental changes, setting the foundational stone for the sanctuary city that Philadelphia is today. During Trump’s administration, the objective of the city was to also enlarge the access to services but additionally offer a less discriminative space for irregular migrants, with a decrease in protection policies and zero policies on the local government’s scope of work. These statistics show that the city struggled with being part of a state with a large number of anti-immigrant legislators and Trump supporters. However, it maintained its compromise to protect its residents, enlarging the services available to irregular migrants by providing them with municipal IDs and fighting against their discrimination through fundamental policy changes.

4.1.3. *New York City*

Graph 3 - NYC’s sanctuary policies areas



Source: self-made via the coding of policies listed in Appendix 2.

16 sanctuary policies were enacted in NYC between 2009-2016 and 18 between 2017-2020. During both administrations, the main aim was protecting irregular migrants from deportation. Examples of policies enacted during Obama’s term include Ordinances 982-2012 and 486-2014 prohibiting the honouring of detainers to fight back S-Comm. Another is Resolution 162-2010 “[...] calling upon the United States Congress to pass and President Obama to sign a just and humane comprehensive immigration reform bill” (p. 1). This document mentions that migrant families should not live in constant fear of deportation and tackles topics such as the economic exploitation suffered by irregular migrants, their impossibility of obtaining student loans and the non-recognition of same-sex partners by the federal government, which limited family reunification.

Examples of similar policies during Trump’s administration are Resolution 459-2018 “[...] calling on the U.S. Congress to pass, and the President to sign, the Keep Families Together Act, to immediately stop the Department of Homeland Security from taking children from their parents at the U.S. border [...]” (p.1) and Ordinance 1558-2017 listing that detainers would not be honoured if the detainee has not committed a serious

crime. This way, despite ICE operations in the city, NYC protected many irregular migrants and complied with zero of the 1,400 detainers requested by ICE in 2017 (Capps et al., 2018).

During Obama's second period, while protection was still a common topic, the mentioning of assistance programmes became more prominent as the PEP limited the scope of people who could be deported and therefore focus could be switched towards other measures. In this context, the city launched initiatives such as IDNYC, offering municipal ID cards to all despite migration status, without disclosing the information to other agencies and providing irregular migrants with better access to services. Aiming at maintaining its past policies but also enacting new ones to counteract the national government, half of the documents generated fundamental changes and the other half non-fundamental modifications.

Similarly to the past case studies, some policies were enacted during Trump's presidential campaign as a prevention tool to maintain the sanctuary status of the city and protect migrants from deportation once he officially became president. Examples include Resolution 1321 "[...] affirming that despite President-elect Donald Trump's senseless threats, NYC will remain a Sanctuary City for immigrant residents" (p. 1), adding that his "[...] irresponsible rhetoric regarding immigrants is an affront to New Yorkers and does not reflect our core values, including commitment to inclusion, compassion and the rule of law [...]" (p. 1).

During Trump's administration, another well-mentioned topic in NYC policies was the provision of services for irregular migrants and their integration, given Trump's wishes to exclude them from national services. Examples include Ordinance 1566-2017 which expanded the Office of Immigrant Affairs to enhance the accessibility of city programmes and benefits for all migrants. Another related document is Ordinance 186-2017 amending the NYC charter to add an immigrant affairs task force to review legal and policy developments, make recommendations and assist vulnerable migrants. Compared to the previous period, most policies achieved fundamental changes to fight back against the new federal migration enforcement strategies.

In summary, the majority of the policies enacted in NYC during Obama's presidency aimed at the protection and assistance of its migrant community through fundamental and non-fundamental changes. On the other hand, a large number of policies were enacted in NYC during Trump's administration, mostly aimed also at protecting irregular migrants from his mass deportation plan, as well as offering them access to city

services and promoting their integration. Because most policies were enacted via ordinances, they achieved fundamental changes.

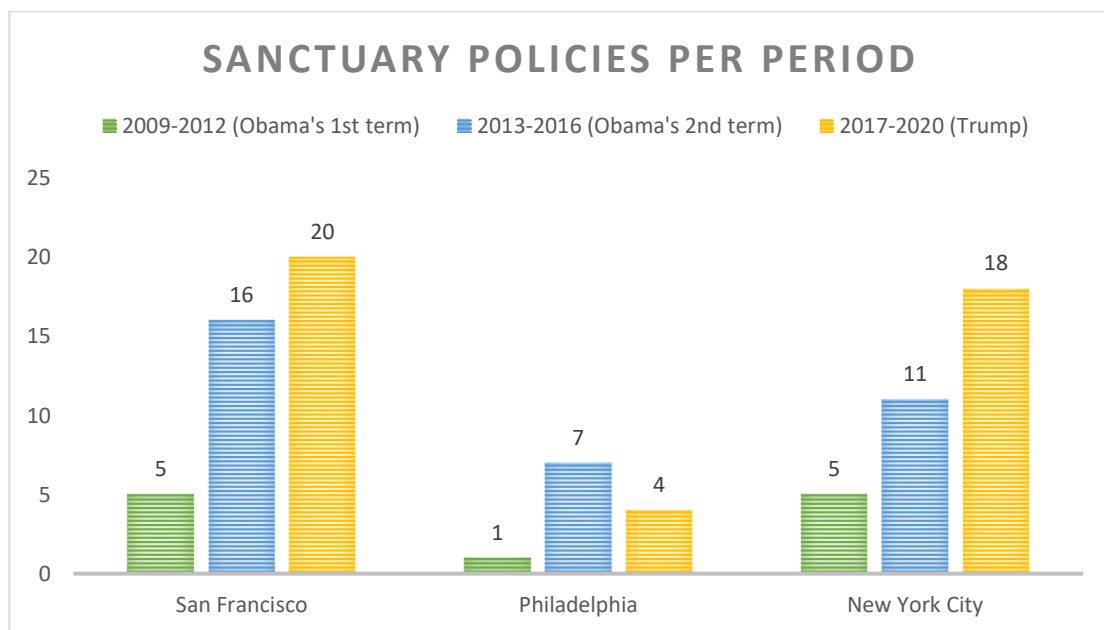
4.2. Comparative Analysis

4.2.1. Multi-level governance, the local turn and the vertical decoupling

Because of the government distribution in the U.S., MLG is always present in migration enforcement. By taking the protection of migrants into their own hands, the three cities studied in this research approached migration with a local turn. In this manner, they enacted policies allowing irregular migrants to live freely without fearing deportation while inside the city limits, challenging the federal government's anti-migration stance. This way, this study shows that local turn and MLG are indeed important factors when it comes to local governance and that cities are key actors in the migration integration and protection sphere.

Both Obama and Trump followed strict migration plans, which led to a constant pull-and-push between government levels, as municipalities opted for a pro-migration approach. Consequently, this research found that tensions and vertical decoupling could be observed during both administrations, but especially during Trump's in the cases of San Francisco and NYC, as observed in graph 4 below:

Graph 4 - Sanctuary policies per presidential period and city



Source: self-made via the coding of policies listed in Appendix 2.

The graph shows that San Francisco and NYC approved more policies during Trump's administration than during Obama's two separate terms. These two historical sanctuary cities became more active in their enactment of policies to offer larger refuge to their irregular migrant population against Trump's mass deportation plan. In contrast, Philadelphia enacted more policies during Obama's administration, having officially become a sanctuary city in 2014. The lower number of policies enacted during Trump's government could be justified by the large amount of fundamental policies passed during Obama's term but also because of the difficult political context surrounding the city, with the Pennsylvania Senate, the Local Police Union and the Adult Probation and Parole Department being against sanctuary. Despite the lower sum of policies, fundamental changes were implemented during Trump's government too.

Vertical decoupling grew even more in the three cities during the last period of Obama's administration when xenophobia was on the rise due to Trump's presidential campaign, one of the reasons why many of the policies analysed were enacted in 2015 and 2016. Regarding the specific sub-aspect of sanctuary that municipalities chose to focus more on, the findings indicate that during the Obama administration, the three cities had the protection of irregular migrants from deportation as a key goal, given S-Comms and the PEP. San Francisco and NYC also focused on expanding the rights and integration of undocumented migrants through resolutions and ordinances. Philadelphia, as the youngest sanctuary city of them all, adopted key policy changes to establish a sanctuary structure and restrict the advancement of the federal government towards the local terrain in areas such as access to services, integration and non-discrimination, besides protection.

During Trump's term, protection was also a highly mentioned topic but in Philadelphia it came fourth after integration, access to services and non-discrimination and in NYC second after integration. The increased focus on protection and non-discrimination policies during the Trump presidency highlights cities' resistance to his administration's anti-immigration stance, as they felt the federal government was trespassing its scope of work with its threats and interventions (Hudson, 2022).

Therefore, regarding the first expectation, although MLG, the local turn, and vertical decoupling were present in the implementation of sanctuary policies in the three cities through the enactment of numerous policies, these did not become a stronger characteristic for all cities studied during Trump's government. This trend was only significant for San Francisco and NYC when considering the number of policies enacted. In those cities, the marked contrast between the Democrat, pro-immigrant city

governments and Republican, anti-immigrant federal government seemed to have influenced the activation of the local turn and the approval of sanctuary policies to fight the government's anti-immigrant efforts. Still, many policies were also enacted during Democrat-Obama's term because irregular migrants were not welcomed at a national level, as programmes such as S-Comm showed. This indicates that the differences in political orientation are not the only factor for sanctuary policies to be enacted. It certainly did not increase the number of policies passed in Philadelphia between 2017 and 2020 compared to the previous eight years, because the municipal services were mainly managed by non-liberal actors who collaborated with ICE.

Nevertheless, all cities were active during both presidential periods in offering assistance to irregular migrants in need through the enactment of new policies and the modification of existing ones to broaden their scope. To not threaten the deportation of irregular migrants, protection policies were likewise created. Additionally, despite not managing to enact more policies during Trump's government than before, Philadelphia approved documents that made mainly fundamental changes to its sanctuary environment, strengthening the integration of irregular migrants and showing strong signs of local turn and decoupling.

4.2.2. Sanctuary Cities as a central U.S. actor

The fact that the U.S. does not have a country-level integration plan (de Graauw, 2019) directly transforms cities into a key migration actor, producing policies that usually do not align with the federal government. This led to San Francisco enacting 12 integration policies during the first administration studied and five during the second, Philadelphia two per period and NYC seven and nine, respectively. This marks a need for municipalities to reinforce the integration of migrants during Trump's government despite having generated inclusion policies before.

Sanctuary cities aim to prevent irregular migrants from living "under the radar" (Sotomayor & Gilbert, 2022). Besides the already-mentioned protection policies, the three cities worked hard to ensure migrants had access to city services no matter their legal status, especially during Trump's term when the government tightened its migration control and made some irregular migrants live "in the shadows". One services-access-related policy was enacted in San Francisco during Obama's administration as well as another for an assistance programme, but during Trump's administration four and nine

policies, respectively, were approved. Philadelphia enacted four access-to-services policies between 2009-2016 and three between 2017-2020 plus one for the creation of an assistance programme, reaching the same number during both administrations because, despite strong modifications made in the first term, they were not enough. NYC published nine access-to-services documents and seven related to assistance programmes during Obama's term and eight and six, respectively, during Trump's, a large number considering that similar policies already existed.

Despite having enacted such policies during Obama's era, it seems that it was still necessary for cities to improve the services and assistance for irregular migrants, upon the president's wishes to minimise their access to basic services such as education and schools. For example, in a conference from November 2018, he said that "[...] illegal immigration hurts American workers; burdens American taxpayers; and undermines public safety; and places enormous strain on local schools, hospitals, and communities in general, taking precious resources away from the poorest Americans who need them most [...]" (The White House, 2018, para. 2).

This research expected mainly San Francisco and NYC to have had an important role in enacting policies to integrate irregular migrants into the community during Obama's administration to then switch to more protection policies. For Philadelphia, it was expected it could have been more keen on setting protection measures during Obama's government to first provide its migrants with a refuge from deportation, as a new sanctuary city, to then switch to integration measures during Trump's. However, this proved to be incorrect, as San Francisco and NYC chose to focus more on protection policies during both administrations and Philadelphia aimed mostly for protection during Obama's government and had a 50/50 division between protection and integration during Trump's. Since integration programmes would not have a use if migrants were to be deported, and both governments had deportation programmes in place, it makes sense that cities focus more on protection, while not disregarding their inclusion as an important factor. Nevertheless, integration was not neglected and all cities tackled the matter through some of their policies during both administrations.

4.2.3. Different sanctuary types for different cities

Lastly, the theoretical framework linked the different case studies to Bazurli's and de Graauw's (2023) four ideal types of sanctuary city policies: 1) symbolic-conformist; 2)

symbolic-confrontational; 3) substantive-conformist; and 4) substantive-confrontational. By comparing San Francisco to two other cities and choosing two specific presidential administrations, this thesis enlarged the authors' work to show that sanctuary cities are not static but rather evolve in response to federal policies and local needs by modifying their approach, which highlights the adaptability of cities.

It was first expected San Francisco to have followed a substantive-conformist approach during Obama's administration, focusing on extending the rights of irregular migrants given that the federal government was not keen on challenging sanctuary cities' existence but rather on deporting the people they considered to be criminals. However, although its substantive approach through the years is what has made San Francisco such a welcoming city and a sanctuary example, that long and successful trajectory allowed it to make a change towards a symbolic-confrontational type. While the mention of a further need for protection was present in the documents analysed because of the application of S-Comm and PEP, the number of mentions of the topics of legal rights, access to services and assistance programmes were not as significant to classify as a substantive sanctuary city. Despite the changes made being non-fundamental, they were more than mere welcoming declarations and defined immigrants as a historical, integral part of the city who should be accepted by the federal government and not deported. Therefore, the analysis proved **San Francisco** to be, in fact, a **symbolic-confrontational** sanctuary city during **Obama's** administration.

During **Trump's** presidency, San Francisco was initially expected to be a substantive-confrontational sanctuary city to fight against his zero-tolerance policy. However, the research showed that it maintained its approach after Obama's term concluded and continued with its **symbolic-confrontational** style. Many protection-oriented documents were approved as well as policies aiming at assisting migrants, but not many on legal rights and access to services, and most of the documents did not generate fundamental changes. However, this highlights the strong backbone of San Francisco as a sanctuary city, which could opt to make more symbolic acts given that fundamental policies were enacted in the past, giving the city relevance as an actor and a seat at the discussion table to confront the federal government on migration matters and challenge its strategies.

For **Philadelphia**, it was expected that it had been symbolic-confrontational during **Obama's** administration given to only having become a sanctuary city in 2014 and needing to set its backbone. However, it proved to have been a **substantive-**

confrontational type, enacting many protection and access to services policies to present itself as a welcoming municipality despite the national challenges, through the enactment of executive orders that produced fundamental changes, such as making it officially a sanctuary for irregular migrants.

During **Trump**'s administration, Philadelphia was thought to have been substantive-confrontational in fighting against Trump's plans. Instead, it was **substantive-conformist**, enacting mainly policies to enlarge the access to services for irregular migrants and avoid their discrimination, through fundamental-change policies. This way, the city benefitted from having enacted fundamental protection policies before and prevented larger conflict with local actors as well as suffering a budget cut, as a municipality with less economic capabilities than NYC and San Francisco (Vitiello, 2022).

Lastly, it was expected **NYC** to have followed a substantive-conformist style during **Obama**'s presidency, with no need to challenge the federal government as much because it had experience with sanctuary and many policies already in place, and because the president had a strict target for deportation. However, it showed to be a **substantive-confrontational** type instead, enacting policies about protection to guard migrants from S-Comm and the PEP, but also others aimed at integration, provision of legal rights, access to services and assistance programmes, achieving a large number of fundamental changes. As mentioned before, the political alignment with the president's party does not ensure the MLG will be frictionless, and NYC is an example. By tightening its sanctuary environment to avoid deportations and enlarging the access to services such as education and health, the municipality prepared for Trump's presidency.

Finally, this study's expectation that NYC would have been **substantive-confrontational** during **Trump**'s government proved correct. The city enacted many ordinances on protection, making it the location which limited ICE the strongest, as well as passing other documents related to access to services, assistance programmes and legal rights. Such policies made fundamental changes to the municipal administrative code and charter to fight back the national zero-tolerance policy and mass deportation plans which targeted irregular migrants in NYC the most.

To summarise this chapter, MLG, local turn and vertical decoupling were a reality for San Francisco, NYC and Philadelphia throughout 2009-2020. However, the local turn was more present in the first two cities, which approved more policies during Trump's

government. San Francisco focused more on protection, integration and assistance policies, Philadelphia on protection, access to services, public safety, its local scope of work and non-discrimination and NYC on protection. Lastly, a summary of the ideal types expectations and findings for each city can be found in Table 1 below:

Table 2 - Types of sanctuary cities

City	President	Sanctuary type expected	Sanctuary type result
San Francisco	Obama	Substantive-Conformist	Symbolic-Confrontational
San Francisco	Trump	Substantive-Confrontational	Symbolic-Confrontational
Philadelphia	Obama	Substantive-Conformist	Substantive-Confrontational
Philadelphia	Trump	Substantive-Confrontational	Substantive-Conformist
NYC	Obama	Substantive-Conformist	Substantive-Confrontational
NYC	Trump	Substantive-Confrontational	Substantive-Confrontational

Source: self-made following Bazurli & de Graauw (2023) definitions.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the document analysis of the different sanctuary city policies enacted in San Francisco, Philadelphia, and NYC during the Obama and Trump administrations, several conclusions are drawn below regarding the evolution of these policies in response to the national migration enforcement changes. Afterwards, the research limitations and contributions of the study are mentioned, as well as some recommendations for policymakers.

5.1. Conclusion

Firstly, similarities were found between cities, as the study demonstrated that MLG, the local turn, and vertical decoupling were prominent features from 2009 to 2020. Regardless of the tough federal measures taken on migration during the two administrations analysed, local governments exercised significant autonomy in re-shaping sanctuary when needed. The decoupling was particularly pronounced during Obama's second term and throughout Trump's presidency when the three cities decided to continue strengthening their sanctuary with new policies and to go to Court to denounce his threats. Despite only San Francisco and NYC having developed a larger number of policies during Trump's government than during Obama's, Philadelphia enacted policies

that made mostly fundamental changes to its framework, which shows a sign of local turn and decoupling in all the cases.

Secondly, regarding their differences, this research anticipated that San Francisco and NYC would have primarily focused on integrating irregular migrants during Obama's administration to shift to protection policies afterwards. Instead, Philadelphia was expected to prioritize protection under Obama and transition to integration under Trump. However, San Francisco and NYC consistently focused on protection policies during both presidencies and Philadelphia maintained a primary emphasis on protection under Obama and an equal focus on protection and integration under Trump, showing that defending migrants from deportation is a key element of sanctuary.

Regarding the ideal sanctuary types, **San Francisco** consistently exhibited a **symbolic-confrontational** approach during **both governments**, focusing on protection and assistance policies without making substantial changes. In contrast, **Philadelphia's** sanctuary policies evolved from a **substantive-confrontational** type during **Obama's** term, which allowed the city to enact its first official sanctuary policies, to a **substantive-conformist** approach under **Trump** to maintain its sanctuary status while mitigating local conflicts. The findings revealed **NYC** maintained a **substantive-confrontational** stance during Obama's administration, emphasizing protection and integration policies. This city's approach during **Trump's** presidency remained **substantive-confrontational**, through significant policy reforms that resisted the federal deportation policies which targeted this municipality the most.

Coming back to the research question, *how were the sanctuary policy approaches of San Francisco and Philadelphia modified once Donald Trump became President of the United States?*, the findings revealed that there is no single answer applicable to all the cities examined, nor to all sanctuary municipalities in the U.S. Each location's sanctuary policy history, migration context, and political and economic situation are unique, leading to different responses and adaptations. However, it appears that older and more liberal locations have more institutionalised sanctuary policies, as San Francisco and NYC showed. Given their long experience with sanctuary, their robust policy frameworks include sanctuary concepts in their municipal codes which makes measures mandatory, which is important to make sure local agents comply with them despite not agreeing. Additionally, with their migration-advocate municipal agencies, such cities are better equipped to challenge radical changes in federal migration.

In the case of Philadelphia, despite the number of documents enacted being lower during Trump's administration, this was not caused by the federal context but rather by the local one, in which agencies preferred to comply with the federal zero-tolerance policy. This was possible because there were not many sanctuary policies included in the municipal charter yet. Having had a more institutionalised sanctuary framework, it is believed that the change in presidency would have led to a larger number of policies being enacted. This can only be assessed in the future, once Philadelphia has gathered more experience with sanctuary. However, with 12 policies approved in 12 years, the city seems off to a good start.

Overall, in what came as a surprising and interesting discovery, this study found out that the local context is more influential in determining the level of sanctuary a city can offer than the limitations imposed by changing federal governments. Therefore, Trump's rise to power was not as impactful as initially anticipated, which could be concluded thanks to the coding of the policies analysed. Despite San Francisco having enacted more documents during Trump's period than during each of Obama's, they did not make fundamental changes because they were not needed. In the case of Philadelphia, the number of fundamental policies was larger during Obama's administration, for the reasons mentioned above. Only in the case of NYC did the number of policies that made fundamental changes grow during Trump's presidency. This was because ICE especially targeted the city, given that it had one of the strongest anti-detainer measurements.

The former indicates that: a) when strong sanctuary policies have been established previously, the focus turns to upholding them and ensuring the new federal government respects the local authority, such as San Francisco did; and b) the local context, and not the national one, is the one capable of allowing the creation of new fundamental policies, such as in the case of NYC, or of holding back a city from enacting more new policies despite willing to do so, as shown by Philadelphia. In the end, it is the local context and the city goals which lead them to consistently reaffirm their local commitment to migrant protection to both the national government and the local community by strengthening the already-existing sanctuary, ensuring that irregular migrants can live peacefully despite their legal status and ICE's threats.

5.2. Limitations

The geographical limitation generated by the fact that this research was done in the U.S. while situated in The Netherlands, together with the limits in time and budget, made it impossible to carry on interviews with local actors that could have provided first-hand information on the local turn in San Francisco, Philadelphia and NYC. Therefore, only secondary sources were considered in this research, which made it difficult to obtain a full picture of the cases studied. Nevertheless, this research offered an insightful descriptive overview of sanctuary in the three cities analysed, creating the space for more explorative research in future academic studies.

Another limitation was that this study only provides information on three sanctuary cities in one country. Despite offering the opportunity to extrapolate the results to other U.S. cities and even other countries, researchers should not expect the same results, given that it was proven that the local context has a large impact on the sanctuary approach. Even for the cities selected for this study, the conditions have not been the same in the past and probably are not identical at the moment this research took place, during Joe Biden's administration. Thus, attention should be paid to avoid reductionism (Babbie, 2013) and methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). Another limitation was that because of the length of the thesis, it was not possible to dive into the importance of civil society as a local actor in sanctuary cities, leaving this for future investigation.

Lastly, this study refrained as much as possible from subjectively judging the different sources during their analysis, to obtain results free of pre-conceptions of what an ideal sanctuary policy should entail. However, it is recognised that, as human beings, it is not realistic to aim at obtaining 100% objective results when conducting qualitative research. Tolerance for ambiguity and awareness of one's values and preferences were present throughout the study to avoid discarding any ideas that might at first seemed conflicting with pre-conceived thoughts (Babbie, 2013).

5.3. Academic and Societal Contributions

This study contributed to the sanctuary literature by stepping aside from methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). This way, it highlighted that in one country municipalities can take different approaches given that the local context has a

larger influence than the federal, at least in the U.S. This thesis also showed that presidential changes do not necessarily lead to local sanctuary modifications, even when the new government has an anti-migration strategy. Cities do not simply conform to national policies but rather focus on their goals, as the local context has more leverage than federal political shifts.

Additionally, this research contributed to remark on the importance of local turn in governance, as well as the major role cities have in MLG, showing they are key actors when it comes to migration matters and irregular migrants' protection from deportation in particular. Lastly, this thesis enlarged the scope of Bazurli and de Graauw's (2023) ideal type analysis by comparing San Francisco to other two cities and focusing on a specific timeline instead of offering a more general view, showing how a city can follow different sanctuary styles through the years depending on its necessities.

By observing the number of policies implemented by each city analysed and their main characteristics and focus, this investigation provided an analysis of the local dynamics and patterns in relation to the protection of irregular migrants and the provision of services for them. This way, the research contributed to the understanding of the overall concept of sanctuary cities, their variations between municipalities and different timeframes and how that relates to the political changes at the federal level.

Lastly, this investigation created space for future studies on sanctuary, in which researchers can focus on different cities in the U.S., on the same locations during different presidential periods or on municipalities in different countries. From a societal point of view, it contributed to encouraging sanctuary cities to keep on enabling new policies and polishing their framework despite threats from anti-immigration governments, given that research shows it is possible to maintain the protection of irregular migrants in such a context.

5.4. Recommendations

Based on the analysis results, this study recommends the following to local policymakers wanting to offer or improve the sanctuary to irregular migrants:

- Benefit from other cities' experiences by implementing successful policies from different municipalities, when possible. For instance, NYC and Philadelphia could emulate San Francisco by allowing irregular migrants to vote in school board

elections to enhance migrant integration. Similarly, San Francisco and Philadelphia could adopt NYC's approach to strengthen protections against ICE and enforce stricter anti-detainer policies. Moreover, San Francisco and NYC could partner with Philadelphia's Office of Immigrant Affairs to share best practices and expertise.

- Do not worry too much about the continuation of sanctuary when a new president arrives to power with new anti-immigrant strategies. As long as the city has a strong and institutionalised policy framework and experience, the sanctuary will remain intact. In cities where policies might be outdated or not enforced, amend them so they match any new needs. For this, establish a continuous review process for documents to ensure they remain effective and responsive to changing circumstances.
- Have sanctuary measures be installed in the municipal code or charter to reduce the chance of local agencies opposing them when they are against immigration, such as in the case of Philadelphia and the Local Police Union.
- Do not let a national government with a similar political orientation lead you to believe it will result in a flexibilisation in migration enforcement and therefore provide less protection to irregular migrants in the city. Irregular migration is generally seen as a threat by national governments. Therefore, fear and danger will remain in migrant communities if the city does not ensure their refuge by maintaining or amending their already-developed policies or enacting new ones.

Lastly, this study recommends national policymakers recognise the role of sanctuary cities as pivotal actors in migration governance by respecting their autonomy. It is also suggested that they foster collaboration between local and federal agencies in a way that is beneficial for all actors, such as sharing best practices that can enhance both municipal and national policies and therefore the life of irregular migrants in the country. This way, both local and federal policymakers can create a more supportive and fairer environment for irregular migrants, promoting their integration and protecting their rights while maintaining public safety.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Codebook

Codebook		
Aspect	Term	Definition
Policy Area Addressed	Access to City Services	Make city services such as healthcare and education available to all city residents despite their legal status
	Assistance programmes	Local programmes launched to help irregular immigrants whose rights are vulnerated
	Integration	Inclusion of migrants in the social, economic and civic/political (Seidle & Joppke, 2012) activities in the city
	Legal Rights	Expand the rights of irregular people despite their legal status, such as their right to work
	Non-discrimination	Prevents distinctions based on the migration status of a person

	Protection of Migrants	Protects irregular migrants from deportation that is solely based on their legal status
	Public Safety	Reduces crime and other dangerous situations for everyone living in the city
	Regularisation	Changes the migration status of a migrant from irregular to regular
	Scope of Local Government	Defines the area of work of the local government in comparison with the federal level
Policy Tool	Code	Set of local laws regulating the powers and duties of legal institutions (USC Law Library, 2023)
	Executive Order	A rule ordered by the president, at the federal level, or the mayor, at the local level
	Ordinance	Legislation which amends municipal codes and creates laws (San Francisco Board of Supervisors a, n.d.)
	Press Release	Official statement posted on the official website of the local government
	Regulation	Set of requirements needed to implement a law (Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 2018)

	Resolution	A policy statement to express approval or disapproval (San Francisco Board of Supervisors b, n.d.)
	Statement	A declaration stating a position regarding a migration-related topic
General Goal of Policy	-1	The general goal is to restrict the migration surveillance activity of the Federal Government in the city
	+1	The general goal is to expand the liberties and rights of irregular migrants in the city to foster their inclusion in the community without fearing deportation

References Appendix 1

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Appendix 2 – List of policies analysed

Policies						
ID	City	Date	Type	Number	Name	Pages
1	San Francisco	17 August 2009	Ordinance	228-09	Confidentiality of juveniles' immigration status	10
2	San Francisco	16 December 2009	Resolution	515-09	Proclaiming December 18, 2009, International Migrants Day	3
3	San Francisco	27 April 2010	Resolution	198-10	Calling for Comprehensive Immigration Reform and Condemning Immigration and Customs Enforcement Audits of San Francisco Businesses	4
4	San Francisco	22 November 2011	Resolution	535-11	Supporting Policy Restricting Use of Local Funds to Respond to Civil Immigration Detainers	4
5	San Francisco	24 July 2012	Resolution	295-12	Supporting Reunification of Immigrant Families Divided By Deportation - Senate Bill 1064 and House Bill 6128	5
6	San Francisco	24 April 2013	Resolution	136-13	Urging the United States Senate to Amend Senate Bill 744 and Pass Comprehensive Immigration Reform	3

7	San Francisco	3 May 2013	Resolution	180-13	Comprehensive Immigration Reform Including Same-Sex Couples	4
8	San Francisco	4 September 2013	Resolution	319-13	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Day - September 4, 2013	3
9	San Francisco	24 September 2013	Ordinance	204-13	Due Process Ordinance for All on Civil Immigration Detainers	11
10	San Francisco	15 April 2014	Resolution	120-14	Immigrant Family Month - April	3
11	San Francisco	2001 - amended on 24 February 2015	Ordinance	San Francisco Administrative Code - Chapter 91 Language Access - added by Ordinance 27-15	San Francisco Language Access Ordinance	11
12	San Francisco	20 October 2015	Resolution	389-15	Resolution Urging the Rejection of Priority Enforcement Program	4
13	San Francisco	10 November	Immigrant Rights	N/A	Statement of the San Francisco IRC on the 5th	2

		ber 2015	Commissi on (IRC) Statement		Circuit Court Ruling Against Executive Action	
14	San Francisco	18 January 2016	IRC Statement	N/A	Statement of the San Francisco Immigrant Rights Commission on U.S. Supreme Court Consideration of Immigration Executive	1
15	San Francisco	17 May 2016	IRC Statement	N/A	Statement of the Immigrant Rights Commission on the Report of Future ICE Raids	2
16	San Francisco	24 May 2016	Ordinance	96-16 - addition to Code ch. 5 and 12	Due Process for All and Sanctuary	18
17	San Francisco	6 July 2016	IRC Statement	N/A	The San Francisco Immigrant Rights Commission Applauds the United States Senate's Vote to Block S.3100 and S.1762	2
18	San Francisco	8 Septem ber 2016	IRC Statement	N/A	Reaffirmation of the San Francisco Immigrant Rights Commission	1
19	San Francisco	6 October 2016	IRC Statement	N/A	Stop Anti-immigrant Bigotry and Racism	1
20	San Francisco	15 Novem	Resolution	484-16	The San Francisco Board of Supervisors' Response to	5

		ber 2016			the Election of Donald Trump	
21	San Francisco	2016	Code	SF Code - Art. 10	Non-U.S. citizens voting in school board elections	3
22	San Francisco	24 January 2017	Ordinance	32-17	Ordinance Appropriating \$1,5000,000 from the General Reserve to the Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development, City Administrator's Office of Civic Engagement and Immigrant Affairs, and Human Rights Commission to fund legal representation, pathways to citizenship, public outreach, and rapid response social services in FY2016-17	4
23	San Francisco	15 April 2017	IRC Statement	N/A	Welcoming a Northern California District Court ruling granting a preliminary injunction against the President's plan to withhold federal funds to sanctuary cities	1
24	San Francisco	1 May 2017	Resolution	154-17	Supporting International Worker's Day and "A Day Without an Immigrant" - May 1, 2017	3

25	San Francisco	2 July 2017	Resolution	36-17	Supporting California State Senate Bill 54 (De Leon) - California Values Act	4
26	San Francisco	4 September 2017	IRC Statement	N/A	Statement of the San Francisco Immigrant Rights Commission on Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)	1
27	San Francisco	15 November 2017	Resolution	17-00001	Resolution supporting the passage of S. 1615 (DREAM Act of 2017) without concessions	4
28	San Francisco	15 November 2017	Resolution	17-00002	Resolution to encourage the City and County of San Francisco to be a leader in eliminating the good vs. bad immigrant narrative	3
29	San Francisco	9 December 2017	Resolution	342-17	Defend DACA and All Immigrants	5
30	San Francisco	3 January 2018	Ordinance	53-18	Appropriation - General Reserve and State and Federal Contingency Reserve - Support Immigration Related Legal Services - FY2017-2018	5
31	San Francisco	12 February 2018	Regulation	Arts I - VI	Immigrants' Rights Commission (IRC)	6

32	San Francisco	25 April 2018	IRC Statement	N/A	Office of Civic Engagement & Immigrant Affairs and San Francisco Immigrant Rights Commission Joint Statement on Latest DACA Ruling	1
33	San Francisco	1 June 2018	IRC Statement	N/A	Immigrant Rights Commission Condemns the Separation of Children from their Parents	1
34	San Francisco	26 June 2018	Resolution	221-18	Condemning the Trump Administration's "Zero-Tolerance" Immigration Policy - Separating Children From Their Families	4
35	San Francisco	24 September 2018	IRC Statement	N/A	Keeping Families Strong and Together	1
36	San Francisco	23 August 2019	IRC Statement	N/A	San Francisco Immigrant Rights Commission Statement on Flores Settlement Agreement Final Rule Change	1
37	San Francisco	February 2020	IRC Statement	N/A	San Francisco Office of Civic Engagement & Immigrant Affairs and San Francisco Immigrant Rights Commission: 2020 Census Citizenship Question Will Not Ensure	1

					an Accurate, Complete or Fair Count of America's People	
38	San Francisco	28 April 2020	Resolution	192-20	Urging the United States Congress to Ensure the Inclusion of Immigrants in the Next COVID-19 Federal Relief Bill	5
39	San Francisco	23 July 2020	IRC Statement	N/A	Joint Statement on the President's Memorandum to Exclude Undocumented Immigrants from the 2020 Census Apportionment Base	1
40	San Francisco	2020	Resolution	2020-02	Assistance and Support for Vulnerable Migrants	2
41	San Francisco	2020	Resolution	2020-03	Resolution to condemn the crimes against humanity perpetrated by ICE against immigrants and their families	5
42	San Francisco	23 July 2020	IRC Statement	N/A	Joint Statement on the President's Memorandum to Exclude Undocumented Immigrants from the 2020 Census Apportionment Base	1
42	Philadelphia	10 November 2009	Executive Order	8-09	Policy Concerning Access of Immigrants to City Services	3
43	Philadelphia	3 July 2013	Executive Order	3-13	Immigrant and Multicultural Affairs	3

44	Philadelp hia	24 October 2013	Resolution	130782	Calling on the Committee on Labor and Civil Service of the Council of the City of Philadelphia to hold hearings on increasing access to City services to immigrant and language-minority populations, including the development of hiring guidelines and goals, and to determine progress made toward that end	4
45	Philadelp hia	21 Novem ber 2013	Resolution	130880	Authorizing the Committee on Public Safety to hold public hearings to examine the working relationship between the City of Philadelphia, its agencies including the Police Department, and ICE and to determine the impact on Philadelphia's immigrant community and whether this information-sharing relationship should be terminated	4
46	Philadelp hia	16 April 2014	Executive Order	1-14	Policy Regarding U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency Detainer Requests	1

47	Philadelphia	22 December 2015	Executive Order	7-15	Policy regarding U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency Detainer and Notification Requests in Instances of Terrorism or Violence	4
48	Philadelphia	1 April 2016	Executive Order	5-16	Policy regarding U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency Detainer Requests	2
49	Philadelphia	5 December 2016	Executive Order	7-16	Citywide Policy on Language Access and the Office of Immigrants Affairs	5
50	Philadelphia	10 October 2018	Bill modifying the Code	160151 - Addition to the Code ch 21-2700	Municipal Identification Cards	3
51	Philadelphia	18 October 2018	Resolution	180922	Urging the US Department of Homeland Security to withdraw its proposed rule changing the definition of public charge	4
52	Philadelphia	14 February 2019	Resolution	190028 - addition to Code ch. 22	Adding the Office of Immigrant Affairs to Philadelphia's Code	1
53	Philadelphia	2 April 2019	Regulation	N/A	Regulation regarding the City of Philadelphia Municipal Identification Card	16

54	New York	3 September 2009	Resolution	2172	Resolution calling upon the United States Congress to pass the Uniting American Families Act of 2009 (H.R.1024/S. 424) or other legislation which would provide a mechanism under the Immigration and Nationality Act to allow United States citizens and legal permanent residents in binational same-sex relationships to sponsor their foreign-born partners	4
55	New York	14 April 2010	Local Law (Ordinance)	6	To amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to requiring the Administration for Children's Services to review strategies and create a plan of action to protect children who qualify for Special Immigrant Juvenile Status	3
56	New York	20 September 2010	Resolution	409-A	Resolution calling on Congress to pass and President Obama to sign the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act of 2009 (the "DREAM Act") in order to provide immigration relief	4

					to undocumented immigrant students pursuing higher education and to undocumented immigrants who serve in the armed forces	
57	New York	2010	Resolution	162-A	Resolution calling upon the United States Congress to pass and President Obama to sign a just and humane comprehensive immigration reform bill in 2010	4
58	New York	2 February 2012	Resolution	1219	Resolution calling upon the New York State Legislature to pass and the Governor to sign legislation establishing the New York DREAM fund commission, which will advance the educational opportunities of children of immigrants through scholarship programs for higher education	2
59	New York	19 February 2013	Local Law (Ordinance)	982-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to persons not to be detained by the Police Department	6

60	New York	7 March 2013	Resolution	1671	Resolution calling upon the New York State Legislature to pass, and the Governor to sign, the New York State Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act of 2013 (S.2378/A.2597)	3
61	New York	8 April 2013	Resolution	1711	Resolution calling upon the United States Congress to pass and the President to sign a comprehensive immigration reform bill in 2013	4
62	New York	13 August 2014	Local Law (Ordinance)	104-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to collecting and reporting data related to youth and foster care	9
63	New York	14 October 2014	Local Law (Ordinance)	487-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to persons not to be detained by the Police Department	8
64	New York	14 October 2014	Local Law (Ordinance)	486-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to persons not to be detained by the Department of Correction	11

65	New York	2015	Code	The Rules of the City of New York - Chapter 6	IDNYC Program	15
66	New York	14 December 2015	Press Release	N/A	Mayor Bill de Blasio Announces Launch of ActionNYC	8
67	New York	31 August 2016	Local Law (Ordinance)	101	To amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to requiring the Department of Consumer Affairs to provide outreach and education on consumer protection issues that affect immigrants	3
68	New York	29 October 2016	Local Law (Ordinance)	1197-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to information collected and reported about youth and foster care	11
69	New York	28 November 2016	Resolution	1321	Resolution affirming that despite President-elect Donald Trump's senseless threats, New York City will remain a Sanctuary City for immigrant residents	3

70	New York	15 February 2017	Resolution	1373	Resolution authorizing the Speaker to file or join amicus briefs on behalf of the Council in litigation challenging any of President Donald Trump's executive orders and actions relating to immigration	2
71	New York	April 2017	Resolution - Manhattan Community Board	MIH 2016	Immigration Equal Protection and Sanctuary City Resolution	3
72	New York	25 April 2017	Local Law (Ordinance)	228	To amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to immigration enforcement	8
73	New York	30 August 2017	Local Law (Ordinance)	1566-A	A Local Law to amend the New York City Charter, in relation to expanding the office of immigrant affairs	5
74	New York	8 October 2017	Local Law (Ordinance)	186	To amend the New York city charter, in relation to an immigrant affairs task force	3
75	New York	11 October 2017	Local Law (Ordinance)	185	To amend the New York city charter, in relation to expanding the Office of Immigrant Affairs	6

76	New York	16 October 2017	Resolution	1675	Resolution authorizing the Speaker to file or join amicus briefs on behalf of the Council in litigation challenging the rescission or modification of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program	3
77	New York	16 October 2017	Local Law (Ordinance)	1565-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to requiring the Department of Education to distribute information regarding educational rights and departmental policies related to interactions with non-local law enforcement	3
78	New York	23 October 2017	Local Law (Ordinance)	1558-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to persons not to be detained by the Department of Probation	3
79	New York	23 October 2017	Local Law (Ordinance)	1568-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to immigration enforcement	6

80	New York	8 November 2017	Local Law (Ordinance)	1588-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to identifying information	7
81	New York	18 December 2017	Resolution	1484-A	Resolution denouncing the termination of the DACA program and calling on the state and federal government to extend protections for undocumented youth by passing the New York State DREAM Act of 2017, as well as the federal DREAM Act of 2017	6
82	New York	9 February 2018	Resolution	182	Resolution calling upon the United States Congress to pass, and the President to sign, H.R. 4937, which would provide immigration relief for New York resident Ravidath “Ravi” Lawrence Ragbir and denouncing the unlawful targeting of immigrant rights activists for deportation by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)	3

83	New York	9 May 2018	Press Release	N/A	Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs Announce Launch of We Speak NYC with New Season of English Language Learning Programs	3
84	New York	26 June 2018	Resolution	459	Resolution calling on the U.S. Congress to pass, and the President to sign, the Keep Families Together Act (S. 3036), to immediately stop the Department of Homeland Security from taking children from their parents at the U.S. border	3
85	New York	14 August 2018	Resolution	513	Resolution calling upon the U.S. Congress to pass, and the President to sign, the Establishing a Humane Immigration Enforcement System Act (H.R. 6361)	3
86	New York	20 November 2018	Local Law (Ordinance)	480-A	A Local Law to amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to requiring the Department of Youth and Community Development to create a runaway and homeless youth immigration information plan	4

87	New York	8 February 2019	Resolution	100-A	Resolution calling on the New York State Legislature to pass legislation that would allow undocumented immigrants to obtain a driver's license regardless of their immigration status	3
88	New York	10 March 2020	Local Law (Ordinance)	1836-A	A Local Law to amend the New York City Charter and the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to prohibiting the use of the word "alien" and removing such words in local laws, rules and other documents and materials	17

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