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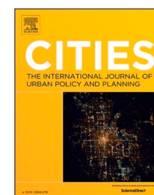

Urban solidarity typology: A comparison of European cities since the crisis of refuge in 2015

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ABSTRACT

This article scrutinizes how local responses to irregular migrants vary across European cities. Existing literature shows that cities develop inclusive policies and practices for irregular migrants as a response to the restrictive asylum and migration policies of welfare states. This article goes beyond this monolithic understanding of cities by unpacking city actors into local governments and local civil society organizations, as well as exploring various dynamics between them. This benchmarking study builds an overarching urban solidarity typology based on an empirical analysis of policies and practices in 13 European cities between 2015 and 2019, inclusive. Binary coding of collected data leads to an inductively built descriptive typology that consists of analytical categories of urban solidarity (top-down; bottom-up; hybrid; limited). These four different categories reveal that urban solidarity is not one-size-fits-all. It emerges as a spectrum of transformative practices of various actors, as well as a constellation of displays of diverse sets of contentions, solidarity repertoires, compromises, negotiations, and consensus as well as their various combinations over a long period.

1. Introduction

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times"[1] in terms of the diverse set of policies and practices given by the European Union (EU), its member states and substate actors in response to the so-called refugee crisis in 2015. As almost all member states had specific programs for refugees and asylum seekers, irregular migrants[2] were mostly excluded from the redistributive mechanism within institutional structures in the states. While some cities and smaller municipalities align with their national states against the further inclusion of irregular migrants within welfare provisions (Ambrosini, 2018), others have enacted a broader range of services than their corresponding governments (Spencer, 2020). As cities responded to the crisis with diverse set of policies and practices, this article addresses variances of European cities in terms of generating urban solidarity for migrants with precarious legal status.

The EU and its member states assert their sovereignty by regulating access to their territories, thereby determining who is (un)lawful in their territories. Since 2015, the assertion of their sovereignty was challenged by the substate actors through diverse responses from local civil society and the elaboration of municipal policies challenge governments' social and legal exclusion (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018). By giving partial access to welfare state services to irregular migrants, cities' responses exemplified a kind of "sovereignty from below" (Lippert, 2004, p. 547). In these types of cities, on the one hand, local governments play a significant role in service provision through institutional channels. This proactive stance of the local governments varies from the adoption of policies and practices such as not asking about immigration status in cities (e.g. "don't ask, don't tell" policies) to refusing to use local resources to detain immigrants (Bauder, 2017; McDaniel et al., 2019). On the other hand, local civil society also takes roles in these cities by welcoming with a diverse set of practices ranging from active to passive (e.g., volunteering vs. accepting to pay taxes for equal redistribution of the state); from short-term to long-term (street protests vs. volunteering); from low-risk to high-risk (volunteering vs. cross-border activism).

This article scrutinizes how urban solidarity for/towards irregular migrants varies among global cities across Europe as a response to the

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[1] It is the opening sentence of *A Tale of Two Cities by Charles Dickens.*This cult novel compares and contrasts, London and Paris during the French revolution (Dickens, 1859).

[2] According to the European Commission, when third-country nationals present on the territory of a Schengen State who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfil, the conditions of entry as set out in the Regulation (EU) 2016/399 (Schengen Borders Code) or other conditions for entry, they are called as "irregular migrants" (European Commission, n.d.). These migrants who have precarious legal status are also known as "undocumented," "illegal," "clandestine," "unauthorized," or "alien".

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crisis of refuge[3] in 2015. Therefore, it proposes an inductively built descriptive typology that identifies an overarching concept of urban solidarity. This overarching concept differentiates four analytic categories—top-down, bottom-up, hybrid, and limited—based on the concrete actions of local governments and/or local civil society organizations. The development of this novel typology addresses two gaps in the existing literature. Firstly, although relevant literature mostly uses "refugee" as an umbrella concept for all forced migrants, labeling all forced migrants as refugees substantially and systemically ignores those who do not have refugee status (e.g., those with an asylum application that has been refused). While solidarity towards refugees is legitimized by state authorities, solidarity towards irregular migrants is not, as they are officially unwanted people.

Secondly, hitherto literature on migration governance considers cities as a monolithic piece of the multilevel governance of migration. These studies mostly focus on the policymaking capacities of cities at the local level, policy negations concerning regional and/or national governments, and building trans-local networks. However, because local governments are not the only actors in cities, policymaking is only one dimension of urban solidarity among others. Grassroot organizations and other local initiatives have a great capacity to build solidarity in times of crisis (and beyond), with their action repertoires including innovative strategies to mobilize various resources. To fill these gaps in the existing literature, the main aim of this article is to unpack the distinct roles of local governments and local civil society actors in building a refuge for irregular migrants.

The empirical analysis presented in this article compares 13 global cities (in alphabetical order: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, Madrid, Milan, Munich, Paris, Prague, Rome, Stockholm, and Vienna) from different EU member states with distinct migration policies. The rationale behind the case selection lies in the role of global cities as strategic labor market sites for transnational migrants (Sassen, 2005). Against this backdrop, I build an urban solidarity typology based on the various strategies of local governments and local civil society organizations in the global cities of Europe.

This article is structured as follows: The first section sheds light on the existing literature on urban solidarity. The subsequent section of the conceptual framework highlights various relations between urban solidarity actors, providing a strong conceptual background for typology building. The next section offers an overview of the rationale behind the case selection, as well as the methods for data collection and data analysis. The findings develop the urban solidarity typology through the mapping of 13 cities. Limitations of this research, possible replications, implications, avenues for future research, and takeaways for practice are then discussed in the conclusion.

2. Literature review: urban solidarity

Since the introduction of the "local turn" (Caponio & Borkert, 2010) in Europe-oriented migration studies in the last decade, the role of cities has been investigated within multi-level migration governance[4] systems through different avenues, such as their alliances with other like-minded cities (Caponio, 2021; Oomen, 2020) or their relationship with their corresponding governments (Scholten & Penninx, 2016). Discussions of the role of cities in the inclusion of migrants and refugees look into urban settings as arenas where dynamics of inclusion and exclusion around these groups exist (Ambrosini, 2018; de Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016; Nicholls & Uitermark, 2016). This broad literature observes cities both contesting national borders and supporting cosmopolitan imaginaries based on human rights (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019), all in support of their aim to achieve the mutual recognition of all inhabitants of the city regardless of their legal status. However, the existing literature has two main gaps. First, most studies use the term "refugee" as an inclusive category referring to all types of forced migrants, which undermines the precarity of irregular migrants. Second, by considering mainly the policy dimension, the majority of the literature considers cities as monolithic units in the migration governance of irregular migrants, which leaves room to analyze the roles of different actors within cities.

One concept that appears in the literature is that of a *solidarity city*. Yet, this concept is used to refer to various actions. On the hand, it has been used to refer cities showing willingness to challenge policies on the national scale (Fischer & Jørgensen, 2021) as sanctuary cities.[5] On the other hand, the concept of a solidarity city reaches beyond city limits through the Solidarity Cities network of Eurocities, colloquial use of "solidarity city" by civil society actors, and other urban solidarity networks in Berlin, Freiburg, and Zurich (Bauder, 2021). According to Bauder (2021), "urban solidarity towards migrants and refugees extends beyond city limits as a result of coordinated top-down and grassroots efforts"(Bauder, 2021, p. 12). While it offers a great contribution to the literature, this article errs in assuming that the causes or the methods of "local and transnational" solidarity groups are similar. Although the relation between the local level and the transnational level is inevitable considering the above-mentioned networks and urban solidarity practices, it is vital to differentiate the roles and aims of solidarity actors at the local, national, and transnational scales. Christoph and Kron (2019) conducted further empirical research on urban solidarity, analyzing Berlin, Barcelona, Naples, and Zurich as solidarity cities and providing solid examples of solidarity practices undertaken by local governments and civil society organizations in these cities (Christoph and Kron, 2019). Kron and Lebuhn (2020) compare these same cities with sanctuary cities based on concepts of urban citizenship, social inequalities, and freedom of movement (Kron & Lebuhn, 2020). Kreichauf and Mayer (2021) evaluated the scope and multidimensional meaning of "a city of solidarity" by focusing on urban solidarity for forced migrants in Berlin (Kreichauf and Mayer, 2021). Their research illustrates how interactions and negotiations of urban solidarity actors may explain rise of solidarity cities as well as the limits of solidarity cities (e.g., budget) (Kreichauf and Mayer, 2021).

Agustín and Jørgensen (2018), for their part, drew up a typology of solidarity expressed as autonomous solidarity, civic solidarity, and institutional solidarity. They focused on distinct types of solidarity relations by looking at different cases in Athens, Barcelona, and the Danish network Venligboerne ("friendly neighbors") (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018). To conceptualize autonomous solidarity, Agustín and Jørgensen (2018) explored the City Plaza in Athens as a self-organized housing project for/of homeless refugees (refugee squats) and highlighted the contention capacity of solidarity. They examined the Danish network Venligboerne as an example of civic solidarity practiced by formal citizens for humanitarian reasons. Finally, for institutional solidarity, they investigated the "Barcelona as a City of Refuge" plan as a formal nexus between civil society and policymaking, where both the relations and the tensions between these parties are more immediate (Agustín &

[3] Although the media and politicians commonly referred to the high number of non-Europeans entering Europe in 2015 as a "refugee crisis," this terminology completely disregards forced migrants who do not have refugee status. Thus, based on the inadequate reaction of European member states to meet the humanitarian needs of irregular migrants, it is more accurate to refer to this crisis as a *crisis of refuge*.

[4] Multi-level governance (MLG) is a theoretical concept used to understand the policymaking process and multiple relations between state and nonstate actors across different levels (between local, regional, national, and supra- or transnational levels) (Scholten & Penninx, 2016).

[5] The sanctuary movement refers to actions pioneered in the 1980s by churches and faith organizations offering sanctuary to numerous people who fled El Salvador and Guatemala to escape from civil unrest, which gained political importance with the involvement of local governments across the United States of America.

Jørgensen, 2018). In the typology I develop in this paper, I propose that bottom-up solidarity can be considered a form of autonomous solidarity and hybrid urban solidarity for irregular migrants can be considered a form of what Agustín and Jørgensen (2018) call "institutional solidarity". As a contribution to their distinguished work, what this paper proposes is to develop a systematic analysis of an urban solidarity typology which is not case-specific. Furthermore, although Agustín and Jørgensen (2018) thoroughly analyze each solidarity type in terms of solidarity towards refugees, asylum seekers, and irregular migrants at the city level (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018), a more detailed analysis is needed to clarify which group benefits from solidarity and to build a typology. All in all, although there have been significant contributions to the literature on urban solidarity for migrants, existing literature on small-N comparisons in Europe mostly considers refugees, asylum seekers, and irregular migrants as a homogenous group of migrants. Therefore, a somewhat more detailed discussion is required on how urban solidarity itself varies and what kinds of urban solidarity exist. While urban solidarity for refugees and asylum seekers compensates for the role of the welfare state, urban solidarity for irregular migrants is a substitute for the role of the state. Therefore, it is vital to highlight the beneficiaries of urban solidarity because being in solidarity with irregular migrants is an explicit challenge to state sovereignty. In other words, while practising solidarity for (legally) recognized vulnerable groups is a legitimate act, crafting urban solidarity for irregular migrants is a rebellious act.

In this vein, some scholars deliberately elaborate on the role of the cities as urban solidarity providers only for their irregular residents by focusing on the relationship between state and substate actors (Ataç et al., 2020; Bazurli & Kaufmann, 2022; Kaufmann et al., 2021; Spencer, 2020; Spencer & Delvino, 2019). Some scholars especially focus on policies with detailed large-N comparative analyses of local policies for irregular migrants in European cities (Bazurli & Kaufmann, 2022; Delvino, 2017; Delvino & Spencer, 2019; Kaufmann et al., 2021). Although they acknowledge the role of civil society, their analyses are only limited to local policies. Following the trend of placing cities into Scholten's Multi-level Governance (MLG) of Migration Typology,[6] Spencer (2018) applied the decoupling model to analyze municipalities' responses to migrants with irregular status (Spencer, 2018). In this research, Spencer (2018) underlined the importance of the functionality of civil society and shadow governance in case the local government does not want an explicit conflict with the national government (Spencer, 2018). This finding was also advocated in another comparative case study to understand the role of cities (Amsterdam, Stockholm, Vienna) in supporting nonremoved rejected asylum seekers (NRAS) within the MLG structure (Ataç et al., 2020). While they aimed to analyze urban solidary systematically within the MLG, their analysis remained limited to positioning the cities into Scholten's typology rather than conducting a systematic analysis of the relational dynamics of urban solidarity actors. Instead of placing cities within the MLG structure, Bazurli and Kaufmann (2022) compared Barcelona, Milan, and Munich through MLG to explain the (non)emergence of insurgent urban asylum policies. Their findings illustrate that insurgent urban asylum policies are only possible through building alliances among progressive actors, thanks to strong grassroots initiatives in the given cities (Bazurli & Kaufmann, 2022). Although this article has an immense contribution to urban migration literature in terms of policymaking, it errs to explain other forms of urban solidarity form than alliance building to understand progressive cities.

Lambert and Swerts (2019) also contributed to hitherto research on alliance building between like-minded actors for irregular migrants by exploring the relations between (and among) civil society actors and city officials (Lambert & Swerts, 2019). They delved into the case of the 'Liège, Commune Hospitalière' campaign to analyze the relation between politicization and depoliticization in urban sanctuary campaigns as well as dynamics of inclusionary or exclusionary practices for irregular migrants at the local level (Lambert & Swerts, 2019). They argue that when grassroots organizations negotiate the rights of irregular migrants with local authorities, it causes depoliticization of movement as "the idea of the 'sanctuary city' was down-graded to a 'welcoming city' in the interest of 'productive collaboration.'" (Lambert & Swerts, 2019, p. 97). This article illustrates that when local governments and local civil society organizations build alliances; it might prevent irregular migrants` participation into the movement, which is a tangible example of exclusion of irregular migrants (Lambert & Swerts, 2019). Their contribution is, therefore, shows municipal activism is an essential feature of urban solidarity for irregular migrants, as activist municipalities do not detour explicit support of irregular migrants. Although this case study generously illustrates that urban solidarity is an outcome of negotiations and compromises of the urban solidarity actors, there is still a need for a comparative analysis of different constellations of urban solidarity.

Overall, the existing literature shows that while cities have a great potential to become solidarity areas for irregular migrants by decoupling from their national governments through a diverse set of policies and practices, the role of cities cannot be fully understood without a fine-grained systematic analysis of the interplay between urban solidarity actors. In this regard, this article proposes to fill this gap by developing a detailed analysis of urban solidarity for irregular immigrants. This analysis consists of two dimensions: local governments and local civil society. The conceptual framework highlights the roles of these different actors in urban solidarity building.

3. Conceptual framework: the role of urban solidarity actors

As the United States-born sanctuary movement gradually took hold in Europe, European cities needed to restructure it due to their comparatively limited local autonomy. This article refers to this practice of building safe and secure refuge as urban solidarity, defining solidarity as "dispositions and practices of help or support towards others in struggle or in need, be that by personal contributions or by active support of activities of others, within informal and/or institutionalized communities" (Lahusen, 2016, p. 10). Urban solidarity, therefore, can be understood as the sum of a diverse set of policies and practices that take place in various areas of negotiation, varying from the national political arena to public space in cities. In this sense, urban solidarity encompasses acts ranging from insurgent practices against power holders to building alliances with like-minded actors for the well-being of irregular migrants.

Existing research in cities highlighted the relational and contextual aspect of solidarity for migrants and refugees through diverse relations and connections (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018; Bauder, 2019). Urban solidarity towards irregular migrants has been discussed in two different avenues: the role of the local governments (Ataç et al., 2020; Bazurli, 2019; Bazurli & Kaufmann, 2022; Delvino, 2017; Garcés-Mascareñas & Gebhardt, 2020; Kaufmann, 2019; Kaufmann et al., 2021; Spencer & Delvino, 2019) and that of civil society organizations (Bazurli, 2019; Karakayali, 2017; Lambert & Swerts, 2019). In the European context, local governments' role is shaped by their interpretation of national migration regulations. Local governments that go beyond centralized governance regarding migration (Spencer, 2018) and apply local policies to irregular migrants are called "activist municipalities" (Spencer &

[6] Since Scholten (2013) developed the centralist (or top-down) (i.e., hierarchical relations between levels of government), multi-level (i.e., a clear central codification of the division of labor between levels), localist (or bottom-up) (i.e., local governments do not only implement policies but also formulate local policies), and decoupling (i.e., policies at different levels are either disconnected or contradictory) modes of governance, there has been an escalating interest in placing cities into this well-developed typology in terms of migration governance. However, there is still limited research focusing only on the role of the cities for irregular migrants within MLG.

Delvino, 2019). Municipal activism is summed up as "actions that facilitate access to services for irregular migrants that are taken in spite of, and to a degree mitigating, restrictive national legal and policy frameworks" (Delvino & Spencer, 2019: 27). Activist municipalities provide "formal" inclusion of irregular migrants through equal access to municipal services including shelter, housing, legal advice, healthcare, education, language courses, mentoring programs, and documentation (e.g., birth certificates) (Delvino & Spencer, 2019; Kaufmann, 2019; Kaufmann et al., 2021; Kron & Lebuhn, 2020).

The heterogeneity of civil society[7] is an integral part of urban solidarity, as it allows simultaneous engagement with different forms of solidarity practices. These practices are dependent on the particular situation and needs of the newcomers (Feischmidt et al., 2018), their geographical position (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018), and their national and local contexts (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018; Bauder & Weisser, 2019; Della Porta, 2018; Feischmidt et al., 2018). To this end, within the context of the crisis of refuge, solidarity practices generated by civil society vary from the first welcome to newcomers at train stations (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018), transnational journeys (Feischmidt et al., 2018), squatting for accommodation (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018), to emergent practices (e.g., providing material support, food, clothes) (Zamponi, 2018), demonstrations, and integration-related practices ranging from language classes to vocational training (Bazurli, 2019).

When it comes to how these urban solidarity actors interact with each other, they either build alliances or have contentious relations. They may build alliances as a win-win game for both parties. While local governments lower their risk of violating national rules (Delvino, 2017) and reduce the size of government bureaucracy (Spencer & Delvino, 2019), civil society gains visibility and legitimacy (Belloni, 2016; Cappiali & Triviño-Salazar, 2018; Della Porta, 2018), financial or moral support (Spencer & Delvino, 2019; Steil & Vasi, 2014), and easier access to institutions and policymaking processes (Steil & Vasi, 2014) through alliance building. Yet, when the local governments are part of a vertical and hierarchical system that excludes irregular migrants from welfare state services, they might have contentious relations with proactive civil society organizations. In this case, activist networks shape their repertoires of contention[8] through helping and taking care of irregular migrants alongside their practices of political contention (Belloni, 2016).

As obtaining a regular residence status could take several years, involvement of civil society in the political sphere is inevitable. This is to say, civil society does not show itself only in the first arrival of the migrants, but it also covers to advocate rights of regularization. According to Hellgren (2014), civil society actors operate as intermediaries between irregular migrants and state actors to facilitate mass regularizations (Hellgren, 2014). In other words, these regularization debates and other forms of solidarity actions taken by the civil society politicize irregular migrants. While Nicholls (2016) argues that civil society facilitates politicization of irregular migrants' interests (Nicholls, 2016), Lambert and Swerts (2019) discuss that involvement of civil society may increase the risk of depoliticizing the rights and precariousness of irregular migrants unless they constantly negotiate the conditions of social and exclusion with the local governments (Lambert & Swerts, 2019). That is why, when civil society engaged with the public actors, it should be cautious because of the risk of reproducing the status quo of exclusion (Swerts & Nicholls, 2021).

The urban migration literature points out an interaction between various urban solidarity actors. However, this has not yet been examined through a systematic analysis of the complex relations between the local governments and the local civil society organizations. Developing an urban solidarity typology does not only contribute to the urban migration literature by unpacking the city, but it also enables an empirical comparison of cities with diverse sets of policies and practices. This article, therefore, is set in the context of an inductively developed urban solidarity typology by comparing 13 global cities across Europe. In the Methodology section, I will uncover case selection, methods used in this research, and the rationality of typology building.

4. Methodology

4.1. Case selection

This article analyzes Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, Madrid, Milan, Munich, Paris, Prague, Rome, Stockholm, and Vienna. These cities are global cities (Global Cities Index (GCI) 2019), each with over 1,000,000 inhabitants, in the EU. I firmly looked at global cities which are large urban centers that enjoy being technological advance hubs within a globalized economic system (Sassen, 2001). Due to their local socioeconomic structure being tailored to support the global economy, global cities are epicenters of social inequality, polarization, and income distribution (Sassen, 2001). Nonetheless, as large, and internationally connected cities with diverse labor markets, they attract most migrants including irregular ones since they provide them with greater anonymity and wider job opportunities in the large informal ("black") market (Lee, 2017, as cited in Kaufman, 2019). Related to this, global cities often tend to generate urban solidarity by extending rights to all of their citizens regardless of their legal status or nationality (Manfredi-Sánchez, 2020).

The selection of these cities is purposeful, as they are attraction points for a diverse set of migrants. However, these cities are very diverse in context: they differ in their degree of local autonomy, migration stock, diversity level, the political ideology of local and national government, the relative wealth of households, financial resources, geographic location, the presence of a broader civil society, and so on. While I acknowledge the need to explore how these different factors affect urban solidarity, such an exploration is beyond the scope of this article. In this article, I offer a descriptive urban solidarity typology based on empirical data from 13 global cities across Europe; an explanation of why cities generate different forms of urban solidarity is left for future research.

4.2. Data collection

In this research, data selection was limited to the five years between 2015 and 2019, inclusive. The beginning of the time frame, 2015, saw the highest level of asylum applications in Europe (Eurostat, 2021) and the end of 2020 saw the outbreak of COVID-19, another crisis that required cities to take additional measures for their precarious population. To avoid potential bias, I did not consider policies and practices adopted after 2020. The typology created, however, is replicable for analyzing COVID-19 measures in cities across the globe.

Data collection was based on a wide array of documents to provide internal consistency and to avoid "biased selectivity" (Yin, 1994, p. 80). All collected data was aimed at data triangulation for both local policies and local civil society organizations. Thus, for urban policies, I collected data from (1) local official policy documents, including municipal policy implementation and action plans for irregular migrants; (2) municipal agreements with other urban solidarity actors; (3) relevant literature

[7] Civil society consists of "a wide array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations, labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations" (World Bank, 2012).

[8] Repertoires of contention is a term used in social movement literature. Charles Tilly (1995) defines repertoire of contention as "a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice. Repertoires are learned cultural creations, but they do not descend from abstract philosophy or take shape as a result of political propaganda; they emerge from struggle. People learn to break windows in protest, attack pilloried prisoners, tear down dishonoured houses, stage public marches, petition, hold formal meetings, and organize special-interest associations. At any particular point in history, however, they learn only a rather small number of alternative ways to act collectively" (Tilly, 1995, p. 43).

about local policies for irregular migrants. To gain insight into the role of urban policies within the MLG of migration, I also looked at national and regional policies to differentiate local policies for irregular migrants, along with relevant literature about the respective nation-states.

For data collection of local civil society organizations, (1) I explored registration records in the corresponding country, region, or city; (2) I looked at single or comparative case studies regarding civil society actions towards irregular migrants; (3) I ran an internet search with their respective languages by also considering synonymous keywords for irregular migrants: undocumented, illegal, irregular migrant, rejected/refused asylum seeker, migrants without documents, aliens. Since international or nationwide organizations supposedly have less contention capacity and more alliance-building opportunities with municipalities and other levels of government, I focused on local civil society organizations to capture proactive action in the selected cities. As civil society organizations mostly help those who are in need regardless of their legal status, I included all local civil society organizations for refugees, asylum seekers, and other irregular migrants unless they specifically express that they only provide aid to refugees (e.g. Abrazo Cultural in Barcelona). In the analysis of their relations with municipalities, partnership agreements and funding records enabled me to distinguish alliances, and civil society organizations' websites, newspapers, and secondary literature helped me identify contentions, for example identifying police evacuations of informal settlements (see Appendices A and B for a detailed explanation of data collection).

4.3. Data analysis

I used N-Vivo software to analyze the collected data. Although I mostly used a deductive approach for the coding process, all coding processes used reiterative and mixed inductive (e.g. contentious relations) and deductive approaches (e.g., municipal activism). When municipal documents covered irregular migrants' access to welfare state services that were not provided by their corresponding governments, *municipal activism* was used as a code. As cities without any documents for irregular migrants were not analyzed in N-Vivo, no code was attained for these cities initially; I then coded them automatically as *no action*.

As this research does not aim to measure the magnitude of civil society, I coded civil society organizations based on their relation to the local governments, rather than the number of organizations or demonstrations. I used *alliance* and *contention* codes to refer to various relations between urban solidarity actors. This coding scheme was a combination of all data collected on civil society and is intended to capture a broad picture. Thus, a municipality coded as an *alliance* does not necessarily mean that all civil society in that city builds alliances with the municipality. While *alliance* and *contention* codes indicate *a high level of civil society*, the absence of any relation between the municipality and local civil society was considered a *low level of civil society*. This initial coding helped to develop a binary coding system to place cases within the typology. In this binary coding system, I use *Yes* and *No* to determine the presence and absence of local policies as well as the alliance between the local governments and local civil society actors. Coded data provided me with solid empirical grounds on which to build the urban solidarity typology. Although data collection and data analysis are depicted as a linear, step-by-step procedure, the entire process involved reiterative research of within-case analysis and cross-case comparisons. Table 1 shows how binary results are determined through the number of policies, alliances, and contention areas.

4.4. Typology building

In this article, I develop a typology that takes urban solidarity as an overarching concept. Typologies are used by many social and natural scientist scholars to describe and explain complex organizational forms through parsimonious frameworks (Doty & Glick, 1994). This article proposes a descriptive typology of urban solidarity which I built inductively using the following steps: (1) identifying the overall concept, (2) carefully constructing the cell types entailing a clear level of measurement, and (3) establishing mutually exclusive categories, (4) recognizing the type of the typology with a distinction between descriptive and explanatory typologies, (5) comparing concrete cases (Collier et al., 2008). I used urban solidarity as an overarching concept and "diminished" subtypes (see also radial concepts in Collier & Mahon, 1993) of urban solidarity. Diminished subtypes represent an incomplete form of the overarching concept. However, while their missing part identifies a specific attribute of an overarching concept, establishing the diminished character of the subtype sheds light on other attributes of the overarching concept that are present (Collier & Levitsky, 1996). The classificatory function of typologies, therefore, requires coding empirical data to place cases in a particular diminished category. Each diminished category with different attributes provides a parsimonious comparison of the cases. The construction of the typology will be discussed in detail in the Results and discussion section.

Table 1
Data analysis of urban solidarity.

	Amsterdam	Barcelona	Berlin	Brussels	Budapest	Madrid	Milan	Munich	Paris	Prague	Rome	Stockholm	Vienna
Total number of policies	4	3	3	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1
Number of policies for accommodation	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
Number of policies for health access	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of policies for other services	2	1	3	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Binary results for municipal activism	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
Total number of alliances	1	4	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	1
Number of alliances for accommodation	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of alliances for health access	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Number of alliances for other services	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Binary results for alliance	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
The number of informal camps	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Binary results for contention	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No

Source: Created by the author.

5. Results and discussion

This section presents urban solidarity typology and findings with a fine-grained analysis for each case to distribute the cases into the typology.

5.1. Urban solidarity typology

This typology is needed in the urban migration literature, as recent research on urban solidarity has shown that urban solidarity is much more complex, contradictory, and varied than is possible to classify as only top-down (local policies–oriented) or bottom-up (civil society practices–oriented) (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018; Bauder, 2020; Young, 2011). Neither local policies nor civil society practices dimension can exist without the other. In this regard, while some scholars touch upon alliance building between the local governments and local civil society actors (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018; Ataç et al., 2020; Bauder, 2021; Bazurli & Kaufmann, 2022; Garcés-Mascareñas & Gebhardt, 2020; Lambert & Swerts, 2019), it requires to analyze these forms of urban solidarity forms through a typology. To develop urban solidarity typology, on the one hand, I explore policies implemented by local governments as top-down urban solidarity. On the other hand, I delve into bottom-up urban solidarity by looking at civil society practices for illegalized migrants. These two reference points provide an analytical tool with constellations of different forms of migration governance. Urban solidarity typology consists of four diminished subtypes as follows: hybrid, top-down, bottom-up, and limited urban solidarity. These adjectives highlight different combinations of high or low levels of municipal activism and proactive civil society, as it can be seen in Table 2.

When local governments work together with civil society to build all-encompassing urban solidarity, with innovative as well as rebellious (to some degree) policies and practices for irregular migrants, this form of solidarity is called *hybrid urban solidarity*. Hybrid urban solidarity is largely a function of the various resources of the city and how these resources are used by urban solidarity actors within a new or existing structure of networks and institutions. Whether local governments or grassroots organizations initiate urban solidarity, it is likely to have the support of the other party. This reciprocity secures further opportunities to build alliances.

In the case of a low level of civil society, activist municipalities must challenge the national governments with only their own limited sources. *Top-down urban solidarity* indicates that only institutional channels mobilize urban solidarity: local governments are the only actors to confront restrictive national migration governance and the only actors to enable irregular migrants to access welfare state provisions. Civil society does not mobilize, and urban solidarity is provided by the municipality.

Unlike top-down urban solidarity, *bottom-up urban solidarity* arises when local governments are an extension of hegemonic and exclusion-based national governance on migration. This bottom-up approach leads to everyday negotiations on informal grounds. Thus, actions taken by civil society evidently open space of contention with the local government. These contentious relations can be translated into various repertoires of solidarity. However, these repertoires of solidarity mobilized by civil society can only partially meet the fundamental needs of irregular migrants. In line with this, irregular migrants become de facto elements of civil society in bottom-up urban solidarity.

In some cases, there is no municipal support and civil society does not or cannot mobilize to provide support to irregular migrants. This *limited urban solidarity* does not necessarily mean that these cities have anti-refugee (or anti–irregular migrants) sentiments. In some cases, this inadequate solidarity is rooted in sovereign powers which may suppress civil society by criminalizing solidarity. In other cases, a lack of communication between the actors can emerge as a constraint for urban solidarity.

Based on collected data, I developed binary coding for municipal activism and alliances between local governments and local civil society organizations. This binary coding system provides parsimonious rationality for placing cases into the typology. Although local government strategies vary in how they confront national governments, this typology does not measure greater or lesser degrees of municipal activism but rather adopts a binary logic to create a partially ordered scale. In this regard, Table 3 introduces policies and practices case by case to provide a broader understanding of how I placed each case into the given typology. The table illustrates the presence or absence of municipal activism and alliances between local governments and local civil society organizations.

Based on the binary coding schema of thirteen cases, only six cities emerged as hybrid urban solidarity by explicitly or implicitly challenging their respective governments through collaboration between the local government and local civil society organizations. Three other cities demonstrated bottom-up solidarity: local governments in these cities are reluctant to provide services to irregular migrants, and informal settlements arise in these cities with collaboration between local civil society and forced migrants. Police dismantled informal settlements of forced migrants several times in these cities, illustrating a contentious relationship between civil society and local government rather than an alliance-building one. The final four cities showed limited urban solidarity, where neither local governments nor civil society show visible actions of solidarity with irregular migrants. Among the four types, hybrid solidarity has the most capacity for solidarity, and limited urban solidarity has the least. However, there is no inherent order between top-down and bottom-up urban solidarity.

Table 2
Urban solidarity typology.

		Municipal activism	
		High	Low
Proactive civil society	High	Hybrid urban solidarity	Bottom-up urban solidarity
	Low	Top-down urban solidarity	Limited urban solidarity

Source: Created by the author. The urban solidarity typology is inspired by Scholten's typology of the multi-level governance of migration (Scholten, 2013). It adapts Scholten's typology into city settings rather than a state setting. Although it has similarities in terms of name-giving (e.g., top-down, bottom-up), the analytical reasoning of urban solidarity typology which was explained above is different than MLG typology as it analyses the city-level.

5.2. Findings

This subsection describes the empirical findings of the fine-grained analysis of the 13 cities (Please see: Tables A and B in the Appendices for an illustrative sample of the data collected.). One main takeaway of this research is that civil society is the main element of urban solidarity. That is why the empirical research finds that none of the 13 cities appeared as *top-down urban solidarity*. I interpret this to mean that urban solidarity cannot arise through only institutional channels; rather there

Table 3
Mapping urban solidarity.

Types of urban solidarity	Cases
Hybrid urban solidarity	Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Milan, Munich, and Vienna
Top-down urban solidarity	None
Bottom-up urban solidarity	Brussels, Paris, and Rome
Limited urban solidarity	Budapest, Prague, Madrid, and Stockholm

Source: Created by the author.

must be a strong civil society in cities as urban solidarity actors. In other words, the findings show that activist municipalities do not emerge spontaneously, but they need civil society actors to allocate their responsibilities. This finding, therefore, reaffirms the significance of civil society, which has already been considered a must for urban solidarity (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2018; Ataç & Steinhilper, 2020; Bazurli & Kaufmann, 2022).

Secondly, I analyze *hybrid urban solidarity*, which describes a high level of municipal activism and a high level of civil society activism. Based on the meticulous analysis of existing policies and practices of collaboration between local government and local civil society organizations, Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Milan, Munich, and Vienna are classified as hybrid urban solidarity. As a response to the strict migration policies of the Netherlands,[9] the municipality of Amsterdam has The Office for Undocumented Migrants (Loket Ongedocumenteerden) and its own bed, bath, and bread scheme for irregular migrants for up to 18 months, with the collaboration of We Are Here groups composed of former irregular migrants. Like Amsterdam, the municipality of Milan also collaborates with civil society to provide accommodation for irregular migrants. Centro Sammartini[10] coordinates access to different types of accommodation at the municipal level, including those provided by a consortium of 18 local civil society organizations (OSAR, 2020). Similar to Amsterdam and Milan, in September 2015, the municipality of Barcelona worked together with local civil society organizations through pilot projects based on outsourcing (e.g., an employment plan designed for 10 irregular migrants with BarcelonaActua), direct funding, or moral support with active involvement in pro-refugee demonstrations. The municipality also launched the "Barcelona, Ciutat Refugi" plan, declaring Barcelona a "City of Refuge."(Barcelona Refuge City, n.d.). Barcelona, Ciutat Refugi includes the Nausica Accommodation Program, which was implemented to cover irregular migrants. While the main dimension of urban solidarity in Amsterdam, Milan, and Barcelona was to provide accommodation; in Berlin, Munich, and Vienna it was to facilitate health access. The municipality of Berlin issues an anonymous health card for irregular citizens (Berlin.de, n.d.) with the collaboration of many grassroots organizations including Medibüro, which has been providing health services to irregular migrants for more than two decades[11]. As like Berlin, the municipality of Munich provides anonymous healthcare access to irregular migrants with low-budget healthcare by cooperating with local civil society organizations (e.g., Café 104) (Landeshauptstadt München, 2018; Landeshauptstadt München, n.d.). The Social Fund of Vienna funds Amber-Med, an organization that provides health services to irregular migrants. Although this research does not consider the years before 2015, it is important to state that this alliance-building between urban solidarity actors did not emerge suddenly. Rather, these alliances mostly resulted from negotiations over time. Cities with hybrid urban solidarity are more open to finding common ground in negotiation. For instance, the We are Here group in Amsterdam had contentious relations with the municipality as they rejected using homeless centers of the city, yet they agreed to collaborate on the city's basic bed, bath, and bread scheme for irregular migrants. While these alliances in hybrid urban solidarity are rooted in various negotiations, they are largely not legally binding. Thus, hybrid urban solidarity can emerge with short-term compromises between urban solidarity actors, which may lead to greater alliance-building in the long run. In other words, bottom-up urban solidarity has the potential to become hybrid urban solidarity once there are reasonable grounds for negotiation for both parties. As each party complements the other, this mode of solidarity opens a window of opportunity to diversify repertoires of solidarity through the exchange of various resources (e.g., human capital). That is how hybrid urban solidarity has a great potential to create possibilities for irregular migrants beyond meeting their fundamental needs (e.g., accessing accommodation or health services).

The third type of urban solidarity is *bottom-up urban solidarity*. In contrast to hybrid urban solidarity cities, in Brussels, Paris, and Rome, the civil society aims to fill the gap left by the absence of the policy dimension of urban solidarity. These local governments do not provide any alternative solutions to enable irregular migrants to meet their basic needs (e.g., accommodation), nor do they prevent police forces from evacuating informal settlements. The main commonality between these cities is that they become default destinations for migrants who intended them to be transit points. The "first country rule"[12] or slow asylum application systems in intended destination countries lead some migrants to be stuck in these transit countries, which become their de facto country of destination, without access to social services. Consequently, these migrants build informal settlements close to train stations and asylum application centers. Local civil society organizations help establish these informal settlements due to their great capacity to mobilize diverse sets of resources. For instance, Plateforme Citoyenne de Soutien aux Réfugiés and CollectActif, which both consist of former irregular migrants, helped recently arrived irregular migrants build an informal refugee camp in Maximilian Park in Brussels, which was exposed to several evacuations by the police force. The experience of migrants who arrive in Rome mirrors that of their fellow migrants in Brussels: they also built a camp close to the Roma Tiburtina train station. Baobab Experience caters to this informal settlement, which has been evacuated many times by the police. Unlike in Brussels and Rome, the informal settlements of irregular migrants in Paris are dispersed across the city, rather than clustering in a specific area since camps are constantly subject to violent dismantling by the Paris police. Furthermore, the situation in Paris is slightly different from Rome and Brussels in terms of the migrant population in the street because male refugees and asylum seekers (OECD, 2019), alongside irregular migrants, are also excluded from accessing welfare services in France. Against this backdrop, bottom-up solidarity started with spontaneous actions by local people distributing food and clothing and has grown as mushrooming organizations have shown solidarity with these migrants in their fragile situation.

The last form of urban solidarity is *limited urban solidarity*. While the municipalities of Prague and Budapest are notably resistant to any further inclusion of (irregular) migrants, the local governments of Stockholm and Madrid include refugees and asylum seekers in their urban solidarity agenda. Although the municipality of Budapest did not take any official action nor imply a policy for these migrants in transit, in the absence of adequate state-provided reception facilities they supplied six water taps and a few portable toilets at Keleti, Nyugati, and Deli train stations as "transit zones" where hundreds of migrants stayed for days

[9] "It will remain possible to provide emergency accommodation in individual cases on public policy grounds, but not individual food and shelter ('bed, bath and bread') arrangements." (Dutch Ministry of Justice and Security, 2018, p. 10).

[10] Centro Sammartini is a former Central Station Help Center. It is not called a reception center but a homeless center to provide meals and accommodation to those in need regardless of legal status.

[11] In Germany, despite the right to accessing public health services in case of emergency, irregular migrants are at risk of deportation for non-emergency cases due to lack of firewall policies (PICUM, 2017). That is why, local government cooperation with civil society does not only provide to irregular migrants with accessing to health services, but it also protects them from possible deportation.

[12] The first country rule states that the first EU member state in which a person seeking international protection has either (a) been recognized as a refugee and will avail himself/herself of that protection or (b) otherwise enjoys sufficient protection, including benefiting from the principle of non-refoulement, will provide protection to that person (Art. 35 of Directive 2013/32/EU - Recast Asylum Procedures Directive).

(Amnesty International, 2015). As a response to the humanitarian crisis in train stations exacerbated by national-level pushbacks,[13] spontaneous solidarity practices emerged through protests and food distribution, provision of medical aid, and distribution of sleeping bags, tents, and clothes by volunteers (Hartocollis, 2015). However, these spontaneous civil society actions were not continuous enough to be considered bottom-up urban solidarity. Prague, as a city in a Visegrád Group country,[14] has even less civil society solidarity mobilization than Budapest. In Prague, there are only four pro-refugee nonprofit organizations, one of which is a church. They are not particularly local, despite their centers being in Prague: as civil society organizations in the Czech Republic are already limited, these four engage beyond the city scope. Although there are some attempts by civil society in Prague and across the country to assist refugees (even in cross-border travels) (Jelínková, 2019), Prague witnessed anti-refugee/anti-Muslim protests and attacks towards the autonomous social center Klinika (Sabah, 2015). Unlike Budapest and Prague, the local governments of Madrid and Stockholm do not neglect irregular migrants completely, but urban solidarity has not emerged explicitly for irregular migrants there, either. For instance, the municipality of Madrid started a public campaign called "Madrid sí cuida" ("Madrid does look after you") to inform irregular migrants of their avenues to access healthcare in the city. It also gives irregular migrants access to administrative procedures, libraries, and even public sports facilities through a "Tarjeta de Vecindad" ("Neighborhood Card"), which is similar to a municipal register called the "padrón" that all cities in Spain provide to residents regardless of their legal status. However, all residents of Spain are entitled to access health services and the municipal register regardless of their legal status. Therefore, although the municipality of Madrid does not completely neglect irregular migrants, neither does it go beyond the state provisions as an activist municipality. Apart from national and international NGOs, there is no strong evidence of a high level of mobilization for irregular migrants. In Sweden, more restrictive asylum policies have been enforced since 2016, including an immediate cessation of all access to welfare services in cases of asylum application denial (Ministry of Justice, 2016). However, neither the municipality of Stockholm nor grassroots organizations in Stockholm showed any resistance to the implementation of this strict law on the reception of asylum seekers. As like Madrid, although there are a number of national and international civil society organizations in Stockholm, there are very few local organizations that help irregular migrants explicitly (Shange, 2020). And, the municipality of Stockholm only provides support to refugees through the Intro-Stockholm program. Unlike the municipality of Barcelona or Munich, the municipality of Stockholm does not use refugee as an umbrella term to include all forced migrants.

Beyond the typology, the findings show that urban solidarity entails profound elements of rebellion, togetherness, compassion, and consistency. While the spark of solidarity is reactive in moments of crisis, widening the solidarity network within (and beyond) the city is proactive. On the one hand, top-down urban solidarity reflects an institutional project to recognize the pluralistic nature of societies through proactive policies which attempt to provide equality among all urban residents in a rebellious act of solidarity against exclusionary state policies. On the other hand, bottom-up urban solidarity emerges as a practice in reaction to inert governments that seeks equity either by providing help or assistance to the newcomers or by joining other like-minded actors against powerholders. Urban solidarity constructs, deconstructs and reconstructs new possibilities of coexistence in the city. Every form of urban solidarity in the proposed typology has its own unique capacity to navigate or transform new or existing sources to address the elective ignorance of powerholders.

6. Conclusion

A high number of people from non-EU countries escaping from persecution, war, and political turbulence in their countries entered Europe without legal permission and remained in Europe without fulfilling the conditions of stay. Most of them remained in Europe without legal permission because of the "first country rule", the long waiting period for asylum applications, and the peak of negative asylum decisions in 2015 across Europe (Eurostat, 2021). EU member states have been trying to prevent the presence of unlawful migrants in their sovereign areas through a diverse set of strategies, including agreements with origin and transit countries and strict border and asylum policies (International Organization for Migration, 2007). However, neither pushback at the borders nor restricted access to meeting fundamental needs prevents migrants from trying to find opportunities for better living conditions, even if they have to risk their lives to reach them (e.g., dangerous border-crossing practices, lack of access to health services, etc.). Apart from visa regimes and entry policies (Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012; Triandafyllidou, 2014) of the European Union (EU) member states, exclusion of irregular migrants from public services (Van Meeteren, 2010) is also a common practice among the member states. Despite their incompetency in terms of border policies or the regularization of irregular migrants (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019), some cities emerge as solidarity hubs in the crisis of refuge. Although solidarity can be staged in various micro areas in the cities such as public squares, specific neighborhoods (see: (Fischer & Jørgensen, 2021; Lafazani, 2018), or particular policy dimensions (see: Delvino & Spencer, 2019; Kaufmann et al., 2021), urban solidarity is the sum of these practices. Considering these diverse settings, this article investigates how cities vary in terms of generating urban solidarity for irregular migrants. These variances are framed through an urban solidarity typology which is based on the constellation of responses from civil society and the elaboration of municipal policies across Europe.

In this research, I applied the theoretical "actor-centered" approach of multilevel governance (Marks, 2007) to the city level to conduct a systematic analysis of relational configurations of urban solidarity actors by focusing on various dynamics between local governments and local civil society organizations. By placing irregular migrants in a more detailed context, this benchmarking study proposes a theoretical contribution by building an urban solidarity typology.

Apart from its theoretical contribution, its empirical contribution is a mapping of 13 global cities in the EU into this urban solidarity typology. This empirical analysis not only offers an opportunity to evaluate the applicability of the urban solidarity typology but also paves the way for the identification of patterns and dynamics of urban solidarity for

[13] Instead of providing services, the Hungarian government runs a xenophobic anti-migrant campaign through booklets and billboards stating the dangers of welcoming migrants as they are "Muslim invaders" and "economic migrants," but not refugees (Gall, 2016). The state also prohibited any action to help migrants with a law known as "Stop Soros," and criminalized "illegal entry" to Hungary in August 2015 (Amnesty International, 2015). However, Budapest was a transit city for migrants who were neglected by the state.

[14] Visegrád Group Countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) declared that tackling the root cause of migration (e.g. war in Syria) is a better strategy than open border policies (European Commission, 2015), therefore, it implied deterring border policies on the Balkan route (Ivanova, 2016).

(irregular) migrants in different contexts[15] or different time frames.[16] Furthermore, it can be applied beyond migration to many other contexts (e.g., the role of cities in sustainable development) which require an empirical analysis of urban solidarity. All in all, this article offers a systematic analysis to identify different types of urban solidarity across Europe and beyond.

This research deliberately looks at the five-year interval between 2015 and 2019, inclusive. While 2015 saw the peak of irregular migrants in Europe, the end of 2019 was the year of the outbreak of COVID-19 as another crisis. I chose this time interval because moments of crisis trigger sudden acts of solidarity, but not necessarily a perpetual mode of action. Therefore, even in these five years, cities' placement within the typology has not been fixed. For instance, while Budapest could have been considered to display bottom-up urban solidarity in 2015 due to protests and direct action at the train stations at the beginning of the crisis of refuge, civil society did not show continued resistance against the strict national and local policies over the subsequent five years, leading to its placement in the limited urban solidarity type. All in all, this typology allows us to broaden the city-level knowledge of cases according to the type of urban solidarity despite some limitations. Lack of transparency in terms of the policies for irregular migrants at the local level and the fluid nature of civil society were the main challenges during the data collection phase of the research. I addressed these problems by considering secondary literature, including various types of reports and case studies on the given cases. Language barriers appeared as another limitation, which I overcame using advanced and accurate online translation tools.[17]

Apart from focusing on solidarity regimes in different times, exploring diverse dimensions of urban solidarity such as accommodation and access to the labor market or health services may be a starting point for thinking about how these domains form urban solidarity and build different solidarity repertoires. For instance, although Vienna displays hybrid urban solidarity when it comes to accessing health services, it has top-down urban solidarity in terms of accommodation. In this article, I develop a broader frame to analyze urban solidarity by considering a broader snapshot of the cities. In this regard, putting this typology into a time dimension and/or elaborating on a specific policy dimension is another possible amplification of this research.

Overall, this typology is a useful tool to unpack the roles of internal actors in the cities for a better understanding of the role of cities in the multi-level governance of migration. For future research, each city requires an in-depth case analysis, which may result in some changes in placement within the urban solidarity typology. As a theoretical contribution of this research, this typology is a legitimate and useful tool to understand urban solidarity, and it opens the door for further research based on an in-depth investigation of the structural differences between these cities.

Although this descriptive typology specifies urban solidarity as an overarching concept and differentiates empirical cases into analytical categories, further research is needed to explain why some cities generate urban solidarity while others do not. There are significant differences, including but not limited to migration trajectories in the given cities, gross domestic product per capita, degree of local autonomy, and city branding. Furthermore, in building the typology, I deliberately avoided possible explanatory factors as selectors since these European global cities themselves are of primary interest in the articulation of this research. In this regard, further research may shed light on degrees of urban solidarity by looking at diverse factors that can vary, such as the degree of local autonomy to ideological discrepancies between the state and the local governments.

6.1. *Takeaway for practice*

Despite these contextual and structural differences, together with civil society, city municipalities have the capacity to build all-encompassing urban solidarity with innovative as well as rebellious (to some degree) policies and practices for irregular migrants. Empirical data in this research has nevertheless shown that the dynamic relations between local governments and local civil society organizations have the potential to converge or diverge in finding negotiation grounds to establish urban solidarity. It is possible for them to converge when there is some willingness to engage in providing access to irregular migrants with various policies and practices. Therefore, practitioners can use this typology to improve relations among urban solidarity actors, due to its analytical classification. In this manner, the rationality adopted in this article is replicable for different types of vulnerable groups subject to precarious social status (e.g., refugees, asylum seekers, disabled, unemployed, or homeless people). Furthermore, although this research takes urban solidarity as an overarching concept, considering variations of urban hostility, the same formulation can also be used to understand hostile or conservative cities in terms of the inclusion of different migrant groups within rather more liberal and inclusive national policies. Furthermore, this actor-based typology forming is also replicable in less contentious subjects, such as understanding the capacity of the urban solidarity actors in managing air pollution.

This article informs local governments about data availability regarding irregular migrants. Local governments have the capacity to better manage migration with data on the number of irregular migrants living in the city. For instance, the municipal registry that includes all city residents regardless of their legal status in Spanish cities is a functional way for municipalities to keep track of the numbers of their irregular migrant residents when facilitating their access to social services. Although these data should consider firewall protection, which are not publicly available and/or shared with the nation-state, data availability could improve urban planning and delivery of public services, as well as increase the action capacity in times of crisis (e.g., COVID-19). Data availability could also draw the attention of urban planners to determine segregated areas and understand dense ethnic enclaves and neighborhood separation. Urban planners should consider the needs of this migrant population to create more accessible and inclusive city planning. Also, the lack of (accommodation) policies for irregular migrants correlates with the growth of new potential forms of residential areas (e.g., informal settlements in Rome, Brussels, and Paris), which corresponds with broader disparities.

Furthermore, urban solidarity typology is based on fluid, continuous, pragmatic, and transformative relations between local governments and local civil society. In this regard, urban solidarity actors should be informed that urban solidarity is not one-size-fits-all. It is contextual. It

[15] Proactive actions during the crisis of refuge in 2015, created a repertoire of solidarity for today's crises. For instance, during the outbreak of COVID-19, urban solidarity emerged through multiple examples, such as food banks or mass accommodation centers during lockdowns. Urban solidarity actors' immediate proactive or reactive responses to the crisis show that despite the distinct characteristics of each crisis, all urban solidarity practices have been contributing to advancing of know-how, policy dialogue, knowledge exchange, alliance building, resource mobilization, and various other strategies as a part of their solidarity repertoires.

[16] Since 2020, Europe has been dealing with many migration-related crises, including mass migration from Afghanistan due to the Taliban's takeover of the country in 2021 and mass migration from Ukraine because of the Russian invasion in 2022. Yet, considering the the open border policies of some EU countries, especially Hungary and the Czech Republic for Ukrainians, when compared with those countries' closed border policies towards migrants from Middle Eastern countries, future research could expand and test this typology to analyze the contextuality, relationality, and transformability of solidarity in terms of the deservingness of beneficiaries of urban solidarity.

[17] Before conducting translations, I crosschecked the reliability of these tools by using them to translate Turkish (author's native language) into English (advanced level of knowledge), in order to test reliability and the translation accuracy through translation from a less used language (Turkish) to a more used language (English).

emerges as a spectrum of transformative practices of various actors, as well as a constellation of displays of diverse sets of contentions, solidarity repertoires, compromises, negotiations, and consensus as well as their various combinations over a long period. That is to say, urban solidarity is a learning curve, a process in which various actors develop sets of strategies by learning from their missteps to build a safe and secure city for all inhabitants regardless of their legal status.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Conception and design of study: Gülce Şafak Özdemir.
Acquisition of data: Gülce Şafak Özdemir.
Analysis and/or interpretation of data: Gülce Şafak Özdemir.
Drafting the manuscript: Gülce Şafak Özdemir.
Revising the manuscript critically for important intellectual content: Gülce Şafak Özdemir.
Approval of the version of the manuscript to be published (the names of all authors must be listed): Gülce Şafak Özdemir.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Data availability

Appendices provide all research data

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2022.103976.

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