

**IRREGULAR MIGRANTS'
STRUCTURAL VULNERABILITY AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES
A CASE STUDY IN BERGEN AREA**



University of
Stavanger

Master thesis in Migration and Intercultural Relations

Faustin Gasana

Supervisors: Dan Dyrli Daatland
Synnøve Bendixsen

Department of Education and Sports Science
Faculty of Arts and Education
University of Stavanger

June 2012



University of
Stavanger

FACULTY OF ARTS AND EDUCATION

MASTER'S THESIS

Programme of study: Migration and Intercultural Relations	1 st semester, 2012 Open
Author: Faustin Gasana (Author's signature)
Person with academic responsibility: Dan Dyrli Daatland Supervisor: Synnøve Bendixsen	
Thesis title: IRREGULAR MIGRANTS' STRUCTURAL VULNERABILITY AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES – A CASE STUDY IN BERGEN AREA.	
Keywords: irregular migration, irregular migrants, structural vulnerability, experiences, survival strategies, weapons of the weak, migrant networks, health, labor, housing, migration control, migration policy, Bergen	No. of pages: 90 + appendices/other: 36 Stavanger, 01. 06. 2012

UNIVERSITY OF STAVANGER

FACULTY OF ARTS AND EDUCATION

Obligatory statement

(to be attached to all submitted written work)

I/we confirm that all the points listed below apply to the written work submitted for the following course:

Migration and Intercultural Relations

course code

course title

1. It has not been submitted before as course work, either at the University of Stavanger or any other educational institution.
2. It does not reproduce the work of other people unless properly referenced.
3. It does not reproduce the student's own earlier work unless this is properly indicated by a reference.
4. All references and sources (including Internet sources) are listed in a bibliography.
5. All cited text is clearly marked by quotes or indenting, and provided with a reference to the source.

I/we understand that any breach of these rules will be considered plagiarism. Plagiarism or attempts at plagiarism will be dealt with in accordance to the Norwegian Law of Universities and Colleges (*Lov om universiteter og høyskoler*), §§ 54, no. 1 b and 42, no. 3.

I grant permission to the University of Stavanger to make use of this written work for research or teaching purposes (tick box):

Yes: No:

Place/date: Stavanger 01st June 2012

Signature(s): _____

Abstract

This study is about irregular migrants' experiences and how they deal with exclusionary practices they face as they attempt to access the Norwegian health care system as well as the labor and housing markets. The thesis is based on a qualitative study among irregular migrants in Bergen area.

Drawing on the concept of structural vulnerability, the thesis investigates the underlying factors and structures that create unequal power relations and dependency. To this end, the study has investigated how migration management regimes of control and enforcement are practiced and how they shape individual irregular migrants' experiences in diverse ways.

The research findings point to and confirm enormous challenges and obstacles that irregular migrants are faced with and strategies they deploy to overcome them. This study has further found that the three areas of healthcare, employment and housing were intertwined and mutually reinforcing hence generating a cumulative disadvantage.

Irregular migrants endeavor to deal with their access difficulties by resorting to short-term strategies such as self-medication when they are sick, working in the black labor market to earn a living or moving house frequently to avoid being a burden to a host friend.

Moreover, this research has foregrounded the crucial role of migrant networks in the irregular migrants' everyday lives. Irregular migrants actively use their networks as a resource that supports them in their everyday struggles to earn a living, to secure medical help and to find a place to stay.

Furthermore, the study has also shown that irregular migrants' experiences and survival strategies are mediated by their situation of entrapment between 'here and there.' Respondents have expressed feelings of disillusionment, disempowerment, disenfranchisement and lack of control.

The utilization of the concept of structural vulnerability has enabled to explain and understand irregular migrants' experiences by looking into the factors and structures underpinning their difficulties to access basic necessities such as healthcare, work and shelter. Structural vulnerability has also permitted to unveil the role of the state policies, legislations and practices in creating irregular migrants' subordination and dependency.

Acknowledgements

Many people and institutions have helped me realize this study.

First of all, I would like to address my heartfelt thanks to all immigrants who kindly accepted to participate in this research for their time and confidence. You are without doubt the ones who have made this study a reality.

I am further greatly grateful to people and organizations that helped me get in contact with my respondents.

I am most indebted to my supervisors Dan D. Daatland at the University of Stavanger and Synnøve Bendixsen at Uni Rokkan centre in Bergen. To Dan Daatland for getting me started and for guiding me with valuable advice and constructive critique. To Synnøve Bendixsen for being a supervisor of patience and scrutiny, and for insightful suggestions and discussions.

My thanks also go to colleagues at IMER Bergen for their support and to the PROVIR project group for many enthusiastic discussions and inspiring comments on earlier drafts of this thesis.

I also have a debt of gratitude to Uni Rokkan centre for offering me an office during the period of this study.

I am sincerely thankful to the JMMIR staff and students for a great time spent together and for your support.

I cannot find words to thank my family for their selflessness, encouragement and love.

Naturally, I assume the responsibility for the errors and shortcomings in this thesis.

Faustin Gasana

Acronyms

DubliNet	An electronic network of transmission channels between the national authorities dealing with asylum applications in the EU Member States, plus Norway and Iceland within the framework of Dublin II Regulation
EU	European Union
EURODAC	European fingerprint database for identifying asylum seekers and irregular border-crossers over the age of 14
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMER	International Migration and Ethnic Relations
IOM	International Organization for Migration
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PROVIR	Provision of Welfare to Irregular Migrants
SIS	Schengen Information System
UDI	Utlendingsdirektoratet / Norwegian Directorate of Immigration
UNE	Utlendingsnemnda/ Immigration Appeals Board
VARP	Voluntary Assisted Return Program

Table of contents

Abstract	I
Acknowledgements	II
Acronyms	III
1. Setting the stage	1
1.1. Introduction and research question	1
1.2. Relevance and background of the study	4
1.3. Irregular migrants- a moving target	6
1.4. Outline of the thesis	9
2. Previous research related to irregular migrants' access to healthcare, labor market and housing	10
2.1. Irregular migrants and healthcare	10
2.2. Irregular migrants and the labor market	15
2.3. Irregular migrants and housing	16
3. Theoretical framework	18
3.1. Theorizing structural vulnerability	18
3.2. Multi-scalar structure of migration control regimes	24
3.2.1. Macro level	25
3.2.2. Meso level	32
3.2.3. Micro level	35
4. Methodology	38
4.1. Data collection: accessing the 'hard-to-reach'	38
4.2. Methodological choices	38
4.3. Approaching the field	40

4.4.	Methodological and ethical issues	41
4.4.1.	Methodological challenges	42
4.4.2.	Ethical considerations	45
4.5.	Coping with challenges	47
5.	Findings and discussions	49
5.1.	Healthcare	49
5.1.1.	Access issues	51
5.1.2.	Alternative strategies	55
5.2.	Labor market participation	59
5.2.1.	Access issues	60
5.2.2.	Alternative strategies	64
5.3.	Housing	66
5.3.1.	Access issues	66
5.3.2.	Alternative strategies	67
5.4.	The importance of networks and social capital	69
5.5.	Differential local responses	74
5.6.	The relevance of ‘here and there’	81
6.	Conclusion	87
	APPENDICES	91
I.	Interview schedule	92
II.	Request for interview	95
III.	NSD notification form	96
IV.	NSD authorization to carry out the research	101
V.	List of respondents	105
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	106

1. Setting the stage

1.1. Introduction and research question

Irregular migration has over the past years become a salient issue in scholarly and political agendas in Europe as well as in the wider global context. The phenomenon of irregular migration is multidimensional and has become a source of major concerns in many Western states and remains the object of significant attention among the public, the policy makers, the media and the academia. Koser (2005: 2) describes irregular migration as a complex and diverse phenomenon that poses real challenges and dilemmas for states while exposing migrants themselves to insecurity and vulnerability.

This thesis is concerned with irregular migrants' structural vulnerability. Drawing on the concept of structural vulnerability, the thesis investigates the lived experiences and survival strategies of adult irregular migrants residing in Bergen urban area focusing on three areas namely healthcare, employment and housing. Using qualitative interviews and participant observation, the study takes irregular migrants' subjective experiences as a point of departure to examine their structural vulnerability following their status of irregular residents and to articulate irregular migrants' experiences with migration control debates in Norway and other Western nation states. The study deploys the concept of structural vulnerability to investigate the relationship between structural forces and processes and irregular migrants' everyday lived experiences. In other words, it is interested in the complex relationships between migration control policies and irregular migrants' daily experiences and their everyday resistance (Scott 1985). The utilization of the concept of structural vulnerability enables also to gain insights into the ways irregular migrants are differentially inserted into the social, economical and political context and how they undertake to tackle the multiple exclusionary practices as they try to earn a living.

Anderson and Ruhs (2010: 175) present irregular migration as "an inevitable feature of border control and nation-state organized citizenship". From a migration control perspective, irregular migration is viewed as a corollary of what Turner (2007: 290) has called "immobility regime". In other words, nation states have put in place policies and legislations as well as methods of surveillance and control in order to keep out "unwanted migrants" (Turner 2007: 293). The state assumes the sovereign right and prerogative to regulate not only entry, residence and exit of foreigners, but it also regulates and controls the foreigners' (and

citizens') access to the healthcare, education, employment and welfare benefits (De Genova 2002). Furthermore, as Andrijasevic (2009: 398) argues, border controls "produce differentiation and stratification of legal statuses and subjectivities" (see also Andrijasevic and Anderson 2009).

Quesada et al. (2011) conceptualize structural vulnerability as a positionality and as such "the vulnerability of an individual is produced by his or her location in a hierarchical social order and its diverse networks of power relations and effects". Structural vulnerability permits to connect issues of power and inequality to irregular migrants' lived experiences and to examine these relationships at the intersection of the (inter) national and local contexts of migration control. In addition, the structural vulnerability approach emphasizes the importance of human agency paying significant attention, in the realm of this study, to irregular migrants' coping capacity in the context of extremely limited access to healthcare, employment and housing. It is paramount to note that my concern in engaging with the concept of structural vulnerability is not just to ask how people's irregular migrant status is related to their constrained access to medical care and to the labour and housing market; I will go further to enquire why and under what conditions some irregular migrants get access to healthcare, employment and housing while some others do not.

According to Watts and Bohle (1993: 45) the most vulnerable groups and individuals "... are those most exposed to perturbations, who possess the most limited coping capability, who suffer the most from crisis impact, and who are endowed with the most circumscribed capacity for recovery". In this respect, I argue that there are other dimensions (such as economic, political, social, cultural, demographic, social and human capital), in addition to and beyond the migration status, which contribute to irregular migrants' coping capacity. In this sense, the structural vulnerability is about a cluster of intertwined and mutually reinforcing elements that dispose individuals to abject living conditions (Quesada et al. 2011: 344). Evidently, the major risk factor for irregular migrants remains their migration status as it limits their capabilities to acquire basic resources of healthcare, employment and housing. It should be emphasised that the engagement with structural vulnerability entails an exploration of the underlying structural inequalities and social relations and how they influence irregular migrants' experiences and their coping capacities as well as how they shape their perceptions and orient their actions and survival strategies.

This thesis attempts to attain the following broad interrelated objectives. First, it seeks to create knowledge about the living conditions of irregular migrants while highlighting the various experiences of irregularity and the structural constraints imposed by immigration policies. Second, it utilises the structural vulnerability perspective to study irregular migrants' subjective experiences and coping strategies, and how the latter can expose them to further risk. Third, it has collected empirical data on irregular migrants' perspectives on their own situation, and on complex access issues in connection with healthcare, employment and housing.

These objectives are pursued by attempting to answer the following questions: how do irregular migrants experience their irregular status and deal with and respond to exclusionary practices they face on daily basis as they attempt to access medical assistance, the labour market and housing? What are the underpinning factors and structures which generate and reproduce irregular migrants' structural vulnerability?

Using structural vulnerability concept as a lens by which to understand the various experiences of irregular migrants and their daily life conditions, I argue that structural vulnerability inheres in irregular migrants' status of irregularity, and this entails implications for their lived experiences. The focus is on the ways in which irregular migrants and their households bear the brunt of controls and restrictions and on strategies they adopt to deal and cope with these constraints. Like in many other western states, irregular migrants in Norway have extremely restricted access to healthcare, labour market and housing. These three areas offer a space to study irregular migrants' experiences as they attempt to access health care services, and secure employment and housing, as well as to explore their alternative strategies to seek health services, enter the labour market and find accommodation.

The most obvious question at this stage would be: why not study issues of healthcare, employment and housing separately? Why is important to consider them together in this thesis when there is a great deal of studies that have dealt separately with the health and healthcare situation (e.g. Hjelde 2009, 2010, Torres-Cantero et al. 2007, Gross 2009) as well as work issues (e.g. Anderson 2010, Berggren et al. 2007) and housing conditions (e.g. Chavez 1990) of migrants in an irregular situation? The main motivation for considering the three together is that, as research suggests, the three areas are interlocked and mutually reinforcing (Baghir-Zada 2010, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). It is therefore a fundamental assumption of this

study that the issues of health, work and shelter are interrelated and that they individually and collectively shape profoundly the experiences of migrants in an irregular situation. Healthcare, employment and housing and other welfare benefits are arguably essential factors of irregular migrants' living conditions.

1.2. Relevance and background of the study

The decision to undertake a research activity is about making choices both from a personal and researcher's perspective. This study is part of the PROVIR project, Provision of Welfare to Irregular Migrants, led by IMER Bergen and funded by the Research Council of Norway. PROVIR is an interdisciplinary project that "aims to provide a combined judicial and social science approach to the provision of welfare to 'irregular migrants' in Norway" (Uni Rokkansenteret, IMER Bergen). The PROVIR project combines a judicial and social science approach to investigate the complex relationship between law, institutional practice, and migrants' lived experiences (ibid.). This study is anchored in the project's social scientific study component with a focus on how irregular migrants experience being in an irregular situation. The thesis adopts a bottom-up perspective by delving into the lived experiences of irregular migrants and the strategies they use to cope with the quotidian conditions and restrictions they have to face and negotiate as they try to organize their personal and family lives.

My connection with IMER Bergen goes back to 2010 when I had a ten weeks internship at IMER/Uni Rokkan centre (IMER Bergen). I have ever since been regularly participating in IMER Bergen events and activities such as seminars, conferences and PhD courses. When PROVIR project started in 2011 I was offered an opportunity to carry out research within PROVIR focus area.

As regards the choice of Bergen for my fieldwork, I had noticed that research on irregular migration and irregular migrants had previously focused on Oslo. This study aims therefore to rectify this imbalance. It was important for me as a researcher to scrutinize the various ways migration control policies are implemented at the local level and examine how irregular migrants respond to and cope with restrictions and exclusions. By choosing Bergen as a locus for my fieldwork on irregular migrants' lived reality, I wanted to look at how they fared in a city that is different from the capital Oslo and other cities in the country in terms of immigrant population, labor market and other facilities. For instance, in Oslo there is a health centre

dedicated to irregular migrants where they can get medical assistance free of charge, whereas in Bergen irregular migrants do not have such an option. As the second largest city in Norway, Bergen has also the second largest immigrant population. The municipality of Bergen is host to about 35 thousand persons with immigrant background, out of the total population of 264 thousand inhabitants ¹ (Statistics Norway 2012).

On a more personal note, Bergen has over the past few years become my permanent place of residence. My family and I live in Bergen, which made the logistics easy especially concerning accommodation. Moreover, as I am familiar with the city, it was relatively easy to get information about events and activities, such as demonstrations and talks where I could encounter for the first time some of my research participants. At these events I was also able to meet some members of non-governmental organizations, such as Amnesty International, SOS Racism and the Red Cross which, at various occasions, were involved in issues related to irregular migrants.

During my field study a number of respondents described Bergen as their sanctuary town; that is, they came to Bergen from other regions of Norway where they had initially settled in reception centers as asylum seekers. They describe the difficult and trying moments of isolation, stress and depression during the time they were waiting for the determination of their case by the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (Utlendingsdirektoratet, UDI). It should be noted, however, that moving to Bergen, *a priori* a relief, did not necessarily entail the end of their ordeals. Without resident permit, their access to healthcare, employment and housing has been possible, but under difficult conditions.

In this respect, I contend, as Narayan (Narayan et al. 2000, Grootaert and Narayan 2004) suggests in relation to poverty and empowerment, that the experience of structural vulnerability is context-specific. I do believe, along the lines of Cvajner and Sciortino (2010), that the phenomenon of irregular migration cannot be studied in isolation from the receiving context in which the irregular migrants live. Accordingly, the experience of migrants in an irregular situation in a given locality of Norway carries some local specificity and leaves a

¹ Note that irregular migrants are not included in these figures as there are no reliable estimates of their number in Norway.

more or less lasting imprint on their experience. In this sense, the significance of the local context cannot be overemphasized.

With this in mind, I argue that even though managed migration policies and legislations are determined at the national and supra-national (EU) levels, the experience of being in an irregular situation is a distinctively local experience. Consequently, the local context is singularly important because, after all, it is in the locality that irregular migrants have their place of residence; it is there they work, study and seek medical treatment. Therefore their structural vulnerability is context-specific; it carries the stamp of the locality.

1.3. Irregular migrants- a moving target

Irregular migration is a multifarious and fragmented phenomenon that is very difficult both to define and to theorize. Thomsen (2010: 28) describes the concept of irregular migration as ambiguous underlining that “there is still no clear or universally accepted definition of the concept”. It is a rather diffuse concept, she pursues, which remains open to a range of definitions and different interpretations. Thomsen further refers to irregular migration as “a legal, political and social construct of current times,” adding that “it is also a loaded concept, loaded with values and highly politicized” (p.30). As for Bloch and Chimienti (2011) , the term “irregular migrants” refers to “people who do not have a residence status in the country in which they are residing”. This definition of irregular migrants applies well to the participants in this research who, for the majority, have seen their asylum application in Norway rejected by the immigration authorities. They form a diverse and multifaceted group of women and men, young and old, with a variety of marital statuses and family situations and from a mosaic of ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds. They have settled in the Bergen area, but the majority has stayed in other regions of Norway prior to moving to Bergen in search for better living conditions and opportunities.

One of the features of the ambiguous nature of irregular migration is the prolific terminology it has generated over the years in various parts of the world. The most frequent adjectives associated with irregular migrants are, among others, undocumented, illegal, unauthorized, clandestine and *sans papiers* (equivalent of *papirløse* in Norwegian). It is worth noting that all the terms and qualifiers used to signify migrants in an irregular situation are problematic in that they do not help to capture the true picture of ‘irregular migration’ and ‘irregular

migrants'. Even though the terms 'illegal migration' and 'illegal migrants' are still in use in some quarters especially in media and political parlance, it is the term 'irregular' which is frequently preferred by researchers and activists who advocate for the migrants' rights. The use of illegal is rejected due to its connotation with criminality while defining people as illegal is dehumanizing and stigmatizing and referring to asylum seekers as illegal can jeopardize their asylum claims and encourage a political climate of intolerance towards those seeking asylum (PICUM 2003).

The term 'irregular migrants' or 'irregular migration' adopted by the PROVIR project is preferred to others and is used by several international organizations such as ILO, OSCE, IOM and the European Council. The European Parliament has enjoined EU institutions to use the term "irregular migrants" or "irregular migration" instead of "illegal migrant" or "illegal migration" "when addressing the issue of third country nationals whose presence on the territory of the Member States has not been authorised by the Member States authorities or is not longer authorised" (European Parliament 2011: 33). The European Parliament suggests that this is more "appropriate and neutral terminology" (ibid.).

Literature on irregular migrants defines the status of irregularity as (a) a juridical status and (b) a socio-political condition (Willen 2007, De Genova 2002). Willen, however, adds a third dimension and contends that irregular migrant status also "generates particular modes of being-in-the world" (Willen 2007: 10). Willen (2007) asserts that the status of irregularity has a considerable impact on migrants' everyday experiences of time, space, embodiment, sociality and self.

De Genova maintains that irregularity is *produced by the law* and sustained by discursive formation (De Genova 2002: 431). It is the law that stands behind judicial and administrative decisions and policies regulating access to employment, healthcare, housing, education, and eligibility for a range of other social welfare benefits. In this context, laws and policies should be understood as tactics deployed by the state at national, regional and local level to constrain and circumscribe the irregular migrants' predicament. Calavita (1998: 531) powerfully argues that, at some fundamental level, law generates illegality since, without the boundaries of law, there are no "outlaws" (see also Jørgensen 2010). He further holds that the law plays a central role as it sorts and ranks migrants who are no longer outsiders, at least physically, but are now

outlaws. In the same connection, Dauvergne (2008: 123) highlights the fact that the basic logic of migration law is that it discriminates between applicants on the basis of choosing those who best meet the needs and values of the nation. The immigration law outlines criteria that function as a code of national values, determining who are eligible as potential future members.

As mentioned above, irregular migration status is also *a social political condition*, that is, irregularity, just like citizenship, is not a mere juridical status, but it also entails a social relation to the state – “a social relation that is fundamentally inseparable from citizenship” (De Genova 2002: 422). For Stenum (2010), this sociopolitical relationship between the irregular migrant and the state is practiced in legislation, policies, administrative practices and in everyday life and experiences of irregular migrants in the nation state. While irregular migrants are always engaged in social relations with regular residents and citizens, their status implies various forms of exclusion from critical rights and services. Irregularity generates a “space of nonexistence” (Coutin 2003) where irregular migrants’ daily experiences are marked not only by exclusion, but also by criminalization, stigmatization, othering and scapegoating.

This study builds on Willen’s three dimensions above (i.e. *juridical status*, *sociopolitical condition* and *modes of being-in-the-world*) and adds a fourth dimension related to *everyday forms of resistance* (Scott 1985) of irregular migrants. Irregular migrants are not passive unresponsive victims of conditions of structural inequality that determine their position and status; they also try to get some income, find a place to stay and attend to some of their health needs. Cvajner and Sciortino (2011: 5) argue that “irregular migrants are not an undifferentiated layer of excluded victims, but rather a diverse set of social actors able in many cases, albeit often at high human cost, to resist exclusionary tendencies and to achieve relatively stable informal incorporation”. Cvajner and Sciortino draw our attention to the fact that irregular migrants demonstrate a certain degree of agency.

The majority of respondents who participated in the present research had previously applied for asylum, but they have not left the Norwegian territory after a definitive rejection of their individual asylum applications. It is important to note that rejected asylum seekers not only form the majority of residents in an irregular situation, but their presence also gives rise to

specific challenges and calls for different policy responses. The current political response towards this group tends to focus on efforts to remove them, while, on the other side, there are more and more calls for their regularization and for allowing them access to basic rights and welfare services so that they can live a dignified life. The government refers to them as bogus refugees who have resorted to asylum channels in order to gain residence in Norway, but who do not have founded claims for protection. The distinction between asylum seekers and refugees, on the one hand and other groups of migrants, on the other hand, is increasingly becoming blurred.

1.4. Outline of the thesis

The thesis is organized as follows. In the **second chapter** I present a short review of the previous research on irregular migrants' access to healthcare, employment and housing in Norway. Then I proceed in the **third chapter** to outline the research theoretical framework against which the data will be analysed. I present the concept of structural vulnerability and explain how it is suitable and useful for understanding irregular migrants' experiences in a context of structural inequality. In the **fourth chapter**, I discuss methodological issues and choices while in the **fifth chapter** I draw on empirical data to discuss irregular migrants' structural vulnerability and coping strategies in the face of unequal access to medical assistance, employment and housing. I offer some concluding remarks in the **final chapter**.

2. Previous research related to irregular migrants' access to healthcare, labor market and housing

This thesis draws on a nascent but growing body of scholarly literature on the phenomenon of irregular migration and experiences of irregular migrants in Norway. In this respect, this study comes as a modest contribution and a response to calls for more research in this field. The study is in line with the recent debates on irregular migration in Norway which have notably looked into the irregular migrants' living conditions (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Kjærre 2010, Brekke 2008, Brekke and Søholt 2005, Valenta and Thorshaug 2011b, Valenta et al. 2010, Ottesen 2008, Kristiansen 2008, Hjelde 2009, Hjelde 2010) with particular focus on the challenges this group faces in accessing, among others, medical care, employment and housing. It is worth noting that there has been more research on irregular migrants' health and access to health care than on their working and housing conditions, and this will be reflected in this review.

In a review of the research and knowledge about migration to Norway between 1990 and 2009, Brekke et al. (2010: 100) emphasized the irregular migrants' vulnerability in terms of physical and mental health as well as their marginal position in the labor and housing markets. Brekke et al. (2010: 105) noted that there was little research on irregular migrants in Norway and called for more research and knowledge in the areas of (a) right to healthcare and practical issues related to access to medical care, (b) access to social services and benefits, (c) the situation of irregular migrant children, and (d) the situation of irregular migrants in the labor market and their working conditions. Another call for more research on the situation of irregular migrants in Norway had earlier come from Brunovskis and Bjerkan (2008: 60) who stressed that the need for more knowledge lay within (a) the health field, (b) the situation of irregular migrant children and (c) the situation of irregular migrants in the labor market and the conditions they work under. It should be underlined that the scarcity of research on irregular migration and the situation of irregular migrants was not noted only in Norway but also in other Scandinavian countries (Duvell 2010, Meret et al. 2010, Brekke et al. 2010, Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008)

2.1. Irregular migrants and healthcare

Issues around irregular migrants' health and their access to healthcare in Norway have attracted the researchers' attention. A number of scholars have made the link between

irregularity and migrants' precarious health condition. Øien and Sønsterudbråten (2011:70) point to "the potential links between health and irregularity". They maintain that irregularity can in most cases create or exacerbate health problems while at the same time health problems can make it more difficult to secure decent living conditions for irregular migrants (ibid.). The focus of previous research has been on irregular migrants' (a) health needs, (b) the barriers hindering access to healthcare, (c) the living conditions shaping irregular migrants' health situation and (d) the strategies deployed by irregular migrants to address their health needs.

Concerning irregular migrants' health needs, the health situation of irregular migrants is generally reckoned to be "bad" (Hjelde 2010). Hjelde's research suggests that most irregular migrants by and large experience physical and mental health problems. In a research carried out in Oslo, Hjelde (2010: 319) examined the relationship between irregular residence, living conditions, health and access to and use of health services. The study is based on quantitative data supplemented by qualitative interviews with irregular migrants and health workers in Oslo.

Regarding the health situation among irregular migrants in Oslo, Hjelde (2010: 328-329) found that irregular migrants suffered from a plethora of illnesses as well as aches and pains such as gastric ulcers, pains in the back, neck and shoulder region, asthma, hypertension, hemorrhoids, chlamydia infection, gallbladder diseases and chronic injuries following torture. Further, Hjelde (2010) indicates that her informants reported sleep disturbances, depression and other psychological problems. Others suffered, among many other conditions, from nightmares, headaches, indigestions and lack of appetite.

Furthermore, the health workers who participated in Hjelde's study largely confirm the picture given by the irregular migrants of their health (ibid.). According to the health personnel, irregular migrants are more prone to psychosocial problems than the rest of the population, and their anxiety and stress are often manifested in physical symptoms and conditions such as sleeping disorders, digestive problems and stomachaches (ibid.). It can be noted that other scholars have connected experiences of irregularity to physical aches and pains and to depression and stress-related mental problems (see for instance Khosravi 2006, Kjærre 2010, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Kristiansen 2008).

In a report on the access of non-western migrants to medical services and healthcare, the Norwegian Medical Association (Den norske legeforening) points out that the health situation

of irregular migrants is bad and lies far below that of the rest of the population. The Norwegian Medical Association reports that irregular migrants' health problems consist principally of occupational injuries, infections, sexually transmitted diseases and mental disorders (Den norske legeforening 2008: 53). Further, the Norwegian Medical Association believes that this group has generally greater incidence of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis and HIV (ibid.).

The results in the Norwegian Medical Association's report corroborate those published in a report by the Church City Mission (Kirkens Bymisjon), a Christian humanitarian organization operating in several Norwegian towns including Oslo and Bergen. The report is the outcome of a project aimed at acquiring more knowledge concerning immigrants and their life situation in Norway (Ottesen 2008). Using multiple research methods, the research project contacted a wide range of actors involved in the work with irregular migrants both in Norway and seven other west European countries. As far as irregular migrants' health needs are concerned the report of Church City Mission notes that, in general, irregular migrants have poor physical and mental health. Their health problems, the report indicates, range from serious conditions such as chronic and infectious diseases to less serious everyday health problems such as headaches, stomachaches as well as stiff muscles and joints (Ottesen 2008: 10).

It can be noted that scholars appear to be in agreement about the fact that irregular migrants' bad health situation is a result of their overall precarious living conditions (Ottesen 2008, Hjelde 2009, Hjelde 2010, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). Irregular migrants' living conditions constitute a complex and multidimensional reality. The notion of living conditions, which may vary according to different contexts, refers not only to substandard working and housing conditions, but also to inadequate nutrition as well as to the experience with living in fear, uncertainty and insecurity (Ottesen 2008: 10). Similarly, Hjelde (2009, 2010) highlights the fact that irregular migrants' health problems should be understood in the context of living conditions that do not meet the minimal human rights to health, namely entitlements to food, shelter, access both to medical services and to employment in a healthy environment (Hjelde 2010: 328). In her research among irregular migrants in Oslo, Hjelde (2010: 327) finds that the irregular migrants living conditions are characterized by loneliness, lack of belonging and marginalization. Most irregular migrants have neither accommodation nor a source of income, she pursues, and they do not have the right to basic necessities of life (see also Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). She adds that her respondents had a

feeling of humiliation due to total dependency on others. Their daily life is also marked by a feeling of insecurity, uncertainty and hopelessness. On its part, the Norwegian Medical Association considers that irregular migrants' health problems are often closely related to poor living standards and working conditions in addition to a sense of fear and hopelessness (Den norske legeforening 2008: 53).

Parallel to the poor living conditions irregular migrants have to face a number of obstacles in their attempt to access healthcare and other medical services. Helde (2010) distinguishes between direct and indirect obstacles to irregular migrants' access to health care services. Direct barriers are both of a legal and economic nature, while indirect barriers refer, for instance, to the irregular migrants' fear of being exposed to the authorities if they seek medical help. With regard to indirect obstacles, some pieces of research also point to the fact that some irregular migrants are not aware of their rights and that their inability to communicate in Norwegian impedes access to the health system (Den norske legeforening 2008).

Concerning the legal barriers, the right to healthcare in Norway is regulated by the Patient's Rights Act which stipulates that all persons living in the country have the right to healthcare (Aschehoug 2010, Hjelde 2009, 2010). However, irregular migrants are not entitled to economic support for health services since they are not members of the National Insurance Scheme (Trygden). Thus, irregular migrants' right to healthcare is limited to "emergency treatment" from specialist and municipal health services and they are obliged to pay for the treatment. Furthermore, according to the Municipal Health Act "all" have the right to "necessary healthcare" in the municipality where they live or where they reside temporarily. Hjelde (2010:325) finds that "the limits to this right are legally unclear" while Aschehoug (2010: 765) brings to light the arbitrariness of the professional judgment of health workers in determining the nature of "necessary healthcare".

Whereas irregular migrants can legally be considered to be entitled to emergency and absolutely necessary medical care, they face economic barriers as they are required to cover or reimburse the cost of consultations and treatment (Hjelde 2009, Hjelde 2010, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Baghir-Zada 2010). Øien and Sønsterudbråten (2011: 42) explain that one of the major impediments to irregular migrants' access to healthcare is their inability to cover the expenses related to the medical services. With no or very low income irregular

migrants are unable to pay for the medical services. The reason the payment is an issue is that the state reimburses the health facilities for their services to patients on the basis of each person's national insurance number. Yet, it is only the regular residents who can obtain this number (ibid.). As a consequence, health workers, in a number of cases, find themselves in quandary whereby, on the one hand, they have to deal with economic considerations regarding the question of who will pay for the services they offer irregular migrants; on the other hand, they have to abide by the Health Personnel Act which directs the health workers to help patients whenever they assume this help is necessary (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011: 42, Hjelde 2010: 332). In such a context, it is difficult to know whether persons in an irregular situation will receive health care or not as everything seems to be contingent upon the decision and goodwill of health workers and health providers (Hjelde 2009, Hjelde 2010, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Aarø and Wyller 2005).

Regarding indirect impediments to accessing healthcare, research has documented that, in many cases, irregular migrants do not seek medical help or do so very late because they fear to be exposed to the authorities and to be removed from the country (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Hjelde 2010, Kristiansen 2008). Researchers have also reported that irregular migrants lack information concerning their rights and lack knowledge about the Norwegian health system. Research further suggests that the legislation on emergency and necessary care is not always known and understood by either the general practitioners and other health workers or irregular migrants (Kristiansen 2008: 46, Den norske legeforening 2008: 53). According to the Norwegian Medical Association, among other barriers that prevent irregular migrants from seeking medical assistance figure the fact that many irregular migrants do not trust the medical system while others lack the knowledge about the legislation related to their right to healthcare.

The difficulties for sick irregular migrants to utilize healthcare services lead to a number of consequences. Many irregular migrants do not seek medical help when they are sick and remain untreated, or they wait until they are extremely ill (Hjelde 2010). This is dangerous not only for their own health, but also for that of those they live with particularly in case of a contagious disease that can easily spread (Torres and Sanz 2000). In the face of obstacles which limit or hinder their access to healthcare, irregular migrants resort to tactics to either circumvent the barriers or to find alternative curative means.

Some irregular migrants resort to their networks for help in order to attend private health clinics where patients are not required to produce an identity card, but to pay for the consultation and treatment (Hjelde 2010: 330). Others borrow names and papers from regular residents (Kristiansen 2008: 46). This is problematic since, according to Hjelde (2010: 330), using somebody else's identity card could influence the kind of treatment given to the patient and it could also have significant consequences on the subsequent treatment of the true owner of the identity card. Other irregular migrants tackle their health problems by resorting to self-medication (Kristiansen 2008, Hjelde 2009, 2010). However, this aspect needs to be further investigated in the Norwegian context.

2.2. Irregular migrants and the labor market

Access to employment and fair working conditions (Merlino and Parkin 2011) is another basic right of which irregular migrants are deprived in Norway. Since 2011 irregular migrants have lost the possibility to legally earn their living as they cannot secure either work permit or tax card (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Kjærre 2010). Consequently, many of them have lost employment or they find it very difficult to secure employment. According to Ottesen (2008: 11), while some are jobless, a number of other irregular migrants have been working in a variety of sectors, such as cleaning industry, construction and retail business, and yet others have been involved in survival crimes by dealing in drugs and in prostitution due to the lack of other sources of income.

Research suggests that irregular migrants resort to their networks of friends and acquaintances to find employment and cater for their needs for food, shelter, clothes and health care. In their research, Øien and Sønsterudbråten (2011: 73) find that many irregular migrants take up employment in the informal labor market where the working conditions are considerably inferior to those of the regular residents and citizens. In this connection, research has documented a correlation between irregular migration status and poor working conditions (McKay et al. 2009: 53-4). Irregular migrants work under exploitive conditions (Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Ottesen 2008) and earn less than regular workers and often below the legal minimum wages. Further, irregular migrants work long hours but do not enjoy workers' rights in terms of social benefits, such as sick leaves, rest breaks, holidays or compensation in case of accident and occupational injury. In addition, some social sciences scholars have found that work for irregular migrants means more than a source of financial resources to meet their

fundamental needs. Work has also been conceptualized as a meaningful activity that is essential for irregular migrants' well-being (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). According to Kjærre (2010), work constitutes a vital activity that enables irregular migrants to remain sane because passive life and idleness can lead to depression.

2.3. Irregular migrants and housing

The irregular migrants' housing situation in Norway is an area that thus far has been under-researched. Yet, research has previously documented the relationship between health and living conditions of persons in an irregular situation (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011: 72). In this respect, housing and working conditions are central aspects in irregular migrants' lives that contribute to the improvement or deterioration of irregular migrants' living conditions (ibid.). Øien and Sønsterudbråten (2011) assert that irregular migrants' struggles to cater to their daily needs and to cope with the pressure to find work and housing have the potential to affect both their mental and physical health.

The available scholarship highlights the barriers that irregular migrants face in getting access to shelter (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Ottesen 2008, Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Aarø and Wyller 2005). While having a shelter is crucial to securing basic living conditions, research shows that irregular migrants in Norway face enormous difficulties in finding a shelter and a number of those who find a place to stay live in substandard housing (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011: 61). Since 2006 rejected asylum seekers can stay in state-funded reception centres until their return to their country of origin. Nevertheless, many rejected asylum seekers prefer to stay outside these reception centres fleeing what some describe as 'unbearable living conditions'. In general, reception centres are associated with loneliness, isolation, passivity, waiting and straitened circumstances (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). For these and other reasons many irregular migrants do not wish to stay in the centres and, moreover, due to the fear of deportation, they do not want the immigration authorities to know their whereabouts.

The vast majority of those irregular migrants who do not live in reception centres depend on their networks of friends, fellow countrymen and co-ethnics; and some are homeless and live and sleep in the street. Generally, irregular migrants have to make do with temporary living arrangements (Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008) because they cannot afford to pay the rent or the landlords refuse to rent out their house or flat to irregular migrants; or alternatively, landlords

charge very high rentals (Ottesen 2008, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). Consequently, most irregular migrants stay with friends and move very often to avoid being a burden for their hosts. Øien and Sønsterudbråten (2011: 66) argue that housing shapes irregular migrants' living conditions and influences their subjective experiences of living in an irregular situation. Furthermore, many irregular migrants' housing conditions are characterized by a lack of space and privacy, a situation which generates stress and at the same time creates a relationship of dependency (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Ottesen 2008). It is important to note that the issue of housing is closely linked to the question of lack of access to employment and other legal means of livelihood, as it is very difficult to survive without any sources of income.

In conclusion, it is worth noting a common feature that seems to emerge from the scholarship reviewed above on the irregular migrants' living conditions with a focus on their health, employment and housing situation. These studies view health care, employment and housing as basic rights of irregular migrants and as human rights enshrined in a number of international human rights instruments and conventions at the United Nations and European Union level. The studies further suggest that irregular migrants lack access to some of their fundamental human rights and that this lack of access affects their lives and well-being. In this thesis I engage with the concept of structural vulnerability to examine the structural factors and processes underpinning irregular migrants' subordinate positioning and constrained access to healthcare, work and housing. Furthermore, banking on the assumption that the three areas are interrelated and mutually enhancing, the thesis explores the irregular migrants' lived reality and critically examines the ways in which irregular migrants endeavor to cope and deal with state's exclusionary policies and practices.

3. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this thesis draws primarily on the social sciences concept of structural vulnerability (Quesada 2011c, Quesada et al. 2011, Farmer 1996, Farmer et al. 2004, Holmes 2011, Kleinman 2000) in order to emphasize the paramount role of state-managed migration regimes in shaping unequal access to rights and resources for migrants in an irregular situation. I apply this concept to debates around the irregular migrants' quotidian experiences and how the latter are influenced by state's migration policies. In this section, the concept of structural vulnerability is explored with a view to providing a backdrop against which empirical data shall be analyzed.

3.1. Theorizing structural vulnerability

The theorization of structural vulnerability is rooted in the concept of structural violence. Quesada et al. (2011: 341) maintain that “individuals are structurally vulnerable when they are subject to structural violence”. The concept of structural violence was introduced into social sciences (and particularly into the field of peace and conflict studies) by the Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung in his 1969 seminal essay, *Violence, peace, and peace research*. The concept was later discussed by scholars in social sciences especially medical anthropologists such as Paul Farmer (1996, Farmer et al. 2004), Linda Green (2011), Kathleen Weigert (2010), Elizabeth Cartwright (2011, 2011), Sandy Smith-Nonini (2011), Michael Duke (2011), James Quesada (2011a, 2012, 2011) and Seth M. Holmes (2011), to name just a few.

Farmer et al. (2006: 1686) defines structural violence as “social structures – economic, political, legal, religious and cultural – that stop individuals, groups and societies from reaching their full potential”. According to Weigert (2010: 126), structural violence “emerges from the unequal distribution of power and resources or, in other words, is said to be built into the structure.” For Farmer et al. (2006: 1686), the social arrangements that put individuals in harm's way are structural “because they are embedded in the political and economic organisation of the social world” and they are violent “because they cause injury to people” (ibid.).

In migration studies, the concept of structural violence has especially been made popular by anthropologists. Abrego and Menjívar (2011: 9) describe immigration laws and their implementation at the local level as “a form of legal violence” that constrain irregular

migrants from realizing their migration project, restrict their ability to secure employment and accommodation and bring suffering as they limit access to social and healthcare services. Legal violence refers to “instances in which laws and their implementation give rise to practices that harm individuals physically, economically, psychologically or emotionally” (Abrego and Menjívar 2011:11). Abrego and Menjívar (2011) further emphasize that the state is not always itself the direct agent of violence, but it does enable violence against the targeted group when laws marginalize irregular migrants leaving them exposed to different forms of abuse.

As a descendant of structural violence, the concept of structural vulnerability refers to “one’s position in social hierarchies that imposes physical-emotional suffering on specific population groups and individuals in patterned ways”². It results from “class-based economic exploitation and cultural, gender/sexual, and racialized discrimination that are embodied and often result in the formation of subjectivities that are socially depreciated” (ibid.). By extending the concept of structural vulnerability to the situation of irregular migrants in the Bergen locale, this study aims to draw attention to the lived experiences of irregular migrants as a result of their subordinate position in the society. Irregular migrants are already structurally vulnerable in view of their difficulties in accessing healthcare, unemployment, and housing. At the same time, authorities focus on enforcement measures, including expulsions and deportations of irregular migrants, which increase insecurity, anxiety and uncertainty among irregular migrants. As structurally vulnerable irregular migrants are being socially positioned in an inferior status within a prevailing social order by virtue of their social status, life conditions, and deportability (Quesada 2011a). Quesada (2011a: 389) stresses that the concept of structural vulnerability is attentive to “the antecedent and present factors and forces that dispose individuals toward taking actions and adopting ways of being that frequently result in endangering or placing their social and health status at risk”. For him, structural vulnerability has real personal, physical and social consequences and it is continually produced and enacted.

In this study, the structural violence against (structurally vulnerable) irregular migrants is rooted in state-managed migration regimes and encompasses the institutional framework of

² <http://accessdeniedblog.wordpress.com/2011/09/17/why-structural-vulnerability-why-latino-migrants-in-the-united-states/> [Accessed 12.02.2012].

migration policies and legislations, administrative practices, both at the national and local level; it stems also from stigmatizing norms and discourses and other barriers preventing ‘undeserving’ groups and individuals from getting access to medical assistance, employment, housing, education, family life and dignity. On this account, I contend that structural vulnerability enables to understand the factors underlying substandard living conditions of irregular migrants (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011), particularly their lack of access to healthcare as well as their poor working and housing conditions. I position irregular migrants as structurally vulnerable because their problems of access, and the consequences thereof, are attributed to the differential allocation of resources and to the structures of power (Weigert 2010: 128). In this sense, the utilization of the concept of structural vulnerability seeks to identify forces and processes leading to unequal distribution of power and resources and, hence, unequal life chances and to constrain group’s and individual’s agency.

It is important to note that irregular migrants are particularly constrained by the interplay between the national and EU migration policies and legislations and, in addition, there are a host of other parameters and factors that contribute to their vulnerability in various ways, such as gender, age, family situation and structure, marital status, family obligations, networks and the sociopolitical situation in the country of origin. Arguably, migration laws, policies and practices should not viewed as passive instruments and processes, but they should be examined as imbued with power and capability of generating structural inequalities and unequal power relations.

It is further crucial to note that experiences of structural vulnerability are unevenly shared by irregular migrants as they are differentially shaped by their irregular status (Quesada 2011a). Irregular migrants are not a monolithic category of individuals, but rather a heterogeneous category of people with a plethora of migration trajectories. At the same time, it is worth highlighting that structural vulnerability seeks to trace the forms of resistance used by irregular migrants to survive in a hostile environment. In this regard, the concept of structural vulnerability entails an analysis of the processes and structures that constrain decision making, limit life options and frame individual choices (Quesada et al. 2011: 342). Structural vulnerability further underscores the complex interaction between social forces and individual strategic maneuvers to carry on with their lives. For Quesada et al., structural vulnerability has also considerable impact on life, actions and experiences in the form of fear, scarcity, precarious housing, employment conditions and exclusion from healthcare provision.

Three main themes emerge from the recent anthropological approaches to structural vulnerability of irregular migrants (see for example Quesada 2011b, Quesada 2011a, Quesada et al. 2011, Willen 2007, Willen 2011, Green 2011, Holmes 2011, Smith-Nonini 2011). First, structural vulnerability foregrounds the interaction between the local on the one hand and the national and international context on the other hand. This means that the examination of irregular migrants' experiences entails a focus on local and broader forces and processes. It can therefore be argued that the irregular migrants' lived reality in Norway needs, if it is to be fully understood, to be viewed as shaped by the interplay between the local and the global. Local institutions of migrants' family, networks, ethnic communities, non-governmental organizations interact with larger institutions at the state and interstate level. Linda Green (2011: 367) proposes to place the concept of structural vulnerability within a complex and historical web of capitalist relations and state-sponsored violence in order to explore forces and processes that produce what Zygmunt Bauman (2004) called 'human waste'.

Second, structural vulnerability focuses on social relations that create unequal access to resources and produce asymmetries of power. In the context of irregular migration, the national migration policies and laws and international mechanisms of management and control of international mobility shape the irregular migrants' experiences and living conditions. For the exponents of the structural vulnerability approach to irregular migrants' experiences, immigration policies, laws and practices should not be looked at as passive instruments and processes, but they are impregnated with power and they generate structural inequalities and unequal power relations. The recognition of irregular migrants' structural vulnerability allows to engage with, and indeed to challenge, the punitive immigration policies and laws and the official discourses of undeservingness and unworthiness of individual irregular migrants that prevail in Western states and in Norway today (see Quesada et al. 2011). Moreover, acknowledging structural vulnerability as the distinctive feature of irregular migrants offers an opportunity to unmask the "fundamental social causes" (Link and Phelan 1996) of unequal access to health, work and housing and to probe the determinant role of "harmful social conditions" (Singer and Clair 2003) in the living conditions of irregular migrants. By considering what Miller and Neagus (2001) call the "higher order causal level factors", this thesis invites us to direct the attention towards the social structures which produce the irregular migrants living conditions and experiences, and organize their access to

basic resources and rights. Concomitantly, the study highlights the significance of being attuned to the central role played by immigration policies and laws in the lives of irregular migrants and their families as it is these policies and laws that determine the legal status and hence access to resources.

Third, structural vulnerability pays attention to irregular migrants' agency in coping with the access difficulties and everyday uncertainties. Irregular migrants are viewed as social actors with limited opportunities operating rationally within specific circumstances and under multiple constraints. While acknowledging the impact of the "structure of domination" (Blaikie et al. 2000), structural vulnerability is also attuned to the actions that irregular migrants undertake, either individually or in group, within a context of limited options. Irregular migrants' coping capacities are constrained by conditions of irregularity and these have consequences for their living conditions as well as for their feelings of disenfranchisement, frustration and depression. According to Quesada et al. (2011: 342) structural vulnerability offers a critique of agency and deconstructs the moral judgment often attached to irregular migrants actions and behaviors, such as "they can return but they refuse to do so", "they abuse the asylum system meant for those in need of protection", "they stay in the country and work in violation of the law". Adopting an agentic account of structural vulnerability, this study emphasize irregular migrants' "individual strategic determination" (Quesada et al. 2011) to survive and improve their life chances. Similarly, Cartwright and Manderson (2011: 452) maintain that structural vulnerability seeks to trace the forms of resistance used by irregular migrants in order to survive, while Quesada (2011a) stresses that, for irregular migrants, being structurally vulnerable entails constant maneuvering to see whether they can succeed and even change their precarious situation.

All in all, I find the concept of structural vulnerability both useful and relevant to understanding and articulating irregular migrants' personal experiences and the macro context in which they occur within and beyond the state's borders. In other words, this concept invites us to be attentive to and to comprehend the ways in which irregular migrants' lived experiences are shaped by broad structural forces. Brunovskis and Bjerkan (2008: 33) point out that irregular migration can be studied from two distinct perspectives, (a) as a consequence of global inequality and migration control or (b) can be analyzed in terms of its effects and manifestations to those who are irregular migrants themselves. In this vein,

structural vulnerability responds to these two perspectives because it allows to enquire into the relationship between migration control and irregular migrants' real life experiences and survival strategies.

In his paper, *Making the unreturnable return: The role of the welfare state in promoting return for rejected asylum seekers in Norway*, Brekke (2008) asks the question of how tough a usually generous welfare state can be towards those the country wants to exclude. On this account, the thesis engages structural vulnerability not only to shed light on the living conditions of rejected asylum seekers, but also to reflect on the question of under which conditions irregular migrants' exclusion is tolerated or rejected in the Norwegian welfare state. I concur with Brekke (2008) that rejected asylum seekers provide an opportunity to undertake a close investigation of the outer boundaries of the welfare state. I argue that the institutional practices and unequal social and economic conditions directly or indirectly structure the irregular migrants' life chances and social identities.

It is worth restating that the structural vulnerability approach does neither consider irregular migrants as passive recipients of state's control policies, nor does it view them as victims who stoically endure disempowerment, exclusions as well as exploitive and abusive working and living conditions. Rather, irregular migrants' maneuvers bear close resemblance to James C. Scott's (1985) notions of "weapons of the weak" and "everyday forms of resistance" developed on the basis of his research among peasants in rural Asia. According to Scott (1985: 31), everyday forms of resistance refer to acts of "passive noncompliance, sabotage, subtle evasion and deception" that "typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms" (p. 29). Moreover, everyday resistance is characterized by its "implicit disavowal of public and symbolic goals" (p. 33) and pursues "immediate, de facto gains" (ibid.).

The notion of "weapons of the weak" has been used in previous research on irregular migrants to explore migrants' everyday forms of resistance in response to the state's control strategies (e.g. Broeders and Engbersen 2007, Ellermann 2010). Broeders and Engbersen (2007: 1593) analyzed Dutch policies of identification and exclusion of irregular migrants and the counterstrategies they provoke among irregular migrants. The two researchers identified and evaluated three state policy strategies, namely blocking access to the labor market, detention

and expulsion, and digitalization of borders (ibid.). Broeders and Engbersen (2007: 1598), then, examined three strategies that can be deployed by irregular migrants to counteract state's policies: (a) adopting a false identity, (b) obliterating their legal identity and (c) concealing their irregular status from others. These strategies, they argue, are realized by making use of "foggy social structures", i.e. "social structures that emerge from the efforts by individuals and organizations to avoid production of knowledge about their activities by making them either unobservable or indeterminable" (p. 1594).

Seen as weapons of the weak, the everyday resistance strategies of irregular migrants' "are found in the sabotage of the bureaucratic process of migration management by concealing identity" (Broeders and Engbersen 2007: 1598). Broeders and Engbersen (2007) maintain that even though irregular migrants' weapons of the weak may constitute a challenge to the state control policies, they "have usually only marginal significance and are not focused on questioning the foundations of existing power relations" (ibid.). In her examination of the nature of irregular migrants' weapons of the weak, Ellermann (2010: 410) describes irregular migrants' "resistance as an act of desperation", arguing that it only "constitutes a viable course of action once the individual has nothing left to lose" (ibid.). Ellermann further notes that irregular migrants' everyday "resistance is usually exercised by isolated individuals, rather than collectively"; and it "is oriented towards short-term, rather than systemic change" (p. 410).

The incorporation of "weapons of the weak" and "everyday forms of resistance" in the theoretical framework of this thesis is based on the assumption that, together with structural vulnerability, it enables to tease out how irregular migrants exercise their agency and resistance to frustrate state's exclusionary control policies and to hence avoid or delay returning to their countries of origin.

3.2. Multi-scalar structure of migration control regimes

This section aims to shed light on diverse ways in which structural vulnerability is produced and maintained by the political and policy context at national and transnational level and how it is locally experienced among irregular migrants residing in Bergen. It is a central position of this study that state-instigated immigration control policies and practices play a crucial role in irregular migrants' lived reality as they shape their life chances including their

opportunities to, among others, earn an income, to access medical care, to study and to form a family. I will review a set of elements that structure and frame the irregular migrants' experiences at the macro, meso and micro levels.

First, the *macro level* concerns the national and international levels of control and enforcement activities as well as the Norwegian state's political and administrative practices and procedures. Second, the *meso level* focuses on irregular migrants' interaction with their networks of friends, community, activists and organizations. The networks of friends and acquaintances occupy a crucial position in irregular migrants' lives for their material, informational and emotional assistance. However, it is important to note that networks can also lead to negative outcomes in the forms of exploitation and abuse. As for activists and non-governmental organizations, they emphasize irregular migrants' fundamental rights, notably the right to health care, employment and housing (FRA 2011) and urge the authorities to prioritize human rights considerations over migration control policy concerns. Third, the *micro level* describes irregular migrants' lived experiences of structural vulnerability and the extent to which irregular migrants are able to exercise their agency in a very constrained environment.

I argue that irregular migrants' experiences are steeped in the interaction between the micro, meso and macro levels; that is, the reality lived daily by irregular migrants is not simply the result of the interaction between the macro policy framework and irregular migrants' actions at the micro level. Rather their experiences and practices are the product of complex and dynamic interactions between both (a) the macro policies, (b) individual migrants as social actors and (c) intermediate actors and institutions. On this account, the meso level entities and their performances are crucial to the irregular migrants' lived experiences as they operate as a link between the realms of migration control policies and the sphere of irregular migrants' experiences.

3.2.1. Macro level

The phenomenon of irregular migration in Western states is often problematized from a migration control perspective (see for instance Anderson 2009, Anderson 2010, Anderson and Ruhs 2010, Engbersen and Broeders 2009, Engbersen and Broeders 2011b, Engbersen and Broeders 2011a, Engbersen and Van der Leun 2001, Cvajner and Sciortino 2010). The scholarship on structural vulnerability emphasizes that irregular migrants' lived reality and

agency cannot be divested from broader structures and processes in both origin and destination locales. Particularly irregular migrants' subordinate positioning cannot be dissociated from managed migration control regimes in high income states (see Quesada 2011a, Quesada et al. 2011, Holmes 2011, Green 2011, Cartwright 2011, Cartwright and Manderson 2011). In Norway, as well as in other affluent western states, regulating and controlling immigration has become a salient feature of the country's migration management framework (Cooper 2005). It is the state's sovereign right to define the institutional context of policies, legislations and the administrative organization that ensures that migration is properly managed. The state has the monopoly of legitimate means of movement (Torpey 1998) and control. The purpose of migration policies and legislations is to regulate, inter alia, entry, residence and exit of persons who are required to apply for entering the country (Brekke 2008:3). In the same vein, Guiraudon and Joppke (2004: 33) maintain that controlling who enters, who stays and who leaves the national territory has always been the prerogative of the nation state. In addition, state policies regulate foreigners' access to employment, housing, healthcare, education and eligibility to welfare benefits (De Genova 2002: 431).

Two main concerns seem to motivate control and enforcement measures directed to irregular migrants in Norway. The first issue is how to reduce the number of irregular migrants currently residing in the country? How to make them return to their countries of origin? The second issue is how to reduce, if not stem, the flows of new asylum seekers? The aim of the authorities is to render unattractive 'bogus' asylum seeking and other forms of irregular migration in Norway. According to Brekke (2008: 3), "one key aspect of [the Norwegian asylum] policy is to make sure that those who have their applications rejected actually leave the country. They should be evicted, or at least excluded". It is a clear expectation of the Norwegian authorities that rejected asylum seekers will return voluntarily to their countries of origin. Yet, a good number of irregular migrants seldom accept to take part in the voluntary repatriation process.

With regard to migration control policies, research distinguishes between two main types of control, i.e. external and internal (see e.g. Brochmann and Hammar 1999 in DOOMERNIK & JANDL (eds.) 2008). While external controls focus on the state's borders and ports of entry, internal controls are implemented administratively with a focus on welfare benefits and public services (Doomernik and Jandl 2008). Doomernik and Jandl (2008) note that European countries resort by and large to a mix of both types of measures to curb irregular migration.

Moreover, researchers (e.g. Guiraudon 2004, Lahav and Guiraudon 2006, Aas 2007) have observed that in addition to the dual distinction between external and internal controls, we need also to consider “the different levels at which the controls may be exercised” (Doomernik and Jandl 2008: 24). On this account, Guiraudon (2004: 33) notes that the task of controlling the border has almost been mission impossible for the state alone. Therefore, the state has sought to associate other actors in border control policy formulation and implementation. There is a tendency among Western states to shift the responsibility for migration controls away from the central government’s functions. Guiraudon (2004: 34) points out that “since the 1980s, migration policy reforms have incorporated new actors in the policy process that no longer operate at the national level but rather at the local/regional level, at supranational level, and at the societal/private level” (see also Guiraudon and Joppke 2001, Guiraudon and Lahav 2000). Guiraudon describes these changes as “the de-nationalization of control: up, down, and out” (p. 34).

Table 3.1 Examples of de-nationalization of migration policy

Upwards	Downwards	Outwards
Delegating control tasks to supranational level	Delegating control tasks to local level	Delegating control tasks to private actors
Schengen Dublin Frontex Multi-lateral agreements with third countries	Local public and social services, ex: social and health workers	Employers Landlords Private business

Source: adapted from Guiraudon (2004: 34)

Other scholars have also noted the changing nature of migration control. Aas (2007: 3) argues that the European border policing in the past two decades has been marked by three main trends, namely (a) transnationalization/ internationalization, (b) pluralization and (c) informationalization.

The internationalization of Norwegian migration control policies is illustrated by, among others, the europeanization of migration control through the Schengen and Dublin agreements

to which Norway is party (Cooper 2005, Brekke 2011). Schengen entails that member states implement a common visa policy while the Dublin agreement makes it impossible for asylum seekers to lodge their applications in more than one country. Moreover, Norway is member of FRONTEX, European border control agency. If internationalization rimes with europeanization, it does not stop at Europe's border. Norway, like other EU member states, has entered into partnership with third countries of origin and transit of irregular migrants. In this connection, Norway has signed repatriation agreements with a number of countries that have accepted to receive their deported nationals. The Norwegian government had, by the end of 2011, signed "readmission agreements or similar agreements on return with 27 countries" (Thorud et al. 2011: 32). Thorud et al (2011) further indicate that "Norwegian authorities have raised the issue of re-admission agreements with governments of some additional 20 countries" (ibid.).

Another trend in migration control policies is what Aas (2007) has called pluralization, which refers to the fact that migration control tasks are moved 'outwards' and 'downward' to private and public actors who do not normally have the vocation to carry out migration control activities. According to Aas (2007: 5) the plurality of migration control "refers not only to commercial actors, but also to the emergence of local and municipal policing bodies, enlisted by the state in the task of social control". In this respect, Norway has introduced sanctions for those who employ irregular migrants. This delegation of control responsibilities is part of the government's "responsibilization strategy"(Garland 2001) by which the authorities try to enlist help of non-state actors and agencies and share with them the burden of controlling unwanted migrants (Aas 2007: 6)

The internationalization and pluralization of migration control are supported by a series of technological systems that are essential for their efficiency (Aas 2007: 7). Aas (2007: 7) explains that "the European border security crucially depends on a variety of transnational information flows and technological zones, most notably the ones based on the Schengen Agreement as well as the so-called Dublin convention and the Eurodac system, dealing with asylum issues". Norway joined the Schengen Agreement in 1995, the Dublin Convention in 2002 and Eurodac and DubliNET in 2003 (Cooper 2005). The Schengen Information System (SIS), a trans-European database, allows the police and other agents from Schengen Member States to access and enter a variety of data on specific individuals; whereas Eurodac authorizes fingerprinting of all individuals aged over 14 who apply for asylum in an EU

country, or who are found illegally present on the EU territory (Aas 2006, 2007). Aas' research has documented that the Norwegian police actively utilizes these technological strategies to keep under close surveillance unwanted mobilities within and outside the nation state. The Norwegian authorities implement a multi-level control and enforcement policy to regulate and control irregular migration. The technological tools support and facilitate the "decentralization and localization of enforcement" (Anderson 2012: 4), which means for rejected asylum seekers that they meet the border virtually everywhere (Aas 2007).

In addition to the use of ICT tools and systems that back the devolution of migration control 'up, down and out', authorities actively deploy discourses to underscore and draw attention to irregular migrants' undeservingness. This is what I have called delegitimation (see Table 3.2) which is a process by which irregular migrants are discursively constructed as illegitimate people whose presence is not allowed by the law and who have breached the law by staying, working and refusing to return to their home countries. As such, irregular migrants should content themselves with extremely limited entitlements since they do not have the legitimacy to claim increased access to welfare goods that are only meant to regular residents and citizens.

The Norwegian government and immigration authorities argue that irregular migrants' asylum applications have been carefully examined by the competent instances (i.e. The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) and The Norwegian Immigration Appeals Board (UNE)) which, they say, have found that they did not qualify for protection according to the Norwegian legislation regulating asylum issues. It is the objective of government to ensure that asylum seekers with final rejection return to their countries of origin (Lønseth 2011). Pål Lønseth, who is State Secretary in the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, bemoans that there are those who refuse to accept the rejection of their asylum applications and remain in Norway, often for several years, despite the fact that they have no need for protection (ibid). They are, he adds, responsible for putting their and their children's lives on hold by refusing to return despite the fact that they can do it (ibid). Reiterating that the rejected asylum seekers who prolong their stay in the country do so at their own risk, Lønseth stresses that they assume the blame for the situation in which they find themselves. The notion of responsibility is also underlined by the minister of Justice and Public Security, Grete Faremo, who wrote in an article that "the most important thing to remember is that the examination of asylum application and the time it takes is the state responsibility. Everything that happens after a

final decision is the asylum seekers responsibility” (Faremo 2012). Both Faremo and Lønseth hint to the fact that irregular migrants who refuse to return home do not behave responsibly by living in limbo; a situation which also affect children living with adults in an irregular situation. Such discourses, it can be argued, are meant to damage the moral deservingness of irregular migrants and camouflage the role of state’s migration control policies in creating conditions of abuse, vulnerability and dependency.

Table 3.2 Trends in border and migration control policy

Brochmann & Hammar (1999)	External border & Internal border				
	Upwards	Downwards	Outwards		
Guiraudon (2004)					
Aas (2007)	Internationalization	Pluralization		Informationalization	
Aas (2007)	Internationalization	Pluralization		Informationalization	Delegitimation
Larchanché (2011)					
	Delegating control tasks to supranational level	Delegating control tasks to local level	Delegating control tasks to private actors	Use of technological and electronic means of surveillance	Criminalizing and stigmatizing discourses
	Schengen Dublin Frontex	Local public and social services, ex: social and health workers	Employers Landlords Private business	EURODAC SIS	‘Returnektere’(return recusants), bogus asylum seekers, abusers of asylum system

Source: Compiled from Guiraudon (2004: 34), Aas (2007) and Larchanché (2011).

The government has consistently and adamantly declined calls from human rights activists, non-governmental organizations, certain municipal authorities and indeed irregular migrants themselves, for a softening the current immigration policies and allow, for example, irregular migrants to work legally while they are waiting to return to their home countries. The State

Secretary in the Ministry of Justice and Public Security has repeatedly responded that softening the current policy would undermine the intention and the meaning of a rejection as a legally binding administrative decision, and this would in turn undercuts the state-funded return programs and the asylum system (Abcnyheter 2011).

In addition to the notion of responsibility, the idea of fairness also permeates the official discourse about irregular migrants. For Lønseth, making concessions in favor of the irregular migrants would be unfair towards the law-abiding asylum seekers who have left the country after the rejection of their asylum applications and to those who need refugee protection (ibid.). In essence, irregular migrants are portrayed as “villains” (Anderson 2008) who breach the Norwegian law and abuse the asylum system meant to protect the “weakest” (Abcnyheter 2011). Underscoring the importance for irregular migrants to leave the country, the Prime Minister, Jens Stoltenberg, said the following: “it’s tough, but necessary if we are to make sure that we have a system that allows to provide residence, protection and care to those who really have problems, who are persecuted and are among the weakest” (Abcnyheter 2011).

Consequently, the Norwegian government insists that irregular migrants have to return to their countries of origin and they invite them to take advantage of the Voluntary Assisted Return Program – VARP funded by the government to assist the returnees in their reintegration in their home societies (see UDI 2012, Strand et al. 2011). The authorities further argue that it is the irregular migrants’ *duty* to return voluntarily because they have had their applications rejected. It is the government’s idea that in order to keep the legitimacy of the asylum system, those whose applications have been rejected must return. By refusing to cooperate they exposed themselves to deportation and they bear the responsibility for their current poor living conditions in Norway. Government officials refer to them as “returnektere” which can be translated as “return recusants”³; that is they refuse to abide by the law which instructs them to leave the national territory after the rejection of their asylum application.

From ‘bogus asylum seekers’ irregular migrants have now become ‘return recusants’, a discursive escalation meant to justify the state control and enforcement measures against this category of immigrants considered to be deviant (Becker 1963, Schneider and Ingram 1993). This is a case where, for policy purposes, the government exerts its power to negatively

³ Recusant: (noun) a person who refuses to do what a rule or person in authority says they should do (in Oxford Advanced Learner’s Compass)

construct a target population. For Becker (1963: 7), “the questions of what rules are to be enforced, what behavior regarded as deviant, and which people labeled as outsiders must also be regarded as political”. Schneider and Ingram (1993: 334) conceptualizes the social construction of target population as “the cultural characterizations or popular images of the persons or groups whose behavior and well-being are affected by public policy. These characterizations are normative and evaluative, portraying groups in positive or negative terms through symbolic language, metaphors, and stories”. In this sense, the negative construction of irregular migrants aims to legitimate the restrictive policies against them and to highlight their undeservingness with respect to their need for protection as refugees and to their access to employment and welfare services and benefits. The ‘returnektere’ discourse represents an apologetic for institutionalized restrictive measures directed towards irregular migrants and their families. The official discourse does not deny irregular migrants’ disadvantaged position, but the government underlines that it is the irregular migrants’ ‘own choice’ (Kjærre 2011). They are characterized as undeserving asylum seekers who not only have failed to abide by the law, but have also exposed themselves and their children to a difficult situation.

In their research on the “social construction of target populations”, Schneider and Ingram (1993) emphasize that policies and measures meant for the deviants, that is, the negatively viewed group, are expected to be more coercive and to involve sanctions, force and even death (p. 339). In much the same vein, Larchanché (2011: 3) argues that the social construction of irregular migrants’ illegitimacy and undeservingness seeks to present and produce irregular migrants as unworthy recipients of welfare services. Drawing on her research among irregular migrants in France, Larchanché (2011: 5) further argues that such constructions and discourses have a potent performative power and “produce immigrant subjects who feel undeserving, and non-immigrant subjects who subjectivate immigrants as undeserving”.

3.2.2. Meso level

The meso level is the level between the macro (national and supranational) level of migration control policies and the micro level of irregular migrants’ actions, practices and experiences. The role of the meso level actors and processes is crucial as they mediate control policies and irregular migrants’ agency and experiences. While the macro level is about the policy context

and the institutional framework that makes possible the implementation of policies through enforcements, the micro level is concerned with irregular migrants' experiences and agency. As for the meso level, it enables to highlight the role played by intermediate actors, institutions and processes in shaping the day-to-day experiences of irregular migrants. At this level, we have actors and institutions such as migrants' communities, networks of families, friends and acquaintances, non-governmental organizations, public service providers, employers and landlords.

The meso level allows us to answer questions such as what intermediary actors and institutions that help irregular migrants carry out their daily activities? How do they find work or a place to stay in an environment where the risk of exclusion and deportation is relatively permanent? How do they manage to establish themselves in the community, create a certain degree of predictability in their life, make children and even participate in campaigns denouncing the state restrictive policies? In comparison with regular residents and citizens, irregular migrants have very limited opportunities and their actions imply a high risk for their safety and a great deal of psychological stress (Cvajner and Sciortino 2010, Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Van Meeteren 2012, Van Meeteren et al. 2009).

A certain number of studies on irregular migrants both in Norway and internationally have documented the cardinal role played by the migrants' networks in providing irregular migrants with the much needed assistance in terms of information, as well as material and emotional support (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Cvajner and Sciortino 2011, Cvajner and Sciortino 2010, Vasta 2011, Van Meeteren 2012, Van Meeteren et al. 2009, Erdemir and Vasta 2007). Cvajner and Sciortino (2010: 399) argue that "a main source for survival strategy of the irregular migrant is provided by membership of social networks". Cvajner and Sciortino (2010: 399) explain that "it is a reasonable assumption that irregular migrants face a much lower risk of being detected if they can rely on relatives or friends who are legally resident foreigners or citizens". Indeed there is a wide range of activities where irregular migrants are dependent on people they can trust and people who are willing to help or to take the risk on their behalf. Irregular migrants rely on their networks of friends and acquaintances to find a job in the informal labor market, to find a place to stay and to find trustworthy lawyers and medical practitioners, to mention just a few.

In her research among irregular migrants in London, Ellie Vasta (2011: 202) found that “migrants networks and communities mediate between the individual and broader structural, social and cultural contexts”. Her research is concerned with the migrants’ “paper market” in London. She investigated the way in which irregular migrants buy, rent and borrow documents, such as passport, national insurance number and even bank accounts, through their networks and communities as a means of resisting and circumventing exclusionary and restrictive regulations. Vasta’s (2011: 188) research results “indicate that immigrants have developed innovative identities and cultures of resistance around papers and documentation”. Further, Vasta’s research showed that irregular migrants’ networks play a vital role in the circulation of social capital to help them find work, negotiate the paper market and settle (p. 198). She noted, however, that while migrant communities and networks are empowering, they can also lead to exploitation (p. 198).

Within a context of restrictive migration control policies, actors at the meso level including networks, communities, non-governmental organizations as well as other public and private actors such as employers, landlords, and health and social workers have to deal with a paradoxical situation resulting from the contradictions between national policies and the obligation to uphold human dignity and rights. These actors seem to be stuck between the rock and the hard place as they attempt to respond to irregular migrants’ urgent needs and the migration control considerations. During their encounters with irregular migrants, the medical personnel are always walking a fine line between fulfilling their duties as healthcare providers and assuming the migration enforcement responsibilities and hence exclude irregular migrant patients. On the one hand, if for instance health workers and providers give care to irregular migrants who need it, they may act in breach of the law and this can have economic repercussions for health institutions. On the other hand, if they refuse to give medical care, they may be acting against their professional code of conduct and violate basic human rights. It should be remembered, however, that not all actors at this level are well intentioned. There are also those who either do not care or who exploit irregular migrants. Even employers, who are not always well meaning, have to face a similar dilemma: while they are tempted by the

cheap, docile and flexible labor, they at the same time expose themselves to state sanctions for employing persons in an irregular situation (NRK 2011)⁴.

3.2.3. Micro level

One of the merits of structural vulnerability is that, while focusing on the policy context of migrants' irregularity, as well as the sociopolitical processes that create relations of subordination and domination (Anderson 2012), the concept also draws attention to the irregular migrants' agency. Anderson (2008) cautions against an oversimplifying and unproductive manichean view of irregular migrants as merely either victims or villain (see also Anderson and Ruhs 2010). Both Anderson and Ruhs propose to examine the structural context shaping the irregular migrants' living conditions and to analyze irregular migrants' agency by exploring the different ways in which they try to cope with their subordinate position and vulnerable situation.

Empirical research has documented that irregular migrants in Norway have a difficult and constrained access to healthcare, housing and employment and as a result many of them have poor living conditions (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Ottesen 2008, Hjelde 2009, Hjelde 2010, Aarø and Wyller 2005). Many irregular migrants have precarious working conditions and substandard housing, and a good number of them suffer from a variety of health problems largely due to poor living and working conditions, to loneliness and isolation, to the fear of deportation and to uncertainty about the future (ibid.).

However, as Cvajner and Sciortino (2010: 395) suggest, there exist a "hierarchy of irregular statuses". They argue that "irregular migrants are not members of an undifferentiated category: they are placed in a variety of social strata defined by very different social conditions" (ibid.). In other words, it is critical for the analysis of irregular migrants' experiences to avoid looking at them as a homogeneous category of excluded individuals because not all irregular migrants are equally affected by state control policies and practices. Moreover, Cvajner and Sciortino (2010: 397) point out at the bottom rung of irregular hierarchy "there are only those migrants who have a low social and economic capital" (p. 397). These are, according to the authors, the irregular migrants who "cannot rely on kinship

⁴ Risikerer fengselsstraff for å ha hatt ulovlige i arbeid.
<http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/norge/1.7529270>. [Accessed 20.03.2012].

members, who have little updated information and few and weak contacts, who cannot afford reliable brokers, who rely in their survival strategies on philanthropic institutions and random encounters” (397).

While the state develop strategies and put in place bureaucracies and technologies to fight against irregular migration both by keeping out and removing irregular migrants (Engbersen and Broeders 2009), the latter also devise counterstrategies, strategies of stay (Broeders and Engbersen 2007, Engbersen and Aujollet 1999, Engbersen and Broeders 2011a), or survival strategies (Cvajner and Sciortino 2011, Ambrosini 2011). There is a burgeoning body of literature on irregular migrants concerned with issues of irregular migrants’ agency and survival strategies (for e.g. Cvajner and Sciortino 2011, Cvajner and Sciortino 2010, Vasta 2011, Vasta and Kandilige 2010, Engbersen and Aujollet 1999, Engbersen and Broeders 2009, Engbersen and Broeders 2011b, Engbersen and Broeders 2011a). The notion of ‘survival strategies’ seeks “to stress at the same time the significance and creativity of irregular migrants as social actors, as well as the fact that the space of inclusion they are able to develop often carry a significant price tag” (Cvajner and Sciortino 2011: 4).

In her study among irregular migrants in London, Vasta (2011: 189) analyzed irregular migrants’ agency notably by focusing on “the relationship between the state control, and exclusion, and immigrant resistance.” In this study, Vasta (2011) explored “how [irregular] immigrants work out ways of resisting or managing those structures and, in the process, develop innovative and flexible identities” (ibid). The author argues that “immigrant agency operates through the construction of social, economic, political practices and conditions of everyday life” (Vasta 2011: 194). She adds that irregular migrants contest and manage prohibitive laws and structures and develop their own forms of accommodation and resistance, with reference to Scott’s (1985) *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. Scott’s notions of ‘weapons of the weak’ and ‘everyday forms of resistance’ refer to covert and informal acts of defiance and disavowal in situation of extreme unequal power relations. Everyday forms of resistance are “a form of individual self-help; and they typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms” (Scott 1985: 29) Forms of everyday resistance among irregular migrants in Norway are, for instance, found in the maneuvers they utilize to tacitly and surreptitiously deal and cope with current restrictive migration control policies. These weapons of the weak, even though they constitute a major

challenge to the state and its migration management agenda, have usually only a marginal significance and are not focused on questioning the foundations of existing power relations (Vasta 2011, Broeders and Engbersen 2007). In the context of increasingly restrictive policies, irregular migrants' agency is not viewed under a positive light. Irregular migrants are oftentimes depicted as possessing an abject, unsavory and even dangerous agency (De Genova 2009, Nyers 2011, Nyers 2003). Their strategies to stay and their attempt to circumvent the exclusionary laws and practices are looked at as illegal and punishable forms of conduct.

4. Methodology

4.1. Data collection: accessing the ‘hard-to-reach’

This is a qualitative study investigating irregular migrants’ experiences of structural vulnerability as a result of being foreigners in an irregular situation. I have carried out semi-structured in-depth interviews with specific questions about their daily experiences of access to healthcare, labor market and housing. In addition, I had the opportunity to follow and observe two respondents in most of their activities for at least three days. Through interviews and observations and through the lenses of their lived experiences, perceptions, views and reactions, I have attempted to capture irregular migrants’ abject experiences as well as their coping strategies.

The research participants consisted of asylum seekers from Africa and Asia whose asylum application had been rejected by both the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) and the Norwegian Immigration Appeals Board (UNE). A total of thirteen respondents (8 men and 5 women) aged between 20 and 45 years were interviewed (see Appendix V). The sample is by no means representative, but it illustrates the monotonous and sometimes tumultuous life of irregular migrants. The irregular migrants who participated in this research form a diverse group with various social, cultural, educational and linguistic background and migration trajectories who experience their situation differently and who utilize a range of strategies to keep their head above water.

4.2. Methodological choices

In this study I have chosen to use multiple methods in order to give a better understanding of how irregular migrants experience and cope with their day-to-day reality of structural vulnerability. I have found qualitative interviews suitable for the purposes of this study which aims to examine the relationship between irregular migrants’ structural vulnerability and the broad structural factors. The semi-structured in-depth interviews are grounded on the assumption that the research participants are knowledgeable actors who can delineate and illustrate their complex experiences and actions. With semi-structured interviews, I was able to ask specific questions while respondents’ answers generated further questions, thus contributing to deeper understanding of both the experiences and strategies of irregular migrants. The interview began with general questions about how respondents would rate their current situation in general. After these questions which should allow an open-ended

exploration of various issues pertaining to irregular migrants' lives, the interview proceeded with specific questions to generate an understanding of specific aspects of irregular migrants' vulnerability in terms housing, healthcare and employment. During the interviews the participants were urged to speak freely about their experiences and how they coped with the difficulties they met. I carried out the interviews myself in English, Norwegian and in French. I did not meet any linguistic challenges as I can speak these languages. Only two respondents accepted to be audio-recorded while for the rest I took notes⁵.

Furthermore, assuming that irregular migrants are experts of their individual situation, the chosen methods have enabled me to get first-hand knowledge from the concerned informants. In this respect I also resorted to participant observation as a tool for collecting data. Kawulich (2005)⁶ defines participant observation as "the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities." (see also Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). Participant observation allowed me to see first-hand the everyday mundane activities and provided me with clues and pointers to an array of layers of irregular migrants' daily reality (Silverman 2006). In essence, I had a unique opportunity of accessing the irregular migrants' own backyard. The respondents I was able to observe and even mix with had become quite familiar with me and we shared friends among activists. We had had our first interviews, but we continued to meet at various events in Bergen. Two of them invited me to the flats where they were staying with several friends. I believe that allowing me to share their lives was a manifestation of trust and openness as I was able to mingle with them more informally and to enter the hidden sphere of their everyday life.

In addition to the primary ethnographic sources the study also draws on secondary sources mainly reports, official documents and academic literature. Furthermore, I tried, as a researcher, to follow closely the current debates on irregular migrants going on in the print and electronic media, as well as in social media both in Norway and abroad. All this

⁵ I proposed the respondents the two ways I had to record the interviews, namely audio-recording and note-taking. The majority chose note-taking while only two said they did not mind being audio-recorded. I chose to use a recorder to avoid taking notes and concentrate on the interview.

⁶ *Forum: Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*. Available: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0502430> [Accessed 20.02.2012].

information has been crucial for my understanding of the dynamics underlying irregular migrants' experiences in Norway.

4.3. Approaching the field

Conducting research among irregular migrants entails a series of challenges. Irregular migrants belong to the category of hard-to-reach or hidden populations (Muhib et al. 2001, Penrod et al. 2003, Atkinson and Flint 2001) and researchers concur that the toughest challenges are related to the identification, access and recruitment of research participants, i.e. respondents (Brunovskis 2010, Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Duvell et al. 2008). The main difficulty lies in putting together a sound sample of respondents who are willing to participate in the research. In this section, I discuss the ways in which I dealt with the challenges of access to the research field and how I eventually managed to gain access to the 'hard-to-reach'.

In order to gain access to the field I called upon four pieces of advice outlined by Lofland and Lofland (1995, cited in Langslet, 2008) and tried with success by Langslet (2008) during her field work in Pakistan. Lofland and Lofland propose four strategies around the notions of connections, account, knowledge and courtesy.

First, even though I conducted the interviews myself, I must acknowledge that in order to get touch with prospective respondents I was mostly dependent on my contacts, that is, either personal connections or connections among activists and non-governmental organizations. With these connections I shared my research project and invited them to put me in touch with other actors and potential respondents I could interview. The answer I would usually get was "I know someone you could interview. I will contact them and let you know if they are ready to give you an interview." It would take between one and several days before I could get a feedback and certain contacts managed to convince one or two possible informants while others failed because, they said, possible respondents were too afraid to participate in any research or any interview if they are not sure it is likely to assist them in getting the long-awaited residence permit.

Second, Lofland and Lofland urge researchers to give an account of their research, i.e. to provide sufficient information about the research project. In this respect, I ensured that all my contacts and respondents knew what my research was about and its purpose. I spent a substantial amount of time giving interviewees information about this study before requesting

their interview. Written information was also provided in the form of information letter that I distributed to potential respondents (see Appendix II).

Third, knowledge is another key notion put forth by Lofland and Lofland. According to Langslet (2008), the knowledge referred to here is the one required in order for the researcher to get access to respondents and the knowledge the researcher seeks to gain from the research participants. On this account, I found it advantageous to adopt a “learner’s role” since, as Langslet (2008) says, the purpose of the interview is to learn more about an issue, and in this particular case I was interested in the everyday experiences of individuals in a irregular migration situation. I tried as much as possible to assume the role of a learner who intends to learn about their situation of which they are the only experts. I allowed myself to express doubts, uncertainties and lack of knowledge about their idiosyncratic circumstances, while at the same time posing questions probing their opinions and perceptions about their irregular situation and living conditions. I experienced that adopting the learner’s role tipped the power balance in favor of the irregular migrant respondents. Langslet (2008: 21) maintains that “adopting the learner’s role may be a clever strategy to get the informants to explain even ‘obvious’ aspects of an occurrence”.

Fourth, researchers are advised to be courteous. By courtesy Lofland and Lofland refer to the fact of showing general respect and knowledge of the cultural codes of interlocutors. I experienced that showing consideration, respect and politeness was very handy in building a trustful and open relation between me and respondents, both male and female. It should be noted that courtesy per se is not enough, but taken together the four Lofland and Lofland strategies can go a long way in facilitating access to ‘hidden’ populations.

4.4. Methodological and ethical issues

Research on irregular migrants poses methodological and ethical challenges (Düvell et al. 2010, Liempt and Bilger 2009). Brunovskis and Bjerkan (2008: 18) maintain that, in all research involving human beings, research methods and research ethics are inextricably bound together. This view is shared by various scholars who have participated in research projects involving irregular migrants and other categories such as victims of human trafficking (see Düvell et al., 2010, Liempt and Bilger, 2009). Bilger and Liempt (2009: 1) sensitize us to exercising extreme sensitivity when conducting research with persons in vulnerable positions. For Dahinden and Efionayi-Mader (2009: 115), we do not need to

reinvent the wheel by introducing new methodologies, but rather improve our critical reflexivity.

4.4.1. Methodological challenges

Gaining access to irregular migrants in the Bergen area was not an easy task. This was not due to the fact that there are not enough individuals in an irregular migration situation, nor was it because they were trying to ‘hide’ themselves away at all costs. The difficulty faced by anyone researching irregular migrants is, from my experience, that persons in this particular social group do not have any distinctive feature to distinguish them from other regular residents and citizens (see also Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). These are ordinary people who happen to stay in our neighborhoods, who are employed in a plethora of businesses, for example in shops and restaurants and who, sometimes, help out in our homes without us being aware of it. Like Cvajner and Sciortino (2011: 3) aptly put it, I found that there were no “irregular migrants”, but only individuals who have an irregular status in a specific space and for a specific time. Nonetheless, even though irregular migrants look like the man and woman in the street and are part of the community, their irregular status entails for them particular challenges such that identifying and meeting them constitute an uphill battle, whereas recruiting and interviewing them as research participants proves to be even more complicated.

Irregular migrants are described as a hidden population because, it can be argued, they actively and creatively seek to conceal their genuine identity and their domicile (Vasta 2011, Engbersen and Broeders 2009). It is in their interest and for their security since their status and presence are viewed by the authorities as illegal. People in the hidden populations category are those whose status is not socially acceptable and who often fear to be stigmatized or incriminated (Penrod et al. 2003: 100) despite the fact that they may not necessarily be involved in criminal or reprehensible activities (ibid.). In the same vein, irregular migrants are considered as a hard-to-reach population because they normally “do not wish to be found or contacted” (Brackertz 2007: 1, Adler and Adler 2001). Even when they are found and contacted, they are not necessarily willing to open up and talk to researchers. In Norway, like in other countries, irregular migrants are not easily identifiable nor accessible (Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Brunovskis 2010). Besides, there are not any specific venues or arenas where irregular migrants congregate or can be found. It is evident that, despite their inventiveness, researchers have very often difficulties locating, identifying and sampling respondents among irregular migrants.

In order to reach hidden or hard-to-reach populations the snowball sampling is one of the techniques used in qualitative research. According to Brackertz (2007: 31), the snowball technique “relies on a series of referrals that are made within a circle of people who know each other or are loosely connected. The respondent is asked to name other persons that fit the criteria described by the researcher. The newly identified persons are then interviewed and in turn asked to nominate others that fit the criteria and so on.” (see also Atkinson and Flint 2001). One of the advantages of this technique is that it seeks to lower the threshold of trust required to initiate contact with irregular migrants. Nonetheless, some critics hold that snowball sample does not make a representative sample. In addition to the problem of bias and representativity, this technique does not seem to work well with irregular migrants who are very concerned with anonymity and are reluctant to draw other irregular migrants into the research (Brunovskis 2010, Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Hjelde 2009, Hjelde 2010). I did meet the same difficulty during this study as I attempted to systematically ask my respondents if they could recommend or put me in contact with another potential interviewee. The answer was either they did not know anyone else but regular residents or those irregular migrants they knew were too afraid to talk to strangers.

One strategy that has been used with relative success in similar research with irregular migrants has been to identify what Brunovskis (2010) calls entry points or social arenas where irregular migrants can be expected to be found (Øien and Sønsterudbråten, 2011: 30, Brunovskis, 2010: 53). Brunovskis (2010: 53) further notes that such arenas may vary from a country to another depending on “the social context and structural framework within which irregular migration takes place”. One can also argue that these arenas may also vary from a locality or city to another in a given country. For instance, in Oslo researchers have met irregular migrants at the Health Centre for Undocumented Migrants run by the Oslo Church City Mission and the Red Cross (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). However, such an arena does not exist in the city of Bergen. Previously some organizations have been identified as possible arenas for irregular migrants in Norway. These include, inter alia, immigrants’ organizations, minority organizations and religious communities (ibid.). In this study, my main entry points were non-governmental organizations and activists that I met at a series of events concerning irregular migrants organized in Bergen in 2011 and early 2012. These events included principally demonstrations organized by non-governmental organizations and activists advocating for the irregular migrants’ rights. In addition, there were panel

discussions, torch processions and others actions and events under a range of themes, all of them trying to raise awareness about the plight of irregular migrants in Norway. It was at these events that I met a number of respondents who were participating in one way or another.

These events and venues allowed me to contact various organizations and individuals involved directly or indirectly in activities concerning the assistance of irregular migrants. I managed to identify some key individuals, gatekeepers, through whom I subsequently gained access to respondents. Gatekeepers are individuals who facilitate access to respondents. They were particularly crucial in this research as they assisted me in dealing with issues of trust between me and the research participants. I have tried to use different gatekeepers in order to access a diverse group of irregular migrants. In this research, the gatekeepers' critical role in mediating a relationship of trust between me as a researcher and the participants cannot be overemphasized. Gatekeepers have previously been used in several studies on irregular migrants (Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011, Düvell et al. 2010). Gatekeepers are instrumental in identifying, locating and motivating plausible respondents to participate in the research. Obviously, this requires that gatekeepers are familiar with certain members of the target population, because the bottom line with regard to access to the research group is the crucial issue of trust (Düvell et al. 2010, Brunovskis and Bjerkan 2008). Hynes (2003: 1) defines trust as the fact of "being able to have confidence in a person or thing". As for Düvell et al. (2010: 231), "respect and trust are crucial in establishing a relationship between the researcher and participants". One can anticipate that irregular migrants' current and previous experiences can create mistrust to becoming research subjects. In this vein, I contend that irregular migrants are most likely inclined to mistrust because many feel that they have been mistrusted by the system which has rejected their residence or asylum applications. However, to the extent that initiating, securing and maintaining a trustful relationship between the researcher and the researched is a difficult and time-consuming task, trust remains a prerequisite to the success of research about irregular migrants lived experiences. The irregular migrants were the pivots of investigations owing to the centrality of their experiences, stories, concerns, aspirations and interests.

The role of the gatekeepers was to ensure the liaison between me as researcher and the researched. I was never able to have an interview at the very first encounter with the respondents, as my prime concern was to establish a good relation before we could fix

together an appointment for an interview. At times, it could take several days before we could meet again due to last-minute changes of appointment. Admittedly, a good number of respondents would meet up according to plan, but some others had to change appointments several times because of work. Many reported having been asked to go to work at very short notice and had to call off our meeting. This is itself revealing about their working conditions. Initially, it was not clear for me whether they had changed their mind or did not want to participate in the interview, but it appeared clearly that they would eventually find time to come for interview. Others failed to show up completely and I took it as a signal that they had decided not to participate in the research. Due to such incidents, it was difficult for me to plan the organization of the field work. My experience was that it was pivotal to be flexible and available and brace oneself for a time and energy consuming fieldwork.

4.4.2. Ethical considerations

The National Research Ethics Committee for Social Sciences and Humanities (NESH for short in Norwegian) defines the term ethics as “a complex set of values, norms and institutional mechanisms that help to constitute and regulate scientific activity” (NESH 2006: 5), while research ethics is understood as “a codification of the practice of science ethics” (ibid.). As for Düvell et al.(2008: 5), “research ethics is a process of making decisions that are informed from an ethical position. Ethical codes and guidelines are conducive to this aim but are neither sufficient nor necessary conditions for ethical research”. This sentiment is shared by Bilger and Liempt (2009: 12) who argue that “in research which enables people to come to terms with their everyday experiences and which understands research subjects as participating agents carrying knowledge and interpreting their own life worlds, ethical concerns of justice, fairness and moral actions go far beyond rigid sets of rules and guidelines”. For researchers Alver and Øyen (2007: 18), “ethical principles and guidelines may provide important assistance in promoting reflection and in furnishing bearings whereby evaluations may be made and workable solutions found”. On this account, NESH has issued a series of guidelines that seek to ensure minimum acceptable standards for the conduct of ethical research in Norway. This entails, among others, that researchers working with irregular migrants as research subjects shall ensure that the ethical dimension is integrated in their research agenda and high ethical standards are upheld in their encounters with irregular migrants in the fieldwork. In this regard, before starting this study, I notified the research project to Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) which is the Data Protection

Official for Research for all the Norwegian universities, university colleges and several hospitals and research institutes (NSD 2012). It is a requirement that all research involving personal data should be submitted to NSD for review and approval in a bid to ensure that ethical issues in relation to collecting, recording and storing personal data are considered from the inception to the completion of the research project. This study has followed ethical guidelines related to the conduct and dissemination of research with irregular migrants as research subjects. In essence, ethical decisions should be based on what is right and just for a range of actors involved in the research including the researchers, the participants, the project sponsors and the society at large (Dench et al. 2004). This is usually not a straightforward matter as different actors and groups may have differing views and conflicting interests, such as irregular migrants' wish to be regularized while authorities and society may instead wish to control and put an end to irregular migration (Duvell et al. 2008). I believe that it would be wrong to skip over these contentious issues; a researcher working with irregular migrants must be aware of these tensions and endeavor to transcend them in order to conduct research in an appropriate and defensible manner.

At the heart of ethical standards in research into human beings, notably those in a special situation such as irregular migrants, is the fundamental principle of autonomy. The latter entails the opportunity as well as the choice of research participants to take autonomous and informed decisions. In line with the principle of respect for autonomy of human beings, I endeavored to obtain informed consent from the research participants. In essence, the principle of informed consent implies that “the human subject of research should be allowed to agree or refuse to participate in the light of comprehensive information concerning the nature and purpose of the research” (Homan 1991:69, Faden et al. 1986). However, Miller and Bell (2002: 53) caution us about the fact that informed consent is not a magical elixir, but can rather be problematic “if it is not clear what the participant is consenting to and where ‘participation’ begins and ends”. For them, informed consent should be both an ongoing process and the object of constant negotiations between the researcher and the participants (see also Bilger and Liempt 2009: 12). On this account, I explained my project comprehensively so that respondents can make an informed decision about their participation (see also the letter of information to potential respondents, Appendix II). Further, I emphasized that participation was voluntary and I made it clear that the respondents had the right not to take part and even to withdraw from the interview without having to justify it any

further. In addition, the information collected was stored securely, anonymized and treated confidentially. Brunovskis and Bjerkan (2008: 31) underline that “anonymity is not ensured merely by omitting a name, but that the meaning and significance of information will depend on what the recipient of the information already knows”. I have therefore ensured that in the final text such background information as country of origin, ethnic belonging and other details are not appearing. As regards confidentiality and anonymity, Bilger and Liempt (2009: 12) warn that their “insensitive treatment could not only harm individuals, but a group of persons or a community as a whole”. As a researcher, I had to exercise the necessary sensitivity, prudence, care and caution in order to avoid far-reaching damaging consequences for the participants.

4.5. Coping with challenges

Research suggests that interviews are social encounters between researcher and the interviewee (Whyte 1984, Rapley 2001, Sinding and Aronson 2003). Thus, an interview is the product of an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, on the one hand and the context of the interview, namely the topic of the interview and the physical and temporal situation of the interview, on the other hand. Consequently, the data obtained emerge from the specific interactional context created by and through the talk between the interviewee and the researcher (Rapley 2001). Even though the meeting between the researcher and the respondent is characterized by asymmetric power relations, I found that the whole research process was also marked by collaboration and mutual respect between me and the informants.

Moreover, I had the impression that my socioeconomic position as a foreigner in Norway had a significant impact on our collaboration. I was looked at as a student researcher with no or little access to resources and power. I did not receive any request for any form of help as the informants knew that neither I nor my research could have an impact on the outcome of their cases. Moreover, my African origin perhaps influenced my field work and conceivably facilitated my access to certain section of the research population. The fact of being a foreigner like them infused empathy in some of them who felt like I needed their solidarity and help with my studies. Many repeated to me that they were participating in the study to help me fulfill the master degree requirements. They seemed more open probably due to the fact they assumed that I was not associated with the state power and I did not represent the

state's stance towards migrants in an irregular situation. The rapport and mood during the interviews was generally that of trust and informality.

I met certain respondents at events organized for irregular migrants by activists and supporters, for example, campaigns for the regularization or for improvement of the living conditions of irregular migrants. As I approached the potential respondents, the challenge, at these events, was to distinguish between my role as a researcher and as an activist. Some of those I talked to actually thought I was a migrant in an irregular situation who had come to the event like them. In such venues they were expecting to see, for instance, activists, journalists, irregular migrants, and they were not necessarily expecting to meet researchers. They addressed me questions like are you still waiting for a reply from UDI (the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration)? When did you come to Norway? Where do you stay now? A priori I was taken either as an activist or an irregular migrant. During this interaction, I had an opportunity to introduce myself as a student researcher and explain what my project was about, why I was there, and once I considered that a person could be a potential participant in my research or could put me touch with potential respondents, then I would ask them if we could exchange telephone numbers and meet another time. I had always with me a letter of information, destined to prospective respondents, presenting briefly the aim of my research and requesting an interview (see Appendix II). My main concern was to ensure that interviewees were adequately informed prior to giving their consent. I have always viewed seeking informed consent not as a ritualistic event (Sin 2005) but as a way of empowering the respondent, so that the respondents can participate if they so wish and decide what and how much to tell. This was one way to ensure that respondents were able to exercise some power and discretion even though, as Holkup et al. (2004) say, a researcher-respondent relationship is inherently unequal.

5. Findings and discussions

There seems to be broad scholarly consensus that the phenomenon of irregular migration is caused, maintained and exacerbated by increased border control policies (Koser 2005, Anderson and Ruhs 2010, Turner 2007) and that these migration control policies deeply and variously shape the daily experiences of persons residing irregularly within the nation state's territory (Quesada 2011a, Quesada et al. 2011, Willen 2007, Willen 2011, Green 2011, Cartwright and Manderson 2011, Anderson 2010, Cvajner and Sciortino 2011). As Anderson (2012: 2) puts it, immigration controls create relations of domination and subordination, and obscure the responsibility of the state and other institutional practices in creating irregular migrants' structural vulnerability. Anderson (2012: 11) argues that "immigration controls are not neutral [... but] productive: they produce and reinforce relations of dependency and power". Against this background, irregular migrants are structurally vulnerable due to their subjection to ubiquitous immigration controls. In the same line of reasoning, my contention is that, owing to the decentralization and localization of enforcement (Anderson 2012), the Norwegian state creates conditions of irregular migrants' structural vulnerability exposing them to abusive practices and abject conditions both in their daily lives and their encounters with the labor and housing markets, and with health workers and providers. The concept of structural vulnerability permits to unveil ways in which the state and immigration legislations and practices reinforce irregular migrants' dependencies and vulnerabilities. More significantly, structural vulnerability also acknowledges irregular migrants as sovereign subjectivities and social actors who, in the context of state policies, laws and practices, actively endeavor to live normally and to cater to their needs and those of their families.

This chapter, I want to look into issues of irregular migrants' access to healthcare, employment and housing, and it examines strategies they employ to cope with barriers and restrictions as well as attendant risks of subordination and dependency.

5.1. Healthcare

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (WHO 2006). The preamble to the WHO constitution stipulates that it is a fundamental right of every human being, without any form of distinction or discrimination, to be able to enjoy the highest attainable standards of health.

Norway has a universal healthcare system for citizens and regular residents. However, irregular migrants do not enjoy universal health coverage. The right to healthcare is regulated by a set of legislations, primarily the Patients' Rights Act and the Regulation on the right to health care services to persons without a permanent residence in the Kingdom (HOD 2011). The latter became effective as of January 1st, 2012. Additionally, the Municipal Health Services Act and the Specialist Health Services Act come into play. The Regulation on the right to health care services to persons without a permanent residence in the Kingdom stipulates that irregular migrants' right to health care is limited to emergency care and to essential care that cannot wait without leading the risk of imminent death, permanent impairment of functions, severe injury or very severe pain. Furthermore, the Regulations provide for medical assistance in case of risk of infection and for mentally unstable persons who may constitute an obvious and serious risk to their own or others' life or health. As for women, they have right to necessary medical care before and after birth, and they are entitled to assistance in case of abortion. For persons under 18 years of age, the Regulations provide for health rights largely equal to those of regular residents. It is crucial to note that persons without legal residence must generally still pay for the health care received. However, it is not expected to demand advance payment for emergency care and for healthcare that cannot wait from the specialist medical personnel (HOD 2011).

In terms of health, the irregular migrants who participated in this study constitute a diverse group of individuals with multiple and contrasting health needs. Only very few of them declared enjoying relatively good health despite their difficult circumstances while the majority spoke about a range of health needs regarding physical, mental and social well-being. My informants complained about psychic and physical problems, such as depression, stress, sleep problems, migraines and hypertension. Some others complained about occupational injuries, particularly back injuries, and others again suffered from pulmonary and respiratory complications.

My interviews have highlighted the link between irregular migration status and health problems. Respondents assert that their being in an irregular situation has brought about health problems. This is the case of Moono who has been living in Norway for the past 11 years. He is married and has one child. After having worked for nine years, Moono had to stop working a year ago when he was denied the tax card. After five years at a recycling plant his asylum application was rejected for the second time and his work permit was revoked. He

had, however, continued to work and pay tax until the tax office stopped sending him a tax card in 2010. Then his employer informed him that he was obliged to terminate his contact, promising to reinstate him as soon as his work permit and tax card issues were settled. Moono told me that he was always thinking about his and his family's situation. He fears for his life if he is deported to his home country because he was a political activist. He told me that had begun having health problems after he stopped working and he felt that it was getting worse: "I'm very depressive, I have stress ...I can't sleep at night...I have high blood pressure. I was refused treatment until it became acute and was taken to the emergency ward." Another respondent, Kelvin, has similar problems and he attributes them to his irregular situation: "I'm stressed. I've sleep problems; I can't sleep." This is also the case of Shiva who has lived in a refugee reception centre for more than seven years with her old and sick father: "I have migraines all the time and it's because I think very much about my situation".

All the respondents made a link between their poor mental and physical health and their irregular migration status, on the one hand, and their precarious living conditions, on the other hand. For example, Kayat has over the past six months been to the emergency ward (Legevakten) two times for problems in the back, while Alex said: "Physically I'm healthy, but psychologically I'm not healthy. I'm always stressed. I never stop thinking about my situation, my hard life. I have to wait, I'm like in prison." Others reported unmet healthcare needs, that is, they had health problems that had not received adequate or any medical attention despite their effort to approach health institutions to request medical services. Clement said: "The doctor has detected problems with my lungs and respiratory system, but I've not received any treatment so far. I also need to be operated but I was told I'll not be operated before I get papers". It appears that the irregular migration status is both a potent health risk and an obstacle to accessing medical assistance in Norwegian public health institutions. This section will first examine the difficulties irregular migrants are faced with as they try to have access to or to use medical services and, second, it will explore strategies and tactics irregular migrants resort to in order to address their health needs.

5.1.1. Access issues

Most respondents face constraints and barriers in accessing medical care. However, there are also gender differences in this. I have noted, for instance, that all males in my interview sample did not have a personal general practitioner (fastlege) while all, but one, females had one. It is also worth mentioning that the only pregnant woman in my sample received all the

antenatal treatment she needed and *free of charge*. The Norwegian law provides for wide, but not full, access to healthcare to irregular migrant children and pregnant women in an irregular situation. They are expected to pay or reimburse the full cost of treatment and medication (cf. Regulation on the right to health and care services to persons without a permanent residence in the Kingdom). It is difficult to explain the gender difference among male and female irregular migrants in my sample. What is common to both groups is that they left the reception centres and moved to Bergen several years ago in order to join either their families or friends. The right to have a general practitioner (GP) is regulated by the Regulation on the general practitioner scheme in the municipalities⁷. The regulations stipulates in chapter 2 that “Anyone who lives in a Norwegian municipality is entitled to be registered with a GP” (cf. Regulation on general practitioner scheme in the municipalities). The regulations define a resident as a person who according to the population register is registered as living in a Norwegian municipality. The regulations further extend the right to be registered with a GP to asylum seekers and their family members when they are members of the National Insurance Scheme.

According to the Regulation on the general practitioner scheme, it is very difficult for adult irregular migrants to have access to a general practitioner since they are not officially registered as residents in the municipality. In addition, it is very probable that when they moved to Bergen they did not report their new address to the National Population Register (Folkeregisteret). On the other hand, as many of them moved to Bergen before their asylum application was finally rejected and therefore were not yet viewed as irregular migrants, they could have been allowed to register with a general practitioner. As for women with children, it may be possible for them to register with the child’s general practitioner. When I asked them how they had chosen their general practitioner, all women told me that it was through their networks of family or friends and that the process had been smooth. While for men, their attempts to register with a general practitioner had been fraught with difficulties and had been firmly and bluntly told by health workers at medical centers that they did not have any entitlement to the services of a general practitioner.

When it comes to transfers to the main hospital in Bergen for further treatment, most of the informants, both men and women, declared having been rejected either by workers in the

⁷ Forskrift om fastlegeordning i kommunene

clinic reception or by doctors during consultation and they were told that they did not have the right to specialist medical care. The regulation relative to the access of irregular migrants to health care in Norway stipulates, among others, that irregular migrants have a right only to emergency medical care (cf. Regulation on the right to health care services to persons without a permanent residence in the Kingdom). According to the Norwegian ministry of health and care services, the term ‘emergency’ entails a need for the patient to be treated immediately or after a few hours, for example the treatment of major injuries or poisoning (HOD 2010: 10). Under the category ‘emergency’ fall also all treatments scheduled by a health service within 24 hours.

Moreover, informants have talked about the way they have been unable to access to health services both at ordinary health centres, at the hospital and at the emergency ward situated in downtown Bergen. Maureen told me how she was one day turned down at the emergency ward. She had a bad fever and a cold and, as she did not have a general practitioner (fastlege) to go to, she decided to go the emergency ward: “One day I went to the emergency ward and at the reception I was asked my ID card. I showed my student card and I was rejected because the receptionist said that my ID card was not valid”. The receptionist did not ask her what was wrong, nor did she allow her to meet a doctor who was habilitated to decide whether to treat her or not. Here the receptionist acts as a gatekeeper who uses the validity of the ID card (and the Personal Number) to allow or not access to the health system. It can be argued that the ID card and the Personal Number are among technological tools of surveillance and control deployed along the internal border of the welfare state in order to keep out unwanted migrants and prevent them from accessing welfare goods such as medical services. While Maureen was rejected at the reception, Kelvin was allowed to see the doctor, but the latter told him that he could not treat him and advised him to go to private practitioners. Kelvin says: “I have been refused healthcare a couple of times, so I always pray so that I may not fall sick”.

As for Kayat, he was transferred to the main hospital for further investigation of his back injury, but he was rejected because, the doctor told him, he did not have a valid personal number. Kayat says: “I was given a transfer to the main hospital in order to get an operation as they say that it’s dangerous, but at the hospital they say they can’t help me because I don’t have a personal number. They say that is the system and I don’t get what they mean”. In his interview, Kayat castigated what he called “system”, that is, the organization of the health administration that, according to him, seems to work like a very complicated machine and that

to him is too difficult to understand. For Kayat, there are wheels within wheels in the health system organization and he never knows what is going on and who to go to. He has been at the emergency ward a couple of times prior to being transferred to the main hospital in Bergen for specialist treatment. He was advised by the physician at the emergency ward to refrain from working due to his back injury, but he said he could not stop working because “money is life”. In the meantime, his health needs are not being attended to presumably because the doctors do not categorize his condition as needing an ‘emergency’ or ‘very necessary’ care that cannot wait. Besides, having identified Kayat as an irregular migrant, doctors do not know if he might leave the country or be forced to leave soon. They might indeed deem it unnecessary to initiate a treatment which may span over several weeks or months without knowing if the patient will or not stay in the country for further medical check-ups. Kayat was disillusioned and bitter over what he described as improper and inhuman treatment he had received from the health services he had gone to.

Kayat added that due to his long working hours, he did not have time to go to the clinic: “I have to work even when I am in pain” he said. He also explained that he could be fired if he did not go to work because of illness. He feared that his boss would replace him; therefore he gives priority to work at the expense of his health. Furthermore, Kayat, like some other informants, said that he had lost confidence and trust in the health system and health professionals. For Kelvin, the way doctors and other medical practitioners treat irregular migrants shows that they have departed from what he calls their original humanitarian mission to cure the sick. He explains that “normally doctors are respected because they also respect patients. But here they first ask you your ID card and when it has expired they refuse to treat you. For me doctors here are not different from Norwegian politicians. They told me ‘you don’t have the right to healthcare; you can go to private clinics’”. Here Kelvin points to the tensions that exist between migration control considerations and the primary duties of medical workers. His statement highlights the conflicting logics of the control policies on the one hand and the medical profession on the other hand. Whereas migration control policies aim to exclude irregular migrants from medical services, the medical professionals’ role is to include all patients without any form of discrimination. Kelvin notes in this case that migration control policies have infiltrated medical services which, he says, have departed from their classical duties to cure the sick. Kelvin has lost trust in medical doctors and he criticizes the unorthodox role they have assumed. Kelvin’s experience is illustrative of the

dilemma faced by health and social workers in their encounters with irregular migrants. In fact, if they include irregular migrants they will be flouting the rules and regulations set by the state while if they exclude them they will go against their professional code of conduct.

Other respondents have a more indulgent albeit still critical view of the way they are received and treated by the medical services. They hold that it is the fault of the system, i.e. they are turned away by the system that rejects their invalid ID cards and prevents them from having access to medical assistance. Clement told me the way one day the doctor failed to complete and print a requisition form for laboratory tests because his name was not recognized by the system. The doctor then filled the requisition form by pen and took it to the laboratory himself. In this case, the doctor treated Clement as any other patient as this was not an emergency case. Strictly speaking the doctor acted against the law that stipulates that irregular migrants are only entitled to emergency or very necessary medical assistance. At the same time, health workers in Norway have a professional and ethical duty to provide treatment according to their competence (see Hjelde 2010, Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011).

Another issue related to access to medical care is the cost of health services that is very high and hence out of the reach of irregular migrants who, more often than not, have no or very low income. This is the case of Shiva who needs to go to the psychologist but cannot afford it financially: “I need a psychologist, but I’m not allowed to and I don’t have money to pay myself”.

Due to their very limited access to healthcare, irregular migrants in Norway have many unmet health needs. They resort to a number of ex ante strategies to remain relatively healthy and ex post strategies to treat some minor illnesses themselves. By ex ante strategies I mean what irregular migrants do to remain healthy because they are aware of the difficulties to access the health system; while ex post strategies refer to curative and mitigating strategies irregular migrants use in lieu of going to the doctor.

5.1.2. Alternative strategies

Viewed from the perspective of structural vulnerability, the section above illustrates the ways in which migration control policies operate as “powerful pathogen” (Cartwright 2011) that not only render sick irregular migrants, but also debar them from accessing medical care. Concurrently, structural vulnerability offers the possibility to explore the irregular migrants’ agency under conditions of extremely unequal power relations. My sample shows that

irregular migrants do not remain idle in the face of risks for their bodies as well as for their health and lives. They deploy a range of preventive and mitigating strategies in anticipation and in response to multiple health risks.

Two informants stress the importance of physical activities and exercises in order to keep themselves in good shape. They also highlight the role of friends whose company helps maintain a minimum of social life. Despite their lack of income and the fact that they are not allowed to access certain spaces, such as night clubs where door-keepers require valid identity cards before admission, they emphasize that they endeavor to break isolation and loneliness by getting involved in social activities and events either in their communities or in town. For example, for Lewis social life is of paramount importance for his psychic well-being. He has many friends both among the Norwegians and among migrants from his community of origin. He told me that if he could be happy for one thing in the city of Bergen, it would be for his sizable networks of friends and people with whom he shares culture and language. He said that prior to moving to Bergen four years ago, he stayed in a reception centre in a small locality where he did not have anyone to talk to and where life had become tedious, monotonous and intolerable. In order to remain in good health, Lewis said: “I try to be with friends because being alone means being depressed, disappointed and thinking negatively too much. So I like to spend time with people so I don’t feel alone; just to break monotony, loneliness and isolation”. While for Kelvin physical activity is more important: “When I noticed that I had begun to have health problems, I started doing sport and physical training. I also go the library to read”.

Lewis also adds that when he is sick he needs the attention and care of friends, which, according to him, relieves the pain and reduces desolation and despair. He underlines, however, that without access to medical care, without the right to engage in legal employment and without adequate housing conditions he “cannot enjoy normal life”. Lewis adds that “life is difficult since I don’t have a doctor, I don’t have a job and even I don’t have the right to go to a night club to enjoy myself. Without residence permit I can’t enjoy normal life”. Lewis conceptualizes “normal life” as a life without hindrances resulting from irregular migration status. He wishes to be freed from both the restraints of irregularity and the shackles of uncertainty so that he can work, learn the Norwegian language and enjoy a certain level of predictability. For Lewis, the solution lies in the residence permit. He maintains that one cannot claim to be healthy when one does not lead a ‘normal life’. His statement points to

what Baghir-Zada (2010: 302) terms social determinants of health, that is, the right to housing, to employment and to social benefits. The irregular migrants are trapped in a “space of nonexistence” (Coutin 2003) as these rights and other entitlements are reserved to regular residents and citizens.

Other strategies concern ways to deal with diseases and ill health in general and they include paying the medical bills for those who can afford it. Nonetheless, the majority indicate that they are unable to pay for the medical services they need. Lewis is one of the informants who reported that they were unable to pay the medical fees and to buy medicine. He said: “I have serious tooth problems but I don’t have money to pay a dentist. I have already missed three teeth over the past year”.

As many cannot afford to pay the expensive medical bills, they postpone consulting a doctor and, in the meantime, their health condition deteriorates, which also results in an increased risk that some contagious diseases can spread not only to other parts of the body, but also to other people around them. In this respect, Romero-Ortuno (2004) stresses that EU states ought to be concerned about the irregular migrants’ limited access to healthcare because unmet health needs have great potential to pose serious risks to the broader public health in the host population (see also Fallek 1996, Torres and Sanz 2000, Torres-Cantero et al. 2007). Romero-Ortuno (2004: 254) further notes that emergency treatments are more costly than preventive ones in terms of both money and human resources. Romero-Ortuno draws attention to unintended effects of restrictive migration controls in European states that also have the potential of adversely affecting the citizens. His arguments are an instructive wake-up call to the public and policy makers who should realize that irregular migrants’ health problems and access to health care services are issues that concern not only irregular migrants, but also the population as a whole. Norway provides medical assistance to irregular migrants suffering from contagious diseases (cf. Regulation on the right to health care services to persons without a permanent residence in the Kingdom). This provision should, however, not be construed as a form of irregular migrants’ inclusion or a recognition of their human rights to healthcare. Rather, the idea is that irregular migrants should be treated in order to prevent harm for citizens and protect them from contamination. In essence, the treatment of irregular migrants is primarily meant to protect the Norwegian “gated community” (Van Houtum and Pijpers 2007) ensuring that unwanted non citizens bearers of

contagious diseases are put and kept into quarantine since they constitute a threat to public health and a pathogen to be cured.

Another *ex post* strategy mentioned by respondents in this study is that of self-medication, resorting to medication or treatment from their countries of origin or their community residing in the host locale. Self-medication is related to the lack of access to the health and care system and to the financial affordability of medication and treatment. These are the main barriers frequently cited by respondents. Lewis told me that he had a small stock of medical supplies and medicine from his homeland to take care of some minor health needs. He said that he had gotten them from his compatriots in Bergen. Lewis was aware that even though this was not enough, it was better than nothing: “Once I got sick for over six months and I got medicine from friends and some medicine from back home. Otherwise, I just use basic medicine like paracet”. Lewis added that he had a kind of small pharmacy with a variety of medicines from his home country. As for Kayat, he said that self-medication was the only alternative he was left with in order to deal with his back pain given that (a) he was denied treatment in public health institutions, (b) he could not financially afford treatment and medication in private institutions, and (c) he did not have time to seek medical assistance since he had to work very long hours.

On the whole, it appears that irregularity or irregular migration status is an essential variable that determines access to healthcare in Norway. Many respondents declared that they did not enjoy a healthy life as a result of their migration status. They have a series of mental and physical problems that remain unattended to due to legal and economic barriers. The law provides for emergency medical assistance for irregular migrants and the latter cannot financially afford to pay the medical bills, especially when they do not have a reliable source of income as they are not allowed to take up a legal employment. The situation of irregular migrants and their encounters with health workers illustrate the state’s “legal violence” (Abrego and Menjívar 2011) whereby the state has enacted laws and regulations that limit irregular migrants’ access to the public health care system. It can be argued that the policy and legal framework regulating the migration and asylum system represent a powerful pathogen (Cartwright 2011) and a primary barrier to healthcare for persons in an irregular situation. The fact that health workers deny irregular migrants healthcare in contradiction to their ethical code of conduct is another illustration of the way the border control responsibilities have infiltrated healthcare institutions and this affects significantly the life and health of irregular

migrants. Our interviews have revealed that health services and workers, whose prime duty is to address their patients' needs, have taken on the task to punish and exclude those who have refused to leave the country after the rejection of their asylum applications. In response, irregular migrants try to remain in good shape and to use self-medication to cater to minor health problems, even though they have very little room for maneuver; their chances to change the course of things are tremendously slim.

5.2. Labor market participation

In Norway, immigrants without residence permit are not allowed to work or engage in income generating activities. However, the Immigration Act (Utlendingsloven) and the Immigration Regulation (Utlendingsforskriften) provide for the possibility for asylum seekers to access the labor market during the asylum application process (cf. Immigration Act, art. 94 and Immigration Regulations, art. 17-24). All the participants in this research had been allowed by immigration authorities to work legally for several years before new restrictions were introduced in 2010. In fact, during the asylum application process, the Directorate of Immigration (UDI) can decide, in accordance with the Immigration Act, to grant a temporary work permit to an asylum seeker who (a) has done his or her asylum interview, (b) has provided a passport or national identity card that is accepted by UDI, and (c) is not concerned by the Dublin procedure, i.e. he or she has not submitted an asylum application in another state party to the Dublin Convention (UDI 2010). This temporary work permit last six renewable months and loses its validity when the applicant receives the last rejection of his or her asylum application. This had been the prevailing practice in UDI for at least ten years between 1999 and 2009 (Valenta and Thorshaug 2011a). The temporary work permit gives the asylum seeker a right to look for employment, and to apply for a tax card to give to current or prospective employers (cf. Tax Payment Act, chap. 5). After the first application, the tax card is sent automatically every year to all tax payers. Until 2010 what happened in practice is that when a final decision was taken to reject an asylum seeker's application, UDI did not inform the asylum seeker's employer(s), neither was the Tax Administration notified (Bendixsen 2011). As a result, employers were not aware of the immigration status of their employee, and the Tax Office continued to automatically send tax cards to 'irregular' tax payers. The rejected asylum seekers, who were then irregular migrants, continued to work and pay tax in breach of the immigration law (Skille et al. 2011).

5.2.1. Access issues

Access to the labor market has today become a real headache for irregular migrants. Most respondents I have interviewed claim that they have worked and paid tax for several years, but now they have lost their jobs because they no longer can secure a work permit or tax card. Certain respondents said that before 2010 they had been working without work permit, but had been given a tax card every year. Others claim that they had been able to work without work permit or tax card as their employer did not ask about these documents. Now they find it hard and even impossible for them to work legally since the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) has withdrawn their work permit and the tax office cannot issue them with a tax card. In addition, the Norwegian police have been carrying out raids in work places where they suspect that irregular migrants might be working. Employers know now that they risk heavy fines if they employ irregular migrants. This has been the case in Rogaland County where at least 30 private enterprises and public institutions were fined for an amount in the region of five million Norwegian kroner (Kvalvåg 2012). A small Rogaland company, Solabakeren AS, whose director had refused to fire an irregular migrant worker, was fined 300 thousand kroner in early 2012. According to Kvalvåg (2012), the migrant had worked in the company since 2004 while his asylum application had been rejected in 2010. After the fine, the director said: “Now I have no choice. I must terminate his contract” (Kvalvåg 2012). Similarly, the university hospital of Stavanger incurred a fine of 350 thousand kroner for employing irregular migrants. The public relations officer of the hospital told Aftenbladet newspaper: “When we were made aware of the violation of the law, we immediately terminated our employment of irregular migrants. We also changed our procedures so that this shall not happen again” (Kvalvåg 2012).

These developments are emblematic of the pluralization of migration control (Aas 2007) whereby we observe the delegation of migration control responsibilities downwards and outwards (Guiraudon 2004) to actors whose prime duties have nothing to do with immigration controls. It is obvious that UDI's increased control and surveillance for the exclusion of irregular migrants is made possible and supported by a coordinated cooperation between immigration authorities, the tax administration and employers. Both the tax administration and employers have now taken up the control responsibilities that UDI alone had not been able to carry out. I would argue that this cooperation is part of a broader migration control policy that aims to further tighten internal controls and restrictions meant to severely curtail

irregular migrants' access to welfare goods and notably to the labor market with the ultimate goal to push them to leave the country. This coordinated over-tightening of irregular migrants' possibility to access the labor market has affected all my respondents in important ways. Many of them lost their jobs which were the sole source of income and livelihoods for them and their family members.

For the irregular migrants I talked to, the work permit constituted the precious key to the labor market. Without a valid work permit it has now become an impossibility to secure a tax card and to work legally. Moreover, employers have terminated their contracts:

“Now I don't work, it's not easy to find a job. Before, I was cleaning. When I lost my work permit in 2010, it became difficult to find a job”. (Lewis)

“I left the reception centre five years ago. I have been working but now I have lost my job”. (Kelvin)

“Before I had two jobs with permanent contract, but now one company has terminated my contract because I have neither work permit nor tax card. So the situation is not easy”. (Gloria)

“I had a full time permanent contract, but now I have lost my work because my employer says I can't continue working without tax card”. (Josette)

“Without work permit it's impossible to work and no one wants to help me get a job”. (Shiva)

For most respondents, losing their work means more than losing a source of income and livelihood as work also constitutes an escape route or rather a safety valve from stress and depression, that is, a way of letting out and shedding their depressive feelings. It also represents a meaningful use of time and a form of recognition of who they are and of their willingness to make it in life. In his ethnographic study among irregular migrants in Oslo, Kjærre (2010: 250-51) observes that his informants were aware of the importance of working in order to remain sane and feel less depressed. Kjærre further notes that being engaged in employment helps solve problems related to lack of direction and dignity. Thus, even under dismal and exploitive condition, work is always far better than passive life. This can be exemplified by Maureen who said: “What makes me strong? It's my work. Before, I was remaining in my room, sleeping and listening to music and thinking about my situation. It was

very hard to see others go to and from work while I was forced to stay in my room. Now I go to work at least three times a week and it makes me feel normal and positive about myself”.

In addition, many informants indicate that they have had a professional life in their countries of origin and they wish to continue working in order to give meaning to their life and take care of themselves and of their families. Without work, they say, their dreams and hopes for the future are shattered and their illusions about Norway are destroyed.

Even though some respondents have lost their work as a result of their irregular status, the loss of work permit and inability to secure a tax card, several of them were working at the time of the interviews. What changed were the conditions under which they were working. Certain informants reported that they were left with a reduced contract for one or two days a week, while others do not have a contract and get instead some piecework via friends and acquaintances. The majority resort to the black market where working conditions are highly exploitive in terms of payment, safety and working hours. Here are some of the responses I got when I asked them to describe their current working conditions:

“Without a work permit, it’s hard to get a job, but it’s possible to work black although the pay is very low”. (Naomi)

“As I don’t have a tax card, I pay 50 per cent of my salary in tax. My boss [has not sacked me because he] likes my flexibility and hard work”. (Maureen)

“I have a contract. They ring me when then need me. I do a cleaning job and work also in a restaurant”. (Arafat)

“I don’t have a contract and I don’t have any hope for a better job because I don’t have a work permit”. (Kayat)

Some respondents describe their working condition as extremely difficult. They complain about being given too much work for one person, working very long hours and doing a too difficult job. Alex said that he worked at least 12 hours per day and if he got sick he did not get paid.

In my research I also found that many had resorted to the black labor market where the conditions are even worse. In spite of difficult conditions of work in the black market, many respondents say that they do not have any choice because work is life and life is money as

Kayat puts it: “I get 30 kroner per hour. I accept it because money is life, because you can’t live without money.... I work more than fifteen hours per day to survive”. Kayat says he came to Norway for both his safety and for opportunities for a prosperous life. His dream was to study, work, establish a family and help his old and sick parents. He has a girlfriend in Bergen who he says gives him comfort and consolation. As a young adult he needs money for his subsistence and leisure activities. He is unhappy about his life and conditions of work, but he knows that work is his only source of income.

As for Kelvin, work is a form of “slavery.” He is of the view that work is indispensable but he finds the price too high to bear: “Work? It’s not work; it’s slavery. This system will kill us”. Kelvin adds: “there is no justice, no rights for us. They want us to die”. Kelvin compares his work to slave labor, i.e. extremely hard work that is badly-if at all- paid. Moreover, Kelvin finds his working conditions very dehumanizing. He even uses the metaphor of “machine” to depict the harsh inhuman conditions under which he sometimes works. Kelvin does not put the blame only on employers who, according to him, have the blessings and green light from the state authorities. He thinks that his employers are understanding and aware of the irregular migrants’ difficult situation. Kelvin’s representation of irregular migrants’ labor as slavery is illustrative of their utter lack of job security and is reminiscent of Mile’s (1987) notion of unfree labor.

Previous research has explored the role of the state in making irregular migrants vulnerable to precarious working conditions (Anderson 2008, Anderson and Ruhs 2010). Certain researchers of irregular migrants in the labor markets in Western states argue that the process of irregularization aims not to hermetically keep irregular migrants out of the labor market, but to discipline them into flexible, docile, cheap and exploitable labor (see also De Genova 2002: 439, Green 2011, Scheel 2011). For Scheel (2011), the state’s increasingly restrictive migration policies and ever more sophisticated forms of migration control cannot stop irregular migrants from working; rather they aggravate the conditions under which they work. He further stresses that state’s migration control policies produce disenfranchised individuals thereby creating a range of modes of “unfree labor” (Miles 1987). Scheel (2011) insists that the irregular migrants’ working conditions be conceived as unfree labor since, he says, they are only possible due to a precarious residence status. Anderson (2010: 313) goes even further and argues that immigration controls should be conceived as “a mould *constructing* certain types of workers through selection of legal entrants, the requiring and enforcing of certain

types of employment relations, and the creation of institutionalised uncertainty” (italics in the original). Anderson describes irregular migrants as precarious workers explaining that their jobs are characterized by instability, insecurity, uncertainty, social and economic vulnerability and lack of protection (p. 303). Below follows some examples of precariousness in the labor market and how irregular migrants deal with them.

5.2.2. Alternative strategies

The question to consider here is what irregular migrants do when they lose their jobs, or risk losing their employment, or when their conditions of work deteriorate considerably. In order to gain access to the labor market, most informants reported that they had resorted to the black labor market or were contemplating to do so. I asked Kelvin whether he was working and he said: “I work in the black market because I’m obliged to do so”. Meanwhile, the Norwegian government is aware that irregular migrants work in the black labor market. It is a government’s position that “combating undeclared work is important to combat illegal immigration”⁸.

Irregular migrants are aware that the working conditions in the black market are unsatisfactory in terms wages, working hours, working environment, type of contract and stability at work. One respondent, Alex, has worked in exploitive conditions for some years, but he says that he is obliged to accept it because he does not have any other choice: “At work you do not even have the right to talk about your rights. If I dare ask for improvements of my conditions of service then I can be fired. I can’t change my job because I don’t have a work permit. It’s worse if I get fired”.

As for Kayat, he once attempted to talk to his boss about the possibility of improving his working conditions, especially his wages of 30 kroner per hour. The boss told him that his prime preoccupation was to make profit for his company in a too competitive business environment. He explained that it was extremely hard to meet his company’s obligations in terms tax and other overhead costs. Kayat’s boss invokes here the state policies and broad economic and business environment to justify Kayat’s precarious working conditions. Kayat’s employer attributes the blame to a higher level. Kayat’s weak position emanates from his

⁸ *Kamp mot svart arbeid viktig for å bekjempe illegal* Available: <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/ad/pressemeldinger/2008/kamp-mot-svart-arbeid-viktig-for-a-bekje.html?id=518611> [Accessed 10.05.2012].

irregular migrant status. His employer knows about this situation and he is taking advantage of it. While it is a government policy to fight against social dumping (Arbeidsdepartementet 2008), it appears that by irregularizing many migrants the state exposes them to conditions of work below the acceptable standards in the country. Some employers, particularly in the informal sector view this group of migrants as beneficial to their businesses and hence they aim to make the most of this opportunity. For irregular migrants, working is a necessary evil; while for employers irregular migrants' labor is a necessary good and a strategic opportunity.

Certain municipal councils, such as Bergen, Trondheim and Stavanger, have expressed discordant views by adopting resolutions that go against the central government decisions regarding the possibility for irregular migrants to work legally while they are still on the national territory. The municipal authorities contend that allowing irregular migrants to participate in the labor market would be a win-win situation whereby the local employers would feel free to employ the migrants without fear of breaching the immigration law, and hence irregular migrants would contribute to local economy and at the same time be able to cater for their needs. The central government's position and response has remained adamant by categorically rejecting such propositions, preferring to insist on the ongoing state-sponsored repatriation programs.

Losing one's employment means for many losing the most important source of one's livelihood. Thus, those who have lost their jobs as a result of their irregular status depend, in order to meet their basic needs, on their friends who live and work in the community. They get assistance in terms of accommodation, food, money, clothes as well as moral and psychological support. Arafat says that he would not have managed without the solidarity of his friends and people from his country of origin. It is worth noting that for couples or single parents with children, losing their job leads to a particularly complicated situation⁹. Indeed without income it is virtually impossible to cater for their and their children's needs. It is hard to stay as a family with friends for a long time. Consequently, most irregular migrants in such a situation choose to go back to the reception centre where they can at least get a shelter while increasing their deportability.

⁹ My interview sample includes two couples and one single mother with children.

5.3. Housing

Another space of irregular migrants' structural vulnerability to be considered in this study is housing. Most respondents in this research have stayed in reception centres in various parts of Norway. Most informants say they have left reception centres because life there had become unbearable for them. They call these centres 'camps' and compare them to 'prisons'. Previous research has documented challenges related to life in reception centres (Søholt and Holm 2010, Valenta and Thorshaug 2011b, Valenta et al. 2010). Reception centres are usually managed by independent organizations with government funding. According to the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI), rejected asylum seekers can stay at their respective receptions while they are waiting for returning to their home countries (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011: 24). Informants have indicated that they chose to stay in Bergen hoping for an improvement in their lives socially and in terms employment.

5.3.1. Access issues

There is a great deal of heterogeneity in the housing situation of irregular migrants in Bergen. This is due to the fact they have different housing needs and differential abilities to afford a place to stay. Singles do not have the same housing needs as couples, nor do males and females necessarily face similar challenges. The presence of children for couples or single parents also makes a difference. Another category in my sample is made of those who come together in a joint tenancy and rent a flat.

As far as access to housing is concerned, there are those who live with friends or family, and those who can afford to pay rent themselves. Two women declared living with their boyfriends while one woman stayed with her husband and therefore the three did not report experiencing housing problems. These women indicated that they had not been forced into relationship by their irregular status. These women's partners are regular residents or have a Norwegian citizenship.

"I live with my partner, so I don't worry about accommodation". (Gloria)

Naomi is also happy with her housing situation. She lives with her husband and their two daughters, and would love to have an extra room as their one-bedroom flat is too small, but overall she is satisfied with her housing situation.

Those who are staying with friends face a couple of important challenges. First, they complain about their extremely unstable housing situation whereby they have to move house quite often, for some of them at least once every two months. This was, for instance, the case for Kayat and Lewis:

“I move every two months. I move very much because I don’t want to be a heavy guest ... I don’t want people to complain about me ... so it’s always nice to have an alternative”. (Lewis)

“I live with my friends and I have to change my address several times a year. Friends get tired of you, you know”. (Kayat)

Respondents explain that they move often because there is a limit to how long a friend can support you, particularly in terms of accommodation and food. Arafat told me, however, that he had lived with a friend over the past two years without moving: “I share a small studio with my friend. I have not moved since I came to Bergen”. Arafat further says that his friend and his community of origin have shown a great deal of ‘solidarity and support’ adding that “this is how our community behaves, especially when we meet abroad. We support each other”.

Second, many informants complain about the lack of space. They experience overcrowding, but they accept it as, they say, they have no other choice. In some cases, four or five persons share a small one-room studio. Moono expressed frustration over sharing a bedroom with his son who oftentimes asked why he did not have his own room like his school friends, while Shiva complained about the lack of privacy for herself and for her father:

“I live in one room with my wife and my son. That’s all I have”. (Moono)

“I live in one bedroom with my father. He is old and very sick”. (Shiva)

5.3.2. Alternative strategies

Irregular migrants utilize a series of ex ante strategies to secure access to the housing market and to avoid appearing very cumbersome host with friends. As for informants who rent private apartments, they have told me that they had tried to conceal their irregular status to their landlords. They have used intermediaries to negotiate the rent agreement and they pay

punctually to avoid any suspicion or unnecessary contact with the landlords or property managers.

One informant, Kelvin, told me that his landlord is used to and trust foreigners since he has leased his flat to foreigners for more than twelve years. Kelvin has experienced that some landlords increase the rent if they know that they are dealing with irregular migrants; he explains it by arguing that they think it is a risk to let out their flat to an irregular migrant and hence they demand excessive prices to keep out unwanted tenants. It is worth noting that the Immigration Act provides for criminal liability and prosecution of persons who for purposes of gains or economic benefits deal with or assist irregular migrants (Søvig 2012). In this case, the landlords Kelvin is talking about take advantage of the tenants' irregular status to rent their houses or flat at extortionate prices.

Another informant, Maureen, narrated the way she had used electronic channels to secure the flat she is currently living in. She searched the flat on the internet and sent an email to the landlord. Then they had a telephone conversation after which she was asked to pay before she was sent a rent agreement by post. She signed and returned one copy of the agreement. This type of communication allowed Maureen to avoid direct contact with the landlord and to escape from any inquisition or suspicion about her status in Norway. Maureen made conscious and strategic use of electronic channels to avoid detection by the landlord. In this instance, she utilized technology as a weapon of the weak to conceal her irregular migrant status from her prospective landlord and then secure a tenancy contract and a place to stay. Maureen was aware that her position as an irregular migrant did not allow her to easily rent a place to stay and she knew that avoidance of direct contact was the best way to navigate the market and access certain goods.

For those who live with friends, the housing situation is not an easy one either. What Lewis and Kayat said illustrates that there is a limit to charity and solidarity. "Friends get tired of you", said Kayat to explain why he has to move quite often to avoid that his friends complain about him. It is not a matter of overstaying in the sense of staying longer than he is expected to stay, but it is a matter of outstaying his welcome; that is, he has stayed for longer than he feels he is wanted. In addition to planning to move, certain informants say that they try to abide by the rules set by their host friends and to help as much as they can with the house chores and by contributing with money when they manage to earn something.

5.4. The importance of networks and social capital

In the face of barriers as they attempt to access healthcare and to enter the housing and the labor market, irregular migrants develop innovative strategies to overcome the challenges they meet in their daily lives. This section explores how irregular migrants' experiences and strategies are mediated by their networks in the community. I argue that irregular migrants' networks and community ties shape both their experiences and their strategies to remain healthy and to access the housing and the labor markets. The migrant networks are situated at the crucial meso level mediating the micro level migrants' experiences and practices on the one hand, and the macro level policies and processes of migration control on the other hand.

My findings from the field suggest that irregular migrants are able, whenever necessary, to mobilize resources from their friends and community networks and that they are actively and constantly developing new ties.

According to Massey et al. (1993: 448), "migrant network are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community of origin." In addition, Massey et al. specify that "network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment" (ibid.). Certain researchers have challenged what is referred to as Massey's model of migrants' networks (Wilson 1994, Krissman 2005). Krissman appears, in my view, to be one of the most virulent critics. First, Krissman finds that "a wide variety of non-hometown actors play major roles for various reasons and with diverse effects, in the development of international migration networks" (Krissman 2005: 10). Second, for Krissman, network members do not necessarily belong to a "shared community of origin" (p. 16); other actors, exogenous to labor sending hometowns, can also influence migration networks. Third, Krissman observes that the function of migration networks is not always to help, but also, at times, to exploit the network member (p. 21).

The composition and membership of (irregular) migrants' networks remain very fluid, multiform and variable. In their study of work strategies and community solidarity among Ghanaian migrants in London, Vasta and Kandilige (2010) found several types of networks such as individual, family, alumni, community, tribal and religious networks. In addition to kinship circles, co-ethnics, hometown and home country networks, irregular migrants'

networks can be and are also comprised of host country citizens, other ethnic groups and a wealth of sport, religious, ethnic, humanitarian organizations and clubs.

As far as the function of networks is concerned, there is a wide range of roles networks can play to respond to irregular migrants' specific needs. These needs go far beyond the focus of this study on housing, employment and medical care; in effect, networks assist irregular migrants to settle in and adjust to the local milieu in a gamut of ways, financial, informational, practical and emotional as Lewis and Arafat put it:

“Before in the north, I didn't have friends. I couldn't find any friends; there was nothing to do there; only worries about my situation and that of my family back home. Here I have some friends...” (Lewis)

“Without the help from my friend and the solidarity of my community I wouldn't have survived. They help with money, accommodation, finding a job, everything”. (Arafat)

While a good number of researchers find networks particularly empowering for irregular migrants, for example, in terms of facilitating access to work, housing and healthcare (Chavez 1990, 1998, Engbersen et al. 2006, Hagan 1998, Engbersen and Aujollet 1999, Vasta 2011, Vasta and Kandilige 2010, Engbersen and Van der Leun 2001), other studies call attention to the fact that migrants' networks can sometimes be characterized by rivalry and forms of exploitation (Cranford 2005, Mahler 1995). For Hagan (1998), for instance, migrants' networks can be constraining, whereas Ryan et al. (2008) maintain that networks can lead to ghettoization. This study has focused on instances where irregular migrants' networks have actually facilitated and helped irregular migrants to “resist exclusionary tendencies and achieve relatively stable informal incorporation” (Cvajner and Sciortino 2011: 5). Networks provide irregular migrants with the “weapons of the weak” (Scott 1985) to resist everyday forms of violence of migration control policies. Networks give irregular migrants access to “parallel institutions” (Mahler 1995 in BROEDERS & ENGBERSEN 2007), that is, “informal and illegal markets in the spheres of work, housing, relations, and documents” (Broeders and Engbersen 2007: 1597). Broeders and Engbersen further explain that these institutions are developed by irregular migrants together with both the regular residents and native citizens in response to the demand engendered by restrictive state legislations. Broeders and Engbersen contend that the parallel institutions constitute “foggy social structures” (see

also Bomes and Sciortino 2011a) that pose a challenge that the state's instruments of control and surveillance cannot easily penetrate.

As Massey et al. (1993) suggest, network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon when necessary. The social capital concept is attributed to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and the American sociologist James S. Coleman (1990, 1988) and it was later developed by other scholars among them the American political scientist Robert Putnam (Putnam 2007, 2000) who redefined the notion of social capital and made it popular in a range of research traditions and intellectual streams such as economic and political studies.

According to Bourdieu (1986: 51), social capital is to be understood as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network [...i.e.] to membership in a group”. Bourdieu (1986) further holds that “the volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of capital [...] possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected” (ibid.). For Bourdieu (1986: 52), “the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term”. In the same vein, Briggs (1998: 178) defines social capital as “a resource for individual action that is stored in human relationships. Social capital is what we draw on when we get others, whether acquaintances, friends, or kin, to help us solve problems, seize opportunities, and accomplish other aims that matter to us”. Briggs distinguishes two forms of social capital, namely social leverage and social support. The latter allows individuals who can mobilize it to “get by” and “cope” materially and emotionally, whereas the former helps people to “get ahead,” i.e., have access to opportunities such employment. In the same line of reasoning, Coleman (1988: 98) points out that the function of social capital is to facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure. He argues that social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors. Coleman (1990: 300) further indicates that social capital is achieved within a matrix of norms of authority relations, trust and reciprocity. He notes as well that members of a given group expect each other to keep the trust and each member feels, in the bargain, morally obligated to maintain a relation of trust.

This study has enabled me to observe that irregular migrants utilize very actively their networks resources which allow them both to cope and get ahead. My respondents draw on their social capital to get access to basic needs such as food, money and accommodation. They also rely on their friends and acquaintances for information on lawyers, doctors, charitable organizations and jobs:

“I got my current job through a friend who knows my boss and recommended me”. (Kelvin)

“When I came to Bergen from the reception centre, a friend of mine gave me a place to stay and then helped find work”. (Alex)

Owing to their networks, many respondents have been able to secure several jobs in a bid to maximize their income. Despite doing low-paid jobs, multiple earnings, i.e. having more than one source of income, are a strategy that enables irregular migrants to get additional income. Irregular migrants also deploy social capital as a strategy to reduce the cost of living whereby they seek to cut down their expenditures by residing with their friends. The great majority of my respondents share a flat or a studio with friends. Those without income do not pay while those who earn something share the monthly house rent and utility bills. These are some concrete instances of tangible economic gains of irregular migrants’ social capital, in addition to the emotional and psychological support they can gather thanks to their friendship networks.

Many respondents acknowledge the importance of trust and reciprocity with their strong ties, but they prefer to emphasize the value of solidarity, altruism and mutual support within their communities. They stress that they are fettered by their irregular status, and thus they remain very limited as to how much they can give back to their networks:

“Here I have found some friends, but I don’t have options to feel free. No papers, no money, so to make friends becomes difficult because you need to go with them to the café, park ...”
(Lewis)

Lewis further says that, for the sake of reciprocity and mutual help, he always stands ready to assist anyone who needs help. As for Kayat, he draws attention to the fact that even solidarity has a limit:

“Friends have helped, but they can’t do it for a year, two years, and I can’t become a beggar on the street so I have to work”. (Kayat)

The accessibility to the networks resources and social capital is rather stratified. Lin et al. (2001: 61) note that individuals have unequal access to social capital; that this inequality yields unequal returns and that the latter impinges on the individuals' well-being. Access to social capital varies as a function of individual's own economic, cultural and human capital (Ryan et al., 2008). Moreover, Ryan and others observe that networking demands efforts, commitment and investment in time and resources. In effect, owing to the actor's involvement, networks undergo transformations overtime; they can either expand or contract. Expansion can happen, for instance, in the event that the immigrant succeeds to learn the majority language and quickly starts engaging in professional and various voluntary activities, thus strengthening existing networks and initiating new ones. It is a challenge for irregular migrants to nurture efficient networks relations, but some of my respondents have been active outside their communities in making their situation known to the public through the media and by engaging in voluntary advocacy campaigns to raise awareness about irregular migrants' predicament. They refuse to be silenced (Bendixsen 2011) and stage public demonstrations and hunger strikes to raise public awareness of their situation. They are "rightful resisters" (O'Brien 1996) whose actions and practices have become part of an widening support network of volunteers and activists associated with various organizations coordinated at local, regional and national level (e.g. Foreningen av tolvte januar and Ingen mennesker er ulovlige)¹⁰. The engagement and determination of certain irregular migrants to be visible in the public sphere and make their voices heard contrast sharply with Scott's (1985) everyday resistance which is individual, quiet, and inconspicuous and makes no news headlines.

¹⁰ Homepage: <http://tolvtejanuar.org/> [accessed: 20.05.2012]

Homepage: <http://papirlose.no/> [accessed: 20.05.2012]

5.5. Differential local responses

Researchers have documented that the phenomenon of irregular migration cannot be studied in isolation from the receiving context in which the irregular migrants live (Cvajner and Sciortino 2010, Menjívar 2006). It is an assumption of this study that the experience of structural vulnerability is context-specific, thus highlighting the importance of the local context in shaping irregular migrants' experiences and interactions with macro factors as well as with meso actors and institutions. In this sense, the significance of the local context cannot be overstated. In this section, I look at irregular migrants' encounters with diverse actors in the local context of Bergen with a focus on how they interact with local public and private actors such health care services on the one hand and the labor and housing markets on the other. It is worth bearing in mind that following the decentralization and localization of migration control and enforcement (Anderson 2012), control and enforcement tasks and operations have been delegated to other actors (other than migration authorities) such private parties (e.g. employers and private landlords), local government administrations and public institutions (e.g. health services and social and other welfare services).

With this in mind, I argue that while policies and legislations emanate from the national and supra-national (EU) levels, the experience of being in an irregular situation is a distinctively local experience. The local context plays a significant role because, after all, it is in the locality that irregular migrants stay, work, study and seek medical treatment; and it is in the local context that irregular migrants engage with various types of networks in their search for livelihoods. In this sense, I concur with Willen (2007:12) who argues that "illegality is locally configured and is the combined result of multiple intersecting global, national and local processes". In essence, locality is the space where conflicting agendas and interests play out and this is experienced by irregular migrants in several unique ways.

The locality has become a meeting point between migration control policies and welfare policies. While the former seek to achieve the return of rejected asylum seekers to their home countries, the latter aim to respond to the needs of the public. The control policies are exclusive while the welfare policies are inclusive and the paradox lies now in the fact that welfare services providers such as health and social workers are enlisted as instruments of asylum and immigration control (Brekke 2008) in order to push rejected asylum seekers to return to their countries of origin. This raises important issues pertaining for instance to how

health workers respond when they are expected by the state to exclude irregular migrants in order to contribute to their return. Another issue is related to the dilemmas faced by employees of welfare services such as health workers arising from the clash between their professional goals to cater to the needs of the patients to the best of their ability on the one hand and the goal of migration management policy to regulate entry, stay and exit of foreigners and to ensure that irregular migrants leave the national territory (Brekke 2008).

Migration scholars have previously used Lipsky's (1980) concept of "street-level bureaucrats" and "street-level bureaucracies" to shed light on the tensions and the gap between migration control policy and their local implementation (Brekke 2008, Engbersen and Broeders 2009, Ellermann 2006, 2005). Street-level bureaucracy is concerned with the local context of policy implementation. Lipsky (1980) defines street-level bureaucrats as front line employees in public service delivery (in Wong 2007); in other words, street-level bureaucrats are implementers of public policies and they interact with the public (citizens and non citizens). Street-level bureaucrats face constant dilemmas between being attentive to the users' needs and ensuring that the policies are properly implemented (Wong 2007). At the same time, street-level bureaucrats have the discretionary power and interpretative ability to make judgment and take decisions (ibid.).

The implementation of migration control policies normally falls within the remit of street-level bureaucracies such as the police and other law enforcement agencies. Today, however, we observe that the policy-makers have delegated migration control tasks to other local level actors such as employers and public services workers who interact daily with the public and deliver welfare services such healthcare and public housing (see Engbersen and Broeders 2009). The state counts on the street-level bureaucracies to narrow the gap between the national and international level of policy making and the actual implementation in the local context. In this respect, front line employees such as health workers are increasingly compelled by the introduction of ever stricter policies and legislations and technological tools of control to carry out migration control tasks in their everyday practices.

Research suggests that the enlistment of welfare services workers such as health personnel in the migration control tasks gives rise to dilemmas and, as a result, certain employees use their professional discretion to get around the exclusionary policies (Brekke 2008, Hjelde 2010, Van Der Leun 2006). Hjelde (2010) discusses the dilemmas of health practitioners whose

ability to provide irregular migrants with care and services are profoundly constricted by immigration laws. They have to consider legal and economic issues before taking the decision to provide or not medical care to irregular migrant patients. These dilemmas come also to the fore in study of the extent of the implementation of national migration policies on the local level in the Netherlands (Van Der Leun 2006). Van Der Leun notes tensions between the national policies and their local implementation. The study underscores the fact that, at the local level, professionals' norms and ideologies can at times make them take decisions that are in contradiction with the aim of the official policy. As for Engbersen and Van der Leun (2001: 61), they delineate three spheres of irregular migrants' embeddedness at the local level namely (a) the social networks of relatives, friends or the larger ethnic community; (b) the labour market; and (c) the extent to which irregular migrants are tolerated or helped by lower officials from different public or semi-public institutions. For Engbersen and Van der Leun, the local implementation of immigration policies towards irregular migrants plays a significant role in irregular migrants' experiences and actions. They further argue that the extent to which irregular migrants have access to the local labor market and to supportive networks explain, albeit only partially, irregular migrants' differential involvement in a range of criminal activities.

Furthermore, my fieldwork attests to the existence of several cases where the "local justice" (Elster 1992) is differentially not only dependent on the migration status. Indeed, while irregular migrants are unable to access most public and welfare services, it should, however, be underscored that the allocation or refusal of goods and services to irregular migrants interact with other criteria, such as age and gender. In the present thesis, women respondents have indicated that they had a general practitioner they go to for their health needs, whereas most of their male counterparts have struggled in their attempt to access public medical services. Several young male adults and adult men have declared having been turned away by health workers either at the reception of the medical institution or in the doctor's office due to their irregular migration status. I could also notice that those respondents who had been lucky to receive primary medical assistance had been unable to access specialist treatment even when they had been transferred by the general practitioner. Another point worth noting is that respondents who were received and assisted by public health institutions paid a medical fee corresponding to the one paid by citizens and regular residents. As far as children are concerned, they continue to get healthcare and attend school while pregnant women have

access to prenatal healthcare and counseling free of charge. The legislation provides for the access to healthcare of certain categories of irregular migrants such as pregnant women and children, but the law stipulates that irregular migrants must pay or reimburse the full cost of treatment and medication.

Based on the interviews with my respondents, two main categories of health workers' responses can be distinguished. First, there are those who comply with the law and implement the control policies by excluding irregular migrants or limiting their medical assistance to emergency help only. These health and medical workers dismiss all persons in an irregular situation because they do not want to flout the law and because, for some of them, they believe that irregular migrants, as non members of the welfare community, are undeserving of welfare services and goods. Second, there are those who derogate from the law by allowing themselves to ignore that they have to enforce migration control policies. They use their professional discretion and interpretative ability (Lipsky 1980) in order to find room for exercising unimpeded their professional duties and without being obstructed by migration control considerations. It is paramount to stress that there is no strong empirical backing for the motivations for the compliant and non compliant health workers as this analysis is based only on my interviews with the respondents. A number of questions remain indeed unanswered. Are they decisions motivated by the willingness to follow the medical professional ethics or the law? Do they take autonomous decisions based on their personal convictions or to irregular migrants' deservingness? To what extent are they able to maintain clear-cut boundaries between the health services and the migration control field? For their part, irregular migrants react to policies of control and exclusion in a variety of ways. My respondents try to remain healthy by adopting healthy lifestyles within the limits of their possibilities or they resort to self-medication (see also Hjelde 2010). Research has also documented that in order to access health and other services, and to enter the labor or housing market, irregular migrants deploy their weapons of the weak and resort to "foggy social structures" (Bommes and Kolb 2002) by for example concealing their status, and borrowing or renting documents from citizens and regular residents (Vasta 2011).

As regards the access to the labor and housing markets, this research found that these areas have also been infiltrated by migration control policies on the local level. Concerning housing, the current practice allows migrants whose asylum applications have been rejected to stay in reception centres while waiting to return to their home countries. However, the

conditions of living in reception centers are not attractive (Sveaas 2005, Berg et al. 2005, Breivik 1997) and a good number of asylum seekers leave the reception centres before their applications are rejected by both UDI and UNE. As a result, my respondents do not have access to public housing and they cannot go back to reception centres they have stayed at before in other regions of Norway. My respondents live with friends or family or rent a studio. Following the tightening of migration controls policies, many respondents report having missed their jobs and therefore cannot afford to pay house rents. The government has recently ratcheted up irregular migration controls by introducing in February 2012 an amendment in the Immigration Act criminalizing and providing for the prosecution of humanitarian helpers assisting persons in an irregular situation (Søvig 2012). The amendment targets persons who deal or transact with irregular migrants for profit purposes. In the event this provision is implemented, the conditions of renting a place to stay are likely to become more difficult and the prices of accommodation will most probably increase for them.

As far as the labor market is concerned, the central authorities have attempted to narrow the gap between policy setting and actual policy implementation by street-level bureaucrats at the local level. From 2011 irregular migrants missed the possibility to secure a tax card which (together with the work permit for foreigners) is an important document workers give to their employers. Owing to the involvement of the tax administration at the local level, it has now become impossible for irregular migrants to secure a tax card, which has jeopardized their chances to work legally. It is clear that the tax administration is carrying out migration control and enforcement tasks. Furthermore, migration measures have also been escalated through the police raids in places of work where the law enforcement officers suspect that irregular migrants may be employed. Those who have been found employing irregular migrants have incurred heavy fines (see Kvalvåg 2012).

An important question here is: how do irregular migrants and employers react to new control policies and escalation of existing ones? The respondents told me that they still managed to work but under very difficult and exploitive conditions in terms of wages, working hours, safety at work and lack of employment contract, among others. It appears that irregular migrants remain attentive to changes in anti-irregular migration policies and legislations, and they shift their strategies accordingly. In this regards, Engbersen and Broeders (2009: 875) have identified three shifts in irregular migrants' counterstrategies, namely the shift to (a) informal work, (b) to criminal activities and (c) to be unidentifiable. Drawing on ethnographic

research in the Netherlands, Engbersen and Broeders (2009: 874) argue that “irregular migrants have shown a remarkable creativity and inventiveness to develop strategies and informal institutions that enable them to stay and reside in the [country]”. They add that “in response to changes in policy, they change tactics, look for ways of circumvention and move to other spheres and contexts” (ibid). Irregular migrants’ weapons of the weak and everyday resistance, as observed in this study, are also highlighted by Van Der Leun (2006: 311) who, in her research on immigration policy implementation in the Netherlands, maintains that “illegal migrants have responded to new relations and controls by behaving more unobstructively and by going deeper underground thereby escaping detection” (see also Van der Leun and Kloosterman 2006). Irregular migrants residing in the Bergen locale and their parallel institutions of support discreetly and tactfully utilize their weapons of the weak to produce “foggy social structures” (Bommes and Kolb 2002, Bommes and Sciortino 2011b) that are very difficult to control by the state. In an attempt to answer the question of “why migration policy fail”, Stephen Castles (2004) emphasizes the importance of migrant agency arguing that “migrants are not just isolated individuals who react to market stimuli and bureaucratic rules, but social beings who seek to achieve better outcomes for themselves, their families and their communities through actively shaping the migratory process” (Castles 2004: 209). In other words, if migration control policies misfire and backfire (Van Der Leun 2006) it is because neither irregular migrants nor street-level bureaucrats are passive recipients and implementers of policy measures.

The gap between migration control policies and their actual implementation in the municipalities is yet another proof that the state is not a monolithic entity. As Kjærre (2010: 233) puts it, “different levels in social, political, bureaucratic and juridical landscapes can in this way understand the status of migrants differently depending on their understanding of the law and migrant’s situation”. As for Cvajner and Sciortino (2010: 294), while stressing that immigration control policies are powerful, they acknowledge at the same time that they are limited. Cvajner and Sciortino (2010: 396) explicate that, as an organization, “any state has procedural difficulties, pragmatic weaknesses and outright inefficiencies”. On this account, I concur with Boswell (2011: 14) who argues that politics and the law are fundamentally incapable of steering social systems. Boswell draws attention to the fact that migration control policies and regulations are counterproductive as they produce distorting effects that in turn may trigger additional regulations in new areas of the system.

In this section, I have discussed developments in the implementation of restrictive policies with respect to healthcare, labor market and housing in the local context of Bergen. I have drawn on examples of irregular migrants' experiences in their encounters with street-level bureaucrats and private actors co-opted into taking into account migration control considerations in their daily business and service delivery. I have also examined counterstrategies deployed by irregular migrants as they deal with exclusionary practices and avoid returning home. Additionally, it is essential to note that irregular migrants are increasingly refusing to be silenced (Bendixsen 2011) and are thus combining their subtle inconspicuous everyday resistance (Scott 1985) with collective overt mobilization in the public space, and the locality of Bergen provides them with a space of resistance in Pile's (1997) sense. First, irregular migrants mobilize to make their voices heard, to tell their stories and sensitize the public opinion on their plight and counteract the official and media discourses which depict them as criminals, freeloaders, bogus asylum seekers, to mention just a few. They reassert their deservingness carrying banners and placards showing that they fled from persecution, torture and lack of basic freedoms. Bergen has hosted a series of irregular migrants' actions such hunger striking in a church, marches and demonstrations. Second, irregular migrants do not occupy the space of resistance alone. They are supported by members of the local community and, in particular, by advocates and activists from independent organizations in an effort to support the irregular migrants' campaign for their 'right to have rights'(Arendt 1994 in BENDIXSEN 2011.) and for stopping the central authorities decision to deport them. Besides, activists and supporters organize torchlight processions as well as demonstrations to express their solidarity and raise the public awareness.

5.6. The relevance of ‘here and there’

During the fieldwork, all the respondents were asked how they managed to stand firm for so long in an environment where their life chances were likely to be jeopardized if they were not regularized. I noticed that all the respondents evaluated differently their situations, but it was clear that all of them considered returning to their home countries as a last alternative. For many of them, return is envisaged either as an impossibility or, at best, as an option in the very last resort. Some respondents said they were waiting for a softening of policy which could pave the way for a possible regularization of certain categories of irregular migrants while others hold firm and stand their ground saying that it is more dangerous to return home than to stay in Norway. They are caught on the horns of a dilemma, between “here and there”. In this section the metaphor “here and there” is used to explore how the irregular migrants’ experiences and survival strategies in response to exclusionary control policies are mediated by their here-and-there positioning.

Taken literally, the phrase ‘here and there’ means “in various places” (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary). In a study of the experiences of Filipino domestic workers in Paris and Hong Kong, Leah Briones (2009) uses the notion of here and there to put into perspective the domestic workers’ experiences emphasizing that they were in Paris and Hong Kong because that is precisely where they could better earn their living than in the home country the Philippines. She shows that their sacrifices, hardship, endurance and major risks are associated with making dreams come true, so that their experience of constraints cannot be separated from their experience of opportunities (p. 137). I engage here with the metaphor of ‘here and there’ to investigate irregular migrants’ experiences of structural vulnerability in several ways.

First, it is used to reflect on the ways in which irregular migrants look at their situation in their countries of origin (there) compared to their current situation in Norway. Respondents share their thoughts about Norway and where they come from to explain why and how they hold firm on to Norway while rejecting the option of returning to their countries of origin. One informant, Josette, has emphasizes that it is of paramount importance for her to keep alive her hope for a life in Norway together with her two small children. After six years of which three in an irregular situation, Josette is not contemplating returning home but to settle in Norway: “I keep hoping that I’ll get a residence permit”. Many irregular migrants share Josette’s inclination to stay in the country, but this presupposes that they be granted a residence permit.

In the meantime, they experience their quotidian situation very negatively. Some respondents compare their life to that of prisoners.

“I see myself as being in prison because I don’t have freedom and I think all the time about when I’ll be out of this prison and be free”. (Kayat)

“We are like in prison”. (Shiva)

The respondents blame the “system” which has locked away all opportunities and shattered their hopes.

“This system is made to make us go crazy ... to kill us slowly... I have to adapt to the system. The authorities use their power and I use also my power and intelligence to survive”. (Kelvin)

“When I came here I had big ambitions: education, work, do good things for my family, my country... but when I got rejection all my ambitions were broken”. (Moono)

As for Shiva, she compares her life to that of an animal: “we live like animals: we sit, we sleep and we eat like animals.” She feels that she and her father lead an inactive, idle and directionless life.

Even though they are not happy with their current situation, most of the respondents remain adamantly opposed to return as, they say, they are *here* because they have escaped from abuse, persecution, violence and war *there*. Therefore, even though they are depressed, homeless, exploited, discriminated and stigmatized, they do not stand ready to return to their countries of origin. While respondents are still talking about abuses, torture and prison experiences first encountered *there*, when they refer to their situation in Norway, *here* abuse takes the form of bad working conditions and lack of access to basic rights. As for torture and prison, *here* they take the form of waiting too long and knowing neither when one can be deported nor when one can be amnestied and granted a residence permit. Torture and prison refer *here* also to lack of freedom and recognition and not being able to cater for one’s needs as well as those of one’s family. Respondents are disillusioned and disappointed with Norway and yet, “here” is still better than “there”.

Some respondents refer to their home country, “there,” as a place that is too dangerous for any reasonable person to go:

“I can’t survive back home, the situation is far worse than here”. (Alex)

“I can’t go home because I’m politically active and will be putting my life in danger ... when I stay here I’m tortured mentally. If I did not have a problem in my country I’ll go back without any problem”. (Moono)

“I tell myself everyday that things could be worse”. (Maureen)

To explain how they cope with life without residence permit at the margins of society, certain respondents speak about how they have learned to endure hardships in their countries of origin and therefore they should manage, because it is harder *there* than *here*:

“I have a lot of experience to live a hard life, to live without water, without food and without going out for several days. My previous difficult life back home has taught me how to survive”. (Lewis)

“Life in my country makes us strong, so it’s possible to tolerate the hardships here in Norway”. (Arafat)

For Arafat, it is unthinkable to return home after his family has spent all they had for him to migrate.

“ My family sold our house and car for me to come here, but now my parents live in misery and so do I here ... I think always about my family, my brother, father and my mother. I can’t even tell them that I live like this. My mother is sick and I fear that she dies if she learns it... if I had peace in my country I would not work for thirty kroner per hour”. (Kayat)

Second, “here and there” is also the reality lived by some respondents who hold on to Norway as they look back at other places in Europe they have been before or have thought of going after being rejected. In other words, some irregular migrants have lodged their asylum application in another European state either prior to coming to Norway or after their asylum application in Norway has been rejected. For instance, Shiva told me that she and her father had tried their luck in other European states after the rejection of their application in Norway, but they were discovered and had thus to come back to Norway. They bumped into the Dublin Regulation which makes it impossible for asylum seekers to lodge their asylum application in more than one state signatory of the Dublin Regulation (European Council Regulation 2003, The Norwegian Mission to the EU, Europa 2009). Other respondents reported that they had been asked by the Norwegian immigration authorities to return to the first country where they had applied for asylum. However, they refuse to go back saying the situation is too dangerous

there and they prefer to endure suffering *here* in Bergen. Clearly, the Dublin system have a negative effect on irregular migrants' life chances by generating a "second state of immobility" (Haugen 2012.) for rejected asylum seekers. They are stranded between *here* and *there*; they are *here* because they cannot, and do not want to, be *there*. The Norwegian government attaches great importance to strengthening the cooperation concerning migration issues with other EU states within the framework of Schengen Agreement and Dublin Convention (Melding til Stortinget nr. 9 (2009-2010), Brekke 2011). Both Schengen Agreement and Dublin Convention constitute the backbone of Norway's internationalization of migration and mobility control. Hundreds of rejected asylum seekers are sent to various European states where they lodged their first asylum application. Media have reported many such forced returns to states such as Greece¹¹ while certain scholars describe Dublin operations as a form of neo-refoulement (Hyndman and Mountz 2008).

Third, "here and there" is used to refer to the irregular migrants' state of being neither here nor there; they are in betwixt and between. The use of "here and there" enables to problematize the irregular migrants' feeling of uncertainty, liminality and of being stuck in limbo. The respondents have a feeling of being trapped between *here* and *there* and this has a significant impact on their individual experiences and the way they interiorize and tackle their situation of irregularity (Øien and Sønsterudbråten 2011). This feeling transpired quite vividly during the interviews and it appears to permeate irregular migrants' everyday beings and doings. They are both in a state of expectation and uncertainty, cautiously and anxiously waiting for a miraculous regularization. This does not mean that they are full optimism; they have not given up all hope either.

"I don't see my future. I don't know about tomorrow. I'm uncertain ... I must work. Every job I get I catch it because I have to save money for the future. Who knows, maybe next year, I won't be able to work". (Arafat)

"I can't plan for the future: no work, no education, it's like I'm in prison". (Naomi)

"I live in uncertainty. I wonder about my future". (Maureen)

¹¹ Norge returnerer flest asylsøkere til Hellas. Available: <http://www.dagbladet.no/2010/07/22/nyheter/asyl/politikk/asylpolitikk/hellas/12655960/> [Accessed 20.03.2012].

“Maybe one day things will change and I will go back home. I’d prefer to go home, but I can’t and I can’t stay here either”. (Moono)

My interviews show that almost all respondents are both in a state of expectation and uncertainty, cautiously and anxiously waiting for a miraculous regularization. This does not mean that they are full optimism; they have not given up all hope either. Their experiences reflect the tension between here and there. While the Norwegian authorities expect them to voluntarily go *there*, they prefer to stay *here*.

Fourth, the “here and there” metaphor seeks to mediate the incomprehension and disillusionment expressed by irregular migrants in their daily encounters and practices where the distinction between *here* and *there* becomes blurred. In fact, many respondents claim to re-live the human rights abuses, torture and imprisonment they thought they had fled from. Respondents find it very difficult to understand why they got their asylum application rejected and why they have to return to their home countries. They have a very low “sense of coherence” (Antonovsky 1987), i.e. it hard for them to make sense of their current entrapped situation. They expressed feelings of disappointment and unfairness:

“My grand-father was a refugee, my parents were refugees, and now UDI says I’m not a refugee. It doesn’t make sense! Look at my ID card from the reception centre where I stayed before. It’s written ‘stateless’, but they ask me to return home ... where?” (Arafat)

“I fled from torture in my country, I mean physical torture. Here I’m still experiencing torture, but psychological torture”. (Moono)

“I thought I had come to a country of democracy and human rights and peace. Is this democracy? Is this human rights? I don’t understand it”. (Kayat)

Moreover, despite the support from their weak and strong ties, respondents believe that the only way to be in control of their own lives as autonomous and independent individuals is to obtain a residence permit. They are fully aware of the limits of networks and family support in enabling them to be in full control of their destiny. At the same time, they do not find any meaning in today’s status quo, nor do they find it meaningful to return home:

“I would have gone back long ago if it were safe to do so”. (Moono)

The “here and there” metaphor allows to bring to the fore the fact that irregular migrants structural vulnerability is rooted and structured locally, nationally and transnationally. It further underscores that the concerns regarding irregular migrants’ security and persecution on ethnic, religious and political grounds in their home countries have played a cardinal role in my respondents’ decision to emigrate and to stay in Norway. Likewise, expectations from families back home can in certain cases make irregular migrants more reluctant to return. Family members and friends who helped with funding the migration project expect remittances from those they have assisted to emigrate. For instance, Kayat dreads returning home as a rejected asylum seeker after his family invested all their resources in his emigration venture.

The impact of migration control policies on irregular migrants’ daily experiences cannot be divested from their here-and-there circumstances. Being structurally vulnerable both in Norway and in their countries of origin entails that control policies *here* do not necessarily constitute a meaningful incentive to returning, nor do they represent a powerful enough deterrent to new immigrants’ flows. The current hard line control policies have a real human impact, but they remain less convincing and hence less enticing to return. This corroborates previous research that suggests (Valenta and Thorshaug 2011b, Kjærre 2010) that return measures that focus on irregular migrants’ disempowerment are less likely to be effective.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has focused on irregular migrants' experiences and how they deal with various legal and structural exclusionary practices they face as they attempt to access the Norwegian health care system as well as the labor and housing markets. Drawing on the concept of structural vulnerability, the thesis set out to investigate the underlying factors and structures that create asymmetrical power relations and dependency. To this end, the study has investigated how managed migration regimes of control and enforcement are practiced and how they shape individual irregular migrants' experiences in manifold ways. The engagement with the social science concept of structural vulnerability has allowed to show ways in which migration and border control policies shape and reproduce irregular migrants' subordinate positioning and dependency. The research findings point to and confirm enormous challenges and obstacles that irregular migrants are faced with and strategies they deploy to overcome them.

This research has shown that irregular migrants have generally considerable difficulties in accessing medical services as well as in finding employment and shelter, and this adversely and significantly affect their overall living conditions. While certain respondents reported various health problems, the quality of the healthcare they can draw on has been reduced to the bare minimum, and their working and housing conditions have tremendously deteriorated.

This study has further found that the three areas of healthcare, employment and housing were intertwined and mutually reinforcing, hence generating a cumulative disadvantage. For instance, due to illness it may for some be hard to work, while at the same time without work it becomes impossible for irregular migrants to afford money for the basic necessities notably food, clothing, healthcare and shelter. In the same vein, some respondents indicated that they did not have time to seek medical assistance when they were sick because they had to give priority to work.

Irregular migrants endeavor to deal with their access difficulties by resorting to short-term strategies, such as self-medication when they are sick, working in the black labor market to earn a living or moving house frequently to avoid being a burden to a host friend. The irregular migrants' (counter) strategies to go around the restrictions of state-instigated migration controls and enforcements have been conceptualized in this study as weapons of the weak (Scott 1985); that is, subtle and covert acts of defiance against the authorities performed

in a manner that avoids direct and ostentatious confrontation. Irregular migrants resort rather to foggy structures (Bommes and Kolb 2002, Bommes and Sciortino 2011a) which the authorities either cannot control or have little control over. Irregular migrants' everyday resistance is incarnated by strategies such as resorting to the informal labor and housing markets, concealing their irregular status from others in order to gain access to services and goods as well as mobilizing social capital through various kinds of networks.

In this respect, this research has foregrounded the crucial role of migrant networks in the irregular migrants' everyday lives. In effect, irregular migrants actively and effectively use their networks as a resource that supports them in their everyday struggles to earn a living, to secure medical help and to find and place to stay. In addition, the study findings strongly suggest that irregular migrants' survival is contingent upon their own agentive maneuvers, and the agency and autonomous decisions of street-level bureaucrats. Their everyday life is also dependent upon mercantilist pursuits of profit in the labor market and, to some extent, in the housing market.

Furthermore, the study has also shown that irregular migrants' experiences and survival strategies are mediated by their situation of entrapment between 'here and there' and their being between Scylla and Charybdis. Respondents reflect the situation in their countries of origin compared to their current situation in Norway. Moreover, the interviews have revealed that some respondents hold on to Norway as they look back at other places in Europe they have been before coming to Norway or have thought of going after being rejected. In general, respondents express feelings of disillusionment, disempowerment, disenfranchisement and lack of control

One of the merits of the concept of structural vulnerability is that it enables to explain and understand irregular migrants' experiences by looking into the factors and structures underpinning their difficulties to access basic necessities such as healthcare, work and shelter. Structural vulnerability also permits to unveil the role of the state policies, legislations and practices in irregularizing individual migrants. The official discourse brings to the fore the fact that irregular migrants can, but refuse to, return to their home countries, and thus obfuscates the role of the state and the negative consequences of the state-instigated policies and laws. Like Anderson (2012: 12), I have argued that immigration controls are not neutral, but productive; they produce and reinforce relations of dependency and power. The approach

of structural vulnerability has allowed me to critically tease out the role of the control policies in creating irregular migrants' exposure to abusive practices in the daily lives in their interaction with the healthcare providers and their encounters in the employment and housing markets. By penalizing the helpers of irregular migrants (Søvig 2012), imposing sanctions on employers, and limiting the access to social and public services to a bare minimum, the state co-opts citizens to migration control tasks thus rendering the border and border controls ubiquitous (Lyon 2005). On the other hand, structural vulnerability remains attuned to the tactics and strategies of irregular migrants in order to find meaningful alternatives to the lack of access to resources, social recognition and legal protection.

Using the concept of structural vulnerability, the study has raised and shed light on a series of policy and humanitarian concerns in connection with the situation of irregular migrants, while at the same time contributing to an understanding of irregular migration as a social phenomenon and a feature of modern society rather than as a social pathology to be cured (Bommes and Sciortino 2011b). Moreover, by discussing the ways in which migration and border control policies are implemented at diverse levels and experienced by individual irregular migrants, the thesis has sought to understand and explain structural processes and conditions of irregularity as well as the differentiated impact of border controls on the irregular migrants' living conditions. I concur with Broeders and Engbersen (2007: 1596) who claim that immigration policies produce "people habituated to their status of the *excluded*" (italic in original). The prevailing mobility control regimes have proved to have powerful "subjectivation effects" (Larchanché 2011) shaping individuals as "nobodies" (Green 2011) and "bodies-out-of-place" (Cresswell 1999) who cannot aspire to rights and entitlements of the common run of human beings.

As regards Scott's concept of weapons of the weak, it has been, as a valuable supplement to structural vulnerability, instrumental in illustrating irregular migrants' agency and in emphasizing, along the lines of Foucault (Foucault 1978), that power and resistance go hand in hand: "where there is power, there is resistance, and [...] this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (in Chavez 1990: 33). While it has enabled to elucidate irregular migrants' inconspicuous acts of defiance that render possible their continued stay in the nation state, the utilization of *weapons of the weak* has not been associated with transformative actions aimed at durable improvement of irregular migrants' lives. The 'action-reaction' approach seems to have been dominant in affluent western states,

whereby authorities react to irregular migrants' everyday resistance by introducing even more restrictive measures and policies which in turn trigger irregular migrants' further counterstrategies and so on and so forth. This leaves us with a gloomy picture with regard to humanitarian concerns arising from ever sophisticated and ubiquitous migration control policies.

Against this backdrop, it appears that 'all-out-and-all-over' migration controls and their rhizomatic ramifications have created and reinforced irregular migrants' do-or-die attitude (see also Ellermann 2010). The current 'cat-and-mouse game' between irregular migrants and the state characterized by either party's strategies and counterstrategies should, in my view, give way to a meaningful and empowering engagement with irregularized migrants as "sovereign selves" (Anderson 2012). While the current restrictive migration policies and practices can be construed as a sanction against those who violate migration laws and as a strategy pragmatically deployed to deter new flows and to encourage the so-called voluntary returns (Brekke 2008, Kjærre 2010, Broeders 2009, Broeders and Engbersen 2007), research suggests, however, that policies that aim at disempowering irregular migrants and making them destitute have been counterproductive (Kjærre 2010, Valenta and Thorshaug 2011b). I believe that the legal framework is necessary but not sufficient to control human behavior, and I concur with Boswell (2011) who strongly argues that politics and law cannot alone control social systems.

Appendices

I. Interview schedule

INTERVIEW GUIDE¹²

Date:

Place:

Part I: Introduction

- I will give a short introduction to ensure that the respondent is well informed about my research as well as the data collection and processing
- I will recall that participation in the interview is voluntary and that the respondent can withdraw at any time without giving any explanation
- I will underline that the interview will not influence in any manner the outcome of the respondent's case, but that the interview gives the respondent a chance to be heard by the public and the authorities and hence increase understanding of and awareness about irregular migrants' living conditions and views
- I will recall my obligation of confidentiality and that all the data will be anonymized.
- *Do you have any question before we begin?*
- *Are you ready to participate in this interview?* YES - NO

Respondent:

Gender: female - male

Civil status: single – married – widow(er) – separated - divorced

Family members in Norway: yes/no

Number of children:

Nationality:

Date of arrival in Norway:

¹² This is meant to be a semi-structured interview; therefore various other questions will be posed following the responses and answers from the respondent

Part II: Interview¹³

About your current life in Norway

- What's your most pressing/urgent need currently?
- Do you ever fear to be arrested or deported?
- Have you ever had any problem with the police?
- Are there places you feel you would not like to go to?
- What do you fear most?
- Do you have any friends, network in this town or in other parts of Norway?
- What are your activities during your free time?
- How does your irregular status affect your family members?
- Who do you go to when you need help? (from friends, family, other well-wishers, organizations?)
- Do you have dependents back in your home country?

Housing

- Do you rent an apartment or do you live with other people?
- How many people do you live with?
- How many rooms are there in this apartment?
- How many times have you had to change your address over the past year?

Employment & income

- What are your sources of income?
- What is your profession?
- What is your current occupation?
- Does your current job correspond to your qualifications?
- What type of contract do you have?
- Have you changed jobs or employers several times?
- Do you work night or day shifts?
- How would you describe your working conditions?
- Do you think your current status makes it difficult for you to find a better job?

¹³ Some of the questions are 'yes-no' questions, but the idea is to ask the respondents to expand on their answers as much as possible. Other follow-up questions will also be asked.

Health and healthcare

- How would you rate your current health? (very good, good ...)
- When was the last time you needed healthcare?
- What did you do last time you felt sick (over the past 6 months)?
- Do you know of any organizations which assist irregular migrants? (in terms of health or other)
- What are your moments of joy, stress, anxiety?

Other

- What is your current main dream/ wish?
- How would you rate your life and stay in Norway (in general)?
- What, in your view, can make your situation better?

Part III: Conclusion

- Reminder about confidentiality and anonymity
- Do you have any question?
- Do you know anyone else I can interview?

Thank you for your time!

II. Request for interview

Faustin Gasana

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Request to participate in the interview in connection with Master thesis.

I am a MA student in Migration and Intercultural Relations at the University of Stavanger and I am currently writing the final thesis. The theme of the thesis is 'irregular migrants', and I will examine their experience of vulnerability and resilience. I am interested in finding out the various experiences of irregular migrants and their daily life conditions.

To determine this, I want to interview 15-20 people aged 18 years and above. I will use the tape recorder and take notes while we talk. The interview will take about an hour and we will together agree on the time and place.

It is voluntary to join and you have the opportunity to withdraw at any time along the way, without having to explain this further. If you withdraw, all data collected about you will be anonymized. The information will be treated with confidentiality, and no individuals will be recognized in the completed project. All personal information will be made anonymous and the recordings shall be deleted when the project will be completed by the end of March 2011.

If you have any questions please call me on [REDACTED] or send an email to [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. You can also contact my supervisor [REDACTED] at the Department of Education at the telephone number [REDACTED]

The study is reported to the Privacy Ombudsman for Research, the Norwegian Social Science Data Services A / S.

Sincerely,

Faustin Gasana

III. NSD notification form



MELDESKJEMA

Meldeskjema (versjon 1.1) for forsknings- og studentprosjekt som medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt (jf. personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter).

1. Prosjektittel		
Tittel	Irregular migrants' experience of vulnerability	
2. Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon		
Institusjon	Universitetet i Stavanger	Velg den institusjonen du er tilknyttet. Alle nivå må oppgis. Ved studentprosjekt er det studentens tilknytning som er avgjørende. Dersom din institusjon ikke finnes på listen, ta kontakt med personvernombudet.
Avdeling/Fakultet	Det humanistiske fakultet	
Institutt	Institutt for allmennlærerutdanning og spesialpedagogikk	
3. Daglig ansvarlig (forsker, veileder)		
Fornavn	Dan Dyrli	Før opp navn på den som har det daglige ansvaret for prosjektet. For studentprosjekt er daglig ansvarlig vanligvis veileder.
Etternavn	Daatland	
Akademisk grad	Høyere grad	Veileder og student må være tilknyttet samme institusjon. Dersom studenten har ekstern veileder, kan biveileder eller fagansvarlig stå som daglig ansvarlig.
Stilling	Førsteamanuensis	
Arbeidssted	Universitet i Stavanger	Arbeidssted må være i tilknytning til behandlingsansvarlig institusjon, f.eks. underavdeling, institutt etc.
Adresse (arb.sted)	Rennebergstien 30 (Arne Rettedals hus)	
Postnr/sted (arb.sted)	4036 Stavanger	NB! All korrespondanse går via e-post. Det er derfor viktig at du oppgir korrekt e-postadresse. Det bør være en adresse som du bruker aktivt over tid. Husk å gi beskjed dersom den endres.
Telefon/mobil (arb.sted)	51831599 / 97595221	
E-post	dan.d.daatland@uis.no	
4. Student		
Studentprosjekt	Ja • Nei ○	NB! All korrespondanse går via e-post. Det er derfor viktig at du oppgir en korrekt e-postadresse. Det bør videre være en adresse du bruker aktivt over tid. Husk å gi beskjed dersom den endres.
Fornavn	Faustin	
Etternavn	Gasana	
Akademisk grad	Høyere grad	
Privatadresse	Adolph Bergsvei 41 T	
Postnr/sted (privatadresse)	5089 Bergen	
Telefon/mobil	55298290 / 46636192	
E-post	fgasana@gmail.com	
5. Formålet med prosjektet		
Prosjektets formål	For my MA dissertation, I intend to study the vulnerability of irregular migrants in Norway, using the municipality of Bergen as a case study. The study will investigate the lived experiences of irregular migrants with particular emphasis on their vulnerability as a result of their status of illegal residents. How do illegal migrants experience and deal with exclusionary practices they face on daily basis?	Redegjør kort for prosjektets formål, problemstilling, forskningsspørsmål e.l. Maks 750 tegn.
6. Prosjektomfang		
Velg omfang	<input checked="" type="radio"/> Enkel institusjon <input type="radio"/> Nasjonal multisenterstudie <input type="radio"/> Internasjonal multisenterstudie	Med multisenterstudier forstås her forskningsprosjekter som gjennomføres ved flere institusjoner samtidig, som har samme formål og hvor det utveksles/deles personopplysninger mellom
Oppgi øvrige institusjoner		

Hvordan foregår samarbeidet mellom institusjonene? Hvem har tilgang til personopplysninger og hvordan reguleres tilgangen?		deltakende institusjoner. Les mer om hva personopplysninger er
7. Utvalgsbeskrivelse		
Beskrivelse av utvalget	I am planning to interview max 20 informants from around Bergen municipality. There will be a mix of adult men and women of different nationalities and ages.	Med utvalg menes dem som deltar i undersøkelsen eller dem det innhentes opplysninger om. F. eks. et representativt utvalg av befolkningen, skoleelever med lese- og skrivevansker, pasienter, innsatte.
Rekruttering og trekking	Jeg skal bruke eget nettverk (snowballmetode)	Beskriv hvordan utvalget trekkes/rekrutteres. Utvalget kan trekkes fra registre, f. eks. folkeregisteret, NAV, pasientregistre, eller rekrutteres gjennom f.eks. en bedrift, skole, idrettsmiljø, eget nettverk. Oppgi hvem som foretar trekkingen/rekrutteringen.
Førstegangskontakt	Jeg skal selv opprette førstegangskontakt og ta kontakt gjennom mitt nettverk	Oppgi hvem som oppretter førstegangskontakt med utvalget og beskriv hvordan den opprettes. Les mer om førstegangskontakt
Alder på utvalget	<input type="checkbox"/> Barn (0-15 år) <input type="checkbox"/> Ungdom (16-17 år) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Voksne (over 18 år)	
Antall personer som inngår i utvalget	max 20	
Inkluderes det myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse?	Ja <input type="radio"/> Nei <input checked="" type="radio"/>	Redegjør for hvorfor det er nødvendig å inkludere myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse.
Hvis ja, beskriv		Les mer om inklusjon av myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse
8. Metode for innsamling av personopplysninger		
Kryss av for hvilke datainnsamlingsmetoder og datakilder som skal benyttes	<input type="checkbox"/> Spørreskjema <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Personlig intervju <input type="checkbox"/> Gruppeintervju <input type="checkbox"/> Observasjon <input type="checkbox"/> Psykologiske/pedagogiske tester <input type="checkbox"/> Medisinske undersøkelser/tester <input type="checkbox"/> Journaldata <input type="checkbox"/> Registerdata <input type="checkbox"/> Annen innsamlingsmetode	Personopplysninger kan innhentes direkte fra den registrerte og/eller fra ulike journaler (NAV, PPT, sykehus, bofellesskap og lignende) eller eksisterende registre (f.eks. Statistisk sentralbyrå, Krefregisteret).
Annen innsamlingsmetode, oppgi hvilken		
Kommentar til metode for innsamling av personopplysninger	semistructured interview	
9. Datamaterialets innhold		
Gjør rede for hvilke opplysninger som samles inn	levkår, oopplevelser, muligheter, begrensninger	Spørreskjema, intervjuguide/temaliste, m.m. legges ved meldeskjemaet til slutt.
Samles det inn direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja <input type="radio"/> Nei <input checked="" type="radio"/>	Les mer om hva personopplysninger er
Hvis ja, hvilke?	<input type="checkbox"/> Navn <input type="checkbox"/> Fødselsdato <input type="checkbox"/> 11-sifret fødselsnummer <input type="checkbox"/> Adresse og/eller e-postadresse og/eller telefonnummer	NB! Selv om resultatene i den endelige publikasjonen vil være anonymisert, må det krysses av her dersom direkte eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres i datamaterialet underveis i prosjektet.
Spesifiser hvilke		

Samles det inn indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja • Nei ○	En person vil være indirekte identifiserbar dersom det er mulig å identifisere vedkommende gjennom bakgrunnsopplysninger som for eksempel bostedskommune eller arbeidsplass/skole kombinert med opplysninger som alder, kjønn, yrke, diagnose, etc.
Hvis ja, hvilke?	land, kjønn, sivil tilstand	
Samles det inn sensitive personopplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei •	
Hvis ja, oppgi hvilke	<input type="checkbox"/> Rasemessig eller etnisk bakgrunn, eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning <input type="checkbox"/> At en person har vært mistenkt, siktet, tiltalt eller dømt for en straffbar handling <input type="checkbox"/> Helseforhold <input type="checkbox"/> Seksuelle forhold <input type="checkbox"/> Medlemskap i fagforeninger	
Samles det inn opplysninger om tredjeperson?	Ja ○ Nei •	Med opplysninger om tredjeperson menes opplysninger som kan spores tilbake til personer som ikke inngår i utvalget. Eksempler på tredjeperson er kollega, elev, klient, familiemedlem.
Hvis ja, hvem er tredjeperson og hvilke opplysninger registreres?		
Hvordan blir tredjeperson informert om behandlingen?	<input type="checkbox"/> Skriftlig informasjon <input type="checkbox"/> Muntlig informasjon <input type="checkbox"/> Blir ikke informert	
Blir ikke informert, redegjør hvorfor		
10. Informasjon og samtykke		
Oppgi hvordan informasjon til utvalget gis	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Skriftlig informasjon <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Muntlig informasjon <input type="checkbox"/> Ingen informasjon	Som hovedregel skal det gis informasjon og innhentes samtykke fra den registrerte. Dersom informasjon gis skriftlig, legg ved kopi av informasjonsskriv. Dersom det ikke skal gis informasjon, må dette redegjøres for. Les mer om hvilken informasjon som bør gis til utvalget
Redegjør	jeg skal ha informasjon skriftlig tilgjengelig på engelsk, men jeg skal også forklare muntlig: Hva studien handler om Taushetsplikt Behandling av data Kan trekke seg, la være å svare Intervjuet har ingen betydning for din sak Intervjuet kan gi dem en stemme som blir hørt inn til norske myndigheter. Kan hjelpe norske myndigheter til å forstå irregulære migranters levekår	
Oppgi hvordan samtykke innhentes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Skriftlig samtykke <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Muntlig samtykke <input type="checkbox"/> Innhentes ikke samtykke	Dersom det benyttes skriftlig samtykke, anbefales det at dette følger i teksten etter informasjonen. Dersom det ikke skal innhentes samtykke, må dette redegjøres for. Les mer om krav til gyldig samtykke
Innhentes ikke samtykke, redegjør		
11. Informasjonssikkerhet		
Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger erstattes med et referansenummer som viser til en atskilt navneliste	Ja ○ Nei •	Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger bør ikke registreres sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet.
Hvordan lagres listen/koblingsnøkkelen og hvem har tilgang til den?		
Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger lagres sammen med det øvrige materialet	Ja ○ Nei •	
Hvorfor er det nødvendig med oppbevaring av direkte identifikasjonsopplysninger sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet?		

Lagres direkte personidentifiserbare opplysninger på andre måter?	Ja <input type="radio"/> Nei <input checked="" type="radio"/>	
Spesifiser		
Hvordan registreres og oppbevares datamaterialet?	<input type="checkbox"/> Fysisk isolert PC tilhørende virksomheten <input type="checkbox"/> PC i nettverkssystem tilhørende virksomheten <input type="checkbox"/> PC i nettverkssystem tilknyttet Internett tilhørende virksomheten <input type="checkbox"/> Fysisk isolert privat PC <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Privat PC tilknyttet Internett <input type="checkbox"/> Videoopptak/fotografi <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Lydopptak <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Manuelt/papir <input type="checkbox"/> Annen registreringsmetode	Sett flere kryss dersom opplysningene registreres på flere måter.
Annen registreringsmetode beskriv nærmere		
Behandles og/eller lagres lyd- og videoopptak og/eller fotografi på PC?	Ja <input checked="" type="radio"/> Nei <input type="radio"/>	
Hvordan er datamaterialet beskyttet mot at uvedkommende får innsyn i opplysningene?	PC-tilgangen beskyttet passord	Er f.eks. PC-tilgangen beskyttet med brukernavn og passord, og står PC-en i et låsbart rom?
Dersom det benyttes mobil lagringsenhet (bærbar PC, minnepenn, minnekort, cd, ekstern harddisk), oppgi hvilken type, og redegjør for hvorfor det benyttes mobil lagringsenhet	Jeg skal bruke minnepinne for sikkerhetsskyld	
Skal prosjektet ha medarbeidere som vil få tilgang til datamaterialet på lik linje med daglig ansvarlig/student?	Ja <input type="radio"/> Nei <input checked="" type="radio"/>	
Hvis ja, hvem?		
Innhentes eller overføres personopplysninger ved hjelp av e-post/Internett?	Ja <input type="radio"/> Nei <input checked="" type="radio"/>	
Hvis ja, oppgi hvilke opplysninger		
Vil personopplysninger bli utlevert til andre enn prosjektgruppen?	Ja <input type="radio"/> Nei <input checked="" type="radio"/>	
Hvis ja, til hvem?		
Skal opplysningene samles inn/bearbejdes av en databehandler?	Ja <input checked="" type="radio"/> Nei <input type="radio"/>	Med databehandler menes en som samler inn og/eller behandler personopplysninger på vegne av den behandlingsansvarlige. Eksempler på ofte brukte databehandlere er Questback, Synovate MMI, Norfakta etc.
Hvis ja, hvilken?	Min egen bærbar PC	Les mer om databehandleravtaler her
12. Vurdering/godkjenning fra andre instanser		
Søkes det dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for å få tilgang til data?	Ja <input type="radio"/> Nei <input checked="" type="radio"/>	For å få tilgang til taushetsbelagte opplysninger fra f.eks. NAV, PPT, sykehus, må det søkes om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten. Dispensasjon søkes vanligvis fra aktuelt departement. For dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for helseopplysninger skal det for alle typer forskning søkes
Kommentar		Regional komité for medisinsk og helsefaglig forskningsetikk
Skal det innhentes godkjenning/tillatelse fra andre instanser?	Ja <input type="radio"/> Nei <input checked="" type="radio"/>	Det kan f. eks. være aktuelt å søke tillatelse fra registreier for tilgang til data, ledelsen for tilgang til forskning i firma, etc.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		

13. Prosjektperiode		
Prosjektperiode	Prosjektstart:01/04/2011 Prosjektstlutt:31/12/2011	Prosjektstart Tidspunkt for når førstegangskontakt opprettes og/eller datainnsamlingen starter. Prosjektstlutt Tidspunkt for når datamaterialet skal anonymiseres, slettes, eller arkiveres i påvente av oppfølgingsstudier. Dette sammenfaller gjerne med publisering og ferdigstilling av oppgave, avhandling eller rapport.
Hva skal skje med datamaterialet ved prosjektstlutt?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Datamaterialet skal anonymiseres <input type="checkbox"/> Datamaterialet skal oppbevares med personidentifikasjon	Med anonymisering menes at det ikke lenger er mulig å føre opplysningene tilbake til enkeltpersoner i datamaterialet. Les mer om anonymisering
Hvordan skal datamaterialet anonymiseres?	Datamateriale skal slettes/makuleres, og anonymisert slik at ingen, utenforstående eller jeg selv, kan være i stand til å knytte enkeltpersoner til opplysningene.	Hovedregel for lagring av data med personidentifikasjon er samtykke fra den registrerte.
Hvorfor skal datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon?		Årsaker til oppbevaring kan være konkrete oppfølgingsstudier, undervisningsformål eller annet.
Hvor skal datamaterialet oppbevares, og hvor lenge?		Datamaterialet kan lagres ved egen institusjon, offentlig arkiv eller annet. Les mer om arkivering
14. Finansiering		
Hvordan finansieres prosjektet?	Egen finansiering, ie lån fra lånekassen	
15. Tilleggsopplysninger		
Tilleggsopplysninger		
16. Vedlegg		
Antall vedlegg	0	

IV. NSD authorization to carry out the research

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES



Harald Hårfagres gate 29
N-5007 Bergen
Norway
Tel: +47-55 58 21 17
Fax: +47-55 58 96 50
nsd@nsd.uib.no
www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Dan Dyrli Daatland
Institutt for allmennlærerutdanning og spesialpedagogikk
Universitetet i Stavanger
4036 STAVANGER

Vår dato: 29.09.2011

Vår ref: 27551 IB/LR

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

PROSJEKTVURDERING

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 01.07.11. All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 19.09.11. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

27551

Irregular Migrants' Experience of Vulnerability

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven. Under følger vår vurdering av prosjektet.

Formålet er å studere illegale innvandreres sårbarhet. I prosjektet undersøkes deres levevilkår og erfaringer, muligheter og begrensninger, med fokus på hvordan deres status som illegale innvandrere gjør dem sårbare, og hvordan de selv takler den ekskluderende praksis de møter i dagliglivet.

Personvernombudet har gjort student og veileder oppmerksom på at forskning på gruppen av illegale innvandrere reiser en rekke etiske problemstillinger og at det derfor stilles spesielt høye krav til vurdering av etiske hensyn og måter å håndtere mulige etiske dilemmaer - før prosjektet startes opp. Vi viser i den forbindelse til Forskningsetiske retningslinjer for samfunnsvitenskap, humaniora, juss og teologi, spesielt del B (om hensynet til personer, dvs. informantene) og del C pkt 22 og 23 (om hensynet til utsatte grupper og kravet om uavhengighet). Vi viser også til del D pkt. 34 (om veileders ansvar).

Veileder ved Universitetet i Stavanger, Dan Dyrli Daatland, og fagansvarlig for masterprogrammet, Nils Olav Østrem, opplyser at masterprosjektet er tilknyttet et større forskningsprosjekt: "Provision of Welfare to Irregular Migrants" (PROVIR), ved IMER Bergen (International Migration & Ethnic Relation Research Unit) som er en forskningsenhet under Uni Rokkansenteret og Universitetet i Bergen. Forsker ved Rokkansenteret, Synnøve Bendixsen, er oppnevnt som biveileder i masterprosjektet. Personvernombudet legger til grunn at prosjektleder Faustin Gasana gjennom denne tilknytningen får bistand til å håndtere de faglige og etiske utfordringer som vil oppstå i forbindelse med gjennomføringen av prosjektet.

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

OSLO: NSD, Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no

TRONDHEIM: NSD, Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim. Tel: +47-73 59 19 07, kyrr.svarva@svt.ntnu.no

TROMSØ: NSD, HSL, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. martin-arne.andersen@uit.no

UTVALG OG REKRUTTERING

Utvalget består av ca. 20 illegale innvandrere i en by i Norge. Utvalget rekrutteres via kontaktpersoner i organisasjoner som arbeider med illegale innvandrere, evt. også gjennom snøballmetoden og oppsøkende virksomhet på steder der illegale innvandrere møtes. Personvernombudet minner om at forespørselen i alle tilfeller må rettes på en slik måte at frivilligheten ved deltagelse ivaretas. Ved rekruttering via organisasjon/snøballmetoden bør kontaktpersonen formidle informasjon om studien til aktuelle informanter slik at de selv kan ta kontakt med prosjektleder hvis de er interessert i å delta, evt. må kontaktpersonen spørre aktuelle informanter om det er i orden at deres kontaktopplysninger viderefremmes til prosjektleder og at han tar kontakt.

INFORMASJON OG SAMTYKKE

Utvalget samtykker til deltagelse på bakgrunn av skriftlig og muntlig informasjon om prosjektet. Personvernombudet vurderer informasjonsskrivet som tilfredsstillende, forutsatt at siste setning i tredje avsnitt endres til "All personal information will be made anonymous and the recordings will be deleted when the project is completed by the end of March 2012." Vi ber om å få tilsendt revidert informasjonsskriv før dette distribueres til utvalget.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at informasjonsskrivet oversettes til andre språk (evt. muntlig ved hjelp av tolk) der det er nødvendig for at de forespurte skal kunne forstå innholdet i skrevet.

Vi anbefaler at det kun innhentes muntlig samtykke, slik at prosjektleder ikke oppbevarer navn på deltagerne i skriftlig form.

DATAINNSAMLING

Datamaterialet innhentes ved personlig intervju.

Prosjektleder opplyser at han selv har erfaring fra tolketjeneste og vil ivareta informanten på best mulig måte i intervjusituasjonen, både mht. frivillighet og mht. å skape tillitsforhold og en trygg ramme om samtalen, slik at belastningen ved å delta blir så liten som mulig. Dersom informanten skulle ha behov for oppfølging, vil de bli henvist til organisasjoner/steder der de kan få hjelp. Samtidig vil prosjektleder være varsom med å skape for høye forventninger om hva han kan bistå med, ettersom denne gruppen står tilnærmet uten rettigheter i det norske samfunnet.

DATAMATERIALETS INNHOLD

Det gjøres lydopptak av intervjuet som senere transkriberes (dersom informanten samtykker til dette), ellers registreres data i form av notater.

Prosjektleder bekrefter i epost 26.08.11 at det ikke skal innhentes sensitive personopplysninger, jf. personopplysningsloven § 2. Han opplyser videre at intervjumaterialet ikke skal knyttes til navn. Av intervjuguiden fremgår det imidlertid at det kan bli registrert opplysninger som gjør det mulig å spore/identifisere informantene indirekte: om oppholdssted, evt. også arbeidssted, hvor de skaffer mat og helsetjenester, om de mottar hjelp fra organisasjoner, samt om deres kjønn, nasjonalitet, ankomst dato, familieforhold og nettverk.

Ettersom informantene oppholder seg ulovlig i Norge, kan det få alvorlige følger for dem dersom slike opplysninger skulle komme på avveie. Det er derfor svært viktig å gjennomføre systematiske sikkerhetstiltak for å ivareta informantenes konfidensialitet i dette prosjektet.

INFORMASJONSSIKKERHET

Prosjektleder opplyser at opplysninger som kan bidra til å spore/identifisere informantene skal lagres på egen koblingsnøkkel (jf. i epost 26.08.11). Personvernombudet forutsetter at koblingsnøkkel

oppbevares fysisk adskilt fra det øvrige materialet, og anbefaler at den kun foreligger i papirform. Dersom koblingsnøkkelen skal lagres elektronisk, bør den være kryptert og oppbevares på annen enhet enn de øvrige opplysningene.

Opplysninger som kan bidra til å spore/identifisere informantene bør ikke lagres på minnepinne eller privat bærbar pc tilknyttet internett. Slike opplysninger bør heller lagres i nettverk tilhørende UiS (og/eller Rokkansenteret, etter avtale med UiS), evt. på isolert passordbeskyttet pc som oppbevares nedlåst når den ikke er i bruk. Vi anbefaler at antall sikkerhetskopier begrenses.

Prosjektleder opplyser at lydopptak skal lagres kryptert på pc. Lydfilene bør da slettes fra opptaksutstyret så snart de er overført til pc, og dette bør skje kort tid etter intervjuet. Videre bør man vurdere om lydfilene kan slettes fra pc når de er transkribert.

Dersom det benyttes tolk under intervju, forutsettes det at tolken undertegner taushetserklæring. ^{må skrive}

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at prosjektleder avklarer sikkerhetstiltakene i prosjektet med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon (Universitetet i Stavanger), slik at disse er i tråd med Universitetets interne retningslinjer for informasjonssikkerhet, jf. personopplysningsloven § 13. ^{Dc}

PUBLISERING

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at man ved publisering av data utelater/omskriver alle opplysninger som kan bidra til å identifisere/spore informantene. Vi minner også om at det kan være etiske utfordringer knyttet til publisering av gruppedata. Vi anbefaler at student i samarbeid med veiledere på forhånd vurderer om analyseresultatene indirekte vil kunne få negative konsekvenser for deltagerne. ^D

PROSJEKTSLUTT

I telefonsamtale med Østrem har vi fått opplyst at prosjektet er planlagt avsluttet 31.03.2012. Iht. meldeskjema skal datamaterialet anonymiseres ved prosjektslutt. For at datamaterialet skal være anonymt, må lydopptak, eventuelle samtykkeerklæringer og koblingsnøkkel med bakgrunnsopplysninger slettes. Eventuelle indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger i det øvrige materialet må slettes eller omskrives/grovkategoriseres, slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes eller spores.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, prosjektvurderingen (over), samt personopplysningsloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Vi gjør oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding til personvernombudet dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.03.2012, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

27551 IB/LR

4

Ta gjerne kontakt dersom noe er uklart.

Vennlig hilsen



Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim



Inga Brautaset

Kontaktperson: Inga Brautaset tlf: 55 58 26 35

Kopi: Faustin Gasana, [REDACTED]
Kopi: Synnøve Bendixsen, Rokkansenteret
Kopi: Nils Olav Østrem, UiS

V. List of respondents

No	Gender	Age	In Norway since	Civil status	Family in Norway?	Children in Norway?
1	F	22	2005	Cohabiting	Partner + parents- regular	-
2	F	32	2007	Married	Husband- regular	2 born in Norway-regular
3	F	28	2005	Cohabiting	Partner – regular	-
4	F	39	2004	Single parent	-	2 born in Norway-irregular
5	F	33	2003	Single	Father- irregular	-
6	M	29	2008	Single	-	-
7	M	45	2000	Married	Wife -irregular	1 born in Norway-irregular
8	M	40	2004	Cohabiting	Partner – irregular	-
9	M	23	2005	Single	-	-
10	M	30	2005	Single	-	-
11	M	32	2008	Single	-	-
12	M	37	2006	Single	-	-
13	M	43	2004	Married	-	-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Main academic references

- AARØ, A. H. & WYLLER, H. 2005. Food, Shelter, and Health Services: The State's Responsibilities Regarding Persons Without Legal Residence. Oslo: Senter mot etnisk diskriminering (SMED).
- AAS, K. F. 2006. 'The body does not lie': Identity, risk and trust in technoculture. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 2, 143.
- AAS, K. F. 2007. The securitization of migration: Whose justice and whose security? *Paper presented at 14th Nordic Migration Researchers' Conference*. Bergen: UiB/IMER.
- ABREGO, L. J. & MENJÍVAR, C. 2011. IMMIGRANT LATINA MOTHERS AS TARGETS OF LEGAL VIOLENCE. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 37, 9-26.
- ADLER, P. & ADLER, P. 2001. The reluctant respondent. In: GUBRIUM, J. F. & HOLSTEIN, J. A. (eds.) *Handbook of interview research: context & method*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- ALVER, B. G. & ØYEN, Ø. 2007. Challenges of research ethics: an introduction. In: ALVER, B. G., FJELL, T. I. & ØYEN, Ø. (eds.) *Research ethics in studies of culture and social life*. Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia.
- AMBROSINI, M. 2011. Surviving underground: irregular migrants, Italian families, invisible welfare. *International Journal of Social Welfare*.
- ANDERSON, B. 2008. "Illegal Immigrant": Victim Or Villain?, University of Oxford. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society.
- ANDERSON, B. 2009. What's in a name? Immigration controls and subjectivities: The case of au pairs and domestic worker visa holders in the UK. *Subjectivity*, 29, 407.
- ANDERSON, B. 2010. Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers. *Work, Employment & Society*, 24, 300-317.
- ANDERSON, B. 2012. Where's the Harm in That? Immigration Enforcement, Trafficking, and the Protection of Migrants' Rights. *American Behavioral Scientist*, XX, 1-17.
- ANDERSON, B. & RUHS, M. 2010. Researching illegality and labour migration. *Population, Space and Place*, 16, 175-179.
- ANDRIJASEVIC, R. 2009. Sex on the move: Gender, subjectivity and differential inclusion. *Subjectivity*, 29, 389.
- ANDRIJASEVIC, R. & ANDERSON, B. 2009. Conflicts of mobility: Migration, labour and political subjectivities. *Subjectivity*, 29, 363.
- ANTONOVSKY, A. 1987. *Unraveling the mystery of health: How people manage stress and stay well*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.
- ARENDDT, H. 1994. *The origins of totalitarianism*, Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich.
- ASCHEHOUG, S. 2010. Rett til helsehjelp for papirløse migranter. *Tidsskrift for Den norske legeförening*, 130, 765-6.
- ATKINSON, R. & FLINT, J. 2001. Accessing hidden and hard-to-reach populations: Snowball research strategies. *Social Research Update*, 33.
- BAGHIR-ZADA, R. 2010. Health and irregularity: The Case of Sweden. In: THOMSEN, T., JØRGENSEN, M., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular migration in a Scandinavian perspective*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- BAUMAN, Z. 2004. *Wasted lives: Modernity and its outcasts*, Cambridge: Polity.
- BECKER, H. S. 1963. *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*, New York: Free Press.

- BENDIXSEN, S. 2011. 'We refuse to be silenced': Irregular Migrants' Struggle for Recognition. Unpublished presentation at the one-day workshop, "*Migration in the Nordic Regions: Recent Studies*". University of Bergen, October 7th 2011.
- BERG, B., LAURITSEN, K., MEYER, M. A., NEUMAYER, S. M., TINGCOLD, L. & SVEAASS, N. 2005. «*Det hainnle om å leve...*». *Tiltak for bedre psykisk helse blant beboere i asylmottak* Trondheim, Sintef Ifim.
- BERGGREN, E., LIKIĆ-BRBORIĆ, B., TOKSÖZ, G. & TRIMIKLINIOTIS, N. (eds.) 2007. *Irregular Migration, Informal Labour and Community: A Challenge for Europe*, Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- BILGER, V. & LIEMPT, I. V. 2009. Introduction. In: LIEMPT, I. V. & BILGER, V. (eds.) *The ethics of migration research methodology: dealing with vulnerable immigrants*. Brighton: Sussex Academic.
- BLAIKIE, P., CANNON, T., DAVIS, I. & WISNER, B. 2000. *At risk: natural hazards, people's vulnerability, and disasters*, New York: Routledge.
- BLOCH, A. & CHIMIANTI, M. 2011. Irregular migration in a globalizing world. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34, 1271-1285.
- BOMMES, M. & KOLB, H. 2002. Foggy social structures in a knowledge-based society—irregular migration, informal economy and the political system. Unpublished paper, University of Osnabruck.
- BOMMES, M. & SCIORTINO, G. (eds.) 2011a. *Foggy Social Structures: Irregular Migration, European Labour Markets and the Welfare State*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- BOMMES, M. & SCIORTINO, G. 2011b. Irregular migration as a structural phenomenon. In: SCIORTINO, G. & BOMMES, M. (eds.) *Foggy Social Structures: Irregular Migration, European Labour Markets and the Welfare State*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- BOSWELL, C. 2011. Migration control and narratives of steering. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, 13, 12-25.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1986. The forms of social capital. In: RICHARDSON, J. G. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood Press.
- BRACKERTZ, N. 2007. Who is hard to reach and why? *ISR Working Paper* [Online]. Available: <http://www.sisr.net/publications/0701brackertz.pdf> [Accessed 30.08.2011].
- BREIVIK, J.-K. 1997. *Å leve i eksil. Identitetsproblemer og moralske dilemmaer i norsk eksil*, Bergen, Migrasjonslitteratur.
- BREKKE, J.-P. 2008. Making the unreturnable return: The role of the welfare state in promoting return for rejected asylum seekers in Norway. ISF Paper 2008: 1. Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning.
- BREKKE, J.-P. 2011. Migrasjon og integrasjon: Norges tilknytning til EU. Oslo: Europautredningen.
- BREKKE, J.-P., AARSET, M. F. & LIDÉN, H. 2010. Innvandring og flukt til Norge - En kunnskaps gjennomgang 1990-2009. Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning/Universitetet i Oslo.
- BREKKE, J.-P. & SØHOLT, S. 2005. I velferdsstatens grenseland: En evaluering av ordningen med bortfall av botilbud i mottak for personer med endelig avslag på asylsøknaden. ISF Rapport (2005:005). Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning
- BRIGGS, X. D. S. 1998. Brown kids in white suburbs: Housing mobility and the many faces of social capital. *Housing policy debate*, 9, 177-221.

- BRIONES, L. 2009. Reconsidering the migration–development link: capability and livelihood in Filipina experiences of domestic work in Paris. *Population, Space and Place*, 15, 133-145.
- BROCHMANN, G. & HAMMAR, T. (eds.) 1999. *Mechanisms of immigration control: a comparative analysis of European regulation policies*, Oxford: Berg.
- BROEDERS, D. & ENGBERSEN, G. 2007. The Fight against Illegal Migration: Identification Policies and Immigrants' Counterstrategies. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50, 1592-1609.
- BRUNOVSKIS, A. 2010. Irregular migration research in Norway: Reflections on research ethics and methodological challenges based on a methods development project. In: THOMSEN, T., JØRGENSEN, M., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular migration in a Scandinavian perspective*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- BRUNOVSKIS, A. & BJERKAN, L. 2008. Research with irregular migrants in Norway. Methodological and ethical challenges and emerging research agendas. Oslo: UDI.
- CALAVITA, K. 1998. Immigration, law, and marginalization in a global economy: Notes from Spain. *Law and Society Review*, 529-566.
- CARTWRIGHT, E. 2011. Immigrant dreams: legal pathologies and structural vulnerabilities along the immigration continuum. *Medical Anthropology*, 30, 475-495.
- CARTWRIGHT, E. & MANDERSON, L. 2011. Diagnosing the Structure: Immigrant Vulnerabilities in Global Perspective. *Medical Anthropology*, 30, 451-453.
- CASTLES, S. 2004. Why migration policies fail. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 27, 205-227.
- CHAVEZ, L. R. 1990. Coresidence And Resistance: Strategies For Survival Among Undocumented Mexicans And Central Americans In The United States. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 19, 31-61.
- CHAVEZ, L. R. 1998. *Shadowed lives: Undocumented immigrants in American society*, Harcourt Brace College Publishers Fort Worth, Texas.
- COLEMAN, J. S. 1988. Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, S95-S120.
- COLEMAN, J. S. 1990. *Foundations of social theory*, Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press.
- COUTIN, S. B. 2003. Illegality, borderlands, and the space of nonexistence. *Globalization under construction: Governmentality, law, and identity*, 171-202.
- CRANFORD, C. J. 2005. Networks of exploitation: Immigrant labor and the restructuring of the Los Angeles janitorial industry. *Social problems*, 52, 379-397.
- CRESSWELL, T. 1999. Embodiment, power and the politics of mobility: the case of female tramps and hobos. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24, 175-192.
- CVAJNER, M. & SCIORTINO, G. 2010. Theorizing irregular migration: the control of spatial mobility in differentiated societies. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 13, 389.
- CVAJNER, M. & SCIORTINO, G. 2011. EDITORIAL: Survival Strategies of Irregular Immigrants. *Migration Letters*, 8, 1-6.
- DAUVERGNE, C. 2008. *Making people illegal: What globalization means for migration and law*, Cambridge University Press.
- DE GENOVA, N. 2009. Conflicts of mobility, and the mobility of conflict: Rightlessness, presence, subjectivity, freedom. *Subjectivity*, 29, 445.
- DE GENOVA, N. P. 2002. Migrant “illegality” and deportability in everyday life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 419-447.
- DEN NORSKE LEGEFØRENING 2008. Likeverdige helsetjeneste? Om helsetjenester til ikke-vestlige innvandrere, Oslo.

- DENCH, S., IPHOFEN, R. & HUWS, U. 2004. *An EU Code of Ethics for Socio-Economic Research*, Institute for Employment Studies. Information Society Technologies Programme.
- DEWALT, K. M. & DEWALT, B. R. 2002. *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*, AltaMira Press.
- DOOMERNIK, J. & JANDL, M. (eds.) 2008. *Modes of migration regulation and control in Europe*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- DUKE, M. 2011. Ethnicity, Well-Being, and the Organization of Labor among Shade Tobacco Workers. *Medical Anthropology*, 30, 409-424.
- DUVELL, F. 2010. Foreword. In: THOMSEN, T., JØRGENSEN, M., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular migration in a Scandinavian perspective*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- DUVELL, F., TRIANDAFYLLIDOU, A. & VOLLMER, B. 2008. Ethical issues in irregular migration research. *Clandestino*
- DÜVELL, F., TRIANDAFYLLIDOU, A. & VOLLMER, B. 2010. Ethical issues in irregular migration research in Europe. *Population, Space and Place*, 16, 227-239.
- ELLERMANN, A. 2005. Coercive Capacity and the Politics of Implementation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38, 1219-1244.
- ELLERMANN, A. 2006. Street-level democracy: How immigration bureaucrats manage public opposition. *West European Politics*, 29, 293-309.
- ELLERMANN, A. 2010. Undocumented migrants and resistance in the liberal state. *Politics & Society*, 38, 408-429.
- ELSTER, J. 1992. *Local justice: How institutions allocate scarce goods and necessary burdens*, Russell Sage Foundation Publications.
- ENGBERSEN, G. & AUJOLLET, M. 1999. Sans-papiers: Les stratégies de séjour des immigrés clandestins= Undocumented people. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 26-38.
- ENGBERSEN, G. & BROEDERS, D. 2009. The state versus the alien: Immigration control and strategies of irregular immigrants. *West European Politics*, 32, 867-885.
- ENGBERSEN, G. & BROEDERS, D. 2011a. Fortress Europe and the Dutch Donjon: Securitization, Internal Migration Policy and Irregular Migrants' Counter Moves In: TRUONG, T.-D. & GASPER, D. (eds.) *Transnational Migration and Human Security*. Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- ENGBERSEN, G. & BROEDERS, D. 2011b. Immigration control and strategies of irregular immigrants: From light to thick fog. In: SCIORTINO, G. & BOMMES, M. (eds.) *Foggy Social Structures: Irregular Migration, European Labour Markets and the Welfare State*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- ENGBERSEN, G. & VAN DER LEUN, J. 2001. The social construction of illegality and criminality. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 9, 51-70.
- ENGBERSEN, G., VAN SAN, M. & LEERKES, A. 2006. A room with a view. Irregular immigrants in the legal capital of the world. *Ethnography*, 7, 209-242.
- ERDEMIR, A. & VASTA, E. 2007. Differentiating irregularity and solidarity: Turkish Immigrants at work in London. Working Paper WP-07-42. London: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford.
- FADEN, R. R., BEAUCHAMP, T. L. & KING, N. M. P. 1986. *A history and theory of informed consent*, Oxford University Press, USA.
- FALLEK, S. B. 1996. Health care for illegal aliens: Why it is a necessity. *Houston Journal of International Law*, 19, 951.

- FAREMO, G. 2012. Foreldrenes ansvar. *Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet* [Online]. Available: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/jd/aktuelt/taler_og_artikler/ministeren/taler-og-artikler-av-grete-faremo/2012/foreldrenes-ansvar.html?id=677923 [Accessed 01.05.2012].
- FARMER, P. 1996. On suffering and structural violence: a view from below. *Daedalus*, 125, 261-283.
- FARMER, P., BOURGOIS, P., SCHEPER-HUGHES, N., FASSIN, D., GREEN, L., HEGGENHOUGEN, H., KIRMAYER, L. & WACQUANT, L. 2004. An Anthropology of Structural Violence *Current Anthropology*, 45, 305-325.
- FARMER, P. E., NIZEYE, B., STULAC, S. & KESHAVJEE, S. 2006. Structural violence and clinical medicine. *PLoS medicine*, 3, e449.
- FOUCAULT, M. 1978. *From the History of Sexuality, Vol. I: An Introduction*, New York, Random House.
- FRA 2011. Fundamental rights of migrants in an irregular situation in the European Union: Comparative report. Vienna: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.
- GARLAND, D. 2001. *The culture of control: Crime and social order in contemporary society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GREEN, L. 2011. The Nobodies: Neoliberalism, Violence, and Migration. *Medical Anthropology*, 30, 366-385.
- GROOTAERT, C. & NARAYAN, D. 2004. Local institutions, poverty and household welfare in Bolivia. *World Development*, 32, 1179-1198.
- GROSS, C. 2009. Health Needs of Undocumented Migrants and Main Barriers to Health Care. *A qualitative Study of Undocumented Migrant's Health Coverage in the Zurich Area*. Basel, University of Basel, Swiss Tropical Institute.
- GUIRAUDON, V. 2004. De-nationalizing control: analyzing state responses to constraints on migration control. In: GUIRAUDON, V. & JOPPKE, C. (eds.) *Controlling a new migration world*. London: Routledge.
- GUIRAUDON, V. & JOPPKE, C. 2001. *Controlling a new migration world*, London: Routledge.
- GUIRAUDON, V. & JOPPKE, C. (eds.) 2004. *Controlling a new migration world*, London: Routledge.
- GUIRAUDON, V. & LAHAV, G. 2000. A reappraisal of the state sovereignty debate: The Case of Migration Control. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33, 163-195.
- HAGAN, J. M. 1998. Social Networks, Gender, and Immigrant Incorporation: Resources and Constraints. *American Sociological Review*, 63, 55-67.
- HAUGEN, H. Ø. 2012. Nigerians in China: A Second State of Immobility. *International Migration*, 50, 65-80.
- HJELDE, K. H. 2009. "Jeg er alltid bekymret". Om udokumenterte migrantere forhold til helsetjenestene i Oslo. Oslo: NAKMIs skriftserie om minoriteter og helse, 1/2010: 1-60.
- HJELDE, K. H. 2010. Irregular Migration, Health and Access to Health Services in Oslo. In: THOMSEN, T. L., JØRGENSEN, M. B., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular Migration in a Scandinavian Perspective*. Maastricht Shaker Publishing.
- HOLKUP, P. A., TRIPP-REIMER, T., SALOIS, E. M. & WEINERT, C. 2004. Community-based participatory research: an approach to intervention research with a Native American community. *ANS. Advances in nursing science*, 27, 162.

- HOLMES, S. M. 2011. Structural vulnerability and hierarchies of ethnicity and citizenship on the farm. *Medical Anthropology*, 30, 425-449.
- HOMAN, R. 1991. *The ethics of social research*, London, Longman.
- HYNDMAN, J. & MOUNTZ, A. 2008. Another Brick in the Wall? Neo-Refoulement and the Externalization of Asylum by Australia and Europe. *Government and Opposition*, 43, 249-269.
- HYNES, T. 2003. *The Issue of "trust" Or "mistrust" in Research with Refugees: Choices, Caveats and Considerations for Researchers*, UNHCR.
- JØRGENSEN, M. B. 2010. Setting the context - the development of a European framework on regular and irregular migration. In: THOMSEN, T., JØRGENSEN, M., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular migration in a Scandinavian perspective*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- KAWULICH, B. B. 2005. Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method [81 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [Online], 6. Available: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0502430> [Accessed 20.02.2012].
- KHOSRAVI, S. 2006. Territorialisering av mänskighet: irreguljära immigranter och det nakna livet. i P. de los Reyes (red) *Om välfärdens gränser och det villkorade medborgarskapet*, 283-310.
- KJÆRRE, H. A. 2010. No direction home - the margins of a welfare state and the illegalised body. In: THOMSEN, T., JØRGENSEN, M., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular migration in a Scandinavian perspective*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- KJÆRRE, H. A. 2011. *In a space of everyday exception: Day-to-day life and illegality among rejected asylum-seekers in Norway*. Master thesis, University of Oslo.
- KLEINMAN, A. 2000. The violences of everyday life. *Violence and subjectivity*, 226-241.
- KOSER, K. 2005. *Irregular migration, state security and human security*, Global Commission on International Migration-GCIM.
- KRISSMAN, F. 2005. Sin Coyote Ni Patron: Why the "Migrant Network" Fails to Explain International Migration. *International Migration Review*, 39, 4-44.
- KRISTIANSEN, O. 2008. *Undocumented immigrants and the experiences of Norwegian general practitioners with this group of patients*. MA thesis, Institute for Health Management and Health Economics, University of Oslo.
- LAHAV, G. & GUIRAUDON, V. 2006. Actors and venues in immigration control: Closing the gap between political demands and policy outcomes. *West European Politics*, 29, 201-223.
- LANGSLET, N. 2008. *Subordination, migration and mobilization: strategies for coping in an altered security situation*. University of Oslo.
- LARCHANCHÉ, S. 2011. Intangible Obstacles: Health Implications of Stigmatization, Structural Violence, and Fear among Undocumented Immigrants in France. *Social Science & Medicine*.
- LIEMPT, I. V. & BILGER, V. (eds.) 2009. *The ethics of migration research methodology: dealing with vulnerable immigrants*, Brighton: Sussex Academic.
- LIN, N., COOK, K. S. & BURT, R. S. 2001. *Social capital: theory and research*, New Brunswick, N.J., Aldine Transaction.
- LINK, B. G. & PHELAN, J. C. 1996. Understanding sociodemographic differences in health - the role of fundamental social causes. *American journal of public health*, 86, 471-473.

- LIPSKY, M. 1980. *Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public services*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation.
- LOFLAND, J. & LOFLAND, L. H. 1995. *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative research and analysis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- LYON, D. 2005. The border is everywhere: ID cards, surveillance and the other. In: ZUREIK, E. & SALTER, M. B. (eds.) *Global Surveillance and Policing: Borders, Security, Identity* Devon: Willan Publishing.
- MAHLER, S. J. 1995. *American dreaming: Immigrant life on the margins*, Princeton Univ Pr.
- MASSEY, D. S., ARANGO, J., HUGO, G., KOUAOUCCI, A., PELLEGRINO, A. & TAYLOR, J. E. 1993. Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19, 431-466.
- MCKAY, S., MARKOVA, E., PARASKEVOPOULOU, A. & WRIGHT, T. 2009. The relationship between migration status and employment outcomes. EU sixth framework programme: Undocumented Worker Transitions project. London: Working Lives. Research Institute.
- MELDING TIL STORTINGET NR. 9 (2009-2010) Norsk flyktning- og migrasjonspolitik i et europeisk perspektiv.
- MENJÍVAR, C. 2006. Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan Immigrants' Lives in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111, 999-1037.
- MERET, S., JØRGENSEN, M., THOMSEN, T., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. 2010. Introduction - Perspectives of irregular migration in Scandinavia: Theoretical, Methodological, Political and Empirical Challenges and Approaches. In: THOMSEN, T., JØRGENSEN, M., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular migration in a Scandinavian perspective*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- MERLINO, M. & PARKIN, J. 2011. Irregular Migration in Europe: EU policies and the Fundamental Rights Gap. CEPS report.
- MILES, R. 1987. *Capitalism and unfree labour: anomaly or necessity?*, London: Tavistock.
- MILLER, M. & NEAIGUS, A. 2001. Networks, resources and risk among women who use drugs. *Social Science & Medicine*, 52, 967-978.
- MILLER, T. & BELL, L. 2002. Consenting to what? Issues of access, gate-keeping and 'informed' consent. In: MAUTHNER, M. L., BIRCH, M., JESSOP, J. & MILLER, T. (eds.) *Ethics in qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- MUHIB, F. B., LIN, L. S., STUEVE, A., MILLER, R. L., FORD, W. L., JOHNSON, W. D. & SMITH, P. J. 2001. A venue-based method for sampling hard-to-reach populations. *Public Health Reports*, 116, 216.
- NARAYAN, D., PATEL, R., SCHAFFT, K., RADEMACHER, A. & KOCH-SCHULTE, S. 2000. *Voices of the poor. Can anyone hear us?*, Oxford University Press.
- NESH 2006. FORSKNINGSETISKE RETNINGSLINJER FOR SAMFUNNSVITENSKAP, HUMANIORA, JUSS OG TEOLOGI. De nasjonale forskningsetiske komiteer.
- NYERS, P. 2003. Abject cosmopolitanism: The politics of protection in the anti-deportation movement. *Third World Quarterly*, 24, 1069-1093.
- NYERS, P. 2011. No one is illegal between city and nation. *Studies in Social Justice*, 4, 127-143.
- O'BRIEN, K. J. 1996. Rightful resistance. *World politics*, 49, 31-55.
- OTTESEN, S. H. 2008. Papirløse migranter: En undersøkelse av situasjonen for mennesker uten lovlig opphold i Norge, og humanitære tiltak for denne gruppen i andre europeiske land. Oslo: Stiftelsen Kirkens Bymisjon Oslo, Mangfold & Oppvekst.

- PENROD, J., PRESTON, D. B., CAIN, R. E. & STARKS, M. T. 2003. A discussion of chain referral as a method of sampling hard-to-reach populations. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 14, 100.
- PICUM 2003. *Book of Solidarity: Providing Assistance to Undocumented Migrants Volume I*, Brussels: PICUM.
- PILE, S. 1997. Introduction: opposition, political identities and spaces of resistance. In: KEITH, M. & PILE, S. (eds.) *Geographies of Resistance*. London: Routledge.
- PUTNAM, R. D. 2000. *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of american community*, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- PUTNAM, R. D. 2007. E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30, 137-174.
- QUESADA, J. 2011a. No Soy Welferero: Undocumented Latino Laborers in the Crosshairs of Legitimation Maneuvers. *Medical Anthropology*, 30, 386-408.
- QUESADA, J. 2011b. Special Issue Part II: Illegalization and Embodied Vulnerability in Health. *Social science & medicine (1982)*.
- QUESADA, J. 2012. Special Issue Part II: Illegalization and Embodied Vulnerability in Health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74, 894-896.
- QUESADA, J., HART, L. K. & BOURGOIS, P. 2011. Structural vulnerability and health: Latino migrant laborers in the United States. *Medical Anthropology*, 30, 339-362.
- RAPLEY, T. J. 2001. The art (fulness) of open-ended interviewing: some considerations on analysing interviews. *Qualitative Research*, 1, 303-323.
- ROMERO-ORTUNO, R. 2004. Access to health care for illegal immigrants in the EU: should we be concerned. *European Journal of Health Law*, 11, 245-272.
- RYAN, L., SALES, R., TILKI, M. & SIARA, B. 2008. Social networks, social support and social capital: The experiences of recent Polish migrants in London. *Sociology-the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 42, 672-690.
- SCHNEIDER, A. & INGRAM, H. 1993. Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy. *American Political Science Review*, 334-347.
- SCOTT, J. C. 1985. *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*, Yale University Press.
- SILVERMAN, D. 2006. *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analyzing talk, text and interaction*, Los Angeles, SAGE.
- SIN, C. H. 2005. Seeking informed consent: Reflections on research practice. *Sociology*, 39, 277-294.
- SINDING, C. & ARONSON, J. 2003. Exposing failures, unsettling accommodations: Tensions in interview practice. *Qualitative Research*, 3, 95.
- SINGER, M. & CLAIR, S. 2003. Syndemics and Public Health: Reconceptualizing Disease in Bio-Social Context. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 17, 423-441.
- SMITH-NONINI, S. 2011. The Illegal and the Dead: Are Mexicans Renewable Energy? *Medical Anthropology*, 30, 454-474.
- STENUM, H. 2010. Wokers and vagrants: Governing the foreign poor in Denmark. In: THOMSEN, T., JØRGENSEN, M., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular migration in a Scandinavian perspective*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- STRAND, A., BENDIXSEN, S., PAASCHE, E. & SCHULTZ, J. 2011. Between two societies: Review of the Information, Return and Reintegration of Iraqi Nationals to Iraq (IRRINI) programme. Report 2011: 4. Bergen: CMI.
- SVEAAS, N. 2005. Asylsøkeres psykiske helse. Tidligere forskning. In: BERG, B., LAURITSEN, K., MEYER, M. A., NEUMAYER, S. M., TINGCOLD, L. &

- SVEAAS, N. (eds.) *Det hainnle om å leve...» Tiltak for bedre psykisk helse blant beboere i asylmottak* Trondheim: Sintef Ifim.
- SØHOLT, S. & HOLM, A. 2010. Desentraliserte asylmottak og bosetting. Oslo: NIBR.
- SØVIG, K. H. 2012. Straffansvar og straffeforfølgning av humanitære hjelpere ved ulovlig opphold (forthcoming).
- THE NORWEGIAN MISSION TO THE EU. *Justice and Home Affairs* [Online]. Available: http://www.eu-norway.org/eu/policyareas/freedom_security_justice/ [Accessed 02.03.2012].
- THOMSEN, T. 2010. Conceptual Reflections - Transcending the Legal Aspect of Irregular Migration. In: THOMSEN, T., JØRGENSEN, M., MERET, S., HVIID, K. & STENUM, H. (eds.) *Irregular migration in a Scandinavian perspective*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.
- THORUD, E., HAAGENSEN, E., HENNINGSEN, M. S. & HEGNA, M. 2011. International Migration 2010–2011. SOPEMI Report for Norway. *OECD's reporting system on migration*. Oslo: Department of Migration Ministry of Justice and the Police.
- TORPEY, J. 1998. Coming and going: on the state monopolization of the legitimate “means of movement”. *Sociological theory*, 16, 239-259.
- TORRES-CANTERO, A. M., MIGUEL, A., GALLARDO, C. & IPPOLITO, S. 2007. Health care provision for illegal migrants: may health policy make a difference? *The European Journal of Public Health*, 17, 483-485.
- TORRES, A. M. & SANZ, B. 2000. Health care provision for illegal immigrants: Should public health be concerned? *Journal of epidemiology and community health*, 54, 478.
- TURNER, B. S. 2007. The enclave society: towards a sociology of immobility. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 10, 287.
- VALENTA, M. & THORSHAUG, K. 2011a. Asylsøkeres rett til å ta arbeid: Evaluering av konsekvenser av innstramminger i dokumentasjonskravet. Trondheim: Avdeling for mangfold og inkludering, NTNU Samfunnsforskning AS.
- VALENTA, M. & THORSHAUG, K. 2011b. Failed Asylum-Seekers' Responses to Arrangements Promoting Return: Experiences from Norway. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 30, 1.
- VALENTA, M., THORSHAUG, K., MOLDEN, T. H. & BERG, B. 2010. Avviste asylsøkere og ventemottaksordningen: Mellom passiv tvang og aktiv returassistanse. Trondheim: Avdeling for mangfold og inkludering, NTNU Samfunnsforskning AS.
- VAN DER LEUN, J. 2006. Excluding illegal migrants in the Netherlands: between national policies and local implementation. *West European Politics*, 29, 310-326.
- VAN DER LEUN, J. & KLOOSTERMAN, R. 2006. Going underground: immigration policy changes and shifts in modes of provision of undocumented immigrants in the Netherlands. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 97, 59-68.
- VAN HOUTUM, H. & PIJERS, R. 2007. The European Union as a Gated Community: The Two faced Border and Immigration Regime of the EU. *Antipode*, 39, 291-309.
- VAN MEETEREN, M. 2012. Transnational activities and aspirations of irregular migrants in Belgium and the Netherlands. *Global Networks*.
- VAN MEETEREN, M., ENGBERSEN, G. & VAN SAN, M. 2009. Striving for a Better Position: Aspirations and the Role of Cultural, Economic, and Social Capital for Irregular Migrants in Belgium¹. *International Migration Review*, 43, 881-907.
- VASTA, E. 2011. Immigrants and the paper market: borrowing, renting and buying identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34, 187-206.
- VASTA, E. & KANDILIGE, L. 2010. 'London the Leveller': Ghanaian Work Strategies and Community Solidarity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36, 581-598.

- WATTS, M. J. & BOHLE, H. G. 1993. The space of vulnerability: the causal structure of hunger and famine. *Progress in human geography*, 17, 43.
- WEIGERT, K. M. 2010. Structural violence. In: FINK, G. (ed.) *Stress of War, Conflict and Disaster*. San Diego: Elsevier.
- WHO 2006. CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, Forty-fifth edition. WHO.
- WHYTE, W. F. 1984. *Learning from the field: A guide from experience*, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- WILLEN, S. S. 2007. Toward a critical phenomenology of “illegality”: State power, criminalization, and abjectivity among undocumented migrant workers in Tel Aviv, Israel. *International Migration*, 45, 8-38.
- WILLEN, S. S. 2011. Migration, “Illegality,” and Health: Mapping Vulnerability and Debating “Deservingness.”. *Social Science and Medicine*.
- WILSON, T. D. 1994. What determines where transnational labor migrants go? Modifications in migration theories. *Human Organization*, 53, 269.
- WONG, W. 2007. Politics of Policy Making and Implementation. Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services. Book report.
- ØIEN, C. & SØNSTERUDBRÅTEN, S. 2011. No way in, no way out? A study of living conditions of irregular migrants in Norway. Fafo-report (2011:03). Oslo: FAFO.

Other sources

- ABCNYHETER. 2011. Maria Amelie - et ansikt for de papirløse Available: <http://www.abcnyheter.no/borger/110115/maria-amelie-et-ansikt-de-papirlose> [Accessed 02.03.2012].
- AFTENPOSTEN. 2010. Norge returnerer flest asylsøkere til Hellas. Available: <http://www.dagbladet.no/2010/07/22/nyheter/asyl/politikk/asylpolitikk/hellas/12655960/> [Accessed 20.03.2012].
- ARBEIDSDEPARTEMENTET. 2008. *Kamp mot svart arbeid viktig for å bekjempe illegal innvandring* [Online]. Oslo: Arbeidsdepartementet. Available: <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/ad/presesenter/pressemeldinger/2008/kamp-mot-svart-arbeid-viktig-for-a-bekje.html?id=518611> [Accessed 10.05.2012].
- COOPER, B. 2005. *Norway: Migrant Quality, Not Quantity* [Online]. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. Available: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=307> [Accessed 12.02.2012].
- EUROPA. 2009. *Dublin II Regulation* [Online]. Available: http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/133153_en.htm [Accessed 02.03.2012].
- EUROPEAN COUNCIL REGULATION 2003. Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003 of 18 February 2003 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an asylum application lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national.
- EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT 2011. TEXTS ADOPTED at the sitting of Tuesday 13 September 2011. Brussels: European Parliament.
- HOD. 2010. *Høring - Endring av prioriteringsforskriften - Helsehjelp til personer som oppholder seg ulovlig i landet* [Online]. Oslo: Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet. Available:

- <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/hod/dok/hoeringer/hoeringsdok/2010/horing---ending-av-prioriteringsforskrif/horingsnotat.html?id=625914> [Accessed 20.02.2012].
- HOD. 2011. *Pressemelding: Helsehjelp til personer uten lovlig opphold* [Online]. Oslo: Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet. Available: <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/hod/pressemeldinger/2011/helsehjelp-til-personer-uten-lovlig-opph.html?id=651030> [Accessed 20.01.2012].
- IMER BERGEN. *IMER Bergen, International Migration and Ethnic Relations* [Online]. Available: <http://org.uib.no/imer/index.htm> [Accessed 15.03.2011].
- IMER BERGEN. *PROVIR - Provision of Welfare to 'Irregular Migrants'* [Online]. Available: <http://org.uib.no/imer/research/PROVIR.html> [Accessed 11.02.2012].
- KAWULICH, B. B. 2005. Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method [81 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [Online], 6. Available: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0502430> [Accessed 20.02.2012].
- KVALVÅG, S. H. 2012. 300.000 kroner i bot for å ha asylsøker i arbeid. *Aftenbladet* [Online]. Available: <http://www.aftenbladet.no/nyheter/lokalt/stavanger/300000-kroner-i-bot-for-a-ha-asylsoker-i-arbeid-2916592.html> [Accessed 20.02.2012].
- LØNSETH, P. K. 2011. Returnekternes ansvar. *Aftenposten* [Online]. Available: <http://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/Returnekternes-ansvar-6677873.html> [Accessed 01.02.2012].
- NRK. 2011. Risikerer fengselsstraff for å ha hatt ulovlige i arbeid. Available: <http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/norge/1.7529270> [Accessed 20.03.2012].
- NSD. 2012. *Data Protection Official for Research* [Online]. Bergen: Norwegian Social Science Data Services. Available: <http://www.nsd.uib.no/nsd/english/pvo.html> [Accessed 05.05.2012].
- QUESADA, J. 2011c. *Why Structural Vulnerability? Why Latino Migrants in the United States?* [Online]. AccessDenied: A Conversation on Un/authorized Im/migration and Health. Available: <http://accessdeniedblog.wordpress.com/2011/09/17/why-structural-vulnerability-why-latino-migrants-in-the-united-states/> [Accessed 12.02.2012].
- SCHEEL, S. 2011. What is 'illegality'? A response to Iker Barbero. Available from: <http://www.oecumene.eu/blog/what-is-illegality-a-response-to-iker-barbero> [Accessed 20.01.2012].
- SKILLE, Ø. B., EKROLL, H. C. & FJØRTOFT, M. 2011. Slik kunne de jobbe og betale skatt. *NRK* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/norge/1.7527821> [Accessed 25.02.2012].
- STATISTICS NORWAY. 2012. *Immigration and immigrants* [Online]. Oslo: Statistics Norway. Available: http://www.ssb.no/english/subjects/00/00/10/innvandring_en/ [Accessed 20.05.2012].
- UDI. 2010. *Rett til å ta arbeid for asylsøkere* [Online]. Oslo: UDI. Available: <http://www.udi.no/Sentrale-tema/beskyttelse/Behandlingen-av-asylsaker/Rett-til-a-ta-arbeid-for-asylsokere/> [Accessed 20.03.2012].
- UDI. 2012. *Voluntary assisted return programme - VARP* [Online]. Oslo: The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI). Available: <http://www.udi.no/Norwegian-Directorate-of-Immigration/Central-topics/Return-and-repatriation/Return-and-reintegration-programmes-/VARP/> [Accessed 12.05.2012].
- UNI ROKKANSENTERET. *Provision of Welfare to Irregular Migrants* [Online]. Available: <http://rokkan.uni.no/sites/provir/project/> [Accessed 11.02.2012].

Laws and regulations

LOV 1999-07-02 nr 63: Lov om pasientrettigheter (pasientrettighetsloven)/ The Act of 2 July 1999 No. 63 relating to Patients' Rights (the Patient's Rights Act)

LOV 1982-11-19 nr 66: Lov om helsetjenesten i kommunene (kommunehelsetjenesteloven). / Act relating to the municipal health services.

LOV 1966- 06-17 nr 12. Lov om folketrygd (folketrygdloven) / The National Insurance Act

LOV 1994-08-05 nr 55: Lov om vern mot smittsomme sykdommer (smittevernloven)/ The Act relating to control of communicable diseases

LOV-1991-12-13-81: Lov om sosiale tjenester m.v. (sosialtjenesteloven)/ Act relating to social services.

LOV-2005-06-17-62: Lov om arbeidsmiljø, arbeidstid og stillingsvern mv. (arbeidsmiljøloven).

LOV 1994-08-05 nr 55: Lov om vern mot smittsomme sykdommer (smittevernloven)/ The Act relating to control of communicable diseases

LOV 1999-07-02 nr 64: Lov om helsepersonell m.v. (helsepersonelloven). /Act of 2 July 1999 No. 64 relating to Health Personnel etc. (The Health Personnel Act)

LOV-2008-05-15-35: Lov om utlendingers adgang til riket og deres opphold her (utlendingsloven) / Act of 15 May 2008 on the entry of foreign nationals into the Kingdom of Norway and their stay in the realm (Immigration Act)

LOV 1999-03-26 nr 14: Lov om skatt av formue og inntekt (skatteloven)/ Act relating to tax on capital and income

FOR 2011-12-16 nr 1255: Forskrift om rett til helse- og omsorgstjenester til personer uten fast opphold i riket/ Regulation on the right to health care services to persons without a permanent residence in the Kingdom

FOR-2000-04-14-328: Forskrift om fastlegeordning i kommunene/ Regulations on general practitioner scheme in the municipalities