

ON THE FRONTLINES OF RISK:

LESSONS FROM INFORMAL OUTDOOR WORKERS AFTER THE 2025 EATON FIRE

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ABOUT LPPI

The UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Institute addresses the most critical domestic policy challenges facing Latinos and other communities of color through research, advocacy, mobilization, and leadership development to expand genuine opportunity for all Americans.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Wildfires are reshaping labor conditions for California's outdoor workforce. Prior disasters have exposed unsafe working conditions, wage violations, and policy exclusions for outdoor workers, particularly immigrant workers who participate in post-disaster response. This brief presents the first findings from an ongoing research study conducted in partnership with the National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON) that examines the experiences of day laborers and outdoor workers who engaged in cleanup and recovery activities following the devastating January 2025 Eaton Fire in Los Angeles.

Drawing on in-depth interviews with outdoor workers who participated in post-fire worker safety training, we document the following patterns, which reflect a persistent structural flaw in disaster recovery systems. These patterns have several long-term consequences for thousands of California workers and their families, including sustained income instability, prolonged exposure to hazardous conditions, and increased health and economic risks:

- 1. Post-fire employment was precarious and informal**, limiting wage stability, reducing accountability for worker protections, and increasing the risk of wage theft.
- 2. Work and income loss was compounded by immigration enforcement and deepening financial insecurity** for workers and their families.
- 3. Workers faced hazardous exposures both at work and home**, raising health risks beyond typical occupational settings and increasing the potential for long-term health impacts and extended recovery times.
- 4. Inconsistent safety training and PPE access resulted in uneven protection and left workers vulnerable** to preventable occupational hazards.
- 5. Mental health impacts reflect structural stressors**, contributing to sustained psychological stress beyond the immediate disaster period.
- 6. Community organizations filled institutional gaps**, placing critical recovery functions onto under-resourced organizations.

Based on these findings, we recommend the following to strengthen worker protections during disaster response and recovery:

- 1. Strengthen labor oversight during disaster recovery.**
- 2. Require comprehensive worker protection plans for wildfire debris cleanup.**
- 3. Establish disaster income stabilization programs for informal workers through trusted community-based partnerships.**
- 4. Integrate behavioral health protection into disaster workforce recovery.**

INTRODUCTION

Wildfires are reshaping labor conditions for California's outdoor workforce. Prior disasters have exposed unsafe working conditions, wage violations, and policy exclusions experienced by immigrant workers who participate in post-disaster response.¹ These gaps are typically most evident among immigrant day laborers, construction workers, landscapers, and other outdoor workers who play a critical role in disaster recovery, yet are often left out of official response systems and face significant labor and health risks. These workers are frequently employed through informal or short-term arrangements with limited oversight of their labor protections. As wildfire recovery needs increase, so does the labor demand for debris removal, cleanup, remediation, and reconstruction.² In this context, outdoor workers are hired and deployed quickly to clean up hazardous environments without consistent safety training, reliable protective equipment, or clear mechanisms to report unsafe conditions without fear of retaliation.³ The experience of outdoor workers was no different during the aftermath of the January 2025 Eaton Fire recovery efforts in Los Angeles County.

This brief presents findings from an ongoing research study conducted in partnership with the National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON) that examines the experiences of day laborers and outdoor workers who engaged in cleanup and recovery activities following the 2025 Eaton Fire. Drawing on in-depth interviews with outdoor workers who participated in post-fire worker safety training. 9 months later, we document patterns of employment instability, income loss, inconsistent safety protections, disruptions due to federal immigration enforcement, and mental health strain. The experiences of these workers highlight a disconnect between urgent recovery needs and strong worker protections during emergencies, reflecting a continued structural flaw in disaster recovery systems that has consequences for both effective recovery processes and the long-term health and livelihoods of thousands of California workers and their families.

WILDFIRE RECOVERY AND THE INFORMAL OUTDOOR WORKFORCE

Reliable statewide data on day labor participation in California's workforce are limited. The most recent statewide estimate found that in 2007, approximately 40,000 individuals sought day work in California, with experts suggesting the number are higher today.⁴ Day laborers are predominantly Mexican-born men working in unstable, short-term arrangements, often securing employment only a few days per week. Undocumented workers are central to the informal outdoor workforce, with some estimates putting them at about 80 percent of the workforce.⁵ At more than 1.75 million,⁶ undocumented immigrants are not only central to California's labor force but play a critical role in jobs that are crucial for disaster recovery, such as construction and landscaping, which also

expand following disasters.⁷

GAPS IN DISASTER RECOVERY OVERSIGHT AND COMMUNITY RESPONSE

Post-disaster cleanup and remediation work typically operate under compressed timelines and layered subcontracting, creating regulatory gaps in accountability for safety training and protective equipment. California maintains wildfire smoke protections through the California Division of Occupational Safety and Health (Cal/OSHA) regulations requiring exposure controls, training, and hazard communication. In practice, compliance depends on employer implementation and enforcement and is often weaker during post-fire cleanup, when workers are hired quickly through informal channels. This exposes workers to potential hazards such as smoke, ash, and debris.⁸ As a result, worker education during recovery has often relied heavily on community-based and academic partnerships, shifting responsibility for worker safety onto organizations that operate with limited resources and inconsistent institutional support.⁹

Worker centers run by community-based organizations have emerged as a gateway across California and the nation to provide day laborers with the tools to more safely navigate post-disaster work in the U.S. These centers are often underfunded and thus provide limited structure within the largely informal day labor worker system.¹⁰ In the aftermath of the Eaton Fires, organizations such as the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN), the Instituto de Educacion Popular del Sur de California (IDEPSCA), and NDLON played central roles in ensuring day laborer safety during the January 2025 fires. Through their outreach activities, they provided safety information and worker coordination. Near the Eaton Fire, NDLON's Pasadena Community Job Center organized relief brigades that cleared debris and distributed protective gear to workers and essential supplies to affected residents.¹¹ These efforts served both as response efforts and as worker-led mutual aid.¹²

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This brief draws on 11 in-depth interviews conducted between September 29 and October 3, 2025, roughly 9 months after the Eaton Fire, with outdoor workers who worked or sought work during the Eaton Fire cleanup and recovery. Interviews were completed during a week-long safety training hosted by CARECEN, NDLON, and their partner organization. Participants were recruited with the support of staff from these organizations and were provided with a \$20 gift card. Interviews were conducted in Spanish during lunch breaks and lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes. The interviews combined structured survey questions with open-ended prompts.¹³

Participants were primarily monolingual Spanish-speaking men in prime working age with several years of day labor work experience in the U.S.¹⁴ 82 percent worked directly in fire-affected areas, and 64 percent reported witnessing or experiencing immigration

enforcement during the wildfire recovery period. Although the analysis focuses on a limited qualitative sample, responses were highly consistent across workers.¹⁵ One limitation of this approach is that we do not capture the experiences of other informal workers, including domestic workers and caregivers.

KEY FINDINGS

Post-fire employment was precarious and informal, limiting wage stability, reducing accountability for worker protections, and increasing the risk of wage theft.

Workers relied on day labor centers, informal hiring sites outside of places often frequented by construction contractors, such as Home Depot stores, and word-of-mouth. Employment was reported as typically short-term, with unclear information on wages, safety expectations, and the employer's responsibility to provide protective equipment. About one quarter of workers reported being paid only in cash, and several reported mixed payment methods such as payment apps. Although most workers reported being paid on time, more than half said their pay was unfair, suggesting possible systemic wage theft rather than isolated pay disputes.¹⁶

Many accepted hazardous tasks despite safety concerns due to financial pressures, while some reported declining work opportunities due to safety training they had received through worker centers. As one worker shared, "People were working without masks until NDLON reported it. Once they had proper training, they felt more secure and safe." The experiences of Eaton Fire workers are consistent with the informal hiring and subcontracted arrangements that are prevalent in day labor work more broadly, which limit wage clarity and accountability for safety.¹⁷

Work and income loss was compounded by immigration enforcement and deepening financial insecurity for workers and their families.

Workers described losing work and income following the Eaton Fire because of disaster-related employment disruptions as well as immigration enforcement and the fear it generated. Among those who provided a dollar estimate, the average self-reported loss was over \$4,300 since the start of the fire (January 2025 onward). When asked, "Would you turn down a wildfire cleanup job if you knew it could harm your health or safety?" most workers said they would. However, in response to questions about income loss and immigration enforcement, workers also described financial pressure and fear of immigration enforcement efforts that limited their ability to refuse unsafe work.

Beginning in June 2025, residents of Los Angeles were subjected to highly visible immigration enforcement efforts,¹⁸ which further disrupted employment opportunities for day laborers. Many of these activities were near or at worker centers and in immigrant neighborhoods.¹⁹ Workers were asked whether they had witnessed or personally

experienced immigration enforcement activity in the past 30 days near their home, job center, or workplace. Most workers reported witnessing or experiencing immigration enforcement activities and described avoiding job sites, public spaces, and daily routines out of fear. Workers who linked income loss to enforcement described a near-total reduction in income during that period, indicating that enforcement presence severely constrained job opportunities during post-fire recovery.²⁰ One worker explained, “The biggest danger is immigration raids being close to my home.”

Workers faced hazardous exposures both at work and home, raising health risks beyond typical occupational settings and increasing the potential for long-term health impacts and extended recovery times.

Most interviewed workers reported working directly in fire-affected areas, primarily in debris removal and remediation. Several described symptoms consistent with smoke and debris exposure, including eye, nose, and throat irritation, headaches, skin irritation, and nausea. As one worker noted, “[My] head and eyes would hurt because we didn’t have the proper equipment.”

Workers were also asked about the proximity of their homes to the area affected by the fire. Nearly half lived in or near affected neighborhoods, and described evacuations, smoke exposure at home, rising rents, and loss of belongings. One worker explained that even everyday contact with their environment felt unsafe: “My hair, my clothes. Everything you touch still feels contaminated.”

The experiences shared by these outdoor workers reflect compounding exposure both as laborers and residents.²¹ Considering the various pressures workers may face, such as job and housing displacement, income loss, and increased immigration enforcement, expecting them to handle contamination risks on their own may not be practical. Instead, addressing worker protection gaps requires accountability from employers in post-disaster recovery work.

Inconsistent safety training and PPE access resulted in uneven protection and left workers vulnerable to preventable occupational hazards.

Workers were asked, “Have you ever received any safety training for wildfire cleanup from a worker center, labor union, or community organization?” Responses varied by employer and job site, though workers connected to community organizations more often described receiving some form of safety training. Meanwhile, those hired through informal or subcontracted arrangements more frequently reported receiving limited training and inconsistent access to protective equipment. While basic PPE such as goggles and masks were common, several workers reported receiving informal instructions and little or no training to work in higher-level contamination sites or tasks. Higher-level protective equipment was also inconsistently provided, such as advanced respirators to block toxic dust and filters to protect against chemical vapors. Similarly,

when asked whether they trusted their employer or supervisor to protect their safety on the job, responses were mixed. Training and instructions alone do not protect workers if employers are not required to provide adequate equipment for the environmental exposures and information on how to properly use the equipment, and if job sites are not monitored for compliance by the relevant authorities.²²

Mental health impacts reflect structural stressors, contributing to sustained psychological stress beyond the immediate disaster period.

Workers were asked, “Since the Eaton Fire, how would you describe your mental health?” All workers rated their mental health as fair, poor, or very poor, and none selected good or very good. Workers described fear and exhaustion linked to income instability, unsafe conditions, and immigration enforcement rather than to the fire alone.²³ One worker shared, “ICE got my boyfriend’s grandpa on the way to work... it generated a lot of insecurity and fear.” When asked how they had coped since the fire, some described talking with family or friends, engaging in spiritual practice, or staying physically active, while some said they avoided thinking about the experience. These responses suggest that mental health stressors were shaped by multiple interrelated pressures that are not formally addressed in disaster recovery systems.²⁴

Community organizations filled institutional gaps, placing critical recovery functions onto under-resourced organizations.

Workers were asked, “During your last Eaton wildfire cleanup job, did you ever see an inspector or another government agency at the job site?” Most reported that inspectors were rarely visible and that they were unsure whether an inspection had even occurred prior to arriving at the job site. When asked, “Did you know where to report unsafe working conditions?”, most workers knew they could report unsafe conditions, but only a few could identify a specific government agency to report to. In contrast, workers consistently identified community organizations as being visible. Almost all workers interviewed described organizations as trusted sources for safety resources and enforcement alerts and received immigration enforcement alerts through community networks. All participants cited community-based organizations as their primary source of trusted aid in post-fire recovery, with workers consistently identifying NDLO as the main organization they trusted and turned to for safety information, resources, and enforcement alerts.

In the absence of government oversight, community-based organizations stepped in to provide safety information, coordinate workers, and share real-time alerts. However, these organizations operated with limited funding and staff, which limits how much they can do to protect workers across job sites. As a result, access to safety information and support depends on whether workers are connected to these organizations. This creates uneven protection and leaves gaps where workers receive little to no support. Additionally, it shows that public systems rely on these organizations during disaster

recovery without formally supporting or resourcing them. While these organizations are trusted and effective in their outreach, they cannot replace consistent enforcement of worker protections.

At the same time, immigration enforcement made it more difficult for these organizations to reach workers. Workers described avoiding job centers and public spaces because of fear of enforcement efforts, which limited their access to safety training, protective equipment, and trusted information. These conditions reduced the reach of community-based efforts and further isolated workers during recovery.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The following actions respond directly to conditions described by workers during the Eaton Fire recovery and focus on strengthening labor protection enforcement, clarifying employer responsibility, stabilizing worker income, and formalizing partnerships with trusted community organizations.

1. Strengthen labor oversight during disaster recovery

California maintains several labor protections that apply during wildfire smoke exposure, including the Cal/OSHA Wildfire Smoke Standard (Title 8 §5141.1). It requires employers to monitor air quality, provide respirators, train workers, and reduce smoke exposure when the Air Quality Index exceeds regulatory thresholds.²⁵ However, our findings suggest that these protections are difficult to enforce during post-disaster recovery. Such work is often organized through short-term contracts, subcontracting chains, temporary worksites, and informal hiring arrangements that reduce accountability and increase workers' vulnerability to unsafe conditions and wage violations.

To address these gaps, state and local agencies should implement proactive labor inspections in disaster recovery zones, particularly in high-risk cleanup and debris-removal areas identified by emergency response authorities. As part of emergency response planning, the state should increase its investment in the California Workplace Outreach Project^{26,27} (CWOP) and provide dedicated funding to allow the program to deploy during declared emergencies. The efforts of this team would guide the outreach to at-risk workers and track violations, working in collaboration with local emergency agencies and with Cal/OSHA to coordinate active cleanup sites. To ensure that Cal/OSHA has the capacity to conduct inspections under local government oversight, the California Legislature should establish a Disaster Worker Protection Fund to streamline support for hiring limited-term inspectors during declared emergencies.

Inspections should include multilingual outreach to workers, confidential reporting mechanisms, and routine on-site monitoring to verify compliance with workplace health and safety standards and strengthen employer accountability. This should all be coordinated with trusted community-based organizations to ensure workers feel safe engaging with inspectors. Because many recovery sites involve multiple subcontractors

and rapidly changing worksites, inspections should identify the responsible employer or contractor at each site to strengthen employer accountability. Oversight procedures must also clearly maintain separation between labor enforcement activities and federal immigration enforcement to ensure that workers can safely report unsafe conditions.

2. Require comprehensive worker protection plans for wildfire debris cleanup.

California's wildfire smoke regulations require employers to provide respirators and implement exposure controls when smoke reaches specified air quality thresholds. However, our findings indicate that workers engaged in wildfire debris removal face a broader range of occupational hazards, including contaminated ash, demolition dust, structural debris, and toxic residues that may contain heavy metals or chemical contaminants.

To better protect workers, California should require employers and contractors performing wildfire debris removal to develop site-specific worker safety plans that identify anticipated hazards and document how workers will be protected throughout cleanup operations

Local jurisdictions should incorporate these worker protection requirements into debris removal permits, cleanup contracts, and recovery rebuilding authorizations through their county public works departments or other appropriate permitting agencies. During wildfire recovery, contaminated debris sites should be treated as hazardous work environments rather than relying solely on smoke exposure rules triggered by air quality thresholds. Training alone is insufficient to protect workers if employers are not required to provide appropriate protective equipment and ensure its proper use at active cleanup sites.

To support implementation, local jurisdictions should conduct multilingual public health education campaigns that inform workers. Contractors and property owners about post-fire hazards, proper PPE use, and safe cleanup practices. California should also expand the California Workplace Outreach Project (CWOP) to strengthen worker outreach, distribute protective equipment, and connect workers to health and labor resources during disaster recovery.

3. Establish disaster income stabilization programs for informal workers through trusted-community based partnerships.

Disaster recovery often disrupts the informal labor markets that support outdoor workers, including day laborers and debris removal workers who rely on temporary hiring networks. Our findings show that workers experienced significant income losses following the Eaton Fire due to evacuations, unsafe working conditions, reduced hiring opportunities, and immigration enforcement activity that limited their ability to seek work.

Without income stabilization, many workers face pressure to accept hazardous cleanup jobs to maintain basic household income.

To address this gap, State and local governments should establish a standing disaster income stabilization program for informal workers whose earnings are disrupted during disaster recovery periods. Unlike temporary relief programs, this program should provide rapid, short-term income support to workers whose earnings are interrupted by disaster conditions. The California Disaster Relief Assistance for Immigrants (DRAI) provides a model that, while designed as a short-term program during the COVID-19 pandemic, can inform the development of a standing disaster income stabilization process. DRAI demonstrates how public funding can be distributed through community-based organizations that outreach, support eligibility screening, and assist workers in accessing emergency financial assistance.

Programs should be administered through existing state benefits infrastructure to ensure consistent access and timely distribution of funds. Community-based worker organizations and day labor centers should serve as outreach and worker-navigation partners, helping workers understand eligibility, connect to available programs, and access recovery resources. Eligibility requirements should reflect the realities of informal employment by allowing flexible documentation and verification pathways while maintaining appropriate program accountability.

Partnerships with community organizations should follow a capacity-based model, in which organizations that meet defined administrative thresholds, such as demonstrated staffing capacity, financial management systems, or prior experience administering state-supported programs, can participate in verification or program coordination roles. A phased approach with multiple rounds of funding and evaluation can help refine program implementation and incorporate feedback from workers, community organizations, and administrative agencies to strengthen future program design.

This approach allows governments to maintain program accountability while ensuring that smaller organizations can continue focusing on worker safety outreach, education, and emergency response. Examples such as the Alliance for a Better Community's Fuerza Fund, which provided direct financial assistance following the Eaton Fire, demonstrate how partnerships between public institutions and trusted community organizations can stabilize workers' income when formal assistance systems leave gaps.²⁸ Formalizing these partnerships within disaster planning would allow income stabilization programs and worker outreach systems to be activated quickly when disasters disrupt local labor markets.

4. Integrate behavioral health protection into disaster workforce policy.

Workers interviewed in this study described widespread mental health strain linked to unstable employment, hazardous work environments, and immigration enforcement

activity during the recovery period. These stressors extended beyond the immediate impacts of the fire and were closely tied to the broader conditions in disaster-recovery labor markets. Although California supports behavioral health services during emergencies through programs such as California Hope, Opportunity, Perseverance, and Empowerment (CalHOPE) Program and the FEMA-funded Crisis Counseling Assistance and Training Program, these programs are not designed to address the unique needs of workers engaged in disaster cleanup and recovery, and under federal guidelines, undocumented individuals are ineligible.

California should integrate behavioral health protections into disaster workforce recovery policies by recognizing mental health as an essential component of worker safety and recovery. Behavioral health services should be culturally and linguistically appropriate, trauma-informed, and delivered through community-based partnerships and worker networks that already serve outdoor workers and day laborers. Community organizations can also serve as trusted navigators by connecting workers to mental health services and other recovery resources.

To improve access during declared emergencies, the California Department of Health Care Services should consider establishing temporary administrative flexibilities to streamline referrals and reduce barriers to behavioral health services for workers engaged in disaster recovery. For example, similar to Medicaid emergency flexibilities implemented during the COVID-19 public health emergency, California could temporarily streamline eligibility, enrollment, and referral processes to facilitate timely access to behavioral health services for informal workers and others who may face barriers to care.

CONCLUSION

The experience of day laborers during the Eaton Fire recovery show how disaster recovery depends on outdoor workers while failing to protect them. Informal labor arrangements, immigration enforcement, weak oversight, and environmental exposure all intersect with systematic worker protection flaws that create disproportionate risk for this segment of the workforce. Strengthening disaster recovery requires enforcing labor standards, stabilizing worker income, prioritizing not only oversight but also enforcement, and formally partnering with trusted community-based organizations that can be quickly activated to protect the long-term health and security of all workers.

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Carlo brings applied planning experience alongside his academic work. He has served as a project manager and researcher with Texas Target Communities, contributing to comprehensive plans and housing needs assessments for underserved Texas municipalities, and currently a summer fellow with the Orange County Rapid Response Network. He was a visiting research scholar at the National Center for Atmospheric Research and a fellow at the Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative's Summer Institute in Migration Research Methods. He currently serves as the Executive Chair of the William (Bill) Averette Anderson Fund Student Council.

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Previously, Silvia worked as the founding assistant director at the UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge where she led projects that

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Dr. Michael Mendez is an assistant professor of environmental policy and planning at the University of California, Irvine. He previously was the inaugural James and Mary Pinchot Faculty Fellow in Sustainability Studies at the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies. Michael has more than a decade of senior-level experience in the public and private sectors, where he consulted and actively engaged in the policymaking process. This included working for the California State Legislature as a senior consultant, lobbyist, gubernatorial appointee, and as vice chair of the Sacramento City Planning Commission.

During his time at UC Irvine and Yale, he has contributed to state and national research policy initiatives, including serving as an advisor to a California Air Resources Board member, and as a participant of the U.S. Global Change Research Program's workgroup on "Climate Vulnerability and Social Science Perspectives." Most recently, Michael was appointed by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine to the Board on Environmental Change and Society (BECS). He also serves as a panel reviewer for the National Academies of Sciences' Transit Cooperative Research Program (TCRP).

Michael holds three degrees in environmental planning and policy, including a PhD from UC Berkeley's Department of City and Regional Planning, and a graduate degree from MIT. His research on the intersection of climate change and communities of color has been featured in national publications including Urban Land (published by the Urban Land Institute); the Natural Resources Defense Fund Annual Report; the American Planning Association's Planning Magazine; Green 2.0: Leadership at Work; USA Today; and Fox Latino News. His new book "Climate Change from the Streets," published through Yale University Press (2020), is an urgent and timely story of the contentious politics of incorporating environmental justice into global climate change policy.



Pablo Alvarado is co-executive director of the National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON), a coalition of worker centers and community organizations that builds leadership and power among day laborers, migrants, and low-wage workers. Pablo co-founded the Institute of Popular Education of Southern California in 1991, the day laborer band Los Jornaleros del Norte in 1996, and NDLON in 2001. Under his leadership, NDLON has become a leading national voice on immigration enforcement, workplace rights, and immigrant-led disaster response and recovery. His work has been recognized with the Rockefeller Foundation's Next Generation Leadership Fellowship and the Ford Foundation's Leadership for a Changing World award, and in 2005, TIME named him one of the 25 most influential Hispanics in the United States.



Dr. Walter J. Nicholls is a Professor in the Department of Urban Planning and Public Policy at the University of California, Irvine, and serves as Faculty Director of the UCI Labor Center. His research sits at the intersection of urban studies and planning, immigration, and social movements, drawing on interdisciplinary approaches from planning, sociology, and geography.

Walter's work examines how cities incubate the activism of marginalized groups, how local government officials develop policies to incorporate, control, or exclude undocumented immigrant populations, and how local struggles scale up into national movements. His research has been comparative and international in scope, with fieldwork in Los Angeles, Paris, Amsterdam, and Orange County, among other sites. Recent projects have addressed municipal bureaucracies as arenas of contentious struggle over urban citizenship, the governance of immigrant communities at the city level, and the politics of housing density and homeowner opposition.

Walter holds a Ph.D. in urban planning from UCLA. He is the author of *The Immigrant Rights Movement: The Battle over National Citizenship* (Stanford University Press, 2019), *Cities and Social Movements: Immigrant Rights Activism in the US, France, and the Netherlands, 1970-2015* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), and *The DREAMers: How the Undocumented Youth Movement Transformed the Immigrant Rights Debate in the United States* (Stanford University Press, 2013), and co-editor of *Spaces of Contention: Spatialities and Social Movements*.

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