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From Asylum Back to Futurity

*A Study on Former Asylum Seekers in Sweden and Their
Years-Long Struggles against Temporal Stasis*

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Abstract

This qualitative study is inspired by queer-feminist elaborations on normative and queer temporality, where I seek a temporal terminology of displacement in the context of migration in Sweden. The focus is on former asylum seekers from the region of former Yugoslavia, who in the 1990s, had years-long periods of uncertain residence statuses and unemployment. This interview-based study deals with retrospective narratives of uncertain-futures, often described as wasted years. I consider temporal stasis and the narratives of loss in their intersections with timings in heteronormative life trajectories and logics of progress and futurity. This thesis indicates that the valuation of time operates through mechanisms of power, where the terminology of *sooner-later* gives character to re/integration and measurements of normativity in working-age adult life. In the year 2011 time has regained its value and meaning. Considering the current hectic lifestyles in employment and stable residence, time is no longer still but experienced as quickly passing and in short supply. Another indication is that temporal stasis can be linked to the contexts of refuge as well as to the ambiguities regarding the predictable and monotonous “work-home” schedules, which offer other dimensions to work and free time.

Key words: *temporal stasis, asylum, unemployment, queer-feminist theory, Sweden, age category, retrospective*

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Introduction

This thesis aims to investigate time and timings in the light of migration, asylum, and employment. The study is based on interviews and relates to a multigenerational group of former asylum seekers who arrived to Sweden in the 1990s and from the region of *former* Yugoslavia.¹ Of major concern is informants' long-term² exclusion from and interruption in education and employment as an outcome of (refuge from) war, followed by unstable and uncertain residence statuses in Sweden. What follows are times when asylum applications exceed standard time models of the Swedish Migration Board. When the process itself falls out of what statistical charts show or measure in time. When the duration of uncertainty exceeds the life of institutions and refugee centres. When seeking asylum in the “wrong” timing of disadvantageous policy changes. And finally, when “catching up” for the time lost in the process.

Theoretically, I seek to explore how displacement and other spatialised metaphors that are used in contexts of migration can be reconsidered by and translated into a *temporal terminology* inspired by queer-feminist theory. Migration, and furthermore, “its” subjects - immigrants, emigrants or simply migrants³ - tend often to be captured within the metaphors of spatiality and movement, travelling in-, or out of geographical sites (see Madison 2005:49; McDowell 1999:203; Kaplan 1996). This thesis shifts the focus away from these associations in order to consider *stasis in time* and disruptions in normative logics of time and timings. The theoretical foundations of the study rely mainly on queer-feminist critical contestations of the notion of value-free and transparent time. Time is discussed in relation to normativity and

¹ I refer to “*former* Yugoslavia” as a *territorial* region/migration wave in the 1990s in Sweden. There are ongoing critiques of the usage of this expression. Some for/against arguments can be found in Bahun (2010). This broadly regional denotation could also have been replaced with the *Balkans* (see Blagojević 2009). However, in the interviews with the informants, I found that former Yugoslavia is more frequently used. In this thesis, the emphasis on the *former* goes well with former asylum seekers, the 1990s and the retrospective approach in general as well as the notion of any entity that is static and fixed.

² What is *long-term* (asylum seeking)? In this thesis, this frequently used term has been defined collectively during the recruitment of the informants. Neither the informants nor the gatekeepers asked ever for a number in years or months but had their own assumptions of what long-term implies. The more precise duration in this study refers to approximately 3-4 years whereas 1 year is the shortest (see Methodology). The ideal time model at the Migration Board, when typing these words in December 2011, is 3 months length (Migrationsverket 2011a/b).

³ I am using “migrant” as an umbrella term that covers subject positions such as refugee, emigrant, immigrant etc. It is restricted to the experience of translocal and transnational movements and is not linked to the so-called second generation of migrants (*andragenerationensinvandring*), (see Ds. 2000:43).

logics of re/production, as well as reconsiderations of linear, progressive, heteronormative⁴ and neoliberal⁵ temporality. The focal point is on how temporality intersects with norms through various *timings*, related to those of immigration itself as well as to conventional scripts of working-age adulthood and its intersections with class, gender, and sexuality.

In this study, I suggest that out-of-the-ordinary contexts of refuge and migration processes, periods of unemployment, and integration processes can reveal important aspects about neoliberal and heteronormative time logics. Rather than seeking victim-to-success stories of migration (cf. Luibhéid 2008a:170; Cvetkovich 2003:119), I consider these narratives in a larger context which contests clear-cut distinctions between safety/risk, and oppression/liberation.

An Orientation: Purpose & Overview

With the entry point and inspiration for the overarching theme of the study, “alternative” and normative temporalities, I am mainly indebted to queer-feminist scholarship. However, a qualitative study within the field of social sciences often requires translations accessible and recognisable in the “real world”. Accordingly, I use retrospective in-depth interviews on the long-term periods of unemployment and uncertainty in the context of asylum seeking and in mainly relation to the interval 1991-1998, among seven informants from the region of former Yugoslavia. The link made with asylum in the 1990s is built on my own perceptions of the decade being in a way a “strange” temporality in relation to the armed conflicts in the region (1991-1995; 1998-1999)⁶ leading to emigration and the fragmentation of the political entity as the outcome. With this as a starting point, the overarching question is:

- *What new understandings can queer-feminist terminology about temporality and normative, disturbed, and alternative time and timings generate in relation to unemployment and uncertainty in the context of asylum seeking?*

⁴ Heteronormativity refers to an “organising institution”, which shapes identities, lives and choices. It is not a matter of sexual orientation but rather normative lifestyle/s, often linked to heterosexual bourgeois monogamous family ideals (cf. Halberstam 2005; Madison 2005:65; see also Skeggs 1999:15,192-219).

⁵ Neo-liberalism, according to Carol Bacchi in *Analysing Policy: What’s the problem represented to be?* (2009) “refers to a tendency to privilege market relations as a motif for thinking about all forms of human relationships” (Bacchi 2009:276). The definition of capitalism derives from the theories developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. I have chosen here to draw on Gayle Rubin’s elegant summarisation of capitalism: “Capitalism is a set of social relations – forms of property, and so forth – in which production takes the form of turning money, things, and people into capital. And capital is a quantity of goods or money which, when exchanged for labour, reproduces and augments itself by extracting unpaid labor, or surplus value” (Rubin 2006[1975]:88; see also Engels 2008[1884]).

⁶ This study refers to the war years 1991-1995 as all informants belong to this migration/refugee wave.

In relation to reproductive and productive time, heteronormative time and the age category, I seek also to understand:

- *How can the former experiences of unstable and uncertain futures of working-age adult asylum seekers be understood retrospectively in the year 2011, from what today are stable statuses of residence and employment?*

What follows is brief background information against which I will situate this study in relation to earlier research and Swedish migration policies of the 1990s.

Next is a presentation of the theoretical frameworks, my readings of queer-feminist approaches towards temporality. I address the idea of reproductive and productive time, the so-called biological clock, the heteronormative life trajectory and its normative scripts and timings. I also consider alternations in terms of disturbed, queer/alternative time, and temporal stasis. Furthermore, there is a section about the phenomena of the Curriculum Vitae (the C.V.) as a conceptual tool of productive clock time. All components of this chapter serve as analytical elaborations with which I have approached the empirical data.

In the chapter on methodology, I address the empirical elements of this study, and discuss some challenges and ethical considerations encountered in the research process. In this chapter, I also address my own personal attachment to the research setting, as well as the temporal detachments that retrospectively approached multigenerational experiences rely on.

The subsequent, thematically arranged, analysis contains three parts. In the first part, the main concern is “productive time” in relation to un/recognised experiences. I also discuss asylum seeking in relation to temporal stasis and uncertainty. In part II, time is devoted to the notion of the timing in heteronormative time, migration and asylum processes. The last part is most explicitly retrospective where the “here/now” in the light of statuses and struggles with time, is being explored. I conclude the thesis with an overview of the main points of the study.

Background & Earlier Research

Sebastian: Well, it's anticipation, you know. One day seems too long when you're in anticipation of something. Even an hour is too long. When you don't know where you stand.

SE: Pa to je iščekivanje, znaš. Dugo ti je jedan dan ako iščekuješ nešto. Sat. Kad ne znaš na čemu si.
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Several researchers have stressed that Swedish migration politics have become more restrictive since the beginning of the 1990s (Lennartsson 2007; Slavnić 1998; Sager 2011a/b; Nordström 2004). When it comes to the migration wave from former Yugoslavia, there is one important point in time to note that supports this argument and illustrates these changes. In the year 1993, 50 000 asylum seekers from the region, largely from Bosnia & Herzegovina, were granted permanent residence permits as a result of a decision that applied to the group collectively. At the same time, visa requirements were launched that made it difficult for refugees to enter the country. An exception was the Croatian passport, which still enabled entrance to Sweden due to the Schengen Agreement. However, in 1994 there was the introduction, and in 1995 the implementation of the so-called *temporary protection* policy. Consequently, the notion of refuge/residence got a temporary character with the temporary residence permits as a result⁷ (Sw. *tidsbegränsat uppehållstillstånd*, TUT, 2 kap. 4 § UtL 1989:529; Slavnić 1998). This particular policy had implications for five informants in this study that either had an unresolved residence status at the time, or arrived in the aftermath of the change. In these cases, long-term asylum seeking refers to complex processes: it might imply temporary residence permits, sometimes prolonged and/or rejected asylum applications followed by new appeals, reassessments, and even periods “in hiding” (see Lennartsson 2007:32-3 for a description of the asylum procedures).

The sociologist Zoran Slavnić has followed these contexts, both studying the policy level and conducting an ethnographic study of the asylum seekers. In “I temporalitetens skugga – om bosnienkroatiska flyktingar med temporärt uppehållstillstånd i Sverige” (1998), Slavnić claims that the temporary protection was grounded in the idea of *repatriation*⁸ in which the refugees were expected to be simultaneously oriented towards a return and reconstruction of the “home country” but, paradoxically enough, to do so through what often was

⁷ Slavnić refers to the year 1995 when TUT (six months) was granted 5000 refugees with Croatian passports (Slavnić 1998).

⁸ Repatriation underscores the link to re- and (lat. *patria*), more precisely, return to “fatherland”, which in this case refers to country of emigration and/or travel documents/citizenship and not necessarily to the country of origin. For instance, it is in these contexts often discussed that the refugees with Croatian passports could return to Croatia when the political situation changed for the better (Slavnić 1998; 2002).

perceived as integration processes (Slavnić 1998:53-4). The notion of repatriation, as Slavnić argues critically, relies on the essentialist idea of a given ethnic or national belonging and a “home country”, which in turn undermines the refugee status *per se* by articulating refuge as an unnatural state. Slavnić analyses the repatriation program and its links to human rights discourses within which a return to a “home country” is articulated as one of the most fundamental human rights (Slavnić 1998:46-50; 2002).

Jan-Paul Brekke has also addressed asylum seeking in the light of more recent migration waves in Sweden, from an integration and psychological perspective. In *While we are waiting: Uncertainty and empowerment among asylum seekers in Sweden* (2004), Brekke develops Slavnić’s idea of the dual and simultaneous orientation to integration-return in relation to temporality. He describes how, after some time, this dual orientation becomes no longer sustainable but leads to the perception of being “lost in time” and deprived of the control required to plan the future. By studying long-term asylum seekers, he develops a theoretical figuration of the so-called “waiter”, showing how asylum seekers in the long run tend to become “passive” and give up on both directions (Brekke 2004:47-51). While both Brekke and Slavnić explicitly address lengthy processes of asylum seeking with uncertain outcomes, Brekke’s study is important especially as he sheds light on these issues in more recent migration contexts. In tandem with other research, Brekke makes evident how long-term uncertainty and exclusion from citizenship cannot be reduced to either the 1990s or the migration wave addressed in this thesis (cf. Lennartsson 2007 on waiting processes; Sager 2011a/b on uncertainty in clandestinity⁹).

While the overarching research shows that the waiting period has devastating and destructive consequences for the individual in refuge (Ekblad 2009; Lennartsson 2007:33-3,81; Brekke 2004:27), rarely have these issues been addressed in relation to gender and gendered notions of time, or from retrospective approaches. An exception to the latter is Karin Skogslund who deals with post-asylum orientations regarding integration-return (Skogslund 2003).

I have also included Rebecka Lennartsson’s *in situ* research, *Mellan hopp och förtvivlan – Erfarenheter och strategier i väntan på asyl* (2007). There, she explores uncertainty in current contexts and in relation to independent housing (Sw. *EBO, eget boende*). Lennartsson

⁹ Clandestinity/claudestine: “asylum seekers who stay in Sweden after their asylum applications have been rejected and who consequently hide from the police and the authorities in order to avoid deportation” (Sager 2011a:21)

discusses how parenthood and household chores make the waiting period less difficult to cope with, as the interrelated responsibilities give more content to the daily life. Besides uncertainty and the psychological stress, she briefly notes the deprivation of the opportunity to work, study, hold driver's licences and generally "live a normal life" while waiting for asylum (Lennartsson 2007:30-3;45,91).

Also, Maja Sager's research on illegal (irregular) migrants or the "clandestine", *Everyday Clandestinity: Experiences on the Margins of Citizenship and Migration Policies* (2011a; see also Sager 2011b), is important for this study. Sager employs an explicit feminist perspective by giving attention to what, in this thesis, I conceptualise as re/productive time. She shows how normality is tightly linked to respectability among the clandestine, yet such claims are severely limited when "in hiding". For instance, the conditions under which parenthood is performed are depriving the parent of respectability as there are obstacles regarding access to school, the labour market and other settings that also imply a risk for exposure to the police (cf. Sager 2011a:162-170; Lennartsson 2007:52). While rejected asylum seekers' experiences of "hiding" concern only one informant, there is nevertheless a parallel with the exclusion from formal paid work that I have taken into account in relation to the former asylum seekers' restricted access to work permits.

I am contextualising this study in relation to the restrictive migration politics and their outcomes, which are discussed in all the works referenced above. Special attention is given to the research on temporality (Brekke 2004; Slavnić 1998) which is here also linked to periods of unemployment that either overlap with or exceed the asylum period. However, since I situate this study within Gender Studies, Sager's and, to an extent, Lennartsson's discussions are of great importance. What follows from here is a theoretical chapter that deals with this very combination of temporality and queer and feminist theory and, by extension, ways in which asylum seeking and unemployment can be grasped in relation to normative and alternative conceptions of time.

Theoretical Frameworks & Concepts

A norm-destabilising approach towards time calls time as a value-free or natural medium into question and instead focuses on conceptions of time as inseparable from relations of power. In *Space, Time, and Perversions* (1995), the feminist philosopher Elizabeth Grosz destabilises conceptions of time and space by referring to the transformable nature thereof: the question of how time and space is thought about is changeable and *ontological*, therefore tied to prevailing understandings of the world and the ways in which it is inhabited. Thinking time is living time, it refers to practices with concrete material implications of how time is organised in the everyday life, informing self-conceptions, and power dynamics of in-/exclusion (Grosz 1995:92-7; Halberstam 2005). This thesis is largely drawing on this way of thinking, namely that the ways in which time (and space) are experienced, perceived and lived reveal more about the social norms against which these conceptions are produced, than time in itself (cf. Ahmed 2006:11). This thesis refers to the analytical conceptualisations of time as *re/productive*, *heteronormative*, and *alternative*. I mostly rely on queer and feminist perspectives and modifications as point of reference. What follows is a sketch of some debates in feminist and queer research, which have been inspiring for the theoretical framework. In addition, I briefly propose a conceptual tool, the phenomenon of the *curriculum vitae* (the C.V.), by which I grasp the period of the 1990s, which to some extent illuminates how I choose to employ the theories I am drawing on for this work.

Re/Productive Time & Queer-Feminist Theory

In their essay, “What a way to make a living!”, Paula Mulinari and Rebecca Selberg (2011) make a reference to Dolly Parton’s song from 1980 and the double meaning of labour it relies upon. The English expression “make a living” may literary mean to “make a life” but it also means to earn an income. As P. Mulinari and Selberg note, labour is a central aspect of life itself not least because of the time it occupies and how in contemporary frameworks it informs identities and statuses (P. Mulinari & Selberg 2011:34,8; cf. Ahmed 2001:44). However, so are various social relations and networks, such as friendships, communities, kinship, and romantic and/or sexual relationships. It is therefore no surprise that the effort to study economic- alongside gender-, sexual- and other social relations has been a long-running one in feminist scholarship (Rubin 2006[1975]; Wittig 1992; Skeggs 1999). As far back as 1975,

the feminist cultural anthropologist, Gayle Rubin, published the essay “The Traffic in Women: Notes on the ‘Political Economy’ of Sex”. A central object of critique by feminist scholars like Rubin has been the very distinction between productive and reproductive time. In response to the classical marxist analysis that put labour and production at centre stage, feminist scholars often highlight the gender blind definitions of “productive” activity. The common conception of labour as paid fails to recognise the unpaid work that has traditionally been assigned to women within the realms of the “private” sphere (P. Mulinari & Selberg 2011:9-14; McDowell 1999:181-2; Acker 2006:92-3). Therefore, Rubin has argued that marxist models, just like models of patriarchy, fail adequately to address sexual inequality (Rubin 2006:90). Instead, she advocates a nuanced and more complex analysis in which economic and political aspects as well as issues related to gender and sexuality are accounted for (Rubin 2006:87-90,104) and/or race and ethnicity (McClintock 1995; Sandell & D. Mulinari 2009). From this viewpoint, reproductive and productive temporalities are in interplay and are not easily separable, or reducible to each other.

Judith Jack Halberstam has offered one of the more recent contributions and interlinkages to these debates. Halberstam’s theoretical discussion in the work, entitled, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies and Subcultural Lives* (2005) is taken as an entry point for this thesis, especially in its overall aims to rethink normative conceptions of temporality. Halberstam pinpoints some dominant patterns regarding conceptions of time. She shows how marxist, as well as neoliberal, temporalities bear on similar logics (Halberstam 2005:11; McClintock 1995:394-5). In intersection with what is termed *heteronormative* time, these “hegemonic” temporal logics are based upon a developmental linearity, where progress, longevity, and futurity are interwoven, and celebrated (Halberstam 2005:152-3). What in her terminology is called “reproductive futurism” is a further elaboration on the intersection between reproductive and productive time where the idea of inheritance and intergenerational distribution of property is in interplay with the bourgeois family ideal and biological reproduction that rely on expansion and stability (see also Ong 1999:81; Edelman 2007). These interlinkages, between developmental progress and reproductive futurity, frame heteronormativity with the bourgeois couple-based family model, as the core of civilisation itself (cf. McClintock 1995:44-6).

Halberstam’s conception of heteronormative time relates to lifestyles and not necessarily sexual orientations. It refers to conventional modes of how life should be lived and organised

temporally by pointing to lifestyles that destabilise or fail to live up to these ideals. In her work, heteronormative time connects to certain prescribed “timings” within a linear life trajectory, an organisation that centres on the “biological clock”. By extension, heteronormative time is a time with strictly drawn lines between life “stages”, such as the youth/adulthood binary in accordance with an implied linear order, outlined as birth, marriage, reproduction, and death. Thus, the locus of the organising principles is linearity and reproduction, in addition to the idea of the *timing* and its cliché “there is a time and place for everything” (Halberstam 2005:7; 2-5,11,152-3,174-9; Halberstam et al 2007:182).

The framework provides a useful foundation for how to think time in terms of gender, age, sexuality, and class in intersection¹⁰ and in relation to the idea of the timing and being in or outside normative temporalities. It is important to add that Halberstam offers only a brief framework of normative conceptions of time as theorisations of alternatives are in the foreground. In the section below, I will link both the former and the latter to the subject matter at hand: processes of migration and asylum.

Queer Time & Temporal Stasis

Besides normative conceptions of *lifetime*, Halberstam discusses lifestyles, mainly within queer subcultures that fall outside these schedules, or that are based on alternative organisation principles to contest social expectations regarding adult life. She terms such temporalities as “queer time”:

Queer time is a term for those specific models of temporality that emerge within postmodernism once one leaves the temporal frames of bourgeois reproduction and family, longevity, risk/safety, and inheritance (Halberstam 2005:6)

In my readings, Halberstam’s term “queer time” is a temporal model, which might grasp varieties of lifestyles such as those of homeless people, sex workers, the unemployed, and if this line of thought is followed, also clandestine illegal immigrants, undocumented workers,

¹⁰ *Intersectionality* was coined in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw, while the idea was raised earlier in the 1980s by feminists like bell hooks, Angela Davis, Audre Lorde, and even further back in time to Sojourner Truth’s (1797-1883) well-known phrase “a’int I a woman?”. It stands for the questioning of Woman in feminism, and how the gender category is insufficient to understand the intersecting axes of power, such as race, ethnicity, sexuality, disability and class, and what is perhaps most prevalent in this study: age (Bracke & Puig de la Bellacasa 2007:47; Wekker 2007:63; see de los Reyes 2004).

prisoners, drug addicts, and many others (Halberstam 2005:2-10; McClintock 1995:47; cf. Sager 2011a/b). Such subjectivities may be broadly conceptualised as “queer subjects”:¹¹

Perhaps such people could productively be called “queer subjects” in terms of the ways they live (*deliberately, accidentally, or of necessity*) during the hours when others sleep and in the spaces (physical, metaphysical, and economic) that others have abandoned (Halberstam 2005:10, my emphasis)

In this thesis, the links in focus are the ones between alternative temporality and long-term asylum seeking. Unlike the notion of a taken-for-granted future, a future that is planned and secured, Halberstam conceptualises alternative lifestyles as day-to-day lives, or more accurately “unpredictable futures” (cf. Halberstam 2005:153). Although it does not take up much space in her work, *temporal stasis* is mentioned in these contexts. Throughout this study, I will refer to the term in order to underscore the reverse to progress and development. I refer mainly to subjects who, as earlier research shows, are aspiring for respectability through normality and hence perceive the unstable conditions of refuge as unsettling (Sager 2011a; Lennartsson 2007). The notion of stasis might in these contexts be useful as asylum seeking and lives outside societal safety nets have been described in similar terms, such as “on hold” or on “pause” (Lennartsson 2007:33-4,82; Brekke 2004:51; Sager 2011a:171). As Halberstam notes, such temporality illustrates a clear intersection of time/space because waiting captures perceptions of both spatial and temporal immobility. The potential of using the aforementioned temporal terminology is, as I see it, that in relation to migration and, as Halberstam writes in relation to queerness itself, it “has the potential to open up new life narratives” (Halberstam 2005:2).

In the next section, I apply the idea of life narratives to logics of production, labour and normative timetables by the incorporations of my own modifications of the presented frameworks. The focus is on *clock time* and working-age adulthood. As stressed earlier, the asylum-seeking process implies exclusion from the labour market. In order to grasp this exclusion in

¹¹ While there are a lot of recent queer migration works many times they address particularly migrants who mainly identify themselves as LGBTQI and thus include perspectives that are otherwise absent from mainstream migration research (see e.g. Cvetkovich 2003; Luibhéid 2008a/b; Fortier 2003). This study deals with former asylum seekers who all refer to earlier or current heterosexual relations, in regards to which I do not see the queer-feminist perspective as any less relevant (Halberstam 2005:1,6; cf. Rosenberg 2002:128; Luibhéid 2008:171; Madison 2005:65). This implies also that the conception of *queer* should not be strictly defined (see Rosenberg 2002:11-2; Ahmed 2006:172-4, 201n; O’Rourke 2011:103).

intersection with the age groups I am dealing with, I have used the phenomenon of the curriculum vitae as a point of entry.

Curriculum Vitae (C.V.)

The idea of using the curriculum vitae (lat. life story, hereafter the C.V.), as a *conceptual tool* is very much linked to the initial processes of writing this thesis and informs how I have approached the subject matter at hand. It falls back on personal histories and the recognition of (life) experiences, and how they might be filtered through logics of labour and production, as in “make a living” or the loss of livelihood.

If compared to the aforementioned biological clock, the C.V. may be equivalent to the “mechanical clock” or the timetables¹² of the clock time¹³ (see Roberts 2008:432; Koselleck 2009). The time dedicated to conventional productive time such as wage labour or education has certain normative timetables. Its timings relate, for instance, to individuals aged from 16 to 65 who in Sweden are considered as working-age. Traditionally, the ordinary work schedules are delimited to particular times of the day, the nine-to-five work temporality, or the working week (Monday-Friday) (Roberts 2008:434-9). The C.V., being a retrospective evaluative, chronologically ordered, model of “experiences” that are recognised in contexts of labour and education, captures various modes of “productivity”, the individual capital that is measured against standardised templates and that may be reused in contexts of the labour market or education (see for instance *Europass*; the government-mandated Swedish Public Employment Service, *Arbetsförmedlingen*, C.V.). It gives a particular dimension to time: as productive but also as invested and reused time. If seen in this way, the C.V. is a phenomenon that stands for the disciplinary time as ideal where the notion of linear progressive time links life trajectories to expected development of skills, qualifications and “ranks” in this way (Foucault 1991:141-159,193). Such elaboration draws the attention to time as “commodity” in the sense of being equated to money, an investment in qualifications, and successive

¹² Here I draw on Foucault who has discussed the notion of the timetable. In his work *Surveillance and Punishment. The Birth of the Prison* (1991[1975]), Foucault discusses the disciplinary power in relation to time. In such conceptions of time, as he has shown, the timetable is a normalising technique, which is introduced to correct, prevent, and measure “gaps” and absences.

¹³ Koselleck notes that “[t]he measurement of time was first embedded in the context of human action” (Koselleck 2009:118). The mechanical clock, unlike the water or sun clock, however, emerged in the context of the “mechanized workplace, whose temporal rhythms, derived from the machine and all equal, are prescribed for man [sic]” (Koselleck 2009:117-9). Although gender blind, I find Koselleck’s remark interesting as it contextualises the “clock time” historically and in relation to industrialisation (see also Foucault 1991:174-5).

accumulation of respectability (cf. McClintock 1995:40; Roberts 2008:432; Rosa & Scheuerman 2009:8-9; Rosa 2009:89; Halberstam 2005:4; cf. Skeggs 1999; Foucault 1991:151). In this understanding, time is a prerequisite for investments in, and accumulation of, various forms of *capital*¹⁴ throughout a life span, and for “respectability” (Skeggs 1999). Respectability is closely tied here to what Halberstam calls “conventional logics of development”, “maturity”, and “responsibility” (Halberstam 2005:13;152-3).

At the same time, the C.V. might grasp temporalities that fall outside normative timetables and makes interruptions and undocumented experiences salient – as “gaps”. The position of legal asylum seekers is one of exclusion in relation to the labour market, the gendered construction of productive time as wage labour, and “casual” workers. In addition, the context may differ from that of undocumented workers whose labour might provide some form of income in the so-called shadowed economies (Sager 2011a/b).¹⁵ As Slavnić and Brekke show, the asylum seeking period is organised around non-income generating organised activity (Sw. *organiserad verksamhet*) and language courses to provide a “structure” to the daily life in waiting time (cf. Slavnić 1998:50-4; cf. Brekke 2004). This requires a nuanced analysis of asylum seeking in relation to normative timetables and productivity.

As a conceptual tool, the C.V. can capture various modes of productive time that relate to paid labour ambiguously, as reproductive time does. Put differently, it captures experiences that do not necessarily directly link to wage earning but nevertheless operate within, and give potential to, moneymaking. Such are skills acquired in education but also in so-called non-profit volunteer work (cf. Acker 2006:95). This also, I would argue, marks diverse positions in the refugee setting. The voluntary sector’s involvement in these contexts is not a novelty. In Sweden, voluntary work is recognised as a meaningful experience or qualification (e.g. Red Cross; SOU 2009:(19):237-245, see Europass in the context of EU/Europe for an outlining of standard C.V. templates). However, while volunteering in a camp might be documented as a useful experience, living in one usually remains unrecognised. When using it as a conceptual tool, the attempt is to consider how these standard measurements and undocumented “gaps” are retrospectively negotiated in relation to asylum seeking and unemployment. In the next section, I discuss progress, normativity, and power from different (theoretical) positions and summarise the chapter with some critical reflections on temporal terminologies.

¹⁴ In this thesis, I use the term *capital* frequently. It refers to economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital as it is discussed by Pierre Bourdieu and Beverly Skeggs (see Skeggs 1999; see also Ong 1999). Symbolic capital is equivalent to capital convertibility of cultural, economic, and social capital (Skeggs 1999:21).

¹⁵ This does not suggest that the legal asylum seeker cannot be an undocumented worker as well.

Time, Power and Normativity

I introduced this study with the claim that concepts, theories, and frameworks related to migration often grasp in-/exclusions with location and space: displacement (cf. Madison 2005:49), the in-between (Grosz 2001), bridge, borderlands (Wekker 2007:63-8); transit (McDowell 1999:205; Kaplan 1996), or “limbo” (Mountz 2011). Perhaps sometimes to a degree as to be celebrated in postmodern works (see Braidotti’s “nomadic subjects” 1994; Ong’s “flexible citizenship” 1999:6) and thereby might be situated within the trends within post-structuralist works that emphasise changeability, fluidity and motion (cf. McDowell 1999:203-7). This study is not as detached from these thoughts as it might appear, but as I already noted, its inspiration derives from some feminist elaborations on space and the notion of displacement. In regards to feminist theory, the emphasis on the spatial can also be related to Virginia Woolf’s well-known essay “A Room of One’s Own” (Woolf 2000 [1929]) which is a common reference point in Western feminist scholarship with its valorised exemplifications that denote appropriation of space (and less explicitly time), as a political act for women (Woolf 2000:25; see the idea of appropriation in Weisman 2000:4; Marchand 2003; Torre 2000; Kaplan 1996:161-2). A feminist and queer approach to time, if read in relation to Woolf’s modernist idea of appropriation, stresses the importance of thinking about time in terms of power, and power in terms of access. However, as I have discussed above, it might also relate to a reconsideration of time and how it may be conceptualised differently.

The political philosopher Judith Butler has made another important contribution to the theoretical discussion about temporality. As one of the most prominent theoreticians in the field of feminist scholarship and queer studies, Butler has incorporated the issue of time in the well-known theory of performativity. In *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990; see also 1990b), Butler presents subversion as well as constitution of gender as a performativity that is achieved by repetition “over time” of stylised acts through which the reproduction of an illusionary essence is made possible:

Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being. (Butler 1990a:43-4)

In her recent work, *Frames of War* (2009), Butler does not reject the notion of repetition as a constituting force but takes a cautious stance to theories of time. The critical remarks relate to ideas about time, as in this thesis, when being divided into temporalities. There are

power relations involved in such analysis, Butler warns the reader, which generate asymmetrical representations and divisions of people. Such is the representation proposed by the political scientist Samuel P. Huntington in the theory of “clash of civilizations”. Within contemporary Islamophobic discursive representations of Muslims, the “modern” Western civilisations are contrasted with Others who are represented as backward, primordial and old-fashioned. The debate is long-running in relation to feminist movements, LGBTQI-rights movements, and civil rights movements that do not afford a dismissal of change and progress, yet tend to use the same in order to exclude or represent Others as pre-modern (see Butler 2009:99-102; Huntington 1993).

In Sweden, Paulina de los Reyes discusses these issues in relation to stereotypical representations of migrant women in contexts of the labour market. In her essay “Det problematiska systerskapet. Om ’svenskhet’ och ’invandrarskap’ inom svensk genushistorisk forskning” (2004), de los Reyes claims that, unlike the representations of “Swedishness” or women of Swedish ethnicity, the representations of Swedish immigrants since the late 1970s have been opposed to those of modern, gender-equal, working women: thus marked with traditions, outdatedness, and oppressing cultural backgrounds. She highlights how the homogenising representation is included in the rhetoric, where instead of structural discrimination and exclusions from the labour market, cultural “backgrounds” and traditional values stand in the foreground as explanations. Representations, thus, often have a temporal dimension where the non-modern and traditional is projected on gendered, racialised, sexualised and class-marked “irresponsible” Others who are to be blamed for their own positions (de los Reyes 2004:197-9; Bredström 2002:182-9; SOU 2006:(73):365). These analyses indicate how stereotypes entail temporal dimensions and divisions that often are framed in linear, oppositional terms, informed by power, and that, in addition generate political consequences (Butler 2009:155-6,48,99-100,117,148; McClintock 1995:9-10; Sandell & D. Mulinari 2009:487-8; Braidotti 2009:6-7; Mohammad 2005).

In similarly linear way of thinking, the “pre-historical” is not necessarily seen as primitive but is reworked in order to manifest the powerful and archaic. In such frameworks, myths and legends shape and underpin nation formations, ethnicities etc. (who came here first/has been here longest?). This gives hints about the problematic and paradoxical ways in which power and time are in interplay regarding both the “modern” and “pre-historical”

(see McClintock 1995:9-10:358).¹⁶ In *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995), Anne McClintock shows that these meanings shift depending on how they are used and for what ends. Nevertheless, they tend to remain within both linear and successive conceptions of time (McClintock 1995:10).

The discussion presented in this section suggests that caution is needed in relation to all theoretical views and distinctions of time and that temporal terminologies are problematic. Halberstam's poststructuralist framework is nevertheless appealing with regard to the issues studied as she elaborates with other conceptual parameters by moving beyond modernist ideals. Such a perspective could be linked to what McClintock calls "a global crisis in ideologies of the future, particularly the ideology of progress" (McClintock 1995:292;10; see also Kaplan 1996:21; cf. Foucault 1991).

In this chapter, I have introduced some approaches towards time mainly in queer-feminist scholarship that I will employ as a framework for analysis. I have discussed conceptions of time not as value-free and neutral, but linked to power relations. Moreover, I have presented temporal logics of heteronormativity as an imagined life trajectory that goes along dominant temporal logics of a linear progressivity. I sketched the C.V. as a conceptual tool that puts emphasis on time as a premise for varied capitals, where documentation is in interplay with recognition of productive clock time. The last section has raised some critical accounts of temporal analysis where I have claimed that temporality and power are intertwined in complex and sometimes paradoxical ways and need therefore to be examined further with caution. However, when writing about "normative" conceptions of time, or dividing time into temporalities, I am doing it precisely because I want to avoid oppositional logics between modern/backward, normal/non-normal, and call into question conceptions of time as value-free, universal, ahistorical, or lacking alternatives.

¹⁶ An example, in my view, is the temporal marker of migrants as "new Swedes" (Sw. *nya svenskar*) that co-exists with discourses about first- and second-generation migrants in contemporary public debates in Sweden (e.g. SVD 10/06/17; DN 11/02/22; DN 11/08/02; Ds. 2000:43). Oddly enough, there is also a nationalistic ideology/New Swedish Movement (Sw. *Nysvenska rörelsen* (1941-)).

Methodology

In this chapter, I address the data, which consists of conducted, recorded, and transcribed semi-structured interviews in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, hereafter BCS¹⁷ during a three-month time span, from September to December 2011 and with *informants*¹⁸ who have experienced years-long asylum seeking in Sweden. I start the chapter by linking the empirical with the theoretical by giving an overview of the context in which this qualitative study has emerged. Here, my own experiences of, and entanglements with, the asylum process will be discussed. In addition, I discuss the criteria and the methods employed, such as the snowball sample technique for recruitment. I close the chapter with a section on “retrospectivity as method” by addressing some tools and approaches used when analysing the data.

Processes of Formation & Positionality

This study is based on a wide range of methods and falls under several research categories. It is a *qualitative* study, which usually aspires to study a phenomenon or case in-depth rather than making generalising claims on the subject (Buch & Staller 2007:188). It goes under feminist research, which challenges the notion of value-free, objective, and generalising knowledge claims (Haraway 1988; Sprague & Zimmerman 2004:43; Czarniewska 2005:29-30; Leavy 2007:88). This study is, in a way, written in response towards many of the facts, figures, models and measurements that are often made available in relation to asylum seeking because attention is given to experiences that, as Sprague and Zimmerman put it, are “not easily quantifiable” (Sprague & Zimmerman 2004:44). This includes, for example, the “long-term” asylum process itself, which often consists of several applications and rejections, illegal staying in the country, and thus processes that fall outside the statistical charts (see Sager 2011a/b; Migrationsverket). Therefore, the “long-term”, which here is formulated as periods measured in years, is a measure that exceeds the ideal time models of asylum seeking

¹⁷ This designation, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian is what I perceive as the most frequent one in Sweden for what was earlier the official and *hegemonic* language in the former Yugoslavian region, Serbo-Croatian. Here the former version is used as umbrella for mixed vocabularies and to a lesser degree, dialects (so called *ikavski/ijekavski/jekavski*). The point of highlighting the language is that I have conducted interviews only in my/informants’ first language that in no way should be seen as representative for the region.

¹⁸ I am throughout the thesis referring to the term *informant* as I regard the participation of the people in this research process as limited. This is with respect to the analytical frameworks, the interpretation processes, and the power asymmetry on which it is based, where I as researcher have the “last word” (see Haritaworn 2008:4; Buch & Staller 2007:215-6; Lewin 2006:25; Czarniewska 2005:28).

processes where, in 2011, the ideal waiting period was 3-6 months (Migrationsverket 2011a/b). In addition, the study rests on relatively “undocumented” alternative temporalities that I ascribe to a larger set of geopolitical circumstances of war, asylum seeking, and unemployment: three aspects that I refer to as overlapping as in “what the map cuts up, the story cuts across” (de Certeau 1984 in Madison 2005:169).

With this assumption in mind, I entered the “field” with quite an open agenda, having the asylum seeking periods as my only concrete point of reference. And a telephone number. After explaining the idea, the immediate response in the handset was “but there is nothing to tell!”. I noticed an unwillingness to recall the past but also that a “nothing to tell” could follow by hour-long discussions. This occurred repeatedly in some interviews and informal conversations which, after all, related to years-long periods of informants’ or gatekeepers’ lives. There also was the expression that asylum seeking is an overlooked issue. An informant whom I will refer to by using the pseudonym Marko gives this point of view.¹⁹

Nobody writes about these things or when they do, it’s without substance, only facts are written. These periods in refugee camps, yes, sometimes they get attention in media when it’s about children who... apathetic children. Then they speak a little bit about that () maybe for a month, then it stops too. Yes, because children are the most sensitive category... what their parents go through is another matter. That’s only... for a neutral outside observer it’s very difficult to find himself in this role. Only if you have a vivid imagination you can imagine [...]

M: O ovim stvarima se ne piše ili ako se piše, piše se suparno, pišu se samo fakta. Ovi periodi u izbjegličkim kampovima, ja, ponekad dođu u medije kada se radi o djeci koja... apatična djeca. Onda se malo govori o tome () možda jedno mjesec dana, onda prestane i to. Ja, pošto su djeca ta najosjetljivija kategorija... Šta njihovi roditelji preživljavaju to je druga stvar. To je jedino... za nekog neutralnog promatrača sa strane je jako teško naći se u toj ulozi. Jedino ako čovjek ima dobru bujnu fantaziju može zamisliti [...]

The chosen excerpt highlights some important aspects regarding positionality and reflexivity, a long-running debate among feminist scholars (see Hesse-Biber 2007:129-40; D. Mulinari 2005; Behar 1996; Letherby 2003). In relation to the passage from the interview with Marko, my “insider” position is highlighted in the sense that I as a “knower” address a topic that he finds to be overlooked (“Nobody writes about these things”), or even difficult to imagine for “a neutral observer” (“Only if you have a vivid imagination you can imagine”). This demonstrates that I, even though finding my inspiration in queer-feminist theory about temporality, have made certain “translations” when identifying a field of inquiry. In this context, a reference to Donna Haraway’s “situated knowledges” is in order (Haraway 1988). Here, the notion of situated knowledge relates mostly to the stages in the research process that illuminate how

¹⁹ The informants in this study are anonymous and the names are pseudonyms.

we choose to read theory and where researchers find their examples. Feminist and queer researchers often state self-reflexively that the research questions do not just appear from nothing (Haraway 1988:581-9; cf. Sprague & Zimmerman 2004:54; Behar 1996; cf. Cvetkovich 2003; cf. Halberstam et al 2007; 2005).

Marko's passage above is important as it in a way also sheds light on my "outsiderness". When arriving in Sweden in the 1990s, at the age of ten, I had due to my age, the opportunity to attend school,²⁰ no direct attachment to any of the most central issues or subject positions brought to the fore in this thesis: long-term interruptions in the timetables of education and labour. My asylum seeking period, in other words, differs from Marko's, who at that time was in his 30s and a working-age asylum applicant in unemployment. This interview was an important point in the open research agenda. Marko's remark inspired certain directions, as I wanted to gain insight into performativities of parenthood and adulthood in these contexts. Thus, one of the major aspirations when recruiting informants for the study has therefore been to sustain the temporal perspective by involving "multigenerational" perspectives in order to capture diverse timings of migration. This is the primary reason why the informants in this study belong to earlier generations: 1970, 1960, and 1950. The attempt was to consider adulthood, to paraphrase Marko, as "sensitive category".

When interviewing people, it is important to reflect on how my presence and interactions with informants led to certain data, while other aspects of it remain unacknowledged, which is why it is of importance to highlight my own role in the research process (Behar 1996:5-6; Buch & Staller 2007:211; Haritaworn 2008; D. Mulinari 2005; Lewin 2006:26). In this case, the generational differences were most emphasised. Besides being accentuated by this study, it was also a common starting point for the informants. I was often positioned along the axes of generational difference, which consequently led to comments such as "you were a kid/little". Therefore, I soon noticed how "you probably don't remember" shaped our memories differently, positioning me as somewhat neutral. This memory-asymmetry was nevertheless positive for the research. In "Studying Up, Studying Down, Studying Sideways?: om ett dialogiskt förhållande till fältet", Barbara Czarniewska reflects on how such positions give details and clarifications that otherwise would have been assumed that I already have (Czarniewska 2005:21). However, the often posed questions, "how old are you?", "at what age did you arrive?" served for other informants as orientation devices for

²⁰ See 6 kap. 2 § Grundskoleförordningen 1988:655; SOU 2009:(19):65).

their own narratives. This point of entry made it possible for the informants to contextualise their migration timings by highlighting some of the differences regarding our respective asylum periods, and in turn the differences and similarities between researcher-informant. Below, I continue with a discussion about the recruitment process that led to Marko and other informants in this study and how I used my established networks and entanglement to the migration wave/theme in the recruitment process.

Lost in Snow Chaos: Recruitment

Being part of the same migration wave as the informants has been both challenging and rewarding for the research process. The major challenge was that I, for ethical and methodological reasons, aspired not to involve people I knew personally, friends and acquaintances, yet was simultaneously often using the same networks in order to recruit “other” people.

The recruitment method was the so-called *snowball sample technique*. As noted, long-term waiting for asylum is undocumented and not always talked about or even known to “outsiders”. Yet often people who themselves have spent longer periods in refugee residences tend to know others who share similar experiences. This was why I chose the snow ball sample technique as a suitable method of recruitment rather than going to “places” to find people as there are no such specific places to visit and when there are, these are often found in organisations dealing with present asylum seekers (cf. Sager 2011a; Lennartsson 2007; Brekke 2004).

The method is usually likened to the metaphor of a snowball which, as it starts rolling away, from person to person, gets bigger and bigger (see Esaiasson et. al 2004:212). In line with these metaphors and the imaginative methodological schemes, the actual method I did undertake was rather something of a *snow chaos*. Instead of one huge snowball continuously rolling, I had to multitask between different snowballs, most of which just rolled away to forever disappear without any recruitments or interviews in sight. This means that the number of gatekeepers soon enough exceeded the one of informants.

Most often there was a strong detachment involved that was omnipresent in the process: the unwillingness to talk about the past. People are leading different lives in 2011 than they were in the 1990s and the general impression was that most wanted not to be reminded of the asylum period. The distancing attitude characterised often the current networks as well. The asylum seekers that live in collectivist refugee residences, as was the case with the informants

in this study, tend to move to other municipalities after a resolved status and develop relations on this new basis. Several of the gatekeepers/informants in this study have themselves moved to southern parts of Sweden, which is why their recommendations and previous contacts were lost or sometimes were pointing to northern parts of the country. I often got only names and cities where the people recommended used to live, some of whom I never found. I made the first contact primarily by telephone calls and e-mails provided by the gatekeepers, or alternatively found on the virtual catalogue *Eniro*, a public Internet catalogue, which provides contact information for people insofar as they have registered themselves on the web site (Eniro). Due to these recruitment difficulties, I had during the later stages of the recruitment process gone so “far” as to contact people outside Sweden in countries in the former Yugoslav area to ask about potential informants in Sweden who correspond to my criteria.

Karin Skogslund addresses similar obstacles regarding recruitment. Skogslund also based her criteria for selection on asylum seeking in the past (Skogslund 2003:12). The difficult recruitment process made Skogslund go outside the county of *Skåne*, in which we both are located. By contrast, my own networks and attachment to the subject proved to be rewarding. However, my own entanglements and gatekeepers through which the connections were made illustrates the ethical dilemmas linked to the informed consent to participation, which in this case might have been influential (Thorne 2004). What follows in the next section is a brief description of the informants and a discussion on the construction of this “group”.

The “Group” and the Informants: Background Information

When constructing the group of informants, one of the main criteria employed was inspired by Sara Ahmed’s *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (2006) and her conception of “group”. In Ahmed’s view, “[g]roups are formed through their shared orientations toward an object”. This object may be real or imagined but it informs their paths (Ahmed 2006:118-9). In this case, I refer here above all to a past orientation/object, the PUT in the 1990s. The shared points are experiences of years-long asylum seeking (3-4 years, in one case 1 year). As I will show below, the length in both asylum seeking and in relation to interruptions of conventional timetables of labour and schooling varies, although all informants were refugees from the war (1991-1995). This depends on their different migration timings, something that occurred for most of them only after years in war, and/or internal refuge in the

region/country of origin. Today all informants, regardless of their varied educational levels and professional fields, have stable professions and employee statuses in the labour market. At the time of interviewing, they all had some form of heterosexual relationship.²¹ Some are living alone and others share their residence as married, in cohabitation, and/or in constellations with small children or teenagers. All informants identify themselves as either female or male.

Goran, in his 50s, obtained asylum in 1997. He refers to a nine-year long period of unemployment due to war, asylum, and additional unemployment in the aftermath of the PUT. Today and ever since 2000, he works within the same field of profession as he did in his country of origin. Goran arrived in Sweden on his own.

Marko, in his 50s, waited for asylum for approximately three and a half years. Marko has higher education and, like Goran, has worked for twelve years within the same field as he did before arriving in Sweden. Marko immigrated to Sweden on his own but was at that time married.

Anna, in her 40s, obtained the PUT after three years of waiting. She is the only person in this group who arrived in the early 1990s and before the launch of the *temporary protection* (see “Background Information & Earlier Research”). Anna managed to verify her higher education diploma in Sweden and is today working in the same profession.

Ruža, in her 40s, arrived in Sweden with a child and briefly after her partner entered the country. She got the PUT in 1998 after a provisional legislation that granted asylum to families with children. After the PUT, Ruža continued studying on university level, but changed her education profile.

Sara, in her 40s, is the only informant in this study who refers to experiences of being an illegal clandestine refugee in Sweden. Her unstable residence status in Sweden lasted from 1994-1998 granted on the same basis as Ruža. Sara has been at the same workplace since the year 2000.

²¹ In the initial stages of the study, I aspired to include as heterogeneous group as possible in relation to age, gender-identifications, sexuality, family formations/relationship status, ethnical and national identifications. At the moment of writing, I rather see a less heterogeneous group with regards to these aspects as an advantage as differences tend to “stand out” more and therefore violate anonymity by their potential links between experiences and particular individuals but also “stand out” in the meaning of “being representative” for these very differences.

Sebastian, in his 30s, arrived in Sweden in 1994 and in his late teenage years. His and his family's asylum period lasted for approximately one year. Sebastian refers to the age of 14 when his schooling was interrupted due to war. In Sweden, Sebastian has attended training courses and today he has permanent employee status.

Pero, also in his 30s, arrived to Sweden in 1994 but did not obtain the PUT until the end of the year 1998. Like Sebastian, Pero refers to the interruption in his almost finished secondary schooling due to war. After the PUT, he attended vocational schools and internships and, since 2000, has an employee status.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The interviews were based on an open, thematically arranged, interview guide (appendix II) and were of various lengths (45 min. – 3 hours). In the interviewing stage, each informant was orally informed about anonymity, the research procedures, the possibility to review, modify, and delete their narrated contribution as well as completely withdrawing (see appendix I). Besides using pseudonyms, I have excluded or left unspecified some other aspects from the data in order not to violate privacy and integrity of the informants.²² Less specified are professions/educational backgrounds. I do, however, refer to class as an analytical category in the analysis. In some cases, additional contacts with the informants have been undertaken when I have included parts that might violate anonymity.

The open approach proved to be useful, as it gave room for adjustments and adaptation to different interview situations and strategies. It proved especially to be useful as it allowed more flexibility and, therefore, avoidance of the themes the informants did not want to talk about (cf. Letherby 2003:85; Hesse-Biber 2007:126). This includes the inevitable and often used strategy in the open-ended interview approach of “picking up on markers” and when to let go (Hesse-Biber 2007:136). My presumption in the initial stage was to be careful when addressing themes linked to the war. During the process, I also learned to remain alert regarding the asylum period, unemployment, grounds for asylum, or questions linked to intimate relations, which were sometimes difficult to address and articulate.

²² It is not rare that long-term asylum seekers and/or “complex” asylum cases get attention among asylum seekers and media, which when revealed might make anonymity vulnerable (cf. Skogslund 2003).

While “picking up on markers” influenced the discussions, it is worth adding that the statement of purpose also shaped the narratives. Most notably, this relates to terms used in descriptions of the “abnormal” past (cf. “normative”, appendix I). Therefore, I often asked for clarifications and definitions in order to get insight into perceptions of “normality”. This strategy has been useful in a study that otherwise is situated in a field where norm-critical approaches are highlighted. Boel Berner advocates it and is one feminist researcher among others who stresses the importance of an unmasking of the “unquestioned normality” rather than merely looking at the exceptions (cf. Berner 2005:36, my translation). Asking for examples, clarifications, and definitions after a certain view was offered sometimes gave “but on the other side...” perspectives.

Translations & Interpretations: From Spoken to Written Word

Anna: Language is... **quality of life**, for me it's happiness.

A: Jezik je meni... livskvalité , to je meni srića. (Anna)

I chose to conduct interviews in my/informants' first language, BCS, as I wanted to facilitate the informants' possibilities for fuller articulation. Drawing on Halberstam's frameworks, I have considered some linguistic and cultural aspects regarding conceptions of time: public expressions, clichés, and phrases with elements related to time, age and timings (cf. “a time and place for everything”, Halberstam 2005:7,10).

As most informants arrived in Sweden after more or less finishing secondary school, their vocabulary in BCS is far richer and more grammatically correct than mine is, and the tendency to use Swedish words or hybrid forms was infrequent during the interviews. Precisely because of that, I have reflected on the bilingual passages in which there is an immediate “lack of” a vocabulary in informants' mother tongue, where Swedish words “slipped away” and additionally how these characterise the themes addressed (e.g. above, marked in bold). In this case, it was common to refer to a Swedish “migration vocabulary”, such as refugee (*flykting*), immigrant (*invandrare*), residence permit (*uppehållstillstånd*), Migration Board (*Invandrarverket*, today *Migrationsverket*) etc., in Swedish, which still, in my interpretation, bears the traces of daily life during asylum seeking. Similarly, the terminology used in relation to the labour market such as employee (*anställd*), experiences (*erfarenheter*) highlight the current context.

In *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics, and Performance* (2005), Soyini D. Madison's discusses narratives in terms of performance/performativity, and advocates a record of not only what is said, but *how* and in what attitude it is articulated (Madison 2005:207-8). Recording of the interviews has been useful, as it made possible to capture the narrative modes. The interview passages are organised in accordance with the scheme below:

()	silence;
-/—	broken word/sentence;
...	finding words/reflective;
[...]	words/sentences excluded;
blank space between passages	passages belonging to different themes/ lengthy undocumented parts in-between;
(laughter), (sarcastic) etc.	attitude/s/;
“”	citing others or making visual quotation marks;
<i>emphasis</i>	emphasised words/rising tone;
<i>emphasis</i>	falling tone;
words in bold	Swedish

As there always are translation problems between languages, especially when, as in this case, I have translated into the English language, a language that I consider my third, some expressions are simply lost in translation. As part of these linguistic complications, a translation always implies a multilayered *interpretation* both in relation to how the spoken word is interpreted and understood, and in turn how the spoken word is translated and converted into the written transcription (Hesse-Biber 2007:343,113-4; cf. Czarniewska 2005:29; González y González & Lincoln 2006). I have dealt with the transcripts in accordance with González y González and Lincoln's writings about “cross-cultural” and “cross-language work” and their suggestion to sustain the separation between the data units in original tongue and the translated versions (González y González & Lincoln 2006). Therefore, throughout the entire analytical processes, I have analysed the data in the original tongue and maintained the excerpts from interviews in order to make the translations and the interpretations more transparent.

Retrospectivity as Method

In this section, I elaborate on the idea of retrospectivity as a *method*. When dealing with happenings, impressions, and perceptions of the past in the present it is not so much about recalling the past “as it was” or to give a “true” description and representation. Rather the emphasis is on how the past is reactivated in the present, remembered, and retold today. As Bracke and Puig de la Bellacasa have argued, experiences are

always mediated and thus require interpretation. Experience is not equivalent of knowledge, rather knowledge is constructed in the effort to explain and understand experience (Bracke & Puig de la Bellacasa 2007:46).

Luisa Passerini is another author who has acknowledged a past-present co-existence in narration, and who has explicitly discussed the temporal dimensions of *insights*. In her autobiographical writing *Autobiography of a Generation* (1988), which focuses on retrospective accounts of the Italian student movement of 1968, Passerini touches upon the question of

why it is so difficult today to analyse a situation in which gender difference was not experienced in a conscious fashion. The transition from then to now is often defined as from blindness to sight. (Passerini 1988:98)

The point of bringing up this reflection is in that some situations, in the way they are perceived here/now, were not “obvious” at the time when they occurred, or were articulated differently. In Passerini’s text, this relates to gender inequality where narratives about power relations retold two decades later are framed as insights. The process “from blindness to sight” has a temporal dimension as it is occurring in the aftermath of an experience (Passerini 2003; Suárez Lafuente 2003). Put differently, within the process of framing insights, the past-present are in interaction. This is of huge relevance for this study where the data, in a similar manner, consists of flashbacks, where the present in many ways drastically differs from the past. On this point, my research differs from earlier research about asylum seeking that turns attention to asylum seekers *in situ* (see Slavnić 1998; Lennartsson 2007; Brekke 2004; Sager 2011a/b). The unstable residence statuses of earlier asylum seeking/unemployment are retold today in contexts of a PUT and stable professional roles. Certainly, the narratives are still about embodied experiences of the past but are filtered through the present and what is viewed as meaningful or meaningless in the first place (Grosz 1995:43; cf. Madison 2005:34,124,211).

Petruta Teampau and Kristof van Assche address a similar subject in their study of people's memories of Second World War in a Romanian town "Sulina, Sulina/When there's water, there's no light: Narrative, Memory and Autobiography in a Romanian Town" (2009). According to the authors, memories can be divided into "master narratives" (legitimate memories), and counter-narratives of various forms (Teampeau & van Assche 2009:35-8,43-4,57).

However, as noted earlier, there is often an unwillingness to narrate and remember. In order to capture these aspects, I have looked to the queer-feminist theoretician Ann Cvetkovich's *An Archive of Feelings. Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (2003). Cvetkovich seeks to map collective *affective* responses to experiences rather than experiences *per se*. Such can be, according to Cvetkovich, acts of "suppression of cultural memory on the work of building culture in the present", which I find crucial for the retrospective approach I depart from (Cvetkovich 2003:19,119). In this context, I have reflected on "scriptocentrism", the privilege of the (written) word within academia, and the preference for speaking subjects (Madison 2005:166; Pink 2007:141). Besides the main data conducted from the open-ended interviews, I have for these reasons included additional methods by adding "things in the field", and when possible, asking for artefacts. These have been used as alternative "mementos of immigration" and conversation initiators (Pink 2007:8,82; Cvetkovich 2003:118; Brekke 2004; Graham 2010). Supplementary data also relates to field notes from interviews or interview-like situations (informal conversations) with gatekeepers that were highly influential for this thesis (cf. Hesse-Biber 2007:115), and contemporary contexts and public debates in Sweden addressing the themes raised.

When multiple temporalities and temporal logics are set centre stage, it has been important not to adopt too regulative an approach and instead let the narrators themselves define, redefine, differentiate, and draw parallels between various temporalities. A common orientation device both during the interviewing and later in the analytical process has been the links between current everyday lives to the lifestyles of the 1990s. I have incorporated it in the analysis with interludes of some encounters made in the field. In "Your Place or Mine: The Geography of Social Research", Michael Stein argues that researchers tend to focus on people whilst neglecting the field site (Stein 2006:59). With this in mind, I have reflected on how the past often was difficult to gain access to, while the current spaces were more open, and access was even encouraged. The homes of the informants were simultaneous markers of current

socio-economic statuses and their distancing from past ones. They were also the places they were proud of and wanted to show off. From a temporal point of view, the act of not choosing the home as interview-site also revealed much about the current timetables. In the descriptions of the interview contexts, I have included some impressions that otherwise remain unacknowledged in the interview passages yet that have been determinant for how the data itself is interpreted.

This chapter begins with some initial stages of the research process and the formation of the subject matter. I discuss my own attachments to asylum seeking as the chosen theme for the study in relation to the theoretical framework outlined earlier on (Theoretical Frameworks & Concepts). I show how time and timings have informed the methodology for this study in relation to formulated criteria, recruitment, and regarding generational differences that have shaped the interviews and the researcher-informant interaction. In the following analysis chapter, I will illustrate some interactions more vividly and will approach the spatiotemporal dimensions of the “field”.

Analysis

With the aim of elaborating on a temporal terminology of migration processes of former asylum seekers, I have tried to maintain an explicit time perspective by incorporating it in the way of analysing and organising the data. The overarching organisation of the analysis circulates around three broadly conceptualised themes: productive time, heteronormative time, and retrospective outlooks. Each part of the analysis includes encounters with the present²³ through which the past is filtered. The analysis starts with present-day accounts of the 1990s in relation to unemployment. Here, I examine how these conditions shape the narratives and intelligibility of the past. I also devote attention to the “time in the camp” and analyse the temporality of asylum seeking and uncertainty. Part II focuses on heteronormative time and timings of migration, individual life-courses, and the age category. The final part is an assembly of accounts of the here/now in its continuities and discontinuities with the 1990s.

Part I: “But how long does it last?” – Time Value in Minutes and Years

“But how long does it last?” is one of the first questions Goran²⁴ poses both while making an appointment and when we meet for an interview. Time is, as I learn later, something Goran feels a shortage of in his everyday life: “I feel I have too little time” and “these days it’s all about work-home”, he says. Even though he seems to run a busy life, he managed to find a gap in his planner, more precisely a lunch break on a workday, to meet up for an interview. We look for a spot outdoors to conduct the interview, perhaps not so surprising as it turns out that Goran is often outdoors during the breaks. As he tells it, he prefers to skip lunch and take a walk instead. We are both aware of the lunch break being a limited timeframe for the interview. The emissions from vehicles, the passers-by, and the noise from a construction site in the immediate vicinity somehow resonate with this, quite stressful, atmosphere of a workday.

²³ The encounters to which I refer in this chapter are excerpts from my field notes, written in present tense, yet often shortly after the interview took place: at “odd” places such as train stations, bus stops, kitchen tables, cafés, park benches and elevators.

²⁴ The pseudonym, Goran, was invented after encouraging the informant (who could not immediately come up with a name) to think of a character he looks up to. His spontaneous suggestion was “Goran” after the tennis player Goran Ivanišević. In a way, a tennis player’s career and ambitions resemble many of the things brought to the fore in this thesis, not least the time pressures that I am addressing here. This public figure partially provided a framework for how I chose to contextualise Goran and his passages in this text.

Goran, however, radiates a rather calm and relaxed attitude. The present work situation is a topic he readily discusses but he explains also how he once was uncertain about regaining employee status:

The way it started I almost thought that I wouldn't start working ever again because I - I got the papers²⁵ in '97- in mid '97. I started working in 2000 in December. In the meantime I was, well, I sent I don't know how many hundreds of job applications and requests but I rarely got any response anyway. Despite the fact I have excellent references. I learned the language, I didn't take any classes at all, immediately after obtaining the papers I passed the language [tests] and it seemed to me so strange, well, that I can't find a job but, but what to do? That's the way it is. I've been through worse in the past twenty years.

G: Kako je bilo počelo mislio sam da skoro da neću više nikad početi raditi jer sam gledao - dobio sam papire '97- '97, sredinom. Počeo sam raditi 2000 u decembru. U međuvremenu sam, onaj, poslao ne znam ni ja koliko stotina molbi i zahtjeva za posao ali i rijetko sam kad dobio i odgovor. Iako ja imam odlične reference. Jezik sam naučio, nisam išao u školu uopšte, odmah sam položio jezik kad sam dobio papire i to mi je bilo baš čudno, onaj, da nemogu naći posao, ali, ali šta da se radi? Kako je tako. Proživio sam i gore stvari u zadnjih dvadeset godina.

I chose to introduce the chapter with Goran and this passage in order to lay out his time journey from an unstable asylum- and employee status in the 1990s, to a drastically different busy everyday life more than a decade later, which is characterised by stability in terms of both employment and residence. The underlying estimation of time “But how long does it last?” refers here to hours or minutes and not years, which once was a measure of the asylum applications. However, it is in years that Goran, like other informants in this study, refers to earlier unemployment and lifestyle beyond normative conventions of working-age adulthood. What will follow in the next section are Goran's and some other informants' retrospective references to the “migration period” or the period in unemployment that surpasses geographical borders, and legal statuses. It stretches out to entail the war period at the beginning of the 1990s, the period of asylum seeking in Sweden during which possession of a work permit was restricted and, as noted above, also subsequent years after the PUT.

Undocumented Temporalities: the 1990s

After giving a detailed and chronological overview of the three workplaces in Sweden that he had worked at until today (“there I was for two and a half years”, or “I started working in 2000 in December”), I ask Goran about the “undocumented” years in the 1990s. Goran's interpretative question, “You mean those when the war began and until I started working?”, is at

²⁵ “Papers”, (*BCS papiri*) is the most used word in the interviews for permanent residence permit.

once defining the “undocumented” and leading further to a narrative in which the current situation is intertwined with the pre-war situation in the country of origin.

Goran: [...] I... those years are of course a part of me and everything has changed but I don't think much of them, rather I try to live- and basically I live accordingly but of course with much less friends and contacts than I have had, had I stayed in my country. I never planned to change. But you... but of course I live honestly, from my work, however I don't say that those others who are not working don't live honestly [...] Because I think, particularly from our areas, people generally want to work except for one small part, of course. Because we're somehow used to working. But if it's not possible to find a job it's, it's I think – what are you supposed to do?

Zlatana: So all people like you who used to work but who nevertheless had to go through such a period when they couldn't [work] - what's [your] view of this?

Goran: Well, say... How to see it? It's- *I haven't been working for nine years*. I'm... I have **training**, or how shall I say, but haven't yet encountered anyone here who can compare with me. But I had a break for nine years and I thought, even like I said that I maybe won't, if I stay here ever work again. But, but I was surprised that when I started to work that I returned very quickly! [...]

G: [...] Ja... te godine naravno stoje u meni i sve se promijenilo ali ja ne mislim puno o njima, nego nastojim da živim- i tako u principu i živim ali naravno s puno manje prijatelja i kontakta nego da sam ostao u svojoj zemlji. Ja nisam nikad planirao da mijenjam ali čovjek... ali naravno ži- živim pošteno, od svog rada, a i nekažem da oni drugi koji ne rade da žive nepošteno. [...] Jer ja mislim, posebno sa naših prostora ljudi uglavnom svi žele da rade osim jednog malog tog dijela, naravno. Jer mi smo nekako navikli da radimo. A ako se nemože dobiti posao to je, to je mislim - šta da čovjek radi?

Z: A za sve te ljude poput vas koji su navikli da rade a koji ipak su kroz taj period prošli da nisu mogli, da- kako gledati na to?

G: Pa recimo... Kako ću gledat'? To je- *Ja nisam radio devet godina*. Ja sam... Imam **utbildning**, ili kako se to kaže, ali nisam još naišao na nekog ovdje koji se može samnom usporedit. Ali sam napravio pauzu devet godina i mislio sam, čak kao što sam rekao da možda neću, ako budem ovdje nikad ni radit'. Ali, ali, recimo iznenadilo me da kad sam počeo da radim da sam dosta brzo se vratio! [...]

In retrospect, Goran speaks of a “return” after a nine-year “break” in employment. Here, the narrative is inseparable from Goran's specific migration timing. More precisely, his high-education degree, professional training and “references” as such, except for the Swedish language proficiency, were acquired prior to Goran's arrival to Sweden. Consequently, the participation in the labour market that follows the refugee period implies a “return” to, and a continuation of earlier organisations of time. Hence, the return resonates with normative timetables of labour and production, and by extension, the performativity of working-aged adulthood.

In addition, the parallel between current-earlier employment can be discerned by Goran's reference to a regional image and people “particularly from our areas [of former Yugoslavia]”/“we're somehow used to working”. What then explicitly interrupts or “breaks”

with this regional image seems to be “those” years that are in focus of this study. The references to what I read as “respectable” working identity in the past as well as to the current identity, articulated in present tense (“I live honestly, from my work”), illustrate how respectability (honesty) is closely intertwined with questions of employment. However, Goran seems aware of the problem that by basing honest living on these grounds, he undermines the respectability of those who cannot work, including his own situation in the past: “however, I don’t say that those others who are not working don’t live honestly”.

Throughout the interviews, asylum seeking is detached from qualifications of relevance in work related contexts, except for, as noted in the first passage, passing Swedish. Besides being difficult as a result of the unsettling conditions due to the geopolitical contexts of war and refuge (“everything has changed...”), the period is narrated as a negation (“I haven’t been working...”/“I don’t think much of them...”). This becomes emphasised by other informants with whom I have discussed the undocumented 1990s in relation to the C.V., work related experiences, and asylum seeking.

Marko: Roughly speaking, it’s good and desirable to bring up where you’ve been and what you’ve been doing at that time. So you state, yes, **asylum seeker**. Void. Emptiness. Nothing. What did you do? Yeah, well there we were a little bit in school, we were learning the language a bit... repaired bikes, painting a bit and the like, some woodwork, yes, we worked a bit with wood. And so each of us had some petty occupation, had a work obligation, so-called. Everybody had some kind of obligation... to do something. And... yes. Void. What am I supposed to state? For four years I was an **asylum seeker**. Yay, nice! What have you been doing there? Nothing.

M: Otprilike dobro je i poželjno je da navedeš gdje si bio šta si radio u tom periodu. Pa navedeš, ja, **asylsökande**. Šupljina. Praznina. Ništa. Što si radio? Ja, tamo išli malo u školu, malo učili jezik, malo... popravljali bicikla, malo farbali nešto, tamo drvenariju nešto, ja, radili malo s drvetom. I tako svako je imao neku malu sitnu zanimaciju, imao radnu obvezu, takozvanu. Svi su imali neku obvezu... da nešto rade. I... ja. Šupljina. Šupljina. Šta ću ja navesti tu? Čet’ri godine sam bio **asylsökande**. Hm. Krasno. Šta si radio tamo? Ništa.

Pero: You look for a job, they say [work] **experience**. What **damn experience?** Where would I gain that?! What to say, I was in the camp, I was in war? I don’t have any. Simply zero.

P: Tražis posao, kaže **erfarenhet**. Kakav **jäkla erfarenhet?** Gdje sam ga mogao dobit’?! Šta da kažem, bio sam u kampu, bio sam u ratu? Nemam ništa. Jednostavno nula.

While earlier in situ research tends to focus on the time filled in the residences in relation to the outcome of asylum applications and staying or return, this thesis is rather offering flashbacks on asylum. The informants have obtained a PUT and do not look at these as “what if” but rather regard their reuse and meaning retrospectively. In retrospect, when discussing

the years-long time spent during asylum seeking, Marko gives a somewhat sarcastic description of an empty time (“Void”) while explaining that the period was not without time-consuming (clock time) physical activity (“a work obligation, so-called”). However, the metaphors used still suggest a lack of content. The years should have contained something that they obviously have not. It is also within this context that I read Pero’s statement “Well to me somehow the greatest success in the camp was when I was working illegally and earned money for cigarettes”. The “success” might here be linked to one of the “emancipatory” effects that paid labour generates in contexts of restricted financial autonomy. As Sager argues, the question of labour often links to discrimination such as the labour market being discriminatory in its exclusions, or labour per se being exploitative. However, the risk with these perspectives is in the neglect of the effects labour may generate with respect to agency and respectability of the working subject, even in “shadowed” work settings (Sager 2011a:133,141-50). However, as Brekke argues, the activities on offer during asylum seeking indicate the discrepancy between the rhetoric and the praxis of Swedish migration politics. On the one hand, it is articulated that the time spent during asylum seeking should be meaningful yet, on the other hand, there is the agenda about “securing the quality of what is offered does not become an attraction in itself” or make people “too comfortable” in case of eventual deportation (Brekke 2004:47-51). As seen above, the discourse of labour is emphasised, and partially, shapes the narratives. These reviews indicate a time that is not converted into any symbolic capital and remain unrecognised as (work) experiences or worth a mention or speaking about.

Postponed “Arrivals” & Wasted Times

Unlike Goran and Marko and as will be seen later on Anna, who are reclaiming the accumulated expertise acquired in their countries of origin, Pero’s migration timing is different as it starts with “the day I had to quit [vocational] school”. In other words, Pero, today in his 30s, had less accumulated cultural capital when in the aftermath of PUT seeking a job (“They say experience”/“I have nothing”). Consequently, Pero’s undocumented period includes an interruption of what became an unfinished education program that he regards as both his pride and “what to do with that?”. This suggests that the migration timing is central for a better contextualisation of the informants’ conception of themselves and their positions in society. This

also gives a reason for Pero to employ certain tactics²⁶ in his negotiation of the past, by stressing the year when he started to work, instead of 1994, as the year of his arrival to Sweden:

Well, in fact, I don't tell when I actually arrived to Sweden. *I always say I arrived in year 2000*. How am supposed I to tell?!

P: Pa ja zapravo i ne kažem nikom kad sam došao u Švedsku. Ja uvijek kažem da sam ovdje došao 2000. Kako ću reći?!

When I ask him to clarify his statement, he continues:

Pero: They would consider me being negative. Most likely as a person who is () with some syndrome. What would you think of an Afghan [masculine incl.] who came from war and in addition was sitting for four years in the camp? And you want to **hire** him as someone whom you want to work with? What would you say? Think? I would not think anything in particular. *I didn't even bring my diploma from there* [country of origin]. *It must be verified. I needed four years, although it was the final...* and then what to do with that? Nobody asked [for it] anyway. *Nobody ever asked*.

P: Smatrali bi me negativnim. Vjerojatno kao osoba koja je () sa nekim sindromom. Šta bi ti pomislila o jednom afganistancu koji je došao iz rata i još sjedio četiri godine u kampu? A ti ga hoćes **anställat** kao nekoga skim hoćes radit'? Šta bi ti rekla? Pomislila? Ja nebi pomislilo baš nešto. *Čak ni diplomu nisam nikad donio od dole. Mora se verificirat. Trebao čet'ri godine, mada opet je završna...* i onda šta ćeš stim? U ostalom nije ni'ko nikad ni tražio. *Nikad nije ni'ko tražio*.
Z: Ali kažeš u koju si školu išao?
P: **Å ja, tim** se ponosim.

Zlatana: But you do say what school you attended to?

Pero: **Oh, yes, *that*** I'm proud of.

Pero's strategy of "postponing" the arrival to the year when he started to work can be considered from various angles. It can be interpreted in parallel with his earlier statement "Nobody asked even" (about his vocational training). Unspeakability is used here in order to "conceal" his time in Sweden between 1994 and 2000. In one instance in the interview, Pero tells about the option of mentioning *SFI* (Swedish course for immigrants) as a merit when supplying the C.V. at the Swedish Public Employment Service, *Arbetsförmedlingen*. With respect to the years-long time interval, it would seem rather disproportional and would require explanations about both the political conflicts in the region and Swedish migration politics. Although he does not make it explicit, it is noteworthy to reflect on how much further explanations of that kind would improve his social standing. In a way, he himself seems to be reflecting on these issues when taking the perspective of the employer in his passage. In Pero's case, the link between his past and its "strange" temporality is expressed in the very stigma he gives expression for ("They would consider me being negative [...] as a person [...] with some

²⁶ By drawing on De Certeau, Beverly Skeggs discusses the difference between *tactics* and *strategies*. Tactics should be understood in contexts of limitations, while strategies refer to underlying links to power (Skeggs 1999:204f).

syndrome”). He refers to a possible risk for pathologisation (“syndrome”), which gives a particular contextualisation to his past as a problem regarding employability. When the informant narrates this, it is from the employer’s perspective (“And you want to hire him [...]”). In my analysis, he seem to suggest that neither the gendered and racialised representations of the (masculine) refugee (or deserter) from a war that is discussed, as Slavnić notes, as barbaric and uncivilised, nor the association to unproductive time, “sitting for four years in the camp”, link to representations of a respectable working-age adult (cf. Bredström 2002; cf. Slavnić 1998:57-8).

The “postponement” to normative timetables of labour might be seen in the light of contemporary Swedish integration discourses, which as Lennartsson argues, are grounded in the idea of occupation (paid labour), where participation in the labour market represents the very entrance to Sweden²⁷ (Lennartsson 2007:55-8; Sager 2011a:133) and signals the path towards normality (cf. Hörnqvist 2011, on prisoners). This is of course problematical as such definitions of integration and normality are highly reduced to only include what commonly are seen as “productive” working-age subjects and excluding those who cannot work. In this case, it is not merely the former refugees’ and asylum seekers’ involuntary unemployment, but excludes also the disable-bodied, elderly, or other “queer subjects” outside these conventional scripts (cf. Halberstam 2005:10). However, the passages above become significant in relation to the temporal dimensions that integration is measured against. This is, for instance, highlighted in relation to goals for integration or “introduction” as a process that needs to be a set in motion as soon as possible and, additionally, be of the shortest possible duration. Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality frames these goals as “Faster introduction...”, “...faster entry into the labour market...” “...learn Swedish faster” etc. As such, it is very much grounded in the idea of the equating of speed and progress (Regeringskansliet 2009a/b). Pero’s “tactic” of postponing the arrival to the timetable of labour can be related to negotiations with, on the one hand, long-term interruptions in schooling and participation in the labour market and, on the other hand, a fast and short-term claim on integration that is primarily based on labour, rather than PUT. In my analysis, the tactic illustrates the negotiation with the vicious circle in which he once found himself entrapped, in the sense that the

²⁷ Sager has also discussed this link in the Swedish context between citizen-worker that might have been challenged only recently as propositions have been articulated about work that may lead to a permanent residence permit, and not the other way around (Sager 2011b:151-2; SOU 2009:(19):68-9).

involuntarily time spent in war and “the camp” might generate additional time in exclusion and stigma.

While Pero “postpones” his “arrival” to the year when he started to work, Sara more explicitly adds its very premise, PUT:

Sara: So, there was a relaxing first after four years when you obtain the papers and go to work () so I always say I don’t count being in Sweden from ‘94 - I count that I lived here but it’s like I haven’t, without the papers and any law. However, when I - when we received the papers in ‘98 then it’s... it was another thing then.

Zlatana: So you mean all those years [asylum seeking] are somehow not taken into account?

Sara: But they are wasted. How can you count on [them]?! You’re neither in heaven nor on earth. You’re waiting for the papers - every three months they threaten, they say “a negative [decision] is coming”. Whenever... *Little by little then negative again...*

SA: Tako, tek je bilo opuštenje poslije četiri godine kad je čovjek dobio papire i krenuo na posao () Tako da to ja kažem uvijek u Švedskoj ne brojim da sam od ‘94- brojim da živila sam u njoj ali kao i da nisi ono bez papira i bez ikakvog zakona. Ali kad sam - kad smo dobili ‘98 papire onda je... već je drugo bilo.
Z: Znači sve te godine [čekanje azila] na neki način ne računaju se?
SA: ‘Ma propale. Kako ćeš računati?! Nisi ni na nebu ni na zemlji. Ti čekas papire - svako tri mjeseca ti prijete kaže „negativ ti dolazi“. Kad god... malo malo negativ...

The expressed discrepancy between actual and perceived dates of arrival to Sweden marks Sara’s four-year period as asylum seeker as “wasted” years, consequently years that are not entirely taken into account (“I count that I lived here but it’s like I haven’t”/“How can you count [on them]?!”). Postponements and “neither in heaven nor on earth” highlight a space/time intersection that complicate questions like “For how long have you been living in Sweden?” or “When did you arrive?”. I read the “misleading” and distorted dates, made either tactically to conceal the long-term temporalities outside normative timetables of work and education and/or due to a perceived displacement during these years-long periods, as a discrepancy between the point of the actual arrival and the one perceived. In other words, it grasps in a way the informants’ distinctions and perceptions on being in or out of sync (cf. Ahmed 2006:11). For Sara, who has experienced a period in clandestinity, such questions nevertheless highlight her previous status as an illegal and “without the papers and any law”. Alongside the act of going to work, these conditions seem inseparable from her perception of living in a country.

The unintelligibility of years of asylum seeking along with a narrative of “wasted” and “empty”, devoid temporality (cf. “nothing”, “zero”, “void”, “emptiness”) stressed here and elsewhere by the informants will be explored in more detail in the next section where I

contextualise it in relation to what Halberstam calls “unpredictable futures” and “temporal stasis” (Halberstam 2005:153;7). I will do this in order to analyse the “break” and “postponements” from other angles and to get a more nuanced analysis of the asylum seeking that needs to be examined with other conceptualisations of “normality” than merely the one of logics of labour and production. This relates to the temporal logic and common conception in the narratives, the often-used phrase, “the time in the camp”, that the informants contextualise as *one* temporality, although consisting most often of multiple sites and movements: various refugee residences, reception centres, and sometimes clandestinity.

“A black hole in my life”: Uncertainty & Stasis

I am led by the gatekeeper to the “gate”, the front entrance of Marko’s building where I meet him and his female partner. As the gatekeeper disappears, Marko shows their shared apartment and talks about the cohabitation with great enthusiasm. In this way, the informant introduces me to his life that is like a contrast to everything we discuss later on in the interview. Even though this interview turned out to be one of the shortest, it was at the same time the setting in which my own sense of time got most confused. The language being rich and precise, and the intonation varied, indicates that Marko is a talented speaker, something acquired perhaps also due to his educational background, profession and age. Marko speaks in a fast, determined, confident manner, using dramatic expressions and thick description. However, the theme of asylum seeking is for Marko difficult to address as it evokes bad memories.

That waiting period in refugee... yes... asylum... **seeker**, the waiting for a resolution of the refugee status, well that’s a period which I would most of all- which I would most of all like to forget. One that I would most of all like to forget. That’s three and a half years of suffering, suffering and misery, anticipation, anxiety, fear, uncertainty. All *negative*. The only bright spot in all this were those few people that I used to meet, with whom I established contact and whom I to this day communicate with.

Simply, I don’t have anything positive to say about that period. Nothing. It’s a black hole in my life. I say, when I compare to the years of the war that I had been [through] back there, those war years to me had a kind of meaning because everybody knew what was at stake and it was important to survive and you go for it, the meaning is

M: Taj period čekanja u izbjegli... ja... azil... **sökande**, čekanja riješenja na status izbjeglice. Pa to je period koji bi se ja- koji bi ja najrađe zaboravijo. Koji bi najrađe zaboravio. To su tri i pol godine muka, muke i jada, iščekivanja, nervoza, straha, neizvjesnosti. Sve *negativno*. Jedina svijetla tačka u svemu tome bila je tih par ljudi koje čovjek sretno, s kojima uspostavi kontakt i s kojima i dan danas komuniciram.

Jednostavno ja o tom periodu nemam reći ništa pozitivno. Ništa. To je jedna crna rupa u mom životu. Kažem, kad uporedim sa godinama rata koje sam bio dolje, te godine rata su mi imale neki smisao jer se znalo sve šta je u igri i važno je bilo preživjeti i čovjek ide na to, ima neki smisao da preživiš. Medjutim ovdje ništa, ovdje samo vegetiraš. Daje ti nešto malo novaca, malo hrane, malo odjeće i () preživljavaš. Nikakve perspektive, nikakve budućnosti, nikakvih smjernica. Čekaš, čekaš i čekaš.

survival. However, there's nothing here, you only vegetate. They give you some money, a bit of food, some clothes and () you are surviving. No prospects, no future, no directions. You're waiting, waiting, and waiting.

A queer or alternative temporality, as I have discussed, implies experiences of time that in one way or another are at odds with dominant ideas of futurity, longevity, and progress. The passages above illustrate the asylum seeking as different from these logics, while at the same time being framed within them ("no prospects, no future, no directions"). Marko's distinctive comparison between the time in the Swedish refugee residence/s and the war period preceding it calls for a more detailed analysis of how this difference can be interpreted.

As the war period is here tied to "survival" and an awareness of "what's at stake", the period of asylum seeking signifies a passive vitalism, a lifestyle where "you only vegetate" and "uncertainty". In this context, Halberstam's theorisation about futurity and longevity are of great use but will here be distinguished between longevity (aspirations to live a "long" life regardless lifestyle) and future-orientation (the notion of a predictable future, Halberstam 2005:152). From this perspective, war is contrasted with longevity in the sense that a "premature death", can be a possible outcome, hence no future (Halberstam 2005:2;11). This triggered Marko's migration in the first place, given that his refuge from war is an avoidance of such outcomes and one that kept him waiting and hoping for a positive decision. Yet, in the informant's comparison between war and the temporary fulfilment of so-called basic human needs in the "safe" residence ("money", "food", "clothes") , also the latter, the lifestyle in the refuge is likened to a non-futurity ("no prospects, no future, no directions"). The lifestyle where "you only vegetate" suggests a state between a possible "normal" life in Sweden (in the end you arrived here to begin a normal life") and a return to the risks of a premature death. In other words, there is an underlying link to non-futurity or alternative temporality in relation to the "options" available at that time: uncertain waiting under the temporary protection regulation and an unpredictable future in the sense that the length or outcome of waiting is unforeseen, alongside the omnipresent alternative of a deportation to war. Waiting, if conceptualised as temporal stasis, is a state of waiting for the future/"what's at stake" (decision/PUT) that never seems to arrive (cf. Halberstam 2005:7;2,11). Halberstam terms similar states "diminishing futures", arguing that waiting in itself includes a "futurity" in the

sense that “the future does not become diminished; it actually begins to weigh on the present as a burden” (Halberstam 2005:7;2,11).

Ruža: All that was in a way – Everything was like... how to explain – You didn’t have the strength to tackle the problem that you had since up to that time, to solve them. Instead it was all some kind of *postponement* for, for one day. Until everything is resolved. Until we know what’s at stake.

R: Sve je to bilo na neki način. Sve je ono... kako da, da objasnim. Čovjek nije imao snage da se uhvati u koštac sa onim problemom koji je imao od prije, da ih riješi. Neg’ je to sve bilo neko *odlaganje*, za jednog dana, dok se sve riješi. Dok znademo na čemu smo.

We used to say that it’s like a vacuum period. Like a period that is- simply you didn’t feel that you lived that part of life. Like you were maybe () supposed to do. It was all in some kind of anticipation. I don’t know, an, an abnormal way of living, you could say.

R: Mi često smo govorili da je to kao vakum period. Kao period koji ti je - jednostavno nisi osjećao da si živio taj dio života. Onako kako ga je možda () trebalo živjeti. Sve je to bilo u nekom isčekivanju. Neznam, neki, neki nenormalan način života, rekao bi čovjek.

Marko: *All* conversations, *all* activities, *everything was always based on* whether we’ll stay or be sent back. And this nagging went on day by day, month by month, year by year. It’s always always always the same story. In those refugee centres, everything is about whether you’re being granted a [permanent] residence permit or... and everything was subordinated to it. [...] Indeed in the end you came here to stay and to start a normal life but then in the end they said “no no no, you’ll *not* live normally until we decide, wait a little!” So you’re waiting, and keep waiting and waiting, so then you end up on psychiatry and keep waiting and waiting.

M: *Svi* razgovori *sve* aktivnosti, *sve se to uvijek svodilo* hoćemo li ostati ili ćemo biti vraćeni. I to se taman klapalo iz dana u dan iz mjeseca u mjesec, godinu za godinom. To je uvijek, uvijek, uvijek ista priča. U tim izbjegličkim centrima, samo hoćel’ se dobiti boravišna dozvola ili... i sve je bilo podređeno tome. [...] U krajnjoj liniji čovjek je i došao tu da ostane i da počne normalan život ali onda na kraju kaže „ne ne ne, ti *nećeš* normalno živjet’ dok mi ne odlučimo, sačekaj malo!“. Pa čekaš, pa čekaš, pa čekaš, pa onda završiš na psihijatriji pa čekaš, pa čekaš.

In my reading of Ruža’s “postponement” and Marko’s narrative about how “All conversations, all activities, everything was always based on whether we’ll stay or we’ll be returned”, points to the diminishing futures and their burden on the present. This very burden and diminishing future can be linked to Cvetkovich’s theory about everyday trauma. Cvetkovich has proposed an alternative and depathologising analysis of trauma by paying attention to the traumas often discussed within feminist theory and in relation to the “intimate” realms of the everyday. She therefore emphasises trauma as also being beyond the sensational or visible catastrophic events such as those of genocide and war, and as linked to the domestic spheres and other less visible spheres. Here, it might link to the refugee residence itself (“you end up

on psychiatry”). This, if linked to uncertainty in asylum seeking, calls into question dichotomies such as risk/safety (Cvetkovich 2003:3-38,118; cf. Halberstam 2005:6). The fear of returning/risk discussed in Marko’s earlier section is here described as omnipresent in the outwardly viewed “safety” sites of refuge. It also contests normal/non-normal as the refuge is both framed as a normal way of acting/a way out of abnormality (“In the end you came here to stay and to start a normal life”) and abnormality (“an abnormal way of living”/“You didn’t feel that you lived that part of life. Like you were maybe () supposed to do”).

Late Insights

In the chapter on methodology, I cited Passerini and the notion of insights that occur in the aftermath, framed by current frames that tend to reshape that which is experienced (Passerini 1988:98; Suaréz Lafuente 2003:387). This is how I interpret the narrative where there is a “late” insight but the insight in itself is also shaped by the outcome, in this case the status of PUT from which Ruža speaks today. She stresses that “you weren’t able to look at it from the same angle as you can today”.

[...] the period in the camp, well, like I said, had we known better in that moment, if we only knew how to appreciate all those contacts, a little bit more of everything, a little bit more to enjoy all that. Simply, we didn’t know, we couldn’t relax () enjoy the period. And if we only knew that everything will be fine... but you’re simply afraid.

R: [...] onaj period u kampu, eto, k’o što već rekoh, da smo znali bolje u tom momentu, da smo znali malo više cijeniti sve te kontakte, malo više od svega toga, malo više uživati u svemu tome. Jednostavno nismo znali, nismo se mogli opustiti () uživati u periodu i da smo znali da će sve biti u redu ali međutim bojiš se jednostavno.

Sebastian says something similar concerning his asylum seeking period. His narrative relates both to the “insight” expressed by Ruža’s, and Marko’s discussion about the dissonance between living in the refugee residence and life as it should be lived. Asylum and a “failed” life is an equation belonging to the past but which, after PUT, cannot be erased.

Nothing is happening; all you’re doing is playing some basketball, some [foot] ball. While your time is passing. In fact, you’re doing nothing. So then you think your life has failed. You see, you’ve accomplished nothing. But in fact, it’s not like that really. But you do not realise that, not until later but it’s a bit late then.

SE: Ništa se ne dešava, samo igraš malo košarke, malo lopte. A vrijeme ti prolazi. A ništa ne činiš u stvari. I onda misliš pa eto propade mi život. Razumiješ, nisi ništa napravio. A ono u stvari nije to baš tako. Al’ ti to poslije shvatiš al’ tad već poslije bude već malo kasno.

Sebastian refers to an earlier perception of his life being “failed”, (“So then you think so your life has failed”). Brekke has discussed this with reference to asylum seekers’ expressions

such as “I have no life”, meaning that there is not a question of being dead or alive, but of not perceiving living as meaningful (Brekke 2004:51;45). While awareness of “what’s at stake” was important for Marko and Ruža, Sebastian links his asylum period to a stasis in what Hartmut Rosa has called *Lebenzeit*, the life time and the perception of “your [life] time is passing” while “you’ve not accomplished nothing” (cf. Rosa 2009:91). This partially links to the earlier discussions about meaningfully spent time or the narrative of loss. While the awareness of the passage of time is emphasised by Sebastian in relation to uncertainty, Pero discusses it in relation to return. He refers to a point in his asylum seeking, where he felt the pressure to return due to the unbearable uncertainty but at the same time felt that a return was difficult. This was after the war, which also made the return less dangerous.

Pero: After some two-three years everything is different. You lose all contacts. Mobile technology was not available for me. You do not go anywhere while here the social standing is nothing... the social standing of a refugee.

P: Nakon dvije-tri godine sve je drugačije. Izgubiš sve kontakte. Mobilna tehnika tada nedostupna meni. Ideš nigdje. A ovdje nikakav status... status izbjeglice.

In Pero’s description, besides the dangers discussed above, the duration becomes the very matter that generates more waiting time and becomes the orientation device and problem. Time is at the same time an investment and a loss. It resembles Ahmed’s description of a form of temporal catch-22:

The longer you proceed on this path the harder it is to go back even in face of this uncertainty. You make an investment in going and the going extends the investment. You keep going out of hope that you are getting somewhere. Hope is an investment that the “lines” we follow will get us somewhere. When we don’t give up, when we persist, when we are “under pressure” to arrive, to get somewhere, we give ourselves over to the line. Turning back risks the wasting of time, a time that has already been expended or given up. If we give up on the line that we have given our time to, then we give up more than a line; we give up a certain life we had lived, which can feel like giving up on ourselves. And so you go on. (Ahmed 2006:18)

The narrative of wasted and unrecognised time regarding the period of asylum procedure runs as a main thread in most interviews. I have captured it in this section by starting with Goran and what has been examined as “chronometric” and “chronological” temporal logics (Foucault 1991; Roberts 2008). In the article “Time and Work–Life Balance: The Roles of ‘Temporal Customization’ and ‘Life Temporality’” (2008), Emma Roberts makes clear that while the former emphasises duration “how long”, the latter asks “when”. Both can be

conceptualised as quantifiable time (Roberts 2008:437-8; Foucault 1991:150) and make explicit how these conventional conceptions of time give insight into perceptions of displacements, interruptions, “breaks” in normative timetables and subjectivities. To return to “But how long does it last?”, the question might not only refer to the temporality of hectic workday structures around minutes and hours, where the same are experienced as both valuable and in short supply, but also provides a framework through which the past is filtered. The retrospective narratives of the long-term periods tend to frame them as wasted years that are not entirely taken into account. The informants describe their asylum processes as “go nowhere” and “doing nothing”. At the same time, the length itself is implied when negotiating with the past. As I have discussed, also the durations give the alternative temporalities their stigmatising features. A temporal emphasis on asylum and interrelated contexts of migration makes evident the informants’ perception of uncertain futures as being a condition where normality is anticipated, postponed or out of reach. Sebastian refers to stasis regarding accomplishments in life, Ruža relates to postponements and “abnormal way of living”, and Marko refers to his former desire yet, inability to live normally as an asylum seeker (“Indeed in the end you’ve arrived here to begin a normal life”). Futurity seems to be linked to these aspects quite strongly. Refuge from war is per definition based on longevity and futurity – saving life. Yet in the seemingly safe residence, the risks of a return seem omnipresent, giving impressions of an uncertain future life in Sweden. Even in the aftermath, certainty is emphasised, phrased as “if we only knew...”.

In the next part of the analysis, I will turn the attention to re/productive time and other aspects of these processes where years, conceptualised as waiting time and age play a significant role. While in this part I have mainly included excerpts where time is viewed as a waste, what follow are contexts where it is taken into account, measured, and contextualised in accordance with a wide range of “timings”.

Part II: “From the Cradle to...” - Timings of Migration

This part of the chapter focuses on migration timings in relation to a broader conceptualisation of time as heteronormative including the age category, and the notion of life as a trajectory of stages and timings. Part II is a continuation of the earlier discussion as I attempt to contextualise “lost” times in relation to the narratives on processes that follow the asylum period.

For the Sake of the Order: Age, Orders & Catching-Up Processes

Ruža: I’ve never been a materialist. I’m an idealist. I’m still living for some ideals. I really do. (laughs)

R: Ja nisam nikad bila materialista. Ja sam idealista. Živim u nikim idealima još uvijek. Majke mi. (smijeh)

I am conducting an interview at my place with Ruža. As in some previous settings, the interview takes place during an ordinary workday, around lunchtime. When I offer her to have lunch with me, Ruža says that she is not hungry but will take a slice for the sake of the sake (*radi reda*), a common expression in BCS. The expression describes the act of doing something for the sake of something else, meaning that the actual motivation is not an end in itself (to eat because one is hungry). Rather, it relates to the sake of what is expected and due to hospitality or politeness (me offering lunch/having lunch for the sake of me having offered). In a way, *radi reda* is normativity itself. Moreover, the term “red” has a double meaning. It also stands for a certain linear “order” or “queue” and in that sense links the act to certain norms and social orders. Thus, the saying signals something in (the right) order (lunchtime for lunch, not for breakfast). This theme informs Ruža’s narrative.

When Ruža recounts her education path, starting with completion courses at Swedish adult education (Sw. *Komvux*) in order to continue her higher education, she recalls the first educational instance as a hindrance. As she was eager to quit the courses as soon as possible, there was nevertheless a temporal order in which the education was to be undertaken.

Ruža: In order to keep their jobs in school, they are stopping you! Those students... They don’t allow them to go on. I think, while for us it was “let me finish. Please let me, I am not twenty any more”. Let me go”. And so on. Simply impossible.

R: Jednostavno da bi ljudi sebi sačuvali posao u školi, oni zaustavljaju te! Učenike te... nedaju im dalje da idu. Mislim, dok je nama bilo „daj da završim. Daj, pa nisam ja više - nemam ja dvadeset godina. Pusti me”. I tako. Nemože, jednostavno.
Z: Šta, nema preko reda?
R: Nema preko reda. (smijeh)

Zlatana: So, no jumping the queue?

Ruža: No jumping the queue. (laughs)

After listening to Ruža's narrative first about asylum taking four years followed by the completion at adult education and university education, which she also from time to time seems to be reflecting on as a time-consuming process ("I don't know what I could have done to make it shorter"), I ask her to explain.

Zlatana: Why this great need and rush to finish as soon as possible?

Ruža: Why?! (laughs) Age! Age. I mean, I already felt old there on the bench (laughs) sitting there...

Zlatana: At Komvux?!

Ruža: Well at Komvux too. Regardless, I mean, it's silly to sit there after so many years. Just because I had to pass some formality (laughs) I have no idea.

Z: Odkuda, ta velika potreba i žurba da se završi što prije?

R: Odkud?! (smijeh) Godine! Godine. Pa mislim, osjećala sam se već starom tamo u klupi (smijeh) sjedeći...

Z: Na Komvux:u?!

R: Pa i na Komvux:u. Bez obzira, mislim, glupo je nakon toliko godina sjediti. Samo da bi ja prošla neku formu (smijeh) Nemaam pojma.

In the narratives, there is a common point of reference. It relates to reflections on the speed, either actually felt, or desired, that follow the periods of temporal stasis. In these narratives, the temporality is not only that of a different lifestyle if compared to the stasis period but also implies, to paraphrase Ahmed, narratives about disturbed orders (Ahmed 2006:161-2). Ruža's tale can be related to a perceived temporal "disorder", where Ruža is referring to the right age performativity but at the same time narrates her experiences as conflicting with this logic ("I am not 20 anymore"/"I felt old"). In Beverly Skeggs' *Formations of Class and Gender. Becoming Respectable* (1999), a study on white working-class women in Britain, Skeggs discusses heteronormativity in relation to both marginalising and normalising processes. If read in parallel with Skeggs, the performativity of age could here be tightly interwoven with the heteronormative institutional organisations in which the perception of being "old" both marks a practice that disturbs the order, yet is relational and measured in accordance with the same order it disturbs (cf. Skeggs 1999:192-3). The expression *radi reda* can be encountered in this very experience, in Ruža's flashback on her eagerness to finish her education, instead of being stopped or held back because she was forced to pass (slow) formal procedures, as she explains.

The narrative about being held back or slowed down was also noticed in the interview with Anna who shared her experience about her daughter's school start. In the same year

when Anna and her family were granted the PUT, Anna's daughter turned six. This was when Anna decided that her daughter would start school:

And then given that my little girl was at that time six years, this was the year when the selection for school starts - either at six or at seven. I considered that she can start at six because she was writing and reading well already [...] So I went from school to school to talk to **principals**. All by myself. Take the little one's hand and went to school and explained to them that I wanted her to start school and in what way she was to start. You know, I never started from the social services but from *school*. So I skipped their... because they considered that I, as a **refugee**, you know, and according to their experiences of that time, it means that the little one first has to attend, I don't know, **refugee...** [preparatory class] and those kinds of things, and I said "no, not that, we've been here for three years now so not that".

A: I onda, s obzirom da je moja mala tada imala šest godina, to je bilo te godine kada je bio odabir za početak u školu - ili sa šest ili sedam. Ja sam smatrala da ona može početi sa šest zato što je pisala je i čitala je normalno [...] i onda sam ja sama išla od škole do škole do **rektora**. Sama. Uzmi malu za ruku i u školu i objasnila im da ja hoću da počne školu i na koji način da krene. Znaš, ja nisam krenula od socijale nego sam krenula od *škole*. Znači ja sam preskočila taj njihov... zato što su oni smatrali da ja kao **flykting**, znaš, i po njihovim to tadašnja iskustva, to treba sad da mala prvo ide, neznam, **flykting**... [pripremní razred/„förberedelseklass"] i tako te stvari, to sam ja rekla „ne, to ne, mi smo već tri godine tu i to ne“.

Both Anna and Ruža give the impression of a general tiredness of being held back by authorities. After years of unstable residence statuses and complex asylum processes, this shifts to (other) orders. Ruža refers to the struggle with “bureaucratic forms”, while Anna links this to general assumptions about processes taken by or imposed on refugees. Anna stresses how she was never dependent upon these, but was finding her own ways in the system: “I didn't rely on social services or social workers. Rather I was thinking about what I, what I myself can do”. In the passage about the school start, this becomes clear as she mentions how she skipped some parts of these “preparatory” procedures (“So I skipped their... because they considered that I, as a refugee, you know...”/“and I said ‘no, not that, we've been here for three years now so not that’”).

This can be linked to Jeannette Hägerström's discussion about the Swedish education system. Hägerström advocates an intersectional approach with emphasis on the analytical categories of ethnicity/race, class, and gender. She claims that there are automatic assumptions about immigrants having difficulties and problems in education, which often lead to acts of detachment from marginalisation and stereotypes by dis-identification from the homogenised migrant “group” itself (Hägerström 2003:285-7). I read Anna's narrative in this way, which is contrasted with a certain disfavoured and imposed “refugee-model”, from which she has detached herself.

Here a reference to Aihwa Ong’s discussion about “the commonsensical view of ethnic succession” in the “U.S.”/“Western” contexts is in order. In *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (1999), Ong argues that the social order and social expectations have a temporal dimension in relation to ethnicity as

recent arrivals from non-Western countries are expected to enter at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder and *wait* their proper turn to reach middle-class status” (Ong 1999:100, my emphasis).

In her later work, *Buddha is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, The New America* (2003), Ong discusses succession explicitly in relation to full citizenship and intergenerationality and how forthcoming migrant generations (so-called second-generation migrants) are supposed to be more “in line” with non-migrants than the first generation migrants/newcomers (Ong 2003:3-4;25). However, in the context of the informants of this study, succession as “inheritance” that relies on a moving through the linear progressions of reproductive futurity has not been emphasised. Like the accounts above also show, the narratives are rather intertwined with the idea of the *individual* life-course and age timings alongside earlier accumulated capitals. I understand Anna’s description of the process as being in accordance with her own assessments of what should be undertaken and where they, in fact, should be after three years in Sweden. It also links to age performativity and proper age for starting school or, as in Ruža’s case, for having finished it. This is important to note in relation to the narratives of wasted years (Analysis Part I). In this context, the length of the asylum seeking period is taken into account as a measurement.

Goran, discusses similar when reflecting on the nine-year long “break” for his profession, or as he puts it, “work practices had changed” within his field.

Goran: [...] I have managed to overcome all that and, and when I compare myself to those who have been living here all the time I am much better at coping with it than the majority is. Someone at my age cannot be compared to me.

G: [...] *sve sam ja* to uspio da savladam i, i kad se poredim sa ovim ljudima koji su ovdje bili sve vrijeme ja puno bolje vladam s tim od većine. Ne’ko ‘ko je mojih godina nemože se porediti samnom.

Similar to Anna, Goran discusses time passage itself as a problem, but also as a measurement for being in or out of line. For Goran it is important to stress that age was not a problem when adjusting to the technological changes that occurred during this time span. Still, the notion of age and generation seem to serve as a foundation for measurement and comparison. The

generational comparison is in Goran’s case done only to confirm incomparability (“Someone at my age cannot be compared to me”). I interpret this as a sense of being *in time*, or even *ahead* of one’s time. In my interpretation, Goran’s perception highlights an explicit link between progress and temporality, by offering a time-based terminology of competition. Such terminology relates to narratives of *sooner-later* that intersect with vertical up/down models and measurements of positions and perceptions of anachronisms (Rosa 2009:82). The idea of diminishing loss with speed is, as Foucault has discussed, one of the central schemes of though in disciplinary regimes (Foucault 1991:154) or neoliberal time conceptions (cf. Bourdieu 1998:95-6,102).

In Anna’s case, the residence permit resulted in an intensive period of multitasking: taking language courses in Swedish, and afterwards attending intensive completion of courses and examinations in order to get her professional licence verified, in parallel with a side-job as a care assistant and reproductive time devoted to the realms of family. When posing a similar question to Anna as to Ruža, regarding the intensity and speed they chose, Anna responds critically by saying that this remark is not new:

[...] that’s a Swedish way of looking at life – **“but why, why do you rush? Wait until you’re on maternity leave and so”**, but it’s that something, another thing that is, intuition, which we today can’t, I can’t measure intuition today as I do with sugar to get a number, you know, it’s just a feeling. But that inner voice “no, I have to send it *now!*” [application for completion at *Högskoleverket*]²⁸

A: [...] to je Švedski način gledanja na život „vaddå, varför stressar du? Vänta tills du är ju mammaledig och så”, ali to je ono nešto, jedna druga stvar što je, intuicija, što mi nismo danas - intuiciju ja nemogu danas izmjeriti isto kao šećer da dobijem cifru, znaš, to je samo osjećaj. Ali taj unutrašnji glas... „ne, ja to moram poslat *sad!*“ [zahtjev za dopunu preko Högskoleverket].

Being among the group of informants who obtained her PUT in the first part of the 1990s, thus before some informants even arrived to Sweden, Anna claims that she captured the timing before changed completion regulations in her professional field: had she not chosen the pace she did, she would not have the same opportunities for (faster) completion.

In my interpretation, the narratives provide a framework through which self-conceptions and positions are conceived temporally. Both Ruža and Anna explain that they could have taken other paths as well, alternatively a slower pace, yet this would not have led to the professional (middle class) positions they have today or the positions they once had. For Ruža, the position of a “cleaner”, as she says, “was not attractive”. In a similar vein, Anna did not want to find herself in any lower position than she had in her country of origin when she

²⁸ The Swedish National Agency for Higher Education

describes the job on the side of her, ongoing study period: “I wasn’t forced to. Still I was. Because as a care assistant, I could not live like that, my life wouldn’t be... it’s not me”. It is obvious here how the profession is a key component of identity for Anna.

However, there are differences as well. Ruža found that her previous studies were “pretentious” in the Swedish context and had to give up this course in order to invest in a more “concrete” education program/occupation. Her previous ambitions about university studies were sustained but adjusted in accordance with her aspirations to get a job in Sweden. Her reference to “pretentious” could be read with Skeggs’ discussion. Drawing on Bourdieu, Skeggs argues that such estimations foreground the discrepancy between ambitions and opportunities (Skeggs 1999:141).

In Marko’s description, the processes that follow PUT may be likened to the “positive zero”.²⁹

And when my status was resolved then I was on the zero. All the time I was below zero. So when you get your status resolved, when you get the permanent residence then you are on the zero. It is a zero, the zero positive, as it was called... in former Yugoslavia () with the tendency of going up.

M: I kad mi se riješio status onda sam došao na nulu. Cijelo vrijeme sam bio ispod nule. Onda kad dobiješ riješen status, dobiješ uppehållstillstånd, onda si na nuli. To je nula, pozitivna nula, kako se zvalo.... u bivšoj Jugoslaviji () sa tendencijom da možeš da ideš gore. To je pozitivna nula.

Integration, if read as re-education, refers back to the awareness of what has been erased. In Marko’s description of the positive zero, he refers to a condition that evokes associations to both regression in the form of the erased capital accumulations (“You only have your name left”) and a “tendency of going up”. Thus, there is another narrative of loss at stake here, where loss refers to previous “productive” investments and not merely temporal stasis that is devoid of such potentials. The migration timing and/or class is therefore in itself crucial when understanding the “loss” or what is considered as such. While these issues hardly are novel but relate to migration in general (Brah 1996:35,56-9; Hägerström 2003:289; Mulinari 2005), it is important to note that the asylum seeking periods are taken into account in narratives of catching-up processes and perceptions on being in or out of time. Temporally, there is an urge to align with certain positions, performance of age and expectations accordingly. Ruža’s and Anna’s perceptions of imposed formal orders in educational and other contexts are important to stress as these formalities run counter to the asylum procedure itself. Except for

²⁹ Marko refers here to what in former socialist Yugoslavia was used to signify profit. The positive/negative zero could within these frameworks point to accumulation potential.

the narrative of a frustrating slow procedure, there also is the issue concerning the order which, as Brekke claims, is perceived as unfair *precisely* because decision-making does *not* correspond to the order of arrival but is instead “jumping the queue” (Brekke 2004:23). The catching-up processes discussed above might in several ways be linked to a process of, in Ahmed’s terminology, getting in line again, a process that is linked to the categories of age and class and ethnicity (Ahmed 2006:11).

In the next section, I will return to Pero and Sebastian whose processes in the aftermath of asylum articulate somewhat differing relations to time, as they don’t have access to the discourses about the backlash with respect to former capital accumulation. More precisely, I shall address the two informants of the later generation whose cultural accumulated capital, to follow Ong’s ways of thinking, is not converted into “social prestige” but ruptured and unfinished and thereby less recognised (cf. Ong 1999:25,89-97; Skeggs 1999:254-5).

The Black Album: Youth/Adult Binary in 60 photographs

Pero and I decide to meet at my place. Due to the fact that he is part of a family constellation with small children, he found his own home too hectic and noisy for an interview. When entering my apartment, I immediately notice that he carried what at that time looked like a black book. This “black book” turned out to be a photo album of the 1990s.

- Zlatana: I find it interesting that, well that, in your album...
- Pero: It's black (laughs ironically)
- Zlatana: ...the images are from the camps in Sweden, and there is also one image, I believe, from, from the war.
- Pero: Like I told you, black.
- Zlatana: I find it odd that they are put together.
- Pero: The one from the war is all I've got. It means I don't have more.
- Zlatana: But the logic...
- Pero: Well, it's telling in itself... the logic... Well, [those] from **the vacation** are as by accident put in another [album]. Because they are much brighter.
- Zlatana: Aha, the black album.
- Pero: Indeed, black album and dark times.
(silence)

Z: Interesanto mi je da, da ovaj, u tvom albumu...

P: On je crne boje. (ironičan smijeh)

Z: ...slike su iz kampova iz Švedske, i ima tu i jedna slika, čini mi se, i iz, iz, rata.

P: Kažem ti, crne boje.

Z: Čudno meni kako te slike zajedno.

P: To iz rata su sve što imam slika. Znači nemam više.

Z: Ali logika...

P: Pa eto sama od sebe govori... logika. A od **semestra** su kojislučajno u drugom. Zato što su svjetlije puno.

Z: Aha, crni album.

P: Baš crni album i crna vremena. [tišina]

When discussing temporalities, the logic behind the way images have been put together and organised, can reveal some aspects of migration histories, especially those not possible to grasp with a C.V. (cf. Analysis Part I). Unlike a C.V., Pero's album³⁰ gives content to the 1990s. Most importantly, it entails aspects regarding the informants' own classificatory schemes. It is an album of, in his own expression, "dark times". Pero himself, when looking at the images, makes the remark: "those were supposed to be my best years".

Expressions such as "the best years/age"³¹ (BCS. *najbolje godine*; cf. En. the time of one's life) and "age of measurement" are common in the narratives. Some informants link the ideal stage to a certain point in life, which is either lived or disturbed, depending on the informants' age during refuge. My persistent asking for a definition of "the best" made them often reconsider these years as such, nevertheless without questioning it as a stage *per se*. Pero refers to the age between 18-25, Ruža to her 20s, Goran to 19-30 and Sebastian to his teens. Sebastian captures this when referring to the saying in the region of former Yugoslavia "From the cradle to the grave, the best years are those of a student"³² (BCS *Od kolijevke pa do groba najljepše je đачko doba*). Also, Ruža gives a particular meaning to asylum seeking in relation to youth where the conception of the lifestyle of "young people" is somewhat contrasted with the asylum seeking: "[...] You're forced to sit in that camp. I mean, in the bloom of your youth. It's totally pointless". In these narratives, the shared point is the commonly termed stages of adolescence/youth and early adulthood (BCS *mladost*). Inspired by this, I have dedicated the next section to an elaboration of this view on time and in relation to Pero's and Sebastian's migration timings.

Staging Life: The Best Years/Age & The Black Bag

When asked to define his own expression, "best years", Pero seem somewhat ambivalent as he emphasises both the retrospective measure and the stage as such. He gives an illustration of how the stage is imagined:

³⁰ When asked "If you would choose one image which represents the refugee period, which one you would choose?", Pero responded with somewhat irritated tone: "But they all do". This is the reason to include the album into analysis. Here I have considered Pink's emphasis on what meanings informants give to images and how Pero (refuses to) choose among them (cf. Pink 2007:112-3,123).

³¹ In BCS *godine* has a double meaning: age and years. .

³² This should not be conflated with the similar expression in the English language where "from the cradle to the grave" signifies something that is unchangeable throughout life. In the context above, the expression is rather linked to a certain "stage" in a lifetime. The similarity is, however, that both the English usage and the one in BCS rest on specific schemes of thought: linearity.

It's when you're free, however in this situation you have nothing. You have a black bag with clothes. *I still today hate those bags so much that... sometimes I refuse to take out the trash...* It's some kind of security so I can support myself so I don't need anyone's help () But it's okay today, today I've got a suitcase. (laughs)

Well *they say* that the best years are from eighteen to I don't know, twenty five. So when you're single, unattached, going out, yes, when you live like you want. I didn't. Those years have passed but... No! They're coming! (laughs) I still wait for the best years. Seriously () you don't see... *that* time *at the time* but rather you see it after it has *passed*. You can't say "now I'm in my prime of life". Rather, when it passes then you see it. So that's some kind of measure. For me, in relation to those years, these are my best.

P: To je kad si slobodan, međutim u ovoj situaciji nemaš ništa. Imaš crnu vreću sa garderobom. *I danas dan mrzim te vreće toliko da... ponekad vigram smeće u njoj bacat...* to je neka sigurnost, da mogu sam se održavati, da ne trebam ničiju pomoć. () Ali danas je okej, danas imam kofer. (smijeh)

Pa *drugi* su rekli da su najbolje godine od osam'nest do ne znam ni ja, dvadesetpete. Znači kad je čovjek sam, nevezan, izlazi, ja, živi onako kako hoće. Ja nisam. Te moje godine su prošle ali... Ne! Dolaze! (smijeh) Ja još uvijek čekam najbolje godine. Ozbiljno () ne vidiš ti... *to* vrijeme *u tom* vremenu nego ga vidiš poslije kada je *prošlo*. Ne možeš ti reći sad sam ja u najboljim godinama. Nego kad prođe onda vidiš. Znači to ti je neko mjerilo. Meni u odnosu na one godine, ove su mi najbolje godine.

In this conception of the stage in question, Pero contextualises it as a lifestyle characterised by autonomy and singlehood ("So when you're single, unattached, going out, yes, when you live like you want") and self-sufficiency that he links to a certain age and stage in life that in linear heteronormative trajectories can be conceived as the pre-marriage stage. In Halberstam's theorisations, the very conceptualisation of adolescence as a stage or limited time in life is based on a specific order where it takes the place before marriage as given. She discusses this period as a queer period when "prolonged" and, when there are no obvious distinctions between youth and adulthood. Put differently, it is a way of living that contests normative constructions of adulthood and life as divided into stages. From this viewpoint the idealisation, which I also read in Halberstam's work, of queer temporality/"best age" is often situated within "epistemolog[ies] of youth" and "extended adolescence", or O'Rourke's "delayed" childhood (Halberstam 2005:175-7;152-3, 159-62,176-7; Halberstam et al 2007:182; O'Rourke 2011:109; Boellstorff 2007).

The informant both supports the idea of heteronormative time and makes it complex. The projection of the "best" onto a stage in the past destabilises the here/now "family time" as ideal. From such a view, it could be seen as a "queer moment" that signifies that which is queer by capturing the self-contradictory passages and paradoxes of what otherwise is seemingly a heteronormative order (Rosenberg 2002:117-20, *queert läckage*, my translation; Ahmed 2006:4). In Pero's conception, it coincides with this idea as he emphasises, for instance, singlehood. However, if the conception of the stage as such is taken into account, it relates to the heteronormative order and by extension the neoliberal ideal of adulthood:

responsibility and (financial) autonomy. Pero's narrative of his migration time sets this intersection centre stage in his metaphor of the black plastic garbage bag.

Similar to another informant for whom the refugee residence building in which he spent a couple of years as asylum seeker was a reminder of the refugee period until the day it was torn down, Pero's reminder of the 1990s is his "black" album and the "black [plastic garbage] bag" ("I still today hate those bags..."). In the passage above, the black bag, unlike the "suitcase" he now possesses, signals two distinct lifestyles where the former lifestyle in displacement is opposed to the "suitcase" (leisure travel) and the "best" stage, which is a description that evokes associations to freedom of mobility and autonomy (cf. Kaplan 1996:3).

In most interviews, the informants usually mentioned the social relations they acquired during their asylum seeking as one of the most valuable aspects of that time. This was apparent also in Pero's album as his images were depicting people. When asking him to tell me more about the social relations, the bag metaphor appears once again:

With some I'm in touch, with others I'm not. Some are on other wavelengths. Or in other places. They deal with other things, once it was the same problem for everyone... so financially, whether, whether... some, say, purchased apartments, houses, are dealing with various businesses, we no longer - we're not those with the black bags and alike, it's not anymore - they are either greater or lesser.

P: S nekim imam kontakt, s nekim nemam. Neki u drugim vodama. Ili u drugim mjestima. Bave se drugim stvarima, nekad je eto bio isti problem svima... znači ekonomski dali, dali... neki su recimo uzeli stanove, kuće, businesse raznorazne ganjaju, više se - nismo oni sa crnim vrećama da smo isti, više nije - oni su veći ili manji.

Also, in these passages, the metaphor of the bag links to material property but makes it even more explicit how the refugee status constitutes a position, or lifestyle, a precariousness that, in Ahmed's terminology, can serve as a basis for an orientation (Ahmed 2006:118-9). Grosz describes this in terms of a "community of the lost", which in itself may be a ground for community formation (Grosz 2001:xvii,151,163; Halberstam 2005:153-4). This is explicitly expressed by Pero ("once it was the same problem for everyone..." / "we're not those with the black bags and alike"). The bag, unlike the resolved status, is what makes the people "alike", oriented towards the same problems. The legal status, which in the aftermath of being resolved, is described as a process of differentiation that leads in other directions/goals/problems and foregrounds socio-economic aspects (apartments, houses, businesses). This indicates differences between "refugees" and "refugees" and, to paraphrase Marko, the (upward) mobility from the "zero". It also might be read as the asylum period itself being an interclass connection, which in this particular narrative becomes visible only in

the aftermath of a decision and stable status in the country. This is suggested by Pero, who by using the words “greater”/“lesser”, illustrates these “new” directions as hierarchically perceived. The individualised paths also addressed earlier that follow the decision can here be linked to Skeggs’ class analyses. Skeggs claims that the representation of the working-class, or here a form of underclass, is that of a mass (“those with the black bags”), being the very contrast that the middle-class individualisation is constructed against (Skeggs 1999:13-4,259; McClintock 1995:46). Going back to “normality” indicates a “return” to power differentiations explicitly linked to class as well as to individualisation and differentiations within the homogenising term “refugee”. The PUT implies reshaped social ties, as he himself articulates it: “some people were replaced by others”. This excerpt suggests how the social capital, if interpreted as social relations, tends to dissolve and change.

Furthermore, the greater/lesser is not a mere link to the new orientation devices and differentiations that the permanent residence status enables but also implies temporal dimensions. In this context, Pero mentions “...while I was delayed in this for years”, adding, “[f]or me it wasn’t important”. Hence, he stresses how he chose not to choose a certain path, although observing and being aware of the new normative frameworks and his “delayed” position within them. This discussion is of relevance in relation to earlier discussion about making up for lost time, where *sooner-later* becomes the issue regarding time.

Sebastian, who belongs to the same generation as Pero, describes an impatience occurring after his teenage years, a strong willingness to regain a sense of normality and self-sufficiency.

Sebastian: I was like- I want money right away... you see? I want, I wanted immediately. I want also a car and blah-blah but I can’t go to school and have a car and... Well I want to work too, a bit in school but I want quickly. I want immediately. Do you understand?

Zlatana: Why do you think that was so important?

Sebastian: Because I lost some time in that uncertainty because back there my normal schooling was interrupted, like here teenagers, go to school, they go normally and all that. But with me everything was abnormal. First the disease of my mother at... at...at... I was only fourteen when she became ill.

SE: Ja sam bio takav, ja hoću pare odmah... razumiješ? Ja hoću, ja sam htio odmah. Hoću i auto i bla-bla, a ne mogu ja ići u školu i imati auto i... nego ja hoću i raditi nešto, malo i u školu ali hoću brzo. Hoću odmah. Razumiješ?

Z: Zašto misliš da ti je to bilo tako bitno?

SE: Zato što mi je prošlo vremena u toj, u toj, neizvjesnosti. Jer ja sam dole prekin’o svoje školovanje normalno, kao što ovdje tinejdžeri idu u školu, idu normalno i sve. A kod mene je sve to bilo nenormalno. Prvo bolest matere moje sa... sa... ja imao četm’est godina samo kad se ona razbolila. Ja bio djetе i govorio nije to ništa a ustvari poslije kad si vidio da je to ozbiljno i tako to - onda u tome rat došao... [...]

I was a kid and was telling myself it's nothing but
in fact, when I later realised that it was serious and
so - then the war came [...]

Also, in Sebastian's narrative, there is an implicit link to outsidership regarding normative temporality ("But with me everything was abnormal"), and the interruption with respect to the age/timing ("my normal schooling was interrupted"/"[un]like here teenagers, go to school, they go normally"). While both informants emphasise financial autonomy as an orientation device and an ideal, they seem to hold somewhat different perspectives on material and economic capital and describe their routes differently ("I was delayed"/"I wanted immediately"). As these features are described as being reduced and restricted during asylum seeking/refuge, they directly run counter to the descriptions of the cultural definition and expectations linked to the best age/years phases. Put differently, the description of the migration timings in relation to a broadly conceptualised youth runs in tandem with logics of labour and production and normative timetables (schooling, work, financial autonomy). Interruptions in these timetables seem to connect to interruptions ("abnormal[ity]" in relation to the conception of their "best" stage. The tendency to contrast war, poverty, refuge and asylum seeking with the conventional scripts of the teenage stage or stage of early adulthood indicate how migration timings might be understood in relation to the notion of "right" timings. Anna describes this notion:

Anna: Each period of life has its... its role. When you're a teenager, be a teenager then. There's a period for everything. I usually compare life with **schooling**, with schooling. When you're seven years old you can't slip in grade eighth and take the exams.

A: Svaki period u životu ima svoj... svoju ulogu. Kad si tinejdžer, onda budi tinejdžer. Sve ima svoj period. Ja život obično usporedim sa **skolgãng**, sa školovanjem. Šta kad si ti sa sedam godina nemožes se ti ubaciti u osmi razred i polagati ispite.

I read both the idea of a "best age/years" given by Sebastian, Goran and Pero and Anna's description of life, as mutually supportive, grounded in the idea that "there is a period for everything" (cf. Halberstam 2005:7). Anna's conception of life is built on a certain order where "When you're seven years old you can't slip in grade eight". If related to Anna's passage, the idea of comparing life with stages based on linear succession also makes the notion of timing (right place and time for everything) implicit. The statement "when you're a teenager be a teenager then", at the same time emphasises Sebastian's slip-out from the

expected model as he describes his teenage years differently, the stage and the lifestyle ascribed to it being disturbed.

While Sebastian's ideal period, "the years of a student's", is framed as disturbed due to war and uncertainty, Pero's emphasis on autonomy and mobility was restricted by his poverty in war and refuge and later on by his dependence on the system during the unstable asylum seeking period in his early adulthood. This suggests that the narrative of lost time can be contextualised as a missed timing/life stage in what otherwise is supposed to be a linear life trajectory divided into stages (Halberstam 2005:152-3; Halberstam et al 2007:182). The specified age (18-25) suggests, unlike Halberstam's imaginations about temporalities and "prolonged" or "stretched-out" adolescence, a very delimited (pre-marriage) period of life. The best years/age, if interpreted in this way, might cover certain anachronisms, a timing that is lost and cannot simply be relived and regained. Prolonging attempts would cause linear heteronormative timelines to require additional disruptions in the prescribed stages that follow: reproduction and marriage (cf. Halberstam 2005:7; 2-5,11,152-3,174-9; Halberstam et al 2007:182). In this context, being currently in time require abandoning ideas of certain lifestyles that remain ascribed to the past, in order to pass along to others which is today in a way evident in the sense that both informants are married and have /a/ child/ren (cf. Ahmed 2006:138). In other words, the loss, or redefinition of the "best" stage is only done retrospectively.

The retrospective measurement is also emphasised by Anna:

[...] when you're in your **40s, you look back at your life and this age works like a measure of some sorts**. I've never, never in any period of my life been happier than now. I think it's precisely because of all that (laughs) precisely because of that (gesticulates speed - snaps her fingers and waves her arms) hard work until now, so now I can really lean back and enjoy. Because, say, I think that every person has his vision of how he likes to live his life, you know, I think that's – well now if that's achievable, then there are no reasons not to be satisfied. If you're, of course, healthy. Well also health is a relative thing.

A: [...] kad si i **40-års ålder, du ser tillbaka på ditt liv och dessa år fungerar som en slags mjerilo**. Ja nikad, nikad, ni ujednom periodu mog života nisam bila sritnija nego sad. Ja mislim da je upravo zbog toga što (smijeh) upravo zbog tog (gestikulira brzinu prstima i mašeci rukama) teškog rada do sad, da sad ja mogu ono stvarno nasloniti se i uživati'. Jer, recimo, mislim da svaki čovjek ima svoju viziju kako želi da mu život teče, znaš, to mislim da je - E sad ako se to uspije ostvariti, onda to nemaš razloga da budeš ne zadovoljan. Ako si naravno, zdrav. E sad i zdravlje, i to je relativna stvar.

For Anna, being in her 40s is a stage of retrospective measurement of whether visions have been fulfilled or not and, like she seems to indicate, what makes the current age be the best.

While based on and intelligible mainly within a heteronormative life trajectory, the notion of right timings and stages offers Sebastian and Pero to articulate a narrative of loss in relation to the unfulfilled visions of the heteronormative linearity retrospectively. In the next section, I will give another example how strict divisions between youth and adulthood may be considered in relation to migration timings.

Child in Time of Migration

The interview situation with Sebastian³³, in his 30s, brings many unexpected impressions. One of them had visual and audible manifestations such as knockings on the table, babbling, and other sounds made by an unexpected “informant”: the little child he was holding in his lap. The “child-related” theme was sustained throughout the interview with Sebastian as the encounter was a journey back in time to arrival in Sweden when both Sebastian and I were minors. In a sense, each of us was at that time in juridical terms a “child” arriving “in time” to have the privilege of obtaining asylum. In Sebastian’s case, this happened due to illness in his family, which his own PUT was based on: the fact that he was a minor and was included in his family constellation in the first place. This becomes obvious when Sebastian says how he considers himself “lucky” as he was at the very edge: had he just turned eighteen, he would most likely have been deported, and consequently joined the army in the war: “Nobody asks if you want to or not. You’re military capable and you’re joining the force”.

In the context of this study, these aspects are important to note. Age and gender, as seen in Sebastian’s case, are useful categories that give a particular contextualisation to the fears that he was facing as asylum seeker. At the same time, his age proved to be a safety line and protection. Being regulated in accordance with the shifting political situation in the countries of emigration and/or origin, the residence permit often requires additional humanitarian grounds in order to become permanent (Sager 2011a:218). Although belonging to the same generation and sharing similar family constellations, the age difference between Sebastian and Pero had an impact on their respective asylum cases even though both eventually led to a PUT based on humanitarian grounds. Unlike Sebastian, Pero’s case was individually examined due to his passing into adult age, and by extension “prolonged”. While this alone cannot account

³³ Sebastian chose his pseudonym because it is one of his favourite names that he would like to give to a future child.

for the informants' varied asylum seeking length, it does shift focus onto the normative conception of adulthood and its relation to the definition of family. In other words, the conception of adulthood in this strictly drawn line is not implying a transgression from one "stage" into another but also becomes significant and prescriptive in relation to who can count as family (member).

Feminist researchers like Kerstin Sandell and Diana Mulinari have called the nuclear family constellation into question as ontologically stable. In their essay "A Feminist Re-reading of Theories of Late Modernity: Beck, Giddens and the Location of Gender" (2009), they draw on anthropological research showing instead that family models are dependent upon the various ways in which production and reproduction are organised (Sandell & D. Mulinari 2009:496-7; Rubin 2006; cf. Halberstam 2005:13;169-179). Queer-feminist scholarship has discussed the disadvantages with immigration politics that are informed by heteronormative logics where the preference for the nuclear family serves as a mechanism of exclusion of a myriad relation formations and in this way re/shape the "private" sphere (Luibhéid 2008b:296; Sager 2011a:171-3). Like Sebastian notes, in these contexts, the strict divisions of youth/adulthood (the age of 18) is internalised into jurisprudence (asylum law) as well as the military institution ("military capab[ility]") or desertion/war resisters.

The recognition of the nuclear family has been an advantage in other cases. Ruža and Sara mention the provisional law in 1997/1998 under which underage children were taken into account in the assessment of asylum on humanitarian grounds, also called "exceptionally distressing circumstances" (Sw. *synnerligen ömmande omständigheter*). It means that the law that was targeted towards nuclear families proved to contribute to success in their own asylum case, at least after four years of waiting (5 kap. 1 § UtL; cf.; see also Sager 2011a:62,172, for year 2005 provisional laws). These complex, and at times contradictory, connections between refuge/asylum seeking and heteronormative time will be examined further below.

“Protect, Protect the Child”: Parenthood & Re/Productive Time

For Anna, the fact that she had a child when the war started made emigration an obvious decision. Anna refers to her “intuitive feeling” to “protect” the child:

So... given that we at that time had [child] and she was three years old so I didn't for one second reflect on the choice. It's that intuitive feeling, protect, protect the child. **At all costs**, you know? But not life! That was exemplary in our case, purely physically saving life. But all the rest, waiting and additional problems... I didn't think about it at that time.

A: Tako da... s obzirom da smo imali tad [djete] pa je imala tri godine onda ja nisam ni sekunde razmišljala koji će biti izbor. To je onaj i intuitivni osjećaj, zaštititi, zaštititi dite. **Det kosta vad det kosta vill**, znaš? ali ne život! To je bilo primjerno u našem slučaju, čisto fizički spasiti život, a sve ostalo to čekanje i problemi koji su dodatni... Ja nisam tad o tome razmišljala.

Whereas for Anna her child was a reason for emigration, Sara explains how their newborn baby and her partnership figure as a reason not to return because she felt she was in a vulnerable position. This made Sara, and her family, “hide” because no other option seemed possible at that point in time, after a rejection.

[...] we weren't particularly... we we're just stronger. We didn't have any particular complications. Again, you hold on to each other and you solve problems together by thinking things will work out one way or another, whichever way things go as long as we're not alone. It was- I can't say, at least for me, if I were on my own it would have certainly been different. Then we waited for [child] to be born, when we just arrived. She was born. Then with her it was fine, thanks to her, we had amusement. She pulled us through a lot. She helped us a lot to pull through. When you have a child and responsibilities with her, only then you can see that happiness and it doesn't matter how things are or will be. You have something to rely on. Future. Your child with you. That was a great support. That gave strength. That made us stronger.

SA: [...] mi nismo nešto... mi smo bili samo jači. Nismo sada imali nikakvi komplikacija, nešto. Opet, čovjek se držao jedno drugoga i opet ono riješavali, hajde biće onako biće ovako, kako god bude nismo sami. Blio je - ja nemogu reći, bar za mene, da sam bila sama sigurno bi bilo drugačije. Onda smo čekali [djete] da se rodi kad smo tek došli. Rodila se ona. Onda uz nju fino je bilo, što se tiče - imali smo zabavu. Ona nas je puno izvukla u tom slučaju. Ona nas je puno izvukla. Kad ti djete imaš i obveza malo oko njega, tek vidiš onu svoju radost i nema veze kako je i kako će biti. Ti imaš uz šta se uzdat' dalje. Budućnost. Svoje dijete sa sobom. To je čovjeka držalo puno. Ojačalo čovjeka. To je puno ojačalo nas.

Sara not only explains that the couple and their baby felt safer in refuge and clandestinity as opposed to a deportation, but she describes how the family constellation, in particular the newborn child, was a safety line in asylum seeking. Unlike those activities addressed earlier, the “work obligations, so-called” that filled the time in the residences, the couple and responsibilities around their child, as Sara describes, were strengthening and therapeutic (“if I were on my own it would have certainly been different”/“She [the child] pulled us through a lot. She helped us a lot to pull through”). Also Lennartsson addresses this, claiming that the

responsibilities linked to children and reproductive time tend to facilitate the everyday life in stasis and give it more meaning and content (Lennartsson 2007:30-1; see also Sager 2011a:167-170). In her passage, Sara also speaks about the newborn infant as being the future itself, hence closely interlinked with the idea of futurity in what are otherwise viewed, as noted earlier, as uncertain futures (“You have something to rely on. Future”). In the context of this study, I find the narratives of reproductive time exemplified above important, for instance the versions where the child is therapeutic in uncertainty. It marks how reproductive time and parenthood are important, as Sager writes, to regain a sense of normality in an otherwise unintentional state of unsettlement.

However, as Ruža notes, this normality is limited and needs to be struggled for.

Ruža: You somehow adapt to the circumstances. Certainly deep down inside you know it’s not real. That you can’t be, like a family of some sorts. How to... you can’t feel like at home, like... So you share... although you try by any means to create that kind of... some atmosphere [...] especially when you’ve got children, when children are longing for their own house, their own room. Something of their own. I think... and all other normal “normal” (mimes quotation marks) like all other, most of children. You can’t now – you feel some kind of guilt because you can’t provide for your child.

R: Čovjek nekako se prilagodi situaciji. Jest da ima ono negdje u dubini da to nije to. Da ne možeš recimo biti, familija, neka sad. Kako bi... ne možeš se osjećati kao u domu, kao kod kuće. Pa dijeliš... mada pokušavaš svim silama da stvoriš tu neku... neku atmosferu. [...] pogotovo kad imaš djecu, kad djeca čeznu da imaju svoju kuću, svoju sobu. Nešto svoje. Mislim... i sva ostala normalna, „normalna“ [mimika navodnika] kao i sva, većina djece. Ne možeš ti sad – osjećaš neku grižnju savjesti što ti svom djetetu ne možeš isto dati.

Sara’s and Ruža’s narratives make evident the complex links between reproductive and productive time as children, on the one hand, give access to some form of normativity and responsibility in times of struggle with stasis and uncertainty. Yet, on the other hand, such constellations make apparent the ideal of economic capital that is not allowed in refuge and poverty (Sager 2006:167-170; Lennartsson 2007:30-3,53-4,70). In relation to clandestine parents, Sager notes the paradoxical conditions, on the one hand, performativity of parenthood facilitates the daily life, yet on the other, the same conditions tend to undermine parenthood performativity itself, and as the passage above seems to indicate, the performativity of the children. The informant stresses that it is important to consider what children should have, in order to be like “other [non-refugee] ‘normal’ children” and how these expectations relate to the parent.

This puts emphasis on the processes and practices rather than the entity and fixation of something that already is. Anne Fortier has discussed a similar idea in relation to queer conceptions of “home” and “hominess” within contexts of migration. Being an advocate of non-linear narratives of home, Fortier emphasises the ongoing processes and creations of the always becoming-home to which the material space and daily labour are premises (Fortier 2003:116;119,127-131). The refugee position requires “adapting to circumstances” when performing parenthood and trying to “create that kind of... some atmosphere” for family time in a collectivist residence.

Sara refers to adapting to circumstances regarding migration policies (“Then they change their mind, well. Then you fill in an application, you know. You write something like – of course, you have kids, they are little”). The accounts given above partially demonstrate how private-public are interrelated and how, in the severely restricted conditions for parenthood, there is at the same time some room for resistance tactically organised around family constellations in order to gain a more legitimate position as a refugee, and in turn as a parent. I am of the stance that this aspect is highly important when it comes to reframing the “political” in contexts in which agency is severely restricted. Sara’s process from legality to illegality might be seen as such a resistance. Moreover, the waiting itself that has been discussed throughout this thesis is not always a waiting for *a* decision but waiting for a positive one, after several rejections. In “Challenging globalisation: toward a feminist understanding of resistance” (2003), Marianne H. Marchand notes that there are a wide range of strategies of resistance and they do not necessarily have to be linked to remarkable events and situations but can also stand for everyday struggles and strategies of coping (Marchand 2003:152-4; see also Mohammad 2005). Sara’s period in clandestinity points out, simultaneously, how neither her family constellation nor the vulnerability of the case gave any “privilege” in relation to the length of asylum seeking if compared to other informants in this study. Some had shorter periods of asylum seeking and legal refugee statuses despite arriving on their own and who at the time of asylum seeking were either childless/single or did not arrive in company with their spouses and biological children.

Marko, who arrived to Sweden on his own but was married at that time, makes an explicit link between asylum and marriage being in a complex interplay:

The **Migration Board** was very efficient to ruin my marriage. My marriage was dissolved on that basis. My waiting. Because no living soul could understand that I had to wait four years there to know whether I can stay or not. My ex-wife could not understand that. So it started... the disagreements and conflicts, and the rest. I myself assumed the same – when I get there I will know in two months, maximum three.

M: **Invandrarverket** je bio vrlo efikasan da mi je uspio raskopat' brak. Moj brak se rasp'o na osnovu toga. Mog čekanja. Jer niko živ nije mogao shvatiti da ja moram čekati čet'ri godine tu da bi znao hoću li ostati ili neću. Moja bivša žena nije mogla to shvatiti. Tako da su tu počeli... i nesuglasice i sukobi i ostalo. Tako sam i ja prepostavijo - kad dođem znaću za dva mjeseca, tri, najviše.

In the Swedish context of immigration, Sager has touched upon the reproductive logics of Swedish migration policies in terms of the exclusionary mechanisms regarding clandestine asylum seekers without biological children, for whom such plans, due to the unstable legal statuses, social conditions, and unpredictable futures, are often out of reach (Sager 2011a:171-3). Like Marko notes, unpredictable futures also tend to contest the already established but spatially dispersed relations, marriage (and consequently ties with non-accompanying children).³⁴ Marko's account suggests how marriage and parenthood might be seen as an endeavour for which neither distance nor long-term uncertainty are beneficial.

Pero, addresses a similar topic, saying that "...you can't either commit, I think, when your status is unresolved...".

Pero: [...] so there are two possibilities, to return and less likely to stay because we [parents/siblings] have rejections already, two, three of those. So to find someone else to drag, although you maybe love this person (laughs) so I'm better off single, struggling with that problem than have another one on my back [...]

P: [...] znači imaju dvije mogućnosti, da se vratiš a manja mogućnost ostati jer imamo negativne već, dva-tri komada. Sada još nekoga nađes koga ćeš vući mada ga možda voliš (smijeh) znači bolje onda ostati sam i boriti se s tim problemom nego još nekog imat na grbači [...]

In the passage above, Pero uses the expression "on my back" when referring to other family members' unstable statuses that also made it out of the question for him to form any stable new romantic hetero/sexual commitments on his own as this would lead to additional burdens and uncertainties. The uncertain status, in both Marko and Pero's narrative indicates a complex interplay between the uncertainties regarding the legal status and family/relationship status. The narratives indicate the destabilising of social constellations such as relationship statuses (marriage and "stable" commitments), either in relation to forming new ties in, to

³⁴ A contextualisation is needed. Marko's spouse and child emigrated before Marko to another country than Sweden. When Marko also had the possibility to do the same, he emigrated to Sweden, which at that time was an option for refuge in his case. In this study, five informants of seven point to periodical fragmentations of their family constellations due to war and within the region. Only Sara, Anna, and Sebastian arrived in Sweden with at the same time as their families did.

paraphrase Sager “deportable” conditions (Sager 2011a:171-7; Brekke 2004:37-8) or in relation to maintaining already established ties that are spatially dispersed (cf. Luibhéid 2008:172).

In part II of the analysis, I have considered informants’ migration timings in relation to both asylum seeking and some processes in the aftermath. What in part I was discussed as postponement of normality or wasted time has here been considered in relation to heteronormative conceptions of time as divided into stages with complex links to migration. I have, starting with Ruža and the saying *radi reda*, for the sake of the order, discussed a wide range of orders not merely to individual life trajectories but, in addition, those of the Migration Board and other imposed orders that occur in the confrontation with the educational systems after the PUT. The process in the aftermath of asylum is perceived as no longer being on hold but rather being held back, delayed and starting from zero. While these aspects might link to migration in general, the narratives of wasted time due to asylum seeking sometimes serve as a measurement of where one should find oneself or how well the loss is mastered. I discussed the temporal terminology which emphasises speed and sooner rather than later “catching-up”. Such measurements are retrospective and rest on previous capital accumulations. In retrospect, also the notion of stages and timings appears where the narrative of wasted time also applies to stages that are disturbed in heteronormative life trajectories and abandoned in order to pass along to others. In this section, I have touched upon migration in relation to the stage binary and how this relates to family definitions. Moreover, I discussed how reproductive time give meaning and value to the conditions of asylum seeking and stasis but is in complicated interplay with uncertainty.

In part III, I discuss further temporal “measurements” in relation to current daily lives that, unlike the earlier described asylum period, are shaped by permanence and stability regarding both occupations and residence.

Part III: Back to the Future: Time Masters in the Aftermath of Uncertainty

As I find myself lost in the residential area where Sara lives, my thoughts turn to the matter of time. Had I only started the search *on time*, the experience would have been rather a different one: an exploration of the area without any distressing awareness of being lost, *and* delayed for the scheduled interview. In the context in which I type these words, a delay is often termed “time optimism” (Sw. *tidsoptimism*). It stands for an overestimation of the amount of time required in order to be punctual. Being a common Swedish expression, “time optimism” signals how the above-described spatiotemporal lost-late intersection can be framed as “a familiar feeling” to the extent that it becomes culturally perceptible (cf. Ahmed 2006:7). In this part of the chapter, I give attention to the temporal perceptions ascribed to the present-day life of the informants. As these often exist within similar temporal frameworks of punctuality (clock time) as referred to above, the issues brought to the fore in the following sections are modes of organising and experiencing time in 2011, almost two decades after seeking asylum.

Thoughts on the Future: An After-Work Setting

After reaching the “destination”, Sara’s home, she asks me if we can have a cup of coffee before we start. It is an ordinary workday and, as many times before in these interview-contexts, the interview is scheduled after work. While Sara is busy preparing the coffee in the kitchen, I get the chance to talk to her partner in their living room. When I explain the topic of the study as “perceptions of time”, Sara’s partner gives a spontaneous remark:

I don’t know but every day looks the same, every movement always happening at exactly the same time. I wake up in the morning. I go to the bathroom, then the kitchen and then the living room. Then I head off for work and later I come home. And I do that every, *every single day*. I don’t know how to keep on like this for twenty more years.
(field notes 2011/10/29)

Neznam ali svaki dan je isti, svaki pokret se dešava baš tačno u isto vrijeme. Ustanem jutro, odem u kupatilo, pa u kuhinju, zatim dnevni boravak, poslije na posao, dođem kući i tako svaki, svaki dan. Neznam kako čovjek da ovako nastavi jos dvadeset godina. (Bilješci 2011/10/29)

So I found myself in a setting, where initially I had been scheduled to conduct an interview with Sara on *her* “migration time”, yet her partner’s words on present-day life proved to be an interesting complement to the story. I was here to discuss the uncertain futures of the

long-term asylum seeking period, but I was entering straight into ordinary time, the daily life of a worker, and what was perceived as a predictable and staked-out future.

The observation at Sara's place deserves a pause for thought and for raising some questions. Are the envisioned repetitive temporal procedures that Sara's partner projects onto his present-future the prevailing temporality of the year 2011 after refuge and unemployment? How can the periods that I have referred to as unpredictable futures in the context of uncertain asylum statuses (that the informants relate to as the worst and most unbearable aspect of their refugee periods), be understood in relation to the seemingly no better, predictable future that the repetitive everyday life evokes? In my interpretation, the description given above suggests that despite, or perhaps due to, its predictability, futurity (the ability to envision the future) does not necessarily imply progress or change but is here rather conceptualised as frozen in, and reduced to, the present. In McClintock's words, this resembles "the modern, industrial time (the time of mechanical simulacrum and repetition)" (McClintock 1995:377). In addition, Cvetkovich has addressed *monotony* by referring to "capitalism as felt experience":

In *Capital*, Marx sets out not only to develop a theory of surplus value that can explain where exploitation comes from but to document the nature of labor. He explains the effects of the long working day, cramped and inhumane workplaces, and the monotony of mechanised mass production in graphic terms [...] [Marx] is also drawn to sensational representation and to capitalism as felt experience. (Cvetkovich 2003:42-3)

Following McClintock and Cvetkovich, the static temporality of monotony addressed above might be framed not as opposed to labour, or strictly linked to unemployment or uncertainty in the refugee residences, but rather as dismantled within the realms of labour itself.

Later on during the interview, Sara herself addresses the issue somewhat apologetically. Like other informants in this study, Sara instead gives another version and stresses how much she enjoys both her current city of residence and her work, which she has been attending for the last eleven years ("If anything, I have had luck in that"/"everything depends on whether you have a job and how satisfied you are at work"). Her own satisfaction regarding her (work) situation becomes obvious in the way Sara describes her daily routines, alongside the responsibilities she holds at her workplace. Her description points to less monotonous activities and seems to differ from those of her partner. Sara highlights a difference by, for example, stressing that her work is not physically demanding "hard" work:

Say, maybe it's bad at work, or that the work is *hard* work, then I would most likely think differently, one hundred percent. That's – of course. People with hard work, and additionally if they are not satisfied or if they don't have a job at all then I understand that they can't be satisfied. But when you have gained all that – I don't have any reason to say anything [negative].

SA: Da kažem možda da mi je loše na poslu, ili da mi je *težak* posao sigurno bi drugačije i ja razmišljala, sto posto. To je - nema šta. Ljudi koji imaju težak posao još ako tu nisu zadovoljni ili ako ga nemaju nikako onda razumim ljude da nemogu biti zadovoljni. Ali kad je čovjek to stekao - ja nemam razloga da kažem ništa.

While part I in this chapter relates to problems with unemployment, lack of wage earning, and activities that are devoid of relevance within the labour market realms, Sara's passage adds physically hard work, and by extension the mode of working, as an issue. This encounter highlights both differentiations in positions or occupations amongst the informants involved in this study, as well as the modes and conditions of working that such differentiations might entail. Although perceiving the present differently than her partner seems to do, Sara makes similar reference to the work context as the key to satisfaction. In other words, the "twenty more years" (to retirement) is also the prescribed trajectory for a working-age individual in his 40s. Enjoying her work presently, Sara's trajectory seems more positively approached.

"Was it really worth all the waiting..?": Asylum & Affect

Sara's tone of voice shifts when discussing the past and especially the period of clandestinity:

[...] but I say, how many times have we said, when all that had calmed down, when we got those papers - was it really worth all the waiting for such a long time?! Was it worth the tensions and all that time and everything? Why did we get into this, so we have.... to, how to say, to... like you're some, like you're... even an animal, not even an animal would be... like that... Why did we feel like we've given up? What do I know, maybe we were not strong enough at that time to think about anything. You didn't have the strength because you know nothing awaits back there [countries of origin/internal refuge]. [...] It is like you could never imagine yourself being hidden at someone's place, that a family would take you into their shelter, you don't have anything to talk about, not a single story, you don't know- you don't know the language or anything and, you know the pride that you have to lose like you have killed a man and they have put you in a prison. Like criminals, like you have committed a criminal act and they imprisoned you and you do not know how to even say a word. But

SA: [...] ali kažem, koliko smo puta rekli, kad se sve ono stišalo, kad smo te dobili papire - pa jeli to bilo vrijedno da se čeka toliko vremena?! Jeli bilo vrijedno i živaca i svega i vremena i svega? Što se čovjek dao u to da, da mora... to, kako bi čovjek rekao, da... k'o da si neka, k'o da si... mada i životinja... nebi se ni životinja tako... Što je se sve čovjek kao predao? Šta ja znam, tada nisi bio možda jak da razmišljaš o nečemu. Nisi imao snage jer znaš da te nečeka dalje ništa. [...] Da si ikad mogao pomisliti da ćeš se ti kod nekog sakrit', da tebe neka obitej uzme, ti nemaš ni- ni priče, niti poznaš, niti poznaš, niti jezik isti, niti išta i znaš onaj ponos da se moraš spustiti, ono, ti isto kao da si ubijio nekog čovjeka i stavilo te eto u zatvor. Kao kriminalci, kao da si neki kriminal napravio pa te zatvorilo, a neznaš ni a beknut'. A ti tu živiš, moraš živjeti k'o u zatvoru. E to ti je to. I onda ponos, ma kakav? Dostojanstvo čovjeka nije, ono, da tako rade prema čovjeku. Ali eto morao si, na neki način, tada je bilo moranje.

you live there - you have to live there. Like a prison. There you go, that's it. And then someone mentions pride, some pride it is? Treating humans like this is below human dignity. But then you had to in a way, back then, you had to.

In order to escape the dangers that faced the family in their country of origin Sara and her partner were first internal refugees in the region before arriving to Sweden. Yet she narrates her migration spatially, primarily within the borders of Sweden. Temporally, she refers to the experience of clandestinity. She describes this context as a “thorny way”, where she was deprived of her “human dignity” and “pride” (“some pride it is? Treating humans like this is below human dignity”).

Sara, like several other informants, explains how the period was “costly”, both psychologically (“taxing on the nerves”) and temporally (“waste of time”). This seems to lead to periodical questionings about whether it was worth it (“was it really worth all the waiting for such a long time?! Was it worth the tensions and all that time and everything?”). In retrospect, the valuation (“worth”) makes the past-present co-existing and conflated (“was it worth...?”/“you had to”). I read Sara’s passages as an inability to give a linear narrative to her story. The concrete outcome of the asylum process, PUT, is often described by the informants as a “relief” or “relaxing”. Alongside Sara’s inability to answer her own question of whether the process was worth the outcome, the emotional responses indicated by the informants in this study also alter the traditional linearity of narrative. Put differently, the narratives do not correspond to a strict conventional storyline but instead resemble an anti-climatic version. When mentioned, PUT is, in the case of four informants, often recalled as occurring only after repeatedly rejected asylum applications and, according to Ruža, after “unnecessary waiting”. She recalls: “...when it [PUT] arrives, you simply accept that but you don’t feel...”.

Marko recalls a similar response:

Marko: When we *finally* [obtained the papers] – and then what satisfaction do you feel? None! None. *None, you're empty*. A smile, a wry smile (grimacing) “Yeah... congratulations, you’ve got the permanent residence permit”. “Yes, I have”. “Are you happy?” “I am, very. I’m jumping with joy” (sarcastic). Yes, that’s it. Nothing in particular.

M: Kad smo *napokon* [dobili papire] - i onda koje zadovoljstvo čovjek osjeća? Nikakvo! Nikakvo. *Nikakvo, prazan si*. Osmijeh, kiseli osmijeh. (grimase) „Jaa... čestitam. Dobio si boravišnu dozvolu”. „Jesam.“ „Jesili sretan?“ „Jesam, jako.“ (sarkazam). „Sav skačem od radosti.“ Ja. to je to. Ništa posebno.

In years-long asylum seeking without any overt changes, in this thesis often described passively as “waiting”, “sitting” or “nothing is happening”, and where a resolved status would imply a significant event and “moment[] of experience” (cf. Madison 2005:151), we need to turn to Cvetkovich in order to understand and contextualise the responses given above. Cvetkovich’s affect theory, the “felt experience” of “abstract” systematic structures, might in this case provide insight as to how the “abstract” can shape the affective. According to Cvetkovich, social experiences are inseparable from affective responses, where the affective also implies numbness and a sense of lack of feeling as seen above (Cvetkovich 2003:65; cf. also Ahmed 2004). This is rarely addressed in previous research, which focuses primarily on the asylum process *per se*. This is not surprising as the process of asylum is, as seen in both this study and others, related to a wide range of difficulties. Brekke describes the procedures of asylum as being organised in such a way as not to assure comfort, or what is referred to above as “relaxing”, but rather to prepare the seeker mentally for a deportation. According to Brekke, such circumstances cause the refugees to be constantly “on their toes” (Brekke 2004:47-51). While Brekke discuss the psychological implications of these processes, I have in this study instead touched upon issues related to the negotiations around years-long gaps in C.V. s, and pasts that cannot be documented. Here, I follow Cvetkovich’s insistence on a de-pathologising approach towards trauma emphasising how social problems tend to be reduced to diseases and diagnoses. Pathologisation can be problematical, if seen from her point of view, as it is projected onto non-normative identities or experiences while the structures in which the pathological becomes diagnosed remains unacknowledged (cf. Cvetkovich 2003:42-44; cf. Foucault 2002). I have argued that these undocumented long-term periods are silenced and bear traces of stigmas that, in my interpretation, link partially to this tendency of pathologising the war refugee, the unemployed, and the “non-productive” working-age (asylum seeker).

Along with the emotional responses described by Sara, Ruža, and Marko towards the decision, the asylum seeking addressed in this study fails to be likened to a clear-cut, linear, “progressive” oppression-towards-liberation tale. Queer-feminist theoreticians cited in this thesis discuss critically the linearity and progression in such narratives. Cvetkovich, who is critical of simplifications and “narratives of assimilation or national belonging”, questions ideas of citizenship “[for which] the affective fulfilment resides in assimilation, inclusion, and normalcy” (Cvetkovich 2003:119;11,115; see also Fortier 2003). As I have stressed

throughout the study, aspirations for normality is the main thread in the narratives about previous obstacles for leading a life in line with normative conventions, even in the currently prevailing normative timetables that are implying new limitations. This, I would argue, might be likened to what the feminist Betty Friedan has coined as “the problem that has no name” and what, in my own reading, relates to normative temporal models and being “in time” with the social expectations. In these contexts, the “problem” becomes more difficult to articulate legitimately (Friedan 2000[1963]). As I will discuss below, it is this discussion that enables a reconsideration of and distance from the past.

Work-Home: “New” Time Struggles

At the outset of Part III, I offered some examples of time experiences in post-asylum settings where uncertainty is no longer a problem, and where sometimes what seems as staked out futures might give cause for concern. The present time issues cut across the notion of “time optimism”. On the one hand, time usage of the present day is ascribed more meaning and value. Unlike the asylum seeking period, time is not experienced as a waste. On the other hand, being occupied and well organised, (free) time is not in excess but is said to be lacking.

In the narratives, the sense of using time is tightly linked to occupations and work related identities or normative logics of labour and production as well as reproductive time and responsibilities linked to childrearing. In these contexts, the word “home” is a common reference point. This is important to note as “home” emerges only in post-asylum contexts and most often in its deep interconnection to work, as in the commonly used phrase “work-home”.

The temporal terminology of the work-home denotes contexts beyond those of refugee residency. The *temporal* dimension of home is important to note and differs from the research on migration where home is a spatialised entity assumed to be elsewhere in space, or left behind in time and place (Fortier 2007). Fortier’s emphasis on hominess as ongoing process of materialisation and creation in time and place, and Avtar Brah’s and Cvetkovich’s problematisation of the negatively charged displacements that neglect localisation are important to stress (Fortier 2003:116;119,127-131; Brah 1996:184; Cvetkovich 2003:121-2). The theoretical fixation with space and logics of separation makes temporality and the performative features of home in the making underrated as analytical tools. As I have discussed throughout this thesis, such “localisation” can be linked to the PUT, and the benefits attached, yet never guaranteed therewith. In part I, I referred to the imaginary “arrivals” that emphasise legal

statuses as well as participation in the labour market. The work-home schedule remains as a reminder of a sustained connection to the labour market, and often its links to stability.

This conventional temporality for work-age subjects can also be perceived as constraining and monotonous. In such settings, leisure time, and otherwise temporality that stands outside the repetitive responsibilities, becomes hugely important. This refers to the very introduction of the analysis chapter in which I mention Goran's lunch walks. The act of walking in the context of a workday might not have the same role in the refugee residence. Rather, the former bears associations to *leisure*. Sara, for instance, captures this notion in her description of her after-work route just before the interview:

Today for example, I went for a long walk – at half past two I left [work] – I went for a walk through the whole [area] and walked in the park. It was so nice to relax. You also need to know how to allocate. I walked in the city and through the park just when [partner] gives a call: “where are you?” (laughs)

SA: Ja sam danas na primjer uzela veliku šetnju - u pola tri otišla [sa posla] - ja sam veliku šetnju uzela kroz čitav [gradsko područje] prošetala parkom. Tako lijepo bilo da se čovjek opusti. Treba čovjek i znat' ono sebi rasporedit'. Ja sam prošetala fino čitavim gradom i kroz park i [partner] taman me zove: „gdje si?” (smijeh)

Leisure time, like Sara's walking after-work and Goran's lunch walks, derives its meaning, in this case, primarily in relation to the work-home schedule. Sara, as her cell-phone chat indicates, finds time for herself outside the conventional scripts of productive time (wage labour) and reproductive time (the context of home and family). Sara's promenade could be contextualised in relation to the so-called “work-life balance” (see Roberts 2008) in “late” modernity as she not only touches upon leisure, but also frames it as an arrangement: “You also need to know how to allocate”. Mastering time in terms of “allocation” resembles the neoliberal idea of the “life jigsaw puzzle” (Sw. *livspussel*). This refers to how to keep up with the pace of life and piece together life in terms of time, for instance, how to combine and balance between working and family life successfully (Björnstrom et al. 2007 on the political debate in Sweden). The idea of organisation of time, finding individual time between, or beyond, the restrictive serial work-home schedules seems to be what several informants are oriented towards today, regardless of relationship statuses and constellations.

Although differing in this respect and finding it hard to understand how “it seems like people nowadays are measuring how much time to devote to work... and other things”, Goran nevertheless closes the interview with a reflection on his own current time struggles: “somehow I've organised my life that I have very little time”.

[...] all I want is to have more time because there're a lot of things that I'm interested in but I don't have time for that now. So that's – because now there's, say this Skype, so I got in touch with some of my friends from before and then () now you come home late, you eat, watch the news, tired, and then if somebody also calls you – those conversations on Skype don't last for two-three minutes but half an hour and you're done for that day. So... all in all, a life without any big requests and expectations () however... I didn't expect that when I was younger. I expected- I was very ambitious.

Sebastian gives a retrospective view on time:

And now when you look back so many years have passed... now how many, seventeen years so, seventeen years since I arrived here. And many things have also changed, of course as expected I am a bit older, somewhat bigger and gained more weight (laughs) and so on. Still you, you still, at least I am, returning back to once...and you're going back in time to when you just arrived here. The camp, well, I do not know. We played a lot of basketball and football but mainly basketball. So now when you look there's only responsibilities, work-home-child. There's no more of that, you see. At that time it was to kill the boredom, the basketball playing and that, but in fact – as you were [thinking] “what and how next?” – but now when you look back well that was also fine, you know [...] [today] you don't have much time. Everything is left for Saturday.

G: [...] ja jedino sto želim je da imam više vremena jer me puno stvari zanima a nemam vremena za to sad. A to je - jer je sad, recimo ovaj Skype - pa sam stupio u kontakt sa nekim mojim prijateljima od ranije i onda recimo () sad dodes kući kasno, jedeš, pogledaš dnevnik, umoran - još ako te ne'ko nazove - ti razgovori preko Skype:a nisu dvatri minuta nego pola sata i čovjek je gotov za taj dan. Tako da onaj... sve u svemu, život bez nekih velikih zahtjeva i očekivanja () ali dosta onako miran.... nisam očekivao to kao mladi. Očekivao sam - bio sam dosta ambiciozan.

SE: I sad kad pogledaš toliko je godina prošlo... sad koliko je to, 17 godina eto, 17 godina kako sam ja došao ovdje. I puno stvari se i promijenilo, normalno i ostarilo se malo, i udebljalo se i otežalo se (smijeh) i tako to, opet čovjek se, opet čovjek se, barem ja - opet se vraćaš nazad nekad u neko... i vraćaš se i u to vrijeme kad si tek došao ovdje. Pa kamp, pa neznam ono - mi smo igrali puno košarku i nogomet isto ali uglavnom košarku. Onda sad kad pogledaš ono samo obveze. Pos'o-kuća-djete. Nema toga, razumiješ? Tad ti je u to vrijeme bilo to ubijanje dosade, igranje košarke i to, a u stavri - ipak si, „šta dalje, kako dalje?”- ali sad kad se vratiš nazad pa bilo je i to fino, znaš. [...] [danas] nemaš ti baš nešto vremena. Sve ti ostane subota.

“[A]ll I want is to have more time”, “work-home-child”, “Everything is left for Saturday” are phrases that, as the passages above indicate, capture the current time conceptions and lifestyles, where the former asylum experiences seem acontrast in comparison. Sebastian refers to activities during asylum seeking and in his youth for which there is no longer time. Goran does not look back but reflects on the way he has organised his life and how it has lead to a shortage of spare time. In such schemes, 2-3 minutes or half an hour makes a difference (“those conversations on Skype don't last for two-three minutes but half an hour”). It is from these work-week schedules experienced in 2011, with minutes and hours as significant units of time, that the past periods outside conventional temporal models are narrated as years-long waste.

In these settings, (free) time is both legitimatised and restricted by the logics of labour and re/production. Here we can return to the theme of the “dark” and “bright” images

addressed by an informant in part II. Unlike the more recent “brighter” images from “vacation”, the informant’s “dark” periods are periods that not only mark “dark times”, which I interpret as traumatic war- and refugee memories, but they are also times outside normative schedules of a student’s, or a worker’s life, where stability and settlement, mobility (traveling) and financial self-sufficiency are idealised. The “brighter” images are explicitly contextualised as “vacation” pictures, which in relation to temporality are still framed within the logics of labour and the notion of vacation as earned, legitimately deserved, chosen (mobility) and spare time. In this context, freedom can also be read as the increased opportunity to organise time and, in turn, to allocate and, to paraphrase Ahmed, to “occupy” time in ways that are perceived as meaningful (Ahmed 2006:44). As a prerequisite, it draws on the ability to *experience* time as somewhat controllable in the first place. Not only are the fears and the dangers felt in uncertainty enclosed in albums in the form of still images, so often is the temporal stasis ascribed to it. For Sara, time is not still but passes quickly:

Sara: But I don’t know after all that, like they say, again you hold on to something you have more free... a more... you’re stronger, you’re more – now you have self-confidence. You’ve gained that. Then you also work. It’s a different, different... feeling after all. It’s not like before. We’re staying here. Sometimes you’re reminded about the past, sometimes you’re reminded but as time flies quickly, you often don’t have the time to talk about it.

SA: Ali ja ne znam zašto nakon sveka toga, što kaže, opet se za nešto držiš, neku imaš slobodniju neku više...više si jači više si- sad imaš samopouzdanje u sebe sam. Stekao si to. Onda radiš, drugačiji, drugačije... osjećaj prije svega. Nije više to to. Tu ćemo ostat’. Nekad se čovjek prisjeti prošlosti, nekad se čovjek prisjeti al’ ono ali kako vrijeme leti brzo, nemaš vremena često ni popriča’t.

Sara’s passages in this part of the analysis indicate how, from the current position, the past marks a process during which self-confidence was lost and regained. However, “you often don’t have time to talk about it” is a crucial statement, almost two decades after seeking asylum. To return to the notion of “time optimism”, the optimism that the promise of futurity holds does not reduce the significance of the past. Instead of being an omnipresent threat, the past is possible to reconsider and review differently, enclose in albums, or simply to leave unarticulated.

Conclusion

This study examines the processes of former refugees from the war-scattered region of former Yugoslavia, who have sought settlement and stability in Sweden in the 1990s only to experience long-term periods of uncertain residence statuses, and years-long interruptions in conventional timetables of labour and education. The focus is on retrospective accounts of a past that is filtered through current positions where both employee and residency permanence and stability prevail. With the help of a temporal terminology inspired by queer-feminist perspectives, I have sought new understandings of complex migration processes. This approach enabled me, in the first place, to consider the periods in question temporally and as worth examination, not solely as negations of the normative but in and of themselves.

The analysis starts with the chronometric question “but how long does it last?” which, as I have argued, links together conceptions of time in the narratives of the 1990s as well as those of the present. From 2011 where each minute is valuable, I move to the years-long unemployment and asylum seeking in order to analyse the meanings and values ascribed to these periods. With the phenomenon of the C.V. as a conceptual tool of “productive” documented time, I indicate that the very link between the 1990s and the C.V. is somewhat unintelligible and difficult. This partially marks the refugee period as a period outside normative timetables of labour and production. While asylum seeking and uncertainty may be understood as years-long gaps in the C.V., the temporality is not entirely detached from logics of progress, futurity, or longevity. Instead, refuge and migration itself are in the narratives described as finding grounds in, and being triggered by, these logics. Yet the time in the residences, which in a way builds on the idea of longing for a normal life and a secured future, evokes associations to uncertain futures and temporal stasis that puts normality on hold.

A temporal emphasis on asylum and interrelated contexts of migration makes evident the informants’ perception of uncertain futures as being a condition where normality is awaited, postponed or out of reach at the same time as *lifetime* is passing by. Breaks, sitting, and years-long postponement of arrival dates have been some of the guiding metaphors by which I have approached perceptions of temporality in its relation to normative logics of labour, production, and stable residency. The questions, “when did you arrive?” or “for how long have you been in Sweden?”, mirror the difficulty when negotiating with the unintelligible past and the tendency to “postpone” the arrivals to a more respectable point in time in which normative timetables are made available. These are the dates of permanent residence

permits and participation in the labour market. This mode of narration rests on times of refuge described as traumatic, un-lived, and bearing signs of stigma. Often, it refers to a wasted or empty temporality devoid of value, meaning and content. In such narratives and conceptions, normality runs as the main thread that helps to contextualise, articulate and frame loss, and when accessible, works as to compensate for it.

Besides years-long asylum seeking, the time to get in line also links to time spent and invested to compensate for previous positions, re-started educations, and courses of completion and thus, additional time-consuming processes. In relation to asylum seeking in particular and the narratives of wasted time, the “vacuum” between the actual arrival and the imaginary one, make the empty time existent and not simply having vanished as it informs post-asylum narratives of catching-up processes and perceptions of being in or out of time in the aftermath of uncertainty. After a resolved decision, wasted time tends to serve as a guideline when encountering obstacles in slow bureaucratic forms of educational systems or predefined and imposed delaying processes in time models for refugees. The narratives of the post-asylum processes are very much linked to how well this time and the delay it implies has been compensated and mastered. These narratives indicate that the time value operates through mechanisms of power, where the terminology of *sooner-later* gives character to narratives of re-integration into normality in working-age adult life.

However, the asylum seeking itself is a temporality in which the aforementioned catching-up process was out of reach. It also relates to asylum seekers’ youth as a distinct and “missed out” or disturbed stage in normatively prescribed heteronormative life trajectories. Here queer-feminist theorisations on heteronormative time have been of use as the narratives of loss/getting in line indicate a different contextualisation among the informants of later generations, whose migration timings overlap with adolescence and early adulthood. While class positions might be regained after intensive catching-up processes, the heteronormative time conceptions are based on less flexible logics. In order to get in line with heteronormative time and timings in accordance with the age category, certain lifestyles need to be abandoned so as not to lose the line of marriage and reproductive time, although it periodically is conceptualised as the ideal stage of life. This suggests that, in relation to heterosexual youth in migration, the act of catching up normality in terms of conventional scripts of adulthood implies a giving up on lifestyles that have already been interrupted and reshaped by war and migration policies. It also suggests that, besides class and pre-migratory capital accumulations,

sexuality, gender, and age are crucial components in performativity of normality, perceptions of and relations to (getting in) time. This idealisation and a simultaneous loss call for more nuanced research on similarly paradoxical contexts that reshape normative temporalities in terms of performativity of age, gender, and sexuality, at the same time as law and policies rely on and reinforce strict youth/adult binaries. Furthermore, this study also encourages more attention to the idealisation of youth itself. This also indicates a shared point of reference among informants and queer-feminist theoretical approaches that I have used in this study and in relation to temporality. As this study indicates, in order to be perceived as such, a lifestyle often links to some stabilities, securities, continuous investments such as schooling and labour, either being perceived as a prolonged or delimited phase of life, regardless of age.

This study suggests that the difficult times of uncertainty and the object of orientation itself, stability and normality, should not be simplified as linear oppression-to-success tales, or tales relying on dichotomies of stasis/progress and safety/risk. As I have indicated, the uncertainty of asylum seeking is itself a multiple temporality where the “past” risks of war/return and the uncontrollable future outcomes are omnipresent burdens. This demonstration of a temporal co-existence, also depicted as stasis, was linked to everyday traumas in refugee residences that appear safe. In the year 2011, temporal stasis gets another dimension as it might appear in contexts of monotonous work-home schedules. In the aftermath of asylum seeking, there is sometimes a reluctance shown towards a too predictable future or monotony in which the promise of a change and progress is out of sight, alongside the lack of “free” time. Between the monotony and predictability of the here/now and the regained agency, there is sometimes a carefully drawn link to asylum as a period that was somewhat less constrained by obligations that are imposed by the daily hectic lifestyles. At the same time, the sense and notion of stability, home and free and meaningfully spent time seems inseparable from conventional logics of labour and production that shape current lives of the working-age former asylum seekers. Within these frameworks, the notion of free time refers to a temporality that exists when normatively legitimate, deserved, and earned. It is through these temporalities that free time can be formulated, and by extension a current lack of it. In this context, freedom can be read as the increased opportunity to organise time, and in turn to allocate and spend time in ways that are perceived as meaningful. As a prerequisite, it draws on the ability to *experience lifetime* as somewhat controllable in the first place.

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Appendix I

Statement of Purpose

Last Modification, 2011/10

SHORTENED VERSION IN ENGLISH

Statement of Purpose/Informed Consent

The focus of this study is an examination of experiences and perceptions of long-term periods of waiting for asylum and the transit of refuge. The study is based on queer-feminist theory of time and critical approaches on normative time.

My interest in the period of asylum is firstly that it is under-examined from a temporal perspective, in particular not from a retrospective view which in this study will be emphasised. The aim is not to create a completely “true” description of the past but rather how the already experienced appears in retrospect. The focus is on both individual and collective tales about migration that are linked to time, labour, and social relations. Also, emphasised is the question of documentation of migration periods and experiences.

In points:

- A temporal perspective on migration
- CV (migration and work/experiences) and
- (Un)documented times of migrants
- Queer-feminist perspectives on migration – statuses of migration/social statuses and relationship statuses

I would also like to problematise a static view on the subject position of the “migrant” and instead take a look at more complex experiences and perspectives. In other words, questions related to identities etc. will not be linked much to nationality as much as I am interested in specific experiences and perspectives where statuses linked to gender, generation, and relationships statuses etc. will be taken into account.

Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian VERSION

Forumular za dobrovoljno sudjelovanje informatora

1) Pozadina & Svrha

U fokusu ovog studija je ispitivanje iskustava i shvacanja o duzem periodu vremenskog cekanja azila i izbjeglickog tranzita. Studij se bazira na queerfeministickim vremenskim teorijama i kritickim pogledima na normativno vrijeme.

Moj interes za azilanstski period je da se to pitanje slabo ispitalo iz vremenske perspektive, pogotovo u retrospektivnom pogledu koji ce biti naglasen u ovom studiju. Ipak, nije svrha kreirati neki potpuno „tacni” doživljaj iz proslosti vec radje kako vec proziviljeno djeluje u retrospektivnom pogledu. U fokusu su isto individualne kao i kolektivne price migracije povezane uz vremenska pitanja, pitanja radnog staza i socialnih relacija. Nesto manje ce biti i naglaseno pitanje o dokumentiranju migrantskog perioda i iskustava.

U tackama:

- Vremenska perspektiva na migraciju
- CV (migracija povezana za pitanje radnog staza i sl. iskustava) i
- (Ne)dokumentirano vrijeme migranta
- Queerfeministicka perspektiva na migraciju – status migracije/socialni statusi i statusi veza

Zelim isto problematizirati staticni pogled na subjekt pozicije „stranaca” te gledati vise na kompleksne doživljaje i perspektive. S drugim rijecima, pitanja vezana uz identitete i slicno nece ovdje biti mnogo povezana uz pitanja nacionalne pripadnosti koliko uz specificne doživljaje gdje statusi i relacije po pitanju roda, generacijske pripadnosti i status veze i sl. dolaze u obzir.

2) Informatori & Kriterije za Intervju

Studij će se u većoj mjeri bazirati na intervjuima sa 7-10 osoba, kontaktirani pomoću poznanika i prijatelja ali koji sami, najradije, ne pripadaju grupi blizih prijatelja i poznanika i koji spadaju pod slijedeće kriterije:

Rodjeni van Švedske u nekoj od država bivše Jugoslavije

Tražili azil u Švedskoj i prošli kroz dugotrajno čekanje na boravišnu dozvolu - (talas 1990-)

Grupa informatora treba biti heterogena po pitanju godina/generacija (tokom perioda čekanja uz to ulaze po mogućnosti i drugi aspekti: razne identifikacije po pitanju roda, nacionalnih i religioznih (ne)pripadnosti, status veze/a i/ili seksualna pripadnost i sl.

- Intervju na mjestu/vremenu koje odgovara informatoru
- Material: osim snimljenih intervjuova imam u planu diskutirati i po mogućnosti uzeti kopiju CV:a – i ostali artefakti/dokumentacije iz tog perioda - koje informator ima i želi da podijeli samnom da bi se lakše prisjetila/prisjetio tog vremena kao i dokumentacije sacuvane iz njega
- Izuzeci: moguće je ne pristati na snimanje – ipak obratno se preporučuje s tim da to jedino omogućava korektno citiranje
- Samo dobrovoljno sudjelovanje
- Potpuna anonimnost (pseudonimi) i po mogućnosti dodatna informacija n.pr. „Sandra, Zena, 25” (uključeno samo u koliko informator dozvoljava tu informaciju)

3) Procedura

U dogovor za intervju spada i da informator odluči poželjno vrijeme i mjesto za intervju (npr. kod kuće, na nekom javnom mjestu itd.).

Vrijeme intervjuova obično varira n.pr. 30 minuta sve do 2 sata, ovisno o tome kako informator odgovara na pitanja. Svaki intervju treba da počne sa pročitavanjem prava i pravila kojih se moram držati tokom cijelog procesa ispitivanja. Usmeni kao i pisemni dogovor omogućen.

Informator ima uvijek pravo da ne odgovori na postavljena pitanja/teme.

Nakon intervjuova, informator ima priliku za nastavljeni kontakt da nadoda, ili oduzme informaciju koja se dala tokom intervjuova.

Intervju će se transkribirati cijeli ili dijelomično tako da se citati mogu objaviti. Rad će se napisati na engleskom ali po volji informatora omogućava se krati prevod na maternji jezik ili na švedski.

4) Publikacija & Sekrete

U planu je da se rad publicira na engleskom i na internetu i s time bude javni dokument. Do tog perioda (januar 2012) – informator ima pravo da „prilagođava” informaciju i čak po volji i da se povuče.

Informacija koja će biti transkribirana će – van one objavljene – biti poznata samo meni.

U slučaju alternativnih objava rada, npr. u kratioj verziji i u časopisima i sl., nova informacija osim one već publicirane neće doći u obzir. S drugim riječima, novi citati neće biti publicirani.

5) Informacija & Sekrete

Transkripti će biti samo meni poznati. Informacija koja se direktno ne citira potrebna je za kontekstualiziranje.

Izjave će se odabrati po mojoj volji, u slučaju da informator se ne protivi izboru. Mogućnost postoji uvijek da informator bude obavješten/a koje izjave (citati) će se naglasiti u radu prije nego što rad bude objavljen javno.

6) Dobrovoljno sudjelovanje!

Sudjelovanje je dobrovoljno

7) Odgovornost

Potpunu odgovornost za korektnu informaciju snosi Zlatana Knezevic.

8) Ostalo

Tokom cijelog procesa informator treba imati mogućnost da me kontaktira u slučaju ikakvih pitanja o, ili primjedbi na, intervju (kontakt informacija, vidi dole).

Za vise informacije o etickim pitanjima:

www.vr.se

www.codex.vr.se;

www.epn.se/media/4807/forskningspersonsinformationen%20slutjusterad%20okt%202007-pdf.pdf

Ovdje nekoliko glavnih tacaka na svedskom:

*„1 januari 2004 trädde Lag (2003:460) om etikprövning av forskning som avser människor i kraft. Grundregeln är där att forskning bara får utföras om forskningspersonen har samtyckt till den forskning som avser henne eller honom. Ett samtycke gäller bara om forskningspersonen dessförinnan har fått information om forskningen. Samtycket skall vara frivilligt, uttryckligt och preciserat till viss forskning, samt skall dokumenteras. Ett samtycke får när som helst tas tillbaka med omedelbar verkan” (<http://www.codex.vr.se/manniska2.shtml>;
<http://www.epn.se/media/4807/forskningspersonsinformationen%20slutjusterad%20okt%202007-pdf.pdf>)*

Potvrđujem da sam obavijesten/a o uvjetima za sudjelovanje u istraživanju, te da nakon obavjestenog i dalje želim sudjelovati kao informator.

Informator – Datum, Potpis

Istrazivac – Datum, Potpis

Appendix II

Interview Guide

Background/procedure/ethics
Background: age, gender, anonymity

THEMES MIGRACIJA

Individualna definicija: pocetak perioda - kraj?

AZIL

Opis/misljenje

Za inicijativu/tema rad

Doziviljaj – traženje azila

Opis i shvacanje vremena

Kulturni artefakti, uspomene, dokumentacije

CV – DOKUMENTACIJA PERIODA

Ne/zaposlenost – ne/priznata iskustva ili znanja

Iskustva bitna, npr. dali se radi tu o „posebnom” znanju

Kako/kad iskustva dolaze do izrazaja. Primjeri.

Period iz danasnjeg ugla gledista
- U kontekst drustva i sl.
- U kontekstu posla

NAVEDENE TEMPORALNE USPODBE

2011 i 90:te u usporedbi

Mjesta - tranziti

Zivotni stil - svakodnevnica

SOCIALNE RELACIJE

Familiarne/obiteljske/seksualne/romanticne/prijateljske formirane i postojece

MIGRATION

Individual definition: start of the period – end?

ASYLUM

Description/Reflection

The initiative/thesis topic

Experience - asylum seeking

Description and perception of time

Cultural artefacts, mementos, documentation

CV – DOCUMENTATION OF THE PERIOD

un/employment – un/recognised experiences, knowledges

Experiences of significance e.g. whether there is any particular/specific knowledge

How/when experiences are mentioned. Examples.

The period, from today’s point of view
- In the context of society
- In work context

SPECIFIED/MENTIONED TIMES IN COMPARISON

2011 and 1990s in comparison

Places-transitions

Lifestyle - everyday life

SOCIAL RELATIONS

Kinship/ Family – sexual – romantic – friendship formed and existing

Individualna perspektiva na procese
Relacije
Godine/Generacija
Rod
Seksualnost
Itd.

Dali vidite nesto bitno za nadodati, neke podatke koje nismo do sada spomenuli ili inace nesto sto bi zelili naglasiti u ovom kontekstu?

HVALA NAJLJEPSA!

The processes form an individual point of view
Relations
Age/Generation
Gender
Sexuality
Etc.

Is there anything important you want to add, information that we have not mentioned so far or otherwise something you would like to emphasise in this context?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!