



Migration, Time and Temporalities: Review and Prospect

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Migration has generally been viewed as a spatial *process* meaning that time is implicit and when it is invoked it is usually focussed on the processual, on the journey, the life course, the generation. It is an aspect of getting from A to B, whether these are geographical locations, immigration statuses, life stages, or migration stages such as settlement and integration. At the level of the individual, migration temporalities have tended to be imagined as two ideal types: either proceeding from entry, to settlement, family reunion and ending in citizenship, or entry, short-term settlement and return (temporary worker migration) with possible re-entry (circular migration). At a macro level, immigration is increasingly imagined as a 'complex emergency', a complicated assemblage of factors (political upheaval, environmental catastrophe, extreme poverty etc.), making global inequalities nationally relevant and necessitating action to ward off an ill-defined but apocalyptic future. The individual and macro may be mediated by an imagined meso-level of the collective, the community, the nation, and ideas of diaspora, both imagined pasts and imagined futures interacting to shape the present and mechanisms of social inclusion/exclusion (Bastian, 2011).

With some exceptions however, there has been limited attention paid to the temporalities of migration. This is a significant oversight given that 'migration' and the associated concept of 'community' refer to dynamic processes rather than static descriptors. The aim of this paper is to sketch out a research agenda on migration, time and temporalities.¹ It is derived from a larger and more extensive scoping study, undertaken to facilitate discussion on the question: *What are the key emerging themes from the existing literature on temporalities and time that can be developed as part of a theoretically and politically engaged migration research agenda?*²

The scoping study and subsequent analysis brought home to us that the single word 'time' has multiple meanings. As Cwerner puts it, 'The contemporary social theory of time is characterised by a multiplicity of perspectives and themes ... it perhaps also reveals the multiple nature of time itself, which may preclude the success of a unifying or totalising theoretical project' (2001: 14). It was a challenge for us to extricate the emerging themes. On the one hand, in migration studies there is often a 'taken for grantedness' about time as experienced by migrants and researchers alike. To borrow a spatial metaphor: time is everywhere and nowhere at the same time, and we wanted to reflect this. Certain subjects like life course or immigration detention for instance, have obvious temporal dimensions, but this does not mean that they draw on social theory of time or even necessarily talk about time per se. On the other hand, work that explicitly addresses time has not typically engaged with migration scholarship. Thus the theory that emerges from literature on time and temporality, and the empirics found in the migration literature do not necessarily point the same way, at least initially. The format of this review and prospect reflects and attempts to ameliorate this tension. The first half comprises two sections. *Time and Migration* considers what introducing the theme of migration might add to existing work on time; and *Migration Temporalities* takes the opposite approach, examining how time has been dealt with explicitly in migration studies. Given the

¹ This scoping paper and subsequent workshop was made possible by funding from the University of Oxford's Fell Fund and part of a Knowledge Exchange grant from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). This paper was one of 3 commissioned papers looking at the role that migration studies has to play in the development of the social sciences.

² The scoping study was primarily conducted by a post-graduate anthropologist (Melanie Griffiths), with supervision and input from a geographer (Ali Rogers) and a sociologist (Bridget Anderson) over the course of three months (April-June 2012). It was inspired by Michelle Bastian's AHRC funded work on time and communities (Bastian, 2011), and drew heavily from Arksey and O'Malley's outline for designing and undertaking scoping studies (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005). We conducted a rapid mapping exercise of the relevant literature, analysing the material generated into a number of themes, which fed into the writing of this report. Our full methodology is available as an appendix.

very considerable literature that could be referenced around these themes, these sections are necessarily selective and indicative. In the second and longer half of the paper we then suggest emerging themes in the form of *The Complex Times of Migration*. This builds on the first two sections and includes references to migration research that has a strong and *implicit* temporal element. This section is organised in line with Barbara Adam's insight that:

We can grasp time in its complexity only if we seek the relations between time, temporality, tempo and timing, between clock time, chronology, social time and time-consciousness, between motion, process, change, continuity and the temporal modalities of past, present and future, between time as resource, as ordering principle and as becoming of the possible, or between any combination of these. (Adam, 1994: 13).

Our thoughts are gathered together under five modes of thinking about time: flows and moments; rhythms and cycles; tempos; synchronicity and disjuncture; and the future. In each case, we briefly review relevant research and propose emerging themes for future inquiry.

I Time and Migration

What might we learn by introducing migration to the established study of time and temporality? The single word 'time' has multiple meanings. Adam (1994) has reviewed the ways in which time has entered social theory and noted that its diversity is such that it is hard to believe that theorists are describing and analysing the same phenomenon: 'not only are we faced with an incompatible array of definitions, but we also have to cope with incommensurable ideas about the source of our experience and concept of time' (ibid: 15). Nowotny outlines multiple different types of time – social time, marked by the rhythm of social life deriving from collective activities rather than uniformly flowing, astronomical time, chronological time, biological time, disciplinary times, and local time systems about co-ordination and synchronisation (1994). As well as these distinctions in theory, in daily life time can be imagined as both a collection of discrete moments (minutes, days, years), and as a forward, unstoppable flow. An analogy is perhaps our understanding of light as simultaneously a particle and wave.

There have been many different typologies of time, and these are usually not compatible. Rather than fix on one typology, we have selected three aspects of these typologies that are of particular relevance to migration studies. The first of these refers to the different ways of collectively experiencing and understanding time - cultural, industrial and 'natural' - and how mobility and migration can highlight differences between them. Secondly, there are differences in scale, which may be related to collective experiences, but may also be more individualised. The third aspect concerns different orderings or rhythms of timescales – cyclical, linear, future-orientated, or 'time out'. These three ways of considering time are of course inter-related.

1.1 'Natural', Cultural, and Industrial Times

Tim Edensor has drawn attention to the relation between national temporalities and the everyday. This is not just about state imposed rules about clock time (the pubs must shut by 11pm) or life course (a person must be 17 before they can learn to drive) but everyday temporally organised routines: 'The repetition of daily, weekly and annual routines, how and when to eat, wash, move, work and play, constitutes a realm of "common sense"... Habits organize life for individuals' (Edensor, 2006: 532). These habits are shaped by three inter-connected 'time types': cultural, industrial and 'natural'. With varying degrees of success, nation-states seek to integrate these types of time.

The term 'natural' describes both biological and astronomical times, and we use it with due recognition of the dangers of conceptually separating nature and society. It encompasses temporal passing that is 'natural' in that it cannot be standardised or altered by humans: the length of daylight, the seasons, processes of ageing and so on. It is not that this time cannot be bypassed – electric lights can mimic daylight, as heaters can mimic summer, and medicine prolong youth – but there is an ineluctable process, that proceeds nonetheless or is ready to take over as soon as intervention ceases. This time is not reversible, but it can be cyclical. These processes differ by geographical location and nation states can also encompass very different 'natural' time types with different seasons and daylight hours for instance. Biological/natural time is often associated with 'tradition', and contrasted with industrial time which is required and facilitated by technologies and bureaucracies (Adam, 1994). Thompson (1967) and Giddens (1981) and others argue that industrial time is a distinct expression of industrial capitalism. It is ruled by 'clock time' which is standardised,

homogeneous and divisible into ever smaller units, and, as Marx first pointed out, is possible to commodify. Time is money. Or, money is time: 'it is always desirable to have more time when one has not got any; yet having time decreases its value ... time abundance is accorded a low social value and scarcity a high one' (Adam, 1994: 114). By 'cultural time' we mean the organising of years, months, days (previously marked by seasons, daylight etc., now often, but not only, by calendars and clocks) into certain routine ways of being, and synchronous events – from breakfast time to festivals, and memorials. Cultural time can bridge natural and industrial time. For example, the Christmas festival is a specific date, which was set to be at the darkest time of the year.

These types of time may be shared in different contexts, including the national. For example, Levine and Norenzayan (1999) compare the pace of life in large cities in 31 different countries to draw conclusions about the impacts of the temporalities of different 'cultures'. For various reasons, not least because of the nature of the organising of migrant communities, the national context is also given importance in migrants' experiences of the temporal disjunctures and adaptations demanded by migration (Cwerner, 2001). However, it is important to remember that these types of time are not necessarily shared within a state, not only because of geographical and time zone differences, but also because of differences between rural and urban experiences of these kinds of time (Adam, 1994; Elchardus et al., 1987). Furthermore, types of time, timescales and ordering of time also differ on an individual level, affected by variables such as gender, age, religious beliefs, sexuality and immigration status.

Variations of temporal norms and practices have also been noted between different types of social phenomena. For example, political time has been contrasted with judicial and economic times (Hassan, 2009; Hope, 2011); and might be considered different again from social time ('family time', work/life balance, 'down time'). Time is intrinsic to the functioning of the state (Gross, 1985), but even within the political sphere, there are dissonances between the shortness of election cycles and the longer term flow of policies and democracy itself (Hope, 2009; Scheurman, 2004). Within capitalism, there is a tension between fast results and short-term profits on the one hand, and long-term capital accumulation on the other (Hope, 2009). In addition, social or personal change can produce reordering of people's perception of space and time, be it in relation to a critical event such as the fall of the Berlin wall (Borneman, 1993), or longer-term changes to the ethnic mix of a city (Mădroane, 2012) or health of a population (Geissler and Prince, 2010).

There are risks to conceptualising different cultural or national types of time, not least the possibility of construing some nations or cultures as temporally 'backward' (Diner, 1998; Helliwell and Hindess, 2005). Anthropologists have been accused of seeing themselves as being of the present and imagining Others (their supposedly 'exotic' subjects) as having fundamentally different concepts of time from themselves (Fabian, 1983). Nevertheless, despite these risks, it is interesting to consider how migration illuminates the disjuncture within and between 'national times'. Migration can, for example, be experienced as exclusion from what Anderson called 'the meanwhile' of national time (Anderson, 1983). As Cwerner discusses, some of this can be alleviated through technology. However, the scale of the meanwhile varies, and while it can be related to the national and national events, the more local and familial 'meanwhiles' can have a tremendous emotional pull.

1.2 Timescales and Migration

Time is measured and analysed across a number of different scales, from the universal, where time is measured in billions of years, to the micro seconds of nano-technology. Leaving these extremes aside to focus on time as experienced by humans, it is nevertheless possible to see a range of different scales at work. When it comes to migration, some of these scales are more collective in that they refer to (imagined) nations, and others are more individualised. At one extreme might be a diasporic or national timescale, when migrants and their descendants situate themselves within a group that shares collective memories and ancestry. This can stretch into a deep past and entail an imagined future, and it requires temporal (re)makings, particularly of new arrivals (Eisenstadt, 1949; Golden, 2002b).

Of course, it is now well established that heritage, historical rituals and the teaching of history are commonly employed to engender national pride or bolster certain communal narratives (Alonso, 1988; Chakrabarty, 1992; Connerton, 1989; Herzfeld, 1991; Keller, 2007; Saidi, 2008). This includes references to 'tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Minnegal et al., 2003), the invoking of mythical, homogeneous or 'pure' pasts (Massey, 1995), and associations of the nation with blood, soil and the passing of generations (Çinar, 1994). Memory plays a dominant and contested role in such imaginings (Boyarin, 1994a; Halbwachs, 1992 (1952); Middleton and Edwards, 1990; Robins, 1995; Yoneyama, 1999), especially when the past being remembered involves contentious or traumatic events (Hage, 2001).³

At the other end of the spectrum, there is the life-course, which will be discussed in more detail below. But migration can also be approached through periodisation, i.e. migration can be experienced/anticipated as a particular discrete period of life, that can be effectively 'time out' from the life-course, or alternatively as a building block, bringing particular experiences, contacts or skills that are important for the future. This is related to life-course, where broadly 'natural' or 'cultural' times meet. Migration therefore can reveal some of the tensions in and between these scales. There are also scales that are more industrial and particularly related to experiences of employment: the experiences of time as working time and social time with their different rhythms, but marked by calendars and clocks, and divided by years, months, weeks and hours. These can be in tension with diasporic, national and life-course timescales. These tensions may be experienced by migrants in particular ways, but importantly they may also be experienced by non-migrants, particularly at certain life-stages and in certain types of work.

1.3 Time as Order/Sequence and Migration

Time can be ordered and experienced in different ways. Industrial time is associated with linearity, with time as imagined as a straight line, leading to an as-yet empty future to be populated by events. This idea of sequence, or events happening in a certain order, is identified by some theorists (Zerubavel, 1981) as part of a 'structure' of time. Many theorists have used the idea of linearity in discussing time, including Eyal Chowder, who refers to three 'temporal languages', including one of linear progress forward, another linking the present to the future, and a third fixated on the present (Chowder, 2002b). Of course, the reduction of social worlds into linear temporal paths, let alone

³ Collective amnesia is of course also sometimes part of the state's project or response to national trauma (Prager, 2006; Ricoeur, 2004; Schaap, 2007).

ones forever moving 'forwards', is intensely problematic. Several scholars have critiqued the idea of time as linear (Chatterjee, 2001; Friese, 2010; Game, 2001). Others argue that the belief in a forward-moving trajectory is being challenged by contemporary social trends, including migration (Chambers, 1994). This way of imagining time has been the topic of substantial critique and discussion by Barbara Adam. It has also been subject to a number of (non-migration focussed) empirical interrogations. For example, Jennifer Johnson-Hanks draws on Bourdieu's concept of the conjuncture in her work on Cameroon, to argue that life events and decisions are rarely coherent, fixed and with clear direction, but better characterised by aspiration, fluidity and judicious opportunism (Johnson-Hanks, 2002; Johnson-Hanks, 2005). Linearity is related to questions of temporariness and permanence (typically viewed as a transition from one to the other). However, the question as to what constitutes temporariness/permanence and their associations is pertinent and has been considered outside of the migration literature. For example, drawing on the incapacity of the Israeli Prime Minister, Moshe argues that the temporal structure of impermanence is associated both with stability and change, whilst permanence is simultaneously linked with uncertainty and the maintenance of continuity, creating an inherent tension between the 'temporary' and 'permanent' (Moshe, 2009).

Another temporal rhythm is that of cyclical, repetitive time, often presented as an alternative to models of linear time (Bauerkemper, 2007; Edensor and Holloway, 2008). This includes institutionalized schedules, habitual routines, collective synchronicities and serialised time-spaces (Edensor, 2006). Differences between these two ways of ordering time as experienced by migrants may be subsumed under the cultural/industrial/natural headings, though they are not the same, and one must be cautious not to impose unhelpful dichotomies along the lines of natural/cyclical and industrial/linear. There are two type of ordering of time that are less prominent, but that arguably are particularly important facets of migration experience, that is, the 'halting' and 'futuring'. The 'halting' relates to periodisation, in that it is more a way of stopping than of ordering time.

The 'futuring' of time brings together the linear and the cyclical in that it folds the future into the present. It is not simply that we are 'made' by our pasts, but that 'humans as cultural and social beings are future oriented' (Adam, 2004). How people live and produce their futures varies significantly. There are many critiques of the idea of the future as empty and the idea of the future as exerting a pull on the present; the role of the 'present future' has received some attention at multiple scales (from individual decision making, to catastrophe planning – the 'folding' of space and time into one another as McCormack and Schwanen (2011) express it). Barbara Adam identifies one of the characteristics of industrial (and post-industrial) societies as an understanding of the future with reference to its use value for the present. She describes this as the 'colonisation' of the future. While this is useful to think about at the level of policy, perhaps individuals, particularly the young and the poor (and therefore by association, the migrant), tend to understand the present with reference to its use value to the future. Indeed, it is having a notion of future use value that can make unpleasant or difficult situations bearable. There have been suggestions that we are now 'temporally homeless' (Chowers, 2002a), that the present is contracting (Lubbe, 2009) and that a 20th century obsession with the future has been replaced with a prioritisation of 'present futures', marking the end of narratives of progress (Huysen, 1995; Huysen, 2000). These all point to complex and contradictory relationships between the past, present and future, which are likely to exist in tension simultaneously for individuals.

This has a particular applicability to migration, as many aspects of migration have inherent in them an idea of the future (Piore, 1979). Although there are some excellent pieces written on migrants' debt

and remittances for example (e.g. Athanasopoulou, Forthcoming; Collins, 2009; Lindley, 2010), on the whole these do not explicitly recognise temporal implications, despite both practices reflecting the passage of time and of making regular payments (at least ideally), or accruing regular interest. After all, a conceptualisation of time as discrete moments is reflected in the regular marking of time through the repayment of debts accrued by migration, or the sending of money through remittances (Guyer, 2007). An exception is Bastia and McGrath, who argue that the crippling debts some people incur in order to migrate, reflect a valuing of the future and a mortgaging of the present to an anticipated future (Bastia and McGrath, 2011).

2. Migration Temporalities

In the previous section, a migration dimension was introduced to the existing body of work on time and temporality. By contrast, this section draws on our larger scoping study to review how time has been already explicitly addressed in two recent areas of migration studies: mobilities, and the life course and longitudinal studies.

2.1 Mobilities

In 2004, Russell King and his colleagues conducted a state of the art review of the time dimension of migration and integration studies, emphasising the practical and theoretical importance of time in the study of migration (King et al., 2004). They identified two major strands of work in the study of time and migration: that of the geographer, Torsten Hägerstrand, and the sociologist, Saulo Cwerner. Hägerstrand pioneered the field of 'Time Geography' which attempted to represent mobile life-paths in time-space: 'we need to rise up from the flat map with its static patterns and think in terms of a world on the move, a world of incessant permutations' (Hägerstrand 1982: 324 quoted in King et al., 2004: 10). As such, Hägerstrand's work might be said to foreshadow the mobilities literature. Writing two decades later, Cwerner explicitly draws on the mobilities literature in his conceptual framework for the 'times of migration' (2001). We will therefore begin by a consideration of the literature on mobility and time and its intersection with migration.

At a general level there are at least three main ways in which mobilities and migration are connected. Firstly, considering migration from a mobilities perspective further blurs the boundaries between different types or forms of migration movement. Stephen Castles (2003) and others have made the point that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between migration categories based on concepts such as volition and force (see also King, 2002). Beyond that, the differentiation of migration flows by temporal duration or spatial extent is also becoming harder to sustain as the register of mobility is filled out. Movements of different durations – daily, weekly, monthly, seasonally, annually – and distances – from walking across a border to journeying the span of the planet – can all be gathered together as 'migration'. Secondly, a mobilities perspective recontextualises migration within the general field of movement. As such, to some degree it loses its specificity, i.e. as movement, migration ceases to appear as an exception, as for example in this statement from Sheller and Urry's foundational statement of the 'mobilities paradigm':

All the world seems to be on the move. Asylum seekers, international students, terrorists, members of diasporas, holidaymakers, business people, sports stars, refugees, backpackers, commuters, the early retired, young mobile professionals, prostitutes, armed forces, these and many others fill the world's airports, buses, ships, and trains. The scale of this travelling is immense. Internationally there are over 700 million legal passenger arrivals each year (compared with 25 million in 1950) with a predicted 1 billion by 2010; there are 4 million air passengers each day; 31 million refugees are displaced from their homes; and there is one car for every 8.6 people. (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 207)

John Urry (2007) identifies 12 main mobility forms in the modern world, grouping asylum and refugee migration with homeless travel as one group, while the overseas experience, diaspora travel,

business travel and trafficking are among the others. Sheller and Urry (2006) dismiss the complaint that there is no real analytical purpose to combining so many types of movement, arguing instead that there is need to develop these links further. Thirdly, as well as selectively incorporating migration, attempts to delineate a field of study of mobilities are often made with reference to migration study. Urry (2007) for example, suggests that work on migration and diasporas is one of the 'theoretical sources' for understanding mobility, not least because it reminds us that movement is not a new state of affairs. Further, work on transnationalism, diaspora and migration has served as an important critique of bounded and static categories of analysis, such as nation or ethnicity.

With reference to time specifically, the formative texts on the mobilities paradigm have much to say (although 'temporality' does not appear in the indices of Adey, 2010; Cresswell, 2006; Urry, 2007). Movement, of people, goods and ideas, is inseparable from the grand over-arching processes of time-space convergence, time-space compression, and space-time distanciation. Transport technologies, notably the railway train, automobile and passenger aircraft, are central to the shift from the clock-time of Modernity to the instantaneous time of the postmodern era (what Castells (2006) also terms 'timeless time'). The complexities and contradictions of mobility can be summarised by the case of air travel. On the one hand long-distance movement by air is only made possible by the global synchronisation of time. On the other hand, the kinds of activities made possible by flight, notably business travel, backpacking, short-hop commuting etc., contribute to the personal 'desynchronization of time-space paths' (Urry, 2007: 121); automobiles and communication technologies are of course equally instrumental. Quite how one maps onto the other is an empirical question, although the disruption associated with the Eyjafjallajökull ash cloud in April 2010 provided a graphic illustration of the 'fragility of a tightly coupled, complex and quite fragile network of airline movements, logistics chains, insurance products and the complex supra-national organisation of European airspace' (Adey et al., 2011: 338) and its capacity to 'put under strain' 'vital family ties and networks' by de-mobilizing up to 10 million passengers (ibid. 342).

As a more detailed illustration, we turn now to 'the journey' as an example of how the mobilities approach specifically intersects with an analysis that considers time and migration.

2.1.1 The Journey

Studies of human mobility at the global level must be brought together with more 'local' concerns about everyday transportation, material cultures, and spatial relations of mobility and immobility. (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 212)

Migration involves movement; migrants move. Relative to the study of the causes and consequences of such movement at places of origin and destination however, less attention has been paid to the actual journey or journeys between them. A number of migration experts have illustrated the ambiguity and contradiction of mobility (e.g. Allon et al., 2008; Uehling, 2002). Migration journeys rarely conform to expectations of sequential trajectory, instead involving diversion, repetition and simultaneity. People get 'stuck' in transit countries which can become unexpected final destinations, and repeat sections of their journeys following deportations or discoveries at the border. As we shall see later, speed is important here as well as order, with times of fast movement countered with points of stasis in detention or waiting for money, favourable weather and tidal conditions for boat trips, the cover of darkness or an opportune moment. Examining the lived experience of border-crossing is important in further understanding these nuances (Urry, 2001). The cartographic 'arrow'

linking A and B reduces movement to a single, directed displacement, presumably taking place in an instant. While this relative neglect might be understandable in the case of classic migration flows, usually one-off movements resulting in longer periods of residence, it is less obvious in the case of the many kinds of transnational migration. Repeated, circular and frequent movement between one or more sites is less easily subsumed under the arrow, even if it is pointed at both ends. There is a direct comparison here with the literature on mobility, which critiques transport studies for its lack of interest in travel time: 'time spent travelling is not dead time' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 213). It cannot be simply regarded as time lost to other more beneficial uses, for example working for an employer (Holley et al., 2008). The rational stance towards travel and commuting undertaken in transport planning is to treat it as something to be minimised, often at all costs. The reduction of the journey to time and/or cost is a clear example of what Creswell and others have termed 'sedentarism' – 'the basic assumption that things (including people) don't move if they can help it' (Cresswell, 2006: 29).

Migration journeys can take hours, years or even generations. They may link two places, or many more. Recent work in mobilities suggests at least three things about journeys. Firstly, their significance may be greater than might seem from their relative duration. If one thinks of migration as a set of stages in sequence through time, then one might think that passage, perhaps being a relatively short period, matters little. But there are arguments that journeys, especially if they include preparations for departure and/or return, assume greater significance in understanding migration and the experience of migration. Secondly, work on aeromobilities and automobilities in particular encourage us to pay greater attention to the sites through which journeys are organised and experienced (Cwerner et al., 2009; Merriman, 2007). Thinking about aeromobilities directs us towards linking airports, passengers, expert systems, software, air governance, the biopolitics of security and surveillance, and a host of other features of this global assemblage. Thirdly, recent work reveals the extent to which a journey is composed of a variety of temporalities which cannot be reduced to just 'travel time'. Waiting, accelerating, queuing, being still, stopping, repeating etc. are among the different experiences of the journey, although they are not, of course, experienced equally by all.

Much has been written about the experience of travel from the perspective of commuters, backpackers (Elsrud, 1998), tourists (Edensor and Holloway, 2008) and the like. There is an obvious note of caution. Migration journeys are not like other, 'more casual or everyday modes of travel' (Burrell, 2008: 357). It is true that, for certain periods, migrants 'move together', in coaches, ferries, planes and trucks. But the claim that moving together constitutes an affective bond of community and society, made among others by William McNeill (in Adey, 2010), seems more plausible when the examples are dance or drill than a railway trip. How far they do actually inform the experience of becoming a migrant, or more broadly, migrant subjectivity beyond the duration of travel itself, must be an open question. Further, the conditions of passage vary enormously. Craig Martin's descriptions of the 'desperate passages' of clandestine migrants (Martin, 2011) are a clear reminder that for some, journeys are made without the comforts of the conventional passenger. Often inserted into the infrastructure of commodity flows, the clandestine migrant can be 'thrust-up in the violence of global flows', rather than make a reasoned choice. Subject to the exactions of speed without the 'capsules' of protection, such migrant bodies stand in a very different relationship to the temporalities of the journey than, say, Polish migrants to Britain (Burrell, 2008).

There are of course also various sites of migration, different points of transit. Airports, coach and railway stations are sites where rituals of greeting and departure are performed (Burrell, 2008).

They are also the moorings of mobility, the necessary fixed points around which motion is organised. In the aeromobilities literature, wide-ranging claims are made for the significance of airports in particular, drawing on a variety of intellectual foundations – affect, embodiment, and biopolitics among others (Adey, 2004; Adey, 2010; Adey et al., 2007; Amoore and Hall, 2009; Cwerner et al., 2009). Airports are sites of complex, interlocking temporalities (Peters, 2009). They are a mix of time zones, boarding times, calls to distant others, body times, etc. They are also places where time is shared with strangers, but where temporal differences are constructed – fast track lanes and ‘pre-boarding’ contrast with cattle-class waiting. Airports are sites of anticipation, future-oriented, and equally nostalgia or a sense of pasts, immediate and more distant.

2.2 The Life Course and Longitudinal Studies

As well as highlighting the work of Hägerstrand and Cwerner, King et al. (2004) review two specific epistemologies for studying migration through time: the life course approach and longitudinal studies of international migrants. The longitudinal study of migration is found to be relatively underdeveloped, partly because of the difficulties in generating longitudinal datasets. However, the notion of generations can effectively temporalise mobility, demonstrating the unfolding of migration and settlement over time (King et al., 2006). Less explicitly, time is invoked in studies examining adult children considering or experiencing ‘return’ to their parents’ countries as adults (Binaisa, 2011; King and Christou, 2011; King et al., 2011; Potter and Phillips, 2008), and in research considering continuation of marginalisation or discrimination of migrants down the generations (Ali, 2011; Andall, 2002; Athanasopoulou, Forthcoming; Fielding, 1995).

There are many facets of migration that are about time that are often not experienced or analysed as distinctively temporal. What is particular about life course is that it is directly experienced by migrants, *as time*. The life course is the passage of time, marked personally and collectively. It is thereby intimately related to subjectivity. Whereas life stage suggests events, decisions, and disruptions, of which more below, life course is more flow, merging and becoming.

Russell King and his colleagues (2004) consider how research on migration and life course contextualises immigration decisions and reveals their outcomes and their influences. They examine research on different age-related migrations (children, student and retirement) and how life stages both stimulate and have consequences for migration. Considering migration and the life course contributes to redressing the focus on productive mid-life that tends to inform much migration research. Taking the life course approach brings into view children, ageing and retirement.

However, with the exception of a few key aspects of the life course, such as marriage (Cole, 2010; Lauser, 2008) or the experience of the children of migrants (Levitt and Waters, 2002), the life course has been under-examined in migration studies. This is perhaps surprising, given that policy makers and the media often discursively link migration with demographic change, from countering ageing populations (United Nations, 2000) to draining resources from schools and maternity wards (Slack, 2007). There has been some academic research on older migrants (Ahmad, 2009; Bolzman et al., 2004; Gardner, 2002a; Warnes et al., 2004; White, 2006), and some on migration and death, including in relation to transnational burial rites (Gardner, 2002b), death in exile (Kaiser, 2008) and the role of funerals in the formation of diasporic identities (Olwig, 2009). However, to date the majority of research conducted on ageing and migration relates to privileged retirees migrating to sunnier climes (Gustafson, 2001; Gustafson, 2002; King et al., 2000; Myklebost, 1989; Rodríguez et

al., 1998). There has also been very little work about gender and time, although the implications of the passing of time for women of childbearing age are different from those of men. Life course puts into focus disjunctures between different types of time and makes apparent why they matter on an individual basis (see 3.4 below), from ideas of childhood and old age, to matters of legal marriage age, retirement and pensions.

The imagined role of migration within an individual's life course and its relation to length of stay illustrates the complexities of time and migration. While there has been some criticism of the idea of 'the migrant' that is not distinguished by gender and nationality, there is only recently developing a critique of 'the migrant' as undistinguished by length of stay. Emphasising temporality draws attention to the importance of this, irrespective of legal status, and is an area that could be productively expanded on. Categorical terms such as 'migrant' or 'immigration detainee' disguise considerable variability, not least the different experiences and needs of new arrivals as compared to long term residents, some of whom may even have been born in-country but who eventually find themselves labelled foreign or deemed expendable. This is also evinced by the attitude of some employers (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010). This aspect of migratory processes is to be distinguished from the legal process of settlement and citizenship acquisition, although this can run alongside it. It is worth noting that whilst length of stay – legally or otherwise – has often been a means for individuals to claim some right of abode (Hammar, 1994), such avenues are increasingly being restricted, thereby dismissing the worth of long-term (irregular) presence.

3 The Complex Times of Migration

In the first two sections of this paper we started to explore some ways in which the time has been theorised and considered how these are reflected in migration studies. In the rest of this paper we bring the two together, looking at what themes emerge when we combine empirical and theoretical work on temporalities and migration. As is evident from the previous discussion there are multiple ways we could approach an examination of time and migration. Time can be differentiated along many different lines. So, while recognising the impossibility of making sharp distinctions between temporal conceptualisations, the remainder of this paper rests upon five temporal considerations: flows and moments; rhythms and cycles; tempos; synchronicity and disjuncture; and the future. In each case we consider whether and how the temporal category has already been employed in migration or related social research, identify potential areas of further exploration and give an example of the kind of research area that is indicated by or could benefit from a specifically temporal approach.

3.1 Flows and Moments

3.1.1 Moments

Migration and physical and metaphorical, journeys are often conceptualised, by academics, policymakers and practitioners alike, as a series of discrete events and related categories. Most administrative systems rely on a reductionist, clear-cut logic, as seen in the bureaucratic paraphernalia around migration, in which individuals are made to fit specific categories, with those who do not, or whose identities are too fluid to conform, experiencing at best the frustration of red-tape and at worse, the taint of illegality and allegations of being 'bogus' (Griffiths, 2012 (forthcoming)). Similarly, the collection of statistical and other information often understates the dynamism of time, generally opting instead to produce data for specific moments in time. Censuses and other surveys have been criticised for obscuring the realities of migration, including their failure to capture phenomena, such as undocumented migration (Makaryan, 2012 (forthcoming)). Statistics for the British immigration detention estate are similarly collected at 'snap shot' moments, providing a partial picture of the number of people held in detention. Campaigners against immigration detention have long complained that this system does not recognise those individuals being moved between detention centres on the day or who are otherwise not on site at the time. Likewise, statistics that measure how long individuals have been detained at a detention centre fail to take into account the full (cumulative) detention period for those who have repeated periods of detention, broken up by short periods of release.

The collection of information that is sensitive to temporal flows and the variability of social phenomena over time is inherently challenging. This is as much a conundrum for researchers as it is for statisticians and policy makers, although the former – primarily outside of migration studies – have increasingly come to recognise the importance of a temporal dimension in social research (for example Avital, 2000; Michelson, 2006). There have been calls for social scientists to appreciate dynamism (Crow, 2008; Kenyon, 2000), and take into account novelty and diachrony (Baert, 1992). Attempts by researchers to capture change have included longitudinal approaches (Macmillan, 2011; Massey, 1990), time series analysis (Burrowes, 1970), autobiography (Campbell and Harbord, 2002), re-studies (Crow, 2008), time-use data (Johnson, 1975), appreciation of multitasking (Michelson, 2006), use of temporal data such as the Social Time Perspective Scale (O'Rand and Ellis, 1974), and

interrupted time series analysis (Steiner and Mark, 1985)). Russell King and his colleagues call for a mixture of approaches, including life course approach, longitudinal studies and the use of cross-sectional and cross-cutting axes of analysis, including gender, the family and generations (King et al., 2006).

3.1.2 *Flows*

Supplementing the idea of time as a set of discrete events, is the concept of time as a broader expanse. We see this in Aminzade's concept of 'time-duration' (1992) and Brose's work on 'time horizons' (duration) (2004). Such ideas are also evident in Torsten Hägerstrand's work (Hägerstrand, 1970; 1975a; b), and Bergson's thinking on duration and flow (Hodges, 2008). As discussed above, migration is typically viewed as a process, with various steps: the decision, the journey, and the progression from arrival to the gaining of settlement and finally (for a lucky few) the acquisition of citizenship. In this sense, change and the processual nature of migration temporality is recognised, although it is often rather mechanistic and tends to be imagined as consisting of a series of discrete states of being, and movement through separate sending, transit and receiving countries.

Although crude, this outline does present areas that could be usefully developed through drawing on temporalities literature. For example, as we discuss later, there is considerable work showing how migrants become 'stuck' at various points in their migration journeys, unable to progress spatially or legally. Supposedly temporary stages of migration can drag on over decades, and seemingly secure, final stages such as naturalisation can be revoked by the authorities. Return, often envisaged as an ending by policy makers is rarely experienced as such by the individual, who may see it more as another beginning; and in any case, migrants often find that 'return' is so delayed as to become mythical (Ahmed et al., 2003; Ali and Holden, 2006; Ambrosini and Peri, 2012; Black and King, 2004; Cerase, 1974; Malkki, 1995; McGhee, 2012; Safran, 1991), or as to be experienced not by the original migrant but by their descendants, for whom 'return' is an inadequate term (for example Cornish et al., 1999). Of particular interest here is research that illustrates how 'return' is often not a single, final movement, but a temporary, often repeated journey, more akin to visits or holidays (Conway, 2009; Gerharz, 2010; Salih, 2002; Vathi and King, 2011).

3.1.3 *Emerging Themes: Temporality, subjectivity and agency*

What kinds of inquiries might develop ideas of moment and flow? Migration can be considered a process of becoming, be it associated with moving (Sager, 2006), waiting (Bissell, 2007), or crossing borders (Radu, 2010). One's perception of becoming, or the future, will be coloured by various factors, such as gender and class (Lamm et al., 1976; O'Rand and Ellis, 1974). Decisions to migrate have been described as individuals' attempts to access progression or 'modernity' (Lauser, 2008; Vigh, 2009), or leave behind 'backward' or 'traditional' places (Agnew, 1996; Helliwell and Hindess, 2005; Salih, 2002; Vathi and King, 2011). In other words, migration could be considered a tactic of creating futures (Cole, 2010). Certainly agency is a temporal phenomenon, informed by the past and orientated to future (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). An appreciation of the future is important in exploring migration decisions, although in reality, people living in extreme insecurity may make decisions based more on opportunism than clear intent or strategic planning (Johnson-Hanks, 2005). Clearly aspirations for the future are important here (Ambrosini and Peri, 2012; Stockdale et al., 2012 (forthcoming); Vigh, 2009), from fears of unwanted futures to a sense of hope and possibility

(Conradson and Latham, 2007). In addition to decisions to migrate, the future is relevant in terms of people's expectations around duration of migration and plans of return (Cerese, 1974; Christou, 2006; Christou and King, 2006; Cornish et al., 1999; Roberts, 1995), which in turn may affect integration in new countries (Zulauf, 1997).

The decision to migrate is an area that could particularly benefit from a temporally informed approach, one that recognises decision making as a 'flow' rather than singular 'event'. There has been some work outside of the migration literature on the effect of temporal factors on behaviour (and by extension, decision making), as well as the influence of social and psychological factors on people's experience and use of time (McGrath and Kelly, 1986). Although there has been considerable work within migration on decisions around moving (e.g. Devine et al., 2003; Frohlick, 2009), these tend to take time into account only implicitly – if at all. For example, scholars often link such decisions with economic hopes (Ambrosini and Peri, 2012), life stages (Gardner, 2002a; 2009) and/or aspirations for the future (Halfacree, 2004), an area we shall return to below.

The decision to move is often presented as an indication of migrant agency and is also the subject of interest for policy makers keen to understand the drivers of migration. However, this can lead to a rather rational-choice style of analysis that could be enriched by alternative approaches. McCormack and Schwanen argue that rather than a single moment abstracted from context, it is helpful to understand the decision as:

A differentiated affectively registered, transformative and on-going actualisation of potential against a horizon of undecideability in which past, present and future fold together in complex ways. (McCormack and Schwanen, 2011: 2801)

This far more nuanced approach leads to a more inductive understanding of decision making that is more consonant with our own experiences of constrained and 'good enough given the circumstances' decisions. Moreover, the migratory 'decision' is strongly imagined as being taken at the beginning of the process, as the moment of the creation of the subjectivity of 'the migrant'. The creation of this subjectivity cannot be assumed, what the subjectivity 'is' is variable and complex, and changes over time

Attention to the inevitable temporalities of subjectivities more generally and not just at the imagined 'decision making' moment, could considerably enrich debate especially around the imagined 'goal orientated' migrant. For example, there is a temptation, as with much obviously policy relevant research, to turn migrants into rational choice actors, or otherwise into passive 'victims of trafficking'. Viewing subjectivities as temporal and decision-making as on-going, complex and often opportunistic rather than planned, can help to unpack how it is that the same person can move from self-identification as 'voluntary migrant' to 'trafficked person' and back again. Or it might lead to an understanding of how it is that 'there's nothing as permanent as a temporary migrant'. Migration research would benefit from an appreciation of the on-going opportunism and chance of mobility decisions, situating them in time and space and recognising the contradiction and heterogeneity inherent in mobility. For example, individuals often have to make quick, impulsive decisions, in the face of rumour, conflicting advice and limited information, often in a context of extreme uncertainty and risk.

3.2 Rhythms and Cycles

Rhythm can be characterised as variation that consists of regularly recurring or alternating phenomena. We see this in sound through the pattern of recurring noises, and in movement through certain, different, elements repeating or alternating. In the last section we approached mobility both as a moment in time, and as part of an unfolding, conceptually linear process. However, increasingly migration scholars see mobility not as a series of forward-facing stages or events, but as a process of ambiguity and contradiction (Uehling, 2002). In this section, we consider mobility as non-linear, recognising the importance of repetition, simultaneity, seasonality and cycles.

Proponents of rhythm owe much to Lefebvre's classic work on the analysis of biological and social rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004), which has been expanded by more recent writers discussing temporal norms, rhythms and repetition (for example Edensor, 2010). One of the few studies to use rhythm to explore mobility is that of Edensor and Holloway, who borrow Lefebvre's concept of rhythmanalysis to consider the tempos and rhythms of journeys, focusing on coach tours in Ireland (2008). In terms of migration, an appreciation of temporal cycles is implicitly evident in research focused on seasonal mobility, be it tied to tourism, agricultural times, financial cycles or educational semesters. There is work on migration being repetitive (Chapman and Prothero, 1983), some on retirees chasing the sun (Gustafson, 2002; Myklebost, 1989) and a little showing how migration disrupts existing routines and patterns (Roseman, 1971). Again, time is often an implicit rather than explicit part of such work. Related to this, there has been some research conducted on the ways in which mobility can affect or disturb the life course (Lauser, 2008; Thomas and Bailey, 2009). Certain aspects of migration can be approached through this lens of temporal interruption, including the delays in starting families or reaching social adulthood.

Another significant temporal rhythm that arises in the migration literature is that of permanence or temporariness. There has been considerable work on certain types of temporary mobility, such as 'élite' migrants or 'ex-pats' (D'Andrea, 2006), backpackers and tourists (Allon et al., 2008; Haverig, 2011; Norris, 2008; Wilson et al., 2009) and short-term return visits (Conway, 2009; Gerharz, 2010). Underlying much migration work is an assumption that people move from being temporary to permanent (or 'settled') in a linear progress, over the course of time (Piore, 1979). Reality is often more complicated however, and permanence can be associated less with duration of time and more with emotional attachment (e.g. tourists falling in love whilst on holiday (Frohlick, 2009)).

Uncertainty about temporariness and permanence can help trap migrants into precarious work, which can be thought of as work without temporal rhythm (Ahmad, 2008; Anderson, 2000; 2010a; Anderson and Ruhs, 2010; Yeoh, 2006), in which the routines and security of employment may be absent. Anderson has explicitly considered the role of time in relation to control of migrant workers, including length of period in a job, the impact of working time on retention, length of stay and changing immigration status (Anderson, 2007). Employers may also be able to confine migrant workers (or at least their bodies) to specific time-spaces in a way that would be less possible for citizen workers (Yeoh and Huang, 2010). Migrant workers might speak of having no certainty over their time or future continuation in the job, often having to accept work that has little structure or regularity. Poor working conditions can be experienced in specifically temporal terms, from long hours to shift work, multiple jobs or night-time work. Many of these dimensions of precarious working intersect not only with immigration status, but with gender and age (Athanasίου, 2011; Bryson, 2007; Kilkey and Perrons, 2010). Working hours, insecurity, 'flexibility', time use and the particularities of migrant experiences have been treated reasonably extensively in some of the

literature on labour and migration. Thinking about time can potentially help us think about labour demand, about some of the factors that shape migrants' participation in particular labour markets, and what is behind labour market segmentation.

3.2.1 Emerging themes: migration and temporary living

Although migration scholars have problematised the notion of migration as a linear path, this is primarily on spatial rather than temporal grounds. The temporal disruption of the assumed linear path of migration is relatively unexplored and there would be benefit in examining the rhythm of various migrant journeys, perhaps particularly irregular journeys, as well as the rhythms of post-arrival experiences. This would include the impact of immigration controls on the temporalities of mobility and enforced temporariness. For example, research on temporary protection mechanisms for refugees demonstrates that immigration policies can restrict people to temporary migration stages, even if these stages become so extended that they would be better characterised as a 'permanent temporariness' (Bailey et al., 2002; Simmelink, 2011), a situation linked to the 'limbo' we discuss later. For example, it has been suggested that US immigration policy has been used to keep Salvadoran asylum seekers in an extended temporary condition, via policies such as the granting of 'Temporary Protected Status' (Mountz et al., 2002). Similarly Anderson has used the concept of 'precariousness' to consider the institutional production of insecurity for migrant workers (Anderson, 2010a). While in some cases, being temporary may be a source of shame or pain, or even political tool of governance, in other cases, individuals may choose or at least prefer impermanence, reflecting ambiguity towards host societies or a desire to return 'home' one day (Roberts, 1995; Said, 1990). And for some, the question of permanence extends to migrants' children born abroad, be it in the form of external judgement (e.g. neo-fascist groups calling for ethnic minorities to 'go home') or subjective desires around returning to an imagined homeland (Ali, 2011; King and Christou, 2011; King et al., 2011). Moreover, even if the temporality of migrant labour has received some attention in the migration literature, more work is needed on the relation between this and sociality. For example, there is scope to examine the ways in which those working anti-social hours sustain the sociality of others – through being available to service their lives in multiple ways – at the cost of themselves being unable to sustain their own lives outside of work. More broadly, this also relates to temporality and subjectivity. Migrant workers have tended to be very much viewed as that, 'migrant workers' rather than full human beings, with their gendered, emotional lives overlooked.

3.3 Tempos

If migration is about movement in both time and space, then our attention must turn to tempo and velocity. Expectations, experiences and conflicts of speed are relevant at every stage of migration and are often felt to be in conflict. For example, the pace of change, or speed of bureaucratic or legal processes are often considered problematic by those subject to them. This is illustrated by competing claims that the British asylum system is both too slow and too fast. The former might be demonstrated by the 'legacy' backlog, a label applying to several hundreds of thousands of people who made an asylum claim prior to March 2007 and remained waiting in limbo for a final decision, many years later (in 2006 this backlog was estimated by the Home Office to consist of around 400-450,000 individuals (ICAR, 2009: 4)). Simultaneously, but in contrast, others making asylum claims

who are assigned to the 'fast track', can expect a decision to be made within a matter of days, creating the possibility that an individual may enter the UK, lodge an asylum claim, have it refused and be deported with a week or two. In some cases, people making a second asylum claim can even receive a decision within a day, particularly if they are in immigration detention and the authorities are keen to remove them.

This temporal tension creates a dilemma for migrants and their advocates, who struggle to argue that the asylum system should be both slower and yet faster, a conflict that may encourage people to avoid discussing time at all. This section separates out these two temporal guises, one of a fast, frenzied time rushing out of control, contrasted with a suspended, stagnant time. For many migrants, particularly those in the most insecure of states, these two faces of time can exist simultaneously, producing a sense of time that is particularly uncertain and untrusted (Griffiths, 2010b).

3.3.1 Acceleration (frenzied time)

A sense of rapid social or political change is not limited to migration. For example, scholars across disciplines have spoken of globalisation and/or modernity producing an accelerated way of life (Hassan, 2009; Spurk, 2004). The supposed dichotomy between modernity and tradition has been questioned (Barabantseva, 2009; 2012), but it remains the case that cities and nations often seek to present themselves as belonging to the future. This 'modern' life is often presented as being framed by time rather than space (Bauman, 2000), and generally future-obsessed and speedy in tempo (Bindé, 2000; Scheuerman, 2009). Interestingly, cities such as New York, London and Singapore are often presented as paradigms of modernity specifically as a result of their diversity and level of immigration (Amrith, 2010; Effie, 2008; Seng, 2010). Indeed, the movement of people or existence of transnational linkages is often presented as a sign of the 'modern' world (Lash and Urry, 1994), although others suggest that mobility disrupts our ideas of linear progress towards modernity (Chambers, 1994; Gilroy, 1993).

The suggestion is that we are now living much faster than we used to, be it as a result of capitalism (Tomlinson, 2007), new information and communication technologies (Eriksen, 2001; Hassan, 2005), or transport technology (Klein, 2004; Warf, 2008) such as air travel (Cwerner, 2009). This sense of a fast-paced modern life is seen by some as suggesting a privileging of the present over respect for the past or concern for the future, be it for the environment or future generations (Bindé, 2000; Reith, 2004; Shove et al., 2009).

In addition to these wider examples of social speed, acceleration has been identified specifically in relation to migration, particularly in terms of the physicality of movement and the pace of change in terms of government policies regulating migration. For example, Lash and Urry have suggested that mobility, in its various forms, now occurs at greater speed and over greater distance than previously (Lash and Urry, 1994). This is related to the effects of new and cheaper transport technologies, which for some people allow for faster and further travel. Virilio coined the term 'dromology' for this study of speed and its impact on loss of place (Virilio, 2009). The belief that migration is happening at ever greater rates leads many politicians and citizens to complain of the speed of social change engendered by immigration or cosmopolitanism (Connolly, 2009).

As well as the physicality of migration, we see speed in relation to the policies and stages of migration processes. For example, several of the chapters in Rosa and Scheuerman's edited volume looking at the acceleration within historical, governance, legislature, societal and political spheres, argue that modes of citizenship have been accelerated (Rosa and Scheuerman, 2009; Scheuerman,

2009), even though the process of naturalisation, in the UK at least, appears to be ever lengthening and slowing. As noted earlier, government rhetoric is often geared towards an assumption that speed is a sign of success (Cwerner, 2004), with Ministers calling for deportations to occur at ever-quicker rates.

Migrants often speak of experiencing time in which change can happen suddenly and without warning. For example, those on work visas often have very little time to find a new job when dismissed or after leaving their employment, before the conditions of their visas are invalidated and they become at risk of detention. Those without regular status are particularly vulnerable to an unpleasantly quick time, often fearing detection at any moment. On the other hand, many also hold onto the hope that a letter providing status might suddenly arrive unexpectedly one morning. Asylum and immigration decisions can be made very quickly, applications to appeal negative decisions have to be submitted within days and the immigration system itself is always in flux, with the legislation changing constantly. Even release from immigration detention into the community can happen at any moment and without warning (sometimes, so quickly that a person has no time to find accommodation and ends up sleeping rough). Individuals are transferred between immigration detention centres at short notice and without explanation, including sometimes several times within the same day (HMCIP, 2009).

Deportations and removals almost always entail an accelerated sense of time, with a desperate panicked rush of trying to contact solicitors, MPs and friends and family. Individuals normally have just 72-hours' notice of their removal, and sometimes even less. Until the High Court ruled against the practice in 2010, the Home Office could, without any notice, remove suicidal and other vulnerable people from the UK, including unaccompanied children bound for another EU country (Webber, 2010). Similarly, people deported on special charter flights are usually only told that their removal will occur at some point within ten days. The short time frames force MPs and solicitors challenging a removal to sometimes work through the night, under great time pressure. The perpetual threat of removal is described by those affected as being unable to imagine more than a few days ahead, especially as removals are often unsuccessful and individuals often undergo several removal attempts before finally leaving the country, often being taken to the airport or even onto a plane before being returned to immigration detention. All of this contributes to a fast, frenetic sense of time in which little can be anticipated or planned for.

3.3.2 Deceleration and stasis

By contrast to this frantic sense of time many migrants experience very little change, over long periods. Time is often imagined to exist on a trajectory, progressive even if at times chaotic. And yet for some, one aspect of their lives is stasis, a suspension of time whilst the world around them continues forward. Of course, time does not literally stop for such people, but nonetheless, a non-cumulative stasis appears to be one powerful model of experiencing and explaining time for some migrants.

In contrast to the wealth of work conducted on the supposed acceleration of time, less has been written on slowness and deceleration. An exception is a burgeoning area of work on the rise of groups which seek to counterbalance the acceleration of capital and culture, including in the form of 'slow food' organisations (Parkins, 2004; Pink, 2007) and conservation movements (e.g. Urry (1994; 2009) on 'glacial time'). Furthermore, David Bissell and Gillian Fuller have edited some important

work on the importance of stillness and passivity, noting that these traits are persistently seen as detrimental in an era where speed is fetishised (Bissell and Fuller, 2009; Bissell and Fuller, 2011). There has also been some work on waiting. Giovanni Gasparini distinguishes between three types of waiting as blockage of action, as an experience filled with substitute meanings, and as a meaningful experience) (Gasparini, 1995). And Harold Schweizer argues that waiting can be a productive, rather than dead, time (Schweizer, 2008). Likewise there has been some work on queuing, including people's responses to queue-jumping (Corbridge, 2004) and strategies of queuing in relation to ferry travel (Vannini, 2011).

To date there has been little work that considers the emphasis of slowness within governance, although there has been some research looking at how waiting is utilised as a business strategy in order to manage people's expectations (e.g. Sellerberg, 2008). Specifically in relation to the management of migration, there is some work on immigration bureaucrats wasting people's time with 'red tape' (Fuglerud, 2004), as well as immigration officials at border crossings controlling the speed at which different people are permitted to cross the border (Stephenson, 2006). To some extent, slowness pervades most forms of migration, from the ever-lengthening naturalisation process, to the repeated 'crises' of long airport queues for travellers going through Customs.

Slowness is however particularly relevant to certain forms of migration, such as seeking asylum, which requires official recognition of an application and often involves a number of appeals, judicial hearings and even repeat claims. Communication with the UKBA can involve waiting months for a response to letters, if a response ever comes. Delays in communicating decisions to applicants are not uncommon, including cases where people only find out they have refugee status months or even years after the decision. People wait months for court hearings to be scheduled, for the UKBA to enact judges' decisions, for identity documents to be sent and for decisions to be made. Irremovable detainees are liable to extremely long periods of immigration detention, expressing their lives as having stopped. Likewise, 'illegal' migrants with little hope of regularising their stay or those in the quasi-legal space of the legacy system often speak the most evocatively about this slow, endless time and associated lack of personal progress. The chronic waiting of asylum decisions has been explored by Carolina Kobelinsky, who looks at asylum seekers in France having nothing to do but wait indefinitely (2006).

3.3.3. Immigration detention

Time clearly has a particular relevance to immigration detention. Craig Jeffrey has written on chronic waiting broadly, considering prolonged waiting over years or lifetimes, in relation to detention and migration as well as in terms of prison and underdevelopment (Jeffrey, 2008b). The link between waiting and prison has also been examined by Anita Wilson, who has worked on the space-time of prisoners, and Diane Medicott, who has considered how prisoners experience time, arguing that this becomes a source of suffering in its own right (Medicott, 1999; Wilson, 2004). An interesting study is that of Alyson Brown, who works with prisoners to argue that inmates' experience of time is as much about the nature or intensity of time, as about absolute length. She looks at the effect of prison on perceptions of the present (which tend to be extended) and past/future (which are often distorted) (Brown, 1998). Immigration detainees differ from their prisoner counterparts in significant ways. In part this is because their future destiny (including which country they will end up in) is so uncertain, and in part because – unlike prisoners – detainees do not have the luxury of a sentence,

nor, in the UK, a maximum threshold, and have simply no idea how long they might remain detained, a fact that significantly shapes their experience of waiting.

3.3.4 Emerging themes: too much time

Variations of tempo, whether existing differently for different people (e.g. irregular migrants feeling outside 'normal' time of the rest of society) or in simultaneous contradiction within the same individual (e.g. detainees afraid both of imminent and absent change), are linked to a view of time as a resource that one can have too much or too little of. The tendency of people to borrow concepts relating to capitalism to understand many aspects of social life has been recognised (Eriksen, 2003; Wikse, 1977), and certainly exists in relation to time. Power hierarchies exist in relation to the amount of free time people have, and how much of their time is 'wasted' by others (for examples on how class and ethnicity affect waiting times for health care appointments, see Mulvaney-Day et al., 2010; Schwartz, 1978).

One's immigration category significantly affects how much time one has. Although there has been some work on certain groups having very little time, there has not been much work done with people who have 'too much', such as immigration detainees and migrants excluded from work or education, who can have so much free time that they feel socially abnormal, outside the 'rush' of the rest of society. They are, in effect 'stuck', and these limbo periods can extend indefinitely. This also includes work on immobility, an issue that has been explored recently in relation to passengers stranded at airports (Adey, 2006; Barton, 2011; Birtchnell and Büscher, 2011). Several academics explore international mobility, including border crossing, using the concept of liminality (Donnan and Wilson, 1999; Salter, 2005; Wilson and Donnan, 1998). By considering migration in this way, we open space not only to examine the stasis of living in limbo, but the potentially transformative properties of the abnormal state.

One aspect of the limbo of migration is that of enforced idleness. Craig Jeffrey uses the term 'timepass' to explore the lives of young educated men in India forced to wait indefinitely to find a job, reflecting the sense of having little to do other than waste time (Jeffrey, 2008a; 2010). Unemployment and redundancy in this and other research is often linked to a form of stasis, making it relevant to migration studies. High levels of depression and trauma characteristic of asylum seekers have been linked with the indefinite and yet temporary nature of the asylum process (Mansouri and Cauchi, 2007), and psychologists have demonstrated that experiencing time as passing slowly is linked with suffering (Flaherty et al., 2005). However, the emotional and social implications have had less attention. The anthropologist Yasmine Musharbash has written on boredom in relation to indigenous Australians, relating instances of boredom to sociocultural perceptions of time and postcolonial temporalities (Musharbash, 2007), but there is scope for similar work in a migration context, given that many researchers have recognised the emphasis on waiting and liminality within migration experiences.

Excessive time can be associated with 'waiting', but equally it may be an unproductive, pointless stasis. Further research therefore might seek to consider how excess time can be a source of shame or oppression rather than a luxury, and how this relates to immigration categories. Of course, liminal phases can offer potential as well as harm. For example, for some irregular migrants, particularly those with greatest social support, least familial responsibility and the least to fear from forced return, in addition to hardships, liminality can *also* offer the chance to enjoy aspects of life that are otherwise circumscribed, as a result of being outside familial, religious and social

expectations and controls, outside the 'normality' of both 'home' and British societies, cocooned in a stasis and without the means to achieve anticipated social goals (Griffiths, 2010a). The complex and contradictory implications of living with excessive and suspended time, allowing space for the potential freedoms of temporal limbo, could be usefully explored further in a migration context. This includes studies considering the *rites de passage* aspect of liminalities of time.

Other themes/subjects might include the disjuncture between fast change and policy making in the migration sphere (as well as the political emphasis on speedy decision making and case resolution) and the slower rhythms of democracies and elections. We could know more about how the accelerated circulation of information influences migration patterns and choices (e.g. the role of social networks in shaping international migration (Boyd, 1989)). Finally, research could be conducted on how individuals experience frenzied time, be it undergoing the 'fast track' asylum process to responding to fast changing opportunities, from employment opportunities to decisions about when to set sail.

3.4 Synchronicity and disjuncture

The temporal concept of simultaneity may have particular traction in migration considerations. It has been suggested that globalisation and new information technologies have encouraged such connectivity between countries, metaphorically and practically, that there is now a simultaneity of global events (Brose, 2004), policies and governance. At an individual level, Boyarin (1994b) distinguishes between simultaneity (a sense that other people are doing the same things and that these are meaningfully related to one's own experience) and 'meanwhileness' (a much looser feeling that people are sharing the same time as oneself, even if their business is quite different), something that Cwerner perceptively links to questions of belonging encountered by migrants (2001: 23). Different types of time and the ways in which they conflict and shift through migratory (and other) processes have a common theme, and that is the role of synchrony and asynchrony. For example, one can be in the same territorial space yet not in the same time. On the one hand states and industrial time impose synchronies on us and that makes everything work, but this brings with it huge asynchronies particularly between industrial time and reproductive time. The sense of asynchronicity of time has been explored by some social scientists outside of migration, for example looking at generational difference (Giesen, 2004). Linked to this is the notion of continuity versus ruptured or reconfigured time (Spurk, 2004). Clearly these considerations go beyond migration, but in this section we focus on how ideas of temporal disjuncture would contribute to migration studies.

3.4.1 Synchronicity and Asynchronicity

In many ways, a shared sense of time builds bonds between people and communities, establishing a sense of connection and preservation. Eder describes the institutionalised synchronicity of time as a state attempt to obscure discontinuities and engender regional cooperation and identity, such as that of Europeanisation (Eder, 2004). The place of the past in 'imagining' (cf. Anderson, 1983) and authorising the nation has been thoroughly explored, as we discussed earlier. Michelle Bastian's seminal work on time and communities has significantly developed this, taking it into new directions and demonstrating various ways in which time is invoked in the production and maintenance of communities, such as the need for group members to spend time together in order to engender feelings of belonging (Bastian, 2011). In this way, we can see time use as linked to social cohesion (Fontainha, 2005), and the role of timing as affecting the social value of relationships (Rhee, 2007).

To focus on migration specifically, several authors have written about time in relation to diaspora (Basu, 2007; Berg, 2011; Harootunian, 2005; Lavie and Swedenburg, 1996; Peeren, 2006; Temple, 1996). As with the nation, transnational communities often draw on the past and nostalgia to create group identities. The significant role of memory in so doing is linked with both individual migrants (for examples see McGhee, 2012; Stockdale et al., 2012 (forthcoming); Sutton, 2001), and collectives (Boym, 2002; Todorova and Gille, 2010). Examples include migrant communities using the performance of war remembrances and historical processions to re-establish minority identities (Fortier, 2000), or the ritualised act of funeral rites to make place in exile (Kaiser, 2008) and create cross-national bonds (Mazzucato et al., 2006). Recent developments in tracing one's DNA to find one's historical 'roots', can be seen as a continuation of such trends (Fehler, 2011).

Drawing on Fredrik Barth (1969) however, we know that where a phenomenon is used to create commonality, it is also employed to mark boundaries. Part of Bastian's study has considered how time is used to complicate and destroy communities, including in terms of intra-community conflicts over the ways in which time is understood and the use of time to exclude other groups (Bastian 2001). Difference (perceived or otherwise) between the notions of time of different groups, epochs or nations can serve to create rifts and explain conflict. This has been noted outside of ethnic and migration contexts (e.g. gated communities (Atkinson and Flint, 2004); and amongst college students (Staats et al., 1994)), but clearly such temporal difference has a particularly strong place in examining relationships between different ethnic groups, including between migrants and 'host' citizens – particularly in terms of the supposed non-assimilation of migrants to dominant social practices around time.

Saulo Cwerner is one of the few migration scholars to explicitly discuss 'temporal asynchronicity' – rifts between flows of events, or the breaking down of the 'meanwhile', despite this being an area rich with possibility (Cwerner, 2001). We tend to think of examples such as cultural differences in punctuality and time keeping, but of even greater relevance may be variations in the use of time and priorities given to the past, present and future (Macduff, 2006). In this way, Urciuoli considered Puerto Ricans as 'temporal others' in New York (Urciuoli, 1992) and several scholars have used the idea of different religious times in exploring multiculturalism and ethnic relations (Wohlrab-Sahr, 2004; Zerubavel, 1982). Of course, diversity and immigration are often perceived as challenges to the legitimacy or vitality of the nation (Clifford, 1994; Gilroy, 1993), and this can be expressed specifically in terms of different temporal symbols and norms (Westin, 1998). In other words, the language of temporal difference is used to identify foreign Others, generate points of exclusion and conflict, or vocalise feelings of dissonance (Cosser and Cosser, 1963; Eisenstadt, 1949; Elchardus et al., 1987; Mercure, 1979).

Alternatively, attempts to generate belonging and assimilation can (often implicitly) invoke temporal notions, for example by emphasising shared pasts/futures (Bauböck, 1998; Golden, 2002a; Golden, 2002b; McGhee, 2005; McGhee, 2008), reconciling different religious pasts (Wohlrab-Sahr, 2004), or through the construction of communal heritage (Ang, 2001; Buciek et al., 2006). In addition to explicit social engineering, there is often an assumption that the assimilation (or at least social change) of migrants is somewhat inevitable, over the passage of time (for examples see Hunter, 2011; Li, 2007; Maya-Jariego and Armitage, 2007). Of course, for some migrants, maintenance of a different sense of time may purposefully be used to sustain diasporic identities (Guston, 1999). Furthermore, temporal dissonance is unlikely to be limited to the migrant/host society relationship, but may be felt between the diaspora and 'homeland' (Cwerner, 2001; Eisenlohr, 2004; 2006), as

well as between absent individuals and their family members (Hogben, 2006; Thomas and Bailey, 2009).

3.4.2 Temporal Ruptures

In addition to community-level temporal disjuncture, individual migrants can experience temporal 'tears'. Such 'abrupt transition' has been noted in rural to urban migration (Elchardus et al., 1987) but is also pertinent to cross-border mobility. Bureaucratic requirements around institutionalised schedules and routines (Allen, 2000; Allen, 2005; Edensor, 2006), regional synchronisation (Eder, 2004), or even the increasing emphasis on speed by the state (Rosa and Scheuerman, 2009), all have the potential to dramatically override and thereby alter the temporal patterns and expectations of individuals.

To provide an example of a temporal 'tear' born out of migration policy, individuals in the UK with insecure immigration status, such as visa over-stayers or refused asylum seekers, are vulnerable to unexpected 'dawn raids' at their homes by immigration officers in the early hours of the morning. After being woken early and abruptly, the individual and their family will be taken to a police station and ultimately immigration detention, ruining any plans they had for the immediate future, and potentially for years ahead. Removal or deportation from a country can produce an even greater temporal rupture, especially as removals are often unsuccessful as a result of last minute political or legal interventions, bureaucratic problems or complaints from pilots or passengers, leading to multiple removal attempts before one actually takes place. This means individuals may experience the great uncertainty and temporal disruption of deportation (with the associated farewells to the past/present and envisaging of a new, and often unwanted and intensely feared present/future), multiple times before finally leaving the country.

Such temporal discontinuity is often considered to be a negative disruption, whether to the individual or collective. For example, Cochran argues that states fare badly unless they have the security of coherent and compatible senses of the past, present and future (Cochran, 1995). On an individual level, dramatic temporal rupture, particularly that outside of one's control, such as deportation, is often experienced as highly distressing and disruptive. However, temporal discontinuity and change are not *necessarily* negative. Indeed, some argue they are integral to lived experience and expectations of the future (Game, 1997). Certain religious faiths emphasise breaks with the past as part of the narrative of rebirth, and the rupture of profound political change, such as the end of Apartheid in South Africa, can herald therapeutic reconfigurations of the past as well as exciting new possibilities for the future (Farred, 2004). Likewise, sudden changes in a migrant's temporal expectations might result from a successful appeal, rather than arrest or deportation. Migrating itself can be an act of agency actively employed in order break stasis and generate change. For example, Cole has written on Madagascan women seeking a break with their past through marrying a European man and moving away (Cole, 2010); and Mains demonstrated that migration is seen by some young Ethiopian men as a way of breaking the 'stuckness' they feel in their country of origin (Mains, 2007).

3.4.3 Emerging themes: disjuncture and exclusion

Bastian found that certain areas of time and the community have been amply analysed. This is perhaps particularly true of the role of the past in our social lives (Appadurai, 1981; Huyssen, 2000;

Nora, 1989), most notably in terms of shaping communities, producing national identities and authorising the nation. However, she also identified a number of 'gaps' in the literature on time and community, such as time and cosmopolitanism, and the experiential aspect of time (e.g. the chimes of alarms). The experience and production of temporal rifts may be one such gap.

It has long been suggested that individuals marginalised from mainstream societies (such as unassimilated newcomers), experience temporal disharmony and disconnection (Eisenstadt, 1949). Temporal disjuncture might also be a useful angle for examining the relationship between 'host' societies, migrants and their children, the so called 'second generation' who may not share their parents' temporal understandings or willingness to compromise their time. For example, migrants' children may grow up to feel less prepared to accept the unsociable and long working hours of the 'migrant jobs' that their parents did (Gans, 1992). Of course, many researchers demonstrate the continuation of marginalisation into subsequent generations (e.g. Crul and Doornik, 2003; Simon, 2003), suggesting a difference between individual temporal expectations and those temporal constraints imposed upon them. These questions relate to broader issues around the relationship between time and social mobility, structure and change (Bloch, 1977; Fielding, 1995; Heirich, 1964; Lewis and Weigert, 1981; Rogaly and Taylor, 2009), including changing relationships between community members and newcomers over time (Maclean, 2003). Specifically employing the notion of temporal dissonance may provide an avenue into further exploring changing and persistent aspects of the relationships between citizens, migrants and their children. Other aspects of generational difference in a migration context could also be investigated through the prism of time, perhaps drawing on work outside of the migration literature that uses time to examine the relationships and rivalry between generations (King, 2010).

Further research could be conducted on official attempts towards simultaneity of policy and practice around migration, and the impact on migrants, who generally consider their experiences as unique and within their own control. Analysis of the formation of diaspora and sustainability of transnational families might also usefully employ notions of simultaneity to examine the import placed on shared time for emotional ties. Another area warranting greater exploration is that of the state's control of time as it impacts on social inclusion and exclusion of migrants. In some cases this will work against the temporalities of community building, for example officially categorising individuals as 'illegal' even if they have lived in an area long enough to be considered as 'belonging' by their neighbours. Such a disjuncture is temporal as much as it is legal.

3.5 Futures

Throughout this report, we have noted that notions of the past have been productively and thoroughly examined in the social sciences. To some extent, this prioritisation of the past has been at the analytical exclusion of the future, despite some recognition that state building can be as much about the expansion of time as of space (Allen, 2008). To date, despite several calls for an appreciation of the future by social scientists (Mische, 2009; Wallman, 1992; Yamba, 1992), far less attention has been paid to the place of the future than the past in understanding collectives and social phenomena such as migration. An important exception is Barbara Adam, who has written extensively on the importance of imagined futures, which she describes as the 'not yet' (Adam, 2009; 2010; Adam and Groves, 2007). The future is not a homogenous period but can be split in various ways, including between the near future and a longer-term horizon (Guyer, 2007). In this section we

consider how perceptions of the future might contribute to analysis of migration in terms both of policy making and individual migrants' experiences.

3.5.1 State, nation and imagined futures

We have already outlined how the idea of a shared past, of heritage and memory, and feelings of nostalgia and longing for a 'lost' homeland are constructive for diasporas. Although receiving less scrutiny, 'time to come' is also invoked by the state in terms of imagining the nation. Imagined collective futures engender a sense of shared purpose and as such are envisaged as countering diversity or uncertainty and encourage the assimilation of migrants (Bauböck, 1998; Grand, 1999; Lowenthal, 1992; Maier, 1989; McGhee, 2005). Deborah Golden for example has shown that in the face of immigration from the former Soviet Union, Israeli nation-building has employed the concept of a shared collective future as part of a 'temporal reordering' to transform outsiders into Israelis (Golden, 2002b). Cwerner's concept of 'chronopolitanism' as a replacement for cosmopolitanism might be useful here in recognising the temporal (rather than spatial) dimensions of cultural diversity (Cwerner, 2000). Chronopolitanism temporalises the political community, it attempts to conceive of a global belonging that is sensitive to time as well as space. As Cwerner puts it:

The *cosmos* of the chronopolitan ideal should no longer be seen as the static world of global spatial belonging, but instead as an evolving system of changing temporalities. It presupposes the global present, but transcends it by opening up to alternative pasts and futures, and also to the diversity of intersecting rhythms of life. (Cwerner, 2000: 337)

In her project *In Pursuit of the Future*, Adam writes about the democratic deficit and the future – pointing out that decision-making increasingly has huge ramifications for future generations (discussed with reference to technology and environment), but that modern democracies are typically elected for just four or five years. That means that governments take decisions that have significant consequences for future generations, but that there is no mechanism for building this in to policy decisions, despite calls for migration (and development) policies to take long-term perspectives (Greijn and Fowler, 2010; Rutten, 2009). This temporal tension may explain some of the anxiety around migration, but if so it is poorly articulated, and is likely to remain so, given that it is difficult to discuss migration and the future of the country without mentioning the political taboos of race or ethnicity. There is certainly an undertone of apology in current UK debates about migration policy, a sense that 'we didn't anticipate the future correctly'. This reflects another tension, between policy attempts to tell the future, and the reality that they often fail to do so, especially in relation to complex, socially interconnected phenomena such as migration. Adam and Groves distinguish between policies that understand the future as an 'architect' working to a blueprint, and those that see it as a 'sculptor' allowing the material to help shape the object, allowing for the unexpected and the interdependent (Adam, n.d.). When it comes to migration, we would suggest that policy makers aim to be 'architects' rather than 'sculptors', possibly because of the symbolic importance of nation-building and its relation to migration over time.

As touched on earlier, concepts of the future have also been associated with the state in terms of modernisation, often with a focus on the urban. The relationship between modernity and migration is in dispute, with some using heightened mobility to signify hyper-modernity and others suggesting that mobility disrupts notions of progress. Indeed, increased migration is often associated with

anxiety over the future (Amin, 2012) and even considered symptomatic of a dystopic future. The popular idea that significant levels of mobility will lead to a future of social breakdown is a persistent one (for example Lamm and Imhoff, 1985), but even migration policies tend to be catastrophe-driven. But what is the migration fear? Policies help create as well as respond to the emotional climate by claiming the power to avert potential catastrophe. This means that policies (be they related to migration or citizenship) can be both future orientated and visionless at the same time.

The 'catastrophic' future of high mobility is often associated with predictions regarding the changing 'colour' of national populations (Baldwin, 2012) or more generally about social change and (imagined) cosmopolitanism futures (Connolly, 2009; Taylor, 2011). More dramatically, an imagined future world of 'mass' migration is often apocalyptic in nature, linked to epidemics such as SARS or avian flu (Schillmeier, 2008), terrorism or cultural conflict. We could draw from literature that equates time with other dystopic futures (Bhavnani and Foran, 2008; Escobedo, 1997; Wiegman, 2000), such as environmental catastrophe (which is often predicted to result in mass migration (Blitz, 2011; Foresight, 2011)), disease (Ansell et al., 2011), natural disaster (Murphy, 2001) or financial meltdown (Hope, 2011; Laux, 2011). This includes literature that specifically considers how disasters affect our interpretations of time, including the future, be it climate change (e.g. Auyero and Swistun, 2009; Brace and Geoghegan, 2011; Mansfield, 2008) or terrorism (Osuri, 2006).

Related to the idea of an apocalyptic future is the concept of a utopic future, something that is often considered on the wane in the contemporary world (Nassehi, 1994). Future utopia is often associated with redemptive religions (Dijk, 1998), the afterlife (Boyd and Zimbardo, 1997) or the promise of new technologies (Cwerner, 2006), but can also be portrayed as a new political dawn following from some kind of social trauma (Grunebaum-Ralph, 2001; Schaap, 2007). In terms of migration, such positive imagining of the future may be associated with cosmopolitan modernities, but is more usually associated with individual-level hopes and dreams, which we turn to next.

3.5.2 Emerging Themes: Individuals, emotion, and imagined futures

Unlike chronological time, social time is marked by emotion. This is particularly true of the future, be it in the form of fear, desire, hope or anticipation, and it is this that helps to constitute the 'more than rational' quality of decision making. It is this that gets missed by the current policy predictive models. If migration can be considered a means of imagining or creating futures, about hope and aspiration, then it is also reflective of absent or uncertain futures. As already suggested, migration may be viewed as a way out for those who feel they would have no future if they remained. Uncertainty itself can be framed as a question of unpredictable futures (Collins, 2009), be it in terms of individual migrants, precarious nations (Athanasίου, 2006; Hodges, 2010), or the unknown outcome of modernity (Giddens, 1990). For example, unpredictability around employment has been linked to differences between orientations to the future (instant living, multiple futures, scheduled future) (Ylijoki, 2010). Chronic uncertainty is frequently associated with migration, linked not only to various stages of an individual's journey but also to the experiences between different individuals. There is scope for more work looking at the emotional consequences of temporal suspension for migrants. When discussing *tempo*s we explored the stasis of suspended time. In many ways this form of temporal experience can be understood as a form of disjuncture, in which an individual feels 'outside' of the normal flow of time of mainstream society. Such discontinuity or stasis is associated with people's understandings and expectations of the future (Game, 1997).

Exploration of temporal disorientation – the disruption of ideas about how social life is supposed to map on to chronological time – is likely to produce interesting comparisons to phenomena outside of migration, from Jeffrey's 'timepass' (Jeffrey, 2010) to 'waste men', the latter being a term used in use in Oxford to describe young people who have left school or university and have no plans for the future who are 'killing time' in informal employment. Temporal disjuncture between individuals and their perception of the rest of society has been linked with homeless people (Rowe and Wolch, 1990), carnival participants (Aching, 2010), and the unemployed or precarious (Anderson et al., 2005; Reiter, 2003; Yian, 2004). This uncertainty over the future is often conceptualised as an overly powerful present, which outside of migration has been associated with prisoners (Brown, 1998), Gypsies (Trumpener, 1992), and health professionals (Frankenberg, 1988).

Migration controls demonstrate that the state can play a direct role in sustaining or creating temporal uncertainty over the future. This is both masked and exacerbated by bureaucratic viewpoints which tend to require black and white administrative categorisation and evaluation of a person's immigration status at 'snap shot' moments in time, whilst also imaging the 'ideal' migrant to conform to a flowing sequence of events from arrival to settlement, productivity, integration and ultimately to naturalisation or return. Such ideas of temporal durations tend to be approached not merely as an aimless flow, but as linear trajectory, echoing Enlightenment ideals of endless forward progress. In practice, while one individual might wait years without a decision on an immigration application, another might receive a decision quickly, seemingly travelling through the stages of the migration process at great speed. As suggested, without a time-frame or known future to work towards, people tend to be unable to plan, progress or invest in themselves. This might be considered particularly emblematic of immigration detainees, who do not know how long they will be incarcerated for in advance, nor whether they will eventually be removed or released, making the future entirely unknowable. It is this temporal instability that leads to detainees and academics alike describing immigration detention as worse than prison (Pirouet, 2001: 95). Would some of the points of conflict experienced by individuals be better understood if policy makers appreciated the flow of change people inevitably experience over time, rather than insist on the static logic of a 'moments' framework?

The messy reality of life means that moments of time cannot be taken out of context and nor can they be reduced to the two dimensional world of movement forwards or backwards. For example, some migrants in precarious positions avoid serious relationships until their immigration status is secure, meaning that they remain unmarried far later than socially expected. Some people describe this ambiguous position as having not yet become an adult, echoing studies that suggest that uncertainty postpones attainment of adulthood (Mills et al., 2005). In such cases, one's identity as a childless bachelor might be the way in which one expresses being 'stuck' in the present or transient as an irregular migrant. This reflects the problematic relationship between the steady passing of chronological time and the experience of social time. Superimposed onto such situations may well be official discourses from Social Services, judges or civil servants, presenting alternative expectations, interpretations and requirements of a person's age. This of course leads onto the subject of age tests, in which biological measurements, or subjective assessments of behaviour, are employed in controversial attempts to ascertain the 'facts' of ageing in order to capture a person's definite age (Crawley, 2007). The dissonances and relationships between these various social, biological and official narratives of ageing offer great potential for research.

Concluding Remarks

This review stemmed from the question: *What are the key emerging themes from the existing literature on temporalities and time that can be developed as part of a theoretically and politically engaged migration research agenda?* Based on a scoping study, we suggest that this question can be broken down into two parts. What can the extensive literature on time in social theory tell us about migration? And what does the existing literature on migration tell us about time, explicitly or implicitly? Our review is unavoidably selective and exploratory. We have not delved deeply into the full range of relevant social theory for example, and we have focused on only two main areas of migration research, mobilities and life course studies. And, given the extensive work already undertaken by Michelle Bastian, we have been able to overlook for the moment, the relationships between migration, community and time. Nonetheless, by taking a further perspective on migration, time and temporality, thinking through concepts of flow, movement, tempo, rhythm, future etc., we have suggested a number of emerging themes. Without setting out to do so, these themes seem to cluster around two poles.

On the one hand, there are a number of issues linking the state with time, perhaps not surprisingly given our focus on international migration. The strong relationship between power, the state and management of time (Rutz, 1992) has been noted throughout this report and is reflected in work of key political theorists from Foucault and Arendt (Braun, 2007), to Marx and Agamben (Casarino, 2003), and Habermas and Virilio (Hutchings, 2008). States attempt to integrate and coordinate industrial, cultural and 'natural' times, nationalising them at the expense of local times. It is striking how much of the literature on time takes the nation-state as an unexceptional container of time, as of space. States govern through temporal devices and rationalities, including censuses and other surveys, qualification periods for everything from citizenship to bus passes. Regarding migrants in particular, bureaucratic procedures are marked by different and sometimes contradictory tempos. There may even be time traps set, procedures that are simply impossible to meet. But states are also interested in synchronicity, the creation of national bonds and the inevitable exclusions accompanying it. Increasingly, they consider the future and how it may be governed through a series of anticipatory actions: pre-emption, preparedness and precaution work their way through government (Anderson, 2010b).

On the other hand, there are themes related to migrant subjectivity. How does time interplay with feelings of belonging, exclusion, uncertainty and expectation? How should we understand the 'decision' to migrate? As the originating point in a series of familiar stages, rationally oriented towards some intended future? Or as a much more distributed, uncertain and emotional phenomenon? How do imaginings of the future affect experience of the present? This is central to our understanding of agency. What are the costs and possible pleasures of states of uncertainty or temporariness? How is the disjuncture between biological and social ageing experienced and conceptualised? Potentially caught between acceleration and stasis, how far can migrants have too little or too much time? What can be learned from related fields of study about the quality of waiting and passing time?

Individual subjectivities and nation states do not map seamlessly on to each other. Of particular interest is the conflict between the institutional or bureaucratic time of the state, which 'claims to be absolute, universal, total' and individual time 'which is personal, quotidian, limited' (Gross, 1982). This tension pervades our multiple understandings of time, and migration, understood as mobility and residence to/in a territory of which one is not a citizen, brings it very much to the fore.

There is undoubtedly much more that could be said about these ideas and we have intentionally provided more questions than answers. Capturing time-sensitive information is challenging in itself, as is much of migration research. Combined, this is an area that will require nuanced and flexible methodological approaches, not least because time may well have profound legal implication for an individual's immigration case. If the timing of a person's asylum claim or visa renewal say, or the length of their residence in a country, have significant impact on their rights to remain, then what are the ethical considerations of obtaining temporal information for research purposes? One of the few certainties in this emerging area of research is that establishing methodologies for researching temporal phenomena, will probably always be a work in progress.