

# Introduction: crossing borders, changing times

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This book explores how crossing borders entails shifting time as well as geographical location. Spaces may be bordered by both territory and time: in spatial practices, memories and narratives, and in the hopes and fears that anchor an imagined community's history to a given (imagined) territory. Those who cross borders must, therefore, negotiate not only the borders themselves, but the practices, memories and narratives that differentiate and define the time-spaces they enclose. Border-crossers – and those who find that old borders have moved – must come to terms with the novel intersections of the temporal and the spatial they encounter. In this volume, we focus on the perspectives of those whose borders have shifted, as well as on those who themselves cross borders – exploring their subjectivities in the context of spaces that are not just physically separated but also zoned in time (Giddens 1991: 148).

*Migrating borders and moving times* examines how people interpret life after moving across a political border, as well as their reactions to their 're-placement' when a national border has itself been moved around. Our contributors seek to grasp how such changes are understood – emotionally, in terms of (new) futures and pasts; as part of trans-border community or network formation; and in terms of the time-space materiality of border-crossing bodies and things. The 'moving' in the title of our book thus indexes both mobility and affect, since when something 'moves' us, it stirs an emotional response. How do different groups – contract workers, labour migrants and smugglers – conceptualise the borders they have crossed or those recently imposed upon them? How are those who have crossed defined by 'host' populations; and with what new eyes do they view themselves in time and place, reworking their relationships to the times and spaces of both their 'own' and the 'other side'?

In order to answer these questions, we focus on borders that are embedded in specific political contexts, which we refer to throughout as 'polity' borders. These enclose and define areas controlled by national or supranational state authorities. They often appear as lines on a map, claiming a physical presence. On the ground,

however, they are constituted first and foremost by regimes of practice, established, over time, by a territory's administrative, political and economic authorities (Simmel 1992: 697; Schwell 2010: 93). These practices interact with, reflect and reinforce those of local populations, as well as of actual and potential border crossers. However, they are also anchored in something more intangible: the validation of different communities' shared narratives of history and the future.

Such narratives show the extent to which borders, like national communities, are also imagined into being. As Houtum et al. (2005: 3) put it, 'a border is not so much an object or a material artefact as a belief, an imagination that creates and shapes the world, a social reality'. Borders might thus be better seen in terms of *bordering*, as more verb than noun. In this regard, we address borders less as lines of territorial demarcation than 'as countless points of interaction, or myriad places of divergence and convergence' (Donnan and Wilson 2010: 7). As we shall see, crossing borders results in variously bordered combinations of time as well as space, superimposed on, challenging and reinforcing one another in shifting patterns of spatio-temporal overlap and disjunction.

Three interrelated themes connected by a focus on the relationship between borders and time run throughout this book. First we consider how polity borders that delimit imagined communities are narrated as separating time-spaces between 'Us' and 'Them' to generate a hierarchy between 'East' and 'West'. Such spatial-temporal representations and hierarchies change with time as borders are redrawn. Our second theme explores how time features in the cross-border networks of migrants, emphasising in particular the affective networks that link, fragment or rupture ties between spouses, neighbours, friends and families. Here the challenges posed by temporal synchrony and disjuncture both within and beyond the borders across which these migrants move shape not only the practical but also the moral and emotional contexts in which they live their daily lives. Our third theme explores time in relation to the body itself as borders are shaped, felt, experienced and embodied according to prevailing constellations of power and opportunities for individual agency.

### Time and b/order

While since the early 2000s there has been an enormous proliferation of books about borders, few focus specifically and systematically on the intersections of time and space, although this is a topic of emerging interest (see Andersson 2014a). Space has long dominated the field of border studies, and the 'spatial turn' across the social sciences has amplified this focus. Thus the many books on borders emphasise the 'where' and 'placed-ness' (or 'for whom?') of borders and largely focus on the 'when' only to sketch historical context or emphasise change. In this book, however, the focus on time is not just on historical transformations of borders but on the way 'border time' is shaped by, shapes and constitutes the borders themselves.

This emphasis on borders and time is innovative and fruitful. It both complements the classic analytical pre-eminence of 'space' in the study of borders (itself a consequence of border studies' beginnings in the study of geography); and highlights borders as layers of political history inscribed in space, from which can be read with varying degrees of visibility the historic cross-border shifts in population as well as the shifting nature of the borders themselves. It is not so much that time has been ignored in border studies, it is rather that, where it does feature, it is less privileged analytically or is assimilated to 'history'.

For instance, time is integral to developmental taxonomies that treat borders in terms of evolutionary stages. Baud and Schendel (1997), for example, stress the usefulness of the 'life course' as a framework for the comparative analysis of borders which emerge, develop, mature and disappear. Other scholars establish developmental sequences in accordance with borders' changing spatial organisation and integration, or with their shifts in political and economic functionalities (see Reitel 2013). While yet others advocate a typology that classifies border interactions as alienated, coexistent, interdependent and integrated in a way that implies a developmental temporal analysis even if it does not explicitly pursue it (Martinez 1994: 6–10). This introduces one type of time: linear and abstract, moving forward, so to speak, irrespective of the institutional and personal temporalities of local and border-crossing practices. But there are other types of time, as well – as this volume seeks to show.

One way of rethinking the relationship between time and borders is captured in the metaphor of *tidemark*. This concept does not postulate a border line being located 'somewhere in particular – at the edges of a territory, or at crossing points; tidemarks can appear anywhere, and can be imagined as much as seen or drawn' (Green 2009: 17). The concept of the tidemark implicitly informs several of our chapters, not surprising perhaps, given that Sarah Green coordinated and inspired the COST-funded research network from which this collection arose. The concept of tidemark stresses how borders can be seen not as static givens, but as emergent from practices, flows and processes. Like tides, changing borders might leave material traces; they pattern the landscape's contours; and leave behind layers of embodied memories of movement and emotion.

The lingering legacy of borders, both new and old, can also be captured by the concept of 'phantom borders' (Grandits et al. 2015). Even after border regimes are gone and their political and administrative aspects have vanished, the memories and practices of the borders can still exercise cultural, social and legal power. They shape both events and identities, continuing to embrace, albeit as ghosts, specific social spaces.

Several chapters in this collection build on the usefulness of thinking of time and borders in terms that echo the notion of tidemark and phantom, in their interest in the ephemeral and enduring traces of border movement (Green 2012: 585). In Chapter 1, Kramsch explores a tidemark-like layering of time and space along the

border between Germany and the Netherlands. At one time heavily patrolled, the Dutch/German border has been reduced to near-insignificance by recent European Union (EU) decisions; but borderland signifiers encourage observers to remember and challenge both past and present meanings. The border can, therefore, be seen as a montage which gives time a spatial representation for those who pass through it. It invites a flâneur-like gaze on memory and mobility; a variety of signs present a palimpsest of meanings and historical referents, revealing the strangeness of a 'blocked temporal passage' between different types of border regimes. The flâneur recounts the spatial experience of relics of the past, whose afterlives awaken the observer to new conceptual constellations. Indeed, the juxtaposition of arbitrary relics, randomly witnessed, denaturalises assumed truths about the present and about borders, including the spatial power relations of conflicting border regimes. Arguably, borders are therefore better seen as process than as product – in terms of 'becoming' rather than in terms of 'dwelling' (Radu 2010). As we shall see, however, the implication of a repetitive, cyclical ebb and flow associated with the tidemark can struggle to accommodate the many unruly, arrhythmic and disjunctive temporalities reported in this volume.

In this book we try to shift attention towards what we refer to as everyday forms of border temporality – the ways in which people through their temporal practices manage, shape, represent and constitute the borders across which they move or at which they are made to halt. When we refer to border temporalities, what we have in mind, then, are the subjective, interpretative experiences and discursive representations of time by groups and individual agents rather than objective, measurable forms of time that may be taken as characteristic of particular historical periods. Certain things follow from this approach to temporality that are worth spelling out briefly in general terms. First, there is no presumption amongst our contributors that time is linear, progressive and orderly. It may be concurrent, parallel and synchronic; past, present and future may *coexist* in experience and imagination and/or *follow* one another, as a number of our chapters show. Second, in so far as the chapters emphasise the possibilities of anticipated futures and how these shape the border mobilities of the present, they are prospective and forward-looking rather than retrospective and focused principally on identifying defining phases of the past. Imagined futures coexist with lived presents, as our contributors explore, with people navigating different temporal regimes across the course of the day in a bordered space of parallel and multiple temporalities. Third, and closely related to this future orientation, our contributors emphasise the simultaneity of competing temporalities which may at times diverge, converge, overlap or collide, raising questions about the political implications of the presence or absence of temporal 'synchronicity' (Little 2015: 432).

In this volume, then, we explore time as an element in imagining and managing territorial, personal and communal identities, focusing particularly on how the temporal is recalibrated when a border has been crossed or when a border itself

has been moved. Some contributors distinguish between different types of time – familial, national and transnational – and consider how these shape and are shaped by borders and border crossings. Others argue that such time dimensions, which are tied to a social collective, are both situational and emplaced. They can also be both cyclical and linear, and coexist alongside the ‘clock time’ that provides a universal measure of the passage of time worldwide.

Clock time, the time that obtains no matter who or where you are, can be defined as the empty, universal time that enables what Giddens (1991) terms global ‘entrainment’ through which complex international mobility and communications become possible. Clock time was globalised by the Enlightenment West; like the maps similarly produced, this global time allows the world to be viewed as a standardised unit (and thus, post-colonial theorists argue, open it more easily to imperialist gaze and control). Clock time supersedes local or personal time (measured by sunrise and sunset, local tasks, the people one meets and one’s daily routines). It provides us with a non-personal, non-local time measured in hours so scientifically uniform that all can relate to it, no matter who or where one is.

Most of us, of course, also relate to national times – the clocks by which national politics are set, the shared times of a given nation’s newspaper-readers. National time is inseparably linked to nation-states and their polity borders, which legitimate themselves by establishing national histories – stories of heroic people performing historic acts at historic places. Authoritarian sub-national time-spaces exist in state institutions (schools, nurseries, prisons, hospitals, factories, offices), and therewith structure our everyday life and worldview from early childhood, often unconsciously.

Massey (1991) finds great exclusionary potential in the combination of time and space. With advancing globalisation and the use of new communication technologies, the compression of space and time leads not only to an elision of spatial and temporal distances (Harvey 1989), but also to places becoming romanticised and idealised – sites of remembered childhood, of specific, characteristic practices. This idealisation is often accompanied by a defensive and reactionary response to the seemingly chaotic world ‘outside’. The result is also, often, exclusionary. If we believe that places have a single, essentialised identity, based on a single history of past practices, we must keep out those who would disrupt time-spaces by imposing alien histories. We must impose border regimes – gated communities, patrolled barriers, ‘locals-only’ parks, neighbourhood watchdog committees, zoning and taxation laws (see, for instance, Atkinson and Flint 2004). All are products of fierce place-claiming, ranging from movements to exclude from our own backyards those deemed undesirable to nationalist xenophobia, a disposition that can extend to more generally imagined regions (the Arab world, Europe, the West, North America).

The great importance of national time and clock time has not, however, eradicated local and personal times, like the linear narratives of personal lives, the

alternative, often 'cyclical' times of families (Hareven 1991) and neighbourhoods, or of play and illness. Such times exist parallel to clock time and national time, as people owe allegiance to multiple, layered time-spaces, as already noted. They overlap, and are variously invoked and prioritised, depending on the context. While such personal time-spaces may fit into national narratives, they may also challenge national time-spaces, especially when related to border-crossers' experiences, as we outline later. First, however, we consider how time constitutes a central element in defining Self and Other across bordered regional geographical imaginaries.

As often pointed out, bordering draws a line not just between the spatial 'here' and 'there' but also between the temporal 'now' and 'then'. Such divisions can come to define the content of the relationship between one side and the other, separating the ordered progress within a region or nation-state from the underdeveloped and timeless 'primitive' disorder that exists in the world beyond (Fabian 1983; Walker 1993). Nowhere has this been more prominent than in the distinction between Europe's 'West' and 'East' – an important sub-theme of this book – which was brought into being by what Fabian (1983: 32–33) would see as an 'allochronic' political cosmology that differentiates 'the Self-here-and-now' from 'the Other-there-and-then'.

This spatial-temporal ordering of Europe's 'East' and 'West' is a phenomenon that is many centuries old. It arose long before the foundation of nation-states, in the era of the great multinational and multi-religious states of the Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires which ruled central and south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor from the sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries. With the changing political order of Europe, these discourses also changed in content, yet without ever losing their general moral tone in which 'the West' considered 'the East' as its dangerous, Muslim-dominated antagonist. This notion fostered the establishment of a territorial border region within the neighbouring, mainly Christian-dominated Hapsburg Empire, which acted as a buffer zone towards Islam and the Ottoman state while simultaneously emerging as a frontier of cultural contact and tolerance, migration and conversion. Such themes still resonate today and deepen the significance and meaningfulness, for instance, of the transborder family networks described for the Albanian and Montenegrin borderlands by Tošić in Chapter 4.

With the dissolution of the multi-national empires and the foundation of nation-states which began in the nineteenth century, the new visions of Europe's East and West that were gradually created often drew on these long-standing images of backwardness and modernity to characterise the present, particularly in south-eastern Europe. They thus continue not only to influence political entities and polity borders that have been moved, reshaped or newly created in a geographical sense, but also to re-establish and redefine the discursive and cultural boundaries amongst the diverse populations of the region, as we shall see in several chapters in this book.

The imagined collectivities and geographies of the 'West', like those of nation-states, are tied to a particular history, one that claims a special pre-eminence: the

linear time-space of exemplary progress. This particular time-space underpins many other narratives, including the differentiation between East and West Europe, as well as the hierarchical ranking of individual actors and nation-states which 'East' and 'West' 'contain'. This hierarchical relationship and its recent transformations are themes that preoccupy a number of our contributors whose 'Eastern' case material shares the wider historical and political temporal borderings and reborderings outlined below.

With the Enlightenment, local, cyclical and biblical ideas of Western time gave way to linear and progressive time. According to Nisbet (1980), this involved tenets that are naturalised today. First, there is the assumption that knowledge of the (linear) past will function as a means of understanding the present and predicting the future. Second, allied to this, is the faith in the cumulative march of reason and scientific knowledge which together enabled the economic and technological growth that preconditioned the nobility of Western civilisation. This definition is, of course, derived in contradistinction to other imagined regions, such as the South and the East. As Said (1978) suggests, the concept of linear, progressive time allowed Western countries to rank the rest of the world according to a progressive axis. Other regions lagged behind. If the West was modern, East Europe was romantically backwards, the Middle East regressive, the Far East 'timeless'.

The recent history of West–East relations shows what such differentiation might entail. The Cold War denoted, first, dichotomised spaces. But the border between East and West also functioned as a boundary between time zones. The Soviet-oriented, socialist 'Eastern Bloc' and US-oriented, 'Western' capitalist zone were divided not only by the Iron Curtain, but by competing time-bound systems. Although Soviet East Europe traced its founding myths to the Communist Revolution of 1917, many countries of the Eastern Bloc became socialist only after the Second World War, which was presented as a liberation from fascist powers. The West, home to individualist capitalist parliamentarianism, went further back, to the French and American revolutions. These two time-spaces (contemporaries believed) were engaged in a battle for the future.

Of course, there were regional and national time-space hierarchies within the West and East, as well. In the West, it was the United States and northern, Protestant Europe that led the way. In the East, meanwhile, socialist time fragmented when Albania and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia broke with Stalin in the 1950s. They each then went their own time-space ways. Borders played a part in defining their relative position vis-à-vis the universal story of linear progress. The issue of which borders were permeable, in what direction, came to symbolise progress through time. Albania's hermetically sealed border symbolised its lost-in-time isolation. Yugoslavia's border was relatively open; Yugoslavs could, if they liked, travel to neighbouring countries to shop or for holidays. In both East and West, popular time-space conceptions placed Albania towards the bottom of the ladder of progress, and Yugoslavia rather higher up. Yugoslavia had moved 'forward': as

a 'block-free' country, it was courted by and sometimes collaborated with Western countries. The relative status of Albania and Yugoslavia – one supposedly 'medieval', the other approaching modernity – became, thus, discursively linked to the stringency of their Western borders.

The border thus contributed to the delegitimisation of the socialist regime and to a downgrading of all countries bent on stopping outward border movement. Because the socialist world needed to seal itself off, the West presented it as a pre-modern, even regressive system, its occupants hostages in a time-space warp from which the only escape involved life-threatening defiance of inhuman border regimes.

By the 1980s, the West insisted, and the population of the East increasingly agreed, that the Communist path towards the future, deceptively successful at first, was fatally lagging behind (Brandstädter 2007). Westerners returned to narratives – as old as the Enlightenment – that had labelled eastern Europe as an eternally backward periphery (see Wolff 1996; Todorova 1997). In eastern Europe, popular disillusionment contributed to the fall of the Communist systems (and with them, the Communist versions of past and present). Now the future belongs to the capitalist West.

The collapse of the Soviet system led to a major (re-)creation of polity borders. In the East, nationalism was immediately introduced as an alternative to communist collectivity: post-Soviet states claimed borders according to national criteria with all that this entailed, including a separate, ethnically based history, a shared and special future and a particular, nationally bounded time-space. These reconstructions often resulted in forced migrations and wars along ethno-national lines. 'Old' Europeans – those in the West – used it as 'proof' of the pre-modern barbarity of the would-be 'New' Europeans – thereby 'forgetting' their own history of genocidal blood-letting, which had peaked in the Second World War.

The phantom tidemarks of older time-space hierarchies persist, of course, and continue to affect this future, as our contributors show. In her contribution on postwar Sarajevo, Lofranco (Chapter 2) concentrates on the imposition of the new 'inter-ethnic boundary line' that divides 'Serbian' Sarajevo from the rest of the city. This imposition changed many neighbourhoods, as people were either forced to leave, or found themselves living with strange, albeit ethnically 'correct' neighbours. The new, mono-ethnic neighbourhoods have, in fact, drastically disrupted the everyday associations and relationships that make for local belonging. The supposed ties of shared ethnicity cannot overcome other barriers to sociability: different socio-economic groups' disparate ways of being sociable; the seemingly incommensurate practices of long-term city dwellers and recently immigrated country cousins. The result, Lofranco argues, has been a reformulation of neighbourhood time-space. First, there is a shift in communal memory. Older neighbours contrast tales of recent ethnic violence, the intolerant, primitive, unneighbourly present, with their nostalgic memories of a more progressive, civilised, good-neighbour past.



Their attachment to the socialist past, however, may render them marginal, even orientalised. After all, those who remain loyal to the 'old' values espoused under socialism, such as urban cosmopolitanism, are now officially behind the times – even as they complain, in their turn, of a city made primitive, backward and rural by village refugees and settlers. The result (they maintain) of the dismantling and dispersal of the old multi-national and multi-religious neighbourhoods is, in fact, a forced return to a more primitive past.

The deterioration of shared neighbourhood space, another post-socialist change, has accelerated this trend. As a result, neighbours find new spaces; neighbourhood practices, so difficult to maintain on site, have escaped, somewhat, into virtual and commercial space. Former neighbours meet, now, in cafés and restaurants, and communicate through phones and computers. Exchange and communication makes possible such a multiplication of coexisting time-spaces (Castells 1996). As Appadurai (2004) suggests, the ability of social imagination to inhabit various localities simultaneously via cross-border social media can even strengthen the local; the local can be projected across borders, creating an arena in which people acquire greater 'capacity to aspire'. This virtual mobility, a radical disruption of the colonial division of space, allows for new forms of cross-border mobilisation. The power of imagination empowers subaltern groups, helping them to reinterpret the borders imposed by the time-spaces of polity regimes. Such is the complex reaction when borders move according to nation-state agendas, redefining time-spaces even for those who have never left their homes, as Lofranco shows in the case of Sarajevo (cf. Demetriou 2013).

Neither ethnic homogeneity nor the abandonment of Soviet for Western history automatically put so-called Eastern countries on the road to (what is still presented as) the West's progressive, modernising time-space. To be sure, significant borders changed; the EU was extended to include many east European countries. As Buchowski (2006) points out, this EU enlargement is presented as generously assisting certain Eastern countries to catch up with the West. Of course, it will take time for even the most progressive of these to make proper progress – old time-space distinctions linger (Brandtstädter 2007; Kaschuba 2008). Old (western) Europe is, after all, more European than the New (Eastern) Europe. West Europeans claim greater rootedness in the manifold virtues of truly European history, and have thus a firmer step on the road to the future. East Europe's past makes many wonder if it will manage to stay the modernising course. Thus do collective memories of former time-spaces, combined with the powerful imagery of linear progress, reimagine old borders and resist the imposition of new.

Disappointed by their continued separation from the West's modernity, successor states of the USSR also rank each other according to their perceived progress towards wealth, ease and welfare. Some find, to their disgust, their own status diminished since (what might seem increasingly to be) the good old days. Kathryn Cassidy (Chapter 3) describes how citizens of Ukraine, when part of the

Soviet Union, might lord it over their less wealthy Romanian neighbours – those who, after the rift with Stalin, had followed a different, less effective path towards communism. Today, however, Romania is a member of the EU; Ukraine is not. Ukrainian citizens in the borderland with Romania suddenly feel disadvantaged. Their reversal into an impoverished and unmodern time-space is symbolised by a local way of making money: smuggling goods from Ukraine to Romania. The smugglers' changed and changing views of the relative positions of the time-spaces on either side of the border they traverse – that is, their respective pasts and futures – give an added dimension to their conflicted relationship to the polity border.

On-the-ground reactions to re-bordering can, in the Ukrainian as well as the Sarajevo case, be complex and creative. Changed border regimes can stimulate the creation of new pasts; these, in turn, may open up opportunities and thus brighten the future. In Chapter 4, Tošić shows how another 'moving' post-socialist border – that dividing Albania and Montenegro – inspired new ways of narrating a family's border-crossing past. In this case, as mentioned above, this past may reach back not only to the pre-socialist period, but to the multi-national rule of the Ottoman Empire, within which Montenegro was a relatively autonomous organisational unit, albeit one with shifting borders.

With the fall of socialism, the Montenegrin–Albanian border, sealed for fifty years, was suddenly penetrable. Today, goods and people can travel across; families can be reunited. Indeed, substantial energy has been invested in rediscovering and acknowledging old family ties. Tošić describes how locals are busy mapping – often *ex post facto* – elaborate family genealogies, extending far into the past, in which forefathers who migrated across borders are enthusiastically embraced. This reworking of ancestral memory creates a (new) multi-layered past which facilitates concrete future strategies. The kinship ties thus discovered (or invented) are invested with affect; all kin are welcome. This provides an excellent tool in the maintenance and extension of cross-border contact and patronage networks, an essential step towards future welfare.

In the process, unsurprisingly, many Montenegrin/Albanian, Muslim/Christian oppositions (the legacy of Ottoman-era migrations and conversions) are now retold as unimportant. National as well as religious divides are downplayed. Of far greater relevance are cross-border patrilineal ties. In this way, recently elaborated genealogies of border-crossing kin use ancestral male bodies (following a gender division typical of family trees) to create a living time-space of kinship memory that transcends ethnic, religious and national divides, giving space to ethnic, religious and cultural diversity.

However, the fall of socialism and the shifting and opening up of some borders within south-eastern Europe, as well as the integration of various central and eastern European states into the EU, do not necessarily lead to the strengthening of cosmopolitan ideals within these regions, or to a readiness to sacrifice national interests for what are perceived as European values. In fact, the recent refugee

crisis suggests that the opposite may be the case. Instead of being loyal to the EU and showing solidarity with its member states and compassion to the refugees in their search for sanctuary, eastern European governments have developed an anti-refugee response. They were the first to close their doors by fencing in their borders, thus challenging the EU's model of an open society within the Union. Rather than trying to be good Europeans – as many states did in the first decade after the fall of socialism – and searching for a pan-European solution to the massive influx of refugees, eastern European states have flouted the EU authorities in favour of returning to ideals of ethnic homogeneity and a culturally based nation-state. As a result, the refugees, many of whom have already endured precarious crossings of the Mediterranean to reach European shores and ultimately the destinations in Germany, Sweden or Britain that seem to promise them a future, are trapped at borders in Macedonia, Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia where newly constructed fences impede their progress. The fact that citizens of states like Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia and Serbia may themselves be among those who strive to leave, given the difficult conditions they face at home, does not seem to have tempered these new border-crossing policies of foreclosure.

### Migrant networks and temporal be/longings

So far we have emphasised how bordered time may underpin discursive regional hierarchies between East and West and have touched only briefly on the transformations that occur with the passage from one to the other. When people and things cross borders they become subject to new regimes of value and meaning which may take temporal as well as political and economic form. Disparities of economic and political value between each side of a border may encourage traders and others to move in pursuit of a better life. But for those whose lives are lived across borders, managing multiple temporal regimes can be just as critical an element of their daily practice as securing income or political voice. Yet time is seldom mentioned in analyses of their experience. In one recent and compelling account of how people deal with the hierarchies and asymmetries of cross-border encounters, for example, time scarcely features at all (Lauth Bacas and Kavanagh 2013).

In this section, then, we emphasise the time-spaces that connect or disconnect groups across borders, focusing in particular on cross-border migrants and exploring the extent to which they feel they 'belong to' or 'long for' the place they moved to or from, respectively. Tensions between belonging and longing frequently characterise the migrant narrative analysed by our contributors below. And what they show is how it is possible simultaneously to invest emotionally in the history of both the 'here' and the 'there' while living in a time-space that is complex, situated and multiple. Our focus on this simultaneity, fragmentation and dispersal of space and time has a somewhat different emphasis from discussions of time-space compression which explore the relationships between capitalism and time. While

related in a general way to the themes of this book, such analyses do not share its emphasis on the emotional and experiential temporalities that characterise cross-border mobility. It is these experiences that we seek to understand here through a bottom-up analysis of bordered time that reflects on the corporeal and emotional alongside identities such as ethnicity, gender and class. Nevertheless, it is important to remember in the present context that spatial and temporal practices are significant sites of social struggle framed by the relations between money, space and time 'as interlocking sources of social power' (Harvey 1989: 227). It is the 'differential powers of geographical mobility for capital and labour' (Harvey 1989: 234), after all, that provide the political economic context within which migrant temporalities are formed; and which in the last few years have encouraged many thousands to embark on precarious and uncertain crossings in the hope of a safer and perhaps more prosperous life.

Our objective is thus primarily to emphasise the subjective apprehension of time and its phenomenological manifestations in these bordered migratory crossings. Such experiences have led some commentators to characterise the migrant passage from one bordered time-space to another as liminal – a journey that is never complete, but is repeatedly caught between the moments of departure and arrival (see Donnan and Wilson 1999: 110). Liminality is generally considered to reflect particularly the experience of the undocumented, irregular migrant who is compelled to live a life of bureaucratic and social invisibility lest the state's pursuit of legibility result in imprisonment and deportation. Many such migrants fear leaving, for it may prove impossible to return; for them, exit can be just as risky (or riskier) as entry. They are, further, not only trapped in space but also stuck in time, unable to visit elderly and infirm relatives, or children who grow up in their absence, leaving the migrant fixed in an 'eternal present' of things-as-they-had-been when they left (Anderson et al. 2011: 77). In this sense, the bordered temporality of the irregular migrant is suspended, 'freezing ... life opportunities through the enduring temporariness that precarious status affords' (Nyers 2013: 43). Irregular migrants might thus be said to experience a chronic liminality, a pathological state from which for many there is no exit phase of reincorporation or resolution. The insecurities and unpredictabilities of this experience of time stood still, of 'dead time' and 'non-existence', are eloquently evoked in Khosravi's (2010: 91) account of his long illegal flight to Europe from Iran. The future cannot be predicted or foreseen since the capriciousness of the present renders it unknowable; a make-believe future denied in all but fantasy.

Liminality can also be experienced by crossers who, despite appropriate documentation, feel that they have never arrived. This includes migrants who are socially and culturally excluded, denied access to opportunities and future prospects that others take for granted. As Newman (2006: 179) puts it: 'one border (the physical) has been crossed while the new one (cultural) presents itself, which may never be crossed successfully in their lifetime'. Even when the geographical crossing of

a border is a momentary bureaucratic formality – for migrants with the requisite documentation – its social and cultural crossing may be a never-ending process which even a lifetime offers insufficient time to complete. As we see from the lives of the migrant labour outlined in the chapters here, migrants may find work, and even buy a home, but they remain liminal outsiders isolated from the rest of society, separated by boundaries that are not just spatial but temporal as well. Long hours, demands for constant availability and shift work combine with fixed-term contracts to set temporal parameters that differentiate this section of the population from the rest, ensuring that the time-space they inhabit is one in the interstices of a normalised, hegemonic temporal regime.

While this is the case in the EU, it is especially evident in Israel, a country that offers insights into the European neighbourhood policy at the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea which has long been a zone of shared cultural exchange between Europe, the Near East and North Africa. Israel, with its exclusive concept of citizenship, makes it difficult for migrants with non-Jewish beliefs to integrate and to enter the same time-space as its citizens.

Harper and Zubida (Chapter 5) explore precisely these relationships between labour migrants in Israel and their subjective apprehension and organisation of time. They build on the idea of a border as defining a given time-space and of border crossing as generating new concepts of time. Migrants, they argue, do not always march to the same clock as citizens (even as the atomisation of individuals associated with neoliberalism politically disempowers both migrant *and* citizen; Feldman 2015). There is national time; but there is also the time of non-nationals, two parallel and sometimes divergent temporalities. Migrant experiences of time are conditioned by their legal status, their distance from home and family, and their relative power or powerlessness. This is particularly true of the increasingly large migrant labour population in Israel. The authors introduce the concept of ‘rupture time’ and ‘freedom time’ as two opposing time frames particularly associated with temporary labour migrants. These, in turn, either enable or hinder immigrant incorporation into national, institutional Israeli time-space. For these migrants, then, time is the metaphor through which they represent and experience their precarity; it variously slows down or accelerates in contexts of uncertainty, a process Harper and Zubida compellingly describe in the immediacy of their account of the ‘frenzied time’ of deportation (cf. Griffiths 2014: 1992). The result is a vivid illustration of how migrant border crossings are composed of diverse temporalities between which migrants must navigate both in their everyday lives and as a past–future migrant trajectory.

Many migrants respond to this challenge by continuing to invest in multi-stranded relations with family and friends left behind, a practice that can create a time-space field that transcends both polity borders and social and cultural boundaries (Glick Schiller et al. 1995). The use by migrants of long-distance communication, exchanges and visits to reinforce a sense of common history, common

value system and emotional investment in a sense of a shared future is now well documented. However, attempts to sustain these ties to others left behind are often diverse and varied and can be directly affected by the time-space inequalities and asymmetries encapsulated by and lending potency to polity borders. These may create disjunctures and ruptures between working life and domestic life that many migrants struggle to reconcile, as they deal with discrimination in one setting and accusations of loss of tradition in the other. Individuals who want to maintain their personal, network relations are often forced to think of them in different ways – to find them new spaces and times. The result is reflected in deeply individual processes of enacting and transcending borders. This can reflect a rich medley of layers of additional time-spaces – the no-time of asylum seeking, the cyclical times of family, the sacred times of rituals, the hierarchies of linear, national times – all of which implicate a series of complex, overlapping and situational identification processes.

Leutloff-Grandits (Chapter 6) analyses the shifting and layered temporalities within Kosovo Albanians' transnational family networks, illustrating both changing border regimes and divergent experiences and representations of border crossing. Since the mid-1980s, in particular, there have been significant changes in Kosovo Albanians' past–future spatialities. Before 1989, many Kosovo Albanians viewed migration to west Europe – male, labour-contract – as unpleasant and temporary. Europe might be more 'modern', but the migrant could bring this modernity back to home and family; the future was at home.

After 1989, Kosovo's ethnicised conflicts problematised the migrant's 'home time'. Despite patriotic faith in their nation's heroic future, many migrants now decided to have family members join them abroad. Here, however, tighter border regimes could force them back into other, less modern times like the 'passive waiting time' of asylum seekers (though see Hage 2009). Today, many migrants dismiss home time as stagnant. They plan a future within the EU for their children. Yet many also hope that their children will marry someone from home, in order to retain links with a static, idealised home, a time-space to which, indeed, they themselves often hope to retire. Many villagers share at least part of this dream; they hope to flee stagnation and build a future abroad, a dream which, due to increasingly stringent entry regulations, is realised primarily through marriage migration. But marriage, in turn, is pre-eminently a village and family affair. Thus are the different time-space experiences of migrant and non-migrant resynchronised through the strategies of transborder family networks. These times are brought into alignment, not least by the cyclical temporalities of family festivals (such as marriages) that draw migrants home.

Visits home, in fact, allow migrants to recalibrate disjunctive temporalities through the 'social glue' of transnational connections. Email, Skype and home visits (Vertovec 2004) create the 'worm holes' that Sheppard (2002) suggests connect territorial spaces to each other through variously structured relationships and flows.

Clusters of migrants create parallel time-spaces through marriage patterns, remittances, gifts, life-cycle rituals and visions of the family past. These constitute critical temporally connective networks. Such transborder exchanges can be (and often are) routine, repetitive and predictable, based on daily, weekly or monthly contact at specified times, and consequently are experienced as an integral and natural part of everyday life. Time and space may thereby be compressed to generate complex feelings of anchorage in a home community, one which migrants support, visit, and, often, plan to retire to. In this way, home time and away time can be synchronised, assuming a 'planar (as well as linear) character, making it possible to move not only from past to future but also from one present to another' (Coutin 2005: 200).

For families spanning two sides of a polity border, the ritualisation of community plays an important role in constituting and maintaining a common time-space. This can range from holidays at home, during which migrants' children can experience the time-space of their parental past, to participation in religious and life-cycle festivals marking the seasons, births and deaths. Communal ritual celebrations often look to the future; they may provide migrants with markers of passing time, in contrast to the stagnant or liminal temporality discussed earlier. These markers, moreover, follow community traditions. However much these are reinvented, traditions root participants in the community's imagined past, mapping time in terms of (what can be seen as) the community's own life stages. Participation in such festivals allows even border-crossers to feel part of a higher collective, in emotional and sacralising performances, uniting them in imagined, semi-sacred time (e.g. Jasper 1997: 197). Rituals thus confirm migrants' belonging in community time-spaces, irrespective of the individual migrants' place on different sides of polity borders or their everyday negotiations with opposing, majority time-spaces.

This shared sense of collective commitment to a common temporality established through mutual participation in family festivals and rituals of reproduction is vividly evoked for Kosovar migrants by Leutloff-Grandits. However, as she points out, it is ironically through these very same migrant return visits that time-space disjunction can be strengthened and reinscribed, as some migrants experience home as static and conservative; a sense of alienation mirrored by stay-at-home villagers who dream of a better future abroad, while still experiencing returned migrants as cultureless and philistine. These divergent temporalities, Leutloff-Grandits argues, deeply affect the solidarity of transnational family networks.

So while migrant time-spaces periodically realign with those at home, disjunctions may remain or even intensify, exacerbated by a lingering sense that the border crossed follows the modern-backward axis of national hierarchies and is marked by the rich-poor gap that prompted migration in the first place. Kosovar migrant tensions when at home echo those experienced by migrants elsewhere and reflect the differences entailed by the status they enjoy when abroad. For example, migrants with residency or citizenship rights maintain that higher status vis-à-vis other network members and are able to sustain more intensive ties to home than those whose

status is irregular (Carling 2008; Al-Ali et al. 2001); while those with better-paid employment can use their superior resources to enhance their ability to cross the border and even to plan a future, triumphant return (Portes 2001). The fact that borders are variously permeable by different migrants thus establishes hierarchies within the cross-border networks themselves, shaping their temporal compatibilities and incompatibilities with home.

The same lopsided relations also affect network exchange, in so far as the flow of remittances and gifts are generally asymmetrical from the migrant to the home community. Successful migrants are expected to help those who stayed behind, not just by sending cash but also by assisting others to travel abroad and by providing care for the elderly and young who remain. Migrants often feel compelled to repay what could be termed 'the gift of communality' with remittances and /or emotional care in the form of presents, phone calls and letters (Baldassar 2007). This may generate a sense of absent-presence when migrants who are not physically there to care for their children or elderly parents are regularly in touch with them in a way that functions as a surrogate form of support (Izuhara and Shibata 2002: 159, 167).

In Chapter 7, Gregorič Bon examines the processes and ramifications of migrants' proxy presence in her analysis of Albanian–Greek border crossing. The opening of this border in 1989 encouraged massive labour migration from Albania to Greece, while the subsequent financial crisis in 2008 shifted the balance of migrants in favour of women. Where couples had originally migrated together, it was often the wives who remained abroad, while their husbands returned home, following redundancy or retirement. Gregorič Bon explores this phenomenon, focusing on the transnational time-spaces such couples establish. These time-spaces usually depend on material flows, with wives remitting money, food, furniture and other goods. This gives a concrete dimension to the couple's relationship, dynamically materialising the female migrants' presence despite their physical absence. It also affects temporality. First, the rhythmic circulation of things sent and received complements electronic communication in creating a common, cross-border time-space between absent wives and at-home husbands. Second, the woman's remittances should be understood as inalienable, in the sense that they are simultaneously both investment and insurance. Managed by the husband, remittances underwrite house-building, which when completed provides tangible testimony both to his wife's role as caregiver and to the couple's anticipated future together.

Gregorič Bon's material demonstrates how space, time and gender intersect in this Albanian case with the temporality of the gendered life cycle shaping male and female status in shifting ways as they move through time, crossing and recrossing space between home and abroad. According to Gregorič Bon, male migrants are more likely to dream of returning home than migrant women, who are inclined to feel that return will compromise the status they enjoyed when they could send remittances from somewhere seen as 'progressive' and 'modern' relative to Albania. Male migrants, by contrast, gain more by return (see Čapo Žmegač 2003), and



despite its empowerment of migrant women, the new, transnational time-space hardly challenges traditional female–male power relations ‘at home’, in the village. As women age and return, they find that the local gender relations which momentarily their migrant experience seemed to subvert have not substantially altered. In short, seen in context of their life cycle, the liminality of their sojourn abroad is underscored by their reincorporation into local patriarchal structures that, paradoxically, their remittances helped to sustain.

As we saw earlier for Sarajevo, border temporalities may be altered not only by movements of people but also as borders themselves are shifted and redrawn, when those who remain sedentary may find that they too must navigate novel bordered time-space topographies. It is a sign of the semi-colonial nature of EU expansion that individuals who experienced the collapse of the Soviet Union are also seen as encased in alien time-space – in this case, unmodern Soviet time. In Poland, as Buchowski (2006) shows, those harmed by the new, neoliberal system are ‘orientalised’ – that is, accused of being lazy, backward or foolish, the irredeemable victims of communist socialisation. As in the case of migrants, here also social differences are culturalised and individualised, with the unsuccessful trapped in a backward, nowhere time-space. Carried by bodies, then, the Orient can be located within European societies, a time-space endemic to the unmodern – in former Soviet countries, survivors of a dead regime; in the West, as lost-in-time migrants. And it is migrants, of course, who are impeded at polity borders, particularly now at the height of the refugee crisis as they seek to cross Europe’s external borders as well as its borders within. For them, border crossing can become a very bodily experience, one which renders the body vulnerable or which is even deadly.

### Embodied borders and bordered bodies

As the discussion above suggests, the body may become the site on which far-flung temporalities condense, a simultaneity of the ‘now’ and ‘then’ that the body’s distinctive relationship to space can bring about (Lefebvre 2004). A resonant example of this situated condensation is the East German driver who automatically decelerates when approaching the site of a former Soviet checkpoint, a deeply internalised, habitual and embodied reaction that collapses the present and the past (Berdahl 1999: 45). It is this relationship between borders, time and bodies that constitutes the third theme running through our contributions.

Most obviously, borders slow, impede or advance the traffic of bodies. Bodily movement is constrained, accelerated, delayed or halted altogether, not just at the moment of crossing the borderline itself but subsequently, as we have emphasised above. Thus events at port of entry may now reverberate far away at successive border pressure points where movement is cumulatively impeded; and where waiting, ironically, becomes the migrants’ way of life. At one end of the continuum is speed, the gold card of elite travel with its fast-track processing of the body and at

the other end the uncertain waiting of undocumented labour and those who claim asylum. Time itself here becomes another 'weapon' of migration management with its stops and starts and moments of transit and waiting that generate an 'endless, anxious present' in which mobility is regulated through time not space (Tsianos et al. 2009: 8; Andersson 2014a: 796, 2014b: 237). Speed of transit maximises sense of comfort and minimises visibility of controls while missing documentation triggers setback and delay (Bigo 2011: 67; Nyers 2013: 42–43). This creates a bordered time-space punctuation that imposes differentiated limits on mobility whereby the 'wrong bodies' are subject to friction and prevention, regulating flows rather than preventing them completely (Smart and Smart 2008).

Bodily experiences of border crossing are often shaped by forces of power and domination. According to Donnan and Wilson (1999: 129): 'those forces that demarcate geographical and political space as lines on a map simultaneously inscribe the body's topography, and from each can be read the history of the struggle to define and delimit personal identities, both on the part of the state and of those who oppose it'. This is often most visibly played out in the asymmetrical intimacy of border encounters (Lauth Bacas and Kavanagh 2013) when, alongside the rise of biometrics and sophisticated surveillance technologies, bodies may be physically searched for external or internal evidence of irregularity. This public penetration of the personal and exposure of the intimate by strangers once again recalls the concept of liminality where usual conventions of time, space and person do not apply and ordinary rights are suspended. They are liminal spaces over which state power is absolute, imposed on that most personal of our possessions, our body, whose experience of the border on such occasions is felt, sensed and visceral.

At the same time, the body provides a locus of concealment and resistance, offering cavities to hide contraband or to dissimulate. Small-scale smugglers, for example, may use condoms to swallow compact parcels of drugs in order to import proscribed goods or to take advantage of economic differentials across borders. Others use performative strategies that deploy the body in ways to amuse, distract and preoccupy those whose responsibility it is to intercept. Such tactics take control of border time by introducing novel elements to the repetitive, impersonalised bureaucratic interventions that generally characterise the actions of border guards at the moment of crossing. They reclaim agency over how time is structured at the border by disrupting the conventional, routine flow of monitoring and inspection. For the guards, who are similarly susceptible to border boredom generated by routinisation and repetitiveness, this can be a very enticing diversion (Konopinski 2014).

These themes are developed by Cassidy (Chapter 3) in the context of how female bodies and sexualised performances characterise the smuggling of contraband from Ukraine to Romania. Female traders regularly facilitated their passage with prohibited goods by flirting with the border guards. Such flirtatious behaviour was often successful and the Romanian guards easily diverted from their routines, enabling movement of smuggled goods. One guard, locally nicknamed King Kong because

of his size, so enjoyed such encounters that he would let female smugglers pass, force them back, and have them apply to cross again and again; a moment in which time was paused so that he could savour a replay of the border crossing. Although villagers engage in these border flirtations and joke about them afterwards, they do so in ways that reveal feelings of humiliation and shame. This is most obviously the shame associated with having to behave in a sexualised way. However, as we noted earlier, it also entails a broader shame: that of having to make trips to Romania, 'the poorer neighbour', in order to make ends meet. Here again border temporalities are a factor, this time in relation to the time-space hierarchies we considered above, which rank nations according to their modernity or backwardness. In this schema, Ukrainians feel humiliated at having to smuggle goods into neighbouring Romania, which in the socialist era they saw as peripheral and impoverished, a position that through time now appears to have been reversed. Romania has been an EU member state since the 1990s, while Ukraine is still knocking at the door, a poor and war-torn periphery of Europe whose hopes of entry seem increasingly to recede. In short, the border now separates 'idealised past' from 'problematic present' (Zhurzhenko 2013: 206). For Cassidy, these transtemporal processes are best understood in terms of how the integral entailment of shame within both the body and the body politic shape Ukrainian narratives of their presents, pasts and futures.

But it is in context of large-scale irregular mobility that the impact of the asymmetry of border encounters on bodies is most strikingly and tragically played out. 'People' may or may not carry documents but 'bodies' themselves are often held to betray other signs, particularly 'alien bodies' (Luibhéid 2002; Donnan and Magowan 2010: 99–104). The EU's Eastern enlargement was accompanied by the heavy securitisation of its external borders, a task given in 2010 to the military-like agency Frontex. Its regimes have changed the EU border, where practices now enact complex sets of categorisations – sorting people into officials, citizens, commuters or tourists, regular and irregular migrants, those from European countries and from 'third' countries, some with inferior rights and others with no rights at all. For some, border crossing is simple, even routine; for others, it is time-consuming, expensive, risk-filled and deadly.

Irregular migrants are most directly affected by the latent violence of the border's well-patrolled fences, closed doors and exclusion zones, its checkpoints, cameras, computers, weapons and watchtowers. These have extended borders into international waters; the Mediterranean, in particular, is increasingly militarised and monitored by Frontex patrol boats. Migrants respond with new, desperate strategies, paying huge sums to smugglers who often send them out to sea in overcrowded, fragile and underfuelled boats. These boats are part of a dangerous gamble. Migrants hope that patrolling Frontex boats will rescue their foundering vessels and bring them to land. Once there, they hope to be given the deportation papers that will allow them either to go underground or seek asylum. But for many it is a gamble that ends in death.

The dead migrant body undergoes a cruel translation. In their study of the treatment of the corpses of migrants who tried to cross the Aegean Sea, Kovras and Robins (Chapter 8) describe how dead or missing migrants are constituted as a singular legal, political and moral category. While alive, the migrant body is indissolubly tied to its original territory, and carries with it its distinctive national identity, its belonging and its illicit practices. Living, the undocumented migrant is abjected – without the right to have rights (Agamben 1998). At the same time, however, they must be managed, processed and decisions taken on their status. By contrast, European securitisation regimes are indifferent to the dead bodies of migrants and deny any legal responsibility for such deaths, including the responsibility to identify and/or repatriate their remains. As a result, the Aegean has become one of the EU's most deadly borders, an 'empty zone' into which lives can simply disappear.

Time drags for irregular migrants, especially those awaiting decisions on asylum claims, but for those washed up on the beaches of Lampedusa and Lesbos, time has stopped altogether. Denied a future, the absence of documents and identifying kin now also acts to erase their past. Interred in unmarked graves, their 'very identities are vacated' in a moment of maximum social exclusion; dead, they literally 'go underground' (Coutin 2005: 199). Marginal to the concerns of the biopolitical, as Kovras and Robins show, the migrant corpse is an absent-presence that occupies an indeterminate space ignored by the legal and political order and the border regimes responsible.

On Lesbos, however, this empty space has been filled by civil society. Local people grant both recognition and status to migrant corpses washed ashore. In a subaltern subversion of the sovereign assertion of European border power, they bury them, providing the bodies with graves and memorials that assign them a place in space and memory. The migrants are dead but receive post-mortem acknowledgment by political and moral communities other than the state, their corpses transformed into the stage on which belonging and exclusion are enacted (Stepputat 2014; Trans 2014: 77).

## Conclusion

We have suggested here that divergent experiences and interpretations of time characterise the lives of those whose lives are divided by borders. Our book, then, complements the analytical emphasis on the spatial that continues to underpin much of the study of borders and border crossing by locating crossing within a more extended temporal and geographical context than the immediate passage across the borderline itself.

In this sense Ingold's (2007) metaphor of 'meshwork' might serve better than 'line' or 'network' to encapsulate the multidirectional entanglements and intersections that we have been trying to capture here. Ingold sees 'meshwork' as lines that 'wander' and cross-cut in ever-shifting configurations: similar to the 'countless

points of interaction, or myriad places of divergence and convergence' that we mentioned earlier. Integral to these multiple entanglements is passing time (see Green 2009: 10). Pred (1984) stresses the need to look at temporally and spatially specific actions, knowledge build-up, and 'biographies' or 'individual paths' in order to understand the creation and experience of what he refers to as 'time geographies'. Individual narratives, memories and experiences – 'life path–daily path' (Pred 1984) – make up spaces and, by implication, challenge, modify, ignore or confirm polity borders.

As the chapters show, border crossers' time-spaces embody, challenge or modify national and institutional spatial and temporal orders, promoting deep divides and opportunities for time-space negotiation between border crossers and those who stay home, citizens and irregular immigrants, far-off spouses and nearby neighbours. They emphasise the different means by which new time-spaces are negotiated, ranging from trans-border material exchanges through family networks, genealogies and cyclical festivals, to memorials to the migrant dead; and the associations between these processes and cross-border networks. And they draw attention to the tensions and contradictions between the speed of ever-faster connectivities and the disjointed decelerations of the migrant border crosser's life. It is these synchronies and divergences of border temporalities that is our focus here.

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