Legal status, temporality and integration- Changing migration regimes and precarization of citizenship

Conference in Norrköping 3 - 5 September

Kåkenhus, Campus Norrköping. Peter Modin

Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society, REMESO

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Linköping University, Campus Norrköping

Legal status, temporality and integration - Changing migration regimes and precarization of citizenship is a conference organized by the Institute for Research on Migration, Ethnicity and Society, REMESO, Linköping University, in collaboration with The Canada Excellence Research Chair in Migration and Integration (CERC) at Toronto Metropolitan University.

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Scientific content and aim of the conference

The contemporary form of globalization is characterized by an intensified deepening of income inequalities, both between countries and within countries (Milanovic, 2011), creating political instabilities in the Global South, which generate new waves of international migration, and challenge the existing migration regimes in the Global North (Castles, 2004; 2005, 2017). Economic, political, and military power relations in the world have decisively influenced, and continue to influence, these processes (Smith, 2016; Arrighi, 1991, 2003). In international relations, those who have power (developed countries of the Global North, international financial institutions and large corporations) frame these relations in line with their particular interests, not with the interests of all (Harvey, 2003, Jessop, 2004).

However, the problem with the efforts of the Global North countries to achieve control over international migration, and at the same time the reason why all these migration policies fail (Castles, 2004), is that they ignore the main causes of migration described above. Instead, the dominant, political, media and popular discourses in the Global North explain the political and economic instability of the countries of the Global South (which then generates migration) as the multiple inabilities of these countries to create conditions for political stability, respect for human rights and democratic principles, etc., which would then attract foreign investments and secure stable economic development (Arrighi, 1991; Chimni, 1998). In short, the inability of the Global South countries to meet these requirements makes them poor, while on the other hand, the ability of countries in the Global North to meet these requirements makes them rich. From this it is only a short step to experience and describe the "migrants" who come from the South to the North, as people who want to grab a part of the wealth and prosperity in the creation of which they did not participate, and which they themselves were unable to create in their own countries (Castelli Gationara, 2017; Waever, 1993).

Such a simplified picture of reality, which research demonstrate is incorrect (Castles, 2004, 2017; Anderson, 2017), can, however, be, and indeed is, a very strong ideological resource for political mobilization in the countries of the Global North. In the past several decades, this has led to the politicization of migration, restrictive migration policies, tightening of barder controls and the criminalization of migrants (Buonfino, 2004). However, this also resulted in the immanent contradiction of sovereignty as a political concept becoming uncomfortably visible. Through the current migration policies implemented by the sovereign states of the Global North, these states exclude themselves from the otherwise universal liberal principles and moral values, which protect people from arbitrary and discriminatory treatment by the state (Bauder, 2021). This "unpleasant visibility" reveals the same kind of "inabilities" in the countries of the "democratic north", which they normally attribute to the "undemocratic south". That is why, in practice, current migration policies, on the one hand become increasingly hypocritical, and on the other hand create a growing number of legal categories and

statuses into which individuals and groups that are by migration control's newspeak collectively called "migrants" pushed in (Dauvergne, 2008).

The focus on the comparative analysis of Sweden and Canada has been chosen for the following reasons. The case of Swedish restrictive turn in migration policy following 2015 "refugee crisis", exemplifies the end of the Swedish Exceptionalism, and the shift from a generous humanitarian refugee regime and multiculturalism towards one of the most restrictive migration and integration regimes in the EU.

In Canada, there isa high level of public support for immigration. However, the country is now more and more dealing with three main challenges of immigration. First, the country's economy is highly dependent on temporary foreign workers, which disrupts the logic on the previously unproblematic naturalization. Second, the country is now hosting new modes of irregular migration. This is added by new political and intra-governmental debates about who should be responsible for immigration and settlement. Although Canada has developed various programs for integrating newcomers, there are several negative consequences deriving from these paradoxes, including exacerbating hate crimes and discriminatory hiring practices.

The ambitions of this conference are to shed more light on these processes, relationships and contradictions through four thematical sessions.

The titles of the sessions are:

1. Migration and state sovereignty - the principle of freedom vs freedom from principles

- Keynote speaker: Simone Baglioni, University of Parma
- Session organizer: Zoran Slavnic, REMESO, LiU

2. Autonomy of migration - subjective aspects of mobility vs institutional constrains.

- Keynote speaker: Manuela Bojadzijev, Humbolt University, Berlin
- Session organizer: Karin Krifors, REMESO, LiU

3. Swedish migration regime - restrictive turn and permanent temporariness

- Keynote speaker: Irene Molina, Uppsala University
- Session organizer: Kristoffer Jutvik, REMESO, LiU

4. Canadian migration regime - - integration paradoxes and new spaces of precarity.

- Keynote speaker: Anna Triandafyllidou, Toronto Metropolitan University
- Session organizer: Irina Isaakyan, Toronto Metropolitan University

Significance

The scientific focus of the conference will be on two important theoretical and methodological issues, which characterize the current changing migration regimes, on the one hand, and a comparative presentation of two geographically, historically and politically different embedded policy cases, in which these changes are manifested, namely the Swedish and the Canadian case, on the other hand.

The first theoretical question, the topic of session 1, is the contradiction between liberal and democratic principles on which the role of the state is based in receiving countries, and the exception of these principles when national sovereignty is in (real or imagined) danger. In migration policy, this has resulted in a progressively restrictive migration policy, during the past three decades. However, despite institutional restrictions, the migrant agency has always found ways to cope with these structural !imitations (Mezadra, 2010). The capacity of individuals and groups to act autonomously is the topic of session 2, on the *autonomy of migration.* In sessions 3 and 4, the topic will be how the above-mentioned two contradictions manifest themselves in the Canadian and Swedish institutional contexts.

The conference aims to contribute with state-of-the-art knowledge about these processes and relationships. The conference will also offer occasion for the planning and launching of new international research initiatives and networks within this increasingly central area of the ethnic and migration research field.

Conference schedule

Tuesday, September 3, 2024

11,00 – 13,00	**Registration**
13,00 – 13,30	**Welcome**
	Organizing Committee

SESSION 1.   **Migration and state sovereignty - the principle of freedom vs freedom   from principles**

Session organizer and moderator: Zoran Slavnic, REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden

13,30 – 14,30	**Keynote 1. *Migration and state sovereignty: citizenship 'from below'?***
	Simone Baglioni, University of Parma
14,30 – 15,00	***Reintegration Governance: The role of origin states sovereignty***
	Katie Kuschminder, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands
15,00 – 15,30	***Public education from the perspective of cultural wars, racialized securitization and militarization of civil society in Sweden***
	Mathias Ericson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden
15,30 – 16,00	***FIKA***
16,00 – 16,30	***Economies of dispossession: Expanding carceral geographies in and beyond the Swedish welfare state and the politics of racial devaluation***
	Sarah Philipson Isaac, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

16,30 – 17,00	***Migrant integration revisited: Framing race, gender, and precarity in circular labour migration in the South African context***
	Xolani Tsabalala, REMESO, Linköpings University, Sweden
17,00 – 18,00	***Conference meetings***
19,00 -	***EVENING BUFFET IN UTSIKTEN***

Wednesday, September 4, 2024

SESSION 2.	**Autonomy of migration – subjective aspects of mobility vs institutional constrains**

Session organizer and moderator: Karin Krifors, REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden

08,30 – 09,30	**Keynote 2. The autonomy of migration, cultures of rejection and failed migration policy**
	Manuela Bojadzijev, Humbolt University, Berlin, Germany
09,30 – 10,00	**Im/mobile commoning between and across Sweden and France**
	Maja Sager, Lund University, Sweden
10,00 – 10,30	**Thinking about policy failure. Or, democracy in migration policy**
	Bernd Kasparek, Humbolt university Berlin, Germany
10,30 – 11,00	**FIKA**
11,00 – 11,30	**Fear of small numbers: The instrumentalisation of hybrid threats to transform immigration policies**
	Jukka Könönen, University of Helsinki, Finland
11,30 – 12,00	**Affective citizenship and categorical complexity: second generation migrants in the Arabian Gulf**
	Laavanya Kathiravelu, University of Oslo, Norway
12,00 – 13,30	**LUNCH – VISUALISERINGSCENTER C**
SESION 3.	**Swedish migration regime - restrictive turn and permanent temporariness**

Session organizer and moderator: Kristoffer Jutvik, REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden

13,30 – 14,30	**Keynote 3. *The racialization of migration - from the racial Swedish state to racist state policies***

Irena Molina, Uppsala University, Sweden

14,30 – 15,00	**Membership policies in the Swedish context: Observations about ongoing policy processes and on the notion of time and temporality**
	Karin Borevi, Södertörn University, Sweden
15,00 – 15,30	**Temporal injustice and negotiations of time: School staff and social workers navigating the deportability of upper secondary students in Sweden**
	Sofi Jansson-Kheshavarz, Linköping University, Sweden
15,30 – 16,00	**FIKA**
16,00 – 16,30	**Overcrowding in Sweden 2012–2022 - Understanding trends and variations in overcrowding during a decade marked by fluctuating migration, economic inequality, and the COVID-19 pandemic.**
	Martin Grander, Malmö University, Sweden
16,30 – 17,00	**"Why was my case delayed?" A Study of the Swedish Migration Lottery in 2016 and its Consequences**
	Kristoffer Jutvik & Branka Likic-Brboric REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden
17,00 – 18,00	***Conference meetings***
19,00 -	***CONFERENCE DINNER IN ENOTEKET***

Thursday, September 5, 2024

| **SESSION 4.** | **Canadian migration regime – – integration paradoxes and new spaces of precarity** |

Session organizer and moderator: Irina Isaakyan, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada

08,30 – 09,30	**Keynote 4. Regimes of temporariness and permanence in late capitalism: Conceptual and comparative reflections**
	Anna Triandafyllidou, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada
09,30 – 10,00	**The Canadian Indifference Industry – extractivist think tanks and the promotion of migration disinformation**
	Asher Goldstein, REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden

10,00 – 10,30	**Policy Categories and Lived Experiences of Temporary Status: A Study of International Students in Canada**
	Marshia Akhbar, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada
10,30 – 11,00	**FIKA**
11,00 – 11,30	**Where to from here? A critical assessment of Canada's region-specific immigration programs**
	Melissa Kelly, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada
11,30 – 12,00	**Complex Precarity: Towards a reconceptualization of irregular migration as a reality and a policy category**
	Shiva Mohan, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada
12,00 – 13,30	**LUNCH – VISUALISERINGSCENTER C**
13,30 – 14,30	**PANEL: LEGAL STATUS, TEMPORALITY AND INTEGRATION**
	Simone Baglioni, University of Parma
	Manuela Bojadzijev, Humbolt University, Berlin, Germany
	Irena Molina, Uppsala University, Sweden
	Anna Triandafyllidou, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada
	Moderator: **Claudia Tazreiter**, REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden

List of Abstracts- Keynotes

01. Simone Baglioni, University of Parma, Italy

Migration and state sovereignty: citizenship 'from below'?

Although citizenship is traditionally understood as a top-down process in which states confer upon people a legitimate claim of community belonging, newcomers often promote processes that invert that stream, and, accordingly, do claim a de facto citizenship, by means of everyday action of community, environmental or public care. My keynote will focus on migration as a phenomenon that questions the crucial link between state sovereignty and citizenship, discussing how the phenomena that are denominated as 'citizenship from below', i.e. acts of civic engagement and community belonging and possession promoted by immigrants, do challenge conventional and historically determined patterns of citizenship creation and propose a revised, critical, claiming of citizenship. While states promote policies that portray migrants as subverters of social cohesion and public order, forms of citizenship from below offer an alternative narrative and experience of otherness, one that claims the belonging to a community of destiny bound by a common goal of problem solving, ties forging and public duty. But how far such forms of de facto citizenship, can lead to or can replace de jure citizenship?

02. Manuela Bojadzijev, Humbolt University, Berlin, Germany

The autonomy of migration, cultures of rejection and failed migration policy

The lecture begins with a thorough examination of the concept of the autonomy of migration. This concept, which emerged in the late 1980s, has transformed how we think about migration, moving away from the traditional concepts of immigration and emigration. Migration has collective power to transform our societies. This concept also requires a changed understanding of citizenship and borders.

I will then discuss the intensification of conflicts associated with the mobility of people across borders and reflected in failed migration policies. I will focus on Germany and Europe and the concept of cultures of rejection. It is now evident that these conflicts cannot be dismissed as marginal issues confined to established political arenas. Instead, they have given rise to right-wing, far-right and authoritarian policies in numerous locations. I will conclude my remarks by underscoring the importance of political engagement that re-evaluates the movements and struggles of migration.

03. Irena Molina, Uppsala University, Sweden

The racialization of migration - from the racial Swedish state to racist state policies

From the mid-1980s until today, a dramatic process of racialization of the Swedish model has been taking place. This process is reflected in all areas of society, but one of the clearest arenas is refugee reception. From a universal and generous policy of asylum to a nowadays extremely restrictive one, these four decades have had a big impact not only in the number of resident permits granted, but also in the living conditions of the refugees. Housing and labour are two of the main arenas in which these transformations can be observed. This process initiated by the global neoliberal turn, has in Sweden (and presumably elsewhere), been favoured by a steadily intensifying process of racialization of the whole society. In this plenary, I will refer to the journey from a –paraphrasing David Goldberg– racial state, to what we are witnessing today, i.e. a state administration that is implementing racist policies in almost all arenas of society. The Swedish model has not only gone from a Keynesian to a Neoliberal order; it has done it within an increasingly more evident frame of racial capitalism.

04. Anna Triandafyllidou, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada

Regimes of temporariness and permanence in late capitalism: Conceptual and comparative reflections

Starting with a brief conceptual discussion on the notion of temporary migration as a policy category and as a lived reality, this presentation will then offer a reflection on how migration regimes have evolved in the 21 st century in the context of an increasingly integrated global division of labour in the context of mature capitalism. The lecture will outline different regimes of temporariness that is more or less rigid and also different intentions of temporary or long term migration. Following from this, my lecture will turn to comparing migration regimes in 'historical' nations like the United Kingdom and Spain with those of settler colonial states (or as they are

called in Europe: immigrant nations) like Canada. I will particularly delve into the understandings of temporary and permanent migration and their connections to nation building and citizenship.

List of Abstracts – Session presentations

01. Mathias Ericson, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Public education from the perspective of cultural wars, racialized securitization and militarization of civil society in Sweden

When the new government in Sweden was launched in October 2022, with right-wing and conservative parties in close cooperation with the ethno-nationalist party Sweden democrats, it was made clear that this government will hit hard on the state supported cultural domain. This includes areas such as museums, libraries, academia, and the public service media. This is a government that wants to present itself as a force for action in the culture wars through cuts in economic support combined with increased demands on state governance. The by far most radical cut in funding presented by the government after its election was to reduce study associations' government funding with 500 million SEK. This means about one third of the previous budget. It is not only the largest ever cut for the activities in this domain but also the proportionally largest cut that the government has made in any area to date.

Following Sara Ahmed and Jasbir K. Puar I argue that this is part of racialized securitization where the idea of the people and democracy itself is claimed as the extension of white bodies. The paper analyses public documents from study associations and public education where they express their worries and present strategies in response to the current situation. The analyses will focus on how the idea of democracy, security and the people are reworked in this process.

From the perspective of securitization and militarization of civil society the crisis for public education is not new but rather the continuance of political demands on control and shift in ethics that has been mounting up for the last 10 years, supported by social democratic government as well as right wing government. New routines and ethics have been implemented, with security routines and demands on a more thorough surveillance of the activities within study associations. Within such a context the dramatic cuts launched in 2022 was not only legitimate but also framed as, paradoxically, a restoration project, or an investment in public education and promise that it needs to "undergo a real steel bath" – using a metaphor associated with Nazi-Germany. Critics from media have claimed that "A steel bath for the study associations is not a threat to democracy - on the contrary, it would be a democratic clean-up job".

02. Sarah Philipson Isaac, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

Economies of dispossession: Expanding carceral geographies in and beyond the Swedish welfare state and the politics of racial devaluation

Drawing on the expanding carceral geographies in Sweden, be it through migration regimes or the precarization of citizenship, this article zooms in on the state's increasingly repressive measures against racialized populations and the militarization of urban space. Central to these developments is the discursive mobilization of the "racialized threat", whereby criminal justice

and migration control become conflated. This was evident when the newly elected right-wing coalition government introduced the so-called Tidö Agreement with the Sweden Democrats in October 2022, where migration, integration, and criminality became synonymized. Setting out from the state mobilization of the racial threat, this article argues that we need to understand the expanding carceral geography of Sweden through the lens of racial capitalism, allowing us to locate the Tidö Agreement as part of a longer history of state control of the dispossessed and displaced. This article thus sets out to unpack these carceral economies through the frame of racial capitalism, asking how we can understand the principles of (un)freedom if we start from the political economy of differentiation inherent to black Marxism. In doing so, we may understand racial devaluation and dispossession through the production of social difference as foundational to capitalism, rather than exceptional to capitalist accumulation and expansion. This further allows us to complicate our understanding of migration regimes and how they are shaped alongside welfare state formation, pointing to how these have played a crucial role in fostering exploitable and expropriable populations historically, as well as their contemporary configurations. This is not least seen in how the criminalization of mobility has formed a necessary basis for producing surplus populations that can be disciplined to the needs of capital, where the welfare state has played a crucial role.

03. Katie Kuschminder, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Reintegration Governance: The role of origin states sovereignty

This presentation will highlight the role of origin states sovereignty within reintegration governance. Reintegration is often conceptualized from a Eurocentric view of migration management, wherein destination countries seek to provide reintegration assistance as a carrot to motivate unauthorized nationals to leave. However, in other perspectives such as in the Philippines, reintegration governance is a cornerstone of origin country states migrant protection wherein states provide reintegration assistance to distressed returning Overseas Foreign Workers. Building on original data collection in Nepal, Nigeria, Serbia, and the Philippines this presentation will explore how origin countries express their sovereignty in the field of reintegration governance and the trade-offs between migration management, migrant protection, and development in destination countries and origin countries reintegration priorities.

04. Xolani Tshabalala and Oncemore Mbeve

Migrant integration revisited: Framing race, gender, and precarity in circular labour migration in the South African context

In the South African context, most discussions of (the absence of) migrant integration policy quickly run into the historical lacuna of state-led segregation and the prominent role it has played in shaping differentiated access to circular mobility, housing, as well as to colonial/apartheid labour markets. Without re-inventing this history, this paper explores integration in South Africa by making additional considerations of post-apartheid migrant self-settlement, the informalisation of both mobility and the labour market, as well as various forms of institutionalised xenophobia. In what some may consider a context of state absence, we explore *de facto*, or organic, forms of self-integration that are nevertheless still highly racialised, genderised, as well as precarised.

In this overview, we identify integration as both a property of time as well as a responsibility of migrants and a characteristic of their relational spaces. We challenge the fantasy of national space, borders, and populations, which both segregation and xenophobia seek to reify, and on which integration as a project of the state is often assumed to attach. We instead lift informal cross-border support networks, tenuous emplacement patterns – particularly the inventive access to rapidly changing labour market trends, as well as contestation around temporal and spatial exclusion, to engage with integration not as a policy response or a target of governance, but rather as a dynamic migrant social imaginary. In thus writing *against* integration (Rytter, 2019), we elect to remain circumspect of the concept in order to recover its critical potential for academic analysis in the region.

05. Asher Goldstein, REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden

The Canadian Indifference Industry – extractivist think tanks and the promotion of migration disinformation

Among the class of settler-successor states to the British and French empires, Canada has for centuries been a destination of mass immigration into territories of pre-exsiting Indigenous polities. Historically, this immigration has been channelled according to exclusionary racial logics, partially expanding the permissible recruits into Canadian settlement by the excision of explicit racial categorization in favour of skills-based, family reunification and refugee immigration systems in the 1950s and 60s (*Immigration Act,* 1967; Canada accedes to the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, 1969; IRPA, 2002). Demographically, the outcome of these processes has produced a contemporary Canadian population where over 40% are immigrants or the children of immigrants, in a state with two official and hundreds of mother tongue languages. In such a demographic context, hostility to and rejection of migrants based on a substantive notion of Canadian ethnonational identity has not proven to be an effective political technology as in other nation-states. However, while Canadian migration discourses have in recent history been less polarized than those in Europe and the United States, this historically brief exception is increasingly being challenged.

By examining the anti-migration promotional work of a network of extractivist industry affiliated think tanks and media organizations, this study maps the sites of knowledge production and dissemination of the political technologies of rejection of migration. In what marks a significant shift in the way in which immigration has been discussed in Canada, what I refer to as the Indifference Industry marshals a range of media and political organizations that together form a powerful ideological constellation in contemporary Canadian politics. This presentation first describes the contours of this industry, presenting significant actors, sites and goals for further study of migration disinformation in Canada. The content and dissemination patterns of their activities are analysed from the perspectives of the sociology of ignorance and racial social systems approach, which together present both theoretical and methodological insights for the study of migration disinformation generally, and the Canadian context specifically.

06. Marshia Akhbar, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada

Policy Categories and Lived Experiences of Temporary Status: A Study of International Students in Canada

This presentation provides an overview of the surge in temporary migration streams in Canada and the policy context shaping this trend. Focusing on international students, one of the largest temporary migrant groups in Canada, it will explore their experiences as they transition from temporary to permanent status. By drawing on students' narratives, the study will highlight the discrepancies between policy assumptions and the reality, which often involves multiple permits and extended temporary status. It will also examine how employment barriers and inadequate support programs contribute to the challenges these international students face. The presentation will conclude with examples of their resilience in overcoming these obstacles, questioning the implications of current policy perspectives on temporary migration.

07. Melissa Kelly, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada

Where to from here? A critical assessment of Canada's region-specific immigration programs

The Canadian government incentivizes prospective immigrants to settle in non-metropolitan regions of the country, particularly where their labour is most needed due to demographic decline and the out-migration of youth. While region-specific immigration programs are meant to be win-win for both immigrants and the communities that receive them, in reality, many immigrants eventually leave for larger cities raising questions about their effectiveness. Drawing on information generated through fieldwork in northern Ontario, this presentation critically assesses the outcomes of region-specific immigration programs from the perspective of both immigrants and receiving communities. The presentation draws attention to the gap between how region-specific policies are designed and how they have actually come to be understood and used by different stakeholders. The presentation concludes that immigration can have many benefits for smaller communities. However, in order to achieve their goals, region-specific immigration policies need to be more attentive to the agency exercised by immigrants, as well as the dynamics shaping the demand for immigrants in non-metropolitan areas.

08. Shiva Mohan, Toronto Metropolitan University, Canada

Complex Precarity: Towards a reconceptualization of irregular migration as a reality and a policy category

This paper discusses legal and irregular migration as concepts, policy categories and realities on the ground. It engages in an examination of how existing labels and terminology fall short of helping us understand the complexity of the legal versus irregular migration continuum. The aim of this paper is threefold. Firstly, we highlight the complex and nuanced realities behind irregular and temporary migration status which are intimately interconnected to policy priorities. Second, we anchor this discussion in the context of a critical comparative reading of the European and North American context, specifically focusing on two country cases, notably Canada and Spain, examining their overall approach and terminology referring to legal and irregular migration. Thirdly, building on our critical comparative analysis and on earlier research, we propose a more expansive reading of the concept of precarity to emphasize its multi-dimensionality and how it

can capture the complexity of lived irregular and temporary migration statuses on the ground, as opposed to actual legal labels.

09. Laavanya Kathiravelu, University of Oslo, Norway

Affective citizenship and categorical complexity: second generation migrants in the Arabian Gulf

The majority of research on immigration, citizenship and nation-building has focused on North America and Western Europe. Within these contexts, the migrant/local divide is conceived in ethnic terms, where nationality, culture, language and phenotype distinction coalesce along tangible lines of difference. In much of the literature, immigration and integration into the state is conceived as linear, where the attainment of formal citizenship is followed by a negotiation of cultural and ethnic difference.

The case studies of Dubai and Doha in the Arabian Gulf offer alternative understandings. Both authoritarian, post-colonial city-states have high dependencies on both temporary as well as more permanent forms of (im)migration for their continued growth. Foreigners outnumber locals and must have a local sponsor or kafeel for residency. Despite formal citizenship being denied to even local-born second and third generation immigrants, long-term residents perform and claim affective modes of affiliation that are not officially recognized. These run counter to state-centric notions of who belongs, and privilege an everyday experiential knowledge. Responding to critiques of methodological nationalism, this research expands understandings of migration categorizations, ethnoracial belonging and immigrant integration.

10. Maja Sager, Lund University, Sweden

Im/mobile commoning between and across Sweden and France

Inspired by intersectional feminist understandings of bordering processes and the political, the presentation conceptualises border struggles in a broad way, including the more low-key and everyday ways in which migrants and citizens tend to co-construct spaces of mutual support and alternative routes to belonging. Referring to the last decade's increasing need for Afghan asylum seekers to re-escape from Sweden to France, I trace some contours of the networks of and around 'Swedish Afghans in Paris' (see Söderman, Nordling and Sager 2023). Conceptualising these networks as a form of im/mobile common the presentation explores how notions of transnationality, Swedishness and deservingness are articulated in different and contradictory ways..

11. Karin Borevi, Södertörn University, Sweden

Membership policies in the Swedish context: Observations about ongoing policy processes and on the notion of time and temporality

Membership policies impact in different and complex ways the levels, degrees, and ways in which persons living and residing in a country are regarded as insiders (or outsiders), by themselves and their surroundings. Recent years have seen a development of increased restrictions, hierarchization and legal precarity where also people whose memberships were previously understood as secure are affected. In a European context, Sweden has often been characterized as a liberal outlier, rejecting even what in other country contexts would be

regarded as minimal integration demands, at least at the gates of entry, residence, and citizenship. The so-called refugee crisis of 2015 partly changed this situation. Since the fall of 2022, when a right-wing bloc government that is dependent on the institutionalized support from the right-wing populist Sweden Democrats, the country experiences a sharp turn towards more restrictive membership policies, reflected in a battery of policy changes which have been introduced or are planned to be introduced soon.

This paper gives an overview of recent developments of Swedish membership policies and discusses some of their broader implications. Different notions of time and temporality will also be addressed. Time is a core aspect when trying to understand and explain continuity and change in membership policies – here the ongoing, and swift, disruptions of what used to constitute a comparatively stable Swedish policy approach come to mind. But temporality is also a crucial ingredient in the type of requirements that are applied to condition membership (e.g., in terms of required time of residence; age requirements, etc.) as well as in the quality and security of the varieties of membership statuses that are awarded.

12. Sofi Jansson-Keshavarz, Linköping University, Sweden

Temporal injustice and negotiations of time: Welfare workers navigating the temporal intersections of migration law and the educational system in Sweden

Time is bound deeply to the exercise of power. In migration law, the power asymmetry is often hidden in seemingly neutral policies where scientifically measured clock and calendar time such as dates, specific durations of time, chronological age, etc. is used for the purpose of border control. In Sweden, around 11,800 youths whose asylum claims were not recognised and had received deportation orders when the government introduced harsher asylum policies in 2016, got a 'second chance' to qualify for permanent residency under the Upper Secondary School Act in 2018. To avoid deportation, they have to complete upper secondary education and find a job within six months of graduation. In this article I examine how temporal boundaries – in the form of dates, durations of time, and deadlines – in migration law, are negotiated by school staff and social workers who have the power to effect whether these youths will be granted residency or be deported. Through an analysis of interviews with school staff, social workers and people holding strategic positions in the welfare sector, I depict how they negotiate temporal boundaries at the intersections of migration law and the educational system to avoid deportation of youths subject to the Upper Secondary School Act. This shows how temporal injustices invoked by migration law are countered locally within welfare institutions that have become part of the state's expanding internalised border control.

13. Martin Grander, Malmö University, Sweden

Overcrowding in Sweden 2012–2022 - Understanding trends and variations in overcrowding during a decade marked by fluctuating migration, economic inequality, and the COVID-19 pandemic.

This paper provides a comprehensive analysis of the overcrowding rate in Sweden from 2012 to 2022, a period marked by population growth, significant immigration, a housing construction boom, and a global pandemic. It examines the interplay of demographic and socioeconomic changes and housing construction, and their impact on overcrowding. The study also highlights

regional and local disparities and investigates the correlation between overcrowding, the socioeconomic status of households, and housing tenure. The findings reveal how these elements interact to influence the housing situation in Sweden, in particular for households with low income. The paper underscores the importance of understanding these dynamics to inform housing policies and strategies, particularly in light of rapid conjunctural and demographic shifts. The insights gained from this study contribute to a broader understanding of the complexities of housing issues in Sweden and could guide future efforts to address overcrowding and ensure adequate housing for all.

14. Kristoffer Jutvik and Branka Likic-Brboric, Linköping University, Sweden

"Why was my case delayed?" A Study of the Swedish Migration Lottery in 2016 and its Consequences

We live in an era of rapidly changing migration policies. For almost two decades, scholars have pointed to a gradual convergence into restrictive migration regimes across European nation-states and in Scandinavia. In the case of Sweden, the recent changes in migration policy have not been gradual but described as an overall break with the so-called Swedish exceptionalism. Most notably, in July 2016, a new migration law was implemented, that abolished the granting of permanent residency, being the main rule for decades. In this article, we aim to explore the consequences of this change asking how it affected possibilities to settle and integrate in Sweden. We explore these questions using an exploratory sequential analysis. We do so by combining interview and survey material which target asylum seekers who was granted residence just at the implementation of the law. In conclusion, we find that the restrictive regulations decreased overall trust in the political system. Our interview material indicates that the lower level of trust is directly link to the arbitrary manner in which the law was implemented. Importantly, we find that the temporary borders introduced in 2016 is persistent and that they have influence over central choices, such as the decisions to work or study.

15. Jukka Könönen, University of Helsinki, Finland

Fear of small numbers: The instrumentalization of hybrid threats to transform immigration policies

At the end of 2023, following the arrival of 1,300 asylum seekers mainly from Syria, Somalia, and Yemen, Finland closed all the border crossing sites with Russia under the pretext of the instrumentalization of migration threatening national security and reception capacity. In July 2024, the Parliament accepted the law "on temporary measures to combat instrumentalised migration" – commonly called the "removal law" – that enables the government to suspend the asylum procedures at the external borders (with some exceptions), regardless of heavy criticism of the infringements of EU and international law, including the principle of nonrefoulement. While almost any irregular cross-border mobility can be regarded as "instrumentalization", the new route opened mainly due to the suspension of pre-exit controls by the Russian border guards, as information spread on social media. This presentation discusses the wider significance of hybrid threats and instrumentalization of migration in supporting

exceptional measures at the external borders and far-reaching transformations of immigration policies in Finland and beyond. By transforming asylum seekers into a national security threat exploited by a foreign hostile state, these new discourses evolve the securitization of migration framework characteristic to EU policies towards a normalized militarisation of migration, while completely erasing subjective aspects of mobility as well as humanitarian commitments. Regardless of unknown details, authorities and politicians themselves instrumentalise hybrid threats to justify new institutional constraints and even the violations of international law, with wider perilous implications for the future of asylum and border policies in Europe.

16. Bernd Kasparek, Humbolt university Berlin, Germany

Thinking about policy failure. Or, democracy in migration policy

The aftermath of the summer of migration, i.e. the European migration policy crisis of 2015, is about to enter its tenth year. Despite eventually having passed the second attempt at a reform of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), doubts linger in the EU if the reform will be able to deliver on its promises after the two year implementation period. Conservative parties however are already convinced that the reform will fail and thus favour a policy of externalised asylum akin to the – failed – Rwanda model pursued by the previous Tory government in the UK.

Taking the current controversies over migration as an example, I will discuss what exactly the promises of European migration policies are, and what their parameters for determining failure or success may be. I will particularly make the argument that migration policy is – nearly tautologically – international and intergovernmental policy, which poses hard challenges for migration policy to be effective and sustainable, or even successful.

If however, migration policy necessarily operates in a transnational political space and thus on a people that is not recognisable as a sovereign subject of liberal democracy, then migration policy and its migration and border regimes are despotic in character. Migration policy thus not only challenges liberal democracy. It also challenges us to re-envision democracy beyond the nation state and its borders.