Performing spaces; Structures of Control and Claims of Rights in sites of ‘Irregularity’
Abstract:

In dialogue with Critical perspectives in the field of Forced migration, this thesis aims to explore the spaces of ‘irregularity’ regarding unaccompanied minors living non-status in the city of Malmö. With a theoretical departure in the ontological ideas of Hanna Arendt and Giorgio Agamben, the perspective of the Autonomy of Migration, and the concepts of ‘Acts of Citizenship’, the thesis argues that these spaces are structured by multiple mechanisms of control, such as deportability, racism, poverty and precarity. In addition, the thesis investigates how these structures of control are contested by the minors. As the ‘irregular’ subject in its presence challenges the Nation-state ‘order’, the study argues that all her or his acts must be interpreted as confrontations. Hence the study aims to highlight the claims of rights and freedoms performed, not only by the minors themselves but also by the social networks surrounding them. The research is built upon fieldwork with non-status minors, asylum rights activists and semi-grass root actors in the spring of 2011 in the city of Malmö. Influenced by Methodological and Epistemological perspectives of Critical Ethnography and Action Research, the thesis also contains a normative requisite to deconstruct and question hegemonies and marginalizing structures.

Key words: Irregular migrant, Clandestinity, Deportability, Unaccompanied minor, Acts of citizenship, the Autonomy of migration, Critical theory, Critical Ethnography, Action Research, Arendt, Agamben, Malmö,
Acknowledgement
This study is dedicated to my young struggling friends in Malmö, Hanad, Farhan, Elyas and all you whose name I can not reveal. Thank you for sharing your time, your thoughts and most of all, your inspiring and unmeasured strength, humor and brightness. Without you this thesis clearly would not exist. Furthermore, I want to send all my thanks and love to the ‘fantastic four’, for the last years of shared engagement, knowledge, sorrows and laughter.
So many wars, settling scores
Bringing us promises, leaving us poor
I heard them say 'love is the way'
'Love is the answer,' that's what they say

But look how they treat us, make us believers
We fight their battles, then they deceive us
Try to control us, they couldn't hold us
'Cause we just move forward like Buffalo Soldiers

But we struggling, fighting to eat
And we wondering, when we'll be free
So we patiently wait for that faithful day
It's not far away...

K’naan
- Somali-Canadian poet and rapper,
Idol for many minors involved in this study
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1. Introduction

A November night in the fall of 2009 the Asylum group Malmö\textsuperscript{1} was contacted by three boys in their teens. During the evening the boys had escaped their transit accommodation camp in order to avoid the Border police and deportation back to Malta scheduled the morning after. All three of them had fled the war in Somalia by themselves as young boys, traveled by land for many years and now ended up in Sweden where they had applied for asylum. However, as their journey had crossed the island of Malta, and thus they had their fingerprints registered there, the minors were classified under the Dublin II regulation\textsuperscript{2}. Hence, their asylum applications were never processed in Sweden but routinely decided as transfer-cases back to first country of contact.

The reason for the minors’ to escape and ‘illegally’ remain in the country was clearly rooted in a deep fear of being deported back to Malta, where they had experienced miserable conditions and severe situations in detention, containing extreme racism, long time incarceration, untreated sicknesses and daily violence and abuse.

The night in November was the first time the Asylum group Malmö had been asked for support by ‘unaccompanied minors’ forced to go ‘clandestine’. Nevertheless, the three boys were soon to be followed by more. From November 2009 the Asylum group has been contacted by escaped unaccompanied minors continuously, not only from Somalia but also from countries such as Afghanistan and Eritrea. Today the group is in daily contact with by approximately 20 minors, mostly teenage boys in similar situations as the one described above. The total number of unaccompanied minors now living ‘irregular’ in Malmö is unclear though. According to Swedish Migration board (Migrationsverket), during 2010 and 2011 a total number of 306 ‘unaccompanied minors’ have been handed over to the Border police for expulsion (Migrationsverket 2011).

In late July 2011, during the time I was writing this paper, one of the boys in the introducing narrative called me. It had been almost 19 months since the night in November. Very excited

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{1} The Asylum group Malmö is a local activist network organization, working autonomously with supporting rejected asylum seekers staying ‘clandestine’ within Malmö. The group has been active since 1991. The number of active activist as well as the amount of ‘irregular’ migrants in contact is although today very unclear.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{2} Council of the EU (2003a): Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003 of 18 February 2003 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an asylum application lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national. Simplified the regulation contains policies compelling the first EU-country of contact of the asylum-seeker to process his or her asylum application.
\end{flushleft}
he told me he had received a Swedish Permanent permission to stay and he added; “We did it, we won!”

As the words of the young man imply, the world of migration is often experienced as a battle - to win or to lose. A struggle from the margins against the multiple actors aiming to restrict and control the mobility of selected people, as a part in, according to some theories of Forced migration, the forces aiming to fix ‘the normal order’ of the Nation-state system. Naturally in this order, the production and visibility of ‘irregular’ migrants becomes highly controversial and problematic. Hence the subject demands extraordinary measures of control by the State, to not ‘accept’ but still manage to deal with her or his spaces, positions, rights and freedoms. It creates a state of exception, and it becomes a biopolitical matter.

In forthcoming study I wish to explore how some of these measures of control are constituted and how these are experienced by unaccompanied minors living ‘irregular’ within the sites of Malmö. I want to look at the structures of ‘irregularity’ and ‘deportability’ to see which actors and within what sites these mechanisms are demonstrated.

On the other hand, and as a second purpose, I want to investigate how these structures of control are contested by these minors within the same sites. As the ‘irregular’ or ‘clandestine’ subject in its very essence challenge the Nation-state ‘order’, all her or his acts must be interpreted as confrontations. In this study I aim to highlight the claims of rights and freedoms performed on the opposite side of the struggle, not only by the minors themselves but also by the social networks surrounding them. Hence, the forthcoming study is furthermore about resistance.
2. Contextualization

According to a quite new turn in Critical theory a postnational and postimperialistic global order is taking shape, under a new logic of Sovereignty, formed in a union of supra-, inter-, sub- and national actors, constituted by the multiple globalized movements often called ‘globalization’. Within these theories, the globalized movements function as a *detrimentalizing force* causing a continuing decline of the supremacy of the Nation-state. The new Sovereignty becomes non-national and decentralized, characterized by an absence of boundaries and territorial linkages. Yet, it is formed within colonial and imperial economic expansion projects, containing extensive mechanisms of oppression and control (Hardt & Negri 2000, Deleuze 1992).

The new logic of Sovereignty deconstructs classic political dichotomies as national/international, internal/external, global/local, as well as it blurs the lines between the cultural, economic and social spheres. Consequently, the Sovereignty operates in a new paradigm of power, framed by Foucault as a *biopower*, aiming to control the production of social life itself, or one may say, human nature. Within *biopolitics* a new kind of *the other* is created, whom different scholars have tried to situate with concepts such as the ‘surplus population’ (Duffield 2007), ‘outcasts’ (Bauman 2004), or the ‘homo sacer’ (Agamben 2010). Within the gendered and racialised structures of capitalism, and behind the capes of ‘security’, ‘development’ and ‘freedom’ the neoliberal realm of the new Sovereignty seek to control this figure of ‘other’ to behave within its own interest and frames, and to sustain the western way of life (Duffield 2007; 29-31, Hardt & Negri 2000, Foucault 2003, Bauman 2004).

On the other hand, the new world order is colored by autonomous movements of resistance, in a contra-logic of alternative global movements, as autonomous migration, new democratic forms and constitutive powers. As Hardt and Negri with reference to Deleuze and Guattari, puts it “Resistance is no longer marginal but active in the center of a society that opens up in

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3 In the concepts of *Biopower or biopolitic* Foucault reflects upon the classical theory of the sovereign as the beholder of the right to decide over life and death. According to Foucault, these classical principles gradually went through a transformation in the 19th century. Due to an increase in frequency of illnesses striking the population, death became an arising permanent problem. As a response a new sort of power, asides with the disciplinarian started to emerge, dealing not with the individuals as bodies through technologies as surveillance and punishment, but with “man as species” or the population as a mass, through technologies aiming birth control, fertility, mortality rate and longevity. It was, according to Foucault the “emergence of something that is no longer an anatoma-politics of the human body, but what I would call a “biopolitic” of the human race” (Foucault 2003; 243).
networks; the individual points are singularized in a thousand plateaus” (Hardt and Negri 2000; 25).

Studies have also exposed how these global movements transform the sites of local scales, supported by the idea of the reduced State supremacy, which offer lesser rights and protection. The gap between the rich and poor increases, producing extreme racialised and gendered social marginalization and segregated socio-spatial spaces within the city, dividing the privileged from the ‘surpluses’. Consequently, as national belonging successively becomes rejected; individuals and groups turn to seek identities outside classic formulas, leaving more urban tensions (Abrahamsson 2011).

As this ‘surplus’ group naturally embed persons living in ‘irregularity’, the forthcoming study is written with hope to offer a brief insight in which acts and initiatives that are taken in local scale, in the “thousand plateaus” as a resistance to the marginalizing and repressive structures that is produced within the new logic of Sovereignty. Hence, I hope to offer a glimpse of the local footprints of the globalized movements, focusing on the claims of the networks and individuals in focus of this study. I want to ask if the declining supremacy of the State could be succeeded by the acts and decisions on local scales.

However, I want to stress that the context of this study is highly dynamic, and the practices, borders, boundaries and preconditions, as well as actors involved are constantly changing. For example, only within the three months since this study has been conducted, one minor involved has left the country, another has left the city and two have received Permanent permissions to stay.
3. Purpose and research questions

The aims of the study are twofold; Firstly, I will try to identify and illuminate some of the social, economic and political mechanisms that structure the spaces of ‘irregularity’ regarding non-status unaccompanied minors in the city of Malmö. Secondly, I will seek knowledge in how these structures are challenged, how rights are claimed by this group, and how support for these claims is constituted by different actors on a local scale. Consequently I am interested in what acts, actors, sites and scales become relevant in this context.

From a standpoint in Critical theory, an additional inherent purpose of this study contains a will to confront and question marginalizing hegemonies. This is mainly done in two ways; first, I wish to contribute in the completed work to create visibility of the subject of ‘irregularity’, as it is constantly denied space and voice in contemporary political domains. Secondly, I will try to produce knowledge in how repressive practices are constituted and experienced, with hope to provide tools of liberalization. Repressive practices are legitimatized by images and discursive articulations surrounding non-status persons as ‘illegal’ and ‘apolitical’. These images need to be challenged and contested by counter stories and alternative narratives. By this I hope the study will serve as a contribution to this opposition.

Finally, I want to clarify that I do not claim this study to be an exclusive investigation revealing all mechanisms of control regarding minors in ‘irregularity’, nor will it give the full picture of the everyday life of ‘irregular’ minors in Malmö. I do not, further, claim that the study will give an insight of sites and structures of other geographical or historical contexts.

The research questions guiding the process of this study are;

- What social, economic and political mechanisms structure the spaces of ‘irregularity’ regarding unaccompanied minors living non-status in Malmö? How are these mechanisms operating and experienced?
- How are the structures of ‘irregularity’ challenged by, and how are rights claimed in, the acts of these minors? How are these claims supported by other actors?
- What actors, sites, scales and acts become important in these spaces?
4. Chapter outline

After the introduce passages above I will go on to discuss what I refer to with the concepts of ‘irregularity’, ‘non-status’ and ‘clandestinity’. After this I will state the theoretical framework of this study that is structured into three different schemes. All of these I largely have built upon previous research in the field of Forced Migration and ‘irregularity’, and hence not chosen to place this discussion in a separated chapter. Subsequently, I have chosen to elaborate on the methodological and epistemological positions and choices of the study, in which I also point out some problematic issues and concerns of the study and my fieldwork. Finally, I have chosen to design the chapters of Analyzes by initially discussing the mechanisms of control I have identified in my fieldwork. Next, I will go on to reflect upon what I have chosen to theorize as acts of inclusion, and claims of rights. As the structures and processes prevailing within the context naturally are integrated, these discussions however obviously will intervene. Finally, I will summarize my conclusions and elaborate on some topics for future research within the subject.
5. The concepts of ‘clandestine’ and ‘irregularity’

Categorizing groups of different individuals is always problematic. In political and social studies this becomes particularly obvious the moment a figure appears outside the classic models of perspective. As Engin F Isen has stated a “yet unnamed figure” has emerged, following; “it is unnamed not because it is invisible but because we have not yet recognized it” (Isen & Nielsen, 2008; 367). Furthermore, the scholar Peter Nyers has highlighted that the attempts to recognize this group are mostly done in terms of missing or lacking, as the persons in this group always are in absence of something; ‘undocumented migrants’ in lack of documents, ‘irregulars’ in lack of travel arrangements, ‘clandestine workers’ in lack of visibility or ‘shadow population’ in lack of social status. Nyers himself use the concept ‘non-status’ for the person lacking the legal status to maintain in the country (Nyers 2010; 166).

As it seems, the difficulties to grasp the position in other terms than lacking are quite hard to get around, as the very absence of legal status undeniably renders the position and spaces of this subject.

Most common, however, is the person without Citizenship figured in numerous hostile, stigmatizing and criminalizing articulations dominating in many contemporary public and political discourses, such as ‘terrorists’ ‘queue jumpers’, ‘aliens’ or and maybe the most frequently ‘illegal immigrants’ or simply ‘illegals’. Labels that are followed by very serious consequences because, as Stuart Hall has pointed out; it’s how people are represented, they are treated (see also Madison, 2005; 4) - a notion that has become clearly proven in the Western migration policies the last thirty years.

In this study I will use a blend of the concepts of ‘irregular’, ‘non-status’ ‘clandestine’. In the use of the latter I will refer to the term conceptualized in the work of the feminist and activist scholar Maja Sager. As she points out, ‘clandestinity’ cannot be equalized with the term ‘hidden’, the most common used concept in Swedish debates and often criticized for reproducing a notion of invisibility. Sager however argues that the English word ‘clandestine’ differs from ‘hidden’, and more accurate should be interpreted as a rejected asylum seeker who stays within the country without the legal status, and how it “further describes the agency involved in cutting contact with authorities and continuing the struggle for the right of resistance” (Sager 2011; 23).
Furthermore, in order to grade the language of the study I will also use ‘irregular’ with reference to the idea of a person that departs from the ‘normal order’ of Citizenship. An ‘irregular migrant’ challenges the entry procedure of the borders and hence implies human agency (Khosravi 2006; 285). I’ll also use the term ‘irregularity’ for the subject position and spaces of the ‘irregular’ person, challenging both the external and internal borders of the Nation-state by her presence.

Finally, I understand and want to emphasize the categories of ‘clandestine’, ‘irregular’ and ‘non-status’ as categories intentionally produced by the Nation-state system, and that these ‘groups’ otherwise are highly dynamic and heterogenic (Benhabib, 2004; 54-55, Sager 2011; s 23).
6. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this thesis is divided into three schemes. All three are based in separated academic discussions even though they are all closely related to, and integrated in studies of Forced migration and Citizenship theory.

The first scheme is grounded in the dialogue between Forced migration and Human Rights which departs from the celebrated work of Hanna Arendt, containing a linkage to the ontology developed by the political philosopher Giorgio Agamben. The aim with this scheme is to find tools to conceptualize the subjectivity constituted in ‘irregularity’.

The second scheme is developed as a response to the first, as it provide a theorization to grasp the agency in the subject of study. The scheme is based within the perspective in studies of Forced Migration called ‘autonomous migration’, seeking to avoid a dehumanizing of ‘the migrant’, as well as defining the movements within migration as highly political and a deterritorializing force.

The Third scheme is drawn upon the trajectory in Citizenship studies focusing on ‘Acts of Citizenship’ and the ideas of the political scientist Engil F Isen, discussing Citizenship as something emerging in the moment claims of rights are initiated. As this scheme is closely linked to the second, I will with these try to grasp the struggles of space and position that is current within the context of this study.

6.1. First scheme - The rights to have rights

The recent year’s studies in Forced Migration have undoubtedly been colored by the celebration of the work of Hanna Arendt. Particularly one chapter titled ‘the Decline of the Nation-state and the End of the Rights of Man’ has been in focus, in which the author highlights the fact that the stateless subject created in the postwar era; consequently embodied a status excluded by the law or ‘the Rights of Man’ (Arendt 1976; p 269).

Arendt traces the logic of this ‘rightlessness’ to the relation between the Nation state and ‘the Rights of Man’, as in an inseparably nexus ever since the declaration of the later. Since the French revolution Arendt shows, mankind has been understood in terms of a family of Nations and how it thus “turned out that the moment human beings lacked their own government and had to fall back upon their minimum rights, no authority was left to protect them and no institution was willing to guarantee them” (Ibid; p 292).
Within the declaration of ‘the Rights of Man’, the older assumption of rights as founded out of history or given by God was transformed to the idea of rights as essentially imbued in humanity. The Rights as sprung out of human nature replaced the Rights as sprung out of history. However, according to Arendt this showed to be an impossible notion as there is no such nature. Rights are, and always will be socially constructed and defined within a political context. When contemporary political realm is constituted by Nation-states, a person without a State becomes placed outside the politics and the sphere of rights. Even her minimum rights will thus always be transgressed by the State in the name of the security for the mass (Ibid. p 301).

This logic led to the conceptualization outdrawn of the, I would assume, most quoted passage in contemporary Refugee studies (see Benhabib 2004; p 49ff, Ranciere 2004; 298ff; Owens 2011; 143 ff);

We became aware of the existence of a right to have rights (and that means to live in a framework where one is judged by one’s actions and opinions) and a right to belong to some kind of organized community, only when millions of people emerged who had lost and could not regain these rights because of the new global political situation (Arendt 1976; 296-297)

In the Human Condition (1958) Arendt elaborates upon these ideas and leans on the Aristotle dichotomy of the zoe (the natural life) and the bios (the qualitative and political life). In this work Arendt places it in a historical perspective showing how political engagement of ‘free men’, the access to the political community in ancient city-states, solely could be done on the account of women and slaves dealing with the needs of the zoe, and how they therefore never was included in the bios; the political, an argument today frequently referred to with the quotation of that “men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world” (Arendt 1998; 22-38, quote p.7).

6.1.1. The Conceptual Apparatus of Giorgio Agamben

Giorgio Agamben is one of the most controversial scholars that have built upon the work of Arendt. In the State of exception he reflects in a juridical-philosophical perspective upon the practice by Sovereignty to suspend the law by declaring a state of emergency. Agamben builds upon the German conservative jurist Carl Schmitt, who defines the sovereign with “he who decides on the state of exception” (Schmitt, quoted in Agamben 2010: 23). Furthermore, Agamben takes a departure in Critical theory and the ideas of Walter Benjamin, arguing that during the Modern state formation the exception became the rule (Agamben 2003: 97).
Agamben goes back in the western history to illuminate how the Modern state increasingly has applied the right to suspend the law, giving the State extraordinary authorities in order to respond to exceptional situations. The state of exception however, should not be understood as a phenomenon taking place outside the law, but as a zone where the external and internal becomes blurry and where dichotomies that ordinarily form modern politics, such as public and private, national and international, democracy and absolutism, become deactivated. Actions in the exception are thus neither transgressive nor executive, but done in a ‘zone of indistinction’ (Agamben 2003: 23-37, 43 – 78 2000: 4-7, 2010: 16).

In the center of his conceptual apparatus Agamben places the figure of the *homo sacer*, sketched from the subject in ancient Roman law, as the one who was defined as a threat to the stability and thus been banned from the political community, recognized neither by the laws of the city, nor the laws of foreigners, but condemned to a zone where no law was present. The homo sacer could therefore be killed by anyone without risking being punished (Agamben 2010: 84 – 108).

Agamben links these ideas to Arendt and the Aristotle distinction of life, between the *zoe* and the *bios*, arguing that the homo sacer is placed between these and thus embodies a *naked body* stripped upon the ‘right to have rights’. However, as the homo sacer remains target for politics, she is placed in the realm of *included exclusion* (Agamben 2010: 13-15, 27-33, 94 – 114, 194-197, Diken & Bagge Laustsen 2006: 443-446).

Lastly, a Agamben concept which has been focused in a significant range of recent studies in the field of Forced migration is *the camp* (see e.g. Edkins 2000, Nyers; 2006, Diken & Bagge Laustsen 2005, Khosravi 2006, Tesfahuney and Dahlstedt 2008, De Genova 2010). According to Agamben *the camp* constitute the new *nomos* in the modern biopolitical paradigm of the western world, where the state of exception becomes physical and materialized in space, and where all form of normal juridical order and law is suspended (Agamben 2010: 177-184).

In recent years many scholars have used Agamben to grasp the split position of the refugee or the ‘irregular’ migrant. Multiple studies have shown how the subject of ‘irregular migration’

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4 The use of the word *nomos*, is based on Carl Schmitt’s conception of “the nomos of the earth”, meaning the rules and norms that sets the order of geography, the division of territory and the socio-spatial order. It is the band between the localization (Ortung) and the order (Order), which fundamental base is the schemes of inside-outside, whilst the outside is ruled by disorder and chaos, threats and enemies (Diken & Bagge Laustsen 2006: 445-447).
is frequently placed in a sphere of excluded inclusion, and as non-political, but still subject for politics (See Khosravi 2006: p 284-286, 292, Sager 2011; 33-46). It is also within this interpretation I will use the theorization of Arendt and Agamben.

Nevertheless, the concepts of Agamben have likewise been criticized. In her work on ‘clandenstinity’ Maja Sager briefly summarizes some good thoughts in the usage of Agamben. Firstly, she marks that even though the idea of the ‘state of exception’ is drawn upon historical processes it tends to be treated in ignorance of historical and geographical settings. Sager leans on the work of the anthropologist Aihwa Ong, arguing that the neoliberal paradigm of today needs to be considered in linkage to the state of exception. Furthermore Sager emphasizes how Ong directs critique of Agamben’s state-focus, using solely Citizenship as a reference in a Universalist approach, and therefore ignores many dynamic references of the subject (Sager 2011; p 63-64).

Another significant critique, and one I could not better stress, is towards the way both the ‘exception’ and the ‘homo sacer’ (e.g. the refugee) is structured and figured in a static way ignoring both gendered and racialised elements. Sager refers to the work of sociologist Imogen Tyler, showing the gravity in a carelessly use of theoretical figurations of the refugee without looking in the diversity and complexity in the political dimensions, a use that risks dehumanizing of the asylum seeker depriving her from all agency and as being an embodied subject (Ibid. p 64-66).

As I see this critique highlighting important aspects in the use of Agamben I will now turn to theoretical perspectives more able to approach migration as human agency.

6.2 Second scheme - The Autonomy of Migration

The concept of ‘autonomous migration’ departs from the theorization of what the sociologist Nestor Rodriguez calls ’the Battle for the border’, as the struggle between migrants and refugees on one side, and border control actors on the other. The ‘battle for the border’, according to Rodriguez needs to be analyzed beyond solely the practical aspects of migration control, and instead be understood as a consequence of globalized socio-political movements transforming the boundaries of the Nation-state system and capitalism. As the economy and labor market turns more transnational, the transnational worker becomes successively less affected by Nation-state borders. In the new ‘transnational age’ more diasporas and communities develop, which Rodriguez states “functioned as if the border did not exist”, and
thus “seriously challenges the established stratified socio-spatial global order” (Rodriguez 1996: p 2).

With the concept of "autonomous migration" Rodriguez aims to grasp the transnational movements of people that are organized outside interstate planning, but in contrary within strategically calculations and support of local and transnational communities, networks and families. Migration is emphasized as self-activity, as human agency (Ibid. p. 4).

The battle for the borders is not about preventing migration by simply enforcement of the borders, but rather aimed at controlling and ending the autonomous ‘migration and its strategies’. The working of the State thus stretches outside the territorial border patrols, explaining both non-physical border controls as well as the externalization of the borders (Ibid. p 9-11).

In the last ten years, this theory has rapidly grown in Critical studies of Forced migration, especially as a perspective diverging from models of analyze that oftentimes misses to treat migration as human agency (see Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos; 2008: 203, Mezzandra 2011, Walters 2006). For instance and extensively referred to, is the work done by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. Building on the ideas of Foucault and Deleuze, the authors define migration, or what they call the multitude, as a deterritorializing force\(^5\), uncontrollable for the system, autonomously finding its ways across borders;

> These movements often cost terrible suffering, but there is also in them a desire of liberation that is not satiated except by reappropriating new spaces, around which are constructed new freedoms. Everywhere these movements arrive, and all along their paths they determine new forms of life and cooperation (Hardt and Negri 2000; p 397)

According to Hardt and Negri, the multitude constitute the political subject in opposition to the new logic of Sovereignty of ‘the Empire’, holding the most revolutionary force in the aim of liberation, “constructing a new ontological reality” (Ibid. p 295). Consequently the Empire seek with all its power to control it, guarding the borders and render the labor market after racialised and gendered structures. The resistance in migration hence becomes essentially

\(^5\) The concept of deterritorializing are developed by the philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guatteri. Simplified the concept departs from an idea of existence as created in associations and interactions by forces of desires and bodies. These associational forces that bind something to its existence could be understood as a territorializing force. But, as well as something binds it, other forces can transform it out of that very definition of existence. These forces can be understood as the deterritorializing (Colebrook 2010; 18-21).
political, as it “engaging the imperial initiatives and not allowing them continually to reestablish order” (p 299).

Logically the perspective of autonomous migration contains studies of strategies in migrant communities and networks (Nyers 2010: p 135). Susan Bibler Coutin has focused on what she calls the ‘space of nonexistence’ in the so called ‘borderland’, and the undocumented migrants’ strategies of turning ‘invisibility’ to an advantageous position. A ‘borderland’ Coutin elaborates, should be understood as a highly dynamic space of deterritorializing forces, of interruption in the order, challenging categories and paradigms of ‘what fits’. Nevertheless, she continues, is the borderland characterized as a site of repression; “This space excludes people, limits rights, restricts services, and erases personhood. The space of nonexistence is largely a space of subjugation” (Coutin 2003: 172).

In a similar rationale, lie also the works of Nicholaus De Genova upon the disciplinary apparatus of the Nation-state, creating ‘illegality’ through the space of ‘deportability’, the space in which you always runs the risk of being removed from the Nations territory. As the State never been able, nor wanting, to prevent migration at the borders, it is according to De Genova never the deportation per se that is the method of importance, but the creation of ‘deportability’ and ‘illegality/irregularity’ (De Genova 2002; p 438-439, De Genova & Peutz 2010).

I will use the ideas of the autonomy of migration to grasp what I interpret as the political struggles of positions, spaces and visibility in the city of Malmö between the social movement including the minors in focus and the prevailing politics of border and migration control. Hence I will use the aim formulated by Moulier-Boutang’s (2001), who asks us “to seize the silences, the refusals, and the flight as something active” (Moulier-Boutang in Nyers 2010; 129).

### 6.3 Third scheme - Acts of Citizenship

You can count a supplement to the sum, a part of those who have no part, which separates the community from its parts, places, functions, and qualifications. This is politics, which is not a sphere but a process (Rancièr 2004; 305)

In this scheme I will seek influence in the theorization of what the scholar Engin F Isen calls ‘Acts of Citizenship’. Isen argues that while Citizenship as a practice, or how the ‘making of Citizenship’ framing the substantive Citizenship as a condition for the formal Citizenship, has
been broadly studied during recent years, the process of how subjects transform themselves to *claimants of rights* has remained fairly unexplored. As globalized movements has reshaped the State as well as the Citizenship to concepts no longer equal static rights and obligations, Isen with resemblance to Rancière, argues this transformation essentially needs to be more closely studied. Thus the focus of study in Citizenship studies should be the very moment the *acts of Citizenship* are initiated;

To investigate acts of Citizenship in a way that is irreducible to either status or habitus, while still valuing this distinction, requires a focus on those moments when, regardless of status and substance, subjects constitute themselves as citizens – or, better still, as those to whom the right to have rights is due (Isen & Nielsen 2008: p 18).

Moreover, to study the Acts of Citizenship is to switch our focus from habits or conduct to the moments that function as a ‘rupture in the given’, as interruptions in the order, even as when something is done to cause even small marginal changes (Ibid. p 25).

In the article ‘Citizenship in flux: The figure of the activist citizen’ (2009) Isen elaborates on the concept of acts of Citizenship which he puts in relation to the vocabulary of *actors, scales, sites* and *acts* (Isen 2009: p 368). As I will use these concepts in following analyses, I will here for a moment try to define them out of Isen’s article. First of all, *actors* of acts of Citizenship need to be interpreted beyond the beholders of the legal status of citizen, and rather focus on the one’s performing or claiming it. Seeking to understand Citizenship as something politically ahead of, and not necessary bound to, the territorial unit and its subjects, the actors could be anyone, and anything, and therefore needs to be defined in accordance with the sites and scales. *Sites* concurrently, could be interpreted as places where the acts of Citizenship is initiated or where different interests are in struggle; “The ‘sites’ of Citizenship are fields of contestation around which certain issues, interests, stakes as well as themes, concepts and objects assemble” (Ibid. p 370). *Scales* moreover, should be understood as the extent, or the application area of these sites, e.g. regional, national, transnational, international or global. The importance of these concepts stands in the idea of them not to be fixed, but determined by the others or empirical set (Ibid. 370).
7. Methodological and Epistemological perspectives

As most of my theoretical framework is based in Critical theory, my methodological perspectives are drawn upon similar critical epistemology and ethics. This implies understanding the production of knowledge as a political and partial practice, not possible to create without being biased by the researcher’s own context and position. Theory is understood as the IR scholar Robert Cox phrased it "always for someone, and for some purpose” (Cox in Wyn Jones & Hobden 2005: s 237). Moreover, these theories contain a normative requisite in seeking to question hegemonies and marginalizing structures in order to provide ‘emancipation’ as a tool to react on oppression (Booth, 2005, s. 181).

In this study I have used methodological and epistemological principles drawn out of Critical ethnography and the theories of Action research. Both of them share with my theoretical framework a linkage to the Neo-Marxists thinkers related to the so-called Frankfurt school, as well as to more contemporary nexuses to postcolonial, feminist and post structural dialogues. It is within this I aim to situate myself as a researcher and an asylum rights activist.

7.1 Positions and perspectives

7.1.1 Critical ethnography

In this study, I will mostly borrow the essential ideas of critical ethnography of research as an ideological and political practice, and that “the issue is not whether one is "biased"; but rather, whose interests are served by one's work” (Simon and Dippo 1986; 196).

Critical ethnography also brings forward the concept of *positionality*, emphasizing in a ‘postcritical’ manner an importance of turning the analyzing lens back on ourselves as researchers, in order to scrutinize our own position, power, privileges and intentions. How are we biased by the power structures around our subjects? How is my study colored by the fact that I am white, man, born in and holds Citizenship of Sweden? Who will benefit from this research? Questions not uncomplicated to answer, but in the process of research they are necessary to reflect upon (Madison 2005; p 5-8). This requires an examination of discourse as well as silences (Simon and Dippo, 1986: p 201).

Hence, in the forthcoming text I will use the neo-Marxists thinkers Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s conception of ‘discourse’ as both linguistic and material. As well as words,
or ‘signs’, are articulated in a linguistic web and in relation to other words; social action is defined and filled by meaning in their relation to other actions (Laclau & Mouffe, 2008, p 158-160).

Moreover, Critical ethnography stresses the need of the research to be done in dialogue with ‘the other’, as our subjectivity in the research always is constituted in that conversation. Critical ethnography, Madison argue, is always meetings, agreements, disagreements in mutual trust and communion, and it is in these one can behave most fully as oneself (Madison 2005: p 9-10).

Furthermore, I will look for inspiration in what is called ‘auto-ethnography’, using my own personally experiences within the field of research. This gives the study a more narrative impression and allows the reader to be engaged and to participate. This approach also creates a possibility to “show things, not to tell them” (Khosravi 2011; p 7).

Lastly the scholars Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (2006) argue that social movements hold an advantageous position in seeking knowledge. In all collective actions, the authors argue, lies a creative force of consciousness and cognition and it is the transformation of this into social movements, they call the ‘cognitive praxis’. Social movements are seen as processes carrying a constituting role in knowledge, and the cognitive praxis is, according to the authors; “the core activity of social movements” (Eyerman and Jamison 2006; 55-56). To accurately seek knowledge one thus needs to investigate social encounters and interactions between movements and with their opponents (Ibid.).

I have chosen to bring forward these ideas as I argue the social network structures in Malmö surrounding the minor in ‘irregularity’ could be seen as a social movement, containing a cognitive praxis, relevant in seeking knowledge of the subject.

7.1.2 Research through change

I will also seek influence in what is called Action Research, as the opposite of a positivistic approach and builds upon the idea of the researcher as partial and active in the subject of focus. The concept was phrased by the psychologist Kurt Lewin, telling us that knowledge produced in authoritarian environment reproduce nothing but an authoritarian society. Critical knowledge production thus needs to go beyond old models of science, as “research that produce nothing but books will not suffice (Lewin 1948: 202f, in Lundberg 2010: 120).
The main idea of Action research is to *research through change*, through social actions, in contrast to the main trajectory within Critical theory, i.e. *change through research*. Hence I find this ideal to meet with the theorization of knowledge production within studies of social movements. In the same logic, action research also implies that both the actions and the research should be done in communion with the subject and the actors within it (Lundberg 2010: 125-126, Somekh 2006: 11-29).

Today Action research has been used by multiple scholars; most of them sharing the same epistemology. However they often distinguish in the definition of the concept of *action*. In this study I will depart from the concept of Arendt, in which participation in the political domain (the *polis*) is understood as acting and speaking. As Arendt place the *vita active* (the life in action) in front of the *vita contemplative* (the life in thought), the idea of political freedom is understood as the space of action, and hence the ‘human action’ is defined after the premises of political participation. Consequently this brings in the requirement of other actors, which Arendt conceptualize with the ‘plurality’, as a requirement for freedom. As our identities and interests is constituted in dialogues and relation to others there is an essential need of a community, and taken further of equality (Coulter 2002: 192ff.).

### 7.1.3 Research in interaction

I will here clarify my idea of research in interaction, as an endeavor to summarize above passages. I will argue, following my methodological perspective, that the actors within my subjects of investigation, or the ‘informants’, rather should be seen as the co-researchers in this study, as they provide the most illuminating analysis of the subject in question as they as actors are routinely involved within the subject, in their professions as well as their everyday life. For example, I would naturally never claim I am capable to give a better analysis of the position of ‘irregularity’ than an ‘informant’ living ‘irregular’. In similar logic, I argue that the teacher or the principal occupy the best position to analyze the function of the school within the context. I thus see my task as a researcher in this process, to put different analysis, views and perspectives in relation to each other in an effort to answer the research questions guiding my study, and to place these in relation to my theoretical framework.

### 7.2 Procedure of the study

The study is done as an ethnographic fieldwork during three months in the spring of 2011 in the city of Malmö. During this time I have done formal and informal interviews with six
minors living in ‘irregularity’, two physiologists and one principal working professional with minor asylum seekers, as well as three asylum rights activists involved in the Asylum group Malmö.

I have also within the period of time participated in actions and activities within the network in focus. I have together with the minors and activists gone to break-dance, played football, fixed bikes, attended meetings and demonstrations, arranged contacts to health care and school, and so on. During this I have taken field notes, used instruments of partial and participating observation and gathered further material such as flyers, media recordings, written articles, call-outs and web posts produced within the related political community. As formal ethics of this kind of research implies, I have informed all actors involved how and why I have conducted the study. Naturally we have also discussed the security issues of all parts involved and together examined possible risks. Obviously all names in this study are feigned. I have also discussed with the actors involved that this study will not directly affect the contemporary situation, or in any other way the juridical process of their asylum applications.

7.3 Problematic issues

7.3.1 Personally commitments

As an activist in the asylum rights movements and my involvement within the context of this study, the complexities of partiality is undeniably present. However, above I have tried to clarify my departure in Critical theory and Action research, containing clear ideas in contrast to these conceptions which thus opens up for active involvement.

However, as I have naturally come to personally know many actors involved in the subject of study, this obviously opens up difficulties as well as advantages. Without any doubt personal ties could shadow and strongly hinder the quality of analysis, as information risks to be interpreted solely out of these relations. An opposition to positivism does not mean a critical researcher simply writes a personal narrative of one’s experiences and impressions. One’s relation to these complexities should thus always be reflected upon, although they are not easy to unravel.
7.3.2 Representation and research with young people

First of all, as ethnographic studies for a long time have proven, children or youngsters must not be approached as non-active social agents, but in the contrary as very much well-aware and highly active, strategically sensitive to the ‘adult world’. Second, childhood as well as youth is social constructions, bound to be analyzed in relation to the discursive articulations and power formations within the social context of the subject (Emond 2006; 124). Taken further, as the power relations between the actors within this study, not alone the one between me and the youth’s involved, are extremely complex, the question of representation will be there. And as the context is very much structured of a ‘we’ (citizens, white etc), including me as I holds the privilege of a Citizenship, and the young people in subject as ‘the other’, the representation becomes even more complex. I have tried to respond to this in my fieldwork and in forthcoming text by as much as possible, not discursively separate the minors as co-researchers from me or others actors involved holding a citizenship. Although I ask the reader to simply be aware of this problematic.
8. Analyzes

8.1 Spaces of ’Irregularity’

On a Friday afternoon in May, Abdi came to me to collect some belongings. Meanwhile he packed his bags; with no noticeable shock he told me that an hour before, he had been hit by a car. A taxi had turned a corner too fast, striking Abdi when he was crossing a road on his bicycle. The clash had been so hard that Abdi was thrown onto the car’s bonnet, and broke the front lights of the car. My first response was naturally to ask if Abdi was alright. He laughed and told me; “Yes, I am fine. Many people stopped and told me to call the police. The driver came out from the car. I told him that he was free to go; ‘Go go go’ I said. Then I ran away” (Abdi).

The content of this field note gives an illuminating insight into what I refer to as the spaces of ’irregularity’. These are primary constituted by a status of ‘illegality’, as it is illegal for the subject to simply remain within the territory of the State. It is a position in lack of Citizenship and the regular juridical rights and obligations that is present in the everyday life of the citizens. This absence is the major institution of the ‘irregularity’ and it regulates the life of the minors involved in this study in numerous locations and matters. In the same logic, the actors involved in the production of ‘irregularity’ are multiple and derive from all societal sites, for instance the Swedish Migration board, the Border police, the Migration courts, as well as within the schools and hospitals.

The complete picture of ‘irregularity’ is however not that straightforward. Following the ideas of the autonomy of migration, ‘irregularity’ is in addition constituted by multiple political, social and economic mechanisms of control, as the ‘battle for the border’ is far more complex than a clear-cut line between citizens and non-citizens. Some of the most centered of these mechanisms, I argue, are the ones of deportation, ‘deportability’, precarity, racism, xenophobia and poverty, which in forthcoming analysis I’ll aim to explore.

Within the introducing narrative some of the mechanisms rendering the position of ‘irregularity’ becomes evident, as Abdi, still hit by the car is the one who ran away as ‘wanted’ by the police, as ‘criminal’ and ‘illegal’. It shows the fear or ‘deportability’ constantly present in the minor’s consciousness, as Abdi told the driver to go away and then started to run. And it highlights the ‘rightlessness’ as Abdi could not with any ‘regular’ methods confront the driver of doing wrong, offending Abdi’s rights and safety. Even if the clash would not have been an accident and the driver intentionally aimed to hit Abdi, Abdi
could still not report it to the police in order to claim protection or compensation for damages. Hence, ‘irregularity’ is a creation, as Khosravi has stated, of a ‘submissive body’ (Khosravi 2006: 296).

The narrative also demonstrates how the ‘exclusion’, as Agamben has framed it, not functions as a complete exclusion. Abdi, indeed, cannot report the accident, yet he himself is recognized by the law as wanted and ‘illegal’. The outcome is a position of an ‘included exclusion’, where the subject constitutes a ‘naked body’ or one who does not possesses ‘the right to have rights’. The minors in ‘irregularity’ are articulated as apolitical, a homo sacer, ergo able to treat this way. A notion that is clearly visual in another testimony of a minor who was arrested by the police;

I was sitting in a room when the first person entered and said ‘bla bla bla’. I told them I did not speak Swedish but they insisted, telling me I had been in Malmö for a long time. The entire night they continued to talk to me in Swedish. Finally they asked in English; ‘where do you live?’ They gave me a paper and told me to sign to be released. So I did, even though I did not understand it (Ali).

Noteworthy in this story, is not only the way the boy was treated, but moreover that he was released custody without any confirmation of residency or custodian. The minor, a child, was in other words put on the streets by the police without any report, follow-up or contact with the social service. In Sweden this would unlikely happen to a recognized right holding citizen minor.

The spaces of ‘irregularity’ are often marked by a juridical process, as a major aim is to obtain a legal permission to stay. A central concern of the minors and within the network engaged, is thus to appeal to different Migration courts. As the minors usually go ‘clandestine’ before their decision’s appeal time is due, these juridical procedures are often initiated in the beginning of the time of the ‘irregularity’. Even within these juridical sites, the position between exclusion and inclusion is significant. In a letter directed to media, composed between asylum rights activists in Malmö, they make known;

We would like to urge you to examine the disturbing latest trend in the Migration Board's way of treating unaccompanied minors applying for asylum. Their administration has begun to revalue the ages of the minors as adults without any new age assessment. Asylum-seeking minors who first have been recognized as minors have, after several months in the asylum process, suddenly received a letter in which they are given a new age. Previous decisions of age, often taken through an age assessment procedure by a physician or medical staff
are suddenly erased and replaced by a new age, without either an assessment or inquiry. Several of the youngsters have also received same new birth date, namely 920101 (My translation).

The letter also reveals another new trend by the Border police, in which the police officers arrive at the transit accommodation and at sight notify the rejection of the asylum application, then bring the minors to the airport where the Deportation flight awaits. This practice does not only deprive the minors of the opportunity to prepare themselves and say goodbye, but also their right to appeal the juridical decision to any Migration court.

Both these trends, I will argue, expose the space of included exclusion. As the practices of the Swedish Migration board and the Border police, violate both international law and formal Swedish policies of procedure, they both reproduce and depend on the articulation of the ‘irregular’ subject as not holding ‘the right to have rights’. Most likely it would never be accepted if a Swedish citizen was refused her claimed aged without an assessment, nor to ignore the fundamental principle of the right to appeal legal decisions. Hence, one could argue the ‘irregular’ minors to be situated in a ‘zone of indistinction’, where as Agamben phrased it, the principle of “everything is possible” is current (Agamben 2010: p 95, my translation).

8.1.1 Deportation, detention and spaces of "deportability"
One day we were sitting in Möllan. Amir had borrowed a bike from a friend but as he tried to unlock it, the key broke into two pieces. We took the bike and tried to carry it with us back to the friend. Then I saw a Swedish guy look at me and I looked back. Next minute he stands with a phone, and I felt it in my stomach how he was calling the police. I told Amir we should get on a bus. Suddenly a black car faced us and out came the police. I was trying to run but I had no time. They arrested us and checked my ID-card from Migration board, the computer showed that they had wanted to send me for a year (Ali).

The minor telling this story was taken custody the same night, but as the details about the broken bike were clarified all criminal charges were dropped. The ‘illegal staying’ however, still remained. As Ali was recognized as a minor in the system, the police did not put him in detention. Instead they told Ali he had to register once a week at the Police station to confirm his presence in Malmö. Concurrently, they could inform him when the new date of deportation was set. The police in command guaranteed that Ali would be notified prior to this date, and that nothing would be conducted until he confirmed the decision. Although, a couple of weeks later, Ali recalls;

A Monday morning I was in the line at the station, and then unexpectedly I see four enormous officers surrounding me asking if I was Ali. They said there was problem, and that I had to go with them. In another room they showed me the ticket (Ali).
Ali was put in detention the same night. The flight was booked for 6 AM the morning after. He was neither allowed to say goodbye to his friends nor to bring any personal belongings. Later, in the report the measure of detention was legally justified with an accusation of criminal actions based on the bicycle incident. According to Ali he was not allowed an interpreter during the interrogation, although he could not understand the papers he was signing when he accepted the decision of deportation.

This narrative does not solely expose the procedures of the deportation but furthermore the production of the ‘naked body’ of the subject in ‘irregularity’. Firstly, the story highlights the dual essence of deportation, as a method to remove non-citizens and non-wanted individuals from the territory, simultaneously as it targets a subject outside the protection of the law. Secondly, the treatment by the border police illuminate a conduct framing Ali, the subject as non-political and ‘rightless’, as no interpreter was provided although it is statutory. Furthermore, verbal guarantees were broken and detention implemented on forged grounds as the bicycle charges previous was dropped. Finally, solely the fact that a minor is placed in detention, locked in with no accusation, no trial and no referee of time, constitute extraordinary practices, as they violate many of the articles of the CRC. The absences of both moral and legal principles are according to Diken & Bagge Laustsen (2005; p 41) highly characteristic for the ‘camp’, where the state of exception becomes materialized, a state they argue is “no longer a historical anomaly but the nomos of the contemporary social space” (Diken & Bagge Laustsen 2005: 5).

According to the theories of the autonomy of migration, both deportation and detention needs to be analyzed as a form of what Foucault calls Govermentality, and recognized as a socialized practice, aiming to remove socially unwanted categories of individuals (Walters 2010; p 83-98) Secondly, as the State neither want nor could completely prevent people to move across its borders, the main concern with the deportation thus turns to demonstrate a control of its border, rearticulating a sovereign power of the state as it creates a distinction of a ‘inside’ and ‘outside’, the citizen and ‘the other’. Hence, deportation reproduces in its very essence the territorial Nation-state system (Cornelisse 2010; 114-116).

As well as for adults, one of the most central mechanisms rendering the space of ‘irregularity’ concerning the minors is undoubtedly the risk of forcibly being deported. The fear and constant risk structures the everyday life of the minor in ‘irregularity’ in multiple ways,
regulating the socio-spatial relations and mobility of the person. As already shown in multiple studies, a sense of being constantly watched is created, producing an anxiety about public spaces which “functions as a disciplining mechanism” (Khosravi 2001; p 91) and further translates to a feeling of alienation and isolation. Or as De Genova has phrased it;

In deportation the whole totalizing regime of Citizenship and alienage, belonging and deportability, entitlement and rightlessness, is deployed against particular persons in a manner that is, in the immediate practical application, irreducibly if not irreversibly individualizing (De Genova 2010; 34-35).

Accordingly, one of the most recurring themes in my discussions with the minors has been a fear of the border police, and of being targeted for expulsion. As one of the minors revealed in a recorded discussion;

You are not free to do whatever you want. Not like the others. We are scared to go outside, we are scared of the police (Hassan).

Also, how the spatial relations are regulated is confirmed by another minor saying how he “mostly plays football on Playstation. It’s inside so it’s better” (Ismael).

Concurrently, many of the minors spend a lot of time inside, and out in the public they calculate the streets in which they plan to move, and constantly stays alert of any suspicious activities around them.

‘Deportability’ is also reproduced by the measures of deportation as it affects the friends and families left in the country. Hence, the deportation of Ali concerned the minors left in the city, and during the weeks that followed many became more isolated. As Ismael confirmed; “When he was taken I was afraid. All the boys were. No one would go by bike anymore” (Ismael).

As also shown by Khosravi, the state of deportability renders the rhythm of the notion of time. As an example he refer to one of his informants explaining how he despise weekdays as “Mondays represented ‘moving forward, while he just ‘remained in the same point’” (Khosravi 2011; 91). Regarding the minors this becomes apparent in how many of them stay awake during the night and sleep during the day, which also needs to be put in relation to syndromes of PTSD (Posttraumatic Stress Disorder). As Dr Ess, a very engaged and involved psychiatrist at the Child and youth psychiatry department in Malmö (BUP) explains in my discussions;
Some of the young men do not attend school. They sleep in daytime instead of the night. This is a common reaction, during the night all the fears, all the nightmares appear (Dr Ess).

Finally, according to Dr Ess, the overall insecurity constructed within the ‘irregularity’ also affects the health and personal development of minors’, especially unaccompanied;

Today, we know that a long-long stay in a stressful situation characterize and affects the body, mind and soul. Minors are in a need of security, for their psycho-social development. They are in need of adults who care for them and love them. If a child does not feel desired, it affects this person and her trust towards adults, which is important. If they lack this security it will be harder for them later in life, especially within close relationships, to have trust in others (Dr Ess).

The psychological and health costs are also confirmed by the experienced of Ali. One year after the deportation he’s still suffering from both anguish of being caught, erasing time done in the process of ‘irregularity’, as well as stomach pains;

Of course you become scared when the police catch you. I was waiting a long time, and then it was all erased, like that. That day, they broke my hope and my heart. And that day I got my stomach pains, and since then I have had them. It’s black life. (Ali)

As the last story expose, ‘deportability’ is also racialised experienced, telling us that being deported, put in detention and feelings of hopelessness is equal to “black life”. I will return to this in the next passage.

In interpreting deportation as a demonstrating method, one also ought to reflect on above violence as demonstrative. Both the practice of deportation, detention and the construction of ‘deportability’ thus could be analyzed in relation to what Agamben, with reference to Walter Benjamin, conceptualize as pure violence (reine Gewalt). In the state of exception, Agamben argues, the logic of violence as a mean to establish the juridical order becomes dissolved. Instead the pure violence rule, working not for the law, but autonomous as a manifestation reestablishing the Sovereignty (Agamben 2003: 93, 2010: 78-79).

During the time this study was conducted, the structures of ‘deportability’ in relation to the minors in Malmö were additionally fortified. In June media reported that a new border police project had been launched in Malmö aiming to make the Swedish deportation policies more “effective”, with a new police patrol called ‘Möllevångspatrullen’ (SVT 2011-05-26, DN 2011-05-25). The core purpose of the patrol was to find “illegals” by search, public tips and raids at job sites. Also, according to the asylum rights activists I have talked to, the police
presence and their methods of ID-identification has been stepped up. Consequently, many of the minors as well as people engaged have been significant affected and more precautious in their actions. According to the minors, most of them now try to avoid the streets of Möllevången, and strategic creations have been introduced such as going with fake identification.

The launching of the special police force obviously exposes the ‘naked body’ of the subject of ‘irregularity’ in Malmö. Needless to say, a special police force targeting solely a ‘category’ of individuals, asking the public for information in their search strikingly resemble other more well-known surveillance projects in the history of the 20th century. Either if the ‘category’ is composed of jews, communists, HBTQ-persons or individuals holding "harmful attitudes", this kind of police practice always depend on a subject that is discursively recognized as ‘apolitical’, as holding no ‘right to have rights’, whom “one could kill without murder being committed” (Agamben 2010: p 95, my translation). Altogether this confirms what Benjamin has expressed, and referred to by multiple scholars in Critical theory:

The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the ‘state of emergency’ in which we live is not the exception but the rule (Benjamin 1940; VIII).

8.1.2 Structures of racism, xenophobia and the border gaze

[Interview; Hassan]

We are walking at the sidewalk when a gang of guys approach us. They are drinking, too much. They ask what I am doing here, in this city. I said I live here. Then they break a bottle and we start to run (Hassan).

[Interview; Moa]

When we arrived with a letter of referral to the X-ray department we first met with the receptionist. Very quickly it became clear that she treated us different, she was cold and uninterested. Suddenly, when she was going to register Ismael’s social security number, she outburst “excuse me, but what is this? This belongs to an infant! Do you mean he’s only a month old? This number belongs to someone else!” When I tried to explain how this was the number Ismael had received based on the date of first contact with asylum health center, as praxis with ‘irregular’ patients, she quickly responded “No he is not in the computer. The number belongs to an infant”. I called the center myself to confirm, and when it was done I asked the receptionist to call them. She agreed and in the phone, as with a switch her voice transformed to polite, telling the person on the other end, extremely nicely, that she was with “a man and a women”, only to underline her awareness of that this was ‘absolutely not a child’. In the moment she repeated the number in the phone, we both noticed how she had mistaken the order of the numbers. Then she quickly excused herself in the phone; “Ooh, wait, now I see, we must have made a mistake here” (Moa).
Both these scenes illuminate incidents of racism and xenophobia prevailing in the everyday life of the minors. The rude behavior of the receptionist and the violent acts of the group of youngsters must be interpreted as sprung in the same colonial and racist logic of ‘we’ and ‘them’, in which the latter is articulated in the nowadays well explored analogies of ‘the other’, i.e. as threats, criminals, non-civilized, uncultured, unmoral, and so on (Loomba 2008; 65-66, Nandy 2002; 179).

Furthermore, the remarks by the receptionist do not only demonstrate a suspiciousness often articulated in the terms of the ‘bogus’ asylum-seekers, but in addition, when it comes to minors, as ‘lying adult men’ (see Khosravi 2006; 301, Sager 2011; p 38). This poses a common racist articulation that one could argue legitimizes the mentioned age assessment measures in contemporary Swedish migration policy, in which age turns highly arbitrary. This articulation however, is simply a slighter path in the hostile discourses developed in the western hegemonies surrounding the issue of asylum and migration the last thirty years. As shown by multiple scholars, the ‘securitization’ of migration has taken enormous dimensions in contemporary global politics, animating both refugees and other migrants as terrorists, criminals, or nothing less than, to use a Arendt phrase ‘the scum of the earth’, a prior threat and enemy to both modern society and humanity (Bigo 2011; 121-140, Buzan, Waever, & Wilde, 1998; 25-26, Huysmans 2000, 755ff, Bigo & Guild 2005).

Undeniably, securitization, racism and xenophobia renders the spaces and sites of ‘irregularity’ in Malmö and produce notions of hospitality, suspicion, distrust, categorization and what has been called a ‘psychological invisibility’ in which the individual that is targeted by it get difficulties to feel valued and acknowledged as a person (Anderson J. Franklin, 2000).

As my theoretical framework implies, racism must further be read as a foundation in the structures of the ‘irregularity’ and as substrates in the reign of biopower. The construction of ‘irregularity’, localized between an exclusion and inclusion, is a production, in what Tesfahuney and Dahlstedt calls the “racialised biopolitical paradigm of modernity” (Tesfahuney and Dahlstedt 2008; 173). Racism is not only institutionalized but moreover a key component in the modern global order, as the biopolitical production, as well as the state of exception only could occur and be justified within racialised articulations of ‘security’ and
‘threats’, of a ‘us’ and the ‘enemy’, of a ‘we’ and ‘them’ in which the former, since the modern Nation-state formation and colonization mostly has concerned white privileged men (Tesfahuney and Dahlstedt 2008; 173ff, Duffield 2007; 184ff).

This imbued racism, the State’s expanded space for extraordinary measures based on the institution of threats and terrorism, becomes partly exposed by a sidetrack of Ali’s testimony of the sequences of his deportation. From the moment inside the car with the police, Ali recalls;

They said that if they see a group with more than three people with black hair they always check, and that they have the right to check our wallets, in case we are making bombs. I said to them “aha that’s why, because we are black, you arrested us. There are many people here with a bike but you arrested us”.

Moreover, as Khosravi points out, the reign of borders also embodies invisible borders present in people’s mind and is “as intractable as the visual ones, and the wounds they inflict no less real” (Khosravi 2011; p 75). As the individual’s visual field and perspectives always are biased, one of these borders is what Khosravi calls the ‘border gaze’, which he argues is highly gendered, racialised and class dependent, marking immigrants for decades as ‘not belonging’. As also brilliantly illuminated by Fanon, this racialised and gendered gaze is a product of the colonial logic, fixing the otherness, and reproduces the identity of the west. Frequently within these articulations, the intellectual of the black man and women are diminished (Fanon 1997; 44, Khosravi 2011; p 72-80)

The border gaze, I would say is visual in both the receptionist behavior as well as in the treatment of Ali by the border police, as the minors are treated as non-intellectual, non-political agents, as the receptionist never even turned to Ismael to ask him questions. Furthermore is it visual in the notion of Ali ‘feeling it’ in his stomach that the man on the street called the police before he was arrested.

8.1.3 Precarity & Poverty

Another key aspect in the ‘irregularity’ which has been clear during the fieldwork is the constantly presence of uncertainty. The stress of ‘not knowing’ is frequently recurring in my conversations with the minors, and serves as a major contribution to the precarious location. This uncertainty is generally produced by the border police, the asylum institutions, and the highly dynamic elements of the migration policies, constantly creating arbitrary and random outcomes. Questions which circulate among the minors surround the topics of the future, the
chances for a legal permission to stay, possible appeals, potential rejections and expulsions. Dr Ess explains in one of my interviews how the sites of uncertainty are highly violent towards a youth’s personal health development;

The stress affects and reproduces the ‘Posttraumatic Stress Disorder’ they already experience. They have problems to sleep and concentrate, are constantly on the guard, and dream nightmares. There is no peaceful situation laying ground for a normal development (Dr Ess).

Put together, the notions of uncertainty create a presence of alienation and rootlessness. All of the minors I have talked to emphasize how they often feel restless, and how the every day is animated in monotonic patterns. As Ali reveals;

Sometimes you are sad; sometimes you are happy, all the days are the same. What I do today, I will do tomorrow. There is no change. I would like to live here but I do not know how. Every minute we say “we hope so”. I like Malmö, but they don’t want me. If you have documents, then I guess you consider it as your home. I do not regard Malmö as my home (Ali).

Furthermore, and an extra dimension rendering the space of ‘irregularity’ is the absence of economic security. As the minors obviously are not subjects for any social welfare otherwise aiming to protect citizens, the minors involved in this study becomes deeply marked by poverty. As the minors indeed want to attend school during daytime the options of labor turns minimal.

Furthermore, as the issue of ‘clandestine asylum seekers’ is articulated in discourses of illegality, criminalization and securitization, not many institutions or NGO’s offer social or economic support to non-status migrants. Often the subject is regarded as a ‘hot’ topic and in its essence a contradiction and opposition to state-centric, state-dependant ‘formal’ politic. If any organizations are dependant on State funding or cooperation, I will argue, they seldom wish to engage in the issue of ‘irregular’ migrants, even though they mostly recognize the severe situation in lack of fundamental rights. The consequence leaves the economy of the minors to depend on the good will of single individuals in personal relationships, which also constitute the small budget of the Asylum group Malmö, which is divided among many families in ‘irregularity’. For instance, three minors living with different support people, receive in sum an amount of 2000 SEK per month, or 666 SEK per person, 22 SEK per day. This has to cover food, clothes and in some cases rent.
Consequently, the everyday life of the minors is strongly rendered by poverty, and as shown in multiple studies, class aspects interfere and penetrate most of the multiple sites in a person’s life. Among youngsters, the school naturally turns a key target. As such, one day I met with one of the minors as he had not attend school for a couple of days. He explained to me;

I did not go because the teacher said we had to bring stuff for this special day, like a cake, and 50 kronor. I do not have that, so I did not go (Abdi).

**8.2 Performing spaces, Acts of inclusion**

I have an experience with a boy I actually met before he went ’clandestine’, and it is fascinating because he actually feel better today than before. Of course factors of stress are still present but anyhow... He suddenly found himself in a good situation where he lives with two engaged young people that support him. And in the moment he escaped he received help to find school, clothes, and contacts to sport organizations. Now I see him laugh, before you only saw a hood. It’s nice to see how he now acts as a ‘normal’ boy, with laugh and play, and with activities as any other boy (Dr Ess).

As my theoretical framework implies, social networks indeed function as a major resource in the movement of migration (Khosravi 2011; 50-51, Rodriguez 1996). Accordingly, and as I have tried to illuminate with above narrative; since the first contact was established between the departed minors and the Asylum group, a broad local network has been developed. Within the locations of Malmö, different actors has been drawn in and engaged to support the minors in their position of ‘irregularity’.

The actors involved are semi-roots actors in their professions, such as principals, teachers, doctors, psychiatrists, priests, imams, lawyers, football-managers, dancing and martial arts instructors, and many more. Oftentimes are the actors the same as the sites, e.g. the school, hospital, church, mosque or the dance house. All composed, I argue these actors construct an essential web of support, and by their acts and interactions, such as teaching, healthcare, juridical advices, dance instructions, etc, a *space of inclusion* is performed.

Furthermore, as many of these acts persistently transgress social, political and formal norms and procedures, these acts could be read as acts of interruption, in ‘the given’ or in ‘what fits’. They collectively, constitute a resistance to the mechanisms of control constructed by the State and border control actor’s. As this inclusion constantly is reproduced, the acts are also not just resisting, but as well constituting. The acts must therefore be interpreted as a
deterritorializing force, within the ‘battle of the borders’, making autonomous movements within the city possible, challenging the very logic of State Sovereignty.

The actors and acts mentioned, in the margin of professions and the multiple sites in nexus to these are however not the only ones important. Within the sites of Malmö, fundamental for the web and the opening of inclusionary spaces, as stated by Dr Ess, are the engaged people in the close surrounding, providing beds, food and most essential a ‘care’ and security.

These actors become involved in multiple manners. Frequently it is through actors involved within mentioned network, other times it is friends and families. Dr Berg recalls;

When F was going to be deported I called Sumaya whom I worked with before, and I asked her ‘what to do’? I remember her reply clearly; ‘tell him to go out and wait on the street and I will pick him up’ (Dr Berg).

Supplementary to the other actors, I also want to argue, organizations such as the Asylum group, at times play a key part to establish contact surfaces between the actors involved, and especially between the minors, the support people and the web of semi-grassroots actors. Another function of the Asylum group is to provide knowledge, experience and a ‘sense of easiness’, making the web able to expand and grow.

The most essential actors in the network are naturally the minors, as all their acts could be interpreted as deterritorializing. From the very moment they escaped and ‘ran’ from the border police, their acts will be fundamentally in resistance to the territorializing ‘fixing’ forces, finding alternative options to behave and live, as the border, or the border police, did not exist. As one of the minors stated in an interview;

I know how to live hidden and ‘illegal’. I know how to live exactly the same as the people. I have know many things, and seen many things in Europe, and often I surprise myself. Sometimes I forget I do not have the documents (Ali).

Furthermore, I understand the moment when these acts are initiated as the moments the subjects that doesn’t hold ”the right to have rights”, transform themselves to claimants of rights. All their acts, as attending school, entering the hospital, going shopping, applying for work, buying food, contain a claim of multiple regular rights and freedoms, established within the ‘UDHR’ or the ‘CRC’, such as the right to education, healthcare and association - rights which the State do not offer. As an activist within the Asylum group declared;”It’s interesting to see how the minors claim rights they otherwise would not have possessed” (Maria).
Moreover, only because the minors are forced ‘clandestine’; these claims are not always silent or hidden. Many of the minors involved in this study have on multiple occasions chosen to attend media events and used their functions, even if they are anonymously, to highlight their situation and rights in public. For instance, in a radio interview, Hassan turns to the Swedish people;

We would like that the Swedish society would see us and support us. If not the government want to help us, we ask the Swedish people to (Hassan).

In other occasions the minors have in radio, television and in the newspapers claimed their rights to asylum, healthcare and education, but noteworthy often also to a future. Also in radio, another boy state “I would like to think about a future, but we have none” (Ismael).

In addition, the minors have also done public claims by attending demonstrations and manifestations. All together, these acts must be understood as directly challenging the structures framing the non-status group as apolitical agents, mystic and hidden.

Within my theoretical framework I will in forthcoming study try to illuminate some of the strategies developed within the ‘borderland’. However, it is crucial to understand that most central to these strategies is a juridical matter: aiming to obtain a Permanent permission to stay in the country. As most of the minors in this study are sorted under the Dublin II regulation, one strategy is thus to stay ‘clandestine’ in a period of 18 months, as the rules of the regulation then unauthorize transfer by the second country to the first country of contact. Hence, after 18 months the Swedish migration board is compelled to process the minors’ asylum applications, opening up for an opportunity for the minors to receive a legal permission to stay. This always has to be considered in analyzes of the structures of the ‘irregular’ minors in Malmö, as time turns crucially valued.

Another noteworthy strategy, I will argue, lies within the ways the minors dress and prioritize their money, as they as any other teenagers are very concerned about their clothes and appearance. One day I met with two of the minors involved in this study after they just had received their monthly pocket money. Both of them had bought brand new shoes out of the whole monthly sum. Usually this could seem rather trivial, but in relation to the subject position of ‘irregularity’ this becomes a significant matter to consider. First of all, by the act of dressing ‘trendy’, as any other youngster, the non-status minors’ claims an identity outside the ones constructed within the spaces of ‘irregularity’. By trendy clothes, the minors
intentionally or not, dress ‘normal’, and they dress ‘visual’, and taken further they dress ‘political’. I argue this dressing becomes a defiance to what Malkki (1995; p 498ff) and Khosravi (2011; p70-75) have discussed as educated ‘refugeeness’, as preconceptions and expectations within the international refugee and asylum reign, requires forced migrants to act, dress and speak in specific ways. The ‘camp’ thus produces ‘refugeeness’ as a mode of being or an identity. As Khosravi puts it in his auto-ethnographic analyze of his own experiences; “I was educated to become a ‘victim’ (Khosravi 2011; 71). Evidently, by brand new shoes, the minors dress as non-victims.
8.2.1 Acts in the margin

A weekend in June, I and two activists within the Asylum group drove Ibrahim to Stockholm. On the city central station we picked up another young boy Yosuf. The purpose was to bring the boys to a summer camp outside Stockholm. A couple of weeks earlier one of the activists, Kajsa, had called the camp project manager, asking if they could make an exception for the boys, regarding the regularly required social security number (personnummer) as well as the camp fee of 6000 SEK. Kajsa recalls; “They said that this was exactly what they would like to support in reference to the organizations guidelines”.

After a couple of days Ibrahim send us a SMS message saying; “Hey friends! I am so happy! There are many fun things to do here. I have met a lot of friends and everyone is very kind. We have discussed many things, as how we should treat each other, the Swedish language and music. We also played. The camp is great! “

Out of this narrative one can identify a series of what I refer to as acts of inclusion, as well as the different actors behind. Firstly, the acts of Kajsa driving the car, as well as the initiative of establishing a contact with the camp management; can be seen as acts aiming to open up a space of inclusion. Secondly, the helpful response by the camp administration to make an exception in the registration of the social security number, as well as submitting the camp places for free, could be interpreted as inclusive acts and interruptions in ‘what fits’. Thirdly, and definitely primary, the initiatives of Ibrahim and Yosuf to go and participate in the summer camp, could be seen as acts of inclusion as well as claims of rights and freedoms such as the right to relax and play, freedom of association, and the right to a regular youth. Out of the theories of autonomous migration this whole event prove agency, undoubtedly directly challenging the borders and boundaries constituting ‘irregularity’.

In addition, one could understand the trip to Stockholm as a claim by the minors. As I have previously tried to illuminate how the structures of control contain mechanisms restricting the spatial relations and mobility of non-status persons, the decisions of the boys to go to Stockholm must be seen as resistance to these and thus contains a claim of the right to mobility. As Dr Ess stated this becomes an important part in the health situation of the minors;

We used to emphasize that it’s very important to be outside. So we always go out on our meetings, to play pool, volleyball, to be out, as it’s crucial to break the notion of being imprisoned and to stimulate the social life (Dr Ess).

Moreover, it would be interesting to deeper analyze the dynamics created at the camp between the participators, as a group in which, as highlighted by Ibrahim; friendship and communion are created. Within this context, the creation of friendship could be interpreted as a practice of
inclusion and resistance to the social mechanisms that aim to produce a social distinction between ‘irregular’ and ‘regular’ citizens.

In similar logic as the narrative of the summer camp, one could understand the following story told by Mohammed, regarding football training;

Moa told me she had spoken with a football team in which I could start. So I went, and started to train, even though I did not know anyone. After the third time the coach asked me whom I was. I asked if he did not know Moa but he had forgotten. Then he told me I was welcomed to start practice there regularly (Mohammed).

As this story also illluminate a number of acts and actors involved in the spaces of inclusion, such as the activist and the coach, it also shows an example of the everyday acts of inclusion that is initiated by the minors. Small and routine initiatives and decisions that easily could be ignored as trivial, in sum indeed play an essential part in the construction of belonging. A similar example is Abdi who practices break-dance once every week. The invitation came from a local dance house, asking if any of the boys was interested in break-dance. Today more than four minors regularly visit the dance house.

Out of my fieldwork observations, I argue these everyday initiatives, taken by the minors, to participate in spare time activities are of a great importance in constituting the spaces of inclusion and belonging. These could furthermore be read as strategies of resistance responding to the stress produced by the structures of ‘irregularity’. One of the boys partly confirm this by saying “When I play football I don’t think, and that’s good” (Ismael).

8.2.2 Acts of Citizenship, claims of healthcare and education

In the late autumn of 2010 one of the boys, Hassan complained to his contact person within the Asylum group about stomach aches and Maria went with him to the local health center for asylum seekers, but as the medical personal could not draw any conclusion, they scheduled another appointment at the hospital of Malmö.

After different examinations, advanced gastroscopic scans and multiple tests the manifold doctors still could not define the causes behind the pain. For almost one week Hassan spend the nights at the hospital’s isolation department. During this time he had daily visits by his friends. The doctor’s suspicion was telling us it was stomach tuberculosis, but as Hassan had been in contact with lung tuberculosis in Malta, the doctor could not for sure confirm the diagnosis. As a result, Hassan was asked to stop eating solid food and only drink nutrition replacements for at least 12 weeks while a long time examination was conducted. During the entire period of time the nutrition drinks as well as the medicine was provided by the hospital. The regular costs at the pharmacies were avoided by providing the drinks and medicine at the hospital. Hassan reflects upon his treatment; “They were very kind, I almost got everything I asked for” (Hassan).
After twelve weeks the doctors could confirm the diagnosis of stomach tuberculosis and a formula for a 6 months treatment was prescribed. Every week Hassan was asked to visit the hospital to collect his medicine. Not once did he pay the actual costs.

After this the Asylum group Malmö established contacts between the hospital and the minors multiple times. Most of the times there have been few obstacles to receive treatment and provided medicine.

According to Swedish law ‘irregular’ minors shall receive healthcare equal to the one offered to citizen minors, if they at one occasion have been registered as an asylum seeker. Nevertheless, the minors are not included in the paragraphs guaranteeing high cost protection (högkostnadsskydd) concerning medicine, making it possible for citizens living in poverty to afford the otherwise expensive medicine. As a result, few minors or families in ‘irregularity’ can afford long-time treatment as the one that was given Hassan, nor any treatment involving high expensive medicine, including penicillin. Undoubtedly, this could be interpreted as one of the most exclusionary mechanisms concerning healthcare for non-status families and minors.

Furthermore, as many of persons in ‘irregularity’ has expressed a fear of going to the hospitals regarding potential border police, the access to healthcare both among minors as well as for adults becomes limited in practice.

As Hassan’s statements tell us, these mechanisms of control are not always that efficient on a local level. The experienced hospitality among the nurses and the doctors made Hassan feel comfortable to even overnight at the hospital for almost a week. In addition, regarding the medicine and the high cost treatment, the hospital medical staff bypassed the routine procedures, which enabled the treatment of Hassan to not be limited by economic issues. This bypass, I argue, must be seen as an interruption in the order of ‘what fits’ in the sites of the hospital. In addition, the initiative by Hassan of seeking healthcare must be understand, within similar logic, as a defiance of the structures of ‘deportability’. The act of staying at the hospital for one week must thus be interpreted as a claim of the right to healthcare, a claim that indirectly was supported by his friends’ daily visits. Taken further, one can understand these visits as a resistance operated in communion by the minors, as many of the visitors lived ‘irregular’.
It is however important to make known that not every contact between the hospital medical staff and the minors have been as positive as the one mentioned. Many times the provided medicine turns out to be a problem and not always is it provided. Hence, even if much of the spaces of inclusion are performed in the coactions of multiple actors at local scales, it concurrently turns the access to rights highly arbitrary.

The same logic also concerns another major right of the minors, namely the right to education. In the end of 2009 when the network in focus started to take shape, the endeavors to find school was still fairly unsuccessful. In a radio recording one of the activists in the Asylum group recalls;

It took a long time, much longer than we had expected. At last we found a school. Most of the argument against was a shortage in resources (Andreas).

However, according to Anders, a very involved principal, the structures and actors behind the absence of education for the non-status minors are not only constituted by economy or the law. He claims, as this group of minors is relatively small in number the economic impact is moderately notable and the obstacles of providing the education are fairly few. A more possible reason behind the exclusion, he illuminates, is the discursive articulations of ‘clandestine’ persons;

I would like to see the law changed. But furthermore,’ clandestine’ minors need to be normalized. There is a mystified picture of clandestine persons as sitting in a basement hiding, as ‘illegals’. This needs to be confronted and reshaped, because this group does not apart from any other group with a difficult social situation. And the schools task is to accommodate and deal with all kinds of different needs. Clandestine minors shouldn’t be seen as extraordinary. It needs to be visualized. It is not difficult to provide this education. Most of the people I talk to are absolutely supporting the idea of education to all minors. But I guess some are frightened (Anders).

The exclusionary structures in the sites of education for non-status minors are in other words further shaped the image of the ‘clandestine’ minors as mystic and ‘illegal’. The hegemonic discursive articulations of migrants and refugees as criminals, thus going straight down from a global scale to the local, penetrating the sites of education, subsequently affect the ‘irregular’ minor’s health and future development.

After the contact was established with Anders, the minors were placed in different classes after their ability. When I asked him to reflect on the often heard argument that non-citizens should not receive citizen rights, he replied;
First of all, we need to see to the CRC. We need to primary see to the child and the best interest of the child. Second, our task, and the essential principle of the school system is to provide education, and to make sure it reaches all children. You must separate this from their decision of expulsion by the Migration board. That, we have nothing to do with! (Anders)

Notably, with a resemblance to the common arguments of medical personal for the right to healthcare of non-status migrants (see http://www.vardforpapperslosa.se), the principal puts the professional ethics in front of the decision of expulsion. Consequently, today most of the minors hold a seat in a school class. If they later receive a permission to stay, the classes taken can be translated into formal grades and a high school certificate.

In the same rationale as in the analysis of Hassan’s hospital experience, one must interpret the minors attendance in school as a claim of the right to education, a right most of the minors declare as fundamental and significant;

Before I arrived to Sweden I only wanted to work. But now I want to go to school, I want an education. You must have an education. I want to be a doctor, but it is very hard… so maybe a nurse. (Mohammed)

In addition, the function and importance of the Swedish language very often are mentioned in the analysis of the minors. As Abdi states; “It’s important to learn the language, to learn Swedish, in order to learn other things” (Abdi).

According to Dr Ess the school also plays a significant part for the minors’ personal development. Not only does it offer a social environment, but it also affects the rhythm of time;

The school is very important as it provides a structure to the day, a start, pauses, and an end. There is food. There are other young people and there are adults who are there for and care about the minors. There is activity, another thing to think about, a task (Dr Ess).

The statement of Dr Ess is also confirmed by Ismael, who reflects on the function of the school in one of our discussions;

It is a good thing. Because when you wake up in the morning it's good to have something to do. It is better, you feel normal (Ismael).
8.2.3 Irregularity and social media

I met a guy on Facebook that used to live in my old neighborhood in Mogadishu, and he told me he still lived there. He knew my mother, so I asked him to get her phone number. A couple of days later he had it. Then I had not talked to my mother sense I left (Hassan).

Most of the minors involved in this study spend a lot of time on the internet using social media as Facebook, Msn and Youtube. Most of them are constantly online, available for chat conversations, and frequently updating their status messages, a highly visual activity. The minors are also continuously posting links to other websites, often concerning “youth” topics – as friendship and music. However as interruptions in the flow, topics occur revealing a longing nostalgia and care towards the country of birth, often showing a desire for peace and stability. Even reflections about other political topics as the securitization of Muslims, or asylum right reflections occasionally are posted. For instance Ali posted following link on Facebook, taken from a national TV-site;

Somali parents can no longer get their children to Sweden. A verdict in the High Court of Migration last year created a Catch-22, which means that Sweden currently does not comply with CRC (TV4).

Out of my theoretical framework, one could interpret the internet as a site where acts of inclusion or acts of visibility can be initiated. As the sites of internet generally are not structured by territorial borders, these sites open up for activities not necessary marked by ‘irregularity’. The imbued logic of restrained visibility in the (reality) everyday life turns within social media invalid. Hence, the minors, by these media safely could express themselves politically and socially in the ‘public’ domain.

As social media obviously ease the communication of the minors, within the locations of Malmö, but also between friends and families around the world, the internet becomes of a additional great importance and open up for unexpected options. The mechanism within ‘reality’ aiming to control the socio-spatial relations among ‘irregularity’ turns ineffective and becomes challenged, as platforms of social networking and friendship are allowed to be created autonomously. As family and friends relations can be established and obtained, crucial for the minors’ notions of security and love, the sites of internet further work as resistance to exclusionary structures of isolation and alienation. This is not only confirmed by the introducing story of Hassan but also by his friend Ismael who states; “My brother does not have Facebook but I chat with him on MSN”.

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In addition, Ismael highlights the role of social media as a major part in the contemporary domain of the autonomy of migration, sustaining contacts and provides information in transnational scales;

It was 120 persons in the same boat with me going from Libya to Malta. Now most of them have left Malta and are today all over Europe. Still, I have contact with many of them on Facebook. They write and ask how’s everything is going? If I got papers, how I experience Sweden (Ismael).
9. Summary and conclusion

In addition to the body of literature focusing on the nexuses between ‘deportability’, economy, the labor market and Citizenship in Sweden, recently researchers have begun to highlight how these spaces becomes structured by race and gender, for instance in regards to families (Sager 2011). Also interesting work has been done in order to localize the experience of non-status children, even though these studies mostly have concern children in families (Vestin 2008). However, few initiatives have yet been taken in Sweden within the field of Forced migration to explore the topic of youth in ‘irregularity’, and especially not regarding minors that sustain unaccompanied. This study is an endeavor to put this subject on the map, even though time and volume limitations has not allowed for enough deep analysis. However, during the time of my fieldwork numerous interesting and interdisciplinary questions for future research have appeared, mostly formulated by my co-researchers, such as ‘how are phases in the personal development such as the identity formation among young people shaped by structures of ‘irregularity’?’ Are ‘irregular’ minors in need of extra social and pedagogic support in the sites of education in order to respond to their social situation? Which is the major part of social media in the autonomous aspects of migration among young people?

As the group of unaccompanied and separated minors is drastically increasing\(^6\), the number of minors that will be forced into ‘irregularity’ will certainly rise. Hence, studies within the subject and questions as the above will be of greater weight and importance. Additionally, as European, and in general global migration and asylum policies become more restricted, critical studies of the subject, scrutinizing and illuminating the logic of these structures, and counter-stories, will be more necessary in the aim of emancipation.

In this study I have tried to show some of the multiple mechanisms rendering the spaces of ‘irregularity’ in the everyday life of minors living non-status in Malmö. However, I do not make any claims to have managed to grasp all these of importance, but hopefully, within the volume of this study, accomplished to illuminate a few. As such, with a departure in the theories of Arendt and Agamben, I have pointed at practices of deportation, deportability, xenophobia, poverty and precarity, and how these in interaction partly constitute a

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\(^6\) In the year of 2005 a total number of 398 unaccompanied minors applied for asylum in Sweden. In 2010 the same figure was 2393 (Migrationsverket Maj 2011).
subjectivity of ‘irregularity’, located between inclusion and exclusion. In addition, I have tried to highlight the way the production of this subject position is socially and political legitimized by discursive articulations of criminalization, securitization and racism, framing the person in ‘irregularity’ as a non-political actor, hence not able to hold ‘the right to have rights’. With narratives out of my ethnographic fieldwork, I have attempt to expose how these articulations and spaces are structured within sites as schools, hospitals, courts, streets, and maintained by numerous actors of local, national and transnational scale, such as the Swedish Border police, Migration board, Migration courts and not least the Swedish State and the EU. Furthermore, I have sought to highlight some of the consequences of the violence within these spaces for the minors, such as notions of fear, isolation, insecurity, paranoia and/or defections in the personal health development and identity formation.

On the other hand, I have sought to focus the moments claims of rights have been done by the minors, which I have tried to theorize as acts of interruption in ‘what fits’. Within this I have tried to illuminate different contexts where these acts are initiated and by which actors. Besides the prior part of the minors, I have put forward a social network in the surrounding, of semi grass-root actors in their professions, as well as support people and Asylum rights activists. I have argued this web and the minors in communion perform what I have chosen to call spaces of inclusion. Some of the claims I have focused are the ones within sites of (Human) rights, such as the right to healthcare and education, freedom of association, expression and mobility. Concurrently, by highlighting different local sites, as the school, hospital, football field etc, I have also tried to show strategies of claims, support, communication and visibility. As another example, I have highlighted how internet and social media play an interesting part in the resistance, offering sites much lesser structured by the structure of control within the spaces of ‘irregularity’. Out of the theories of the autonomous migration, I have argued these acts in interaction constitute a deterritorializing force, rejecting the practices and constructions of ‘irregularity’. Taken further, as these and the web of actors are active in a rationale resisting the borders of the Nation-state, these must be seen as movements challenging the very Sovereignty of the Nation-state system. Within the rationale of a new global Sovereignty, based on a racialised biopolitical paradigm, these local acts constitute a new shape of response to repressive control and inequalities, a resistance taken form in the “thousand plateaus”.

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