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TEMPORALITIES OF MIGRATION: TIME, DATA INFRASTRUCTURES AND INTERVENTION

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Abstract

The dissertation explores the intersections between the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities. Scholarship has widely discussed both the temporalities shaping migration infrastructures and the temporalities of the migration journey. On the one hand, the quest for acceleration (smart borders, time politics of asylum) and pre-emptive governance (databases, mapping-monitoring devices) emerged as the main temporal goals and temporal strategies through which regulating - and hampering - migrants' mobility. On the other hand, migrants' temporal experiences have been analyzed in terms of waiting, acceleration and deceleration, cyclicity and repetition. Less attention has been paid to enquire the mutual, constitutive interrelationships and frictions between these two sets of temporalities. To articulate these issues, the dissertation is divided in three main parts. First, I analyze the relation between acceleration and (non)knowledge production by focusing on the "accelerated procedures" for asylum. These procedures are applied to people whose asylum applications are deemed as suspicious and likely to be rejected. I argue that the shortened timeframes shaping these procedures are a tool for hindering asylum seekers' possibilities to collect and produce evidence supporting their cases, eventually facilitating and speeding up their removal for Member States' territory. Second, I analyze the encounters between migration management and border-crossers during the identification practices carried out the Hotspots and during the asylum process in terms of "temporal collisions". I develop the notion of "hijacked knowledge" to illustrate how these "temporal collisions" negatively affect border-crossers' possibilities of action, by producing a significant lack of knowledge and awareness about the procedures to which they are subjected and their temporal implications. With the concept of "reactive calibration", on the other hand, I suggest that once migrants become aware of the temporalities of control, they try to appropriate them by aligning their bodies, narrations and identities to those temporalities. The third part of the dissertation describes the situated intervention developed as part of my ethnographic activity. Drawing on participatory design, design justice and STS making and doing, I designed a role-playing game - *My documents, check them ou*t - seeking to involve border-crossers in the re-design of the categories usually deployed in migration management. The game was perceived by border-crossers as a learning activity and as a reflexive tool. However, the game proved to be a productive ethnographic device even when played by other actors (scholars, students, activists), as it allowed to reveal their knowledge and familiarity with the dynamics of migration management that are simulated by the game.

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“You were right”, said the master, amazed at Koroviev's efficiency, “when you said that once you remove the document, you remove the man as well. I no longer exist now - I have no papers.”

Mikhail Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*

Human beings are forms made out of Time – bodies that seem to be matter, but are no more than coagulated Time

Gustav Meyrink, *J. H. Obereits visits the Time-Leeches*

The Mulla Nasrudin walked into a shop one day.
The owner came forward to serve him.
“First things first,” said Nasrudin; “did you see me walk into your shop?”
“Of course”
“Have you ever seen me before?”
“Never in my life”
“Then how do you know it is me?”

Idries Shah, *The Sufis*

Introduction

On 29th June 2021 I was in Rimini to conduct interviews with three asylum seekers and refugees. The goal of the interview was to develop a "temporal map" describing their migration journey and then to single out, on the map, their encounters with migration authorities. I thus provided them with a mute map depicting Africa and Europe and I invited them to draw a line depicting their path from their country of origin to Italy. People were puzzled: they did not know where to locate Nigeria, and neither they could identify Italy on the map. As I was also unsure about the exact location of Nigeria, we checked Google Maps with a smartphone, so that we could finally trace the line representing their journey. Yet, while they could not locate their country nor the country in which they were currently living, they could tell me without any doubts the exact date in which they arrived in Italy as well as the dates of their interviews with the *Commissione Territoriale*, the Italian institution issuing international protection. In the second part of the interviews, we then started to identify, and to mark on the map, the moments in which they had to interact with migration management: they mentioned the process of being fingerprinted, the interviews with the asylum Commission, the decisions about their case. One of them also added "x-ray", and when I asked her why she thought about that moment in terms of encounter with migration authorities, she replied: "They checked us, they did X-ray because they said they want to check our body, if our bodies are ok. The journey we take was so long, they wanted to check". At the end of the interviews, the maps were completed: the x-axis listed the places they crossed (Nigeria, Niger, Lybia, Sicily, and then Bologna and Rimini); the y-axis referred to the span of time, usually from 2016 to 2021, covering their departure from Nigeria until the moment of those interviews. A line crossing the paper visualized, from a spatio-temporal perspective, their migration journey as well their encounters with migration authorities.

At that moment of my professional trajectory, a three-years PhD program, I had already decided to address the interactions between migrants and migration management from a temporal perspective. Yet, the vignette described above reinforced the reasons of my choice: while migrations are mostly and commonly conceived in terms of space, the three women were uncertain about their movements across different countries, but they could tell me very well the timeline of their migration trajectory. Moreover, a careful gaze at the maps also revealed a multiplicity of temporalities. The collection of fingerprints, for instance, can be understood as the overlapping, and possible clash, of two "temporalities of identity": a biological time, supposedly universal, and inscribed in a technical system, and a subjective and narrative time. Also, biometrics data like fingerprints allow creating links between the past and the present and thus to shift to other times: collected in the "here and now",

fingerprints are then compared with those stored in Eurodac, the digital database collecting asylum seekers' fingerprints, in order to find out whether people had *previously* entered the European territory. But fingerprints also extend into border-crossers' future possibilities of movement. Consider, for instance, the hypothetical scenario in which Amabel, one of the asylum seekers interviewed, had left Italy to reach some friends or relatives in France and then decided to lodge an asylum application there. In this case, the fingerprints collected in Sicily in 2016 would have been visible to the French authorities, and, due to the Dublin regulation, Amabel should have been brought back to Italy. In turn, this scenario raise other questions which will cross this dissertation: to what extent are border-crossers aware of the purposes for which their fingerprints are collected? More broadly, to what extent do they know the underlying goals and reasons of the controls and procedures to which they are subjected when arriving in Europe?

A similar proliferation of temporalities also characterizes the other encounters with migration management identified by the three participants: the asylum interview with the Territorial Commission and the decision about their cases. During the interviews with the asylum commission, border-crossers are asked to reveal the reasons and circumstances which led them to leave their countries. Their memories, and how such memories are framed and narrated, play then a crucial, decisive role in determining the issuing of the refugee status. Throughout the asylum process, time is also an important resource for asylum seekers, as it allows them to collect documents and evidence supporting their cases and to develop trust with the professional figures helping and supporting them. The temporal maps also revealed the repetitive, cyclical nature of the process for obtaining the asylum status. All the three women, as well as most of the people I met during my fieldwork, were initially denied the international protection by the Territorial Commission, they thus appealed the negative decision and were eventually granted the asylum status after a second interview with the Civil Court.

Lastly, the maps also emphasized the temporal and existential limbo lived by asylum seekers. From their arrival in Italy, they had to wait, on average, two or three years for their first asylum interview. In that period, some of them become mothers, they learnt Italian and found job, but yet they had to renovate, every six months, their provisional permit of stay.

Next to this multiplicity of temporalities, the temporal maps and the vignette also show the artefacts and technologies which increasingly shape migration control. As a matter of fact, in the last decades several infrastructures have been introduced to manage, govern and control the movements of people across borders. Besides several databases containing personal and biometric data, satellites and drones are deployed to monitor the external borders of the European Union and smart borders have been introduced in airports to speed-up border-

crossing. These hi-tech systems co-exist with documents and certificates which are produced at various stages of border-crossers' migration trajectories. It is very likely that the my informants could remember the date of their arrival in Italy because it was written on the *foglio notizie* they received at the end of the Registration and Identification Procedures to which they were subjected after landing in Sicily. The *foglio notizie* is a three-page documents collecting several information about border-crossers: biographical data, data and place of arrival, reasons for migrating, family status and health condition, the intention to apply or not for asylum. As such, the *foglio notizie* also represents an example of the enactment of border-crossers' identities through of the use of categories and classification systems. The multiple-choices model, in fact, enacts the people arriving in Italy as economic migrant or as potential refugee, as vulnerable subjects or as suspicious subjects who entered the Italian territory by eluding the police controls at the borders. These categories are then used channel people into different asylum paths, each endowed with their own temporalities.

A last point concerns the use of digital devices, such as smartphones, online maps and social media. In the vignette above, Google Maps helped us to find out the position of Nigeria. While the use of digital devices to acquire and exchange knowledge is an highly common practice in contemporary societies, it has a more ambivalent nature in the context of migration management. Border-crossers rely on these technologies to obtain and share information about migration routes and shelters. Yet, these technologies have also become targets of surveillance by migration authorities, who access and retrieve the data stored in migrants' devices in order to assess their identities and nationalities or to collect evidence about smuggling networks. Similarly, Google Maps is used by migration officers to check and verify border-crossers' knowledge about their places of origin. In sum, next to infrastructures specifically tailored to control border-crossers' movements, to collect, store and process their personal data, the encounters between border-crossers and migration management is increasingly shaped and mediated by technologies which can be co-opted for surveillance and control.

The goal of this research, however, is not merely to map the temporalities of border-crossers' life trajectories and of migration management, but rather to enquire their frictions and collisions, their entanglements and reciprocal shaping. More precisely, I look at how border-crossers accept, adapt or appropriate the temporalities of control imposed on them by migration authorities. To address this issue, the overarching analytical framework underpinning this dissertation is Foucault's distinction between conduct and counter-conduct, between power and resistance. By producing and assembling several types of knowledge about border-crossers' life and movements, migration infrastructures work as biopolitical tools which structure, shape and limit migrants' possibilities of action. Yet, according to

Foucault, any attempt to exert power over subjects also entails a counter-movement, the struggle to reject or resists externally imposed forms of conduct. Throughout this dissertation, I thus focus on the reciprocal interaction between the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers temporalities. I argue that time is conceived as a tool of power, as a mean through which discipling, controlling and disempowering migrants and through which producing and exacerbating knowledge asymmetries. Analogously, border-crossers' agency is analyzed in temporal terms by paying attention to the struggles to recover control upon their own time. The notion of "temporalities of resistance" will look at how border-crossers' temporalities are incompatible with the temporalities of migration control and how, as consequence, border-crossers' try to adapt, recode and refuse those temporalities in order to fulfill their life-projects, hopes and aspirations.

Time: a symmetrical approach and a diachronic gaze

To explore border-crossers' temporalities of resistance, this thesis aims at offering two original perspectives and contributions. First, it provides a symmetrical approach to border-crossers' temporalities and to the temporalities of migration management. A temporal taxonomy inspired by the semiotic analysis of discourse (Greimas & Courtes 1982) is developed to account for the points of intersections and collisions between them. Second, the thesis looks at the encounters between border-crossers and migration authorities through an extended temporal perspective which enables to unveil how power and knowledge asymmetries are temporally produced and accentuated, but also to understand the processes through which borders-crossers acquire, share and appropriate knowledge about migration management and its mechanisms.

To start with the first point, several strands of scholarship has separately addressed the temporalities of migration management and the temporalities of border-crossers' migration journey. On the one hand, scholars in border studies, security studies and Science and Technology Studies (STS) have brought attention to the tempo-politics (Sontowski 2018) and time-politics (Cwerner 2004) which shape the design, implementation and functioning of migration infrastructures. Acceleration (Bigo 2010, Sontowski 2018, Murphy & Maguire 2015, Reneman & Stronks 2021) and the crafting of future-oriented risk scenarios (Broeders & Dijstelbloem 2016, Broaders & Hampshire 2013, Tazzioli 2018b) have thus been identified as the main goals pursued by migration management and then implemented through policies and technologies. On the other hand, literature in migration studies has widely discussed the temporal experiences shaping migrants' mobility (Griffiths 2014): prolonged waiting periods (Cabot 2012, Jacobsen et al. 2020, Rotter 2015), moments of sudden acceleration (Tazzioli 2018a), the repetition of the same routes (Anderson 2014), or of the same administrative process (Eule et al. 2019). The temporal taxonomy brings together these two strands of

scholarship by providing a temporal grammar which bridges the heterogenous temporalities at stake in migration management: the "time" of clocks and calendars, which are used to administer the asylum process; border-crossers' phenomenological time, which defines their memories and expectations; socio-material time, which foregrounds the time-regimes and temporal norms which are both embedded in and generated by technologies and infrastructures. The taxonomy is articulated upon three complementary temporal dimensions: temporalization, aspectualization and relation. Each of this temporal dimension is further characterized by two categories (sequence and temporal horizon, punctuality and durativeness, rate of recurrence and temporal alignment). The goal of this taxonomy is to provide a common temporal framework to account for the moments of intersections between the temporalities at stake in migration management.

The analysis of the encounters between migrants and migration authorities across a wide temporal span represents a further element of novelty introduced in this dissertation. Scholarship at the crossroads of STS and migration studies have in fact mostly focused on the situated interactions taking place at the borders (Pollozeck & Passoth 2017, Pelizza 2020, Pelizza 2021). Particularly, this scholarship has carefully described the identification practices carried out at the borders, especially by enquiring the sociotechnical processes and arrangements which make possible the translation and enactment of people unknown to European authorities into legible and knowable subjects. As such, these studies were mostly characterized by a "synchronic" approach, as they focused on the "here and now" of the interactions between migrants and officers and on the technologies and infrastructures which mediate those identification practices. However, exploring these themes through a broader temporal perspective allow to account for the implications and consequences entailed by security practices and how they reverberate on migrants' possibilities of actions. A temporally extended gaze, in other words, foregrounds how power-relations are built and maintained by resorting to temporal strategies which control, discipline and disempower migrants. At the same, this "diachronic" perspective reveals how time represents a precious resource for migrants, as it highlights the process through which migrants progressively become acquainted with migration management and thus can to figure out practices through which appropriating it.

The production of knowledge asymmetries

The second thematic thread running across this research is the production of knowledge and (non)knowledge at stake in the interactions between border-crossers and migration management. To manage, monitor and control the movement of people across borders, migration governmentality depends on the constant production of multiple types of knowledge which likewise enact border-crossers' identities in multiple ways. Following STS

scholarship about the performativity of data infrastructures (Bowker & Star 1999, Star 2009, Ruppert 2011, Van Rossem & Pelizza 2022, Scheel et al. 2019), these identities are not be understood as something pre-existing the encounter with migration management, but rather they are continuously and differently enacted according to the diverse knowledge practices performed by migration infrastructures. At sea, border-crossers are collectively enacted, by satellites and mapping-monitoring systems, as a group of people trying to entering the European territory. No data about their individual identity is collected; rather, what matters is mostly the position and route of the vessel transporting them. After landing, migrants are first enacted as vulnerable subjects in need of health assistance and shelter and later, during the screening interviews, as security subjects who are questioned to assess their stories and claimed identities while their personal belongings are checked to find out whether they might represent a threat to Member States.

The asylum process is similarly defined by the co-existence and overlapping of knowledge practices which enact applicants in several ways. Depending on historical, sociological and geopolitical knowledge about their country of origin, asylum seekers might be classified as "bogus" or as "genuine "applicants; medical certificates are decisive for the identification of vulnerable individuals; linguistic and anthropological knowledge is used to assess the truthfulness of people's claims about their ethnicities and nationalities. Furthermore, the enactment of people according to European values and categories (Pelizza 2020) have significant temporal consequences on border-crossers. Asylum applications lodged by vulnerable people tend to be prioritized over those with lower chances of success, while "accelerated procedures" are used to speed-up the asylum process of categories of asylum seekers whose applications are deemed as unfounded. The mutual intertwinement between practices of knowledge production and their temporal aims and implications constitutes one of the conceptual pillars of this thesis.

Yet, knowledge production is just one side of the story. The identification practices carried out after landing are in fact characterized by a substantial asymmetry: while migration officers gather and produce knowledge about border-crossers, border-crossers do not know, most of the time, with whom they are interacting, what is the purpose of those procedures and what is entailed by them. As a consequence, they are not in the position to decide which information about themselves might be important to reveal or to omit. Hence, the process of knowledge production about border-crossers is combined with one which tends to create ignorance on the side of border-crossers. In the last decade, the production of ignorance and (non)knowledge has received increasing attention in critical security studies and in affine disciplines as it revealed how organizations can actively and purposefully craft uncertainty and misinformation in order to pursue their goals or maintain their positions of power (Gross

& MCGoey 2015, Aradau 2017, Proctor 2008, Rayner 2012). The "accelerated asylum procedures" mentioned above are, in this respect, a further emblematic example. By reducing the timeframes available to asylum applicants for collecting and providing evidence about themselves, accelerated procedures ultimately function as a strategy used by Member States to produce (non)knowledge about border-crossers, eventually leading to the progressive erosion of the right to asylum.

Migrants' agency between law, politics and technology

The third theme shaping this research is the conceptualization of migrants' agency along four main paradigms which reflect different conceptualizations and interpretations of their interactions with migration authorities and infrastructures: digital informed agency, Enacting Citizenship, Autonomy of Migration, and technological appropriation. These four paradigms allow to unpack and refine the notions of resistance and counter-conduct by highlighting the diverse factors shaping border-crosser's possibilities of action.

First, migrants' agency can be understood and analyzed in comparison to European citizens through the notion of "digital informed agency". Recent European regulations, and especially the GDPR, have in fact been implemented to ensure citizens' control and ownership over their data. Particularly, these regulations aim at guarantying that people are properly informed about the purposes for which personal data are collected and processed so that they are in condition to decide when and which personal data to release. In the context of my research, the notion of "informed digital agency" is useful to explore two sets of issues. The first one has to do with border-crossers's generalized lack of knowledge about the identification practices and securitarian procedures to which they are subjected after their arrival in the European territory. This evidence, which emerged from interviews, leads to the following question: how can border-crossers' resist the temporalities of migration management if they are now aware of their implications? Stemming from this, a second set of issues points to the subtle but crucial distinction between informed consent, on the one hand, and compliant behavior nudged by the power-relations, knowledge asymmetries and temporal dynamics at stake in the identification encounters.

Second, drawing on Autonomy of Migration (Mezzadra 2011, Papadopoulos et al. 2008, De Genova 2017, Scheel 2019), migrants' possibilities of action are understood in terms of appropriation and subversion. Within this framework, migrants are defined as autonomous subjects whose desires and aspirations temporally precede and are irreducible to any attempt to govern them. Proponents of Autonomy of Migration hence bring attention to migrants' struggles with migration control and to the strategies of "appropriation" developed in order to recode the practices and devices of control for pursuing their needs and hopes. Importantly, the means of control and surveillance, on the one hand, and the practices of

appropriation, on the other hand, are not external to each other, but rather have to be understood in terms of reciprocal and inseparable intertwinement (Scheel 2019). I explore such intertwinement from a temporal angle, in order to understand how border-crossers appropriate the temporalities of migration management to for their life purposes and expectations.

The third paradigm, Enacting Citizenship (Isin 2008, Isin & Seward 2013, Isin 2017), stands halfway between the concepts of "digital informed agency" and "appropriation". The central idea is a performative understanding of citizenship. Rather than conceiving of citizenship as a passive construct which merely guarantees the respect of people's right, Isin and colleagues suggest to focus on those "acts of citizenship" through which migrants reclaim their individual and collective rights despite not being, from a juridical perspective, European citizens (Amelung et al. 2020). This third paradigm leads to re-configure the binary opposition between citizens and non-citizens and it allows to compare border-crossers' rights and (possibilities) of action with those of the European citizens.

Lastly, STS scholarship invites to consider migrants *as* users of migration infrastructures. Scholars in STS have in fact discussed how users' relations with technologies can be interpreted in terms of technological domestication (Silverstone & Haddon 1996), resistance (Kline 2003), non-use (Wyatt 2003) and dis-inscription (Akrich & Latour 1992). In the light of the increasingly technologically-mediated features of migration management, these notions provide a more nuanced and situated understanding of the encounters between migrants and migration control. Rather than conceiving of such encounters in terms of a binary opposition between border-crossers and migration officers, STS scholarship invites to paying attention to the socio-technical arrangements in which those encounters take place and to analyze how power and knowledge asymmetries are not only produced and maintained, but also contested and overcome.

The conceptualization of migrants as users of migration infrastructures is also the backbone of the situated intervention developed in the last part of my fieldwork research. The goal of the intervention was to question and problematize the standard, common understanding of migration authorities as the *default* users of migration infrastructures. This interpretation can be challenged when taking into account that border-crossers are those who ultimately have to deal with the harms and risks caused by the design of those infrastructures. Hence, inspired by participatory design (Spinuzzi 2005, Bannon & Ehn 2012) and design justice (Costanza-Chock 2018), the intervention aimed to involve border-crossers as *co-designers* of migration infrastructures, as a way to give voice to their own preferences and needs. To operationalize this idea, I developed a game which simulates the process of translation of people's identities and personal stories into categories and attributes. *My*

documents, check them out is a collaborative role-playing game where the players are invited to develop, from scratch, an application form which is submitted in order to obtain a document which would allow them to "legally" stay in Italy.

Structure of the thesis

The dissertation is divided in six Chapters. Chapter 1 illustrates the three theoretical areas defining the contours of my research: time and migration, migration and data infrastructures, time and infrastructures. The triangulation among these three areas singles outs the set of theories, issues and concerns standing at the core of the thesis. By combining a phenomenological understanding of "temporality" with the theories and methods proposed by Science and Technologies Studies (STS) to account for the performative effects produced by border-control technologies, I suggest that migrants' temporalities and the temporalities of migration management must be understood relationally, by paying attention to the social, material and political factors shaping them.

Chapter 2 is articulated in three main sections, which correspond to the three research sub-questions of the dissertation. First, I describe the infrastructures deployed in migration management and their temporal aims, and I suggest that the relation between knowledge production and time has not been thoroughly addressed. Second, to conceptually develop the notion of "temporalities of resistance", I provide an overview of the temporalities shaping the migration journey and of the four paradigms used to interpret border-crossers' possibilities of action. Third, to develop a situated intervention which might enhance border-crossers' possibilities of action, I problematize and re-conceptualize the common understanding of migration officers as the only users of migration infrastructures. To do this, I propose to design a situated intervention which engage border-crossers in the re-design of the categories and classifications systems shaping migration management.

Chapter 3 concentrates mostly on the temporalities of migration management, and specifically on the relation between acceleration and (non)knowledge production. To articulate this issue, I focus on the so-called "accelerated procedures" which have been introduced in European Member States to speed up the asylum process. These procedures are directed towards specific categories of asylum seekers whose applications are deemed unfounded, suspicious, or with low chances of success. I argue that "accelerated procedures" produce (non)knowledge about asylum applicants by relying on two temporal mechanisms. First, an *a priori* assessment of the asylum applications, which leads to a tautological short-circuit between an ex-ante assumption about applicants' profiles of applicants and the actual evaluation of their asylum cases. Second, I illustrate how the shortened time-frames defining the accelerated procedures hamper border-crossers' possibilities to produce and collect

relevant knowledge about themselves, eventually making more difficult for them to be granted international protection.

Chapter 4 describes the methodological approaches used to address the three goals underpinning my fieldwork activities: to collect qualitative data about border-crossers' memories of and experiences with migration management; to identify what border-crossers perceived as critical issues and problems that could be solved by a situated intervention; to develop a form of intervention able to challenge and re-conceptualize the definition of the "users" of migration infrastructures. To fulfill the first two points, I relied on narrative interviews, a qualitative research technique which foregrounds informants' voices and perspective. To design the situated intervention, I combined participatory design, design justice, STS Making and Doing and game design. The operationalization of these principles into a form of activity able to involve border-crossers was then inspired by recent STS scholarship which has praised the ethnographic value of explorative and playful modalities of interaction.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to enquire and analyze border-crossers' practices of acceptance, adaptation and appropriation to the temporalities of migration management, particularly the Registration and Identification procedures conducted in Greek and Italian Hotspots and the asylum process. To do this, the chapter identifies four "temporal collisions", namely moments in which the temporalities of migration collide with those of border-crossers, generating knowledge and power asymmetries. I argue that such moments produce "hijacked knowledge", namely border-crossers' lack of information about the purposes of the procedures to which they are subjected. Second, I develop the notion of "reactive calibration" to argue that when border-crosser become aware of the temporalities of migration management, they try to align their bodies, narrations and stories to them.

Chapter 6 illustrates the design process and the game testing sessions of *My documents, check them out.* The game was designed as an ethnographic device through which involving migrants in the re-design of the categories used in the data infrastructures for migration management. Overall, the game worked differently that planned. Border-crossers, as well as other actors (scholars, students, activists) who tested the game, struggled to develop original or alternative categories than those used in migration management. However, the game had, for border-crossers, a cognitive, emotional and learning function, and it allowed them to re-activate, in a playful and protective settings, some of their memories and experiences with migration management. On the other hand, for others players the game operated as a prism which revealed their previous competences, skills and bias about migration issues.

Chapter 1 – Setting the stage: a performative approach to time and migration infrastructures

1.1 Definition of the problem

Time is an underdeveloped and relatively new topic in migration scholarship (Griffiths et al. 2013; Barber & Lem 2018). Migrations are usually conceived in spatial terms, through theoretical frameworks which privilege, in their analyses, the movement of people across space and borders, rather than the temporal experiences occurring throughout the migration journey and border-crossers' life course. Yet approaching migration issues through a temporal perspective is particularly fascinating due to the entanglement of the heterogenous temporalities that shape human life, in which multiple meanings, practices and perceptions of time are nested one inside the other.

Time is not an objective dimension, a universal container of actions. On the contrary, time unfolds in the multiple realms characterizing human experience in its subjective, collective and material dimensions. Thus, biological and cultural time, political and economic time are inextricably interwoven and overlapping: the individual and linear process of ageing co-exists with the cyclical repeating of seasons and with the collective cultural time organized in months and years and measured by technical objects. Artefacts also produce specific forms of temporalities: the church time administered through the sound of the bells was then juxtaposed by the merchant time, a homogenous, measurable and standardized time dictated by the mechanical clockwork (Le Goff 1980). A proliferation of different temporalities also crosses the contemporary social realm: working and administrative time, school and leisure time are kinds of temporalities endowed with their own specific temporal grammar and temporal structures.

One could see migrations as similarly characterized by the co-existence, overlapping and clash of heterogenous temporalities: the temporalities of the migration journey, defined by its rhythms, tempos and cyclicity; the temporalities of migration management, including the temporal routines of migration officers and the bureaucratic and institutional times shaping migration policies; the national times, with their shared past and imaginative future; border-crossers' subjective temporal experiences, filled with waiting periods, sudden deportations and expectations about the future. The vast array of technologies and infrastructures deployed in migration management and during the migration journey simultaneously embeds and generates novel temporalities. Fences are used to slow down the movements of people on the move, smart borders have been introduced in order to speed up

border-crossing, databases and mapping-monitoring devices are designed to build future risk scenarios. At the same time, border-crossers rely on online maps, social media, and more tailored tools, such as Alarmphone[1], to acquire or to share timely information throughout the different stages of their migration journey (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.4).

Despite their increasing presence and relevance, only few, recent works have explicitly addressed how technologies and infrastructures shape the temporalities of border-crossers' trajectories and migration management (Andersson 2014, Tazzioli 2018a, Tazzioli 2018b, Sontowski 2018, Pollozeck 2020). Up to now, scholarship about time and migration has polarized around two main themes (Griffiths et al. 2013). On the one hand, research has stressed the strong connection between state, time and power, depicting the nation-state as a "container of time" governing through temporal devices and rationalities. On the other hand, scholarship has focused on border-crossers' subjectivities, enquiring how feelings of belonging, exclusion, uncertainty and expectation are shaped by time. What is missing in this double-faced picture is a discussion of the frictions between the temporalities supported, enabled or hampered by the *data practices and infrastructures* for migration management and border-crossers' own temporalities.

With the expression "data practices and infrastructures" I refer to a heterogeneous set of technologies and socio-technical processes whose purposes and meanings are defined by the position of the various actors (border-crossers, migration officers, policy makers, NGO workers, etc..). Data practices and infrastructures thus include both high-tech systems, such as drones and satellites, databases and biometrics systems, smartphones and social networks, but also low-tech objects, such as asylum paperwork, fences, maps and bracelets. While some of these technologies – like databases or drones – are deployed for the purpose of controlling and monitoring people's movements across borders, others – such as smartphones and websites – are used by people to obtain precious information about their migration journey. Yet, one of the purposes of this work is to avoid an essentialist and *a priori* understanding of the use and potentialities of data practices and infrastructures. Any technology or infrastructure can be used towards empowerment or towards control, according to the meanings that actors give to them. This does not mean, however, to embrace a social determinist approach. On the contrary, in order to keep the account symmetrical, it is paramount to consider also the technical affordances of technologies and infrastructures and their performative effects. Following Hutchby (2001), affordances can be defined as "functional and relational aspects which frame, while not determining, the possibilities for agentic action in relation to an object" (Hutchby, 2001, p. 448). Functional because

[1] Alarmphone is an hotline for boatpeople in distress in the Mediterranean Sea. It does not provide rescue, but only alarm. https://alarmphone.org/en/

affordances possess an enabling dimension: they allow to perform certain actions; relational because affordances are not given once for all, but change according to the subject who is dealing with an object. Digital databases and categories are an emblematic example. Their technical affordances have enhanced the possibility to store, collect and process data about border-crossers' identities, and they have made such knowledge accessible across time and space, eventually leading to a (digital) hyper-documentation (Salter 2006). Yet, they can also be appropriated by border-crossers themselves in order to reach their own goals and expectations. Social media accounts and smartphones are characterized by a similar ambiguity. On the one hand their affordances provide border-crossers with information about migration routes, shelters and countries of destination (Gillespie 2018, Alencar et al. 2019, Sánchez-Querubín & Rogers 2018); on the other hand, governments have started to exploit them as new means of surveillance and control, as they allow to collect digital evidence for investigations, to monitor irregular migration routes, to retrieve data from border-crossers' digital devices in order to conduct security checks (Latonero & Kift 2018)

Two crucial features of data practices and infrastructures need to be noted. First, data practices and infrastructures are embedded in socio-technical networks which cross the boundaries between the analogic and the digital, the human and the non-human, the public and the private realm. The identification practices conducted at border-crossing points well capture these entanglements: information about unknown third-country nationals is collected through hand-written report and then uploaded into national databases; scanners, software and officers are joined together in order to collect people's fingerprints; private digital platforms, like Facebook or Google maps, are checked by officers to acquire and check information about migrants' identities and their routes, but also by migrants themselves to obtain and exchange information. As a consequence, enquiring the frictions between border-crossers' temporalities and migration management temporalities requires to analyse how the materially and semiotically heterogenous web of actants (Latour 1990, Law 2007) are assembled in order to build, maintain and transform those temporalities.

Second, the data practices and infrastructures for migration management are *biopolitical tools* whose goal is producing knowledge about the populations they intend to govern. As biopolitical instruments of governmentality, data practices and infrastructures for migration management are defined by relations of power and resistance. Following Foucault (2007), the relation between power and resistance can be framed through the notions of conduct and counter-conduct. The concept of conduct involves, according to Foucault, a double dimension: first, the activity of conducting an individual and, second, the way in which individuals conduct themselves. To govern, Foucault argues, means to "structure the possible field of actions of others", to "act on the possibilities of action of other individuals"

(Foucault 2007, p. 193). But power, according to Foucault, is always exerted upon free subjects and, for this reason, it is coextensive with resistance, with the attempts to refuse or resist externally imposed forms of conduct and their correlated power relations. Counter-conduct is then defined as "the sense of struggle against the procedures implemented for conducting others" (Foucault 2007, p. 201). As Death (2010, p. 294) points out, "a counter-conducts approach looks *within* government to see how forms of resistance rely upon, and are even implicated within, the strategies, techniques and power relationships they oppose".

When applied to migration management, the conduct/counter-conduct framework allows then not only focusing on the strategies for controlling and monitoring migrants and the ways for resisting such strategies, but also stressing the mutual, constitutive interrelationship between these processes. However, while the Foucauldian analysis of biopolitics is mostly directed to space and to the types of discipline emerging from the organization and government of space, my intention is to discuss the notions of conduct and counter-conduct, of power and resistance, from a temporal perspective[2]. What are the temporalities of control and discipline embedded into the European migration management? And what are, on the contrary, the temporalities shaping border-crossers' strategies of resistance? What are the frictions between these two sets of temporalities and how might these frictions empower border-crossers?

To answer these questions, my research is ideally divided in two parts. First, it analyses the *tempo-politics* (Sontowski 2018) of migration management and migration policies. Sontowski defines tempo-politics as:

> "situations in which a given issue is problematized and governed as a matter of time and becomes an object of controversies, in which its temporality is at stake. This might imply the production of temporal forms of knowledge and governing, moments in which temporal aims of a policy proposal are questioned and contested, but also incidents, in which a policy proposal changes or fails due to these disputes or due to an inability to achieve its temporal objectives" (Sontowski 2018, p. 2735).

In this PhD research, the expression "temporal aims" or "temporal objectives" refers to the purposes for which data practices and infrastructures for migration management are introduced, transformed or dismissed. Within the field of migration management and migration policies, acceleration and the production of future-oriented risk scenarios are usually mentioned as common temporal aims to be achieved through the development and implementation of migration technologies and migration policies. In turn, the implementation of new migration technologies or socio-technical assemblages generates temporal re-

[2] It is worth underlining that Foucault's methodology, based on "genealogy" or "archeology", is eminently temporal, as Foucault analyses how different forms of knowledge and power emerged *in time*. Yet, his empirical analyses are mostly focused on space.

arrangements in the processes of knowledge production, affecting how border-crossers are enacted and their possibilities of action.

Analogously, I will interpret migrants' counter-conduct through a temporal lens: to what extent are the strategies of resistance to migration infrastructures shaped by migrants' temporal demands and expectations about the future? Do, and if so how, border-crossers appropriate the temporalities of migration infrastructures? The notions of "agency" and "appropriation" will be used as analytical tools for answering these questions (cfr. Chapter 2, section 2.2). As Emirbayer and Mische (1998) reminded us, agency is a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past but also oriented toward the future and toward the present. This definition, however, can be refined by adding that agency is also a temporally embedded process of *technological* engagement: in order to reach their goals and expectations, border-crossers appropriate or resist migration technologies and infrastructures. The expression "temporalities of resistance" introduced by this work thus aims to cover, first, how border-crossers' own temporalities conflict, or are incompatible, with the temporalities of migration management and, second, what temporalities shape the strategies of resistance to migration management. Importantly, these temporalities have to be analysed by paying attention to their mutual interactions and adaptations. As I will suggest in Chapter 3, the temporalities of migration management, for instance asylum accelerated procedures, can be understood as a reaction to border-crossers' ability to temporally appropriate the socio-technical infrastructures governing them. On the other hand, border-crossers' strategies of resistance are shaped and informed by the temporalities of migration management. The temporalities of migration management, border-crossers' temporalities and their temporalities of resistance are dialectically and reciprocally interwoven.

Before moving to the next sub-section, which will help to better delineate the theoretical frameworks which will guide my work, I wish to stress that focusing on the times and temporalities of migration management and of migrants' resistance does not mean to downplay, or to neglect, space. Indeed, if it is true that migration has been mainly discussed in spatial terms, one might wonder to what extent it is possible to discuss the "temporalities" of migration without referencing to space. This dilemma is discussed by Mavroudi and colleagues in the introductive chapter of the edited book *Timespace and International migration*. As they recognize, the concept of "timespace" (Massey 1994, May & Thrift 2001) proved to be an almost necessary lens through which framing the content of the book, as it enabled recognizing the intertwinement of time and space without giving priority to one of them. However, while recognizing the theoretical import of the timespace concept, they also state the need to stress the differences between "spacing" and "timing". A language metaphor is suggested for doing it:

> "Maybe timespace is like the idea of language in general (a unity, it unifies), but time and space are different languages (diverse singularities), or at the very least they are distinct vocabularies whose linguistic communities find their own terms to be natural, familiar, self-evident and (at least within their populations) universal" (Mavroudi et al. 2017, p. 7).

The point, in other words, is not to sharply separate time from space, but rather to stress the theoretical consequences entailed by an analysis which departs from and foregrounds temporal phenomena and concerns. Hence, highlighting the several temporal dimensions shaping migrants' encounters with migration management allows, for instance, to shed light on power and knowledge asymmetries which would otherwise remain opaque or unaddressed. A temporal vocabulary and a temporal taxonomy are, within this context, particularly precious as they help to craft and develop analytical categories and concepts which might enhance our understanding of the strategies of resistance exerted by border-crossers.

To define the problem more precisely, and to show how this work is informed by different branches of scholarship, in the next sections I shall identify three main theoretical areas which will guide my research: time and migration, migration and technologies, time and technologies.

1.1.1 Time and migration

Analyzing the frictions between the temporalities of migration management and the temporalities of border-crossers' strategies of resistance requires, first and foremost, to identify when these two temporalities meet, adapt to or collide with each other: when do data practices and infrastructures impose their temporalities on border-crossers' migration trajectories? And, when this happens, how do border-crossers attempt to regain control over their own time?

To answer these questions, one might start by considering the variety of temporalities shaping transnational mobilities. The decision to migrate might be the result of a long and thoughtful period of reflection or it might depend on the disruptive and unforeseen conditions caused by humanitarian or environmental emergencies; it can be a future oriented strategy embodying hope (Pine 2014) or imagination (Vigh 2009) or a way to reunite with families and dear ones. The migration journey and its planification are similarly characterized by multiple temporalities: long queues need to be done in order to get VISA documents, the same route can be repeated multiple times, sudden deportations punctuate long periods of waiting in camps or during the asylum process. In their literature about the temporalities of migration, Griffiths and colleagues (2014, pp. 9-13) suggest a distinction between two main areas of research in this field: first, mobilities and the migration journey; second, the life course and longitudinal studies. The former refers to migration movements and flows in terms of

temporal duration or spatial extent and it pays attention to the different categories of people on the move (forcibly moved people, asylum seekers, international students, etc..). Life course and longitudinal studies, on the other hand, tend to analyze migration trajectories from a subjective or intergenerational perspective and to foreground the social, cultural or economic factors which shape and influences the *times* of migration. In this research, I will focus on the temporalities of mobilities and of the migration journey. As a matter of fact, the purpose of data practices and infrastructures for migration management is to administer and to hamper transnational movements by regulating them through spatial and temporal mechanisms of power and control. On the contrary, those infrastructures are less relevant when it comes to explore the relation between migration and life stages.

Two works by Saulo Cwerner, one of the first scholars to expressly discuss the temporalities of migration, might help to make the distinction between the migration journey and the life course clearer and to better understand the influence of data infrastructures on the temporalities of mobilities. Cwerner (2001) discusses the particular "cultures of times" experienced by Brazilian immigrants in London and he shows how cultures of time result from the temporal rifts, discrepancies and adaptations of the different temporalities experienced throughout the migration trajectories. S*trange, heteronomous* and *asynchronous* times emerge from the practical and symbolic processes of adjustment that people have to carry out in order to align to the temporalities of the host country and society; *remembered, collage*, and *liminal* times reflect the ambivalence of migrants' temporal experiences, simultaneously embedded in the host-country but also defined by the memories (food, music, dances) of their home country; lastly, *nomadic* and *diasporic* times result from a long-term perspective on migration and on the life-course of individuals and communities. While these times significantly shape migrants' temporal experiences, they are – with the exception of *heteronomous* time - not directly depending on migration management and control, and, as such, they are not implicated in the conduct/counter-conduct framework delineated above.

On the other hand, Cwerner (2004) discusses the *time politics of asylum*, focusing on "the temporal relations that are set in motion by a series of individual agents and collective agencies in order to exert power over each other in a particular field or area of social organization" (p. 73). He thus describes how asylum politics tends to create fast and firm procedures in order to speed up and streamline the processing of asylum applications through different measures, such as the introduction of "white list" countries, shorter deadlines for submitting applications and appeals or the fast-tracking of applications deemed unfounded at the time of the first interview. Moreover, Cwerner underlines how the asylum process and the asylum interviews are characterized by the clash and overlapping between the temporalities of the institutional mechanisms and those of the asylum seekers. The effects of asylum politics

on migrants' temporal experiences, and, in turn, migrants' attempts to resist or appropriate the temporalities of the asylum systems have been described by various authors (Griffiths 2014, Rotter 2016, Turnbull 2016, Haas 2017, Cabot 2012, Eule et al. 2019), and will be further discussed in the following chapters.

If scholarship about time and migration offers rich empirical material, the analysis of border-crossers' temporalities needs also to mobilize more fundamental categories and concepts for talking about time. What is the structure of border-crossers' temporal experience? Is there any qualitative difference between time as experienced by border-crossers and the temporalities of border control embodied in data practices and infrastructures? Should we think about border-crossers' temporalities from an individual or collective point of view? To address these problems, I adopt the conceptual distinction between *time* and *temporality* as articulated by the philosopher David Hoy (2007). Hoy uses the term "time" for referring to universal time, an ideal objective time which is independent from human experience. On the other hand, "temporality" denotes "time insofar as it manifests itself in human existence" (Hoy 2007, xiii). The phenomenological structure of this "lived time" opens up the field for further problems: is time a form of our intuitions and thus mind dependent, as Kant believed, or is time coming before consciousness and subjectivity, hence grounding them, as Heidegger was inclined to think? Against these alternatives, Bergson conceived subjective temporal experience in terms of duration (*durée*), as opposed to scientific time: the differentiation of qualitative multiplicities which fuse and melt into each other to constitute the infinite whole of consciousness. A fourth option, derived from empiricism, understand temporal experience as continuously emerging from the set of relations in which the subject is situated and which constitute it. The relation between the past, the present and future is equally problematic: is there an arrow of time and, if so, what is its direction? (Hodges 2008). As a matter of fact, phenomenological approaches to time have already inspired scholars in migration studies (Collins & Shubin 2015, Shubin 2015, O'Reilly & Scott 2022), but these works do not address the intersections between border-crossers' temporalities and the temporalities of migration management. Instead, Hoy's notion of temporality is useful to account for the temporal elements shaping border-crossers' migration journey, as it invites to consider when, and how, migrants exert control over their time, to the episodes of remembering and forgetting which characterize their encounters with migration management, to the intertwinements between their expectations about the future and the imposed temporalities of migration management.

Being grounded on a phenomenological account, Hoy's understanding of temporality pays relatively small attention to the social and technological dimensions shaping the lived time. For this reason, I suggest to keep the term "lived time", but to complement it with a

more nuanced, intersubjective and socio-material conceptualization of temporal experience. A quote by Sarah Sharma enlightens this point:

> "The term "temporal" does not imply a transcendent sense of time or the time of history. I mean for the temporal to denote *lived* time. […] The temporal operates as a form of social power and a type of social difference. Temporalities do not experience a uniform time tied to a particular technology but rather a time particular to the labor and other forms of social difference that produce them. Individual experiences of time depend upon where people are positioned within a larger economy of temporal worth. […] In this way the meaning of one's time is in large part structured and controlled by both the institutional arrangements inhabited and the time of others—other temporalities" (Sharma 2017, pp. 132-133)

This passage stresses the important tension, already noticed by Durkheim (1965), between psychological and social time, between personal and collective time. Thus, while the individual and inner temporal dimension should not be neglected in any analysis of human temporality, the temporal structure that organizes the everyday life-world is shared and intersubjective. Time is in fact a social tool for orientation, co-ordination and control (Elias 1982, quoted in Adam 1994, p. 18) and common terms used to speak about time - such as simultaneity or synchronization - reveal its eminently social and relational nature. Moreover, as I will illustrate in section 1.3, the function of orientation, co-ordination and control is achieved through the use of tools and technologies, like clocks and calendars, which allow to standardize and uniformize the temporal unites of time as well as temporal frameworks (Zerubavel 1982). However, before turning to analysing the multi-faceted relation between time and technologies and its relevance for the purposes of my research, I will first illustrate the increasingly prominent role played by information and communication technologies in migration management and control.

1.1.2 Migration and data infrastructures

In the last decades the implementation of border control technologies, like smart borders, biometric systems and databases has been pivotal in the governance of population mobility (Amoore 2006, Broeders & Dijstelbloem 2016, Dijstelbloem & Meijer 2011, König 2016). These technologies and infrastructures have deeply transformed the nature of borders as well as the operation carried out by border-officers (Dijstelbloem 2021; cfr. Chapter 2 section 1.1 for a detailed description of these systems). Analysing the temporalities of migration management requires then to understand the transformative and performative effects generated by the introduction of those systems. To address these issues, I rely mostly on the theoretical insights and tools developed within the interdisciplinary field of Science and Technologies Studies (STS).

Overall, STS scholars have stressed how the production of scientific facts and, more broadly, of knowledge, is inextricably interwoven to the social processes and contexts in which those facts are produced (and reproduced) and it is made possible by the different types of material supports, from graphs to exemplars, which allow facts and knowledge to travel across different social settings (Latour & Woolgar 1986, Latour 1990b, Law 2007). In this regard, one might think of Excel sheets, fingerprint scanners, pens and papers, ID documents and a multitude of other tools and technologies as the "missing masses" (Latour 1992) of migration management. The notion of "missing masses" is used by Latour to account for the nonhuman actants and mechanisms constituting the chains of delegation and translation along which competences and actions are distributed (Latour 1992). Such chains are made up of *mediators* and *intermediaries*: the latter transport meaning or force without transformation, while the former "transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry" (Latour 2005, p. 39). Thus, the vast and heterogenous array of object used in migration management allow to produce, to store and to transfer knowledge about migratory events, about border-crossers' identity and their health conditions: they forbid border-officers from certain actions while they dictate others; they are used to assess and verify border-crossers' memories and statements; they make possible the flow of data across different places and organizations, and eventually they also generate further connections, or frictions, between human actors. STS scholarship at the crossroad with migration studies have already addressed some of these topics along two main strands: first, situated ethnographic analysis conducted at the borders or in reception centers (Pollozeck & Passoth 2019, Pelizza 2020, Pollozeck 2020, Pelizza 2021, Bellanova & Fuster 2013, Scheel 2021); second, literature discussing the performativity of categories and data practices to enact populations and knowledge about them (Bowker & Star 2000, Lampland & Star 2009, Ruppert 2011, Scheel et al. 2019, Van Rossem & Pelizza 2022, Grommé & Scheel 2017).

Concerning the first strand, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and the sociology of translation have been particularly used to investigate the socio-technical architectures and assemblages involved in the governance of transnational mobility. ANT allows to track the web of associations and translations between human actors and the multiple types of technical objects used in border-control and border-operations. By adopting a symmetrical approach to human and non-human agency in the description of the social world, ANT is in fact committed to a relational ontology where the role and causal efficacy of every actant cannot be determined *a priori*, but rather is continuously shaped and defined by its positions within a network and by its interaction with other actants. In addition to semiotic relationality, ANT is particularly devoted to trace the connections between the entities and elements constituting the social world, to describe how actions are delegated to non-human actants and to enquire

how social arrangements are shaped and made durable by the materiality of the world (Latour 1990a, Latour 1990b). These are crucial elements to consider, because the implementation and development of systems and infrastructures for migration management inevitably translate human agency, by redistributing it, re-ordering it and eventually overriding it. The emerging configurations need then to be assessed by paying attention to the chains of human and non-human actors and to the actions performed by them (Pelizza 2020). In this respect, ANT also provides a rich vocabulary for describing the interactions among the different actants involved in a network. For instance, Pollozeck and Passoth (2019) combine an ANT approach with logistical terms to describe the flow of bodies and data at the Moria Hotspot in Greece to describe how migrants are made legible and governable. The enactment of the migrant subject, they suggest, is a "logistical problem" which requires to simultaneously connect heterogenous identifiers (pictures, fingerprints, names, status indicators), actors and infrastructures but also to distribute and to multiply re-identification processes at a trans-national level. Drawing on the notions of "shifting" (Latour 1992), "spokespersons" and "interessement device" (Callon 1984), Pelizza (2021) argues that the processes of identification at the border rely on long chains of translation involving several, heterogenous artefacts and infrastructures. Far from being reduced to biological or pre-given features, border-crossers' identities are enacted through many socio-technical "spokepersons", from fingerprints and digital registration systems to paper sheets. Combining the sociology of translation with a "grammar" of treason, Scheel (2021) illustrates how the identification processes in reception centres are characterized both by the use of force and coercion and by slippages and frictions leading to breakdowns, silence and mistranslation.

Next to the multiplicity of human and non-human actants involved in identification processes, border-crossers' identities are enacted by the various categories which are used to collect data and to produce knowledge about them. For this purpose, STS scholarship about the performative character of categories (Bowker & Star 2000, Lampland & Star 2009, Suchman 1993) as well the concept of interpassivity (Ruppert 2011) enable to understand the performative effects generated by the classifications and standards deployed in migration infrastructures. In their seminal work, Bowker and Star (2000) have shed light on the consequences and limits entailed by any process of categorization, on "the invisible forces of categories and standards in the modern built world, especially the modern information technology world" (Bowker & Star 2000, p 5). Categorical work, they suggest, always involves the negotiations among and management of the multiple meanings associated with categories, and it relies on classification systems and standardization. As they define it, a classification "is a spatial, temporal, or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world, […] a set of boxes (metaphorical or literal) into which things can be put to then do some kind of work-

bureaucratic or knowledge production" (Bowker & Star 2000, p. 10). In theory, a classification system would be complete, based on consistent and unique principles and made up of mutually exclusive categories. Classification systems, in turn, very often become standardized through a "set of agreed-upon rules for the production of (textual or material) objects" (Bowker & Star 2000, p. 13). Importantly, standards have both a spatial and temporal dimensions: they are used by more than one community, they allow things to work together over distance and they tend to persist over time. However, any classification systems also depend on the ability to constrain a certain phenomenon, hence making invisible, and silencing, alternative possibilities. Such residual categories are those left out after a classification system has been built and are usually referred through locution such as 'None of the above' or 'Other' (Star and Bowker 2007). Moreover, as already noted by Suchman (1993), categorization processes and devices are shaped by political interests and agendas, and they can be used to maintain and reproduce social orders and norms. By silencing alternative possibilities and by inscribing specific moral values or worldviews, categories are then always an expression of specific socio-cultural contexts.

Categorical performativity invites then to think about subjects and populations not as entities existing "out there" and waiting to be discovered, but rather as something that is constructed through various data practices. Focusing on population metrics, Ruppert (2011t) developed the notion of *interpassitivity* to describe the kind of agency emerging from new modalities of identification practices that combine biographical, biometric and/or transactional data to identify and evaluate the performance of individuals and populations. Unlike censuses, in population metrics subjects are not anymore asked to identify themselves with standardized categories, but rather emerge as statistical objects as a result of what they do. Importantly, all identification practices, from censuses to benefits forms, produce subjects in different ways, according to their specific socio-technical arrangements, *agencements*. A crucial point is that since these *agencements* are constituted each time by different chains of human and non-human actors, their aim is not so much to obtain truthful identification of subjects, but rather to enact them according to governments' purposes.

Drawing on these insights, a growing body of research has analyzed the data practices used to produce knowledge and to make visible populations and migratory flows (Scheel et al. 2019, Plejas et al. 2019, Grommè & Scheel 2017, Ustek-Spilda 2020). Plejas and colleagues (2019), for instance, examine the practices used by Romanian bureaucratic authorities to know "the Roma people". Despite not existing as a category in the national register, the "Roma people" are enacted through several racialized markers, such as smell, appearance and dialect, which make their individual file "hypervisible". Grommè and Scheel (2017) described how statistical identity categories about migrants or minorities are used by States in the

process of nation building. By analyzing the registration of third-generation immigrants in Estonia and the statistics about The Caribbean Netherlands, they illustrate the performative role of identity categories in the creation and maintenance of national identities. By combining the performative effects of knowledge infrastructures and categories with literature about the infrastructural construction of Europe, Pelizza (2020) coined the notion of *processing alterity* to account for the simultaneous enactment (or co-construction) of third-country nationals and emergent European orders. As Pelizza states, processing alterity

> "refers to the data infrastructures, practices, and bureaucratic procedures through which populations unknown to European actors are translated into "European-legible" identities. As such, alterity processing points to the knowledge-related material dimension of migration management, as a building block for subsequent developments, for example in care or control" (Pelizza 2020, p. 3).

Overall, the two strands of scholarship discussed in this section have emphasized the limits of representationalist, essentialist approaches to subjects and populations. On the one hand, identification processes are mediated by a multiplicity of human and non-human actants which, due to their material and semiotic qualities, translate people's identities. On the other hand, the data practices through which subjects are made legible to authorities have performative effects, enacting people according to standardized categories which reflect specific values and political interests. Less explored, however, is the relation between migration, infrastructures, and time. If it is true that data practices and infrastructures for migration management do not describe people out there but rather enact them, then how are people enacted in different ways at different stages of their migration journey? What are the temporalities supported, or hampered, by migration infrastructures and how do they intersect with border-crossers' temporalities? Can the implementation of these infrastructures generate novel, unexpected temporalities of border control? While I will address these issues in Chapter 2, the next section will offer an overview about the role played by infrastructures in standardizing time and in producing novel temporalities.

1.1.3 Time and infrastructures

The temporalities of migration management are administered through clocks and calendars: the timing of asylum applications and asylum decisions are managed through days and even hours, databases periods of data retention are calculated in years, while the technical assessments of people's age determine the path of their asylum cases. Although their omnipresence makes them almost invisible to ordinary experience, clock time and the Gregorian calendar are the prevalent *standard temporal reference frameworks* in the Western world (Zerubavel 1982). Following Hoy, in section 1.1 I introduced the distinction between

the subjective, personal and lived time, and the objective, universal and cosmic time of the universe. Yet, from an STS relational perspective the notions of "objective" or "universal" time are problematic in that they assume the god's eye that feminist STS have so fiercely opposed (Haraway 1988), while "subjective" time presents the challenge of remaining opaque to inquiry as supposedly originated in the mind of the subject. Differently, intersubjective time can be socio-materially tracked and analysed. As Urry (2009, p. 197) has pointed out, "there are multiple times, not a single time, let alone a single correct notion of time. Moreover, each of these times is a hybrid. They do not exist in some pure state. Each of these multiple times is simultaneously physical, technological and social."

This last point raised by Urry is crucial. In order to be social and intersubjective, time must be standardized through the development of *third-time tools*. Clock and calendars add in fact a third temporal dimension: by dialectically combining and bridging subjective and objective time, they make possible the emergence of the cultural, intersubjective and historical time. Importantly, despite being historically older, this third level of temporality logically precedes the other two temporal orders, because once humans have entered the symbolic order of culture, both the universal and the subjective times become interpretable only through intersubjective time (Ricoeur 1986). Clocks and calendars, documents, archives, time zones and many other artefacts can thus be considered as third-time tools which, by linking the subjective time and the universal time, make possible the communication of cultural time through an institutionalised symbolic order (Fornas 2016). In other words, third-time tools make possible the coordination of people's actions through the development of a "standard time language", a "standard systems of units of time" and a "standard temporal reference framework" (Zerubavel 1982), an historical process that has been widely addressed by historians of technologies (Landes 2000, Peters 2013, Glennie & Thrift 2009, Richards 1999).

The nexus between time, technologies and society might have a more ambivalent nature when it comes to analyse the relationship between the temporalities of technologies and infrastructures on the one hand and the temporalities embodied in social practices on the other hand (Zerubavel 1982, Zerubavel 1981; Pentzold 2018, Fornas 2016, Hoskins 2014). This perspective opens up the field for a different set of questions: Do technologies have time and to what extent are they time-loaded? Are there time-regimes embodied in technologies? What are the temporal norms built into technical artefacts? Up to now, a predominant and widely shared view has answered these questions by focusing on speed and acceleration as the main results of technological development, leading many authors to speak of timeless time (Castells 1996), chronoscopic time (Virilio 1986), network time (Hassan 2009), and instantaneous time (Urry 2000). However, one of the risks of such narratives is to assume a

rather deterministic approach in which the temporal implications of technologies are inferred through exclusive reference to their technical equipment, while the personal and highly flexible time-practices emerging from the use of new communication technologies tend to be neglected (Horning 1999).

From a different angle, the notion of socio-material time allows to stress the connection between the control of time and the dynamics of power and brings to the foreground the technical and institutional infrastructures underpinning time (Wajcman & Dodd 2017). This perspective allows understanding not only how speed is materially and socially achieved, but also the multiple, contrasting temporalities which characterize the relations with infrastructures – "the powerful are fast, the powerless are slow" (Wajcman & Dodd 2017) – and the processes of synchronization and de-synchronization tied to social acceleration. Synchronization and de-synchronization refer to the temporal alignment, or misalignment, between two actors or processes. Rosa's definition well captures this point: "Whenever there is a temporal juncture or "fit" between two systems, actors, or processes, and one of them speeds up, the other one appears to be too slow; it figures as a break or hindrance, and synchronization is strained" (Rosa 2017, p. 36).

Furthermore, scholars have enquired the specific temporalities resulting from the digitalization and datafication of communication systems: the micro-temporalities and rhythmicity of algorithms and computation (Miyazaki 2012), the hyper-connected memory generated by the transformation of archives into searchable and networked databases (Hoskins 2014), the "natural conflict" (Manovich 2001) or "natural symbiosis" (Hayles 2007) between databases and narrative, the perception of time emerging from the use of electronic, nudging calendars (Wajcman 2018). These insights are particularly relevant within the context of my research because the relationship between time standardized in infrastructures and time as prescribed by social – and especially bureaucratic – practices characterizes recent attempts to govern and control the movements of people across borders, while ensuring efficiency and security. A more nuanced and non-deterministic understanding of the relation between time and technologies can reveal what lies beneath the carpet of speed and acceleration: what are the implications and temporal re-arrangements generated by the introduction of new technologies for border control, and the frictions and negotiations emerging from them.

In this regard, a last but crucial point about the temporality of material, non-human agency needs to be addressed. To do this, I follow Pickering's (1993) post-humanist perspective and its analysis of temporally emergent phenomena. Pickering's move is in fact to break and to refine the ANT's symmetry between human and non-human agency by operating precisely at the level of temporality. Human agency, Pickering suggests, depends on goals and

interests and is defined by intentionality, by the intentions behind human actions: "humans live in time in a particular way. We construct goals that refer to presently nonexistent future states and then seek to bring them about" (Pickering 1993, p. 565-566). Objects, on the other hand, lack intentions:

> "We can take material agency as seriously as traditional sociology has taken human agency, but we can also note that the former is temporally emergent in practice. The contours of material agency are never decisively known in advance, scientists continually have to explore them in their work, problems always arise and have to be solved in the development of, say, new machines" (Pickering 1993, p. 564).

Yet, both human and material agency are temporally emergent phenomena mutually productive of one another. Pickering describes their reciprocal shaping, the "mangle of practice" emerging from them, as a dialectic between resistance and accommodation, where the former denotes practical, material obstacles which block or hinder the achievement of some human goal, while "accommodation" refers to the attempts to circumvent those obstacles (Pickering 1993, p. 569). As I will show in the next section, Pickering's account assumes a rationalist understanding of human action, rooted in the tradition of the liberal humanist subject (Barad 2003). As such, his position fails to acknowledge that human goals are themselves subject to changes in their interactions with non-human actants. Yet, in the context of this dissertation Pickering's distinction might be useful from a heuristic perspective, as it invites to consider how border-crossers' agency is transformed, or hampered, during their encounter with migration infrastructure, and how, as a consequence, border-crossers try to develop strategies of resistance in order to pursue their goals and expectations.

1.2. Philosophical stance

As emerged in the previous sections, this dissertation embraces a post-humanist performative approach (Mol 2002, Barad 2003, Barad 2007, Law 2004, Hacking 1983) which can be delineated along four interconnected theoretical shifts: 1) from representation to performativity (or enactment); 2) from singularity to multiplicity; 3) from epistemology to ontology; 4) from representing to intervening. I already partially addressed the first shift in section 1.2, when discussing the performativity of categories in enacting individuals and populations and producing knowledge about them. The main theoretical move, as we saw, is to challenge and overcome the representationalist paradigm defining most of Western philosophy and metaphysics. Euro-American metaphysics, as Law calls it, starts in fact from the assumption that there is a singular, independent and pre-existing world made up of objects and entities that are defined by some intrinsic features and properties and that come before the theories and methods which describe it. This metaphysics was in turn articulated upon several

dichotomies: a knowing subjects and an object to be known; an external, passive and immutable "nature" (or matter) and changing socio-cultural norms and beliefs; humans and non-human entities; words and things. Against this theoretical framework, the notions of "enactment" and "performativity" stress the mutual and reciprocal co-constitution of subjects and objects: they change over time as a consequence of the specific web of relations which constitute them. Rather than postulating an a-priori separation, a post-humanist performative approach suggests focusing on the situated practices and forms of knowledge which produce a specific reality. Yet, if the realities are always contextual, it follows that even the belief in a single and pre-existing world needs to be re-thought.

In this respect, Mol's *The Body Multiple* (2002) reveals the multiple enactments of one single disease, atherosclerosis, according to the practices and methods deployed in different locations (the pathology laboratory, the radiology department, the clinic, the surgery). Attention to methodological multiplicity can be traced back to seminal works in the philosophy of science (Kuhn 1970, Feyerabend 1975) and in sociology of scientific knowledge (Bloor 1976, Barnes & Bloor 1982) which tackled the modern and positivistic view of science as a rational activity by emphasizing both the "anarchy of method" in scientific discoveries and the "incommensurability of paradigms" across scientific practices and communities. However, as Law clarifies, discovering "multiplicity" does not entail pluralism or a relativist perspective:

> "We are not dealing with different and possibly flawed perspectives on the same object. Rather we are dealing with different objects produced in different method assemblages. So, they overlap, but they are not the same. Different realities are being created and mutually adjusted so they can be related – with greater or lesser difficulty" (Law 2004, p. 55))

Paying attention to the multiplicity of methods and beliefs entails a shift from epistemology to ontology: whereas the former is concerned with truth and with the accuracy of the representations of reality, the latter focus on the entities (Hacking 1983) or phenomena (Barad 2003, Barad 2007) that constitute the world. Barad's agential realist ontology does not take for granted the existence of discrete objects, but rather it is interested in how object and subjects, matter and meaning are produced by scientific practices like theorizing and experimenting (Barad 2007, p. 56). Barad's ontology is then grounded upon the notions of *phenomena* and *intra-action*:

> "[P]henomena are ontologically primitive relations without preexisting relata. The notion of intra-action (in contrast to the usual "interaction, " which presumes the prior existence of independent entities or relata) represents a profound conceptual shift. It is through specific agential intra-actions that the boundaries and properties of the components of phenomena

> become determinate and that particular concepts (that is, particular material articulations of the world) become meaningful" (Barad 2003, p. 815)

Phenomena are then specific material configurations of the world which are dynamically produced by the material and discursive practices that make up the apparatuses of knowledge production. Within this framework, any separation between a knowing (human) subject and an object to be known is then always the result of an *agential cut* enacted by a specific intra-action. Barad's insistence on ontology - or, to use their definition, on onto-epistem-ology – also marks a substantial difference with Pickering's post-humanist account. While both of them describe scientific practices as temporally emergent processes, Pickering both maintains the distinction between humans and non-humans and he embraces a humanist understanding of agency as a property of entities (Barad 2007, pp. 410-41).

The fourth shift concerns the methodological and political consequences that can be drawn by a performative understanding of scientific practices. If different material configurations and "method assemblages" produce different realities, then:

> "method is not, and could never be, innocent or purely technical […] Method, then, unavoidably produces not only truths and non-truths, realities and non-realities, presences and absences, but also arrangements with political implications. It crafts arrangements and gatherings of things – and accounts of the arrangements of those things – that could have been *otherwise*" (Law 2004, p. 143, italics added)

What follows, according to Law, is that both natural and social sciences should start considering, in their methods, what goods (not only truth, but also politics, aesthetics, juridical, spiritual) are they pursuing and how to include those goods in their studies.

Adopting a post-humanist performative approach entails several epistemological consequences in the analysis of border-crossers' temporalities of resistance. It requires to understand how people are enacted in different ways by the several data practices and infrastructures they encounter throughout their migration trajectories. What matters is how knowledge about people is produced as a consequence of the different agential cuts enacted by the material and discursive practices which underpin the different migration infrastructures. In more concrete terms, during her journey, the same person can be enacted as passenger of a boat crossing in Mediterranean Sea and thus as a dot displayed on mapping monitoring systems; as a person in need of health-care when rescued few hours later; as a bit-strings corresponding to her fingerprints and lastly as an asylum seeker whose case has been prioritized thus to her health-conditions. None of these multiple enactments exist "out-there", but rather emerge as "phenomena", as the entanglements and rearticulations of material and discursive practices. Analogously, border-crossers' agency and their possibilities of resistance must be enquired by paying attention to their situated and embodied conditions, which change

according to the human actors (other migrants, NGO operators, lawyers, mediators) and non-human actors (documents, digital devices, certificates) available to them. In this regard, as it will become clear throughout this dissertation, border-crossers' agency has to be understood as a form of distributed agency by looking at the various forms of intra-actions which depend on their possibilities of acting, moving and taking decisions. Lastly, time has to be treated accordingly: there is not an objective time in which human temporal experiences unfold and through which it is possible to compare and reckon the multiple temporalities of migration. As Barad points out:

> "Temporality is constituted through the world's iterative intra-activity […] Time has a history. Hence it doesn't make sense to construe time as a succession of evenly spaced moments or as an external parameter that tracks the motion of matter in some preexisting space. Intra-actions are temporal not in the sense that the values of particular properties change in time; rather, which property comes to matter is re(con)figured in the very making/ marking of time" (Barad 2007, p.180)

Beyond undermining any objectivist and positivist account of time, this quote also clarifies that border-crossers' temporalities of resistance need to be addressed by looking, in Barad's terms, at the interferences and diffractions between the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' own temporalities. Importantly, however, the analysis cannot be limited to identify those moments and frictions, but rather it needs to consider what possibilities of action emerge from them.

To better articulate the epistemological and ontological consequences of a post-humanist performative approach, it is worth to compare it with the three main paradigms in social sciences: positivism, interpretivism and critical philosophy. To do this, I follow the taxonomies proposed by different scholars (Orlikowski & Baroudi 1991, Greenhalgh et al 2009, Schwandt 2000) which, despite some differences, provide a useful systematization of these approaches. Each of these paradigms can be analyzed along three levels: a) beliefs about physical and social reality, namely the ontological beliefs about the essence of the phenomena investigated; b) beliefs about knowledge, namely the epistemological assumptions concerning the criteria for constructing and evaluating valid knowledge; c) beliefs about the relationship between knowledge and the empirical world, namely the value and intentions supporting researchers work (Orlikowski & Baroudi 1991, pp. 8-9). Positivism can be equated with the Euro-American metaphysics discussed above: the fundamental tenet of positivism is the idea that a single, objective and knowable reality exists and that the object or phenomenon of inquiry and the researcher are independent. Positivism is then committed to a representational ontology according to which there is a one-to-one correspondence between the world and the theories describing it.

Rooted in Marxist philosophy and in the works of the Frankfurt school, critical research starts from the assumption that the social order is an historical product shaped by power relations and in a continuous state of change and development. In this respect, the goal of the researcher is to enquire, challenge and transform the economic, political and cultural factors underlying dynamics of power and domination. Critical qualitative research is then informed by a family of theories (critical theory, feminist theory, critical race theory, queer theory, or post-structural/postmodern/postcolonial theory) which overall attempt to unveil the source and distribution of power and its structural elements in a given social context (Merriem & Tisdell 2015, pp. 60-61). Unlike positivism, the goal of critical research is not so much to predict or explain phenomena, but rather to critique and problematize the existing status quo and to help the dominated groups – often unconscious of the power dynamics to which they are subjected – to emancipate themselves.

Lastly, interpretivism asserts that "reality, as well as our knowledge thereof, is a social product and hence incapable of being understood independently of the social actors (including the researchers) that construct and make sense of that reality (Orlikowski & Baroudi 1991, p. 14). Orlikowski and Baroudi, as well as Greenhalgh and colleagues (2009) tend to overlap interpretivism with (social) constructivism. However, both interpretivism and social constructivism stress the centrality of subjective meanings, values and beliefs through which humans construct their social worlds and live in them and make the interpretation of those meanings, and of the context in which they arise, the core of their analytical efforts. As such, they have been significantly influenced by symbolic interactionism (Mead 1967, Blumer 1969) and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1964, 1974), as these methodological approaches share the interest in "studying interpersonal social interaction and regard social interaction as consisting of meaningful communicative activity between individuals" (Dowling 2006, p. 827).

The crucial difference between social constructivism and the post-humanist performative approach is the shift from meaning and interpretation to the material-discursive forms of intra-actions between human and non-human bodies discussed above. In this regard, Latour (2005) expresses the difference between "social constructivism" and ANT's "constructivism" in the following way:

> "When we say that a fact is constructed, we simply mean that we account for the solid objective reality by mobilizing various entities whose assemblage could fail; "social constructivism" means, on the other hand, that we replace what this reality is made of with some other stuff, the social in which it is "really" built. An account about the heterogeneous genesis of a building is substituted by another one dealing with the homogeneous […] For any construction to take

> place, non-human entities have to play the major role and this is just what we wanted to say from the beginning with this rather innocuous word" (Latour 2005, pp. 91-92).

Moreover, it must be noted that even the "construction metaphor" has been progressively replaced, within science and technologies studies, first by the notion of "shaping" (Bijker & Law 1992) and, more recently, by "performativity/enactment". The term 'construction', in fact, well stress how objects do not have a fixed identity, but rather get "constructed", for instance in laboratories (Latour and Woolgar 1979), but it also suggests stability. On the contrary, the idea of "enactment" points to "the continuing practice of crafting" (Law 2004, p. 56). However, a performative approach does not imply to understate the relevance of border-crossers' definitions and interpretations of the technologies and administrative practices with which they have to deal. This is a crucial point, because possible discrepancies between border-crossers' and researcher's interpretations and meanings might emerge and need to be carefully taken into consideration. For instance, what is framed as "resistance" from the researcher's point of view might not appear as such to border-crossers. Yet, far from being an obstacle, these different interpretations can work as starting point for analyzing the reasons and motivations underpinning border-crossers' actions. To make an example, to what extent are border-crossers' strategies of resistance willingly carried out? To what extent, on the contrary, are they "tacitly" performed as reactions to the situations in which they find themselves?

Furthermore, focusing on border-crossers' own meanings and motivations marks an important difference with the positivist and critical sociologist approaches. On the one hand, a positivist approach to the temporalities of resistance would lead to identify, a priori, a set of possible resistance strategies and then to enquire whether border-crossers' strategies match with it. In addition to this, the positivist assumption that actors behave rationally might lead to disregard how border-crossers' agency often emerge from contingent situations in which they do not have full control, let alone complete knowledge, of the consequences of their actions. On the other hand, starting from the ontological premise that reality is shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic values depending upon power relations, critical approaches mostly interpret migration through the lens of external, contextual structures, like capitalism and the exploitation of migrant labor (Mezzadra 2011) and highlight how migrants' subjectivities emerge from broader contextual power dynamics that shape contemporary labor conditions. However, a question that might be asked is to what extent this approach is faithful to the vocabulary and understanding of the people they talk about. As Latour (2005, p. 57) argues: "[t]oo often, social scientists - and especially critical sociologists - behave as if they were "critical", "reflexive", and "distanced" enquirers meeting a "naïve", "uncritical", and

"un-reflexive" actor. But what they too often mean is that they translate the many expressions of their informants into their own vocabulary of social forces".

However, this approach should not lead to underestimate the relevance of critical approaches. On the contrary, the concepts of "resistance" and "counter-conduct" (see section 1) which helped to frame the topic of this dissertation have their roots in post-structuralism and inherently invite to consider how power is exerted upon subjects and with which consequence. Critical research will thus be useful to conceptualize, address and reframe the empirical findings of this dissertation. Yet, rather than assuming that power-relations depends upon static and pre-existing structural conditions, a post-humanist performative approach invites to consider how they are continuously enacted and reproduced. In this respect, a focus on the temporalities inscribed into migration policies and migration infrastructures is particularly relevant as it might allow to uncover how time can be used to produce knowledge asymmetries and, ultimately, to maintain and deepen power-relations.

A final consideration concerns the methodological approach and values defining my research. As already mentioned above, social inquiries and their methods are performative in themselves: they make social realities and social worlds; they do not describe, or represent, the world, but rather they enact it, they help to bring into being what they also discover (Law & Urry 2004). While an accurate account of my methodology will be provided in Chapter 4, for the time being is it wort to anticipate one of the main tenets underpinning this research. To a certain extent, asking border-crossers to share their stories can already be framed as performative, as it might contribute to eliciting memories and reflections, or to questioning and problematizing the procedures to which they were subjected. Yet, merely collecting and reporting interviews risks to be a rather conservative approach, in line with the positivistic tradition which conceives of the researcher as a passive, neutral actor not intervening in his investigation. On the contrary, inspired by approaches like STS making and doing, design justice and participatory design, my research tries to develop a more performative and interventionist method, in which border-crossers are engaged in order to problematize some of the assumptions and values at stake in the data practices and infrastructures for migration management (see Chapter 6).

1.3. Research questions

The conceptual issues and theoretical frameworks discussed so far led me to identify the overall research question leading my work:

- How do the temporalities of the migration journey and of data practices and infrastructures enact border-crossers, and which possibilities of resistance emerge?

To articulate this question, three different research sub-questions have been identified. First of all, in order to identify the discrepant temporalities between migration management and

border-crossers strategies of resistance, a preliminary analysis of the temporalities shaping the data practices and infrastructures for migration management needs to be conducted. This requires investigating the temporal processes of knowledge production from the perspective of European migration management, without considering the intersection with temporalities of resistance. Data practices and infrastructures are enquired as the point of intersection of multiple temporalities: the timing norms of migration officers, the time politics of asylum, the temporalities inscribed and enacted by migration technologies, future-oriented risk scenarios. At this stage, the temporal aims underpinning the implementation and functioning of digital infrastructures for migration management will represent the focus of the analysis. In addition to this, we might expect that, in order to achieve the temporal aims stated in policy proposal, temporal re-arrangements and frictions in the production of knowledge are produced.

- Research sub-question 1: How do the temporalities of data practices and infrastructures for migration management enact border-crossers?

The temporalities of migration management are then put in relation with the temporalities of border-crossers' strategies of resistance. This means addressing how the temporalities inscribed into or generated by data practices constrain border-crossers' possibilities of action and how, in turn, people on the move take advantages of them. These temporal practices of resistance will be unveiled based on ethnographic research with border-crossers.

- Research sub-question 2: How do borders-crossers accept or resist the temporalities of data practices and infrastructures for migration management?

However, ethnographic research was not limited to merely collect data from border-crossers in order to reveal their memories and strategies of resistance. On the contrary, inspired by recent branches of qualitative research – such as STS making and doing, game design, design justice – my fieldwork activity has been directed to enquire whether forms of situated intervention might empower border crossers and their possibilities of resistance either through the production of relevant knowledge about the temporalities of migration management or by operating upon the processes of (non)knowledge characterizing it.

- Research sub-question 3: How can we develop a situated intervention which enhances border-crossers' possibilities of resistance?

1.4. Relevance and goals of the research

This dissertation aims to bring about four different contributions to the current debate that has recently flourished at the crossroad between migration studies and Science and Technologies studies. First of all, it aims to fill the gaps and blind-spots about the understanding and conceptualization, in the extant literature, of the intersections between border-crossers'

temporalities and the temporalities of migration management. In this chapter I have only anticipated some of the gaps and limits of the contemporary discussion about time, migration and technologies, since a more detailed and thorough analysis will be conducted in the next chapter. For the time being it will suffice stressing that scholarship about time and migration has so far polarized around two themes - migrants' subjective time and state's time – without explicitly considering how this relationship is mediated by data practices and socio-technical infrastructures. I will suggest that only by focusing on the encounter between migrants, states and infrastructures it is possible to properly understand how border-crossers' temporalities of resistance emerge in practice. On the other hand, scholarship has so far emphasized the performativity of migration technologies mostly in spatial terms.

Second, my research will attempt to explain border-crossers' resistance to immigration authorities' data infrastructures and practices in terms of divergent temporalities. This represents a novel perspective as it will attempt to connect two areas of research – the temporalities of migration and border-crossers' possibilities of action and resistance – which are rarely addressed together. Third, the ethnographic research and methodology informing this dissertation aims to design an interventionist method which fosters border-crossers' agency by making visible and operating upon the power-relations and knowledge asymmetries shaping migration control. To do this, one of the goals is to involve border-crossers in the process of design of the data infrastructures to which they are subjected. One of the main and innovative assumption leading this form of intervention is that border-crossers should be considered as users of those infrastructures and thus involved in the design process. Lastly, I developed a taxonomy of temporalities which provides a temporal grammar for analysing, from a symmetrical perspective, the encounters between border-crossers' and migration management temporalities' by resorting to the same temporal terms. This taxonomy can be applied to other fields in which knowledge production, power relations and time are at stake.

1.4.1 Context and connection with Processing Citizenship

This dissertation is conducted as part of the *Processing Citizenship. Digital registration of migrants as co-production of citizens, territory and Europe* project (Grant Agreement N. 714463 ProcessCitizenship), funded by the European research Council (ERC). As such, the research focuses on data practices and infrastructures run by European or national authorities. My fieldwork activity and data collection took place in Italy, and therefore Italian data practices and infrastructures will be analysed and presented as case studies. However, since other members of the project collected data and conducted interviews also in Greece, I also included and analysed data from their observations and interviews when considered relevant. More precisely, and following Processing Citizenship's Annex 1 to the Grant Agreement, my

research has mostly addressed WP3, namely "to describe identification and registration practices at Hotspots, focusing on the material devices involved, and assess them on the basis of migrants' adaptation or resistance". The Work Package included four tasks: 1) an actor-network analysis of the techno-social assemblages deployed at Hotspots; 2) mapping practices of adaptation or resistance exerted by migrants, 3) a script analysis comparing "intended migrants" identities "inscribed" in information systems with actual migrants practices of resistance to being registered, 4) assessing registration procedures on the basis of the gaps highlighted by script analysis, looking for similarities and differences among countries, and focusing on possible enabling potentialities. These four tasks were then translated in two research questions: RQ4: How do migrants accept ("subscribe" in script analysis terms) or resist ("dis-inscribe") inscribed identities? RQ5: Which – if any –potentialities for action are enabled by the way migrants' identities are "inscribed" in information systems?

To tasks 2) and 3) and ensuing questions, which focused on the encounters between migrants and information systems, my research added the temporal dimension. Thus, I focus on the temporalities shaping the registrations and identification procedures by analysing both the "scripts of temporalities" defined in policy papers and the temporalities "on the ground" emerging from the empirical material collected during fieldwork. This material includes interviews with border-crossers, with migration officers, with lawyers, cultural mediators and activists working with migrants. Analogously, migrants' practices of adaptation and resistance are interpreted at the level of temporalities, by focusing on migrants' practices of temporal alignment, recalibration and resistance. The dissertation, in other words, attempts to identify how migrants' temporalities are processed, what are the "intended temporalities" inscribed into migration infrastructures and how migrants try to adjust to or dis-inscribe from them.

Chapter 2 – Entangled temporalities: control, resistance, intervention

In the previous chapter I delineated the theoretical and epistemological contours of my research, and I identified the overarching research question guiding this work, as well as the three research sub-questions which will help to articulate it. In this chapter, I offer, for each research sub-question, a literature review which provides an overview of the scholarship conducted so far about the issues raised by those questions. The literature review has three purposes. First, by describing the current "state of the art", it aims at offering some context to the reader by describing the functioning and purpose of the several infrastructures involved in migration management as well as the multiple temporalities shaping the migration journey. Second, it introduces some of the theoretical approaches and concepts which will be used in the next chapters to interpret the data collected during fieldwork. Third, it allows to identify the gaps and blind spots of the current debate, in order to better illustrate the relevance of this research. More precisely, I suggest that while a rich body of literature has separately addressed the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities, less attempts have been made to analyse the struggles, frictions and possibilities of resistance emerging from the interactions between those two temporalities.

2.1. How do the temporalities of data practices and infrastructures for migration management enact border crossers?

As emerged in the previous chapter, the analysis of border-crossers temporalities of resistance must begin with a map of the temporalities shaping the infrastructures for migration management. As a matter of fact, and coherently with a post-humanist performative approach, border-crossers' agency and their possibilities of resistance need to be enquired by considering the situated contexts in which they unfold, and hence to pay attention to the biopolitical tools and mechanisms which are used to control and govern border-crossers. In this overarching section, then, I unpack the nexus between time, control and knowledge production. In the next two sections, I shortly describe the evolution of the European migration regime and I provide a general overview of the infrastructures which are used by European and national authorities to collect data about migrants and to produce various forms of knowledge about them. Following scholarship in STS and security studies, section 2.1.3 illustrates the performative effects of those infrastructures in terms of security, identity and space, while section 2.1.4 identifies the main temporal aims pursued by such infrastructures, namely acceleration and the construction of future-oriented risk scenarios. Lastly, I suggest

that less attention has been paid to investigate how the temporalities embedded in and generated by migration infrastructures enact border-crossers and what the consequences on border-crossers' agency.

2.1.1 The evolution of the European Migration regime

Up to now, the evolution of the European approach to migration and asylum management has been a long, complex and ambiguous process (Trauner & Ripoll Servent 2016, Zaun 2017). While it is not part of the goals of this thesis to reconstruct all phases in detail, I identify three regulatory moments that set the directions of development: the Tampere Programme, the The Hague Programme, the Stockholm Programme. Overall, they are indicative of an increasing tendency to find in technical solutions the response to emergent problems in migration management. In the "Presidency conclusion of the Tampere European Council", held in 1999, a first call to a common EU asylum policy can be found. Beyond recommending partnership with countries of origin, the Programme stated in fact the need to work towards establishing a common European Asylum System that should include "a clear and workable determination of the State responsible for the examination of an asylum application, common standards for a fair and efficient asylum procedure, common minimum conditions of reception of asylum seekers, and the approximation of rules on the recognition and content of the refugee status" (Tampere European Council, p. 4). In addition to this, the Programme expressed the need for "a more efficient management of migration flows" together with the determination "to tackle at its source illegal immigration" (p. 5).

Despite welcoming the results achieved in the previous five years, the Hague programme (2004) stressed the need to "establish a common asylum procedure" and insisted on the distinction between legal migration, deemed to enhance the knowledge-based economy of Europe, and illegal immigration, considered as a source of informal economy and illegal employment. From a technological and operational perspective, the Programme invited to continue efforts in the integration of biometric identifiers in travel documents, Visa, residence permits, EU citizens' passports and information systems. Biometric identifiers are in fact presented as a necessary measure for fighting against illegal immigration and for the prevention and control of crime, especially terrorism. For the same purposes of fighting illegal immigration and strengthening borders' control, the European Council called for maximizing the interoperability of national and European databases. Finally, the Stockholm programme, held in 2010, emphasized the role of "new", "modern" and "interoperable" technologies in improving and reinforcing the system of external border controls.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the attempt to institute a shared asylum system among European Member States is particularly relevant and it allows me to introduce the

main features, stages and knowledge practices characterizing the asylum process. Established in 1999, the main objective of the "Common European Asylum System" (CEAS) has been to harmonize the asylum process among the European Member States on the basis of common minimum standards, directly binding Regulations and Directives which are then transposed into national legislations (Craig & Zwaan 2019). The goal of the asylum process is to determine whether people qualify as refugees or for international protection. According to the 1951 UN Geneva Convention, a refugee must be someone who:

> "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (Article 1(A)2 of the 1951 Geneva Convention)

People can be assessed to be in need of international protection (subsidiary protection) when they "would face a real risk of suffering serious harm", namely in the case of a) the death penalty or execution; b) torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of an applicant in the country of origin; c) serious and individual threat to a civilian's life or person by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict (see EU directives 2011, art. 2(f) and art. 15). According to the non-refoulement principle, Member States cannot remove or transfer from their territory people who could be subjected to those harmful conditions. To determine the refugee status, the asylum process is generally articulated in several stages: the submission of the asylum application, an interview with asylum officers, the assessment and decision about the application taken by the authorities, the appeal in case of a negative decision. Each stage of this process mobilizes various forms of knowledge: information about the countries of origin (van der Kist et al. 2018, van der Kist & Rosset 2020), medical certificates (Fassin & D'Halluin 2005, Beneduce 2015), linguistic knowledge (Veglio 2017, Eades 2005).

Overall, these programmes show the framing of migration as a common European problem that must be dealt through the progressive integration of common policy measures and technological solutions, but, at the same time, it reveals the different and often contradicting policies that characterize the attempts to manage migration flows. On the one hand, the above-mentioned programmes seem to conceive of migration in terms of a labour issue, and thus as an economic opportunity for Europe. Moreover, the respect of migrants' rights and the need to guarantee a fair treatment to the third country nationals legally residing in Europe are repeatedly stated in the three programmes. On the other hand, a security perspective on migration vividly runs across these regulations, combined with the necessity to reinforce and integrate border controls and border management possibly through the use of new technologies. Due to this ambiguities, Balch and Geddes (2011, p. 34) suggest the term

"regime" for describing "the complex and nebulous legal formulas applied in the EU's regulation of immigration and asylum". Moreover, they continue, since the word "regime" was historically used to describe authoritarian rather than democratic systems, it also hints, in a provocative way, to the repressive side of migration and asylum policies in the EU.

2.1.2 Description of data practices and infrastructures for migration management

In the last two decades, digital infrastructures have been extensively employed to manage population mobility. Governments have increasingly relied on data collection, circulation and analysis in order to manage and control the movement and mobility of people across borders (Dijstelbloem 2021, Broeders & Dijstelbloem 2016, Pelizza 2021, Jeandesboz 2016, Curtin 2017, Dijstelbloem and Meijer 2011, Glouftsios & Scheel 2021). These technologies include databases, biometric systems, smart borders, satellites, drones, movement or heat detectors, and have, overall, radically changed the nature of borders.

First of all, databases like the Visa Information System (VIS), Schengen Information System (SIS II) and the European dactylography (Eurodac) have been developed in the last 15 years to collect and store different typologies of personal data and information about people trying to enter in Europe. The VIS allows and facilitates the exchange of visa data among the EU countries part of the Schengen Area[3] and it is expected to become the world's largest biometric database, potentially holding 70 million records (Aas 2011). SIS II and its predecessor, SIS, are databases shared by Schengen States for enforcing public order and security, particularly in relation to immigration issues (EC 2006, Broeders 2011). It enables the national authorities of Member States to consult and enter alerts about missing or wanted people and objects, such as the "lost and stolen identity documents" category. In 2016 the European Commission proposed some changes in order to strengthen the system (COM 2016). According to this proposal, SIS II will contain biometric data (fingerprints, palm prints, facial images and DNA) of the missing persons, it will enhance the access to other EU agencies (Europol, European Border and Coast Guard Agencies) and will visualize return decisions or entry bans for fighting irregular immigration. Lastly, Eurodac was originally developed in 2003 for enforcing and facilitating the application of the Dublin regulation by allowing to determine the Member State responsible for the processing of asylum applications (Broeders 2011). This is done by registering and comparing the fingerprints of asylum applicants above 14 years old and checking them against the data stored in a central unit managed by the European Commission. If a "hit" occurs, then the person has already applied

[3] The Schengen Area is a border-free area that guarantees free-movement to the citizens of the majority of the European countries (Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland).

for asylum in another Member State. The Eurodac database has received considerable attention due to *function creep* (Broeders 2007, Ajana 2013). Function creep refers to the process whereby techniques that were initially adopted for specific uses and purposes have been gradually spreading into much wider spheres and practices of governance. The case of Eurodac is, in this respect, emblematic. First, beyond its original purpose, the Eurodac was in fact used to individuate people illegally staying in the territory of a Member State by taking their fingerprints and checking them in the database; second, from 2015 the database was shared with national police to check asylum seekers' fingerprints against fingerprints found on ordinary crime scenes.

In addition to these systems, a EU Commission document about Border Management (COM 2008 69)[4] proposed the introduction of three more information systems. First, an Entry-Exit System (EES) for monitoring the entry and exit of third country nationals admitted for a short stay (up to three months) to the territory of the Member States. The system will contain biometric data (fingerprints and facial recognition) (FRA 2018) and, by recording the entry date, it will automatically send alerts in the case of people overstaying in a Member State territory. Second, the Automatic Border Crossings system (ABC) will automatize EU citizens' border checks through the use of smart gates and will rely on the introduction of European biometric passport (fingerprints and face). Similar to the ABC, the European Travel Information and Authorisation System (ETIAS) will be directed to pre-enrolled, low-risk third-country nationals benefitting from a registered traveller status. The granting of this status depends on the previous travel history of the people and on the fulfilment of certain criteria, among which having a biometric passport (Aas 2011).

Whereas these databases aim to collect personal data in order to manage the access to Europe, migration mapping-monitoring systems, such as Eurosur and JORA, are grounded upon a very different logic. Eurosur is a "system of systems" for supporting member states' authority at the southern borders of the EU. The goal is to improve the surveillance of the Mediterranean sea in order to prevent cross-borders crimes, including human smuggling, and to fight illegal immigration (Broeders & Dijstelbloem 2016). Rather than developing new border technologies, Eurosur aims at integrating technologies used by Member States, such as drones and satellites. Importantly, the Eurosur project does not monitor only European external and maritime borders, but also the borders of the neighbouring countries. The overall goal is to achieve a situational picture, a graphical interface presenting real-time data and information received from different authorities, sensors, platforms and other sources (European Union 2013, p. 13; quoted in Broeders and Dijstelbloem 2016, p. 249). This

[4] Communication of 13 February 2008 from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Preparing the next steps in border management in the European Union

ambitious plan initially struggled to be properly implemented, mainly due to the difficulty and reluctance to have the different national border agencies sharing their information, but eventually succeeded in developing convergences and interaction among the different national agencies and in establishing a shared culture (Andersson 2016). Similar to Eurosur, the Joint Operation Reporting Application (JORA) collects data about border crossing incidents happening in the operational areas covered by Frontex. Yet, unlike Eurosur, JORA is designed as "one single, centrally organized, and highly standardized information system" which collects reports from border-guards working in the Mediterranean Sea and then displays border-crossing incidents on an interactive map (Pollozek 2020, p. 4).

With the exception of JORA and Eurosur, all the databases described above contain, or will contain, biometric data of the people recorded. Biometric data are a digital representation of the physical characteristics unique to an individual, such as fingerprints, iris, facial or veins patterns. Biometric systems marked a salient leap with previous modalities of identification and recognition, because, unlike forms of identification practices based on certified documents (ID cards, passports, birth certificate), they do not depend on the possession of a "thing" but rather on inalienable features of one's own body (Van der Ploeg 1999, p. 38). For this reason, a biometric identifier needs to possess specific properties: 1) it must be universal (present in all the people), 2) it must be unique (distinctive to each person), 3) it must be permanent (it must remain the same over time) (Mordini & Petrini 2007). Biometric systems allow two functions in the management of identity: identification/recognition and verification/authentication (Mordini & Petrini 2007, p. 5). The former consists of a one-to-many comparison and answers the question "who is this person?". In other words, a person's biometric data are checked against a database containing biometric data of a group of people in order to identify that person. Verification/authentication, on the other hand, is a one-to-one comparison aimed at discovering whether one person is the one she claims to be. Verification is then a simpler form of identity management as it depends on the comparison of two digital templates in order to determine whether they relate to the same person.

2.1.3 Performativity of migration infrastructures

The proliferation and implementation of digital infrastructures for migration management have been widely addressed by scholarship in critical security studies, border studies and STS. Overall, the increasing digitization of borders have been analysed along three interconnected threads: a debate enquiring the implications of the digitization of borders in terms of surveillance and security (Amicelle et al. 2015, Walters 2010, Jeandesboz 2016, Bigo 2002, Anderson 2015); the enactment of border-crossers as security subjects (Van der Ploeg & Sprenkels 2011, van Rossem & Pelizza 2022, Pelizza and Van Rossem under review,

Kloppenburg & van der Ploeg 2020, Aas 2011, Amelung 2021, Pollozeck & Passoth 2017, Amelung et al. 2020); the progressive dematerialization, externalization and spatial stretching of borders (Dijstelbloem 2021, Broeders 2011, Broeders & Dijstelbloem 2016, Lyon 2005, Vaughan-Williams 2008, Trauttmansdorff 2017).

To begin with, the various systems described in the previous section have been labelled in different ways: "migration technologies", "security dispositifs", "security assemblages" and "security devices". While all these terms aim at capturing the role and performativity of the technical tools and strategies used to control people's movements and identities and to secure borders, some small but relevant differences exist among them. The term "technology", as occurring in "security technologies" or "migration technologies", tends to imply a rather broad and general approach to industrial artefacts and to the technological society as a whole. It is in this sense that Dijstelbloem and Meijer (2011, p. 6) use "migration technology" for referring to "the instruments used by the government to implement its migration policy". As they specify, the term originated in the ITC domain and it pertains to the technologies involved in the transfer of digital material from different hardware and software configurations or between different generations of computers. But the term is also used to include "the many forms of technological systems used to register illegal residents, to check people crossing the border and to automate the applications for asylum and migration" (Dijstelbloem and Meijer 2011, p. 6).

According to Amicelle et al. (2015), one of the risks of the term "technologies" is to take an innovation-oriented view of technology and society and thus to neglect the low-tech artefacts that are still involved in the management of migration. The concept of "security dispositif" is, on the other hand, a Foucauldian notion aimed at capturing the close relationship between security and freedom of movement. In the notion of *dispositif* the material component is relevant but less central, whereas the focus is on the governmental practices used to administer the flow of people across space and time and to assess risk. As Bigo (2008) argues, the liberal device of security is "a *dispositif* of freedom of circulation imposing mobility on the majority and sorting out those who are banned and detained before being sent back" (p. 110). Third, the notion of "assemblage" is used to refer to temporally emergent configurations and draws from the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987). More specifically, Haggerty and Ericson (2000) coined the term "surveillant assemblage" to describe the new modalities for monitoring people heavily relying on the "desire" to join together practices and technologies into a larger system. While Foucault's *panopticon* was mainly aimed at disciplining the "soul" of people under surveillance through behavioural norms, recent technological developments – and especially, according to Haggerty and Ericson, the rise of computerized databases - allow controlling people by matching their "data

doubles" in order to reconstruct their actions and behaviours. In contrast to these definitions, Amicelle and colleagues (2015), prefer speaking of "security devices". The term, they suggest, does not imply a developmental and historical view of security and security systems; it does not entail a dichotomic choice between an instrumental and a substantive, essentialist understanding of technology, but on the contrary, invites to consider the political and social forces which informed its design; and, lastly, it stresses that techniques and instruments need to be analysed by considering how they are embedded in power relation and the new modes of visibility made possible by them.

The second thread of literature has analysed the enactment of border-crossers as security subjects, especially by focusing on biometrics (Van der Ploeg 1999, Aas 2006, Ajana 2013, Amelung 2021, Kloppenburg & van der Ploeg 2020) and on the data models of the databases collecting migrants' personal data (van Rossem & Pelizza 2022, Pelizza & Van Rossem forthcoming). The reliance on bodily features for identification purposes has led to discuss and problematize the account of identity resulting from biometric systems in terms of an "informatization of the body", whereby the body is progressively "encoded" and transformed into a password, a readable entity object of surveillance (Van der Ploeg 1999, Aas 2006, Ajana 2013, Lyon 2008). Through this process, biometrics implicitly suggest a narrow and reductive conception of identity (Ajana 2010), bearing crucial consequences in terms of social discrimination, social exclusion, and the respect of human rights. Particularly, biometric systems are said to mark a crucial distinction between a group of "crimmigrants", excluded from citizenship and rights, and a group of "bona fide travellers" who, despite being subjected to the same vetting procedures, are nevertheless empowered by them (Aas 2011, Amelung 2021). However, while this criticism captures the exclusionary logic underpinning biometric systems, it also tends to overstep the distinction between identity and identification (Pelizza 2021, Kloppenburg & van der Ploeg 2020). Technical affordances can reduce identity in many different ways, with different outcomes and through the involvement of different actors.

This emerging literature has thus proposed to replace the reductionist understanding of identification with a proliferative one, as a way to account for the enactment of gender and ethnic classifications (Kloppenburg & van der Ploeg 2020), for the multiple, non-governmental power dynamics intervening in the identifying encounter (Pelizza 2021), for the multiple dispersals of power along the chain of action (Aradau, 2022). Van Rossem & Pelizza (2022) compared the data models used by European (Eurodac, VIS, SIS II) and national (the Hellenic Register of Foreigners and the German Register of Foreigners) databases and they revealed how the imaginaries of authorities are inscribed into information systems, eventually enacting border-crossers in various ways. Drawing on this, they coined the notion of "scripts

for alterity" for referring "to assumptions about the expected skills, goals, interests and limitations of the Other, the unknown people moving to and across Europe" (Pelizza and van Rossem forthcoming, p. 8).

Despite these nuances, the main and widely recognized consequence of the use of digital technologies has been to radically change the nature of borders. Whereas borders were previously conceived of as lines demarcating territories and thus relatively easy to locate, the introduction of the above-mentioned technologies had led to dematerialized, virtual, networked and digital borders whose boundaries are progressively blurred (Broeders 2011, Broeders & Dijstelbloem 2016, Lyon 2005, Parker & Vaughan-Williams 2012). To put it more precisely, borders are increasingly stretched, both inward and outward (Vaughan-Williams 2008). Inward because databases and biometrics "inscribe" borders into people's bodies (Amoore 2006, Muller 2010), allowing to reconstruct their movements across European territory. Outward because the drones and satellites deployed in the Eurosur program are used to prevent people from entering Europe (Andersson 2016).

However, while this literature has widely conceptualized the performative consequences of migration technologies both in terms of security, identity and re-arrangement of space, it has only partially enquired the possible temporal perspectives and temporal regimes opened by them. In recent years, a growing but scattered literature has explicitly addressed the temporalities of the data practices and infrastructures for migration management from the perspective of smart borders (Sontowski 2018, Murphy & McGuire 2015), mapping-monitoring devices (Tazzioli 2018b, Pollozeck 2020) and the asylum process (Cwerner 2004, Griffiths 2017, Tazzioli 2018a). The next section will then be dedicated to illustrating these works in order to present their original contributions but also to identify the blind-spots or gaps that still need to be addressed.

2.1.4 Temporalities of migration infrastructures

In chapter 1 I introduced the notions of *tempopolitics* (Sontowski 2018) (cfr. p. 3) and *time politics* (Cwerner 2004) (cfr. p. 5) to start accounting for the the temporal mechanisms and strategies used to govern border-crossers' mobility. Before proceeding, a small but significant difference between these two concepts needs to be noted. Sontowski's definition of tempo-politics stresses how, at the level of policy proposals, migration issues and problems are conceptualized in terms of temporal aims and temporal forms of knowledge. On the other hand, by focusing on the temporal strategies used to control and, in Foucauldian terms, to conduct individuals, Cwerner's definition emphasizes the connection between time and power. To properly analyse the temporalities of migration management, these two levels need to be constantly considered and intertwined. Socio-technical systems for migration

management are characterized by temporal aims which, in order to be achieved, impose specific temporalities on the process of knowledge production. In turn, these temporal aims and their relative forms of knowledge production have substantial effects on the possibilities of action of the people governed through those systems. Within the field of migration management, two main temporal aims can be identified: acceleration and the construction of future risk-scenario.

2.1.4.1 Acceleration

In the last decades, three main areas of migration management have been characterized by the quest for acceleration: border-crossing at airports, ports and land borders; the registration and identification process at European external borders; the asylum process. First, acceleration is the backbone of smart borders' appeal and growing presence at points of border crossing (Sontowski 2018). Smart borders, in fact, make possible to automate, and thus allegedly speed-up, the control of people's identity by delegating it to biometric systems, in this way relieving human officers of the burden of decision and, at the same time, ideally eliminating the possibilities of mistakes by reducing the relevance of paper documents for certifying identity (Murphy & Maguire 2015, Broeders 2011, Aas 2006). In this way, smart borders would contribute to the development of "multi-speed citizenship", whereby the access to slow or fast lanes depends on the enrolment in trusted travelled programmes which enact people as "safe" citizens or as "crimmigrant others" whose bodies become objects of crime control and state-surveillance (Muller 2010, Aas 2006, Amelung 2021). In this regard, Bigo (2010) connects the proliferation of smart borders to a new discourse of the liberal governmentality which "reframes freedom as moving without being stopped, and confuses the speed of well-channelled movement with freedom".

In his discussion of the EU's Smart Borders package, Sontowski (2018) interprets the emergence of biometric border control along three different temporal dimensions: the speed of border crossings, the timing of control and third-country nationals' duration of stay. His analysis reveals the gaps between the temporal aims of EU policy proposals and how such proposals are socio-technically put in practice. More specifically, he shows that the collection and enrolment[5] of travelers' biometrics as well as travelers' misconducts during the process increased the time needed for border crossing, eventually configuring a trade-off between speed and security, rather than their reconciliation (Sontowski 2018, p. 2740). Moreover, the pre-registration programme for trustworthy travelers was soon abandoned and replaced by the introduction of self-service kiosk for the enrolment of biometric data. This delegation of the

[5] Enrolment is a term used in technical annexes on smart borders and defined as follows: "The process of collecting biometric samples and subsequent preparation and storage of biometric reference templates representing that person's identity"

enrolment process to travelers themselves led, in turn, to further changes in the timing and practices of border-crossing (Sontowski 2018, p. 2741).

The European "Hotspot approach" offers a further meaningful gaze into the pursued accelerated temporalities of migration management. A Hotspot is "a section of the EU's external border characterized by specific and disproportionate migratory pressure, consisting of mixed migratory flows" (EC 2015, p. 1). The Hotspots in Greece and in Italy are complex socio-technical assemblages in which national and European Agencies, high- and low-tech technologies work and coexist in a logistical process "that moves migrants through containers, produces identities and data and sorts files, cases and fates into distinct institutional channels" (Pollozeck & Passoth 2019, p. 15). Importantly, one of the reasons for establishing the hotspots was eminently temporal, namely to "swiftly identify, register and fingerprint incoming migrants" (EC 2015). To reach this goal, Hotspots have produced a series of temporal shifts affecting the operations carried out by borders-guards, physicians and administrative actors (Pelizza 2020). For example, the Hotspot approach led to the temporal subordination of health-related knowledge to administrative knowledge. In fact, whereas, until 2015, the assessment of health conditions and the filling of local health databases were the first operations conducted after disembarkation and forerun identification and registration procedures, the introduction of the Hotspot approach inverted this relationship. This temporal shift produced two consequences. First, to produce administrative knowledge different human and non-human actors (i.e., policemen using administrative categories, Frontex personnel, and European databases like Eurodac) are mobilized than those involved in the production of health-related knowledge (i.e., local physicians, national health taxonomies, personalized local databases). Second, the temporal reordering of the operations following disembarkation does not imply only "the enactment of the individual Other as administrative subject", but it also re-arranges the relations between authorities, configuring administrative procedures as the most authoritative ones (Pelizza 2020, p. 11). Temporal frictions between different authorities continue after the moments following disembarkation, as revealed by the clash between the "quick and dirty style" of Hellenic police with the "slow and thorough" one of Frontex (Pollozeck 2020). Overwhelmed by the number of arrivals, the Hellenic police wanted Frontex's officers to speed up the operations in order to alleviate the pressure on the center. On the other hand, Frontex's officers wished to properly conduct their policing activities, which include not only screening, debriefing and the upload of fingerprints in Eurodac, activities, but also providing border-crossers with information about the procedure and their rights. (Pollozeck 2020).

Lastly, the asylum process, both in European countries and at the European Union level, has been similarly characterized by the attempts to speed up the "processing time",

namely “the time between the first application for asylum and the first administrative decision on the asylum application” (Reneman & Stronks 2021, p. 305). As already mentioned above (cfr. Chapter 1, section 1.1), Cwerner (2004) discusses how a “politics of speed” has been instantiated in the UK asylum system through the introduction of deadlines and requirements which tend to exclude, or make more difficult, the submission of asylum applications for certain categories of applicants. More recently, Tazzioli (2018a) speaks of the “temporal border of asylum” to illustrate how Hotspots accelerated temporality concerns the partition between migrants who are allowed to claim asylum and those who are preventively excluded. This partition works by determining the nationalities eligible for the asylum procedure and international protection, such as Syrian, Iraqi or Eritrean, while “illegalizing” people coming from North and West Africa and labelled as “economic migrants”. Reneman & Stronks (2021) illustrate how Dutch authorities temporally administer the assessment of asylum requests by prioritizing and accelerating cases with lower chances of success, while slowing down those with higher chances.

2.1.4.2 Future oriented risk-scenario

Next to acceleration, the construction of future-risk scenarios represents the other primary temporal goal of the data practices and infrastructures for migration management. The socio-technical construction of risk-scenarios has to do with the practices, strategies and logics that are used to anticipate and to prevent what will, or might, happen in the future. The crucial assumption behind the different forms of contemporary anticipatory actions is that the future will diverge from the past and from the present and it will exceed present knowledge (Anderson 2010). Among the logics used to intervene in the “here and now” for enacting and guiding the future (Anderson 2010, p. 788), pre-emption and precaution are those which mostly characterize data infrastructures for migration management.

A pre-emptive logic defines most of the attempts to manage transnational mobility and to fight terrorism (De Goede 2018, Amoore & De Goede 2005). The salient feature of pre-emption is that it does not act upon an already known threat, but rather “it acts over threats that have not yet emerged as determinate threats” (Anderson 2010, 79). It is in this sense that Broeders & Dijstelbloem (2016) speak of a shift from reactive to pre-emptive databases, whereby systems register people because of what they may do in the future rather than for what they have done. Thus, “people are registered in Eurodac because they applied for asylum but also because they may apply in multiple countries and may become irregular migrants” (Broeders & Dijstelbloem 2016, p. 252). Broaders and Hampshire (2013) discuss how digital technologies enable governments to identify and categorise would-be immigrants and travellers well before they arrive at the territorial border. The logic of this pre-emptive governance of mobility databases is grounded upon the creation of different categories -

black-listing, grey-listing and green-listing - which are used to pre-sort border traffic and create seamless borders.

Yet, pre-emption is not peculiar of databases. Mapping-monitoring devices, like Eurosur and JORA, are also underpinned by a pre-emptive temporal rationale. These systems (cfr. this chapter, section 2.1.2) would allow to provide a situational, real-time picture of migratory movements in the Mediterranean Sea in order to facilitate rescue operations. However, despite what is stated in EU documents, the goal of these mapping-monitoring devices is not so much to intervene in real time in order to rescue border-crossers, but rather to build future risk scenarios in order to craft new spaces of governmentality (Tazzioli 2018b). This is achieved through a *track-and-archive gaze* in which different but coeval temporalities (past-, present- and future-oriented) co-exist following a pre-emptive temporality of security and surveillance. JORA works as dashboard software formed by five screens, each of them producing a specific type of knowledge trough a specific modality of visualization about the same migratory event (Tazzioli 2018b, p. 8). These multiple temporalities of visibilities allow to look at the same event – for instance, a boat detected at sea - from different angles and to craft it as a phenomena to be governed in terms of space, size and composition. The Eurosur screen visualizes migratory events as coloured dots, with different colours referring to different level of risks and impact factors. Both the systems, however, combine the real-time detection of migratory events with an archival function (the data of the migratory events are stored and elaborated) which is then deployed to build and assess future-oriented risk-scenarios. It is worth noticing that, like in the case of the Hotspots, these systems also generate temporal re-arrangements and clashes between the temporalities of reporting and the temporality of border operations (Pollozeck 2020). The information visualized in these systems is obtained not only through the monitoring devices, but also through the reports of border guards. Border guards are indeed required to fill in numerous mandatory "pieces of information" (the numbers of arrivals, their health conditions, the route and landing of the vessels), which slow down the whole procedure. These operations thus conflict with the policies, routines and urgencies of border-operations, eventually producing problems of synchronizations (Pollozeck 2020, p. 8)

Next to pre-emption, precaution also defines attempts to govern and control population mobility. Unlike pre-emption, precaution operates upon already known risks: "the anticipatory action is separate from the processes it acts on and begins once a determinate threat has been identified and before it reaches a point of irreversibility" (Anderson 2010, 789). For instance, SIS II follows a precautionary logic, as it allows "for the creation, consultation and interlinking of alerts on already known targets, meaning wanted or suspect individuals" (Bellanova & Glouftsios 2020, p. 13).

2.1.5 Blind-spots and gaps: temporal re-arrangements and the temporal performativity of categories

Despite the recent works investigating the temporalities embedded and performed by the data infrastructures for migration management, some gaps and under-developed topics might require further exploration. A first point concerns the relation between the temporal aims of the data practices and infrastructures for migration management and the temporal re-arrangements on the operations carried out not only by migration officers, but also by other actors (NGO operators, cultural and linguistic mediators, lawyers). The works by Pollozeck (2020), Pelizza (2020), Sontowski (2018) offer rich empirical material, but they lack a meticulous conceptualization of the relation between the temporal aims pursued by migration policies and migration infrastructures and how they affect, in terms of knowledge production and temporal re-arrangements, migrants' possibilities of resistance. In this regard, it might be worth analyzing how the achievement of specific temporal aims depends on the implementation of new temporal regularities (Zerubavel 1981) and how, in turn, such temporal regularities are inscribed into laws and policy papers (cfr. Chapter 3).

A second point mostly overlooked by scholarship concerns the two-fold relation between time and categories. What seems to be missing is a reflection about the temporal performativity of categories. As a matter of fact, the categories used in the databases are necessarily temporally bounded, "snapshots" of people's life (Griffiths et al. 2013). This occurs, for instance, when temporary attributes or values are assigned to people at a specific moment and then, once stored in a database, treated as a permanent condition rather than as a discrete moment of someone's life and a temporarily limited event. To give an example, in the SIS II there is an entry which reads "whether the person concerned is armed, violent or has escaped" (Pelizza and Van Rossem forthcoming). Once the entry is ticked, how is the person's identity enacted? Being armed or violent seems to become a permanent condition rather than a discrete moment of someone's life and a temporarily limited event. In addition to this, one might ask whether there is the possibility to un-tick the entry after a certain period of time, or in the case the person is found without any weapons. These examples elicit different questions: what are the temporalities inscribed in database categories? To what extent are categories able to capture the flow of time? How is time and time-flowing framed in these categories? Yet, the relation between time and categories can also be addressed the other way around by looking at the effects, in temporal terms, of being classified in a certain way. As I will show especially in Chapter 3, border-crossers' temporalities as well as their possibilities of action are significantly affected by the way they are categorized by migration management.

A last issue concerns the lack of a temporal grammar enabling to draw relations among the different temporalities identified in the works presented so far. Despite relying on

common temporal notions and categories, - such as “pace”, “acceleration”, “prioritization” – these works are not grounded on a systematic and coherent temporal framework. To address this issue, section 4 of this chapter illustrates the taxonomy of temporalities that will be used throughout this dissertation to systematize existing knowledge, but also to test and validate my own hypotheses.

2.2 How do borders-crossers accept or resist the temporalities of data practices and infrastructures for migration management?

2.2.1 Temporalities of the migration journey

The migration journey tends to be conceived as a linear process whose various steps are sequential and pre-determined. This linear and rather determinist understanding is reflected, for instance, in traditional accounts of the “refugee cycle” (Novak 2017): the initial phase of displacement is followed by the phase of relief and then by a phase of care and maintenance, which eventually leads to the return to the country of origin, to resettlement or to integration in the host country. Interestingly, this linear understanding of migration also underpins most contemporary maps which visualise the flow of people across borders through lines and arrows. However, in doing so, visualizations neglect the relocations, deportations and pushback experienced by border-crossers (van Reekum & Schinkel 2016). In contrast to this representation, scholars (Andersson 2014, Tazzioli 2018c) have depicted the migration journey as a punctuated process characterized by different rhythms: slow and rapid movements, acceleration and waiting, repetition and stasis. Moments of fast movements, like attempts to circumvent fences in hidden ways, are countered by long days of walking, by moments of stasis and by the repetition of the same tours.

The city of Bamako, in Mali, well captures these multiple temporalities (Andersson 2014). In Bamako people aiming to reach Europe wait for buses which will bring them to Northern Africa, but, at the same time, Bamako is the receiving place of deportees sent back by the borders’ police, people whose attempts to reach Europe failed and had to come back to a place where they had already been. Also, in Bamako stranded people without money to continue their journey wait for their chance to cross the desert. As Andersson (2014, p. 802) sums up, Bamako is “a crossroads and a dumping ground, a trap or a trampoline, depending on what stage migrants had reached on their journey”. Bamako, in other words, is given different meanings depending on the position it comes to occupy in the timeline of border-crossers, a timeline which, however, has a rhapsodic and not linear nature. Following scholarship in migration studies, the temporalities of the migration journey can be divided in three main categories - waiting, acceleration and deceleration, repetition and cyclicity – which are discussed in the following sub-sections.

2.2.1.1 Waiting

Waiting, declined in its different contexts and meanings, is one of the most explored issues of migration scholarship, particularly in relation to asylum claimants and immigration detention (Griffiths 2014, Rotter 2015, Turnbull 2015, Cabot 2012, Vitus 2010, Jacobsen et al. 2020). Border-crossers and asylum seekers are in fact often exposed to prolonged moments of stasis and periods of waiting for different reasons. While these experiences might change according to the different systems and personal experiences, some common patterns can be individuated. On the one hand, the experience of waiting is generally framed as wasted, useless or empty time; a time that is deprived of purposes (Griffiths 2014). On the other hand, waiting is not a monolithic experience. Gasparini (1995) identifies three different types of waiting: waiting as blockage of action, waiting as an experience filled with substitute meaning and waiting as a meaningful experience. Rotter (2015) identifies other invariable features inherent to waiting: waiting is directed at something, the achievement of a particular state or a change of circumstance; it may have positive or negative modalities, depending on what one is waiting for; it is inscribed with meaning by various actors.

This plurality of meanings can be observed among different categories of border-crossers and asylum seekers. Discussing the experience of time of refused asylum seekers and immigration detainees in UK, Griffiths (2014) singles out two notions of time intimately linked to slowness, stasis and uncertainty. First, what she defines as *sticky time*, moments of stillness and passivity in which people are forced to wait for a decision about their asylum request. People wait for court hearings to be scheduled, for enactments of judge's decisions, for appointments with embassies, for documents to be sent, or more, generally, for decisions to be made. As Griffiths argues, it is a condition characterized by "having too much time", since people are usually not allowed to work and thus have few possibilities to fill their time. Similarly, Griffiths (2014), speaks of *suspended time*, moments of "directionless stasis", of non-cumulative waiting, which result in the feeling of being stopped, of living in an unproductive and endless present. In this respect, Haas (2017) speaks of a *dual positionality* inhabited by asylum claimants, who are simultaneously citizen-in-waiting and deportee-in-waiting. This dual positionality leads to a particular subjective state of "existential limbo" (Cabot 2012), in which life is understood as stalled or immobilized during the asylum process. In this respect, recalling my previous distinction between subjective and collective time, what makes the condition of "sticky" and "suspended" time particularly anguishing is the perceived discrepancy between one's own temporal stasis and the progressive time of other people around (Griffiths 2014).

It would be rushed, however, to univocally identify waiting with a wasted, empty time depriving migrants and asylum seekers of their agency. Against this narrative, Rutter (2015)

shows that period of waiting might also be a productive and affective process, in which people can reflect upon what they desire and prepare for the worst-case scenarios, or in which they actively use time to build social networks or to prepare stronger asylum cases with their lawyers. This is a crucial point as it invites to consider time as an important and empowering resource for border-crossers. As I will show in Chapter 3, "having (more) time" can make a significant difference for asylum seekers' applications, as it might allow them to recover and self-represent traumatic memories which might be decisive for their cases, to develop relationships of trust with the people (cultural mediators, lawyers, psychologists) helping them and to collect various types of evidence (documents, pictures, certificates) supporting their stories.

2.2.1.2 Acceleration/deceleration

Whereas waiting concerns periods of existential stasis or limbo, acceleration and deceleration can be framed as moments in which border-crossers trajectories are slowed down or speed up by the encounter with the sociotechnical infrastructures for migration control. The dichotomy between acceleration and deceleration is particularly evident in the recently introduced "hotspot approach" and in the temporal techniques of bordering connected to its implementation. Hotspots, according to Tazzioli (2018c, p. 18), are spatial and temporal chokepoints which obstruct and decelerate migration movements and simultaneously speed up identification and selection procedures. Tazzioli stresses the discrepancy between the accelerated temporality of the asylum procedures conducted at the Hotspots and the significantly longer period that asylum seekers have to *actually* wait for having their interviews. As a consequence, Hotspots work as mechanisms of spatial and temporary containment, slowing down migrants' journey and possibly forcing them to inverse their routes. Similarly, Rozakou (2020) discusses the shifting border temporalities of Greek Hotspot of Moria during the summer and autumn of 2015. Moving away from a theoretical focus on waiting, Rozakou illustrates how border-crossers' temporal trajectories were accelerated through the intervention of border brokers (NGO or IGO workers, volunteers, journalists, researchers, etc..) who, by mediating with police officers in the Hotspots, were able to negotiate faster registration. Interestingly, according to Rozakou, the dichotomy between acceleration and deceleration also permeated the work of border-officers: whereas the Moria camp had been working to slow down border-crossers' mobility, the increasing arrivals of summer 2015 led border-officers to operate in the opposite modality: the goal was to accelerate, rather than decelerate, mobility, in order to speed up the registration and identification procedures and thus to alleviate the migratory pressure on the island of Lesvos.

Lastly, the migration journey is decelerated through what Tazzioli (2018c) defines as "containment through mobility", namely forced movements across the Greek or the Italian

territory whose purpose is not so much to block migrants, but rather to keep them on the move. Similarly, in border-zones like Calais or Ventimiglia the dismantling of tents and other shelter resources repeatedly conducted by the police does not aim at stopping or identifying people on the move, but rather at preventing their stabilisation, at making them continuously move (Aradau & Tazzioli 2020). Overall, the effects of such practices correspond to what Griffiths (2014) defines as *frenzied* time, disempowering and overwhelming moments in which time accelerates quickly and rushes out of control.

2.2.1.3 Repetition and cyclicity

Unlike waiting or accelerated/decelerated time, which tends to presuppose a linear and sequential conception of time, cyclical time highlights the repetition of the same, the periodical recurring of a given experience. Experience of repetitive or cyclical time can be identified in various moments of the migration journey. First of all, pushbacks and deportation force border-crossers to repeat twice or more the same route (Anderson 2014). More importantly, however, the feeling of repetition is strongly connected to the bureaucratic and administrative systems in which border-crossers are caught. According to Eule and colleagues (2019), cyclical time is an inherent and constitutive feature of illegible governance, often generated by the ever-changing nature of immigration law. Border-crossers' attempts to legalise or to improve their statuses are in fact often characterized by repetitive processes and administrative procedures: fingerprints are taken multiple times at different stages of the migration journey; interviews for revealing and re-constructing border-crossers' past and their identities are repeated; when an asylum case is rejected, asylum claimants appeal the negative decision and the whole procedure starts again.

It is worth mentioning that the same feeling of being stuck in a repetitive process is experienced also by migration officers and state agents, who complain that their control efforts have a cyclical, absurd and futile nature (Eule et al. 2019, pp. 155-6). Most interestingly to the goals of this section, border-crossers themselves can resort to the cyclicity and repetitiveness in order to subvert the temporalities of migration management: by appealing and re-appealing negative decisions, border-crossers try to regain control over their time and to attain their own temporal goals.

2.2.2 Four paradigms to account for socio-technical resistance and its temporalities

Few studies focus on how migrants react to these temporalities, and how their own temporalities intersect with the institutional ones. To do so, it is necessary to review and combine different areas of research: first, literature in migration studies and border studies addressing border-crossers' agency and resistance; second, literature on resistance to technologies as developed in STS and cultural studies. Out of this literature review, I identify

four paradigms, each of which provides set of concerns, concepts, methodologies and forms of action to interpret the agency of people on the move. I identify the "juridical paradigm", the "Enacting Citizenship paradigm", the "Autonomy of Migration paradigm" and the "technological appropriation paradigm". These four paradigms articulate and provide a more nuanced understanding of Foucault's notion of "counter-conduct" and of his binary opposition between power and resistance. More precisely, these paradigms will allow to unpack border-crossers' possibilities of resistance by looking at the encounter between border-crossers and migration infrastructures from different angles, each of them stressing a specific aspect of such encounter.

As illustrated by section 2.1, migration management and migration infrastructures combine legal, political and technological elements which, overall, contribute to shape the way border-crossers are *conducted* and how power is exerted upon them. Border-crossers' agency need to be analogously analyzed by considering these diverse elements. Hence, the "juridical paradigm" stresses, by referencing to the European legislation about data protection, border-crossers' control about their collected data and their knowledge about the reasons for which they are collected. The "Enacting Citizenship" and "Autonomy of migration" paradigms address, from two different perspectives, border-crossers' political struggles and actions of appropriation of the European institutions managing their movements and their access to citizenship. Lastly, drawing explicitly on STS, media and cultural studies, the "technological appropriation paradigm" invites to consider how border-crossers appropriate and domesticate, for their goals and purposes, the several technologies and infrastructures which are used in migration management. However, since only few of the scholarship developed within these paradigms address the temporal dimension of resistance, in concluding this section I will single out the concepts that can be used to account for the temporalities of resistance.

2.2.2.1 The juridical paradigm: digital agency and informed consent

To start investigating border-crossers' temporalities of resistance requires to understand to what extent they are aware of the data collected about them and what is entailed by the collection, storage and circulation of those data. To what extent are border-crossers aware of the temporal consequences entailed by releasing their data? What are their possibilities to change or rectify their collected data? How do the data collected in EU databases shape border-crossers actions and what are the temporal constraints imposed to such actions?

The notions of "digital agency" and "informed consent" are relevant, in this context, because they stress migrants' knowledge about the purposes for which their data are collected and how, in turn, those data might hinder or facilitate their future movements and possibilities of action. Following Kaurin (2019, p. 10), three components can be said to define "digital

agency": first, the sense of agency and control of one's own body and actions; second, border-crossers' capacity to think, to act independently, and to make their own free choices; third, digital agency has to do with border-crossers' possibility to be provided with relevant information in order to make conscious decisions about the use of their data. As a consequence of these considerations, informed consent is a constitutive element of digital agency, as it covers 1) border-crossers' knowledge about the purposes and consequences for which data are collected, processed and stored and 2) border-crossers' permission to use and access those data. The concept of "digital agency" allows thus to focus both on the sense of control and ownership over one's own digital data and, at the same time, on the possibilities of actions allowed or hampered by digital infrastructures for migration management.

As a matter of fact, the collection and storage of personal data in the European databases raise important ethical issues concerning the respect of fundamental rights, the right to privacy and to data protection. These rights are expressed in official documents like the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (CFREU) and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). The latter is especially important because it is the most recent attempt to regulate the collection, storage, and processing of sensitive personal data and it was conceived as a response to the increasing possibilities of data collection and data analysis offered by ICT technologies. Besides the fundamental rights to privacy, data protection, information/informed consent, non-discrimination and human dignity, the GDPR introduced new important principles for the management of personal data: "purpose specification", "necessity and proportionality" and "data minimization" as well as "the right to be forgotten" and "the right to rectification". However, despite providing an overarching legal framework for the treatment of personal data, the application of GDPR to migration data is not straightforward. First, while GDPR procedures should in principle be applied to any entities collecting data about people residing in EU, they do not explicitly express how personal data should be collected for non-EU residents, as in the context of migration management (Latonero *et al.* 2019, p. 18). Second, it is not clear to what extent the GDPR applies to international organizations due to the privileges and immunities enjoyed by such entities (Kuner 2018).

To begin with, there is an overarching issue, a meta-problem, that shapes any consideration about privacy, informed consent and people's possibility to defend their rights, an issue which is related to gaps in technical literacy and the access to information. First of all, the term "privacy" is a Western production that might lead to some discrepancy between how it is meant in European legislation and how border-crossers and asylum seekers think about the protection of their personal data. The legal definition of privacy and legal terminology used in these leaflets might not be fully understandable to migrants (FRA 2018,

p. 34). Interviews with border-crossers, for instance, have shown that the term might be perceived as too abstract for guaranteeing reciprocal comprehension, and examples and explanations of the concept were needed in order to achieve a reciprocal understanding (Latonero et al. 2019, pp. 29-30). An even more fundamental problem regards the so-called language barrier (Kaurin 2019, FRA 2018). Reports documented how people struggle in filling out documents written in the local Member State language or in receiving explanations or leaflets about their rights in languages they do not understand or without an accurate translation. While a lack of legal comprehension is a common feature even among native speakers, in the case of vulnerable subjects like border-crossers and asylum seekers it might result in the failure to properly provide informed consent and in increased power asymmetries (Latonero et al. 2019, p. 31).

Expectedly, the degree of the language barrier depends on whether the information is given in written or in oral forms. Information gaps are sharpened when information has to be provided orally, for instance when people directly ask officers about the procedures to which they are subjected. A further obstacle is the "who is who?" problem, especially where multiple national, European and international agencies co-exist in the same place, as it occurs in Hotspots. As a matter of fact, in Italian and Greek Hotspots a multiplicity of national and international law-enforcement authorities (national polices, FRONTEX, Europol), international organizations (IOM, UNHCR, Red Cross) and NGOs co-exist and work together to collect border-crossers' data, to conduct screening, health checks and asylum interviews, and also to provide shelter and legal assistance. Yet, the profile and function of these organizations are mostly unknown to border-crossers, who, as a consequence, are not put in the position to know which information must be given in order to get asylum and to whom (cfr. Chapter 5, section 5.5).

Having outlined these overarching problems, some more specific concerns are connected to the different technologies deployed to register and store migrants' data. To begin with, biometric data are explicitly mentioned in the GDPR (Article 4, par. 14) and defined as "personal data resulting from specific technical processing relating to the physical, physiological or behavioural characteristics of a natural person, which allow or confirm the unique identification of that natural person, such as facial images or dactyloscopic data". Two different notions of privacy are at stake in the use of biometric systems: physical privacy and informational privacy (Woodward et al. 2001). Physical privacy includes, among other threats, the feeling of stigmatization/exclusion, namely the association, common in many cultures, between fingerprinting and criminal activities. Informational privacy refers, on the other hand, to what Mueller (2005) defines as the "space of the database" and includes function creep, traceability and misuse of data. As specified above (cfr. section 2.1.2) function

creep is the process whereby a system or a technique is used beyond the original purpose for which it was adopted. This is the much-discussed case of Eurodac, originally designed as a digital archive for establishing the Member States responsible for asylum applications and later extended to detect illegal immigration or for criminal investigations. Importantly, function creep can occur without the consent of the person whose data has been collected. (Woodward et al 2001, p. 24). Traceability, which can be thought as a form of function creep, refers to the possibility to monitor people's movements across time. As Tazzioli (2018c, p. 2767) points out, the "potential localisation and traceability of bodies across space and over time that can be made by matching the algorithm of the fingerprints stored in the Eurodac database with migrants' data that can be captured by police officers in any place in Europe" enable new powerful possibilities of control, which are not anymore narrowed to disciplinary and direct monitoring of the individuals.

Whereas the disruptive potentialities of biometric systems depend on the supposed capacity to control people by linking their identities to bodily features, the personal data collected in the databases raise different kind of concerns. First of all, following Article 16 of the GDPR, the so-called "right to rectification", individuals have the right "to obtain from the controller without undue delay the rectification of inaccurate personal data concerning him or her". In the context of migration management, the right of rectification is especially relevant for people whose name is wrongly spelled during registration and identification procedures. Latonero et al. (2019, p. 25) report that, according to an interviewed NGO representative, half of the asylum applications cases they encountered and submitted in South Europe Hotspots contained wrong personal data. Similarly, FRA (2018, p. 82) reports that more than half of the border guards surveyed indicate that they experienced inaccurate, incorrect or not updated personal data in VIS or SIS II. Figures are lower in the case of Eurodac, due to the lower number of alphanumerical data contained, but almost half of the respondents declared to experience some instances of inaccuracies. The presence of wrong or inaccurate data is strictly connected, and can be mitigated, by border-crossers possibilities to exercise their right to the access, rectification and deletion of their data. Especially relevant is the "right to erasure" ("right to be forgotten"), which, following article 17 of GDPR, states that the data subject shall have the right to obtain from the controller the erasure of personal data concerning him or her without undue delay when one of the following grounds applies: the personal data are no longer necessary, personal data are unlawfully processed, the data subject withdraws consent on which the processing is based or where there is no other legal ground for the processing. The "right to erasure" is crucial in shaping migrants' mobility, as shown by the Eurodac. Extending the retention period of apprehended people data from 18 months to 5 years, as proposed by the European Commission in 2016, would inevitably make them more

traceable and restrict their possibilities to move. In addition to this, setting a time limit might not be sufficient in guaranteeing the deletion of data, as the deletion might not be done or data might be deleted in EU systems but remaining available in national systems (FRA 2018, p. 94).

Before concluding this section, I wish to make a final consideration which outreaches the focus on EU databases discussed so far. Mapping-monitoring devices, such Eurosur and JORA, do not seem to raise, at first glance, any privacy concerns, since drones and satellites collect information about boats and routes but not the personal data of the people on those boats. However, as Kift (2016) cleverly notes, drones and satellites do not establish the personal identity of those persons, who they are, but they make possible to determine *what* they are, namely people trying to enter the European territory in irregular way. This leads to a paradoxical situation, because people are classified as "'illegal' migrants and potentially sent back to their ports of origin without first establishing whether there are refugees with international protection claims among them" (Kift 2016, p. 3). In other words, in this case it is the refusal of collecting personal data that might result in the violation of fundamental rights.

Within the concerns and questions raised by this dissertation, the notion of "digital informed agency" is helpful to start articulating border-crossers' possibilities of action and resistance from two perspectives. A first set of concerns can be formulated as follows: to what extent can border-crossers resist the forms of social-technical conduct and power embedded in migration management if they are not aware of the consequences entailed by them? The empirical evidence I will report in Chapter 5 will highlight that border-crossers tend to be unaware of the purposes for which their data are collected, a condition which, in turn, raises fundamental doubts about border-crossers' actual possibilities to give a properly informed consent to the procedures to which they are subjected. In this regard, a further point to be enquired concerns the boundary between a deliberate and well-informed decision to accept those procedures and a compliant behaviour due to incomplete and fragmented information. A second point raised by this section concerns the extension of "digital agency" and "informed consent" to border-crossers. By definition, these rights are exerted by (European) citizens, yet, unveiling and problematized the assumed distinction between citizens' rights and border-crossers' ones might help to better define the agency of the latter in comparison to the former. This is an important aspect which will be further articulated in the next section, while discussing the "Enacting Citizenship paradigm".

2.2.2.2 Autonomy of Migration and Enacting Citizenship

Within border and migration studies, numerous scholars have tried to conceptualize border-crossers' capacities and possibilities of action, their attempts to resist or subvert the

administrative and technological means deployed to their control and surveillance. Two of the most interesting conceptualizations in this field have been the Autonomy of Migration (Mezzadra 2011, Papadopoulos et al. 2008, De Genova 2017, Scheel 2019) and Enacting Citizenship (Isin & Nielsen 2008, Isin & Seward 2013, Isin 2017).

The originality of Autonomy of Migration (AoM) lies in treating migration as a social movement, a creative, dynamic force which escapes any attempt to control or govern it and which, on the contrary, continuously elaborates tactics and methods in order to defeat and overcome practices of border control. Migration trajectories are thus defined by excess and uncontrollability and cannot be reduced to economic or social factors. As a matter of fact, AoM scholars refuse any representation of border-crossers as victims or passive agents undergoing controls (Scheel 2013). On the contrary, people on the move have their own will which logically precedes and transcends the attempts to govern them and their movements. Second, in contrast to the "Fortress Europe" image, which suggests unpassable, impenetrable borders through which excluding migrants from the access to the European territory, AoM prefers speaking of *porous borders*. Depicting borders as porous stresses in fact border-crossers' capacity to subvert controls by devising different ways for entering Europe unofficially and undetected. Moreover, this image captures the regime of differential inclusion that characterizes European borders, whereby the access to Europe is regulated through different modalities of entry and through different residence status.

More specifically, the most diffused governmental tool for governing the relation between mobility, labour and security is citizenship (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013). Citizenship is in fact by definition an exclusionary category, used to regulate the access to rights and representations. This understanding of citizenship marks a further salient difference between AoM and other studies on migration. According to Mezzadra (2011), mainstream accounts tend to look at migration through the lens of citizenship, arguing that migrants *want* to become citizens. The consequence of this approach is to discuss the integration of border-crossers within an already existing legal and political framework, while neglecting that they already *act* as citizens. Within this interpretation of migration trajectories, following the 1960s Operaist Autonomy's movement, AoM scholars refuse the Foucaldian understanding of resistance as counter-conduct, in that it would entail a passive attitude towards hegemony. They rather focus on those moments in which migrants subvert and appropriate the methods and devices developed to manage their movements and control and check their identities. In this respect, according to Scheel (2017), the concepts of "appropriation" and "embodied encounters" are, compared to those of "agency" and "resistance", better able to capture border-crossers' capacities and possibilities to undermine and challenge border controls. On the one hand, the concept of agency might lead to a static analysis in which agency and

structure are investigated in isolation of one another (Scheel 2013). This understanding of "agency" is however problematic from an STS and post-humanist perspective, as it seems to ignore the distributed nature of agency, namely how human actions are always emerging in associations with other human and nonhuman actor. On the other hand, the concept of "resistance" is deemed as problematic due to its inherently passive and reactive nature, which hints to an already established relation of domination (Tronti 1979, Bojadžijev & Karakayali 2007, Papadopoulos et al. 2008, Scheel 2013).

On the contrary, the notion of appropriation (or embodied encounters) would "invite scholars to investigate, first, how migrants try to repurpose and recode the actors, devices, and methods of mobility control into means of appropriation, in order to show, second, how this capacity derives from the features of the mechanisms of control themselves that enlist people in the surveillance and regulation of their own mobility" (Scheel 2017, p. 53). To make just an example, a mode of appropriation described by Scheel (2017) is the falsification and manipulation of supporting documents to conform to the profile of "bona fide" travellers in order to get a Schengen visa.

It is interesting to compare the AoM approach and its view on citizenship with the account of "enacting citizenship" developed by Engin Isin and colleagues (Isin & Seward 2013, Isin 2017). The central claim is that citizenship has a dynamic and fluid nature which should not be reduced to the mere guarantee and enjoyment of the rights that people already have. This is, according to Isin and Seward, the vision put forward by the European Commission which however reflects a limitative, passive understanding of citizenship. On the contrary, they argue that a more comprehensive and politically engaging notion of European citizenship would allow to include and treat as citizens also those who, from a juridical and legal perspective, are not European citizens, but nonetheless claim their "right to have rights". Such *acts of citizenship* consist of creative, unauthorized and unconventional moments in which a subject asserts a right or entitlement to a liveable life when no such prior authorization exists (Isin & Seward 2013). Acts of European Citizenship include Kurdish or Turkish women claiming fundamental rights guaranteed and protected by the European Convention on Human Rights (Isyar et al 2009, Kancı et al 2010, quoted in Isin and Seward 2013). As Isin (2017, p. 31) argues, these acts of citizenship demonstrate that the transition from strangers, outsiders and aliens to European citizens happens by making claims and staging acts to demonstrate collective political subjectivity. This was for instance the case of undocumented migrants who destroyed their identity documents in order to make rights claims as refugees (Isin 2013). These actions, according to Isin, shed light on the political agency of undocumented migrants and blur the boundaries between citizens and noncitizens. Following Butler, Isin argues that "undocumented migrants are not only performing civic

duties as currently understood but also resignifying these duties and transforming them" (Isin 2017, p. 511).

Some differences and similarities can be individuated between these two approaches. A first outstanding difference is the theoretical focus of these frameworks. Whereas "Enacting Citizenship" discusses different examples of subject positions and modalities of performing citizenship, among which migrants' struggles are just one, though very emblematic, case, AoM focuses specifically on the social and political struggles experienced by migrants. In this respect, the notion of "citizenship" represents only one among many dimensions through which enquiring migrants' trajectories and their agency. Advocates of AoM are more interested in the strategies and practices developed by migrants to escape state control, to live according to their own needs and desires. Within this picture, the notion of "citizenship", and even "activist citizenship" is perhaps less crucial and more derivative of a broader understanding of migrants' struggles, actions and desires. As Papadopoulos & Tsianos (2013, p. 188) points out: "[c]rossing Calais can be seen as an 'act of citizenship' (Isin and Nielsen 2008) only to the extent that the very moment of hiding in a lorry is an illegalised activity. From the perspective of migrants, this is an act of immediate justice for sustaining their everyday life." Another crucial difference regards the "temporality of struggles". As Mezzadra (2011, p. 16) underlines, "acts of citizenship" are mostly conceived as moments of ruptures and events in which the politically and socially given is challenged in unexpected ways. "Acts of citizenship" are street manifestations, appeals to courts or foundations, and seem to require a stage in which they are collectively performed. On the other hand, AoM tends to have a broader temporal perspective in which what is relevant are the living, material conditions that enable the emergence of new political communities.

2.2.2.3 Technology and cultural studies: appropriation, domestication, non-use, dis-inscription, recalibration

To a closer view, the literature discussed up to now can be systematized depending on the way it rhetorically positions border crosser's agency vis-à-vis the institution of citizenship. On the one hand, the notion of "informed digital agency" derives border-crossers' hypothetical control and ownership over their personal data by analogy with privacy and other fundamental rights, including their rights to be properly informed (informed consent) about the procedures to which there are subjected. On the other hand, Autonomy of Migration emphasizes border-crossers' capacity to resist and to appropriate the political and socio-technical systems deployed to control and hinder their mobility, by *negating* citizenship as an institution from which rights are derived. On its side, Enacting Citizenship does not rhetorically negate the value of citizenship, but points out alternative, irregular and unexpected ways to redefine it.

One might wonder to what extent the notions developed within these frameworks are able to take into consideration the performative dimension of migration as socio-technically mediated, as well as the temporal one. With respect to the first point, empirically accounting for actual power dynamics may become problematic when asymmetries introduced in the border encounter are nested in sociotechnical arrangements that involve more actors than a binary relationship between border-crossers and state officers would suggest (Pelizza 2021).. This line of reasoning is not completely missing in the paradigms discussed in the previous section. Scheel (2013), for instance, invites to consider how "biometric rebordering" deeply changes the encounters and power relations between migrants and border control authorities, suggesting a "situated reading of autonomy" whereby mobility is always embodied and relational, and thus shaped by the gender, sex, "race", class and other factors of the people. However, it is not clear how situated, performative interpretations can account for encounters characterized by established power relations a priori determined by demographic categories. Furthermore, this argument tends to assume that any moment of appropriation is always taking place between an individual and a representative of the state, in a dualistic relationship. Yet, such relationship is often mediated by different artefacts, be they biometric systems, data models or paper documents, which will determine the outcome of the encounter, sometimes in unexpected ways. What is embodied and relational, in other words, is not just the gender, sex and class of the migrant, but also the situated interaction with humans and technologies that mediate the very possibility to move and to cross borders.

I argue that the long standing cultural and technology studies' traditions on media and technological resistance, appropriation and non-use can contribute to our understanding of border-crossers' reaction to temporalized data infrastructures. Science & Technology studies have in fact engaged in a dialogue with cultural studies that touches upon appropriation, resistance and non-use of technical artefacts and communication technologies (Boczkowski & Lievrouw 2008). Such debates build upon Science & Technology Studies' research on users as agents of technological change (Oudshoorn & Pinch (2003), resistance to new technologies (Kline 2003), non-use (Wyatt 2003), domestication of new artefacts (Silverstone & Haddon 1996) and the actual, divergent use of artefacts (Akrich & Latour 1992).

Kline (2003), for instance, discusses resistance to telephone and electrification in rural America. In his view, resistance is a vector of transformation which, by becoming a means of negotiation among producers, mediators and users, causes socio-technical change. Silverstone and Haddon (1996) use the term "domestication" to describe the process through which the consumer appropriates technologies by making them acceptable and familiar. This process, they suggest, exceeds the purchase of a product, as it will also affect the design of present and future technologies. Wyatt (2003) describes the non-use of Internet in order to highlight the

socio-technical construction of users and non-users. Her works also suggest a taxonomy of non-users articulated upon the distinction between passive avoidance behaviour (the "resisters") and active resistance (the "rejecters"). Lastly, the notion of 'script analysis', as developed by Akrich and Latour (1992), refers to actors' possibilities to conflict with the programs of action ("antiprograms") inscribed into technical artefacts. Particularly the concept of "dis-inscriptions" brings in the foreground the possible frictions and negotiations between the behaviour prescribed to the intended, anticipated actants and how the actual actants try to take distance from it (Latour 1992). Overall, these concepts can contribute to my analysis of border-crossers possibilities of resistance by showing the multiple, and possibly contradictory, types of relationship that users establish with technologies and, more broadly, with socio-technical systems.

Yet, none of these concepts, as well as those of "digital informed agency" and "subverting agency" presented above, explicitly addresses the relation between time and the use of technologies. In the light of these considerations, I suggest that enquiring the temporalized relationships between border-crossers and information technologies for migration management requires a richer set of conceptual tools. Far from leading to a univocal and deterministic modality of time-management and social practice, people appropriate technologies according to their own preferences, needs and expectations, and can choose how to integrate them in their personal life (Horning et al. 1999). Drawing on empirical research, Horning and colleagues identify three different figures – the surfer, the skeptic and the gambler – to show how the time-practices emerging from the use of new communication technologies are personal and highly flexible.

However, being focused on personal computers, video-sets and answering machines, their work does not problematize the interconnection between time, technologies and power. In this respect, the notions of "power-chronography" and "recalibration" as developed by Sharma (2014) can contribute to our understanding of migrants' reaction to temporalized data infrastructures. Sharma's book *In the Meantime* focuses in fact on the "micropolitics of temporal coordination and social control between multiple temporalities" (Sharma 2014, p. 7). Drawing on Massey's concept of power-geometry, Sharma's book aims to recognize time as a form of power and as a site of material struggles and social difference. In Massey's work, space is not conceived as a container but rather as a relational process which is differently experienced according to the specific position of the different subjectivities which inhabit it. Analogously, for Sharma, the lived experience of time depends on the uneven and differentiated positions in which people are situated. In contrast to the narration of a uniform, accelerated pace of life, Sharma suggests that "the meaning of one's time is in large part structured and controlled by both the institutional arrangements inhabited and the time of

others—other temporalities" (Sharma 2017, p. 133). In turn, if time is a form of social power, then a continuous work of temporal recalibration is demanded in order to adjust to the temporal requirements generated by social relations and institutions. The notion of "temporal recalibration" is used to account "for the multiple ways in which individuals and social groups synchronize their body clocks, their senses of the future or the present, to an exterior relation — be it another person, pace, technology, chronometer, institution, or ideology" (Sharma 2014, p. 18).

2.2.2.4 Digital passage and digital surveillance: border-crossers' use and appropriation of non-institutional data infrastructures

The notions of appropriation, script analysis and recalibration can also be useful to conceptualize the increasing and ubiquitous presence of digital technologies such as smartphones, GPS, social networks, online maps, instant messaging apps and many other tools during the migration journey. A recent body of literature has in fact illustrated the relevance of several digital resources in planning and preparing the journey, in obtaining information on route, in the possibility to remain in contact with relatives and friends in the country of origin or in the country of destination (Diminescu 2008, Ponzenesi & Leurs 2014, Gillespie et al. 2018, Frouws et al 2018, Dekker et al. 2018, Latonero & Kift 2018, Zijlsra & Van Kempt 2017, Alencar et al. 2019, Sánchez-Querubín & Rogers 2018, Ponzanesi 2019). Overall, these works have contributed to frame the migration journey as a "digital passage" which "not only facilitates movement but could just as easily be exploited as a tool for surveillance and control" (Latonero et al. 2018, p. 2).

Smartphones and mobile phones, for instance, play a crucial role at different stages of the migration journey and considerably shape border-crossers' decision making process: mobile technologies influence the choice of the migration route and of the country of destinations, they support the transfer of money during the journey and enable to contact smugglers (Zijlsra & Van Kempt 2017). Similarly, social networks - especially Twitter and Facebook - make possible to share information and stories about the migration routes, to access news shared by families or friends, to contact activists, NGOs and journalists (Gillespie et al 2016). GPS applications are likewise vital throughout the migration journey, as they allow people to orient themselves, to reach the desired destinations, be them refugee camps, bus stops or hospitals. Furthermore, some digital resources have been developed expressly for border-crossers: AlarmPhone is a hotline which help people in danger and distress in the Mediterranean Sea by supporting rescue operations; *Crisis Info Hub* is a Google project developed in cooperation with NGOs which includes information and updates concerning the EU-Turkey agreement and allow organizations and individuals to spread crisis-relevant information (Gillespie et al. 2016, pp. 86-88).

Overall, studies show that border-crossers can exploit the affordances of information and communication technologies to enhance their agency. Two important points needs to be stressed. First, throughout their journey border-crossers have to cope with information precarity (Wall et al. 2017). As a matter of fact, the access to digital resources and to the information available cannot be taken for granted because the digital passage is always supported by material conditions: Wi-Fi hotspots are needed to access the Web, SIM cards have to be bought in shops, mobile phones batteries need to be charged. Moreover, the information itself can be irrelevant, unreliable and even dangerous. Second, and more importantly for the purpose of my research, the digital tools and resources used by border-crossers have become new sources of surveillance and control by their home country or by European immigration authorities. Latonero and Kift (2018) define it as "social media surveillance", which can be conducted in two different forms. First, the monitoring of social media sites for preventive risk analysis purpose, which includes the analysis of irregular migrants' routes, smuggling prevention and investigation through counter-messaging in online sites and the collection of electronic evidence for possible criminal persecutions.

A second form of surveillance occurs through the access to smartphone and social media accounts of border-crossers, in order to "make safety checks", i.e. carrying out identification in the absence of ID documents and searching for security-relevant information" (Bellanova, Jumbert, & Gellert, 2016, quoted in Latonero & Kift 2018, p. 7). The vetting of border-crossers' mobile device can occur at two different stages of their journey: when they arrive at European Hotspots and during the asylum process, in order to "verify or debunk claims made by asylum applicants about e.g. their identity, country of origin or travel route" (Bolhuis & van Wijk 2020, p. 6). These checks consist of the extraction of several types of data from phones and computers: login names and email addresses used for applications, location data from photos, browsing history, incoming and outgoing calls, SMS and messages as well as the language used in them, country codes of contacts in the address book (Biselli & Beckman 2020). Currently the practices and purposes of these data extraction are still rather heterogeneous among European member States, and the effective added value and benefits of these searches are still debatable (Bolhuis & van Wijk 2020). Furthermore, the vetting of mobile devices and social media pose obvious problems in terms of privacy and data protection.

These new forms of surveillance are well-known by people on the move, who exploit the affordances of social media to protect themselves. As reported by Gillespie et al. (2018, p. 5), people protect their digital identities and information about intended routes and destinations using closed Facebook groups and encrypted platforms such as WhatsApp. Also, avatars and pseudonyms on Facebook are used to avoid online surveillance by State actors or

by other hostile groups. In this case, the entanglement between past, present and future on the one hand and technologies on the other hand is well shown by migrants' use of smartphones and social media, an use which is constantly informed by contingent necessities and by the need to acquire information about future movements, but, likewise, is shaped by the awareness of being under surveillance and that certain information might be turned against them in the future. What emerges from this dialectic between migrants' use of smartphones and social media on the one hand and the surveillance and control exerted by governments and law enforcement agencies on the other hand is a model of co-surveillance (de Souza e Silva & Frith 2010), or reciprocal surveillance, in which all individuals in the network know the position of all others.

2.2.3 Blind-spots and gaps: conceptualizing border-crossers' agency in temporal terms

To investigate the temporalities of migration, in this section I mobilized different branches of research. First, I reviewed studies addressing the different temporalities – waiting, acceleration/deceleration, repetition/cyclicity – which are generated by the forms of socio-technical control which constrain border-crossers' movements and shape their attempt to improve their legal status in the European member States. Second, in order to start conceptualizing the possible strategies used by border-crossers to resist forms of socio-technical control I identified four paradigms. These paradigms can be positioned along an ideal canvas in order to develop a framework able to capture their contributions as well as their gaps.

"Informed digital agency" concerns the extension of citizens' rights to data protection to border-crossers. As such, it includes border-crossers' awareness about the purposes for which their personal data are stored and processes and the possibility to control those data. The diffused perception of lack of knowledge and transparency regarding these issues raises a fundamental question for the purpose of my research: how can border-crossers resist to data practices and infrastructures if they *do not know* what are their purposes and how they will affect their life afterwards? With the notion of "subverting agency", I denoted border-crossers' attempt to actively challenge and appropriate the biopolitical tools and security devices designed to control them. This perspective foregrounds border-crossers' struggles to sustain their lives and reach their goals regardless of their legal or administrative conditions. Yet, what might be missing in these two paradigms is a performative approach to border-crossers' rights and political struggles and to the role played by digital technologies in re-shuffling and exacerbating power-relations and power-asymmetries in the context of migration management. The "Enacting Citizenship" paradigm allows to partially address the first issue, as it invites to consider how border-crossers perform acts of citizenship without

being properly entitled to do. In this respect, compared to the juridical paradigm, which conceives of rights and privacy mostly in essentialist terms, the "Enacting Citizenship" approach calls attention to border-crossers' struggles and practices to (re)gain control over their data. To account for the second issue, I turned to notions developed in cultural and technologies studies describing how people's use of technologies might be significantly divergent from the one expected and inscribed by designers. However, since these concepts do not include any temporal dimension, I suggest that Sharma's (2014) "recalibration" might help to bring into focus the interconnection between time, technologies and power-relations. Overall, these different threads of scholarship provide a rich set of theoretical tools, yet they have not been weaved together so far. Studies about the temporalities of the migration journey tend to depict border-crossers' as relatively passive agents and, overall, do not problematize attempts to resist, challenge and subvert the temporal mechanisms of control to which people on the move are subjected. Conversely, the collision, or alignments, between the temporalities of migration journey, the temporalities of resistance and the temporalities of migration management are only implicitly addressed by scholarship on border-crossers' agency and struggles[6].

2.3. How can we develop a situated intervention which enhances border-crossers' possibilities of resistance?

The previous research questions were dedicated to map the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities of resistance. Those two questions have a descriptive and analytical nature, as they require to enquire, first, what are the temporalities shaping the data practices and infrastructures used in border and migration control and, second, the strategies exerted by border-crossers to adapt to and subvert those temporalities. As such, those research questions need, in order to be answered, to collect empirical data about the actual implementation and working of the socio-technical systems as well as to uncover border-crossers' memories of their journey and to find out whether and how they tried to resist the procedures and infrastructures used to control their movements. To acquire these empirical data, I relied on different methodologies of ethnographic research, which will be described in further details in Chapter 4. However, coherently with the recent "interventionist turn" which has been theorized in social science research (Law & Urry 2004, Law 2004), my ethnographic activity also had a more speculative and performative character.

Drawing on these approaches, I combined different methodological approaches in order to involve border-crossers in the development of the situated intervention which might enhance, or at least re-define, their possibilities of action. To do this, I relied on STS Making and Doing (Marres, Guggenheim & Wilkie 2018; Downey & Zuiderent Jerak 2017; Ratto et

[6] Two very recent and notable exceptions are Eule et al. (2019) and Jacobsen (2020).

al 2014), participatory design (Ehn, 1990, Zuboff, 1989) and design justice (Costanza-Chock 2018). While STS making and doing has stressed the material and inventive nature of social science research, participatory design and design justice have highlighted the relevance of involving users in the design process of technologies and socio-technical infrastructures. Overall, the attempt to include border-crossers in the re-design of migration infrastructures points to a third type of border-crossers' agency, namely "intervening agency". Whereas "informed digital agency" is concerned with border-crossers' knowledge and control over the personal data collected, stored and processed by socio-technical infrastructures for migration management, and whereas "subverting agency" focuses on their strategies of resistance and appropriation of those infrastructures, "intervening agency" conceptualizes border-crossers as *users* of those infrastructures and as vectors of socio-technical change.

A more detailed and thorough description of these methods and of the resulting situated intervention will be provided in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6, yet two considerations are needed in order to fully conceptualize how this research question is connected with the overall framework of this work and, more broadly, within the current research about migration. First, few researchers have, so far, attempted to include border-crossers in the process of design. Kaurin (2019, p. 16), for instance, calls for the active engagement and involvement of asylum seekers in order to develop solutions for the challenges they have to face during the R&I procedures at the European Hotspots or during the asylum process. Second, the identified form of situated intervention maintains the focus on time underpinning this research. Not only it is mostly directed to operate upon the constrains and obstacles to border-crossers' life and goals caused by the temporalities of the socio-technical infrastructures for migration management, but, more broadly, it represent an attempt to increase the possibilities of action of prospective, future border-crossers.

2.4. Taxonomy of temporalities

A major element emerged from the literature review conducted in this chapter is the lack of a coherent temporal grammar that can be used to properly organize the empirical material and conceptual work concerning the temporalities of migration. The term "temporality" itself might end up jeopardizing the analysis, becoming, more or less inadvertently, a "black box" word which covers a multiplicity of temporal experiences and temporal goals. Furthermore, a rigorous temporal grammar would provide the possibility to articulate the relations among practices, resistance and technologies and then to enhance the understanding and analysis of their frictions. For this purpose, a taxonomy of temporalities is developed in this dissertation as an analytical tool-kit for exploring the temporalities of migration management and the temporalities of migrants' resistance. Beside attempting to systematize the existing scattered literature about the temporalities of knowledge production in migration management and

about the temporalities of the migration journey and of migrants' resistance, the taxonomy will also be used to map and to interpret migrants' possibilities of action and resistance emerging from fieldwork activity and to guide the design of the method of intervention which will be developed together with border-crossers.

The taxonomy is inspired by the semiotic analysis of discourse and of narrative functions, yet it has been adapted to the purposes of my research. More specifically, I rely on the semiotic categories of "temporalization" and "aspectualization" (Greimas & Courtes 1982). "Temporalization" refers, in semiotic terms, to the level of the narration, to the temporality *in* the discourse and it has to do with the past, the present and the future. "Aspectualization" concerns, on the other hand, the temporality *of* the discourse as perceived by an observing enunciator and thus has to do with the point of view from which a process is narrated. These two theorizations are complementary, which means that any process can be analyzed along those two temporal dimensions. Besides these two dimensions, I added a third one, "relation", which is meant to account for the way a process relates to itself or to another process. I deemed important, for the purpose of this research, to include a concept able to compare two different temporal processes and thus to describe the divergent trajectories, the frictions and overlaps between the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities.

"Temporalization", "aspectualization" and "relation" are thus three complementary temporal dimensions, each of them divided in two further temporal categories (see table 1). The categories and their values have been developed in order to capture the fundamental temporal elements identified by the scholarship discussed so far. Thus, *temporal horizon* refers to a medium- and long-term temporal perspective. As such it covers border-crossers' expectations about their future, their goal and hopes, as well as their memories, but it also aims to capture "the problematization of the future" (Anderson 2010) and the construction of future-oriented risk scenarios which characterize migration management (cfr. section 2.1.4.2). On the other hand, *temporal sequence* refers to the order in which the events of a process take place. In the context of migration management, it concerns, for instance, the prioritization of certain epistemic forms at the Hotspots (Pelizza 2020), the sequential stages defining the asylum process or the order of processing of asylum applications submitted by vulnerable persons or people from specific nationalities (cfr. sections 2.1.4.1)

Dimensions	**Temporalization**		**Aspectualization**		**Relation**	
Categories	Temporal horizon	Sequence	Punctuality	Durativiness	Rate of recurrence	Temporal alignment
	Past	Before	Inchoative	Continuous	Cyclical	Synchronous

Values	Present	Now	Terminative	Discontinuous	Linear	Asynchronous Slower/Faster
	Future	After				

The dimension "aspectualization" is defined by the dichotomy between *punctuality* and *durativeness*. *Punctuality* characterizes processes by the absence of duration and it can mark either the beginning of the process (inchoative event) or its end (terminative event). A punctual and inchoative event is, for instance, the moment in which border-crossers' fingerprints are collected and stored in the Eurodac database. The final decision about an asylum case is, on the other hand, a punctual and terminative event as it marks the ends of a process of knowledge production. *Durativiness* refers to a narrative point of view that reproduces the temporal interval entirely filled by a process situated between the inchoative event and the terminative event. I speak of *continuous durativeness* when the process is temporarily homogeneous, for instance border-crossers' protracted periods of waiting at the Hotspots or during the asylum process (cfr. section 2.2.1.1). I speak of *discontinuous durativeness* when the process has a certain rhythm or pace, such as border officers' pace of reporting and uploading data in information infrastructures (Pollozeck 2020). Lastly, the dimension "relation" is defined by the categories *rate of recurrence* and *temporal alignment*. The former is used to determine whether a single process repeats itself or not: in the first case, I speak of a cyclical process; in the second case we will speak of a linear process (its inchoative event occurs only once). The temporal category *temporal alignment* refers to the compared durativeness of two or more temporal processes. Two processes will be said to be *synchronous* when they share the same inchoative event *and* they have the same durativeness, while they will be defined as *asynchronous* when they share the same inchoative event but they have a different durativeness.

Chapter 3 – Temporalities of (non)knowledge production

3.1. Introduction

The literature review conducted in the previous chapter illustrated how the management and control of population mobility and migration flows depend on the incessant production of knowledge about border-crossers. Data and information about migrants' movements and their identities are collected through socio-technical systems which have been implemented for multiple purposes. Satellites and drones are used in the Mediterranean Sea to monitor migration flows; databases are used to collect knowledge about third-country nationals in order to regulate their access to Europe and to limit their possibilities of movement across countries; the asylum process mobilizes different types of knowledge practices in order to assess applicants' stories and identities (cfr. Chapter 2, section 2.1). Furthermore, I argued that the data practices and infrastructures supporting the production and circulation of such knowledge are shaped by what I defined as "temporal aims" or "temporal objectives'" I identified the quest for acceleration and the crafting of future-oriented risk-scenario (cfr. Chapter 2, section 2.1.3.1 and section 2.1.3.2) as the two main temporal aims characterizing migration management.

The goal of this chapter is to deepen this analysis by enquiring how the temporal aims pursued by migration management transform and re-organize the processes of knowledge production about border-crossers. To articulate this issue, I focus on the so-called "accelerated procedures", which have been introduced in Member States in order to speed up the asylum process. These procedures apply, for instance, to people of certain nationalities as well as to those who lodge a new asylum application after a rejection. These applicants have less time to prepare their cases, to provide relevant evidence and to appeal in case of a negative decision. I choose to discuss accelerated procedures because the implications of future scenarios have already been discussed in critical security studies, whereas acceleration is less researched in migration management. Moreover, future-oriented risk scenarios affect border-crossers' possibilities of action in a less prominent way than the attempt to speed up border and migration management: mapping-monitoring devices enact migrants as a "group" rather than as individuals (Kift 2016); pre-emptive database like Eurodac, acting upon what people might do rather than on what they already did, tend to be "invisible" to border-crossers.

To analyze the temporal goals of the accelerated asylum procedures and how they affect the process of knowledge production about the stories and identities of asylum seekers, I rely on the analysis of European Union policy papers and on interviews conducted during my fieldwork about the use of accelerated procedures in Italy. In section 3, I analyze the New

Pact on Migration and Asylum (COM 2020a) published by the European Commission, where an easier and more efficient use of accelerated asylum procedures is recommended as one of the tools through which dealing with the challenges faced by the EU in terms of migration management. In section 4, I rely on interviews collected during my fieldwork to illustrate how accelerated procedures have been applied in Italy and what are their effects on asylum seekers. These interviews were conducted with one ASGI researcher, three lawyers and with operators and cultural mediators working in a cooperative hosting refugees and asylum seekers.

Drawing on this empirical material, I argue that accelerated procedures represent a strategy through which Member States hinder the production of knowledge about people in order to facilitate and speed up their removal. To better support this hypothesis, in the next section I introduce the notion of (non)knowledge, which will represent the analytical entry point through which enquiring the frictions between temporal aims and knowledge production. In the context of migration management, a focus on the production of (non)knowledge might be useful to uncover some of the power-relations at stake. This theoretical move allows reversing the Foucauldian understanding of knowledge as power by asking how (non)knowledge, rather than knowledge, can become a means through which articulating power relations and maintaining or exacerbating power-asymmetries.

3.2. (Non)knowledge and migration

Framed as agnotology – the science of ignorance – or, more prosaically, as (non)knowledge, the study of what we do *not* know has received increasing attention in the last decade (Gross & MCGoey 2015, Aradau 2017, Proctor 2008, Rayner 2012, Beck & Wheling 2012). The novelty of this approach is to move beyond classical epistemological questions concerning what is "not yet known", and to explicitly focus on the "conscious, unconscious, and structural *production of ignorance*, its diverse causes and conformations, whether brought about by neglect, forgetfulness, myopia, extinction, secrecy, or suppression" (Proctor 2008, 3, italics added).

The term "production" is crucial: as discussed in the previous chapters, migration management and control depend upon numerous practices of knowledge production. To explore how the production of (non)knowledge might be at work in the context of migration management, the taxonomy of ignorance developed by Proctor (2008, pp. 4-10) represents a useful starting point. In the first category introduced by Proctor, ignorance is conceived as *native state*, an epistemological situation characteristic of scientific activity, where ignorance is the starting point for research and thus it represents a resource, a challenge, a prompt. Second, ignorance can be seen as *lost realm* or as selective choice. In this case, ignorance is framed as a passive construct which results from the selective, partial nature of any type of

enquire. As Proctor (2008, p. 7) puts it: "the decision to focus on this is therefore invariably a choice to ignore that". Lastly, ignorance can be deliberately engineered as a *strategic ploy*. Unlike the previous cases, ignorance is here an active construct, it is actively crafted in order to organize doubts, uncertainty or misinformation. Proctor's taxonomy has the merit of providing a general and comprehensive overview about the different types of ignorance. Moreover, even though his discussion is mostly concerned with scientific knowledge - how it is produced or not produced, kept secret, distorted or shared with delay – it could also be translated into management, organizational and infrastructural processes.

In this regards, Rayner's (2012) work about the management of uncomfortable knowledge by organizations seems to ideally continue and deepen the idea of ignorance as something willingly pursued. More specifically, Rayner is interested in how information is kept out, on those 'unknown knowns' which are actively excluded by societies or organizations "because they threaten to undermine key organizational arrangements or the ability of institutions to pursue their goals" (Rayner 2012, 108). Rayner (2012) thus identifies four different organizational strategies to manage "uncomfortable knowledge": *denial* (the refusal or inability of organizations to acknowledge information), *dismissal* (the explicit engagement with uncomfortable knowledge, followed by the rejection of such information on the ground that it considered unreliable, not relevant, imprecise, not timely or on the wrong spatial scale), *diversion* (the establishment of a decoy activity which deflects attention from a subject or problem, avoiding that knowledge about it is created or shared) and *displacement* (the substitution of a problem or issue with a more manageable surrogate).

The taxonomies and categories proposed by Proctor and Rayner represent a starting point for enquiring how, in the context of migration management, (non)knowledge might become a tool through which exercising power and authority upon border-crossers. Scholarship in migration studies have already addressed some of these issues. Bohmer & Schuman (2007) illustrate the dialectic between knowledge and ignorance in the process of asylum and suggest that political asylum hearings produce ignorance in the guise of producing knowledge. They thus identify different areas in which both traumatic experiences of persecution and the asylum hearings themselves produce varieties of knowledge and ignorance either on the part of the applicants or on the part of officials. Scheel (2021) discusses the relation between migration statistics and (non)knowledge, by focusing on the quantification (especially statistics represented in graphs and charts) and visualization practices illustrating stocks and flows of migrants. He suggests that statistics about the so-called "deportation gap" results from the failure to record self-organized return migration. By focusing on errors and fakes in identification practices, Aradau and Perret (2022) illustrate how politics of (non)knowledge are played out at European borders. They argue that errors

and fakes are constitutive elements of two different regimes of power/(non)knowledge/subjectivity which, in turn, contribute to the production of racialized hierarchies of subjectivity. Krause (2022) analyses the (non)knowledge production about refugee accommodation quantifications in UNHCR's Global Trends Reports. He argues that, due to undefined categories, unprecise counting and inconsistent recategorizations the reports present important gaps. Yet, he suggests that the (non)knowledge produced and presented in these reports convey the "idea of controllability and governability of refugees as data objects".

While these works have addressed the issue of (non)knowledge production in migration management, a significant body of scholarship has discussed the temporalities of the asylum process (Cwerner 2004, Tazzioli 2019, Griffiths 2017, Renaman & Stronks 2021). As already discussed (cfr. Chapter 2, section 2.1.3.1), these authors emphasize how temporal devices are used to administer and discipline asylum applicants through the introduction of deadlines, temporal hurdles and temporal punishments whose overall goal is to create faster and firmer asylum procedures and to sort out and filter between "genuine" and "illegitimate" asylum seekers. None of these works, however, explicitly addresses the relation between (non)knowledge and the temporalities of migration management and, especially, the temporalities of asylum. This is a particularly interesting relation due to the multiple, heterogenous temporalities which shape the asylum process.

First of all, the asylum process is defined by a sequence of administrative steps: the submission of the asylum application, the interview with the commission, the administrative decision about the case, the possibility to appeal in case of a negative decision. Second, it is characterized by "the inevitable clashes between the lived temporalities of refugees and the institutional mechanisms that characterize the time politics of asylum" (Cwerner 2004, p. 80). As Cwerner suggests, the context of the asylum interview is a rich temporal domain where different narratives, memories and temporal mechanisms co-exist and overlap with each other: the permanence of the law; the memories of the asylum seekers, that might be affected by trauma or amnesia; the narrative form assumed by the case; the times of translation imposed over the narrative in mother's tongue; the information about sending countries (historical narratives, sociological truth); the timing, duration and tempo of the interview, the temporal location of the interview in the asylum process (Cwerner 2004, p. 81). In a similar vein, Sorgoni (2019), examines the "temporalities of translation" in the asylum process. She shows that, in order to speed up and facilitate rejections, the assessment of asylum applications depends on assumptions about the scientific objectivity and neutrality of interviewing and translation techniques. However, "applicants' voices – she argues – ironically became feebler in the course of a procedure in which their translated words are

selectively picked and reassembled in multiple written texts, yet presented as immediately (i.e., without mediation) reproducing the claimants' own words" (Sorgoni 2019, p. 163). Furthermore, the priority accorded to the written documents translating the voice of the asylum seekers is combined with the neglect and disqualification of the provision of corroborating documents, such as political and cultural information.

Sorgoni's article constitutes an insightful example of the relation between knowledge production and the temporalities of the asylum process. However, her work focuses on one stage of the asylum process, namely the interviews conducted by the members of the Territorial Commission with the asylum seekers and on the interviewing and translation techniques used to weaken and make asylum seekers' voices uncredible. My analysis, on the other hand, has a broader temporal perspective, as it will address the temporal remodulation of the several steps shaping the asylum process. As I shall show, accelerated procedures does not directly intervene on the modalities and techniques used in the asylum interview, yet they affect the collection, production and assessment of knowledge about asylum seekers' stories and identities. In the next section I describe the New Pact on Asylum and Migration, where a more efficient and flexible use of accelerated procedure is recommended in order to deal with the increasing amount of asylum applications lodged in the European Union.

3.3 The temporalities of the New Pact on Asylum and Migration

In the EU's recent proposal for a New Pact on Asylum and Migration (COM 2020a), the necessity to accelerate the processing of asylum applications is depicted as one of the main solutions through which tackling the perceived inefficiencies of migration management. The Proposal identifies several challenges currently faced by the European Union regarding migration flows: the persistent pressure on external borders and on the asylum systems, the lack of harmonized procedures among Member States, the deficiencies in implementing the Dublin regulation, the absence of solidarity systems.

While the New Pact has already been discussed from several perspectives (Carrera & Geddes 2021, De Bruycker 2022, Hadj Abdou 2021, Mouzourakis 2021, Gazi 2021), my analysis focuses on the temporalities discussed and problematized in the EU "New pact" and will run along two main lines. First, the Commission's recommendation to increase and to make easier the use of accelerated and border procedures; second, the lack of synchronization between the asylum system and the return system. Compared to the ordinary asylum procedure, accelerated procedures and border procedures are defined by shortened time-frames and, as I will show in detail in the next section, they can be applied in several circumstances according to the profile of applicants. Border procedures are a subset of accelerated procedures: they are defined by the same, reduced time-frames, but they are

conducted at the borders or in transit zones on people who have been apprehended after having eluded, or tried to elude, border controls.

Before delving into these issues, let me first provide some context to the New Pact, which is supposed to represent a "fresh start" on migration. To do this, the New Pact's proposal singles out some "structural challenges" which currently put Member States' asylum, reception and return systems under strain. Among them, the Proposal repeatedly insists on the "increasing proportion of applicants for international protection who are unlikely to receive protection in the EU with a resulting increased administrative burden and delays in granting protection for those in genuine need of protection as well as a persistent phenomenon of onward movement of migrants within the EU" (COM 2020b). More precisely, the Pact's proposal frames the current situation in the following terms: the EU-wide decrease in irregular arrivals has not been followed by a decreasing number of asylum applications. In turn, this discrepancy between the decreasing number of irregular arrivals and the still high number of asylum applications depends on three factors: the submission of multiple asylum applications within the same or another EU Member State following unauthorized movements; applications lodged by persons who arrive legally to the EU; applications lodged by those arriving irregularly, without being apprehended at the external borders (EC 2020, p. 33).

This situation is further sharpened by the applications submitted by third-country nationals arriving from countries with asylum recognition rates lower than 25%. The share of this applications has significantly risen from 2015, leading, according to the Commission, to negative effects on the efficiency of the asylum process. All these elements are well captured by the following quote, which also reveals the rhetorical strategy used by the Commission to justify the increasing use of accelerated procedures:

> "Processing the asylum claims and finalising the return procedure of irregular migrants from third countries with a low recognition rate create a significant burden for national authorities, which need to deal with asylum applications that are very often unfounded and lodged merely to facilitate absconding or hamper returns. The increase of unfounded asylum claims from Moldovan citizens (often subsequent applications following a rejection in another Member State), which has been weighting on national administrations and receptions centres at the beginning of the winter in 2019, is a good example of this. While these applicants knew that their chances of being recognized as refugees were low, they also knew that prolonging the procedures would have given them the opportunity to either look for (undeclared) employment or at least receive financial support during their stay in reception centres. Such instances have a negative impact on the duration of return procedures, putting additional pressure on the return authorities". (EC 2020a, p. 31)

This quote is important for two reasons which reflect the temporal elements I discuss in this section. First of all, it draws a causal relation between applicants from third-countries with low recognition rate and the burden that these applicants put on the system. The idea is that applications lodged by people coming from non-EU countries with low recognition rate have the effects of flooding the system, leading to a waste of time and resources which could be employed for other, genuine asylum applications. The second reason concerns the nexus between the asylum process and the return procedures. The Proposal, in fact, problematizes the temporal misalignment between the asylum system and the return system. Member States' asylum and return systems operate mostly separately, implying that asylum and return decisions are not issued together and thus creating inefficiencies and encouraging the movement of migrants across Europe. Moreover, the quote reported above also implicitly frames the lodging of asylum applications as a deliberate strategy used by certain categories of applicants in order to 'facilitate absconding or hamper returns. This is an important point, as it reveals the dialectic and diachronic entanglement between the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities of resistance. I will further elaborate this issue in the last section of this chapter. To solve those two challenges – the high number of applications from people coming from countries with low recognition rates and the inconsistencies between the asylum and the return system – the proposal recommends several measures. These measures do not concern merely the asylum system, but migration management in the broader sense, including the identification practices conducted at border-crossing points.

3.3.1 Easier use of accelerated and border procedures

The so-called "accelerated procedures" are a special asylum procedure which was introduced in the 2005 Asylum Procedures Directive and then reformulated in the 2013 European Directives. The overall goal of these European directives was to develop a common policy on asylum, by creating common standards for migration management in the Member States. Within this context, accelerated procedures were conceived as a way to speed up the processing of asylum applications by introducing time limits for concluding the examination of applications, as well as deadlines for lodging appeals in case of a negative decision.

The European directives (and the Italian legislative decrees discussed in the next section) do not provide a definition of "accelerated procedure", however, it is generally accepted that, in comparison to ordinary procedures, accelerated procedures are characterized by shorter timeframes for a final decision about the asylum request (Morandi 2020, p. 152). Art. 31 of the European Directive 2013/32/E specifies the temporal regimes that must be observed in the case of regular and accelerated procedures. Thus, according to Art. 31.3,

Member States should ensure that the ordinary examination procedure must be concluded within six months of the submission of the application. Such time limit can however be extended in case of complex legal or factual situations or when "a large number of third-country nationals or stateless persons simultaneously apply for international protection, making it very difficult in practice to conclude the procedure within the six-month time limit". In any case, the examination procedure should be concluded within twenty-one months. The European Directives, however, do not prescribe specific time limits for the application of the accelerated procedures, but they mention the cases to which they can be applied.

The criteria for using accelerated procedures reveal a paradox, or at least an inversion in causal relationships. Accelerated procedures can indeed be applied to cases that are preventively assessed as in low probability to be granted asylum. Art. 31.8 states that the examination of an application can be accelerated and/or conducted at the border or in transit zones when: a) the applicant, in submitting his or her application and presenting the facts, has only raised issues that are not relevant to the examination, b) the applicant is from a safe country of origin, c) the applicant has misled the authorities by presenting false information or documents or by withholding relevant information or documents with respect to their identity and/or nationality, d) the applicant has made clearly inconsistent and contradictory, clearly false or obviously improbable representations which contradict sufficiently verified country-of- origin information, e) the applicant is making an application merely in order to delay or frustrate the enforcement of an earlier or imminent decision, f) the applicant entered the territory of the Member State unlawfully or prolonged his or her stay unlawfully and, without good reasons, g) the applicant refuses to comply with an obligation to have his or her fingerprints taken, h) the applicant may, for serious reasons, be considered a danger to the national security or public order. Moreover, Art. 43 of the Asylum Procedure Directive (2013/32/EU) introduces the possibility to conduct *border procedures*, allowing Member States to decide about the admissibility and the substance of asylum applications at the border or in transit zones. All in all, the criteria established to access accelerated procedures seem to reverse the causal relationship between procedure and assessment: assessment seems to occur ex-ante the procedure, rather than ex-post.

Despite these provisions, according to the Pact's proposal the use of the accelerated and border procedures is still considerably limited. In the 2014-2018 period, the use of accelerated procedures oscillated between 3% and 8%; the use of border procedures was similarly marginal in the same period, with a share of 0.6% in 2018 (EC 2020a, p. 50). The Proposal thus continues by listing the reasons behind such limited use: difficulties in quickly assessing whether an applicant could qualify for the border procedure; the duration of the

appeal procedures, which overcomes the temporal deadline for completing the border procedure, so that the procedure expires before a decision on the application can be taken; the lack of investments and resources (including staff and equipment) that would be needed in order to process application and to accommodate applicants; the lack of prospects on returning the rejected applicant, which rise doubts on the usefulness of border procedures.

To solve these issues, the New Pact suggests a number of new measures which concern not only the asylum process, but, more broadly, migration management. The main goal of these measures is "to make the border procedure more flexible but equally more effective for the Member States in practice by adapting it to practical experience and actual flows on the main migration routes" (COM 2020b, p. 14). To make this possible, the Proposal recommends "a coordinated, effective and rapid screening phase, comprising of the adequate identity, security and health checks". The aim is to swiftly identify, at the border or in the Member States territory, the different categories of applicants (vulnerable cases, people lodging abusive or inadmissible asylum requests, applicants from country of origin with low recognition rate, security threats) and then to channel them into the appropriate procedure (i.e. normal, accelerated, border or return procedure). Moreover, to make more flexible the use of border and accelerated procedures, the assessing criteria must be "easy and quick to apply in practice".

In this respect, the New Pact expands the profiles of applicants who can be subjected to accelerated procedures by introducing the new category of "applicants coming from third-countries with low-recognition rate". As stated by the amended Proposal:

> "a new acceleration ground is added, which is based on a more objective and easy-to-use criteria, according to which Member State shall accelerate the examination of applications made by applicants coming from third countries for which the share of positive asylum decisions in the total number of asylum decisions is, according to the latest available yearly Union-wide average Eurostat data, less than 20%" (COM 2020b, p. 13).

Similarly, the application of border procedures is made mandatory for certain categories of applicants, including those who were disembarked after a search and rescue operation *and* coming from a country of origin with asylum recognition rate lower than 20%. Lastly, the Proposal also intervenes on the duration of the border procedure, which is extended to twelve weeks in order to ensure that it can be concluded within the deadline. Importantly, the twelve weeks deadline encompasses both the first instance decision on the asylum application and the first, judicial level of appeal. Member States are free to set their own deadlines for the administrative and judicial phase, but they should ensure that a decision about the first appeal is taken within that deadline. If Member States fail to take a decision within that period of time, the applicant should be allowed to enter into the territory of the Member State.

3.3.2 Temporal misalignment between asylum and return systems

Beyond recommending the application of accelerated and border procedures to more categories of asylum seekers and extending the deadline for completing those procedures, the proposal also addresses the loopholes in the asylum and return systems. As anticipated above, the temporal misalignment between the two systems is, according to the Commission, exploited by asylum seekers in order to facilitate their absconding and hampering their return. This situation is clearly stated in the New Pact:

> "Having separate decisions on asylum and return increases the legal possibilities for applicants to hamper their return, for instance by increasing the duration of legal proceedings by appealing, as allowed by national laws, both decisions at separate times. In practical terms, this means that first a rejected asylum seeker will have the possibility to lodge an appeal at several appellate levels. Once the decision becomes final, the return decision is issued, which the irregular migrant will be able to challenge also at several levels of appeal. In the meantime, irregular migrants have the possibility to abscond in order to avoid return procedures" (EC 2020a, p. 43).

To solve this issue, the New Pact recommends combining the asylum and return border procedures in a single legislative instrument, to make the return process quicker and to prevent the misuse of asylum requests. This new measure is clearly stated in the new Article 35a: "The return decision shall be issued as part of the decision rejecting the application for international protection or, in a separate act. Where the return decision is issued as a separate act, it shall be issued at the same time and together with the decision rejecting the application for international protection". Moreover, the return decision should also be appealed to the same court and with the same deadlines as the asylum one: issuing return decisions together with rejected asylum claims would reduce the burden on both administrative and judicial authorities, unifying two administrative and appeal procedures into a single one (COM 2020a, p. 73). To ensure the temporal coordination between the two systems, and to enforce the "swiftly return" of those without the right to stay after a rejected application, the Pact also invites to allowing for the holding of rejected applicants in border facilities when "it is necessary to prevent irregular entry already during the assessment of the asylum application, or there is a risk of absconding, of hampering return, or a threat to public order or national security" (p. 73).

3.3.3 Unpacking the New Pact: acceleration, repetition and de-synchronization

With the help of the temporal taxonomy discussed in Chapter 2 (cfr. Section 5), it is possible to discuss the analogies and differences between ordinary and accelerated asylum procedures. First of all, ordinary and accelerated procedures are generally defined by the same steps: the submission of the asylum application, the interview with migration officers, a decision about

the application, the possibility to appeal in case of a negative decision. This temporal structure, or, to use my taxonomy, this "temporal sequence" is not affected by the accelerated procedure. Similarly, the "temporal horizon" is left unchanged: the granting, or refusal, of international protection is based upon the assessment of asylum seekers' stories and their credibility. As such, the asylum interview is mostly directed to unveil asylum seekers' past and the reasons which led them to leave their home country and what consequences they might face in case of return. It is worth to note that, beyond asylum seekers' voice, the assessment of those narrative is supported by various types of documents which help to certify and validate the story.

Whereas concerning "temporalization", the two procedures do not present any substantial difference, the substantial change concerns the duration of the process, and, more precisely the shorter timeframes between the stages of the asylum process. Accelerated procedures reduce the period of time between the submission of the application and the asylum interview, the time available to authorities for taking a decision about the request is significantly compressed as well as the time for submitting an appeal in case of negative decision. Overall, then, accelerated procedure can be understood, through the configuration of "relation", as a temporal process faster than the ordinary asylum procedure but also defined by the same temporalization.

There is, however, another temporal dimension which is only implicitly assumed by the New Pact's rhetoric, but which is crucial: repetition. As Eule et al. (2019) emphasize, cyclical time and repetitiveness significantly shape the migration regime; not only border-crossers' temporalities, but also those of migration officers. Eule and colleagues report officers' frustration and feeling of being stuck in repetitiveness: dealing twice with the same asylum case because the person did not leave the country or repeated, unsuccessful attempts to deport asylum seekers to the Member state responsible for the application (Eule et al. 2019, pp. 155-158). The New Pact's line of reasoning presupposes and tries to tackle this "more of the same" type of situation by suggesting that the asylum systems of European Member states must deal with asylum applications which are defined by very similar features: asylum requests submitted by applicants with similar profiles (for instance, nationality), with similar purposes (hampering returns or facilitating absconding) and with similar outcomes (negative decisions). However, what emerges from this analysis is also a temporal collision between cyclicity and linearity: while the asylum process can be understood in terms of repetition from the perspective of national asylum systems, it is mostly a matter of linearity from the perspective of (most) asylum applicants. In turn, this temporal collision produces a further tension between a collective judgment, or, to put it better, on a judgment based upon a group of people deemed to be similar, and a judgment on the individual case under scrutiny.

Similarly, the taxonomy of temporalities sheds light on the temporal rationale underpinning the attempt to harmonize the asylum and the return systems. The asylum system and the return system can in fact be analyzed in terms of two temporal processes which are defined by their own temporal horizon, sequence and duration. What matters, as the Pact makes clear, is the temporal relation between those two processes, which is characterized by a significant lack of synchronization. This lack of synchronization is an issue of punctuality. To be more precise, the conclusion (terminative punctuality) of the asylum procedure, namely the negative decision taken about an asylum request, does not coincide, from a temporal point of view, with the enforcement (inchoative punctuality) of the return decision. To overcome this situation, the Pact suggests, as seen above, to issue the return decision "at the same time and together" with the rejected asylum application in order to avoid temporal gaps exploited by border-crossers in order to remain on the European territory.

In Chapter 1 (section 1.1), I drew on the notion of tempo-politics (Sontowski 2018) to account for the governance of migration issues in temporal terms. More precisely, tempo-politics is defined as the problematization of a given issue in terms of time, which, in turn, might lead to the production of new temporal forms of knowledge, to disputes about the temporal aims of a policy, and eventually to modifications of policies due to their inability to reach those temporal aims. In the light of my analysis, the New Pact's proposal can be understood as an instance of tempo-politics. The Pact problematizes the challenges faced European migration management mostly in terms of time: national asylum systems are stuck in the repetitive process of evaluating similar and pretextual asylum requests, with the consequences of having less time to process "genuine applications". To solve this issue, the Pact then invites to implement two measures which are, again, eminently temporal: a *faster* identification process at border-crossing points in order to identify the people who can be channeled into *accelerated* procedures. Moreover, the New Pact also invites to modify the timeframes of border-procedures because of their inabilities to reach specific temporal aims: the suggestion to *extend* the period of time available for completing a border procedure, so that more cases can be concluded within the deadline, can be read along this line.

However, I suggested (cfr Chapter 2, section 1.3) that the analysis of the temporal aims of migration management and of the forms of knowledge production resulting from those aims needs to be complemented with one discussing the effects that those forms of knowledge production have on border-crossers' agency. To articulate this point, in the next section I analyze empirical data to illustrate how accelerated procedures affect asylum seekers' possibilities to provide evidence for their asylum cases.

3.4. The case of Italian "accelerated procedures"

The 2005 Asylum Procedures Directive and the 2013 European Directives EU directives mentioned in the previous section have been implemented in the Italian asylum system with three different legislative decrees (Decree Law No.13/2017, aka "Minniti-Orlando decree" 2015; Decree Law No.113/2018, aka "Salvini decree"; Decree Law No.130/2020 aka "Lamorgese decree"). These decrees have progressively increased the range of situations in which "accelerated procedures" can be applied, and have set up the relative timeframes that must be applied (see table 1 below). To understand the differences between ordinary and accelerated asylum procedures, let me first describe the sequence of administrative and judicial steps which characterize the Italian asylum system. The steps are the following[7]:

1) Submission of the applications through the C/3 module. The C/3 form is a five-page form which contains biographical information about the applicant as well as information about her migration journey and reasons for fleeing the home country. The C/3 module can also be integrated with a "collection of memories" (*raccolta memorie*). Applications are submitted to the *Questura* (law enforcement local office) when the applicant is already present on the Italian territory, and to the Border Police when the applications are submitted in border areas.

2) Questura or Border Police transmit the application to the Territorial Commission, which decides which type of asylum procedure will be applied to the asylum seeker.

3) A member of the Territorial Commission conducts the asylum interview with the applicant

4) A decision about the case is taken. In case of a positive decision, the applicant receives a refugee status or a subsidiary protection; in case of negative decision the applicant can appeal to the Civil Court and, in the case of a further negative decision, to the Court of Cassation. It is worth underlining that the Commission's decision concludes the administrative phase, whereas the appeals to the Civil Court and to the Court of Cassation are part of the judicial phase.

Table 1

Type of asylum application		Asylum interview	Decision about the application	Deadline for appeal	Automatic suspensive effect of the appeal
Ordinary procedure		Within 30 days	Within 6 months	Within 30 days	Yes
Accelerated	Safe country of origin	No interview	Within five days	Within 15 days	No
	Reiterated request	No interview	Within five days	Within 15 days	No
	Pretextual request at the border	Within 7 days	Within 2 days	Within 15 days	No

[7] https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/italy/asylum-procedure/

Table 1

	after attempt to elude control (Border procedure)				
	Request submitted by an asylum applicant held for identification purposes in a detention center	Within 7 days	Within 2 days	Within 15 days	No
	Pretextual request in order to avoid return	Within 14 days	Within 14 days	Within 15 days	No
	Manifestly unfounded application	Within 14 days	Within 14 days	Within 15 days	No

In section 3.3.3 I discussed, with the help of my taxonomy, the differences between ordinary procedures and accelerated procedures. I suggested that these two types of procedures share the same temporalization – same temporal horizon, same sequence – but are defined by a different length. At this stage, I will closely analyse Italian accelerated procedures to enquire how they affect, in practice, border-crossers' possibilities to obtain international protection and what are the practical consequences of the reduced timeframes.

According to my interviews with lawyers, accelerated procedure are currently applied as follows: the person submits an asylum request in the Questura; she is identified as a subject who qualifies for the accelerated procedure (see the first column in table 1, which specifies the types of applicants eligible for an accelerated procedure); the Questura tells her to come back after one week and, after that week, the accelerated procedure starts. As shown by Table 1, shorter timeframes characterize each step of the process: the asylum interview is conducted within seven or fourteen days after the lodging of the application, rather than within 30 days; the period available to the Commission for taking a decision about the request is significantly compressed; the time for submitting an appeal in case of negative decision is halved. Moreover, Italian accelerated procedures present two exceptions to the ordinary sequence of steps: in the case of accelerated procedure for "safe country of origin" and for "reiterated request" there is no interview with the asylum applicant (see table 1, second column).

Lastly, ordinary and accelerated procedures share the same possible outcomes: a rejection, which can be appealed by the applicant; the granting of "refugee status"; the "subsidiary protection"; the "new special protection". It is worth underlining a substantial difference between the "refugee status" and "the subsidiary protection" on the one hand and the "new special protection" on the other hand. Whereas the formers are mostly concerned with the applicants' life in their country of origin, such as the risk of being persecuted, the "new special protection" particularly stresses the right to respect the private and family life of the applicant. In concrete terms, it focuses on the social integration of the applicant, not merely in terms of employment, but also for what concerns her social, cultural and political relations, her education as well as the amount of time spent in Italy (Zorzella 2021).

To understand how accelerated procedures work "in practice", let me start by presenting a case that was reported to me by one ASGI researcher[8].

> In the night between October 6th and 7th 2019, a dramatic shipwreck in which many people died occurred near Lampedusa. The Coast Guard rescued the survivals, mostly Tunisian citizens, and brought them to the Hotspots in Lampedusa, where they were held for almost twenty days, without the possibility to contact associations providing legal assistance, without the possibility to receive proper information about their rights and without psychological support. On October 25th the survivals were finally brought to the Questura of Agrigento, where they formalized their asylum request through a specific C/3 form, which was recently introduced by the Ministry of Interior to cover the cases of border procedures. A border-procedure was then applied to the Tunisian citizens, as their asylum requests had been presented directly at the border after the attempt to elude controls. For a curious temporal coincidence, the Ministry of Interior emanated another ministerial circular (*circolare ministeriale*) stating a list of "safe countries of origin" in the same day in which the first asylum interviews with the Tunisian citizens were held. As a consequence of this new ministerial circular, a new type of accelerated procedure was applied to the Tunisian asylum seekers: not anymore a border-procedure, but an accelerated procedure for "safe country of origin". During the asylum interviews carried out in the afternoon, the asylum seekers were then informed by the Territorial Commission about the new procedures and the interviews were conducted according to this new framework. The asylum seekers who had already been interviewed in the morning were called back the day after to sustain an integrative interview according to the modalities established by the accelerated procedure for safe country of origin. On November 2nd, the asylum seekers were then notified a negative decision about their asylum requests due to manifestly unfounded application (*manifesta infondatezza*), they were notified a deportation order (*decreto di espulsione*) and a detention order (*ordine di trattenimento*) in the pre-deportation detention center (*centro di permanenza per i rimpatri*, CPR) of Caltanissetta. However, after lawyer's appeal, the Tunisian asylum seekers could come back to freedom. (Interview 10, ASGI researcher, 2020, online)[9]

This vignette presents several problematic issues, which reveal the ambiguous and illegitimate applications of accelerated and border asylum procedures. First of all, border procedures cannot be applied to people who were rescued through SAR operations and to those who willingly formalize their asylum request without being apprehended by the police during or immediately after disembarkation. In the case discussed above, the Tunisian citizens were saved by the Italian Coast Guard, which brought them in the Italian territory. It seems therefore at least paradoxical to use for them the border procedure, which should be applied to people who *willingly* tried to avoid controls at border crossing points. Moreover, the traumatic

[8] ASGI is the acronym of "Association for Juridical Studies on Immigration", an Italian association which focuses on the legal aspects of immigration (https://en.asgi.it)

[9] The reconstruction of this case was also made possible by an article published on the ASGI website: https://www.asgi.it/notizie/le-nuove-ipotesi-di-procedure-accelerate-e-di-frontiera/

experience of surviving a shipwreck in which many people died configured the Tunisian citizens as vulnerable subjects. Yet, according to the EU directives, border and accelerated procedures do not apply to vulnerable people. Art. 24, paragraph 3 of the EU directives 2013/32/UE reads, in fact, as follows: "where Member States consider that the applicant is in need of special procedural guarantees as a result of torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence, Member States shall not apply, or shall cease to apply, Article 31(8) and Article 43".

A second problematic issue is eminently temporal. According to the Ministerial circular of the 16.10.2019, the asylum request must be formalized during the identification process following the illegal arrival. Yet, the Tunisian citizens were notified the application of an accelerated procedure twenty day *after* their arrivals at the Hotspot of Lampedusa. As Morandi (2020, p. 69, my translation) writes "if the formalization of the asylum request must be contextual to the identification, due to illegal entry, of the asylum seeker […] it follows that any time the filling of the C/3 form is postponed to the identification procedure, the use of the border procedure must be considered as illegitimate". Overall, the case of the Tunisian citizens testifies the ambiguous and arbitrary application of accelerated procedures. Undoubtedly, it represents, especially in light of the timing of the Ministerial circular, a rather experimental use of the accelerated procedures. Moreover, it reveals that the internal mechanisms determining the application of the asylum procedures are not transparent: according to the legislative decree, the Questura does not have any discretional power about the type of procedure which should be applied to the asylum request. On the contrary, the Questura can only receive the asylum request and then transmit it to the Territorial Commission, which decides what type of procedure must be applied. For instance, in the case of the "reiterated request"[10], the President of the Territorial Commission proceeds with a preliminary examination of the request. If the request does not present any new element, it is declared as "inadmissible"; if the request presents new elements, an ordinary asylum procedure starts. However, as the following passage stresses, the accelerated procedure for "reiterated request" significantly reduces asylum seekers possibilities to receive a positive decision.

> "From a practical perspective, what is the big problem? The migrant, with his competences, who wants to submit a new request…in the case of the first request, he goes to the Questura and says "I want to ask for international protection", and, from that moment, he enters into the [ordinary] procedure, with all its guarantees. The Questura does not have to assess anything, he

[10] The accelerated procedures for "reiterated asylum request" apply in the following cases: 1) a previous asylum request concluded its administrative and judicial iter, meaning that it was rejected either by the Territorial Commission or by the Court; 2) a previous asylum request was withdrawn by the applicant; 3) in case of extinction, namely when the Commission summons the applicant, but the applicant does not attend the interview.

knows that he enters into a "protective hat". With the reiterated [procedure], if he goes alone, without any preparation, and he already had a rejected request, his new request will definitely be considered as inadmissible, because he is not attaching any new documents, new ideas. In that moment, he needs the technical supports of somebody. And, for instance, he needs to materially prove that he is asking something different from the first time; he needs to bring a new text, a new memory, in which he states "compared to the first request, I want to state that I have this new document, that I found a job, that I had a child" and he needs to prove it, especially in the light of the inevitable contrast between the foreign citizen and the public administration. Hence, it is better to send those documents first via certified email (PEC), file them, prepare the proof for a possible litigation" (Interview 16, lawyer 1, 2022, Venezia)

To stress the relevance of receiving legal support, one of my informants described me one case of accelerated procedures they encountered:

"This was the case of a Ukrainian woman, here [in Italy] since long ago and with a daughter. We are close to Christmas. However, before lodging the asylum request, she came to us, and we did the preparation. We explained her, very simply, that the existence of a daughter who went to school in Italy for many years, even though without a permit of stay, is a significant element for the new special protection. We collect, with her, the school report, we ask a report to the associations where the girl goes in the afternoon to make the homework. Thus, we sent her to the Questura with some documents, she enters into the accelerated procedure [for safe country of origin], she was summoned and she got the new special protection. But this person was already here. If this person arrives at the border, possibly to join her daughter who is here, attending school, alone and in need of her mother…how does this person do? Nobody meets her [non la incontra nessuno], nobody sees her. This person enters into the accelerated procedure, and she will most probably be rejected. Because borders…they are zones with lower accessibility, hence there is no possibility of solidarity". (Interview 16, lawyer 2, 2022, Venezia)

As these passages illustrate, accelerated procedures work by constraining asylum seekers' possibilities of action through a series of temporal and administrative hurdles whose goal is to make more difficult to collect and to provide evidence supporting the asylum claims. Asylum seekers' agency has, in this context, to be understood as a distributed socio-material agency where the role played by people able to provide legal and technical assistance as well as by documents and certificates supporting one's story is crucial. Accelerated procedures, on the contrary, seem to exploit border-crossers' multiple forms of vulnerability in order to exclude them from the asylum system. In this regard, a scenario delineated by one informant is particularly significant:

"Imagine a Nigerian woman, victim of human traffic. She was not assisted during the first asylum request, she did not appeal because she did not know it, and not all the elements of her

situation emerged, because it is not a path so easy to represent even to oneself. She gets a removal provision *("provvedimento di allontanamento"*). At that stage, she might decide to make another asylum request…because she received some information, because she did a [psychological] path, because there are new elements. In this case, she would be channeled in a "more than accelerated procedure" [reiterated requested, see table 1]: there is not anymore the interview, but a preliminary examination of the asylum request by the President of the Territorial Commission […] It's clear that before lodging another [new] request I ask myself some questions, I balance the opportunities." (Interview 10, ASGI researcher, 2020, online)

This is a scenario which was confirmed by my own fieldwork experience. One of my informants, the director of a cooperative hosting mostly women asylum seekers and women refugees victim of human traffic, illustrated me the long, difficult process of acceptance, self-representation and comprehension needed to make emerge certain highly traumatic experiences.

"When we talk about human traffic, it means there is a smuggler, that there is a system behind which does not allow you to denounce. Hence, if I am a victim of human traffic, I do not say it. There are some indicators, we know what the things are, but the person needs to be aware, tells it, admits it and, if she likes, denounces it. She does not have to denounce, but she must say it in the [interview with the] Commission. If she does not say it, the Commission rejects the application. There was a rejection of a person victim of human trafficking: she did a psychological path, but she did not say it in the Commission, and she got rejected. The Commission, in this case, argues that the person is not ready. The rationality behind the decision was this one: we cannot give her international protection because if she is victim of human trafficking but she does not quit it, we are not helping her, because with a document she can leave the structure where she is hosted, she will be free, but still involved in the trafficking. It is a mechanism difficult to understand. This person – a young mum – did not understand it and the situation led her to a heavy psychological condition. She left from one day to the other, without telling us anything. Now she is in another European country, and she will be a Dublin case. […] We often tell them "tell your story, at least once". Because also narrating it many times – one to me, one to the lawyer, one in the Commission – is very tiring. Repeating, repeating, also with the psychologist, is very oppressive. Hence this woman who repeated her story many times, she reached the point to say "stop, I told you in every possible way, then I will say in my way'" (Interview 9, social operator, 2020, Rimini)

The relevance of time for understanding and for acquiring self-awareness about one own' story is stressed also by a lawyer who assisted several asylum seekers in filing an appeal after a first rejection by the Commission.

"I wrote an appeal for a woman victim of trafficking. She told us her story and for us it was a clear victim, but her story was about "work exploitation", that she was employed as cleaning

worker in her country of origin. Two years later, in the judicial hearing, she told a completely different story, and told the judge that she was prostituting herself" (Interview 3, lawyer 3, 2022, Bologna)

While these two women were not subjected to accelerated procedures, their stories reveal that memories, especially traumatic memories, are also defined by complex temporalities, which involve not only remembering, but also repetition and the capacity to narrate one own's story at the right moment and in the right place. It needs time, for people, to become aware of those elements which might be decisive for receiving international protection. Yet, the temporal compression underpinning the accelerated procedures significantly hinders this process, reducing the possibilities to make those elements emerge.

Furthermore, time is a precious resource also for the collection of documents which can be attached to the asylum request and then taken into consideration by the Territorial Commission. In my interviews with border-crossers, lawyers and operators, a variety of documents was mentioned as elements supporting one's own story: pictures, medical certificates, newspapers articles reporting terrorist attacks, police reports from the country of origin. One of the lawyers I interviewed told me the story of an asylum seeker from the Ivory Coast who fled country for political persecution. He was a university student member of a student association against the local government. In his application he included the card of the association, Facebook pictures of the association meetings he joined, the association Statute where he appeared as one of the founding members. These documents are endowed with their own temporalities as they constitute the socio-material proof of events that happened in the past. As such, they are used to support one own's story and they might be decisive in the decision about the case. In the case of the Ukrainian woman discussed above, the school report and the report of the associations testified the current integration of the family in Italy and played a significant role in the issuing of the "new special protection".

Time, however, is not only a resource for allowing traumatic experiences to emerge or to collect documents that certify asylum seekers' stories, but it is also relevant for developing mutual trust between the asylum seekers and the various professional roles helping them. A cultural mediator, expressed me her struggles to translate someone's words without having previously met her:

"I often have a hard time to go directly in the [Territorial] Commission, without knowing the person, without knowing the lawyer. When they say something, I try to translate as close as possible what they say, but without knowing the story, without knowing the context..." (Interview 7, cultural mediatior 1, 2020, Rimini)

In the rest of the interview, she described me her work as "a bridge between two traditions", which is not just about translating - "otherwise we could use google translate" she noted – but

also about filling the distance between the applicants on the one hand and the members of the Territorial Commission, the lawyers or the social operators on the other hand. The possibility to rely on someone, like mediators, coming from the same place and with the same origin allows to close this gap. In this regard, the fear of being "translated wrongly" popped up several times in my interviews with border-crossers. Moreover, the familiarity with the procedure, the knowledge of the Italian language, the cultural and education level are elements that inevitably influences the possibilities to understand the administrative and legal system, to represent and to narrate one's own story in a way that fits with the requirements for receiving international protection. Similarly, being hosted in reception center increases the possibilities to find a lawyer and thus to obtain some type of legal assistance, unlike people subjected to accelerated procedures at the borders, where the possibilities to find and then to received legal assistance are obviously considerably reduced.

In the light of these considerations, the border procedures constitute, in fact, the most dramatic situation in which the "temporal sacrifice" (Morandi 2020) of the administrative phase negatively affects asylum seekers. According to the current legislation, border procedures are applied, in Italy, to people lodging their asylum request at the borders or in transit zones after being apprehended for having eluded, or tried to elude, controls. Leaving aside the "vague and generic" formulation of the norm, which does not specify what is exactly meant by "elusion" and "apprehended" (Morandi 2020, pp. 167-168), what matters is the significant reduction of asylum seekers' agency. As I will show in more details in Chapter 5, people who arrive at the borders are usually in highly precarious physical and psychological conditions; they do not have a web of social relations and neither do they know the Italian language. Yet, they are asked to conduct an asylum interview and, possibly, to provide some relevant evidence for their case seven days after the lodging of the application. Moreover, as stressed by my informant, the judicial phase is also similarly sacrificed, due to the fifteen days deadline for appealing the negative decision: "it is difficult [in fifteen days] to find a lawyer, it is difficult that the lawyer can make a meticulous, in-depth analysis of the story […] These people come from another country, they do not have anything with them. In fifteen days, with also other things to do, it is very difficult for them to obtain those documents that are needed to convince the Commission to give them an international protection".

A last, critical issue that needs to be discussed concerns the so-called "automatic suspensive effect" of the appeal after a negative decision. In the ordinary asylum procedure, appealing a negative decision automatically entails the asylum seekers' right to remain on the Italian territory. On the contrary, in the case of accelerated procedures, the permission to remain on the territory must be explicitly asked during the appeal, with an *ad hoc* claim, which, however, can be rejected by the Court. The appeal, as well as the claim for staying on

the territory, must be done within fifteen days, rather than within the thirty days for the ordinary procedure. This situation produces two important consequences. First, the compression of the timeframe for appealing a negative decision significantly reduces the right to asylum, as it makes more difficult the very possibility to file an appeal. In those fifteen days the asylum seeker has, in fact, to find out who are the lawyers who can help her, to go to the lawyers and to explain her story, often without knowing the Italian language or the juridical system. As one of my informants confessed me: "I never filed an appeal before the 28th day [in the case of an ordinary asylum procedure]". The second consequence is that, if the Court rejects the request to remain on the territory, the asylum seeker should, at least in theory, leave the country. Consequently, the asylum applicant might be back in her country while the Court has not yet taken a decision about the appeal. This paradoxical condition is then worsened by the fact that it is considerably more difficult to defend someone who has been physically moved away, negatively affecting the right and the possibility of defense.

The evidence reported in this section suggests that, compared to the ordinary procedures, accelerated procedures do not transform the collisions and overlaps between asylum seekers' and institutional temporalities, but they make it harder, for the asylum seekers, to navigate them. Compared to ordinary procedures, accelerated procedure do not modify the purpose of the process, they do not affect the temporalities of the interview, they lead to the same outcomes in terms of international protection. As Morandi (2021) notes, accelerated procedures would, in theory, represent a benefit both for the nation-states, whose goal is to remove illegitimate applicants as fast as possible, and for the applicants, who have interests in knowing their future. The same, reduced timeframes apply both to the nation-state and to the applicants, but with radically different consequences on the two sides. One the one hand, shortening the timeframes between the various administrative steps significantly hinders asylum seekers' possibilities to produce knowledge about themselves. The "production of knowledge" must be understood, here, in a broad sense: it includes the collection of documents, the process of remembering and self-representing one's own story, the development of a mutual trust with people who can help to collect those documents or who can help to make traumatic episodes emerge.

As shown in this section, these are processes in which time, or, to put it better, "having more time", plays a prominent role. On the other hand, the decisions taken by the Territorial Commission on the asylum cases does not depend on the collection of knowledge, but on the assessment and evaluation of the information provided by the applicants. In this respect, and in the light of the evidence discussed in this section, the New Pact's proposal to apply accelerated procedures to applicants coming from country of origin with a recognition rate lower than 20% is particularly problematic, as it seems to be based on a vicious circle

grounded upon the relationship between knowledge production and time. These applicants, whose asylum requests are deemed unfounded ex-ante, have less time to provide evidence for their cases. This condition would then most probably lead to negative decisions, and thus to further lowering the rate of successful applications, eventually making very unlikely the possibility to reverse this tendency.

3.5. Concluding reflections: temporal dynamics producing (non)knowledge

The empirical material discussed in the previous section has shown the effects that the application of accelerated and border procedures have on asylum seekers' possibilities to obtain international protection. At this point, let me come back to the categories and examples of (non)knowledge discussed by Proctor and Rayner. To provide an example of (non)knowledge as strategic deploy, Proctor discusses how the tobacco industry was able to generate doubts and uncertainty about the hazards of smoking. By allying with scientists and historians, by funding research only apparently addressing tobacco and health, the tobacco industry managed to produce ignorance and to keep open the controversies about the health harms causes by cigarettes. To illustrate how organizations dismiss uncomfortable knowledge, Rayner makes the example of seasonal climate forecasts. These forecasts are provided by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), but, as discovered by NOAA researchers, that knowledge is seldom acknowledged by the various sectors (water management, construction, agriculture) which could benefit from it in their decision-making processes. I suggest that the production of (non)knowledge in the asylum process has a more complex nature. In this case, an institution, the Territorial Commission, requires asylum seekers to reveal and produce knowledge/information about themselves and then will rely on that knowledge to assess whether they qualify or not for international protection. The relationship between those who produce information and those who decide how to use such information is then significantly more intertwined than in the case discussed by Proctor and Rayner.

In the case of accelerated procedures, this relationship between the producers and the users of knowledge is further shaped by time. Particularly, accelerated procedures can be said to produce (non)knowledge by operating upon two temporal mechanisms. First, there are ex-ante, *a priori* assumptions about certain categories of applicants whose asylum applications are considered to be unfounded. This is a judgment based on the "past", on previous asylum cases, which reverberates on the single, individual cases. In this regard, the proposal to apply accelerated procedures to people coming from country of origin with low-recognition rate is emblematic as it reveals the short-circuit between assumption and evaluation, for which an application is deemed as "non-genuine" *before* its actual assessment. Second, time is an important resource for asylum seekers: it allows them to better prepare their stories, to collect

documents supporting those stories, to find lawyers who can help them to navigate the Italian administrative and legal system, to developing mutual trust and thus for an accurate, thorough preparation of applicants' cases. Within this dialectic, the shortened timeframes become a tool for hindering and for making more difficult the access to international protection and thus to facilitate and to speed up their removal for Member States' territory. The proliferation of "exceptional cases" in which accelerated procedures can be applied progressively erodes the right to asylum, transforming the ordinary procedures in something residual. The case of the Tunisian citizens is, in this respect, emblematic, as it reveals how accelerated procedures can be used as a "Swiss army knife" which disincentivizes and marginalizes the access to international protection.

In this respect, the New Pact on Asylum and Migration discussed in section 3 follows and even exacerbates this logic. By recommending an easier use of accelerated and border procedures and by introducing clearer, straightforward parameters for their applications, the Pact not only seems to legitimize practices already done by Member States, but it also tends "to create a "hollow asylum seeker" status stripped of its core benefits" (Mouzourakis 2021, p. 174). In addition to this, the rhetoric used by the Proposal to recommend a more extensive use of accelerated and border procedures seems to repropose a partition between asylum seekers, between "bogus" and genuine applicants. In the context of migration management, this partition is not new, especially for what concerns the use of biometric systems (Aas 2011, Ajana 2013). Yet, the case of accelerated procedures shows that time and (non)knowledge can also be used to enact this distinction.

Before concluding, I wish to recover a topic briefly mentioned in section 3, namely the dialectic between the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities of resistance. One of the conundrums shaping migration and border-studies is, in fact, the logic and temporal relation between control and resistance. On the one hand, in fact, migration studies tend to be characterized by a state-centred perspective which foreground the policies of migration control implemented by receiving countries (Castles 2010); on the other hand, proponents of Autonomy of Migration stress the irreducibility and excess of migratory movements in regards to any attempt to control and regulate them (Mezzadra 2011). Against this opposition, I suggest that the analysis of the Proposal conducted in section 3 reveals the diachronic relationship between conduct and counter-conduct. The easier and more flexible application of the accelerated procedures, as well as the will to temporally harmonize the asylum and return systems has in fact to be understood as an attempt to fight the strategies of resistance and appropriation exerted by people on the move.

Chapter 4: Design of method

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the temporalities of migration management by examining how the accelerated asylum procedures tend to produce (non)knowledge about applicants. I combined the analysis of the European Commission Proposal for a New Pact on Migration Management with the empirical evidence emerging from interviews with lawyers, mediators and social operators about the use of accelerated procedures in the Italian asylum system. The New Pact recommends an easier and more flexible application of accelerated and border procedures as a means for solving some of the structural challenges affecting European migration management. I illustrated how such procedures considerably hinder and limit asylum seekers' possibilities of action through several temporal hurdles which ultimately make difficult to collect evidence and produce knowledge supporting their asylum cases. My analysis, then, answered research sub-question 1: How do the temporalities of data practices and infrastructures for migration management enact border-crossers? As such, it mostly focused on the temporal aims implied by migration policies and how they transform the processes of knowledge production about border-crossers. Even though Chapter 3 did not directly address border-crossers' temporalities of resistance, two important points emerged from it. First, it revealed how time is, at the same time, a tool used by migration management for enhancing power relations but also a resource supporting and fostering border-crossers' agency. Second, it offered a relational, diachronic understanding of the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities by showing how the tempo-politics of migration management can be understood as a reaction to the temporalities of the practices of resistance exerted by border-crossers. While these two elements will be analyzed further in Chapter 5, this chapter describes the methodological approaches used for designing and conducting fieldwork activity. The goal of this fieldwork activity was to collect empirical data about border-crossers practices of acceptance, adaptation and appropriation to migration infrastructures (RSQ2) and to design a form of intervention which might empower border-crossers (RSQ3).

This chapter, in fact, illustrates how I combined several methodological approaches and epistemic traditions in order to design a method able to collect data about border-crossers' experience with migration infrastructures, but also able to problematize and question some taken-for-granted assumptions shaping the design of migration infrastructures. Overall, the design of my ethnographic activities has been significantly shaped and informed by recent scholarship which has stressed the relevance and value of multimodal anthropological

projects (Collins et al. 2017, Dattatreyan & Marrero-Guillamón 2019, Criado et al. 2022). Multimodal anthropologies are characterized by a plurality of practices and media, from visuals and design to games and social media, which aim at challenging the centrality of texts and words in ethnographic research. Particularly, the notions of multimodality and multisensoriality emphasize the ethnographic potentialities stemming by "the modes of encounters" between different media formats and subjects and what such encounters produce during fieldwork (Dattatreyan and Marrero-Guillamón 2019). Multimodal approaches invite to combine and experiment with diverse anthropological approaches (visual, digital, participatory, sensory) in order to craft and cultivate new forms of knowledge production and dissemination. Moreover, one of the main tenets of multimodal anthropology is the shift towards more explorative and collaborative forms of ethnographic activities, in which the forms of engagement between researchers and informants aim to exceed the academic boundaries of fieldwork and academia.

Multimodality allowed me to navigate among the different temporalities and objectives underlying my research sub-questions (see section 4.2). In section 4.3.1 I state the requirements[11] that informed the several stages of my fieldwork activity: the collection of border-crossers' memories about their encounters with migration infrastructures; the identification of the problems and issues experienced by border-crossers during those encounters; the translation of those identified problems into a form of intervention. Section 4.3.2 offers an overview of the three research traditions – participatory design, design justice and STS making and doing – which inspired the design and development of my intervention, while section 4.3.3 discusses my positionality as a white European male within the fieldwork site. The second part of the chapter delves, in more details, into the description of the three stages articulating my ethnographic research. In section 4.4 I illustrate how narrative interviews were used to gather evidence about border-crossers' experiences with and impressions about the various administrative and bureaucratic procedures to which they were subjected after their arrival in Italy. Section 4.5 describes the two cultural probes - a temporal map depicting people's migration trajectories and a simplified version of the Italian asylum application form - that I introduced in order to trigger further memories and reflections in people's narrations. Lastly, section 4.6 explains the methodological reasons justifying my choice to design a game as the form of intervention. I suggest that games are endowed with features that fit well with the goal of my intervention: an interactive and collaborative modality of interaction; the engagement with various types of media; the possibility to simulate (but also to problematize) some of the temporal dynamics and power-relations

[11] I use the term "requirements" to specify the activities that needed to be carried in order to achieve the goals of my fieldwork activity.

shaping a given situation and the pedagogic value inherent to live such situation from a first-person perspective.

4.2 From research questions to methodology

As anticipated in the Introduction, this chapter describes the methodological approaches that helped me to bridge the research sub-questions with my fieldwork activity:

- RSQ2: How do borders-crossers accept or resist the temporalities of data practices and infrastructures for migration management? In Chapter 1, two hypotheses were introduced to answer this question. First, I suggested that migrants' possibilities of action are constrained by their fragmented, incomplete and confuse knowledge about migration management and its temporalities. Second, I proposed that when migrants' become aware of the temporalities of migration management, they try to align their bodies, identities and narration in order to achieve and preserve their goals and aspirations. Chapter 5 will be dedicated to test and verify these two hypotheses through the notions of *hijacked knowledge* and *reactive calibration.* The former will illustrate how border-crossers' limited or lack of knowledge about the temporalities of migration management depends on several temporal collisions which tend to exploit border-crossers' vulnerabilities and to foster their compliance; the latter will describe the practices used by migrants to recalibrate their identities according to the categories and knowledge practices deployed to manage their bodies and their movements
- RSQ3: How can we develop a situated intervention which expands border-crossers' possibilities of action? To answer this research sub-question, I will suggest that migrants' agency can be enhanced along two main directions. First, if it is true that migrants' possibilities of action are constrained by their lack knowledge about the temporalities of migration management (*hijacked knowledge* hypothesis), then the intervention should be directed at increasing their awareness about the temporal mechanisms governing migration management. The relation between migrants' agency and the goal of intervention could then be conceived in terms of knowledge production and circulation. The second direction has a more innovative and experimental nature. Drawing on participatory design and design justice, I will suggest that migrants should also be considered as the users of the infrastructures regulating their life and movements. The second objective of the situated intervention would then be the involvement of migrants in the re-design process of migration infrastructures.

It is worth to note that, from a methodological and epistemological perspective, those research sub-questions present some substantial differences that needed to be considered in the design of the fieldwork activities. Research sub-question 2 is a descriptive one and its aim is to unveil and to map the strategies, if any, exerted by border-crossers to subvert the practices of control to which they are subjected. To frame it in temporal terms, RSQ2 is directed toward

border-crossers' past – their memories and experiences with the Registration and Identification procedures and with the asylum process – and, to a less extent, their present. On the other hand, RSQ3 has a more speculative character, as it aims to foster border-crossers' agency through the development of a situated intervention. In other words, the fieldwork activity conducted to answer RSQ3 aims to be, in itself, an attempt to widen and transform border-crossers' possibilities of action. More specifically, the goal of the situated intervention was to problematize and to frame, in more inclusive terms, the definition and common understanding of the users of the socio-technical systems for migration management. Whereas migration officers are usually considered as the *only* users of migration technologies, my fieldwork activity attempted to open the field to other actors who could be involved as users. The aim, in other words, was to develop a form of intervention which allowed to widen the network of actors involved in the design process of the data practice and infrastructures for migration management. This was achieved by engaging border-crossers in a series of fieldwork activities aiming at producing alternative, explorative configurations of those practices and infrastructures.

Importantly, to develop this form of intervention it was paramount to work *with* border-crossers, according to what they perceived as a practical problem, issue or challenge related to the control and surveillance mechanisms of migration management. In this regard, RSQ3 can be said to be directed toward border-crossers' future: ideally, it aims to generate novel possibilities of action, or at least to produce relevant knowledge for prospective border-crossers. The relevance, and urgency, of RSQ3 is supported by Kaurin (2019), who stresses that, despite the "tremendous amount of untapped potential within the refugee community", refugees are rarely consulted or engaged in developing solutions to the problems they have to face. More broadly, if anthropology can be thought as a careful design practice aiming to envision and make new, possible futures (Criado 2021), then engaging asylum seekers in the re-design of the standardized forms and categories used in migration management might represent a way to broaden the possibilities of action of future asylum seekers.

Lastly, in the two research sub-questions the researcher and border-crossers have a different role. In RSQ2 the researcher has a relatively neutral position, as the goal is to collect the information provided by the participants, who are asked to re-collect their experiences. This does not imply to downplay the performative effects produced by the questions asked by the researcher and by the following recollection of memories and experiences. On the other hand, RSQ3 envisions a different and more collaborative modality of interactions and participation between the researcher and the participants. However, this opposition should not be overstated, especially in the light of the performative approach underpinning this work and the intertwinement of its research sub-questions. In fact, while it is true that the theoretical

concepts and methodological tools needed to answer RSQ2 and RSQ3 might, at first glance, look incommensurable, the challenge was to stress the continuity and interaction between them: how is it possible to design a research methodology which allows both collecting data about strategies of resistance, as well as enhancing, through the involvement of border-crossers, their possibilities of action or even generating new ones? In the next sections, I describe the development of my qualitative method, in which several approaches were mobilized in order to incorporate the requirements and expectations which inspired the fieldwork activity driving this dissertation.

4.3 Design of research methodology

My research methodology has been developed by keeping in mind the multiplicity of requirements, objectives and expectations which are implicitly assumed in the research sub-questions leading my work. At this stage of the dissertation, making them explicit is important to show how they informed the choice of the qualitative, methodological approaches used in fieldwork activity. Moreover, throughout this chapter I will discuss how the methodological approaches identified helped me to translate those requirements and expectations into different stages of fieldwork activity.

Overall, three goals guided the design of my research methodology and the choice of the methodological approaches. First, to collect qualitative data which could allow to describe and to map border-crossers' reactions and strategies of resistance towards the data practices and infrastructures for migration management, by paying specific attention to the temporal elements shaping their actions. Second, to find out what border-crossers perceived as a relevant, critical issue concerning the administrative and securitarian procedures to which they were subjected. Third, to develop a form of intervention which might problematize and reframe the understanding and the identification of the users of the data infrastructure for migration management. As I will illustrate below, these expectations were in turn articulated in several requirements.

Given these objectives, I relied on action research as the overarching paradigm guiding the design of my fieldwork activity. Action research, in fact, is articulated upon several principles (Merriam & Tisdell 2015, pp. 49-52) which, overall, well matched with the goals and expectations of my empirical research. First, the design of action research is characterized by a cycle of planning, acting, observing and reflecting. This methodological requirement allowed to organize the ethnographic activity in several stages with different goals and different methods for data collection: an initial stage in which qualitative data about border-crossers' interactions with migration infrastructures were collected through narrative, descriptive interviews (see below, section 4.4), was then followed by collaborative and collective sessions whose goal was to develop a form of intervention (see below, section 4.6).

Overall, the goal and methodological tenets of actions research made possible to explore and articulate the correlation and conflation between the design of my fieldwork activity and its normative goals.

However, even though action research is certainly a good starting point for appreciating the transformative effects that can be produced by social research, it is a general approach which can be applied in many different contexts. Since this dissertation focuses on data-practices and infrastructures for migration management, in the design of my fieldwork activity I deemed important to review and implement a family of approaches which explicitly stress the design and transformation of technologies and infrastructures: participatory design, design justice and STS making and doing. The rest of this section will thus be dedicated to articulating in further details the expectations and objectives that guided fieldwork activity and, then, to offer an overview of the methods that I employed. Lastly, I will conclude this section with a short discussion of my own positionality and involvement with the field.

4.3.1 Requirements and expectations of fieldwork activity

First of all, as briefly noted above, the purpose of RSQ2 is to analytically describe border-crossers' interactions, their acceptance, adaptation and appropriation to the migration infrastructures encountered during their journey, with a special interest on time dynamics (Cfr Chapter 2, section 2.2.2). It required, in other words, to find out border-crossers' reactions to those procedures and infrastructures: did they try to exploit them to their own advantage? And, if so, how did they do it? Did they deliberately refuse to answer some of the questions about their past they were asked, or did they answer them in order to obtain some future advantage? As such, RSQ2 is mostly concerned with border-crossers' past since it requires to unveil and to collect border-crossers' memories of their journey, especially their experiences with the administrative and security procedures to which they underwent at the Hotspots and during the asylum process. In this regard, one of the main goals of fieldwork activity was to help border-crossers to recover their memories about those procedures. This was a particularly relevant and delicate goal, as people were subjected to identification, screening and other procedures usually after long and dangerous journeys, and thus in a condition of physical and emotional distress. At the same time, discussing the feelings, fears, reflections and memories linked to the arrival at Hotspots, to borders officers' questions, to the process of being fingerprinted might also help people to make sense of what happened. To elicit border-crossers' memories I decided to include diverse types of material supports, which will be discussed in length in the rest of this chapter.

Yet the recollection of the interaction with the procedures and artefacts for migration management was just one of the objectives underpinning my ethnographic research. A

second, relevant purpose was to allow for the emergence of what border-crossers perceived as wrong or unfair: what they did not like about the procedures, what questions they did not appreciate or did not understand and whether they had the possibility to refuse answering, what they would change and how. In this respect, a further purpose of the fieldwork was to elicit reflections about the consequences of the procedures to which they were subjected: how did the personal data released during the procedure influence their life afterwards? How did they affect the asylum procedures?

This second goal allowed linking RSQ2 and RSQ3 and, in doing this, it also paved the way for the third objective of my fieldwork activity, namely how to develop a form of intervention which could broaden migrants' agency by producing novel possibilities of action. This third goal was in turn characterized by two requirements. First, the chosen form of intervention had to make visible and problematize the power-relations inherent to the collection and circulation of personal data. Second, it had to highlight the conditions of uncertainty, asymmetrical knowledge and arbitrariness that characterize Registration and Identification procedures and the asylum process. To do this, the idea was to develop a modality of situated intervention which would reproduce and simulate the power-dynamics, the standardized categories and patterns of actions with which border-crossers have to deal in their interactions with data infrastructures and practices for migration management.

4.3.2 Methodological approaches: participatory design, design justice, STS Making and Doing

Given the purpose of my research, I relied on methodological approaches at the intersection of ethnographic action research, the design of technologies and infrastructures, and interventionist and participatory methods. The first of this approach, *participatory design*, has its roots in action research, with which it shares the objective of achieving a positive change and improvement in the life of research participants (Spinuzzi 2005). The specificity of participatory design is that change is achieved through the involvement of users in the design process of technologies. However, the focus of participatory design is not on the "what" of designing, but on the "how" of designing, on its practice, namely

> "the nature of design activities, the need for providing means for people to be able to be involved, the need for respect for different voices, the engagement of modes other than the technical or verbal, the concern with improvisation and ongoing evaluation throughout the design process" (Bannon & Ehn 2012, p. 41).

As such, participatory design is articulated upon multiple principles: the mutual respect for workers' and designers' knowledge and the opportunities for reciprocal learning stemming from such respect; the joint negotiation of project goals; the development of tools and

processes which facilitate participation, such as future workshop, game design, case-based prototypes (Blomberg & Karasti 2012, p. 89). Interestingly, Blomberg and Karasti discuss the "synergies, alignment and incongruities" between ethnographic research and participatory design, stressing especially a different understanding of "participation" and of the "question for intervention" as well as crucial dichotomies: description versus prescription, focusing on the particular versus seeking generalisation, concrete examples versus abstract representations, orienting the present versus pointing versus the future, understanding the "here and now" versus intervening to bring about the change.

However, in social and anthropological research, ethnography and participatory design have also been widely combined and have informed each other in interdisciplinary projects. Overall, as suggested by Blomberg and Karasti at the end of their essay:

> "positioning ethnography within Participatory Design is taking us beyond familiar terrain, confronting the challenges of designing large-scale system over longer time period and the socio-technical infrastructures that enable global connections, and doing so with people from different knowledge traditions, economic circumstances and disciplinary backgrounds" (Blomberg & Karasti 2012, p. 108)

Inspired by participatory design, *design justice* is similarly concerned with how the design of objects and systems influences the distribution of risks, harms, and benefits among various groups of people (Costanza-Chock 2018, p. 5). As such, design justice is grounded upon two main theoretical concerns: intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989, Crenshaw 1991, Weldon 2008, Nash 2008, McCall 2005) and the matrix of domination (Collins 2002). Intersectionality is an analytical tool developed in feminist and anti-racist studies and grounded on the concept that "subjectivity is constituted by mutually reinforcing vectors of race, gender, class, and sexuality" (Nash 2008, p. 2). In this respect, the concept of intersectionality is opposed to the idea that the multiple categories and social structures shaping social and political life can be analyzed or understood separately; on the contrary, they must be addressed by looking at the point of their mutual intersection and reciprocal inter-dependency (Weldon 2008, p. 196). The crucial intuition is that subjects are not constituted by the mere *combination*, or *addition*, of features, such as gender, race, class, but rather they emerge at the *nexus* of those categories. Furthermore, the intersectionality approach stresses how the social processes of categorization are embedded in structures of power and hierarchy which, by drawing boundaries and demarcation, produce oppression, exclusion and inequality, silencing or making invisible the lived experiences of the people living at the intersections of specific categories.

The social boundaries and exclusionary dynamics produced by categories intersect to create a "matrix of domination", namely the distribution of privilege and oppression, power and penalties according to the dominant race, class and gender: white supremacy,

heteropatriarchy, capitalism, and settler colonialism. As Collins puts it, the matrix of domination refers to how "intersecting oppressions are *actually organized*. Regardless of the specific intersections involved, structural, disciplinary, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power reappear across quite different forms of oppression" (Collins 2002, p. 18, emphasis added). In order to implement these principles into its own method, design justice is thus grounded upon a procedural (it foregrounds the voices of those who are directly impacted by the outcomes of the design process) and distributive (it prioritizes design's impact on the community over the intentions of the designer) approach as well as on normative and pragmatic justifications (i.e., the ideal that a design process grounded upon democratic inclusion and social justice can produce processes, products and systems that work better for the society as a whole) (Costanza-Chock 2018, p. 6).

For the purpose of my research, some considerations need to be done in order to clarify some differences between participatory design and design justice. The target group of participatory design are mostly workers who were disempowered by the development of new technologies (Ehn 1993, Kensing & Greenbaum 2013). In this regards, many participatory design projects focused on worksites and work practices, bringing together workers, stakeholders, managers and systems developers (Blomberg & Karasti 2012). On the other hand, design justice tends to focus on "design beneficiaries" and invites to re-think the "default intended users", by taking into account different aspects of the end users' identity (gender identity, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, age, nationality, language, immigration status) (Costanza-Chock 2018). Participatory design and design justice thus seem to rest on a different understanding of *who* are the users of technologies and, thus, *who* should be included in the participatory research. This point is important as it opens up the field for a crucial question underlying my fieldwork research: who are to be considered the users in the case of data practices and infrastructures for migration management? Are the officers the users of migration technologies, as it might seems at a first glance, or can we also consider border-crossers as users?

To articulate this point, together with Pelizza who proposed the concept of "scripts of alterity", we suggest that security subjects such as border-crossers can be conceived of as "hindered users" of the technologies enacting them (Olivieri and Pelizza in preparation). By comparing the data models used in European and national data systems for migration management, Pelizza and Van Rossem (forthcoming) suggest that diverse intended users are inscribed into information systems for migration management. Drawing on this analysis, we note that in script theory the concept of "users" remained rather unspecified for at least two reasons: first, due to a vague definition of users; second because not much is said about the possibility to account for different types of users. However, as we write:

> "the extent to which the engagement with an artefact should be direct in order to be characterized as "use" remains unclear. In security contexts such an implicit understanding of users falls short in accounting for those who bear the more or less direct consequences of technological use, the security subjects. In the security field there is indeed the tendency to identify as users only officers directly interacting with the artefact." (Olivieri & Pelizza, in preparation).

The tendency to think of officers as the *only* users of migration technologies, however, cannot be taken for granted and should be problematized. Border-crossers are intimately affected by the data systems collecting their data. Importantly, however, what distinguishes officers and border-crossers as users of such systems is the access to skills and resources, as well as the possibility to constitute themselves as politically organized collective actors (Olivieri & Pelizza, in preparation).

These considerations well resonate with the design justice approach discussed above. The goal of design justice is in fact to involve marginalized communities in the design process of the technologies and infrastructures impacting them. By giving priorities to the forms of inequality and exclusion experienced by certain subjectivities and communities, design justice is necessarily committed to a redefinition and a reconceptualization of the default users. For these reasons, design justice, as well as the notions of intersectionality and matrix of domination, are particularly fruitful to unveil some of the assumptions shaping both scholarship discussion about migration and the design of infrastructures for migration management. For instance, Sharma (2009) criticized the Autonomy of Migration approach for treating "migrants" as a categorical abstraction: the risk of *grouping* millions of migrating people under the same label is to disregard that border-crossers' experiences are shaped by their racialized, gendered, classed, sexualised and territorialised bodies. In this regard, design justice stresses the need to carefully consider, during the design process – and, in this dissertation, during the process of design of a situated intervention – the highly diversified social, economic and cultural resources shaping border-crossers' stories and possibilities of action. On the other hand, the inscription of specific European values about family, gender or religion into the identification procedures and asylum politics reveals how the matrix of domination concretely works in migration management, denying aspects of people's identity and affecting their life-choices (Pelizza 2020).

If participatory design and design justice are defined by clearly stated and practical goals, STS making and doing has a more creative, inventive and open nature (Marres, Guggenheim & Wilkie 2018; Zuiderent-Jerak & Downey 2017; Ratto et al 2014). STS making and doing combines doing research with the making of social life, and, in doing this, it aims at overcoming clear-cut boundaries between knowledge-making and world-making,

between art and knowledge, between representation of and intervention in social life. This approach finds its theoretical premises in two fundamental claims about social science research identified by Law and Urry (2004). First, drawing on ethnomethodology, social research does not describe a reality which is independent from human awareness, but rather actively produces it. Being embedded in the social life, social sciences stand in a two-fold relation with reality, as they are simultaneously produced by the social worlds and productive of it. The second claim follows from the first one: if the methods of social sciences and their instruments of investigations are performative of the social world, then social sciences should reflect upon what is the kind of reality they wish to enact. STS making and doing embraces these two claims and it aims at overcoming them through what is defined as "intervention in" and "invention of" social realities. The difference is well expressed by Marres and colleagues:

> "Social studies of performativity tend to frame social methods as an object of inquiry – they wish to demonstrate how social research, say a census, does not simply represent but enacts social reality (Law and Urry 2004). By contrast, inventive approaches tend to regard the enactment of social phenomena not as a topic to be exposed or described, but as a research task or challenge: can we do it? Can we contribute to the creative articulation of social phenomena?" (Marres et al. 2018, p. 25)

Central, in this approach, is also the shift from text to material practices and devices, which do not only elicit reflections but also aim to provoke a change. Ratto and colleagues emphasise the value of including material practices into STS research programs because, they argue, forms of material engagement can help overcome the ineffectual linguistic bias of traditional critiques of technoscience (Ratto et al. 2014). Drawing on these insights, I introduced in my fieldwork multiple types of eliciting tools whose goal was to inspire more explorative and playful modalities of interactions. First, I asked interviewees to draw a temporal map of their journey, in order to make more visible the temporal patterns of their migration trajectories (cfr. sections 4.5). Second, I developed an exploratory design game whose intention was to re-enact some of the power dynamics and knowledge asymmetries shaping migration management and to actively engage border-crossers in the design of the categories used to translate and enact their identities.

The proliferation and increasing pervasiveness of these critical, inventive and material approaches to STS research is well analysed and systematized by Zuiderent-Jerak and Downey (2017). They individuate three main clusters of STS making and doing: boundary crossing STS claims, meta-activism and experiments in participation. Each of these clusters is characterized by its own elements and ecologies. "Elements" refer to the crucial, necessary features of STS making and doing practices: individuating and making visible frictions between dominant images and diverse, localized ones; contributing to the research field by

learning to develop and situate techniques and devices (policy analyses, op-ed articles, public debates, focus-group reports, modified ICT systems, art installations, market devices); adopting, resisting or transforming the expert positions encountered by STS scholars. "Ecologies" refers to "the agencies of learning, webs of influence, and hierarchical and dynamic orderings" (p. 28) encountered and enacted by STS scholars during their work. They include: the audiences, partners and practitioners involved in STS projects, the STS sensibilities possessed by actors in the field; the processes of feedback and reframing caused by practices of STS making and doing.

The first cluster, *boundary-crossing STS* claims consists in the development of practices helping STS claims to reach and shape the social worlds they research, for instance through boundary-crossing pedagogies. *Meta-Activism* concerns the support and help to actors already resisting or challenging dominant images in their field. Providing strategy advice to activists, positioning the STS researcher as expert in the field, reconceptualizing problems in STS terms in order to open up new repertoires of action are some examples of meta-activist practices. The third cluster, *experiments in participation*, refers to participatory experiments blurring the boundaries between the projects and the field. Examples of such experiments are Values in Design[12], workshops and card-games. My intervention was inspired by this third cluster, as it relied on the explorative and engaging potentialities of games in order to include border-crossers in the problematization of the values and assumptions shaping the categories and classification systems deployed migration infrastructures

4.3.3 A note on positionality

While the rest of this chapter will specify how these different methods have been declined and modulated throughout my fieldwork activity, I now wish to linger on one of the main features of action research, namely the degree of involvement and the positionality of the researcher within the field and people being studied. Reflecting upon these themes is relevant because the research field is a space shared by the researcher and by the participants and in which identities inevitably influence the research process (Bourke 2014). What does it mean, then, for a white, Italian, heterosexual and cisgender male to enquire practices of resistance to migration management? How did my identity affect the interactions with the people I interviewed? What, in turn, were those people seeing in me and what did I represent for them?

Needless to say, answers (always partial and always subjective) to these questions emerged during the research process. For instance, while preparing for the interviews in

[12] Values-in-design and Value-Sensitive Design are approaches paying attention to how, whether and which values are embedded in the design process of products and how those values are negotiated among stakeholders. Furthermore, these approaches tend, overall, to encourage designers and engineers to overcome technical and cultural biases and to adopt design attitudes sensitive to moral and social values (see Friedman 1996, Knobel and Bowker 2011)

which I was planning to use the temporal maps (see below, section 4.5), I decided to draw my own map as an example to be shown to research participants. The map revealed all the movements in my past ten years: I moved to Denmark for my Erasmus, I did a Master in the Netherlands, I worked in Spain and I am writing these lines in Germany. "Am I a migrant as well?", I asked myself. As Sheller and Urry noted:

> "All the world seems to be on the move. Asylum seekers, international students, terrorists, members of diasporas, holidaymakers, business people, sports stars, refugees, backpackers, commuters, the early retired, young mobile professionals, prostitutes, armed forces – these and many others fill the world's airports, buses, ships, and trains" (Sheller & Urry 2006, p. 207).

Yet, if it is true that I was – and still am – on the move, I moved as an international student, or as a young professional, not as an asylum seeker nor as a refugee. The answer, then, is not: I am not a migrant, not in the meaning I have been using this word so far. Not only I did not experience any of the life-threating experiences lived by the people I was interviewing, but, pretty much on the contrary, as a white male born in a Schengen country, I am one of those bona-fide-travelers for whom gates are mostly open. Besides this radical alterity, the features shaping my identities (white, male, Italian) are, probably, the same of those officers who conduct the securitarian and administrative procedures at the Hotspots or during the asylum process. Like those officers, I was also posing questions about migrants' past and about their journey. Furthermore, before starting my fieldwork, I did not have working experience in cooperatives or NGOs supporting and taking care of migrants at the different stages of their journey. All these things considered, my ethnographic research was carried as an outsider to the people and community involved.

This meant that, in order to start the research, a preliminary step consisted of the identification of people willing to participate to the study. Different hypotheses were considered, such as social cooperatives working with border-crossers, courses of Italian language for foreigners, cultural associations involving border-crossers in artistic or social activities. Among these options, I finally decided to choose cooperatives for two main reasons. First of all, due to the issues of positionality and involvement described above, cooperatives worked as "gatekeepers": on the one hand, they could mediate between me and the people to be interviewed by explaining my role and my research; on the other hand they could help me to identify those people keener to tell me their stories and they could clarify for me what I did not understand from the interviewees. The second reason has a more contingent nature, as it has to do with the Covid-19 pandemic which hit the world during my PhD period. The multiple public health measures taken during this period, including lockdowns, led to the interruption of many social and cultural gatherings and activities. In concrete terms, Italian language courses for foreigners were cancelled or interrupted, and many cultural and social

associations stopped their activities during that period, a situation that inevitably affected and limited the possibilities of choice. Within this context, cooperatives offered a degree of continuity which could not be guaranteed by other fieldwork sites. For this reason, to start my fieldwork activities together with the support of my supervisors I contacted different cooperative in the Emilia-Romagna territory, explaining them – by phone or by email – the purposes of my research and I then conducted most of the interviews with people hosted in one cooperative.

4.4 Border-crossers' memories and problem identification through narrative interviews

The first stage of fieldwork activity was defined by the attempt to develop a method which would fulfill two of the three goals discussed above: first, to collect qualitative, empirical data describing the strategies of socio-technical resistance exerted by border-crossers; second, to identify what border-crossers perceived as a critical, problematic element inherent to the procedures to which they were subjected. To combine these purposes, the first requirement was to unveil and recover border-crossers' experiences with the data practices and infrastructures encountered throughout their migration journey. "Experience" is a broad term derived from phenomenology which I use to cover the feelings and perceptions lived by border-crossers when, for instance, they were asked to give their fingerprints, when they were interviewed by the asylum commission, when they arrived at Italian Hotspots and were identified by law enforcement authorities. Yet, with the term "experience" I also refer to the knowledge and meanings associated to those events: to what extent were border-crossers aware of the purposes and consequences of the Registration and Identification procedures occurring at Hotspots? What meaning did they assign to those procedures? Do they know why their asylum application was rejected? Lastly, and drawing from these issues, I needed to find out what they perceived as a relevant issue or challenge which could be solved or improved through the research.

To collect border-crossers' memories and experiences, I conducted narrative interviews with people who arrived in Italy more than two or three years ago. This choice depended on three main reasons. First, it allowed me to include and analyze border-crossers' trajectories along a more extended temporal period. Focusing only on the Registration and Identification Procedures conducted at the Hotspots would have led to analyze a rather shorter temporal span. Those procedures, in fact, are characterized by a rather hectic and compressed temporality, as people are interviewed and fingerprinted in few days. On the contrary, the asylum process is significantly slower and extended in time and, as seen in Chapter 3, is defined by several stages endowed with their own temporalities. Moreover, broadening the temporal focus of my analysis allowed to better explore the hypothesis of *reactive calibration*.

Testing and verifying the hypothesis required, in fact, to be able to account and describe the temporal process through which border-crossers' acquire knowledge about the temporalities of migration management and how such knowledge is then appropriated to reach their own goals.

In this regard, the second reason concerned the need to enquire whether and how migrants perceived, in terms of data production and data circulation, the links between the identification practices carried out after landing and the asylum process. This was an important element to consider and which was not addressed by the interviews conducted at the Greek Hotspots of Samos and Chios by other members of the Processing Citizenship Team with migrants disembarked and then identified in Greece. These interviews provided an accurate description of the different stages of the Registration and Identification procedures as well as migrants' overall impressions of them, but they focused on a relatively short period. Most of the people interviewed were still waiting for their first asylum interview, and thus were not in the position to discuss the temporal connections and implications between the identification practices at the Hotspots and the asylum process.

A last reason has to do with the informants' possibilities to describe and reflect upon the various stages and moments which characterized their interactions with migration management. As a matter of fact, people are subjected to the Hotspots procedures when their physical and emotional conditions are particularly delicate, because of the journeys they undertook. Interviewing them few days or months after their arrival might have thus led to raise highly sensitive issues for people who were still under shock, eventually evoking traumatic memories. On the contrary, the people I interviewed were, due to the rather long temporal interval between their arrival in Italy and my interviews, in a psychological condition more suitable for narrating and reconstructing those moments. Moreover, they also had more time to think about them and to evaluate how, and to what extent, they affected their following life-steps[13].

To elicit border crossers' memories, I adopted narrative interviews (Jovchelovitch & Bauer 2000, Riessman 2008, Anderson & Kirkpatrick 2016) as qualitative research technique. This method has its roots in the theoretical traditions of interpretative sociology, as it includes elements from sociolinguistic theory, the phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schütz, and the sociology of the Chicago School, especially symbolic interactionism and

[13] In order to ensure the compliance with the ethical plan of the ERC funded project, the collection and storage of the highly sensitive data released by border-crossers was done by keeping in mind several measures. Before each interview, I provided participants with an informed consent sheet, to be signed before the interview and I explained orally to participants the purpose of my research. Informed consent were signed with a pseudonym, which I use when reporting their words. When participants gave me the permission to audio-record the interviews, I deployed an audio-recorder which distorted their voices, in order to ensure a further level of anonymity. Interviews were then stored in a local hard disk, accessible only by the members of the Processing Citizenship project.

ethnomethodology (Apitzsch & Siouti 2007). The main idea of narrative interview is to reconstruct social events from the perspective of informants as directly as possible. Unlike semi-structured interviews, narrative interviews avoid researcher's pre-selection of themes and topics as well as the formulation of questions in a fixed order and in the researcher's language. As Anderson and Kirkpatrick (2016, p. 631) put it, the narrative approach "places the people being studied at the heart of the study process and privileges the meanings that they assign to their own stories". The method of narrative interviews assumes, in fact, that narrating – telling a story – is a universal competence and that, by telling their stories, interviewees are allowed to use their own spontaneous language, thus foregrounding their own perspectives, rather than that of the researcher. Moreover, as noted by Roland Barthes:

> "Narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting (think of Carpaccio's Saint Ursula), stained-glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation. Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative . . . Caring nothing for the division between good and bad literature, narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself" (Barthes 1993, pp. 251-2, quoted in Jovchelovitch & Bauer 2000, p. 58)

Similarly, the term "narrative" is used by different academic disciplines (social linguistic, social history, anthropology, psychology) with likewise multiple meanings and definitions (Riessman 2008). However, what is essential to narrations and to storytelling is what they *do*, their functions and purposes. Among the several functions listed by Riessman, two are of particular relevance in this context. First and foremost, narratives are used by people to construct their identities, to tell other people what they are and what they are not. Second, by enabling to recollect the past, to recover and re-evaluate memories, narratives are also sense-making tools endowed with political and social value. With Horsdal's words:

> "Narratives enable us to make sense of the transformations of temporality within a bounded space of time, and autobiographical narratives enable us to make sense of our experience of the transformations of temporality in our lives within a bounded space of time, and of our own transformations in time" (Horsdal 2017, p. 261)

This passage is important, within the context of my research, as it stresses the deep, intimate connection between narrative, temporality and experience: narratives unfold in time to cover a lifespan which is filled by experiences which are discursively represented by the narrator.

This last point also suggests why narrative interviews emerged as an important tool for data production in biographical migration research (Apitzsch & Siouti 2007). Unlike migration research based on quantitative approaches and policy reports, the focus of

biographic analysis allows, according to the authors, the reconstruction not only of the individual's life course, but also its embeddedness into macro structures. In this regard, the concept of "trajectory" has become a central concept in biography theory, as it refers both to situations which are objectively threatening and to the interactive production and reproduction of threat, marginalisation, and exclusion (Apitzsch and Inowlocki 2000).

Despite these merits, it is worth underlining two major weaknesses of the narrative interview method (Jovchelovitch & Bauer 2000): uncontrollable expectations and unrealistic rules. The former refers to the evidence that any narration is a function of the situation in which it takes place, implying that the narrator will always make assumptions about what the interviews want to hear and what she already knows. The latter points to the fact that a compromise between narrative and questioning is required, since some standard questions are needed in order to make comparison across the different interviews.

Aware of these limitations, I thus developed a template (cfr. Annex 2) following the different phases identified by Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000):

Phase 0: The first stage was dedicated to translating exmanent issues into immanent ones. Exmanent issues, or questions, reflect the interest and language of the researcher; immanent issues are the "themes, topics and accounts of events that appear during the narration of the informant" (Bauer 1996, p. 5). In my research, I identified a set of exmanent questions aimed to focus on the temporal aspects of border-crossers' resistance:

- To what extent have border-crossers had previous knowledge of the identification practices and infrastructure used at the Hotspots?
- Which of the temporalities inscribed in data practices and infrastructures (and identified in RSQ1) are experienced as frictions or imposed by law enforcement authorities? How do border-crossers react to such constraining experience?

I thus translated them into questions which would guide my attention during the actual interview:

- Which was your experience of being identified when you arrived in Italy? Did you know why people were asking you those questions?
- Could you reflect about what was happening to you when you arrived in Italy and people started to ask you questions?
- What did you do while waiting for the decision of the commission about your asylum case? How did you feel during that period?
- What is your experience with the periodic renewal of your permit of stay?

In addition to this, I identified the main gap that needed to be filled by the interviews in order to continue our research: what border-crossers find problematic, to be rejected, abolished or

substantially modified in identification procedures and in the asylum process, and what they suggest should be done in order to overcome those issues.

Phase 1: Unlike the previous preparatory stage, this phase was part of the actual interview and it aimed to present the initial central topic to the interviewees. The initial central topic was defined following Bauer's rule: a) it needs to be experiential to the interviewee, b) it needs to be a matter of social or communal significance, not merely individual, c) the informant should be vividly interested in the topic which concerns her own experience, d) it must be broad enough to incorporate all the events of interest. I thus established to begin with general questions, which would temporally and spatially circumscribe informants' narrations, yet leaving them enough room to articulate their narrations as they wish.

1. How long have you been here?
2. Where did you arrive?
3. Do you remember when have you been identified and registered at [point of entry]? When was that?

During this stage, it was important to find out how long the registration process lied in the past, not only to assess how "fresh" and reliable the memories of respondents were, but also because registration procedures continually change.

Phase 2: At this stage, informants' main narration takes place without interruptions by the researcher. Since most of the interviews took place in English or in Italian, informants' narration was not interrupted by the need of translating their stories. However, the use of those languages deserves a further problematization. If, on the one hand, the absence of interpreters enabled a less mediated and more fluent narration, on the other hand English and Italian cannot be properly considered as the interviewees' mother tongue. For instance, most of my interviews were conducted with people coming from Nigeria, where English is the official language but where other indigenous languages - such as Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba - are perceived as native languages. In other occasions, participants (mostly men) preferred talking to me in Italian, arguing that we were in Italy and thus we should have spoken Italian. My first interview was with Obi John who gave considerable importance to the issue of language and translation. When recounting his experience with the Italian asylum commission, he told me: "The second time the judge in the appeal asked me everything in English, we were talking face to face and he used English to help me. When I went to the [Territorial] Commission in Forlì, they speak Italian, the interpreter speaks English, I used English to tell the interpreter and the interpreter would use Italian. I didn't understand what the interpreter was telling them. So that was in my mind why they gave me negative". Conducting the interviews without an interpreter might thus have helped to avoid dynamics similar to that one

illustrated by Obi John. Overall, however, the fact remains that people were not speaking in their mother tongue and this might have contributed to make the narrations less nuanced and articulated. During this second stage, I also used some eliciting tools in order to elicit further memories. More precisely, when informants were talking about the asylum request they had to submit, I provided them with a translated C3 module (the Italian module for asylum application).

Phase 3: After informants' narration, a questioning phase took place with the goal of completing the gaps in the informants' stories. I stuck to the words used by the interviewees and mentioned only the events emerged from the interviewees' stories. This phase was dedicated to investigating actual practices of resistance and to make visible or problematize the power relations inherent to the collection and circulation of personal data. Border-crossers were asked to specify why they did not like a question or a procedure; whether they had the possibility to avoid them and, if so, how they did it; why they think they were forced to go through those procedures and why those procedures were important.

Phase 4: Once the interview was concluded and the audio-recorder switched off, small and informal talk usually took place. At this stage, participants were invited to participate to the next stages of fieldwork.

4.5 Intermezzo: introducing cultural probes

Due to some problems and shortcomings which emerged during the narrative interview stage, I decided to adopt cultural probes (Gaver et al. 1999, Gaver et al. 2004) as a possible solution to overcome some of the difficulties encountered. The use of cultural probes was not originally planned in the design of the methodology. The original idea was that, after the narrative interview stage, a series of collective meetings (or focus groups) would follow in order to develop, with the border-crossers already interviewed, a form of intervention addressing the issues identified in the first stage. However, after the conclusion of the first round of narrative interviews I decided to introduce an additional step because the findings were not extremely relevant. Most informants, in fact, were subjected to the Registration and Identification procedures more than two years before the interviews and, for this reason, it was difficult for them to re-call, in a detail way, what happened in the days following their arrivals and what types of questions they were asked. Neither they showed significant problematic issues or challenges regarding the asylum procedure (including the C3 module to be filled in order to submit the asylum request).

These shortcomings might be due to multiple causes. As mentioned above, being an outsider, I did not have previous connections with the people interviewed. This fact, combined with the relative short timeframe of the interview, might have hindered the development of a relationship of trust. Language itself might have contributed to constrain

people's capacity to fully express their concerns or feelings towards the practices of migration control to which they are subjected. Lastly, even though I stressed that, as university researchers, I did not have any connections with law enforcement authorities or with their asylum cases, it is possible that the interviewees did not feel fully comfortable in freely expressing their opinions or share their memories. In light of these considerations, organizing 3-4 sessions with about 10 people and collectively discuss how to change identification procedures and the asylum process might have resulted in poor interactions and long silences. This way of proceeding was also discouraged by the director of the cooperative I was working with, as she warned me about people's difficulties to discuss, in front of other people, their struggles and their personal stories. Therefore, in order to maintain my original purpose, I decided to conduct a second round of interviews in which I introduced the cultural probes.

Cultural probes are objects that are purposefully designed to inspire reflections or elicit memories about a given issue. They represent a type of qualitative research whose goal is to provoke inspirational response by embracing the values of "uncertainty, play, exploration, and subjective interpretation" (Gaver et al., 1999, p. 53). As such, the use of cultural probes does not emphasize precise analyses or carefully controlled methodologies, but rather, stemming from the artist-designer tradition, it is a "purposely uncontrolled and uncontrollable approach" (Gaver et al 2004, pp. 53-54). Within the context of my research, the rationale for using the cultural probes was manifold: first, cultural probes aimed to be informative" of border-crossers' memories and experience; second, they were a way for prompting reflections and "prepare" them for the collective meetings; third, they ideally would allow to develop a more intimate bond with border-crossers.

Cultural probes have been used in different fields: in the development of technologies to increase the presence of the elderly in their local communities (Gaver et al. 1999), in the design of domestic technologies (Hutchinson et al. 2003; Crabtree et al. 2003), to create designs that support the need to stay in touch present in families (Horst et al. 2004). As these examples show, cultural probes are mostly used at a preliminary stage to acquire information about specific settings and then implement such information in the design of technologies. In the field of migration, Robertson (2008) used them with a more sociological intent, namely for acquiring information about the daily activities of migrants-international students moving to Australia. More specifically, she used cultural probes as a tool for complementing the data collected during in-depth interviews. In her own words, the cultural probes were designed with two purposes in mind:

> "One was to act as a precursor to the interviews. In this role, they were intended to engage the imagination of the participants, provide prompts for the interview, and bridge some of the distance between researcher and participant. The second purpose was to provide "fragmentary

> data" (Gaver et al., 1999, p. 22) that could be analyzed concurrently with the interview transcripts". (Robertson 2008, p. 6)

Reflecting upon the values of cultural probes for her own research, Robertson (2008, pp. 15-18) lists a number of elements which fit well with the requirements of my research, as well, and thus justify the introduction of cultural probes in my ethnographic activity. First, the triangulation of data allowed by two complementary methods – interviews and cultural probes – can enhance the study's legitimacy. Second, cultural probes allow "bridging distance" between researchers and participants and between the users and the themes and topics of the research. Third, the playful nature of the probes allows feeling more relaxed about and engaged with participating in the research, especially when compared to the rather "official" and artificial atmosphere (consent forms, explanation of research purposes, being audio-recorded) characterizing face-to-face interview. Fourth, the actual design and construction of the probes requires the researcher to think about the issues at stake from a more operational and less theoretical angle. Fifth, cultural probes allow easily representing and recording complex, detailed, or repetitive data. Moreover, the representation of experiences and memories in non-verbal or textual modalities might enhance participants' possibilities of expression, in contrast to the "disciplinary obsession with verbal and textual" characterizing social research.

However, as Robertson (2008, pp. 19-21) points outs, cultural probes also present some problems and risks. To keep high-level ethical standards, the data collected through cultural probes must remain secure and confidential and the use of and access to them must be transparent and clear. Moreover, the analysis and interpretation of data are also delicate factors: on the one hand, data are very different from traditional qualitative methods, in its aims, limitations and nature, as they are flexible, mutable, and difficult to fix into set typologies or systems of analysis. A further problem, not mentioned by Robertson, concerns the context in which cultural probes are used. Some contexts and their related social, psychological and political dynamics are in facts characterized by high levels of vulnerability and fragility, making the issues at stake in the research particularly sensitive and delicate. Thus, one thing it is to use cultural probes in relatively ordinary contexts, another thing is to apply them in marginal and underprivileged situation. Moreover, this issue is particularly relevant when it comes to stress the playful and explorative nature of cultural probes. This is probably less problematic when the cultural probes are maps and modules, as I will soon illustrate, but it might become a considerably more delicate issue when thought in relation to game and game-design. Games, in fact, are often associated with fun and entertainment, two qualities which do not easily fit with the hazardous, life-threatening, and traumatic events that are often experienced by border-crossers.

Keeping in mind the advantages and problems tied to the use of cultural probes, I decided to adopt them in a slightly different way than that one described above. More specifically, rather than providing interviewees with a cultural probes package to be completed within a period of time, I used cultural probes during a second round of interviews as "eliciting tools" through which triggering further discussion with participants. Two cultural probes were introduced for this purpose. First, during the interviews I asked participants to visually represent their migration trajectory on two different types of maps. For this purpose, the first map given to participants was a "classic" geographical map depicting Africa, Europe and the Middle East (see image 1). Participants were then asked to draw their migration journey as detailed as possible (where it started, which country they crossed, where they are now). For instance, they had to indicate if they happened to repeat twice or more the same route. Moreover, they were asked to sign on the map every time they "met" the police or other officers.

This map allowed reconstructing migration trajectories from a mostly spatial perspective. Yet, it prepared the ground for the development of a second map, in which the temporal migration trajectories are in the foreground. This second map is in fact a *migration history chart* (Carling 2017, see image 2), where time is depicted as a linear, physical and measurable entity, while space is partitioned into meaningful locations (places). Carling's migration history chat is inspired by Hägerstrand's time-geography (Hägerstrand 1970, 1982) and his time-space diagram. Participant were then asked to report in this chart their "encounters" with migration management identified in the previous map and asked to describe them with some words or sentences.

Image 1

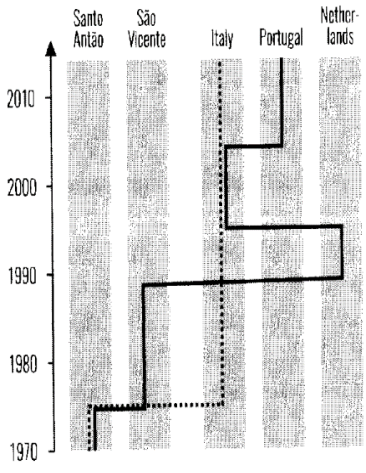


Image 2 – migration history chart (from Carling 2017)

The goal of this "exercise" was to identify when and where border-crossers encountered officers [illegible] this way I could start to inductively analyse the moment of collision between migrants' temporalities and migration management temporalities. (see image 3 below).

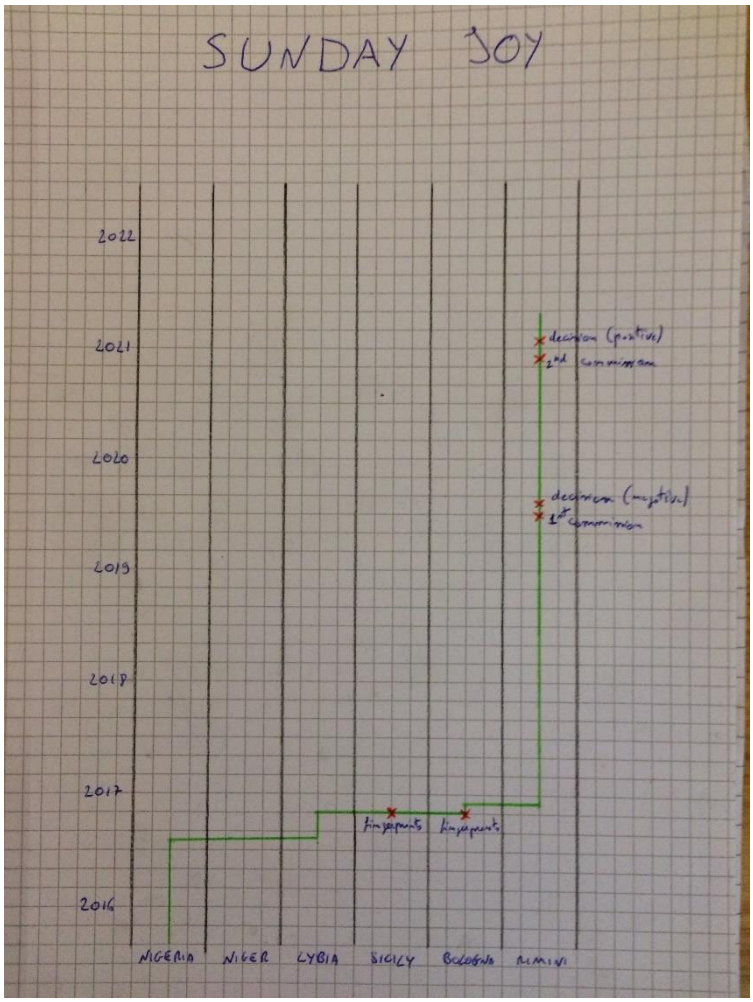


Image 3

Once the "map exercise" was concluded, I continued the interview by showing participants a translated and simplified version of the C3 module and a "blank" module in which they were free to suggest their own questions and categories. I then asked them to revise the C3 according to the considerations that stemmed from the drawing of the temporal map, and more generally, about their own experience. The revised C3 module was then a tool for eliciting reflections about their migration trajectories and helped to problematize the bureaucratic and securitarian procedures they went through.

4.6. Empowering border-crossers through game design and game testing

Once the second round of interview was concluded, I started to design the form of intervention according to the critical issues emerged during the interviews. As anticipated above, I was inspired by an emerging body of literature which have shown the values of playful modalities of interaction in ethnographic and STS research as well as in designing processes (Dumit 2017, Perrotton et al 2017, Brandt et al. 2018, Collins et al. 2017, Farías & Criado 2022). Moreover, playing and game-design stand in continuity with participatory design, design justice and STS making and doing. As discussed above, participatory design emphasizes the need to include users in the design of the socio-technical systems for migration management. Yet, the question "who are the users of the data infrastructures for

migration management?" remained open. Design justice allowed to answer and expand this point: not only border-crossers should be considered as users, but, being those who are more affected by the design of the data practices and infrastructures for migration management, their concerns and preferences should be prioritized. Finally, STS making and doing stresses the connection between studying the social world and making the social world and, in doing this, it opens up the field for experimental, explorative and inventive ways for combining field research and intervention.

The engagement with and the creation of media and material objects used to prompt reflections about a given topic made up a relevant, meaningful bridge between these three approaches and game playing and game designing. Moreover, recent scholarship and the development of new field of research, such as serious games, has emphasized the pedagogic value inherent to game dynamics (Dumit 2017). To be sure, the idea that playing can be a fruitful tool for learning dates back the 19th century. To make a couple of examples, wargames were developed in Prussia in order to simulate the real situations faced by officers (Mizer 2017). Similarly, the very popular boardgame "Monopoly" was initially designed by Elizabeth Magie as a practical and playful demonstration of the inherent dangers of land grabbing. The logic underlying wargames and the first version of Monopoly is the same: beyond being fun (Huizinga 1949), games allow players to experience from their first-person perspective the relevant dynamics emerging from a given situation, such as war or the land-market. The players are forced to make decisions, to experience the consequences of such decision, to interact with other players and thus to try to foresee, hinder or support the actions of other players. Recently, Dumit (2017) stressed the benefits tied to the design of games in STS research, showing how the design and playing of a game in which players act as fracking companies worked as a method for engaging student in thinking about socio-technical systems.

Beyond allowing players to learn about power-relations and knowledge asymmetries, games have also been used to empower communities and to attempt to solve "wicked problems" (Perrotton et al 2017). Perrotton and colleagues developed a role-playing game in order to set-up an arena for negotiations among the different actors (local communities and farmers, protected areas managers) involved in the problems of access and management of two protected areas in Zimbabwe. After an initial period of ethnographic fieldwork, the game was designed with the participation of the local communities in order to reproduce the problems and challenges faced by livestock owners in their herding practices. After a phase of iterative co-design of the game, in which suggestions from the local members were progressively implemented, the game was tested first with other farmers and then with the protected areas managers. On the one hand, the construction of the game and its

implementation was perceived, by the local communities, as a self-learning and self-empowering tool; on the other hand, the protected area managers positively reacted to the game, stating that it allowed them to understand how the villagers use the forest (Perrotton et al 2017, p. 8)

As shown by these examples, the designing and playing of games empower the players and the participants in several ways: games, in fact, allow a free, speculative, temporally and spatially circumscribed setting in which participants can imagine different scenarios or envision possible futures. For the purpose of this research, I turned to exploratory design games (Brandt 2006, Brand et al. 2008) as playful and collaborative ways to probe and discover alternative configurations of everyday activities. Exploratory games design is defined by different features (Brandt et al 2008, p. 54):

- A diverse group of players are gathered around a collaborative activity guided by simple and explicit rules, assigned roles and supported by pre-defined gaming materials
- The game materials typically point to either or both existing practices and future possibilities
- The games are played within a confined and shared temporal and spatial setting often removed from the everyday context of the players
- The purpose of the game is to establish and explore novel configurations of the game materials and the present and future practices to which these materials point
- At the end of the game, the players will have produced representations of one or more possible design options

Drawing on these principles, I designed a role-playing game which attempted to embed the expectations and requirements discussed in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2: the problematization and simulation of the power relations, knowledge asymmetries and temporal dynamics shaping migration management; the attempt to include border-crossers in the re-design of migration infrastructures to broaden the conceptualization and definition of the "default users" of those infrastructures. Chapter 6 will be dedicated to explaining, in further details, how the design process of the game took into account these points and included them into the game mechanics. For the time being, however, it is worth to anticipate the main salient features of the game.

Coherently with the principles of design justice, the main goal of the game was to engage players in the re-definition of the categories used in migration management to collect data about border-crossers and to perform their identities. To do this, during the game the players are prompted to develop, in a collective and collaborative way, their own application form. As a role-playing game, each player impersonates a different character, whose life trajectory is described in "narrative identity cards" and she can decide which information

about herself she wishes to include in the application form which will determine the possibility to "legally" remain in Italy. As stressed by STS making and doing and by the literature about games and ethnography discussed in this section, the game also relies on the engagement with various media: beyond the empty application forms, players have the possibility to expand their stories through "agency cards" and they are asked to insert their data into a software which will ultimately decide about the positive or negative outcome of their applications.

As I will describe in Chapter 6, the game was tested in multiple settings and by different people: beyond the asylum seekers with whom I conducted the narrative interviews, the game was in fact played also by scholar, activists, lawyers and students. The testing sessions in these heterogenous settings were particularly fruitful as they revealed unexpected potentialities and meanings associated to the game. If for border-crossers the game worked simultaneously as a learning tool but also as way for remembering and making sense of their experience with the asylum process, other meanings and playing styles emerged with activists, lawyers and students. The former, for instance, mobilized and resorted to their knowledge and experience in the field: they could exploit the loopholes of the game and rely on their professional competences to steer it towards their goals. Students, on the other hand, were significantly less acquainted with the dynamics of migration management: it took time, for them, to "get into" the game, to understand the performative power of categories and thus to develop game strategies. The plurality of meanings and playing styles emerging from the game was particularly interesting as it revealed its multiple – and, to a certain extent, unexpected - temporal epistemologies.

Overall, the game was designed by keeping in mind the two temporal orientations with which I started this chapter: the attempt to re-enact and simulate the current and actual temporalities shaping migration management and border-crossers' interaction with them; and a the "re-design aspect" emphasizing the search for future and novel configurations. Yet, the game was also endowed with its own temporalities: as a turn-based game, it configured a cyclical but relatively rigid sequential structure, which, however, was often undermined by the spontaneous discussions and interactions among players resulting from the collaborative nature of the game. Lastly, the various groups of players also projected different temporalities in the game. As mentioned above, the game allowed asylum seekers to recall their experiences with the Asylum Territorial Commission. Nonetheless, some of them suggested that the game also worked as a means for learning about other people's stories and thus for preparing the asylum interview, hence emphasizing its future-oriented affordances. Similarly, for bachelor students in cultural mediation the game seems to have worked mostly as a

pedagogic tool which revealed some of the situations and dynamics with which they will have to deal in their jobs.

Chapter 5 – Hijacked knowledge and reactive calibration

5.1 Introduction

After the description of the methodological approaches supporting my fieldwork activities, this chapter is dedicated to test the two hypotheses – *hijacked knowledge* and *reactive calibration* - proposed to account for the ways in which migrants accept, adapt to or appropriate the temporalities of migration management. These hypotheses stemmed from a preliminary analysis of the empirical material collected through the narrative interviews conducted by me and complemented by interviews conducted by other members of the *Processing Citizenship* project. As anticipated in Chapter 4, the notion of *hijacked knowledge* describes how migrants' possibilities of action are negatively affected by the lack of knowledge of the temporalities shaping the procedures and infrastructures governing their movement. The concept of *reactive calibration* refers to border-crossers' strategies to align their bodies or narrations to the temporalities of migration management. To verify these hypotheses, in this chapter I single out the moments in which the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities collide with each other and how border-crossers' agency is affected, hindered and limited accordingly.

In the next section I illustrate the method used to analyze the empirical material discussed in this chapter (section 2). The analysis allowed me to identify four "scripts of temporalities" which shape the encounters between migration authorities and border-crossers: the *temporal location* of the Registration and Identification process; the *temporal purpose* of the Registration and Identification process; the *temporality of the content* of the screening interview; the *temporalities* of fingerprinting. In Section 3 I discuss the "scripts of temporalities" that are embedded into and generated by the Registration and Identification procedures carried out at the Hotspots from the perspective of migration authorities. In Section 4, I illustrate border-crossers' accounts of the same four moments. I am aware that, from an STS and anthropological perspective, this sharp distinction between authorities' and migrants' perspectives is a rather unorthodox way to proceed, as it might lead to obscure how meanings emerge in the situated, embodied interaction between them. Yet, for analytical purposes I considered important to separate them to stress and foreground authorities' and border-crossers' respective and diverging goals, actions and meanings associated to them. This distinction paves the way to provide, in Section 5, an analysis of the "temporal collisions" emerging from the encounters between the authorities' "scripts of temporalities" and border-crossers' temporalities. I suggest that migration management harnesses such

"temporal collisions" to produce *hijacked knowledge*, namely to achieve border-crossers' compliance and, more broadly, to produce knowledge about them while, simultaneously, leaving border-crossers with a confused and partial understanding of the temporal implications of the procedures to which they are subjected. Second, I argue that when border-crossers become aware of the temporalities of migration management, they appropriate them by aligning their bodies, stories and identities to such temporalities. The chapter relies on empirical material collected through interviews with border-crossers and migration officers in Greece and in Italy and on the analysis of policy documents stating the Standard Operating Procedures carried at the Hotspots. The next section will describe how this material was coded and analyzed following grounded theory.

5.2 Method of data collection, coding and analysis

To verify the two central hypotheses of this chapter data were collected and analyzed through a three steps process: data collection, data coding, data analysis. The empirical material discussed in this chapter was collected through the narrative interviews conducted in Italy between 2020 and 2022 and complemented with preliminary interviews done in Greece in 2018. While I conducted the interviews in Italy, those in Greece were carried out at the registration centers of Samos, Chios and Fylakio by other researchers employed in the project "Processing Citizenship. Digital registration of migrants as co-production of citizens, territory and Europe"[14]. These were semi-structured interviews aiming to re-construct the identification and registration process carried out at the Hotspots. Moreover, a couple of interviews were conducted with migration officers operating in the Greek Hotspot of Fylakio. As illustrated in Chapter 4, the fieldwork activity conducted in Italy consisted of three steps: 1) narrative interviews, 2) interviews conducted with the support of cultural probes, 3) game testing and co-design. The narrative interviews took place in a CAS ("Centro di Accoglienza Straordinaria", "special hosting facility") located in Emilia Romagna and hosting asylum seekers and refugees. The goal of the narrative interviews was to gather qualitative data about the strategies of socio-technical resistance performed by border-crossers and to identify what they perceived as critical, problematic or unfair issues (cfr. Chapter 4, section 3). In addition to the narrative interviews conducted with people hosted in the CAS, in this chapter I also rely on interviews with cultural and social operators working with them and on one interview with an ASGI researcher. Lastly, I analyze two policy documents describing the Standard

[14] Since its inception, the research project *Processing Citizenship* has employed multiple researchers. According to the Project's task matrix, given interlaced tasks, financial constraints and language skills, some data collection was beneficial for multiple data analyses. In this case, interviews conducted by A. Bacchi, E. Frezouli and A. Pelizza in Greece have been used to preliminarily acquire knowledge of the Hotspots procedures and infrastructures. Use of data collected in the context of the Project by multiple researchers is supported by the Data Management Plan and legal arrangements underpinning ERC-funded projects, according to which data is owned by the Hosting Institution and granted to the Principal Investigator, who in turn grants their use to team members.

Operating Procedures (SOPs) applied at the Greek and Italian Hotspots. I chose to discuss these two documents as they offer a detailed and comprehensive description of the operations carried out and of the institutional actors involved at the Hotspots. Moreover, they allowed to identify the gaps and inconsistencies between how those procedures are described "on paper" and how they are actually performed "on the ground".

To analyze this empirical material, I drawn on grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Martin & Turner 1986, Corbin & Strauss 2008, Charmaz 2005). One of the central tenets of grounded theory is the *constant comparative method of analysis*, namely the comparison of segments of data for identifying similarities and differences. Data are then grouped together and related with other sets of data to build categories and hypotheses. Following this process, grounded theory was used to inductively identify the moments in which authorities' temporalities and border-crossers' temporalities meet, collide and overlap with each other. However, one important difference between my method of analysis and grounded theory needs to be specified. Grounded theory is openly driven research aiming at inductively building theories stemming from the coding and analysis of the data. In my case, the process of coding was informed by the theories, concepts and temporal taxonomy running across this dissertation. Hence, unlike a purely grounded theory approach, my coding process was conducted by relying on criteria inferred by the theoretical issues and discussions raised by research sub-question 2.

Grounded theory consists of three steps: open/qualitative coding, meta-coding/analytical coding, selective/theoretical coding (Corbin & Strauss 1990, Charmaz 2005). Open coding is the first stage of the process, as raw data are broken down analytically and can be coded word-by-word, line-by-line or incident to incident. My coding method can be described as incident to incident, as it aimed to single out specific events, actions or phenomena told by the interviewees[15]. Open coding was conducted through an iterative process articulated in two stages. The first stage of the coding process focused on the infrastructures and administrative procedures which I described in Chapter 2: the Registration and Identification procedures conducted at the Hotspots, the process of being fingerprinted, the various stages of the asylum process. For instance, I used the code "fingerprinting" any time the informants were narrating their experiences of being fingerprinted and when policy papers or officers were likewise describing the fingerprinting process. During this stage, I also coded border-crossers' feelings and meanings stemming from their descriptions. To make an example, I used the code "(non)knowledge" any time informants were expressing their ignorance or uncertainty about the purpose of being fingerprinting, about the collection and circulation of their personal data, about the administrative and institutional role of the people

[15] Coding and data analysis was done with the support of Atlas.ti, a software for qualitative data analysis.

who were interviewing them. I then conducted a second stage of open coding using the terms of my taxonomy of temporalities. To make few examples, when people described long period of waiting, I used the code "durativeness – continuous"; I used the code "temporal horizon – past" when they mentioned questions about their identity, their journey or life in their country of origin.

Once the open coding stage was concluded, I started to group together codes related to the same phenomena to start constructing categories (meta-coding). For instance, the category "border-crossers' (non)knowledge about the screening interview – future" was developed by combining the codes referring to border-crossers' lack of knowledge about the operations and questions conducted during the screening interview *and* the codes about the temporal implications of the screening interview. Similarly, the category "documents/pictures checked in the Identification process – past" grouped together the codes addressing authorities' checks on the ID documents, mobile phones, medical certificates that were used to evaluate and verify border-crossers' stories and identities.

In the third stage, I scaled up to a more interpretative and theoretical oriented approach. I analyzed the categories developed during meta-coding in order to single out the moments of intersections between authorities' temporalities with border-crossers' temporalities. First, I identified four "scripts of temporalities" (i.e., the temporal location of the R&I process, the temporal purpose of the R&I process, the temporalities of the screening interview, the temporalities of fingerprinting) by combining the categories referring to authorities' operations and their respective temporalities. Second, I compared those "scripts of temporalities" to the categories referring to the same events from border-crossers' perspective. In this way, it was possible to compare each authorities' "script of temporality" to border-crossers' temporalities, in order to analyze and compare their collisions.

5.3 Unpacking Hotspots' temporalities

Multiple temporalities are nested and intertwined at the Hotspots. In Chapter 1 (cfr. section 1.2.1) I emphasized the temporal reasons and goals for which the Hotspot approach was implemented, namely to speed up the identification, registration and fingerprinting of incoming migrants at European border-crossing territories. Yet, from a temporal perspective that analysis remained rather general: it clarified the political and organizational rationales underpinning the implementation of the Hotspot approach without problematizing the "temporalities on the ground" shaping the several procedures that are conducted there. To start delving into these "temporalities on the ground", this section provides a description of the operations carried out at the Hotspots. To do this, I combine the analysis of two policy

papers, the Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) applied in the Greek and Italian Hotspots[16], with interviews with migration officers conducted in Italy and in Greece.

Hotspots represent the first moment in which people unknown to European authorities are made legible (Pelizza 2020, Pollozeck & Passoth 2019), in which knowledge about them is extracted and produced for hindering, regulating and controlling their following movements. The Standards Operating Procedures specify the role and duties of the multiple governmental organizations (national police, Frontex, Europol, EASO) which are involved in the activities conducted at the Hotspots. Moreover, they establish the "operational sequence" shaping this process of knowledge production about border-crossers: the arrival at the Hotspots after Search and Rescue operations (SAR) and health screenings; the pre-identification and screening stage, which includes the verification of identity and nationality as well as security checks on documents and personal belongings; the registration of personal data and fingerprints into national and European databases[17]. Moreover, according to the SOPs, this process is punctuated by moments in which border-crossers are informed about their rights.

The "operational sequence" described in the two documents constitutes a good starting point for unpacking the temporalities shaping the identification practices conducted at the Hotspots. However, the linear description of those practices also conceals, omits and makes invisible a large part of the "temporal choreography" (Felt 2015) which is both embedded in and generated by those operations. Not only because the impersonal style of the document depicts Hotspots as somehow timeless zones, disregarding that the areas designed to operate as Hotspots have, themselves, a history (Rozakou 2017), but especially because the process of knowledge production about border-crossers entails a proliferation of temporalities.

To articulate this point, I rely on the notions of temporal orders and normative orders (Coletta et al. 2020). As Coletta and colleagues suggest, infrastructures, and particularly mobility infrastructures, are characterized by the entwinement of temporal and normative orderings which, in their unfolding, overlap, interfere and challenge each other. The authors distinguish between the normativity of temporal orderings and the temporality of normative orders. The former refers to the norms and normative shifts that are prescribed by temporalities, including how worth is attached to timings, routine and schedule. The temporality of normative orders, on the other hand, concerns the temporal emergence of specific social situations. Normative orderings are temporary configurations which are usually marked by a beginning and an ending, which are often characterized by the "right moment" to

[16] The two documents were retrieved from https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/pages/glossary/standard-operating-procedures-applicable-hotspots_en accessed on November 24, 2022.

[17] Few differences can be identified between the Italian and Greek Standard Operating Procedures, but such differences only concern the order of the operations, and do not have implications for the analysis of the temporalities that I conduct in this chapter.

act (*kairos*) and which often require the mediation and negotiation among different temporal regimes, for instance chronological time and subjective time.

I suggest treating the "operational sequence" described above as the Hotspots' normativity of temporal ordering, as it prescribes the temporal sequence of the operations that need to be carried out in order to enact a third-country national as a European legible subject. Scholarship in STS and migration studies have already addressed the normativity of the temporal orders shaping the Hotspot approach (cfr. Chapter 2, section 1). As a quick reminder, Pelizza (2020) discusses how the implementation of the Hotspot approach entailed the temporal prioritization of administrative knowledge at the expense of health-related knowledge. Pollozeck (2020) describes the clash of temporalities between Frontex and Hellenic police as a friction concerning the "right way" to conduct border practices, such as the screening procedure and providing migrants with information about their rights. Less attention, however, has been paid to enquire the temporalities of the normative orders at the Hotspots, namely those less visible and often implicit temporalities which shape the Registration and Identification procedures.

In the next section I thus describes the authorities' "scripts of temporalities" which emerged from my empirical analysis (cfr. section 5.2 above): 1) the *temporal location* of the Registration and Identification process; 2) the *temporal purpose* of the screening interview; 3) the *temporality of the content* of the screening interview; 4) the *temporalities* of fingerprinting.

5.3.1 The temporal location of the Registration and Identification process

To understand the temporal location[18] of the Registration and Identification process, it is worth to linger upon the narrative style of the Standard Operating Procedures. Written for migration officers, and thus from the point of view of migration management, the first stages mentioned in the SOPs - the Search and Rescue Operations and the transfer to the Hotspots – are depicted as the *beginning* of a sequence of operations. In the Greek SOPs, the first stage of the sequence is titled "Before landing – (after interception or rescue by HCG)" and states the need to inform the RIC[19] Commander about the number and composition of the arrivals and the time of the arrival. The second stage "At landing" prescribes to immediately transfer emergency cases to the hospital and to conduct security checks on bodies and luggage. Similarly, the Italian document starts by referring to the Search and Rescue Operations (SAR), landing and disembarkation, followed by the transfer to the Hotspots, where health screening is conducted to identify vulnerable individuals. Both documents state the need to

[18] With the expression "temporal location" I refer to the fix and standardized routines which prescribe the moments and sequential structure in which activities need to be carried out (Zerubavel 1981).
[19] Reception and Identification Centre

provide third-country nationals with shelters and to inform them about migration and asylum regulations, as well as about the procedures to which they will be subjected. These operations are then followed by the registration and identification procedures.

Two important points must be highlighted in this sequence of steps. First, the SOPs frame these initial operations as a punctual, inchoative moment leading up to the identification process. Crucially however, this framing does not mention, and thus tends to silence, what happened before, in the sea, or on the boats. Particularly, despite mentioning health-screening and the identification of vulnerable subjects, the SOPs approach border-crossers without considering their psychological and physical conditions after the journey. The sequence of operations seem to erase the moments and events which preceded border-crossers' arrival and to configure them as individuals stripped of their emotions and (traumatic) memories connected to their journey. A further point concerns the information about the migration and asylum regulations, which is characterized by a rather paradoxical timing, as it presupposes that people just landed might be in the condition to properly understand them.

Second, while the Standard Operating Procedures are very precise about the operational sequence that must be carried out, they are very vague about the pace and the duration of the operations. The Greek document only specifies that the "freedom-restriction decision"[20] should be signed within three days and that, if the procedure is not completed within the three-day period, the Commander shall issue a «freedom-restriction extension decision» for 25 more days. No indication is given, however, concerning the amount of time which must pass between the different stages: between the disembarkation and the screening interview and between the screening interview and the fingerprinting. This omission is probably due to the need to be temporally flexible and to adjust the pace and duration of the various operations according to the more or less intense flow of arrivals. At the same time, however, this temporal flexibility provides migration officers with the possibility, and power, to decide when border-crossers have to go through those operations, regardless of the span of time passed between their landing and the beginning of the identification practices at the Hotspots.

5.3.2 The temporal purpose of the screening interview

After being disembarked, transferred to the Hotspots and having received information about their rights, people are then interviewed by Frontex and National police operators in order to be identified and registered into national and European databases. The aim of the interview is

[20] The "freedom-restriction decision" is a document issued by the Hellenic police at the end of the Registration and Identification process. It contains few border-crossers' biographical data and it restricts their movements to the reception centers where the process was conducted

to assess the nationality of border-crossers (screening interview), to single out family units, to conduct security checks on documents and electronic devices. As Pollozek & Passoth (2017, p. 8) sum up: "screening is about creating and enacting characteristics of the arrival, which decisively prepares the ground for the further institutional procedure". The screening procedure is thus characterized both by a punctual inchoative aspectualization, which has to do with the enactment of border-crossers identity in the "here and now", and by a durative aspectualization, which refers to the extension of the newly crafted European identities into border-crossers' future.

From the point of view of migration officers, the screening procedure is the moment in which people previously unknown to European authorities are questioned to create a legible European identity. During the interview, migration officers collect and assemble various types of information about border-crossers and then translate it into identification forms. This situated encounter is shaped by negotiations and frictions about the interpretations of border-crossers' personal data. For instance, in discussing policemen's struggle to choose, during the registration procedure, between two different possible transliteration of border-crossers' name, Pelizza (2021, p. 499) concludes: "[that] the identification encounter entails enactment, and not the mere representation of pre-existing identities, is also revealed by the applicant's helpless glance at the two men. […] He knows that no accurate representation of his name is possible, as what is at stake is not reflecting a pre-existent identity but performing a new one". The distinction between representation and enactment is crucial because it stresses the eminently inchoative and punctual nature of the identification encounter. The notion of representation implies, in fact, an essential conceptualization of identity, as something immutable and which remains the same across time and space. On the contrary, conceiving of identification in terms of enactment invites to consider the material and social practices which are used to translate and then to perform people's identities. What results from the socio-technically mediated and situated interaction (punctual) between border-crossers and officers is therefore a *new* (inchoative) identity which is constructed through the personal data, information and documents which are mobilized during the identification practices.

However, these newly crafted identities "stay" with border-crossers during the following administrative stages. From a temporal perspective what matters is how those performed identities are then "glued", sticked to border-crossers. To maintain this metaphorical language, border-crossers must drag these performed identities behind them, with few possibilities to change or correct them. The identity produced in the "here and now" – in a specific moment and through the assembly of different social and material practices – is thus also defined by its own durativeness, which extends into border-crossers' future. In this respect, the identification procedure must be interpreted also through the category of temporal

horizon. As such, the temporal purpose of the registration and identification procedures can be defined along the present-future axis: border-crossers' identities are performed in a punctual, inchoative way and will represent the starting point for further (future) administrative procedures.

5.3.3 The temporality of the content of the screening interview

The "temporal purpose" of the screening and identification procedure is thus to produce a valid identity which will work as the ground for the following administrative processes. This valid identity, however, is constructed during an interview consisting of a screening and debriefing stage. The de-briefing interview is a police activity aiming to reconstruct criminal networks and to identify smugglers. During the de-briefing interviews, border-crossers are asked to reveal who was driving the boat with which they arrived, how much money they paid, whether they personally knew the smuggler. On the other hand, the screening stage aims at identifying border-crossers' nationality. As reported by a Greek officer, at this stage IDs and travel documents are also checked: beyond passports and ID cards, travel documents also include family certificates and driving license. However, even when people have documents, inquiry about the country of origin is conducted and, depending on the circumstances, it can last from five minutes to two hours. A policeman with a long experience at Italian Hotspots, is however rather skeptical about the "screening interview":

> "The screening interview is impossible. How can someone coming from the savanna reply to Frontex's questions about the five previous presidents of her own country? Also, I can understand that you are not Italian, so you tell me you are French, then after one hour I realize you are not French, so you told me that you are from another country. This can go on forever. Cultural mediators are crucial, but if a mediator comes from Syria, the differences with someone coming from North-Africa are a problem" (Interview 34, migration officer, 2019, Malpensa).

As these words suggest, the screening interview is a moment where knowledge about border-crossers is produced to test and verify their identities. It must be noted that the reconstruction and enactment of migrants' identities depend not only on their answers and narrations, but they also involve multiple non-human actants which are used to test and corroborate those narrations. Documents issued by the home-countries or by international organizations, pictures and data retrieved from mobile phones, plane tickets and GPS data are mobilized to verify migrants' stories. Both officers and migrants rely on the temporalities embedded in these artefacts. Very often, for instance, migrants do not have the original copy of their ID documents, but they have a picture of them on their phone and they are then asked to send them via email or to print them and bring the copy. The phone, as it will emerge in more

details in the next sections, works in this case as a digital, portable archive which allows to store various types of information and to timely access it when needed it.

Other times, however, phones' archival function is co-opted by migration officers. This is especially the case of the so-called "digital vetting", namely the checking of content stored in smartphones or uploaded on online platforms and social networks (cfr. Chapter 2, section 2.2.4). Documents and evidence produced in the past, and in non-institutional settings, are then used as proofs for supporting, verifying or challenging border-crossers' statements and narrations. All in all, the temporality of the content should be interpreted along the "present-past" axis, as the enactment of migrants' identity rely on media, documents and evidence which are used to reveal and assess migrants' identities and life trajectories before arriving in Europe.

In terms of temporal horizon, the screening interview is thus defined by a backwards look. However, the screening interview can also be described in terms of "temporal relation" by looking at the embodied, situated encounter between officers and border-crossers. When questioned by immigration officers at the Hotspots, migrants are asked to release, in the "here and now", information about them which is then used to perform their identities. Border-crossers and migration officers thus share the same time, not only because the interviews are taking place in "real time", meaning that officers' questions are immediately followed by border-crossers answers, but also because the interview begins and ends at the same time both for officers and for migrants. This seems to suggest that, at least *prima facie*, a substantial synchronicity characterizes the screening and registration process.

5.3.4 The temporalities of fingerprinting

When the screening and debriefing interviews are concluded, a portrait picture of border-crossers is taken, and fingerprints are scanned, checked against European and National databases and then stored in Eurodac. Once again, people should be orally informed in an understandable language that these procedures are mandatory, they should be informed about their purpose and about how their data will be treated. At the Hotspots, people get fingerprinted for two reasons: first, for being registered in the Eurodac database once they have expressed their will to apply for international protection; second, to find out whether their fingerprints are already stored in European databases such as Eurodac and SIS II. As already discussed (cfr. Chapter 2, section 1.1), these two databases are defined by different purposes and temporalities. SIS II is designed to enforce public order and security through the collection of biometric data of wanted, suspected or missing people. It reflects a precautionary vision of control as it allows for the creation, consultation and interlinking of alerts on already known targets (Bellanova & Glouftsios 2022). On the other hand, the Eurodac database was

originally designed for facilitating the application of the Dublin Regulation on asylum matters (Aas 2011).

Eurodac collects the fingerprints of third-country nationals above 14 years old who applies for asylum in one country. The data, which are stored in the database for ten years, allow authorities to find out whether an asylum seeker has previously issued an asylum application in another country. Eurodac is a rather minimal database (it collects few data) in which most of the data are dates, such as the date (and place) of the application for international protection, and the date on which the fingerprints were taken. The temporal rationale underpinning the Eurodac database is pre-emption. As Anderson (2010, p. 790) puts it: "preemption acts over threats that have not yet emerged as determinate threats, and so does not only halt or stop from a position outside. Its form of intervention is incitatory and it is justified on the basis of indeterminate potentiality". In the case of Eurodac, people are then registered not for something they have already done, but because of what they might do in the future, namely to apply for asylum in multiple European countries (Broeders & Dijstelbloem 2016, p. 252; cfr. also Chapter 2, section 2.1.2).

Overall, two temporalities of fingerprinting can be singled out. First, a past-oriented temporal horizon when border-crossers' fingerprints are collected and checked against databases. This operation allows migration officers to find out whether the person's biometrics data have *previously* been registered and thus whether the person is *already* known to European and national authorities. Second, a future-oriented temporal horizon when asylum seekers' fingerprints are registered, for the first time, in Eurodac. More precisely, the collection, registration and storage of fingerprint is an inchoative moment - both for the European States and for the migrants - which, due to its pre-emptive rationality, extends into border-crossers' future actions and movements.

5.4 Migrants' temporalities at the Hotspots

In the previous section I described and unpack the four authorities' "scripts of temporalities" which shape the encounter between migration management and border-crossers. While these are the temporalities imposed to migrants by authorities, STS users' studies and migration studies have shown that dis-scription and resistance are always possible (cfr. Chapter 2, section 2.2.2). In this section, I thus describe migrants' knowledge and awareness of such temporalities, their strategies of acceptance, adaptation or appropriation.

5.4.1 The temporal location of the Registration and Identification process

To start illustrating border-crossers' perception of their arrival at Hotspots, let me begin with the description that Joy Monday gave me of her journey and arrival in Sicily in 2017

In the desert it was so terrible, because you think that maybe you can't make it. It's not only the sea that it's risk, the desert also is risk, because when I was in the desert I see many things, like human skulls, skeletons. In my group three of the people lost their life. In Lybia, what I experienced there was more than what I experienced in the desert. Because there, there was a lot of killings. Maybe sometimes they come to ask you money, when you don't have them, they shot. They kill the persons. Also, we know how many people lost their life, in Lybia. And then, to the sea…really for me I don't really know how it was in the sea. So, I don't really know either is far or where we are going or how. And they didn't tell me that this is how it's going to be. So, I went there, entered and I meet a lot of people, and the boat starts going going going. It was night, and you don't see anywhere, there was no tree, there was no house, there was nobody, and then I feel I might not make it, maybe to the end, because really, inside the boat, it's up to you. We have now seen the rescue, and fortunately they come to rescue us. So that's how they rescued us. And when I get to the rescue ship, I was touching myself like "Am I alive or dead?" Maybe it was a dream. So I realized it was real, that I finally make it. So then, they give us towel and something to cover, and food. And in the rescue ship we spent at least three days, before we now arrive in Sicily, bringing us down. When I came down form the rescue the people were so kind. They said "we are in Italy, this is Sicily". Really wow… and they give us some sleepers. And I was thinking "ah, they are nice". [Then] they took us in the port, we went on some place and they said "We have to do fingerprints, and take a photo". So, we went there, I don't really know what this is, they say "you have to do fingerprints". I put my finger and they asked me also to put this, so I do something like that. […] I think maybe it's just normal. So I don't really know what it meant, so later when I go to Bologna they also did the same thing. I think this is important. That's why I have done it two times, now, because they asked us to go and do something like that […] Because, later I was thinking that maybe they do it to know, who I am, to recognize me, so that is what I think. (Interview 6, Joy Monday, 2020, Rimini)

A multitude of feelings are mentioned and follow each other in this description. The fear experienced in the desert, in Lybia, and later in the sea vanish with the arrival of the rescue ship and it is replaced firstly by the joy, and astonishment, of being still alive and then by the unexpected feeling of being welcomed and surrounded by "nice people". Yet, when Joy Monday narrates what happened after her arrival, when she was brought to the Hotspot, the range of emotions significantly changes. Here, the prevalent emotions are confusion, lack of awareness (and of information) about what it is happening; emotions which, in turn, led to a generalized compliance about what she was told to do.

A similar emotional and cognitive description of the moments following the arrival at the Hotspots is offered by Laila, a Maroccan women who arrived in Greece in 2018.

"There was a big difference between how they treated us on the boat and at the port and when we arrived at Vial. They were no longer nice and welcoming […] We were body searched really thoroughly and sharp things were taken away from us, also perfume, cigarettes and papers.

> [Then] they took me to another room and asked questions. […] I had not slept for two days and I was exhausted, I did not know the situation. There were many guys, big guys… two were asking questions and four were listening and the translator. I was too tired and wanted to go to sleep, I didn't know if I had the right to say no. They played mind games and you are stressed, scared, tired and don't know what the process is. I thought everything was important for my case so I replied to every question. Normally I am not like that, but in this situation, I didn't know. If I had known anything about the interview and what they asked I would have not replied to all questions. We went back to the room where all the men and women were. The registration took two days and we had to sleep there because it was so busy with arrivals". (Interview 24, Laila, 2018, Chios)

Similar issues are raised by other border-crossers. When asked whether the atmosphere during the first registration was relaxed, Gufran replies: "Fifty-fifty, I was afraid inside because of the sea, being tired, not sleeping, we did not know anything about this interview" (Interview 25, Gufran, 2018, Chios). To the same question, Aneda answers: "I was scared they would corner me, I had just arrived and did not know about the interview" (Interview 31, Aneda, 2018, Samos).

Two important and related issues emerge from these passages and need to be analyzed against the two temporal features shaping the first stages of the SOPs (cfr. 5.3.1 above). First, these descriptions are particularly significant as they mark a major temporal difference with the authorities' account of the "temporal location" of the Registration and Identification Procedures. Whereas those procedures are framed, by authorities, as the *beginning* of a process, hence leading to conceal the experiences lived by border-crossers before landing, for Joy Monday and Laila the arrival at the Hotspots was, above all, a terminative moment, the end of a dangerous journey charged with traumatic and distressful memories. Border-crossers must go through controls and interviews when their cognitive and emotional capacities are significantly affected by the journey they just concluded. Furthermore, as well expressed by Laila's description, this psychological condition is combined with the power asymmetries at stake in those moments. On the one hand, she was alone, tired and exhausted, with no sleep for a couple of days, and without any information about the purpose of the questions she was asked to reply. On the other hand, six people (plus the translator) were interrogating her and we might assume that the officers questioning her had an accurate knowledge of the process and they had enough lucidity to play mind games.

Second, border-crossers' accounts reveal the pace modulating the stages of the Registration and Identification process, which was omitted in the authorities' script. Particularly, both Laila's and Joy Monday's accounts capture the swift transition from a "humanitarian" border, where border-crossers are enacted as vulnerable persons, they are "welcomed" and provided with food, sleepers and blankets, to a "securitarian" border, in

which border-crossers are enacted as security subjects, and thus searched, interrogated and forced to compliance. Importantly, both accounts also highlight the hectic and frenetic temporalities shaping this transition, emphasized by the quick emotional swing. This frenzied temporality has to be connected with the lack of timeframes discussed above. Officers' temporal flexibility in deciding when to conduct the identification practices emerges, from border-crossers' narration, as a tool through which exploiting border-crossers' vulnerabilities.

5.4.2 The temporal purpose of the screening interview

As seen above, The Standard Operating Procedures for Greek and Italian Hotspots specifies that people should be informed about the procedures to which they are subjected. Yet, as already hinted by the previous quotes, this is rarely the case. In this regard, Alì's description of his arrival in Greece is a good starting point for delving into the generalized lack of knowledge which characterizes migrants' interaction with migration control. Interviewed in Greece in April 2018, Alì was in fact rather confused about the whole registration process. After being disembarked, he was not sure whether the questions about his journey and about the treatment received by Turkish police were asked by people from the UNCHR, from the Greek police or from NGO volunteers. Later, when taken to Vial, he could not specify who interviewed him: they were "normal employees", both males and females and, he added, not from the police. Overall, Alì's narration oscillates between striking confusion about the different phases of the process – for instance, the difference between the first registration and the asylum procedure – and being rather informed about it. Yet he also acknowledged that he did not know anything about the registration process and that people were kept in a way that they could not talk to each other after the interview. Furthermore, Alì had the feeling that there was no time to speak or present one's own story but rather that the interview process was a question-and-answer setup (Interview 20, Alì, 2018, Chios).

Other border-crossers interviewed in Greece raised the same issues. Gabriel, for example, could not tell whether, the day after his arrival, he was interviewed by the Greek police or by Frontex. Similarly, he could not identify whether he did the second interview for asylum with UN or with EASO. "Who is EASO? - For me everyone is UN, I did not know that there is EASO" he replied when asked to provide further detail about the interviews (Interview 26, Gabriel, 2018, Samos). Along similar lines, Reem clearly pointed out that the whole process of being registered and identified was not explained to them and neither, she added, they had the possibility, during the process, to talk with other people. This condition made them felt like "in prison", because they were made to go around from one container to another without speaking to anyone. Furthermore, officers hindered any attempt to understand what was going on: she was not allowed to look at what officers were writing on the computer

and, when she tried to look at it, they turned the screen away from her. Also, no conversation was allowed and, if she started it, officers told her to stop, making clear that they were the ones asking questions (Interview 19, Reem, 2018, Chios).

When analyzing the temporal purpose of the screening interview from authorities' point of view, I suggested that it must be understood along the present-future axis: information collected in the "here and now" of the interview is used to produce and to enact a legible identity which will be the ground for further administrative procedures, such as the asylum process. Yet, the evidence reported above suggests that border-crossers tend to be unaware of the temporalities shaping the whole process, and what is entailed by them. For instance, the confusion about the screening interview and the asylum interview makes difficult, for border-crossers, to understand which information they wish to disclose and when. As Coletta and colleagues (2020) stress, in the temporalities of normative orderings the right moment to do something (*kairos*) plays a crucial role. Yet, not knowing the temporal implications of the identification procedures hinder border-crossers' ability to choose the right moment in which revealing bits of their personal life. As we have seen, Laila regretted having replied to all the questions she was asked, and she acknowledges that, if she had known what the interview was about, she would have behaved differently. Later in the interview, Laila clarified the reasons behind this statement: "If you lie at an interview, it will facilitate things; if you tell the truth it could harm yourself so many tell lies. I am honest and I told the truth of my story, but…I asked a woman in registration if the nationality matters, and she said that it doesn't matter" (Interview 24, Laila, 2018, Chios). Laila's feeling is that the personal information collected during the first interview affect the following procedures and the decision about her case, and, within this picture, being able to decide what elements of her story can be shared and which not is highly relevant.

Border-crosser, however, tend to become aware of the temporal, future-oriented implications of the punctual identity produced during the interview only later. This is well shown by the case of Munes, a man from Afghanistan who arrived in Greece in 2018. Munes was rather upset because he was classified as a Farsi speaker and assigned a Farsi translator, whereas his language was Pashtu. For the same reason, his name was wrongly spelled since it was written in Farsi rather than in Pashtu. In the following days, Munes repeatedly tried to change his name and his language, but he was told that it could not be done. First, he asked to correct them during the first asylum interview with EASO, but without success; then, when he was told to bring proofs of his story, he tried once again, but again it was not possible to change them (Interview 21, Munes, 2018, Chios). Munes' story is particularly interesting because it suggests that the temporal implications of the registration and identification process

become tangible and visible to border-crossers when some errors and mistakes about the enactment of their identities occur.

5.4.3 The temporality of the content of the screening interview

In section 5.3.4 I argued that the temporality of the interview must be understood, in terms of temporal horizon, along the "present-past axis". To enact border-crosser' identity, border-crossers' are questioned to test their knowledge about their "supposed" country of origin, and various types of documents are used to certify their stories. Border-crossers' accounts of the screening interview reveal, significantly more than officers' own words, the multiplication of non-human actors and attachments (Latour 2005) that are mobilized during the identification process. Overall, during the screening interviews border-crossers are addressed as suspicious subjects who must prove their identities. Kristian, an Afghan man married with an Arab woman with whom he was living in Syria, mentions all the documents he showed when he was asked for evidence supporting his uncommon personal story:

> "We gave them all the papers we had: UNHCR refugee cards from Syria, Syrian ID cards, a driving license from Syria, an old (expired) passport from Afghanistan. We travelled inside Syria by plane to bypass the territories controlled by ISIS and I showed them the plane tickets to prove that we are not from ISIS or spies or the like. When we showed them all the cards and paperwork they believed us". (Interview 30, Kristian, 2018, Samos)

Kristian's case shows how, in the transition from suspicious subjects to trusted ones, any artefacts might be decisive. Not only institutional, ID cards, but even more mundane documents, like plane tickets, can be harnessed. There seems to be, during the screening interview, a sort of "the more the better" logic, according to which extra-somatic, non-human actants can be mobilized to evaluate the truthfulness of people' narrations. Yet, this multiplication of attachements and spokespersons must fit within border-crossers' stories, to ensure the spatio-temporal coherence of their accounts. The plane tickets shown by Kristian worked well because they blew away any suspect of affiliation with terrorist groups: the dates on the tickets, the place of departure and the place of destination were coherent with the current geopolitical situations and proved, more than their own words, their identities.

Several border-crossers' also reported that, when asked about documents, they showed pictures on their phones and then were asked to send them by email. Miriam describes how, to prove her nationality, she showed to migration officers a picture of her and her children's passports, together with other documents certifying her story.

> "I did not have ID, I left it to a friend in Turkey, because maybe it would get lost in the journey. But I had a photo of my passport on the phone. They just looked at it and wrote down the details and my name and surname exactly as they were written on my passport. Because some people

> who did not show a passport had their name spelled wrong and this is a problem because they get a document with the wrong name. […] I showed them the photo of my passport and I also had the picture of the passport of all my children. […] I had also photos of my marriage certificate, my divorce certificate and the custody papers for my kids. They asked me to send them these three documents via email, so I did" (Interview 33, Miriam, Samos, 2018)

The entanglement of temporalities, humans and artefacts, institutional and non-institutional settings is, in this case, particularly striking. Miriam consciously decided to leave without her passport to avoid it could get lost, but she foresaw the importance of being able to prove her identity and thus decided to take pictures of her documents on the phone. The phone, in turn, was perceived as a less fragile object than a paper document, with less possibility to get lost during the journey and thus able to better guarantee access to information about her. Lastly, she used her personal email to send the pictures to authorities, so that they could create a (institutional) file about her case which, as we have seen, will then represent the starting point for the subsequent administrative procedures.

However, during the screening interviews mobile phones and other digital resources are also exploited in more disruptive ways to verify border-crossers' words and claims. Digital, online maps, for instance, are often used to test and check border-crossers' knowledge about the place they come from.

> "They asked me the name of the man who is commanding the city I live in. They asked me "if you leave the city from here, where do you go? Which places are there? From here in this direction where do you go?" Because they didn't believe me but when I gave the right answer they believe me, they looked on the map. [They asked me] "How many mosques in your town? Where is this mosque? Where is this university? If you go out of …where do you go?" (Interview 32, Ferrun, Samos, 2018)

As seen above with Kristian's plane tickets, this description of the screening interview provided by Zoran reveals the initial enactment of border-crossers as untrustworthy people, which is then overcome when the right answers are given. In this case, however, the truthfulness of Zoran's claimed nationality was assessed not through documents, but by resorting to his knowledge of the city in which he used to dwell. To check this knowledge, however, a third, non-human actant, namely an online map provided by a private company, was used as a *litmus test*, shaping the encounter between Zoran and the migration officers. While officers were trying to evaluate Zoran's acquaintance with his own town, they were at the same time assuming and trusting the (temporal) reliability of an online map showing mosques, streets and universities in which they had, most probably, never been.

The security checks carried out on phones significantly captures how various types of digital resources are used to evaluate border-crossers' identities. Several people who arrived

in the Greek Hotspots described this form of surveillance: they had to turn their phones to officers who would then look at the content stored in them and check their social media account. An accurate description of this procedure is provided by Kalimaris:

> "They searched our phones before they took the fingerprints. Even of my small sister who was only 8 years old. They opened all the applications, we had to provide them with passwords and access codes, with the number of Google playstore. They accessed all the other apps, like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram. I don't know what they do but after that they can see everything in the phone, even the stuff I had deleted. They were able to restore it back. A woman did this. I think they were from the UN. They took the phone to another room, I don't know what they did there. Some people did not even get their phones back… They asked me about the pictures they found, I told them this is in Egypt, this is Sudan, all the pictures. It took a long time. The whole procedure took nearly the whole day" (Interview 28, Kalimaris, 2018, Samos)

This passage hints to the underlying temporal logic of these security checks: phones are conceived as the archive, as the digital memory of one's life and any elements - including already deleted content, browsing history and applications – can be used to verify, to question and to challenge people's stories. However, unlike ID documents and the other artefacts described so far, the checking of data and meta-data stored in phones can be framed in terms of a "dispossessed socio-material temporality". Digital vetting allows migration officers to dig into border-crossers' past, which is materialized and made accessible by phones' technical affordances, without the direct involvement of border-crossers. The term also stresses the actual dispossession of border-crossers' phones. As described by Kalimaris and also by other informants, the extraction of data from smartphone often occurs in a different room, without border-crossing having the possibility to know what officers are doing with their phones. Within this context, border-crossers have merely the role of explaining the pictures while their emotional reactions are checked by other officers. At this stage, the identification encounter is not anymore between officers, border-crossers and non-human actors; rather, the encounter is between migration officers and border-crossers' digitally stored pictures and activities.

The data and meta-data stored and retrieved from smartphones acquire then epistemological priority over border-crossers' own voices, and play an important role in the continuous, constant oscillation between the enactment of border-crossers as suspicious or as trustworthy subjects. The pictures in the phone might, in fact, become highly problematic when officers found pictures where the owners of the phone are fighting, holding a gun, or wearing a military uniform.

> "If they found pictures of someone with a weapon, they took him to the police station. There was one Palestinian guy with a gun on Facebook, and when they saw the picture, they took him

to the police. But they found the picture not on his phone but on his wife's phone. Still they took him."

(Interview 30, Kristian, 2018, Samos)

During digital vetting, border-crossers lose control upon their belongings and on the digital memories and traces stored in them. Whereas in the cases discussed at the beginning of this section border-crossers could decide which documents or pictures to show in order to prove their stories, in digital vetting the opposite process happens. Officers retrieve and select data from people's phones and then used them to test and verify their statements.

However, the possibility to remotely access those media also enable some forms of resistance. For instance, Reem confirmed that many young men post photos of themselves fighting and then they are caught by the officers checking their phones. She explains that her brother put up a photo where he was wearing a jacket similar to the military uniform and that he had given his email address to the officers. Yet, he then asked a friend to hack his email so that they would not find that photo. Furthermore, the vetting on phones and social media may also been welcomed by border-crossers, as stated by Felix:

"My phone was without code or motive. But there was not anything of interest on my phone. There were just some pictures of my family. But I had pictures of my ID card from Iraq on my phone. But they did not ask anything about this. I think they tried to retrieve the data and store it elsewhere, but I don't know for sure. I don't know what they did. They put the phone is a plastic bag and then they searched me, so I did not see what they do with my phone […] No, I did not protest or anything. It actually made me happy, so they knew I have nothing to hide or was a dangerous person or the like. It helped me to prove who I was." (Interview 29, Felix, 2018, Samos)

Felix's description reiterates the dynamics I discussed so far: the checking of phones in another room, border-crossers' uncertainty about the operations conducted, the likely attempts to retrieve data already deleted. Yet, such disempowerment was well accepted by Felix, since, quite paradoxically, it was exactly the complete loss of control upon his own data which allowed him to prove, beyond any reasonable doubts, that he was who he claimed to be.

All in all, as already illustrated when analysing authorities' account, the temporalities of the screening interview is characterized by the attempt to uncover border-crossers' past in order to assess their identity. Yet, border-crossers' description reveals a significantly more complex picture. First, migrants tend to be addressed and treated as suspicious individuals, so that the burden of proof lies on them rather than on migration officers. Within this context, the enactment of their identities as unsuspicious subjects depends on multiple non-human actant which are decisive in supporting their stories, sometimes much more than their own voices and narrations. Thus, being able to identify and locate streets and buildings on digital maps or

to show plane tickets assume, in the migration officers' eyes, a more relevant epistemological values than people's statements. Second, during the screening interview border-crossers lose control upon their past and memories, since their devices are checked, without their consent, as digital archive used to inspect their life.

5.4.4 The temporalities of fingerprints

In section 5.3.4 I argued that the collection of fingerprints at the Hotspots should be understood along two temporalities. First, a present-past axis which concerns the checking of border-crossers' fingerprints against European and national databases; second, a present-future axis connected to the pre-emptive temporality of Eurodac. However, most of the people interviewed in Greece and in Italy were unaware of the future-oriented goal underpinning the fingerprinting process and different interpretations come up about the reasons for which they were fingerprinted. Most of these interpretations were summed up by Gufran "[they took my fingerprints] to find out I did a crime before here, or if I have been in prison, or if you have already entered EU" (Interview 25, Gufran, Chios, 2018). Similarly, Laila replied:

> "I don't know. I think that if you go to another country and they catch you, they know who you are. They are "criminal fingerprints" to see if you had done any crime. There was this Algerian guy who was in EU in 2014 in Vial and they took him to jail they found him because of his fingerprints. I don't know [where] they are kept for criminal records. Some people succeed in breaking the fingerprint, when for example they go and live in another EU country and perhaps they marry a local man, then the fingerprints are no longer valid. You wouldn't think of saying "no" because they are for the asylum application and it would defeat the point of asking for asylum, plus the cops are watching up and there is pressure" (Interview 24, Laila, 2018, Chios).

While these explanations capture, at least partially, the purpose behind the fingerprinting process, other interpretations were more creative. Alain, for instance, explained that fingerprints are taken twice to see whether there is a correspondence between your fingerprints and your story - for example if there are differences in the name, like Alan or Alain. Officers' explanations are also inaccurate, incomplete or hasty, contributing to a generalized lack of awareness. Alain, for instance, asked the officers why his fingerprints were taken twice, and he was replied that it is to see whether his information is compatible with what he said (Interview 22, Alain, 2018, Chios). Gabriel, on the other hand, was told that "they [the officers] do it to prevent that things get stolen or people fight, so that they know who it was. They did not explain where they store the data" (Interview 26, Gabriel, 2018, Samos). Most of the people interviewed in Italy and in Greece were simply told, either by officers or by mediators, that it is just something that people must do. When I asked Okudawa what she thought about being fingerprinted, she replied: "I don't know because they told me

that is something you need to do it. I asked them "why am I doing this?", they said "if somebody arrives, they use to do it". So I would do it" (Interview 2, Okudawa, 2020, Rimini). To the same question, Sunday Joy replied "Of course I was scared, because I don't know what they want to do with the fingerprints. The interpreter, she was Nigerian, she told us that that is how they do it. So I was not afraid anymore. The interpreter told me this. I don't know [why they were taking my fingerprints], I was thinking they were going to take me back to Africa. But I never thought about that moment later" (Interview 4, Sunday Joy, 2020, Rimini).

This scattered, inaccurate and incomplete knowledge about the fingerprinting process leads people to develop their own interpretations, which focus exclusively on the past and do not consider that fingerprinting are collected for future, potential events. For Okudawa fingerprints are the "symbol of recognition"; for Joy Monday it was the repetition of the same process – e.g. being fingerprinted twice, first in Sicily and then in Bologna – which made her realize that fingerprints are something important. The case of Joy Monday is particularly interesting because it suggests that the repetition of the same operation works as a trigger for reflexivity. Moreover, as suggested by one of the passages above, a similar lack of knowledge concerns the storage of fingerprints. Julea, for instance, thought that they are stored "in a public database where everybody can see them everywhere in the world. I heard that if somebody get smuggled into another country and they stop you there the police will know you had your fingerprints taken in Greece" (Interview 23, Julea, 2018, Chios). Julea rightly points out Eurodac's pre-emptive logic, yet her wording – "I *heard*" -, the absence of any reference to the asylum process and the worry that fingerprints can be accessed everywhere and by everybody also reveals a significant uncertainty. Overall, border-crossers' knowledge about fingerprints is rather nebulous: they know what is entailed by the fingerprinting process – to recognize and identify people – but they are more ambivalent about the purpose for which their fingerprints are collected, where they are stored, and what are their temporal implications.

5.5 The temporal production of hijacked knowledge

In the previous sections I discussed the four "scripts of temporalities" taking place during the Registration and Identification Procedures from the perspective of migration management and from that one of border-crossers. As I suggested in chapter 1 (cfr. section 2), border-crossers' possibilities of action, and their strategies of resistance, need to be analyzed by looking at the intersections between their own temporalities and the temporalities of migration management. Those intersections are addressed as "temporal collisions" in which the various temporalities embedded in and generated by the infrastructures for migration management interact and collide with border-crossers' agency and temporalities. To analyze these collisions, let me also briefly recover the notion of "digital informed agency", which I introduced in Chapter 2.

As we have seen, "digital informed agency" aimed to capture border-crossers' control over the data collected by migration infrastructures as well as their possibility to make informed decisions about the release and use of their data. In light of these elements, I stressed that a constitutive feature of "digital informed agency" is border-crossers' knowledge about the purposes and consequences for which their data are collected, as they determine, restrict or facilitate their future possibilities of actions. However, this section will illustrate that border-crossers' "digital informed agency" is significantly reduced and hampered by the "temporal collisions£ and entanglements shaping the Registration and Identification procedures. I use the term "hijacked knowledge" to capture this condition and, by analyzing the encounters between migration management and border-crossers in terms of four "temporal collisions", I will show how "hijacked knowledge" is temporally produced (see table 1).

Table 1 - The temporal production of hijacked knowledge

	Authorities' temporalities	Border-crossers' temporalities
Temporal location of the R&I process	Inchoative Omission of process' timeframes	Terminative Hectic pace of the process
Temporal purpose of the R&I process	Inchoative enactment of identity along the present → future axis	Lack of knowledge about the present → future axis
Temporality of the content of the screening interview	Present → past axis	Dispossessed socio-material temporality (digital vetting) Asymmetric synchronicity
Temporalities of fingerprinting	Present → future axis (preemption)	Lack of knowledge about the present → future axis

The first moment of "temporal collision" between the temporalities of control and border-crossers temporalities concerns the very first stages described in the SOPs, namely the Search and Rescue Operations, the transfer to the Hotspots and the identification process. Through the help of my taxonomy, this difference can be analyzed at the level of aspectualization, and especially by looking at the distinction between inchoative and terminative events. While, for authorities those operations represent the *beginning* of a set of procedures aiming to identify unknown people, those moments have, for migrants, a significantly more ambivalent nature. As a matter of fact, the procedures carried out at Hotspots are, from the perspective of European States, eminently inchoative: it is at Hotspots that unknown people are first identified, registered and then fingerprinted, it is at the Hotspots that they enter into the "bureaucratic machine" of European countries. On the other hand, for migrants Hotspots do not represent only the possible beginning of a new life in a new country; rather, the arrival at Hotspots means above all the end of a long journey. For migrants,

arriving in Italy, or in Greece, is first and foremost a terminative moment which is often characterized by traumatic memories and experience of the journey just ended, but also by feelings of joy and relief. As shown by Joy Monday's description, arriving in Italy, or in Greece, is in fact the end of a dangerous, life-threatening journey which, as such, is shaped not only by feelings and emotions, but also by physical distress.

It is significant, in this respect, what I was told by an ASGI researcher:

> "There would be the need of different timings and timeframes, an approach not based on the selection at the arrival, which clearly is not a suitable stage where people can effectively exercise their rights. They have just arrived. Hence, with the appropriate time and the appropriate protection to make emerge people's past and life experience, the possibility to acquire awareness and of self-determination in that stage [might be guaranteed]. In two days, after you have just been disembarked, even if there are the best intentions of the whole apparatus, I think it is still very difficult that it happens. It is the approach in itself which is wrong, even if all the protections were applied" (Interview 10, ASGI researcher, online, 2020)

This quote confirms the first temporal collision: people *just* arrived (i.e., terminative aspectualization) cannot exercise their rights because the hectic temporalities of the Hotspots approach, especially in its first stages (i.e., inchoative aspectualization), do not leave them enough time to emotionally and physically recover after their journeys and, neither, to become aware of their new condition. The relevance of "having time for recovering" is well stressed also by the director of the cooperative where I conducted fieldwork:

> "The information [about migration and asylum legislation] should be provided, but I cannot say whether it is done or not, I do not know. It should be done with the mediators, perhaps in a collective way, so that someone might not understand, and also done in the moment in which the person…because the person needs time, didn't she? We always say it, when someone comes to us after she did various [administrative] stages, there is that time in which one must, to put it in quotation marks, almost rest. Understanding where she is, two or three days, she is left alone, and then we start to reconstruct everything. This, it is not done the first day. In the first day we sign the agreement, we tell the basic rules, but we do not delve into what then emerges with time." (Interview 9, social operator, 2020, Rimini)

The second "temporal collision" concerns border-crossers' confused, lacking and fragmented knowledge about the temporal purpose of those procedures. This condition, which could be defined as the "who is who?" problem, has crucial consequences on migrants' agency, broadly understood not only as their possibilities of action, but also as their knowledge about the procedures to which they are subjected. In section 5.4.2 I have shown that people arriving at the Hotspots do not know, in many cases, with whom they are talking, who is interviewing them, what is the function of those interviews. By not knowing the function and working

profile of the organizations involved, border-crossers are not put in the condition to properly determine the accurate moment in which disclosing relevant information about themselves. This uncertainty configures forms of power-relations and knowledge asymmetries articulated upon the dialectic between revealing and omitting. Whereas officers, be them from national police, Frontex or international organizations, are aware of their positions and of the reasons for which they are asking certain questions, border-crossers struggle to understand the reasons underlying them, and thus cannot choose what information about themselves they wish to disclose and in which context.

Moreover, there is a causal, temporal relationship between the inchoative/terminative collision concerning the temporal location and border-crossers' lack of knowledge about who is interviewing them and why. Migrants do not know the function and purpose of the procedures conducted at Hotspots also because they do not have the adequate time to understand what they entail. The episodes described by Joy Monday and by Laila well capture how the combination of the chaotic, frenzied moments following the arrival at the Hotspots and the contradictory emotions lived in those moments tends to produce a sort of "cognitive disorientation" which inevitably affects people's possibilities to understand what is happening to them. Far from being a neutral condition, the frenzied, hectic temporalities characterizing their arrival become a means through which knowledge and power asymmetries are built, maintained and exacerbated.

The third temporal collision concerns the power relations at stake during the screening interviews. The description of the questions and security checks occurring during the screening interviews configures it as a moment where knowledge about border-crossers is produced while, at the same time, border-crossers' claims are tested and challenged by resorting to various non-human actants. I thus suggested that, especially during those checks, people lose control upon their digitally stored memories and traces, as officers scrutinize the content stored in their phones, be them pictures, social media interactions or browsing history, without people's consent. Even more importantly, during this process border-crossers' voice seem to progressively fade away, leaving room to officers' own pre-conceptions and interpretations of the retrieved material. Crucially, then, border-crossers' identities seem to be reconstructed by assembling various type of source whose legitimation and understanding is however informed by the enactment of border-crossers as security subjects. Thus, a picture with a gun automatically entails the transfer to a police station.

Furthermore, even the synchronicity with which I initially characterized the screening interview should be rethought. Reem's description of her interaction with officers is, in this regard, enlightening: she attempted to look at what they were writing on the computer, but the officers moved the screen so that she could not see it. This short physical, rather than

discursive, interaction testifies the shared time – and space – defining the interview setting. Yet the officer's gesture of hiding the screen from Reem's sight, as well as Reem's note about the impossibility to start a conversation, reveal how such synchronicity is merely apparent. Rather, an "asymmetrical synchronicity" seems to be at stake during the screening interview: synchronicity is used to establish a questions-and-answer format where, however, the roles of who poses questions and who answers them are strictly codified. Border-crossers and officers are in the same place and interacting with each other, yet the latter do their own business, which remains in large part inaccessible to the former.

A fourth collision concerns border-crossers' fragmented understanding of the temporalities of fingerprints. As I have shown, border-crossers tend to be aware that being fingerprinting is a necessary step to start the asylum process, that fingerprints are used for identifying people without the need of ID documents, that they can be used to track past movement and thus to find out whether people already entered Europe and, lastly, that they can be used for investigation purposed. What is completely missing in this picture by people on the move, however, is the pre-emptive, future-oriented logic inherent to Eurodac. Interpreted through my taxonomy of temporality, this evidence seems to suggest that border-crossers are mostly unaware of the relation between an inchoative moment and their future, tangible implications.

This relation can be further explored through the notion of "technological presence" (Kiran 2012). Drawing on a post-phenomenological account of technical mediation, Kiran proposes a shift in the focus of analysis: from the actual use of technical objects to their potentiality and virtual presence. At the core of his analysis stand "backgrounds relations", the post-phenomenological term used to describe human relations with infrastructures such as roads, heating systems, electricity. Unlike other types of human-technology relations, where technical artefacts are intentionally present to our experience, infrastructures shape the environment in which we move and live, but their functioning remains invisible and their presence is taken for granted. The fundamental point, Kiran continues, is that "we organize many parts of our lives in accordance with the background technologies even if they are not taken up and used directly" (Kiran 2012, p. 83). They are, in other words, the condition of possibility of a significant portion of everyday life and thus play a much more active role in the existential horizon of human existence. This interpretation of human-technology relations has important consequences for the understanding of the self. As Kiran points out, there is a sort of space between where we are now and where we might proceed, and grasping this existential horizon is possible only in relation to the entities that fill up this horizon and thus define our future. In the case of the fingerprints stored in Eurodac, the implications of such technological presence seem to work in the opposite way. The fingerprints collected in a

specific moment in the past remain invisible in the existential horizon of asylum seekers until there is a "hit", until they are "caught" in a place where they should not be. To paraphrase Kiran, biometric data affect border-crossers' future by defining the space between where they are in a certain moment and where they might not proceed.

To sum up, throughout this section I argued that the "temporal collisions" shaping border-crossers' encounters with migration officers and migration infrastructures tend to produce a significant lack of knowledge and awareness about the procedures to which they are subjected and their implications. This analysis confirms the "hijacked knowledge hypothesis" that was introduced in the previous chapters. At this point, I wish to relate the notion of *hijacked knowledge* with the temporalities of (non)knowledge production I discussed in Chapter 3. In both cases, time is in fact used as tool for maintaining and strengthening power relations and to reduce border-crossers' possibilities of action. In both cases, moreover, the entanglement between time and knowledge production must be understood in a relational way, by paying attention to how knowledge is produced and collected, and by whom, and how such knowledge is used and for which aims. As I argued in Chapter 3, the reduced timeframes of accelerated asylum procedures make more difficult, for asylum seekers, to provide decisive evidence about themselves. I characterized this situation as a "temporal loop" between the producers of knowledge and the users of such knowledge: the asylum seekers, have less time to produce knowledge about themselves (documents, self-representation of traumas, mutual trust with lawyers and mediators), knowledge which will then be assessed by the Territorial Commission to decide about their asylum cases.

In the case of hijacked knowledge, the relation between knowledge producers and knowledge users has a different and opposite nature. Migration officers are the ones producing knowledge about border-crossers, and, in doing this, they exploit the several "temporal collisions" discussed in this chapter: the hectic temporalities of the Registration and Identification process, border-crossers' compliance due to cognitive disorientation and physical distress, the inspection of personal belongings to retrieve information about their personal life. This knowledge is then used to enact EU legible identities which will extend into border-crossers' future possibilities of actions. To conclude, whereas the temporalities of (non)knowledge production mostly affect asylum-seekers' possibilities to collect, provide and prepare relevant information about their *past* life, the temporal implications of hijacked knowledge lie in border-crossers' future, as they concern how their newly crafted European identities will determine their prospective actions and movements.

5.6 Reactive calibration

So far, my analysis has focused on the first stages of border-crossers' encounter with migration management. I analyzed the moments of arrival at the Italian and Greek Hotspots,

the identification procedures conducted by migration officers and the fingerprinting process. This section will be dedicated to the temporal strategies of adaptation developed by border-crossers during the asylum process. The distinction is, to a certain extent, mostly heuristic as a significant continuity characterizes the Registration and Identification procedures and the asylum process. During the asylum interviews applicants are in fact asked to re-narrate and confirm what they stated during those procedures and their previous statements are repetitively tested. On the other hand, however, the asylum process is conducted by different actors (the Italian and Greek asylum services, EASO) and, especially in Italy, is also geographically distinguished: after the registration and identification procedures, people are transferred to regional hubs where they formalize the request for international protection. In Greece the asylum process is carried out at the Hotspots (apart from vulnerable people who have the permission to move on the mainland).

In the previous section I suggested that border-crossers' are mostly unaware of the temporalities of migration control, a condition which hinders their possibilities of resistance. What happens, however, when border-crossers become aware of such temporalities? And, when it happens, how do they appropriate them? In this regard, a powerful example is the case of Ezina and her family. Ezina arrived in Greece on 1st March 2018 together with her family, a polygamic family (husband with two wives) including eleven people. After being intercepted by the Coast Guard and brought to the container for the R&I procedures, they were told that European laws are different and that a man cannot have two wives. Ezina was pregnant and her case was split from the case of her husband and of the other wife, Seher. Ezina become the spokesperson of her three children, her fingerprints were taken as well as a portrait picture of her and her children. At first, they received a "closed Ausweis". "Ausweis" is the word used by border-crossers to refer to international protection applicant card. In Greece, "Ausweis" can be open or closed: a "closed Ausweis" restricts people's mobility to the island, and it is marked with a red stamp; an "open Ausweis" allows people to travel to Greek mainland. Some days later, however, doctors confirmed Ezina's pregnancy and, being now a pregnant woman and single mother, Ezina received an international protection applicant card with no territorial restriction. The problem was that the rest of the family (Ezina's husband, his second wife Seher, and their children) got a "closed Ausweis", meaning they could not leave Samos, the island where they arrived. The family was then divided in two different asylum trajectories and their respective temporalities. Ezina however did not leave the island, and when she reached the seventh month of pregnancy, she was no longer allowed to travel. In the meanwhile, Seher also got pregnant. Due to this new condition, they hoped that Seher and the husband would have also received an "open Ausweis", allowing the whole family to move together to Athens.

This case is interesting as it mobilizes multiple elements of my taxonomy, revealing the complex intertwinement between the temporalities of migration control, border-crossers' own temporalities and the resulting temporalities of appropriation. The temporal horizon of the polygamous family - the desire to remain together, to move together, to live together - is the red thread through which reading this case. Both the past and the future of the family are highlighted by Ezina:

> "We had a lot of problems in our family, but I cannot leave my children without their father, so we all came together. So we will try to stay together, also if we have to go from this island. […] They told me from the very beginning that it is not accepted here that a man has two women. But we still try to be one family. I need someone to look after the kids when I go into the market. When I was in hospital for 5 days, my husband looked after the children. So we still care for each other and look after each other […] I just came here to be safe. I don't care about the country I go. And I don't want the children to grow up without their father. So we will all stay together. This is my problem. But we will all stay together. This is the only thing I want" (Interview 27 , Ezina, 2018, Samos)

This quote reveals the strong, durative familiar bond perceived by Ezina, the shared temporal horizon and the will and expectations of staying all together despite the difficulties encountered in the past and then in Europe.

The arrival in Europe, in fact, threatened the familiar bond through two interconnected and interdependent "temporal collisions". The first "temporal collision" occurs at the level of aspectualization, and points to the tension between punctuality and durativeness: being pregnant at the moment of her *arrival* (punctuality) in Europe made Ezina a vulnerable subject, unlike the rest of her family with which, however, she shares the same expectations and hope about the future. This temporary condition implied a second "temporal collision", which can be assessed in terms of asynchronicity. As a vulnerable person, Ezina is on a different, faster track than the other familiar members, whose movement was, on the contrary, decelerated and territorially restricted. Moreover, it is worth to note that these two "temporal collisions" depended, in turn, on the impossibility to register the polygamous family as a single familiar nucleus. Polygamous families, in fact, do not fit into the European values and categories that are used to register third-country nationals. This is an emblematic case of "processing alterity" (Pelizza 2020) bearing deep repercussions on the family, as it implied the separation in two different asylum processes.

Seher's deliberate decision of being pregnant can then be interpreted as an attempt to overcome these two "temporal collisions". First, being pregnant, Seher could also be enacted by migration authorities as a vulnerable subject. Second, classified as a vulnerable subject, Seher and the rest of the family would be on the same, accelerated asylum path of Ezina,

eventually allowing the family to move and stay together. Overall, the story of Ezina and her polygamous family can be understood as an episode of appropriation (Scheel 2019) of the temporalities of the asylum systems through a technology of the self. Importantly, and especially regarding my previous discussion about *hijacked knowledge*, Ezina's family could conceive of such strategy of appropriation only *after* becoming aware of the temporalities of the asylum process. Only when they become aware of the impossibility to be treated as a single case, only when they found out how pregnant women are classified as vulnerable individuals and what is it entailed by such classification, they could devise a tactic to appropriate the temporalities of migration management.

This tactic can be further explained in light of the notion of temporal recalibration proposed by Sharma (2014). The concept is used to account "for the multiple ways in which individuals and social groups synchronize their body clocks, their senses of the future or of the present, to an exterior relation—be it another person, pace, technology, chronometer, institution, or ideology" (Sharma 2014, p. 18). Similarly, Ezina and her family synchronized their bodies and long-term family composition to adapt to their condition of migrants, and to the requirements needed to be classified as "vulnerable". More precisely, the polygamous family consciously synchronized Seher's body to a double exterior relation (the body of Ezina and how the body of Ezina is managed and classified by institutions according to European categories) in order to maintain a shared sense of temporal horizon ("the family has to stay together"). I thus suggest interpreting this case as one of *reactive calibration.*

Table 2 - Reactive calibration: the case of Ezina

	Authorities' temporalities	Ezina's family temporalities	Reactive calibration
First temporal collision	Punctuality Ezina enacted as vulnerable subject as being pregnant at the *moment* of arrival	Durativeness and same temporal horizon 'the family has to stay together'	Seher gets pregnant in order to be enacted as vulnerable individual
Second temporal collision	Acceleration Faster track for vulnerable subjects	Asynchronicity Ezina and the rest of the family are on two different spatio-temporal paths of asylum	Classified as a vulnerable subject, Seher and the rest of the family would be on the same, accelerated asylum path

As a strategy of appropriation, reactive calibration relies on the attempt to modify, transform, tweak one's own identity, body or story in order to co-opt and harness migration management and its temporalities. Several informants reported these practices, always mentioning, however, that officers are aware of them. This dialectic is well described by Kalimaris:

> "For example, I remember some guys who were sick and I tried to help them and I went with them to the hospital to translate. There was one guy who said that there was a problem with his

heart and then they did all the checks but then the doctor said "you are in better condition than me or anybody else in the room". Afterwards I told him you can lie to anyone but not [to] a doctor, he will know, he will check up on you, he will do blood tests and test your urine and all that and then he will know that you are lying" (Interview 28, Kalimaris, 2018, Samos).

Similarly, Aneda describes her experience of being recognized as a vulnerable person:

"Maybe before people could try to pretend to be sick or so to get an open card, but now they understand everything. When you have an appointment because you are sick, they think you are lying to them, because so many people pretend to be sick to get an open card. It is even difficult to get an appointment and see a doctor. Then the doctor thought I was lying. But then I told them about my health problem and what kind of medicine I use. But then they said you have a simple health problem, not a serious one. But then I was pregnant and Asis got us out of the camp" (Interview 31, Aneda, 2018, Samos)

The relevance of the body as the "ultimate evidence" for asylum seekers stories is well known (Fassin & D'Halluin 2005, Beneduce 2015). Ali, for instance, described how, during the screening interviews, officers immediately stopped asking him questions when he showed them his bullet wound in a buttock and talked about the problems with his knee that needed surgery in two different places. He was then told to go to the hospital where he received a paper, written in Greek, proving that he needed surgery and specified the planned date of the medical intervention.

As already seen with Ezina's story, being vulnerable entails a faster asylum process: in this regard, strategies of reactive calibration must be understood along the acceleration/deceleration dichotomy described by Tazzioli (2018a). At the Greek hotspots, long, exhausting waiting period are the norms. People wait for their asylum interviews and then for the outcome about their applications, they wait for their transfers to the mainland or for a decision about their request to be transferred on the mainland, for meetings at the hospital and for a decision about their appeal after a rejection. Reactive calibration as a strategy of appropriation must then be understood against the backdrop of waiting and deceleration characterizing the Hotspot approach and the asylum process. Within this picture, making oneself vulnerable – or better: trying to be classified as vulnerable by European doctors and health standards – is a temporal strategy of appropriation aiming to accelerate one's own case. Yet, as Beneduce (2015, p. 564) notes: "When the asylum seeker himself or herself asks for such medical certification, as if it were a miraculous "open sesame!" the consequences are sometimes both tragic and grotesque, as can only be the case when physicians are desperately ordered to make the human body tell a truth which is "coherent" with one's own tale".

Reactive calibration, however, can also be directed to one's own identity and story. Nationality, religious beliefs, age and sexual orientation, become then categories open to strategies of appropriation. One informant, for instance, reported how many people pretend to be Syrian:

> "They ask Syrian people for advice and they help them. It is mostly people from Iraq. There is so many people from Iraq and they have lived through the war and now they want to bring them back so we try to help them. So the Iraqi people make friends with people from Syria and then they teach them what to say. We even mock the interview. Or they just try to get information from us, they ask the Syrian people from where are you, how did you get here, so they hear the answers and then they go to the asylum service and repeat the same answers" (Interview 32, Ferrun, 2018, Samos)

These strategies, in turn, are well known by border-officers, who test people's knowledge about the culture and traditions of the religion or ethnicity they declare to belong. Felix, a Yazidi man, explains how their traditions are used to test people's story.

> "Yes, some people in Germany did this. They claimed they were Yezidi to get asylum. But we have some traditions which are quite unique. For example, we use a white rock which you give to a woman which you think is your sister. They used this tradition to test the people claiming to be Yezidi. They told them "give this stone to your wife". But then the people did not know that this was wrong and thought, indeed, that you have to give this white stone to a woman that you want to marry or are married to. So then they knew they were not Yezidi. When we give the white stone to a woman we think is our sister, then all people kiss her hand and we kill a sheep or another animal and eat it together. It was mostly people from Syria who claimed to be Yezidi. In many places they tried this to make themselves Yezidi. In the Netherlands some people from Syria tried this. They also ask people about *Dohob*, which is like a Mekka for Yezidi people, and then they ask them where it is and most people don't know" (Interview 29, Felix, 2018, Samos)

It is interesting how practices of reactive calibration are perceived by other asylum seekers. Lydia is a Cameroonian woman who arrived in Italy with her husband in 2017. When I asked her what she would change about the process, she replied:

> "I saw that when people arrive here and they say they are homosexual, they immediately get the document. I saw many of them. When we arrived in Rimini, we were fifty people, and those who said they were homosexual, they get the document immediately. For me this is an injustice: you were with me as well, why do you get the document right away? It is true that in Africa, when you are homosexual, your life is almost dead." (Interview 13, Lydia, Rimini, 2021)

Lydia's position is subtle and it can be grasped by looking at it from a temporal perspective. The injustice, she seems to suggest, is not that homosexual people get international protection,

but rather what can be framed as a "temporal injustice". This "temporal injustice" has to do with the asynchronous experience produced by the different temporalities of the asylum process: despite being arrived together, homosexual asylum seekers "immediately" receive the document. Once again, the notion of synchronicity is useful in this regard. When I asked Lydia how people know that being homosexual facilitate a positive decision, she replied "We are a team", emphasizing the feeling of being involved in the same process, of sharing the same experience and expectations.

As emerged in this section, reactive calibration presupposes border-crossers' knowledge about the rationalities and temporalities of migration management. Such knowledge can be acquired in multiple ways. Ezina's family become progressively aware of what was entailed by their situation (the impossibility to be register and managed as a polygamous family, the faster asylum path for vulnerable persons, the impossibility to reach the mainland without a specific condition) and decided to act accordingly. Other border-crossers, on the other hand, relied on what by Papadopoulus and Tsianos (2013) define as mobile commons, namely those practices and affects that facilitate the movements of border-crossers. Mobile commons include, among other elements, the invisible knowledge of mobility (knowledge about border crossing, routes, hub, strategies against biosurveillance) and the infrastructure of connectivity, which refers to the transfer and exchange of knowledge in different ways, from mouth to mouth to mobile phones and social networks. As we have seen, people at the Hotspots are aware of and exchange information about the relevance of medical certificates, nationality and sexual orientation for increasing their possibilities of getting asylum.

There is, in this respect, a constant struggle between border-crosser and migration authorities, a struggle which, once again, has to do with knowledge, its (re)production and its assessment and which is staged during the asylum interview. On the one hand, border-crossers mock the asylum interviews and learn the stories of the people who got the international production and try to reproduce them; on the other hand, migration officers (and doctors) are aware of these strategies and thus have developed counter-strategies for detecting false claims. Lastly, I suggested that reactive calibration had to be understood also as an attempt to re-gain control over one's own time, or, at least, to alleviate the temporal constrains and uncertainty imposed by migration management.

5.7 Concluding reflections

Throughout this chapter, I offered a temporal analysis of the various stages characterizing border-crossers' encounters with migration control. I identified four "scripts of temporalities" shaping the Registration and Identification Procedures at the Hotspots, and I compared authorities' accounts of those temporalities with those of border-crossers. First, I revealed

that a frenzied and hectic temporality characterizes the arrival at the Hotspots: in few days, or even hours, border-crossers go through several procedures whose goal is to enact a "newly" European legible identity. I suggested that those moments constitute a first "temporal collision" between migration control and migrants' temporalities and I interpreted such collision in terms of the dichotomy between inchoativity and terminativity: whereas for Member States the Registration and Identification procedures mark border-crossers' entrance within the European bureaucratic machine, border-crossers perceive their arrival in Europe also as the end of long, tiring and stressful journeys. As a consequence, border-crossers go through those procedures when their physical and cognitive conditions are particularly delicate. Second, and following from the previous point, border-crossers tend thus to be unaware of the function of the people interviewing them, and the purpose of the screening interview. It is thus harder, for them, to choose which information about themselves they wish, or need, to reveal and in which context. Crucially, however, the performed identities are then "glued" to border-crossers, who must live and cope with them, with few possibilities to change them. Third, these identities are constructed, during the screening interviews, through the mobilization of various non-human actants which embody specific temporalities and that work as border-crossers' spokespersons. Nevertheless, the role of these non-human actants is ambivalent: they allow border-crossers to support statements about their identities and thus to enhance their credibility, but they are also exploited by border-officers to test migrants' knowledge and for inspecting their life through extra-somatic elements which tend to acquire epistemic priority over migrants' own claims. In the second part of the chapter, I shifted the focus from the identification procedures to the asylum process. I argued that, once migrants become aware of the temporalities of control, they try to appropriate them by aligning their bodies, narrations and identities to those temporalities, in order to –be considered as vulnerable people or, more broadly, as legitimate asylum applicants.

To conclude, I wish to suggest that the intersection between the temporalities of migration management and border-crossers' temporalities can be understood in terms of two opposite movements: a process of "temporal contraction-dilatation" which is combined with one of "agency limitation-expansion". The hectic temporalities shaping the arrival at the Hotspots leave border-crossers with scarce knowledge about the whole process, significantly limiting their possibilities of action. On the other hand, the time of the asylum process is not one of hours and days, but one of months and years. Time thus starts to dilatate enabling border-crossers' agency to expand, especially thanks to the support of new actors (lawyers, cooperatives, trusted mediators) which could not be enrolled during the first stages of their arrival.

Chapter 6 - “My documents, check them out”

6.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to describe the form of intervention introduced in Chapter 4 and to answer RSQ3: “How can we develop a situated intervention which enhances border-crossers’ possibilities of action?”. More specifically, the central idea articulated in Chapter 4 was that migrants can also be included as users of the data practices and infrastructures for migration management. Drawing on participatory design and, above all, on design justice - which recommends prioritizing the voices, needs and preferences of the affected communities rather than those of the designers (cfr Chapter 4, section 4.3.2) - I argued that border-crossers and asylum seekers are those who are directly affected by the design of migration infrastructures. I thus suggested to problematize, and possibly to reconceptualize, the definition of the default users of migration infrastructures: not only border-officers, but also border-crossers, as they are the ones who ultimately must deal with the consequences and harms entailed by the design of such infrastructures. By stressing the experimental and inventive modalities of engagement with various types of media, STS Making and Doing and game design were then discussed as methodological approaches able to connect ethnographic activity with the principles of design justice.

Overall, the process of game design, and the game itself, represents a synthesis between the concepts and research traditions which underpinned the theoretical frameworks informing this dissertation (cfr. Chapter 2), the methodological approaches which guided my fieldwork activity (cfr. Chapter 4), the analysis of the empirical material and the theorization stemming from it (cfr. Chapter 3 and Chapter 5). As such, the game also reveals the inter-connections of design, use, resistance and time which have crossed this research. The game, in fact, addresses the relation between the design of migration infrastructures and border-crossers’ agency along two main lines. First, by simulating some of the knowledge asymmetries, power relations and temporal dynamics shaping migration management, the game prompts players to figure out strategies for dealing with the hurdles, limits and constrains and thus to develop their practices of appropriation and adaptation. Second, besides simulating those dynamics, the game also tries to problematize and to change them by inviting players to elaborate alternative categories to the ones used in migration management.

On top of this, the theoretical and methodological entanglement between (the design of) migration infrastructures and the players’/border-crossers’ agency is further shaped by several temporal elements. Most obviously, the game is defined by its own temporalities: a cyclical and linear temporality underpins the turn-based structure of the game; yet, its

collaborative nature, as well as some of its game-mechanisms, also leads to the collision and interference of multiple temporalities. In this respect, one of the major and more salient temporal tension concerns players' previous experience and familiarity with migration issues and the how such experience – and memories, in the case of border-crossers - is mobilized, re-enacted or transformed by the game. Lastly, and as already anticipated (cfr. Chapter 4, section 1), the methodological and theoretical transition from the analysis of empirical data collected through interviews to the design of a situated intervention was defined by the clash of different temporal horizons. Mapping border-crossers' strategies of adaptation, appropriation and resistance to the data infrastructures for migration management was a descriptive and analytical operation which mostly focused on the past, namely border-crossers' memories and experiences. On the contrary, the inventive and experimental elements inherent to game design and game playing characterized the intervention as a future-oriented activity.

This chapter will thus describe the design process and the testing sessions of the game *My documents, check them out*, which constitutes the form of intervention I developed as the final stage of my ethnographic research. To delve into the relation between games, ethnography and migration, in the next section I start by reviewing scholarship in migration studies and games about migration which inspired my project. On the one hand, migration studies have increasingly expanded the tools and methodologies used to find, collect and share migrants' memories and stories. On the other hand, several games have been recently developed in order to engage a wider audience in the simulation of some of the experiences lived by migrants. In section 3 I describe the design process of the game, especially the translation of its goals into game mechanics. More specifically, I illustrate how the design of the game and its goals were characterized by the attempts to translate some of the administrative, infrastructural and temporal "scripts" described in this dissertation into a game which could simultaneously re-enact some of the experiences lived by border-crossers but also leave room for changing or modifying those scripts. Section 4 provides an overview of the comments, feedbacks and reflections which stemmed from playing the game. The game was in fact tested in multiple contexts (with border-crossers, but also scholars, students, and activists) which also reflected different understandings and interpretations of the game. It is worth underlining that the separation between the "game design stage" and the "game testing stage" is mostly a "narrative device": the game was in fact recursively and iteratively modified according to the feedback received by the players and to the problems in the game mechanics which emerged during the testing sessions. In the last section, I reflect upon some of the unexpected consequences of the game, on its open-ended and prototyping nature, and its possible future developments.

6.2 Visual methods and games about migration

In recent years, methods for challenging, complementing and overcoming traditional ethnographic approaches have received increasing attention in migration studies (Nikielska-Sekula & Desille 2021, Lenette 2019, Kudžmaitė & Pauwels 2020, Shraidova et al. 2022, Ball 2014). These attempts have been driven by multiple reasons which, overall, reflect researchers' interest in developing new possibilities to collect data but also to (co)produce and disseminate knowledge. These methods aim at challenging the centrality of texts and words, at developing new modalities of interaction between researchers and participants, at reflecting and problematizing the role of academic research within society, particularly in regard to its ability to promote social change at the individual, collective and institutional levels. As Caroline Lenette writes:

> "The international community's legal obligations and moral impetus to respond to the complexities of displacement and seeking refuge means that we constantly need to find new and innovative ways of understanding, exploring and influencing how such issues are addressed." (Lenette 2019, p.4).

For instance, in her book, Lenette (2019) discusses her experience of conducting research about and with refugees through the use of art-based methods like music, participatory video, digital storytelling and photography. She suggests that these artistic practices work as powerful tools of self-representation within repressive contexts, hence holding a transformative, generative potential and providing a "sense of sanctuary" to Knowledge Holders.

Being aimed at challenging the centrality of texts, it is not surprising that new methods have focused on visual representation. In the introduction to their edited book, Nikielska-Sekula and Desille (2021) analyze the epistemological value of visuals along four dimensions: places and bodies, storytelling, participation and representations. They argue that visuals allow to transform the representations of those who experience migration: due to their potentialities in telling stories and in focusing on embodied experiences, visuals avoid the reduction to "one generic migrant figure" and "they hold the potential of multiplying and complexifying accounts of migration" (Nikielska-Sekula and Desille 2021, p. 19). Kudžmaitė & Pauwels (2020) argue that, despite the theoretical, epistemological and methodological changes which occurred in border studies, "visual methods have not been *systematically* and *comprehensively* addressed by border scholars". Yet, they suggest that visual approaches make possible to reveal the elements which shape, materialize and inform the construction and the conceptualization of borders and border experiences. To challenge the victimizing and dominant representations of black women, Shaidrova and colleagues (2022) organized an exhibition with Nigerian women by deploying a *collage methodology* which weaves together

artistic research, ethnography and performative social sciences. The fluid co-creating process which ultimately led to the exhibition simultaneously revealed and valued multiple means of knowledge production and sense-making, and problematized the humanitarian (Pinelli 2021) and disciplinary (Garelli & Tazzioli 2013) postures in migration research.

Drawing explicitly on STS making and doing and on the notion of "incubation", Guggenheim and colleagues (2019) describe the several shifts which shaped the organization of an exhibition with asylum seekers and refugees with an academic background. The main idea of the incubation approach is to engage the public not through a finished and clearly delineated object or device, but rather by following an "experimental and procedural logic" in which "new materials and methods are made to emerge together and in conjunction with new formations of the social" (Guggenheim et al 2019, p. 5). In concrete terms, the project was characterized by several shifts which shaped, over time, the final configuration of the exhibition. These shifts concerned the subjects of the exhibition (from academic migrants to asylum seekers); the physical location chosen for the exhibition (from mobile modules to containers placed closed to underground stations), the medium supporting the exhibition (from qualitative videorecorded interviews to face-to-face interaction between visitors and asylum seekers), the role played by objects (from self-explanatory, intelligible documents and images to performative objects (such as M.A or Ph.D certificates) triggering conversations; a last shift concerned the very nature of the projects, which progressively turned to an independent formal organization connecting refugees and academic organizations. Overall, these shifts underline the highly open, unpredictable and demanding nature of incubation projects as well as the continuous metamorphosis of the materials and methods deployed by the researchers.

Lastly, the *Archive of Refugees*[21] and the *Asylum Archive*[22] are two websites collecting material about asylum seekers' stories, objects and living conditions. Curated by Carolin Emcke and Manuela Bojadžijev, the *Archive of Refugees* is a "digital memory site where histories of flight and displacement to Germany in the 20th and 21st centuries are preserved and reflected". The interviews, conducted with people of different generations, nationalities and socio-economic conditions, bring to the surface the similarities and differences of those experiences, but they also reveal how migration to Germany has been a common dynamic throughout German history. Created by Vukasin Nedeljković, the *Asylum Archive* shows pictures of provision centers and emergency accommodations in Ireland, as well as various types of objects (toys, CCTC cameras, vaccine sheets and many others) found in those places. As Nedeljković (2018, p. 76) puts it: "[t]he project's ongoing objective is to collaborate with

[21] https://archivderflucht.hkw.de/en/
[22] https://www.asylumarchive.com/

asylum seekers, artists, academics, civil society activists, among others, with a view to create an interactive documentary cross-platform online resource, which critically foregrounds accounts of exile, displacement, trauma and memory".

As suggested by these examples, visual methods hold a significant potential: on the one hand, they allow to make visible and more nuanced the multiple, heterogenous experiences lived by migrants and refugees, emphasizing both their different stories and backgrounds as well as the material conditions shaping their lives and the border-zones they have to cross; on the other hand, they involve in more participative and creative ways not only participants – or, to use Lenette's term, Knowledge Holders – but also the constellation of actors (researchers, activists, journalists, etc…) who deal with migration issues from different perspectives and approaches.

The proliferation of games about migration has similarly contributed to sensitize and disseminate knowledge about migrants' life and their migratory trajectories. Yet, unlike the visual methods just described, games addressing migration tend to be driven by different goals and thought for a wider audience. The main objective of these games is, in fact, to produce awareness and, possibly, to elicit reflections and empathy in non-migrant players by exposing them to some of the common experiences lived by border-crossers throughout their journey. In this respect, the main difference with visual methods is the change of perspective, or point of view, enabled by games. Whereas visual methods are perceived from a third-person perspective, games produce a shift to a situated, first-person perspective which engages the players in a more immersive way. Due to their interactivity and to their mechanics, games provide players with more agency than visual methods do with their audience. Forced to act and think according to the rules of the game, and then to directly deal with the consequences of their choices, players can not only learn but also feel about the social dynamics and values shaping the situation or contexts reproduced in the game. Furthermore, games about migration are characterized by a more heterogenous groups of users: whereas visual methods tend to be developed in academia and are conceived for scholars or professional figures working or involved in migration issues, games are mostly designed for players who did not directly experience transnational mobility and whose knowledge about migrations is more limited and fragmented.

Nonetheless, some significant affinities between visual methods in migration scholarship and games about migration can be singled out. Games, in fact, tend to rely on the same affordances, and their corresponding potentialities, of visual methods. Images are in fact used to steer and to facilitate players' identification with the characters they have to impersonate, and, more broadly, to get acquainted with the contexts in which they have to act. Images (and sounds) allow players to familiarize with the environment and living conditions

shaping the life of migrants: the vehicles used to travel from one place to the other, the shelters in refugee camps, the objects and papers which accompany borders crossers during their journey. But the role of images is not purely informational: they trigger affective and emotional responses in the players, providing them with a situated and embodied perspective. As the games described in the rest of this section illustrate, such embodied perspective can address and refer to different moments and situations lived by border-crossers: fleeing one own's country ("*The waiting game"*, "*Bury me my love", "Syrian SuperMario"*), the encounters between migrants and officers at the borders ("*Papers, please"*, "*The Border"*), or the process of settlement in a new country ("*The city of immigrants"*).

The waiting game is an on-line game in which the player follows, from a first-person perspective, the journey of an asylum seeker. The player can choose between five different characters and follows their stories, based on real cases, from the moment in which they left their country to the final decision about their asylum request. As suggested by its title, the game is designed to frustrate and exhaust the player: a short sentence describes, day by day, the life and experiences of the characters in their long and dramatic journey. However, being mostly conceived as a piece of journalism, the game does not leave much room to the players, who can choose just between two options: "give up" and "keep going".

Similarly, in *Bury me, my love* the player impersonates Majd, the husband of Nour, a Syrian woman trying to reach Europe. The interface of the game is a smartphone, through which Majd and Nour communicate via an instant message application. As the game progresses, the player must help Nour to find solutions and take decisions to the challenges she faces during her journey. Jayemanne (2018) praises the game for its temporal structure: the messages and notifications through which the game unfolds provide a pseudo real-time type of experience, allowing to break the "magic circle" which usually characterizes games and to powerfully transmit the difficulties encountered by people during their journey to Europe.

Unlike the two games described above, *The city of immigrants* does not focus on the journey, but rather on the settlement and starting of a "new life" in a different country. The players assume the role of Lena Brodsky, a 14-year-old Jewish migrating from Russia to New York in 1907. During the game, the player must make choices which will affect Lena's life. As the gameplay suggests, the game is conceived as an educational tool for allowing players (especially students) to learn about the struggles and living conditions of migrants as well as about social and political developments at that time.

Lastly, *Papers, please* – a videogame developed by the independent game developer Lucas Pope – simulates the experience of a border-crossing migration officer. The game takes place in 1982 in the fictional country of Arstotzka, whose tensions and hostilities with the

neighboring countries evoke those of the Eastern Block during the Cold War period. The player must check, review and stamp the passports of immigrants and return citizens, allowing or denying access to the country on the ground of an increasing list of rules and conditions. At the end of the day, players earn money according to the number of people processed, bribes received and penalties for wrong assessments and then they decide whether to spend money on the rent, food or medicine for their family. Overall, the game and its mechanics were praised for triggering intense emotional reactions and empathy; it was described as a transgressive work which, through a participatory perspective, offers profound, affecting statements about the human condition (Parkin 2013). Even more importantly, *Papers, please* playfully engages the players not merely as consumers, but as ethical, reflexive beings whose moral choices and values are continuously tested and stressed (Sicart 2019). It is this ethical dimension which, Sicart suggests, should be emphasized in computer and videogames, as they allow to "create safe spaces for the exploration of different ethical choices and their resulting consequences. In fact, player agency is a key characteristic that makes games useful for posing ethical questions and for testing possible outcomes" (Sicart 2019, p. 154).

Other, more hybrid projects, at the crossroads between games, performance and videomaking, deserve to be mentioned. *Syrian SuperMario* is YouTube video produced by a Syrian artist known with the pseudonym Samir Al-Mufti[23]. By using the graphic and sounds of the famous Nintendo videogame, the video satirically depicts the perils encountered by refugees throughout their journey - human smugglers, sea crossing, border police, fingerprints – and it ends with the arrival in a EU refugee camp that ironically "welcomes survivors". *The Border* is a LARP (Live Action Role Playing) designed by Chaos League. The action takes place in a dystopic future in which a group of people fleeing their home country lands at "The Border" and must go through a ruthless selection in order to enter "in a world better than that one they left"[24]. *Carne y Arena* is a virtual reality installation taking place in the Sonoran Desert, where a group of people is trying to enter into the U.S. The viewers are placed in the middle of the action, when border patrol officers are arresting migrants, and they can choose where to go and what to look.

Overall, these games and projects are defined by the attempt to provide people with embodied empathy, perspective talking and affective learning (Harper 2017). A substantial homogeneity concerns in fact the "intended users" of these games, as most of them are conceived as tools for allowing players to better understand the difficulties and risks encountered by people during their migration journey. At the same time, being mostly based

[23] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u9TfAionLbc
[24] https://chaosleague.org/the-border-immersive-experience/

and inspired on real stories, these games are also conceived of as "learning tools", as mediums through which players can learn about migrations in a more engaging and interactive way. However, diverse degrees of agency and diverse points of view characterize them. For instance, *Bury me, my love, The waiting game* and *Syrian SuperMario* address the migration journey from different angles and by combing texts, visuals and sounds in significantly different ways. In *Bury me, my love,* players experience the journey indirectly, through the words and emotions, the messages and pictures sent by Nour, yet their advice and suggestions are decisive in determining the outcome and final destination of her journey. In *The Waiting Game,* on the contrary, players follow the characters through long, exhausting narrative texts which leaves no room to choices or to alternative possibilities, but rather cause a feeling of demoralization and disempowerment. Still different is the case of *Syrian SuperMario,* where the main character, the layout and graphic style of a cult videogame are reworked to produce a pungent satire of the life-threatening attempt to reach Europe. Similarly, the games and performances described above approach border-zones and the encounter with border-officers in diverse modalities. Both *Carne y Arena* and *The Border* offer a highly immersive and embodied experience regarding what happens at the borders, but while in the former the audience does not have the possibility to interfere with the events, in the latter the players must act and choose *as* border-crossers.

This short summary of the diverse goals and profiles to whom these games are oriented helps to preliminary position my game by stressing some important differences. To articulate these differences, I rely on the analytical tools provided by scholarship in the social construction of technology (SCOT) (Pinch & Bijker 1984, Bijker 1992, Bijker 1995, Kline & Pinch 1996, MacKenzie 1990, Misa 1992), which allow to develop a parallel between the design of artefacts and the design of the games. Within SCOT, the notion of "interpretative flexibility" is used to express not only that there is flexibility in how people think of, or interpret, artefacts, but also that there is flexibility in how artefacts are designed (Pinch & Bijker 1984, p. 421). In other words, the design of an artefact is an open process whose direction depends on the different views of the groups engaged in its development. Closely related to this idea is SCOT's emphasis on the "relevant social groups" involved in the design and use of an artefact and the different and specific interpretations, definitions and meanings they attach to it. These different interpretations produce negotiations about the content of an artefact, what it is expected to be and which purposes it is expected to serve. When controversies are solved and an agreement among the relevant social groups is achieved, the design of the artefact is stabilized.

Through the concepts of "interpretative flexibility" and "relevant social groups" it is possible to articulate two main distinctions between *My documents, check them out* and the

games discussed in this section. A first difference concerns the aim underpinning the design of my game, which is not so much to provoke empathy in the players, but rather to stimulate reflexivity about and to problematize some of the assumptions at stake in migration management. While the game relies on real life episodes and it also tries to simulate some of the experiences lived by border-crossers, its game mechanisms nudge players to conceive of and to experiment with alternative "configurations" of reality. The second difference has to do with the "relevant social groups" which, in the case of my game are the people directly involved in mobility, rather than non-migrant citizens. However, as section 6.4 will illustrate, the game testing sessions with other profile of players – such as scholars, activists, lawyers and students – led to open up and to reflect about the meanings associated to the game.

Before moving to the next section, it is worth underlining that a strong connection between borders and migration on the one hand, and games on the other hand is to be found in the terminology used by border-crossers, as well. The Balkan route, namely the migration pathway running across the borders of South Eastern Europe, is often referred to as "the game". This label is well explained by migrants themselves:

> "You know, this [border crossing] is like the "game" because it is risky. It is like a video game. You fail and start playing again, fail and again, fail and again until you win"
> "Border crossing is like the "game' because you need to understand its rules and theory if you want to win" (quoted in Augustová 2021, p. 203).

The theory and rules that make up the game refer to "perilous journeys and a whole geography of makeshift and institutional refugee camps, border controls and pushbacks, smuggling networks and international support, audacious and sometimes lethal crossings of mountains, forests, rivers and fields along the Route" (Minca & Collins 2021, p 5). However, as Minca and Collins continue, the term "game" also includes an element of vitality pointing to refugees' desire and determination to reach their destination despite the various risks and obstacles encountered. The lexical overlapping between the migration journey and games seems, then, to also point to a conceptual one, or, at least, to some analogies. Migration control is defined by administrative and infrastructural "scripts" which set and define migrants' possibilities of actions as much as players' actions are constrained by the rules and mechanics prescribed by a game. To explore the analogies between the "script" of migration management and the "script" of the game, the notion of "simulation" will be discussed to describe how I attempted to re-enact, within the game, some of the temporal experiences and dynamics faced by border-crossers. These do not include only the moments of waiting, sudden acceleration or repetition, but also the temporally punctuated access to knowledge about the decision making structure governing migration management. The next section thus

will illustrate the goals which informed the design of *My documents, check them out*, and how such goals were translated into the game material and the game mechanisms.

6.3 Game design

Some months after the beginning of my Ph.D., together with other members of the *Processing Citizenship* research team, I started thinking about designing a game addressing some aspects of the migration journey. One of the initial ideas was to develop a game broadly inspired to the *Game of the goose*, whose board is a track made up of several numbered squares and the goal is to reach the last square by moving pieces according to the sum of two dices. Throughout the track there are some Hazard squares, which force the players to wait, to miss one turn, to go back to another square. To win the game, players must land exactly on the last square, otherwise they have to go backwards for as many as the extrapoints they threw on the dices. These patterns resemble some of the temporal element characterizing the migration journey, which, as I have shown throughout this dissertation, is punctuated by pushbacks, waiting periods, moments of sudden acceleration. Moreover, the *Game of the Goose* seemed well-suited also to emulate the frustration lived by border-crossers as well as the arbitrariness of migration management. In this regard, it is probably not by chance that when, many months later, I presented my game to lawyers and civil rights associations, I was told that they tried to do something similar having the *Game of the goose* as main inspiration. The games they developed were conceived as a learning activity to make people familiarize with the bureaucratic steps of the asylum process.

Despite these affinities, I eventually decided to opt for a different type of game for several reasons which, ultimately, can be traced back to the goals and requirements I described in Chapter 4 (cfr. section 4.3). First of all, the most essential and innovative goal of the game was to engage the players in the re-design of the categories commonly used in migration management. The game had to operationalize, within its dynamics, the intuitions of design justice and thus the idea that border-crossers should also be considered as the users of the infrastructures for migration management .To achieve this goal, it was then paramount to design a game that could invite players to engage with the game material in order to come up with the changes they would like to implement. Given the centrality of categories in migration management, I thus decided to focus on a rather specific aspect, namely the process of "translation" (Pelizza 2021) of one's own identity into application forms and databases, a process which people have to deal with when applying for a VISA, when arriving at Hotspots, when lodging an asylum application.

Second, if the players had to propose their own categories, it was necessary to put them in the condition to act and think as border-crossers. For this purpose, whereas the pieces moved by the players in the *Game of the goose* do not have any differences among them, I

thought it was crucial to trigger and stimulate identification processes in the players. This element was also coherent with the principle of intersectionality informing design justice, namely the attention for the multiple, heterogenous features shaping users' subjectivities. I deemed important, then, to provide players with characters to impersonate, in order to facilitate the switch to a first-person perspective, and to allow that players' actions and their consequences have a direct impact on the game. Moreover, having characters with different stories and identities would have also made the choice of new categories significantly richer and more various. Lastly, whereas in the *Game of the goose* players compete one against the other without much interaction among them, I was more interested in developing a collaborative game where players were prompted to talk and to discuss, to take collective decisions, to help and learn from the other players.

However, next to these elements, the game had to include also rules and constraints which could reflect and simulate some of the experiences lived by migrants, especially in regard to the temporalities, power dynamics and knowledge asymmetries that characterize migration management. Including rules and constrains was a necessary condition for enabling players to productively embody their characters. Limiting and shaping players' possibilities of action during the game was in fact a means for making them "feel" and "think" like migrants, to elicit problems and challenges and, eventually, to prompt them to figure out possible strategies to overcome them. The concept of simulation, however, must be cautiously handled since, needless to say, an accurate representation of border crossers' encounters with migration management would have been impossible to achieve for several reasons. To better articulate these reasons, I follow Kullman's reflections about wearable simulations and prototyping experiences (Kullman 2016). Drawing on post-phenomenology, Kullman explores the wearable simulations (which utilize gloves, goggles, whole body-suits) used by designers to acquire first-hand experience of the impairments and limitations affecting the users they are designing for. These prototyping bodies, however, do not provide an accurate match with the sensory and perceptual experiences they try to reproduce. On the contrary, as Kullman suggests, "simulations are fragile arrangements of data and materials that often generate unexpected corporeal variations in those who use them" (Kullman 2016, p. 85). It is this performative approach – in which simulations work as "speculative tools for investigating various, often new and surprising, properties of bodies, objects and their interactions" (Kullman 2016, p. 86) – which underpinned my attempt to enact some of the mechanisms and dynamics lived by border-crossers.

Certainly, in my case the goal was not to prototype bodies, but rather the encounter between migrants and migration management, including some of its administrative procedures, temporal elements and power relations. As Kullman notes, prototyping bodies is

primarily an issue of sensations and movements, it aims at providing people with an embodied experience helping to understand bodily diversity. As such, these prototypes are, to a certain extent, pre-reflective: when wearing a glove or a body-suit, people *immediately* start perceiving the world in a different manner. On the contrary, simulating the encounter between migrants and migration management has a radically different nature: the focus is not on the body, its perceptions and affects, but rather on the infrastructural aspects of the experience, which is made of bodies, technologies and regulations and which requires actors to make choices and take decisions within a limited set of possibilities. This is the reason why it was paramount to simulate not only border-crossers subjectivities, but also the administrative and securitarian constrains shaping migration management.

To prototype this "infrastructural experience" I thus combined the empirical material collected during my fieldwork activities with the results that emerged from the analyses conducted in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5. Yet, the simulation of those constrains is, from a temporal perspective, inevitably partial: as we have seen in the previous chapters, Registration and Identification procedures take hours and days, the asylum process months and years, whereas the temporal duration of the game is a matter of a couple of hours. To alleviate this temporal incommensurability, I introduced some cards which could simulate, though in a reduced temporal scale, the feelings of acceleration, repetition and stasis lived by border-crossers. A final difference between the wearable simulations discussed by Kullman and my game concerns the temporal performativity of simulations. By stressing the emergence of *new* properties of bodies, Kullman seems to suggest that wearable simulations entail a future-oriented, prospective performativity. Such prospective performativity underpins the re-design aspect of *My documents, check them out*, as players are nudged to develop novel and alternative application forms which might, eventually, make more justice to the life and stories of prospective border-crossers. Nonetheless, next to this prospective element, the game was also defined by a retrospective performativity, as the design of the game mechanics and of the game materials also aimed at re-constructing and reproducing the events and the challenges lived by border-crossers.

To sum up, the design of the game was thus inspired by one main goal, namely to invite players to develop original application forms by freely choosing and introducing categories capturing what they considered salient elements of their fictional characters' life. In this sense, the game was conceived as an engagement tool through which involving border-crossers in the re-design process of the systems managing and governing their lives and movements. However, next to this "re-design aspect", the development of game was also driven by a "prototyping aspect": the game had to emulate some of the temporal and administrative constrains lived by border-crossers when interacting with migration

management. Crucially, these two goals reflected the two different temporal orientations with which I started this chapter: whereas the "prototyping aspect" of the game tried to reproduce current and actual features of migration management, the "re-design aspect" emphasized the search for future and novel configurations.

6.3.1 Translating goals into game mechanics

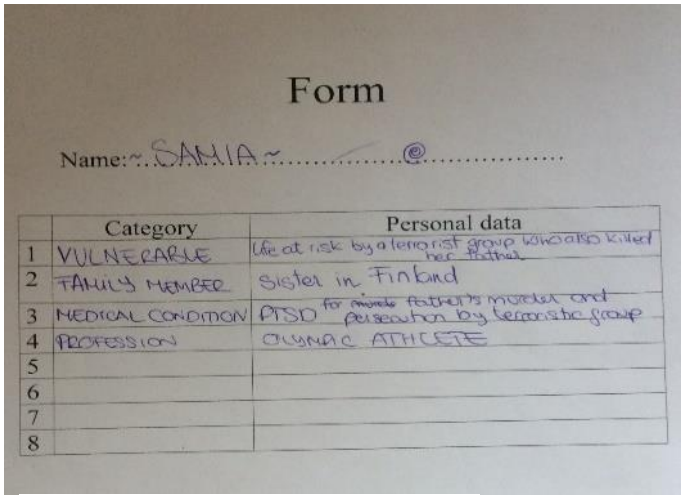
Drawing from these considerations, I thought that the best and most effective way to achieve the two goals described so far was to design a role-playing game in which players must obtain a "document" by submitting an application form containing information about themselves[25]. This is, in fact, the fictional situation with which the game begins: several third country nationals are sitting in a room of a large police building in Bologna and they had been told that a "document" is needed if they want to legally remain in Italy. The choice of the term "document" is not accidental. Firstly, it depended on the attempt to be faithful to the terminology used by my informants: during my interviews, most of the people did not refer to "international protection" or to "asylum status", but just to "documents". Second, I purposefully wanted to avoid the connotations tied to obtaining international protection or visa permissions, because they would have introduced some unnecessary distinctions.

To enable players' identification with third country nationals, "narrative identity cards" are randomly distributed at the beginning of the game. These cards are texts between 300-500 words describing the migration trajectories of one person. To create them, I mixed episodes and quotes from the interviews conducted in Italy and in Greece in order to create coherent stories[26]. The "narrative identity cards" contain different biographical elements, but they are not uniform among them: some mention the professional background, some the family status of the person, some the aspirations and expectations that led people to leave their countries, some describe the interaction with police after disembarkation, including what they have been asked and how the police behaved (for instance, checking phones or documents). Moreover, the cards are purposefully ambiguous regarding the country of origin of the person, which can only be guessed according to some of the information provided. Overall, I thought that leaving some "blind-spots" would have allowed the players to interpret the cards and to fill the gaps according to their own preferences, eventually increasing their agency within the game.

[25] See Annex 3 for an overview of the game instructions, game material and game development log

[26] The only exception is a "narrative identity card" inspired by Catozzella's book *Non dirmi che hai paura*. The book illustrates the story of Samia, a Somalian girl who attended the Olympic games in 2008 and then, in the attempt to reach Italy to find a trainer, died in the Mediterranean Sea.

In addition to the "narrative identity card", at the beginning of the game each player receives an empty application form: a sheet with seven rows and two columns where they can write information about their character (see figure 1).



Form

Name: ~ SANIA ~ @

	Category	Personal data
1	VULNERABLE	life at risk by a terrorist group who also killed her father
2	FAMILY MEMBER	sister in Finland
3	MEDICAL CONDITION	PTSD for witness father's murder and persecution by terrorist group
4	PROFESSION	OLYMPIC ATHLETE
5		
6		
7		
8		

Figure 1

During the game, players h[illegible] according to the "narrative identity cards" they received, and they can decide to submit it whenever they want, as long as at least three categories and the respective personal data (attributes) have been filled in.

One of the "narrative identity cards" does not include the identity and story of a border-crosser, but rather it refers to another character, "the mediator". In the game, the mediator works as a facilitator who provides players with relevant information, collects the application forms and uploads them into the software which, eventually, will decide about the outcome of the applications. The mediator starts the game with seven "help card", each of them containing some information about the decision-making structure governing the outcomes of the applications (see figure 2). In the first round, the mediator must share two "help cards" with all the players. For instance, the mediator can reveal that vulnerable people have higher chances of receiving the document, or that people who have already been in Europe have considerably less chances. The other cards can be played by the mediator when a player picks up the card "help" from the deck. In this case, the mediator can choose which information to share with all the players, according to what s/he think is important in that moment of the game.

I decided to introduce the figure of the mediator and the "help cards" for two reasons. First, to simulate the temporally punctuated, unpredictable and arbitrary modalities which characterize border-crossers' access to knowledge about rules, mechanisms and conditions governing migration management. As emerged especially in Chapter 5 through the notion of *hijacked knowledge*, when border-crossers arrive at the Hotspots and, even later, when they file their asylum applications, they are mostly unaware of the purposes and mechanisms governing those procedures. On the other hand, as I discussed in Chapter 3 and, to a lesser extent, in Chapter 5, border-crossers' possibilities of action have to be conceived in terms of

"distributed agency": lawyers, mediators, NGOs and activists play a crucial role in providing them with information about the procedures as well as in helping with legal and language issues. In this regard – and this is the second reason – the mediator and the "help cards" represented a way to include, within the game mechanisms, the plurality of actors supporting border-crossers in their interaction with migration authorities.

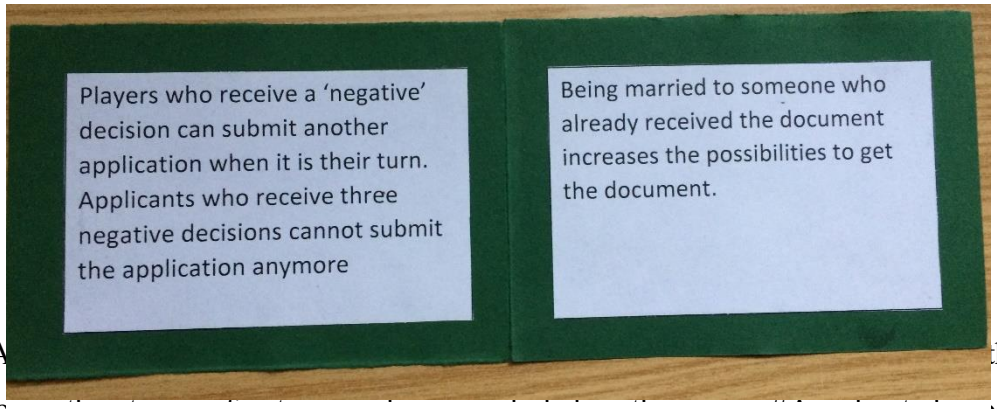


Figure 2 - Two examples of "help card"

A[illegible]he "help card", fo[illegible]cedure", "Wait", "Agency card", "Design card". The first two aim at recalling some of the temporal dynamics shaping migration management. More specifically, the "accelerated procedure" card is inspired, as suggested by the name itself, by the accelerated asylum procedures discussed in Chapter 3. The players who pick up an "accelerated procedure" must submit the application form at the end of their turn: they have three minutes to fill in the application with at least three categories and they cannot receive any help from the other players. In this way, the card tries to simulate the conditions experienced by people undergoing accelerated asylum procedures: the lack of relevant information about the process, the temporally reduced time-frames for submitting the application, and the resulting struggle to find and receive help by lawyers and NGOs. Like in many other card games, the card "wait" force players to skip their turn. Yet, it is grounded in the rich literature which has documented how long waiting periods characterize asylum seekers' experience with the asylum system (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.1.1).

The other two cards – "Design card" and "Agency card" – provide players with two different forms of agency. The "Design card" constitutes the pillar of the whole game: the player who picks up the card can choose one category to be added to her application form. To do this, the card invites the player to share her story with the other players in order to receive comments and suggestions about what category could be useful for her. At the end of the turn, the player declares which category she decided to add and she fills in the application form with the related personal data. The other players can choose to add that category in their own form and, in that case, they must fill in the application form with the respective personal information. Overall, the "design card" constitutes a prompt for triggering collaboration and

discussion among the players and thus to create, at least potentially, a sense of solidarity among them.

The "agency cards" were introduced in the second prototype version of the game, in order to increase players' possibilities of action. In the first version, players' possibilities of action focused only on the structure of the game – namely the possibility to modify the categories and the form. On the contrary, the possibility to expand and work on one's own story (learning Italian, getting a job, becoming pregnant) allows to add new elements to the identity they received at the beginning of the game. "Agency cards" are more or less ambiguous, so that players are free to integrate them in their stories according to their own needs, interpretations and goals. For instance, the "agency card" with a plane ticket (see figure 3, below) allow players to choose the date and place of departure or arrival. The plane journey might have been done before or after arriving in Italy, and players can specify the reasons for which it was done (visiting relatives, fleeing the home country, business trip, etc..). Other "agency cards" are just images, for example the image of a burnt car or a farm, and players can make them fit into the life trajectories of their fictional characters as they wish. In this way, "agency cards" allow the players to expand their stories, leading to new ways for adapting to or "tricking" the system.

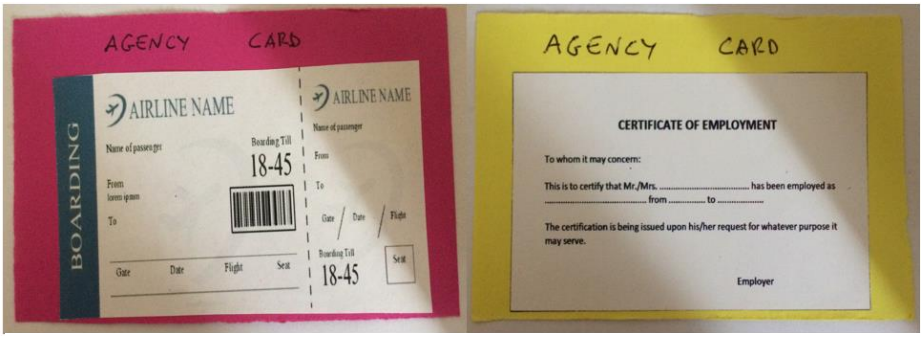


Figure 3 - Two examples of "agency card"

When players decide to submit the form, they must hand it in to the mediator who will enter the data into the software. The software will then produce three different outcomes: short-term positive (six turns), long-term positive (fifteen turns), and negative (see figure 4). Importantly, the outcomes are completely randomized: no matter what categories and attributes the players will choose to write in their applications, the decision of the software will be based merely on chance. Needless to say, the players are not aware of this random character of the software.

The choice of randomizing the decision-making process depended on two reasons. The first reason has a purely technical nature, and concerned the complexity of developing an algorithm able to weight the data in the applications. The game had, in fact, to be played in different contexts and thus in different languages: Italian (with students, activists and lawyers) and English (with asylum seekers and scholars). Furthermore, as we have seen, the game did

not envisage pre-standardized categories, but it left players free to choose and write in the application form whatever they thought might matter for their case. The high variability of the potential categories and personal data proposed by the players made thus difficult the design of an algorithm which could evaluate and assess them. The second, methodological reason has to do with one of the issues emerging with my interviews with border-crossers, namely the perception that decisions about asylum cases are "by luck" and a scarce understanding of the reasons behind a "negative" decision. As a matter of fact, in several interviews migrants were very uncertain, and skeptical, about the elements that led to issue, or not, international protection. Similarly, most of them thought that they did not receive asylum because the Territorial Commission did not understand or did not believe their stories. For these reasons, I thought that a randomized decision would have also contributed to make the game more unpredictable and thus to elicit discussion: players submitting similar applications would have received diverse decisions about their cases, hence inviting them to question and to problematize both the software and its functioning but also what was "wrong" and to be changed in their applications.

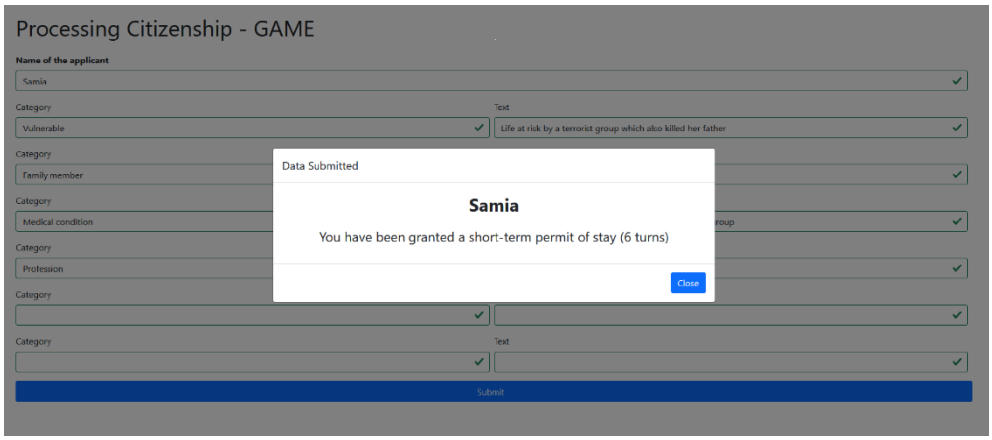


Figure 4

6.4 Game testing

The game was tested in multiple contexts which reflected very different approaches to and experiences with the game. In May 2022 I conducted a session with four asylum seeking women with whom I had conducted interviews in the previous months. We met in the hall of the hotel where they were hosted and, during the game, I was supported by a cultural mediator working with them. Playing the game was a completely different experience than the one I imagined. After having explained the rules of the game, distributed the "narrative identity cards" and the empty application forms, the players were quite puzzled. One player asked me a white paper where she could take some notes about her story, immediately followed by all the others. One of them, confused about what to do, asked for help and was then supported by the others. At that point, the turn-based structure of the game had already blown-up, and I thought to follow the flow and interrupt them as least as possible. I just limited myself to give

them some “help cards” and “agency cards” and I invited them to submit the application when they felt ready.

When one of them, Happy Monday, decided to try her application and I (impersonating the mediator) read what she wrote on the paper, in a narrative form, it was clear that the distinction between category and attribute was vanished. Vanished was also the distinction between her and the fictional character of her card. The name on the application form was “Happy Monday” and the story on the paper was a formidable combination of her life, fictitious elements and the “marriage certificate” she received as “agency card”. The story was told in first person and it started with her real date of birth (my assumption) and continued with a marriage with “a German man based in Italy”. The marriage – “we both signed together” - took place in September 2017 in Rimini city and Cecilia (the cultural mediator who was helping me during the session) was their witness. However, “after some years [the husband] became a monster”, and he started to beat her every day, until the police came to rescue her, bringing him to prison while she was fighting for divorce. When I had to insert the data into the system, I felt extremely uncomfortable: once again, her story run the risk to be interpreted and categorized by someone else, according to constrains that she did not choose. Eventually, I did it with her, telling her what I was writing in the computer. At first, I still tried to stick to rigid categories, and insert in the computer categories and data like “date of birth” and “married”, but I soon surrendered, and I just copied, in the system, what she had written, splitting the sentence in order to make them fit into the data-model.

The vignette just described invites to consider the performative role played by the “narrative identity cards” and by the “agency cards” on the players and, more broadly, to start conceptualizing the type of interactions and agency emerging from the game. To begin with, the vignette suggests that the “identity card” worked, at least in the case of Happy Monday, in a rather different way than expected. The intention behind the narrative identity cards was in fact to provide players with biographic details, migration trajectories, family status and aspirations about the characters they had to impersonate. Moreover, the identity cards were also conceived as a way for allowing border-crossers to put some distance between the game and their own personal experience. The idea was that, by playing with another, fictional story rather than with their own, border-crossers would have felt freer to experiment, to engage and discuss with the other players, but without having to share their traumatic or intimate episodes. Yet, Happy Monday’s interpretation of the “narrative identity card” was significantly different: while reading it, she related the elements described in it to her life and, eventually, she decided to play the game by mixing her own story with the one she received. To put it differently, the “narrative identity card” did not provide Happy Monday with a character to impersonate, but rather it made her realize that the whole game was about

something she knew very well and thus she decided to play it as herself. Nonetheless, her use of the "agency card" revealed her ability to think about alternative realities, to conceive and to represent to herself a different, though dramatic - domestic abuse by her fictional German husband – life trajectory.

A further, unexpected point concerned my role as mediator/researcher during the game. While in my intentions the mediator had a purely supportive function, I did not foresee the interpretative function emerging in the process of transferring the categories and data from the application forms to the data model in the software. Such interpretative function can be compared to the one performed by migration officers during the Registration and Identification procedure, when they have to select the proper category and attribute according to what they have been told during the screening interviews.. Despite my intention to develop a game which did not involve any forms of power-relation, a soft, but still evident form of power was coming back through the back door.

Few weeks later, I met the asylum seekers again to receive some comments and suggestions for the game. First of all, I explained that the decisions taken by the system were completely random, but this information was received with less fuss that I thought: one suggested that it is "how things are", while for others it did not change what they perceived as the nature of the game. These considerations are in fact in line with the meanings and feelings they associated to the game:

> «It [the game] is important because I didn't know what to say in the commission. It helps to understand the mechanism before going to the asylum commission. Because when you leave you don't know anything about it»
>
> «It is good for remembering the past»
>
> «It allows to learn from other stories, but also to think about yours, because it is similar to real life»
>
> «Trying the story in the computer helps to alleviate the stress related to the interview in the commission»

These comments reveal how the game ultimately worked in very different ways than the ones I envisioned: the perceived goals were different from the goals I set during the design stage, and multiple meanings stemmed from the game testing session. First, the most surprising result is that the game was perceived as a preparatory and learning activity vis-a-vis the asylum Commission. During the design of the game, I considered to introduce a dynamic which could simulate the interview with the Commission, yet I eventually decided to discard that possibility. The main reason had to do with what I anticipated above, namely that I did not want to reproduce the power relation at stake in the asylum interview, in which the truth value of one's own story is tested by somebody which will then decide about the outcome of

the asylum request. I was afraid that reproducing this situation would have led to a perpetrator vs. victim kind of interaction which was distant from the collaborative style of my game. Yet, the game was perceived as an activity which could help to better understand what to expect in the commission and to familiarize with the process.

The second important result has to do with the main initial goal of the game, namely the creation of new, alternative categories. Evaluating this element is not straightforward: as mentioned, a narrative description of the story was preferred to the distinction between category and attributes. Yet, although put in a discursive form, most of the elements contained in those narrations could well fit into the questions and categories usually deployed in migration management: date of birth or age, details about the journey to Italy, family status, health condition. One of the few exceptions is the following passage, quoted from the paper sheet in which Violet wrote her story: "I found a good life here in Italy because the police doesn't disturb, it protects life and people. So now I have been employed as a cleaner in Italy, I am happy and leaving a good life". This is particularly interesting not only because these feelings were not mentioned in her "narrative identity cards", but, more importantly, because of the change of perspective implied by that statement. Rather than focusing on her identity and her past, or on the reasons which led her to leave her country, she stressed her actual, current living conditions.

Two important considerations stem from this evidence. First, the struggle to translate one own's story into categories and bits of personal data emphasizes the artificiality and limits of standardized forms, like the C/3 module or visa applications. In Chapter 1 (cfr. section 1.1.2), I discussed the notion of categorical work to stress how categories and classification systems are always defined by negotiations and constrains which silence and make invisible alternative possibilities and understanding of reality. Yet, the struggle to properly understand the distinction between categories and attributes and the preference for a more narrative style seems to make an even further point. For the asylum seekers, fixed and rigid categories were simply unable to capture the different elements they deemed important in their stories, and thus they were not perceived as a tool for systematizing and making visible those differences. More precisely, categories did not allow to account neither for the temporal structure of the migration journey, its various stages and events, nor for the feelings, meanings and interpretations which have characterized those stages. This is particularly evident in the passage mentioned above, where Violet described her happy and good life in Italy, while implicitly hinting to the perceived difference with her country of origin. These two elements could hardly be translated into two corresponding categories, and, even if they could, they would have made less visible the sequence of events and the correlated emotions which makes Violet's passage so vivid.

The second consideration has to do, on the other hand, with the "re-design" goal of the game. The fact that working with and rethinking the categories was perceived, by asylum seekers, as a rather hard task might reveal what Zuiderent-Jerak (2015, see also Becker 1967) defines as the "sentimental attachment" of sociologists. While sociologists cannot avoid taking sides about the issues and problems they study, they should avoid any sentimentality concerning their favorite positions, such as marginal subjects or their own personal commitments. Thus, according to Zuiderent-Jerak, the design of interventions should be conceived in a way that put at risk sentimental attachments. Following this line, the sentimentality behind *My documents, check them out* can be traced back to the attempt to involve and to include border-crossers in the process of re-design of the categories used in migration management. Yet, players' struggle to think about alternative categories, and, as we have seen, even to properly "think with" categories seems to reveal to what extent the primary goal of the game was fitting more a Western and STS informed lifeworld than that one of the asylum seekers. Their perception of the game as a training activity rather than as a re-design process is particularly indicative of this misalignment and it leads to problematize and to challenge the understanding of inclusion behind the game.

The struggle to work with categories, however, does not mean that the attempt to include border-crossers in the re-design of migration infrastructures should be discarded. After all, the categories used in authorities' databases steer the asylum process and, as such, they exert power over people. In this regard, the fact that participants perceived the game as a learning experience seems to suggest that they wanted to learn more about the "scripts" of migration management which regulate their lives and which, however, were mostly unknown to them. In other words, an alternative interpretation to the charge of "sentimental attachment" might be to conceive of the game as preliminary activity which helped border-crossers to become more acquainted and to problematize what they need to know about migration management. Yet, a further tension needs to be noted: whereas training is oriented to individual and instrumental goals (for instance, obtaining the asylum status), the re-design process has a long-term and collective implication. Overall, the misalignment between the goals of the game and its actual results opens up the field to further questions: who are the people who know border-crossers' life-stories and that could help to design categories able to do more justice do them? How could these people be involved in a situated intervention? How much time is needed to build trust and to make people familiar with the performativity of categories, and how this time can be articulated in game sessions, design sessions and training sessions?

The third finding emerging from the game session with the asylum seekers is significantly more in line with one of my initial goals. The game, in fact worked well as a

means for thinking about the past and to reflect about one's own story as well as about the stories lived by others. As illustrated above, in the game session the distinction between asylum seekers' real stories and the fictitious characters they had to impersonate was blurred and progressively collapsed. This confusion, however, did not impede the recollection of the memories and experiences lived by border-crossers: as I noted with Happy Monday, the asylum seekers could relate the stories described in the "narrative identity cards" to their own, and thus start to speculate and reflect about the similarities and differences as well as to find common patterns among them. The retrospective performativity at stake in the game was, in this case, extremely relevant, as it allowed to re-activate border-crossers' memories about their experiences with migration management, but without the fears or apprehension which they might have felt when arriving in Italy or during the asylum interviews. In this respect, the game could be understood as a reflexive tool which, by re-enacting in a playful and more protective context some specific experiences might help to make sense, and possible exorcise, them.

After having received feedback and comments about the game, in the second part of the meeting I asked asylum seekers some advice about the "agency cards": were they significant? Did they match with their experiences? What other images or certificates they would add? Once again, however, the discussion took a rather different direction than expected. The cards become, in fact, a prompt to talk about their stories: the long period of waiting for the Commission's decision ("I did the interview in 2019, no results yet – the time is what has to be changed); the very low salary received for the job as cleaning worker; the dreadful experiences in the desert ("I had to drink water from a well with a death body"); the arrival in the CAS Mattei in Bologna, without job, documents and knowledge of the language. When I invited them again to think about an image which could capture their journey or their arrival in Italy, V. replied with a metaphor: "from dark to light, like walking from dark to light". Overall, more than a co-design session, the discussion about the "agency cards" progressively took the form of a collective moment of reflection, where memories, feelings and opinions about the arrival and life in Italy were shared. Interestingly, this moment allowed for the emergence of sensitive and highly personal issues much more than the narrative interviews and cultural probes I had conducted in the first part of my fieldwork activities. This situation, I suggest, depended not only on the images and certificates shown on the cards, which certainly were powerful triggers for reflections, but also on the more informal settings in which the conversations took place and which allowed to escape the rigid question-and-answer setup. *My documents, check them out* hence revealed its potential as an ethnographic device to be used in the first stage of fieldwork, as a tool through which familiarizing with participants in a more spontaneous modality.

6.4.1 Testing the game with other groups

Testing the game in other settings was a rather different experience, even though, as I argue at the end of the section, some significant affinities can be found. The game worked well in engaging the players, and it was described as a "rather powerful experience which well simulates the experience of applying for asylum" (testing sessions nr.1, scholar). Also, the game was said to inspire empathy and sympathy. The first prototype of the games was tested with scholars and with *Processing Citizenship* members when the software had not been developed yet and the decisions on the applications were randomly taken by me. Besides the lack of "agency cards", the main difference with the latest versions of the game was that the narrative identity cards could describe the migration trajectory of one or more people. Players could then freely choose the number of application forms they deemed appropriate for their stories. The intention underlying this choice was to challenge and problematize the separation in different asylum cases of people tied by familiar of affective bonds. For instance, in the first version of the game one of the narrative cards was based on the story of Ezina and her family (see chapter 5, section 5.5). The heading of the card had three names - Ezina, Aneda and Felix - and it provided some information on each of them, though it did not explicitly mention their polygamic family situation. When one of my colleagues, well versed in political science and international relationships, received the "narrative identity card" describing Ezina's case and I explained her that she was free to choose the number of applications she considered appropriate, she was puzzled about that possibility: "what does it means that I can decide how many forms I need? I mean…we have identity cards, identity cards are individual". As I will suggest later, in this case the game did not work as a "simulator", but, rather as a prism able to unveil the pre-assumptions and types of knowledge which shape our understanding and interaction with the "bureaucratic machine".

The game worked in a rather similar way when, few months later, I tested it with members of the *Center for International and Intercultural Health* in Bologna (CSI). Among its activities, the CSI works in marginalized contexts where access to health services is particularly difficult, and it has a long experience in supporting and training migrants and refugees. It is not unsurprising, then, that all the application forms they submitted during the game included Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder under the "health condition" category. Even more interesting is how one of the players dealt with her narrative identity card. She was playing as Albert, a man whose nationality was wrongly registered as Syrian during the identification procedures at the Hotspots, despite having shown his passport and ID. When the player picked up a design card, she then started considering whether including "country of origin" in her form and, while discussing with the other players, she said "perhaps I should hold onto Syria (*tenermi buona la Siria*), but how can I prove it? What are my ties with Syria?

And if then they find it out…". Importantly, at that point of the game the mediator had not played yet the "help card" revealing that people from certain countries (such as Syria or Eritrea) have more possibilities to get the document. The player was then relying on her own competences and previous experiences, she was mobilizing, within the game, her acquired knowledge about the logic and mechanisms governing migration management. Even in this case, the game worked as a prism which filtered and revealed the competences, experiences and biases of the players.

All in all, unlike the examples of games about migration discussed in section 6.1, *My documents, check them out* was characterized by a wider plurality of game-styles and meanings attached to it, which depended on the specific features of the people who were playing. This also marks an important difference with the concept of "simulation" that I explored throughout this chapter. Simulations tend in fact to provide users with a rather similar and homogenous type of experience, regardless of their social, cultural and biographic differences. On the contrary, the game function more as a lens, or a prism, endowed with a double function. On the one hand, the game looked and was approached differently according to the embodied, situated gaze the players. On the other hand, it mirrored that gaze back to them, disclosing, in more or less explicit way, their acquaintance with the issues and dynamics of migration management that the game aimed to simulate.

In this regard, it is interesting to compare the testing session with CSI members with the one I conducted few weeks before with bachelor students in social and cultural education, a university program aimed to train cultural mediators. For the students, getting into the game was significantly more difficult than for the other groups. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, I did not have the possibility to ask them their opinions about the game. However, I could observe how, especially in the first stages of the game, they were quite unsure about how to proceed and what to write on the form. When, at the end of the session, I collected the forms, a gigantic "help" was written on one of them. This episode seems to suggest that, especially in the game-session with the students, the game was able to reproduce the condition of hijacked knowledge experienced by border-crossers. The students, indeed, found themselves in the same situation lived by migrants during the Registration and Identification procedures at the Hotspots. They were thrown into a situation they did not know anything about: the rules of the game were not particularly clear to them, they did not know what to do and how to proceed. And, like border-crossers, as the game proceeded they started to accumulate knowledge about the game dynamics, and thus to understand how to play, eventually figuring out strategies to obtain the document. In this case, students' generalized lack of familiarity with how border-crossers' identities are governed allows stressing the parallel between the "temporal scripts" of migration management and the "temporal scripts"

of the game. To put it in more analytical terms, the game was able to reflect the dynamic relation between people, time and (non)knowledge. While, as seen above, scholars and activists could play the game by relying on their *previous* knowledge and competences, this was not the case with the students, who, on the contrary, experienced the progressive but rhapsodic transition from a condition of substantial ignorance about the rules governing "the game of migration" to one more informed and aware.

A last point to be discussed concerns players' opinions about the random element. When, at the end of the sessions, I disclosed that the decisions taken by the software were completely random, two types of reactions surfaced. On the one hand, some players understood the reason behind this choice and, especially those with some familiarity with the asylum process, argued that "this is how it works". Once again, it is worth underlining that the degree of familiarity depended upon the diverse embodied positions of the players. Happy Monday, Violet, and the other asylum seekers had a direct, first-person experience with the process, and they could thus relate the random element to the fate of their own application or to those of their friends and peers. For lawyers and activists the random element was instead connected to a different type of experience, one which is informed by the multiplicity of cases they support and assist, rather than by a personal involvement with the process. On the other hand, for some the randomized decisions led to a sort of "anticlimax feeling", suggesting that all the effort and thinking they put during the game was, after all, pointless. In addition to this, one of the CSI members suggested that it "silences" some of the trajectories defining asylum seekers experience and, even more importantly, tends to make invisible how borders produce vulnerabilities.

6.5 Concluding reflections: one game, many souls

In the light of the results illustrated in the previous section, I am tempted to conclude that the game did not work as expected. It was difficult, for the players – all of them: border-crossers, scholars, activists, students - to come up with radically new categories, to develop an application form significantly different from the data models, paper sheets and visa applications deployed in migration management. The categories created through the "design cards" were very homogenous and very similar. As a matter of fact, the categories with the highest frequency are: 'nationality/country of origin', 'family status', 'job', 'documents.

According to Teun Zuiderent-Jerak:

> "Considering intervention as a *scholarly method* for producing novel insights about our topics as well as about our own ways of relating to them is diametrically opposed to considering intervention strategically, that is, as means to achieving predefined scholarly or normative goals. By developing this point, I am not trying to unleash a "controversy on intervention"; I am rather hoping to explore how scholarly work can intervene in controversies in ways that do something

> different than re-iterate actor positions, that is, repeat and thereby reproduce the same ordering of the controversy that is initially encountered, and to consider what STS may be learning from such work." (Zuiderent-Jerak 2016, p. 74)

Perhaps, the goal of the game, the intention to involve and engage border-crossers in the re-design of the classifications used to control their access to Europe and to regulate their movements was too specific and, at the same time, too ambitious. Even if this is true, what still needs to be explained is the other, unexpected finding: the "naturalization" of migration management categories. With this expression I refer to the process whereby, during the design of their applications forms, players ended up reproducing and reiterating the same categories which are commonly used in the data infrastructures for migration management. I suggest that this might have been caused by three reasons. First, the ambiguous role played by the "help cards". While it is true that players are left free to choose and create their own categories, the information contained in the "help cards" invite, more or less explicitly, to deploy certain categories - such as health condition, country of origin, reasons for migration - and they associate higher or lower chances of getting the document according to the personal information corresponding to those categories.

A second reason might depend on the information provided in the "narrative identity cards". As I mentioned, the cards were created by assembling data collected in the interviews conducted in Greece and in Italy. Yet, due to the very nature of the research, those interviews were mostly focusing on people's accounts of their encounters with migration control and thus tended to reveal certain types of personal information and experiences. There is, however, a third, and perhaps more fascinating reason which might have to do with what I hinted at in the previous section, namely the set of competences, knowledges and biases which shape people's approach and actions during the game. The struggle to think about a non-individual application form, the temptation to exploit an error in the registration process combined with the fear of the possible consequences, the reproduction of categories and personal data which are collected not only in migration management, but also in ID cards, surveys and censuses: all these elements might reveal to what extent it is difficult to "think differently", to re-model or even to escape the bureaucratic structures which govern everyday life. The game, in other words, is not played by disembodied subjects who knows nothing about migration or about the biopolitical assemblages in which we move and act. On the contrary, the game might become a site where those tacit, sometimes invisible, assumptions are revealed.

In discussing the potentialities of "game ethnography", Farías and Criado (2022) argue that game testing creates the conditions for para-ethnographic reasoning. The concept of para-ethnography was proposed for describing how fieldwork needs to be re-learnt in contexts

where “our subjects are themselves engaged in intellectual practices that resemble … our own methodological practices” (Douglas and Holmes 2008, pp. 595, quoted in Farías & Criado in preparation, p. 6). Yet, according to Farías & Criado para-ethnographic condition is not necessarily only a pre-given feature of certain contexts, but it can also be provoked by devices such as games. Moreover, they argue that the “schizophrenic doubling” defining ethnographic practices also defined the experiences of game testers: like ethnographers are always “there” but also “somewhere else” during their fieldwork research, players were playing the game but they were also constantly relating the gameplay to their own experiences with the issue at stake in the game. I suggest that my game worked in a similar way. The game, in fact, mostly worked as a “knowledge exposure”: players were, more or less implicitly, projecting into the game their competences, direct experience and knowledge about migration, migration control and, more broadly, about the bureaucratic mechanisms shaping their lives. However, more than being interested in the social and political effects generated by the games, as suggested by Farías and Criado, the players found themselves in a situation which was more or less familiar, more or less challenging depending on their different epistemic positions.

The SCOT’s notions introduced in section 6.2 might provide an alternative interpretation to the “failure” of the game to achieve its goals. More precisely, the design of the game can be conceived as an open ended process which, to use SCOT’s terminology, has not been stabilized yet. In this regard, the plurality of “social groups” which have been involved in the game testing sessions also need to be taken into account: who are the players of the game and how do they interpret the game? Drawing on “interpretative flexibility”, a double tension can be identified in the attempt to answer such questions. One the hand, the game worked well in revealing players’ epistemic positions and multiple meanings were associated to it, depending on the different backgrounds and profiles of the players. On the other hand, the design of the game can be further improved or modified in order to achieve more tailored goals or to include other groups of actors. Thus, the game might be conceived and further developed as a learning, pedagogic tool for migrants and for professional figures working with migration issues. In this case, the game would aim at enhancing people’s knowledge and understanding of migration management and to familiarize with some of its dynamics. Yet, the game might also become a tool through which sensitizing migration officers, revealing and putting *their* knowledge in crisis.

Conclusion

Let me start the final part of this text with another small episode from my fieldwork. In May 2022 I was in Rimini to test the game with some people I had already interviewed. While waiting for the other participants to arrive, Fatmata, a Nigerian woman I interviewed one year before, looked at me and said "I got the asylum because of the interview we did together". I was not sure about what to say. The interview with Fatmata was indeed one of the most interesting I had done: she was very open to describe the her journey to Italy, her experience with migration authorities and she spontaneously showed me the report of the Territorial Commission stating the reasons of the negative decision about her case. However, my first thought was that, most probably, our interview did not have much to do with the outcome of her asylum process. Yet, according to Fatmata, the interview had a decisive role: perhaps because it allowed her to recollect some episodes which she had later told the judge in the Civil Court; perhaps because the interview worked as a sort of training, preparatory activity, which enabled her to reflect about her story from another perspective. To a certain extent, there is no better example, in this dissertation, of the performativity of ethnographic research. While in Chapter 4 I framed narrative interviews as a mostly descriptive activity, in which the role of the researcher is relatively neutral, Fatmata's interpretation was that our "encounter" – the encounter, this time, not between her and migration authorities, but between her and a researcher interested in her interaction with migration authorities – positively changed her migration trajectory.

This episode can be interpreted through the nexus of time, knowledge/(non)knowledge production, and border-crossers' agency which run across this dissertation. As emerged in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, border-crossers' possibilities of action have to be understood in terms of a distributed social-material agency which emerges through time. Lawyers, social operators, cultural mediators as well as other migrants differently contribute, according to their respective competences and experiences, to shape and eventually enhance border-crossers' possibilities to reach their goals and desires by resorting to various practices of knowledge production. These actors help border-crossers to produce, re-collect and appropriate the "right" kind of knowledge, the one which migration authorities consider relevant and decisive for granting international protection. Hence, lawyers suggest to border-crossers which documents, or pictures, they should provide for supporting and proving their stories; psychologists help them to re-collect and to self-represent traumatic memories which might be crucial for obtaining the international protection; cultural mediators do not merely translate migrants' words, but rather provide a broader social and cultural frameworks to

them. Yet, next to these human actors, various types of non-human actants are mobilized as spokepersons of people's stories and identities. School reports, plane tickets, Facebook pictures and medical certificates are used as proofs of border-crossers' claims, they provide evidence about their past life and they are used to discard authorities' accusations.

Border-crossers' distributed agency is intertwined with the temporalities of their migration trajectories - the collective time that shape their affective bonds as well as the relationships of trust and care with the people around them – and with the temporalities of migration management, which channel them into different asylum paths, which limit their future movements, which force them to wait or to reveal information about their past life in their countries of origin. Throughout this dissertation, the notion of socio-material time allowed to stress not only the entanglements of these temporalities, but also their reciprocal constitution and interdependency. Accelerated asylum procedures are, in this respect, an enlightening example. The consequences of these procedures on asylum seekers cannot be properly understood without looking at them from a socio-material temporal perspective. The time of the calendar, which articulates the shortened timeframes of the asylum stages, the time inscribed in documents and pictures, the intersubjective time shaping border-crossers' relations with lawyers and psychologists, the subjective time of their memories do not simply overlap with each other. Rather, it is by looking at the various moments in which they intersect with each other that it is possible to understand border-crossers' agency and its distributed nature. In this regard, the diachronic approach I developed in this dissertation revealed how border-crossers' agency emerge through time.

At the same time, however, this diachronic perspective also brought to the surface how the entanglement of time and knowledge/(non)knowledge production is used by authorities as a tool through which weakening and limiting migrants' possibilities of action. My analysis of accelerated procedures captured this process by focusing on two temporal mechanisms. First, the "temporal short circuit" between assumption and evaluation: the asylum applications lodged by certain categories of applicants are deemed as suspicious or unfounded due to a judgment grounded on previous but supposedly similar applications. I addressed this "temporal short circuit" by looking at the tension between cyclicity and linearity. Accelerated procedures are recommended, in policy discourse, as an efficiency-related measure to avoid wasting time in processing asylum applications characterized by similar features and which would supposedly lead to the same, negative, outcome. This process has, from the perspective of national asylum systems, a cyclical nature: past judgments about applicants' profiles deemed to be similar are used to legitimate the speeding up of prospective applicants with similar profiles. Yet, this collective judgment grounded on the past affects the single

applicant, for whom the asylum process is instead a linear process defined by a rigid sequence of pre-determined stages.

In this respect, and this is the second temporal mechanism, what makes particularly critical these procedures is the "temporal loop" shaping the relation between the asylum authorities and the asylum seeker, between knowledge users and knowledge producers. On the one hand, asylum authorities require certain knowledge to be produced and then assessed it, on the other hand the asylum seekers need to produce knowledge about themselves and are then affected by how such knowledge is evaluated. Due to the shortened timeframes of the accelerated procedures, this "temporal loop" restricts border-crossers possibilities to acquire and collect the evidence which might be decisive for a successful asylum evaluation. Overall, my analysis of accelerated procedures has demonstrated how power relations and knowledge asymmetries are built and maintained not during a single, specific encounter between migration authorities and border-crossers, but rather how they are temporally constructed by modulating the period of time between the steps of the asylum process.

I argued that the temporal construction of power relations and knowledge asymmetries is at stake also during the Registration and Identification procedures conducted at the Hotspots. I singled out four "scripts of temporalities" shaping those procedures and I compared them with border-crossers' temporalities and accounts of the same moments. I suggested that the encounters between migration authorities and border-crossers configure several "temporal collisions" which tend to produce hijacked knowledge. While migration authorities collect data about border-crossers to enact a new "European" identity, border-crossers are often unaware of the temporal implications of the procedures to which they are subjected. The "temporal collisions" disempower border-crossers by exploiting their vulnerabilities, by giving epistemic priority to the content stored in their digital devices than to their own claims and narrations, by making border-crossers' unaware of the future-oriented rationale underpinning the identification process.

The concept of reactive calibration, and especially the case of Ezina and her family, illustrated how border-crossers' strategies of appropriation need also to be understood by looking at their temporal unfolding. When border-crossers' temporalities, including their familiar durative bonds, their hopes and aspirations, do not fit with the temporalities of migration management, border-crossers try to recover control upon their time by aligning their bodies, identities and narrations in order to match with the categories used to control their lives and their movements. However, I suggested that these strategies can only be developed when border-crossers become aware of the temporal implications entailed by the classifications systems deployed by migration authorities. Furthermore, to appropriate the temporalities of migration management, border-crossers share and exchange information

about what counts as legitimate knowledge or evidence from the perspective of migration authorities.

Lastly, I explored the relation between border-crossers' agency and socio-material time through the situated intervention developed during the final stage of my fieldwork activity. Inspired by the principles of design justice and STS making and doing, the main of goal of the intervention was to engage border-crossers in the re-design of the categories deployed in the data infrastructures for migration management. The intervention was characterized by a temporal tension between the "scripts" currently shaping migration infrastructures and the attempt to expand the possibilities of action of future, prospective border-crossers through the problematization and re-definition of the users of those infrastructures. To achieve this goal, I designed a role-playing game, *My documents, check them out*, in which players are steered to design, according to their own preferences, an application form containing the personal data of the character they impersonate. The game worked quite differently than expected: border-crossers, as well as other actors who tried the game, struggled to create radically new and alternative categories. Yet, the game was perceived by border-crossers as a training activity which allowed to familiarize with the mechanisms shaping the asylum process, but also to reflect about their past and to learn from other, similar stories.

These results can be connected to the short episode with which I started this concluding section. Fatmata's words suggested that our interview caused a "temporal interference" in her migration trajectory. The interview worked as a site of knowledge production and re-collection which helped her in the following encounter with asylum authorities. Analogously, playing *My documents, check them out* might have contributed to refine border-crossers' interpretation and understanding of their past and future interaction with migration management. If border-crossers' agency has a temporally unfolding and distributed nature, then scholarship at the crossroad of migration studies and STS is endowed with the potential to develop methods and ethnographic devices which might help to transform it and, possibly, to enhance it.

Annex 1 – List of interviews

Conducted Interviews

Interview 1	Obi John	20/07/2020	Bologna	English
Interview 2	Okudawa	24/09/2020	Rimini	English
Interview 3	Joseph Faith	24/09/2020	Rimini	English
Interview 4	Joy Sunday	24/09/2020	Rimini	English
Interview 5	Joy Alegu	01/10/2020	Rimini	English
Interview 6	Joy Monday	01/10/2020	Rimini	English
Interview 7	Cultural mediator 1	05/11/2020	Rimini	Italian
Interview 8	Cultural mediator 2	05/11/2020	Rimini	Italian
Interview 9	Social operator	05/11/2020	Rimini	Italian
Interview 10	ASGI researcher	27/11/2020	online	Italian
Interview 11	Jerfey	18/03/2021	Rimini	English
Interview 12	Thommaus	18/03/2021	Rimini	Italian
Interview 13	Lydia	18/03/2021	Rimini	Italian
Interview 14	Blessing	26/03/2021	Rimini	English
Interview 15	Fatmata	26/03/2021	Rimini	English
Interview 16	(lawyer 1 and lawyer 2	8/04/2022	Venezia	Italian
Interview 17	Cultural mediator 4	03/06/2022	Rimini	Italian
Interview 18	Lawyer 3	07/11/2022	Bologna	Italian

List of interviews conducted by other members of Processing Citizenship and quoted in the dissertation

Interview 19	Reem	10/04/2018	Chios	English
Interview 20	Alì	10/04/2018	Chios	English
Interview 21	Munes	30/04/2018	Chios	English
Interview 22	Alain	04/06/2018	Chios	English
Interview 23	Julea	27/06/2018	Chios	English
Interview 24	Laila	30/06/2018	Chios	English
Interview 25	Gufran	30/06/2018	Chios	English
Interview 26	Gabriel	22/08/2018	Samos	English
Interview 27	Ezina	23/08/2018	Samos	English
Interview 28	Kalimaris	27/08/2018	Samos	English
Interview 29	Felix	28/08/2018	Samos	English
Interview 30	Kristian	29/08/2018	Samos	English

Interview 31	Aneda	29/08/2018	Samos	English
Interview 32	Ferrun	30/08/2018	Samos	English
Interview 33	Miriam	30/08/2018	Samos	English
Interview 34	Migration officer	21/03/2019	Malpensa	Italian

Annex 2 – Template for narrative interviews

Standard formulation of initial central topic: In my research I am interested in your experience of being registered and identified when you arrived here. This was an important moment for you, as many things that happened after it depend on this moment. So, I would like to understand what it was like for you. Have you ever thought about that moment in these months? [understand whether s/he is now aware of the importance of R&I] at that time, did you think it was important?

Three elements of interests which must emerge from the interview:

a) Experience and memories of R&I procedures (processes of dis-inscriptions, power relations, previous knowledge about the procedures, expectations about the procedures)

b) Practical consequences of the R&I procedures on border-crossers' life. How the data collected affected their life afterwards

c) To identify what border-crossers perceive as a challenge or an issue related to R&I procedure

- **Phase 1**

Introductory questions

1. How long have you been here? [note what is "here": Italy, Bologna, Europe?]
2. Where did you arrive? [note point of entry, and use it for next question]
3. Do you remember when have you been identified and registered at [point of entry]? when was that?

Note: It is important to find out how long the registration process lies in the past. Not only to assess how "fresh" and reliable the memories of our respondents are, but also because registration procedures continually change. It is also important to be specific because multiple institutions and organizations register migrants in various ways in various databases.

- **Phase 2**

Main narration.

How was that day? What happened? How was your experience of it? [starts narrative: What seems to matter to the informant? Keep the elements of interest above mentioned in the back of your mind]

[when there is a stop, introduce eliciting tool] Can you draw down what happened during the registration procedure? What was the most critical moment? How did you behave? And also draw what happened next?

[eliticiting tool] This is a template similar to the one they filled with your data. Take a look. First, what do you remember you did not like? Why? [note whether it was the question per se, or the options that were not sufficient] Cancel it [give them a pen]. Second, do you think there are also good questions? Was there anything you wanted to say but they did not ask about?

- **Phase 3**

So, you said you did not like moment X. What did you do when they asked you to go through it? Was it possible for you to avoid that moment? [to investigate actual practices of resistance] Why do you think they forced you to do it? Why was that important for them? [repeat for any moment they disliked]

So, you said you did not like question X. What did you do when they asked you to answer this question? Was it possible for you to avoid giving an answer? [to investigate actual practices of resistance] What did you use to prove your answer? Was that sufficient? Why do you think they asked you about it? Why was that important for them? [see whether informant use the system's categories to their advantage/a way to resist, understanding whether migrants are aware of the benefits that come with a particular category and what they think they have to do to be allocated to that category] [repeat for any question they disliked]

Before the R&I procedures: Did you know people were going to ask you these questions? Did you prepare for the interview? Did you receive any advice from fellow travelers, roommates, relatives, NGOs or anybody else on what to say and what to avoid? Had you to give suggestion to someone who is going through R&I now, what is the most important suggestion?

About the artefacts speaking for identity: Did you have a pic of your documents on your phone? What happened after you showed those pics to the officers? Did they check your phone looking for personal pictures, GPS data or something else? What happened afterwards? Did they make any questions about what they saw in it? Did you know officers were going to check your phone? Did they ask you your social media account? If yes, what happened after? How did you feel/what did you think when they were searching your phone?

About the comparison between R&I procedures and asylum interviews (EASO, Italian system): Were you aware of the different purposes and function of the interviews? Did you notice any difference between the interviews?

After the R&I procedures and asylum interview (short-term): Did they give you a document reporting the interview you had? In what language? Did you have to change anything in the data collected (misspell of the name, wrong transliteration)?

After the R&I procedures (long-term): Did you need to change the information you gave during the registration? If yes, how did you do it? Do you know who has access to your data? How did the information you gave during registration change your life?

- Phase 4

[open discussion which will be driven by the themes raised during the interview]

Annex 3 – "My documents, check them out": Game instructions, materials and game development log

Game instructions

Context

Bologna, Italy, 2022. Several people are sitting in a room of a large police building. They are all third-country nationals and they have been told that if they want to legally stay in Italy they need to get a document. To get this document, they need to fill in an application form with their personal data. The application form will then be assessed by a software-officer who will decide whether to issue the documents or not

Game material

- **Narrative Identity cards**

Narrative identity cards describe the life trajectory of the people impersonated by the players. Some elements in the story are ambiguous or unspecified: players are free to interpret them as they wish.

- **Form**

During the game, players need to fill in the application form and then submit it. **The form can be submitted when at least three categories and the respective personal information have been filled in by the applicant**. During the game, players will have to design the form by themselves.

Important: each player can design her/his own form.

There are three possible decisions about applicants' forms:

- Short-term positive: the player receives the document, the validity of document expires after 6 turns
- Long-term positive: the player receives the document, the validity of the document expires after 15 turns
- Negative: the player does not receive the document

- **Action cards**

Players pick up an action card at the beginning of their turn and follow the instructions on the card.

- **5 x 'Accelerated procedure'**

At the end of this turn, the player must submit the form. If her/his application form already contains three categories and related data, the application form must be submitted as it is. If the application form contains less than three categories and data, the player must fill in all the remaining entries by herself/himself, no help or suggestion from other players is allowed.

- **5 x 'Wait'**

The player skips this turn

- **5 x 'Help'**

The mediator can share ONE "help card" with the players

- **10 x 'Agency cards'**

Agency cards allow players to expand and enrich their stories. Players are free to interpret them as they like, by adding elements to their stories which can refer to their lives BEFORE OR AFTER their arrival in Italy.

- **10 x 'Design card'**

The player can choose ONE category to add to her/his application form. She/he can discusses her/his story with other players and receives help from them. At the end of the turn, the player declares which category she/he decided to add and she fills in the application form with the related personal data. The other players can also choose to add that category in their own form and, in that case, they also must fill in the application form with the correlated personal data.

Gameplay

1. Distribute the 'narrative identity cards' and familiarize with them
2. The mediator gives to each player one application form and share with all the players two of the "help card" s/he received
3. Players must fill in one category/attribute in their application form.
4. Once all the players have fill in one category in their forms, the player sitting at the left of the mediator is the first one to play
5. At the beginning of every turn, players pick an 'action card' from the deck
6. When a player wants to submit the form, she/he has to hand it in to the mediator, who will then upload the data into the software.

When does the game end?

- When all the players have the document, at the same time
- When the deck is over

Game materials: narrative identity cards

Albert

Albert travelled for three months and arrived in Lampedusa in 2021. He was rescued, together with other people, by the Italian coast-guard after a shipwreck in which several people died. After his arrival, he spent two weeks in the Hotspot of Lampedusa, where he did not have access to any types of legal or psychological support.

When his fingerprints were taken, officers found out that Albert had already been in Europe. He thus told Italian officers that, indeed, it is not the first time he tries to reach Germany, where his sister and her family live. The previous time he tried through the Balkan route. After arriving in Athens, he then went to Tessaloniki, and tried to go to Macedonia multiple times. Every time he was caught and hit by the police.

During the interview, he also showed on his phone pictures of his passport and ID. Yet, for some reasons his nationality was wrongly registered as Syrian. He told the officers that he decided to leave his country because he was not happy anymore with his job. He worked for four years in an electronic store, but lately he was quite bored with it. His hope is to reach Germany and to start a software development course there. Italian officers did not seem to believe his story and started asking him a lot of questions, apparently to confuse him and make him contradict.

He stayed in a camp in Sicily for a lot of time. It was very stressful because many people who arrived after him left the camp, while he had to wait for apparently no reasons. Eventually, he was transferred to Bologna, where he tried to get a job. However, he realized that without a document is difficult to find a good job.

Amabel

Amabel arrived in Italy in 2018 at the end of a long journey. After leaving her country, she travelled in the desert and then arrived in Lybia, where she spent eight months. The period in Lybia was very difficult because she was kidnapped. She called her elder brother and some friends who sent her money so that she could pay the kidnappers and get free. The kidnappers also took her passport, and therefore, when she arrived in Italy, she did not have any documents.

However, police officers believed her story, but they spelled her name wrong in the document they gave her after she arrived. Moreover, during the interview she had some problem with the interpreter, who could not understand her dialect. Officers were asking her a lot of questions, and it seemed that they were not believing her. Thus, she decided to talk in English to the officers, and she had the feeling that they were trusting her more.

After the interview with the police officers, she was brought in another room, where they took her fingerprints. At first, she was scared, and she asked the reasons why they were doing this, but the officers just said that it was the procedure, and she could not refuse.

Later, she had to stay a couple of weeks in a camp in Sicily, where she was not allowed to go out, and then she was transferred in another camp, and then again in another one. Overall, Amabel was transferred four times in less than six months, and this was difficult because every time she was starting to know people and make friends, she had to move. However, in Bologna she fell in love with John, and she had a baby with him. Their daughter is now two years old and soon she will have to start the school, but without a document is more difficult to have her admitted.

Felix

Felix and her wife arrived with other 60 people on the beach of Punta delle Formiche. They walked for one hour up and down the beach and asked to the people there if someone could call the police, but nobody answered them. They then went to a gasoline station and asked again, still without receiving an answer, until a woman came by and gave them water, food and pampers for the babies. They were thus brought to the Hotspot in Syracuse, where they were given a tent and then questioned by officers.

Felix is a master in calligraphy (he can write 10 words on a rice corn), he has a child from his first marriage who is currently living in Syria. Felix and his wife come from two different countries, but their three children were born in Syria. During the interview at the Hotspots, officers asked him the same questions in different versions three or four times to see whether he would provide the same answers. When officers asked Felix for evidence about his story, he showed them UNHCR refugee cards from Syria in format of a bank card, Syrian ID cards, a Syrian driving license and his old passport. He also showed plane tickets to prove that they travelled inside Syrian by plane to bypass the territories controlled by ISIS and to prove that they are not from ISIS or spies. He was asked to scan those documents and he sent them via email.

Felix thinks it is a problem that it takes so long and it is so difficult to get the documents: ‘I do nothing. All the time I do nothing and sit home. I have to wait all the time for the 1st of the month to get the money. I am very experienced with making t-shirts and prints. I had my own factory, so I am used to work and do things. The money we get is just enough for food. And not even that. Everything is expensive here’. Moreover, their major problem is that Felix’s wife cannot come back to her country because there it is not accepted that a woman is married with someone from another nationality.

Nina

Nina arrived in Italy one year ago with her husband, the other wife of his husband and their children. They were found and rescued in the middle of the sea by the Italian coast guard. Since Nina was recording those moments with her phone, they shouted: ‘don’t record us with your phones, stay down,

don't talk'. After being rescued, they were brought to Siracusa, where all of them, including their oldest child, were questioned.

Again, Italian officers checked Nina's phone: first they looked at GPS data to try to find out which route they took, then they accessed all the other apps and asked for the passwords of her social media accounts. They also went through all the pictures stored on the phone and they were able to restore deleted items. During this procedure, one person was checking the phone while another was checking Nina's reaction. She also had a picture of her ID, but they did not ask anything about it. Yet, for every picture she had to tell them 'this is in Egypt, this is Sudan'. The whole procedure took nearly the whole day.

Four months ago, Nina got pregnant. Nina and her husband have been married for 8 years. They used to play music together in a band, they fell in love and got married some months afterwards. When Aneda, the second wife, joined the family, things in the house became quite difficult and many problems arose. Yet, as Nina says: "we still try to be one family. I need someone to look after the kids when I go into the market. When I was in hospital for 5 days, my husband looked after the children. So, we still care for each other and look after each other."

Samia

Samia is the youngest of a family with five children, three boys and two girls. Her family shared a house with the family of her best friend, Ali. Both of them had a great passion for running. When Samia was just ten years old, she won the annual race of the city, beating men and women of every age. After that race, Ali become her trainer: at night, they used to sneak off in the old stadium and train there.

Samia's best friend was her sister, Hodan. Hodan used to sing beautiful songs until her younger sister would fall asleep. When their father was killed in the market by a man belonging to a terrorist group. Hodan decided to undertake 'the Journey' to Europe. After two months, she was able to reach Malta, and now she is in Finland where she has a 5-year-old daughter.

In the meanwhile, Samia's athletic career was blooming. After winning a race in the north of the country, she joined the Olympic committee and, in 2016, she took part to the Olympic games in Rio de Janeiro, where she run the 200 metres.

On the way back, her life got even more difficult. She became the heroin of many women and received hundreds of letters, but this also attracted the hate and the attention of the terrorist group which killed her father. She thus decided to leave, in order to reach a professional coach in another country. Yet, once there, she could not train: documents stating her status of athlete in political asylum needed to be issued and sent by her country.

After several months the documents had not been received, thus Samia decided to reach her sister in Europe. Five months later she arrived in Lybia and then, after a first failed attempt, she was finally able to reach Italy.

Mediator

At the beginning of the game, after players have read their "narrative identity card", you must choose two of the 'help card' you received and share them with the players.

When a 'help card' is picked up from the deck, you can provide players with one of the 'help card' you received. You can choose the one you want to share according to what you think is important in that moment of the game

When players wish to submit their modules, you must collect them and then enter the data of the applications into the software

You do not have any say about the decision of the software.

Game development log

Prototype	Main features	Participants	Modality	Date
V 1.0	• Pre-defined categories to be used in the design of the application form • Same application form for all the players • Narrative Identity cards might refer to one or more persons	Scholars	Game testing	24/1/2022
V 2.0	• Two pre-defined categories (country of origin, relations with Europe) to be used in the design of the application form • Each player design her/his own application form • Agency cards (which replaced cooperation cards)	Scholars	Game testing	17/3/2022
V 3.0	• No pre-defined categories, the application form must be designed from scratch • Narrative Identity cards refer to one and only one person	Border-crossers	Game testing	2/5/2022
V 3.1	• The mediator shares two “help cards” at the beginning of the game	Students	Game testing	10/5/2022
V 3.1		Border-crossers	Co-design about “agency cards”	3/6/2022
V 3.1		CSI members	Game testing	21/6/2022
V 3.1		Lawyers	Game testing	25/10/2022
V 3.1		Cultural mediators	Game testing	13/11/2022

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