

**TIME SLOWS DOWN: THE TEMPORALITIES OF IRREGULAR
MIGRATION (TIME AND GENDER IN ITS STATICS AND
DYNAMICS)**

In the paper the author analyses the irregular migration phenomenon throughout the Time category, instead of analyzing it throughout the Space category as it is considered among the other researchers. We shall assume that the temporality of the experience, power, resistance among irregular migrants is formed as a comprehensive image, being shaped by Time and Space. It can be represented as a heuristic model, which consists of two levels: the conscious and spontaneous planes. The self-appearance within migrants is formed by the image of environment which is also influenced by gender. This shapes their inclusion into a new society.

Keywords: irregular migration, gender, the Time category.

This research has been inspired by the WAIT project, which is being carried by Centre for Women's and Gender Research University of Bergen [24]. This paper is a first step forward in this comprehensive and ambiguous field.

Firstly, the irregular migration phenomenon reveals the fact that the political space is not able to control the social space anymore. It has led to a reversal process of the increasing overlap between the "social space" and the "political space", highlighting the relationship between the potentially conflicting logics of the two spaces. On the one hand, there is the logic of free movement, implying that production (goods, capital, and people) is driven by socio-economic dynamics such as the market, media development, transnationalism, etc. On the other hand, the logic of states, political and legal structures, which attempt to delimit the geographic space and regulate the movement of people across the borders. Irregular migration would be, therefore, the result of the disagreement between those two logics that generates a numerical difference between the migrants who are moving through the social and the economic space and those who are entitled to do so. For example, Echeverria Cubello (2016) considers irregular migration as a captivating phenomenon because it demonstrates the incoherence between the idea of states as the all-embracing, all-mighty controllers of socio-political interactions, and a much more complex and thriving reality made up of conflicts, ambivalences, and uncertainty [4].

Secondly, irregular migration is a comprehensive process, therefore, it cannot be considered only throughout the category of space. Space influences the static component of irregular migration. However, Time

shapes this phenomenon, to the same extent, making up the dynamic component of irregular migration. Moreover, waiting time of irregular migrants consists of an intersection between the Past, Present, and Future. In our research framework these are meant and understood differently due to infinite uncertainty.

Thirdly, irregular migration is not a gender neutral phenomenon. As it has been stated by the United Nation Population Fund (2009) [23], among the emerging issues in the area of international migration and development is the fact that migration is not a gender-neutral phenomenon. According to Kofman and Sales (2000) [12] the feminization of immigration in Europe has been underestimated. Formal immigration status may not reflect the actual intentions of immigrants, who will try to fit into the group that most easily enables them to enter Europe. Men and women who migrate face different opportunities, risks and challenges, including vulnerability to human rights abuses, exploitation and discrimination. Gender sensitivity must figure prominently in all aspects of migration policy formulation, planning, programme delivery and monitoring. Protection of human rights and access to legal and health services, including reproductive health services, are especially important when it comes to addressing the challenges faced by migrant women. However, laws on migration policies are mainly “gender-neutral”, and when they are to be implemented they become significantly discriminating. The point about gender neutrality, which prevailed over a prolonged period of time, is not efficient and only recently it has been proved that gender-neutral policies adopted in a fundamentally biased institutional framework perpetuate inequality. Moreover, migration policies should be gender mainstreamed, implying the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes in any area and at all levels.

The host society receives irregular migrants in a specific environment (the space component) and produces the factors and conditions of prolonged waiting (the time component). The host society addresses the practices through which such conditions are encountered, incorporated and resisted by irregular migrants (the time-space component). While leaving an origin county, crossing the borders, staying in camps, reception centres, urban migrations-hubs, etc., irregular migrants are facing, experiencing and mirroring the political sphere (control policies), the economic sphere (labour markets), and the socio-cultural sphere of a host country. These perceptions are shaped by gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, class of irregular migrants and it creates a specific picture of permanent uncertainty. The picture is dynamically changing during “waitinghood”, forcing

migrants to reflect on their own normative expectations related to the course of life, to choose between different strategies of behaviour.

A valuable attempt to investigate the major human rights protection risks facing individuals on the move in North East Africa has been made by MHUB (2015). The authors focus on the experiences of the people who are on the move and they find out that the pattern of migration in this region is complex. No evidence was found to support the idea that large numbers of people are leaving their countries of origin with the intention of reaching Europe. The idea of crossing the Mediterranean to Europe often arose from disappointment at the conditions in neighbouring countries [15]. Here occurs the need to focus on the experience of the people who are waiting, and being already disappointed by the previous experience while moving. Infinite uncertainty worsens this experience.

We may state that this waitinghood of experience, power, resistance is formed as a comprehensive image, being shaped by Time and Space, and could be represented as a heuristic model, what consists of two levels: the conscious and spontaneous planes. This complex heuristic model is difficult to observe due to the psychological aspects (we talk about perception of the temporality by irregular migrants). However, we might list factors that shape it, depending on exogenous factors within host and sending societies: legal (laws on migration), political (control policies), economic (labour market specific), welfare regime arrangements, socio-cultural (mass-media discussion and public opinion toward irregular migration); and also depending on endogenous factors: gender, nationality, personal motivation to leave, sexuality, ethnicity, religion and class, etc. All those factors (and not only them) determine the self-appearance, worldview and time-space perceptions of irregular migrants, the perceptions of the uncertain future, and might be presented in the form of the empirical (heuristic) model. The heuristic model is a symbolic, dynamic, self-organised system which is formed in the consciousness of the irregular migrants. This system reflects all those institutional and cultural factors, as well as gender, irrationality, motivation, and national background of irregular migrants. It shapes profoundly their subjective experience of Time, Space, Embodiment, Sociality, Self-Adjustment, etc. Gender plays a role here as well. We agree with Leccardi (1996) [13], that in the final years of the 20th century, conception of time changes rapidly. In this respect, the author argues that feminist thought can make a major contribution to the revision of the temporal paradigm that has hitherto been dominant.

It will be shown that the radical change of perspective associated with a feminist critique of the malestream time makes it possible to deconstruct/reconstruct the categories generally used for the analysis of

social time depending on gender. Indeed, women perceive Time throughout such categories as “maintaining”, “home”, “passive”, “creation”, “storing”, “saving”, “establishment”, “formation”, “conception” etc. Whereas men tend to think upon it through “creativity”, “action”, “changes”. How does waitinghood in uncertainty affect the well-being of women when there is nothing to create? Does it destroy them? To what extent? How long will it take them to recover after waitinghood?

Another point to investigate is the ability of men to go through waitinghood. When we talk about gender and irregular migration we use to think in terms of women’s vulnerability. What about men? How does the passiveness of waitinghood coincide with their active nature? Does it destroy them? To what extent? How long will it take them to recover after waitinghood? These questions are quite similar but we may end up with very different responses to them.

Why do we need to picture the heuristic model? Because it not only shapes the self-image of irregular migrants, while waiting; it defines their worldview through a view of the world as a whole and their own appearance in it; it defines their behavioural patterns in the present and future, and integration capability into the host country. The last point is needed to pay attention due to the terrorist attacks and the shown failures of integration not only among a first generation of migrants but among a second one as well.

Using gender we attempt to picture a matrix taking into account country specific characteristics in terms of different but comparable migration histories, legal and socio-economic welfare state arrangements. This matrix will definitely vary between Norway and Sweden, on the one hand, and France and Italy, on the other hand. Mapping the matrix and heuristic model we aim at giving practical recommendations on irregular migration policies referring to “humanity” as the main value.

The famous model of organisational culture by Schein (1985, 2004), who defines organisational culture as the basic assumptions and beliefs shared by members of an organisation, might be elaborated in the framework of our analysis. These basic assumptions and beliefs are learned, operate unconsciously, and essentially define an organization’s view of itself and its environment. This model may be used only to a small little extent; however, the three levels of it and the empirical means (proposed by the author) to observe each of the levels can be taken into consideration. We try to replicate this model upon the irregular migration phenomenon under uncertainty and waitinghood. The author argues that it is necessary to look at the outward view, which consists of artefacts (visible and audible behaviour), as well as the inward view, which consists of values and basic

assumptions. Values are testable in the physical environment (we will test it in European migration-hubs) and by social consensus (we analyse it by observing the legal, political, economic, socio-cultural characteristics of the host countries). Values have a greater level of awareness, but they are not visible. Basic assumptions consist of the relationship to the Environment, Nature of Reality, Time and Space, Nature of Human Nature, Nature of Human Relationships. They are taken for granted, invisible, preconscious (Schein 1985, 2004) [20].

It can be interesting to identify the factors and conditions which are forming the phenomenon of waitinghood of experience, power and resistance. They are legal (laws on migration), political (control policies), economic (labour market specific), welfare regime arrangements, socio-cultural (mass-media discussion and public opinion toward irregular migration); and might be classified as exogenous (coming from host and origin societies). Moreover, we have gender, national background, personal motivation, sexuality, ethnicity, religion and class, etc.; which belong to endogenous factors.

The research questions can be set up as follows:

1) How do legal regulations and their implementation establish and sustain gender specifics of the migration phenomenon?

2) How do irregular migrants sense “waitinghood” depending on gender?

3) What emotional states do they exhibit while waiting? Does it force them to be aggressive, frustrated, frightened, to feel anger, sadness, apprehension, etc.

4) What are the models of behaviour chosen by irregular migrants depending on gender?

5) What are their priorities in organising their time while waiting depending on gender?

6) What are the forms of social inclusion and exclusion, following “waitinghood” depending on gender?

Regardless of sex, irregular migrants are making a choice either to stay “passive”, being stuck in refugee camps and cities of the global South without permanent legal status; or to react by moving and to seek asylum in the global North (Hyndman and Giles 2011) [7]. And how does the choice made depend on gender?

Waitinghood can be a serious threat to the further social inclusion of migrants. It does not only profoundly shape their subjective experiences of time, space, embodiment, sociality, self, etc.; it might make them accept only surface features of receiving culture, while not being socially included to a deeper extent. In the future it may reveal an issue of repudiation

amongst second generation migrants. Men are rated as more aggressive than women and as more extreme. However, it has been proven by Eagly and Steffen (1986) by running a meta-analytic review of sex differences in aggressive behaviour reported in the social psychological literature, that although men were somewhat more aggressive than women, on average, sex differences were inconsistent across studies. The tendency for men to be more aggressive than women was more pronounced for aggression that produces pain or physical injury than for aggression that produces psychological or social harm. In addition, sex differences in aggressive behaviour were larger to the extent that women, more than men, perceived that enacting a behaviour would produce harm to the target, guilt and anxiety in oneself, as well as danger to oneself. Thus differences in aggression between sexes are a function of perceived consequences of aggression that are learned as aspects of gender roles and other social roles [3]. The way that these emotions and patterns of behaviour are shaped by the “waitinghood” needs be observed.

Irregular migration is a self-adjustable phenomenon. As Katsiaficas (2016) argues, beneath the headlines focused on the unprecedented flows of migrants and asylum seekers that arrived in Europe beginning in 2015, is the reality that these movements across land and sea are highly adaptable and fluid, as would-be migrants and smugglers respond to changing immigration, enforcement, and visa policies, as well as a range of other conditions in origin, transit, and destination countries. Therefore, the central Mediterranean route is interesting in the framework of this research, because it reveals a significant combination of pull and push factors. It begins in North Africa and ends in Italy or Malta. People using this route largely come from Africa, increasingly sub-Saharan Africa, although growing numbers have also come from Syria in recent years. They primarily depart from Libya, with smaller numbers leaving from Egypt and Tunisia, as Katsiaficas (2016) emphasises [10]. Unlike the western and eastern routes, all borders along this corridor are sea borders. This fact makes the route the most dangerous of the pathways to Europe with weather conditions worst in winter months, often leading migration to follow a seasonal pattern. Most of the border-control activities along this route have become aimed at search and rescue. This fact is often considered as a pull factor, attracting migrants, enticing more people to make this journey. On the other hand, as Katsiaficas (2016) emphasises [10], there are several push factors such as conflict and instability in origin countries as the overwhelming reasons to attempting the perilous journey.

All-powerful states try to manage migration flows, but they shall take into account not only self-adjustability of flows but also the comprehensive

framework of factors at play behind them, which operate simultaneously and can be difficult to tease apart. As Katsiaficas (2016) notices [10], border management (including border checks), surveillance, and fences; as well as regional and bilateral agreements on returns – fall under the control of government actors. At the same time, many factors are beyond the control of destination country decision makers. Among them political instability, violence, human-rights abuses, health of the economy and labour market, and visa policies; the (relative) ease and risks of the journey, costs, networks, and information about conditions along the route; weather conditions, smuggler tactics, and geography, etc. According to the researcher (Katsiaficas, 2016), a key factor is the personal motivations of individual migrants themselves. Indeed, as listed above, the socio-economic conditions of receiving countries influence the waitinghood of irregular migrants. All those points and interactions are to be observed in the framework of this research.

Irregular migration and gender perspective

According to MHUB (2016), among vulnerable cases are listed the following: unaccompanied children mistakenly identified as adults, migrants in need of psychological services, and the elderly [15]. Women are not mentioned among the vulnerable groups, even though the assumption that women are trafficked has been made for some time (Schrover et al, 2008) [21]. This research is an attempt to combine two important issues in contemporary debates over migration: gender and illegal migration. As it is stated by the IOM (2016), around the world, more people are on the move than even before. Many of them are seeking new opportunities and a better life for themselves and their families. Others are forced to move due to disaster or conflict. Gender is central to any discussion of the causes and consequences of regular and irregular migration and forced displacement. It is now understood that a person's sex, gender identity and sexual orientation shape every stage of the migration experience. Gender affects reasons for migrating, who will migrate, the social networks migrants use to move, integration experiences and labour opportunities at destination, and relations with the country of origin [8]. As Omelaniuk (2005) states, gender as a social construction that organises relations between males and females can greatly differentiate the causes, processes and impacts of migration between two sexes [18]. This is a key point to stress in the framework of our research to investigate how experience, power and resistance to waitinghood is shaped depending on gender. Women are vulnerable in the group of migrants. While the overall feminization of integration migration is increasing, the vulnerability of women migrants to discrimination, exploitation and abuse is also likely to increase. As Kawar (2004) states, the

existing push and pull factors (which shape migration as a whole) hand in hand with increasing barriers to migration are only fostering an increase in irregular migration [11]. The several factors cause the women's vulnerability, among which she lists: during the decision to migrate many women may have unrealistic expectations, lack of proper information on the migration process and procedures and employment opportunities. They may lack the know-how and ability to cover expenses, thus ending up in exploitative situations. The return and reintegration process of migrant workers can also be more problematic for women than for men (e.g. socio-psychological effects, family difficulties, financial difficulties and employment related problems). However, those issues do not mirror the temporality of waitinghood and its correlation with gender. For instance, according to AIDOS (2006), in 2003 the duration of waiting in a refugee camp, on average, was 17 years [2]. Thus there is a need to study the temporality of waitinghood in detail with respect to the factors and conditions have been mentioned above.

According to Kofman and Sales (2000), European Union policy on migration has been beset by a number of contradictory tendencies. There have been differences between the European Commission and the European Parliament on the one hand and individual Member States on the other over the extent and character of the harmonization of migration policy. This division is related to disagreements over policy. European states vary in the ease with which women are able to gain refugee status. Women have found it difficult to be accepted as refugees in their own right, as many administrators are reluctant to accept that women can be autonomous political actors. An interesting observation to link women's vulnerability and irregular migration has been made by Van Liempt (2008) [25], and among findings (advantages and disadvantages of being a woman while migrating irregularly) is the fact that, when discussing 'illegal' migration, the lack of a legal exit (sometimes it is difficult to leave a country) is often ignored. People often need smugglers to leave a county. Secondly, while interviewing women irregular migrants the author finds it difficult to figure out whether these women came with their partners or by themselves. For Muslim women due to attitudes towards women there which restrict their possibilities and shape their migration process the gender-specific obstacles and advantages (!!!) can be found in this type of border crossing. There are guides who refuse to take women and children because they slow down the group. By refusing to do that, smugglers obviously limit the options of women and thus create a gendered difference in migration patterns. Women can easily be raped or maltreated by her smuggler. They can be robbed by soldiers. However, in the Muslim culture, they cannot be searched easily,

which helps them to hide money, and it is an advantage of being a woman. Since they are often not-suspected, they are not stopped on the streets. Often they are forced to escape illegally from the camps and not to wait until the final decision on their refugee status, since women's political activism is often not recognised in the asylum procedure. Therefore, the only way to have refugee status is to apply for humanitarian status. And still there are no guarantees that the request would be satisfied, which causes serious psychological problems. Moreover, admission rules not only vary from country to country, but also from time to time. Women are not willing to talk openly with an interviewer, because often their departure from the origin country is not considered as a reason to be proud off. This can be a serious obstacle in a framework of our research. Also the author finds out that the access to resettlement often differs for men and women. Those refugees who are perceived as being most "vulnerable" can officially apply, and as a result women and children are resettled more often than men. However, lately, since receiving states have grown reluctant to continue open-ended resettlement programmes for refugees, it has become more difficult for migrants to pursue this option. The resettlement criteria have also become more restrictive. As a result of the reduced legal migration options, many asylum seekers turn to alternative possibilities. Also Van Liempt (2008) emphasises that the legal option of resettlement and the "illegal" option of travelling with a smuggler are not complete opposites. Those who feel unsafe in the camp and do not want or wait a long time for the final decision on their resettlement go for the illegal option to travel with smugglers. Others do not want to register with the UNHCR because they fear that their final claim would be rejected and they would be deported back to their country of origin. Some people believe that the UNHCR shares the information with the authorities in their country of origin. To sum up, migrants have different reasons for migrating through "illegal" channels, choosing these options despite the availability of legal options.

Thus, objectives and scope of our research are:

Objectives:

Map and analyse legal arrangements, policies, welfare arrangement programmes and operational responses implemented by the selected countries aimed at managing irregular migration flows; organise the receiving environment for migrants; build a proper response to irregular migration; adjust labour market demand in order to cope with irregular migration supply; provide a labour market response to the flows; work undertaken by governments to influence public opinion upon the phenomenon of irregular migration;

Undertake ethnographic field studies through participant observation with in-depth interviews, work with representatives from asylum reception centres, health clinics, NGOs and networks of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants;

Based on ethnographic field studies draw concrete comparative assessments of practices and procedures in those countries that shape the temporalities of irregular migration, based on a factual and comparative picture of the scale, characteristics, trends and patterns of the phenomenon;

Draw conclusions based on the ethnographic field studies that combine participant observation with in-depth interviews; on the data collection; on the literature review.

Tasks:

Construction of the heuristic model of the dimensions of “waitinghood” pertaining to experience, power and resistance, and gender, focusing on cultural conditions and their normative and ethical dimensions in particular;

A construction of the matrix with the intersection of gender and the four country specific characteristics that would influence waitinghood shaped by the power relationships of temporal structuring, experiences of time and acts of resistance;

An explanation of the dynamics of the heuristic model (mainly through the time component), and the stationary side of it (mainly throughout the space component). The heuristic model framework depends on endogenous factors (the gender intersection with sexuality, ethnicity, religion and class) and on exogenous factors (mainly migration law, policy and control as well as welfare regulations). The heuristic model might be structured via the rational and irrational levels, consisting of several sub-levels.

The objectives and tasks are set up for the future perspective. In the following publications we shall elaborate on them.

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Дидух А. Замедление времени: темпоральность нерегулируемой миграции (время и гендер в статике и динамике).

В статье автор анализирует нерегулируемость феномена миграции по всей категории времени, вместо того, чтобы анализировать его по всей категории пространства, как считается среди других исследователей. Мы считаем, что темпоральность опыта, силы, сопротивления среди нелегальных мигрантов формируется как всеобъемлющий образ, формируется во времени и пространстве. Она может быть представлена в виде эвристической модели, которая состоит из двух уровней: сознательного и спонтанного плоскостях. Самостоятельно появление среди мигрантов формируется образ среды,

которая также зависит от пола. Это формирует их включения в новое общество.

Ключевые слова: нерегулируемая миграция, пол, времена как категория.

Дідух Г. Уповільнення часу: темпоральність нерегульованої міграції (час і гендер в статичі і динаміці).

У статті автор аналізує нерегульованість феномена міграції по всій категорії часу, замість того, щоб аналізувати його по всій категорії простору, як вважається серед інших дослідників. Ми вважаємо, що темпоральність досвіду, сили, опору серед нелегальних мігрантів формується як всеосяжний образ, формується в часі і просторі. Вона може бути представлена у вигляді евристичної моделі, яка складається з двох рівнів: свідомого і спонтанного площинах. Самостійно поява серед мігрантів формується образ середовища, яка також залежить від статі. Це формує їх включення в нове суспільство.

Ключові слова: нерегульована міграція, стать, времена як категория.

Святненко І.

ГЕНДЕРНА КУЛЬТУРА ФЕМІНІЗМУ В СОЦІОЛОГІЧНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ

Статтю присвячено проблемі визначення концептуальних засад гендерної культури фемінізму у соціологічному дискурсі. Зроблено висновок про те, що у феміністичному дискурсі традиційні уявлення про суб'єкт і про сутність людини інтерпретуються як засадничі щодо есенціалістської теорії статі. Есенціалістська теорія статі передбачає наявність преформістських соціогендерних уявлень, через які відбувається конструювання основних диспозицій особистості. Соціогендерний преформізм за умови розуміння суб'єкта в сексуалізованих денотаціях дозволяє вести мову про чоловіків і жінок як різні соціогендерні класи, диспозиції яких відповідають системі гендерного панування. Популярність есенціалістських постулатів у інтерпретації статі поєднується з непопулярністю її щодо інтерпретації людини як такої. Есенціалістські інтерпретації в термінах існування дозволяють перевести маскуліність в площину недосяжної трансценденції, зводячи жіночість (фемінність) до набору цілком прогнозованих рис і тривіальностей.

Ключові слова: фемінізм, постфемінізм, гендерна культура, гендерна культура фемінізму, патріархальний сексизм.