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– **Waiting in Irregularity** –

How young Moroccans in southern Spain navigate temporal bordering processes produced by the Spanish migration law.

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Abstract

El Ejido, in southern Spain, constitutes the densest surface for agroindustry, where manual work is done mainly by migrants. It is a microcosm that particularly encapsulates social problems, struggles, and (state) violence. The thesis exposes practices of temporal bordering, by analysing the role of migration laws, through the lens of waiting. The 'arraigo social' is a regulation mechanism, conditioned on a previous three years' irregular stay in the country. Through ethnographic observations and narrative interviews, this paper asks about the function of waiting and how it is experienced and encountered by the people living through this time. To this end, it maps its connections with exploitation of labour, negotiation of belonging and the exertion of state violence. I argue the function is to keep migrants in a situation of a 'inclusive exclusion', tantamount to 'capitalist exploitation'. As through their irregularised stay and the need for an employment contract, they face employers with an extreme power imbalance.

Keywords: Waiting; Temporal Bordering; Agroindustry; Migrant Labour; Irregularity

Resumen

El Ejido, en el sur de España, constituye la superficie más densa de la agroindustria, donde el trabajo manual lo realizan principalmente los inmigrantes. Se trata de un microcosmos que encapsula especialmente los problemas sociales, las luchas y la violencia (estatal). La tesis expone prácticas de temporal bordering, analizando el papel de las leyes migratorias, a través de la mirada de la espera. El 'arraigo social' es un mecanismo de regulación, condicionado a una estancia irregular previa de tres años en el país. Por medio de observaciones etnográficas y entrevistas narrativas, este trabajo se pregunta acerca de la función de la espera y de cómo es experimentada y enfrentada por las personas que viven este tiempo. Para ello, analiza sus conexiones con la explotación del trabajo, la negociación de la pertenencia y el ejercicio de la violencia estatal. Sostengo que la función es mantener a los inmigrantes en una situación de 'exclusión incluida', equivalente a la 'explotación capitalista'. Ya que a través de su estancia irregular y la necesidad de un contrato de trabajo, se afrentan a empleadores con un desequilibrio de poder extremo.

Palabras clave: espera; temporal bordering; agroindustria; obra migrante; irregularidad

Introduction

11 o'clock in the morning in June, already 32 degrees outside. The summer season is at its end, Yahya is working in the greenhouses, cleaning and preparing them for autumn. Yahya is living outside of the village Las Norias, only surrounded by greenhouses, in the house of his uncle. Yahya does not have a regular status, yet. He was waiting three years and eight months, waiting until he can request the *arraigo social*, a residency for one year.

The village of Las Norias, belonging to the municipality of El Ejido in the province of Almeria, is situated in the southern Spanish autonomous community of Andalusia. It constitutes the province in Spain with the biggest agroindustry, where a high percentage of manual labour is done by migrant workers. The region, for a long time, has risen into the international media spotlight. The grievances denounced are, and have been: high exploitation, unfree working conditions, and unbearable housing. Various articles draw rather attention to the vulnerabilised people, who seemingly are without agency at the system's mercy, to exploitative employers, or to the European food market where transnational supermarkets and cooperatives can largely set the prices, highlighting how the capital economy transnational connects fresh and cheap food consumption with exploitation and pain (Huet & Subra-Gomez, 2018; Lawrence, 2011; Lünenschloß & Zimmermann, 2019; Rippingale, 2019). El Ejido is a microcosm that particularly encapsulates social problems, struggles, and (state) violence representative of migration in our time. El Ejido proves that capitalism is not able to function without migration. As the agroindustry is in dire need of cheap migrant labour, and migrants' struggles are thus indicative of the region (Saverio Caruso, 2017). Additionally, it shows that policies interact with economic needs. While never able to control migration, politics provides the framework in which migration happens and in El Ejido the state's restrictive policies act in favour of the economy. In this process, the border is no longer only the physical line, ordering and othering people, but bordering processes reach far into society and institutions. Expanding the experience of being declared as foreign and not belonging, into everyday life (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015).

My thesis will contribute to the material by exposing practices of temporal bordering. I will structurally analyse the role of the migration laws, applying a conceptual approach through the lens of waiting. The law I am investigating is the '*arraigo social*', a regulation mechanism for third nation nationals, which is conditional on a previous three-year irregular stay in the country. Thus, this law produces a three-year waiting time in irregularised status. Through ethnographic methods and narrative interviews this paper asks what impact and function does the waiting time have, how does it correlate with the exploitation of labour, negotiations of belonging, exertion of state violence and how is it experienced and encountered by the individuals living through this time. The thesis outlines how my Moroccan interview partners navigate their waiting time and the obstacles that are created in their way. The theories applied interlink the present and past relations between Spain and Morocco. They do so by perceiving imposed waiting as a power tool, which is coined by a colonial understanding of different temporalities, which constitutes the underlying logic of the law of the *arraigo social*. This law exerts temporal bordering rendering migrants' time less valuable. But not only the legislative framework as well practices particularly applied in El Ejido extend this seemingly determined waiting time. The paper argues that combined it functioned to keep migrants in a situation of included exclusion, tantamount to "capitalist exploitation". As through their irregularised stay and the need to obtain an employment contract, they face potential employers in an extreme power imbalance, leading to their exploitation, in terms of flexibilisation, disposable labour, work rights and salaries.

The chapter setting the scene is introducing the migration law of Spain and describing the special environment of El Ejido. Then a theoretical part outlines the applied theories of waiting. After the method part, a part of historicising the relation between Morocco and Spain opens the analyses. The analyse then is divided in two parts, the first part is describing the fundamental problems my participants encounter during their waiting time. The second part concentrates on the consequences for their wellbeing and their practices they employ for resisting the hostile environment. After a short discussion, the conclusion then summarizes the main findings.

Setting the scene

1. The Spanish migration system

Andalusia as well as the whole of Spain has the longest been an emigration country. The last big emigration from Spain to Latin America and central Europe happened in the 1950s. Andalusia as a traditional rather poor part of Spain had a big part of its population migrated. It was not until the 1980s that Spain became an immigration country. Spain's first migration law was made accordingly only in the 1980s (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011). With the end of Franco's dictatorship and the entry into the EU, Spanish borders became European borders. Till then Spain applies a selective residence policy, where people from cultural and linguistic proximity have privileged Visa and citizenship conditions. Today the special regulations¹ for Latin Americans are justified as compensation for the colonial past. Similarly, is the recent nationality law for Sephardic Jews communicated as reparation for the expulsion in the 15th and 16th centuries. Yet, Moroccan and the West Sahrawian are both excluded, besides having been colonially governed by Spain, and for the one century later, in the 17th century, expelled Moriscos, no similar residence reparations are given. This indicates that these selective policies are deeply racist (Arigita, 2019; Bastaki, 2017; Marín-Aguilera, 2018).

In Spain, a migration model based on irregularity developed. While strict migration laws governed work permits through a quota system and limited access to civil rights, a big informal economy especially in the sectors of construction, care work, and agriculture, encouraged labour migration to satisfy the need for cheap labour (González-Enríquez, 2010). The transnational migration system, as a pattern, reinforced itself then through established social networks of migrant communities. Thus, in Spain, a big part of the ddd (dangerous, dirty, and demanding) jobs were and are done by migrant labour. In the 1990s, the Spanish government reacted to the growing irregularity with various regularisation processes for third nationals, issuing (a year-limited) residences. But since the last in 2005, no new regularization happened, based on influence from the EU and tendencies turning migration policies to deterrence and walling-off (Kraler, 2019). Yet the irregularity-based migration system remained, as a result of the restrictive migration policies and persistent high labour demands (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2012). Since 2000, people without documentation have had access to health and basic education (age 3-16). In 2004 through the 'arraigo social' another regularisation method based on social ties was introduced. For the arraigo, a temporal residence permit, third nationals can apply when having proven to have lived three years undocumented in Spain, have no criminal record in their country of origin, possess work contract², and can show certification of the social ties or integration such as language classes or cultural activities (García-Juan, 2021). When

¹ Citizen from Latin American countries, Andorra, Equatorial Guinea, Philippines, or Portugal only need 2 years of uninterrupted residence in Spain to be able to ask for Spanish citizenship.

² Before the work contract had to last at least for one years, since 2022 the condition is a permanent position (contracto indefinido)

accepted the migrant will receive a year's permit, which can be converted into a temporal residence through a work permit. Then the usual Spanish procedures come into effect, of renewing the permit twice every two years and then every five years. After 10 years of residence in Spain, citizenship can be requested (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011).

Through the migration laws, irregularised migrants are living in a constant state of deportability. Paying attribute to the constructive power of language and to mark that a person cannot be irregular in their existence, I will use the term irregularised through the thesis, stressing that irregularisation is an external process forced on to the people. Deportability is conceptualised as the condition of the possibility and the risk of being deported. This means that the very present is always precarious, and uncertainty prevails. Daily events like police controls, work inspections, or other incidents including public authorities can lead to their deportation, thus deportability enters every aspect of daily life (Genova, 2010; Genova & Perrotta, 2010). Even though deportability only constitutes a possibility, and most deportations are not realised, on the southern Mediterranean coast deportation is not only an option but too often a real fact. Eurostat data shows that Spain is deporting yearly around 15.000 people (with the exception of 2020, owing to the Covid-19 pandemic). While the huge majority of these numbers are pushbacks in the Spanish enclaves on Ceuta and Melilla, deportation is happening as well, via sea and air (Fernández Bessa & Brandariz Garcia, 2018).

2. The agroindustry of El Ejido

In southern Spain's autonomous community of Andalusia, especially in the provinces Almeria and Huelva, intensive industrial agriculture has developed. Restructuring of the society, conversion into export-orientated agriculture, state interventions, climate conditions, and exploitation of human labour are important reasons for bringing the "the miracle of Almeria" (Aznar-Sánchez et al., 2014, p. 112) into existence. In the 1950s the region of Almeria was wasted land. Franco's administration planned to industrialise the region, by profiting from local agriculture methods, in cooperation with a financial sector for easy-granted loans, and the resettling of villages from the nearby Alpujarra mountains. This project succeeded and today the Almeria region is worldwide the area densest built with greenhouses. The Almeria region provides 25% of Spain's total horticultural products, while 70% of the whole products are exported (Aznar-Sánchez et al., 2014).

Through social advancement and continuous emancipation of the women, who did formerly lots of unpaid work on the farms, autochthonous people refused to do the hard work in the greenhouses. So that since the 1990^s most of the labour is done by migrants, previously mainly from east Europe but now mostly from Morocco or Sub-Saharan countries. The work in agriculture is seasonal, in the consequence during the low season workers often migrate further North. Second, the need for the workforce is thus regarded as temporary, contracts are given often only for a short term and employers fluctuate much, or use subcontracting which adds to the impression of low-skilled as replaceable labour and does not allow the development of personal trust (Veiga, 2014). What distinguishes the development of industrial agriculture in El Ejido compared to worldwide trends is that there are still no large companies owning hectare after hectare, but rather, as in the past, small former families farms operate a few greenhouses. Consequently, they have little power to shape prices and are dependent on the changing prices and demand in the European and international food markets. This pressure, they pass down to the workers, in form of highly flexible, exploitative, and precarious working conditions. Attracted by job opportunities, geographic proximity and, more recently social networks, many Moroccans come to El Ejido and have constituted a big Moroccan community in the area. From the 84.000 people currently living in the El Ejido area, 25.000 are born

abroad. From these population, in 2021, Moroccans count the biggest community around 16.000, 58% (Foro-Ciudad.com, 2022). The Moroccan community in Almeria is slightly masculinesed and the main age is between 20-50 years (Parilla Maldonado, 2021).

In 2001 El Ejido gained notoriety through racist pogroms and murders (Veiga, 2014). Since then and until today racism along with economic inequalities is shaping the reality of El Ejido. The housing market and the living situation are where racism shows itself clearly. So-called ‘*cortijos*’ or ‘*chabolas*’, ghetto-similar settlements, mostly outside the city in between the greenhouses are common phenomena in Almeria. Especially during the high season workers are forced to live in these conditions. While some choose to live there because they have no spending for rent and can thus save money, this does not mask that the structural conditions are not offering other options. The already scarce housing market overlaps with racist discrimination where migrants and gypsies are continuously discriminated against, either directly by being ignored by private house owners or real estate agents or indirectly by having to pay higher rents, being offered worse buildings, or being asked to for additional requirements, like pay bills or securities which are hard to meet (CEPAIM, 2018, 2019; Martin & Sánchez Esteban Buch, 2020; Martínez Goytre et al., 2022).

Migrant work in Southern Spain is gendered. “The women from Huelva are everywhere” (fieldnotes/social worker). The strawberry industry in Huelva started in the 2000s to actively employ and recruit women. The official reason draws upon gender stereotypes of women as more sensitive and thus more careful while picking the strawberries. The industry is dependent on Moroccan women who are recruited via “contraction in origin”. The mechanism aims to secure that the workers after having done the strawberry season return to Morocco. The contract has to be signed in Morocco and the agents prefer recruiting women who are socially bound in Morocco, through motherhood or family dependencies. The recruitment officers in Morocco, research showed, target single mothers from the countryside with lesser education. Nevertheless, women use the “Visa Huelva” (Yusra, 2022) to arrive legally and then stay in Spain (Hellio, 2017; Moreno Nieto & Nieto, 2012; Reigada, 2017).

Waiting as method

“You come too late, much too late. There will always be a world—a white world—between you and us (Fanon, 2008, p. 131).

The *temporal turn* in human and social sciences reached migration studies, where the importance of the different temporalities involved in governing migration are critically put under investigation. Studies are circling around the imposition of (im)mobility on migrants, producing a state of living in legal limbo or the feeling of “stuckness” in time (Bandak & Manpreet K. Janeja, 2018; Gasparini, 1995; Hage, 2009; Jacobsen et al., 2021; Janeja & Bandak, 2018; Khosravi, 2021a). This thesis uses “waiting as an analytical perspective” offering “new insights into the complex and shifting nature of processes of bordering, belonging, state power, exclusion and inclusion, and social relations in irregular migration” (Jacobsen & Karlsen, 2021, p. 2). Controlling other’s peoples time is an exemplary tool of exercise power over others (Bourdieu, 2000). Exemplified through the queue as paradigmatic for exercising power in the public sphere. Especially in oppressive states, the queue symbolises governing their subjects, by continuously leaving them in a state of anxiety and fatigue and tired their energies (Abdel Aziz, 2021). In migration the paradigm of a queue is phenomelised in waiting for papers, waiting in camps before and after the border, waiting in detention for being

deported. Imposing waiting on people, and simultaneously distributing hope is a power mechanism, which is reproducing dependency and subordination (Khosravi, 2017).

Shahram Khosravi (2019, 2021a) is looking at how waiting functions in different migrations systems together with practices of delaying and circulating, to make the migrants or asylums seekers' time less valuable. He conceptualises these as temporal bordering practices. Relaying on the tradition in border studies approaching borders as processual “not represent[ing] a fixed point in space or time, rather they symbolise a social practice of spatial differentiation” (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2002, p. 126). Khosravi, instead of geographic and special differentiation focus of time and temporalities, and considers these temporal bordering practices as a modern colonial racialised practice which is: “The denial of co-equality. That is, the idea that the *Other* belongs to a different temporality” (Khosravi, 2019, p. 417). This “belatedness” of non-European, in Fanon's words: “You come too late, far too late” (2008, p. 131) describes a state where power is already distributed, and social participation and shaping its own reality are out of sight. Society is structured by an understanding of “white time that is assumed and presented as secular, civilised, modern, progressive, neutral, the racialised other comes always too late. He or she is assumed to be stuck in a historical belatedness and therefore regarded and treated as unequal” (Khosravi, 2019, p. 417).

Khosravi (2019) argues that imposing waiting on people constructs a relation of coloniality where one side can set the social value of the other's time. Then and now, in a global capitalist world system, less valuable time is easily exploitable, thus Khosravi claims, that by making migrants wait, their workforce is made exploitable. Controlling and managing time is the fundament for capitalism to function. Well described, the invention of the clock and the social contraction of general recognised ‘clock time’ only enabled industrial capitalism. And till today are worker struggles often struggles around time, as in line with Marx, the surplus is extracted from exploiting the workers' time (Jürgens, 2007). Thus, in capitalism, time is valuable and productive and waiting here is nothing else than losing time. In this context Khosravi's (2019) conceptualisation of imposed waiting as stealing time is fruitful. The border regimes turn the migrant's time into “waste time” which then can be easily exploited; thus waste time means stolen time. “Temporal bordering constitutes an army of reserve labour, whose time is regarded as surplus and wasted and therefore easily depreciated” (p.420). But waiting does not have only economic consequences, life in waiting is experienced differently, and it influences the perception of the past, present, and future. “The future is not a section of a linear timeline, which will come after the present, but rather is in a constant dialectical relation with the present” (Khosravi, 2021b, p. 206). Bandak and Janeja (2018) describe waiting as a ‘not yet’ of a particularly awaited future, as the not-yet come, present, and future dialectical reproducing the waited time. Khosravi (2021b) conceptualises waiting as a state of consciousness where acts, feelings, and thoughts are directed toward the emancipated event. For Gasparis (1995) waiting works “both as a gap and as a link between present and future” (p.3).

The difference in how people experience their waiting time is connected to agency, to which extent people can act upon and resist their waiting. Uncertainty and ignorance of the rules of the waiting are drastically reducing agency. Scholars have investigated the different modes of waiting, where the nature of the waiting shape if it felt as empty/passive waiting or as equipped/active waiting (Hage, 2009; Janeja & Bandak, 2018). In daily life, the different modes of waiting overlap, and usually people live in an entanglement of waiting, with different capacities of acting upon it (Hage, 2018).

Waiting can only be successfully imposed when it is connected simultaneously to distribution on hope. Hope has analytical use, like “politised waiting” (Yimer et al., 2020, min. 14) is unequally forced

on people, social hope is unequally distributed. Hage (2004) conceptualises the dimension of social hope as a way of governing. Social hope is thereby, not individual hope but collective hope. When politics create the possibility to hope for upwards social mobility, but only for certain groups, excluding others. Making people wait but simultaneously giving them social hope to endure, is thus an effective way of exercising power (Khosravi, 2017). On an affective level waiting and hoping share similar characteristics. Cognition blurs waiting and hoping into one. Already Bloch (1995) defined hope equally to waiting as the “not yet”. And in fact, is the process of waiting always as well a process of hoping. Especially if the waiting is directed toward an event in the future that has not happened but is hoped and waited to occur (Kleist & Thorsen, 2016). The anticipation of the future, as an individual or collective imaginary, is an important component of hope. Especially migration projects are often influenced by the successful experience of peers, collective imaginaries, and the personal hope of achieving a similar success experience (Kleist, 2016). Hope is transnationally distributed unequally, in some states, such as Senegal or Morocco, where the political and economic situation crisis are felt as an everlasting crisis and the state is not willing and able to provide hope for social mobility. Whereas in other states, such as Spain, crises, such as the economic crisis in 2008, are felt temporal, social hope endure even in situation of suffering and stress (Hernández-Carretero, 2016).

“Waiting is not a static condition but rather a process and a practice. Waiting as wakeful navigation through material struggles in the present and ‘directing one’s mind toward’ the not-yet is a daily practice” (Khosravi, 2021a, p. 206). This thesis analyses the daily practices of waiting in irregularity in El Ejido, southern Spain. Using waiting as an analytical lens allows to combine processes of exerting state violence, belonging, inclusion, exclusion, exploitation, and resistance. I argue that imposing waiting on migrant workers renders their time invaluable, and functions to assign them to live in a realm of ‘inclusive exclusion’. I refer to Hage (2004), who conceptualised inclusive exclusion as capitalist exploitation. People are excluded not because the system does not need or want the person, but the exclusion is included in the capitalist society, in order to exploit their workforce. This exclusion in El Ejido has different faces, it is spatial segregation, is it labour exploitation, and a complete social, political and cultural preclusion.

Methodology and method

This thesis is based on ethnographic fieldwork through qualitative interviews, and enhance with ethnographic observation, done in El Ejido and Las Norias during an internship with the third sector organisation CEPAIM. During attaining hours, they support with bureaucratic paperwork mainly for getting the health card. In informal settlements they try to satisfy basic material needs, such as clothing, food, tools, etc. and they mediate in the housing conflicts, mainly with (Spanish) property owners and (migrant) occupants. Before starting the fieldwork - and throughout the whole research project - I was reflecting about positionality, epistemological violence, and the (Re)Production of categories. Genova (2002) wrote that migration studies are unavoidably (re)producing categories like ‘illegal’, ‘work migrants’, ‘refugee’ etc. when writing about them. The deconstructivist perspective points out that in order to deconstruct categories, scholars have to lay them first open in their functions and discourses. Therefore, using categories is forcibly necessary, but in need to be combined with a critical reflection on their functionality and instrumentalisation. Similar scholars should be cautious when only focusing on migrants. As an artificial dichotomy between migrants and normal/autochthonous gets established, losing sight of other social processes within the society. Khosravi (2020, 2021a, 2021b) is asking the same questions when figuring out how to conceptualise

migrants' waiting without essentialising and victimising their experience. Thereby producing another dichotomy between the perceived normal person and migrant, especially in a topic like waiting which is a universal phenomenon.

Research with vulnerabilised individuals, in this case irregularised, has its special challenges (Shaw et al., 2020). Genova (2002) warns that describing the reality of irregularised staying migrants with the purpose just to describe it, first runs into naive empiricism, failing to highlight the functionality and connect it to bigger structures. Such research can be hurtful for the migrants as first the presence of researchers brings visibility and then the once laid open (informal) practices are more easily controlled and punished by the police. The researcher of 'illegal' migration runs here the risk of becoming complicit with the state by revealing illegal practices which develop around illegality. Thus all research about irregular migration has to reflect on political responsibility (Khosravi, 2020).

Another concern was the power and knowledge production dimension. The frame of this thesis and my resources did not allow a participatory approach. Thus, I face the danger of exerting epistemological violence where knowledge *over* non white people is created from a white person within the protected sphere of a western university, and participants are excluded from the process (Santos, 2016). Additionally, my participants would not be recompensated for sharing their knowledge and experience with me.

Finally, I used the situated knowledge approach from Haraway (1988) and her appeal to the researcher to be aware of its power position and clearly start from there, having in mind that all knowledge is partial and can't be objective. This positionality includes my position as a researcher on different power levels. These enfold being female, white, with a strong passport and sufficient cultural and financial capital. Additional being introducing to my participants as part of CEPAIM, a white non profit organisation, from the 'helpers' site. But it includes as well my political positions in the world, having received a left, feminist education and being engaged in civil society fight against Europe's migration regime.

To manoeuvre my discerns of doing interviews with the migrant working population in El Ejido and still go on with my interest in it, I took two decisions. The study should be directed towards people who have worked or are still working in the agriculture economy in El Ejido and had arrived without papers and waited the needed three years, but nowadays have a stable formal situation. Second, questions will ask about their personal experience in a way that offers the participant the choice to tell what they consider relevant. This increases the likelihood that the participants will feel positive about the interview, even without material compensation, as Wolgemuth (2015) shows that participants feel who can speak about important issues for themselves. I asked my coworkers to put me in connection with people from my target group, yet the participants I found in the end, expect of one, had not yet received their temporal residency but their applications were in process. Minding Genova's warning of "naive empiricism" (Nicholas P. De Genova, 2002), I decided anyway to go forward with the interviews, adapting the questions. Afterwards the participants got anonymised and the illegal practices they described to me, first were common and known for example to the social workers, thus reducing the risk that the paper will reveal relevant information for the police. Second, I will not only describe the practices in the sake of the description but in order to name the system who is producing the irregularity and benefiting from the labour exploitation.

Through work colleges, I got introduced to two of my participants Hamza, Mourad and Yusra. While I clearly communicated the interview to be a personal favour, both formulated during the interviews

affection and gratefulness for my work colleges and considered the interview a chance to give something back to CEPAIM. Yahya and Khalid were personal friends of Hamza but had participated in cultural and linguistic programs from CEPAIM before. Mourad lived in a CEPAIM-run accommodation for humanitarian reception, hence was the closest related to CEPAIM at that moment. Kristensen and Ravn (2015) highlight that the recruitment process as much as the research's topic predetermine which voices will be heard and whose will be left unheard. In course of this recruitment process it needs considering that I have only spoken to people who did an active step of reaching out to CEPAIM and are through attendance to classes or social activities connected to the organisation. That my participants have reached out to CEPAIM, first shows that they care about getting in contact with a mainly Spanish third sector organisation. This could be because they need it to support their paperwork or that by taking part in cultural events or languages it might be beneficial for their regulation process. As is the gather proof of their will and level of cultural integration (Chauvin & Garcés-Masareñas, 2012). Additionally, it means that they possess the capital, in terms of knowledge, language, transport, etc. to go into contact with the organisation.

For the interview style, I chose a mix of a narrative biographical in a semi-structured format. Following Scheibelhofer's (2008) description that when combining both formats it is possible to have the advantages of both. The narrative interview allows the participants to choose which story to tell and how to tell it. Adding the semi-structured part, allows then the researcher to ask further questions on relevant remarques of the narrative part. From a postcolonial and feminist perspective is that method promising as it can serve to create a platform for understanding the experience of people whose sense-making was and is still marginalised. Thus, the interview started with an open formulated invitation to the participant the tell their experience in Spain, with a focus on how they felt and experienced their waiting time. After the narrating part, there have been prepared open formulated questions, which I tried to connect to already mentioned topoi. As another consequence of my recruitment process and the non-existent financial resources for interpreters, the language barrier was the biggest obstacle during the interviews. I thought that most probably we will find a common base, as I speak some French and Standard Arabic, but none of my participants could speak French, two had Amazigh as their mother tongue so speaking standard Arabic also wasn't an option we could take. The result was that in three interviews, I was able to follow my initial idea and ask the more narrating questions, whereas the two other interviews were more conversational, where I needed to ask much more specific and determining questions as I intended to do. This support Scheibelhofers (2008) discernment that the narrating interview is challenging especially if the interview is not done in the mother tongue. Drawing on Dales and Tanu (2016) the issue of the researcher's language proficiency has important implications. They stress that it is more fruitful to leave the dualistic mother tongue, not mother tongue scheme and instead concentrate on the (perceived) fluency of language from the researcher. This perceived fluency will influence the relations and interactions during an interview. As they describe fluency can be perceived as racialised, or gendered, and influences the negotiation processes on insider and outsider positions. For example, speaking local dialects assumes familiarity with the cultural environment as well, as dialect usually are learned in repeating daily interactions over a longer period. In the case of my interviews, Spanish was a foreign language to both parties. In difference to the Andalusian way of speaking, I spoke slower and more pronounced and shared learning efforts, gave us a shared topic of which to start a conversation.

I also applied an intercessional lens to this study. Based on Crenshaw's (1991) work, that made clear that when different oppressions intersect within one person, or a social group they create new

dynamics that are not simply adding to each other but are in need to be understood combined. This study focuses on the intercategory approach, as developed by McCall (2005), as it will analyse how different intersections of categories such as gender, race, or class influence and shape inequities between one social groups. While the logic of intersectionality is comprehensible and widely recognised, Windsong (2018) points out that translating it into research design is more complicated and less written about. The challenge to translate an academic concept into day-to-day language is not easy to come by. When asked directly, participants may spontaneously react, based on their individual understanding of race or gender that not automatically goes in line with the academic concepts. I formulated my two intersection questions according to Windsong's recommendation as following: "What did it mean for you having done that experience as [gender] and [ethnicity]?" and one less personal: "Do you think the waiting process is the same for men and women?"

After the interviews, I made the transcript and then clustered them into different topics and subtopics. In the analyses part their described waiting experiences was conceptualised with different theories, always with the focus point on what consequences and functionality it has that their time is made less valuable. The transcripts remained in Spanish, whilst citations in the text were translated into English. But to maintain and comprehend their personal way of speaking, outstanding citations are provided in English as in the original Spanish version.

Hamza, Yahya, Yusra, Khalid and Mourad. That all of them are young and from Morocco is not accidental. Even though my recruitment process was open to all ages, genders, and nationalities. This was a consequence of the demographics, as shown above in El Ejido (and Las Norias), as male Moroccans constitute the biggest migrant community (Foro-Ciudad.com, 2022; Parilla Maldonado, 2021). Additionally the social worker I was in contact with was Moroccan origin and mainly attending to Moroccans, therefore greatly impacting the chance that they only introduce me to Moroccans.

Migration and agriculture nexus between Morocco and Spain

"A radical historicisation shows that bordering and border practices are in a sense colonial practices" (Khosravi, 2019, p. 422).

Analysing the migration and agriculture nexus between Spain and Morocco reveal the historic and present pattern, in which my participants undertook their migration journeys. Additionally, it illustrates colonial continuities, imbedding Khosravi's reminder that bordering practices equal colonial practices. Spain and Morocco have historically gone through different periods. From the era of Al Andalus and the Muslim Amazigh reign in Spain, to the expulsion of the Jews and Moriscos from Spain, from whom many went to Morocco, to the colonial protectorate in Northern Morocco and the ongoing conflict in West Sahara, to the since the 1990s ongoing migration from Morocco to Spain (Stenner, 2019). Depending on the approach the borders can be understood as separating Europe or Africa, or as encounter space, able to bring people together and dissolve dichotomies (Arigita, 2019). Southern Spain has hereby a particular situation, as it unites the 'orient' with the 'occident' and highlight the influences and coexistence, more than repeating the created separateness. But in modern catholic Spain, most influences and inheritances from the history of 600 years of Al-Andalus got politically suppressed or ignored (Arigita, 2019). After Spain entered the EU in 1986, for harmonising legislation, Spain was encouraged to apply strict migration laws. Moroccans, in the 1990s the biggest migrations community, were heavily affected (Moreno Fuentes, 2005). Discursive practices reused old prejudices and stereotypes, portraying Moroccans as 'the moor' the barbaric cultural Other, unable to integrate into (Christian) society, the depicted endless enemy, symbolising

threat of an “invasion”. Once instrumentalised to justify the expulsion of the Moriscos, they serve to create a picture of the unwanted migrant (Soyer, 2013). The public negative opinion of Moroccan migrants reflects these discourses (Moreno Fuentes, 2005).

As the southern Spanish borders, with the entry into the EU, had become a European border, Spain became the watchdog of this border. With the support of the EU, the land borders at Ceuta and Melilla and the sea areas became heavily securitised, monitored, and racialised (Gross-Wyrtzen & Gazzotti, 2021). Further due to the linkage of migration governance with cooperation or development agreements the EU and Spain began to negotiate the externalisation of border control (Panizzon & van Riemsdijk, 2019). With the result that Morocco in 2003 adopted very restrictive migration policies, including detention and deportation, encouraging traditional form of racism toward black populations (El Hamel, 2012; Gross-Wyrtzen & Gazzotti, 2021). Morocco is thereby balancing its interests of better relations with the EU (and funds), thereby obtaining political power to maintain the ongoing occupation of the West Sahara, and its dependence on remittances from Moroccan living abroad. Additionally, Morocco is using its role as the border police as a bargaining advantage, as other economic interests are on the table, such as the rights and limitation of the fishery, the control of the hashish smuggle, and concurrence in agriculture (Moreno Fuentes, 2005).

In the following paragraph, I will shed light on the facet on Spain and Morocco and the agriculture (and migration) nexus. To find Khosravi’s (2019) pattern of colonial practices repeated and showing how historically and structurally migrants' time is made exploitable already much longer before they set a foot in Almeria’s plastic ocean. These colonial practices proceed by: Unearthing, unsettling, and walling. Tricking access to natives' land, where they exploited natural resources and rendered traditional livelihoods impossible. Robbed of their livelihood and eventually their lands, natives accept employment as cheap unskilled labour in the factory.³ In Morocco, this story is told through the history of the French and Spanish protectorates, neoliberal private and state actors, geographic conditions, and people's mobility. In 1912 Morocco was divided into a French and a Spanish protectorate. The French colonial administration tried first to functionalise Morocco as the granary for France but then changed the focus to fruit and vegetables, to create ‘blossoming orchards’ for France. The so-designed agriculture was geared to the export of certain products, generated an intensive agroindustry models based on irrigation. To have access to the fertile land, indigenous populations were resettled, and the land was given to the *Colons*. After the Moroccan independence, the Monarchy did not change this orientation and agriculture kept being directed to export. Additionally, the taken land was mostly not returned but given to the rich elite or rendered into state property (Akesbi, 2014; Barbesgaard & Fold, 2014; Mahdi, 2014; Nieto, 2014; Sippel, 2014, 2017). The neoliberal opening of the Moroccan local agriculture to the world markets, damage further agriculture directed to self-sufficiency. But Morocco could gained privileged access to the European market, mainly for counter-seasonal products, like tomatoes, strawberries, and citrus fruits. The main beneficiaries of the expanding greenhouse agroindustry are upper-class Moroccans and European investors. The latter primarily from Europe’s agroindustry regions, exporting their business models, in search of further wage dumping (Sippel, 2014, 2017). Interestingly by having the same business models Spain is competing with Morocco in the same specific food markets. For example

³ Khosravi exemplifies the process on the Bakhtary region, in the Borderlands between Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan and British oil companies.

regulations for the entrances of Moroccan tomatoes into the EU market are heavily influenced and limited by Spain as the driving force (Sippel, 2017).

Sippel (2014) exemplifies on the Souss region how the development of agroindustry rendered traditional agriculture impossible, and by destroying livelihoods created cheap labour that is now employed in the greenhouses. The Souss region, close to Agadir, was characterised by its good water supply and fertile land. Already the French had started their export-orientated agriculture in the 1930s there. But at the end of the 1990s through the extensive use of water from the agroindustry, made possible by a corrupt and unsustainable water management, the groundwater declined from 5m. to nowadays 300m. Consequently, the wells of small landowners went dry, forcing them to look for other incomes. Conversely, the agroindustry had the financial capital to build expensive water pumps and keep until today exploiting the water. The peasants have now rather the option to migrate or to get employed in the agroindustry. While the specific economic and social circumstances vary in the different regions of Morocco these processes are what Khosravi (2019) described, in a more neo-liberal capitalist context though. The capitalist agents grab the land and destroy the traditional incomes. Thereby rendering the time of the people invaluable, with the goal to cheaply exploit their workforce. The development of rendering the time of the indigenous/colonial subject less valuable started with the colonial land grabbing and continued with the exploitation of natural resources from the capitalist agroindustry. The greenhouses in Almeria are like the agroindustry in Morocco, just another 'factory' employing the persons as cheap and unskilled workers. The structural consequences led to different social patterns, such as internal migration from rural to urban areas, and establishing certain transnational migration routes like the one to Spain. By growing up in Morocco and moving in between these patterns, the consequences are drastic for all my participants.

Analyse part 1 – Stolen time

"Always thinking about the future. If one doesn't arrange the papers, how am I going to do? And I have a long time, four years, three years, without knowing this. You know? Three years waiting is not easy".

"Siempre pensando en el futuro. ¿Si no arreglar los papeles como voy a hacer? Y yo mucho tiempo, cuatro años, tres años, sin saber esto. ¿Sabes? Tres años esperar no es fácil" (Yahya, 2022).

Introduction: The social background of the participants

Including the country of origin is necessary to understand the decisions and motivations of my participants to migrate on the micro, macro, and meso level. The social conditions in Morocco are not only reasons for my participants to leave, but as well are they reasons why not to return - despite the hardships they are going through. For Hage (2004) physical mobility resolves out of a feeling of stuckness, of not moving forward in the place one is living in. This social and economic immobility triggers a yearning for physical mobility resulting in migration. This mobility in Morocco is as well socially constructed. The imaginary of successful migration is perceived as the only possibility for social improvement for the lower and middle classes (El Miri, 2014). El Miri (2014) describes the different clandestine migration journeys from Morocco to Europe. The middle class has often, likewise the lower classes, no legal way of migrating, yet their journeys are characterised by (family) support in the country of destination, or financial capital, for instance for false papers. Additionally,

often their goal is a permanent stay in Europe. These journeys are invisible and tolerated in the public other than the *harraga*⁴, the way for the poor to migrate, without a social network, to the geographically closest: Spain, on *patera* - via boat. These migration roads, especially via a pirogue (a wooden boat) and left alone close to the coast of Spain, are the images that enters into media and public discourse (El Miri, 2014).

From my participants only Hamza comes from an urban background, the others have rural origins. Khalid comes from a small village two hours from Marrakesh, where his parents have some fields. Yusra and Yahya are ethnically Amazigh, a people who has been struggling with colonial processes and power structures since the Muslim conquest in the 9th century. Yahya comes from a shepherding and pastoral family background, in the desert mountains of Merzouga. His family members migrated in various ways, either to the next village, to bigger cities or internationally, like Yahya himself. Yusra as well is Amazigh, born in the High Atlas. Divorced with a young child, migration to Spain offered her a way out of the conservative environment. My participants lacked the capital and the supportive networks for a safe middle-class migration. Yusra, by using gendered recruitment policies, was the only one entering Spain legally. Mourad climbed over the barbed wired fence and crossed the securitised and armed border zone to Melilla. Yahya hold out outside the harbour of Nador, until finally he found the awaited opportunity and crossed, hidden underneath a big truck, on a ferry to Mostriil. Khalid and Hamza came by *patera*, crossing the Mediterranean, risking to drown. As described by Miri these are the migration route, visibilised and easily controllable by the police. Exemplified by the report of Khalid, rescued by the police, registered but then discharged to the streets (El Miri, 2014).

1. Waiting for the future

“The future I have, when I take, get hold on the papers”

“El futuro tengo cuando saca, coge el papel” (Khalid, 2022).

My participants are in the legal procedure of applying for a year's temporal residence in Spain. While Hamza, Khalid, and Yahya never had a residency permit, Mourad had a residence of one year, given to him when he turned 18, but that expired three years ago, similar to Yusra, who overstayed her working visa. The three to five years, they have lived in Spain, they have been waiting for their papers to regularise their stay. The future and the present are hereby in a dialectical relation. Where the real future, the time where one can start living, when wishes and joy and planning are possible, will start after the moment of “winning” (Yahya, 2022) the paper. The “not yet” is dialectically reproduced with the present: All present thought and concerns are directed toward the happening of this one event (Bandak & Manpreet K. Janeja, 2018). Self-realisation is likewise postponed to the anticipated future. Then afterwards, real life will start, in Mourad's words after getting the residence, “I think I have a new life, having a baby, working. Just like everybody else” (Mourad, 2022). In the waiting time, suffering is accepted. “You've been waiting for three years to endure, to suffer. Suffering like this for three years” (Yahya, 2022). Fighting for one's own rights equally is postponed. “...[f]eeling of boredom... But you have to work until things get fixed. I can't change now, neither the work nor anything else. Until the ID is finished” (Khalid, 2022). The waiting time is the like Gasparini (1995) described a “gap”, a blank space, in their life projects.

⁴ Arabic for: to burn. As one practice is to burn identification papers before the journey.

As I was doing my research in Spanish, the verb ‘esperar’ means to wait and to hope and is commonly used when relating to both phenomena ‘la esperanza’ (hope) y ‘la espera’ (waiting). Often it is only the listener's interpretation if the verb is referring more to hope or to waiting. This linguistic phenomenon illustrates, how already described, that waiting involves hope. "In Morocco, you are waiting/hoping for nothing, there is no future, yet when you enter Melilla or Spain, there is something you can hope/wait for" (Mourad, 2022). As conceptualised, for Mourad the possibility for hope is spatially different. In Morocco Mourad is excluded from hope for social mobility, but in Spain, he can preserve his hope for the imagined and anticipated better future. Similar Hamza, who invested a lot in his journey, and thus does not see hope in return. "For what go back? If you have left everything, to go back you need - you go back there after six years or more, to do something, to work. Yes, I am better here, quietly" (Hamza, 2022). The importance of affect and sense is likewise seen when asked about the main difficulty during their waiting time, where all my participants name loneliness and being outside of family networks. Even when the geographic distance between southern Spain and Morocco is just two hours by ferry, their irregularised status makes a visit impossible thus, the young people spend all these years without being able to see their loved ones. "You have to think about the family, I always have to think of the family" (Yahya, 2022). While the separateness from the family is the biggest emotional burden, it also functions as motivation. "Yeah, I keep up more, when thinking about my mother and my father waiting for me. [...] Because it's both of them for whom I can leave the whole world. I have in my heart only my father and my mother" (Hamza, 2022). My participants state that during calls with the family, the papers would be the top topic to talk about. The social pressure to be successful in their migration journey is reproduced by the family always asking for the state of the papers. That leads to them concealing their real life and working conditions, in order not to worry their families.

"When, for example, because my mother doesn't like to pick up the phone, online always, more every 10 or 15 days, she calls, hello how are you, what's up. Without wanting to, she asks me what are you doing with the papers, ... I need always when I talk to them - happy - saying all good, I'm already working, all good, just for them".

"Cuando, por ejemplo, porque a mi madre no le gusta coger el móvil, online siempre, mas 10 o 15 días llama, hola como estas, que tal. Sin querer, me pregunta qué haz con los papeles, ... Necesito siempre cuando hablar con ellos – feliz- que dice todo bien, ya estoy trabajando, todo bien, solo para ellos" (Hamza, 2022).

The focus on the future, the gaining the paper moment, is combined with the stressful uncertainty of what might happen if they can't meet the conditions or get refused and hence the waiting time will continue. The daily practices of waiting "directing the mind toward the not-yet" (Khosravi, 2019, 206) is embedded in their struggle to survive in the hostile environment.

"Me alone, in a bed in a house, without the food, no. Very, very much. Always doctor, always - [*gesture of pain, and that her heart was closed*]. I with friends, work, I work, the head, to work to sleep. No work no sleep, always talking to the family, having the papers, not having the papers. Having money, don't having money, much trouble"

"Yo sola, en una cama en una casa, sin la comida, no. Mucho, mucho? Siempre médico, siempre - [*gesture of pain, and that her heart was closed*]. Yo amigos trabajar, yo trabajar, la cabeza, a trabajar dormir. No trabajar no dormir, siempre de hablar gente de la familia, tiene papel, no tiene papel. Tiene dinero, no tiene dinero mucho problema" (Yusra, 2022).

But they trust that Spain will offer them upward mobility. This trust and certainty proves that social hope is distributed to them as well and thereby functioning as a powerful source for persistence. "I always ask for little, little upwards. Little by little" (Yusra, 2022).

2. Waiting in irregularity – the moral economy of deservingness

In 2004 the *arraigo social* was introduced for irregularised persons in outstanding conditions of social integration as a channel for regularisation. But it shifted its meaning more to tackle the informal economy by normalising work relations. Today it is considered the only way of getting a permit for third nationals without close family or partners in Spain, no considerable financial capital, or with no chance for asylum or humanitarian protection. The conditions in which the migrants are waiting blur between inclusion and exclusion. Through the register in the municipality, the *padrón*, and the health, they have access to basic health care and education but still, they live in a continuous state of deportability, with no access to political or economic rights (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2012).

Scholars talk about the "moral economy" (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2014, p. 423) of deservingness, which influences migrants' chances of being accepted legally and socially in western societies. This economy works differently depending on the legislations and relevant discourses. For instance asylum seekers perform their victimhood, gaining so deservingness based on vulnerability. Others stress their cultural closeness, as in Spain Latin Americans, and in hope of receiving other treatment. Like described, in Spain Moroccans had to stand different discourses of othering, which had discursively constructed them as the most unwanted migrants (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2012; Moreno Fuentes, 2005). Hence Moroccans are left increasing their deservingness through economic performance. Time plays here a crucial role, the Spanish migration laws reward irregularity, as the deservingness for regularisation raises with the time spent in irregularity (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2014). That their deservingness and acceptance only go over work seems to be internalised by my participants, in the words of Mourad: "If you come here to Spain, you have to look for work, and reach your dreams and that's it. There are a lot of things to look for to make our future and to endure. Three years go fast, seven years go fast" (Mourad, 2022). The performing of deservingness is closely connected to citizenship status and the social construction of who constitutes a 'citizen' in distinction to a 'non-citizen'. Beyond the legal dimension, discourses on the construction of ideas of the good and the bad migrant play a role (Anderson, 2015). Mourad and Hamza actively distinguish themselves from the picture of the criminal, bogus migrant, coming to steal and taking advantage of the state without contributing. "A lot of people come here who don't work, a lot of people commit delinquency, frequently steal, a lot of things, and I don't think that's okay" (Mourad, 2022). "Some people just like to do drugs, drinking, gambling, stealing. Always not doing anything useful in life. There are a lot of people, but if you listen to them, surely you will be lost. I still don't listen" (Hamza, 2022). Even though, their self-portraiture as working and rule-abiding has to be seen in connection with my position. That I speak to them as a perceived representative of CEPAIM and that third sector organisations in Spain work very much according to the image of the adaptable, accepting, and hard-working migrant.

Social, legal, or economic conditions frame the personal experience of waiting, as they allow or restrict agency and resistance and the extent people can act upon their waiting. In the context of El Ejido, the regulation of the *arraigo social* produce a waiting time that is out of the control of the migrants. But during the waiting period, they have agency, moreover they are forced to develop agency in order to meet the regulations which include obtaining the *padrón* and a one-year work contract. These processes again imply waiting, but a '*waiting to*' in which they create and practice the needed agency. The waiting time, is a waiting to: Waiting to have all the regulations, "before I had an idea, it's better here and I can come here and live very well, but I've been here and every day something different appears" (Yahya, 2022). Once the *padrón* and finding a job are achieved, it turns into a '*waiting for*' the time to pass, and after the application for the result to come. The bureaucracy

takes time, and the months (up to six) where the request is processed, raise the level of uncertainty and anxiety and decline the agency as the decision is completely beyond any control (Bandak & Manpreet K. Janeja, 2018). In the next two paragraphs, I describe how my participants wait and act for the moment they can apply for the *arraigo social*. This period is characterised by their efforts to make them more desirable by meeting the conditions, mainly registering in the municipality, and finding a work contract.

3. Register in the municipality or housing in informal settlements

The village of Las Norias is right in the middle of greenhouses and because it therefor offers proximity to the workplace many migrants workers settled in Las Norias. Over time segregation led autochthones Spanish to leave las Norias and especially Moroccans stayed, establishing their businesses. Like the visually dominant two lingual signs prove (Arabic/Spanish) and the social workers as well stated, the majority of the inhabitants of las Norias are not Spanish-born. As a reaction to the racialized and scarce housing market, subcontracting inadequate housing is common and in the surrounding of las Norias, many people live in *cortijos*, run-down farms houses next to the greenhouses, or in *chabolas*, self-build structures (Martínez Goytre et al., 2022). “I live outside in the *cortijos*, you don't have the live good” (Khalid, 2022).

“[B]ecause where you live now, no one can live. There are people who just hold on to have papers. Because there is no water, there are not many things, just an example, there is neighbourhood, 20 houses or something, but here they are going to add, here they are going to add, here they are going to add, here they are going to add, very dirty. You can think it doesn't work, you know?”

“[P]or que donde vives ahora, ningún puede vivir. Hay gente que solamente aguantar para tener papeles, porque no hay agua, no hay muchas cosas, solo un ejemplo, hay barrio, 20 casas o algo, pero aquí van a añadir, aquí van a añadir, aquí van a añadir, muy sucio. ¿Tú puedes pensar no funcionar, sabe?” (Hamza, 2022).

The individuals I spoke to during my internship had entered *chabolas* or *cortijos* rather for reasons of proximity to the workplace or through their social networks, as the only opportunity for them to find affordable housing. And even after years and with some financial resources it is impossible for some to find formal housing in El Ejido. “All house owners tell you, papers are missing, the payslip, the report of the working life, I have nothing, renting is more expensive” (Khalid, 2022). Khalid is describing racist practices, supported by the findings of the mentioned reports (Martínez Goytre et al., 2022). While Yahya managed to leave the *cortijo* he lived at and now has adequate housing, Hamza, like Khalid, is still living in a *cortijo* outside of Las Norias. Yusra who as well spent a year in a *cortijo* in Santa Maria, now is jumping from house to house. The risk for their health and the spacial segregation of these housing in itself is challenging but it is even more difficult as it is an enormous obstacle in applying for the *padrón* – a bureaucratic step needed for the *arraigo*. The *padrón* as population register is an old tool of population politics in Spain. People can register even without a residence permit locally in the municipality to gain basic access to health and education (García-Juan, 2021). To obtain the *padrón* the person solely must identify themselves and prove their housing through the title of ownership, rent contract, payslip, water or electricity bill, etc. Article 3.2 points out, that when a person wants to register in an address where already someone else is registered, the registered person has to accompany them and confirm the living situation. Article 3.3 assures that as well inadequate housing (as *chabolas* or *cortijos*) serves for the registration, with the precondition that the social services are aware and in contact (Sec. 1. Pág. 25378, 2015).

Even when the regulation for the *padrón* should be consistent throughout Spain, different municipalities apply practices impeding and delaying the process. Some municipalities are demanding a minimum stay of six months before being able to register for the *Padrón*, others allow the *padrón* from the first day. The different requirements are all too well known to my participants. “If you want the *padrón* in Las Norias, wait a year to arrange papers, it's a long time, isn't it? Agua Dulce [*other village*] takes a month” (Yusra, 2022). “In El Ejido, in Las Norias they ask the *padrón* for the last year. There are different Almeria has six months, Roquetas [*other village*] also six, no Almeria doesn't have six months or whatsoever” (Yahya, 2022). Additionally in all of El Ejido the authorities come and check, both if the person is really living at the address, stated in the application, and if the housing offers minimal living standards, like running water, heating, etc.. The authorities control officially to fight trafficking, but it is putting the irregularised migrants in an elusive situation. “If you don't have a house, which counts for the empadronamiento. Always a bed, a house for the empadronamiento only” (Yusra, 2022). As always when legal paths are restricted or foreclosed to people, illegal, mostly more expensive roads, open (Nicholas P. De Genova, 2002). Thus, the migrant workers have no other possibilities but to buy the *padrón* – none of my four participants could get the *padrón* through the regular way. “[A] house, a Moroccan has a house, you want empadronamiento. I took money for the empadronamiento” (Yusra, 2022). How long the patron could take or how much it will cost the migrant depend much on their different networks and cultural capital.

“How? If you don't have family to help you, very difficult. And you are going to buy [the *padrón*], you know people who buy, some people who buy a house [...], there are people who buy the house and want every month for the bank. When you don't have money or if you are not working, you have to find a way to get money.”

“Como? Si no tiene familia que te ayuda, muy difícil. Y vas a comprar [el *padrón*], sabe la gente que compra, alguna persona que compra una casa, y hay gente que compra la casa y quiere cada mes para el banco. Si no tienes dinero o si no estás trabajando, tienes que buscar una manera para sacar dinero” (Yahya, 2022).

Yahya was able to get a patron through a supportive Spanish network from an organisation. Yusra as well as Hamza had several attempts getting the *padrón*. Khalid went through the most difficulties: The first person he paid let him down, and in his second attempt he missed the visit of the civil guard because he was not home at this moment, then he paid a Moroccan lady, and he spent five entire months inside, only waiting for the control to arrive.

I had a very hard time. Always ... very bad. Always nervous, always waiting for the police. The people who live there ... they always go out, I don't go out, it looks like I'm in jail, but jail for me alone. When I wanted to go out [I wait] until the woman or his children come and for them to go, take a walk, so that they can see that he lives here. In the end, the police didn't come, ... for four months the police didn't come to ask. In the end, the woman left the house, and she said that the guy who lives in the house for five months, doesn't leave the house, at night or during the day. They say that, the police can come and only ask the neighbours. I don't know if the police came or not. I'm still in the house, they don't come to ask in the house, nor the neighbours. They don't come. Then the woman says to me, you have to pay the paper, I don't know what, the bank, then she says in 20 minutes we are going to take it out.

Pasa muy mal. Siempre ... pasa muy mal. Siempre nervioso, siempre esperar la policía. La gente que vive ahí ... siempre ellos salen yo no sale, parece que está en el cárcel, pero cárcel para mí solo. Cuando quería salir [espero] hasta que viene la mujer o sus niños y para ellos salen de ahí, darle la vuelta para que vean que él vive aquí. Al final no vinieron el policía, ... por cuatro meses la policía no vine preguntar. Al final me marchó la mujer de la casa, y ha dicho que el muchacho que vive en la casa cinco meses, no sale de la casa, por la noche por la día, ellos dicen que, puede venir la policía y solo preguntar solo los vecinos. Yo no sabe si policía vine o no vengo. Sigo yo

estoy en la casa, no vienen a preguntar en la casa, no los vecinos. Ellos no vienen. Luego me dice la mujer Hay que pagar el papel, no sé de qué, el banco, luego dice en 20 minutos vamos a sacarla (Khalid, 2022).

The time and money invested in getting the *padrón* change with my participants' resources. Yahya had his *padrón* issued on the house of a Spanish lady. Her time was perceived valuable, so she could take him just once to the authorities and clear all matters. For Khalid, Hamza and Yusra the waiting for the *padrón* turned out to be more time and resource intensive. Khalid spent five months in a state of continuous alert and uncertainty, influencing his health. The unlawful practices applied by the municipalities function to impede and complicate the daily life of migrants. Not accepting *cortijos* and *chabolas* for the *padrón*, but in the same moment, not reacting and tracing racism in the housing market or offering better housing to migrants, can be conceptualised as institutional bordering practices. Together with the temporal bordering processes, requiring an (unlawful) minimum stay of housing in the city or by prolonging the procedures, migrants are shown over and over again that they don't belong and are not welcome (Balibar, 2002).

4. Working in irregularity

“But most of them, who work with the same boss, do it to win the contract. Because if you work with someone else, in the end you don't get the contract. What matters is the contract, working for the contract. If there is less, if there is a lot, you won't think about it”

“Pero la mayoría, que trabajan con la misma jefe, para puede ganar el contrato. Porque si es trabajo con otra, al final no encuentras el contrato. Es lo que importa es el contrato, trabajar por el contrato. Si hay menos, si hay mucho, no vas a pensar en ese” (Yahya, 2022).

Another difficulty that rendered my participants time very exploitable is the condition that to register for the arraigo social they need a one-year work contract. In Spain, the institutionalisation of irregularity creates the paradox that migrants in order to make themselves more deserving for future regularisation have to visibilise their irregular stay. So, they need to gather proof of their stay and proof of their willingness to integrate. And, on top of this, the required one-year work contract makes it necessary for them to have previously worked irregularly (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2012).

Work is seasonal in agriculture, during the high season, more workforce is needed, but during the low season when most greenhouses stay empty, there are fewer job opportunities. And even in the high season, the work is very precarious and flexible, as it could be that during one week for sowing, harvesting, or cleaning the demand is higher besides when the crops are growing for themselves it is less. Seasonal work is often described as temporal work. In fact, employers mostly give contracts for a few months or less. The seasonal work is frequently done by migrants who are contracted in the form of a temporal migrant contract (TMC), rather through contraction in the country of origin or through different broker organisations. The TMC, follows a classical guest worker principle, restricting the freedom of the people to choose and change their employer, foreclosing access to civil rights and eventual nationalisation paths, directing all energies that the workers leave after their work (Sarkar, 2017). Dauvergne and Marsden (2014) in their text on the “ideology of temporariness” show that the fact that employers have access to labour in exactly the periods they need, without giving serious labour rights and stable employment, is not natural but enabled by different actors and fixed through the “ideology of temporariness”. Revealing that this work, normally considered temporal like construction or agriculture, is not temporal at all but continuous and that often the migrants who do the job are neither temporal but staying permanent. Secondly, the conditions of the

labour markets are not given, but the state is structuring them through regulations and incentives. The above-described gendered recruitment practices of Huelva exemplify the character of such temporal migrant contract and work conditions.

Besides workers officially employed through TMC in agriculture, many are informally hired in the greenhouses (Pumares & Dominique, 2014). In El Ejido there is the described exemplary situation of the existence of a migrant reserve labour army, created through the named temporal bordering practices (Khosravi, 2019). Even when the demand for manual labour in the very work-intensive agriculture is high, it cannot satisfy the supply of migrant workers who arrive. Especially in the first months, lacking social networks, all my participants struggled to find work at all. “If you don't have papers, and I ask if there is work, a thousand times, and they ask do you have papers? No? I am sorry” (Hamza, 2022). Yusra and Yahya reported to have been working for a day, for another week not, and then finding another employer for the next week. “Always on week working, the other week not working” (Yusra, 2022).

“Eight hours working, two hours to get home. I'm working the minimum salary, you know? I work very hard, I work hard, I work in the plant, I work in these and in that. It's many hours, with 35 Euro, almost a minimum. [...] That's how I kept working for almost a year, one week yes, one week no”.

“Ocho horas trabajando trabajando dos horas para llegar a la casa ¿Estoy trabajando el precio mínimo, sabes? Trabajo muy fuerte, saco fuerte, trabajo en la planta, saco eso, saco eso. Es trabajo mucho hora, con un 35 euro casi una mínimo.[...] Así sigue trabajando por casi un año una semana si una semana no” (Yahya, 2022).

Additionally, Veiga (2014) observed that in the 2000s, there was a system that workers would never stay with one employer longer than three weeks, and all human resources were done through brokers so that no personal relation to the employer could be established. While in general, these practices contribute to the replaceability of workers, it is especially influential for my participants, as the biggest challenge for them was to find an employer who would “help them out” and issue the needed work contract. Therefore, they are willing to accept bad working conditions, and “working for the contract”.

“But most of them, who work with the same boss, do it to win the contract. Because if you work with someone else, in the end you don't get the contract. What matters is the contract, working for the contract. If there is less, if there is a lot, you won't think about it”.

“Pero la mayoría, que trabajan con la misma jefe, para puede ganar el contrato. Porque si es trabajo con otra, al final no encuentras el contrato. Es lo que importa es el contrato, trabajar por el contrato. Si hay menos, si hay mucho, no vas a pensar en ese” (Yahya, 2022).

This creates an unequal work relationship between workers with and without papers, who work side by side. “There are some bosses who pay less, who pay the people who have the paper more, but the work is the same. I always don't work the value of a person who has papers here” (Khalid, 2022). While Khalid is referring to the salary which is less for workers without a permit, Hamza is talking about the practices undocumented migrants use to counter their vulnerable situation.

“[H]e [the boss] doesn't pay as if he calls 'arta' [...] You know, when people don't have papers they have less expenses, you understand, and they earn more, because if you don't have papers, you always need to work more, you are always afraid of doing a bad job. If you work with seven people, this seven people have papers and work little, the one who does not have papers is afraid and works more.”

"[E]l no paga como si llama 'arta' [...] Sabe, cuando estoy una gente no tiene papeles es menos gastos, entiende, y gane más, porque si no tienes papeles siempre necesita trabajar más, siempre tiene miedo, si tú haces un trabajo mal. Si tu trabajas con siete personas, este siete persona tiene papeles y trabajan poco, el uno si no tiene papeles tiene miedo y trabaja más (Hamza, 2022).

The strategy is working harder, performing your economic deservingness, with the hope that your boss will recognise you. But in the end, they are at the mercy of the good will of their employer, and like in Khalid's situation, migrants have no way to defend themselves in case of employers are not acting on their word.

"Then I found a boss and worked with him for three years. Then he says, he doesn't have, he doesn't want to give me a contract, he says he has a debt code in the bank, and he can't take out any more. [...] So what's our fault? If we work, he must., I don't know how to explain..." (Khalid, 2022).

"Luego encontró un jefe trabajado con él tres años. Luego él dice, que no tiene, que no quiere darme un contrato, dice que tiene códigos en el banco, y no puede sacar más. [...] ¿Y qué culpa tenemos nosotros? Si nosotros trabajar, tiene que - no sé cómo explicar".

The whole design of the arraigo social is reproducing the condition of coloniality. This is drastically observable in the unequal power relation it constructs toward employers. Where my participants stated gratefulness for their employers, even when being exploited. "I said, I don't want to work, but I want to work with a person to help. He said yes, you are going to work with me, if you can work I will start helping" (Khalid, 2022). This unequal relation is further strengthened by the increased practices of work controls by the authorities. "¿When he [*the boss*] has people without papers, you [*the boss*] get fined, you know?" (Yusra, 2022). All my participants demonstrated comprehension for the situations of employers when having employed undocumented, that they run the risk of paying a fine. "I alone have no papers. One week I work, the other week the civil guard comes to the greenhouses, I am not there. Stay in the house. No civil guard, I go to work" (Yusra, 2022). Simultaneously they understand the unequal power position they have in front of their bosses.

"Yes, they know, everybody knows all of it, because he is not the first person, who does that. [...] But he can also help you better, you are going to talk to him from the beginning. Hey, I'm working with you, so you can help me with my papers, if he agrees it's fine, you keep working with him. But to be working like this, until the end, and now you can make the contract, I'm sure he will say, I can't. What are you going to do?"

"Si ellos saben, todos saben todos, porque no es la primera persona, que hace ese. [...] Pero él también te puede ayudarte mejor, tú vas a hablar con él desde el principio. Oye estoy trabajando contigo, para que tú me ayudes con mis papeles, si el esta acuerda está bien, sigues trabajando con él. Pero estar trabajando así, hasta al final, y ahora puedes hacer el contrato, seguro va decir, que no puedo. ¿Qué vas a hacer?" (Yahya, 2022).

Struggling to find work, and their very flexible state of working one day and spending in search for another employer mean that their financial security is very unstable. Contributing to this is that life in irregularity is more expensive, as they might have to pay for what they can't get regularly: The *padrón* and the work contract. But to be able to pay, they have to work more, which results in prolonging their waiting time. Further working for one's contracts in combination with the power dimension show some similar features to forced labour in the context of trafficking, where people need to work for debt which they seemingly made during their border crossing. In El Ejido they don't work for a past debt but for a future-orientated deal or favour that they need from their employers.

5. All cops are borders⁵

“No safety, for example, when I see the police, it scares me, you know. I can't go ahead [*of them*] at ease, you always have to hide from the police. But if the police find you, if they catch you, for example, people who have three or four years here, if they don't have papers, if they are going to be caught, they take them to Morocco. They are not interested. People, three years here, imagine, they are not given a future here, they lose a lot of things in Morocco”

“Seguridad no, por ejemplo, cuando me ve al policía, me da miedo. ¿Sabe? No puedo marchar adelante [*de ellos*] tranquilo, siempre tienes que esconderte de la policía. Pero si te encuentra la policía, si te cogen, por ejemplo, ellos la gente aquí tiene tres, cuatro años, si no tiene papeles si ellos los van a coger, los llevan a Marruecos. No le interesa. La gente, hace tres años aquí, mete a la cabeza, no les da la futuro aquí, pierde muchas muchas cosas en Marruecos” (Khalid, 2022).

While often in public media coverage, irregular migrants are considered the result of irregular migration, yet irregularity is produced by national and international law. In political debates since the 2000s, the favourite option for how to react to irregularised migrants is shifting toward voluntary- or forced return (Kraler, 2019). “You know there are people waiting for more than three, four years here and then? I know a friend, he did nothing, he can't even touch a fly, quiet, you know? But they when they come here - he is now in Morocco - four years here” (Hamza, 2022). Deportation is a brutal incision in the life of a person. By restricting and cutting their mobility, in Genova's (2010) conceptualisation the condition and fundament of life, it is reducing the person to Agamben's (1998) “bare life”, where bio and necropolitics execute power over bodies. Deportations and the option to deport are the need and will of the nationstate to exert violent state power, constituting who deserves to become a citizen (Genova & Peutz, 2010). Irregularised people are hereby ultimately stamped as the “non-citizen”. Following Arendt's (1949) definition that regularity in a nation-state constitutes “the right to have rights” illustrates the position of the irregularised migrant workers. This shows that, irregularised, my participants have no access to the rule of the law, in contrast, the police, as the executing branch of this state, symbolises violence for them.

“[W]hen I understand a word, if some did something wrong, I am sad inside, because I can't do anything, if I don't have papers. What can I do? If I go to the police, it is a danger for me. It's wasted time, I need to take taxi, go, come back, pay. Says, that's it, better to close your eyes, close your ears too.”

“[C]uando yo entiendo una palabra si hacía algo mal, estoy triste dentro, porque no puedo hacer nada, si no tengo papeles. ¿Qué puedo hacer? Si voy a la policía es un peligro para mí. Perdió el tiempo, necesito coger taxi, ir, volver, pagar. Dice ya está mejor cerrar los ojos, cerras las orejas también” (Hamza, 2022).

“If we talk about rights we can't talk because the police deport you to Morocco, you are always afraid” (Khalid, 2022). And “if you want to go alone to the municipality you can't, always thinking, the police - that I'm going to find the police, every day you think like that” (Yahya, 2022). Yahya, like Hamza and Khalid above, illustrates Genova's (2010) concept of deportability, the continuous state of alert and anxiety penetrating every realm of life. Irregularised migrants react to deportability with strategies of making themselves “less illegal”, often done by not attracting attention, rendering themselves invisible in between the visible public sphere. Taking care to follow all the formal and informal rules of public life, not committing petty crimes, and avoiding police control (Chauvin & Garcés-Masareñas, 2014). “There are people who have no paper, now here in the city, who need to

⁵ Activist slogan, used in street art, and in the project of the nonation truck.

return at 10 or 11 o'clock because they are afraid. You can't go out, play, always taking the time, look look time goes by, need go home" (Hamza, 2022). The deportability, in the end, is highly connected to racism and racial profiling from the police. "[I]f you are, you have brown colour, nothing happens, they don't do anything [...] I'm always afraid, you know, because Moroccans when police finds them here, they go straight back to the country" (Hamza, 2022).

The different imagined temporality of migrants, the "punishment" of imposing waiting on them, is vulnerabilising their time, turning it into "waste time" (Khosravi, 2021a), where one has to spend three months imprisoned in a room, or riding a bicycle each day through wind and sun for a salary of four Euro an hour. Additionally, the whole presence is disposable as the irregularity confronts them with a continuous deportability.

Analyse part 2 – alienation, health and resistance

1. Consequences for health and well-being

"My mind stops. My head for a long time does not work. I used to be able to. Now my head stops. You don't go anywhere, only home, I don't go out with friends either".

"Mi cabeza para. Mi cabeza por mucho tiempo no va. Antes si ya se puedo, Ahora mi cabeza para, no vas a ningún sitio, solo casa, tampoco salgo con amigos" (Hamza, 2022).

Waiting is a particular experience and social relation to and of time. Khosravi understands political imposed waiting as a punishment for the "sin" (Yimer et al., 2020min. 7-8) of being a foreigner, and thus getting situated in a seemingly different temporality. The time of belatedness, forever backward, is leading to alienation "generating a feeling that people around you do have nothing to do with your life and your experiences" (Khosravi, 2019, p.418). My study is not one of a psychoanalyst, but I will try to approach the phenomenon of alienation through more tangible consequences on their physical health and well-being.

Stress and uncertainty made my participants complain about not being able to sleep. "[W]hen the night arrive sleep. I am thinking about nothing, but still, I don't find, people do not sleep. Before I went to sleep at 10 or 11, 12. But now around one, two. I can't sleep, very difficult. Because inside you have waiting, but not waiting as all is well, but here or here [*gesture with the thumb up and down*]" (Hamza, 2022). Additionally, it enters into their well-being, as Hamza stated he does not go out anymore. "Before, time went quicker, because I always was, all day long, I moved but now, I don't feel like doing anything, because without papers it's very complicated" (Hamza, 2022). Through all his waking hours his feelings are circling around the passing of time and how the decision will be in the end. He feels like he can't stand talking about it anymore either to his friends or to his family, which has pushed him into loneliness. He contextualises the migration journey as a measurement of personal success, "hey four years and the papers not fixed, you not okay?" (Hamza, 2022). He fears that if he would not be able to get the papers, his social surroundings would judge this as a personal failure and not as a consequence of the conditions. Khalid as well struggles to raise motivation and energy during his waiting time: "When I wake up in the morning, it's bad things in front of me. I always wonder why I'm leaving for work and I have nothing good" (Khalid, 2022). Similarly describes Yayha that all his energy is absorbed by navigating his daily life, so that: "The motivation to study and to know these things is not there" (Yahya, 2022).

Added to the psychological health, the work in the greenhouses is very demanding. While it is monotonous, the body involvement is very high and problems with the back, arms, or legs are

common. Further are the health conditions in the *cortijos* deficient, some don't have running water and currency and overcrowding is a common practice, sharing a bathroom and a kitchen with many people (Martínez Goytre et al., 2022).

2. Resistance – Slow violence

“You have to get by”

“Tienes que buscarte la vida” (Mourad, 2022).

Imposing waiting and governing people's time is a method of exerting power, as described above. (Bourdieu, 2000). Referring to Foucault's statement: “Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (cit. in:Saunders & Al-Om, 2022, p. 545), I will analyse the daily practices of my participants as “daily resistances”. Making use of the concept of Rob Nixon's “slow violence”, describing violence occurring “gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all” (cit.in:Saunders & Al-Om, 2022, p. 530). Similar to structural violence, yet slow violence stresses more the temporality and belated effects, which are not traceable to precise causes. Saunders and Al-Om (2022) describe that slow violence occurs when the structures are creating a hostile environment, intending to let the targeted people feel they are not welcome at the place they live. What they describe for asylum seekers in the UK, overlaps in many points with irregularised migrant workers in Southern Spain. Conceptualising the conditions as slow violence helps as well to account which kind of resistance or agency the structure allows (Saunders & Al-Om, 2022; Squire, 2017). “Daily resistance” acknowledges that surviving in such hostile environments can be considered resistance. Resisting the pressure to give up, and to return. In the context of waiting Gasparini (1995) states that information and knowledge about the awaited event enable agency. Likewise, Khosravi (2021a) points out that the gaining of information, updating, and becoming experts themselves in migration laws is done by the migrants in an active consciousness state of waiting. While the structures frame the space of agency and resistance, the different capitals my participants brought or have build-up, guide their possibilities of “daily resistance”.

2.1 Ethnic and social networks

Ethnic networks and friends are a factor that all of my participants agree on has influence. The importance of ethnic and family networks accounts for the consensus that the first period is the most difficult. “If you don't have family here, very difficult” (Hamza, 2022). Yayha, whose position is relationally better, is living in the house of his uncle. Hamza, who first spent a few months with his uncle in Asturias, regrets leaving the supportive network his uncle could provide. But the ethnic networks, as much as they function as support, also exploitative elements. “You always have to pay for people's help” (Khalid, 2022). This coincides with the experience of the social worker, that often employers would work with ethnic brokers, who take advantage of their compatriots. As well the *cortijos* in which Khalid and Hamza are living are subtracted from another Moroccans.

Managing their lives and establishing a growing network of contacts for leisure time, work, etc. rewards Yayha and Yusra with a feeling of success. “I one year in Spain, don't have people, I alone a lot [*gesture of cying*] a lot of problem, not now. Three years in Spain, see people, know girl, know man, friends friends everything. Having a life.” (Yusra, 2022). For Yusra knowing how to navigate without getting the attention of the police allows her to not let the fear of getting deported enter too much in her daily life:

“No no problem, you have the street, you have the beach. You have no problem, nothing happens. You have problem [*gesture of deportation*] - You don't have problem of - of beer, of war. Nothing. No war. You have no beer; you have no problem. You have the streets, you have the beach.

“No no pasa nada, tiene la calle, tiene playa. No tienes problema no pasa nada. Tienes problema [*gesture of deportation*] no tiene problema de - de cerveza, tiene guerra. Nada. No tiene guerra. No tiene cerveza no tiene problema, tiene calle, tiene la playa.” (Yusra, 2022).

Yahya as well has partly overcome his fear of the police. “[A]lways thinking, the police, that I'm going to find the police, every day you think like that. But to me that only happened in the first few months, not long after that, I live as if I have them [*papers*], you know?” (Yahya, 2022). But maintaining social networks demands energy, in the case of Hamza, he is feeling too tired to be able to sustain it, which forces him into loneliness and restrengthening his feeling of being lost and out of place. “Then it doesn't matter, whether I work, whether I don't work, whether I go out, whether I don't go out” (Hamza, 2022). Khalid is in a similar even worse situation than Hamza. This is shown by his description of his lack of energy and tiredness.

2.2 Spanish

Another important aspect distinguishing to which extent my participants could act upon their waiting was their level of education and Spanish, enabling them to act independently and find their own way. For Mourad growing up in Northern Morocco where Spanish is spoken and having spent seven years in Spain, Spanish is not a problem anymore. Khalid and Hamza can both understand but still find difficulties expressing themselves. Both also told me, that their daily interaction and social networks are mainly with other Moroccans. For Yahya who had learned already two other languages (Arabic and French) learning another language was more familiar, as well his educational background, going to university and his objectives of returning to study, gave him good resources to learn the language quickly. Yusra made sense of her surroundings over the medium of language “If you don't speak Spanish, you don't have work” (Yusra, 2022). Additionally, Yusra stressed that she could not fluently speak Darisha (Moroccan Arabic), so that in her first time in Spain she could only rely on ethnic Amazigh networks. Being perceived as a stranger and not understood made the whole public sphere for Yusra a challenge and only by speaking Spanish, did she feel able to navigate independently.

I argue that establishing a network, finding work and housing, and developing a feeling of belonging - when possible - can be conceptualised as daily resistance practices. This can be translated into a statement: I am staying, despite the hostile environment, to defy the odds: “You've been here for three years waiting, enduring, and suffering. To suffer like this for three years to win these papers. For us it's a brilliant thing, it's not easy” (Yahya, 2022).

3. Intersectional rapprochements

The gender aspect in agriculture was ever existent and gendered practices exist, especially in Huelva in the strawberry industry. While the majority of irregularised migrant workers in El Ejido are male, a mentionable number of women are living there as well. Reports and the experience of the workers in my organization told me, that women face additional obstacles while living and working. Women are more vulnerable for sexual and physical violence, and the hygienic conditions in the informal settlements (no current water/open bathrooms, etc.) are more problematic for women (CEPAIM, 2019). But Yusra, when asked how she felt that being a woman has influenced her journey, she stated that everyone would be equal. “[A]ll the same, woman or man. All the same, they don't have empadronamiento, no house, no papers. They have the empadronamiento after three years” (Yusra, 2022) and “no, nothing happens. Man, woman, no problem, it's the same. It's the same in Spain”

(Yusra, 2022). For Yusra, having lived through constricting and traditional gender norms, she feels that in Spain she can live less limited. “[About being divorced] yes better, there is the girl in the house, you have to get married, the beach girl nothing - now all the same there is no problem” (Yusra, 2022). Her statements likewise could mirror that in her difficult situation, gender differences recede into the background and the economic and political struggle take all her attention.

Like described in the method part I followed a intersectional orientation. In general, the participants were quite eager to talk about their external life conditions, when asked about their emotions and understandings they were rather reserved. While language proficiency was a contributing factor, it is clear that our very short-term relation also limited the level of trust we had. But I noticed the challenge of translating the concept of intersectionality into a well-working question. Because when asked about differences more generally (between men-women/ Morocco-other nationality) Mourad and Hamza spoke about how women have it more difficult. Khalid and Hamza spoke about the racial impact, and Hamza asked why Ukrainians are treated differently. Yahya spoke about age and family responsibility and that single people would have an easier migration experience.

As seen before class and ethnic categories have an influence. The question of intersections offers space for future research, for example including religion. As Religion was mentioned by my participants, being an important pillar for guidance, motivation, and inner strength but at the same time maintaining rather conservative gender roles.

Discussion - When does the waiting end?

Does the waiting have a start and an end? Did the waiting for Yahya start the moment he crossed to Nador, holding on underneath of a truck? Or for Khalid at the moment, he started saving money to pay for the crossing in the partera? And when does the waiting end? As described all my participants thoughts are directed toward the moment of gaining their papers. Yet Mourad, he is not waiting for the arraigo social but for the renewal of the residency. “[T]he most difficult thing is the renewal of residency, that’s the most difficult” (Mourad, 2022) and “organise my papers, I spent three years thinking, racking my brains, how? It’s very complicated to renew the papers” (Mourad, 2022). While he does not have to get a *padrón*, finding and waiting for employment is, for him, the same big problem. Because in the moment of gaining the temporal residency through the arraigo social, they still only have proportional citizenship rights, where they still need to prove their deservingness by having a valid work contract. “Belatedness last for a long time, for generations” (Yimer et al., 2020min. 7-8) more concrete it will take minimum of another 10 years. And as seen in the often informal and seasonal agroindustry, finding a permanent position is hard, they run the risk of losing their residency and falling back into irregularity and deportability (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2012; Khosravi, 2021a).

As Mourad illustrates when the external condition changes as well the fixpoint for the future changes. When the life starts after the moment of getting the paper, but will happen when then the waiting for the renewal of the residence starts with similar struggles and stress? But the social hope, that is constructed both through the narrative of successful migration stories in Morocco and by the Spanish state, which seem to offer a path to achieving the imaginary “not yet”. “So, you live here in the shadow, if I in my country, I live better than here. I have a good house, and everything good” (Hamza, 2022). The structural economic inequalities and currency differences are another reason why even when the waiting might endure, my participants would not plan to return (El Miri, 2014).

“And in Morocco, I don't have, Spain is better. You have clothes, you have a good house. Not so much in Morocco” (Yusra, 2022).

Conclusion

1. El Ejido in the world

El Ejido is a microcosm, in the broader ‘Border Lands’ of the Mediterranean. In El Ejido the Global South and North come together and bring to the surface condensed social problems, originating from the global capitalist system (Boeckler & Bernt, 2014). Anzaldúa stated that the deadliest borders are those between rich and poor countries (Anzaldúa, 1987). Here is the symbolic border between Europe and Africa, and concrete between Spain and Morocco. These borders “display their selective force through their potential to produce a complex amalgam of multiple, often deeply unequal differentiations: Spain/Morocco, Christians/Muslims, Europe/ Africa, North/South, Rich/Poor, Modern/Traditional, Colonizer/Colonized, Documented/Undocumented, Legal/Illegal, etc.” (cf. Vila, 2000; Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008. Cit. in:Boeckler & Bernt, 2014, p. 32). But this thesis also showed that dichotomies are rarely simply two-sided, but have different layers and shades. From Non-Citizen to Citizen are many states, as Coutin (2021) illustrates for Mexicans when applying for US Citizenship. Similarly, the thesis argued that in El Ejido migrant workers have a particular state of included exclusion, ranging from inclusion in social rights, and in the economic sector but exclusion in political, cultural, and economic rights. That irregularity (depriving people of the “right to have rights”) is more becoming a method of exercising violence and power by a state is analysed by Genova and Roy (2020).

2. Migrant workers in El Ejido

Applying waiting as a lens of analysing different processes of exclusion and inclusion has been found to be fruitful. My participants who work and live in what Hage (2004) called “capitalist exploitation” or inclusive exclusion, where their bodies and life are excluded but their workforce is included and needed. Illustrated in the reaction of the Spanish government at the beginning of the Covid Pandemic 2020. Like in other European states, where the majority of people had to stay home to protect themselves, the migrant workers in the greenhouses needed to go on working. Because their work was and is essential (Triandafyllidou, 2022).

The waiting of my participants is determined firstly by being irregularised and constantly facing deportation. Navigating the “moral economy of illegality” (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2014) my participants prove their deservingness for citizenship through their economic performance. Simultaneously engaging in practices to make them less “illegal”, avoiding petty crime and distinguishing themselves from the picture of a bad migrant. Then the thesis illustrates my participants' struggle to meet the requirements, namely the *padrón* and a work contract, for applying for the *arraigo social*. These formalities in conjunction with the scarce and racist housing market and the practices, of the municipality regarding the *padrón*, work control, etc. create a hostile environment for my participants, turning my participants' time into “waste time”, accepting and encouraging that they waiting time easily prolongs to four, five years.

The thesis showed that the waiting time effects through constant stress and uncertainty the well-being of my participants. But that my participants, despite the hostile environment, endure and slowly set up their lives shows their slow resistance practices, which are facilitated when social networks and language skills have been developed. During this time the future, the awaited, “not yet”, compresses into a single moment, the winning the papers. The imaginary of the awaited and

hoped event is mystified as a reset button, “the papers, for example, to make new, to reset, to make new like you delete the mobile, to renew” (Hamza, 2022) and a new life:

“And the thing that is good when you earn your papers, that you have done something in your life, that you have changed something in your life, you know? That before you had nothing, now if you are working you have your papers, you can do whatever you want, you can buy a car, you can buy a house. That you have changed something, that it is not the same as a person who lives his whole life without doing anything”

“Y la cosa que está bien cuando ganas tus papeles, que tienes que tú has hecho una cosa en tu vida, que has cambiado algo en tu vida sabe? Que antes no tienes nada, ahora si estás trabajando tienes tus papeles, puedes hacer lo que quieras, puedes comprar un coche puedes comprar una casa. Que tú has cambiado algo, que no es igual que una persona que vive toda la vida sin hacer nada”(Yahya, 2022).

“But surely tomorrow will be good” (Hamza, 2022). Thus, the distributed social hope perpetuates the situation and the willingness of my participants to face their very hostile life, being shaped by the temporal border practice of imposed waiting.

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