

**Life after immigration detention as “detention without walls”: the spectre of  
detention and deportation in the United Kingdom**

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## **Table of contents**

List of figures	4
Ethical considerations	5
Abstract	6
Acknowledgements	7
Acronyms	8
Prologue	9
Chapter one: introduction	10
Chapter two: context	17
Chapter three: methodology	22
Participatory approaches	22
Recruitment and representation	26
Research methods	27
Chapter four: literature review	33
Immigration, incarceration and deportation	33
Security, governmentality and criminality	35
Citizenship, status and statelessness	36
Chapter five: the spectre of detention and deportation	38
Dispersal	39
Destitution	45
Deportation	48
Discussion	51
Chapter six: statuslessness and the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’	54
Statuslessness	55
The figure of the ‘foreign criminal’	57
Discussion	61
Chapter seven: conclusions	63
Bibliography	69
Appendix A: code of conduct	92
Appendix B: information leaflet	94
Appendix C: interview and focus group guides	95
Appendix D: photo and video diaries information	98

## List of figures

Table 1: Research aims, questions and outputs or actions that address aims	14 & 28
Figure 2.1: Change in the number of immigration detention centres and camps in Europe and in Mediterranean countries between 2000 and 2012	17
Figure 2.2: Map of immigration detention facilities in the United Kingdom	18
Figure 2.3: Map of top ten major dispersal cities in the United Kingdom	19
Table 2: Table of participant-researchers	25
Table 3: Key stages in a Participatory Action Research process	29
Figure 5.1: View from the railway bridge from Hamilton train station to Glasgow	39
Figure 5.2: Rainy view in car coming from Dungavel IRC to Hamilton train station	39
Figure 5.3: Asylum accommodation Petershill Drive also known as ‘Red Road’	42
Figure 5.4: Photos of places where Dave misses his daughter, friends, family	43
Figure 5.5: Pablo with his son	43
Figure 5.6: Pablo’s poem written inside immigration detention	46
Figure 5.7: Maps of life after immigration detention	48
Figure 6.1: Immigration detention described as “some people is not free, feel not in sky, not on earth, like slaves.”	54
Figure 6.2: Positive and negative emotions associated with release	55
Figure 6.3: Letter from UK Home Office instructing recipient to report	58
Figure 7.1: List of recommendations for various organisations	64

## **Ethical considerations**

I can confirm that I was formally given Ethics Approval permission for my MRes dissertation research on 20/04/2015 by the School of Geographical and Earth Sciences Ethics Committee. Copies of the relevant permissions message can be provided if requested.

Despite careful deliberations about safety and prevention of harm during this research I have been deeply affected by stories of depression, destitution, detention and deportation. Please read with care in the widest sense, considering how you might also be emotionally affected and responding to Ruth Behar's (1996: 175) challenge to find "new forms of criticism which can respond to vulnerability".

## **Abstract**

The United Kingdom is the only country in the European Union not to have a time limit for immigration detention and over 30,000 people a year are detained in the UK's 13 immigration removal centres (IRCs). IRCs aim to remove migrants from state territory but in 2014, 37 per cent were released rather than administratively removed or deported. This dissertation is one output of a wider collaboration between myself, former detainees and members of Scottish Detainee Visitors (SDV) a non-governmental organisation who visit Dungavel, Scotland's only IRC called the Life After Detention (LAD) project. The LAD project aims to i) highlight the difficulties faced by people released from immigration detention and understand the reasons why, ii) identify what support is available for people released from immigration detention, and iii) identify ways in which support for people released from immigration detention could be improved or barriers to accessing support removed. These aims are addressed in various outputs but the research question for this sole-authored dissertation is: what difficulties do people face when released from immigration detention, and why? In order to answer this question and the broader aims of the project, it was informed by Participatory Action Research (PAR) design, including an action element whereby a weekly drop-in session ran for a period of 12 weeks. The drop-in provided peer support and enabled participatory qualitative data collection through semi-structured interviews, focus groups, participatory mapping, photography and film-making. In this dissertation emerging themes from participatory analysis are developed into key findings through an engagement with academic literature on the geographies of migration, detention, deportation and citizenship. The first key finding is that the difficulties associated with state technologies of control experienced during detention continue to intersect everyday life in unexpected ways. This was described by a participant-researcher as "detention without walls" and is conceptualised as the *spectre of detention and deportation*. The second key finding is that these difficulties are due to the relationship between citizens, non-citizens and the sovereign nation state and the third finding is that these difficulties are exacerbated by the rhetorical and legal convergence of crime and immigration. This dissertation concludes with a list of recommendations and a consideration of how no borders politics might be used in future research to better understand and enact alternatives to borders, walls and cages.

## **Acknowledgements**

This is for the LADs. Thanks to Dr Kye Askins for editorial and emotional support and everyone at Scottish Detainee Visitors for their input. Thanks to all of you who proof read this piece and helped me to slow down this summer. This research was made possible by funding from the Geographies of Justice Research Group and the Glasgow University Settlement Find A Solution Fund and the collaboration was facilitated by Rebecca Kay, co-convener of the Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network (GRAMNet). Thanks to all those who give me hope that it is possible to live in a world without borders. To those who have departed, I do not forget you.

## **Acronyms**

AGC: Autonomous Geographies Collective

APPGR&M: All Party Parliamentary Group on Refugees & the All Party Parliamentary Group on Migration

DWW: Detention Without Walls (film)

ECHR: European Court of Human Rights

GRAMNet: Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network

ICIBI: Independent Chief Inspector of Borders and Immigration

IRC: Immigration Removal Centre

LAD: Life After Detention project

SDV: Scottish Detainee Visitors

PAR: Participatory Action Research

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

PyGRyG: Participatory Geographies Research Group

## Prologue

Two poems set the scene for this dissertation about life after immigration detention. Kinnary Jivani (2010: 352), female prisoner and poet, asks her readers to look beyond walls and cages (Loyd et al. 2009) to listen to the voices of people crossed by borders...

“So...  
you’re listening through the wall  
listen carefully  
I am speaking directly to you  
and if you need visual  
of what I look like  
I look like you  
    may be a shade lighter or darker  
    or gender on left or right  
With culture from north or west  
    south or east  
But I look like you  
laugh, sob, breathe, grow like you  
you see, I am human, too  
society labels me “criminal”  
if you too     keep seeing me distantly  
then this wall will grow  
    tall and fat...”

Part of a poem by participant-researcher Pablo asks you to do the same. He says it is:

“Time to stand up  
and  
be counted.”

## Chapter one: introduction

“We are the participant-researchers in the Life After Detention (LAD) project. We’d rather you didn’t put us in a box, because life tends to be better with them, but if it helps you to understand, our group is made up of people who used to be in immigration detention: former-detainees, destitute asylum seekers, visa-overstayers, so called foreign national ex-offenders, and their friends who happen to have British citizenship. Detention is what unites us but it does not define us. Instead this is how we would like to be known. Some of us don’t have status and so our identities are disguised. The reason we have to do this is the reason we are making this film”.<sup>1</sup> (Juan reading the co-written introduction to the Detention Without Walls (DWW) film).

Pablo - “I’m a dad, I’m somebody’s kid, that’s what makes you a human...but I’ve spent the last 5 years of my life behind some kind of bars.”

Juan - “I’m a brother, I’m an uncle, I wanted to be a football player, to break into the media industry but my current situation won’t let me have dreams...I was only in there for 3 months but everything’s changed since I was in detention.”

Bridget - “I’m a sister...a geographer, a film-maker? ha...and I’ve been organising with people inside and outside of immigration detention centres for almost 5 years now.”

Sara - “I’m a woman who knows what she wants but my current situation’s not letting me excel in the places I want to but hey, I’m strong and nothing will put me down.”

Molly - “I’ve been visiting longer than I care to remember. I’m just very interested in people who travel about from country to country.”

Alex - “I’m a trained person, I’ve got degrees, I’ve got certificates, I’ve got kids, but I’m getting old. I’ve been signing on now for 20 years!”

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<sup>1</sup> Pseudonyms were chosen by participant-researchers to protect identities.

Battlesnake - “when I retired I wanted to do something with my time and I thought it would be interesting to meet people from other parts of the world.”

Andy - “I’ve been destitute for 8 years, in and out of detention, I’ve got family here, this is my home.”

Dave - “I’m a father, from a country I’m proud of but can’t go back to because my daughter is British. Been almost a year since I left detention after almost a year inside.”

John - “For myself I spent 3 months in detention and then again this year. I’m not getting any younger, not having a place to live.”

Tina - “I had been teaching migrants in Italy and my PhD was on migration so I wanted to do some work with migrants and I never looked back.”

Electron - “Everything has been changed since I’ve been detained. I don’t want to keep going my lifestyle from before, always hiding. When I was released I said I want to help myself you know help others, get involved with charity and have a simple life.”

Sita - “I’ve worked on social justice issues since I was 15 and I’ve always been interested in reasons why people have to come here.”

Ismail: “I’m happy...but I have tension about my life.”

Sean - “I’m a normal guy, a normal teenager, I was studying, spending time with family. I was involved in crime as well but I don’t think my wrongs justify taking near enough a third of my life.”

I start with the words of the participant-researchers to show how this account of life after detention is not co-written (Nagar et al. 2003), but is a collaboration with and for people who have experience of immigration detention.

Immigration detention is the administrative incarceration of immigrants prior to their removal from sovereign territory. This research is concerned with people subject to immigration controls in the UK, as this definition accounts for changes over time and the fact that often categories of migrant or immigrant overlap. This is because “(il)legality” is not static and the use of quotation marks are used to remind the reader of the process of illegalisation that is explored in this dissertation (Anderson et al. 2012b: 398; de Genova 2002). Whilst I still use terminology that could be seen to reproduce associations of criminality, I do so in order to write accessibly and aim to maintain a critical distance from certain terms (Brubaker 2005). With these caveats in mind, an asylum seeker is a migrant who having reached another state’s territory has applied for refugee protection. According to the UN Convention 1951 and its 1967 Protocol a refugee is ‘a person outside of his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion’. A ‘failed asylum seeker’ is someone who has exhausted their appeals process for refugee status but who remains in the UK without support and as a result may face destitution. The term ‘illegal immigration’, is used to define entry without permission or unauthorised residence of migrants within a country, who may have entered legally and breached the conditions of their visa or have exhausted all appeals in their asylum application. The terms ‘foreign criminal’, ‘foreign prisoner’ and ‘foreign national ex-offender’ refer to people resident in the UK without British citizenship who are convicted and serve sentences for crimes committed in the United Kingdom. Officially, deportation of ‘foreign national ex-offenders’ differs from the administrative removal of ‘failed asylum seekers’ to their country of origin or to a third safe country for which travel documents are obtainable. If travel documents are unobtainable or it would breach human rights legislation to return someone to their country of origin people are deemed ‘unremovable’ (Singer et al. 2015).

Before being removed or deported people are detained in prisons or purpose-built immigration detention facilities known since 2004 as immigration removal centres (IRCs). In 2014, 30,365 people entered detention and at any one time around 3,378 people are held under immigration rules across the 13 immigration removal centres (IRCs) and temporary holding centres in airports and police stations. The UK is the only

country in the European Union which does not have a time limit on how long people can be detained. Whilst people are detained on the assumption that they will be removed as quickly as possible, indefinite detention means some spend several years in detention before being removed or released back into the UK. In 2014, 5 people were detained for three to four years and 1 person for over four years. Furthermore of those who left detention 55 per cent were removed from the UK but 37 per cent were released. Release back into the UK from immigration detention can be through temporary release or bail. A person who applies for bail could be “an asylum seeker, a failed asylum seeker, or a person who has never had an asylum application but is in detention under any provision in the Immigration Acts” (Gower 2015: 13). There are two types of bail, the first is obtained by providing a surety and a bail address, the second is obtained by applying for provision of a bail address by the UK Government Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 Section 4 support. Bail with Section 4(1)(C) is given to people who can not secure a private bail address, would otherwise be destitute, and who have agreed to return to their country of origin, but cannot return immediately due to circumstances beyond their control (Asylum Support 2012). Destitution is defined in Section 95(3) of the Immigration and Asylum Act (1999) as not having adequate accommodation or any means of obtaining it and not being able meet other essential living needs. Section 95(3) and 4(1)(C) are benefits for people under immigration controls designed to prevent destitution through the provision of basic shelter and food. However, this research considers destitution to mean a lacking the means to provide for oneself and therefore former detainees eligible for Section 4 may still experience difficulties associated with destitution. Section 4 support consists of the provision of accommodation through a private security company and £35.39 a week via an Azure payment card, which can be used in a selection of high street shops. Glasgow became a dispersal city in 1999 and since then has become a hub for formal and informal support services provided through integration networks, migrant-led or solidarity support groups, council-run projects and faith organisations. Therefore for the purposes of this research support includes emotional, financial, practical and social forms of informal, charitable, governmental support. This research includes people on bail in Glasgow and across Scotland as well as people on temporary release without status, referred to as ex- or former detainees as that is how many of the participant-researchers self-identified when we embarked on the research.

This research emerged through an iterative process between myself, former detainees and members of Scottish Detainee Visitors (SDV), an independent charity providing emotional and practical support to people being held in Dungavel IRC. Participatory researchers (Torre & Fine 2006: 458) argue “that people - especially those who have experienced historic oppression - hold deep knowledge about their lives and experiences, and should help shape the questions, and frame the interpretations” of research. Therefore the research questions were pieced together “throughout the course of inquiry” (Rosaldo 1989: 7) during conversations in the visiting room of Dungavel, over the phone and at the weekly drop-in, before settling on these research aims, questions and outputs (Table 1).

	<b>Project Aims</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>	<b>Outputs/Actions</b>
1	Highlight the difficulties faced by people released from immigration detention and understand the reasons why	What difficulties do people face when released from immigration detention, and why?	Dissertation Film Drop-in Recommendations
2	Identify what support is available for people released from immigration detention	What practical, social and emotional support is available for people released without status from immigration detention?	Drop-in Recommendations Report
3	Identify ways in which support for people released from immigration detention could be improved or barriers to accessing support removed	In what ways could support available for people released from immigration detention be improved or barriers to accessing support be removed?	Drop-in Recommendations Report

Table 1: Research aims, questions and outputs or actions that address aims

Source: Developed by the LAD project through the drop-in sessions

The four outputs or actions reflect the diverse aims of the project:

- 1) an action-research design that provided ongoing support through a regular drop-in
- 2) a recommendations report which reflects on the impact of the drop-in
- 3) a collaboratively produced film called Detention Without Walls (DWW) and;
- 4) this sole-authored dissertation.

Therefore the research question addressed in this dissertation is: what difficulties do people face when released from immigration detention, and why?

As a result of these diverse aims and outputs, the LAD project can be understood as situated at nexus of two otherwise competing perspectives within migration studies: ‘migration management’ and the ‘autonomy of migration’. A migration management approach attempts to map migration to effect change, with non-governmental agencies and academics criticised for being at risk of playing a “new soft role” (Hess 2010: 98) in the global governance of migrants (Betts 2010; Koser 2010). In contrast, the literature on autonomous migration argues that scholars should use “migrant agency as a lens” to study borders (Nyers & Rygiel 2012: 5) and that they should conduct independent and critical research that resists co-optation (Casas-Cortes et al. 2015; Papadopolous & Tsianos 2013).

As the research focus arose primarily through interactions with participant-researchers, I adopt a non-traditional writing structure and style, outlining how the research emerged in the methodology chapter before identifying gaps in the literature review (Maxey 1999). The literature review revealed that whilst there is a rich body of theoretical literature on governmentality, deportability and “technologies of control” (Pickering & Weber 2006), little empirical work has been conducted to investigate the impacts on the lives of migrants (McDowell & Wonders 2009) and even less which engages migrants as experts-by-experience (Phelps 2009).

In order to answer the research question I begin with an overview of the context, followed by the methodology chapter which explores the ethics, politics and positions of PAR. This is followed by a literature review and two empirical discussion chapters each with their own summary before concluding with a list of key recommendations, reflections and suggestions for future research. The first discussion chapter documents the difficulties people face when they are released, and analyses how life after detention is experienced by drawing from academic literature on carceral geographies, mobilities and deportability. As life after detention is experienced by participant-researchers as “detention without walls” (Pablo), I’ve coined the phrase the *spectre of detention and deportation* to best conceptualise the ways in which technologies of control intersect

everyday life both inside and outside of immigration detention. The word *spectre*, defined as something widely feared as a possible unpleasant or dangerous occurrence, reflects the uncertainty that characterises both detention and life after detention, and the fear which is produced as migrants are always deportable (de Genova 2002). The second empirical chapter offers two explanations as to why people continue to face difficulties post-detention. Firstly, following Arendt (1951) and Agamben (1998; 2005), I argue that the sovereign nation state is the root cause of the insecurities for non-citizens. However, I argue that due to the stratification of rights this is best conceptualised as a form of *statuslessness* rather than statelessness. Second the difficulties faced are exacerbated due to the convergence of crime and immigration in the *figure of the 'foreign criminal'*. This thesis concludes with two interventions. The first makes recommendations for how change might be implemented at various levels in order to better support people released from immigration detention in Scotland. The second summarises the research and makes suggestions for how future research might be conducted in ways which go beyond borders, walls or cages, not just in the temporal future but in the spatio-temporal present (Anderson et al. 2012a). Finally, threaded throughout this dissertation are examples of how research might challenge the “false distinction[s]” (AGC 2010: 249) between the academic (community) and (non-academic) community, between researcher and researched, between deserving and undeserving, citizen and non-citizen, criminal and non-criminal, between us and them.

## Chapter two: context

People have always moved, however modern migration is marked by increased violence at national borders as people flee persecution or move to make a better life for themselves and their families. In response to the increase in numbers of migrants and accompanying negative attitudes, governments have sought methods of control to manage migration flows. As a result facilities to detain and deport migrants have proliferated globally (Schuster 2011; Welch & Schuster 2005). Whilst the overall number of people who can be detained at any given time is unknown, the total detention capacity for individual countries has increased.<sup>2</sup> Figure 2.1 charts the increase in immigration detention infrastructure in Europe and Mediterranean countries.

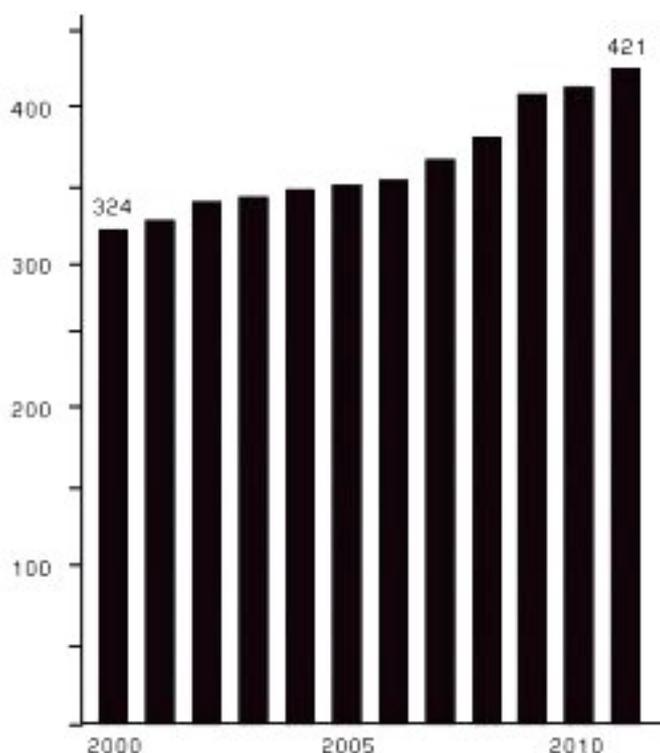


Figure 2.1: Change in the number of immigration detention centres and camps in Europe and in Mediterranean countries between 2000 and 2012

Source: Migreurop (2012)

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<sup>2</sup> Detention capacity is the number of bed spaces available at any one time. The Global Detention Project documents immigration detention internationally but has not yet produced a global estimate. For individual country estimates see [www.globaldetentionproject.org](http://www.globaldetentionproject.org) (Sampson & Mitchell 2013: 101). The trend for island and offshore asylum processing is also growing (see Mountz 2012).

Today, the presence of immigration detention centres in Britain is seen as normal and essential (Bashford 2014). However, whilst there were indirect predecessors to detention such as alien internment (Bashford & Gilchrist 2012), the geography of immigration detention, its scale, spread and status in society is new. Historical accounts show that Harmondsworth Detention Unit was the first purpose built facility in 1970 and until the 1990s there were no permanent immigration detention centres in the UK (Bosworth 2014a; Bashford & Strange 2002). Bloch & Schuster (2005) argue that the increased use of detention is due to legislative powers introduced during times of emergency that were not receded. For example, they show how despite low rates of people seeking asylum at the time, following 9/11 the practice of detention increased and three new purpose-built centres were opened in 2000-1 (Figure 2.2).<sup>3</sup>



Figure 2.2: Map of immigration detention facilities in the United Kingdom  
Source: Updated from Bosworth (2014b)

<sup>3</sup> Dover IRC is scheduled to close (Kent Online 2015)

Immigration detention has been accompanied by other policies aimed at deterring and controlling immigration, such as dispersal (Figure 2.3). In the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act, asylum seekers and other migrants eligible for Section 4 support, are provided housing in a dispersal city on a ‘no choice’ basis (Gill 2009a). However when given the choice, Bloch’s (2002) survey of 400 forced migrants in England found that people opt to live close to family (31 per cent) friends (16 per cent) and community (10 per cent).



Figure 2.3: Map of top ten major dispersal cities in the United Kingdom

Source: Adapted from Home Office (2015) and BBC (2001)

Although the majority of people eligible for dispersal are asylum seekers, Section 4(1) (C) is also available for so-called ‘unremovable’ migrants who are often ‘foreign national ex-offenders’. A report by the Independent Chief Inspector of Borders and Prisons (ICIBI) (Vine 2011) acknowledged that ‘foreign national ex-offenders’ were likely to be held in immigration detention for longer than other detainees and there is

evidence to suggest that this tendency only emerged following the so-called ‘foreign national prisoner scandal’. In 2006, the news that over the previous decade 1,023 ex-foreign national prisoners had not been considered for deportation resulted in the resignation of then Home Secretary, MP Charles Clarke. Following the announcement that the Home Office was “not fit for purpose” (BBC 2006), in 2007 the UK Borders Act introduced automatic deportation orders for any foreign national sentenced to 12 months or more in prison or whose sentences over the past 5 years cumulatively add up to more than 12 months. Furthermore the UK 2014 Immigration Act added a clause to the British Nationality Act 1981, which permits the Secretary of State “to deprive a person of a citizenship status”.

In theory, once deprived of citizenship deportation should be easier. However, in reality non-citizens can be difficult to remove due to the lack of resources or documents to safely send the person to their country of origin or a third country or human rights standards which prevent removal. The number of so-called ‘unremovables’ is small but of great public interest due to high profile cases such as Abu Qatada.<sup>4</sup> This research has been undertaken at a time when the Conservative Government is debating whether to repeal the 1998 Human Rights Act (HRA) introduced by a Labour Government and in the context of an upcoming referendum to leave the European Union which would remove obligations to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) (Bosworth 2014a). In addition to these debates, the 2015 Immigration Bill is currently being debated in Parliament.<sup>5</sup> If passed new policies will be introduced that criminalise working without permission, implement ‘deport first, appeal later’ principles, extend electronic monitoring of ‘foreign national ex-offenders’ and further prevent access to services for people without a regular migration status (Aliverti 2015).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The Palestinian-Jordanian cleric with refugee status who was arrested for al-Qaeda-related terror activity by the UK Government and held indefinitely without trial under Part 4 of the Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001. He was intermittently detained and released on bail from 2002 - 2013 while appealing to the ECHR against his deportation order to Jordan on the basis he would face an unfair trial if returned.

<sup>5</sup> Along with three related bills: the Foreign National Offenders Bill 2015-16, the Illegal Immigrants Bill 2015-16, and the UK Borders Control Bill 2015-16.

<sup>6</sup> Deport first, appeal later principles defer the right of people subject to immigration controls to appeal against the outcome of their case until after they have been removed from state territory.

The connections between public opinion and the introduction of new legislation are important as during the writing of this dissertation concerns about immigration were the highest ever recorded. In a recent poll 50 per cent of respondents listed it as a concern making it the top public priority in the UK (Ipsos Moray 2015) and in a previous poll 60 per cent believed the impact of immigration to be negative (MacKeith & Walker 2012: 10). In the summer of 2015 immigration was in the news daily, as border crossings into and across Europe were portrayed as a refugee or migration ‘crisis’. Immigration detention has also received significant news coverage following a hunger strike in March 2015 (Girma et al. 2015) and allegations of sexual abuse at Yarl’s Wood IRC (Taylor 2015). Detainee-led protests coincided with the publication of the Report of the Inquiry into the Use of Immigration Detention which recommended an end to indefinite detention and pushed for “a very radical shift in current thinking” (APPGR&M 2015: 4). This is the context in which this dissertation was undertaken, underscoring the political urgency to do research which incorporates action and includes people who have experienced immigration detention at its centre. The following chapter outlines the methods through which life after immigration detention is studied in this dissertation.

## **Chapter three: methodology**

Participatory methodologies aim to produce knowledge that benefits participants first and the academy second. Therefore this chapter outlines how the research focus and findings emerged in collaboration with former detainees and members of Scottish Detainee Visitors before identifying related literature in the following chapter. This chapter begins with a history of participatory approaches and a note on definitions before outlining the arguments for and against the use of participatory methods. This is followed by details of recruitment, research methods and analysis with considerations of ethics, politics and positionality throughout.

### **Participatory approaches**

There are various strands of participatory (geographies) and/or action research that have developed since the 1940s and many interpretations of its origins (Kindon et al. 2007; Hall 2005). Most accounts cite Kurt Lewin's (1946) idea of Action Research as theory developed through intervention, and Paulo Friere's (1972 [2007]) consciousness-raising praxis developed in the 1960s in Brazil as influential in the initial development of Participatory Action Research (PAR). In the 1990s Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) were developed and informed international development practice (Chambers 1994). Since the 2000s the 'participatory turn' in the social sciences has presented epistemic challenges to research methodologies (Kindon et al. 2007) with research groups such as the Participatory Geographies Research Group (PyGRyG) in the UK and dedicated research centres such as at the City University of New York (CUNY) developing distinct approaches.

Perhaps as a result of its history, terminology is often used interchangeably despite methodological, epistemological and ethical differences between approaches.

Wadsworth (1998) referred to a spectrum of participation arguing that all research is more or less participatory. However, this relativism removes both action and politics, and instead I align with Kindon et al. (2007) who identified three common elements arguing PAR projects are i) motivated by an "ethic of inclusion" (Cahill 2007b: 363); ii) emphasise the abilities of participants, and iii) a have a desire to do research that "might [...] change things at the same time as studying them" (Gayá Wicks et al. 2008: 14).

The approach for this MRes dissertation was informed by approaches within participatory geographies (Askins forthcoming) and Community Based Participatory Research (Cahill 2007a) developing an understanding of how PAR approaches relate to each other as well as to indigenous (Smith 2005; Coombes et al. 2014) and feminist methodologies (Pratt 2004). Therefore, this research is conceived of as *participatory action research* as it is informed by but does not follow a particular PAR model (see Table 3).

Critics argue that action or participation can be tokenistic at best (Greenwood 2002; Hayward et al. 2004) and tyrannical at worst (Cooke & Kothari 2001; Cornwall & Brock 2005), with warnings that action can be particularly restricted when research is conducted in partnership with institutions (Cameron 2007). Cooke and Kothari (2001) argue that participatory research can end up harming participants and reproducing the very inequalities researchers seek to challenge, a concern echoed by scholars of autonomous migration (Pezzani & Heller 2013). Despite critiques, far from abandoning aims of participation and action, PAR advocates remain “unapologetic” (Kindon et al. 2007: 2) and continue to conduct research that is “rigorous but also flexible and collaborative” (Chevalier et al. 2013: 105). I proceeded with caution, aware of these warnings but driven by a desire for action. Following Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network’s (GRAMNet) collaborative masters model, I decided that conducting collaborative research with SDV would increase my capacity to do rigorous but sensitive research that instead of causing harm might do good (Manzo & Brighthill 2007). This is because the organisational structure would allow emotional support for participant-researchers and would increase the likelihood of impact as being part of a network of volunteers and other organisations might increase dissemination of findings.

The idea to collaborate was proposed to the part-time coordinator of SDV and it was by chance that a former detainee Pablo was attending the monthly visitor update where I presented the initial idea. After hearing about the difficulties Pablo was facing since his release, the group who were gathered came to an agreement that this experience, life after detention, would be the research focus.

In participatory action research, the “hierarchical relationship [...] between researcher and researched is challenged” and the boundaries begin to blur (Kindon et al. 2007: 1) as practitioners become researchers, researchers become participants and participants are trained as researchers (Reason & Bradbury 2006). After Pablo showed interest in “doing what it takes” to improve the situation for himself and other former detainees it was agreed that we would work closely together, with input from a wider project advisory group, to design and undertake the research, forming the SDV Life After Detention (LAD) project. There were multiple, not mutually exclusive ways to participate; i) as a participant-researcher who has experienced detention, ii) as a participant-researcher who supports people who have experienced detention, iii) as a participant who has experienced detention and iv) as a participant or member of an organisation who supports people who have experienced detention. The porous boundaries of the group meant that the members changed almost every meeting and these definitions probably held more gravity on paper than in the minds of those involved. Furthermore, the roles changed over time as participants moved from ‘giving testimony’ to ‘witnessing’ the testimony of others (Warren 1997 in Askins 2009: 10). There were various linguistic, financial and other barriers to becoming participant-researchers and attempts to “share authority” were not always understood or appreciated (Rouverol 2003: 62). However, these barriers are the very reasons why it is critical to find ways to overcome them. Therefore, for the purpose of this dissertation everyone who took part in the LAD project, including myself, are called participant-researchers to emphasise how the divisions between researcher and researched were constantly in tension as we were all always becoming participant-researchers.

However, this commitment to non-hierarchical knowledge production does not remove the fact that people are becoming participant-researchers from different directions (mrs kinpaisy 2008), arriving with different motivations, abilities and needs (Table 2).

	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Experience of immigration detention (Y/N)</b>	<b>Attended drop-in</b>
1	Pablo	Y	Y
2	Juan	Y	Y
3	Bridget	N	Y
4	Sara	Y	Y
5	Molly	N	Y
6	Alex	Y	N
7	Battlesnake	N	Y
8	Andy	Y	Y
9	Dave	Y	N
10	John	Y	Y
11	Tina	N	Y
12	Electron	Y	N
13	Sita	N	Y
14	Sean	Y	Y
15	Ismail	Y	N

Table 2: Table of participant-researchers

This research is informed by debates about positionalities based on intersectional (hooks 2004; 1994; Lorde 1982) and indigenous theory (Smith 2005). Human geography has evolved a cautious appreciation of the multiple subject positions involved in research (Kobayashi 2003). Rose’s (1997) influential article argued that by using statements of reflexivity to assert validity, geographers were once again employing Haraway’s (1991) ‘god-trick’ by making new claims to objectivity. Following Rose (1997) participant-researchers are imagined to occupy multiple subject positions (Cahill 2007a), at times ‘dancing’ (Fuller & Kitchin 2004: 8), but usually ‘stumbling’ between roles (Askins & Fuller 2007: 594). Reflecting on positionality is critical as when I write about citizenship and migration I am not a neutral observer “outside or beyond” but “of the connections” (Said 1989: 217 in de Genova 2013: 232); connected by the “interlinked histories of oppression, dispossession, and violence” (Lloyd 2012: 483). Importantly, a recent review of research in prisons revealed that very few reflected on the power

relationships between participants and researchers (Phillips & Earle 2010). While witnessing the ways in which the border crosses certain people and not others (Anzaldúa 1999), Behar (1996: 24) asked herself the most confronting questioning of positionality: “have I become the ugliest of border guards?”. In answer to this question de Genova (2013) asks another: “which side am I on?”. These questions articulate the tension between autonomous migration and migration managements studies identified in the introduction. In answer to these questions the LAD project itself occupies multiple positions. This is because the LAD group works together to improve the support available for people released from immigration detention, but also individuals within the group including myself organise to remove the need for support altogether in the tradition of militant research.<sup>7</sup> Always conscious of research which might harm rather than benefit non-citizens in the short or long-term (Garelli & Tazzioli 2013), the safety of everyone involved in the LAD project was the primary concern (Appendix A).

## **Recruitment and representation**

Most participant-researchers were recruited through a snowball approach (Bryman 2008), but people were also referred through the information leaflet (Appendix B). As recruitment impacts on the results of the research (Matthews et al. 2012), the group maintained a record of how people arrived at the drop-in. Importantly participant-researchers were not meeting each other for the first time. In fact, most participant-researchers had met in detention or prison and were old friends, current flatmates or former room mates. Therefore the group of participant-researchers who met weekly had established entanglements of power along various intersections of identity. The research was open to anyone subject to immigration controls who had been released either on bail or temporary admission and the group included destitute asylum seekers, people who had overstayed temporary work or student visas and foreign nationals who may or may not have had leave to remain but after serving a prison sentence and were awaiting deportation. The research sample was marked by its ratio of 9:1 men and women who had been detained which despite efforts to invite more women is important to consider and may be due to several factors. First the initial participant-researchers were male, second Dungavel IRC accommodates 235 males and 14 females, third there are existing

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<sup>7</sup> Militant research originates in the Italian autonomous Marxist tradition and is a counter hegemonic approach to research aiming to facilitate “radical social transformation rather than reform institutional practice” (AGC 2010: 267).

female-only peer-support services in Glasgow and fourth there are more single males subject to immigration controls than females (Strang & Quinn 2014).

In total the sample size included 10 former detainees sharing experiences of life after detention, with 5 attending the drop-ins regularly and 5 SDV visitors attending the drop-in sessions and a separate focus group. Additional invitations to participate were disseminated but most new arrivals chose not to participate in the research.<sup>8</sup> Instead the validity of the research is based on the sustained participation of a few former detainees over a period of 6 months, building an in-depth picture of life after detention from the perspective of those who experience it.

The small sample size and research focus meant anonymity was of critical importance. Confidentiality within the drop in was agreed to beforehand by all participant-researchers who sign both the university consent form and the co-written code of conduct (Appendix A). John described how important it was to establish trust and agree different levels of consent as: “if I trusting you, you could go to the class or media or something and you could say ‘OK’ and the authority would come and get me” (John). Despite this risk, participant-researchers also wanted to speak out about their situation, feeling they had nothing to lose and wanting recognition for their contribution (Bradley 2007). However as the subject people wanted to speak out against, their citizenship status, is the reason they are at risk, names were removed from documents and additional steps taken to obscure identities (Fine & Torre 2006). This is why information about individual cases, length of time in detention and countries of origin are omitted from Table 2. Ethical considerations were discussed with participant researchers (Cahill et al. 2007) before sessions on research design helped to develop the project aims and research questions.

## **Research methods**

In order to answer the research questions identified in Table 1 I facilitated sessions about research design. In these sessions the group considered the positives and negatives of different methods, for example thinking about quantitative surveys in order

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<sup>8</sup> Anyone could attend the drop-in and choose not to participate in the research (see Appendix B).

to have greater policy impact (Anderson et al. 2012b), as well as the potential advantages and difficulties of undertaking discourse analysis of press articles in order to study representation of stereotypes (Rios-Moore 2004). However as the data we sought to collect were everyday lived experiences, participant-researchers agreed that a variety of qualitative methods would allow for rich representation but also flexibility. Flexibility was a priority in order to allow former-detainees to respond in whichever way they felt most comfortable. Therefore the type and diversity of methods chosen allowed for silence and non-verbal responses. This was critical as people in the immigration and asylum process often tell their story during interviews with immigration officials or lawyers in an environment where they feel “cross-examined” (Sara).

	<b>Project Aims</b>	<b>Research Questions</b>	<b>Outputs/Actions</b>
1	Highlight the difficulties faced by people released from immigration detention and understand the reasons why	What difficulties do people face when released from immigration detention, and why?	Dissertation Film Drop-in
2	Identify what support is available for people released from immigration detention	What practical, social and emotional support is available for people released without status from immigration detention?	Dissertation Drop-in
3	Identify ways in which support for people released from immigration detention could be improved or barriers to accessing support removed	In what ways could support available for people released from immigration detention be improved or barriers to accessing support be removed?	Drop-in Recommendations Report

Table 1: Research aims, questions and outputs or actions that address aims

Source: Developed by the LAD project through the drop-in sessions

It was also agreed that the group should try to change the situation at the same time as studying it (Gayá Wicks et al. 2008). Informed by Table 3, we established a weekly drop-in which formed the foundation for the participatory action research, providing a platform for action-reflection in three ways. Firstly, the drop-in sessions were a new initiative by SDV and the group were able to reflect on the impact of the intervention on their life after detention. Secondly, the ‘small acts and kind words’ (Horton & Kraftl 2009) that were exchanged between participant-researchers were part of a ‘politics on the ground’ (Pratt 2004) that whilst difficult to quantify was part of the ongoing

“ongoing process of reflection, action and reaction” (Maxey 1999: 199). Thirdly, it provided a free, safe space to share understandings about individual and collective experience of detention (Freire 1972) and increased participant-researchers’ confidence in how to use different methods of data collection. The reasons for choosing focus groups, semi-structured interviews with audio-visual methods and the limitations of each are discussed in turn below.

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Activities</b>
Action	Establish relationships and common agenda between all stakeholders Collaboratively scope issues and information Agree on time-frame
Reflection	On research design, ethics, power relations, knowledge construction process, representation and accountability
Action	Build relationships Identify roles, responsibilities and ethics procedures Establish a Memorandum of Understanding Collaboratively design research process and tools Discuss and identify desired action outcomes
Reflection	On research questions, design, working relationships and information requirements
Action	Work together to implement research process and undertake data collection Enable participation of others Collaboratively analyse information generated Begin planning action together
Reflection	On research process Evaluate participation and representation of others Assess need for further research and/or various action options
Action	Plan research-informed action which may include feedback to participants and influential others
Reflection	Evaluate action and process as a whole
Action	Identify options for further participatory research and action with or without academic researchers

Table 3: Key stages in a Participatory Action Research process

Source: Kindon et al. (2006: 15)

Focus groups are facilitated discussions which enable the researcher to reflect on group interaction, as shared or contested meanings emerge (Bryman 2008). Although not initially designed as such, the weekly drop-in sessions resembled semi-structured focus groups as discussions were informed by the difficulties ex-detainees had faced that

week (Jordan et al. 2007). Therefore the research questions were answered on an ongoing basis as people shared what practical, social and emotional support was available. In total 12 drop-in focus group discussions took place and 1 focus group for people who support former detainees was undertaken separately to maintain confidentiality (Appendix C). If everyone present consented the discussions were minuted, audio-recorded and transcribed.

Semi-structured interviews are conducted using a list of topics, leaving space for the interviewee to talk freely about issues that are important to them. Participant-researchers agreed that interview questions (Appendix C) should focus on the support available and the experience of life after detention, rather than inside. Instead of conducting all of the interviews, I was present during sessions where participant-researchers interviewed each other. This blurred the boundaries between researchers and participants but did not come without its difficulties. For example the exchange below reveals the initial discomfort:

“{starts recording}

Bridget: We could interview each other?

Molly: Thats scary.

Pablo: Yeah it is.

Bridget: What about it is scary?

Molly: Doing an interview, its being put on the spot...

Battlesnake: There was me thinking I could put on my Jeremy Paxman impression...”

However, over time participant-researchers became familiar with equipment and techniques and once filming began a further 5 video-interviews were recorded. Furthermore 3 ‘go-along’ interviews were undertaken where participants were invited to walk and describe the places that were important to their life before or after detention (Kusenbach 2003). In total, 25 interviews lasting between 30-60 minutes each were recorded and transcribed. If participant-researchers were able and willing to they also edited their own video or transcribed their interviews. Participatory transcription was time-consuming, but the process provided insight into what people felt comfortable to

make public. For example when transcribing Juan explained “[laugh] I can't believe I said that!”, further blurring the boundary between researcher and researched.

Photo and video methodologies provided a “lens” to understand the experience of life after detention beyond what participant-researchers described orally (Bijoux & Myers 2006: 45), and aimed to bridge linguistic boundaries to participation (Krieg & Roberts 2010). Adapted from Latham’s (2003) diary-interview method I provided cameras and suggested that the photos reflected places and moments where support was available or needed (Appendix D). Participatory mapping generates a visual representation of how participants understand their environment (Sanderson 2007). Participant-researchers were asked to draw the places associated with being released. During one drop-in an emotions mapping exercise prompted a discussion about what emotions were associated to particular spaces. In addition to these research methods participant-researchers were invited to contribute photos, poems, letters or diaries that documented their life before, during or after detention which were then expanded on during interviews or group discussions informed by photo elicitation methodology (Bagnoli 2009).

Participatory video is unique to the “politicised context and timeframe” available (Servaes 1996 in Hume-Cook et al. 2007: 162). The use of participatory video in the LAD project arose from a desire within the group to use film to communicate their experiences to a wider audience. However, as Geoffrey Hume-Cook et al. (2007: 166) note “the video products’ ability to travel into different spaces and reach different audiences should not be assumed”. Instead the primary aim of the film-making process was the “personal growth that comes about during the process of production” (Guidi 2003: 263). Importantly, like academic research, documentary film is usually made by outsiders who retain control over the production of the video-making process (Pink 2001; 2007; White 2003). However in participatory video participants make the decisions about priorities, direction and dissemination. This process did not come without challenges, as the group found it difficult to make editing decisions and there was a tension between simplifying complex stories and communicating a single narrative. However, despite these difficulties the film-making process enabled themes to emerge and was the foundation for participatory analysis.

Research analysis usually takes place in a separate phase, conducted by “experts” who triangulate the data (Cahill 2007c: 182). However, as the LAD project understands former detainees to be experts-by-experience (Phelps 2007), a form of participatory analysis was undertaken. Themes emerged during filming and I developed analysis frameworks as I transcribed and brought these to the group. This “collaborative and constructive process of reflection” (Cahill 2007c: 183) is what I call a participatory grounded theory approach, as emerging themes are reflected in the theories explored in the literature review.

## **Chapter four: literature review**

This chapter makes connections across the academic literature in three theoretical framings before analysing how these fit with the research data in the following chapters.

### **Immigration, incarceration and deportation**

Mobility is part of the human condition, but modern migration is marked by selective mobility and shaped by historical patterns of inequality and exploitation (Sharma 2005). This critical context was ignored by scholars of the ‘new mobilities turn’ (Sheller & Law 2006; Hannam et al. 2006), who emphasised flows in contrast to stillness (Castells 1996), and neglected other spatialities of migration. Leitner et al. (2008: 158) criticised geographers’ “tendency to privilege a particular spatiality”. However, their conceptualisation of mobility as always connected with scale, place, networks and positionality also overlooked time. Instead, Adey (2010) introduced the idea that mobility and stillness are always ‘paradoxically interconnected’. This is a subtle but important departure from conceptualising mobility and immobility as distinct, which can ignore entanglements of power, politics and positionality (Sharp et al. 2000). This has important implications when researching migration because “[t]he word ‘state’ derives from ‘statis’ or immobility” (Anderson et al. 2012a: 76) and scholars are at risk of “seeing like a state” (Scott 1999) by associating national populations with stillness in contrast to migrants as always on the move. In contrast, Gill’s (2009a; 2009b) work on mobility in the immigration detention estate highlights the entangled and often contradictory movements of migrants, arguing that as state strategies to forcibly move migrants increase - either through dispersal, transfer around the detention estate, or removal - migrant strategies for stillness also increase, as people build connections that might increase their chances of remaining in the UK.

This research is grounded in geographical theories of immigration detention (Mountz et al. 2012; Martin & Mitchelson 2009), but also informed by carceral geographies which blur the distinction between inside and outside using the theory of liminality (Moran et al. 2013). Liminality is the in-between space, from the Latin word *limen* meaning threshold, rooted in Van Gennep’s (1909 [1960]) work on the threshold between adolescence and adulthood. With regards to the distinction between prison and release,

Baer and Ravneberg (2008) identified the blurred boundary between the inside and outside of prison, but still considered the relationship to be a binary one. They also commented on the limits of their own methodology, noting that future research should better incorporate the experience of prisoners (Moran et al. 2013). Allspach's (2010: 720) study of female prisoners in Canada argued that release resembled incarceration due to neoliberal practices of control so she coined the phrase "socio-economic spatial re-confinements" to account for the continued feeling of confinement. Whilst there is a danger in drawing too close a conceptual connection between different types of incarceration because, legally, detention differs from imprisonment in its administrative rather than punitive function a review of the literature reveals several similarities. These connections are the starting point for exploring the ways in which carceral geographies stretch into life after detention.

A review of the literature also highlights the interrelation between detention and deportation, with scholars offering different arguments about the nature of the relationship. For example in Australia, McLoughlin and Warin (2008: 260) show how the "permanent and frozen liminal state" experienced inside detention is extended post-detention but does not consider how this relates to deportation. Coffey et al.'s (2010) mixed-methods study in Australia found that sometimes the difficulties people faced post-detention were as a result of their experiences of being detained. Research into the deportation of migrants has mostly been conducted outside of the UK. Kanstroom's (2000; 2007) work in the US highlights the tolerated status of migrants, meaning they are always on probation and therefore 'detainable'. Also in the US, de Genova's Marxian analysis (2002; 2007; 2012) extended the idea of migrant conditionality coining the term 'deportability'. Deportability is used to define how the deportation of a few 'illegalised immigrants' produces a fear which works to control the mobility of all migrants and impacts on the national labour market as migrants who are not deported are "disciplined by deportability" (Anderson 2013: 10). Coutin (2010: 205) shows how for Salvadoran immigrants in the US deportation is "akin to exile" because there is "nowhere to go" when national territories, both host and countries of origin, not just detention centres become zones of confinement. Recent research in London by Hasselberg (2014: 149) shows how the shadow of deportation affects the everyday lives of foreign national ex-offenders and their families, concluding that "[b]etween

imprisonment and deportation, migrants and their families live in limbo. Their lives are unsettled, uncertain and insecure”. Hasselberg’s research is a starting point for this analysis as she proposes scholars think critically about *whose* security is at stake when practices of confinement and exile are legitimised in the name of national security.

### **Security, governmentality and criminality**

Zedner (2010: 379) argues that “the pursuit of security relies upon limiting the mobility of those deemed to threaten public safety”, showing the tension between the interests of security and freedom in relation to immigration. Bigo (2002; 2004) mapped how restrictive ‘technologies of control’ designed for non-citizens are extended into the lives of citizens (Gibney 2014). The conceptual origins of technologies of control are related to Foucauldian theories of governmentality. Foucault’s (1977) study of prisons was highly influential in its conclusions about how the intersections of power and knowledge discipline populations. However, Foucault (in Oksala 2013) also noted the ambiguity and evolution of the concept of ‘governmentality’. Mainly used to describe how governance is connected to the nation state, it refers to the relations of power in general which “conducts the conduct of men” (ibid: 324). Building on Foucault, Walters (2015a; 2015b: 96) conceptualises ‘governmentality’ as a process that is emergent rather than planned, pointing to the ways in which governmentality works “between and beyond” Foucault’s more fixed ‘carceral archipelagos’. Pickering and Weber (2006) developed the theory of ‘technologies of control’ to describe the complex immigration enforcement strategies that work to govern and to exclude ‘illegal’ immigrants. However while many studies use theories of governmentality, there is little empirical evidence on the impact of these processes on everyday life for immigrants with the notable exception of McDowell and Wonders (2009). They argue that laws, policies, discourses and technologies of control work together as ‘global disciplinary strategies’ which shape migrant mobility. With regards to the legal convergence between criminal justice and immigration law in the US, Stumpf’s (2006) ‘cimmigration crisis’ warned that if security concerns continue to trump those of citizenship, society will become “stratified by flexible conceptions of membership in which nonmembers are cast out of the community by means of borders, walls, rules, and public condemnation” (ibid: 419). Nevins (2008) showed how acts of migration such as border crossing are themselves criminalised, and Squire’s (2009) *Exclusionary Politics of Asylum* connects these

themes of security, governmentality and criminality by showing how dispersal works as a form of policing, disciplining migrant behaviour through processes of securitisation and criminalisation. An under-researched concern is who profits from this process of criminalisation, with Tyler (2013) outlining how representations of certain populations such as asylum seekers are re-classified, or illegalised, in ways which serve the interests of the neoliberal capitalist economy.

The legal connections are accompanied by a “rhetorical convergence between crime and immigration” (Bosworth 2011: 587). Across the literature, a key argument is that people who are in detention, by virtue of both legal and physical distancing, become imagined as “security problems” (Hall 2012: 7). Furthermore, the threat of the ‘foreign criminal’ (Anderson 2013) contributes to “fear-driven national security regimes” (Mountz et al. 2012: 4), creating a cycle of justification that sustains the ‘deportation regime’ (de Genova & Puetz 2010). Importantly, although the risk of re-offending should not be discounted, Bhui (2007: 378), a member of HMP inspectorate, showed how “negative representations of [foreign national] prisoners have exaggerated the threat they pose to society, masked their individuality and encouraged unequal treatment within the prison and immigration systems”. This discourse of danger is the basis on which the “double jeopardy” (Bosworth 2014a: 592) of imprisonment followed by administrative detention and deportation is justified. This theoretical framing shows how security concerns work to produce the material, legal and representational exclusion of migrants inside and outside of immigration detention.

### **Citizenship, status and statelessness**

Nyers and Rygiel (2012) argue that citizenship, the tie between individuals and a nation state, should be seen as a concept that is itself always in motion. This idea of incorporating a temporal element to understanding borders and citizenship status is extended by scholars who study acts of citizenship (Isin & Nielsen 2006) and no border politics. No Borders is a political movement that imagines “a world without border controls, identity papers, fictions of national belonging, death and destruction over abstract geographies” (Fernandez et al. 2006: 467). Nyers' (2013: 37) research suggests that No Borders is not about where or for whom, but when, asserting that there are

“already existing...enactments of ‘no borders’“ (ibid: 38) which go beyond national formations of citizenship (Squire 2009; Anderson et al. 2012a).

These theories contrast with the structuralist perspective that borders are universal and absolute. *The Condition of Statelessness* (Arendt 1951) concludes that without citizenship, people do not have the “right to have rights”. Agamben (1998; 2005) expanded on Arendt arguing that the drawing of national boundaries “creates a category of persons...who are purely subject to the law with no sovereignty over it” (Cole 2010: 4). However, instead of a dichotomy between citizens and non-citizens, scholars have shown how non-citizenship itself is “less-than-full” (Goldring et al. 2009: 240) due to a “splintering of rights” (Grove-White 2012: 42) and the “remaking of the refugee label” (Zetter 2007). This is thought to be because rights-based approaches in anti-detention campaigns sometimes elevate the needs of refugees above asylum seekers and economic migrants above undocumented migrants, creating further divisions between citizens and non-citizens and amongst categories of non-citizen (Anderson et al. 2012).

The experience of life after detention spans these theoretical framings and more, with themes related to various theories emerging from drop-in discussions. This dissertation aims to fill the gap between research on detention, dispersal and deportation, and is unique its participatory methodology which puts people with experience of immigration detention at the centre. In the following chapters I build on participatory analysis, combining academic theory with research data to arrive at several key findings.

## Chapter five: the spectre of detention and deportation

“really and truly detention and bail it kind of feels like the same thing really...cause you don’t know how long its gonna go on for.” (Sean)

“life after detention has been a bit tougher than inside...its like you’re in a cage.” (Alex)

“its like you’re still in detention, although the door can be open you’re still stuck in your house, its like they opened the exercise yard but you’re still in there...to me its like a wall-less prison. Its detention without walls.” (Pablo)

This chapter will analyse the research data and relate findings to the key themes from the literature, answering the research question: what difficulties do people face when released from immigration detention, and why?

In order to answer the question I draw from two of the three thematic areas in the literature review, building in particular on theories of carceral geographies, deportability and governmentality. I also mobilise the metaphors of containment expressed in the quotes above which reflect the often quoted stanzas of Richard Lovelace’s (1642[2015]) poem;

“Stone walls do not a prison make,  
Nor iron bars a cage”

A key finding in both the literature and research data is that technologies of control have “lingering effects” (Mountz et al. 2012: 13) that continue to cause difficulties for individuals without status after they are released from detention. I argue that this is best conceptualised as the *spectre of detention and deportation*. I make this argument by analysing participant-researcher’s lived experience, identifying the main difficulties faced through three diffuse technologies of control: dispersal, destitution and the threat of deportation, before discussing the importance of this research finding.

## Dispersal

Dispersal is the act of distributing asylum seekers and other migrants eligible for accommodation provision to different cities across the UK. It is designed to “spread the burden” on asylum services way from the south-east (Robinson et al. 2003), but in reality it separates and isolates new arrivals (Boswell 2003). This section explores three main difficulties caused by dispersal, discussing in turn the impacts of disorientation, accommodation difficulties and separation from family and communities.

When people are released from detention they are driven to the nearest train station and given a ticket for their next destination, either the dispersal city where accommodation will be provided through Section 4 Support, a bail surety or if released on temporary admission their destination may be unknown and they might face homelessness.



Figure 5.1 : View from the railway bridge from Hamilton train station to Glasgow  
Source: Footage for the film Detention Without Walls (Juan)



Figure 5.2 : Rainy view in the car coming from Dungavel IRC to Hamilton train station  
Source: Footage for the film Detention Without Walls (Juan)

Juan's choice of blurred shots for the opening of the film (Figure 5.1 & 5.2) portray how release made him feel both mobile and immobile. Although physically moving towards a new future he was contained, either within a train or car, so the view was obscured and he was not in control of where he was going. This is reflected in his description of release as "you come out of detention, straight to the station and you don't know where to go" (Juan). Other participant-researchers described dispersal like living "in a dark room" (John), being "blind-folded" (Dave) or "always being lost and confused" (Sean). Pablo explains the moment of release where:

"they don't care how you get there or where you are going, they just give you a train ticket and leave you there. They say "you going to this address" but you don't know where you are...because you never been here before." (Pablo)

This data emphasises the experiences of disorientation experienced due to dispersal, supporting assertions in the literature (Squire 2009; Mountz et al. 2012) that dispersal significantly shapes migrant mobility. Critically, new freedoms made possible by release are accompanied by immobilities, as new arrivals are disorientated and separated from their networks of support. This evidence supports Adey's (2010) assertion that mobility and immobility are paradoxically interconnected. His theory is the starting point for the plural and temporal understanding of life after detention arrived at in this dissertation, captured in the term *(im)mobilities*. Initially *(im)mobilities* was conceived of as similar to the theory of liminality developed by scholars of carceral geographies (Moran et al. 2013), whereby people are contained within a space or time which is neither inside nor outside. Liminality is helpful for emphasising the blurred boundary between detention and life after detention, as the word liminal relates to a transitional position, a threshold between two states of being. However, liminality can not fully account for time and the fact that deportability is conceived of beginning long before detention (Hasselberg 2014) as well as after deportation (Coutin 2010). Instead, the concept of *(im)mobilities* is useful as it accounts for the ways in which the difficulties ex-detainees face post-detention can arise in paradoxical and unexpected moments or spaces. Again, this is similar to that of Allspach's (2010) concept of "socio-economic spatial re-confinements", but with an includes the temporal and changing experience of confinement. The concept of *(im)mobilities* also enables the development of the key

argument in this chapter, that of the spectre of detention and deportation. The concept of the spectre reflects the ways in which technologies of control overshadow as well as interrupt everyday life both inside and outside of detention. It accounts for the fear and uncertainty but can also be used to highlight the constructed and contestable nature of deportation (de Genova 2002). This concept is developed in the examples that follow.

The majority of participant-researchers felt that release on bail was “a double edged sword” (Sean), marked by new freedoms but accompanied moments of feeling trapped and unable to control their own lives. Squire (2009) argues that asylum housing works as a form of policing, through everyday processes of criminalisation and securitisation. This dissertation supports Squire’s thesis showing how whilst the geography of immigration detention is designed to deter and control, technologies of control move “into everyday spaces so that migrants experience confinement outside of formal institutional structures” (Mountz et al. 2012: 13). For example Sean says how he “didn’t think freedom would come with all these rules” (Sean). Instead most participant-researchers long to “live my life the way I wanna” (Pablo) or just “live simply without any fuss” (Juan). These feelings were most evident in discussions about accommodation provision. Whilst “its good to have shelter” (Alex), participant-researchers identified lack of privacy and lack of ownership as key difficulties. Sean says “they just let themselves in. Where’s the privacy? This is not a jail, this is my living room”. With regards to ownership Juan argues “I can’t say anything because they can turn around and say its their house” (Juan), and while Pablo insists “its my house, my space” he also worries that “I don’t have anywhere to call home anymore. They can take my new house away from me at any moment” (Pablo). Participant-researchers described making friends in order for someone to collect their belongings in case they were detained. These surprise house visits punctuated the overall uncertainty over accommodation, reminding former detainees of their insecure immigration status. Furthermore, a recent report emphasised how asylum accommodation in Glasgow has historically been in poor condition and located in areas of multiple deprivation (Glen & Lindsey 2014), with Pablo describing the difficulty of “coming from prison and having a flat with a cage on it in a block being demolished not suitable for human use” (Pablo) (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3: Asylum accommodation at Petershill Drive also known as ‘Red Road’  
Source: Pablo’s photo diary

In the literature, immigration detention centres are often referred to as islands or archipelagoes (Mountz 2011a), where physical walls (chak 2014), isolation units (McLoughlin & Warin 2008), and re-location around the detention estate (Gill 2009b; 2009a) work to separate detainees from society, their families and from each other. This dissertation argues that the difficulties extend beyond the walls of IRCs as dispersal continues to separate people from their families and communities of support. For example John says “OK, they give you release, they give you Section 4 far away from your bloody town...and you don’t have a friend, or fucking any one in your life!” (John), describing the dominant experience for participant-researchers; that of separation and isolation. In another case, Dave who stays with a family friend in the north of Scotland, travels over 500 miles by bus once a month to see his three-year old daughter says

“when you have a kid, and you are not allowed to see them, then you’re going to be removed from your kid, thats horrible you know, people should have the right to spend their life with their kids” (Dave)

This research data shows how geographic distances and financial barriers can become walls between families. Figure 5.4 shows the places where Dave is alone, separated



Figure 5.4: Photos of places where Dave misses his daughter, friends and family

Source: Dave's photo diary



Figure 5.5: Pablo with his son

Source: Footage for the film Detention Without Walls (Pablo)

from his daughter, friends and family, revealing how photos and the memories associated with them can disrupt spatio-temporal distances during life after detention.

Similarly Pablo is able to spend more time with his son since being released, but still does not live in the same city and must overcome significant financial barriers in order to spend time with him. Figure 5.5 shows how deportability overshadows Pablo's relationship with his son as he describes how “all I wanna be is a dad but how can I be a dad when I’m not even sure if I’ll see him tomorrow?” (Pablo). These examples are evidence of the ways in which the spectre of detention and deportation casts shadows over relationships but also how there are moments and spaces where the spectre is not, evident at the times when people build new relationships with their children and make new friendships in cities where they are dispersed.

There was a strong feeling amongst participant-researchers that the difficulties they faced were caused by the Home Office, with the belief that separation was a “deliberate strategy” (Alex) to weaken people’s legal cases. For example Ismail reflects on the deport first, appeal later principles believing that “once they take you away you have no chances” and Sean suggests:

“so I think they should put people close to their family’s ... he can’t afford to go and see his kids, but sometimes I don’t know, sometimes I think they might do that on purpose maybe?” (Sean)

However whether the negative impacts of dispersal are deliberate dimensions of immigration policy or unintentional impacts of administrative incompetence (Boswell 2001) is impossible to empirically prove or disprove (Squire 2009). Importantly, this research data highlights how dispersal contributes to the difficulties of disorientation, separation and insecurity caused by the threat of deportation, extending arguments made by carceral geographers that confinement continues beyond physical walls and cages.

## Destitution

When released from immigration detention without status people face destitution, exacerbating the difficulties experienced due to dispersal. Although the impacts of destitution for ‘failed asylum seekers’ have been well-documented (Williams 2014; Gillespie 2012; Carnet et al. 2014; RST 2009), this dissertation identifies two connected difficulties faced by people released from detention but in particular ‘foreign-national ex-offenders’, namely: the inability to work and the risk of re-offending.

Participatory analysis identified being unable to work as a key difficulty. For example, without Section 4, people rely on friends and family, with Dave describing how:

“you are not even allowed to work and stuff...I have to work to survive and support my daughter...you have the ability to work but you can not work and then you have to rely on some other people for the support” (Dave),

Furthermore, Pablo said “its like I’m disabled...everything is illegal as soon as I start making money for myself”. Although not a justification for immigration detention, participant-researchers agreed that “at least inside detention you had a routine” (Juan) and “they even give you a paid job” (Alex).<sup>9</sup> Pablo’s poem (Figure 5.6) describes his daily routine: “Wake up/Brush my teeth/Freshing up/Cuppa tea/And/A roll up/Time for work...”.

Although the poem is an account of the boredom inside immigration detention, Pablo says the difficulties he faces outside of detention are harder than inside because he can not work. The irony of being unable to work outside of immigration detention but being paid less than minimum wage while inside detention, was not lost on participant-researchers as John asked “who profits from our suffering?”. The concept of deportability (de Genova 2002) goes some way to answer both John’s and this dissertation’s research question. de Genova (2002) argues that the threat of deportation pushes people underground and justifies low-waged or unpaid labour due to migrant’s deportable status. This theory is supported by claims from participant-researchers that

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<sup>9</sup> Rule 17 of the Detention Centre Rules allows for paid work opportunities to be provided inside immigration detention through private contractors at a rate of £1.00 per hour or £1.25 for specified projects (DSO 2013).

WAKE UP  
 BRUSH MY TEETH  
 FRESHING UP  
 CUPPA TEA  
 AND  
 AROLL UP  
 TIME FOR WORK.  
 MORNING GRIND  
 LESSONS HAVE ALREADY STARTED  
 HELPING TO TEACH  
 AND  
 BE TAUGHT  
 SPACE TO LEARN NEW THINGS.  
 CLASS OVER;  
 TIME TO GET IN TOUCH  
 WITH  
 THE OUTSIDE WORLD  
 READ THE PAPER  
 USE THE INTERNET ROOM  
 AND  
 LISTEN TO SOME  
 TUNES  
 REMINISCING  
 AS IF I WAS  
 OUT THERE

9 O'CLOCK  
 BACK TO REALITY  
 STRAIGHT TO HEALTH CARE  
 9:30  
 BACK IN MY ROOM  
 TIME TO STAND UP  
 AND  
 BE COUNTED  
 TY  
 CUPPA TEA  
 SMOKE  
 THINKING TILL MY MIND GOES BLANK  
 Hoping  
 WITH THE LITTLE  
 HELP  
 FROM FROM  
 HEALTH CARE  
 WILL KNOCK ME OUT  
 BECAUSE  
 I DON'T WANT TO  
 REMEMBER  
 THE DAY BEFORE  
 WHEN  
 I  
 WAKE UP  
 THE NEXT DAY  
 WHICH TURNS OUT  
 TO  
 BE THE SAME DAY

Figure 5.6: Pablo's poem written inside immigration detention

Source: Shared by Pablo at a drop-in

the Home Office must be aware the extent of irregular working. For example Sara describes how “most people I know are working using someone else’s ID card” (Sara) and Dave says “they obviously know people work without papers in this country, and if you don’t work, or you say you don’t work, they won’t believe you. So you can’t win”. This process of illegalisation is also emphasised by the new 2015 Immigration Act which if passed will make working without permission a criminal offence.

Another finding was that indefinite detention was replaced by indefinite destitution. This finding was reflected by evidence from a participant-researcher who visits Dungavel IRC, who said “I felt foolish when I was happy at Pablo’s release from detention - I shoulda known!” (Battlesnake). This visitor was arriving at the realisation that release is not the end of people’s difficulties. A new difficulty arising due to destitution was the risk that some former detainees might commit crimes in order to get by. For example, Andy who has been destitute for 8 years believed that “by pushing us into destitution they’re pushing crime on the street”. Hasselberg (2014: 13) explored this difficulty, arguing that an un-rehabilitated “convict is hardly in the best interests of the public good”. Some participant-researchers who had previously relied on income through illegal activities such as selling drugs or working without permission saw bail as “a trap”.

“How do you take someone who was living off crime and never had a job in the first place and then tell them you can’t work, you can’t study, and then you give them 24 hours of a day, like what do you think he’s gonna end up doing.” (Sean)

People released from immigration detention following a prison sentence do not have access to rehabilitation services and ‘foreign national prisoners’ are less likely to access education and work programmes in prison (Kaufman 2012). Whilst this data supports Hasselberg’s (2014) findings, I argue that it is not because of the interests of the public good that rehabilitation should be extended to ‘foreign national ex-offenders’ but rather in the interests of the individuals who experience destitution. These findings highlight the “lose-lose situation” (Sean) of choosing between indefinite detention or release without any support.

## Deportation

The fear of deportation and the anxieties this produces were identified as key difficulties both inside and outside of immigration detention. Evidence from maps and interviews



Figure 5.7: Maps of life after immigration detention

Source: Activity during research drop-in, above Pablo, below, Juan

revealed how all participant-researchers identified the Home Office on Brand Street as somewhere that was feared due to the threat of re-detention or deportation (Figure 5.7). The obligation to report at the Home Office is designed to deter absconding (Williams 2015). Some participant-researchers report monthly, most weekly, but for some it was a “daily chore” (Pablo). Whilst the threat of deportation is more tangible in detention, after detention the fear is associated with certain places or moments. For example when reporting Electron gets “nervous, my heart speeds up”, and Dave says “every week I worry I’ll be detained”. Therefore the fear of detention and deportation is a constant pressure which is punctuated by stories from friends who were detained. For example Sean tells a story of how:

“You’re under pressure 24/7 really. I went to sign two weeks ago and they detained my friend, and even though it isn’t funny, it was funny cause he’d been out for like 8 months but every time he went to sign he would take a suitcase ‘cause he was so worried that he would be detained without his stuff...so the one day that he didn’t do that, he’d spent the night at a friend’s house and he went straight there in the morning just in shorts and T-shirt and the next minute he knew they were saying we’re taking you to detention! Me I was laughing, cause imagine you’ve been carrying a suitcases around for 8 months...I don’t wanna have to carry a suitcase around every time I go there, that’s just fucked up like really and truly always waiting.”

These examples support de Genova’s (2002; 2012) theory of deportability, who argued that it does not matter how many people are deported annually, because the threat of deportation is enough to manipulate migrant (im)mobilities. However the quotes and maps also reveal how fear of deportation was particularly present in certain places, such as the Home Office and how the fear of deportation worked through the circulation of stories about friends who are detained. Therefore the threat of deportation works through plural, emergent processes that stem from technologies of the state (Walters 2015a) but also through other migrants and self-regulation (Mountz et al. 2012).

The second finding related to deportation as a technology of control was how the threat of deportation produces psychological difficulties and (im)mobilities; namely

sleeplessness, nightmares and the inability to make plans. Firstly, sleeplessness was a common experience and for most participant-researchers, “the sleepless nights” (Juan) were a reaction to stress and uncertainty, but for Sean who “got a fucked up sleeping pattern while in detention”, it was a way to avoid the guards during the daytime who were persuading him to return voluntarily.<sup>10</sup> Secondly the spectre of detention and deportation entered the dreams of former detainees as participant-researchers reported dreaming of “keys and doors” (Brian), “locking sounds” (Pablo) and escape routes from “dark rooms” (John). This data supports Coffey and colleague’s (2010: 2070) findings in Australia that the difficulties people faced post-detention were the “legacy of their adverse experiences while detained”. Similarly in the UK, the recent cross-party parliamentary review found that during the first 30 days in detention anxiety is related to concerns about immigration cases but following that time anxiety was about detention itself (APPGR&M 2015). Thirdly, the threat of deportation meant that people released without status “couldn’t make no plans” (Sara). For example, Juan argued that “if you are a person whose got dreams you see all those dreams get crushed. We come here with dreams, they shit on your head and say, here you go, take that!” (Juan).

The fear of detention and deportation meant that like inside detention, life after detention was characterised by a non-linear, disrupted conception of time. There is not enough space in this dissertation to fully explore the complex ways in which time relates to practices of immigration detention and deportation (Mountz 2011b; Conlon 2011). However time is important in relation to the concept of the spectre of detention and deportation as the research data emphasises long periods of “waiting, waiting, waiting” (Juan), punctuated by moments where time seemed to speed up as “you feel like you might be caught at any moment” (Alex) or even where time appears to be in reverse when “I’m back to square one” (Electron). These examples disrupt linear temporal geographies and therefore the research data supports arguments in the literature about how governmentality works in unexpected spatio-temporal ways, haunting the dreams of former detainees and impacting upon people’s future as much as their past. Pablo describes,

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<sup>10</sup> The Assisted Voluntary Returns provides advice and financial assistance for current and ‘failed’ asylum seekers’ to return to their country of origin, up to a total of £1,500 per person (Webber 2010).

“This life, this not knowing, it starts way before you go into detention or where you are now on bail. It starts in prison, when you know people are going to be released and you’re not. When you’re in detention and you see someone new come in and leave before you. You live the life of limbo before you enter it.”

Life after detention is experienced as detention without walls because deportation is a “process that begins far before a migrant is forcibly removed from one country to another” (Hasselberg 2014: 139). Therefore the difficulties associated with dispersal, destitution and deportation are caused by the continued uncertainty and fear of deportation that arises in unexpected and paradoxical ways both inside and outside of immigration detention.

## **Discussion**

I will now summarise how the experiences of participant-researchers relate to the main arguments in the literature. This chapter built on arguments around the entanglements of immobility and mobility and the diffuse processes of technologies of control, governmentality and security beyond institutions of incarceration. I argue that whilst people are free from physical walls, there are unexpected obstacles that remain and create new difficulties and (im)mobilities once released.

In order to answer the research question I built on Adey's (2010) concept of paradoxical immobility and challenged the concept of liminality to show how (im)mobilities overshadow and interrupt everyday life both inside and outside of immigration detention and life after detention. I show how this is best conceptualised as a spectre of detention and deportation. This concept of a spectre of detention and deportation reflects the uncertainty that characterises both detention and life after detention, and the fear which is produced as migrants are always deportable (de Genova 2002). Although detention is designed to govern and control, the spectre of detention and deportation accounts for the diffuse, less visible spatio-temporal technologies of control at work in everyday life beyond detention centres (Walters 2015a). This finding was based on the metaphors of “detention without walls” and also expands on recent literature. For example, Martin and Mitchelson (2008: 472 emphasis in original) concluded their review of the literature by calling for more research into how the “*spectre of being detained* may produce its own sense of indeterminacy”. In a more recent review,

Mountz et al. (2012) argued that detention and deportation are interrelated but did not explore the nature of the relationship. Hasselberg's (2014) research supports my argument, as her study of 'foreign national ex-offenders' shows how deportation is not an event but a process that begins before people are deported. However, she does not conceptualise this process in terms of a shadow or spectre but rather as something that is internalised by former detainees and their families as their lives are in limbo. Carceral geographies have an appreciation of how incarceration might have "lingering effects" (Mountz et al. 2012), captured in the term liminality (Moran et al. 2013). However, emphasis on the in-between implies a point along a spectrum, between two different, often extreme states of being. Instead of a binary between freedom and unfreedom or mobility and immobility, the "diffuse processes of containment" (Squire 2009: 155) that extend into life after detention are best conceptualised as a spectre of detention and deportation because everyday life is both overshadowed and punctuated by a fear of deportation. For most participant-researchers, the spectre of detention and deportation is particularly present at the Home Office at Brand Street (see Figure 5.7). However, one person might feel the pressure of deportation due to the possibility of being separated from their family, while another is surprised by house inspections that remind him of the insecurity of his status. Furthermore this might differ temporally as fear is heightened one week by the story of a friend's deportation and at other times boredom and sleeplessness form "an eternal present" (Anderson et al 2012: 77). This non-linear experience of time supports my argument about the spectre of detention and deportation as fear arises in multiple, sometimes contradictory ways. These examples show how instead of a *condition* of deportability (de Genova 2002; Coutin 2010), which is *internalised* (Hasselberg 2014; McDowell & Wonders 2009), deportability is an emergent and unpredictable process. Therefore the spectre of detention and deportation is a useful concept as it describes how the structural violence of border processes intersect with everyday experiences in unexpected and paradoxical ways. The concept developed in this chapter goes some way to answer what difficulties are faced and how these are experienced but it does not fully account for why. The following chapter expands on two reasons why, arguing that it is in part due to the insecurity of non-citizenship understood as statuslessness that migrants are always on probation (Kanstroom 2000) and in part because of the figure of the 'foreign criminal' that the spectre of detention and deportation is sustained.

## Chapter six: statuslessness and the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’

“Pablo: you walking on eggshells

Sean: yeah its like walking on glass

Pablo: Glass? You walking on water rude boy! You can drown at any time! You have to believe in yourself to walk in that water. Its a miracle that we do. We walking on miracles all the time, every day you wake up in the morning you should be grateful.”

“You don’t know the meaning of status until you don’t have it, and then somehow you lose even more of it” (Juan)

Chapter five argued that life after detention is experienced as detention without walls as people who are released without status remain at risk of deportation and continue to face difficulties similar to those inside detention. Before recommendations for improving support are made in the following chapter, this chapter will relate empirical findings to theories of security, citizenship and criminality, expanding on the reasons why people continue to face difficulties when released from immigration detention.

I argue that there are two main reasons why people face difficulties when released from immigration detention. The first is best conceived as a form of *statuslessness*, reflected in the quotes above, as the stratification of citizenship and non-citizenship status makes more migrants deportable, meaning they are always on probation (Kanstroom 2000). The second reason expands on the first, arguing that this stratification of status is in part due to the legal and rhetorical convergence of crime and immigration. The process of criminalisation is embodied in the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’ which haunts deportable migrants’ past, present and future and sustains the *spectre of detention and deportation*. These findings emerged from conversations at the drop-in, as participant-researchers reflected on concerns of citizenship and criminality. Therefore the theory I draw upon reflects where the participant-researchers sit, at the intersection of crime and immigration, their bodies crossed by the border, their rights to movement, work and family life curtailed, living a life in limbo so easy to write about and so difficult to live.

## Statuslessness

The difficulties inside detention extend beyond physical walls primarily because of the relationship between citizenship and the sovereign nation state. This argument has its origins in Arendt's (1951: 292) analysis of how the post-colonial, post-war world was a “new global political situation...a completely organised humanity...a barbed-wire labyrinth” of national borders through which refugees who “lack a place in the world” were undesirable to all states and were therefore treated as “scum of the earth” (ibid: 292; 297). Agamben (2005) extended Arendt’s argument, suggesting that statelessness is created through a ‘state of exception’, whereby categories of people are subject to the law of a sovereign nation state but have no sovereignty over those laws. This theory is supported by evidence within the research data. Many participant-researchers felt they had “no where else to go” (Andy) after being “made stateless” (Alex). Although not legally stateless, legislation to deprive people of citizenship can “make people stateless within the state” (Slater 2013: 31). Figure 6.1 shows how it feels to be suspended

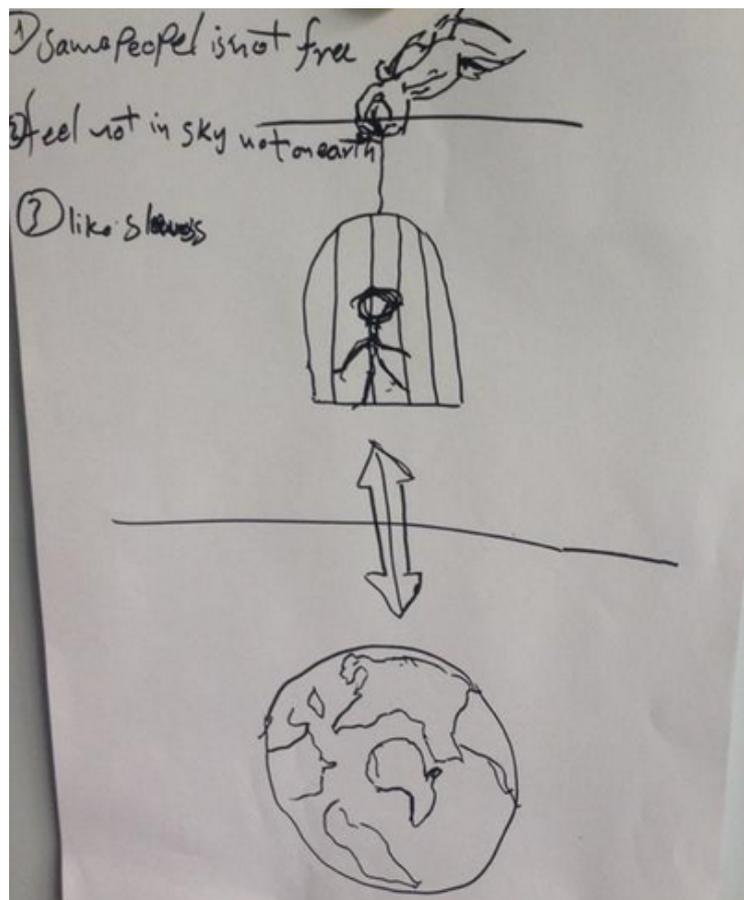


Figure 6.1: Immigration detention described as “some people is not free, feel not in sky, not on earth, like slaves.”

Source: Drawing exercise by Scottish Detainee Visitors (2015)

between two territories, held between the earth and sky. The emotions mapping exercise in Figure 6.2 revealed how feelings of being “restricted/trapped” were shared by former detainees and by SDV visitors. This shared feeling shows how the impacts of not have status extend into the lives of citizens as well as non-citizens as it was felt there were limits to how support could be improved because of the condition of statelessness. Furthermore in relation to the law, Dave said “I have no legal leg to stand on...without status you are on uneven ground” (Dave). This data could be interpreted as support for Agamben’s (2005) state of exception and geographical theories of liminality which would consider immigration detention and life after detention as a “space [of] suspended rules of freedom” (Isin & Rygiel 2006: 193).

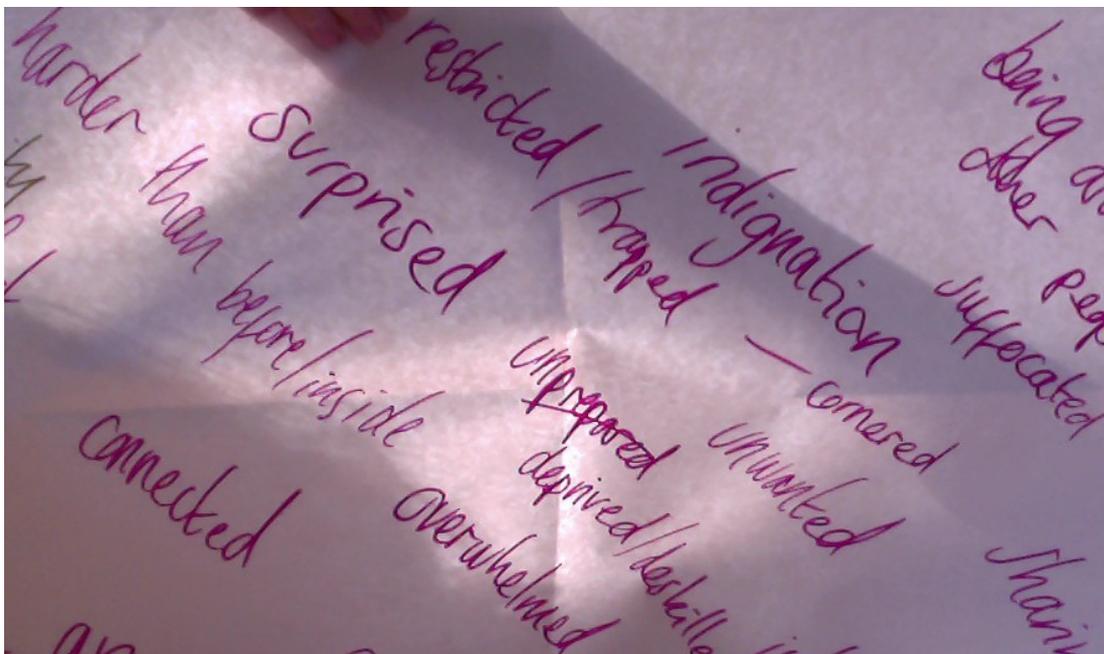


Figure 6.2: Positive and negative emotions associated with release

Source: Emotions mapping exercise with Battlesnake, Sita, Pablo, John and Bridget

However, more recently scholars have challenged Arendt and Agamben’s arguments as structuralist (Squire 2009) and statist (Mezzandra & Neilson 2013). Instead the difficulties non-citizens face are *not* because of the division between those who are citizens of a nation state and those who are not, but because of the ‘splintering of rights’ that affects everyone (Anderson 2013; Grove-White 2012). I argue that this idea of status being “less-than-full” (Goldring et al. 2009: 240), means that life after detention is best conceptualised as an experience of statuslessness rather than statelessness. Whilst

this argument is also supported in the research data, the narrative is somewhat more complex than the feelings of being stateless (Figure 6.1 & 6.2). This is because sometimes participant-researchers felt united in their struggle for status with other non-citizens, for example arguing that “EVERYONE HAS RIGHTS” (Juan). However, at other times people portrayed themselves or “people like me” (Pablo) as more deserving of citizenship in contrast to the needs or claims of other migrants. For example Juan places the fact he has spent a long time in the UK and can speak English above the needs and rights of a recent flatmate in Section 4 accommodation who

“was only in the country for two months, like I say couldn't speak English and he left already with a 5 year visa...I've been here 11 years, I've never had benefits, I've always paid my taxes.” (Juan)

There was also a tendency amongst those with previous criminal convictions to believe that life was easier for asylum seekers and refugees in part due to their experience accessing services. For example Pablo reported how

“every time I go down there for to ask them what support can I get from whatever avenue and they kept on asking me the same question: are you an asylum seeker? No, are you a refugee? No, sorry we can't help you. You know, so really and truly there is no help out there for people like me.” (Pablo)

These quotes highlight how the splintering of rights has implications for what support is available, when and for whom. The evidence also points to ways in which the rhetoric of deserving and undeserving works at intersecting and sometimes contradictory ways. Therefore, the research data initiates a much wider conversation that there is not space to fully explore here about how deep-seated divisions between deserving and undeserving migrants are at work at various scales. Finally, the concept of statuslessness also accounts for how “citizenship and illegality [are] historically produced and changeable” (Goldring et al. 2009: 239). As status changes over time it usually becomes less rather than more, as reflected in Juan’s quote that “you don’t know the meaning of status until you don’t have it, and then somehow you lose even more of it”. This has important consequences for citizens as well as non-citizens (Gibney 2014), as rights are stratified along lines of security and criminality rather than citizenship.

## **The figure of the ‘foreign criminal’**

The second explanation as to why former detainees face the difficulties documented in chapter five is answered through an exploration of the rhetorical and legal convergence between immigration and crime. This connection, known in the literature as ‘cimmigration’ (Stumpf 2005), was highlighted as a key finding through participatory analysis as everyone felt that the difficulties they faced post-detention were exacerbated by associations with crime. Despite different terminology, such as deportation or removal, bail or temporary release, people released without status experienced similar difficulties during their life after detention. I argue that this is in part because all participant-researchers are affected by the disproportionate security measures justified by the threat of the ‘foreign criminal’ regardless of their legal status and criminal history. Most scholars agree that in the wake of the immigration statistics scandal, a population previously understood as the ‘forgotten prisoners’ (Cheney 2003) emerged as a scapegoat for the public, politicians and press (Tyler 2013; Anderson & de Noronha 2015). Importantly, this scapegoat sustains the practices of detention and deportation because as Anderson et al. (2012a: 82) argue “the ‘foreign national prisoner’ is...the acceptable face of deportation”.

By embodying the extreme end of exclusion, the figure of the foreign criminal justifies exile from sovereign territory and thus sustains the detention and deportation regime (de Genova & Puetz 2010). The research data supports key arguments in the literature in three ways. Firstly, their conditional status and *process* of criminalisation means migrants are always becoming ‘illegal’. Secondly, once people have been labelled as a ‘foreign criminal’ there are legal and practical implications for support. Thirdly, claims for citizenship often appeal to innocence in opposition to crime, rhetorically reproducing the cycle of justification that maintains divisions between citizens, non-citizens, criminals and non-criminals. These factors are expanded upon in turn before highlighting how despite and in part because of what the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’ represents, this ‘revolting subject’ (Tyler 2013) might also be a starting point for enacting no borders.

Criminalising acts associated with migration such as working without permission, possessing fraudulent identity documents, overstaying or absconding means more non-

citizens are becoming ‘illegal’ (Nevins 2008). Historical accounts reveal how the UK Government has made more people eligible for deportation by criminalising acts of migration and by stratifying categories of non-citizenship (Bloch & Schuster 2005; Gibney 2014). For example Hasselberg (2013: 1) shows how the deprivation of citizenship and the introduction of automatic deportation orders combine “to broaden eligibility to deportation and allow easier removal of unwanted foreign nationals”. The research data support this finding as although the individual cases of participant-researchers are not disclosed, each tells the story of a transformation into illegality. For example all participant-researchers had entered the UK via legal routes but their status changed over time. Some overstayed temporary visas, others came to the end of their asylum appeals process. Some had previous criminal convictions for crimes unrelated to migration and one was charged for breaching bail conditions. These examples reflect the exchange between Pablo and Sean where they felt they were walking on eggshells, always at risk of deportation. Figure 6.3 is a letter issued by the Home Office which shows how failing to report is a criminal offence:

You remain liable to detention, and by failing to report as required, you also render yourself liable to prosecution under Section 24 (1) (e) of the Immigration Act 1971. This carries a six month prison sentence, a fine of up to £5000 or both.

Figure 6.3: Letter from UK Home Office instructing recipient to report  
Source: Excerpt from a letter received by Andy

The letter highlights the process of criminalisation whereby migrants not only fear re-detention but also prosecution which would negatively impact on individual legal cases. Ismail, who was removed to his country of origin during this research, provides testimony to why this process of illegalisation is important, through his absence but also when he said:

“we talk about people’s cases as if they are separate from lives. They [the Home Office] make your case illegal...but the case is your life, it makes or breaks you.” (Ismail)

These examples support arguments by Tyler (2013) and Squire (2009) that status can change over time through the process of criminalisation.

Ismail's removal is also evidence of the high stakes that the spectre of detention and deportation creates. Therefore it is understandable that all former detainees distanced themselves from associations with crime in order to make their case for citizenship. For example Pablo insisted that "before I came to this country I was a good boy", shifting the responsibility from himself to the situation of poverty and inequality his family faced when they migrated to the UK. Similarly, Andy insists "I've not done anything wrong...I'm not a criminal" and Juan puts his crime of absconding in opposition to "real crimes...I've never sold drugs, I've never stolen anybody's money or anything, my visa expired and that's it" (Juan). Whilst these appeals to innocence may help individual cases and help to remove the difficulties faced by certain individuals, the logic of innocence works to multiply categories of exclusion rather than remove them. This finding is important as many anti-detention advocacy campaigns focus on 'vulnerable' detainees (Loyd 2015; Griffiths 2014). Whilst there are additional safeguarding needs these campaigns could be contributing to the discursive division between the innocent migrant-as-victim and the dangerous migrant-as-criminal. This has important consequences as the threat to security and society posed by the "dangerous racialised man" (de Noronha 2015: 38) contributes to "security regimes" (Mountz et al. 2012: 4).

The third way in which the convergence of crime and immigration contributed to difficulties for former detainees was the way in which people were haunted by their criminal history. For example, on a go-along interview Pablo described how

"its hard to be back in a place where every knows you for...you know? But its good to be back in my old haunts...walking in these streets its like reliving my life here, reliving that memory, I've got goosebumps!" (Pablo)

Whether it was the memory of his past criminal activity or another memory which prompted Pablo's physiological reaction, the quote reveals how release is made more difficult due to associations with crime. In a related example from inside detention, former detainees reported how at bail hearings judges relied on behaviour prior to

prison and detention to make their decision about bail conditions (MacKeith & Walker 2010; BiD 2012). For example Sean described how

“when you go for bail they’re gonna read out all of your history, but they’re not giving you any kinda opportunity to prove that you’ve changed or anything... when I got bail they were bringing up things from 5-6 years ago. I haven’t even had a chance to prove that I’m different.” (Sean)

This evidence supports arguments in the literature that decision makers often defer from granting bail despite policies that support release (Vine 2011), revealing how the security measures used for ‘foreign national prisoners’ are not proportional to the risk they pose to society (Bhui 2007). The argument that former detainees are haunted by the figure of the foreign criminal is supported by Hasselberg’s (2014) research which highlighted how release was particularly difficult for ‘foreign national ex-offenders’ who do not have access to formal rehabilitation services. The case extending programmes available for ‘national’ prisoners was also made by the Freed Voices (2014) project who gathered evidence to show how support on release could reduce the risk of re-offending. Although the LAD project was not designed to gather evidence of alternative forms of rehabilitation, there was evidence to suggest that the drop-in did act as a form of accountability. This reveals both the importance of and possibility for support which can help to overcome the difficulties caused by dispersal and destitution. For example while referring to his past activity, Pablo said “I’m not gonna mess it up, definitely, 100 percent, you guys are counting on me” and Juan insisted “I wanna do it all properly” implying that involvement in the LAD project was a way to “improve myself as well, volunteering is part of that” (Electron). These examples show how although people with criminal histories may face additional difficulties, interventions of support can counteract the convergence of crime and immigration in individual lives.

The three factors identified above intersect to exacerbate difficulties for current and former detainees. However, the research data also provides examples of how the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’ might be used as a starting point to interrupt the “circular rationale” that underpins processes of criminalisation and securitisation (Mountz et al. 2012: 6). Bosworth (2011: 591) notes that “foreign offenders have limited numbers of

supporters”. However by supporting ‘foreign national ex-offenders’ and therefore starting at the edge of exclusion, anti-detention groups can show how the “face of deportation” is no longer justifiable (Anderson et al. 2012a: 82). In the LAD project the film aimed to identify the difficulties faced during life after detention but also to challenge stereotypes about the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’. Making the film was an opportunity to tell the stories behind the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’, stories of being “human beings with dreams” (Sara), with children, communities and abilities. As a result human rights were a common theme in both the research and the film with Juan writing in the subtitles of the film “EVERYONE HAS RIGHTS”. However, there were also, albeit slightly tongue-in-cheek, suggestions that the LAD group adopt “NO ONE IS ILLEGAL” or even “WE ARE ALL CRIMINALS” slogans. Although these comments could be dismissed as jokes, they point to an important discussion about the limits of human rights as a means through which to advocate for change (Anderson 2013). Highlighting human rights abuses can sometimes emphasise victimhood and unintentionally detract from the agency of individuals or populations to enact change themselves (Keenan 2004). Instead, slogans which emphasise the process of criminalisation reveal the constructed nature of rhetorical and legal categories (Balibar 2000). Therefore, as Nyers (2013) argues, these slogans go beyond extending rights to individuals (Arendt 1951), and instead articulate more radical “political imaginings and futures” (Fernandez et al. 2006: 467). Following Anderson et al. (2012) I go on to argue in the conclusion that enactments of no borders are not limited to the future (Hayter 2000; Hiebert 2003) but exist in the present through the moments the LAD project worked together regardless of subject positions such as citizenship and criminality.

## **Discussion**

To conclude this chapter I will now review how the research data relates to themes of security, citizenship and criminality identified in the literature review.

This chapter has presented two explanations as to why former detainees continue to face difficulties when released from immigration detention. Although some of the research data could be seen to support Arendt and Agamben's theories about the condition of statelessness and the resulting state of exception, I argue that life after detention is better

conceptualised as a form of statuslessness. This concept accounts for the ways in which access to rights are stratified along lines of security and criminality rather than citizenship. This links to the second suggestion that the difficulties experienced during life after detention are exacerbated by the convergence between crime and immigration, embodied in the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’. In *Revolting Subjects*, Tyler (2013) shows how the changing status of certain figures of disgust usually serve in the interests of the neoliberal capitalist economy. Although such a discursive critique has not been possible in this dissertation, this argument is supported by empirical evidence in the literature review which shows how representations of ‘foreign criminals’ exaggerates the risks associated with release resulting in unjust policies of indefinite detention followed by deportation (Bhui 2007). This is a result of the convergence between immigration law and criminal law (Stumpf 2009), as status changes over time. The legal and rhetorical convergence has consequences for everyone released from immigration detention and may impact on the rights of citizens as legislation is broadened to include more migrants into those which are eligible for exclusion (Anderson et al. 2011). These findings prompt rather than answer questions about how technologies of control that are designed to limit the mobility (Zedner 2010) of populations considered “security problems” (Hall 2012: 7), ultimately impact on the civil liberties of everyone resident in the sovereign nation state (Anderson 2013; Gibney 2014). This chapter has argued that statuslessness and the convergence of crime and immigration in the figure of the ‘foreign criminal’ exacerbate the difficulties of life after detention. In the conclusion I expand on this notion of no border politics and address the aims of the LAD project by making recommendations for how to improve the support available for people released from immigration detention.

## Chapter seven: conclusions

“...there’s a crack, a crack in everything,  
thats how the light gets in.” Leonard Cohen

“poetry is not only dream and vision;  
it is the skeleton and architecture of our lives.  
It lays the foundations for a future of change,  
a bridge across our fears  
of what has never been before.”

Audre Lorde (1984: 37 in Loyd et al. 2009: 87)

Two poems set the scene for this conclusion which ends with two divergent but not mutually exclusive interventions. The first intervention is a list of key recommendations to address the difficulties faced by people released from immigration detention. These recommendations are actions to take which pick at the cracks of immigration detention practices and if implemented might improve the support available for former detainees. This dissertation has outlined how the ‘architecture’ of life after detention is experienced as “detention without walls” (Pablo) and so I begin by summarising the key findings. This is followed by reflections on the impacts and limitations of the LAD participatory action research project as well as the context within which it was undertaken. By reflecting on the methodological and conceptual contributions of this research, this conclusion ‘lays the foundations for a future of change’ by making suggestions for future research. I outline how research might be conducted in ways which enact the radical re-imaginings required to remove the difficulties faced both inside and outside of spaces of incarceration.

Figure 7.1 is a list of recommendations from a report, due to be published in December 2015, which will outline the support available, barriers to accessing that support and make suggestions for how support could be improved.

## **recommendations**

### **... for everyone concerned**

1. Continue to address and remove the causes of detention, deportation and destitution.

### **... for Scottish Detainee Visitors**

1. Pilot a buddying scheme beginning inside detention that pairs people recently released from immigration detention with people living in Glasgow.
  - Provide money for social gatherings to happen once a month for a finite period of time. For example design a 6 month buddying scheme with money for activities with recognition that these partnerships may continue but that they do so as a friendship, therefore ceasing financial support.
  - Consider working together on activities that are not just 'talking shops' - such as cooking, film-making, football, photography (Asylum-Network 2015).
  - Train and support former detainees as SDV volunteers/buddies. Make steps to overcome the additional financial, emotional and linguistic barriers for these volunteers. Be wary of time commitments and be flexible with travel expenses.
  - Make use of knowledge and skills within SDV through peer-to-peer support.
2. Lobby for a change in the contractual agreement between sub-contractors GEO-Group Ltd and Orchard & Shipman to arrange for more substantial support on release. For example, a recommendation in the recent Dungavel House Immigration Removal Centre Report (9-20 February 2015) proposed 4.25 'Information Packs to be provided to all detainees being removed who require them' (p50). Bring this up at the next meeting with Dungavel IRC representatives.
3. Work closer with other organisations in Glasgow for referrals (Gill et al. 2012).

### **... for other asylum, refugee and migration organisations in Glasgow**

1. Extend service provision to include migrants with spent criminal convictions.
2. Provide more activities for single male migrants (Strang & Quinn 2014)
3. Consider the implications of campaigns that emphasise the good, hard-working, contributing migrant (Anderson 2013; Griffiths 2014; Detention Forum 2015).

### **... for private sub-contractors (GEO, SERCO and Orchard & Shipman)**

1. Provide one-to-one information sessions for people prior to release.
2. Provide travel money/tickets direct to the person's next place of accommodation, not just to the nearest train station.
3. Liaise with the Home Office and housing provider to ensure accommodation is available immediately (BiD 2014; Gillespie 2012).
4. Give proper notification of house inspections and visit on the date specified.

### **... for the Home Office**

1. Extend rehabilitation services in prison and on probation to foreign national prisoners/ex-offenders, especially the provision of professional counselling.
2. Anticipate the delays due to difficulties in removing foreign national ex-offenders and consider alternatives to detention during this time period.
3. Give people released from detention the right to work and assess how this might reduce the risk of re-offending or absconding (Freed Voices 2014; Gillespie 2012).
4. Provide benefits in cash rather than through a pre-paid Azure card.

Figure 7.1: List of recommendations for various organisations

Source: Excerpt from a report due to be published in December 2015

This dissertation has identified several key findings that contribute new conceptual framings to help understand what, how and why people released without status from immigration detention face difficulties similar to those experienced inside detention. The first key finding is that the difficulties associated with dispersal, destitution and deportation are caused by the continued fear of deportation that arises in unexpected and paradoxical ways both inside and outside of immigration detention. In order to conceptualise the ways in which these difficulties both overshadow and punctuate everyday life I coined the phrase the spectre of detention and deportation. This finding is more conceptually useful than the concept of liminality developed by carceral geography scholars as the spectre accounts for the spatio-temporal and non-linear nature of deportability. This finding has practical as well as conceptual implications. This is because the uncertainty of life after detention is indefinite, just as immigration detention is currently indefinite. Whilst a time limit would end uncertainty inside detention and may greatly improve many lives, there is a risk that the practical application of ending indefinite detention will result in indefinite detention without walls. Therefore, careful considerations of the alternatives to immigration detention must be proposed in conjunction with campaigns to end indefinite detention.

This dissertation then explored two reasons why these difficulties are experienced. First, I argued that the relationship between citizens and the sovereign nation state is the root cause of the stratification of rights for both citizens and non-citizens. This insecure statuslessness means migrants are always on probation, always becoming deportable. Second, I argued that it is the convergence of crime and immigration embodied in the figure of the 'foreign criminal' that works to broaden the eligibility of deportability. Instead of campaigning to extend human rights through claims of innocence or victimhood, academics and advocacy groups might do better to start at the edge of exclusion in a way which emphasises the process of criminalisation and works to undo the legal and rhetorical justifications for practices of the detention and deportation. This finding could be used to inform how SDV and other anti-detention advocacy groups reconsider the rhetoric of their campaigns in order to emphasise the unjust practices of incarceration and exile for everyone, including 'foreign criminals' and citizens. This conclusion departs now from the key arguments of this dissertation to reflect on findings from the research process and make suggestions for future research.

The Life After Detention participatory action research addressed the difficulties faced by people released from immigration detention through an ongoing process of action and reflection. As Anderson and colleagues (2012a) understand no borders politics to take place in the spatio-temporal present in the everyday acts of solidarity and resistance (Piacentini 2014), the research design itself can be seen as an example of no border politics. I consider three of these moments in turn. Firstly, as technologies of control work to create feelings of “untrustworthiness, infantilisation and dehumanisation in former detainees” (Hasselberg 2014: 147), this research challenged this distrust methodologically, emphasising ability within the drop-in, entrusting people with advances for travel expenses and building trust between people in the group. Secondly, the drop-in provided a space where participant-researchers were able to identify shared difficulties and discuss solutions. Former detainees described how valuable it was to have “a space to talk to others who understand the difficulties we’ve been through and continue to” (Sara), as well as the difference between what they felt was “charity elsewhere but here there’s something different” (Sean). As identified, the discussions revealed how concerns of citizenship, security and criminality affected everyone, creating a basis for solidarity and action (Asylum-Network 2015). Finally, the collaborative production of the film was an example of a group of first time filmmakers working to create something together regardless of their citizenship status and criminal history. While the process of making the film was as valuable as the finished product, the film is also important as it aims to raise awareness about the difficulties faced by former detainees, opening the cracks of otherwise out-of-sight carceral spaces to shine a light on stories about life after immigration detention.

Despite these small acts and impacts, there were several limitations to the research methodology which have implications for future research. Firstly, doing participatory action research means slowing down to the pace of all participant-researchers which was difficult within the timescale of an MRes dissertation. Participatory research is part of the call for slow scholarship (Mountz et al. forthcoming; O’Neill, 2014) and future research should be sensitive to the different needs and abilities of participant-researchers, including time and space for professional and personal self-care. Secondly, there were several barriers to participation. For example, the provision of money via the pre-paid Azure card meant that former detainees did not have cash to pay for their

travel. Furthermore, in order for the benefits, rather than the burdens, of participatory research to be shared with participants, research proposals should anticipate the real costs of accessibility. This includes considerations of travel, childcare, language, counselling and food as well as where possible paying a living wage to participant-researchers so as not to benefit from and be complicit with the exploitative conditions of migrant deportability, namely the lack of the right to work. Finally, there was a disparity between the desire for change within the group and the claims that it was possible to make in this dissertation. This is important as former detainees told their stories in the hope that

“like they say 'you can help to be the cure of something thats a problem' ...thats my own saying actually [laughs] but yeah, if I can help to minimise the problem with my experience so that others don't have to live that experience then thats my sacrifice.” (Pablo)

However, it is likely that the impact of the Life After Detention participatory action research project will be limited by the current context of increasing hostility towards immigrants in the UK. The UK Parliament is currently debating the 2015 Immigration Bill which proposes electronic tagging for foreign national ex-offenders and the seizure of the profits of working illegally. If these policies come into jurisdiction they will create further difficulties for people on bail from immigration detention and potentially result in more people being categorised as illegal or criminal and therefore eligible for detention and deportation. However, the expanding immigration powers and the increased use of immigration detention is also the reason why more research that documents the difficulties faced by all people affected by practices of incarceration and deportation is needed.

As a result of this context there is a sense of great political urgency (Tyler 2013). More research is necessary which responds to this urgency, sensitively and rigorously, and connects geopolitical struggles across scales (Loyd 2015). Based on the research findings this conclusion makes two suggestions for future research. Firstly, despite the methodological difficulties of ‘chasing ghosts [and] researching illegality in the migrant labour market’ (Anderson et al. 2012b) there is a need for more empirical evidence that

contributes to de Genova's (2002) theory of deportability. The extent to which this research can either support or challenge de Genova's theory is limited without additional, quantitative research into the economic impacts of irregular migration. Conceptually, the spectre of detention and deportation could be developed in order to better understand who profits from the business of immigration detention. Secondly, the concept of the spectre of detention and deportation could also be useful for studying the emotional geographies of deportation. There is currently a body of research that attempts to follow the trajectories of people who are removed (Coutin 2010), however there is currently no evidence of the impact this has on families and communities in the UK. Future research could develop methods to trace the absences and affects of loss in communities where people have been removed or deported.

To close I return to the words of participant-researchers, who articulate how doing research beyond borders is about overcoming the differences between "you and me":

"at the end of the day, whats the difference between you and me?" (Andy)

"but we are all people, like you and me" (John)

"we are living without borders, like brother and sister, you and me" (Pablo)

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<sup>11</sup> Includes the first names of authors and collaborators to challenge academic conventions which privilege single-authorship.

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## Appendix A: code of conduct

### Members and Visitors Code of Practice

As a member of the Scottish Detainee Visitors I agree to:

1. Attend and contribute to support meetings, training sessions and annual general meetings
2. Contribute to the ongoing evaluation and monitoring of the project, especially through the keeping and timely distribution of written records of visits
3. Abide by the organisational policies and procedures of Scottish Detainee Visitors as contained in the visit pack

As a visitor with the Scottish Detainee Visitors I agree to all of the above and to:

1. Provide emotional, social and practical support to detainees held at Dungavel Removal Centre through regular visiting and by following up issues raised at visits
2. Maintain appropriate boundaries relevant to my role as a visitor. On no account should the visitor offer any legal advice to the detainee.
3. Participate in the rota system of visits along with other visitors.
4. Arrange for another visitor to attend in my absence if I am unable to visit as planned
5. Keep regular written records of my visits
6. Notify and discuss with the Coordinator any concerns or difficulties regarding and aspect of the visiting or the detainees.
7. Give as much notice as possible of any long periods of absence or if I am no longer able to visit
8. Adhere to the rules and regulations regarding visiting as set out by the Dungavel Removal Centre
9. Notify my car insurance that I am involved in the scheme
10. As a member and visitor of the Scottish Detainee Visitors I agree to abide by the guidelines and principles laid out above and outlined in the training sessions.

Signed.....Date.....

Name.....

Address.....

Telephone.....

Counter signed .....

## Drop-in Code of Practice

In addition to the Members and Visitors Code of Practice, as a member of the SDV collaborative research project at the drop-in for ex-detainees, I agree to:

11. Communicate concerns over safety or danger - safety is our number one priority
12. Conduct risk assessments and keep a record of events for disclosure purposes
13. Communicate to the coordinator and researcher about whereabouts and expected time of return if meeting an ex-detainee outside of the usual drop-in time or meeting someone alone or for the first time
14. Participate in consensus decision making
15. Have an open and positive attitude
16. Help to create an informal and conversational atmosphere at the drop-in
17. Maintain clear and appropriate boundaries and expectations
18. Be honest with ourselves and each other
19. Take time to get to know people and try to see beyond the relationship of ex-detainee/visitor
20. Trust people, try not to be judgemental and listen to everyone's stories (but be aware of deception and dishonesty)
21. Do not tolerate aggressive behaviour and use assertive behaviour if necessary and  
d
22. Keep the promises I make and do not make promises I can not keep
23. Communicate with each other and with the Coordinator - make sure we have each others phone numbers and attend the debrief at the end of each session
24. Remove names and identifying features from all of documents to ensure anonymity

Signed.....Date.....

Name.....

## Appendix B: information leaflet

### Will people know I am taking part?

All information which is collected will be kept anonymous which means the researcher and some members of Scottish Detainee Visitors will know your identity, but we will remove details, such as your name and nationality, so that you can not be recognised. The information you tell us is still subject to the law so anything you do or say that could harm participants or researchers may be shared with relevant authorities. Your information will be stored in a secure location for five years and then both digital and paper copies will be destroyed.

### What will happen to the results of the research?

SDV will use the research to campaign for practical changes. We will use your photos and words in reports, articles, a dissertation, exhibitions, online media and events. We will talk about what we have learnt using anonymised quotes to relevant groups that may include local organisations, academics, policy makers and the media. We may also use the information to develop guidance or maps for groups in Glasgow. We may use your account to create a story, film or play that may be performed or published online. If you would like to be invited to these events please provide contact details.

### What is the purpose of the research?

We want to know how people are supported when released on bail from immigration detention in Scotland, what barriers to accessing support there are, and how support could be improved.

### Who is organising and funding this project?

This research has NO connection with the police or the UK Home Office.

This research is being undertaken by Scottish Detainee Visitors (SDV) who visit Dungavel Immigration Removal Centre and Bridget Holtom as part of her MRes in Human Geography at the University of Glasgow in the School of Geographical and Earth Sciences. The collaboration was enabled by Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network (GRAMNet) and funded by Glasgow University Settlement Find a Solution and the School of Geographical and Earth Sciences fees-only scholarship. It has been reviewed by the College of Science and Engineering Research Ethics Committee.

### Do I have to take part?

It is completely voluntary and if you decide to take part you are free to withdraw at any time, and do not have to give a reason. If you decide not to take part this will not affect relationships with researchers or organisations and you can still attend the drop-ins without information being used for research purposes.

### Contact Us

If you would like to take part or have any questions, please contact:  
Bridget Holtom  
Email: [2164602h@student.gla.ac.uk](mailto:2164602h@student.gla.ac.uk)

If you would prefer to speak to Scottish Detainee Visitors directly, please contact:  
Coordinator: Kate Alexander  
Email: [coordinator@sdv.org.uk](mailto:coordinator@sdv.org.uk)  
Telephone: 0141 248 9799  
Address: 5 Cadogan Square, Glasgow  
Website: <http://sdv.org.uk>

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research please contact: School Ethics Officer: Dr Hester Parr  
Email: [Hester.Parr@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:Hester.Parr@glasgow.ac.uk)  
Academic supervisor: Dr Kye Askins  
Email: [Kye.Askins@glasgow.ac.uk](mailto:Kye.Askins@glasgow.ac.uk)

Or come and find us at our drop-in Thursdays 4-6pm in the Electron Club upstairs in the Centre for Contemporary Arts, 350 Sauchiehall Street.



### Can I take part?

As someone who has experienced detention, we believe you have stories and information to share. We are also interviewing individuals and organisations who support people released from detention.

We are hoping to talk to people who have been released on bail from immigration detention, with or without Section 4 support. We would like to talk to people who do not have leave to remain and are not making a fresh asylum claim. However we know that every case is unique so please contact us if you want to take part. We are contacting people by word of mouth and through service providers. Please share this leaflet with people you know who might be interested.

### What will happen if I take part?

**Drop-in with participant observation:** You can attend our drop-in sessions once a week. You will receive information about social, emotional and practical support services in Glasgow, meet other ex-detainees and may be invited to take part in other research activities. With your permission, a research method called participant observation will take place. Participant observation involves the researcher making notes about interactions and types of conversations to better inform SDV about the needs of ex-detainees. The drop-in will be supervised by trained volunteers, with food and travel expenses provided. It will take place on **Thursdays 4-6pm** in a safe, public space at the Electron Club upstairs in the Centre for Contemporary Arts, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.



## Life After Detention Collaborative Research Project

Are you on bail from immigration detention and living in Scotland?

Would you like to share your story and get support?

*This is an invitation to take part in a research project. Before you decide if you would like to participate, please read the following information carefully and ask us any questions.*

scottishdetaineevisitors

### What will happen if I take part?

**Photo diaries and semi-structured interviews:** You will be provided with a basic digital camera for one month and be invited to take photos and make notes about the people, organisations and places in Scotland that have been important to you since being released. If you want support taking photos you can do the exercise with a partner or with the researcher present. If you take photos of people, please do not show their faces to protect their identity. You will then be invited to talk for an hour or so about what has happened since your release, what support you have had from friends, family, community organisations and the UK Government, as well as what suggestions you would make to improve the support for ex-detainees. You can share what you feel able to and the interview will take place at a time and in a public place suitable for you.

**Mapping:** You will work with the researcher during the drop-in sessions to map your journey since being released (from the moment of leaving detention to where you are today), focusing on the people, organisations and places that offered support. In addition, you will be invited to take part in a 2 hour community asset mapping workshop where support services will be identified.

**Focus group:** If you are a visitor, friend or family member of someone released on bail you can attend a focus group to discuss how you support people when they are released. The focus group will last 2 hours, be facilitated by Bridget Holtom and observed by another Scottish Detainee Visitor who will take notes. It will also be audio-recorded.

## Appendix C: interview and focus group guides

### Semi-Structured Interview Guide

#### Pre-interview preparation (30 minutes):

Check layout of room is appropriate, ensure the location is clearly signed and that interviewees have information about the interview at least one week before the event. Check health, safety and fire regulations and set up and check audio-recording.

#### Introduction (15 minutes):

Researcher to introduce themselves again and the aims of the research. Advise interviewee to speak freely, ask questions and to stop at any time if necessary. Talk through the information sheet with the interviewee and ask them to sign the consent form. If there are photos or maps, use these as prompts in combination with the topic guide. If not, loosely cover the points below, allowing the participant to lead the conversation.

#### Interview (60 minutes):

Please can you describe your journey since being released from immigration detention?

#### Prompts

What factors have affected your life after detention? (*work and money, housing, children/family, travel and mobility, opportunities*)

What support have you had from people you knew before you went into prison/detention?

What support have you had from community organisations?

What support have you had from the UK Government?

Where do you go for emotional, social or practical support?

Who do you support? In what ways?

#### Listen out for:

Encounters or experiences

Relationships to people or places

Moments of decision or change

Emotions and feelings

#### Reminders:

Evaluate answers for completeness, clarity and relevance.

Be aware of body language and bias toward certain responses. Monitor emotions.

Leave silence between answers.

#### Conclusion (15 minutes):

Ask a final question about how support for people released from immigration detention be improved? Ask if the interviewee has any questions. Conclude by explaining how the research data might be used and remind participant that they can withdraw consent at any time. Provide interviewee with contact details to ensure anonymous feedback if required.

## Focus Group Topic Guide

Topic: What support is being provided to ex-detainees? How could support be improved? How do people look after themselves and each other when supporting ex-detainees?

### **Introduction:**

Researcher to introduce themselves and the topic. Ask each member of the focus group to introduce her/himself. Advise participants to speak freely and respect each others opinions. Explain that the session will be recorded and that it is helpful for the recording if people speak one at a time. Explain that the data will be anonymised and views expressed should not be discussed beyond the group. Ask people to read the information sheet and sign the confidentiality form while explaining the withdrawal of consent procedure.

### **Topic guide:**

1. Introduce yourself, your motivation for supporting detainees/ex-detainees and describe your relationship with the person or people you support (befriender/family member/ex-detainee).
2. Describe the main support activities that you are involved in.
3. What are the challenges of supporting ex-detainees? (individually, collectively, structurally)
4. What can/should be done to improve support or to remove barriers to support? (individually, collectively, structurally)
5. What do you feel you receive in return for your support? (How is the relationship reciprocal?)
6. How do you look after yourself when supporting ex-detainees?
7. How do you look after each other? How might peer-support be improved?

### **Conclusion and feedback**

Ask if anyone has any further questions. Ask for feedback on anonymous slips of paper to improve the following focus group session and allow comments that were not able to vocalised during the group to be included. Provide contact details for feedback or withdrawal at a later date. Discuss how the research findings will be used and invite people to provide contact details in order to attend dissemination events.

## Focus Group Notation Guide

How are people arranged in the room (sketch seating arrangements with names).

Is anyone dominating the conversation?

What role is the researcher taking?

How is body language and eye contact being used to emphasise particular opinions or points?

Does anyone look uncomfortable or uneasy with the questions or with each other?

Any other points of interest?

## **Appendix D: photo and video diaries information**

### **Photo and video diaries**

We all know that life inside immigration detention is difficult. However, many people do not know that life after detention is also hard for different reasons depending on your status and the support available. This project documents the experience of life after being in immigration detention and needs photos or film footage as evidence.

Please take photos, or short videos, of the places, people and objects that you associate with being released. Focus on the times you feel supported or when you needed help. For example think about your:

Accommodation

Leisure time

Family/Friends

Advice

Organisations

Reporting

Work/volunteering

Take up to 20 photos or 20 minutes of film footage over the next two weeks.

Under each photo, write a feeling or short description. Bring these to one of the drop-ins or share them with in a confidential and informal interview.

Please ask permission and get evidence of their consent in writing if you take photos of other people, especially children.