



Kent Academic Repository

Kemp, Tom (2019) *The Post-Representational Politics of Anti-Detention Activism*. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent,.

Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/81816/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

The version of record is available from

This document version

UNSPECIFIED

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

CC BY-NC (Attribution-NonCommercial)

Additional information

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal*, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

The Post-Representational Politics of Anti-Detention Activism

Tom Kemp

Submission for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Law

Kent Law School, University of Kent, Canterbury, Kent, UK

April 2019

Abstract

Evolving manifestations of border enforcement produce new political terrain for radical anti-border activists to understand, navigate and act within. Social movement organising not only enacts resistance but is generative of critical knowledges of state violence and the practical, affective and conceptual knowledges that constitute activist practice. This thesis contributes to academic engagement with the thinking of radical grassroots activists in their attempts to work in solidarity with people held in immigration detention.

This project focuses on practices of activist collaboration and co-production that involve activists both inside and outside of detention. It identifies a post-representational current within anti-detention activism that sustains an attentiveness to the power dynamics of acts of representation, a desire to seek forms of solidarity that bolster the capacities of those in detention to speak out about detention and a focus on building communities of resistance across detention's walls. While post-representationality has been explored in other political domains, such as within the global, networked alter-globalisation movement; it is deployed here to investigate the challenges of social movement organising with people subject to indefinite incarceration, held in stressful and chaotic environments, who are racialised and criminalised and face potentially imminent deportation.

The thesis draws upon social movement studies methodologies which treat social movements as dynamic, thinking assemblages and attempts to think within and alongside these movements in order to evaluate the contribution of post-representational praxis to critical abolitionist politics. Drawing on twenty-five interviews, group discussion and participatory-observation, it examines how the practices of anti-detention activism address problems of hospitality politics, attend to the dynamics of witnessing and imagine forms of social movement accountability.

In doing so, the thesis provides original contributions to a number of fields. In social movement theory and border studies, it examines distinctive forms of anti-border politics and develops social movement methodologies by emphasising the collaborative engagement with activist knowledge production through concept-oriented participant-observation. In critical political theory, the thesis contributes to understanding political organisation that embodies and responds to critiques of humanitarian and representational strategies to border violence. Finally, the thesis provides a unique view of detention and deportation practices in the UK, by foregrounding detention as a site of activist relationship formation.

Acknowledgements

This project is dedicated to those all those resisting immigration detention and deportation from inside and out. Being able to support, develop friendships with and campaign alongside those in detention has been the most meaningful part of this project. I want to acknowledge the bravery and ingenuity of those resisting and campaigning from within detention. I've learned so much from working with you, and without you I would not have been able to write this thesis. This is not a project that aims to give voice to those in detention but, I hope, it is about developing the conditions and skills that enable the collaborations and coalitions that will one day contribute to tearing down these rotten places.

This thesis has my name on it, but the labour it required belonged to many. I would particularly like to acknowledge the intellectual, physical and emotional labour of the many women who have supported and inspired me at different times and in different ways throughout this process. This project, like the anti-detention movement itself, relies on their often silent and invisible work.

Throughout the project, I have had the privilege of working alongside brilliant thinkers and organisers tirelessly working against the racist state violence of border control. The project would not have been possible without the thought, generosity and patience of the activists who participated in the research project and who were comrades in the activist pursuits this project describes.

I've had the privilege of being supervised by Davina Cooper and Helen Carr, being part of a wonderful research community at Kent Law School and being funded by the ESRC. Davina, I feel very honoured to have worked with someone who combines such a sharp and creative intellect with such generosity, empathy and humour. Your advice was invaluable throughout, so too was your encouragement and belief. I don't know whether there was any point in which you did not believe I could complete it, but there was never a time when you showed it, even when I could not sustain that belief myself.

This would not have been possible without the comradeship of my writing group friends, Izzy Mighetto, Rosy Mack and Lizzy Willmington, each of whom are wonderful thinkers and activists who work with such astonishing generosity, enthusiasm and care. I am eternally grateful for the support, belief, patience, proof reading and ideas of my family; Mum, Dad, Bob, Anna, Alex, Emma and Grandma June.

Finally, so much in this project is indebted to the intellect, care, love, patience and comradeship of my partner Charlotte without whom I would have given up a long time ago. I won't do this again, I promise.

Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Prologue..... | 7 |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 13 |
| Immigration Detention..... | 14 |
| Post-Representational Politics and anti-border activism | 21 |
| Thinking with social movements..... | 25 |
| Methodology..... | 32 |
| Ethics and Terminology..... | 41 |
| Summary and Chapter outline | 42 |
| Chapter 2: Immigration Detention and Anti-Detention Activism..... | 47 |
| A brief history of immigration controls in the UK..... | 47 |
| Detention and New Labour | 54 |
| Detention since 2010 | 56 |
| Detention and Deportation Today | 59 |
| Critical approaches to Immigration Control..... | 63 |
| Racism, Borders and Citizenship..... | 64 |
| Border policing | 66 |
| Liberal Rights and Immigration Detention | 68 |
| Left Politics and Immigration Control..... | 70 |
| Detention Activism..... | 71 |
| Protests in Detention..... | 72 |
| Early Solidarity and Campaigns | 73 |
| NGO Service and campaigns..... | 74 |
| Conclusion | 76 |
| Chapter 3: Representation and Post-Representation in Anti-Detention Politics | 78 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Representational Politics..... | 80 |
| Representational Politics in Anti-Detention Activism | 86 |
| Framing Public Anti-Detention Campaigns | 87 |
| Parliamentary Campaigns for Reform | 90 |
| Legal and Case-Work Advocacy | 92 |
| Summary: Uses and Limitations for Representational Politics in Anti-Detention Activism | 95 |
| Post-Representational Politics | 97 |
| The Post Representational Sensibility | 99 |
| Modes of Post-Representational Activism | 101 |
| More-than Representational Politics | 106 |
| The Challenges and Limitations of Post-Representational Politics in Anti-Detention Activism | 107 |
| Conclusion | 111 |
| Chapter 4: Post-Representational Solidarity in Anti-Detention Protests..... | 113 |
| Detention Protests | 115 |
| The Post-Representationality of Anti-Detention Protest..... | 120 |
| Academic Approaches to Solidarity | 124 |
| Post-Representational Solidarity in Anti-Detention Protest..... | 132 |
| Practices of making connection, giving platform and collaboration..... | 133 |
| Practice and Tacit knowledge..... | 140 |
| Conclusion | 143 |
| Chapter 5: The Hospitality Politics of Immigration Detention Visiting | 146 |
| Derridean Approaches to Hospitality..... | 150 |
| Visiting people in detention | 155 |
| Detention visitors as hosts | 159 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Problematic dynamics of hosting..... | 162 |
| Prefiguring hospitality through visiting..... | 164 |
| Hospitality and Post-Representational Politics..... | 170 |
| Chapter 6: Post-Representational Witnessing in the Anti-Detention Movement..... | 173 |
| Detained Voices..... | 175 |
| Witnessing as a practice of representation..... | 182 |
| Testimony and Authenticity..... | 187 |
| Testimony and the politics of injury and identity..... | 190 |
| Emotional politics of testimony: Empathy and inaction..... | 192 |
| Witnessing as a form of post-representational politics..... | 194 |
| Politics of belief..... | 195 |
| The practice of post-representational witnessing..... | 199 |
| Conclusion..... | 203 |
| Chapter 7: Accountability and Affinity in Post-Representational Politics..... | 206 |
| Theorising Accountability and Accounting..... | 209 |
| Liberal Accounting literature..... | 210 |
| Critical accounting studies..... | 212 |
| Post-Representational Politics, Affinity and Accountability..... | 216 |
| Navigating Multiple Accountabilities..... | 218 |
| Accountability and Affinity..... | 220 |
| Generating Abolitionist Accounts..... | 227 |
| The Limits of Grassroots Accountability - Sustainability, Collective and Inter-Collective Accountabilities..... | 229 |
| Conclusion..... | 232 |
| Chapter 8: Conclusion..... | 234 |
| Revisiting Motivation, Questions and Approach..... | 236 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| The political thinking of post-representational anti-detention activisms | 238 |
| Conclusions on Post-Representational Politics | 240 |
| Reflections on Methodology | 245 |
| Areas for further study | 247 |
| Bibliography | 249 |

Prologue¹

'Everybody has a different story, but we all want freedom'.²

March 2015, South West London

The protest began as a hunger strike in Harmondsworth and Colnbrook. Then people started gathering in the detention centre yards and refusing to go back to their rooms.³ Meetings took place in these yard occupations to organise strategy and speeches and decisions were made.⁴ It spread to three other detention centres, as those detained in Dover, Dungavel and Morton Hall joined in.



¹ Throughout this prologue, I cite from posts on the Detained Voices website. Detained Voices is a project that was set up to give an online platform to those in detention to share experiences, demands and news from inside detention. I was involved in setting up Detained Voices while in conversation with people in the protests described here. Many of the statements I refer to were dictated to me over the phone and published with the agreement of those in detention that I was working with. This practice of transcribing and sharing testimony from people in detention is described further and discussed in chapter six of the thesis.

² <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/09/we-went-on-hunger-strike/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

³ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/10/at-morton-hall/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

⁴ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/10/50-people-are-not-eating-food/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

⁵ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-31796577> [accessed 2/3/2017] - This is a snapshot from Channel 4 coverage of a Harmondsworth protest that appeared on televisions inside the centre, a day after the protests began.

The protesters' demands were couched in varied terms. Some situated their complaints in terms of the law and rights, using official language and legal documentation to present their arguments. They described their treatment in detention; 'All the people are doing the strike because of what immigration are doing: that's not the proper way. They are misusing their power'.⁶ The following fax exemplifies both the desire to put complaints in a legally legible form and a desire to appeal to a sense of British justice.

We the undersigned confirm that we have our faith and trust in the British justice and say the following :-

- 1- We have not been given our right by the persons dealing with our cases from the initial stages of the applications to the upper permission to the tribunal.
- 2- We believe that we are victimised of the political situation in the country and this has affected our right under the immigration right
- 3- The United Kingdom is signatory of the UN Conventions and Human Rights acts and is under obligations to deal with our cases under the terms of the Conventions taking into considerations all the Human watch Bodies reports when dealing with our cases in our country of origin.
- 4- The United Kingdom has failed to give us our right under the above mentioned convention and the Secretary of State has breach all of our right under the above conventions,
- 5- Our detention and dealing with our cases as fast track is not in accordance with the conventions and the human right acts.
- 6- The removal to our country of origin is not in accordance to the law and our right is breached.
- 7- Our detention is unlawful and we should be dealing with our cases from outside and not from detentions.
- 8- We are only given short time to lodge applications for J.R and mainly given the removal direction on the last day of the week as we have no time to contact our legal representatives and in some cases members of our family to seek legal advice and help.
- 9- Most removal directions are set within two to three days.
- 10- In all notices of refusal and in our applications and determinations by the immigration judges always decisions are related to our credibility and lack of evidence of which the authority is aware that we all come from countries of which can be very difficult to obtain evidence to support our cases due to security reasons.
- 11- The authority in the UK is aware of the situation in our countries and know that when removed in many cases will face ill-treatment and risk. We are treated unfairly in detention and our detention is injustice, its breach of our liberties and freedom under the human right acts and terms of conventions
- 12- Our detention under the fast track is breach of our right

7

⁶ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/09/the-people-are-doing-the-strike/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

⁷ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/11/we-the-undersigned/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

Many wanted the opportunity to present their cases with all the evidence that they could obtain from being outside the centres: 'In detention, no one can defend their case'⁸ because it is difficult to get information to support it: 'How can they get their evidence from outside if we cannot use Facebook, mobile properly? Sometimes it's hard to open our email.'⁹

Some protesters drew upon their status as tax paying, family members, or as workers to justify their sense of political entitlement:

*It's terrible in here. I'm paying my taxes and my taxes are paying for this place. The food is disgusting, my dog wouldn't eat that... The government should open their eyes to what they do to families in this country. If family life is involved, where kids are involved they should take a concern that they are destroying our family life.*¹⁰

Others distinguished immigration detainees from those who were seen to be legitimately detained: 'We are suffering here. We are slaves here. We are being treated like *criminals* here. Now our cell is locked. We are now locked up in this cell. If you are dying, you die in your room'.¹¹

Often more universalistic demands were made that encompassed the range of people resisting their imprisonment. During the weeks of the protest, demands for freedom echoed around the corridors and court yards of the prisons. The call for freedom was the unifying message that captured something of everyone's message. 'Everybody has a different story' reported one protester, 'but we all want freedom'.¹²

As well as calls for freedom, there was anger at the unfairness and indignity of their imprisonment. It was typical for people to assert their humanity as a way of designating themselves as worthy of the rights that were being undermined by their detention. 'We are human beings. We want human rights and they are not giving us human rights. We are

⁸ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/10/50-people-are-not-eating-food/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

⁹ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/12/they-are-here-for-a-very-long-time/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

¹⁰ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/04/01/the-government-should-open-their-eyes/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

¹¹ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/13/the-response-to-the-protest-is-like-via-standoff-films/> [accessed 2/3/2017] italics added.

¹² <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/09/we-went-on-hunger-strike/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

human beings, treat us like human beings'.¹³ The protesters exposed the systemic dehumanisation of the detention system. Staff were accused of abuse and mistreatment.

*We are locked up in rooms like ANIMALS. Officers in the detention being rude to us as if we are nobody or animals.*¹⁴

As well as these more fundamental arguments, the conditions in detention were the source of much concern. Often protesters wanted to publish testimony about what had led them to be detained and what they had experienced.

STATEMENT FROM A DETAINEE IN COLNBROOK

HAVE BEEN DETAINED FOR THE PAST 34 WEEKS
I WAS DETAINED ON REPORTING TO THE BECKET HOUSE
I WAS SUPPOSED TO GET MY LITTLE GIRL FOR MMR VASCINE,
BUT OFFICIALS NEVER BOTHERED, BUT TO DETAIN ME.
I HAVE TWO UK BORN KIDS AGED 10 AND 7 YEARS
RESPECTIVELY
THE LAST TIME I SAW MY KIDS WAS IN APRIL 21, 2014.
I HAVE APPLIED FOR BAIL RELEASE ON THREE OCCASSIONS, BUT
ALL REFUSED, WITH THE SAME REASON AS GOING TO
ABSCOND.—I DO NOT KNOW TO WHERE
I HAVE GOT MY HOSPITAL APPOINTMENTS CANCELLED ON FEW
TIMES AND EVEN MY PROPER SURGERY HAS ALSO BEEN
CANCELLED WITH THE EXCUSE THAT THERE ARE NO STAFF TO
SEND ME TO HOSPITAL.
IT ALSO TAKES AGES TO GET THROUGH TO THE HEALTHCARE,
AND THAT HAS WORSENERD MY SITUATION.
THE CENTRE HAS GOT FEW CASES OF TB AS WELL WHICH IS
CONTAGIOUS AND MANAGEMENT HAS PUT A BLIND EYE ON THIS.
DIFFICULT TO GET A CASEWORKER TO TALK TO AND IT SEEMS
THE WHOLE SYSTEM IS CONFUSED.
HOME OFFICE WANTS TO DESTROY MY FAMILY.
FUNNY ENOUGH, THEY HAVE MY GHANAIAN PASSPORT, THEY
ARE TELLING ME I COME FROM NIGERIA.
NEED HELP PLEASE !!!!!!!
HAVE LIVED IN UK FOR OVER 20YRS

15

Others wanted to resist the unjust working conditions in detention. The centre's provision for mental and physical health and the attitude of their staff towards people who wanted to see a doctor was the source of much anger.¹⁶

the health care system here is very poor as well. you go to the healthcare regardless of your sickness and you will be offered PARACETAMOL.

¹³ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/09/i-am-in-tinsley-centre/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

¹⁴ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/10/i-am-a-detainee-at-the-harmondsworth-detention-centre/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

¹⁵ <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/03/16/statement-from-a-detainee-in-colnbrook/> [accessed 18/4/2019]

¹⁶ <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/03/09/things-are-not-right-here/> [accessed 18/4/2019]

*Whether you get injured or what so ever, you will be offered paracetamol.*¹⁷

Meanwhile some protesters targeted charter flights.¹⁸ Others wanted to draw attention to the physical violence used by guards both during the enforcement of a deportation or removal and maintaining order in detention. One man was beaten up by guards after refusing to eat the food he was offered at dinner time because he claimed he was allergic to it.¹⁹ Another incident occurred in Yarl's Wood in which women were accused of stealing sanitary towels and threatened with being put in segregation for getting them from a different wing because they didn't want to talk to the male officer in charge of their wing.²⁰

Despite this, the Detention centres responded by trying to quell the protests through intimidation and threats.

*We have started like 50 people – what they have done is started scaring us. “We’ll put it in your file. We’ll log your phone. We’ll put someone with you for 24 hours. You can’t do this, we are the power here”. They said they will move you if you take part. How can we do peaceful protest? There is no one who can stop them.*²¹

Others were threatened with being put in the segregation units, colloquially called ‘the block’:

People are going on strike and doing suicide attempts and they take them to the block. One was there for 9 days. Another was there for 7 days. The

¹⁷ <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/03/10/i-am-a-detainee-at-the-harmondsworth-detention-centre/> [accessed 18/4/2019]

¹⁸ <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/04/07/charter-flight-leaving-tonight/> [accessed 14/4/2017]

¹⁹ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/16/in-harmondworth-at-about/>,
<https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/16/it-was-dinner-time/>,
<https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/17/one-guy-been-beaten-by-10-security-guys/>. [accessed 2/3/2017]

²⁰ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/24/yesterday-we-went-to-another-unit/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

²¹ <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/17/there-are-some-people-in-dungavel/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

*block is a cell with nothing inside no window no nothing and you're there on your own.*²²

More staff were brought in to the centres and room searches were conducted to ensure that no one had camera phones.

Over the course of 3 weeks, Detained Voices published testimonies, short statements and demands from 70 people involved in the protests. It was one of a number of flashpoints which shaped the activities of radical anti-detention activists working outside detention over the following three years. The first day of the strike coincided with a protest outside of Harmondsworth detention centre which connected organisers in detention with activists working to amplify the demonstrations. The Detained Voices project was set up two days later to platform the experiences and demands of protesters online. As it became clear that protesters wanted individual support with their cases, visits were set up. It is the working practices of these activities, intent on supporting and collaborating with those in detention, that is examined in the course of this project.

²² <https://detainedvoices.wordpress.com/2015/03/20/ive-got-my-own-problems-but-i-help-everyone/> [accessed 2/3/2017]

Chapter 1: Introduction

The nature of borders and how we conceptualise their forms and effects has transformed in the last thirty years. No longer ‘lines in the sand’ separating territories, borders are now seen to be operating through and within communities and institutions that once seemed untouched by them.²³ Evolving manifestations of the border also generate new spaces and techniques of surveillance and control over the mobility and immobility of migrant others. In consequence, for communities of anti-border resistance, questions of organisation and strategy that were previously related to the performance of international solidarity – how to act in solidarity with those separated by borders – are now being asked in new contexts, within communities and in opposition to specific border institutions. This project is concerned with understanding and learning with practices of solidarity in opposition to one such border institution, Immigration Detention.

Responding to Immigration Detention presents unique challenges for social movements working with those subjected to indefinite incarceration in stressful and chaotic environments and who face potentially imminent attempts to deport them. The anti-detention movement has developed a diverse array of strategies and tactics for supporting those in detention, campaigning for reforms or for their abolition, and generating resistance that curtails detention and stops deportations. Many important forms of activism involve forms of representational politics that speak on behalf of individual detainees to centres of legal and political power or advocate for detainees as a group. This thesis investigates the role of post-representational politics in activist movements against immigration detention. Post-representational politics, as I develop the concept, is a domain of activism that combines an attentiveness to the power dynamics of acts of representation and a desire to seek different forms of collaboration that refrain from merely speaking on behalf of those in detention.

The thesis draws upon recent social movement studies methodologies that treat social movements as dynamic thinking assemblages. It attempts to think within and alongside these movements as a means of evaluating the contribution of post-representational

²³ Examples of this understanding of the border include: (Corporate Watch, 2017b; Keenan, 2017; Parker and Vaughan-Williams, 2009, 2012)

politics to a critical abolitionist project. The thesis examines how an analytical shift from representation to post-representation illuminates radical anti-detention praxis. In doing so, it provides original contributions to a number of fields. In social movement theory, it examines new forms of anti-border politics and develops social movement methodologies by emphasising the collaborative engagement with activist knowledge production through concept-oriented participant-observation. In critical political theory, the thesis contributes to an understanding of political organisation that attempts to respond to critiques of humanitarian responses and representational strategies to border violence. Finally, the thesis provides a unique view of detention and deportation practices in the UK, by foregrounding detention as a dynamic site of resistance and solidarity in which experimental forms of activist relationship are of central concern.

This introduction begins by situating the project within current debates on Immigration Detention and border activism and outlining the concept of post-representational politics. It then moves to clarify the methodological approach I have taken, drawing on recent theoretical and methodological trends within social movement studies. Finally, I explain and justify the methods I have used within this project and the notions of practice and concept that I have used to organise my material. After a brief comment on the use of terminology in the thesis, the chapter ends with a statement of the primary research questions of the thesis and a chapter overview.

Immigration Detention

Since the mid-1990s,²⁴ people with insecure immigration status in the UK have had to negotiate the gradual intensifying enforcement of internal borders. While the Immigration Act 1971 still provides the legal framework within which the state detains and deports people, a vast quantity of primary and secondary legislation has enabled these powers to be used more intensely and in new ways.²⁵ These changes have enabled increases in

²⁴ In 1993, Campsfield House in Oxfordshire was the first immigration detention centre to open since the early 1970s bringing the total number of immigration prisons to four. By 2014, there were 11 centres with a capacity of over 3,000 (Bosworth, 2014). This history is more fully detailed in chapter 2.

²⁵ The 1971 Act has been supplemented by powers to detain under s.62 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 and s.37 UK Borders Act 2007.

immigration raids, a detained fast-track asylum system²⁶, restricted access to legal aid and rights of appeal and a host of ‘hostile environment’ policies that establish immigration checks in increasing areas of social and civic life²⁷. Since 2010, the Coalition and Conservative governments’ stated aim to reduce net immigration to under 100,000, combined with geo-political, humanitarian and economic counter-pressures that limit the state’s power to prevent incoming migrants, has created the widely accepted imperative to deport more people. At the same time, legal and administrative constraints²⁸ on removals and active resistance by individuals and communities mean that removals are frequently difficult to achieve. This has resulted in the routinised indefinite detention in Immigration Detention Centres for increasingly long periods of time.²⁹

Detention in the UK has been increasingly subject to academic investigation. These studies have primarily been motivated by the desire to characterise and critique the particular function of detention. Detention, unlike prison, is not an end in itself (Bosworth, 2013: 161). As Klein and Williams (2012) write, ‘detention does not serve the purposes of protecting the public, rehabilitating the detainee, deterring would-be immigrants, or repaying debts to society, especially in light of the prohibition on voluntary work’. Instead, Bosworth characterises detention as a space of estrangement. In contrast to prisons which function to produce a recognisable subject, detention centres govern through uncertainty, making people foreign, unfamiliar and dehumanised in preparation for their removal (Bosworth, 2014).

²⁶ The fast track asylum system was ruled unlawful in 2015 (The Lord Chancellor v Detention Action [2015] EWCA Civ 840) and has been replaced by a similar but less accelerated program called Detained Asylum Casework.

²⁷ For example, s.21 Immigration Act 2014 removes the ‘right to rent’ from people with insecure immigration statuses. The same act brought in a framework for charging migrants to use the NHS, which requires more checks on status to access services.

²⁸ The delays occur, for example, because people are able to be detained even while their asylum, immigration or judicial review cases are outstanding and because people often lack travel documents required in order to be deported and obtaining them requires the cooperation of the destination country.

²⁹ While more people leave the UK as a result of this infrastructure, there are in fact fewer enforced removals owing to increasing use of ‘voluntary’ removal schemes (Blinder, 2015).

A number of studies attempt to understand detention through the experiences of those who are imprisoned in the detention estate, as well as those who work in it. They emphasise the power dynamics implicit in the control of time and waiting (MBE Griffiths, 2014; Turnbull, 2014). Incarceration exerts sovereign control over the mobility of those cast as outsiders, keeping people not only in periods of confinement but also on the move. As Gill argues, the large rate of intra-detention transfers provides ‘governmental advantages’ such as preventing people from building and maintaining relationships with other detainees and staff inside, and with family, friends and lawyers outside detention (Gill, 2009). As spaces of control, academics have been keen to identify moments of agency and resistance. For Turnbull, waiting in detention – refusing to return voluntarily - can form a strategy through which people in detention can ‘exert some control over their lives and respond to the uncertainty of their situations’ (Turnbull, 2014). The stress on agency is sometimes a reaction against uses of Agamben’s conceptualisation of the camp as a ‘space of abjection’ to describe immigration detention (Nyers, 2003; Rygiel, 2011).³⁰ This link reduces people detained to ‘bare life’, obscuring the political activism of those inside, and overlooks resistance and the political organisation of those in detention and their collaborators (Bailey, 2009; Hall, 2010).

Immigration Detention is a site where a number of non-state organisations operate. The majority of detention centre operations are outsourced to private security firms such as G4S, SERCO, Mitie, GEO and Tascor that manage the centres and provide services within them such as health care and escorts. NGOs and legal organisations run advice workshops, the voluntary returns services, music workshops and visiting groups. Detention has also attracted a longstanding, vibrant and multi-faceted NGO and grassroots scene³¹ that has, since I started this project, become far more visible and powerful and pushed through significant reforms.³²

³⁰ See also Vicky Squire on asylum dispersal as a system of ‘abjectification’ – a system that nullifies the ‘scope for political solidarity’ (Squire, 2009: 133)

³¹ The anti-detention organisations range widely from service based legal and medical NGOs to refugee rights campaigning NGOs, to movement building organisations and more grassroots and ad hoc groups.

³² In 2010, the Liberal Democrat and Conservative Coalition limited child detention to a special detention facility for maximum of 3 days. In 2014, Detention Action led a successful judicial challenge to the Detain Fast

The work of non-state actors in and around detention has been less frequently investigated in the academic sphere, and when it has been engaged with, the focus has more frequently been one of critique rather than of participation. Bacon (2005) argues that most work on detention revolves around ‘legal, policy and human rights concerns’ rather than looking at ‘structural factors and interests at play’ such as the role of private companies in detention provision.³³ More recently, studies have identified NGO complicity in detention, not least in the case of Barnado’s children’s charity deciding to manage Cedars (the children and family’s centre, alongside G4S) (Tyler et al., 2014). Other studies have identified more prosaic, everyday complicities. For example, the provision of classes, orientation booklets and legal self-help guides have also been characterised as technologies complicit with the detention regime in the production of ‘responsible, liberal and autonomous asylum seeker subjects’ (Conlon and Gill, 2013). This work identifies some of the ways social movements participate in separating individuals subject to border control and makes them responsible for navigating it.

There has also been academic interest in the politics of purportedly more radical mobilisations of ‘No Border’ and ‘Abolitionist’ groups, which constitute the focus of this thesis. This work on radical anti-border movements tends to examine their activism and politics at points of border crossing and encampment (King, 2016; Millner, 2011; Rigby and Schlembach, 2013; Rygiel, 2011) focusing on external border enforcement – i.e. who should be let across a border rather than who should be forced by states across borders. No Border politics has also been critiqued as a political stance in its own right and examined for its implications for connected left-political projects (Alldred, 2003; Nick Gill, 2009; Hayter, 2003). Anti-deportation campaigns have been studied as critiques of nation-state citizenship and as creating forms of contested forms of political belonging (Isin, 2008; Mensink, 2019; Nyers, 2003; Rygiel, 2011; Tyler and Marciniak, 2013). However, studies have given less

Track procedure. In 2016, amendments to the Immigration Act introduced automatic bail hearings after 4 months for asylum seekers and 3-day extendable limit on detention of pregnant women.

³³ Something that I don’t think one can accuse the NGO scene of ignoring today (see: Detention Action, 2013; Medical Justice et al., 2008)

attention to the practices of these activists and centre on the concept of citizenship rather than investigating their thinking in relation to a broader network of concepts and ideas.

Naming radical border movements as 'No Border' and 'Abolitionist' identifies them with a radical rejection of borders and prisons but says little about the modes of intervention they have developed and how their politics of rejection are enacted. They appear to rely on clear distinctions between abolition and reform or between co-optation and resistance which obscure the divergent and contradictory ways in which anti-border politics is put into practice within party structures, NGOs and grassroots groups. The negative framing against the system says little about the more diverse, affirmative values anti-border activism tends to embody and the abstract positioning around a demand reveals little about the ways in which radical anti-detention groups are often more responsive to, and open to cooperation with, diverse forms of resistance within detention.

This thesis examines the practices radical anti-detention activists adopt to respond to the persistent mobilisations of people in detention.³⁴ It focuses on their willingness to be reflective about the complexities and complicities of working within detention and to confront and reflect upon the power dynamics involved in supporting people within detention. These concerns and motivations were expressed by the majority of those I interviewed, for example, Ali explains, relating to their experience as a detention visitor and campaigner:

For any movement to be valid it has to have the involvement of the people it claims to support... Building up relationships with people is pretty key. It's part of organising in a solidarity not charity model – I think it's important that people feel like partners and that we all feel like partners in our activism rather than we're acting on behalf of others that we don't know or understand anything about them other than their detention. (Ali – Interview)

³⁴ <https://network23.org/antiraid/2014/05/08/notes-for-a-brief-history-of-resistance-in-uk-detention-centres/>

Here, Ali prioritises the *involvement* of those in detention in activism. More specifically, they foreground horizontal forms of involvement with words like *solidarity* and *partners*. For this to be possible, those outside detention have to find other ways of working than representing or *acting on behalf of* those inside and have to think carefully about how we *know or understand* people in detention.

In the time leading up to and during the writing of this project, I was involved in a number of groups based in London that attempted to enact this kind of collaborative approach to anti-detention activism. It quickly became apparent that, with few models available as guides, activists were regularly confronting very challenging political and ethical questions. This is most immediately evident at times of dilemma that force activists to examine their own responsibilities to those in detention and address their power in shaping how detainee protest is seen. In 2015, we were in touch with scores of people across the detention estate who began a coordinated hunger strike.³⁵ The next month, activists were also sent video footage of a man on top of a roof at a detention centre with a rope tied around his neck threatening to jump.³⁶ The incident resulted in a protest that resulted in a violent and forceful response by officers; the man told activists outside that he wanted the video to be published. Later that year, activists were in touch with another man who was on the roof of Dover detention centre wanting publicity about his case.³⁷ Then, in 2016, different and difficult questions emerged related to obligations activists had towards men in detention who were sexually inappropriate to visitors.³⁸

This thesis does not investigate these specific individual incidents in detail. Instead, it addresses the everyday challenges and methods of organisation and cooperation through which values and modes of thinking were developed which shaped responses to these events. The very attempt to do the core work of detention activism in cooperative ways met a series of challenges. Ali continues:

³⁵ Field Note 12/3/2015

³⁶ Field Note 25/4/2015

³⁷ Field Note 16/05/2015. See also <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/05/15/i-saw-a-detainee-running-toward-the-door-and-up-onto-the-roof/> and <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/may/15/migrant-protest-roof-dover-immigration-detention-centre>. [accessed 3/1/2019]

³⁸ Field Note 15/05/2016

It's so difficult in a context where those people are in detention. With visiting someone in detention, for example, your time with them is necessarily more brief and more interrupted than it might be within other campaigning contexts. Communication is difficult in that context as well – it's not a natural environment or a comfortable environment when you are speaking to someone on the phone or visiting them and it's automatically a situation where there's a power dynamic in which it is really hard to create a horizontal friendship, or support relationship or activism relationship from that stand point. You are literally able to leave at the end of that meeting and that person isn't. And it's really hard to work out how to work around that. That's a huge thing. (Ali – interview)

Sean, another anti-detention organiser, echoes Ali's earlier sentiments:

One of the challenges is trying to learn what it means to act in solidarity with someone in a society where it's not massively discussed – certainly as a political term, although more and more charities use the word solidarity but still mean charity. It's something we haven't practised at a young age, so there's a lot of learning involved and probably a lot of mistakes involved. One of the practical challenges is that, for a start people are in prisons and people are outside prisons and they are trying to work together towards common objectives but it's very very difficult to have conversations and meetings across those divides.... A lot of activists haven't been through the system, and haven't been detained and may well have never been imprisoned. And a good guiding principle which is that when you're acting in solidarity with people you are led by them or you try to be responsive to the things they feel are important. (Sean, Interview)

As Ali points out, creating the means for communication is a key challenge for anti-detention activism. This means not only overcoming the physical obstacles to communication but understanding and holding up for consideration differences of power within these relationships that are a product of detention (like one person being able to leave and the other not) but also the expectations and socialisations of those engaging in

those relationships. Implicit also in Ali's remarks is that thinking about the kinds of relationships one wants to achieve, 'horizontal friendship, or support relationship or activism relationship' is important. It is ambiguous whether these are different ways of approaching the same thing or whether they are different concepts pointing to a number of different models of activist engagement. As Sean hints at, these different relationships are not the subject of common social life; we need to *practice* them and learn through that practice. Brian echoes this idea:

The thing about detention organising, if you want to work with people who have experienced it in order to work against it, you have to be innovative. (Brian, in conversation in 2016)³⁹

It is this focus, on finding forms of cooperation across detention walls, that forms the central subject matter of this thesis. The complex dynamics of power, cross-cultural communication and conflicting radical imperatives to speak out, but not to speak over, mean that in order to work with those incarcerated in immigration detention, activists generate patterns of grounded thinking and responsiveness to change. To help frame and understand these practices, I develop and utilise the concept of post-representational politics which I begin to unpack in the next section.

Post-Representational Politics and anti-border activism

Before thinking about post-representational politics, it is useful to think about how representation works to frame political action. Hanna Pitkin's (1967) book has been central to modern debates on representation (Dovi, 2018) and is useful in depicting the various political sensibilities representation orientates us toward. Pitkin defines representation rather simply as 'to make present again' before interrogating a number of partial snapshots of the concept. Each snapshot grasps an aspect of representational thought while failing to capture, what Pitkin calls, its 'convoluted three-dimensional structure'. To begin, Pitkin looks at political representation through the lens of formalistic approaches that focus on the legitimacy bestowed on representatives through 'authorisation' or 'accountability'. Authorisation theories seek to locate representation by identifying a moment in the past

³⁹ Field Note: 29/09/2016

such as a contract or an election that grants rights to the representative to act.

Accountability seeks to ground representation in the expectation that the representative will have to answer for what they have done. This perspective situates representation as a key part of the liberal state and raises questions about who can authorise representatives and to whom do representatives owe accounts. These temporal orientations to the past and the future, however, say little about what it means to represent in the present.

For this, Pitkin turns to 'descriptive representation'; the idea that representatives need to reflect or mirror the characteristics of the community. This perspective brings in to view the ways a representative is often required to have an 'accurate correspondence or resemblance to what it represents' (p.60). It points toward the utility of representation – the ability to stand in for a larger group, to act through different mediums and at a geographical distance – but also raises questions about who can represent a constituency, how the represented are imagined or constructed in order to be represented and who is agentic in this construction. Central to this idea of representation is that 'it is not an 'acting for' but a giving of information about, a making of representations about' (p.84), pointing as, I build upon in chapter three, to the intertwinement between political representation of those in detention and the ability to display knowledge about them. Pitkin's analysis of symbolic representation, on the other hand, does not rely on its correspondence with that which is represented but points to the social 'attitudes and beliefs' that underpin the ability of something or someone to appear as representative. Pitkin settles on a definition of representation as a kind of activity, what she calls 'substantive representation'; that of 'making present of something which is nevertheless not literally present' (p.144). Representation, understood as a kind of practice, means 'acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them' (p.209).

This survey of Pitkin's interrogation of representation is continued in Chapter 3 in which I develop the interrelationship between social movements and representation in more detail. For now, it is enough to see that these features of representation mean that representation is incredibly useful for anti-detention activism. One might go so far as to say that, on its face, resistance to detention politics requires operating in a realm of representation. Detention separates those held within it from their community and support-networks. This exacerbates the difficulties of having to exist in a confusing and chaotic environment and

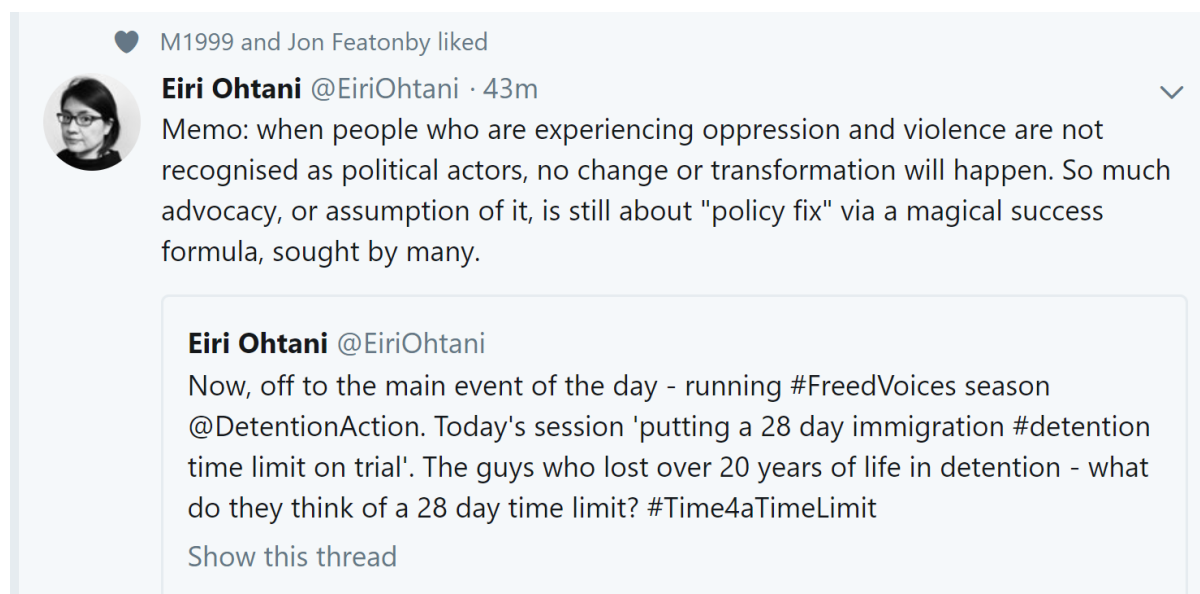
needing to navigate labyrinthine legal standards and practices in order to be released. These factors combine to prevent people in detention from speaking publicly on their own behalf. Moreover, being in detention places people in a position in which representing themselves as falling within legal categories of protection and citizenship are the only means of improving their situation. The decision-making power and the public discourse within which these decisions are made difficult to access for those in detention and therefore representing the interests of those in detention to these centres of power becomes vital.

This is reflected in the two most visible strategies for change: liberal advocacy and counter-hegemonic projects. Liberal representation encompasses legal and casework support as well as state-targeted policy campaigns to limit and reform detention and deportation policy. Counter-hegemonic projects attempt to reframe migration and detention in public and media discourse and to do the work of forming coalitions of oppositional power needed to push towards more emancipatory and less punitive anti-border futures. Both draw on practices that re-present detention and the experience of detention to centres of power located away from the detention centre itself and act on behalf of those in detention and at risk of being detained.

However, while Pitkin argues for the independence of both representatives and the represented, the dominant current of political theory places the representative in a position of heightened importance relative to the represented. Representation, as materialists such as Barad (2007) have discussed, imposes an ontological binary in which representations and representatives hold the greater power, dynamism and agency to the exclusion of that which is seen to be merely represented. This 'representationalist' view cuts representations from the practices of representation that underpin them. This prompts the political and ontological question Neimanis (2015) poses whether it is possible to have representation without representationalism.

This very abstract critique of representational politics resonates with the situation within the anti-detention movement. In mainstream movements it has been citizen representatives that are at the forefront, active, visible and able to strategise, whereas those in detention are rendered passive, and drawn upon primarily as evidence of the political claims made by representatives. This, as Eiri Ohtani, the director of a leading anti-

detention campaign group, notes in the tweet below, plays into a dynamic in which those experiencing oppression are 'not recognised as political actors'.



The turn toward what I call post-representational politics⁴⁰ attempts to forge alternative practices which challenge this dynamic. It is, likewise, a composite concept, drawing together a number of strands of activism and thought that both provide atypical modes of representation or reject representation altogether. These approaches frequently value the dynamics of practice over the need to represent to an audience. They foreground the recognition of the agency of those in detention and work to cooperate with that agency rather than focus on building platforms for those outside. Post-representational practice is often oriented toward the geographical immediate, and the temporal present rather than externally legitimised by events in the past or the future. It is an orientation that does not attempt to reflect the interest of a static and passive constituency that it acts for but attempts to work with others to construct interests and build the ability to work toward emancipatory ends. As will be discussed further in chapter three, both activist and academic discourse sometimes positions post-representational values as being opposed to the representational and yet it is often about formulating an added concern for the practices

⁴⁰ The term "post-representational politics" has been used by Pearce (2007) to describe transnational networked movements, that are committed to horizontal organisation and prioritise the use of self-organisation, direct action and direct democracy. Harrebye (2015) draws on Pearce's use of the term to expand on traditional definitions of social movement activity that emphasises the 'collective challenge, a common purpose, social solidarity and sustained interaction' (128).

that allow for representation. As I will underline in chapter three, there is nothing in the post-representational that requires erasing the representational.

The central focus of this thesis is a cluster of questions that explore the concept of post-representational politics and its utility for anti-detention activism. What does it mean to think, act and conceptualise post-representational political anti-detention activism? How does thinking beyond representation illuminate anti-detention activist practices? Alongside this descriptive question is an evaluative one: what do post-representational forms of activism provide to radical anti-detention movements? To answer these questions, the project seeks to engage with social movement organising. The next section situates my approach to social movements.

Thinking with social movements

“I’m drawn to activism that doesn’t assume anything as prior. I don’t like activism that has an ends that it’s looking for without caring about its means. Activism is a process, and you grow through it and community forms through it.” (Hannah – Interview)

To explain the approach I have taken to answer these questions, it is necessary to briefly explain debates within social movement studies that have influenced the shape of this thesis. In this subsection, I follow writers who identify social movements as sites of knowledge production, and who understand this intellectual generativity to be just as important to the practice of social movements as their societal effects. In the next subsection, I develop the concept of the ‘political imagination’ to capture the practice-based thinking that constitutes political practice. Finally, the section ends with a comment on the implications this approach to social movements has for the ethics and methodology of research.

Social movement studies has, first and foremost, been conceived as the study of social movements as objects⁴¹. The discipline has evolved through a number of divergent iterations, understanding them as aberrant, irrational responses to social dysfunction

⁴¹ For Smelser, the study of collective behaviour could be understood as ‘Why do collective episodes occur where they do, when they do, and in the ways they do?’ (Smelser, 1962)

(Smelser, 1962), rational collective organisation to produce political outcomes (McAdam, 1982), the rational use of political resource mobilization (Tilly, 1978), or contestations over cultural production and social practice in what came to be called the study of New Social Movements (Melucci, 1980). Much of this literature, even while acknowledging that movements are culturally productive (Escobar, 1992) still treats them as objects to explain and 'understand'.

There is increasing academic recognition that social movements are sites of social and political thought and knowledge-production (Cox, 2015). But questions remain about how we, as academics interested in social movement knowledge, understand, relate to and engage with the generativity of social movements. There are divergent ways of understanding the productivity of social movements. In the first place, they produce representative knowledge *about* the world (Cox and Fominaya, 2009), what some have called 'counter expertise' (Eyerman and Jamison, 2007). Social movements are active theory makers with 'knowledge-practices' that 'run parallel to the knowledge of scientists or policy experts' (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008). Sometimes this knowledge is actively generated through forums for consciousness-raising that develop and organise the knowledge produced from different standpoints (Harding, 1992). At others, this knowledge remains implicit within the tacit and practical knowledge of individuals and collectives (Wainwright, 1994) to navigate their social domains.

The second area of knowledge production is the practical and tacit knowledges themselves. This includes the techniques of survival in hostile surroundings, the ability to work within overly surveilled places, the knowledge of border crossing, but also more mundane things: how to facilitate a meeting, writing minutes, how to find a lawyer, how to make a banner. Activists often downplay the importance of practical skills even as they constitute the very stuff of activism and carry with them ways of understanding the world (Maddison and Scalmer, 2006).

A third way of understanding social movement thinking is in terms of strategy. Strategy combines both forms of knowledge we have encountered so far. In order to develop strategic operations, social movements have to understand themselves and their environment. Nunes (2014), for example, inquires about how strategic action can be understood and operationalised within these networked movements. However, strategy is

insufficient to conceptualise the kinds of knowledge important within social movements. As Roseneil (1993) writes about activism at Greenham, 'the concept of "strategy", with its connotations of instrumental rationality, cost-benefit analysis and military-like planning does not capture the complex nature of the processes by which Greenham's action was constructed' (98). This points to an important imaginative function that social movements have as projects that seek to inhabit the world in different ways, stretching, both consciously and unconsciously notions of what kinds of world are possible and desirable. While recognising and retaining an interest in the social movement knowledge-practices as sites of experiential, theoretical, practical and strategic knowledge, I want to highlight this imaginative function of social movements.

The Political Imagination

The imagination, often dismissed as fantastical, ideological or as a mere reproduction of prior experience, is a central feature of social movement work. The starting point for understanding the imagination is Castoriadis' dual notion of a faculty that is implicated in the generation of images of the world and in invention or creation (Castoriadis, 1994: 138). The first symbolic function underpins the imagination's epistemic role in conceiving the world as it is now. The second inventive conception underlines its capacity to extend perception and look for possible or potential new worlds. For Castoriadis, these two functions are bound up with one another. The inventive aspect of the imagination requires the symbolic in order to function, and the symbolic presupposes the possibility of comprehending something otherwise (Castoriadis, 1975).⁴²

⁴² Castoriadis's model of the imagination is constructivist: drawing influence from philosophy and psychoanalysis, the imagination is produced through the social: 'we only encounter socialized individuals'. Some social theorists have attempted to delineate broader historical shifts in the social imaginary. The history of the imagination, assembled in (Robinson and Rundell, 1994), grounds its changing significance in the movements through the historical eras of modernity and post-modernity. This historiography, in parallel with MacIntyre (2007), posits that one aspect of modernity is the separation between object and meaning or in MacIntyre's language the thing as it is and its telos, the object's flourishing, resulting in the post-modern condition of cultural malaise (Rundell, 1994).

In its epistemological mode⁴³, the imagination serves as an optic through which the world is perceived. For Hage (2012), the radical imaginary is ‘a general cognitive and affective structure’ rather than ‘an empirically minute description of the features of radical change’. Our imaginations shape ‘why, whether and what we are ready to experience’ (Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis, 2002: 325) and therefore the imagination impacts upon what we can know and how we know it. It is therefore crucial to understanding the prosaic, everyday aspects of social life, and its importance is not limited to expressive artistic practices (Appadurai, 1996: 5; Sanghera and Thapar-Björkert, 2012: 142).

The imagination allows for understandings of the social setting in which one lives and works. Khasnabish and Haiven draw an analogy between the way the imagination functions within activism and the role of ontology in research: it is the way we interpret and understand social reality providing a ‘shared framework’ for differentiating and understanding (Haiven and Khasnabish, 2014: 227). Imaginations do not just differentiate and identify object; they also characterise them, serving a political function such as characterising the perceived enemies of the state or the market (Hage, 2012). As has been noted by Abrams, Painter (2006) and Gill, the imagination is important in understanding the effects of societal institutions, such as the state which, because of their complexity, resist essentialist theorisation. For Gill (2010), for example, imaginations of the state could emphasise its peopled character, its role as an institutional actor or its regulatory functions.

The imagination not only includes conceptualisations of the world but also includes understandings of how we exist within it. For Taylor, the social imagination includes ‘the way people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations’ (Taylor, 2002: 106). This self-reflexive aspect of the imagination has been emphasised by social movement theorists

⁴³ It was Kant and other German Idealists that developed an understanding of the imagination as not merely as a consequence of perception but as having a constitutive role within it. Kant’s imagination is the faculty that enabled sense data to be accessible by the mind. This conforms to Fichte’s statements that ‘all reality is brought forth solely by imagination’ (quoted in Kearney, 1998: 3). For Kant, the imagination is a shared human faculty, common to all rational beings. While the imagination structures perception through categorisations such as time and space, these are shared human categories through which knowledge about the world was possible.

who argue that conceptions of the ways one can participate in political change are fundamental for both understanding contemporary forms of activism and developing new activist strategies. For Dixon (2014), ‘imagining ourselves’ in new ways is a key part of ‘Another Politics’⁴⁴. This resonates with observations made by Hage that the radical imaginary is central to the move from a politics of direct confrontation with the state to a politics of alterity.

In the imagination’s generative mode, it not only ‘constructs’ meanings but ‘stretches and transcends them’ (Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis, 2002: 316). It is the imagination’s ability to connect meaning-making with vision and fantasy (Hyysalo, 2006) that means that the imagination as conceptualised here can be a key conceptual pivot to generating future-oriented practice, intentional communities and political activism.

Imaginations not only connect interpretations of the present with depictions of potential futures, they also work to connect people. The concept of imagination can be individual but also collective (Hage, 2012). Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler’s epistemology, for example, is neither individualistic nor communitarian – but involves ‘a dialogical epistemology’ that intentionally ‘leaves the conceptual tension between ‘group’ and ‘individual’ unresolved’ (Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis, 2002). To share in an imaginary does not mean that one has the same ideas or agrees on the same political outlook. Those engaged in the same practice or tactical approach may interpret them in vastly different ways. To speak of a collective imagination is to identify a shared landscape upon which individuals may take differing perspectives (Haiven and Khasnabish, 2014).

For much of the history of thought on the imagination, images were considered to be the sole production of the mental faculty. The understanding of the imagination as a theatre which displays images is a theme that ran through most pre-Kantian philosophical thought. Aristotle’s *phantasia* were reproductions of perceptions. Hume viewed the imagination as weak replications of prior sense-perceptions (Ricoeur, 1994: 121). This view encouraged the view that there was a logical connection between what could be imagined and what is

⁴⁴ Another Politics is the contemporary trend of activism influenced by anarchist, prison-abolitionist and intersectional feminist critiques

possible. However, the realisation that much can be imagined that is not imageable (White, 1990) revealed the failure of 'images' as the primary medium of the imagination.

Contemporary thought emphasises the corporeality of the imagination; in other words, it espouses the view that the medium through which the imagination is formed, fostered and carried is social practice. For Verran, imaginaries are not located in minds, but 'in the practices which constitute' those imaginaries (Verran, 1998). Thus, a materialist approach to the imagination would mean viewing the imagination as an emergent property of the interaction of beings; just as the beings themselves are emergent along with the imagination. The imagination, in this framing, is neither a pre-social faculty of individual humans, nor is it a post-social result of societal movements. To call the imagination emergent does not mean it is the mere product of material interaction, rather it is involved in the unfolding of material-discursive practices. Thus a materialist conception of the imagination views physical encounters as agentic in their construction: 'Our ideas encounter resistance and assistance to their thriving from nonhuman as well as human sources' (Sharp, 2007). The imagination is conditioned but not determined by the practices people are engaged in and, in turn, the imagination influences the development of practices in new directions.

The radical imagination for Khasnabish and Haiven (2012: 411) is an emergent property of collective action; it is not something individuals or groups have but something we do.⁴⁵ For Taylor (2002), the social imaginary is required in order to engage in social practice: 'the practice without the understanding would not make sense for us and thus wouldn't be possible'. However, this relationship is not one-sided: 'it is also true that the practice largely carries the understanding'. The range of possible actions, what Taylor calls the 'repertory' of social action, creates an 'implicit map of social space'.

Implications for research: Thinking with Social Movements

There are two consequences of this discussion of social movement thinking and imagining that have influenced the thesis. Firstly, in order to engage with movements as knowledge

⁴⁵ The role of doing in generating the imagination resonates with Graeber's point about the role of doing in capitalist society: that the most important thing for the ruling class to do to maintain the status quo is to keep people doing mundane things, and thus limiting radical shifts in prevalent social imaginaries.

producers, one must engage with movement practices. It is in practice, that political imaginaries of detention, agents of change and affirmative politics are held. Radical movements are, therefore, about more than the discursive framing that they produce. Secondly, an attentiveness to social movement knowledge production creates ethical and methodological challenges for social movement research. On the one hand, there is the potential for academic knowledge production to extract and commodify the situated and processual knowledges of social movements. On the other, we need ways of recognising and engaging with this knowledge without romanticising and valorising it unnecessarily.

There are specific issues for the academic study of post-representational politics.⁴⁶ As I discuss in chapter three in relation to the concept of ‘activist edgework’, the fact that activist work exists within imperfect social dynamics and, to an extent, participate in the reproduction of those dynamics is an accepted part of the activity of post-representational organisation.⁴⁷ This means that it can be unhelpful to engage with these movements with an approach that sits outside of movements and bemoans the limitations of activism or the ways they participate in pervasive currents in social society – it misunderstands how social movements are themselves, often reflexive, thinking and adapting assemblages.

Consequently, researchers have attempted to develop new forms of relationship between academic study involving social movements and the movements themselves. Social movements are no longer only objects to be studied and critiqued but are potential allies and collaborators in thinking. It is this effort to engage social movements in the co-production of knowledge (Chesters, 2012) that uses the tools of academia to support, record, develop and reflect upon knowledge as it arises within activist practice. Luchies (2015) also sets out models for an ethics of social movement research that emphasises the recognition of social movement thinking, the problematization of the authority of academic

⁴⁶ In chapter three, I outline the concept of activist edgework to characterise the practice of post-representational politics in the anti-detention movement. This term specifies activist attempts to consensual and horizontal forms of political practice in settings where there are significant power-differences within the group. In Edgework, activists perform horizontal forms of deliberation in an attempt to realise more collaborative forms of politics. This form of practice, in particular, changes how we, as academics learning with social movements, might interact with social movement activity.

⁴⁷ Recent scholarship has investigated the strategies of social movements groups to seek rather than avoid co-optation and complicity (McCarty, 2019)

knowledge and, finally, the recognition of and participation in the prefigurative aspects of activist practice and theory-production. The approach adopted in this thesis is also influenced by Khasnabish and Haiven's (2014) approach of 'convocation'. This idea captures a third way between using academic knowledge to inform social movements and studying the social movements as objects. Their approach involves conceiving academic research as engaging with and thinking alongside movements; participating in the project of advancing social movement's radical imaginaries.⁴⁸

To summarise, instead of situating the study and evaluation of post-representational politics outside of participation and active involvement in post-representational anti-detention activism, this project conceives itself as a much closer conversation between academic and activist knowledge production. This project endeavours to remain grounded within those movements, offering work that can shed light upon and record some of the innovations and thinking within anti-detention practice and think alongside those innovations to generate new models of working in anti-detention politics. The methodological implications of this are discussed in the next section.

Methodology

In order to perform these tasks, it is necessary to operate within a methodological framework that provides space to recognised movement generativity and for a close, interweaving and constitutive relationship between ideation and the processes and contexts through which ideation occurs. In this section, I elucidate the notions of practice and concept that I use to structure the case-study chapters of the thesis. These intellectual tools help to conceptualise activist practice and to understand the intellectual work performed through activist organising and to theorise the research approach undertaken in this project. I then explain the empirical methods I have used to bring out the political thinking that constitutes anti-detention movements.

Practices

⁴⁸ Another way of putting this is to say that this project attempts to reflect what Eve Sedgwick describes as 'reparative reading' in which research seeks to draw from an imperfect and conflicted world the resources to build toward a better one (Sedgwick, 2002). This is opposed to an approach oriented toward what Felski calls the 'epistemologies of suspicion' (Felski, 2011) or what Sedgwick calls 'paranoid reading' in which the main object of critique is to expose the problematic nature of a research object.

Materialist approaches adopt pattern concepts (for example, space, practice, habit, habitus, network, assemblage) in order to identify rhythms and points of stability through which to understand the world. These pattern concepts are useful in identifying lines of coherence in a project's object, while often accepting that the life of that object will resist and surpass those lines of coherence. In other words, pattern concepts help mediate between the chaos and freedom of material intra-action and the rigidity of social structure.⁴⁹ The main pattern concept I use in this investigation is the notion of 'practice', and the three empirical chapters of this thesis are investigations of social movement practices: detention solidarity protests, detention visiting and detention testimony gathering.

Practices, like habits, make the world legible for us in particular ways (Schatzki, 2001). Habits 'integrate and unify situations, they tend to project a context, to structure a situation around any immediate object, both temporally and spatially' (Alexander in Blomley, 2014). I chose to investigate practices and habits as opposed to spaces or geographies to emphasise the temporal and processual elements that are central to activities I encountered while working with activist groups. While occupying specific places or creating certain kinds of space are important, practices are instrumental features of building communications, communities and capacities over time and across different spaces. Practices are more useful than habits, in that they emphasise the ways that even individual actions, such as visiting, are constituted by the collective framing rather than merely acts of individual repetition (Turner, 1994).

The main way that practices are helpful to the aims of this thesis is that they sustain an ambiguous relationship to change and continuity. The concept links discrete actions to a singular form developing over time, 'their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence and 'reason' (Foucault, n.d.). A practice is co-constituted by both the people that engage in them and the interaction with the space and objects that comprise it. While it conveys the idea of becoming more adept at navigating, or even possessing mastery over, a space, it isn't fully malleable through the intentions of the human actors involved (Sharpe,

⁴⁹ Following Barad (2007), intra-action is used in place of inter-action to emphasise that ontological differentiations do not precede the material practices that they participate in. Similarly, actant identifies an agentic being that does not make distinctions between the human and non-human.

2013).⁵⁰ Practices are settings for experimentation and development through rather than the application of a founding set of principles. As Sean explained, while describing the process of consensus in activist organising:

'A practice is a bit more like an art form... it's a bit more discursive, its more toing and froing, I guess it's the ways you self-reflexively think about how you're going to get to places and constantly having conversations with yourself and each other about the patterns which you use to get somewhere rather than having a constitution or codified set of rules that you just follow a, b c to get to an end that the rules are made to get you to.
(Sean – Interview)

Sean's insight contains two metaphors for how practice is conceived. First, the idea of an *art* brings focus on the skills of manipulation and judgement that practitioners can develop and improve through participation and the notion that there is creativity and community that can be formed through practices. Second, practices are most visible in the absence of a set of rules or constitution which limit the creativity inherent in this approach practice. Practice is not a 'putting into practice' pre-formed ideas but a *toing and froing*; a more dynamic reflexive, conversational and situated form of activity.

The choice to organise the material around practices emphasises the way the intellectual labours of activists are not solely a product of ideological arguments and the manipulation of ideas around how one should engage in anti-border politics. Instead, it looks at the thinking that is occurring through the doing. It also disconnects the ideas presented from specific activist groups, allowing for the possibility that similar practices (most obviously detention visiting) may be practiced by groups with divergent sets of political motivations. While my intention is to investigate the post-representational threads of activism in the

⁵⁰ This approach to knowledge is echoed by the recent work in social movement studies that view activist practice as an 'important sites of knowledge creation, reformulation and diffusion' (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008: 17; see also: Zibechi, 2005). This literature recognises a breadth of different knowledges from traditional knowledges to practical know-how. Drawing heavily on Varela's embodied approach to ethics⁵⁰, Casas Cortés emphasises that social movements are sites not just of traditional knowledge types but also of material knowledges and 'know-how' (21).

radical anti-detention movement, this does not mean that similar thinking is not occurring within groups that are motivated by more liberal or religious political beliefs. For this reason, it has the benefit of avoiding a reification of the grassroots-NGO distinction – although practices are changed by their institutionalisation in organisations; the effect is a contingent one.

There are limitations to a practice-oriented methodology that I have attempted to remain conscious of. A focus on practices can tend to dislocate the practice from the context of a surrounding eco-system of activist networks and groups, and can distort readings of the political significance of activist work. It can draw lines between activities that are connected to the point of flowing into one another. It also has the potential to delink practices from a changing political and historical context that can distort what is deemed necessary and urgent. I return to some of these limitations in the conclusion of the thesis.

Concepts

While the notion of practice organises the empirical subject material that forms the basis of this thesis, I use a conceptual methodology to engage with and participate in the convocations of the political imagination developed through post-representational practices. In order that we use concepts to engage with this thinking, rather than using the concepts to assimilate practices into existing ways of thinking, I adopt a dynamic approach to conceptual thinking that I describe in this section.

Concepts, for Deleuze and Guattari, are not general, fixed, neutral categories that structure language and perception (Ruthrof, 2009), rather concepts are historically situated entities that can be created, developed and modified. They are incorporeal, abstract particulars but are 'incarnated or effectuated' in the material process of social life (Deleuze and Guattari, 2011: 21). Concepts are devices brought into being through the adoption of 'conceptual personae' that add a dimension of purpose and dynamism to conceptual development: concepts are created to solve problems of understanding. For Deleuze and Guattari, it is the role of philosophers to create concepts.

Massumi (2002) draws on this point to suggest that developing new concepts is an approach that helps avoid staying within the mode of critique. In order to do this, one needs to avoid applying concepts to new settings but rather to exemplify them by bringing them through

new terrain (Mitchell et al., 2016). Through this process, the concept will bring with it remnants of its relationships in its previous domain that enliven or emphasise new aspects of the new environment and, at the same time, the complexity of the new terrain will stretch and overreach the original understanding of the concept.

In her work in interdisciplinary humanities, Mieke Bal (Bal, 2009) suggests concepts are not 'firmly established univocal terms' but are 'dynamic in themselves'. Bal introduces the idea that concepts travel between different contexts and in so-travelling, they are altered by these contexts. This is especially the case when they are tenuously established – 'suspended between questioning and certainty, hovering between ordinary word and theoretical tool'. Groping for what a concept may mean gives insight into what they can do.

So far, concepts appear as dynamic, embedded and active within contexts, yet, these contexts are philosophical and academic. However, this idea has been developed in order to show how spaces not usually considered philosophical develop and articulate concepts. This would mean that the work of concept formation would be integral to social scientific work as has been postulated by Nicholas Gane (2009). This more democratic understanding of conceptual development has been crafted elsewhere in ways that link concepts directly to the imagination. For Cooper (2014), concepts move or reverberate between imagining and actualisation within everyday spaces of hopeful politics. The imagination stretches concepts to realise new potential to enact markets, property, the state, or democracy in ways other than they currently are practised. Actualisation supports, sustains and shapes the direction of future movements. This process is not a simple back and forth between the two; imagining and practice happens within the same complex, dynamic space producing unpredictable effects. The development of intentional communities fosters a semi-bounded space in which new concepts are brought into being and old concepts are re-moulded.

Viewed in this light, activist practice becomes a location in which political concepts undergo subtle, moderate, yet important modulations through 'active experimentation with resistances and negotiations' (Thiele, 2010). In this way, we can recognise the 'conceptual fecundity of people's practical knowledge' that is 'all too readily disqualified' by scholars (Biehl et al., 2010).

This aspect of the project also presents potential problems. As concepts travel, they bring with them baggage that Timothy Mitchell (Mitchell et al., 2016) associates with 'Eurocentrism'. He identifies a colonising presence that brings obscuring and universalising tendencies to academic study of non-hegemonic spaces. For this reason, Mitchell advocates for 'thinking against the concept' or the generation of new concepts for orienting new spaces. This is not the project taken up here. Instead, this project takes its direction from 'reinventing or reworking older concepts so that they are lifted from their historical settings and are pushed in directions that pose us problems today' (Gane, 2009). This has been done in order to create more direct points of communication between activist discourse and academic treatments of the questions.

Thus, a conceptual methodology is apt for recognising the intellectual processes ongoing both explicitly and implicitly within social practice and allowing academic participation with that thinking. Indeed, what is produced through this thesis are concepts that travel between academic and activist practices. Thus when I inquire about the nature of solidarity, hospitality, witnessing and accountability it is to understand them as tools of sensitization rather than as 'definitive concepts' that prescribe normative or categorical prescriptions (Simpson et al., 2018).

Approach to Empirical Methods

To summarise, this thesis evaluates post-representational politics and its role in anti-detention activism. Rather than conceptualise evaluation in terms of an external imposition of standards, the approach offered here, is to think alongside anti-border activists in navigating the terrains they occupy, to 'locate the research on the same critical plane as the researched' (Roseneil, 1993). I adopt a situated conceptual approach that attempts to reconstruct, engage and develop the political thinking going on within practices of detention activism. This approach draws on radical social movement studies methodologies that attempts to view activist practices as knowledge producing and sustaining practices and employs a conceptual methodology to create bridges between the theoretical and practical knowledges employed by activists.

Throughout the project I developed a portfolio of empirical material drawn from interviews, group discussions and participant-observation. I undertook twenty-five interviews across

three years with anti-detention activists. Interview participants were found through personal contacts, and through requests sent to activist and visiting groups. The people I interviewed were all involved in some form of detention focused work ranging across a spectrum of political views. The majority of interviewees located anti-racist politics, anarchism, abolition and no borders politics as components of their motivations for being involved in this work. These interviews were semi-structured but varied depending on the experience and area of focus of the activists. I have changed the names of visitors to protect their anonymity.

There are inherent problems with one-to-one interviews, particularly when trying to capture thinking as a dynamic, collective practice. As one interviewee signalled, reflecting upon the approach to practice developed in post-representational activism:

I don't really trust my politics as an individual. I trust it when I organise with people and I feel like it's the act of collectively organising with people that stops me and challenges things that I might say but haven't fully thought through. And it's having people that are going to hold me to account for that – those with different life experiences and political beliefs - makes me feel any level of trust in the things that I pursue. And this interview isn't quite like that. (Sean - Interview)

Group discussions were one way I overcame this issue. I held two group discussions with those working on visiting and protest support to talk through the discussions of hospitality and accountability. The second way I addressed this was through 'respondent validation' (Roseneil, 1993) in which activists read earlier drafts of chapters and attended presentations based on chapters of the project and gave feedback on my work. These were helpful to both allowing my work to feed back into activist organisation and to be able to respond to concerns and questions of the activists, whose activities I write about. However, both these options also created difficulties as activists are often practice orientated and found it difficult to find time and motivation to discuss conceptual questions about their work.

A significant source of empirical data, therefore, arose out of field notes from participation in meetings, events, trainings, visiting, protests and debriefs within the anti-detention movement. Chapter four is based on attendance at eight detention centre protests over

four years. Chapter five draws upon experience of visiting people in detention over three years. Chapter six is based upon a participation in collective called Detained Voices that I was working with for three years. Throughout this work, during meetings and following conversations with colleagues or on the train home from a protest, I would take handwritten notes reflecting on my experience of the events, the dilemmas encountered and the contrasting perspectives of others. Often, I would start with the question, what is at stake in the different decisions and actions that the groups were pursuing. My notes also captured informal discussions with activists about the work they were doing. I have kept the bank of notes electronically and refer to them in footnotes throughout the thesis.

As I developed my empirical approach, I was mindful to sustain an understanding of myself as a researcher located within and accountable to both communities of detention activism and academic research. Both are material in shaping the knowledge that is made about activism. The starting point for this approach is with Donna Haraway and her intervention into academic and activist discomfort with the notion of 'objectivity' and the need to square the acceptance of the 'radical historical contingency for all knowledge claims' and 'a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of the 'real' world' (Haraway, 1988). In rejecting the 'God trick of seeing everything from nowhere' (ibid), Haraway argues from an embodied particularistic epistemology: 'feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object' (583). For Haraway, unlocatable knowledges are irresponsible: they are 'unable to be called into account' (ibid).

From Haraway, we understand that there is no use trying to sever our connection with our embedded, embodied entanglements in the world. The academic narratives that we produce are contingent in this respect, they are enactments of world-making and remaking. Rather than worry about the objectivity or independence of our argument, what we need is to become responsible for them. While it might most naturally be described as a form of 'reflexivity', 'accountability' has been used on the ground that emphasizes 'the self in relation to a collective' rather than foregrounding the disembodied protagonist of responsibility (Kenney, 2015).

It is therefore necessary to reflect on the ways that my position as a white, middle-class, male British citizen working in anti-border political struggles shapes this project and the

knowledge produced through it. It is well noted that the privileges associated with my social position enable the rising above particularity, the movement between different discursive spaces, and the tendency to elevate socially-specific knowledge to the level of universal, abstract or ahistorical truth. I have not been exposed personally to the violence of detention and deportation, the various forms of policing that comprises modern border control, nor of the more common place, informal patterns of racism and classism which shape the experiences of those targeted by border control. The project has been influenced by my participation in activist communities that involve those in and out of detention working. It has also been shaped by my participation in academic institutions that carry their own norms and values.

For this reason, it is important to note the specific aims and limits of this academic pursuit. The project is specifically looking at the political thinking from the perspective of those without experience of detention who are finding ways to work with those incarcerated. It is not in itself a project which attempts to give voice to those in detention – it is intended, amongst other things, to understand and give an account of practices that claim to give voice.

The project's methodology mirrors the post-representationality of its conceptual subject matter. It engages with the conceptual thinking of those working on the outside in post-representational ways rather than attempts to represent detention activism from the perspective of an interested outsider and describe what actually occurs during these activist projects. Such an approach would have required giving more space to the experiences of people in detention than I have done so here. There is no claim that these practices exhaust the post-representational politics of anti-detention activism or that the descriptions of anti-detention activism stem from an objective position, independent from my engagements in academic and activist contexts.

This project, therefore, is working in a tradition that rejects the idea that 'critical distance' is the only way in which to produce legitimate knowledge (Chesters, 2012). The questions and themes discussed in the project emerged out of my own involvement in anti-detention organising. My insider status as part of activist movements means that I am part of consistent flows of information and debates that constitute activist strategizing, I know the political languages of the groups I write about. Yet insider status also creates difficulties. To

start with there is an overload of 'data' generated by daily contact with people in and working against detention. It is difficult in these circumstances to determine what data is relevant, particularly when working with a flexible conceptual methodology in which identifying signal from noise is difficult. I constantly became aware of incidents that speak to the themes I was working with but could not incorporate them either because they occurred at inconvenient times or they cut across chapters making it difficult to get the balance right between mess and coherence.

Ethics and Terminology

One of the problems of writing a thesis about activism is that the very term itself is imbued with problematic and racialised connotations that are necessary to keep in mind but very difficult to avoid. Consider the phrase 'post-representational politics involves experimenting with the relationships possible between activists and people in detention beyond relationships of representation and advocacy'. This is a key statement – one which I explore at length in this thesis - but the interplay between these plural nouns works to demarcate and give legitimacy and radical chic to those 'active' on the outside of detention and render those in detention as passive beneficiaries of this activism.

The word activism on its own has further connotations that make it unhelpful for describing the post-representational. It conjures culturally specific images of the kinds of labour that are 'political' and those that are not. As Sean described:

Activism implies that there are a special group in society that has responsibility for changing that society or that should lead, vanguard like, a change in society. It also implies that certain types of labour are more important than others. A lot of things I have done would be considered to be activism but people putting up their friends in somewhere to live because the home office have declared it illegal for people to rent accommodation is just seen as friends helping each other out. (Sean – Interview)

Post-representational activism includes a wide array of practices and preoccupations that are usually characterised as personal rather than political. Detention visiting, for example, is

an obscure, slow practice of conversation and relationship building that exists on these fringes of the activist imaginary.

Similar problems arise with the term anti-detention *movement*. Apart from the privilege it gives to action and mobility when inaction and stillness can be just as useful to activist praxis, the notion overplays the sense of cohesion and self-identity. The name appears to distinguish it from other movements and that therefore identifies it as a single-issue campaign - rather than one that is connected to no borders, pro-migration, anti-prison movements, feminist anti-violence campaigns, Pro-refugee movements, socialist and communist movements and, most centrally, anti-racist politics. Without these connections to other issues, the anti-detention movement is not a site of radical work but a contestation about the best way to deport people. I use anti-detention movement to draw attention to the growing organisation around immigration detention and to isolate particular dynamics that are at play in organising in that context, but in doing so, I do not wish to imply that detention should be *the* issue as opposed to, say, deportation.

Summary and Chapter outline

This thesis adds to the literature investigating the strategies and practices of radical anti-detention activists by understanding their work in relation to post-representational politics. This politics is defined by a concern about speaking on behalf of those at the margins of society and its attempts to find non-conventional modes of representation. The post-representational is mobilised in the project both as a form of politics that is practiced by anti-detention activists *and* as a form of analysis or a lens through which the stakes of anti-detention activism can more readily be understood. The project seeks to understand the political creativity ongoing within post-representational political practice; attempting to understand how these practices provide different ways of thinking about detention and about concepts that are used to organise social movements. Given the prominence of representational politics in the anti-detention movement and the challenges of involving people in detention within movement activity, it asks, how does an analytical shift from representation to post-representation illuminate radical anti-detention praxis, what are the forms of conceptual generativity that are ongoing within activist praxis and what contribution does post-representational politics make to abolitionist politics.

The heart of this thesis lies in chapters four to seven. In these chapters, I engage with the conceptual and practical thinking ongoing within specific activist practices: protest, visiting and testimony gathering. I have chosen concepts that are closely related to activist discourse in order for the discussions to contribute both to academic accounts of activist practices and to ongoing activist debates themselves. The thesis also contributes to debates relevant to specific conceptual literatures; how does the post-representational work of anti-detention protest develop notions of solidarity; in what ways is the concept of hospitality useful for understanding and participating in radical anti-border movements; what forms of testimony and witnessing feature within anti-detention work; and how can we understand accountability within post-representational practice?

Bookending this more grounded thinking are chapters that speak from the position of a reflective, critical friend to the detention movement. I develop the historical and theoretical context and the theoretical framework of post-representational politics at the beginning of the thesis and I offer a situated evaluation of the role, potential and limitations of post-representational politics in the concluding chapter. This thesis adds to contemporary debates by developing the idea of post-representational politics and illuminating the relevance of post-representational politics to the anti-detention movement. In doing so it develops academic understanding of the dynamics of anti-detention activism by investigating the logic of resistance to borders in this carceral setting.

In chapter two, I offer a brief history of the legal, social and political developments that have licenced the expansion of the detention estate to its current form. I provide an overview of recent critical and sociological literature that examines the effect of border policies, and their relationship to decolonisation, the nation-state and processes of racialisation and to liberal and left-wing movements. Finally, I give an overview of anti-detention movement organisations and practices. This chapter, then, functions to give the reader the context for the theoretical and empirical content of the thesis.

Chapter three introduces and distinguishes representational and post-representational political approaches and shows why anti-detention activists are looking beyond the representational. In doing so, the chapter functions to explain and interrogate the central problematic of the thesis. The first section defines what we mean by representational politics and locates it within the wide and diverse existing literature in which representation

is a dominant framing of political action. The second section identifies the representational current prevalent in anti-detention organising and discusses the uses and limitations of representational forms of political intervention. The third section introduces the concept of post-representational politics as a form of analysis and an approach to political praxis. I give a tripartite typography of post-representational politics in action, arguing that it encompasses direct action, prefigurative politics and activist edgework⁵¹. Finally, the chapter concludes by raising challenges for post-representational forms of anti-detention activism.

Chapter four argues that detention centre protests embody post-representational politics. They aim to intervene in the detention centre itself and attempt to develop communities of resistance against detention that span the prison walls, focused primarily on supporting resistance, listening, and forming communities and networks of resistance. The protest serves two functions for post-representational activism. Firstly, as a regular meeting of people outside detention walls it was used to open space for unmandated communication with people in detention, to meet and work alongside people in detention without authorisation or mediation by representatives. Second, the detention protest identifies and develops the concept of solidarity as a post-representational organisational principle. It moves further to argue that the solidarity practiced at the protest is constructed, not as a relationship or emotion, but as a commitment to on-going practices that exceed the protest itself. I argue that conceiving of solidarity as the participation in a community of practice is helpful also in developing a way of understanding solidarity that overcomes its tendency either to obscure difference or reify it.

Chapter five addresses another example of post-representational practice, detention visiting. This chapter responds to the question about what forms of relationship are developed through anti-detention practice that subvert and replace conventional modes of political representation and care. It does so in the context of visiting detention centres, a practice that underpins many activist's experiences of detention and serves as a direct intervention into the space of detention rather than as a way of bringing the cause of detention to external audiences. By addressing questions surrounding the relevance of

⁵¹ Activist edgework is a concept I have developed in this thesis to conceptualise the kind of post-representational politics that is most prevalent in the anti-detention movement.

critical hospitality politics to pro-migration politics, the chapter investigates the ways activist visitors adopt a flexible, undogmatic approach that takes on two different functions as host and visitor.

Chapter six addresses an explicitly representational practice through a post-representational analytical lens. It centres on the practice of collecting testimony by a group called Detained Voices. The chapter discusses the politics of witnessing in the anti-detention movement. On the one hand, it provides first-hand knowledge of hidden sites of oppression, humanises the suffering of othered groups, and can challenge governmental logics with subjugated knowledges. On the other hand, witnessing is associated with the notion of authentic voice, draws on individual experiences of dramatic violence rather than everyday mundane violence and trades on an emotional politics of empathy and identification with suffering. Drawing on a post-representational analysis of witnessing in the Detained Voices project, the chapter assesses the ways witnessing functions to facilitate collaboration between activists outside detention and those resisting from within and addressing imbalances of power across social movements.

Drawing on the three previous chapters, the seventh chapter assesses the contribution of post-representational politics to anti-detention activism. It approaches this question by arguing that its different manifestations are an approach to the problems of accountability of social movements that work around immigration detention. Theories of accountability are developed primarily within representational modes of organisation centred around the agent-principal relationship. Dominant modes of accountability thinking, therefore, are not applicable to post-representational thinking. This theoretical problem is compounded by the conditions of detention that prevent those in detention from effectively holding to account social movement actors working on their behalf. The chapter develops a practice-based view of accountability, that centres on communication within relationships of affinity, the sensitivity to unwanted accountabilities and the development of ways that those in detention can account for detention.

I end with a conclusion that situates contemporary post-representational politics within the current political climate around detention. I argue that the conclusions reached emphasise the continued relevance of post-representational politics even as we look towards larger scale modes organising against detention. I also reprise the core arguments of the preceding

chapters, offer reflections on the methodological approach taken and point to further areas of future study.

Chapter 2: Immigration Detention and Anti-Detention Activism

The task of this chapter is to contextualise the thesis by introducing the existing literature on border policy and immigration detention. It provides an examination of the historical context in which anti-detention activism lies and surveys critical analyses of border enforcement in academic literature. In doing so, it helps to understand the critiques of representational politics advanced in the next chapter. In addition, the overview of anti-detention activism in the final section helps locate the individual activist practices, discussed in chapters four to six, within a broader ecology of activist praxis.

The chapter begins by sketching the historical roots of the detention system within a longer history of immigration control, intertwined with histories of colonialism, the collapse of empire and the emergence of the neoliberal-security state. While the development of border control and deportation infrastructure has been an international phenomenon, this chapter will focus on its development in the UK. The chapter then discusses recent empirical and analytical work in critical deportation and border studies to understand the institutional make-up of contemporary detention and the position of detention today in the network of technologies that form the UK border system. It draws on critical academic literature on detention and related border control policies to describe the institutional and political landscapes that anti-detention activists attempt to navigate. In the final section, the chapter briefly describes the different forms of activism within the anti-detention movement.

A brief history of immigration controls in the UK

The practice of deportation and detention has antecedents in the ancient practice of banishment, in Victorian England's transportation of convicts overseas (Griffiths, 2017) and in other large-scale, state-orchestrated forced migrations, such as the Trans-Atlantic slave trade (Walters, 2016). To identify the origins of contemporary forms of UK border control, however, we must look at Britain's relationship with its empire during the early 20th century. During this period, the British establishment balanced competing pressures to prevent settlement of Jewish, Black and Asian people in the UK, whilst promoting the unity of the British Empire.⁵²

⁵² This commitment to Empire was particularly motivated by the Conservative attachment to the 'Old Commonwealth' of Australia, New Zealand and Canada (Hansen, 2000: 17)

The first stage in the construction of immigration control was to differentiate British subjects from so-called 'aliens' for the purposes of entry and residence in the UK. The first legislation that enabled the Home Secretary to deny entry to undesirable immigrants to the UK was the 1905 Aliens Act,⁵³ motivated by the desire to keep out Eastern European Jewish migrants. This Act concerned migration from outside of the British Empire, as it made a distinction between those who did not owe allegiance to the monarch (so-called 'aliens') and those who did (Spencer, 2002: 54). The impact of the Act was relatively small because a new incoming government did not pursue its enforcement fully (Pellew, 1989). The numbers affected never rose far over one thousand per year, due to the fact that the Act only applied to third-class passengers of ships carrying over twenty third-class passengers (Wray, 2006). Detention facilities were very limited and were rarely used, and detention was not prolonged if it did occur. Removals relied on putting people back on the ships that had brought them to the UK in the first place (Wilsher, 2012).

More extensive powers to incarcerate 'aliens' were granted in the form of war-time internment in the Aliens Restriction Act 1914; legislation that embedded migrant detention within executive power and forged links between the control of foreign citizens with national security (Wilsher, 2012: 45).⁵⁴ These wartime powers were extended to apply in peace time by the Aliens Order of 1919 and in doing so laid the foundation for routinized detention of migrants (Silverman, 2014). Since this time, the courts have been reluctant to investigate detention of migrants. They have made no attempt, for example, to equate immigration detention with criminal justice imprisonment and necessitate similar judicial safeguards for its adoption (Wilsher, 2012).

Consequently, the liberal approach to non-British-subjects ended swiftly in the twenty years after the turn of the 20th century.⁵⁵ It took longer to develop provisions to formally limit the movement of people within the British Empire and the Commonwealth. In the post Second

⁵³ Prior legislation had allowed for less centralised restrictions on the right of entry into the UK (Bosworth, 2014). And while there was no concept of UK citizenship in the 18th century, 'wandering' and 'vagrancy' laws criminalised movements of poor people within the UK (Aiken et al., 2014; Weber and Bowling, 2008).

⁵⁴ Under this act and Royal Prerogative powers 32,440 people were interned in November 1915 and 24,255 remained in detention at the end of the war.

⁵⁵ Despite Liberal-legal academic criticism of the Aliens Act from the likes of A.V. Dicey who saw it, along with legislation allowing free education and trade union laws, as promoting collectivist over individual interests (Dicey, 2012).

World War years, all British subjects, those born within the British Empire, were legally permitted to enter the UK. This situation was enshrined in the British Nationality Act 1948 which codified the legal situation that had existed de facto prior to 1948. The legislation was motivated by the UK establishment's need to reaffirm their commitment to the unity of the Empire, in response to the independence of Canada in 1946 and India and Pakistan in 1947 (Spencer, 2002: 54).

Despite the absence of legislative barriers to movement within the empire, British executive action consistently worked to prevent Commonwealth subjects settling in the UK (Spencer, 2002: 21). In the mid-1930s, the government began using its colonial administration in India to prevent the issuing of travel documents (12). After Indian independence, the British state continued to work with post-colonial governments to prevent the issuing of passports to those without insurance requirements, a letter of support from a British resident and an appraisal of the applicant's funds. This cooperation sometimes ran into difficulties and other methods to dissuade incoming migration had to be deployed. In the Caribbean, governments refused to act on similar demands by the British to refuse passports, so the British government produced films depicting the difficulties of migrating to Britain. These practices, especially as applied in the Indian subcontinent, relied primarily on preventing people leaving their country of origin through misinformation, financial restrictions and administrative barriers. Yet at the same time, immigration officers in the UK had no powers to differentiate between British subjects if they travelled to Britain via a third country. As Spencer notes 'the restrictions applied differentially: they were applied only to the poorer classes from the Asian and black Empire/ and then only by the colonial and Commonwealth governments that were prepared to co-operate' (24).

While the prevention of poor people of colour moving from the Commonwealth to the UK was, in the first place, performed using administrative action, there was increasing pressure to legislate to meet this objective too. The administrative barriers to migration, reliant on the cooperation of colonial and post-colonial governments, were increasingly insufficient and there was a rise in the number of people from the Caribbean from 3,000 per year to 10,000 in the mid-1950s (Spencer, 2002: 73). The immigration conversation in the 1950s, based on civil unrest, housing, unemployment and criminality focused solely on Asian and Black migration rather than on the vastly larger influx of differently racialised migrants, for

example, from Ireland.⁵⁶ The desire to introduce some form of immigration control and power to deport began to outweigh the need to appease post-colonial governments and give the illusion of empiric unity. By 1954, the cabinet was convinced that ‘the problem’ of racialised immigration needed a legislative response. However, the cabinet was split on whether provisions to enable deportation of criminalised Commonwealth subjects were adequate to address the perceived problem, or whether provisions were required to prevent entry (Spencer, 2002: 64). Those who objected to entry restrictions claimed that it would be impossible to introduce immigration legislation which was not conspicuously discriminatory.⁵⁷

Despite the urgency felt in the mid-1950s for the need to legislate, the issue ceased to be of central importance to the national conversation and legislation did not enter the agenda again until the early 1960s. By this time, administrative barriers to migration applied by the Indian and Pakistani governments in cooperation with the British Government had broken down, leading to a greater number of new migrants entering the UK between 1960 and 1962 (Gish, 1968). The process of differentiating Commonwealth people for the purposes of limiting Asian and Black immigration was performed incrementally by primary and secondary legislation between 1962 and 1973. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 was the first legislation to formally limit the opportunity to enter the UK from Commonwealth countries by introducing a voucher scheme that only enabled those with employment or with specific skills to migrate to the UK.⁵⁸ Ironically, it enabled an even

⁵⁶ Lord Salisbury, one of the most prominent advocates for migration controls sought to portray the in terms of race relations and demand on the Welfare State: ‘The figures which we have been given make it clear that we are faced with a problem which, though at present it may be only a cloud the size of a man’s hand, may easily come to fill the whole political horizon... these people will pour in to take advantage of our social services and other amenities, and we shall have no protection at all’ (Porter and Stockwell, 1989: 300)

⁵⁷ For example, in a letter to Lord Salisbury on 15 March 1954, Lord Swinton (then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations) wrote, “If we legislate on immigration, though we can draft it in non-discriminatory terms, we cannot conceal the obvious fact that the object is to keep out coloured people. Unless there is really a strong case for this, it would surely be an unwise moment to raise the issue when we are preaching, and trying to practise, partnership, and the abolition of the colour bar.” (Porter and Stockwell, 1989: 299)

⁵⁸ Because there was no such thing as a British Passport at the time, the Act relied the passport’s issuing authority to differentiate between those that would be subject to immigration control and those not. It exempted those with Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies (CUKC) passports that had been issued by London. In Parliamentary wrangle that contains some parallels with contemporary issues, the contentious issue of imposing border controls on the Irish border resulted in Irish citizens being excluded from border control. This exception made it possible for the bill to pass through parliament, though not without opposition

larger scale migration to the UK to take place (Hansen, 2000: 19; Spencer, 2002: 129). This was because the slow implementation encouraged people to migrate before the restriction was put in place. It also incentivised people in the UK only temporarily, to stay permanently, and enabled relatives of people already in the UK to enter. However, the Act created the legislative framework to curb freedom of movement in the Commonwealth, differentiating for the first time between rights held by people born in the UK and with British passports, and those with Commonwealth government issued passports.⁵⁹

Further policy changes in 1965 and 1968 brought an end to new permanent primary migration from South Asia, Africa and the Caribbean by making access to the UK dependent upon having a parent or grandparent born or naturalised in the UK. The apparent legal equality of British subjects for immigration purposes had been lost. Concerns about the lack of accountability and lack of legal oversight led to the Immigration Appeals Act 1969 that enabled Commonwealth citizens who were denied entry to the UK, a right to an in-country appeal.

The 1971 Immigration Act is important to this discussion because of the wide policing and detention powers it granted to the government, despite the fact that it was claimed to be of largely symbolic significance, consolidating the changes made during the 1960s. It allowed entry only to 'patrial' subjects who were to include those who were born or naturalised in the UK, migrants living in Britain on the 1st January 1973, and British subjects who had a parent or grandparent who was British (Williams, 2015). The 'racially defined' category that allowed many white Commonwealth citizens the right to enter the UK while excluding almost all non-white Commonwealth citizens, ending the 1962 voucher scheme (Bloch, 2000; Moore and Wallace, 1975). It also relegated family reunion rights from primary to secondary legislation, handing power to the executive to further limit family reunion rights, one of the only remaining routes of entry. The Labour Party opposed the legislation and promised to repeal it, although they did not do so when elected in 1974. It is noteworthy that on the day the 1971 Act came into law, the UK formally entered the European

from Conservative backbenchers who wanted to see the exception for Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders instead (Hansen, 2000: 118).

⁵⁹ Sivanandan notes that from this point 'racialism was no longer a matter of free enterprise; it was nationalised' (Sivanandan, 1982: 12).

Economic Community.⁶⁰ The coincidence both underlies the racial disparity in determining acceptable migration, as well as the pragmatism shown to migrants who were able to perform low-cost labour (El-Enany, 2017).

By the time the British Nationality Act 1981 was passed, the rights of entry and abode of British subjects were so eroded that citizenship, for migration purposes, was rendered meaningless (Spencer, 2002: 148). The purpose of the Act was to align citizenship law with immigration law, thereby creating a narrower definition of British citizenship including only those with parental and grandparental links to the land-mass of Britain, who would also have right of entry and abode. The decision to link citizenship with ancestry rather than birth had obvious racist objectives, designed to disenfranchise the children of recent Commonwealth immigrants, while allowing the children of British-born colonial migrants to remain British citizens. The Immigration Act 1988 prevented dependents of Commonwealth citizens who settled in the UK prior to 1973 from migrating to Britain and effectively ended secondary immigration from Commonwealth countries to the UK (Bloch, 2000).

The introduction of detention facilities during this period was slow. The first specific detention facilities were built in 1970 at the 40-bed Harmondsworth Detention Unit next to Heathrow airport and at an 18-bed holding unit in Dover Castle. These early detention centres held Commonwealth citizens who were denied entry but allowed an in-country appeal under the 1969 Appeals Act (Bosworth, 2014). This means that the detention of migrants was, initially, justified as an adjunct to a more lenient regime of appeals. Despite the low numbers involved at this early stage,⁶¹ it is schedule 2 of the Immigration Act 1971 that serves as the basis for detention which is still in use today. It allows for broad powers of arrest and detention for the purposes of holding those without leave to remain in order to remove them. In doing so, the Act confers 'broadly unfettered immigration detention powers' upon the executive (Wilsher, 2012).

Because the immigration legislation of the 1960s and 70s applied to British subjects, the courts initially took a more supervisory role over the decision to detain than it had done

⁶⁰ The 1971 Act did not apply to the entry of EEC nationals because they were governed by the Treaty of Rome and EEC regulations (Miles and Cleary, 1993)

⁶¹ In 1972 there were 99 passport holders detained under immigration rules primarily in Harmondsworth and 'P Wing' of Pentonville prison. (Moore and Wallace, 1975)

with detention in wartime. Following *R v Governor of Brixton Prison, ex parte Ahsan and others*⁶², and confirmed by the House of Lords in *Khawaja*⁶³, if an applicant cast doubt on their suitability to be detained, the legal burden rests on the state to justify detention.⁶⁴ Furthermore, *Khawaja* declared that everyone, not just citizens, enjoys a common law presumption against executive detention (Wilsher, 2012: 87). It was not until the 1980s that the indefinite nature of detention was taken into account by the courts in *ex parte Hardial Singh*⁶⁵. This stipulated the contemporary limit on immigration detention: 'The detainee can only be detained if he is subject to a deportation order, or is awaiting his removal. Further this period of waiting is limited to what can be deemed reasonably necessary for the Secretary of State to act to remove the detainee. If he is not acting with reasonable speed, then the Secretary of State must cease the detention' (706). While these cases reasserted a constitutional right of Habeas Corpus, granted to all without basis in nationality, the practice of administrative detention means that judicial oversight only operates in retrospect through bail hearings and judicial review.

Once the legal framework for limiting permitted migration from the Commonwealth was in place, the epicentre of migration controversy moved to other areas of racialised migration. In the 1990s and early 2000s, obtaining asylum based on the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees became a focal point for migration politics. Between 1981 and 1988, asylum applications ran at an average under 4,000 per annum (Bloch, 2000). During the Cold War, offering political asylum was sometimes celebrated in order to differentiate the West from its communist opponents. However, asylum policy was not, in general, generous; and the government used a number of methods to prevent asylum seekers from travelling to the UK. For example, they imposed visa requirements at the outbreak of conflict in Sri Lanka (Cohen in Bloch, 2000). Efforts were also made to make safe passage for asylum seekers more difficult by implementing heavy fines on companies found to have brought people into

⁶² [1969] 2 QB 222

⁶³ *R v Secretary of State for the Home Office ex parte Khawaja* [1984] AC 74

⁶⁴ This principle was unclear in the 1970s, not least due the judgement in *ex parte Hassan* in which Lord Widgery stated that 'the onus is upon the applicant to show a prima facie case that his detention is illegal' [1976] 1 WLR 917. As a young Anthony Blair wrote in the *New Statesman* in 1976, 'not only is there no warrant in the law of habeas corpus for this new concept, there is no warrant for it in the 1971 Immigration Act either'. <https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2013/06/18-august-1979-second-class-justice/>

⁶⁵ [1984] WLR 704

the UK without documentation. The end of the Cold War deprived the West of the only self-interested means of justifying asylum (Gibney, 2001), leaving it open to political attack from right wing media institutions.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, asylum applications began to increase significantly in the UK and globally (Vink, 2003). Media narratives predominantly portrayed this increase as a result of an uncontrolled immigration system that allowed 'bogus asylum seekers' access to the UK's welfare system (Kaye, 2001). The Conservative government introduced legislation in 1993 and 1996 to stop unauthorized migration, to reduce asylum seekers' access to state support during their application and to make the application process quicker as well as more difficult. The measures included extending 'carriers' liability' rules that fined companies for allowing people to travel illegally on their vehicles, limiting the time for asylum appeals to 48 hours, reducing access to housing and significantly reducing asylum seeker's access to the welfare system (Bloch, 2000). In addition, new detention infrastructure was built (Bloch, 2000). In 1993 Campsfield House Detention Centre opened in Oxford and, in 1996, Tinsley House near Gatwick became the first privately built and run centre managed by Securicor (now G4S).

The second consequence of the modern immigration control regime was the creation of a population within the UK without permission, who the state has the legal right to remove. This population of detainable, deportable people is not a fixed category but one that is constructed and, often, expanded by the application of new policies and practices of internal border controls. This population is at one and the same time a lived condition and political tool. It brings into being a group of people who live under the condition of deportability (Genova, 2002) and detainability, who are vulnerable to state violence as well as hyper-exploitation in an under-regulated labour market. The notion of illegal migration also functions ideologically in what Gibney (2008) describes as the presence of a 'deportation gap' - the presence within of an illegitimate, illegalised population that justifies the expansion of state power.

Detention and New Labour

When Labour took power in 1997, they viewed detention as an unfortunate necessity, required because it ensured the 'integrity of our immigration system', but 'regrettable'

nonetheless (Home Office, 1998). They acted to bring in a package of rights including the Human Rights Act 1998 and the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act that provided for statutory bail hearings on the eighth day of detention as well as statutory rules for the denial of bail.

However, the statutory bail hearings were never brought into effect, and by the year 2000, detention had become a key aspect of New Labour's immigration and asylum policy. Political pressure spurred by the swell in the numbers of asylum applications from 32,500 in 1997 to 71,000 in 2000 led to seven immigration related Acts between 1999 and 2009 as well as changes to immigration rules that cumulatively led to a significant expansion in the UK's capability to detain and deport (Gibney, 2008). The increase in the number of removals in the mid-1990s and the transformation of deportation from a secondary tool of border control to a measure of first resort has been labelled 'the deportation turn' in Western migration policy (Gibney, 2008).

In order to couple the desire for efficiency and speed in the asylum system with an appearance of fairness, Labour introduced the 'Detained-Fast Track' procedure of asylum decision making in 2000. In 2003 the process was modified and expanded after the government had successfully defeated a challenge under article 5 of the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR)⁶⁶. The modified process required that for claims deemed to be easily resolvable, Home Office decisions had to be made within two or three days, after which there was a right of appeal (ILPA, 2010). For the duration of the application and appeal, the asylum seeker would be detained in Harmondsworth or Yarl's Wood. The process was applied to between 2,000 and 4,000 cases per year on the basis that they were regarded as suitable for a quick decision. The policy was controversial because the ability to present an asylum claim was unfairly hampered by being in detention and the short time scales imposed. In addition, the inclusion criteria resulted in vulnerable people being detained for extended lengths of time (Detention Action, 2011). There were also significant delays through the asylum appeals process which meant that applicants could be detained for many weeks or months.

⁶⁶ Saadi v SSHD [2002] UKHL 41 Saadi v United Kingdom, Grand Chamber Judgment, 11 July 2006, Application No 13229/03.

The new immigration legislation and infrastructure remained in place even as the conditions that motivated them ceased. As public concern over so called 'failed asylum seekers' subsided, the primary discourse surrounding migration became one of security and criminality. The link between migrant communities and criminality has been an enduring part of anti-migrant mythology (Griffiths, 2017). However, rather than migrants being seen as a threat to race relations and social order as they were in the 1950s and 60s, in light of the terrorist events of 2001 and 2005, migration was now connected in the popular imaginary to national security (Bosworth, 2014). The foreign prisoner emergency in 2006, in which foreign nationals were released into the UK following their completed prison sentences rather than considered for deportation, gave rejuvenated credence and notoriety to the connection. The scandal resulted in the resignation of the then Home Secretary Charles Clarke, and in the passing of the UK Borders Act 2007 that required automatic deportations for non-citizens convicted in the UK and sentenced to serve 12 months or more in prison. In addition, more discretionary powers were given to judges to attach deportation orders to sentences in the case of 'persistent offenders' or for 'serious' offences.

In order to implement these policies, new detention centres were built. Between 2000 and 2009, the Labour government opened seven additional detention centres, bringing the detention estate to its current size. In 1993, the immigration detention estate could hold up to 250 people at any one time (Bacon, 2005). By 2004, this had risen to 2,644. There was a corresponding rise in the number of people entering detention. In 1998, 10,000 people were detained annually, of whom 3,500 were asylum seekers (Hughes and Field, 1998: 16). In 2009, 28,001 people entered detention. In the year ending in March 2014, 30,113 people had entered detention, a rise of 5% on the previous year. Asylum seekers accounted for 48% of those in detention (The Migration Observatory et al., 2013: 4).

Detention since 2010

The Coalition and Conservative government's immigration policy has primarily been concerned with reducing net migration to below 100,000. However, there have been few opportunities to limit incoming migration both because of free movement within the EU and the economic benefits of international students and the small numbers of skilled labour from outside the EU. In order to reach their policy goal, the Conservatives have focussed on

the 'deportation gap' and further expanded powers to police and remove undocumented and illegalised migrants already in the UK.

This target has justified a host of policies described by Theresa May as intended 'to create here in Britain a really hostile environment for illegal migration'.⁶⁷ The Hostile Environment programme involves repurposing state services toward the aim of convincing unwanted migrants to leave and depriving them of access to the means of survival. It also extends existing policies, such as carriers' liability, by incorporating more private actors into the project of border control. The measures in the Immigration Act 2014 include a mandatory health surcharge requiring hospitals to differentiate between patients with and without status (ss. 38-39) and immigration checks before opening bank accounts (ss. 40-43), obtaining driving licences (ss.46-47) and renting accommodation (s. 21). The Immigration Act 2016 further expands the Hostile Environment policies by using criminal law to punish 'illegal working' (ss. 34-38), landlords who breach the right to rent (s. 39) and people driving when unlawfully in the UK (ss. 43-44). It also grants powers to the Home Secretary to require landlords to evict tenants without the right to rent without a court order (s. 40). Finally, it defines a range of new policing powers to stop and search, to freeze assets and to enter property, including seizing wages from 'illegal work' as proceeds of crime (ss. 46-58).

The Conservatives have further played on the national security migration trope to integrate border enforcement with criminal law. The introduction of Operation Nexus has expanded the government's concern with Foreign National Offenders (FNOs) by using 'intelligence-led deportation' to orchestrate the expulsion of a wider pool of people. Through the administrative process of identifying migrants considered suitable for removal, the category of FNO has been expanded to include 'people whose criminality is tenuous, circumstantial or speculative' (Griffiths, 2017: 540). Finally, the Hostile Environment Policy has led to increased data sharing, meaning that data from schools and hospitals can be utilised for immigration policing.⁶⁸

The Conservatives have also launched a discursive and legislative attack on human rights legislation and in particular, the right to family life, which is said to be illegitimately used by

⁶⁷ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/9291483/Theresa-May-interview-Were-going-to-give-illegal-migrants-a-really-hostile-reception.html> [accessed 4/6/2017]

⁶⁸ <https://www.libertyhumanrights.org.uk/challenge-hostile-environment-data-sharing> [accessed 4/6/2017]

Foreign National Offenders and terror suspects to avoid removal. The 2012 Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act removed all non-asylum immigration law from legal aid, except in exceptional circumstances (s10). This particularly affects those using article 8 applications to stay in the UK with family and children. The Immigration Act 2016 deprived some human rights applicants of an in-country appeal, meaning that those who still have ongoing appeals could be deported and would have to pursue them from outside the country.

EU law has long been at the centre of migration and detention politics, both restricting the state's ability to limit migration, in the case of EU Freedom of Movement Law, and enabling new forms of removal. The Dublin Regulations, for example, that have attempted to foster a Common European Asylum System (CEAS), allocates responsibility for processing asylum claims to the first EU country that an asylum seeker is recorded as having passed through. While the UK has opted in to this system of allocation, which it benefits greatly from, it has opted out of the Reception Conditions Directive and Procedures Directive under the second phase of harmonisation of the CEAS that would limit its ability to detain migrants indefinitely. The politicisation and racialisation of EU migration (Fox et al., 2012), and the focus on Brexit, has coincided with a fivefold increase in the number of EU nationals being detained from 768 in 2009 to 3,699 in 2015.⁶⁹ This has been a result of increased policing of EU nationals who are not exercising treaty rights, for example, by sleeping rough, by being economically inactive or by not having appropriate medical insurance while studying.

Bosworth notes that once state powers have been granted, the state rarely concedes them (Bosworth, 2014). However, there have been a limited number of cases where the tendency to extend state powers in the area of detention policy has been reversed in Parliament and the courts. In 2010, on the back of NGO campaigning, the Liberal Democrats insisted that the coalition end routine child detention in adult immigration detention centres, resulting in 1000 fewer children being detained every year⁷⁰. In 2015, the Detained Fast Track policy was defeated in the courts on the basis that it impeded the possibility of a fair asylum

⁶⁹ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/eu-nationals-immigration-detention-removal-centres-fivefold-increase-figures-conservatives-brexite-a8180286.html> [accessed 4/6/2017]

⁷⁰ Children continue to be detained in smaller numbers, either through administrative error or in new specific short-term detention facilities for children and families.

claim.⁷¹ Successful amendments to the Immigration Act 2016 limited the detention of pregnant women to 3 days, and brought in automatic bail hearings after 4 months. In 2017, the ‘Deport first, appeal later’ system was found unlawful by the courts.⁷²

Detention and Deportation Today

This historical overview may give the impression that the development of border control infrastructure was systematic, planned and linear. It was, in fact, ad hoc and reactive, with advocates of extensive border controls mobilizing new migration controversies to justify further controls that added to, rather than replaced, existing state powers. Taken together, this complex web of powers enables the sustained network of practices and institutions of modern border control. This section provides an institutional account of detention and deportation.

Immigration Detention is the network of dedicated prisons that are used to hold people under immigration powers for immigration purposes. There are eight detention centres in all, located near major city airports (Harmondsworth, Colnbrook, Brook House, Tinsley House, Pennine House) in rural areas (Yarl’s Wood, Morton Hall, Dungavel) and in small cities (Larne House).⁷³ Between 28,000 and 32,000 people enter detention each year with around 3,000 people detained at any one time. A significant number of people held under immigration powers are also held in ordinary criminal justice prisons, although this has decreased from 1,214 in 2014 (Bail for Immigration Detainees, 2014) to around 357 in 2015 (HM Inspectorate of Prisons for England and Wales, 2015).

Despite people in detention being repeatedly described as ‘failed asylum seekers’ or ‘illegal immigrants’, many in detention still have ongoing legal applications and appeals to determine their legal status. Others have been detained at a port or after an immigration raid, and so may not have formalised their status, although they frequently will have legal rights to remain. For these reasons, over half of people in detention will eventually be released without being deported (Shaw et al., 2016).

⁷¹ R v Secretary of State for the Home Department (On the application of Detention Action) [2014] EWHC 2245 (Admin)

⁷² R (on the application of Kiarie) v Secretary of State for the Home Department [2017] UKSC 42

⁷³ Campsfield House and The Verne detention centres have recently closed.

As a form of administrative incarceration, decisions to detain are made by civil service employees in the Home Office and there is no automatic judicial oversight over decisions to detain. There is no automatic legal assistance when a person is detained; they must attend a legal aid surgery and will only be taken on if they have a claim that can be funded by legal aid (for an asylum claim or exceptional case funding for a Human Rights claim). The UK is the only country in Europe that detains migrants indefinitely (Cornelisse, 2010: 17). As per, *ex parte Hardial Singh*, detention is only legal if it is realistic that removal may be effected within a 'reasonable' time period. This provision, consistent with ECHR rulings on article 5(1)f, means that there is currently no maximum length of time that one can be detained under immigration powers.⁷⁴ There are limitations on who it is lawful to detain. However, the current Adults at Risk policy means that being identified as a vulnerable group no longer means that the detention is unlawful. Instead, a person's vulnerability is balanced against 'immigration factors' such as previous criminal history or risk of absconding, resulting in the continued detention of vulnerable people. It is common place for the Home Office not comply with its own policies, leading to the UK having to pay over £4 million per year in successful unlawful detention claims (Singh, 2014).

80% of people who enter detention are held for under two months while a significant minority are detained for much longer. In 2016, 94 people were in detention for longer than one year with 287 held for longer than 6 months and 7 people for longer than 2 years. In 2017, 317 people had been held for longer than 6 months with 12 people detained for between 2 and 3 years (Bulman, 2017). People who are detained for longer periods of time include people who are virtually unreturnable. These are people who have been refused status in this country but cannot be returned because they are stateless; human rights law prevents them being removed; they cannot fly for medical reasons, or the country they are from is refusing to issue travel documents to them.

The neoliberal reliance on outsourcing public services has been a prevalent feature of the detention estate in the UK, as well as globally (Flynn and Cannon, 2009). In 1996, Tinsley House became the first detention centre to be designed, built and run by a private security firm. Since then the private contractors have been routinely employed to run detention

⁷⁴ *Abdi v. the United Kingdom*, no. 27770/08 and *J.N. v. THE UNITED KINGDOM* no. 37289/12

centres as well as a number of services within them, such as health care and advice lines. Health care facilities, legal surgeries, music and entertainment activities, voluntary return programmes are further outsourced to another set of companies, and charities. Detention centres are assessed under the remit of HM Chief Inspectorate of Prisons (Bosworth, 2011: 171) as well as by Independent Monitoring Boards of each institution. The numerous institutions and agencies that combine to operate detention centres helps to create institutional distance between those making decisions about whether to detain and those charged with effecting detention. It also makes gaining accountability difficult, as the corporate entities that run the centres are not responsible for making decisions to detain (see also chapter 7).

The psychological impact of detention has been highlighted by a number of academic and NGO investigations. Griffiths argues that the absence of a time limit creates a unique experience of insecurity, which combines the boredom of long term incarceration with the prospect of removal or release at very short notice (MBE Griffiths, 2014). There have been numerous reports investigating the impact of detention on the mental and physical health of people incarcerated. In the UK, studies have documented the vulnerability to psychological distress faced by people in detention (Robjant et al., 2009) as well as highlighting its particular impact on children (Fillmore, 2010; Lorek et al., 2009) and survivors of torture (Tsangarides, 2012). There have been 29 deaths in UK immigration detention since 1993 (IRR, 2017). In 2015, there were 393 recorded suicide attempts (Taylor, 2016) as well as numerous allegations of emotional, physical and sexual abuse (Taylor, 2015). On 6 occasions in recent years, the courts have concluded that the conditions of individuals detained amounted to inhuman or degrading treatment, in breach article 3 of the ECHR.

When individuals are released, they still have to fight legal battles and live within the community without being able to work and without recourse to public funds. They also live under the persistent threat of being re-detained (Klein and Williams, 2012). Bail conditions are frequently imposed on people released from detention. The conditions include curfews enforced with electronic monitoring (Klein and Williams, 2012). Asylum houses are often privately run by the same security companies that run detention.

While early detention centres such as Campsfield and Dover Immigration Removal Centre (IRC) were converted from youth offenders' institutions, the newer IRCs are purpose-built to the standard of category B and C prisons, or have been converted from adult prisons. The regimes run in detention are comparable to prisons with 12-hour cell or wing lock downs and solitary confinement wings. People in detention are allowed phones as long as they do not have internet and camera capabilities. Despite not being able to work legally outside of detention, many detainees pass time by doing 'voluntary' paid work within the centres, for example, cleaning, cooking, serving food and cutting hair. A cleaning job in Colnbrook is paid at £1 per hour with a £25 cap on earnings per week (Bales and Mayblin, 2018; Nye, 2014).

Detention is, of course, not merely a prison but an ancillary to the objective of deportation. Despite this, deportation and removal is often absent from detention campaigning and the practice of deportation is an under-researched aspect of the immigration infrastructure (Walters, 2016). The UK effected 5,825 'deportations' of foreign national offenders in 2016 and 12,111 'enforced removals' in 2015.⁷⁵ This was in addition to 29,769 'voluntary removals' in 2015, in which people decide to leave under the threat of forced removal (Corporate Watch, 2017a). The state intends to increase 'voluntary removals' as it is cheaper for people to fly without escorts through the Assisted Voluntary Returns scheme that financially incentivises people to opt for 'voluntary removal'.⁷⁶

Enforced removals and deportations are effected through two methods: individual deportations on commercial flights and mass deportations on charter flights. Most people are removed on commercial flights. Individual deportations are organised by the travel agent, Wagonlit Travel, who are contracted to book flights on airlines such as British Airways and Air France (Independent Chief Inspector of Borders and Immigration, 2016).⁷⁷

Deportees are pre-boarded at the back of planes in such a manner as to reduce disruption and the visibility of the constraints used to confine the deported person in their seat

⁷⁵ Legally, deportation describes a removal following a criminal sentence where as a removal is an administrative process regarding immigration status alone. While they result in different consequences in terms of the possibility of re-entry to the UK, the practices of removal in both instances is the same.

⁷⁶ Given indefinite detention or a life without the ability to work or rent, the voluntary nature of 'voluntary returns' is questionable (Webber, 2011).

⁷⁷ Virgin Airlines recently announced its decision to refuse to cooperate with enforced removals <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/29/virgin-airlines-no-longer-help-deport-immigrants-lgbt-windrush> [accessed 13/1/2019]

(Walters, 2016). Deportees are accompanied by 'Detainee Custody Officers' (also called 'escorts') from security company, Tascor, a subsidiary of Capita. As Walters notes, the micro-physics of the deportation are important because they are relied upon to effect removals and the threat of removals on which the system relies. In this context, for example, the power for companies to refuse to cooperate with the state in removing someone and the power of pilots to refuse to carry people on individual flights are hidden domains of power that have not been fully explored. Similarly, in 2015 three-month removal windows were introduced, which means that most people are not given the details of day and time of their deportation flight. This change limits the possibilities of planning legal challenges and other forms of resistance and solidarity to deportation.

Mass deportations are carried out by specially chartered flights that can remove up to 100 people in a single flight. These flights have been in operation since 2001 and are now routine components of the deportation infrastructure with 60 chartered flights leaving each year, removing between 1,800 to 2,400 people (Corporate Watch, 2017a). Charter flights depend on the agreement of receiving states and the guarantee of removing large numbers of people to a single country in one go. Kosovo/Albania and Afghanistan were the destinations for most flights between 2003 and 2011. More recently, Pakistan, Kosovo/Albania and Nigeria/Ghana have been frequent destinations, with several flights going to Afghanistan and Jamaica. Resistance to charter flights have stopped or paused charter flights to Afghanistan, Iraq and Sri Lanka (Corporate Watch, 2017a). As Corporate Watch notes, while media reporting of charter flights focuses on criminalised migrants, only 24% of those on charter flights were actually criminal deportations. They are run in a particularly secretive manner, routinely performed at night with few published statistics and little operational guidance. There is monitoring of charter flights by HM Inspectorate of Prisons and their findings are often highly critical of the conditions of the flights. Collective deportation is prohibited under international law, and while the government claims that cases are handled on individual merit, there are questions as to whether the practice of charter flights meets these obligations (Miller, 2013).

Critical approaches to Immigration Control

Radical anti-detention activism not only contests specific policies and institutions but responds to the societal currents that enable detention and deportation. The following brief

survey of the critical border studies literature supports the discussion of the difficulties of developing representational politics of detention activism that are discussed in the next chapter. This body of work attempts to understand the ways that controls on migration reflect and reproduce socio-economic patterns of social power of white supremacy and capitalism.

Racism, Borders and Citizenship

As the brief history presented at the beginning of this chapter attests, race and the maintenance of a white supremacy have been a primary cause for construction of the UK border complex. The contemporary acceptance of the violence involved in detention and deportation can only be explained by xeno-racism that allows for the tolerance of 'foreign' suffering (Fekete, 2005). Race and racialisation is an ongoing and shifting apparatus (Wolfe, 2016), contingent in its forms and effects on specific historical currents and contexts (Hall, 1996). The concrete manifestations of racialisation are intertwined with economic and geopolitical changes such as imperialism, empire, decolonisation, globalisation and European integration. Immigration controversies and policies have followed these currents, at times including, and at others targeting, Caribbean, South Asian, Irish (Hickman, 1998), Muslim and Central and Eastern European people (Fox et al., 2012)⁷⁸. The rationalisations and proxies for anti-migrant politics is also expressed through fluctuating discourses of race-relations, criminality, terrorism, unemployment and wage deflation; migration controversy has tended to attach to poor and racialised migrant groups.

However, critical migration theory has shown not only that immigration control is a product of xeno-racism, but that the practices of national borders themselves further shape the constitution of racialisation and racial governance through social exclusion. Immigration policies act not only as a filter on people coming into the UK, but also as a means of structuring access to the benefits of citizenship for those within it (Anderson, 2010; Anderson et al., 2009). Immigration control constructs multiple regimes of citizenship that regulate differentiated access to an array of civic and economic rights and define normative

⁷⁸ See also Rzepnikowska (2019) for an account of how the shared whiteness of Eastern European migrants and the majority population of the UK does not exclude the former from racialisation and racist violence that was exacerbated by Brexit referendum.

identities and behaviours. Immigration controls such as detention and deportation are 'constitutive of citizenship' (Anderson et al., 2011) rather than merely expressive of it.

Deportation and detention help define the boundaries of symbolic and legal citizenship. As neoliberal austerity continues to empty out the benefits of a substantive citizenship, freedom from immigration control and deportation increases in importance as one of the 'few remaining privileges which separates citizens from settled non-citizens in contemporary liberal states' (Anderson et al., 2011). Migration control facilitates the official demarcation of an 'other' that fixes the empty universal of nation-state liberalism and provides content to otherwise elusive and abstract notions of Britishness. As Mountz et al. suggest, 'practices of detention reify borders' by helping to produce and define categories of illegality and alien (Mountz et al., 2013). In this view detention is not merely a tool of border control but a spectacle that reproduces the image of an out-of-control, unwanted and dangerous population of outsiders that must be removed (Mainwaring and Silverman, 2017). Detention stops people from contesting their status as outsiders by preventing access to the networks of citizenship that might enable them to resist their social exclusion. In detention, people are isolated, individual, and unconnected from the communities that express their belonging in the UK.

Immigration law enables a stratified system of citizenship by defining administrative categories used to differentiate levels of rights. There is not one non-citizen category but a plethora of legal, linguistic and discursive categories that immigration control practices define and police, each of which stipulates what kind of benefits and freedoms an individual is able to enjoy. Primary examples might be the evolving categories of asylum seeker, refugee, economic migrant and foreign national offender, someone with definite, indefinite leave to remain. These categories appear neutral and administrative, but they are not only descriptive – aiding the state to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable movement – they are normative categories that divide the migrant population according to representations of Good and Bad migration.

On one hand, border narratives create an array of illegitimate characters or 'folk-devils' (Griffiths, 2017) such as bogus-asylum seeker, benefit-fraud, health tourist, foreign national offender and immigration offender, that legitimise continued expansions of state power. On the other hand, narratives of 'good migrants' that centre on refugees escaping political

persecution and skilled migration celebrate migration only when it is managed and administered to serve the interests of nation and capital. These narratives privilege notions of innocence and vulnerability and commodify migrants as workers and consumers necessary for the national economy. The dual presence of these 'good' and 'bad' narratives justifies increasingly invasive community surveillance in the name of distinguishing the worthy from the unworthy. Because of the need for those in detention to conform to the recognised forms of family life⁷⁹ and persecution demanded of those needing to avoid removal, anti-detention activism often is ambivalent to these normalising effects of immigration control, sometimes choosing to mobilise notions of innocence, vulnerability and victimhood to argue against the detention of particular groups.

Border policing

This more complex and embedded understanding of the effects of the border project is complemented by a corresponding interrogation of the notion of the border itself. For Parker and Vaughan-Williams (2009), it is necessary to reconceive the topology of the border from a line in the sand across which people move and, instead, understand the border as an array of distributed, networked, border policing practices that are increasingly embedded within territorial boundaries as well as outside of them. The externalisation of the border involves creating legal and extra-legal barriers to migration outside of a country's territory by bringing in new institutions, actors and states into surveillance and policing responsibilities. While externalisation of the border is not new⁸⁰, it has been subject to new levels of institutionalisation within the EU (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015) and in bilateral agreements that exchange aid money for cooperation with border management.⁸¹ Border externalisation reveals the illusion of national sovereignty that is expressed in the act of deportation. As Gibney writes 'deportation is inherently an international act' (Gibney, 2008:

⁷⁹ The process of determining immigration control has secondary normalising effects by shaping how certain identities, relationships and spaces should be understood and valued. Refugee and Human Rights law becomes a domain through which the state become arbiters of valid claims to family life, to sexual identities (Keenan, 2013).

⁸⁰ As seen above, in the discussion of bordering within the British Empire in the mid-twentieth century.

⁸¹ Border externalisation includes off shore detention facilities being developed in North Africa pressured for and funded by European countries (Flynn, 2013) and commitments by countries such as Pakistan to allow charter flight repatriations as part of trade and aid deals (Corporate Watch, 2017a).

152) – the act intended to display a sense of national sovereignty depends upon the post-colonial relations of power and the cooperation of other states in order to effect it.

The internal border refers to the ways that nation state borders are performed, policed and institutionalised within the territorial boundaries of the state. This conceptual focus foregrounds the ways a multitude of ‘everyday bordering’ practices distinguish between us and them, the legitimate and the illegitimate, those that belong and those who don’t (Yuval-Davis et al., 2017). Again, these processes are not new but have long existed in the ‘soft’ social policing of societal norms and ‘hard’ policing of criminalisation and border enforcement.⁸² However, they have been given increasing prominence due to the range of hostile environment policies in the Immigration Acts of 2014 and 2016. These measures continue to expand and deepen the internal border by networking state services into the project of border control. These policies require more people to attempt to differentiate between migrant and non-migrant clients. The application of these policies has led to racist outcomes, for example, the requirements placed on landlords to check residence status has made it more likely that landlords refuse people on the basis of race alone (Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, 2017).⁸³

Immigration raids on work places frequently rely on employer cooperation, such as sharing information on employees and ‘arrest by appointment’ in which an employer cooperates with the Home Office by organising a meeting for staff that is then interrupted by immigration officers. Many employers engage in this kind of cooperation with border enforcement on the assumption that there is a legal obligation to do so⁸⁴. However, cooperation is in fact cooperation is voluntary if the company has complied with mandatory

⁸² Hostile environment policies were presciently described in 2005 ‘There is now an added danger. It is that the deportation system is aiming to create a layer of de facto deportation officials among public servants and welfare professionals generally. Doctors who are willing to sanction the use of force against asylum seekers - against their own ethical codes - or administer sedatives to make the process easier will be incorporated into that system. Teachers, whose pastoral duty is to protect all children in their care, will have to allow arrests for deportations to be carried out on school premises if the state so dictates.’ (Fekete, 2005)

⁸³ R (Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants) v Secretary of State for the Home Department [2019] EWHC 452

⁸⁴ See <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/libertycentral/2009/jun/17/soas-cleaners> [accessed 20/4/2019] and <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jul/28/it-was-a-fake-meeting-byron-hamburgers-staff-on-immigration-raid> [accessed 20/4/2019]

employment checks (Anti-Raids, 2017).⁸⁵ The few obligations owed to the Home Office by employers and the ability to avoid fines by cooperation, contrasts with the barriers that illegalised employees face to access employment rights. Such a disparity has the potential to heighten the vulnerability of undocumented migrants to exploitation (Bales, 2017).

As well as embedding the border within a wider set of public and private institutions, the state's border enforcement agencies have expanded, coming to resemble criminal enforcement agencies equipped with intelligence led missions and technologies of surveillance, a specific border police force and a range of sanctions such as detention. Undocumented people or 'overstayers' who evade the surveillance and control of immigration officials are labelled 'immigration offenders'⁸⁶ and are increasingly subject to criminal sanction for document offences, and other actions that might enable people to live in the UK without status. Foucauldian accounts identify how migration is constructed as a rationalised risk that needs to be managed and reduced through increasingly robust policing (Ibrahim and Howarth, 2017). Increasingly this has been done through coordination and mirroring between immigration policing and criminal law and law enforcement, a trend that is examined within recent literature on 'crimmigration' law (Bowling and Westenra, 2018; Pakes and Holt, 2016; Stumpf, 2006).

Liberal Rights and Immigration Detention

As well as develop awareness of the work that border policing does in shaping society, critical analyses of border politics have critiqued the major forces for progressive change for failing to adequately accommodate criticism of detention and deportation. Detention and deportation seem to implicate a number of human rights issues that concern liberal critiques of the state. These include directly the right to liberty, the freedom from incarceration without trial, freedom from torture and indirectly: the right to adequate healthcare, and the right to family life. Increasingly, issues of migration have been framed as matters of human rights (Behrman, 2014). Legal rights to asylum, to family life and the prohibition on non-refoulement have become the most vital and effective tools that

⁸⁵ Where a company has not complied with mandatory checks, further cooperation with border enforcement can be incentivised by the avoidance of fines (Corporate Watch, 2016)

⁸⁶ <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1030893/Plan-30-000-border-police-gets-Camerons-backing.html> [accessed [4/6/2017]

individuals in detention can use to resist both detention and deportation. There are some who are optimistic about the role that a robust version of human rights can play in challenging the existence of detention (Cornelisse, 2010) and moving beyond nationalist projects and towards forms of post-national citizenship (Soysal, 1994).

However, there are reasons to be cautious and critical of the ways human rights norms have been applied to detention. Critics have noted the failure of liberal rights advocates to overcome the tension between supporting national sovereignty and supra-national rights (Dembour and Kelly, 2011). While human rights discourse seeks to go beyond national citizenship, they are reliant on nation states for their implementation. Because of this, general legal injunctions to protect against mistreatment of people regardless of national citizenship frequently breakdown. As abstracted claims without concrete communities willing to struggle for them, rights often fail to deliver in practice (Arendt, 1945).

Furthermore, the dominance of human rights frameworks in critiques of and challenges to detention and border controls changes how the problem is framed. In this frame, border violence ceases to become a political and collective issue that demands a critique of dominant patterns of neoliberal capitalism and white supremacy⁸⁷. Rather, good border control becomes one that treats individuals justly – incorporating safeguards against the most extreme effects of detention and deportation and ensuring they respect human rights legislation.

Without a political critique of deportation and detention, the liberal approach facilitates supposedly benevolent reforms to detention to legitimise extensions of state power. As Flynn argues, ‘norms regarding the proper treatment of detainees (those related to security of person) appear to be driving many destination countries to create specialized institutions that receive the blessing of rights watchdogs.’ (Flynn, 2013: 10). This welfarist approach has been seen in a number of elements of the detention system from the justifications for exploitative detainee work in detention, to delivering speedier fast-tracked asylum decisions to the building of detention facilities for children and families. In each case, the

⁸⁷ In keeping with the theorisation of racialisation as an ongoing process of inclusion and exclusion, whiteness is not an essentialised characteristic based on phenotype but a social category that at some points and in some ways can incorporate certain groups (e.g. Eastern European migrants) and at others exclude them.

development of the state's punitive action often follows from supposedly benevolent actions of the state.

Another problem for the liberal critique of border controls is the presentation of border violence as an exception or aberration from the broader trend of social and economic liberalisation. This view contrasts with a critical approach that understands punitive border policies as a tool of neoliberal capitalism operative in the production and discipline of a workforce in an increasingly flexible and de-regulated neoliberal economy (De Giorgi, 2010). The array of legal rights, including the right to asylum, that are available to people travelling across borders has been granted at the same time as the construction of a border regime that means the migrant's legitimacy is in the hands of the state and its law (Behrman, 2014). This critique of liberal intervention views human rights not only as forms of protection but also as forms of regulation that can be put to use in the interests of the powerful (Dembour and Kelly, 2011). Without a critique of the way border liberalisation can aid neoliberal capitalism, liberal anti-border activism can legitimise policies that undermine progressive transformations of the state (Nick Gill, 2009).

Left Politics and Immigration Control

The labour movement has a long history of resisting migration controls. In 1895, for example, a letter written by the Jewish textile workers and supported by Eleanor Marx and Peter Kropotkin attempted to galvanise the trade union movement against immigration controls. Trade unions have frequently resisted increased border control on the understanding that they divide the working classes in the interest of capital, rather than enable the state to protect a domestic working class. However, the organised Left in the UK has been, at best, inconsistent in its support for struggles against migration controls and border enforcement. The primary reason for this is the so called 'progressive's dilemma' (Parker, 2017) in which permissive immigration policies are associated with a reduction in wages, undercutting of work regulations and a weakened welfare state. The tension between progressive domestic economic policy and progressive migration policy is underpinned by two claims. The first is that a robust welfare state requires a strong sense of community and social solidarity that is undermined by significant cross border movement. The second stems from a common-sense economic stand point that an increase in the

supply of labour will inevitably lower the cost of labour and thus decrease wages and labour conditions.

The validity of these two claims are contestable. The first claim seems to adhere to a nationalistic vision of left politics that presents a singular notion of the working class carved along national and racialised lines, perhaps conjuring an image of a long-standing white working class that is the core constituency that the left needs to defend.⁸⁸ The claim that progressive migration policies undermine the conditions for a generous welfare state is highly contested by political scientists studying social solidarity (Baldwin, 1990; cf: Bay and Pedersen, 2006; Kymlicka and Banting, 2006; Mau and Burkhardt, 2009; Wright and Bloemraad, 2012). The second claim is, in general, not reflected by the evidence. While there are specific, localised effects of high levels of immigration on wages and there is some evidence that those effects are concentrated in lower paid groups, it is not true that permissive borders generally result in a fall in wages and working conditions.⁸⁹

Furthermore, migration scholars have pointed to the way border controls produce an easily exploitable supply of labour through temporary work schemes and off the books employment in which workers are dependent on employers not just for a wage but for their residence as well (Anderson, 2010). The production of undocumented-migration formally excluded from the labour market reproduces a vulnerable labour force that matches the demand for the increasingly flexible and de-regulated labour market of neoliberal capitalism (De Giorgi, 2010).

Detention Activism

So far, this chapter has provided a summary discussion of the historical, political and institutional context of anti-detention activism. This final section completes the introduction of the empirical site of this thesis by surveying different forms of anti-detention activism.

⁸⁸ The history and persistence of socialist-nationalisms has been examined by Virdee (2019) and Valluvan (2019)

⁸⁹ See for example:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/287287/occ109.pdf and <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/the-labour-market-effects-of-immigration/> [accessed 23/1/2019]

Protests in Detention

Protest and resistance within detention centres have been ever-present since their first expansion in the early 1990s (Close Campsfield Campaign, 2012). Protests within detention take a variety of different forms: resisting deportation, hunger strikes, self-harm, the use of illicit cameras to expose the conditions of the centres, the holding of collective meetings, chanting in the wings and occupying court yards as well as everyday forms of non-cooperation. Because the condition of detention severely curtails the scope for public speech and recognisable political action, inflicting bodily self-harm is one of the ways people in detention have sought to gain attention and power. While individual hunger-strikes and food refusals are common in detention, there have been a number of large scale collective hunger-strikes such as those that took place in 2005, 2015 and 2018.

Political action within detention has spurred academic interest in political agency and the scope for political action within spaces of detention. For example, accounts of acts of detainee resistance has led to divergent accounts of agency. On the one hand, the detention regime has been found to be successful in disciplining the 'ideal' docile, waiting detainee (Turnbull, 2014). In these accounts, the agency of those detained is incredibly limited and that intervention from the supportive networks on the outside is the primary form of political resistance. On the other, migrant protest is evidence of an almost heroic challenge to the legitimacy of borders in which the migrant is depicted as inherently revolutionary and subversive (Mezzadra, 2004). Similarly, while the psychiatric literature has in general interpreted self-harm as a result of the medical conditions that detention spurs, others have interpreted it as a signal of purely political activity (Nyers in McGregor, 2011).

As McGregor rightly points out, these extreme positions eclipse the entanglement of politics and psychology, as well as the specificity of each individual instance of self-harm. Between these poles, we can understand resistance as a constant presence in detention and note how it is often opportunistic and deeply entwined in the patterns of governmentalisation that circulate through the detention regime. Hunger strikes, for example, can appear as a spontaneous resistance to the oppressive conditions of detention, however those that spread significantly and garner attention and support from groups outside often coincide with moments of political tension that people in detention are not in control of. For example, the 2005 Zimbabwean hunger strike that involved up to 110 people started in

response to a severe deterioration in relations between the UK government and the Zanu-PF regime in Zimbabwe, with the former accusing the latter of numerous human rights abuses (McGregor, 2011). At the same time, the Home Office had resumed deportations to Zimbabwe claiming that the moratorium on deportations had created ‘pull factors’ that encouraged migration. The hunger strike ended weeks later when a judicial process – legally unconnected to the hunger strike – suspended removals to Zimbabwe (McGregor, 2011). The 2015 hunger strike, described in the prologue, was similarly sparked by media attention to detention based on an undercover expose of detention centre conditions by Channel 4 and the release of a highly critical report produced by a group of MPs⁹⁰. In both cases, it was the political conditions outside of detention that coincided to enable collective action to occur and support from activist communities and ongoing media attention was important in sustaining the protests.

Early Solidarity and Campaigns

Migrant rights groups, such as the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, have long complained about the use of and conditions within detention. However, detention has spawned a community of resistance that is largely distinct from wider pro-migration campaigns and lobbyists. Citizen resistance to detention has come primarily from two sources. The first were the individual anti-deportation campaigns that were prevalent in the 1990s. These community campaigns petitioned the Home Secretary to grant discretionary leave to individuals based on their embeddedness in the community or on the possibility of persecution on their return. These community campaigns challenge the atomisation of immigration control – positioning individuals as members of communities and families – and also contested the state’s monopoly on decisions over citizenship (Anderson et al., 2011). While in general these campaigns were organic, the National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns was established to promote and coordinate them.

Second, in some places local campaign groups have been established to challenge the existence of detention centres. Demonstrators greeted the opening of Campsfield House in 1993. A year later the Close Campsfield Campaign was set up with trade union backing. Protests have been organised every month since the detention centre existed. While local

⁹⁰ Field Note 15/03/2015

campaigns are limited, the Close Campsfield Campaign has been effective in blocking plans to double the size of the centre in 2016. The group celebrated the closure of Campsfield House in November 2018.

NGO Service and campaigns

Localised and community-based resistance to deportation has limitations. Individual anti-deportation campaigns, for example, rely on emphasising an individual's value to communities and family (Anderson et al., 2011). This is often reflected in the media, spotlight given to cases of white middle-class families facing deportation to places such as Australia, a platform unavailable to the working-class families of colour in equivalent situations. After the Human Rights Act was passed, executive discretion of deportation cases was effectively ended, meaning that legal processes rather than political campaigns became the most effective way to remain in the UK.⁹¹ While individual anti-deportation campaigns are still prevalent and sometimes effective, they are frequently connected to campaign groups whose focus is the state's wider policy of detention and deportation and serve to organise money for legal costs or actions against the airlines rather than the Home Office. In its place, a number of organisations have grown to challenge the state's detention policies. In the next chapter, I discuss the politics of anti-detention activism in more detail, but here I introduce the main types of group involved and the types of strategies they employ.

Visiting Groups

Every detention centre is obliged to work with at least one visitor group under the 2001 Detention Centre Rules and the Detention Services Operating Standards (Bosworth, 2014: 145). In practice, there are between one and three visiting groups that work with people in each centre. Most visitor groups are members of an umbrella organisation called AVID (Association of Visitors to Immigration Detention). However, the detention visitor community is fragmented and politically varied and includes church-based groups, feminist groups, no border activists and liberal campaign groups. Despite this variance, the core activity of visiting groups is similar: organising volunteers to do weekly visits to people in

⁹¹ Field Note: Conversation with anti-deportation campaigner 08/06/2017

detention. The everyday dynamics of detention visiting is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Legal organisations

Legal charities and firms offer advice and representation on both getting people out of detention and on their immigration or asylum applications. Where representation is not available, NGOs such as Bail for Immigration Detainees also produce information for people in detention about how to make self-represented claims. Legal services in detention are funded through legal aid, taking on clients privately, through charitable donations and through some pro bono work. Legal aid schemes were cut dramatically in 2010 in changes that excluded people with article 8 human rights claims and made judicial review applications more difficult⁹². As a result, a number of immigration firms such as the Immigration Advisory Service and Refugee and Migrant Justice collapsed. People in detention who are eligible for legal aid are only able to access specific law firms with contracts with the Home Office to operate at the centre. To varying degrees these legal aid firms are viewed in a very negative light, with solicitors believed to take on too many cases to work on well. People in detention regularly accuse legal aid solicitors of neglecting their case or suspect them of working for the Home Office (Bosworth, 2014). Private solicitors are often worse, with frequently heard stories of scam law firms preying on people in detention, asking for more and more money for very little work⁹³.

Medical Charities

Detention centres have their own medical wings that were commissioned by the centre management but were transferred to local NHS commissioning boards in the summer of 2014. A number of charities support detainees with physical and mental health issues that are relevant to their legal claims. Medical NGOs such as Medical Justice provide evidence to support either claims for asylum or claims that their detention is unlawful. These organisations occupy a critical space between the legal system and the detention regime.

⁹² Lawyers can only receive legal aid after they have won at permission stage meaning that in order to take on a legal aid case, they have to take on a significant financial risk themselves.

⁹³ This fact was frequently referred to in interviews with caseworkers and has been noted in Bulman (2018)

They have to balance sustaining fierce criticism of the detention system with providing independent medical evidence that is recognised by courts.

Policy Advocacy and Proposing Alternatives

Political campaigning and lobbying have been primarily led by a coalition of detention NGOs called the Detention Forum that attempt to shape future government policy on migration. Detention Forum have argued for time limits to be imposed on detention, for judicial oversight and for the detention of vulnerable people to end (Detention Forum, 2018). There have also been calls by the campaign group Detention Action for alternatives to detention to be developed that will enable people to apply for immigration status while remaining in the community (Phelps et al., 2016).

Protest and Solidarity Movements

In recent years, a network of grassroots campaign groups has formed including Movement for Justice, Lesbians and Gays Support the Migrants, SOAS Detainee Support, Unity and End Deportations. These groups work in different ways with people in detention and those released to organise anti-detention protests at detention centres (see chapter four), at the Home Office and in communities targeted by border policing. Community campaigning around detention has been led by a coalition of groups under the name These Walls Must Fall. In addition, a plethora of groups resisting different aspects of the hostile environment policies has emerged. The long-running Anti-Raids Network has been joined by Docs Not Cops, Schools ABC and Homes Not Borders, challenging immigration control cooperation in health, education and housing policy.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to situate the everyday politics of anti-detention within a broader historical and institutional context. Immigration detention and border control has been shown to be inseparable from Britain's imperial, decolonial and post-colonial history driven by competing and contradictory desires to maintain empire, to maintain white supremacy in the UK and to maintain a competitive, economy. It has shown that the current distributed, outsourced and embedded practices of border control resonate within a neoliberal as well as white supremacist governance that individualises and delegitimises human life along a complex, shifting axes of race, gender and class. I also began to explain how detention is a

site of resistance in which activists in and out of detention have consistently and increasingly organised to understand the nature of detention, support those incarcerated and work towards securing its reduction and demise. This resistance and campaigning is frequently caught between the ambivalent and restrictive discourses of the state and the more emancipatory ideals of campaigners. The next chapter will interrogate the politics of anti-detention organising in more detail, focusing on the dynamics of representation in the anti-detention movement.

Chapter 3: Representation and Post-Representation in Anti-Detention Politics

Having introduced the historical, social and policy contexts of anti-detention activism, this chapter outlines the core conceptual framework that will be examined in the chapters that follow. It develops the distinct but overlapping imaginaries of representational and post-representational politics. These terms are intended to operate at two registers. They both name distinctive *analyses* of political action and, when these analyses infuse the logics of political organisation, they characterise *forms of organisation and activism* that exist within the anti-detention movement.

Representational politics proceeds from analyses that view social change as the result of influencing centres of power that are inaccessible to the politically oppressed. These centres of power are frequently actors in the state, but can also include the dominant discursive regimes in which state actions are legitimised. Representative politics foreground acts that mediate between subaltern subjects and centres of power within the state or society as the primary form of political action. They highlight the role of speech acts or depictions that in some sense capture, construct or reproduce some portion of material reality that precedes them. This form of political imaginary is seen in the strategies of organisation and resistance that have been developed within modernist political theory, in its liberal and Marxian variants.

Post-representational politics is concerned with the power located within political organisation, where power is understood as created by and circulated through situated forms of political praxis. It emphasises the collaborative, relational and processual nature of political praxis. I draw upon post-structuralist and materialist philosophy as well as political thought within anarchist, prefigurative and grassroots politics to articulate this expanded political imaginary and the way it has influence political praxis.

This chapter argues that these two approaches encapsulate the range of political sensibilities at play in the anti-detention movement. As such, they are useful for understanding, and participating in, anti-detention organising, particularly from a position outside of detention. I argue that representational politics is the 'dominant' political rationality as its activities are both more visible and more easily conceptualised and

practiced in the detention context. For this, there is good reason. The legal and institutional barriers to individuals being released are complex and those detained require casework and legal support as the state steps back from offering adequate legal aid. Imprisonment prevents those directly affected from engaging in visible protest and those imprisoned, scapegoated by a hostile media, are unable to gain public attention. Detention relies on secrecy and silence which facilitates the formation of hegemonic social discourses to form in ignorance of the social exclusion and structural violence involved in border control (Applebaum, 2016). Making detention (and the suffering detention causes) visible is, therefore, an important means of countering it. Representation, manifested in a wide range of activities, is therefore a central strategic practice of anti-detention activism.

However, as this chapter will discuss, practices of representation do not exhaust the avenues of opposition to detention. Many activist projects are explicitly collaborative, focusing more on establishing relationships and communities of resistance and opposition across the detention walls rather than attempting to speak on behalf of those detained. Detention visiting and protests at detention centres are focused on acting directly within and against detention rather than in ways that are mediated through representatives and representations. In addition, representative modes of action are entangled within material practices, relationships and organisations that exceed strategies and relationships of representation. Post-representative politics is sensitive to these dynamics, and expands upon, rather than replaces, representative modes of action.

In the chapters that follow, post-representational sensibility is used to explore how radical detention activists are attempting to adopt more collaborative, horizontal approaches to their activism which attempts to recognise, navigate and alleviate negative power dynamics and foster different kinds of movement power. I undertake three explorations of specific post-representational anti-detention practices to ask how post-representational politics is practiced in the detention context, to understand the challenges they face and to ask what kinds of political generativity and creativity occur through them. These explorations of post-representational practice will not only illuminate the situated dynamics of anti-detention activism but also enable, in the concluding chapters, a distinctive, situated view from which to assess the political utility and limitations of post-representational thinking and activism.

The aim of this chapter is to introduce and distinguish representational and post-representational political approaches and indicate why anti-detention activists are looking beyond the representational. The first section defines what we mean by representational politics and locates it within the wide and diverse existing literature in which representation is a dominant framing of political action. The second section identifies the representational current prevalent in anti-detention organising and outlines the limitation of purely representational forms of political intervention. The third section introduces the concept of post-representational politics and discusses the concept in relation to existing literature in social movement studies and social theory. Finally, the chapter concludes by raising challenges for post-representational forms of anti-detention activism.

Representational Politics

Representational politics is a political approach that grounds the rationale and legitimacy of a political actor's work in their ability to stand in for, act or speak on behalf of another person, group or cause. Representing others can be done both formally, with consent or informally and without. Representational politics enables vicarious action at a distance by 'making present in some sense of something which is nevertheless not present literally or in fact' (Pitkin, 1967). Representational politics places a focus on mediation between groups of people and centres of power, primarily those associated with the state.

The success of a political representative depends upon on their ability to articulate and convey the interests and needs of their constituency. The representative approach also places emphasis on political speech, on being heard by those in power, on the accuracy and truth of that speech and on the accountability of the political actor. Political representation is deeply intertwined with descriptive representation; by speaking on behalf of another, one has to describe them and their interests. Representational thinking not only illuminates means of political action, but also provides fertile ground for the critique of political actors and systems that fail to respond to the conditions, needs and desires of those represented.

The range of representational politics is diverse, with varying conceptions about who and what need to be represented, the frameworks that create representatives and connect them with their constituents, the role and responsibilities of representatives and the centres of power that require representative intervention. These variations occur especially because

representational politics is embedded within activism across the political spectrum, from liberal, critical and Marxian approaches to political practice. In order to draw out in more detail the dynamics of representational thinking, this section surveys representational politics through these distinctive political traditions.

Representational activism is most frequently oriented towards actors in the state, especially in its liberal manifestation. Representational government has been the paradigmatic mode of political organisation since the 19th century, with the formation of mass political parties and election to Parliament being viewed as the primary means of political participation (Tormey, 2012). Representation has been understood primarily as the *means* through which state democracy is realised or constitutionalised. Representation is secured via mechanisms in which the people select and hold to account their representatives who, in turn, hold legitimate democratic state power. Despite the concept's centrality to the organisation of and thinking about the democratic state, there is little agreement about its analytical or normative content (Pitkin, 1967) and the practice of liberal representational politics has evolved over time (Vigoda, 2002).⁹⁴

⁹⁴ There are differing views about which mechanisms are required for a state to be deemed representative. The notion of political representation was first articulated by Hobbes as a new means of legitimating state power (Pitkin, 1967). Yet Hobbes' hypothetical notion of consent in the fiction of the social contract is insufficient compared with modern notions of a democratic government that give primacy to elections. However, electoral systems are themselves criticised for their failure to adequately represent society. Maddison, for example, argued that a separation of powers in the state was necessary to represent different constituencies within society (Held, 2006). Other liberal critics of representational government argue that for groups to be represented they must be supplemented by limited forms of direct democracy within the state (Kymlicka, 1995; Phillips, 2003).

There are also different normative accounts of political representation that offer differing perspectives on what is required of representatives once they occupy state positions. Representation is perhaps most widely understood to entail a responsibility to follow through on a pre-articulated promise by an agent to the principal laid out in, for example, the manifesto of a political party. However, in practice this 'promissory' form of representation is sometimes impractical and undesirable as it fails to account for decision making in changing circumstances. Mansbridge (2003) highlights new forms of representation that do not coincide with ordinary understandings of agent-principal accountability but are prevalent in modern systems of government. Representatives might orient their decisions towards what they anticipate voters will desire in the future rather than what they wanted in the past. In contrast, trustee models of representation do not expect representatives to act in relation to the people's interests or wishes. Jessop (2015) recognises, for example, that governing political parties might need to balance their representative duties with the discursive and materially constructed 'imperatives' of state governance.

This focus on representation in and toward the state means that representational politics is less focused on the capacity of people to organise. Liberal accounts of democratic representation have been developed in response to ambivalence towards both the state and the people (Held, 2006). Rather than being designed in order to enable the realisation of popular political will, the development of representational government has in significant part constructed to maintain order and prevent radical demands being realised through the state.⁹⁵ Representational government performs this function by narrowing and centralising the scope for political change and unifying the domain of political action in the state. In addition, representative democracy institutes a division of labour which, for its classical critics, divests society of the capacity to run its own affairs (Godwin and Kramnick, 2015) and allows the state to become a 'committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie' (Engels and Marx, 1848). For classical critics, the effect of electoral representation is to form an aristocratic regime and constitutes the people into a passive body that is only free to act at moments of election (Rousseau, 1762).

More recent work in liberal democratic theory rejects the characterisation of representation as a mechanism to institute democracy and situates it as a constitutive rather than constitutional aspect of political action or organisation (Näsström, 2011). In other words, representation is not merely a *means* through which to achieve democratic government. Instead, political acts are only political insofar as they represent and advance the interests of a constituency. The impetus for these theoretical shifts results in confronting a political landscape in which electoral representation is thought to be of declining importance and the realisation that citizen representation (Warren, 2008) or self-authorized representation (Brito Vieira, 2015; Urbinati and Warren, 2008) is necessary to understand the workings of modern politics.⁹⁶ This innovation in liberal theory brings into view the diversity of

⁹⁵ This is most explicitly expressed in the liberalism of James Madison. See Held (2006) and Plattner (2009) for discussion.

⁹⁶ In this approach to liberal democratic theory, self-authorized representatives such as civil society and advocacy groups, are both thought of as 'citizen representatives' (Warren, 2008) and as forms of 'negative power' (Urbinati, 2006) or 'counter-politics' (Rosanvallon in Urbinati and Warren, 2008). The former framing emphasises the complementarity of self-authorized representatives that act as supplements to electoral forms of democratic representation. It is advanced as an alternative frame within which to study deliberative models of democracy that avoids viewing them as kinds of 'direct democracy' because of the lack of participation by the general populous. Instead, those citizens who are involved in deliberation come to represent other

representative relationships that exist both within the state and outside of it and allows for a closer examination of the dynamics involved in representational acts.

Modern understandings of liberal representational politics have understood representatives as *authors of claims* to representativity, in which representatives participate in the construction of those they represent (Brito Vieira, 2015; Saward, 2009)⁹⁷. This claim is made before an audience (for example, actors within the state) who then accept or reject the claim's authority. This understanding of representation is helpful in diversifying the idea of who is a representative as well as the processes through which people are recognised as representatives. In particular, it is useful in articulating the structures and dynamics of representational political activism.

Firstly, modern approaches to representation stress the importance of the performative aspects of representation. Acts of representation, bringing into being identities and groupings through the artistry of the claim to represent. These approaches deny, for example, the existence of 'the people' (or 'people in detention') preceding their representation as such, rather, representation brings the people into being. This has both positive and negative implications. On the one hand, the production of a class of people (a community, a nation) who are represented in a single entity can mean that members of that group have to confront one another as a community, come to agreement or disagreement and work through differences. This confrontation is, for some, a necessary condition of democracy. On the other hand, it is common for 'the people' to be essentialised as a bounded collective, in which community bonds and solidarity are assumed as the result of dominating characteristics of gender, ethnicity or economic status. So, as intersectional feminists (Crenshaw, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 2013) have argued, representations that claim to speak for communities along singular axes create a false universal that excludes and

citizens. The latter framing brings into view that electoral politics is being challenged by other forms of representational politics in both analytical importance and legitimacy.

⁹⁷ Saward argues that representative claims require five core ingredients: maker, subject, object, referent and audience (Saward, 2006, 2009). The content of a representative claim is usually that the Subject stands in for the Object which is a partial account of the Referent.

obscures difference in experience as well as political disagreement. The issues that arise in relation to representations of people in detention are discussed in the next section.

Secondly, the constitutive view of representation brings into focus a greater diversity of representative actors. Alongside state representatives, Saward's theory (2006, 2009) reveals a family of representational claims that are specific, situated, purposeful and partial.

Representatives do not represent someone, *per se*, but only in specific tasks – i.e. on a particular campaign issue or for a legal claim. While these representative actors carry less power than those charged with wielding state sovereignty, they still challenge normative assumptions of liberal democratic theory regarding the legitimacy (Montanaro, 2012) and accountability (e.g. Ebrahim, 2003) of self-authorized representatives. While civil society groups are often viewed as representative of a particular community, they are also structured by economic, political and organisational pressures which shape the representations they make.⁹⁸

Thirdly, effective representations are an achievement, dependent on acceptance by an audience. That is, those making representational claims must be recognised as representative by those they are seeking to influence. Institutional forms of representation, such as elected state officials, enjoy a presumption of representative status; others must work harder for it. This means that in order to represent people in detention, groups have to be seen to know about them, to understand the pressures of government and articulate reasonable paths towards reform. Representatives place themselves as strategic mediators between centres of state power and those they wish to represent. Community representatives have to be responsive to both those they represent and the interests of the state.

The need to legitimise one's role as a representative involves using institutionally recognised knowledge about the community represented in order to secure their representative status. It is in this context that the distinction between political representation and descriptive representation merge into one another (Spivak, 1988, discussed more extensively in chapter

⁹⁸ The need to see understand social movement activity a view to the economic dynamics that shape it is particularly evident in the literature on NGO-isation and the way seeking scarce funding – particularly as a result of austerity - influence the activity of political actors (INCITE!, 2007; Roy, 2014).

six); speaking for and speaking about are intimately entwined (Alcoff, 1991).⁹⁹

Representative political practice is closely tied up with descriptive or conceptual representation or abstraction. People in detention become populations that need to be understood and researched; their experiences measured and managed.

So far, this section has given an account of representation primarily as a feature of liberal politics. However, representational politics is not only helpful in understanding liberal political projects, it also forms a significant part of radical-left praxis. Vanguardism,¹⁰⁰ for example, is a form of political representation developed from Marxist-Leninist praxes that centred on the role of the party in the absence of organised working-class activity. While the organisation and resistance of the working class is determined by the historical dialectic of capital and working class struggle, the party's role was to form a stable rhetorical and institutional means of representation of the interest of the workers that would be ready to coordinate working class rebellion when it arose (Mandel, 1989). The role of the vanguard party therefore is to be a structured, inflexible, ideologically honed organisation that maintains solidity in the interests of the working class, ready to join with organic struggles when they arise. Central to the conception of Vanguardism is the idea that the *interest* of the working class is distinct from the *desire* of actual working-class groups. The Party has to construct the interest of the working class from its political-economic analyses and assumptions about the nature of liberated human life. It can also imply the need to sacrifice the organisation for immediate social need in order to work towards longer term social progress. For these reasons, Marxist theory is more open to representative claims without the expectation of formal structures such as elections, to legitimise it.

⁹⁹ "Those who claim to speak on behalf of those without voice do so by an appeal to their having knowledge of objective interests of those groups [read constituencies], often combined with special care for them" (O'Neill, 2001: 496)

¹⁰⁰ Political representation is central to traditional Marxist political praxis because the revolutionary forces of the working class are, except for moments of revolution, subsumed in the ideology of capitalism. In this state, they cannot represent themselves but have to be represented by a party structure. This is because, while the working class is a 'class in itself', an objective material and historical force, produced by the conditions of capitalism, it is not a 'class for itself', a group equipped with the class consciousness able to organise itself for its interests. The disunity and lack of class consciousness of the working class caused by the structural conditions of capitalist competition between workers means that the party is required to represent their interests (Molyneux, 2008).

Marxian notions of representation contrast with liberal approaches by understanding power as inhering within economic structures, rather than primarily as the commodified property of individual representatives and law makers. The role of representatives is to organise the actions of the exploited elements of the economic structure in anticipation of a revolutionary moment. And since this moment is a product of structural capitalism, representatives respond not to the *desires* of their constituents but to their *interests*.

In summary, the representational political imaginary locates power in an external, institutional or social structure such as the state, the economy, or social discourses. Representational political action requires that people intervene in these structures on behalf of a constituency that is excluded from power. Representations are limited and shaped by social, economic and political contexts; they are strategic constructions within a historically composed terrain. This discussion has illuminated the ways in which the representational paradigm can create a dynamic in which an orientation towards the state encourages a representative to adopt strategic framings which pull away from the desires and interests of those represented. The next section further understands these dynamics in the context of representational anti-detention activism.

[Representational Politics in Anti-Detention Activism](#)

This section briefly demonstrates how this representational political frame is useful for understanding the strategies embraced within anti-detention activism and the dilemmas and limitations it encounters. It discusses three different modes of representation in the anti-detention movement. First, it explores attempts to influence public discourse by examining the way the figure of the detainee is constructed by campaigners to motivate sympathy and urgency. Second, it discusses the representative strategies that attempt to engage state legislators and the choices that are made when determining abolitionist strategies of reform. Third, it examines the dynamics of legal and casework representation in which actors attempt to speak on behalf of individual detainees to judicial and executive bodies within the state. The section ends with a discussion of some of the limitations of the representational perspective.

Framing Public Anti-Detention Campaigns

One of the first challenges for anti-detention campaigning is raising awareness about what detention is and what is happening in detention that needs to change. This is difficult for two reasons. Firstly, the practice of detention and deportation and its effects are hidden from public view. People in detention are physically prevented from public protest and they are unable to directly use online platforms for publicity. People who have experienced detention are often isolated and experience multiple layers of social exclusion that include being dispersed geographically away from communities of support.

Secondly, migration can be described as being hyper-visible (Tyler, 2006). Hyper-visibility names the ways in which migrant's lives and voices are hidden beneath media discourses that construct asylum seekers and other migrants as figures of hatred and suspicion. Migration and border politics saturate public discourse in a way that systematically delegitimises and excludes the claims and voices of people affected by UK border control (Gibson, 2013; Mountz, 2011a). As a result, one concern of public anti-detention campaigns is how to intervene in this discursive landscape on behalf of people in detention. The issue for campaigners is how to represent people in detention in a way that includes everyone subject to detention, while gaining political purchase within public and media discourse.

Cook characterises this problem as the 'the advocate's dilemma' in which the discourses of human rights, which might support many migrant's claims, are not effective carriers of claims because the prevailing discourse on migration is organised around economics, security and illegality (Cook, 2010). Detention campaigners have attempted to draw on sympathetic, relatable characterisations of people in detention to generate public attention to their incarceration.¹⁰¹ These representations attempt to distinguish detention from the logic of criminal imprisonment and argue that it contravenes the liberal taboo of incarceration without trial.

Two intertwined strategies are adopted to render migrants acceptable to public discourse. The first draws on a legal category of the refugee to render people in detention as deserving of safety and citizenship. As we saw in the previous chapter, while legal categories in the

¹⁰¹ For example, <http://contribute.migrantsrights.org.uk/> and <https://www.refugeewomen.co.uk/set-her-free-5-years-of-campaigning-against-immigration-detention/> [accessed 2/3/2019]

immigration system are used to stratify an exclusionary regime of citizenship, being classified as a refugee has great benefits. It guards against detention and deportation, puts one on a (still precarious) path to citizenship and is more likely to gain sympathy from the public. These benefits mean that organisations can, in exploiting categories that divide the detained population, legitimise the incarceration of certain types of migrant. In this way, it is difficult to work within the system which individualises migrants and requires them to prove their value without participating in narratives of the ‘good migrant’ that work against the chances and interests of many people in detention.¹⁰²

A second strategy for making those in detention more acceptable is to ignore or exclude those in detention with criminal convictions from attention and consideration. This is reinforced by the frequent use of slogans, such as ‘we are not criminals’ or ‘seeking asylum is not a crime’, that attempt to avoid rather than confront the connected issues of detention and criminal punishment. A 2017 BBC Panorama exposé of G4S abuse in Brook House IRC, for example, went to great lengths to distinguish between detainees who had been to prison and were reported to be violent, drug using and dangerous, and the more placid, compliant and sympathetic detainee population that were vulnerable to the harms of detention.¹⁰³

Thus, in attempting to make break throughs with the political mainstream, campaigners perpetuate the binary logic of immigration control that enables the legitimate social exclusion of some people as well as the precarious inclusion of (innocent and vulnerable) others. They allow a society to ignore violence perpetrated against those deemed to be guilty, illegitimate and unworthy of safety. It associates the harm of detention with particular groups within detention rather than as a systemic issue. Yet at the same time, any contact with ‘Foreign National Offenders’ will reveal people with complex histories and needs, people who have been damaged (rather than hardened) by the prison system, and people who are facing removal to countries they have never known. As we saw in chapter two, the narrative that migrant communities are particularly dangerous is also part of a

¹⁰² This concern has also been addressed in the US context where campaigns for immigration reform conform with normative notions of legality, family and bolstering the national economy (Jaworsky, 2017).

¹⁰³ https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/g4s_brook_house_immigration_removal_centre_undercover [accessed 2/3/2019]

well-trodden racist mythology that casts migrants as undeserving of safety. It also obscures the ways that illegitimate migration has been increasingly criminalised.

This is seen most clearly in the way vulnerability is used by the state to investigate itself, incorporate and manage criticism and to reform itself in very limited manner. One illustrative example is the 'Adults at Risk Policy' reform that occurred in 2016. While the detention centre rules have always prohibited the detention of vulnerable groups outside of exceptional circumstances, the definition of who counts as vulnerable and the process for deciding who counts as vulnerable has long been criticised. In 2016, the government moved to respond to these criticisms by expanding the criteria for vulnerability. In doing so, however, the government enhanced their ability to balance vulnerability against 'immigration factors' when deciding whether people should be detained¹⁰⁴. The policy change was an ambivalent change; the charities that pushed for it celebrated it as a victory for the reform movement even though it resulted in extra barriers being released for those deemed vulnerable.

These tendencies have been challenged by radical protest movements. One of the most prominent groups in the anti-detention movement in 2016 was Movement for Justice. They are most well known for their organising amongst people within detention centres, especially Yarl's Wood, and those who have been recently released. While this might imply that their work is better understood within a post-representational paradigm (see below), their work is explicitly motivated by a Marxist logic of vanguardism in which individual and collective struggles are integrated into a coherent, unified and organised anti-racist, anti-capitalist movement.¹⁰⁵ The group place emphasis on maintaining anti-racist messaging rather than asking for the system to recognise the moral need to acquiesce to its demands.

¹⁰⁴ The Home Office also used this opportunity to change the definition of torture used to identify someone as 'at risk' to include only torture committed by a state authority. This led to the detention of people who had suffered torture by non-state entities and was subsequently overturned by judicial review on the basis that the specification of a particular perpetrator meant that the policy did not fulfil its statutory function. *R (Medical Justices and others) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* [2017] EWHC 2461 (Admin)

¹⁰⁵ This is the public position of the main organisers of the group who belong to a small collective called the Revolutionary Internationalist League.

Yet these tactics mean that they will only work with people in detention that have the same political views as them or they convince them to articulate the problem in similar terms.¹⁰⁶

Groups inspired by abolitionist and anti-racist politics frequently resist framings that focus on specific groups of people as well as framings that make sharp distinctions between prison and detention. Instead they attempt to reveal connections between institutions of violence and the economic and racial structures of UK society as well as histories of colonisation. However, in framing the injustice of detention in broader structural terms rather than relying on the paternalism of humanitarian accounts described above, they refuse to participate in media narratives of suspicion and vulnerability that are useful in raising public awareness of the issue.

Parliamentary Campaigns for Reform

As well as public facing campaigns that attempt to educate and raise public awareness about detention, detention NGOs have engaged in direct lobbying for specific reforms. The problem confronted here is how to construct detention as an addressable problem. In 2012, a coalition of detention NGOs began organising under the banner of the Detention Forum. This group, driven largely by Detention Action, have settled on three lines of reform: a 28-day time limit on detention, judicial oversight over decisions to detain, and ending the detention of vulnerable people. These reforms¹⁰⁷ decrease the executive power of the Home Office and boost the rule of law, reduce the harm that detention inflicts on torture survivors, pregnant women and people with mental and physical health problems, and end long-term detention. For many groups in Detention Forum, this provides collective cover to

¹⁰⁶ Interview with an MFJ organiser.

¹⁰⁷ There is a debate about whether these might be called ‘abolitionist reforms’ in the sense of reforms that move us in the direction of the abolition of detention. On one hand, they might limit detention’s use, increase oversight and scrutiny force the Home Office to use community-based solutions and for detention to be used only as a last resort before a deportation. On the other hand, they do not challenge the legitimacy or ability to deport, and they may exacerbate problems of detention through repeat detentions and extendable time limits.

present real reforms without risk of being ‘punished’ by the detention estate on which they rely to do their work¹⁰⁸.

In 2015 and 2016, there was significant growth in the level of media coverage given to detention and in the number of groups participating in the struggle for reform. Largely because of the campaign work of Detention Forum, there were Parliamentary debates on detention and Parliamentary (APPG on Refugees and APPG on Migration, 2015) and Government inquiries (Shaw et al., 2016) whose conclusions broadly endorsed Detention Forum’s reform agenda. While the reforms that were introduced focused solely on the issue of vulnerable persons discussed above and promises to ‘reduce the number of detainees’ (Brokenshire, 2016) seemed to have little effect, the effects of these campaigns on the number of people in detention is only recently becoming apparent.

This strategy relies on attempting to convince state actors to change policy, a necessary feature of any abolitionist struggle against detention. The problem is that the climate for convincing state actors to provide even basic rule of law protections is not a hospitable one and requires organisations to adapt to the perceived political interests of those they direct their representations toward. In particular, detention campaigners must accept the demand for maintaining and increasing the number of deportations.

One of the reasons a time limit on detention is difficult for the state to accept is the number of long-term detainees, usually people with criminal convictions, that cannot be removed for administrative reasons (such as statelessness or lack of travel documents). From the government’s perspective, they also cannot be released into the UK; they are concerned about these people absconding and creating a Foreign Prisoner scandal such as the one that occurred in 2006 when the then Home Secretary Charles Clarke resigned after it came to light that a number of Foreign National Offenders had been released without being considered for deportation.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Previously, several small charities were reluctant to speak out in favour of policy reforms because it would risk access to their clients which was at the discretion of the centre management. Field Note 16/4/2015 – from a conversation with an NGO manager.

¹⁰⁹ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/cover-up-charles-clarke-knew-exactly-how-dangerous-released-prisoners-were-but-he-kept-it-secret-361052.html>

In order to convince the government to pursue detention reform, the detention NGO community are pushing an 'alternatives' to detention agenda where they argue that community-based engagement is effective in ensuring compliance with the Home Office and that detention for long periods of time is not necessary (Phelps et al., 2016). This means designing, piloting and advocating NGO-led community case management projects in which contracted NGOs and companies work with people in the system. It is argued that this will ensure they do not 'abscond' because people will accept their treatment as fair and so comply with their removal when it reaches a negative conclusion. The slogan #BuildTrustNotWalls encapsulates the wish to replace detention centres with community programmes with which people with insecure status can comply¹¹⁰. In doing so, anti-detention campaigns prioritise the reduction of detention while being publicly ambivalent about deportation and actively supportive of soft community-based control prior to removal.

The project of engaging with state representatives to deliver reforms means that campaign groups are situated between the systems of governance and the groups that they themselves represent. The demand to achieve reform means strategically aligning with the interests of those in government. To be effective in gaining policy change, campaign groups are incentivised to become complicit in the work of regressive forces in order to make progressive change.

Legal and Case-Work Advocacy

Representational dynamics also come into play within individual casework and legal support which, given the creeping pace of reform and the lack of legal assistance, is a highly important area of resistance and support. People in detention are not entitled to automatic legal representation to support them in making bail applications or in applying for the appropriate form of leave to remain. For those unable to pay for legal help, legal aid can provide both legal advice and representation, however this resource is limited to specific kinds of application and must pass a merits test. Pro Bono legal support is rare, and one usually requires support from other groups in order to find it. Case workers in charitable

¹¹⁰ Field Note 26/09/16

organisations that are attached to medical NGOs or visiting groups, play an important role in facilitating this support.

Legal services to people in detention are often framed as being on the side of the migrant. However, they are predominantly profit-making companies with limited resources¹¹¹. By making judgements about what cases to prioritise and who not to represent, they become part of the project of border making (Fischer, 2013). Even when motivated by inclusive values, the best interests of the client, they have to apply the interpretation of the law and judgments of who the law is able to protect and who it cannot. While they do offer opportunities to push back against and reshape the categories of border enforcement¹¹², these organisations are necessarily directing resources to those people who they believe can fit within categories of immigration law in order to define who they are most able to help.

In order to determine this, service providers must take a position between the immigration regime and the person held in detention, becoming another agency that requires accounts of a detainee's life history, extensive evidence to support their story, in order to construct a coherent narrative and strong legal case. The relationships between people in detention and those in service and legal based organisations are hierarchical in structure, bounded and oriented towards specific institutional goals decided upon primarily by the organisation that limits the input by the client to the signing of informed consent documents.

Once legal support is found, lawyers are able to articulate an individual's claim in a language that will make them most likely to win their case. For example, in a bail application, the arguments put forward are centrally about how imminent one's deportation is likely to be, how likely the person is to abscond and how successful their core case is going to be. This form of translation is dependent upon what the courts will recognise as suitable arguments. Yet, the constructions of a person's claim within the law changes fundamentally the kinds of

¹¹¹ Legal aid in immigration law has been severely restricted by LASPO. While the companies that take on legal aid contracts are predominantly profit making (e.g. Wilsons LLP and Duncan Lewis Solicitors Limited), the Legal Aid contracts provide very limited remuneration for the extensive work required. Field Note 15/2/19, a conversation with legal aid solicitor.

¹¹² For example, litigation that pressed against the Home Office's policy only to recognise victims of state violence as victims of torture, for the purposes of the adults at risk policy R (Medical Justices and others) v Secretary of State for the Home Department [2017] EWHC 2461 (Admin)

work that can be done within it. For example, applications have to be made on an individual basis that ‘works to foreclose any understanding of human movement as anything other than an individualized phenomenon.’ (Fernandez et al., 2006: 472). The legalistic world view limits the political frame through which one can understand detention and therefore limits the possibilities mobilising around it.

Acting in the context of a punitive immigration system that is increasingly restricting its provision of legal help, poor medical facilities and few activities for passing the time, these organisations continually tread a path between offering resources for people to help their situation and filling in for services that the state has stopped providing. New legal charities started to offer pro-bono legal services for unlawful detention claims shortly after the government cut legal aid for these kinds of cases. Following the political and media criticism and the protests inside detention, visiting groups eagerly responded to requests from the detention management to provide workshops within the centres in exchange for increased access.¹¹³ The NGOisation and professionalisation of activism within a neoliberal culture of commissioning and a need to demonstrate effectiveness is an important aspect of anti-detention resistance¹¹⁴.

Tied in with this issue, are choices of how these organisations interact with the centres and with the Home Office. Many organisations are aware that their relationship with the centres and the Home Office, often signing Memorandums of Understandings with detention centre managers to secure access, come with both benefits and costs. On the one hand, they offer the chance to deliver their services to more people, gaining more impact and giving more profile to their activities. On the other hand, appearing too close to the centres either through in-detention workshops or through government funding means organisations can appear to people within the detention centre as agents of the state. It also means that their freedom to criticise the state and speak out against particular injustices is compromised (Interview – Amanda). As Griffiths’ writes, ‘unfortunately, notwithstanding a few notable exceptions, the NGO sector has largely self-censored itself’ (Griffiths, 2017: 531).

¹¹³ Field Note: 12/03/15

¹¹⁴ While legal support to those in detention may not be seen as resistance, many practitioners do consider it such, usually pointing to the ways it highlights injustices and mismanagement of detention and significantly increases the cost.

Summary: Uses and Limitations for Representational Politics in Anti-Detention Activism

The politics of representation is a useful framework in which to conceptualise and motivate political action against immigration detention. This approach primarily involves representing the experiences of people affected by detention and deportation to agents within the state or to the public who are then able to support campaigns for change. As we have seen, the role of activist representatives is particularly important in the struggle against detention, given the barriers facing people in detention from representing themselves legally or democratically. A politics of representation enables the mobilisation of privilege, social, symbolic and institutional capital and relative freedom to work for the benefit of those who are prevented or unable to put their case effectively.

Representational politics provides a political imaginary that allows provides roles that activists and professional services to see themselves as agents of change. It also provides a means of legitimacy and accountability for political action. Rather than basing political action in personally held political critiques of detention that, for example, respond to political oppression in terms of social or economic structures, representational politics is based in the experiences, desires and interests of the people affected by detention.

Representational politics can be judged on its ability to faithfully to convey the experiences and interests of people detained, on its faithfulness to formal consent agreements and on the claim that reforms proposed will significantly change the conditions of people in detention. Representational politics is, in this sense, backward looking, grounded in something that existed prior to the representation.

Representational activism has resulted in a number of significant gains that have raised the profile of detention within mainstream political discourse and made small but positive and significant changes to the detention estate. However, we have also seen that the politics of representation leads to a number of potential pitfalls that reveal its limitations.

The first concerns the kinds of activist communities produced through representational work. Because speaking for others is seen to be the central mode of political practice, representative politics always potentially reifies a subject-object ontology that cements patterns of agency within which citizen-representatives and their knowledge, labour and voice are more important and impactful than the people held within detention. The agency

of people in detention is reduced to a contractual model of individualised 'informed consent' in which their role is to mandate charitable actors to perform actions framed and shaped by people outside detention whose future and safety is not bound up with the future of detention policy. Representational strategies also imply a division of labour that positions representatives as the agents of social change. For this reason, representation is seen as being complicit in the emptying out of democracy (Tormey, 2015). It fails to account for forms of constituent power (Vatter, 2015) by locating powers in structures and institutions and in the representatives that work on behalf of the oppressed.

The second limitation concerns the limited range of representations that can be sustained by a praxis solely based in representational politics. As we have seen, representative politics attempts to bridge gaps between the experiences of people in detention and the interests of state actors. As Saward (2006) argues, the success of a representative claim depends on its acceptance by an audience that is not necessarily those represented. There is a resulting pressure to conform to selected interests of the state, to speak the language of immigration law, to be understood by the state and to appeal to currents within dominant discourses to gain attention. In order to convince the state to adopt a new path, campaigners can be tempted to reinforce narratives or 'alternatives' that entrench and extend oppressive aspects of the state. While complicity in the state is a necessary by-product of challenging and reshaping state power, this approach always carries with it the possibility of legitimising expansions of state power especially when there are institutional pressures to show the impact of one's campaigning work.¹¹⁵

The need to connect with audiences within the state means that some experiences of detention and people within detention are not represented. The issues in detention are, in this sense rendered as a human rights or humanitarian issue and not placed within a wider critical political context in which migration policy is entwined in UK state racism. As such, there is a pressure to depoliticise and moderate, where it could be an opening for politicisation. In this sense, representations can often be seen as static and stifling 'closures

¹¹⁵ Field Note 24/01/2019: In conversation on strategies of detention campaigning, a policy campaigner felt that they had reached the limits of campaigning around vulnerability because the term had been successfully incorporated into the management of detention.

and reterritorializations' (Papadopoulos, 2010) that attempt to order and organise the social in a particular way.

These considerations do not undermine the need for a politics of representation against detention. However, they do reveal the need for an expanded political sensibility that might make us aware of alternative means of working with people who are resisting detention from within. This kind of post-representational politics is described in the next section.

Post-Representational Politics

Post-representational politics is a distinct political imaginary that places emphasis on the temporal and spatial immediate, on capacities and tacit skills of collaboration and on the micro-politics and power dynamics of working together. In doing so, post-representation removes the emphasis on activism mediating between (state-)power and those that experience (state-)violence. Moreover, the post-representational foregrounds the ability of those who have experiences, especially of oppression, persecution and detention, speaking on their own behalf. This political sensibility has been developed within both academic and activist work. Before considering each in turn, I want to consider and set aside the possibility of non-representational politics that claims to avoid and negate the politics of representation.

Some political theorists are ushering in a new paradigm of 'non-representational politics' in which the hierarchical, vertical structures of representation are replaced by new models of political action that do not conform to the models of representation (Day, 2005; Pearce, 2007; Tormey, 2015). Such authors point towards networked mass movement activity such as the World Social Forum that resists neoliberal globalisation by explicitly evading the politics of representation by excluding political parties as members and stopping people from speaking on its behalf (Pearce, 2007; Tormey, 2006). The Zapatista movement is also heralded as a non-representative movement in which its spokespeople understand themselves as neutral vehicles 'or mirrors' for the views of others (Tormey, 2006). These movements are said to reject the politics of representational government and operate as 'autonomous movements' in which there are no leaders and members were empowered to speak for themselves. There is a refusal to engage in vanguardism or a politics of counter-

hegemony. In their place, a politics based on affinity, non-hierarchical politics and consensus has emerged.

Whereas non-representational politics seeks to deny the relevance of representation, post-representational politics recognises the significant reasons to reject the possibility or desirability of representation. These claims to non-representation rely on a limited conceptualisation of representation that reduces it to liberal, formal and institutional modes of representation through election. But as we have seen, representational politics seeps into a wider array of activity and can be read into all political action. As Thomassen writes, if representation is constitutive of political action, one cannot escape representationality completely (Thomassen, 2007). Choices about what aspects of oppression are responded to, how a movement is framed, and who can speak and the principal rhetoric of a social movement are all representative actions. As in Spivak's critique of Deleuze and Foucault (Spivak, 1988), discussed in detail in chapter six, representation still remains critical to any claim to bypass representation. Spivak argues that these claims are in fact attempts to mask the power of the representative voice, to seek to avoid accountability and to refrain from asking questions about who is being represented and who is being excluded.

As well as obscuring de facto representative relationships, support for *non*-representational politics appears to advocate the 'retreat position' (Alcoff, 1991) that views every attempt to speak on another's behalf as problematic and wrong. This political position refuses any opportunity to use one's relative privilege and access to power to further the cause of others. Rather than rejecting all avenues of speaking for others, Alcoff argues that each instance of representation needs to be analysed by looking at 'the probable or actual effects of the words on the discursive and material context. One cannot simply look at the location of the speaker or her credentials to speak, nor can one look merely at the propositional content of the speech; one must also look at where the speech goes and what it does there' (26). Alcoff, here, gestures towards reframing our understanding of representational practices away from traditional representative considerations, such as how accurate or truthful they are or from what fixed social positionality they come from, and instead directs us to assess the effect of that speech and the context that structures these effects. It brings attention to what language does, what it enables and brings into being, rather than what it

means. This demonstrates the range of more-than representational politics at work in representational practices.

The post-representational outlook explored in the following section is a reaction against the modes of representational action described above. Yet rather than a complete rejection of representational politics, it is better conceived of as an adaptation and expanded political sensibility. To be post-representational is not to act without representation but to include it within a wider array of considerations and sensibilities that shape political action.

The Post Representational Sensibility

The post-representational political sensibility operates both as a way of understanding and interpreting the socio-material world and as an impetus for developing new modes of political praxis (Thrift, 2008). The primary moves are to displace the orientation towards external or transcendental power within the state, economic structures, law and social discourse, and to reject the priority placed on the representational abstractions of human aspects of life. In its place, the post-representational sensibility attempts to understand how life takes shape and gains expression through 'everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions' (Lorimer, 2005, 84). Post-representational theory draws attention to creativity, complexity and variety in social life, as well as the ways that order is created out of disorder (Müller, 2015).

The move from the representational 'back' to the material is signalled, for example, in new materialist philosophy that foregrounds an ontology of *becoming over being*. New materialism regards stable, states of affairs, structures or agents as secondary to *processes* of coming into being (Coole, 2013). Things and structures that come to exist are those with 'material agency', an emergent quality of the interaction between human and non-human entities (Pottage, 2012). For these materialists, what exists is not a fixed landscape upon which politics (or political representation) plays out, nor is what exists defined solely by circulating social forces, discourses or fixed economic structures. Rather, matter is dynamic

in itself; things, both corporeal and incorporeal¹¹⁶, come into existence through the intra-action¹¹⁷ of matter (van der Tuin and Dolphijn, 2010). As Delanda explains, emergence means the coming together of a plurality of things such that the properties of the plurality are not reducible to the properties of the individual components (DeLanda, 2012). Less technically, emergence describes what happens when systems reach a level of complexity causing new properties or entities to exist that are not present in the component parts.

Post-representational politics is attuned particularly to the generativity of social practices of resistance as well as with its micropolitical organisation. In many cases, the study of micropolitics is attuned to an awareness of how macropolitical issues, such as racism and sexism, are reproduced and resisted on an interpersonal and organisational scale. However, the micropolitics of new materialism also concerns 'the smaller scale dynamics of power and resistance as they play out amongst individuals in the context of everyday life' (Hynes, 2013: 562). Micropolitics is not only a shift in scale, but a broadening of the ways in which organisation of individuals sustains differences in power through the generation of roles and expectations.

As we have seen, post-representational theory understands power as circulating through organisation rather than something that exists externally, acting upon material reality. As a consequence, power does not only dominate, it also enables. Here, the term *affect* refers to capacities to connect with others, to join in action, to influence and be influenced by others. It is a potential power, an *ability* to be affected and to affect. The study of affect places emphasis on the emotional and tacit capabilities that need to be developed in order to work together. Drawing on Spinoza and Deleuze, Hynes argues that 'affect involves a transition in the capacity to affect or be affected, which gains at least an analytical autonomy from the subject's experience of the variability of his/her power' (Hynes, 2013: 561). Affect then

¹¹⁶ Following a Spinozian understanding of ideas as modifications of matter, the approach doesn't differentiate between the physical and the ideational it is has been called 'incorporeal materialism' (Massumi, 2002).

¹¹⁷ Following Barad (2007), intra-action is used in place of inter-action to emphasise that ontological differentiations do not precede the material practices that they participate in. Similarly, actant identifies an agentic being that does not make distinctions between the human and non-human.

locates the increases and decreases in the abilities of an activist assemblage or movement to effect change in others which may or may not be accompanied by emotional changes.

Post-representational theory helps to identify a political sensibility that avoids explaining social life in terms of underlying structures, vertical legal norms and the application of political norms. Instead, post-representational theory draws attention to the ways in which material practices generate and sustain both institutions and structures that enable violence as well as organisations of resistance. In the detention context, post-representational theory foregrounds the ways policy fails to account for the practice of state institutions where cultures amongst staff, building architecture, access to networks of support and the attention and engagement of activist groups work together to affect and generate detention life. When applied to patterns of resistance, post-representational theory attunes us to immanent changes and innovations that occur within material practices of resistance, to the pragmatic construction of knowledges in response to practical problems and to the dynamics of power that are upheld through the organisation of resistance. This is exemplified in the next section which identifies direct action, prefiguration and activist edgework as forms of post-representational praxis.

Modes of Post-Representational Activism

The attentiveness to practical know-how, routinised forms of collective action, local emergence, variation and creativity, micropolitical dynamics and affective capacity are not merely theoretical or empirical tools but central to the practice of post-representational activism. Post-representational activism is less concerned with making representations to those in power and more concerned with building affective capacity and resilience amongst people subjected to oppressive power. They include forms of organisation that combat as far as possible the internal power-dynamics which reinforce macro-social patterns of oppression.

As I have argued above, post-representational political activism never escapes representation and its critiques. However, post-representational activism can displace the representational emphasis on speaking on other's behalf or seeking to change state representatives' actions. These more 'direct' strategies of activism have long histories in a range of political traditions but particularly within anarchist praxis. This section briefly

describes three kinds of post-representational activism before returning to the interdependence of post-representational and representational politics.

Resistance as Opposition: Direct Action

One type of activism which exhibits post-representationality is that which is 'interested in collective direct action on the immediate level of social and material life' (Papadopoulos, 2010: 64). Direct action is most closely associated with using physical obstruction and force to impede the flow of state and corporate power (Day, 2005). However, direct action is better seen as a project of building the tools of survival rather than as only oppositional practices of confrontation (Chatterton and Pickerill, 2010). It includes a much wider array of activity in which communities come together to fulfil their needs. As such, it is concerned with what can be done with the resources a community has and what possibilities of action there are at a given time, fostering positive freedom rather than opposing constraints on freedom (Grosz, 2010).

Direct action in the detention context has included activists locking their bodies to charter flights¹¹⁸, blocking buses¹¹⁹ and going to airports to convince airline pilots not to fly. The act of crossing borders by migrants is, in itself, a form of direct action against border control and for improvement in living conditions. Casework and legal work could be understood as a form of more mundane direct action used as a means to frustrate the process and use the system against itself.¹²⁰ It could also include observing bail hearings in order to influence them or offering to stand bail for someone.

While direct action is always grounded in what individuals and communities can do for themselves, rather than asking representatives to do it for them, it is not always focused on collaboration and building sustainable resistance movements. These features are more readily identifiable in prefigurative politics.

¹¹⁸ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-essex-46510776> [accessed 3/3/2019]

¹¹⁹ <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/activists-glue-themselves-to-gates-at-heathrow-immigration-removal-centre-a3122446.html> [accessed 3/3/2019]

¹²⁰ This framing has been used by Ali (in interview), who works as a volunteer caseworker and in a conversation with an activist lawyer, Field Note 15/02/2016.

Prefiguration

A second form of post-representational politics is prefigurative politics. Prefigurative politics has become increasingly important in understanding the political logics of social movement activity. It can be understood in two quite divergent ways (Yates, 2015). Firstly, it applies to social movement activity that expresses the ends of a political project within the means of achieving them (Starodub, 2015). The attempt to develop practices which are ethically consistent with the overarching goals of a movement evokes an ethic of virtue rather than a consequentialist or deontological ethic (Franks, 2003). It is this approach that most coheres with the original usage of the term; the phrase was coined in order to articulate a political praxis that overcame the perceived failings of the Marxist tradition to produce democratic, non-authoritarian social change (Boggs, 1977). Instead, the organisational structure of activist groups should reflect the kinds of society one wants to bring about. Common examples are forms of non-hierarchical, consensus-based organising prevalent in social movements such as the alter-globalisation and occupy movements (Graeber, 2014; Maeckelbergh, 2011a). This approach tends to confine prefiguration to organisational and processual issues such as horizontal meeting structures, and conceptually implies that ends, and therefore means, are understood in advance of practice, therefore closing off the experimental and processual elements of post-representational politics.

A second approach to prefigurative politics locates prefiguration in movements that attempt to create experimental or 'alternative' social arrangements, institutions and intentional communities (Cooper, 2014) including ongoing protest camps or social centres (Finchett-Maddock, 2008; Mulqueen and Tataryn, 2012). This approach often ties prefiguration to spaces of close, continuous social bond and organisation that are brought together around common political interests. While allowing for greater breadth and diversity of prefigurative action and allowing for flexibility and experimentation in its practice, this approach often differentiates sharply between the work of building alternatives and practices of opposition to oppressive state practices (Chatterton and Pickerill, 2010). Further, it implies that one might have to choose between strategic and prefigurative modes of political action (for example: Breines, 1980). Prefiguration in this sense is associated with the creation of extra-state spaces that are shielded in some sense from dominating state power and social logics that produce domination (c.f. Cooper, 2017).

It is, perhaps, for these reasons that less attention has been given to prefigurative aspects of migrant solidarity and anti-border politics (cf: Mensink, 2019). For the first approach, it is difficult to perform the kinds of horizontal politics that the anti-border activists might envisage as ideal or hopeful when working in a prison context where more representational and humanitarian styles of aid are prevalent. In the second, the assumption of an exclusive distinction between strategic or instrumental activism and prefigurative politics seems to rule out the possibility of practicing prefigurative politics in spaces of need, oppressive violence or incarceration, or at least that prefiguration may come at the expense of supporting people. This kind of pre-emptive knowledge is often impossible in ad hoc spaces of responsive organising or activism. For these reasons, this framing does not capture the politics of anti-detention activism.

Edgework

In addition to direct action and prefiguration, I would like to add a domain of activist practice called edgework¹²¹ to this list of forms of post-representational activism. This concept pertains to political projects that are oriented toward horizontal organisation in contexts which produce severe imbalances of power within activist assemblages and where the practice of consensus politics is recognised to be impossible. The concept has been appropriated from anthropological studies of risk-taking (Lyng, 2004; Newmahr, 2011).¹²²

¹²¹ This term is also used as the title of a collection of essays by Wendy Brown. Brown does not use it as an analytical tool and her work is not drawn upon here.

¹²² In that context, edgework identifies a shift the understanding of risk-taking from being read as a means - I risk A to get B – to an understanding of risk-taking as an end in itself - to those instances where the experience of the risk is an important experience. Lyng and the majority of the edgework literature have focused on extreme sports where the risk is a physical risk to one's body, and the development of skill and control over one's body is necessary in order to get as close as one can to nature overwhelming and defeating one's body without succumbing and going over that edge. Edgework is usually identified in extreme sports activities such as sky diving (Celsi et al., 1993; Laurendeau, 2006) and BASE jumping (FERRELL et al., 2001), but the concept has been applied in an eclectic array of activities from dangerous motorcycling (Murphy and Patterson, 2011), drinking and drug taking communities (Cho et al., 2010), online betting (Shay, 2017) and stock trading (Zwick, 2005).

Newmahr's (2011) feminist critique and reformulation of edgework begins by identifying how this notion of 'the edge' fits within a masculine hegemonic world-view. It maintains a universalistic portrayal of the edge between man and the forces of nature, a focus on bodily risk and the mastery of mind over the body and has a preoccupation with the individual experience of approaching the edge rather than collective and cooperative practices of constructing and approaching it. Given that this edge is only edgy for those whose normality is being in control, Newmahr draws on her ethnographic research in a sadomasochist community and develops a more inclusive notion of edgework that illuminates forms of risk-based 'serious leisure'. In this reworked

Activist edgework, firstly, draws attention to the dynamics of working with those pushed to the edge of society by detention and bordering practices that create marginalised, disposable, dehumanised people at the brink of removal. It not only emphasises the inherent power imbalances within relationships of support and advocacy but places them within a political context. It raises the notion of a polity premised upon the 'constitutive exclusion', a critique of liberal states as producing outsiders that function to render the community comprehensible, knowable and imaginable (Kramer, 2017). This notion both supports the need for representation for those who are unable to speak and participate in recognisable political activity and draws attention to the political ambivalence of representational projects.

Secondly, and more importantly for the core of my usage of the concept, activist edgework locates forms of activism that seeks to understand how activists can perform horizontal forms of collaboration and cooperation with those fighting detention and deportation, while in the knowledge that these ways are, in practice, impossible. Activists attempt to push towards the impossibility of working in anti-hierarchical, inclusive ways with people subject to the conditions of detention rather than assuming their inability to participate in political activity. As Lee acknowledges:

I think we strive towards horizontal forms organising whilst always being aware of the fact that it's incredibly difficult to achieve if not impossible.
(Lee, Interview)

Edgework in this sense is a kind of response to feminist and anti-colonial discussions of representation as a 'can't yet must technology' or an 'impossible necessity' (Neimanis, 2015).

Newmahr's concept of edgework is not a direct fit for the kind of activist thinking I investigate in this thesis. For example, Newmahr's understands edgework as a 'serious leisure' activity that is engaged in purely for the intrinsic phenomenological experience of the risk. Newmahr's edgework is also a voluntary and consensual activity where participants

vision, the edge is a constructed social and emotional boundary that is collectively and collaboratively formed and approached.

have chosen to take part, whereas, in important ways, those in detention do not voluntarily engage in practices of resistance.

However, there are a number of resonances that are also helpful to explore. The edge approached in anti-detention activism is a socially constructed and policed edge rather than the 'objective' edge between man and nature, yet it does require the recognition of structural and physical constraints in shaping the edge. The physical barriers present in organisation meetings and the technologies that allow for communication – telephones, visits – place constraints and conditions for the kinds of relationships that are possible. For this reason, the activist edgework is much more an edge of possibility than the social and emotional edge explored by Newmahr. Furthermore, although there are risks involved in conducting activist edgework (such as damaging misunderstandings, failure to support people and the possibility of conflict with state official) the construction of risk and the experience of that risk is not central to activist edgework. Finally, in keeping with Newmahr's concepts, edgework foregrounds the ways in working against the imposed edges and hierarchies of activism involves situated skill and emotional navigation.

One claim I will make in the conclusion of this thesis, is that post-representational activism in the detention setting is helpfully seen as a kind of activist edgework. It is a response to the impossibility of working in non-hierarchical, collaborative ways with people held in a position of subjugation and subordination. It is undertaken as a form of hopeful and experimental politics; providing a setting through which learning to find ways in which imposed social divisions (citizen and detained migrant) are undermined within the practice of resistance. With prefiguration, it is an attempt to understand what kind of social relationships can be upheld through praxes of solidarity and resistance. However, against prefiguration, there is no attempt to form the relationships that can serve as the basis of a desirable future. Edgework is about recognising, mitigating and building upon the lived divisions and hierarchies in knowledge and power that cannot be overcome without structural change.

More-than Representational Politics

Direct action, prefiguration and edgework describe areas of political contestation and creativity that displace the emphasis on making representations to a wider public or the

state. However, the post-representational also includes modes of politics that make representations in ways that attempt to avoid the subject-object dynamics of representational politics. The post-representational sensibility enlarges our understanding of representational politics in two ways.

Firstly, it views representation as always embedded within the material practice in which representations and representatives are made. Representational practices, as we saw above, have tendencies to solidify subject-object relations rather than open other forms of collaboration. Post-representational political critique might then point to the possibility of prefigurative representation politics that bridge the projects of building and sustaining community frameworks for sustainable change and resistance to centres of power. In addition, it recognises the ways that representations affect material reality as well as merely reflect them (see chapter six). Secondly, since post-representational politics is less concerned with making an immediate policy or public awareness impact, it has less need to be attuned to external audiences. This means that post-representational activism can be fertile sites for subjugated and resistant representations to emerge and be cultivated. It is within activism that are linked to survival and resistance that oppressions are named, and radical alternatives can be explored.¹²³

The Challenges and Limitations of Post-Representational Politics in Anti-Detention Activism

This chapter has discussed the dynamics of representational politics and shown how this informs and plays out in representational forms of anti-detention politics. Representational politics opens important spaces of contestation but also introduces limits on the political visions able to be sustained within representational activism and the distributions of agency within them. The chapter moved on to show how the poststructuralist theories inspired by

¹²³ It is for this reason that Rancier's aesthetic politics has been found to be a useful tool in reading material within political practices of No Borders activists as processes of meaning making that generate alternative political possibilities. The term aesthetics retains a focus on visibility but broadens the range of affective mediation from speech and image. Spaces of political action with and by illegalised migrants have been connected with moments of rupture in the dominant political frame that renders visible the claims of the marginalised based on presumptions of equality that are impossible in the dominant political/police regimes (Dikeç, 2013; Millner, 2011). These moments in which the dominant 'count' are disrupted and enable ethical and political responses that were previously invisible.

Foucault and Deleuze and the vitalism of new materialisms are not only modes of analysis of social practice but are also embedded in practices of activism. In particular, they are connected to post-representational forms of activism, in networked, grassroots, community-based groups which are attentive to the creativity and open-endedness of activist practice and to processes that distribute power within movements and build capacities that enable people to speak on their own behalf, rather than offering to speak to power for them.

These post-representational forms of theory and activism are useful for understanding and participating in anti-border politics, and anti-detention politics specifically. Where making representations to the state and public takes precedence, social movement actors are drawn into the project of reimagining border regimes; they are incentivised to speak on behalf of select subsections of migrant communities – reinforcing the so called good-bad migrant dichotomy - and are encouraged to create organisations that are humanitarian in structure, reproducing hierarchies of exclusionary citizenship between citizen-subject and migrant-object. On the other hand, post-representational approaches point to the development of situated practical knowledges, based within creative practices that intervene in spaces of state power by working within them, alongside and to an extent ‘led by’ those that are primarily subject to state power and border enforcement (see chapter seven). The post-representational imaginary therefore reconceives detention from a space determined by policy makers to one that can be influenced and resisted on the ground.

The chapters that follow show how post-representational political imaginaries have been shaped within the anti-detention movement in order to give a situated assessment of the roles post-representational politics can play in movement building. This chapter ends, however, with a brief outline of the theoretical and practical challenges that a post-representational anti-detention activism faces.

The first cluster of problems comes from a tendency to confuse post-representational practice with an attachment to purity and authenticity. The commitment to recognising and nurturing social diversity in post-representational theory has, for example, given rise to romanticising certain forms of ‘radical alterity’ that are seen in autonomous groups such as ‘the’ Zapatistas and radical figures, such as ‘the’ migrant (Hoofd, 2012) or in the writing of

Deleuze, for example, the ‘nomad’ and ‘becoming-minoritarian’¹²⁴. The celebration of the migrant as a mobile, disconnected, boundary-crosser both plays into problematic neoliberal logics and erases the complexities, complicities, agencies and diverse material conditions of migration. Post-representational politics must then find ways of working alongside migrants that do not respond to the hostility against migration with an uncritical reification and celebration of the condition of migrancy.

Furthermore, the delineation between post-representational politics and representation denying politics can sometimes be rendered too sharply leading to the presentation of certain forms of action and speech as transparent articulations of migrant voice. Since migrant voice is also a mediated and image-oriented politics, a fetishization of the voices of those in detention encourages an unreflexive activism that views the claims of people in detention as authentic voices that can be re-presented by others without mediation. As Spivak’s critique of Foucault and Deleuze shows, there is no escape from representation, even if the aim is to merely re-present subaltern speech (see chapter 6 for further discussion).

Secondly, post-representational politics could also be accused of participating in, rather than resisting, dominant social orders of neoliberalism. Critiques of Foucauldian and Deleuzian scholarship that focus on innovation and finding new modes of responding to the conditions might risk conceiving activism as a productive even entrepreneurial space that reflects the values of neoliberal hegemony (Hoofd, 2012). Post-representational politics has been seen by some as putting the emotional resonance of activism before effect. The reliance on spectacle and emotion in post-representational politics as well as refusing ordinary modes of reforming the state seem to prioritise the need to ‘feel we are resisting’ rather than actually resisting (Hoofd, 2012). If it is not effectively resisting state violence,

¹²⁴ While Patton (Paul Patton, 2010) provides a robust defence of the use of ‘nomad’ and ‘becoming-minoritarian’ in Deleuze’s philosophical writing. Rather than celebrating the social conditions of actual nomads and those excluded from majoritarian politics and arguing that we should become like them – Patton interprets Deleuze to be arguing that these concepts can intervene into the specific European political imaginary to create an openness to different means of living.

post-representational activism can become a space for privileged actors to feel radical without engaging in activity that alters the configurations of power that sustain domination.

Thirdly, it is said that post-representational politics is incapable, on its own, of building a sustainable and effective movement because it could never be scalable to a level that could challenge the institutional power of the state. The focus on both the temporal and spatial immediate means that movements can be fragile and ineffective. Stravrakakis writes, for example, that ‘a multitude of autonomous struggles have historically become effective only when articulated within a common counter-hegemonic horizon of representation’ (Stravrakakis, 2016). Post-Marxist theorists from Laclau and Mouffe (2013) to Srnicek and Williams (2015) have challenged anarchist inspired ‘folk politics’ to embrace a representational politics of counter-hegemony that necessitates the making of representations that are oriented towards bringing about a transformation in the way state infrastructure is utilised. Localised, single issue politics that are disconnected from the wider social, economic and historical relations that have moulded and shaped that issue are seen to be insufficient for a radical politics.

A final theoretical criticism of post-representational politics is they are “state-phobic” and premised upon a crude understanding of the state. State phobia implies that they underestimate the theoretical importance of state power and unduly valorise grassroots politics that pursues ‘non-state’ strategies (Dean and Villadsen, 2016). Post-representational politics is often seen to operate outside of state spaces and spaces of domination, for example, in Saul Newman’s characterisation of the occupy movement as acting on a ‘different terrain’ to the sovereign state (Newman, 2016). This criticism of post-representational strategies raises important questions about how post-representational politics, with its attachment to prefiguration, can be understood and enacted in spaces such as detention, which are shaped by state violence and exclusionary regimes of citizenship.

Post-representational politics faces a second set of problems that relate to the practical difficulties in attempting to form post-representational political communities that can intervene in the operation of detention while refusing the representational dynamics of speaking on behalf of people in detention. Sustaining a horizontal community of affinity and solidarity is difficult and immensely time consuming. It often requires a consistent access to common space and a group of people who are committed to developing a certain form of

political community even if the exact form is yet to be defined. These conditions are unavailable in a detention context. There are very limited opportunities to meet face to face as a group with people in detention, and those that exist are heavily surveilled. The high turn-over of people in detention, people moving in, out or between centres means that sustaining groups over time is difficult and a lot of energy is spent reaching out and connecting to new people. Constantly needing to bring new people in to projects presents challenges because they have had little opportunity to shape the political action they are joining and may not be committed to the political approach. Overcoming the physical disconnection that the detention walls impose, results in primarily using telephones to communicate with individuals rather than organising as a group.

The refusal to work within the principal forms of representational politics presents challenges for post-representational politics in terms of how such action is enabled, legitimised and held accountable (see chapter seven). Representational politics provides widely understood models of acting within political movements that are sustained within institutionalised models of working with people, as lobbyists, casework and legal contexts. This set of institutionally sustained concepts mediates relationships and determines appropriate means of acting. In rejecting these models, post-representational politics becomes a space of grounded conceptual thinking in which experimental activism produces distinctive ways of inhabiting and understanding its environment.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have distinguished and contrasted representational and post-representational political sensibilities. Representational politics is based on a division of labour between people in detention and activists who work on their behalf. It emphasises the role of mediation between those incarcerated and the centres of power in the state, it often operates within defined institutional contexts and with defined roles, and it enables action at a distance through the construction of group identity and interest that can be conveyed through speech. Post-representational politics focuses attention on building practices and collectives that can resist domination and enact a hopeful politics. It places emphasis on cooperative forms of activism often involving forms of consensual politics and non-hierarchical organisation; it values situated, practical and tacit forms of knowledge that enable groups to be attentive to the micropolitics of power that flow through organisations

and seek to develop new forms of relationships that enact the change they want to see in the moment. It therefore values prefiguration and experimentation. While they can be understood as distinctive approaches to political action, they are inseparable in practice since all political activism involves representative claims and operates through grounded practices through which power is circulating.

In the three chapters that follow, I investigate distinct practices of detention activism that both exemplify and advance our understanding of the role of post-representational politics. These investigations are driven by two overarching questions. Firstly, given the practical and theoretical challenges for post-representational politics against detention, what kinds of post-representational political formations and practices exist in the anti-detention movement? Given the experimentation and imminent political creativity of post-representational forms of activism, this investigation is attentive to the kinds of practical and conceptual knowledges developed in order to navigate the terrain of detention in ways that are attentive to post-representational concerns. Secondly, I ask what role post-representational praxis has in anti-detention the anti-detention movement more broadly and to what extent do the critiques of post-representational activism manifest in anti-detention activism.

Chapter 4: Post-Representational Solidarity in Anti-Detention Protests

Protests are near ubiquitous features of political movements, taking many forms and serving a diverse array of functions. Protests are primarily thought of as performing representational tasks such as expressing dissatisfaction with the status quo, raising awareness of an issue amongst a public, pressuring those in power to make decisions or undertake reforms, and identifying enemies or opponents. This chapter examines a protest that is post-representational in nature. In addition to performing some representational tasks, the protest creates platforms for people to speak on their own behalf, creates spaces of contestation and negotiation between participants, pursues practical goals, assists in social movement knowledge production and learning, and allows for experimentation in the navigation of new spatial, ethical and political terrain. This chapter explores an example of this expanded post-representational vision of protest as a complex, multifaceted and dynamic assemblage.

The discussion centres on anti-detention protests that took place in London and Bedfordshire between 2013 and 2016. The protests were regular events that took place at a time when a radical anti-detention movement was beginning to re-emerge from a period of inactivity and invisibility.¹²⁵ As such, they were events that allowed for experimentation and negotiation of both strategy and politics, where the normative content of anti-detention politics and practice was in formation. The chapter identifies the post-representational currents of anti-detention activism as it developed in these early stages. It argues that unpacking the particular mobilisation of *solidarity* within these protests is key to understanding the political thinking of post-representational politics within the anti-detention movement.

Solidarity is a useful starting point for the study of post-representational politics. Firstly, it is the frame through which many post-representational activists articulate their approach. The phrase ‘solidarity not charity’ is one of the most prevalent slogans guiding radical practice in the anti-detention movement¹²⁶. Secondly, solidarity is sometimes positioned in an oppositional relationship to representation in the academic literature. For Halpin (2006),

¹²⁵ Interview with Georgia.

¹²⁶ In one group, asking what this slogan means and how can it can be practiced is a core part of the interview process for a coordinator position in the group (Field Note 6/10/2015).

solidarity is the political approach required when the constituency one advocates for does not have a voice, as is the case for future populations or the environment, or when advocating for those who cannot influence the type of advocacy. In contrast, representation is the mode of political action for those who can articulate grievances and therefore hold to account and give direction to representatives. O'Neill (2001) similarly draws a distinction between acting as a representative and acting in solidarity primarily on the basis that solidarity can only be performed by someone outside of a group and therefore has specific moral and political requirements. While this kind of clear opposition cannot be drawn in anti-detention protest, for these authors, solidarity an approach to praxis in which representation is either not possible or desirable.

As this chapter will explain, solidarity is a central organisational concept for social movement practice, yet it is used in a variety of inconsistent ways. The concept is not amenable to being defined in the abstract and applied in a universal and simple way, as Harvey (2007) and Scholz (2010) attempt to do. Solidarity should not be understood in isolation from how it is performed in practice. This chapter follows Brown and Yaffe (2014: 34) who argue that the study of solidarity requires 'paying attention to the micropolitics of the practices through which it is enacted and articulated through key sites'. The chapter contributes to solidarity studies by refracting it through the practice of anti-detention protest and drawing upon the communities of practice literature. It provides a model of post-representational solidarity as an activity, as participation in a set of practices held up within a community itself sustained through routinised collective action.

In this chapter, I argue that the mobilisation of solidarity helps anti-detention activists respond to three challenges for post representational politics that were identified in the previous chapter. Firstly, it investigates the protest as a means of creating a space of communication to allow for a more horizontal organisation of the movement. The regular practice of taking over places immediately surrounding a detention centre creates a communicative forum for dialogue and community-building amongst detention activists and people in detention¹²⁷. This forum is a physical manifestation of the post-representational

¹²⁷ The categories of 'anti-detention activists' and 'people in detention' are overlapping. The unfortunate consequence of describing the conjunction of the too is hiding the intersection that is so often important in shaping detention politics.

ideal to listen and recognise the primary agency of those who have direct experiences of detention. Secondly, the chapter explores the role of protest in composing and sustaining an anti-detention movement as a dynamic space of political creativity and thought, rather than one in which abstract political precepts (for example, border abolition) are merely put into practice. In doing so, I elucidate the creativity and utility of post-representational politics. Thirdly, by considering the relationship between both representational and post-representational elements of the protest, I further the argument that representational politics is always entwined with post-representational practice.

The chapter starts with a description of the detention protests in which I outline why they can be understood as post-representational in character. I then draw on divergent academic conceptualisations of social and political solidarity, identifying the ways that solidarity coheres with a post-representational sensibility. I then move to thinking about solidarity in anti-detention protest as participation in a 'community of practice'. The chapter's discussion is based on empirical material gathered while participating in over ten such protests, informal conversations with activists whilst planning and reflecting upon the protests and six semi-structured interviews that focused specifically on the protests.

Detention Protests

Detention protests involve groups of activists holding demonstrations outside Immigration Removal Centres across the UK. This is a fairly common form of anti-carceral activism. Noise demonstrations outside prisons are a regular feature of anarchist movements in the global north, regularly occurring on New Year's Eve. Protests were organised every month outside Campsfield House in Oxfordshire since it was built in the early 1990s and there have been periods of activity in the 2000s culminating in 'No Border' protests that targeted the coaches used to transport people to charter flights¹²⁸. More recently, in May 2016 noise demonstrations were held outside every detention centre in the UK as part of a national day of action against detention. This chapter focuses on a series of protests at the Heathrow centres in South West London that then moved in 2015 to Yarl's Wood IRC located in Bedfordshire.

¹²⁸ See Close Campsfield campaign (<https://closecampsfield.wordpress.com/>) and an account of the no borders protest: <http://london.noborders.org.uk/news/no-borders-communiqué-immigration-prisoners>

Harmondsworth is the largest detention centre in Europe with a capacity of 615 beds. It is built to the standard of a category B prison and was intended to hold primarily asylum-seeking men under the detained fast track procedure (see chapter 2). Colnbrook is built to the same standard. It has a 408-bed capacity but has a reputation for a harsher, more punitive regime than Harmondsworth¹²⁹. The two centres stand adjacent to one another, divided by an access road to a British Telecom facility. Yarl's Wood is the only centre holding predominantly female detainees with a capacity for around 400 people. All three centres were built as part of the expansion of detention in the mid-2000s.

Protests were held periodically outside the adjacent Colnbrook and Harmondsworth immigration detention centres throughout 2014 and 2015. They involved groups of activists congregating outside the centres, next to the high barbed wire fences. They slowly and deliberately marched around the centres waving placards with political slogans, banging on the fences and chanting energetically through megaphones. Like a street demonstration, the protesters held up banners with slogans calling for the detention centres to be shut down, for particularly draconian policies to be changed and expressing support for those in detention. One banner would display the telephone number of a phone present at the protest. People inside would congregate at the windows and hold up hastily drawn posters with messages, slogans and telephone numbers on. Activists and those in detention would see each other waving, smiling and expressing anger in mutual support while those in the courtyard of the neighboring centre, Colnbrook, would chant alongside the demonstration.¹³⁰

There were two kinds of Harmondsworth protests were held during this time. The 'Surround Harmondsworth' protests were publicised protests organized primarily by the group Movement for Justice with the knowledge of the detention staff and the local police. At this time, they were held every two months drawing relatively small crowds of 40 to 50 people. Because the protests were arranged with the police in advance and the protest explicitly intended to accept the limits on the protest set by the police, it was possible for a greater

¹²⁹ On numerous occasions, detainee protesters within other detention centres have been known to be transferred to Colnbrook. Field Note 24/11/2014

¹³⁰ Field Note 15/3/2015

number of people to attend who had experience of detention and still had insecure status.¹³¹



132

In addition, there were also unannounced protests that could be as small as 10 people congregating around the centre. These often would be organised at short notice in response to incidents such as protests in detention, deaths and charter flights. As they were enacted without permission, protesters had to spend more energy on holding the space open without being challenged by the centre security and police.¹³³

At both forms of protest, the group would circle the Harmondsworth centre, protestors made phone calls to their friends inside and to those detainees who held up their telephone numbers to the windows. On the phone, activists exchanged messages of solidarity and

¹³¹ Field Note 10/11/2014

¹³² This photo depicts a Surround Harmondsworth demonstration in 2014. Harmondsworth is on the left and Colnbrook on the right. The pre-made placards with the slogans determined by the organising group illustrating their own messaging. This particular protest was on the same day as a demonstration against the war on Gaza in 2014 prompting the organisers to make explicit links between detention in the UK and Palestine.

¹³³ Field Note 15/3/2015

amplified speeches of those inside using a megaphone so that everyone could hear.¹³⁴ Follow-up calls would be made over the subsequent days. This shared action boosted energy and emotions in and outside the prison, spurring further conviction, further resistance and a deeper commitment to activism.¹³⁵ The chanting and dancing lasted for three to five hours. Activists on the outside exchanged food and drink and there was a collection made for travel expenses.



136

Over time, the openly planned protests became more limited as police and security staff penned the protest into a cordon out of sight and earshot of the centre. Cam, a regular

¹³⁴ The protest phone would be left with over 20 or 30 missed calls from people inside wanted to speak to protesters. Field Note 12/3/2015

¹³⁵ Protests outside of detention centres were followed immediately by protests within. For example, in November 2014 a Campsfield protests and March 2015. Statements on Detained Voices document the emotional response from those inside <https://detainedvoices.com/tag/solidarity-protest>. For example, “We want to respond to the protest. We want to join the protests. So people were outside for 15 minutes in the yard. We were shouting with the people outside. We were clapping and shouting “freedom, freedom”.” <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/04/11/we-were-shouting-with-the-people-outside/>

¹³⁶ Detainees grouping in a stairwell inside Harmondsworth holding makeshift banners.

attendee at the protests, describes how the protests were changed by the police restrictions.

I remember the Harmondsworth protests became very penned in. It was really small. This meant it felt quite orchestrated. Normally, when the protests were able to go around the centre, it felt like the group was leading it. Once they'd cordoned it away from the centre, people in detention couldn't hear what was going on and it felt controlled and restrained. (Cam – Interview)

The new constraints placed on the protests could not be challenged in the announced protests because of the risk of arrest for those with experience of detention. The policing of the spontaneous protests also became increasingly repressive – employing kettles, using police dogs and stop and searches under counter-terrorism powers to require protesters to give identification.¹³⁷

In 2015 and 2016 the protests shifted location to Yarl's Wood. The move was a response to the increasingly hostile tactics adopted by the centre guards and police at Harmondsworth. However, the shift in location resulted in a rapid escalation of the protests. In the second protest, a collaboration between Movement for Justice and feminist campaign groups such as Women for Refugee Women, succeeded in bringing more attention to the protests from mainstream media and politicians¹³⁸. As Cam explains, the shift in location led to a shift in the character of the protests.

The demonstrations at Yarl's Wood became far bigger. There were a load more women and lots of groups that weren't just aimed at detention - local groups, feminist organisers and there was more of a buzz. Sometimes the Harmondsworth ones, you'd turn up and there'd be the same people and you'd recognise everyone there whereas the Yarl's Wood ones were massive. With that it was sometimes unclear who was in charge of the

¹³⁷ Field Note 21/1/2017

¹³⁸ One such protest was attended by the local Conservative MP, see: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jun/06/hundreds-protest-at-yarls-wood-demand-closure>

demonstrations. They also felt really uplifting, in a weird way. And it felt like new people were listening. (Cam – Interview)

In 2017 and 2018, protests became a focal point of radical pro-migrant politics. While the Harmondsworth protests were conducted with between 10 and 50 people in attendance, the Yarl's Wood protests in 2017 and 2018 regularly attracted around 2,000 people although they occurred less frequently because of the resources required to organize them.¹³⁹



140

The Post-Representationality of Anti-Detention Protest

Protests are often considered part of representational political action. The freedom to protest in liberal politics is a celebrated element of the freedom of expression and speech. Protests, in this paradigm, aim to bring issues to public attention, articulating dissatisfaction and demands to the state or some other public who will take it up if they think the concern is valid. Liberal protest then becomes a way of making sure the representative liberal

¹³⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/03/yarls-wood-demonstration-brexit-vote> [accessed 23/6/2018]

¹⁴⁰ Photograph of a Yarl's Wood demonstration in 2016 from <http://warwickglobalist.com/2016/01/25/borderline-incarceration-resistance-yarls-wood-detention-centre/> [accessed 23/6/2018]

democratic state operates effectively and picks up upon important issues that could be missed. The social movement literature has developed an understanding of protests in this vein: 'Protests are messages directed to political adversaries, sympathizers, decision makers, and the wider public. Besides more conventional activities, such as voting and lobbying, they are important tools for various actors, most notably social movements, to attract attention, to appeal or to threaten, to make claims heard and visible, and eventually to have an impact on politics and society' (Koopmans and Rucht, 2002: 231). This is a representational view of protest: it locates the primary role and organising principle of protest in conveying a message to those positioned outside of it.

In liberal theory, protests push at the boundaries of acceptable expression and often become significant only in so far as they address law or policy reform as acts of civil disobedience – illegal acts by a minority that address the majority public and their representatives in the state and communicate a shared desire to change the state's policy.¹⁴¹ While liberal defences of civil disobedience selectively celebrate civil disobedience as signs of democratic legitimacy and the liberal state's tolerance of free speech and expression (Kramer, 2017), the primary question of liberal debates on protest is what determines whether they are legitimate infringements of the law. In doing so, the liberal account disciplines and manages protests,¹⁴² reducing them to 'a mode of address' to the state and its public.

The Surround Harmondsworth protests could be read as representational protest in this way. The protests certainly have the function of locating detention as a source of unacceptable violence that the state should address. They express political opposition to detention through embodied action that at least pushes up against the boundaries of the

¹⁴¹ 'My thought is that in a reasonably just (though of course not perfectly just) democratic regime, civil disobedience, when it is justified, is normally to be understood as a political action which addresses the sense of justice of the majority in order to urge reconsideration of the measures protested and to warn that in the firm opinion of the dissenters the conditions of social cooperation are not being honored.' (Rawls, 2013)

¹⁴² For example, for Rawls, in order to qualify as civil disobedience, protest has to be the outcome of sincere conviction, it has to be nonviolent, it has to be public, it has to be done in a situation where arrest and punishment are 'expected and accepted' and therefore 'manifest respect for legal procedures' and 'fidelity to law'. Furthermore, in order to be legitimate, it has to exhaust existing legal channels, be limited to 'substantial and clear violations

state's law, inviting the opposition of security and police¹⁴³. They articulate these demands through slogans, calling for the centres to be shut down and naming specific abuses that have occurred within their walls. Calls to 'Shut Them Down!' and even more so, the later calls to 'Set Her Free!' are speaking to the state – demanding benevolent action to change its practice. The more recent protests at Yarl's Wood, have contributed to successfully raising the issue of detention amongst anti-racist and pro-migrant movements more generally as well as amongst religious and feminist organisations.¹⁴⁴

However, this representational frame underestimates the significance of the protests to the detention movement and obscures the ways that the protests function largely as a post-representational political tool. The protests do not seek to represent the cause of detention to power located away from it. The protests are not in themselves a publicity raising tool. If they were, they would be ineffective. Going to places of detention that are unpopulated and out of the public eye attract little media attention. The banners, messages and voices are not directed to those away from detention but towards those within it. Of course, this may be interpreted by thinking of the protests as 'shows' of solidarity towards those held inside the centres. In this view, the protests are an embodied symbolic stand with people in detention; an attempt to remind people detained that there are people in the UK who remember them and who are working to end their detention. This view finds some support, for example in Cam's understanding that,

Apart from the purpose of any protest which is to voice anger and frustrations, the point of it being at the centres is that people inside can hear. (Cam – interview)

However, this view obscures the work of those in detention, positioning them as a mere audience to the protest's actions and messaging. Many of the protests were planned alongside those inside who alerted others on the wings to go to the windows, make banners

¹⁴³ The ownership of the road around the detention centres and the rights of way over it has been a source of concern for activists wanting to predict how security and police are going to react and what risk there is to the action. In practice, the severity of the policing of the area has not been related to the legal right over the road but to the effectiveness of the protests at communicating with those inside.

¹⁴⁴ Most notably the Quakers and Sisters Uncut.

and participate in the protest.¹⁴⁵ It also obscures the central place of people who were formerly in detention being involved in the protest and crucially the ways in which people in detention were encouraged to become part of the thinking of movement building. This aim of the protest is captured here by Ali:

[The protests are] important because it's aiming at horizontality – even while being a long way from it. It's aiming at the idea of an organised protest by those that are captive and those that are free from detention. That doesn't really exist in other ways in immigration activism and in that I've seen on a big scale. It's not really like that yet but it aims at something that could be approaching a group protest, horizontally organised. (Ali – Interview)

Here, Ali emphasises the cooperation and coordination that occurs in the preparation and decision making when organising the demonstrations that is especially true of the unannounced demonstrations and the later Yarl's Wood demonstrations. They also echo the idea, described in the introduction, of post-representational politics as the pursuit of a form of horizontal practice that is rendered impossible by the physical and political terrain of detention.

The post-representational understanding of the protest also illuminates the ways that the protest is a located spatial practice. This shift not only changes the way we can understand the function of the protest, as a form of organised listening and cooperation, but also changes the emotional register of the protest.

Quite often the protests that you go to are far away from the thing that you're protesting so it will be to parliament, and you're speaking to people that don't listen anyway and it can feel quite orchestrated and routine. I guess going to the place involves those affected and there's something about confronting it head on. It's quite a visceral experience. You're

¹⁴⁵ Many of the protests were also organised in discussion with people in detention on the phone and in detention visits. For example, the national day of action protests in May 2017. Field Note 13/05/2017.

standing outside these barbed wire fences and you can see people inside reaching out and waving signs. (Cam – Interview)

This *visceral confrontation* with the object of protest means that the protest is less reliant on the speech of organisers to construct the problem. The articulation of dissent and the putting into practice of opposition is through presence, non-verbal communication and importantly the sensations of noise and colour.

In the rest of this chapter, I explore the dynamics of this post-representational protest by exploring the political solidarities that are generated through them. To begin to investigate the relationship between solidarity and post-representational politics, this chapter now turns to a review of academic engagements with social and political solidarity.

Academic Approaches to Solidarity

To explore the ways solidarity is performed in anti-detention protest, it will be instructive to consider how solidarity has been crafted and applied within academic literatures. This section identifies a range of perspectives on solidarity as an object of political and analytical concern. It starts with sociological approaches and moves towards different notions of solidarity within writing on political theory and social movement praxis. I argue that solidarity has been frequently understood in ways that benefit representational politics, where solidarity is the product of an underlying ontological identification or a more contingent unity based on an achieved alliance across difference. Solidarity can be a tool that enables abstraction from particularity and difference that enables representatives to act at a distance on behalf of that group. However, more recent developments have shown how solidarity can also be portrayed in post-representational ways that work in opposition to the abstracting and elevating tendencies of representation. Solidarity, in this view, creates a gravitational impulse – attempting to keep power located and near those with direct experience of the oppression. It is in the ways that solidarity, as I construct it, combines the impulses to recognise differences and work to connect through them that constitutes its suitability as a carrier of normative thinking for post-representational politics.

In sociological literatures, the concept of social solidarity has been used to investigate and measure the level and character of community cohesion within and across pre-existing groups. These common ties are seen in ‘the degree that its members have mutual interests,

bonds of affection, and a "common lot" (Feinberg, 1968), the 'feeling of reciprocal sympathy and responsibility among members of a group which promotes mutual support' (Wilde, 2007: 171) or the 'reciprocal relations of trust and obligation' (Hooker, 2009: 4). As such social solidarity highlights the study of emotions and behaviours that indicate the existence of community ties with a view to understanding how pre-existing societies and groupings coordinate to achieve goals.

Social solidarity is especially important in Durkheimian social theory that emphasises the importance of consensus across society rather than the antagonism between societal classes that is central to Marxism¹⁴⁶. The 'organic' solidarity enables a society characterised by a division of labour to flourish by giving expression to both individuality and mutual dependence (Whalen, 2007). Efforts to bolster social solidarity become seen as a non-revolutionary means of alleviating class antagonisms inherent in capitalism (Wilde, 2007). As such, the nation-state has traditionally been seen to be the appropriate container and facilitator of social solidarity.

For example, there is a wide assumption in this literature that social solidarity is to some extent necessary to underpin welfare states (Kymlicka and Banting, 2006; cf: Baldwin, 1990). Empirical sociological studies have attempted to test whether state policies and other socio-historical movements have engendered or limited social solidarity. For example, there are debates as to whether high levels of immigration (Bay and Pedersen, 2006; cf: Mau and Burkhardt, 2009; van Oorschot, 2008), multicultural agendas (cf: Wright and Bloemraad, 2012), neoliberal policies (Brodie, 2002) or practices of racialization (Hooker, 2009) threaten social solidarity. A related sociological literature discusses the changing nature of social solidarity. Here, the communitarian roots of traditional solidarity changed over time to reflect a liberal social solidarity based in self-interest rather than group cohesion (Meulen, 2016) in which social solidarity has transformed from one of reciprocation to one of institutional solidarity where obligations to each other are met through the assumption of a social safety net (Vasta, 2010).

¹⁴⁶ Schoenfeld and Meštrović (1989) summarised the notion of Solidarity in Durkheim's *The Division of Labour in Society* by locating the movement from Mechanical Solidarity as a culture of charity and Organic Solidarity that describes a 'social harmony [that] comes essentially from the division of labour' that is based in individualism, the state and notions of justice.

Social solidarity in these literatures is understood as the quality of bonds amongst members of a pre-existing identity group that can be the cause of historical movements or the effect of interventions, most commonly by the state. This notion of solidarity has influenced some political mobilisations of solidarity, such as those that advocate for unity among members of a social group. Much of this literature mobilizes communitarian notions of solidarity to foreground the sense of togetherness and mutual obligations and duties that are assumed to be necessary for groups to be able to work together (Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005). It focuses on explaining the basis and cause of solidarity in social movements (Barreto et al., 2009; Pulido, 2007). This is echoed in traditional Marxist praxis (Rose, 1952) which places antagonism and opposition, rather than cohesion and social solidarity at the heart of its understanding society. Yet solidarity, for Marxist praxis is needed to overcome the disunity and fragmentation in the working class, which is a result of competition between workers. The refrain of 'Workers of the World Unite', for example, captures the desire to promote international working-class solidarity as a central organising tool.

However, the promotion of solidarity as group cohesion encounters conflictual and ambivalent political goods. On one hand, it carries connotations of unity and universality. It can be a crucial component that expands a group's capacity to achieve ends by overcoming the divisions that hinder cooperation. It highlights the power of affect and emotion in the ordering and operation of societies and the power of social movements to mobilise participants (Toal, 2010). On the other, social solidarity is most clearly present when in contrast or opposition to the identity of another social group. This feature underscores its association with nationalism, xeno-racism and other kinds of communitarian politics. Furthermore, solidarity can be used as an excuse for silencing dissent and for presenting a masculinised vision of political strength – echoed in its Latin origins in *Solidare* - 'to make firm, to combine parts to form a strong whole' (Komter, 2005). Finally, a problem for some mobilisations of solidarity is that it assumes a foundational or ontological distinction between friends and strangers.

A more useful approach that brings us closer to understanding solidarity in anti-detention protest is to view solidarity as a practice of making connections, or articulations, across difference that result in the formation of a collective. As Featherstone writes

“Solidarity has often been understood as being about likeness. This approach obscures the importance of solidarities in constructing relations between places, activists, diverse social groups. This can involve the cementation of existing identities and power relations. It can, however, as frequently be about the active creation of new ways of relating. It is through being attentive to such relations that the dynamism and inventiveness of solidarities can emerge.” (Featherstone, 2012)

In this understanding, solidarity is a practice that speaks as much to the form and formation of political projects as to their content. More specifically, it is found in the practices of constructing relations across difference. These practices are considered by Featherstone as dynamic spaces of contestation that are, or can be, inventive and creative. Solidarity here is seen as the production of new identities and relationships that can enable social-movements to organise and sustain themselves¹⁴⁷.

One method of forming solidarity is to identify or construct an element of sameness that binds together a group in more contingent and chosen identifications than in the case of group identity and membership. Scholtz, for example, argues that solidarity is ‘a unity of individuals each responding to a particular situation of injustice’ (Scholz, 2010: 51). This view avoids the fixed groupings of communitarian politics but grounds it in a ‘common cause to end injustice or oppression’ (Scholz, 2015: 732). Solidarity of social movements then stems from the identification of a common problem or enemy, and the participation in a common practice to resist and obstruct that problem. Another variant is for solidarity to be grounded in the agreement of a particular political goal. As Allen writes, if solidarity is grounded in essentialist and repressive understandings of group identity, then solidarity is itself essentialist and repressive (Allen, 1999: 101). Allen draws on Arendt to argue that solidarity can be reclaimed as individuals acting in concert premised upon a built coalition that is not presumed in advance, but agreed upon on the basis of a shared commitment and ‘mutual promise’ (Allen, 1999). For solidarity to operate in this view, a shared sense of the goal of a grouping has to emerge. While approaching points of agreement is important to solidarity, there is a tendency to see solidarity as the achievement of establishing a common goal

¹⁴⁷ The ability of social movements to foster ‘collective identity’ is seen in modern social movement literature as a necessity for sustainable activism (Gawerc, 2017; Melucci, 1989; Porta and Diani, 2009).

rather than the process of negotiating it. If the latter is obscured, it can appear as if solidarity acts only when the goals of a solidaristic collective have been agreed and that disagreement is a threat to solidarity (Nail, 2012).

A more nuanced, and generative perspective on solidarity is provided by Jodi Dean (1996, 1998) who draws on feminist critics of essentialist identity politics to articulate solidarity as a practice of forming situated alliances. Dean depicts a solidarity that enables acceptance and respect for the specificity of location (Phelan, 1994) of multiple participants and that enables participants to speak from situated knowledges (Haraway, 1988) in ways that highlight points of connection and foster situated accountabilities. Solidarity is an epistemic relation; a practice of opening, sharing and listening that aids in the deliberate and chosen forging of affinity with others.

Dean's analysis is helpful in that it illuminates the importance of the 'communicative context' and practice within which solidarities can be negotiated. Dean highlights the dialogic, conversational nature of relations of solidarity that frame and enable solidarity to emerge. Consequently, solidarity is not only epistemological, in the sense of being based on ways of understanding or knowing, but 'ontological', in the sense that it exists within power-laden practices and spaces. In doing so, it highlights the ways that practices of communication shape and hinder the building of trust, and willingness to share vulnerabilities amongst participants. For example, conversations that are rushed, where common ground is too quickly assumed, where there is no time to question the dominant assumptions or when communication is likely to be overheard by surveillance are less likely to give rise to solidaristic relationships. In this regard, Dean argues that establishing solidarity is not a matter of establishing rules of discourse or particular kinds of speech acts that enable or prevent solidarity, but more a matter of thinking about the 'attitudes and perspectives underlying the communicative actions necessary for coalition' (Dean, 1998).

While Dean's solidarity is not grounded in a static, natural or even agreed upon base, it is still oriented towards finding something shared. It is about creating the conditions in which communication is possible. Dean develops two tools that might aid in fostering attitudes and perspectives that could enable sharing. The first is an approach to communication that seeks to move beyond 'I' and 'you' statements. It encourages the use of the inclusive 'we' as the carrier of propositions that facilitate 'a collective negotiation of who "we" are'. This

“we” is not, Dean claims, necessarily an act of speaking for another but is intended to provoke reflection on possible points of connection on which one might begin to base affinity. The second tool is the position of a ‘hypothetical third’ – a situated, construction position outside of the ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘we’ positions that attempts to develop an awareness of what is omitted from the perspectives that seek to remain in the first or inclusive second person.¹⁴⁸

Dean’s intervention has led to two interrelated areas of development in solidarity thinking that have broadened the ways solidarity has been understood and brought it into new situated, social movement domains. The first concentrates on the kinds of epistemic interaction that constitutes solidarity. Whereas Dean’s project respects the specificity of individual subjectivity and works towards the horizon of something shared and common, other conceptualisations have attempted to understand solidarity as something that attempts to hold up difference. Lamble, for example, offers a characterisation of solidarity as an epistemic relation through which resonant and dissonant knowledges are encountered and attended to. This acoustic metaphor is intended to draw attention to way that solidarity is not always an attempt to overcome different points of view but that in being able to listen to the dissonance between views it might enable transformative movements or resolutions. Solidarity involves attending to the tensions between distinctive experiences and knowledge so they can be recognised and drawn on for strength. However, rather than ontologising difference, differences operates as a resource or stimulus for possible moments of transformation and learning and to challenge the power-relations amongst activists (Lamble, 2011).

¹⁴⁸ The sense that the solidaristic ‘we’ is something that is to be achieved, premised upon a shared commitment that must be continually questioned and interrogated coheres with Levitas’ notion of solidarity. She writes that ‘We have to learn to say ‘we’ now in real solidarity, in celebration of difference, and in constant readiness to recognise the ways in which domination may be disguised – and above all, as an assertion of collective agency committed to change’ (Levitas, 1995: 103). Solidarity here appears as a process of making common struggles through alliance-building across difference. See also Mercers’ claim that ‘Solidarity does not mean that everyone thinks the same way, it begins when people have the confidence to disagree over issues because they ‘care’ about constructing a common ground’ (Mercer, 2013)

The second area of development concerns the kinds of communicative practice through which solidaristic alliances are made possible. This focus is less concerned with finding causes, or bases for solidarity amongst groups, and is not about coming to a normative conclusion about what the content of solidarity should entail. Instead, this literature attempts to understand how social movements implement and practice solidarity as it arises through participation in collective action. It asks: what is necessary to enable and sustain this kind of practice?

Identifying the difference between passive and active solidarity is a useful step here. The practice of 'active solidarity' is understood as a 'process of deliberation, negotiation and engagement between different social groups that collectively determine a movement's goals and mechanisms of political influence' (Einwohner et al., 2016: 4). It is about opening avenues of participation in the 'self-governance' of social movements. This stands in contrast to more 'passive' forms, that can provide aid without attempting to develop organisational structures that bring people into leadership positions. While active solidarity does not preclude speaking on behalf of others, it invites activists to do the difficult work of deliberation, listening and enabling those who are prevented from speaking on their own, to speak. Passive solidarity, on the other hand, is a form of charitable action that attempts to represent and aid those in need but is not concerned about the organisational dynamics. Active solidarity is a processual notion highlighting the work of forming and reforming movements to enable, as Featherstone describes, a 'solidarity without guarantees' – that is, a solidarity conceived as an 'open relation that can be articulated and configured in different, potentially conflictual ways'. It draws attention to the ways solidarities are always 'in process and unfinished', something that must be continually renewed.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ The shift from passive to active solidarity can also be seen in the transnational solidarity literature. In rejecting a conception of solidarity as a unidirectional flow of solidarity from privileged to oppressed, Brown and Yaffe find 'complex, entangled and reciprocal flows of solidarity that serve to enact social change in more than one place simultaneously' (Brown and Yaffe, 2014: 34) in a long term protest camp against South African apartheid. It works to identify and address power imbalances but also recognises the ways that solidarity cannot be understood as a uni-directional 'flow' from privileged to oppressed actors but is about fostering and recognising mutuality. In their example, they emphasise the support criminalised activists in London gained from their networks and collaborators within South Africa.

Solidaristic practices require cultivating a sensitivity to the ways power structures social interactions. Power and privilege inhere in mundane interactions by determining who and what is taking up space and time, how activists' labour is distributed and who is able to speak on behalf of the collective and who is able only to speak for themselves. It involves developing a recognition of how multiple forms of oppression and privilege work to shape a space, and developing active responses to work against them. Solidarity is also situated and 'relational' in the sense that individuals sustain 'a particular identity *in the intersubjective context of mutual recognition*' (Meulen, 2016: 526). Identities and roles come about through the combination of structural differences and participation in a group activity.

Rather than solidarity being about promoting the interests of those who cannot speak (as in Halpin (2006)), solidarity politics is concerned with developing practices in which people silenced by systems of oppression are enabled to speak for themselves. While solidarity might sometimes require activists to represent those without voice, there is a recognition that political representation tends to form reified collectives that unifies and glosses over difference and enables those at a distance from oppression to speak for it. Solidarity introduces the imperative to 'follow the lead' of organised groups of those who experience injustice rather than to frame a political issue without consideration of the experiences of those subject to it (Kolers, 2014).

To summarise, this account of the solidarity literature has identified divergent currents and assumptions underpinning understandings and applications of solidarity. It has shown that notions of political solidarity have undergone two transitions. Firstly, solidarity has shifted from a quality of pre-existing groups to a practice through which groups are formed. Secondly, solidarity has changed from being based in identity or sameness, to a practice of recognising difference and enabling transformation and movement. Solidarity, therefore, involves practices that allow for shifts in how agency and knowledge is distributed throughout a solidarity collective, for example, enabling those who are recipients of aid to become instrumental in how the movement is organised. Through these transitions, solidarity must confront both epistemological and material obstacles. The epistemological obstacles involve challenging unhelpful, universalising assumptions that prevent differences from being acknowledged and act to silence minorities within a group. The material challenge involves creating spaces and collectives with the disposition to do this work.

Post-Representational Solidarity in Anti-Detention Protest

In this section, I give an account of the forms of solidarity developed through anti-detention protest. Building upon the above review, I argue that anti-detention solidarity can be thought of as the forming of, and participation in, a 'community of practice' that involves people who are directly affected by conditions of injustice and their allies and in which the epistemological and material challenges to cooperation are actively raised and addressed.

I draw on the idea of 'community of practice' to emphasise the ways solidarity involves the formation of community based upon shared practice through which tacit skills that are important in constituting solidarity are developed and refined. As Wenger writes, 'communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn to do it better as they interact regularly' (Wenger, 2011). While the development of this concept is drawn from studies of learning in professional settings, it has been drawn on in studies with a much wider scope. Communities of practice are an ubiquitous aspect of social life (Wenger, 1998) and can exist without participants viewing it as such (Hemphill and Leskowitz, 2013). The primary contribution of the community of practice literature is to displace the assumption that knowledge is the possession of individuals in favour of a view in which knowledge and learning are tied to participating in activity alongside specific communities. The notion of communities of learning has been investigated in the social movement literature (Church et al., 2008) to identify activist practices as spaces of spontaneous, informal learning about structures of violence and repression (see also: Choudry, 2015).

Thinking of solidarity in this way is not necessarily post-representational; speaking on behalf of others may be an important aspect of community formation and alliance building. However, solidarity, in this formulation, can already be seen to be closely related to post-representational politics in certain respects. Practices of cooperation and openness to cooperation that attempt to acknowledge, respect and learn from different experiences and tackle unequal distribution of agency are central to these forms of solidarity. As such, instilling an orientation to solidarity operates as a countervailing pressure against representation to hold power and agency closer to the ground. As such, modern solidarity is a distinctly post-representational normative organising principle for social movements. This section depicts the post-representational solidarities working through the detention

protests. It does so by illuminating how the protests serve to open up a space to make connections and collaboration with those in detention, to allow for movement contestation over the forms of solidarity, to develop, share and challenge forms of knowledge and know-how that enable collaboration, and to locate the material space of the detention centre as a space of intervention by activists.

Practices of making connection, giving platform and collaboration

The primary objective of detention centre protests, whether announced or not, at Harmondsworth or the larger protests at Yarl's Wood, is to create a space for those in and out of detention to communicate. This task is attempting to address the fact that detention separates detainees from the organisations working against detention. In the description of anti-detention protests, above, we have already seen the protests emphasised giving platforms to those in detention to define the problem of detention and to centre the experiences of those in detention. Yet the protests were there to set up a dialogue where communication from outside activists to those in detention was just as important. As Ali suggests,

The Yarl's Wood protests are important partly because people in Yarl's Wood have asked for them repeatedly. They are important because I don't think we [the movement in general] understand how little of what we [anti-detention activists] do outside impacts people inside in any way – that they can see, that's tangible. They don't understand what we do. And speaking to people in detention – there's a massive alienation, a feeling of being abandoned, of being locked away and no one talks about it, no one knows about it. And I don't think we've developed communication skills yet to properly get that across to people. Part of that is on us and part of that is that it is sabotaged by the companies that run the centres and the home office and by language barriers and the turnover of people in detention.

(Ali – Interview)

Ali underlines the invisibility of much of the movement against detention from the perspective of those inside. Not only are the protests there to respond to calls for protests from detainees, they exist to give account of the anti-detention movement. Ali understands

the protest as a means of developing *skills of communication* so that those inside can see, understand, contribute and speak back to the movement working to support them. It is a physical act of bringing people closer together in order to counteract the *alienation* that is actively promoted by the detention system. Cam picks up on this point:

Detention tries to stop modern forms of communication - not allowing social media and skype and ways that protest happens now, on twitter for example. The protests have to revert back to writing down a phone number and holding it up on a banner. (Cam – Interview)

Modern technology allows people to communicate at a distance, overcoming geographical distance, as well as confinement, through the internet (see also Chapter 6). As these technologies are unavailable to those in detention, the activists, through the protests use presence, noise and visual imagery to make those connections. The one means of communication open to those in detention is the phone¹⁵⁰. This technology, along with the structure of immigration law, means that much of detention activism focuses on individual cases and claims. As Cam explains, drawing on her experience working in a detention NGO:

When doing case work, you're working one on one with a client and each client has their own case and you don't really see people as connected. And while you do get some glimpses of that, say when people translate for each other, I very much see people in detention as individuals. And that's interesting because so much of the support people get in detention is from each other and not from outside agencies or guards or anything. I think at the protests, you can see people collected together, talking on the phone and passing it around and then when you hear about hunger strikes in Yarl's Wood or a petition of hundreds of people in Harmondsworth, you can see actually there is, at the lowest level, friendships, and at the highest level, movement building in detention centres. And that's really under-acknowledged. (Cam – Interview)

¹⁵⁰ Email is also available through computers that are monitored by a detention custody officer. The phones are not allowed cameras or access to the internet.

Individualistic interventions are important: they support people to stop their deportation and get out of detention. But it is a form of practical solidarity, or what Cam calls 'firefighting', that does little to challenge detention at a systemic level or to alter the unequal power-dynamics of client-caseworker relationship. Cam also points to how practices of individualistic intervention produce a limited imaginary of what is going on in detention, drawing attention away from the support networks that already exist in detention and towards a representative model of working where the case worker acts to help the passive person in detention. It can also be understood as a form of passive solidarity in the sense, described above, that furthers the interests of the oppressed without developing ways that they can be involved in organising.

Yet, as Millner (2011) writes, solidarity is dependent upon a consideration of the other as a political agent. This view strongly resonates with the aims of the Surround Harmondsworth protests which explicitly try to respond to and support resistance inside detention. As Ali, here argues:

Those demonstrations are so important because it is the only visible presence both to the people in detention that people are doing stuff outside and to people outside that they aren't agentless or unaware or unable to act for themselves. They are in a space where they are actively prevented from acting but they still are doing stuff – that they are people – to see a face waving a sign that they've made out of their bedclothes or a sheet or a bit of cardboard when they are on lockdown fighting with security – it's fucking powerful. And it's really important that people see that struggle – you're so separated from it most of the time. (Ali – Interview)

For this reason, protests are a chance to form communities of solidarity that include those in detention rather than speak to them on an individual basis. As we have seen from the accounts above, those in detention would come to the windows, gather in rooms next to the windows to see and participate in the protest by waving or holding up banners through windows or, where windows were opened waving clothes as flags, tearing up toilet roll and

throwing it out¹⁵¹. After making contact with the protest phone, they would make speeches amplified by megaphone to those on the outside and be able to listen to the speeches by the protests outside. The contacts made at the protest feed into other forms of activism, some of which are described in later chapters. But importantly, this presence enables collective engagement rather than the individual connections allowed by visiting or telephone communications. These collective displays of solidarity are, perhaps, the main reason that detention protests have become seen as important, as is captured by the following image.



152

¹⁵¹ Field Note 3/12/2016

¹⁵² This cartoon is taken from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/shinealight/lucie-kinchin/on-movement-to-shut-down-yarl-s-wood> [accessed 4/6/2018]

This cartoon of a Yarl's Wood demonstration, invokes a sense of solidarity, described in literature above, as a "unity that responds to injustice" (Scholz, 2010) between those inside and outside. This commonality is seen in coordinated chants and calls for freedom across the fences and in the shared experiences that many protesters who speak on the microphone outside have with those on the inside. This kind of solidarity as a display of unity and sameness is a strong presence that was sometimes an orchestrated aspect of the protests. As the photograph of the 'Surround Harmondsworth' demonstration above captures, the organisers wanted to portray an image of solidarity as unity through the use of printed banners to ensure there were consistent messages that reflected the messaging of the organising group.

The solidarity literature outlined in the above section displayed the importance of finding a conceptualisation of solidarity which does not only involve a grounding in sameness but allows for contestation over who and what speaks for the collective. This has a specific resonance in detention protests, as Cam begins to explain:

Sometimes I felt uncomfortable at the time with some of the organising techniques and it felt like they [organisers of early detention protests] were trying to control what happened. They would hog the mic and centre those who didn't have direct experience. And they did seem to be a hierarchical organisation; there were leaders, they favoured people who held the party line and it felt quite old school communist. And then you kind of make allowances for it because there weren't other grassroots groups particularly interested in this and they were incredible at organising these demonstrations. (Cam – Interview)

Here, Cam identifies the tendencies of some participants within the protests to fix collective meanings to the protest. The expectation that there can easily be a unified position in these protests, even while there is a common interest in opposing the detention system, is complicated by two issues.

The first concerns the assumption that either the radical or more reformist messages speak for everyone in detention. Early demonstrations were centred upon the logic of asylum and criminality within detention, playing upon the innocence, vulnerability and victimhood of

those in detention. These depictions are frequently present within speeches at demonstrations, with slogans such as 'Claiming asylum is not a crime', 'Refugees are welcome here' and 'Set her free'¹⁵³. Each of these fails to account for the many people in detention who are there, for example, as a result of criminalisation and do not have claims based on what are normally recognised as refugee claims. They can also legitimise the incarceration of people in the prison estate. The more radical and abolitionist messaging that replaced it still fails to include much of the discourse from campaigners within detention. Since, as we saw in the prologue, even within protests against detention there are a variety of political approaches presented not all of which cohere with the abolitionist and critical politics of protesters.

Secondly, while activists outside of detention have all chosen to attend the demonstration, many in detention will only know about the protest when they see it arrive. In addition, not everyone in detention welcomes the protest and understands and supports the aims of the protest and the form it takes.¹⁵⁴ Those who call the phone at the demonstration frequently respond with indifference, confusion and questions about the aims and motives of the demonstrators.¹⁵⁵ Because of these interactions, the avenues of communication developed at the protests are required to be finer-grained and more tactful than the slogans and chants of the group can allow for.

In response to these issues, the detention protests have developed two modes of solidarity. The first concerns efforts to establish a forum for contested political perspectives to air themselves. This contestation is not necessarily overt, though on occasion there are opposing chants and even alternative megaphones (and therefore alternative fora) at the demonstrations.¹⁵⁶ It is done through allowing a wider array of perspectives on detention to take platform. As Sean noted, these elements changed the rhetorical framing that dominated the protests in the early years.

¹⁵³ Field Notes 6/11/2014

¹⁵⁴ "I'm very aware that my understanding of people getting together and holding up banners and making noise is a history of euro and British centric political thought. You'd still call these solidarity demonstrations protests even though it's really unclear what it's protesting or saying anything in that the fact that they shouldn't exist is just sort of a given." (Sean, Interview)

¹⁵⁵ Field Note 12/3/2015

¹⁵⁶ Field Note 20/3/2018

Some kinds of chants dropped off. The ones about criminality – that imply that it's acceptable to imprison criminals but not acceptable to imprison other people – have dropped off. And that's a really formative process for people that hear, that people form a chant that tries to produce solidarity between people who are excluded [by the predominant framing] and that's a learning process. (Sean – interview)

As well as attempting to allow for different voices and perspectives to participate, the protests also try to take into account people who are unsure or wary of joining in. Here, again, the view of solidarity as a practice involving differently positioned people is more helpful than a perspective that views solidarity as based in a static grounding or agreement. Instead, the protests produce a conceptualisation of solidarity as a practice-based community with blurred edges, with multiple ways of being involved and that provides space for different voices with an expectation and acceptance that different framings and voices will co-habit the same space.

The second formation of solidarity on display at the protest is seen in the way the protest facilitates making space for connections of affinity. Affinity politics is described in more detail in chapter seven. Here it is enough to see that affinity is a kind of solidarity between individuals developed through a basis of individual autonomy – it describes a connectivity that is much more intimate than available through collective solidarities amongst larger groups of people (King, 2016). Affinity relies on a much more personal trust that cannot be sustained simply by attending a demonstration. One of the main ways that the protests do this is by facilitating individuals to make connections through telephone contact with those resisting across the detention walls.

The overriding point of it is just to have conversations with people that are confined to an area. I think there are various ways to bridge that – phone calls, emails, visiting – but another way is to just go and have a conversation with people inside. Protests are important ways of talking and meeting people inside – to make connections between people and produce a sense that you're supported by each other. It creates a space for conversation. (Sean – Interview).

Affinity relationships are not individualistic in the atomising sense of passive forms of detention solidarity, such as detention casework, although they do draw attention to the smaller relationships that hold communities together and are concerned about individual autonomy. The difference is that the terms of the relationship are still up for negotiation and are negotiated within the context of a collective action rather than an offer of service. Creating opportunities for affinity politics is, thus, an important aspect of solidarity allowing those who are not immediately supportive of the protest to become involved over time. It also lays the ground work for more coordinated action that Ali described as the overriding objective of the protest.

To summarise, this section has explained how the protests function to create a forum for the development of a community of practice. The protests attempt to add to the individualistic forms of solidarity possible by telephone support and case work by forming spaces of collective action. Though there are elements of the protest that function to promote an image of unity, there are other important elements of the protest that work to contest dominant framings and create spaces to include those who do not know about or do not want to participate in the protest itself or associate with its abolitionist messaging. An important aspect of this is working to promote affinity relationships across the prison walls. The next section develops the idea of a community of practice by identifying the forms of tacit knowledge developed through solidarity.

Practice and Tacit knowledge

A community of practice approach to solidarity highlights the importance of the development of expertise and knowledge through participation and experience in practice. It allows us to view solidarity activism as a space of knowledge creation, in which participants generate, test and share knowledge. The protests create spaces in which individuals and collectives learn to be a part of the anti-detention movement. Ali remarks on the ways the protests are not an end in themselves but a stimulus for learning and developing new forms of activity.

The impact on detention is very small but it could have big impacts in the long run. Part of it is showing people on the outside what horizontal organisation looks like and trying to include the voices and actions of

people in detention. People learn a huge amount at the protest. And as they become engaged, it spurs new kinds of action. (Ali – Interview)

Establishing connections across detention centre walls allows for the sharing of knowledge resources such as the means of obtaining lawyers, organisations that can help with particular issues, and way of resisting deportation for those in detention. And in the other direction, news from within detention can be used to bring more critical focus to the system. The protests, therefore, support what some migration scholars (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013: 186) have called the Mobile Commons; an independent network of knowledge of how to navigate and resist the border regime.

But the routinised, repeated forms of protest that underpin post-representational solidarity protest bring into view other forms of knowledge that are just as important. Tacit knowledge that involves how collectives organise themselves in a protest is one feature of routinized protest. As protests become practice, groups and individuals within groups become better at them. As Cam explains:

You find out, okay, we can break down this fence and go in to the next space where you can see more people. And you get to know you can get away with banging on the walls or graffiti them or letting off smoke bombs. Each time pushing limits and learning together what you can get away with and what's effective. For people who don't know about detention, they're great places to learn about it and see what it is. (Cam – Interview)

Cam here, points to developing an understanding of the strategic issues of how to be able to organise, to hold space in useful positions in the face of police and security staff aggression. For example, in the more confrontational unannounced protests at Harmondsworth, activists became aware of the cracks in allegiance between security staff and police which made staff reluctant to call the police.¹⁵⁷ Through the repeated protests, activists could sense when to move on to avoid unnecessary arrest and when space could be occupied to best be able to contact people in the centre. The need to organise collectively and make

¹⁵⁷ Field Note 6/11/2014

decisions in real time also meant developing strategies of making decisions collectively in protest setting.¹⁵⁸

These elements of tacit knowledge are not merely a means of establishing solidarity but work to constitute the norms of solidarity itself. Important aspects of protest solidarity are carried in tacit skills that are to do with making connections and giving space to those in detention. For example, noticing when to make noise to get attention and when to listen to those inside and, also, how to connect with people over the phone and openness to meet people on their own terms.

The protests tend to be quite slogany and shouty. It's important to be at a distance, walking away. It's partly to get heard – but also you don't want to be shouting at someone down the phone. It's good to be able to be reflexive when having conversations with people. You learn not to make assumptions – even in explaining who you are and why you are there, there are lot of assumptions you make about shared knowledge. You make less assumptions each time you make a phone call and maybe explain a little bit more. (Sean, Interview)

Finally, in the interactions with people in detention, the achievement of a certain emotional involvement with others is constitutive of solidarity as practice. This is a distinct emotion from the 'emotion of solidarity' that Summers-Effler (2007) argues is necessary to sustain social movement activity, a claim that is consistent with the above remarks regarding the interconnection between social and political solidarity. In interactions with those detained, protestors on the phone attempt to maintain both a sense of the particularity of the experiences of each person they talk to, a sense of the injustice of the situation for each person, an unwillingness to allow a person's story or legal case to determine how one interacts with the person and, more generally, an unwillingness to allow for the categories of immigration law and practice to change the way one interacts with people inside¹⁵⁹. In

¹⁵⁸ Field note 13/08/2016

¹⁵⁹ Field Note 12/3/2015: "After the protest we had over 30 numbers logged on the protest phone. We shared the numbers and over the following days called each one back to explain what the protest was and to offer support, usually in the form of referrals to visiting groups. Sandy said she found the process pretty exhausting as it involves listening to each person's story and explaining about her own involvement in detention and forming a sense of connection and understanding. Once the phone call had ended, you had to start again."

other words, it requires those involved to remain sensitised to the situation, allowing for the prison to be experienced as something unusual and strange, even while the individuals work with people in this context frequently. This connects the study of solidarity as practice to social movement studies literature on the role of emotion in social movement studies, which often understands emotion merely in terms of causes or effects of social movement activity.¹⁶⁰ Here, emotional labour is constitutive of the practice solidarity, an issue that I return to in the next chapter.

Building movement politics and enabling participatory learning relies upon an ongoing community and a routinised pattern of behaviour that persists over time.¹⁶¹ Solidarity in anti-detention protest is the practice of routinised and sustained openness, requiring participants to make repeated emotional connections while remaining open to allowing people to stand on their own terms, meeting people as they are. The achievement of an emotional stance towards others requires activists to remain sensitised to the individuality and injustice of each person's situation. At the same time, a practice approach emphasises the repetitiveness and routineness of activist organising that stands in tension with the emotional stance of openness required to sustain the activity of affinity politics, a theme which is later chapters pick up.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that anti-detention protests are a site within which a politics of solidarity takes shape. While enacting some dimensions of representative politics, this solidarity is post-representational in a number of ways. Firstly, it attempts to bypass processes of representation and means of connection with people inside detention that are authorised by the Home Office, such as visiting and legal assistance. Second, it works to

¹⁶⁰ Eyerman (2007) draws on performance theory to emphasise the intentional generation of affect in different audiences: opposition, public and within the social movement itself. Summers-Effeler (2007) studies the emotions within a social movement and between it and the members of the community that it aimed to help. She argues that an 'emotion of solidarity' within is necessary for sustaining social movements through time and that this can be aided by ritual and laughter. Debra King examines the emotional consequences for those involved in oppositional social movements, in particular emotional dissonance, and the use of co-counselling as a means of sustaining activity. Similarly, Brown and Pickerill (2009) explore the 'emotional stances' required to sustain activism in the long term.

¹⁶¹ Solidarity as a community of practice offers a counterpoint to Millner's (2011) solidarity as a surpassing event spurring a Rancierian 'recount' on the basis of an assumption of equality.

centre the voices and experiences of those within detention and to create platforms for people in detention to influence the rhetoric and organisation of future protests. Finally, protests are not just places of messaging and communication, but are grounded in the practice of movement building and of forming collectives and communities of resistance based on the shared occupation of space.

The chapter argued that solidarity is at the heart of post-representational politics and furthered an understanding of post-representational solidarity. It traced the ways that solidarity has evolved from its communitarian origins and its commitment to unity and group harmony, discipline and strength to a processual activity aimed at facilitating the inclusion of those in detention. Solidarity has been a tool to unify a group and enable representations of a group. Solidarity has been an important aspect of representational politics enabling connections across identity as a means of nurturing new identities and facilitating coalitions. The post-representational elements of solidarity names the participation in a community of solidaristic practice. That is, solidarity is constituted by the development of experiential and tacit knowledges that aid in forming webs of collective and affinity relationships, working to overcome material challenges that obstruct communities and exposing the ways that the collective does not speak for all. Solidarity, then, is at once a practice of collective formation and individuation. It is both a conversation about the political and ethical norms that direct the movement and a practice of remaining open and responsive to new conditions and participants.

This conception of solidarity captures not only the multiple layers of activity going on within the anti-detention protests, it also captures something of the fragility of post-representational political practice. Solidarity here depends upon taking up strategic space that requires a lot of resources to occupy for any significant length of time, that is heavily policed and that activists can be forcefully ejected from. It depends on participants with different conceptions of solidarity managing to construct ties of accountability that can hold them together. It also points to the problems of routinisation as a potential problem for sustaining responsiveness and openness.

The chapter also illuminates the ways post-representational politics generates and sustains different imaginaries of the detention system as something that can be impacted upon itself rather than only impacted indirectly through pressure on state representatives. It shows

how post-representational politics attempts to change the conditions in the detention centre directly, not only by lifting morale and challenging it but also bringing together collectives within detention and sustaining a presence outside the centre so 'the guards know that they are accountable and that there are people watching and aware of what is going on' (Cam – Interview). It also generates ways of addressing those in detention as potential allies in a movement to end detention, rather than as people only in need of support.

Solidarity, when conceived of as a practice, is ongoing and unfinished. The protests, therefore, only make sense as part of a web of other solidarity practices that they enable. The next two chapters explore two different practices that are enabled through connections made at the protests. These practices draw in different ways upon the notion of solidarity as a community of practice.

Chapter 5: The Hospitality Politics of Immigration Detention Visiting

The previous chapter explored post-representationality in the context of collective protests outside the barbed wire fences of Immigration Removal Centres. I argued that while the protests took on some of the symbolic practices of street protest, such as making demands, chanting and holding up placards, the practice of post-representational solidarity was oriented towards, among other things, developing connections and conversations between those inside detention and those outside. This chapter attempts to think alongside those involved in the activist practice of detention visiting, another activity in which anti-detention activists travel to the site of detention. It builds on the previous chapter by examining in further detail the individual relationships that underpin the post-representational politics of anti-detention activism. It does so by reconstructing the practice-based thinking about the role of activist visitors and refracting activist visiting through debates on the practice of critical hospitality politics.

This chapter focuses on the post-representational thinking about the roles that individuals take in assisting those in detention. Whereas representational politics consigns specific roles to activists and workers, such as case-worker, lawyer or campaigner, the post-representational position of a visitor is more ambiguous and less focused on achieving instrumental goals. Visiting primarily focuses on the maintenance of mutually supportive relationships with those in detention, rather than on becoming a representative of people in detention and calling on others to make change. As such, detention visiting is a site of continual thinking about the role of those with relative privilege intervening in spaces of acute state repression. While we might see the anti-detention protests as a post-representational play upon the street protest, detention visiting is an attempt to occupy care and advocacy roles in more horizontal ways. This chapter asks what roles are developed by activists involved in anti-detention visiting and how are these roles negotiated and formed? It investigates the ways detention visiting is productive of conceptual frames that are used to navigate the practice of activist edgework, a practice which attempts to work against the severe imbalance of power between activists and detainees. Moreover, by bringing attention to the site of visiting and the effects of visiting as a practice, the chapter also attempts to illuminate how post-representational practices give rise to different ways of thinking about the detention system itself.

The chapter addresses these questions through a discussion about the extent to which hospitality studies is useful in understanding the work of detention visiting. Hospitality studies is the interdisciplinary field examining the ethics and cultural practices of host-guest relations. I focus specifically on the work of Derrida and his interpreters. This literature is helpful because it connects relational understandings of subject and subjectivity (in the host and guest relationship) with geographical imaginaries of belonging and power. While its definition is contested in the wide range of hospitality scholarship (for an overview, see: Lynch et al., 2011), the concept of hospitality identifies an array of culturally, politically and economically shaped practices that both construct and encounter the new and the different.

The hospitality literature has been of interest to anti-border politics in two connected ways. The first relates primarily to the language, presentation and demands of pro-migration campaigning that frequently deploy discourses of hospitality in bids to press for increased refugee resettlement programmes and additional support for refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. For example, the 'City of Sanctuary' movement (see: Darling, 2010), in its effort to foster a positive local response to issues cast as global, sought both to change local attitudes towards asylum seekers by challenging misconceptions and create welcoming support and social networks for asylum seekers. Similarly, the 'Refugees Welcome' movement¹⁶² has popularised humanitarian responses to the so-called migrant crisis by drawing on a mythology of British hospitality (Gibson, 2006), mobilising sentiments of welcome for those particularly in need, pushing for the UK government and people to transform from inhospitable to hospitable hosts. In contesting governmental policies and discourses that explicitly attempt to foster a 'hostile environment'¹⁶³ for people with insecure immigration status, keeping migrants in the positions of 'eternal guests' on 'eternal probation' (Kanstroom, 2007: 6), they engage with a line of cosmopolitan political thought about the state's legal and moral obligations toward immigrants (Baker, 2010; Brown, 2010; Friese, 2010).

¹⁶² <http://www.refugees-welcome.org.uk/> [accessed 17 September 2016]

¹⁶³ <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/oct/10/immigration-bill-theresa-may-hostile-environment> [accessed 17 September 2016]

The second way issues of hospitality have connected with anti-border politics concerns the embodied social practices that pro-migration groups carry out to support migrants and refugees. Activists and volunteers working alongside people subject to border control confront a constitutive tension within their work. While their activities are motivated by the pursuit of equality, the practice of anti-border work often sustains these very demarcations of difference (Friese, 2010) and unequal distributions of agency, expertise and social capital that anti-border projects seek to challenge (Fadaee, 2015; Millner, 2011). Work on prefigurative politics has highlighted and critiqued the ways activist groups address unequal power dynamics through reimagining processes of democratic organising that attempt to address power dynamics internal to the organising group (e.g. Maeckelbergh, 2011b). However, interaction with people outside an organising group who are subject to surveillance and control by border enforcement agencies is difficult to practice in a manner that conforms to the ideals of the group. Critical interpretations of humanitarian and activist practices have deployed the concept of hospitality to investigate the conflicted and ambivalent nature of this work (Darling, 2009, 2010; Millner, 2011; Rozakou, 2012).

The political imaginaries deployed in both campaigning and practices of support have the effect of placing the citizen-activist in the place of host and the migrant in the role of guest. In doing so, these discourses naturalise dominant representations of who has ties to a place and who does not. The casting of migrant as the guest of the 'host'-nation is, as Rosello suggests, a 'metaphor that forgot it was a metaphor' (3); it naturalises the citizen's status of belonging and dominance in a space while emphasising the supposed mobility and illegitimacy of the migrant other. The uncritical deployment of a politics of hospitality risks participating in problematic demarcations of belonging and mobility (Rosello, 2001). It reinforces the power of the host to effect social control over the guest and glosses over the connections between hospitality to one group of deserving guests and hostility dealt out to the undeserving or illegal guests (Fassin, 2012: 136). It can unduly validate the sovereignty of the 'host' state and the biopolitical subjection of migrant and refugee subjects who must acquiesce to the expectations and requirements of the host state (Rozakou, 2012).

Hospitality, then, is not a straightforwardly positive response to difference (Candea and Da Col, 2012; Lynch et al., 2011). Critical approaches, often drawing upon Derrida's (1997, 2005; 2000) deconstruction, have articulated the ways that hospitality involves the

contradictory entwinement of openness and welcome with closure and hostility. For some writers (e.g. Darling, 2014; Millner, 2011), these limitations mean that hospitality should be rejected, or at least radically developed toward alternative visions of progressive, solidarity practices of anti-border and anti-oppression work. This makes sense in no border camp contexts where it is important to draw attention to the way that activist-migrant dichotomy is both problematic and blurry and it is possible to imagine and prefigure horizontal political organisation across distinctions based in legally recognised citizenship.¹⁶⁴ However, it is less clear whether the conceptual resources of hospitality studies are entirely problematic and unhelpful in exploring the political terrain and possibilities of anti-border organising, in places where formal activist-migrant distinctions are imposed by conditions of incarceration.

The chapter's primary argument is that within post-representational detention visiting, activists can be understood as experimenting in the occupation of hospitality subject roles in a way that foregrounds visiting, in addition to hosting, as subject positions from which to develop post-representational anti-border practices. I suggest that a critical engagement with hospitality studies can highlight the complicities of hospitable actors in spaces of border control as well as the possibilities for a more horizontal and subversive anti-border practice that allows activists to create and occupy relationships of unequal power, not only to seek to utilise this power as a benevolent host, but also to attempt to undermine their role by seeking to play visitor. I will argue that detention visiting both reasserts the dominant forms of host-guest relations but also reimagines the anti-detention activist role from a hosting to a visiting subject. This entails pressing against the limits of hospitality studies which predominantly understands the allocation of 'host' and 'guest' as fixed rather than as objects of strategy, and places undue focus on the role of hosts to the exclusion of visiting as a means of offering hospitality.

I make these arguments by placing academic literature on hospitality in conversation with data from empirical encounters with activist and volunteer groups that organise regular visits to people held in Immigration Detention Centres in the UK. The empirical work comprises observations from three years of my own participation in detention visiting to

¹⁶⁴ No border camps involve activists and migrants living along-side each other for long periods of time in which there the opportunities for deliberation and shifts in the organisation of the camps and the distribution of roles are a possible. See, for example, Millner (2011).

four detention centres in England which was organised through two visiting groups between 2013 and 2016 and included attendance at trainings with both groups and organisational meetings with one. In addition, in 2016 I conducted interviews with sixteen visitors from three visiting groups and two people who have been visited. My methodological approach to interviews is both empirical and conceptual. They have informed rich description of the setting and the practice of visiting. More importantly, I draw on them to articulate and shape conceptual arguments, to illustrate how visitors are involved in articulating creative occupations of the terrain of hospitality. These interviews are not intended to be representative of visiting practice and I am not intending to contrast sharply between the approaches of different groups. For this reason, I have not located visitors within groups.

The chapter begins by introducing the Derridean conceptual approach to hospitality as well as identifying the limitations of this approach for illuminating radical practices of detention visiting. After introducing the practice of detention visiting, I describe the divergent logics of 'hosting' and 'visiting' operating in detention visiting. I conclude by arguing that post-representational-politics, involving the co-presence of the divergent logics of offering hospitality, allows visitors to navigate and live with the complicities and unequal relationships that necessarily afflict support in solidarity with migrants in spaces of border control and detention.

[Derridean Approaches to Hospitality](#)

Derrida's writing on hospitality is focused on a critique of the European treatment of refugees and migrants in which the host-state is the principle agent of hospitality. His primary aim was to reshape state responses to migrants and refugees by drawing on and reworking European traditions of hospitality (Carlson, 2009). His work is, therefore, concerned with facilitating critical engagements with state decision-making, confronting the inevitable compromise and limitations that such a critical engagement would entail¹⁶⁵. This is facilitated by Derrida's method of deconstruction that identifies the ways the state in Western political thought (Westmoreland, 2008) organises itself according to conditional

¹⁶⁵ This approach opens up the possibility of critical engagement with the decision making of the state decision making that is excluded by purist political theorists of expulsion such as Agamben. For Darling (2009), it enables a more nuanced critical frame through which to evaluate and respond to immigration policy decisions, such as refugee resettlement programmes, that continue to perform conditional hospitality but overreach the ordinary rules governing asylum.

laws of hospitality that structure state recognition and response to non-citizen migrants in its territory. Laws are conditional because they grant hospitality on the basis of certain criteria which the foreigner must show they comply with. Hospitality, in this form, always starts with a question, an interrogation, an attempt to ascertain whether the foreigner is a threat to the host's privileged status.

Derrida's approach to hospitality mirrors his deconstructivist analysis of concepts, such as forgiveness and the gift, in which concepts are seen to hold together incompatible conditional and unconditional forms.¹⁶⁶ For conditional laws of hospitality to escape being purely oppressive, hostile and defensive, they need to be driven by a commitment towards an unconditional hospitality. Unconditional hospitality is the perpetual demand for an absolute opening to the other; it is the welcoming of strangers without question or interrogation. It is a form of welcome that resists all attempts to assimilate or know the other (Derrida and Anidjar, 2002). It 'is to let oneself be overtaken, [surprendre] to be ready to not be ready, if such is possible, to let oneself be overtaken, to not even let oneself be overtaken, to be surprised, in a fashion almost violent' (Derrida and Anidjar, 2002: 361). Hosting unconditionally then is the ability to fully displace oneself as host and to relinquish control to an unexpected visitor.

For Derrida, unconditional hospitality is impossible¹⁶⁷ to fully achieve and institutionalise, yet he demands that acts of hospitality must always be infused by an unfulfillable promise of unconditional hospitality. Derrida objects, for example, to Kant's (1795) positioning of hospitality as purely a matter of rule-making rather than an ethics of hospitality that requires the responsibility of decision-makers even in the instance of following rules

¹⁶⁶ For example, conditional forgiveness forgives on the basis of some act such as repentance. But if this were all there was to forgiveness, it wouldn't be true forgiveness because it would be given as a transaction in return for the repentance. So in an act of forgiveness there is also an element of unconditional forgiveness, that forgives that which is unforgivable. Forgiveness lives in the excess in the overreaching, yet always takes place under certain conditions. See Patton (2003) for further examples.

¹⁶⁷ The impossibility of conditional hospitality results from the fact that the conditions of possibility for unconditional hospitality are also its conditions of impossibility. The project of hosting a guest will always rub against the constitutive contradiction expressed in the phrase 'use my home as if it was yours'. In order to be able to offer unconditional hospitality, the host has to assert their sovereignty over the space and goods on offer (Dikeç, 2002). The offer of hospitality, immediately differentiates the host from the guest, positioning the former as the one who belongs and who is therefore the agentic and empowered actor able to regulate access to the resources on offer. For this reason, hospitality always harbours a trace of hospitality's double: hostility (Honig cited in Friese, 2010).

(Derrida, 1997; Leung and Stone, 2009; Molz and Gibson, 2007).¹⁶⁸ The drawing up and applying of conditional laws must be balanced by their continual deconstruction or renewal through decisions that supplement and overreach the general rules and, therefore, asymptotically approach the unconditional (Darling, 2009; Derrida, 1989).

Derrida's focus on the host-state decision raises two critiques by those attempting to articulate progressive hospitality politics. Firstly, the focus on state hospitality reveals the ways in which the state imaginary limits Derrida's political horizons. Hospitality, in Derrida's vision, appears as a form of 'civil disobedience', a project which seeks to encourage those in power to exercise their discretion to offer hospitality in excess of existing laws while remaining faithful to the project of law (Rocha Gómez, 2014). For some, therefore, Derrida's position is a rather more conservative disposition than may first be apparent (Barnett, 2005); it appears to affirm the need for legally enforced borders, expulsion and other limitations of hospitality, while at the same time suggesting that one should always be open to the need to exceed these rules¹⁶⁹.

Secondly, the approach fails to illuminate the possibilities of non-state hospitality practices. On the one hand, Derrida's focus on the sovereign mastery of territory obscures the ways that non-state actors are enrolled actively or passively in the social practice of hosting (Bulley, 2015). On the other, it is unclear how the abstract 'cerebral politics' of state decision-making relates to diverse social and material practices of hospitality (Reynolds, 2002: 463). Derrida's willingness to draw analogies between the hospitality of the psyche, home, the nation and the state has been criticised. Without such an account of how the national and local hospitality interact, Candea (2012) accuses Derrida's work of 'scale free abstraction' where national and community relations translate without resistance to local and interpersonal contexts. While it may be the case that 'localised acts of hospitality, on a

¹⁶⁸ As a result of Kant's conditional hospitality and his duty to tell the truth "even to assassins" Derrida states that 'in the name of pure morality, from the point where it becomes law, he introduces police everywhere' (Derrida and Dufourmantelle, 2000: 69).

¹⁶⁹ Derrida is, of course, aware of the dangers of focusing unduly on the limits of hospitality. As Derrida writes 'immigration must, it is said, be 'controlled' ...[unconditional hospitality] is always forgotten, by definition in the name of xenophobia; but can also be forgotten in the name of a certain interpretation of 'pragmatism' and 'realism'' (Derrida, 2005: 7).

bus or at home, speak to national contests over spatial sovereignty' (Candea and Da Col, 2012: 14), they might operate in subversion or in parallel with national scales.

Despite these concerns, there is value in using Derrida's work on hospitality to think about spaces such as the detention visiting room. Derrida's approach encourages us to explore the possibility of critical political practices, such as detention visiting, that engage with, but do not in themselves attempt to challenge, practices of state violence and exclusion. In such spaces, while the practice of hospitality may be less law-like than is conveyed by Derrida's notion of conditional hospitality, it is clear that unconditional hospitality is still beyond the possibility of the moment. Yet, the inability to establish a relation of unconditional hospitality does not exhaust the political stakes in practices of engagement. Instead, progressive practices of detention visiting must be found in occupying the space between conditional and unconditional hospitality and the intertwining of hostility and hospitality.

The Derridean literature elucidates the diverse ways this domain of ethical and political praxis may be inhabited.¹⁷⁰ Hospitality is a domain of ethical and political acts that determine relationships across difference (between inside and out, self and other, host and guest) and in the process also constructs and polices those differences. While acts of hospitality are concerned with opening up to outsiders and enabling border crossings, they simultaneously are concerned with articulating those borders and defining otherness. The construction of identity is often read through assumptions of belonging and property (Hamington, 2010), legal status (Stronks, 2012) and constructions of novelty and mobility (Humbracht, 2015) and therefore frequently participates in classed and racialised patterns of difference.

Hospitality draws attention to the ways host-guest roles are enabled by the power-imbued materiality of space that enables some to more easily fulfil the requirements of a host. As Derrida writes 'He [the host] receives the hospitality that he offers in his own home, he

¹⁷⁰ As with Judith Still's (2010) account, this reading sits uncomfortably with terminology that speaks of an ethics or politics of hospitality as if Derrida's work attempts to define a particular way of occupying the domain of hospitality. This places emphasis on remarks by Derrida that state that 'hospitality is culture itself and not simply one ethic amongst others' (Derrida, 2001). Elsewhere, when writing on the work of Levinas, Derrida writes that '[hospitality] is ethicity itself, the whole and the principle of ethics' (Derrida, 1997: 50).

receives it *from* his own home – which, in the end, does not belong to him. The *hôte* as host is a guest...The one who welcomes is first welcomed in his own home' (Derrida, 1997: 41). This quotation both underlines the spaced character of hospitality at the same times as implicating the gendered nature of the host, another inheritance from Levinas. A defining feature for Bulley (c.f. Baker, 2010) is that 'hospitality requires spatial boundaries that it simultaneously displaces through their crossing' (Bulley, 2015: 6). For Bulley, it is this spatiality that separates hospitality from other instances of taking responsibility for the other: hospitality occurs when spatial networks distribute power to allow one to perform as host and constructs the other as a mobile visitor that is 'temporally moored' (Lynch et al., 2011) in the space of the host.

Furthermore, Derrida's writing draws attention to the ways that demarcations of hospitable roles are intimately bound up with the distributions of power that they sustain. Derrida draws upon the etymological analysis in Benveniste's 1969 work to make this point (Benveniste and Lallot, 1973). Benveniste notes that the word hospitality has roots in the Latin *hostis* (foreigner, enemy) and *pet* (power, self-assertion) (Candea and Da Col, 2012). Since acts of hospitality always involve a demarcation and articulation of difference, hospitality always involves both hospitality and hostility, even in the most hospitable acts. The intertwining of hospitality and hostility is brought out in the Derridean neologism, *hostipitality*. As will become apparent below, this concept is useful in navigating spaces, like detention, that are sustained by both overtly hospitable hostile practices.

For hospitality studies to be useful in understanding the politics of detention visiting, two conceptual shifts need to be made. Firstly, the contention that demarcations of belonging in a place determines who is able to take on hospitality roles has led theorists to view hosts and guests as naturalised products of social conditions rather than as subjects of strategy. Those interested in thinking through hospitality beyond Derrida's vision have identified situations that do not conform to the dominant migrant-guest, state-host dynamic (Humbracht, 2015; Rozakou, 2012) as well as situations where guests over time become hosts (Bulley, 2015). However, few have explored spaces where there is ambiguity, strategy and play with the hospitality roles and the implications of this for the political possibilities within that space. In the following sections, I argue that activist visitors strategically oscillate

between hosting and visiting roles and that sensing how and when to adopt these roles is one aspect of the tacit knowledge developed through detention visiting.

The second shift required for hospitality studies to be relevant to detention visiting is against the pre-occupation with hosting as a means of performing hospitality. The Levinasian influence in hospitality studies has encouraged a 'self-flattering even if guilty, focus on the host' (Still, 2010: 9) that devalues the visitor as an ethical and political subject capable of acting responsibly.¹⁷¹ Yet, as I shall argue in the pages that follow, detention centre visiting requires that one explores the possibilities of a hospitality politics that decentres the host as the primary subject of progressive hospitality politics.

Visiting people in detention

There is limited academic work that interrogates the activist practice of volunteer visiting to people in custody. Visiting people in immigration detention is briefly discussed by Boswell (2014), who finds that while some detainees find visiting a lifeline, visiting is limited because of its inability to provide legal help. Research on prison visiting focuses on measuring and conceptualising the effect of regular visitation on the behaviour and recidivism rate of people in prison. Through quantitative methodologies it has been ascertained that visiting correlates with lower rates of recidivism (Bales and Mears, 2008; Cochran and Mears, 2013; Duwe and Clark, 2013) and 'improves' prisoner behaviour (Cochran, 2012). These appear to confirm long-running expectations in the prison visiting literature that visiting aids the pacifying effects of the prison, turning those detained into docile bodies who will 'do their time' (Moran, 2015). This work, in summary, does not investigate visiting as a political practice.

Yet visiting places that are perceived as sites of injustice is a common response by activists. Visiting tours are encouraged, for example, by activist groups in Palestine¹⁷² and by organisations working with prisoners¹⁷³. It is common for people to spend time in Calais¹⁷⁴ and in Lampedusa and Lesbos¹⁷⁵ to work with NGOs and migrant solidarity groups

¹⁷¹ This is underlined by Levinas' feminisation of the 'other' which has the effect of centring the active masculine subject.

¹⁷² <http://www.palestinecampaign.org/get-involved/visit/>, <http://icahd.org/tours/> [accessed 7/5/2017]

¹⁷³ <http://www.naopv.com/> [accessed 7/5/2017]

¹⁷⁴ <https://calaismigrantsolidarity.wordpress.com/coming-to-calais-2/brief-intro/> [accessed 7/5/2017]

¹⁷⁵ <http://lesvosvolunteers.com/> [accessed 7/5/2017]

particularly in response to the increased numbers of refugees entering Europe since 2015. More generally, gap-year volunteer-tourism has become a common rite-of-passage for middle-class British youth looking to engage in ethical travel (Heath, 2007; Mostafanezhad, 2014).

These diverse visiting practices involve differing sets of political motivations and logics. They also rub against critiques that problematise the possibilities for political or ethical visiting. Visiting has been regarded as an expression of power inequality rather than a means of challenging it – underlining the inversion that situates visitors as the subject of power rather than the host. Visiting is often conducted by those with a degree of economic, racial and passport privilege that enables them to travel. This mobility of the visitor often contrasts with the immobility or confinement of those they visit. Often the people who gain most from these visiting practices are the visitors themselves whose social capital is enhanced, while the relations that produce inequality and privilege remain unchanged. As with other practices of witnessing, visiting can produce innocent bystander subjectivities that whitewash visitors' involvement in perpetuating patterns of inequality and violence especially colonial and racist violence (for example Lambie, 2008). As a form of practical solidarity, so important to performing detention solidarity as we saw in the previous chapter, there are further concerns that visiting is an ineffective means of supporting people in the locations visited. There has been concern amongst those with a long-standing presence in Calais, for example, that short-term visitors can do more harm than good if they come without the willingness and knowledge to participate effectively¹⁷⁶. More broadly, volunteer tourism has been cast as a superficial endeavour with unclear effectiveness (Sharpley and Telfer, 2008: 8).

The extent to which these concerns are explicitly addressed in the context of detention centre visiting varies across the visiting groups. Visiting people in detention is organised by the twenty detention visiting groups located around the UK that collectively support around 650 volunteer visitors¹⁷⁷. Because of their sporadic decentralised origin, these groups differ greatly in terms of political ethos and motivation. They include rights-focused, religious and

¹⁷⁶ See for example <https://calaimigrantsolidarity.wordpress.com/coming-to-calais-2/brief-intro/> [accessed 7/5/2017]

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.aviddetention.org.uk/what-we-do/supporting-our-members> [accessed 7/5/2017]

anti-border groups. While visitors and visiting groups vary in the styles of visiting, they each attempt to combine three interweaving projects: service provision, political friendship and resistance.

Service Provision: Visiting groups are often engaged in casework activities that support people through the institutional, legal and practical barriers to release. This includes referrals to legal and medical NGOs; finding, liaising with and following-up with lawyers; and evidence gathering. While legal advice is not offered by visitors, groups place different emphasis on how much visitors are expected to be involved in understanding the legal situation of people they visit.

Political friendship: The weekly hour-long visits open a space for visitors to develop an enduring relationship with one person in detention. This occurs within an institution designed to separate people from community belonging. As Georgia, a long-term visitor, said in interview ‘Because it exists beyond the rules that have been imposed and all the differences that you’ve been told that you have with someone and it becomes a thing of its own, and can be creative, it can be loving and it can burst out of the seams. And that’s very political.’

Resistance to detention: While resistance is understood in a variety of ways, resistance often is part of the motivation for visiting. For example, Laura, another visitor, sees resistance in the act of visiting itself as they are ‘Opting to go into a place that everyone wants to get out of and that, in my understanding of how the system works, the government doesn’t want you know about, doesn’t want you to go into and doesn’t want to you talk about’. Others understood resistance as an outcome of visiting, either in supporting people to get out or by informing reform campaigns and abolition movements against detention (e.g. Interview – Ruth).

Visitor groups typically employ a small group of coordinators, working in offices near the centres, that both recruit and train volunteer visitors¹⁷⁸ and act as a contact point for people in detention. Coordinators keep in regular contact with people visited, offer practical

¹⁷⁸ Visitors are drawn from the general public and because of the time commitment generally are students and people who have retired. The majority of the visitors in the groups I worked with are women, possibly reflecting the conversational and emotional labour involved. This is reflected in my interview sample.

assistance, and monitor for changes in detention centre conditions and breaches of detention centre rules. When a group receives a referral¹⁷⁹, they pass on the detainee's contact details and some background information about the case, and the visitor then communicates with the person in detention to arrange the first visit.

On arrival at the detention centres¹⁸⁰, visitors check-in with the detention centre visiting staff where fingerprints and photographs are given in exchange for a wristband and visitor lanyard that must be worn throughout the visit. Visitors can usually take some small change and sometimes a pen and paper into the visiting room¹⁸¹. Other belongings have to be left in a locker before the visitors go through security. Visitors are searched as they pass through security; the guards are likely to look in the visitor's shoes, sometimes in their mouths.

The Harmondsworth visiting room is typical. The visitor enters a larger room full of low tables and waiting room chairs. There is a desk behind which a guard or two will sit monitoring CCTV screens. The visitor is asked to give their fingerprints again and is told which numbered table to sit at. The room is decorated with art presumably made by people who were previously detained. There are pictures of African skies and caricatures of Bob Marley. Sometimes the artwork is more poignant than tacky. Depictions of longing for the outside hang on the walls: a painted window looking out onto a garden or a huge stencilled London skyline. It can be more comical: a menacing cartoon shark adorns the wall above the officer's desk at Harmondsworth. In one corner, there is a children's area with garish colours, aging toys and framed portraits of Disney characters. There is also a noticeboard with posters. One describes G4S as an equal opportunities employer while another prohibits touching during visits except for the beginning and end of the visit.

The visitor sits and waits at their allocated table while the person detained is found and brought to the visiting room. The wait can be fifteen minutes or so. Through a separate door

¹⁷⁹ Referrals are obtained through drop-in sessions, word of mouth and via other NGOs.

¹⁸⁰ This description of the process of visiting is based on field notes supplemented by interviews. The process of visiting is similar in all the detention centres subject to some variation in the rules about what one is allowed to bring in and specific.

¹⁸¹ Although to visitors' annoyance the rules governing what visitors are allowed to take in and give to people in detention centres are different at each centre.

on the other side of the room, the detainee will be brought into the room, ready to be welcomed to the table by the visitor.

Detention visitors as hosts

Despite their guest status with respect to the centre, the visitors' relationships with people in detention often resemble the patterns of host-guest relations that mirror dominant patterns of citizen-host and migrant-guest hospitality. This hosting role is, in some cases, taken on explicitly through visitors' attempts to create hospitable environments that counter the inhospitable action of immigration and the detention system. As one visitor, Jane, said about her motivations to volunteer: 'I think that a lot of people in Brook House feel that everyone in the UK hates them, and that they aren't welcome full stop'. Others talked about wanting to be 'welcoming' to people and doing this by being kind, smiling and offering a helping hand, seeing themselves as part of the struggle to make the country a more hospitable place (Milly – interview).

More often, hosting is an implicit aspect of the visitor's role. Visitors frequently adopt a pastoral function offering care to the people detained. They emphasise the emotional support that consisted in creating time and space outside of the normal routines of incarcerated life (Michael - Interview). My interviews with people in detention who were visited both evidenced that visits played a part in their struggle to survive in detention and their exposure to traumatic events such as regular suicide attempts (Michael and John - Interview). Visiting interrupted the everyday routines of detained life and reduced the pressure of detention. Visitors, therefore, perform a directional or altruistic form of ethical practice that conceives visiting as a service given to detainees by their visitors. As Ed noted, visiting is perceived as an inherently purposeful and instrumental activity designed to inject a 'little humanity' into the banal and bureaucratic processing of another's deportation.

Becoming part of the detention landscape, visiting groups often use posters and drop-in workshops in the detention centre in order to attract detainees to use their services and to attempt to reach the most vulnerable people. To secure this access, visitor groups work to foster working relationships with the security company staff that run the centres, sometimes attending regular meetings with detention centre staff. While this enables visiting groups to reach more people and raise issues about the conditions they observe,

they submit themselves to some extent to the control of the detention centre and the company that runs them. In some cases, the security companies insist that visitor groups concern themselves exclusively with emotional support and prevent visiting groups from conducting case work that attempts to get people out of detention.¹⁸² In others, visiting groups have been prohibited from holding drop-in sessions for writing critical social media posts and banned them from making complaints against staff.¹⁸³

Detention visiting groups often prescribe particular roles for their visitors to adopt. At a training session for new visitors, Brian, who was facilitating the session, delineated a division of labour between coordinators and visitors stating that ‘Your role is emotional support, and we do the practical work.’ The delimitation of the roles and responsibilities of visitors is often combined with a visitor agreement, established by the organisers that sometimes prohibits visitors from engaging in more overtly political engagements in migration politics, such as attending protests and speaking to the media about conditions in detention. Another way visitors are regulated by visiting groups is in limiting their interaction with people in detention, for example, some groups prevent visitors from sharing their own telephone number and from acting as sureties for bail. Brian, a coordinator of a visiting group, explained the reasons for the fixed boundaries and roles in the follow way:

The idea of having boundaries is trying to make sure that the work is sustainable. There is an unlimited amount of bad stuff in the world. It’s important that you take perspective. When people take it all on themselves, it burns them out. It’s always worth bearing in mind, that by visiting you’re doing a big thing. You are taking a responsibility and that is enough. (Brian – Interview)

This quotation indicates the stake visitors have in keeping the emotional and practical commitment manageable over time but also suggests that this is achieved in part by pre-established boundaries that enable sustainable visiting. While it is unclear how the rules and boundaries shape the visitor role and experience, these regulatory activities imagine the role of visitor as fixed before visiting begins rather than the nature of the relationship being

¹⁸² Field note 11/3/2015 – Notes from a training session.

¹⁸³ Interview with Amelia – A case worker at a visiting group.

explicitly an object of negotiation between visitors and the people they visit. However, the rules imposed do not completely contain the interactions that occur and the relationships that are fostered through it. Often visiting occupies a grey area, pushing beyond the limitations imposed by group rules.

In particular, case-work support is often pursued by both group coordinators and visitors themselves. This often takes the form of host hospitality by visitors taking on the role of knowledgeable guides. Volunteers attempt to perform hospitality through information-giving, mediating between detainees and the environment, helping them to understand the place they visit and interpreting the environment (Reisinger and Steiner, 2006). Detention visitors and coordinators draw on their training and handbooks as well as prior experience to help navigate some of the complexities of detention. This is done through 'signposting' to relevant NGO services, legal support networks and complaints procedures. Though visitors are legally prohibited from giving legal advice¹⁸⁴, they frequently help people with their immigration cases by making sense of documents, finding or chasing up lawyers and gathering evidence. This is sometimes vital work in a prison context where there is no automatic right to legal representation, decisions to detain are made with very little explanation and justification, and induction procedures have been heavily criticised (APPG on Refugees and APPG on Migration, 2015; Shaw et al., 2016)

In summary, detention visitors position themselves as part of the hosting project offering bounded, pre-determined services that provide practical help and emotional support to people. As groups, they embed themselves as part of the institutional make-up of detention. Visiting, therefore, reflects the Derridean characterisation of hospitable hosting in which hosts determine their own rules and boundaries while questioning those limits and pushing beyond them when they can. Visiting groups are a consistent presence within detention centres. Their hosting reflects a representational approach to detention politics. They attempt to position themselves as a middle-sized Russian doll in between the centre management and the detainee. On the one hand, by attempting to interpolate between the state and legal services and the person in detention, speak and advocate on behalf of the

¹⁸⁴ Giving immigration advice without appropriate qualifications is an offence under s84 Immigration and Asylum Act 1999.

person in detention and, on the other, offering discrete sets of services such as ‘care’ and ‘casework’ that respond to a particular understanding of the needs of detainees.

Problematic dynamics of hosting

This section utilises the critical hospitality literature to highlight the replication of problematic power dynamics within the hosting-hospitality project. It draws on visitors’ concerns about how their role participates in the detention centre’s exclusionary practices. The hospitality logic of thinking of visiting as a service casts detainees as a distinct population that have an understandable set of needs that visiting groups know about and know how to respond to. While this has positive uses, it often leads to a massive disparity in the amount each person knows about each other. For example, Helen said:

What I find frustrating is that there is a power imbalance but the person you are visiting has a whole wealth of experience. But because of the situation you meet them in, yours is seen as more professional, more valued. That relationship creates that feeling which I don’t think is useful. I think that should be challenged.... The power imbalance is so easy to happen and so difficult to overcome, to get to a point that they are an equal in a difficult situation. (Helen – Interview)

It also can lead to the infusion of legalistic language and categories into the ways in which visitors think and respond to the person they visit. As Rozakou (2012) notes, the structuring of aid through legal categories of asylum seeker or foreign national offender, has effects on who is considered worthy of being hosted, and becoming involved in case work risks becoming involved in constructing and giving effect to those categories rather than challenging them. These worries are shared by Laura, who said that when visiting she was conscious to

avoid becoming someone who is assessing the story as credible and what bits are true and what bits are false. I think that's what's different about a more abolitionist stance to visiting. Someone's reasons for being in detention are not that important at all. And that's needed to move away from the stratifications of migrants - stepping away from all these

narratives that place certain people's incarceration as more horrific than another's. (Laura – Interview)

In the bounded care roles visitors adopt, visiting can further dehumanise the relationship, replicating the dynamics of humanitarianism. For Mezzadra, the hospitality of humanitarianism promotes 'paternalistic logics' in which migrants are the objects of care, thus 'denying them a chance to become subjects' (Mezzadra, 2004). A politics of hosting can result in a political imaginary that places the stable subjects of host and guest against each other; one with the power to choose the terms on which the other is accepted and the other constituted by their relationship to the host. This resonates with Fassin's critique of humanitarian politics: 'the act of assistance through which individuals identified as victims is established. They are those for whom the gift cannot imply a counter-gift, since it is assumed that they can only receive. They are the indebted of the world.' (Fassin, 2007). The hospitality of humanitarianism, therefore, risks painting the visitor as the object of an agentic, benevolent host while blinding us to the possibilities of prefiguring a more dynamic, more equal political dynamic in the process of resisting detention.

Detention visiting groups also take on problematic relationships with the detention centres themselves. The centrality of the instrumental logic of care in detention visiting corresponds to an imaginary of the detention centre as a hostile place that creates the abject condition of people in detention. People in detention are frequently cast as people in desperate need, as those who are needlessly excluded and reduced to their deportability, and whose humanising characteristics are based in their vulnerability to the violence of deportation and detention¹⁸⁵. This logic runs through the care roles that detention visitors adopt, with a number of visitors presenting their work as confronting the exclusionary logics of detention rather than being part of it.

However, some visitors question the distinction between the care work that is performed by NGOs and charities in detention and the exclusionary and violent practices of the Home Office and security companies. For example, Laura said that:

¹⁸⁵ This can be seen both campaigns organised around the slogan 'Set her free' and the repeated emphasis on vulnerability, asylum and abuse (Women for Refugee Women, 2017) and in media presentations of protests by women in Yarl's Wood (see chapter 6).

One of the things visiting does is perpetuate the situation by propping up people who are in that place who might like act otherwise if there wasn't someone regularly visiting them and being regularly supportive. It walks the line of charity. (Laura – Interview)

This view draws attention to ways that the centres are sustained by the numerous NGOs, charities and companies that offer many key services including legal advice lines, art and music activities, the voluntary returns programs and, in the case of Barnado's, the management of one of the centres (Tyler et al., 2014). The dual institutional presence of NGOs and security has been a noted strategy across border control and encampment policies in recent times (Andersson, 2014; Fassin, 2012). The presence of care as a key sustaining logic of border infrastructure (see Gill, 2016) and its role in securing the legitimacy of state practices of exclusion needs to be confronted both by academic critics of border regimes and by the NGOs and activists working to create more egalitarian worlds. In this view, the detention centre is understood less as a space of exclusion and hostility that can be countered by hospitable interventions but, rather as one of hostipitality in which the logics of hostility and hospitality are intimately intertwined. If it is a space that sustains and is sustained by care as well as custody¹⁸⁶, then instead of countering the logic of the detention centre, the hospitable practices of detention visitors participate in and provide legitimacy to the detention estates' exclusionary practices.

Prefiguring hospitality through visiting

In the following section, I articulate additional and alternative hospitality strategies generated through detention visiting by highlighting the ways that visitors practice hospitality as 'visitors' rather than as 'hosts'. Visiting in this mode, plays within the space created by the ambiguous and undefined nature of the visitor role that enables both more flexibility and creativity than is possible in other kinds of NGO involvement in the detention system.

While hosting attempts to establish responsibility for the other by positioning oneself as belonging, visiting attempts to engage in a space while remaining as detached as possible to

¹⁸⁶ Incidentally the subsidiary of Mitie that runs Harmondsworth, Colnbrook and Campfield detention centres is called 'Care and Custody'.

the system in which it engages. Volunteers perform hospitality as a visitor, firstly, by distancing themselves from the centre itself. As Lydia explained,

When I'm in the visiting hall, I'm very actively trying to separate myself from it by portraying to the person I'm supporting that I'm very separate from the centre and that I don't have nice interactions with the guards and don't have any respect for the rules really. (Lydia – Interview)

Visitors also performed their distance from the centre management through non-compliance with the questioning that detention centre staff sometimes subject visitors to. For example, they avoid saying which visitor group they are from or that they are from a visiting group at all (Interview – Laura). While this distancing occurred across groups, it was most apparent in visitor groups that refuse to develop relationships with the centres and instead prefer to reach people via word of mouth and using detention protests to contact people. These methods serve to position the visitor and visiting group as an intervention in the space of the detention centre, rather than a feature of it. It serves also to emphasise the ways visitors attempt to develop relations of accountability to the people they visit rather than to the detention centre's management in the ways described above – an idea developed further in chapter seven.

Since visitors, in any situation, always leave (Dikeç, 2002), visiting is not usually associated with taking responsibility in the ways that hosting is. Yet, visitors develop responsibility by forming close affective attachments to particular people in detention, fostered over a number of weeks and months. For Adam, what was special about visiting was the opportunity not to develop a commitment to an abstract political problem but to 'create mutual obligations and commitment to someone in particular' (Interview). This generation of an emotional attachment is, for many visitors, a more central part of visiting than the most instrumental ways of supporting people in detention explained in previous sections.

Being emotionally affected by it, and having my privileged bubble burst by caring about someone who is going to be taken away from his family and from his whole life puts you in a position where you are motivated to decide to learn how you can try to stop that and how you can contribute to

a movement that can fight against the legitimacy of that. (Helen – Interview)

One of the features of detention visiting, that contrasts with more rigid, professionalised means of supporting and representing people in detention is the attempt to establish relationships that are determined through the encounter rather than putting into effect predetermined notions about what visiting is for. Visitors are encouraged to ‘find a relationship that suit the pair’ rather than focus on ways they can help based on preconceived ideas of what is needed.¹⁸⁷ Part of this included minor practices that attempted to respect the agency of the person being visited – making sure to call beforehand to arrange a visit, leaving at an agreed time, being led in conversation by topics that felt comfortable and not requesting details about histories that did not need to be shared.

In some cases, particularly when the detainee had been in detention for a long time, this means explicitly recognising the person in detention’s ability to host. People visited assume hosting roles by using materials available, generally water and vending machine chocolate, as gifts to visitors.¹⁸⁸ There are also examples of people in detention using visits as means of politicising volunteer visitors.

‘When I first visited it took me a long time to work out why the person I was visiting wanted me to go. Each time I went, he would direct the proceedings. He had been in detention for 18 months and his case was out of his hands. Though he knew that nothing could be done, he would continue to bring out the vast bundle of paper work that included his immigration case files but also his numerous formal complaints and

¹⁸⁷ Field Note 11/3/15

¹⁸⁸ Field Note 6/8/2016: ‘At the group visit to Yarl’s Wood there were 7 visitors visiting 13 detained people (in two sessions of 2 hours each). On arrival to the visiting room each of us was welcomed with a hug at the door by one of the women who then showed us to our places, offering us water. There was a feeling of occupying the space by challenging the restrictions on who one could talk to and what about. The staff engaged in a kind of a game of cat and mouse trying to make sure that we each sat at the allocated tables and we could only talk to the person we had officially visited. At the change over some delayed leaving, leading the room being packed with people. There was a concerted effort to engage people strategically - to talk about the politics of detention - rather than to address those we met on an individual basis.’

handwritten letters to the detention centre manager and his caseworker at the home office. There was no sense he wanted me to do anything about them he just wanted me to have copies of them, to keep them at my home. He was also presenting his changing self as it became increasingly unlikely that he would escape deportation and he became increasingly tormented by his treatment at the centre which included a number of spells in solitary confinement. In making me aware of unfairness and violence in the immigration system, making me witness how detention had transformed him, he was showing me around detention, transforming my own sense of what detention was.’ (Field Note 27/05/14)

Being a visitor also involves deemphasising the instrumentality of visiting – such that it is no longer motivated primarily through prefigured rationales of support and aid but allows for the purpose to arise through practices of making connection and building relationships of mutual aid and friendships in spite of the prison. This showing of ‘solidarity in the form of company’ (Adam) involves being ready to encounter the ambiguity and discomfort about not knowing what to say and what one is trying to achieve. Enabling these more responsive relationships to emerge not only conflicted with service style visiting but also with the stated aims of more politically motivated visiting groups. As Georgia noted:

The groups I’ve visited with, have had this line about political friendship, that friendship is political and that the front line is that you’re making friends, you’re not providing a service. And if you do that, it feels in the moment like you’re undermining that friendship if you say that the reason I am here is that you think that detention should be closed down so there’s actually a contradiction in rhetoric there and potentially confusing for everyone involved.

Similarly, Lydia explains that:

I think before you go visiting people think they want to ‘let the person lead the conversation’ and try and allow that to inform how you’re going to do as activists. And what’s interesting is that there’s no space to ask – ‘hey what do you think our movement needs to do to make it better’ – I haven’t

been linking my visiting to that person to this wider project about border violence and bigger structures of power.... It would politicise it in a negative way – I'm here because I need your voice to inform what I'm doing – which creates a dynamic which I'd be uncomfortable in.

Addressing the empowered position of visitors involves questioning strict determinations of boundaries and roles. As one visitor explained, boundaries involve:

'Rules about how you form a relationship with someone... What is and isn't okay to communicate about, to ask of each other, limits to the amounts of contact. Basically power, who has the power to define where that relationship can go.... Maybe that's one of the differences between visiting and providing a service is that in visiting you're trying to keep the question of power as a question. Whereas service providers have it written down on paper and signed on the dotted line that they're in control.'

However, this open-endedness sometimes leads to difficulties as the responsibility to work through disagreements and unwanted behaviour is left to individual negotiation and avoidance. It also leaves visitors unsure what their role should be, generating some anxiety as to their usefulness and impact. Yet it does not mean that conceiving visits in this more unframed way mean that boundaries are not present, just that they emerge as the relationship develops.

'It may depend on my mood – it may change from day to day – I don't think keeping it not set means not having any boundaries. It can't, there have to be boundaries. Like, in any human relationship is one thing I've found.'

Hospitality in Derrida's view means starting off with rules and boundaries and overreaching them through the supplementary decision, in the name of unconditional hospitality. Visiting, in contrast, often adopts an open stance through which provisional roles and boundaries emerge and are negotiated.

The third way visiting is emphasised by volunteers is by opening themselves to the possibility of being changed as well as creating change in the circumstances of the person

they are visiting. Many visitors talked about the way visiting caused an emotional and political distancing from the state and state institutions. Visitors are exposed to the frequent mundane errors of the immigration system. Jane, for example, was 'so shocked, [she] was in tears' after being present at a bail hearing by video link where the link did not work, and the judge pretended to be able to hear. Others spoke about the shock of reading lies in Home Office documentation.

But visiting also demands that visitors confront the structural power that detention is both a part of and reinforces. Visitors spoke, for example, of witnessing 'a lot of racism in the state, the whole policy is racist in ways that I hadn't identified before'. Another noted that:

It's very rare that you're confronted with the realities of like state oppression basically. The physical signifiers are so strong and so marked. There are people locked in a building surrounded by barbed wire, you have to yourself go through security in order to see them, everyone who is being visited is a person of colour, everyone who is visiting is either white or family.

For many visitors, detention visiting is a practice that sparks political transformation. Like other kinds of visiting, detention visiting is not seen as an end in itself but 'has been identified as a potential catalyst for social movement participation' (Mostafanezhad, 2014).

For Georgia,

Visiting is the back bone – visiting for me has driven a lot of my political engagement. Going to a demonstration outside [a detention centre] is very different if you're visiting than if you're not. I've learnt a lot politically through visiting.

Again, the different approaches to the boundaries placed on visitors was seen to effect the possibilities of political transformation through the visiting practice. Georgia continued:

'I think doing it without [defined] boundaries... is one of the most instantly transformative ways of being exposed to detention. It's politically transformative because there's no protection from the horrible realities

but at the same time people burn out or have to dip in and dip out and not really bear to think about it again.'

For this visitor at least, fixed boundaries and roles help contain and shape the visitor's experience by outlining in advance how they should or should not respond. Without being told that there is nothing they can do to help, visitors both invest more in working through problems and experience more directly the wasted time and helplessness that detention produces.

Hospitality and Post-Representational Politics

This chapter has aimed to investigate how a critical approach to hospitality politics illuminates the grounded political thinking that has developed through detention visiting. In doing so it shows how post-representational politics generates strategies enabling cooperation with people in detention, combining friendship, support and resistance. I have argued that the conceptual resources of hospitality are useful in articulating both critique and prefigurative lines of experimentation within detention visiting practices of anti-border activists. Firstly, hospitality studies draws attention to the ways detention visiting groups perform their work as hosts: as permanent fixtures in detention, in control of the affective and strategic resources on offer to the guest. These resources are organised to fulfil strategic and sometimes representational objectives (such as individual survival and getting individuals out of detention). Yet the primacy of these instrumental logics can produce unequal distributions of power within uni-directional relationships that do not square with the egalitarian aims of detention visiting and raise concerns that visitors participate in detention in ways that make the hostile and exclusionary processes more manageable and easier to operate. While post-representational politics does not preclude performing more 'representational' tasks it situates them within a broader consideration and understanding of an ongoing political and personal relationship.

Secondly, a concern for hospitality also draws attention to the ways that volunteer visiting is a practice that experiments with the roles of hospitality¹⁸⁹. I have identified a subversive and

¹⁸⁹ This also points to productive philosophical links that can be made between Derrida's deconstructive approach and the more constructive approaches of writers such as Deleuze and Guattari. Patton's (2003) reading points towards relevance of deconstruction to those who advocate and place emphasis on experimental and creative practice of political and philosophical thought.

experimental thread of volunteer visiting in the way it attempts to reverse the assumed relationship between host-citizen and guest-migrant. This focuses on ways that visiting attempts to prefigure collaborative and mutually beneficial relationships between people subject to border control and the people supporting them. These relationships are founded through a focus on the ways they are transformative rather than oppositional, solidaristic rather than instrumental and connected to other forms of political action to come.

In doing so, a post-representational approach to hospitality would emphasise the social and materially constructed nature of the assumed 'host' and 'guest' roles, to use them more lightly as concepts of navigation and strategy. The coexistence of these hosting and visiting roles is an important part of developing visiting praxes that are both strategic (in that they enable effective mobilisation of resources to resist deportation and detention) and prefigurative, creating the conditions for less exploitative, anti-hierarchical micro-coalitions between citizens and those detained as migrants.

As such, this chapter has contributed to the understanding of what post-representational relationships might consist of and how they might be generated. The strategic mobilisation of both hosting and visiting concepts supports the thesis that post-representational practices are generative of conceptual thinking that is instrumental in helping volunteers navigate the space of detention, understanding the micro-political effects and potential dangers of visiting, and enabling new forms of relationship building. While visitors are neither truly hosts nor visitors, these concepts are developed through the activist practice to navigate the space of detention in ways that attempt to forge more horizontal, mutually beneficial relationships across prison walls – actively rejecting an understanding of their role either as a service provider or someone working solely to speak on detainees' behalf.

This discussion of detention visiting also develops our understanding of hospitality. Both Derrida and his critics have tended to view hosting as the primary mode of offering hospitality and to look for hospitality politics in spaces where there are clearly delineated hosts and guests. This framing obscures spaces, such as detention centre visiting, in which the practice of progressive hospitality politics constructs hosts and guests in messier and more enmeshed ways than it would first seem. In doing so, visiting opens space for

conceptual thought about the relationships created through practices of pro-migration politics. It prompts a conceptual shift from thinking about hosting towards visiting in which the subject of 'visitor' appears as a possibly helpful metaphorical tool to construct new forms of activist ethics and allyship.

Chapter 6: Post-Representational Witnessing in the Anti-Detention Movement

In chapter four, I argued that the post-representational solidarity of the anti-detention movement involved developing practices that enable and centre the voices of those in detention. I noted how the detention protests, by encircling Harmondsworth, made the experience of detention, almost literally, the centre of anti-detention protest. This notion of anti-detention solidarity has influenced other projects which attempt to put detainee experience at the forefront of anti-detention campaigning. Freed Voices, for example, is a collective of former detainees who, with support from the anti-detention charity Detention Action, participates in speaking tours to give their views on detention as ‘experts by experience’.¹⁹⁰ Detention Forum also gives a platform to the voices of people in detention through a project called Unlocked, a ‘virtual tour’ of the detention estate that uses social media to convey the experience of detention to online audiences.¹⁹¹ This chapter takes as its case study a similarly oriented grassroots project, entitled Detained Voices, which works to record and publish the testimony of people in detention.

From the perspective of representational politics, witnessing appears as an intuitive response to oppression. It works to uncover hidden injustices and enables the participation of those excluded from political discourse. Witnessing is a tool to inform and influence political actors and change the way debates are framed. This chapter investigates how post-representational approaches to witnessing contributes to new ways of appreciating the political role that witnessing can take within critical social movements. Here I use post-representationality as a quality of activist witnessing but also as an analytical approach to witnessing. I develop a concept of witnessing as a social practice through which a person becomes recognised as a witness, someone with a special epistemological and moral legitimacy to speak and be heard. Testimony is the written or spoken artefact produced through witnessing. This way of understanding witnessing contrasts with the more conventional idea of witnessing as a socially situated, individual act of truth-telling, resembling a narrative history (Winter, 2009).

¹⁹⁰ <https://detentionaction.org.uk/freed-voices/> [accessed 2/2/2019]

¹⁹¹ <https://unlocked.org.uk/> [accessed 2/2/2019]

The chapter begins with an account of the Detained Voices project and a discussion of how the project reflects the literature on witnessing. The second section investigates anti-detention witnessing as an intervention in representational politics, albeit one that attempts to limit the effects of intermediaries by presenting detainee speech verbatim and without editorial comment. Witnesses are important in the representational frame because they have a special epistemological status resulting from their social position and direct experience. As people in detention occupy a specific epistemological location, both at the margins of society and in proximity to the detention system, they can add critical knowledge and experience to the discourse of anti-detention politics. However, while projects that 'give voice' are seen to counter the dehumanisation of migrants and evidence the political agency of those subject to border control, testimony is frequently seen as a problematic basis for political intervention. Witnessing centres the individual experience of oppression, often through accounts of specific instances of dramatic violence and distress, rather than organising on the basis of a more systemic or structural critique is contentious. Witnessing can be criticised on the basis of its investment in the authenticity of voice and romanticisation of migrant actors, for participating in a damaging narrative economy of asylum and for giving priority to voice over material practices cooperation.

In the final sections of this chapter, I argue that emphasising the post-representational nature of witnessing in the anti-detention movement allows for a fuller comprehension of what witnessing does. This view emphasises the role of both mediators and audience in the constitution of testimony and witnesses. As such, while the role of the witness is traditionally restricted to those with direct experiences of oppression, witnessing practices are collective, material and networked forms of practice. There are two implications of this post-representational interpretation of witnessing that I will discuss.

The first implication deals with the dynamics of recognition and intelligibility that are required for testimony to be produced. Testimony is traditionally understood as a non-political act that conveys a recognisable element of humanity in inhumane conditions. Here, I argue that focusing on the unintelligible aspects of testimony – those that fail to represent – are equally important as artefacts of exclusion. The second draws on practices of witnessing in Detained Voices to argue that post-representational witnessing can be dynamic, collective and transformative rather than passive, individualised and backward-

looking. In doing so, the chapter evidences post-representational interventions into the representational politics of detention and shows how post-representational activism reimagines the project of activist witnessing.

This chapter draws primarily on statements published on the Detained Voices website, and field notes detailing observations from my participant experience in the project. Whilst I have been involved in detention visits and detention protests, I have been most closely involved in the setting up and running of the Detained Voices project. This chapter has been written over the three-year lifetime of the project and has attempted to respond to incidents within detention and the changing political climate which shapes the receptiveness to detainee protest. For this reason, the debates in this chapter not only document the practice-based learning but are important in shaping the project's path. Thus the chapter attempts not only to contribute to an academic understanding of the role of witnessing in critical social movements but to generate and participate in more reflective forms of activism.

Detained Voices

For three days in March 2015, immigration detention attracted an unprecedented level of attention following a week-long exposé by Channel 4 and the release of a report by the Parliamentary Inquiry into detention. This publicity coincided with one of the regular 'Surround Harmondsworth' demonstrations, discussed in chapter four. While protests outside detention often coincided with protests inside detention, at this demonstration it quickly became clear that a larger detainee protest was starting. The phone used by activists outside to speak to those inside became overwhelmed with calls from people involved wanting to make demands to the Home Office and share their stories of mistreatment.¹⁹² The protest took the form of yard occupations and hunger strikes that lasted for around two weeks drawing in people from Dover, Dungavel and Morton Hall.

Arising from conversations with detainee protesters, the Detained Voices project became a means for publicising the protest firstly to mainstream media outlets, then to grassroots solidarity groups and finally to a wider online audience. After the protest, the project continued to use its networks as a means of recording the words of people held in detention

¹⁹² Field Note 12/3/2015

and those of their families. It was a method of communication that bypassed the usual gatekeepers, such as the detention centre management, who were often unwilling to communicate about events inside detention as they occurred.

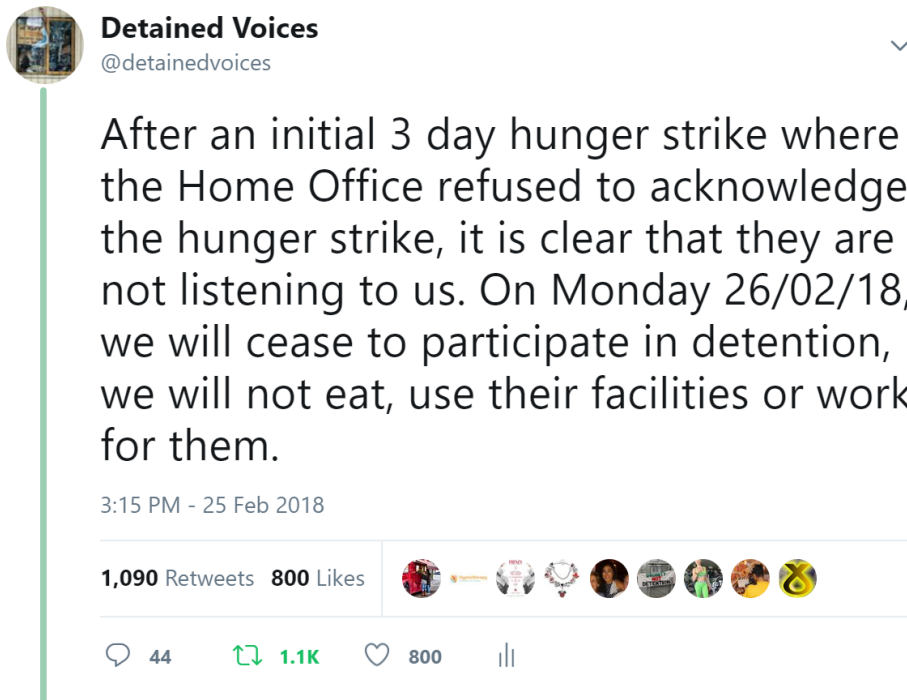
Since March 2015, approximately 200 posts have been published on the basic WordPress blog and shared on social media platforms. 'Statements' for publication are solicited by sharing a telephone number via visiting groups, on banners at detention centre protests, through word of mouth within detention and by referral from other detention groups. When someone in detention calls the number for the first time, a Detained Voices member explains the motivations and aims of the group and distinguishes the project from other groups that offer practical support or casework. They explain that the project is intended to be used by people in detention to speak out about detention and that they can use Detained Voices to publish an anonymous statement that will be disseminated online and used to draw attention to detention. If they agree to give a statement, the activist transcribes the story verbatim over the phone, asking for clarification and explanation. Afterwards, the Detained Voices member reads the statement back to the contributor to ensure they consent to its publication.

The project has played a role in some events in the anti-detention movement. In January 2017, the project focused on gaining the perspectives of those who were due to be deported on charter flights.¹⁹³ This activity fed into a month of action on charter flights which involved coordinated detention protests around the country. The resulting posts described the fear of violence on deportation flights and in the country of return. In March 2017, a group of fifteen activists from a separate group named End Deportation clutching print-outs of Detained Voices posts, locked themselves to a charter flight before it could take off from Stanstead airport.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ <https://detainedvoices.com/2017/01/30/673/> <https://detainedvoices.com/2017/03/29/if-they-take-me-back-to-nigeria-what-about-my-3-month-old-baby/>, <https://detainedvoices.com/2017/03/27/my-ex-husband-said-he-knows-i-am-being-deported-next-week-he-is-waiting-for-me-he-is-planning-to-kill-me/> [accessed 16/4/2019]

¹⁹⁴ This action resulted in convictions under anti-terrorism legislation. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/16/migrants-deportation-stansted-activists> [accessed 16/4/2019]

In February and March 2018, a month-long protest under the banner of ‘Hunger for Freedom’ was conducted in Yarl’s Wood and amplified by the Detained Voices project. Campaigners staged this protest that included hunger strikes, work strikes, sit-ins and a refusal to use detention facilities. They were, and still are, calling for an end to indefinite detention, an end to charter flights, an end to £1 per hour wages and an amnesty for people who have lived in the UK for over ten years.¹⁹⁵



The Detained Voices project is engaged in a representational task: it attempts to re-present the views and experiences of individuals living in detention centres. By centring the ‘voice’ of those who experience state repression first-hand, the testimonies attempt to challenge both state accounts of detention as well as the exclusive right of charities to speak on their behalf. As Rebecca, one of the members of detained voices stated:

“Most of the time people in detention are invisible in the anti-detention movement. The people visible are those working on behalf of them for legal representation or in the media. It’s everything but people in detention. If there have been particularly horrific things that have happened – the mention of the person who has been affected is so small,

¹⁹⁵ <https://detainedvoices.com/2018/02/25/the-strikers-demands/> [accessed 11/4/2019]

and it's like everything happens around them when they're the people we should be most concerned about and they're the people who are mostly silenced within the detention system." (Rebecca – Interview)

In both the aesthetic of the Detained Voices project as well as the processes of soliciting and publishing statements, the project attempts to reduce the mediation and gate-keeping of those outside. The titles of the posts are taken from key sentences within the statements. Other than this, there is no form of editorial framing that emphasises, for example, what the Detained Voices collective feel is important, and the statements do not support any overarching campaigns.¹⁹⁶

Detained Voices follows in a tradition of political action that generates testimony about oppression that is invisible or misunderstood within mainstream social discourse. While witnessing and testimony have long histories and associations with religion,¹⁹⁷ they have grown in their secular functions as forms of expression within official forums, such as public inquiries and truth commissions, and as a mode of social communication. Within academia, Holocaust studies, Latin American studies and Critical Race scholarship have engaged with theories about the political and epistemic function of testimony. As Franka Winter (2009) writes, testimony or testimonio is a historically and contextually situated way of truth-telling that formerly resembles a narrative interview and often is used to document and memorialise events in the past (Husanović, 2015). For Beverley (2004), testimony is also distinguished from other kinds of narrative history in that its urgency and political

¹⁹⁶ The information in the 'about' section of the website states that "The statements that appear on Detained Voices are the stories, experiences and demands made by people held in immigration detention centres in the UK or those who have family members or partners in detention. The site is operated by supporters outside of detention. The vast majority of the statements are written verbatim from a conversation over the phone. The statement is read back for the author of the statement to make changes and confirm that they wish it to be published. The rest are received via email or fax. The Detained Voices collective who run the site does not make any editorial comment or changes to the statements. Where it is necessary to give context, facilitators' comments are placed in [square brackets]."

¹⁹⁷ 'religious witness, the martyr, the sahid (the Greek and Arabic terms both meaning originally 'witness'). The religious witness, through his suffering and ultimate sacrifice, expresses in times of trial his confidence in a world that against all appearances is still governed by a moral authority and a supreme and just judge, that is, by God.... I do not wish to deny the possibility that the idea of a moral witness is a historical heir to the idea of the religious martyr as a witness. Note, however, that it is an heir with a twist: the martyr witnesses and then dies, whereas the moral witness has to live in order to serve.' (Margalit, 2004)

importance stems from its usefulness to the survivor, rather than the researcher or person soliciting the testimony. Furthermore, Beverley writes that unlike genres of bourgeois writing which emphasise the art of the medium, 'testimonio' involves a sort of erasure of the function, and thus also of the textual presence of the 'author' (Beverley, 2004). Instead, testimony is always oriented toward the truth as the witness perceives it, rather than mediated by an overtly constructed authorial voice.

In the 20th century, secular forms of witnessing became more prominent (Givoni, 2016), yet witnessing has retained key aspects of its religious heritage. The connection between bearing witness and being exposed to danger remains. This danger may either be the reason the testimony is made or might be experienced as a consequence of making the testimony (Margalit, 2004). It is also, classically, an individualistic act in which a survivor brings a message from a world beyond that which is experienced by the audience.

Whether *Detained Voices*, in fact, produces testimony is an open question. The character of statements on *Detained Voices* vary widely in form and content. Only some of the statements recount life stories and the significant events that explain the writer's situation.

A post from September 2015:

'I served a sentence in prison. While I was in prison, social services gets involved with my children. And my husband went to prison as well. The family court ruled that when I'm released I should resume the care of my children. But immigration brought me to Yarl's Wood instead. My deportation is not imminent because I have a judicial review that will take 8 months. I would be on licence anyway so my detention is not really necessary. I don't see why they don't release us while we are waiting for our case.

I'm here 3 months already. It's like I'm serving another sentence. And my children are serving another sentence with me because my detention really affects them. They say every child matters and all that and they are not living up to it. They say in the policy that it's all about the child's interest, but it doesn't matter when it comes down to my detention. I don't know what's happening, I'm just frustrated. I met someone who's been here for

*18 months and it's really unnecessary. It's a problem. I've done the time, I've paid my debts to society and now it's time to be with my family. It's like a punishment all over again. My children suffer because of my permanent detention. Everyone should have a chance to move on.'*¹⁹⁸

And a post from April 2015:

I've been in the UK since 2011. It wasn't specified why they got interested in my immigration case in 2014. In February at night 7 officers came to my house and handcuffed me in front of my kids. I work for a big UK company. In the eyes of my neighbours they must think I'm a big criminal. I was never running away I was just living here. They said I need to be taken away – they gave no paperwork to my partner. From then I've been held here, my solicitor said illegally. The judge in Newport gave me bail 12 days ago and the Home Office refused to release me. They say that I can abscond and will commit a crime – I don't have a criminal record in the UK. I was working legally and paying taxes and everything. I put a judicial review to stop the deportation order but they were still trying to take me to the airport. The high court said to cancel the deportation order and immediately release. I'm going to High Court again soon to see why they haven't released me.

It's terrible in here. I'm paying my taxes and my taxes are paying for this place. The food is disgusting, my dog wouldn't eat that. The officers won't listen to you. If you don't sign something they want you to sign they will say you are not cooperating but of course I'm not going to sign a deportation order when I have a legal case going on. The people who work here are still prison officers. It feels like a prison – it's literally like a prison. You are not allowed many things.

The government should open their eyes to what they do to families in this country. If family life is involved, where kids are involved they should take a

¹⁹⁸ <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/09/07/i-served-a-sentence-in-prison/>

concern that they are destroying our family life. But they are saying we can keep our relationship via Skype. How you want to keep it going across 1,500 miles away. We can't even live together. I have nothing in Poland anymore, everything is here, my partner, my kids, my house.

The Home Office try to destroy you mentally. They are just waiting for you to do something wrong so they can punish you. You literally have this feeling that they are pushing you to destroy your mental health. I think the government should open their eyes to see what the Home Office is doing.

However, a significant number of the posts take a different form. Some are reports of acts of protest within detention, detailing their strategies and giving accounts of their demands. I drew on a number of Detained Voices posts in chapter two to give an account of the demands made by those protesting in detention in the 2015 protests. Others are more like news reports about things that have occurred in detention.

A Lithuanian guy is in Dover Removal Centre – they can't deport him. He's been in pain because they've stopped his medication. They didn't give it to him. He's been asking for more treatment. The health care has been terrible recently.

This morning, he's gone through a gate from one of the units when the officer opened it and climbed on the roof of one of the buildings. He's on a building about 25 metres high on the other side of the building. It's like a castle. And he's saying that "if you come near me I'll cut my throat or I'll jump off the roof". He's not trying to run away, he's trying to make a point. His friend says that he's making the point that you can't just keep people in here without proper medication.

I don't know what they are doing about it because we are all locked in our rooms. I don't know if they've called the police or not. Would they call the police? I think there are trying to do it themselves.

He is a very nice guy, he's a very serious guy. I don't speak his language but I was shocked when I saw him. I'm very worried for him. I don't want him

to kill himself. He's a calm guy. But I've heard from his friends that he's very angry.

I can't see him but I called my friend – he's been there for two hours. It's not a joke, he's not joking.

The management have sent a note under the door: "We are currently managing an incident and ask for your cooperation. Lunch will be served in rooms on the wings. We are working to resolve the incident shortly and as quickly as possible to enable us to return to our normal regime. Your cooperation and understanding is appreciated. Detention Centre Manager".¹⁹⁹

Despite the differing styles, it is useful to note the connections between Detained Voices statements and testimony. The rhetorical power of the statements relies on the knowledge that the writer is experiencing and participating in the events they are relaying. The conversational and colloquial forms of expression, almost always in the first-person, keep the contributor present within the text and underlines the stake the writer has in their story being heard. The presentation of the statements downplays the existence of an editorial voice that contextualises or adds an extra authorising voice that specifies the way the statements are meant to be read. While the group has provided private assurances of their veracity to journalists in order for their use in mainstream journalism, they have chosen not to use their involvement in the project to platform themselves. These elements underscore the connection between Detained Voices statements and witnessing because the significance of the statements is not only grounded in the content of the statements but also in who is speaking and the relationship between the speaker and the conditions they are reporting on.

[Witnessing as a practice of representation](#)

Witnessing is often understood and evaluated in a representational frame. From this perspective, testimony is primarily useful because it can produce eye-witness statements about events that occur outside of public view. Eye-witnessing draws attention to the

¹⁹⁹ <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/05/15/hes-not-trying-to-run-away-hes-trying-to-make-a-point/> [accessed 3/4/2019]

proximity of the witness to the event and stresses the accuracy and truthfulness of the account (Mansbach, 2015). The Detained Voices project draws legitimacy from the notion of eye-witnessing especially in cases of detention mismanagement and physical abuse by staff.²⁰⁰ Sometimes multiple statements from different contributors offer corroborating accounts of events unfolding as the witnesses see them, or of events only a short while ago. When responding to these incidents, members of the Detained Voices collective would try to identify corroborating accounts and, where appropriate, pass on contacts to journalists and lawyers to enable complaints to be made and to open other channels of verification.²⁰¹

In the historical literature on the testimony of the Holocaust and in Latin American studies, the use of testimony as a source is a topic of some controversy. Some find the use of testimony a means of manipulation that enables factually incorrect statements to gain social validity (Stoll, 1999). For Stoll, the embeddedness of eye-witnesses in the contexts about which they are testifying means that their political biases must undermine the credibility attached to their information.

Likewise, testimony published by Detained Voices faces criticism for sharing unverifiable information about what goes on in detention. Those transcribing statements have to make judgements about whether it is more important to share a particular detainee account and risk the account being undermined by contradiction from the Home Office, or delay and imply a mistrust in the account being given. The group has particular concern when someone has witnessed or thinks they have witnessed a completed suicide attempt, for example. Such events are often traumatic for those who witness and they often want people to know about them immediately. However, the events are also easy to misread; and in the confusion, rumours can spread quickly. Reporting around these issues is difficult and journalists will usually wait for confirmation by the Home Office before publishing.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ For example: <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/11/25/today-there-was-a-fire-in-yarls-wood/> and <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/03/16/in-harmondworth-at-about/> [accessed 3/4/2019]

²⁰¹ Detained Voices will usually publish the accounts of those in detention without further investigation but where there are specific incidents likely to gather media attention, such as completed suicides or fires, the project requires confirmation before publishing (from guidance developed by Detained Voices members).

²⁰² It was thought that the Home Office would tell the truth if asked by a journalist about a death in detention but this turned out to be false; in 2017, the Home Office lied about a death occurring in detention, delaying the announcement so as to avoid adding to the controversy building up around a recent Panorama expose of Brook House. Field Note 19/09/2017

As well as reporting on events and conditions within detention and participating in a positivist notion of witnessing, testimony is a way of enabling those who are incarcerated to intervene in discourses from which they are excluded (Baszile, 2008). The Detained Voices project has a broader representational function of challenging dominant assumptions and logics evident in governmental and media discourses on detention. As Marshal et al. have argued, projects that re-present detainee speech '[challenge] mainstream narratives about detention in the UK' (2016). As chapter two discussed, state discourses present detention as an administrative means that is required to enable an efficient and effective border system, and thus it has no punitive function (Bosworth, 2014). When detention does reach the news in ways that challenge this perception, it does so in ways that are dramatic and spectacular, involving extreme cases that provoke public sympathy or in ways that present those detained as a chaotic and dangerous other (M Griffiths, 2014). Analyses of UK press coverage of asylum and immigration issues has found that the UK is 'unique' within the EU in its hostility to migrants (Berry et al., 2016).

One factor that allows these narratives to go unchallenged is the physical and social exclusion of those detained (Mountz, 2011b; Mountz et al., 2013). In providing channels of communication, the Detained Voices project enables multiple accounts of detention to filter into public discourse. Without Detained Voices, informed publics would know that Tarek Chowdhury was the second of four people to die in Morton Hall in 2017, but, through the testimony of his friends, a more detailed and relatable picture of him as an individual is revealed.

He was very caring and helpful to people doing applications and writing letters. He would just help people through the goodness of his heart for nothing in return. He was a really nice person. You don't often find people like that. When you find them it's like a diamond in the rough, you know.

He's also the type of person who you can talk to if you're stressed out in detention. He would talk to you and say 'keep strong' when he saw that you were depressed or stressed out. When a guy like that leaves us like this, it puts a lot of stress on the people who really connected with him on

*a spiritual level. If he was given bail and left here, people would have been proud and happy. But the way he left, really weighs heavy on your heart.*²⁰³

As well as adding humanising details to stories of tragedy, the accounts on the blog repeatedly stress aspects of detention that are generally absent from campaign work. In doing so, they serve a number of important functions from the perspective of representational politics. Firstly, Detained Voices posts stress the mundane and routinised abuses of power that occur through the regime. Over forty of the statements highlight food as an area of contestation.²⁰⁴ Food is not central to the cause of detention campaigners because it is thought of as incidental to the fact of detention itself and therefore more of a reformist concern than an abolitionist one. However, in testimony, detainees' complaints about the food, poor phone signal and bed-bugs are presented alongside issues activists would understand as being more political or significant, such as fear of return, racial abuse by guards or inadequate medical care.

The second representational function that witnessing plays is to enable the increased visibility of the agency and protest of people in detention. As we have seen in previous chapters, organising in ways that recognise and build upon protests within detention is a fundamental aspect of post-representational organising. On one hand, the frequent collective action of detainees is often obscured by campaigning strategies that emphasise the vulnerability and innocence of people detained. On the other, media narratives that do highlight protests are frequently constructed as riots and so obscure the political agency of those participating, and contribute towards a drive for further rules that divide and regulate people who are detained (M Griffiths, 2014). Since the initial wave of protests that prompted the project, Detained Voices has published collectively written demands, and complaints letters as well as accounts written by individuals involved in hunger strikes and collective action within the centres.

²⁰³ A detained voices statement included in the Guardian's reporting on the death of Tarek Chowdhury. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/dec/07/investigation-second-death-immigrant-centre-morton-hall-week> [accessed 10/12/2016]

²⁰⁴ For example: "We are served dry and tasteless food which women have trouble eating. If we don't get proper food our health gets worse and worse and this is one of the reasons many of us are sick." <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/03/20/we-are-suffering-very-much-here-in-yarls-wood/> [accessed 3/4/2019]

The third way Detained Voices facilitated witnessing contributes to a representational anti-detention politics is in the presentation of detention as a tool of removal. Detention campaigners have tended to present detention as separable from deportation, removal targets and the border policing of the hostile environment (See discussion of anti-detention campaigning in chapter two) by treating detention as an illegitimate form of imprisonment. While the conditions and fact of detention are significant for many people writing in Detained Voices (especially for those in detention for a significant amount of time) for many writers, the imminence of deportation means that the experience of detention is rarely disconnected from the anticipation of imminent removal.

Finally, Detained Voices provides space for stories from people who are not able to gain public sympathy because of criminal convictions or lack of family ties to the UK. The entanglement of stricter immigration rules particularly for those with criminal convictions, very little immigration-related legal aid, and a more hostile discursive climate in which undocumented migrants are presented as criminals, cohere to produce people as being almost unrepresentable from an advocacy perspective. Detained Voices, as has been noted with other detention testimony projects (Marshall et al., 2016), enable spaces that do not try to hide the more complicated and controversial aspects of detention such as the position of 'Foreign National Offenders'. Having a criminal record is often a barrier to having one's experience reported unless connected to a wider controversy such as the Windrush scandal.²⁰⁵

So far, we have seen how a representational notion of witnessing draws attention to the ways that Detained Voices attempts to 'amplify the voices' of those detained and enables them to speak at a distance to publics located away from the detention centre. In doing so, witnessing stakes a claim to the truth from a position of epistemic proximity to events on the ground and intervenes in political discourses on detention, challenging and adding to both governmental and activist ways of thinking. However, in the following subsections, I draw out how a representational view of witnessing raises concerns with centring political action around testimony.

²⁰⁵ Field Note 05/03/2019: Conversation with Hunger for Freedom campaigner.

Testimony and Authenticity

The first concern is that testimony seeks to legitimise activist work by drawing on a conception of 'authentic' voice and experience of people detained and participating in a problematic romanticisation of the migrant as an essentially political being (Hoofd, 2012). As we have seen, one way this could be read into the Detained Voices project is in its attempts to minimise the mediating effect of Detained Voices facilitators. The project is not linked to any external campaign groups which led some readers to think it was being run from within detention.

It could be tempting to read the presentation of Detained Voices statements as the authentic voice of people in detention transmitted without mediation through the project. This reading of the Detained Voices' project is similar to Deleuze's understanding of the Prison Information Group (GIP) that ran in France in the early 1970s, led by Foucault and other activist academics. The project involved positioning themselves as a conduit of information for prisoners to share testimony and information about the prison and prison revolts and publishing a series of pamphlets entitled *Intolérable*. The GIP was led primarily by intellectuals who, like Foucault, had a relatively high degree of press recognition through which attention was drawn to the project and understandings of it were shaped.

In the conversation, *Intellectuals and Power* (1977), Deleuze engages with Foucault as a GIP activist, describing how it aimed to 'create conditions that permit the prisoners themselves to speak' (206). For Deleuze, this activity was not an application of an overarching theory, nor a project of initiating reforms, nor a sociological enquiry – but instead an attempt to act as a 'system of relays' (206) connecting prisoners with discourses outside the prisons. It has been described as 'empowering of others by giving, for instance, the prisoners the voice they were denied' (Macey, 1995). Deleuze argues that Foucault avoids the 'indignity' of speaking for others: 'only those directly concerned can speak in a practical way on their own behalf' (209).

This 'new form of activism' (Artieres in Brich, 2008) is regarded by Deleuze as a response to a more general problem underlying imaginaries of representational politics. While Deleuze speaks generally about representation, Spivak accuses Deleuze of equivocating between two meanings of representation, political-representation (*Verretungen*) and descriptive-

representation (Darstellen). Deleuze's argument undermining representation in favour of a 'system of relays' that connects subaltern subjects to the means to speak back at power is in fact revealed as two interconnected arguments. One argument, troubling descriptive representation, rests on the assumption that the multiple guises in which power operates generate a complexity that cannot be documented in a singular re-presentation. And another, against political representation rests on the assumption that subaltern subjects' desire and interests align and therefore, they are able to speak for themselves without intellectuals deciphering their interest. For Deleuze, political representation must be replaced by projects, like the GIP, that attempt to re-present the discourses of those excluded from the discursive networks of power.

In her essay, 'Can the subaltern speak?' (1988), Spivak rightly admonishes Deleuze and Foucault for excitedly dismissing the need for representation in political struggle. Transformative struggle, for Spivak, engages with people who do not have access to the means of speaking without the mediation of representation and representatives. Representation takes place in an already conditioned forum that is both distorting and obscuring but this makes representation no less necessary. As Beverly writes, 'When Spivak states that the subaltern cannot speak, she means that subaltern speech cannot carry any sort of authority or meaning for us without altering the relations of power/knowledge that constitute it as subaltern in the first place' (Beverley, 1998). For Beverly, and for Foucault, the benefit of testimony is not in the authentic expression of the interest of the other, but instead is based in allowing the mixing of discourses of the subaltern with the mainstream and the transformation or re-composition of the social so that it can respond to subaltern voice. I return to this point when considering witnessing as a post-representational intervention.

The problem with Deleuze's characterisation of activism is that it appears to place emphasis on the authenticity and unimpeded transmission of message when testimony, as with any other speech act, is embedded in a specific social context (Winter, 2009). Yet, activists working around detention cannot avoid representation in both its descriptive and political forms. The effect of those on the outside of course changes and shapes the stories being told and how. The statements are crafted within the relationship established between the

person in detention and the facilitators of the blog.²⁰⁶ The reasons for the website's existence and the motivations of the facilitators are always explained to the person in detention. The scribe prompts answers with open questions but inevitably shapes the content of the statements.²⁰⁷ Where a statement is about a protest, the scribe may ask for reasons for demands that they are making. In these ways, the testimony is a response to a specific interaction and selection process and cannot be said to be representative of the views of people in detention as a whole.

Furthermore, the discourses that circulate in detainee testimony often mimic the prevailing NGO discourse at the time. While Detained Fast Track policy was the principal subject of the Harmondsworth demos in 2015, it was the call for a Time Limit that became the most prominent demand of the hunger strikes in 2018. However, it is unclear whether these issues were the priorities of people in detention or if protesters realised that issuing demands that cohere with the expectations and proposals of campaign groups was a good way to get their voice amplified. Even where people were speaking on their own behalf, their political agency was still being constructed and mediated (McGregor, 2011).

For these reasons, the Detained Voices project is in some way a disciplinary force on detainee protest. While the intention is only to record statements when someone in detention wants to speak out about an event, in reality, the existence of a means of speaking out generates a desire or feeling of obligation to do so. Moreover, the activists running the Detained Voices phone would also be a source of support – making referrals and supporting some individuals to resist removal. As such, the activists found it difficult to distinguish between those giving willing consent and those feeling obliged to make

²⁰⁶ This came through in interviews with Detained Voices members (e.g. Rebecca and Sandy) and in my own Field Notes (14/03/2018). It was most explicit when responding to protests in detention in the early days of Detained Voices when members would ask for demands or what to protest was for which, on occasion were not verbalised before the request for them was made. But it was recognised as an implicit aspect of ordinary testimony statements – for someone to want to transcribe and publish testimony the sense of injustice is assumed to need to be central to the account.

²⁰⁷ Such as 'what do you think it's important for people outside detention to know?' or 'what has happened that you would like people to know about?' Field Note 2/7/2017.

statements.²⁰⁸ Consequently, activists were actively participating in the shaping of testimony they were recording.

Testimony and the politics of injury and identity

If witnessing is not about enabling authentic speech, then it is a constructed, chosen form of representation. However, this form of representation can be subject to a range of critiques based on the positioning of the role of individual experience as the basis of political action. One area of concern is the focus on individual accounts of trauma in detention in many of the statements. Žižek's (2009) distinction between 'subjective' and 'objective' violence is helpful here. Subjective violence involves the most immediate and 'most visible portion' of violence that often is associated with identifiable victims and perpetrators. Objective violence includes less obvious, covert forms of violence such as the 'symbolic' violence embedded within language and the 'systemic' violence of 'the often catastrophic consequences of the smooth functioning of our economic and political systems'. Žižek claims that the 'lure' of subjective violence necessarily erases the systemic, objective violence by presenting a fake urgency that prevents audiences from thinking about and apprehending the underlying structures that explain them. This is because subjective violence is necessarily presented as an interruption or aberration from a background of zero-violence. The concern, in the case of detention activism, is that the severity of this immediate suffering takes precedence, in the eyes of campaigners, over the long-term bureaucratically administered structural and systemic harm (as discussed in chapters two and three). The implication of this is that if only the system could be reformed in such a way that this suffering be cautioned against or hidden further from view, then that would alleviate the need for the system's abolition.

A related issue is that the Detained Voices project participates in generating the expectation that individuals must have a coherent and recognisable narrative to demonstrate their belonging to UK society and obtain their right to be heard. Implicit in the sharing of claims of victimisation is the idea that they will be recognised as victims by the audience. But such narratives are un-detachable from what Woolley (2017) calls the 'asylum story' – the

²⁰⁸ This issue was frequently discussed at Detained Voices meetings and trainings. It was often emphasised that the purpose of calls was not to take statements and that activist taking phone calls should not feel like the statements were the goal of a conversation.

structuring of a 'narrative economy that sets the terms for the enunciation of the refugee experience'. Placing emphasis on the dramatic consequence of deportation and detention and giving a platform to those who feel their story will resonate with others fails to challenge the standards of victimhood and innocence which exclude many from being able to make recognised claims. While the Detained Voices testimony does not take shape within formal legal structures of recognition, like an asylum claim, the very act of publishing statements implies a claim that a reader will expect that the testimony is evidence of recognisable yet unaccounted for injustice. Detained Voices participates in the expectation that in order for those in detention to be heard, there needs to be a recognisable, sympathetic narrative of persecution. These are the stories that receive the most attention and support both from its volunteers and its audiences online.²⁰⁹ In the process, this silences stories from those who do not have the capacity to generate public sympathy.

Another potentially problematic consequence of the focus on the identity of the speaker, rather than the content of the message, is the implication that the issue is 'owned' by those who suffer from it and that those who do not suffer are less legitimate in their critique and resistance to it. As Brian, an organiser with a group that works with former detainees said, centring on detainee voices creates problems for alliance building because there is less room for others to take hold of the issue as their own.²¹⁰

Wendy Brown, while careful not to homogenise struggles based on identity and recognition, argues against injury as a basis of political struggle, particularly when elevated to the level of 'politicised identity'. At the core of her critique is the claim that it is difficult to combine an attachment to an injury with a project that incorporates the means to build for an emancipatory future. This investment, formulated using Nietzsche's concept of 'ressentiment', in the pain of the present and past, for Brown, entails a neglect for the project of identifying emancipatory futures in which these identities do not play such a role. For Brown, this failure to imagine emancipatory futures plays into the logics of ideological stasis of late capitalism (Brown, 1993). Brown's prognosis – a shift from a discourse concerned with what is the case to one about the kinds of emancipatory futures that collectives should be organising for – indicates that injury can be the spur of progressive

²⁰⁹ Field Note: Reflections on Detained Voices traffic on website and engagement on Twitter.

²¹⁰ Interview Brian Feb 2017

political movement but that it should not become reified in politicised identity to the point of obscuring openings to emancipatory futures.

By centring on individuals' accounts of violence and presenting testimony as being at the centre of the anti-detention movement, witnessing invokes a moralistic rather than political response to detention. It tends to foreground the alleviation of immediate suffering rather than developing a systemic critique. These features give rise to an unfortunate binary between political engagement and experiential engagement in which some are allowed to critique detention whereas others are only able to experience it (see also discussion below on the politics of belief).

Emotional politics of testimony: Empathy and inaction

Another critique of the role of witnessing as a tool of representational politics arises from one of its purported assets: its distinctive ability to evoke an emotional response to the stories that compel readers to join in opposition to detention. The use of personal stories in journalistic media generates both empathy and identification with the issue (Maria Elizabeth Grabe et al., 2017) and is a well-used journalistic strategy to engage readers and increase the 'force' of journalistic writing (Kunelius and Renvall, 2010; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). Providing personal stories in journalistic engagements with migration stories, even where there is a political will to do so, is relatively rare and challenging given the resource-intensive task of finding appropriate subjects and evidencing their story (Pantti and Ojala, 2018)²¹¹. The statements posted by Detained Voices turn readers into a more removed kind of witness. The presentation of the statements and the first-person narrative form they often take, hide the mediating scribe and offer a presentation of self-witnessing testimony from people in detention.

Testimony has been a key component of Critical Race theory and writing. It has been used to draw attention to the ways academic writing is saturated by a concern for reason, constructed to exclude considerations of affect and emotion (Harris, 1993; Williams, 1988). For Baszile (2008), testimony is an epistemological and pedagogical tool that enables the

²¹¹ For example: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/apr/18/act-jamaica-deported-british-england-home-office> [accessed 18/4/2018]

movement outside conventional notions of reason in order to reassess it.²¹² Emotion then is not merely an affective motivator of engagement with an issue that distracts from a fair consideration of facts, but a way of stepping outside the domains of established reason to question the assumptions of dominant rationality. As well as strategic uses of emotion to question dominant logics, Critical Race theory incorporates sources with 'unorthodox structure, language and form to make sense of the senseless' (Bell, 2005: 82). This play with form allows new voices, connections and perspectives to be heard within settings that typically separate analysis from experience, and knowledge from feeling. Within Critical Race theory, then, testimony plays a dual role in making visible racial trauma but also interrogating the discursive structures that enable and reproduce it (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002).

However, others have expressed worries about the use of empathy to foment progressive political action. Gill (2016) finds problems in both affective distance and affective proximity. On the one hand, the violence of immigration control and detention is enabled by a moral distance that separates various publics (from the general public to functionaries within the border enforcement) from the violence of border control. On the other, an over-exposure to the suffering of others can lead to a numbness that produces a debilitating and passive condition of spectatorship. Consequently, while exposure to testimony attempts to overcome an emotional, as well as geographic detachment from the issue of detention it can contribute to a movement-culture that is saturated by the overwhelming quantity of portrayals of suffering and violence.²¹³

A further concern about witnessing as a tool of political struggle is that testimony might produce problematic forms of affect. The power of testimony to convey experiences of oppression has led it to be connected to political strategies that centre on the fostering of

²¹² Baszile argues that a 'different ontological perspective' arises within Black autobiography. This perspective is distinct from the Cartesian image of individuality and objectivity which underpins the authorial voice of objective and unemotive reason in white and bourgeois writing. In doing so, Baszile provincializes this Cartesian subject enabling reflection on the historical, socio-racial positionality that underpins reason.

²¹³ In some ways this mirrors the reported impact of television coverage of violence. While the introduction of television was seen as a means through which the violence of war was subject to closer supervision by the publics that funded it, the quantity of negative affect produced through television and subsequently, more networked forms of media, has, it is argued, transformed everyone into passive witnesses to oppression (Chouliaraki, 2010; Mortensen, 2015).

social imaginaries of empathy as tools of social progress. Moral scholars, such as Nussbaum (2008), advocate empathy as a moral virtue that involves the ‘imaginative reconstruction of another’s experience’. Yet empathy is, with justification, regarded with suspicion amongst political theorists of witnessing and testimony. Boler (1997) characterises empathy as an emotional response that relies on a kind of identification with the victim of violence combined with a social imaginary that distances oneself from the causes of violence. This identification situates the western, citizen/reader as an unconnected and independent judge in whom empathy may develop with no compulsion towards the critical analysis of their involvement in the structures of power that enable violence and oppression to occur. It facilitates a response to injustice through an identification with victimhood and the experience of oppression, rather than in helping to either understand structural oppression or organise to fight it. Furthermore, as Iris Marion Young suggests, empathy implies an identification with the other that detracts from recognising the different structural positions that condition and shape one’s expectations and values (Young, 2001).

The combination of identification and passivity associated with empathy risks playing into the existing racialised and classed dynamics of social movement organising. It means that the experiences of people in detention are only accepted as belonging within the public sphere when they present in ways that conform to society’s ideal of white, middle-class Britishness which signals that something has gone wrong in the detention system.²¹⁴ In particular, the dynamics played out within witnessing projects can reinforce dominant power structures. Bearing witness to racialised violence without naming it as such ‘produce[s] seemingly innocent white witnesses who can consume these spectacles of domination without confronting their complicity in such acts’ (Lamble, 2008: 25).

Witnessing as a form of post-representational politics

Thus far, I have discussed the Detained Voices project as a representational intervention into migration discourses. A representational view of witnessing allows for an appreciation of certain uses of testimony as a method of revealing hidden truths about detention and for enabling interventions into detention discourse from those inside. It also reveals a certain

²¹⁴ For example: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/dec/28/dutch-woman-with-two-british-children-told-to-leave-uk-after-24-years> [accessed 27/05/2018] and Radio 4 interview with a Hunger For Freedom protester in March 2018. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09smgy3> [accessed 11/04/2019]

ambivalence within the project of witnessing. The representational approach to the concept of witnessing often fails to account for the ways witnessing functions as a revered form of speech that elevates individuals to the status of witness. For example, Beverley (2004) rejects purely positivist uses of witnessing by arguing that the importance of testimony does not rely on the validity of any fact but a deeper truth of testimony arises out of the event or subject of testimony. The value of testimony is contained in a 'deeper truth', not captured in the literal meaning of the words. In particular it 'depends on authenticity, not accuracy' (Ullma, 2006: 183).

I also argued that witnessing projects, when understood in terms of representational politics can carry an investment in authentic speech and participate in a romanticised notion of migrants as bone fide political agents. It directs readers towards individualised accounts of 'subjective' violence rather than deeper structural 'analyses' of oppression, and it contributes to a saturation of stories of violence that, far from drawing people into action, is liable to render them passive consumers of 'urgent' sharable narrated violence. Finally, it participates in a prevailing social dynamic that in order for those in detention to be heard and given rights, each person must, as an individual, have a story that is recognisable and relatable to an audience.

Without attempting to reject the more ambivalent aspects of the project, the last two sections argue, in different ways, that a post-representational analysis of witnessing practices in the anti-detention movement helps to more fully understand the practice of witnessing and the role that witnessing can play in critical anti-border movements. In the first intervention, I argue that looking past what is represented in testimony is key to understanding the significance of witnessing to the anti-detention movement. In the second, I return to the understanding of witnessing as an example of collaborative practice.

Politics of belief

A post-representational reading of witnessing reconceptualises the relationship between testimony and political action by drawing attention to the act and context of making, distributing and reading testimony. I suggest that we can understand this post-representational view of testimony as developing a politics of belief. One aspect of this politics is representational; it emphasises the benefits of responding to survivors of violence

with affirmation rather than suspicion. In particular, it aims to counteract the 'culture of disbelief' that pervades the asylum and detention system by responding with belief to the content of testimony that is ignored and disbelieved by the Home Office and detention staff (Gibson, 2013; Jubany, 2011).²¹⁵ However, a politics of belief, captures more than this. The term is drawn from Sara Ahmed's phenomenological ethics of responding to other's pain that centres on the tenet that 'I must act about that which I cannot know, rather than act insofar as I know. I am moved by what does not belong to me' (Ahmed, 2002: 25). I argue that a politics of belief is not merely to believe that which is represented in testimony but to be prompted to understand the failures and contradictions within testimony by being drawn to comprehend the material causes of these gaps.

Post-structuralist theories of testimony are a good starting point for this approach. For these writers, testimony is always written from within or in response to an experienced event that can never be fully conveyed through writing or speech.²¹⁶ The existence of testimony is in some senses a dramatisation of this failure of language to mediate between event and representation (Pratt, 2009). This view emanates from writers that centre Holocaust testimony as the archetypal form of testimony. As Givoni (2016) glosses, the post-structuralist approach views testimony as 'ethical performances of a subjectivity in an irremediable crisis' (15) – it is a tragic failure of the individual witness to injustice to have an ethical responsibility to speak out, but for the experience of the injustice never to be fully conveyed. Here then, the failure of representation in testimony is necessarily linked to the delineation of testimony as an ethical rather than political pursuit.

This explains the desire in many representations of detainee speech to challenge the dehumanising strategies of the border by emphasising their humanity through a display of relatable and intelligible political agency. However, in practice, protests are read through an ethical lens of testimony. In the 2018 hunger strikes, for example, while the demands were clearly laid out that the target of their protest were the Home Office and the government's policies of indefinite detention, the protests were repeatedly framed by the media and by

²¹⁵ This has also been reported in the approach the Home Office takes to asylum claims and the failings in the rule 35 procedure for responding to vulnerable people in detention (Medical Justice, 2015).

²¹⁶ Lyotard (1989) presents the notion of the differend, a condition in which a plaintiff is forced to present her case in the idiom of her opponent or in institutions he controls which creates the further tragedy of not being able to communicate fully the injustice.

politicians in terms of a ‘desperate’ plea by asylum-seeking women about the conditions that they were being held in. Rather than being seen as political organisers with policy proposals that needed to be responded to²¹⁷, they were predominantly portrayed as individuals with anomalous and personal claims of injustice that narrowed and depoliticised their action. Their demands were understood to be about their conditions rather than the system confining them.²¹⁸ The demands of the protest were continually displaced by the need to individualise and narrate the story of the protest. Even while detainee protesters made clear the object of their protest was policy, their action was individualised and privatised – presented implicitly and sometimes explicitly as an abhorrent case in an otherwise necessary and just system. The form of testimony and the figure of the passive observer echoes the need to understand those in detention in the frame of innocence and powerlessness that is required of refugees.²¹⁹

Some projects respond to this depoliticisation and ethicisation of testimony by distancing themselves from and even denouncing individual experience carried by notions of witnessing. The Freed Voices project, for example, emphasises the way those in detention can become ‘*experts by experience*’ and encourage its members to speak about the policies and politics rather than merely about personal stories. The project rejects the notion of testimony and adopts an advocacy stance and attempts to persuade people using argumentation rather than emotion and first-person stories.²²⁰ This approach is useful for the targeted campaigns that this project is concerned with and the context of working over a long time with individuals who have been released from detention. However, the approach maintains rather than questions the distinction between the political and the ethical that places testimony as an inferior form of intervention in the first place.

²¹⁷ <https://detainedvoices.com/2018/02/22/the-hunger-strikers-demands/> [accessed 3/3/2019]

²¹⁸ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/yarls-wood-women-immigration-detention-centre-hunger-strike-home-office-a8223886.html> [accessed 3/3/2019]

²¹⁹ When the identity of one of the Hunger for Freedom protesters was revealed by the press, she was made the face of the strike. Her story, as someone who came to the UK as a child, was embedded in a church community, detained with her mother became a focus rather than on the demands of the strike.

²²⁰ Field Note 3/5/18. The co-ordinator of Unlocked also rejected its characterisation as a ‘testimony project’ because the point of it is to dissolve a binary distinction between the ‘experiences’ of those in detention and the knowledge and argument of NGO experts outside of detention (Marshall et al., 2016).

This approach contrasts with the statements from Detained Voices that do not refrain from identifying and displaying the ambiguity involved in testimony.²²¹ The project does not hide the fact that the information it publishes is contentious, incomplete, confusing and sometimes inconsistent. The statements are often conversational, jumping from topic to topic, frequently articulated in colloquial English with non-standard spelling and the exact context is often unclear. There is no training or guidance about what is important to say and how to say it to appeal to the desired audience.

Within many of the statements, there are frequent tacit acknowledgements of the incompleteness of their content and their inability to communicate the reality of detention. The content of testimony from Detained Voices also frequently points to the excess, the demands that are left over. A recent list of demands ends with the ellipsis ‘there are as many demands as there are detainees’, pointing to the failure of the demands to account for every experience of detention.²²² An early statement points towards the way that ‘Everyone has a different story, but we all want freedom’,²²³ again underlying the diversity of those working together to protest against detention. Another post describes the limitations of the testimony contained in: ‘The overwhelming plight of foreign nationals in UK detention centres under immigration powers can never be captured through any report. My case is a testimony.’²²⁴

These features of Detained Voices testimony point to the need to develop the post-structuralist account of testimony. A post-structuralist vision of witnessing holds that the reality of experience can never be conveyed through witnessing and that, therefore, the witness is a necessarily de-politicised figure, that tragically fails to fully communicate their experience to others (Givoni, 2016; Lyotard, 1989). In contrast, the version of witnessing we see here demands that the failure to communicate itself points to the material barriers to communication as well as to the means of overcoming them. In doing so, post-

²²¹ For example, a statements starts: ‘I want to say many things I can’t say because I don’t speak – understand – English. I feel really really thankful you have called us back and you have patience to listen to us. Our story. I’m here three months. I have – I’m not in health here’ <https://detainedvoices.com/2018/12/05/if-i-call-the-police-the-police-will-arrest-me/> [accessed 11/3/2019]

²²² <https://detainedvoices.com/2018/02/25/the-strikers-demands/> [accessed 11/4/2019]

²²³ <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/03/09/we-went-on-hunger-strike/> [accessed 11/4/2019]

²²⁴ <https://detainedvoices.com/2015/05/18/where-do-i-even-begin-about-my-immigration-detention-and-where-do-i-stop/> [accessed 11/4/2019]

representational witnessing draws attention to the ways witnessing is more than a plea for representation and recognition (Oliver, 2001). Instead, testimony points to the need for readers to take responsibility for the conditions in which testimony is made (Tait, 2011).

A post-representational approach to witnessing involves treating misunderstanding as artefacts that point to openings to expand understanding and engagement. It warns against readings of testimony that assimilate the witness into a preconceived idea(l) of campaginer, victim or protester. It is this feature of witnessing that allows the practice to bridge the structural and interpersonal, rather than remaining in as moralistic and individualised practice. In summary, echoing Spivak's argument for a change in the way testimony is read, it demands a change in the patterns of recognition through which society determines claims worthy of recognition.

The practice of post-representational witnessing

The second move that a post-representational concept of witnessing allows for helps overcome the tendency of witnessing projects to align themselves with the project of 'giving voice'. Privileging the role of voice, as in the title 'Detained Voices', hints at liberal notions of political engagement in which political inclusion and power is attached to voice in contrast to other embodied forms of participation. Sean, an activist who was involved in the Detained Voices project, was, on reflection, critical of what it could achieve. He worried that the project was like a meeting in which no one could hear what had been said before and every person kept making their own intervention without coming to a synthesis of what the collective should do (Interview). It plays into an essentially liberal imaginary of political change – that which starts by convincing people of the everyday injustices of detention. But it does little to create power or organisation on the side of people in detention, which for Sean, was a neglected source of resistance in the representational frame.

This section identifies a second aspect of the post-representational notion of witnessing, developed through the Detained Voices project, and moves beyond critiques of witnessing as an individualistic politics of voice. It argues that in important ways the project pushes at the limits of traditional understanding of witnessing as a passive, individual pursuit, oriented to events in the past and concerned primarily with representational tasks of projecting hidden injustices into the public sphere. In doing so, we return to the understanding of

witnessing as a collective practice or collaboration through which individuals become witnesses. I argue that this expanded sense of witnessing is needed to understand witnessing as a tool for enabling a more cooperative mode of anti-detention politics.

The witnessing literature frequently relies on a distinction between survivor testimony on the one hand, and ally witnessing on the other. While witnessing another's oppression has received less attention than survivor testimony, Mansbach (2015) and Givoni (2016) have emphasised ally witnessing as strategies of resistance to state violence and as forms of humanitarian reflection. According to Mansbach, ally witnessing functions as a form of representation that enables Israeli activists to give Palestinian experience legitimacy in Israeli society through testifying to the violence at checkpoints; and enables solidaristic identification with those subject to checkpoint control – two projects that play very much within established prisms of recognition rather than challenging them. Givoni explains how ally witnessing can be a mode through which humanitarian action, typically characterised as a depoliticised, ethical form of intervention, can be a reflexive tool to examine the political ramifications, dilemmas and paradoxes of that action.

Testimony projects like Detained Voices appear to buy into the predominant idea that 'self-witnessing' is more valid and important than ally witnessing. However, a closer understanding of the process and practice of Detained Voices testimony deconstructs this opposition between the two. The process of translating stories from oral testimony to the written form to share them in different online and offline contexts has been described by Husanovic (2015: 26) as 'an affective corporeal activity and an ethical practice', drawing out the ways witnessing can be a process of collaboration. This process involves establishing emotional solidarity and trust with the detainee authors of the testimony as well as the need to stay true to the intention of the speaker through the inevitable inaccuracies and paraphrasing that occur through the process of transcribing on the phone. This occurs within a relationship formed between author and scribe – again one of unequal power and again one in which the negotiation of agency and control of what is said is held up for examination. For the scribe, it also means being open about the purposes of publishing accounts of detention, establishing a common purpose, taking care to protect the author's anonymity, making sure the statement of the person speaking out is exposed to the least possible risk of reprisals. The project, therefore, has to sustain practical and affective

knowledge in ways that a focus on the representational effects of witnessing would obscure. This supports Husanović's notion of witnessing as a bodily experience translated into an act of memory in which this translation is itself an active and material process (Husanović, 2015: 19).

One element that the project recognised is the importance of being responsive to the forms of protest and action that are occurring in detention and be attentive to the ways that existing routines could obscure or even block strategies adopted by people in detention. For example, the primary function of the Detained Voices project had been to allow individuals to record their experiences of detention. However, the Hunger for Freedom protest of February 2018 challenged the project to reckon with its practices.²²⁵ The strikers were an organised group who wanted not only control of their message but for each public statement to be subject to deliberation amongst themselves. So while Detained Voices had previously been used for individuals to speak on their own behalf, here protesters wanted to collectively agree on the representations made of the protest. For activists on the outside, it was important to recognise and respond to the collective agency of the protest as well as the individual agency of those who made statements, noticing that one could undermine the other.²²⁶

While, at points, the Detained Voices project has been merely a means of recording evidence of abuse and enabling individuals to speak out, the project has been most successful in terms of gaining awareness when the recording goes hand in hand with material action by those in detention. The hunger strikes underline the ways the materiality of detention and the processes of witnessing and dissemination are active in the production of anti-detention discourse. Even while invisible, by refusing food and occupying areas within the detention centre, such as Health Care and the Home Office departments, the protesters were able to sustain attention to the protest. The protest provoked repressive responses that could be used to further generate attention. For example, the Home Office responded with letters, threatening the hunger strikers to be aware that their action could

²²⁵ Field Note 21/02/2018

²²⁶ Field Note 26/02/2018

accelerate their deportation.²²⁷ The protesters provoked further controversy both by pointing to the active repression that prevented others from joining with the protests and by using the invisibility of the protesters as a tool that protesters used to create impressions of large-scale protests beyond that which are achievable.

Witnessing, conceived as a social practice in which actors become witnesses, draws into view the variety of acts and actors that are involved. Not only is post-representational witnessing a collective and material practice, but it is also active and transformative rather than a merely passive act. Witnessing produces novel subjects and capacities to act. Against viewing the witness as the passive victim that later represents the injury to an innocent audience, witnessing in *Detained Voices* actively changes the conditions that people in detention live and resist. This transformative aspect of witnessing occurs at two registers. The first is within the relationship of witnessing itself. The process of reading back a testimony to clarify, add to and gather consent for publication is inadvertently an act that strengthens the voice and conviction of the author. The witness position is the 'product' rather than a 'precondition' of the testimony (Givoni, 2011).

Another element of the materiality of witnessing, illuminates the ways in which the practice of witnessing changes the conditions within which people are held. Whereas representational witnessing is oriented toward events in the past and present, post-representational witnessing is focused on building capacities and forging platforms of communication that enable further activism. By enabling those in detention to articulate their actions inside detention to a public; groups in detention have more reason to organise actions in detention, such as the sit-ins, which would not have a wider effect over and above disrupting the detention regime.

²²⁷ The protesters were then sent a letter that home office policy suggests should only be given to those on hunger strike 'as a form of protest'. This letter says that, 'The fact that you are currently refusing food and/or fluid: may, in fact, lead to your case being accelerated and your removal from the UK taking place sooner.' Many in the protest saw the threat of expedited removals, along with the persistent goading by guards, insisting on individual meetings rather than collective meetings, making protesters aware that they were being watched and recorded on film, calling out protesters' names on a sound system whenever they were in a sit-in and official forms about giving consent to refuse medical care, as a strategy to intimidate, fragment their protest.



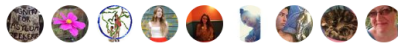
Detained Voices
@detainedvoices



We are taking part in a peaceful sit in outside the [@ukhomeoffice](#) department in [#YarlsWood](#), we want to speak with [@AmberRuddHR](#) about our indefinite detention and the Home Offices attempts to change the definition of torture when they already detain victims with impunity.

11:11 AM - 9 Apr 2018

60 Retweets 66 Likes



↻ 60

♡ 66



An individualistic and passive concept of witnessing obscures the capacity witnessing to alter conditions of incarceration and also hides the agency of those who are enabling the actions of the protests to be witnessed. For example, members of Detained Voices were concerned about their role in facilitating communication of the protest because they were ‘creating the conditions in which the protest was occurring’ and thus were creating conditions in which hunger strikes were seen as effective modes of resistance.²²⁸

Recognising this more interventionist mode of witnessing is not designed to take agency and ownership of the protest away from those inside, but to recognise the labour of overcoming the barriers that detention imposes, including having strategic discussions with protesters (some, but not all, of which were welcomed),²²⁹ informing those striking about events outside detention as well as sharing knowledge of the health and strategic risks of indefinite hunger strikes.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to understand the politics of witnessing and testimony in the anti-detention movement by drawing out both representational and post-representational framings of the concept. Representational politics brings out the ways witnessing enables

²²⁸ Field Note 28/02/2018

²²⁹ Field Note 28/02/2018

new portrayals of detention and of people in detention and intervenes by challenging some of the problematic dimensions of governmental and pro-migration discourse. It also points to problematic elements of witnessing, including a tendency to provide subjective accounts of violence, its investment in authenticity, romanticism and identity politics, its participation in the logic of asylum and its ineffectiveness in changing the material conditions that disempower people in detention. Witnessing, therefore, supports representational goals but also plays into existing paradigms and power dynamics that structure societal recognition of political agency. As Gutierrez notes, 'witnessing most often sustains fundamental values and shared ideals within a society' (Gutiérrez-Jones, 2001: 170). While accepting these accounts as real limitations of the Detained Voices project, I have argued that identifying post-representational aspects of witnessing allows for consideration of aspects of witnessing that are otherwise missed.

Firstly, I drew upon Ahmed's notion of a politics of belief to draw attention to the importance of testimony as an artefact of both resistance and repression rather than its role to re-present the existence of repression. I argued that testimony works to challenge the boundaries of recognisable political intervention. While witnessing often works within conventional accounts of intelligible political agency, it can also point beyond, to an unintelligible excess. A politics of belief requires that groups respond to subalterneity and is thus responsive to pain we can sense but cannot know. Secondly, witnessing can be an active process that enlarges the range of political opportunities of people in detention, supporting collective action and resistance. Therefore, testimony is not only a project that showcases detainee agency but actively supports and nourishes it. Post-representational witnessing in anti-detention activism displaces the notion of witnessing as passive, individualistic and backward-looking.

In making these arguments, the chapter fleshes out a defence against accusations that post-representational politics is uninterested and incapable of making interventions into public debate. It is an example of the ways post-representational politics looks above and beyond the immediate, the ethical, and the internal power dynamics and toward a broader, longer term project of recomposing society to recognise new political claims and to look beyond its own frames of recognition in order to act.

This leads to another side of the work of Detained Voices. The work of testimony projects operates primarily on the anti-detention movement itself, rather than on a more general public sphere. In doing so, it makes an intervention into what and who the movement is for, who is driving it and how the movement can both avoid replicating dynamics that replicate privilege and embody an accountable activism. The next chapter moves to explore accountability in social movements, the barriers to accountability and post-representational activism as an intervention in thinking about what accountable activism involves.

Chapter 7: Accountability and Affinity in Post-Representational Politics

So far, this thesis has examined post-representational politics by scrutinising three distinct practices of anti-detention activism: protest, visiting, and recording testimony. I have argued that these practices are engaged in grounded conceptual thinking about solidarity, hospitality and witnessing, respectively, and that this conceptual thinking exposes both the tensions within progressive anti-border movements and reveals creative ways of occupying those tensions. This chapter takes a broader view, attempting to understand the contribution that post-representational politics makes to the project of radical, abolitionist anti-detention politics more broadly. To do this, I assess post-representational politics as an attempt to enact forms of *accountable* social movement organising in and around spaces of incarceration. By addressing the ways responsibility is performed in the anti-detention movement, the chapter articulates post-representational forms of accountability.

The term accountability has a wide range of application in both academic and activist discourse. In grassroots activist meeting spaces, the concept carries a normative weight but is mobilised in response to a wide range of situations²³⁰. These include issues relating to individual behaviour such as the everyday failures of individuals to follow through on commitments and the ways groups respond to incidents of physical and emotional abuse within social movement organisations and other communities.²³¹ Accountability is also used to work through organisational deficiencies such as hierarchical and dogmatic organisational structures that enable and facilitate that abuse; the unresponsiveness of NGOs to support detainee activism; the failures of strategies and calls for reform to speak for everyone

²³⁰ Field Note 6/6/18

²³¹ There are important contributions to the understanding of accountability within activist communities made by anti-carceral feminist activists that focus on building adequate community responses to violence which do not rely on the police (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2003; The Salvage Collective, 2016). There are important questions both about the extent to which community accountability processes should mimic the formality and rationalities of criminal accountability. The thinking on accountability in this chapter is not trying to replicate this important work and is not primarily oriented toward helping understand how communities should respond when individuals within them cause interpersonal violence and harm. Indeed, the thinking, presented later in this chapter, on the relationship between affinity and accountability would be inadequate, on its own, to meet the goals given the potential for violence in all relationships (Anonymous et al., 2012). However, to the extent that transformative justice shifts our view from practices of accountability that somehow account for past behaviour to developing and instituting collective practices that locate and prevent abuse, I believe that this intervention into social movement accountability is consistent with that work.

threatened with deportation²³². As such, the word accountability names and connects important problems relating to responding to harms within activist communities; ensuring activists understand their own relationship to systemic injustice,²³³ and preventing the reproduction of power dynamics that activists wish to undo. However, because of its wide application, it is unclear whether the concept leads us to adequate resolutions or ways to deal with these problems.

Sandy, an anti-detention campaigner and detention visitor, hints at this confusion and draws attention to the limits of accountability in grassroots politics when she says, 'When we talk about being accountable to people in detention - when we're talking about individuals - we don't really mean accountability. We mean recognise the power that you have and follow through with commitments' (Interview). For Sandy, accountability in grassroots politics is limited to a form of reflexivity and honesty felt at an individual level. Without formal attributes, collectively regulating behaviour according to agreed standards, Sandy appears to hold that activist accountability cannot count as accountability per se. This conclusion is challenged by the conceptions of accountability as forming a part of the situated praxis of affinity presented in the latter stages of this chapter.

This dominant conception of accountability that foregrounds formal, bureaucratic processes, identifiable subject-object or agent-principal positions and recognised areas of responsibility is foundational to understandings of accountability in the academic literature as well. This notion requires the measurement of performance against pre-conceived standards or contractual obligations that allow for the authorisation and legitimation of power. From this perspective, accountability is the result of distinct practices of accounting which generate abstracted and quantifiable representations of reality so that services can be measured and compared in order to promote adequate performance, equality of provision, responsibility and efficiency. These elements clash with post-representational politics' emphasis on more processual, collaborative and responsive elements of social movement organising. For this reason, post-representational politics is more naturally linked

²³² Field Note 5/2/16, FN 23/11/2017, FN 21/1/2018

²³³ This aspect is emphasised by Ann Russo when writing on Feminist Accountability she notes that 'the most important lesson I have learn is that our praxis often reproduces the very power dynamics that we are seeking to transform' (Russo, 2019: 1)

with disavowals of accountability and political practices that emphasise a return of attention to the particular circumstances over the abstract representations produced by accounting mechanisms.

The conditions of detention also restrict the possibilities for accountable activism as they have disabling effects on detainees' ability to hold others to account in meaningful ways. Detention itself is structured by unequal regimes of accountability. On the one hand, those targeted by border control are held to extremely high standards of accountability in the processes through which they might attempt to regularise their status.²³⁴ On the other, the precarious position of those in detention means that holding the detention regime to account is difficult given the lack of legal oversight of decisions to detain, the lack of access to lawyers and the outsourcing of detention management and the repressive responses to detainee protest seen in the previous chapter.

In this regard, one of the principle problems of accountability in the anti-detention movement is to find ways of working with people in detention who are concerned with navigating their way out of detention rather than holding to account or making demands on those who are helping them. While activists desire accountability and are anxious about the legitimacy of unaccountable activism, it is often difficult to imagine what accountable activism could look like within ad hoc, grassroots settings when activists want to work alongside, rather than on behalf of those in detention. The challenge is to create opportunities such that activists can organise in accountable ways, in conditions where they cannot be held to account by the people they want to be accountable to.

This chapter offers a way of approaching social movement accountability by contrasting both representational and post-representation forms of accountability. The latter emphasises the importance of more prosaic, everyday accountabilities that are sustained through practices of affinity politics in which accountability is thought of as operating within and through the practice of collaboration rather than as a practice beside it. It is also focused on building the ability of others to make accounts and hold others to account. While

²³⁴ Every level of decision making, from decisions to grant status to decisions to detain, to decisions to grant bail, can be affected by past behaviour that is interpreted as leading to a more likely chance of absconding or contributing to an assessment of incredibility.

I do not argue that post-representational accountability is a better form of accountability (and I point to its limits in the penultimate section of this chapter), I am arguing that discussions of grassroots accountability must include serious attention to these informal accountabilities. I also argue that representational forms of accountability are flawed without attention to the accountabilities that are at the heart of post-representational activism.

I begin by outlining the problem of accountability discussed in theoretical literature and the problems of accountability for post-representational activists. Then I draw on the case studies of the three previous chapters to examine the ways that post-representational politics is concerned with generating activist accountability practices through the practice of affinity and by enabling the production of abolitionist accounts. Finally, I reflect on the limitations and uses of post-representational accountabilities in grassroots abolitionist politics.

[Theorising Accountability and Accounting](#)

Accountability, as a concept, has been developed primarily with respect to financial book keeping, the arena that produced its etymological origins (Bovens, 2007), and political theory, concerned with the existence and justification of state power and the need to control it (Schedler, 1999). More recent history has decoupled the concept from these beginnings and led the concept to become a serious professional, if not moral, concern in nearly every institutional setting (Jerak-Zuiderent, 2015). The malleability of accountability means that it can appear as both an ubiquitous phenomenon present in and underpinning all social relationships (Edward Arrington and Francis, 1993; Gray et al., 2014) and an attractive goal for political actors of all persuasions (Fox, 2007).

In this section, I set out the existing literature on accountability and accounting practices. In doing so, I aim firstly to illustrate the tensions between dominant notions of accountability and post-representational politics. While there is a desire for accountability, the primary ways of thinking about accountability stem from predominantly representational modes of political and legal organisation. Consequently, accountability is not immediately applicable to post-representational forms of organising in grassroots settings. Secondly, I want to raise critical perspectives on accountability and the need to give account to identify the dangers

and limits of accountability but also to reaffirm that finding new ways to give account is an important aspect of activist work.

Liberal Accounting literature

The dominant approaches within accountability theory limit the scope of accountability to the 'means' and 'processes' (Edwards and Hulme, 1996) by which individuals and organisations are held responsible for their actions within a relationship of accountability. Lindberg's (2009, 2013) model is a case in point. Within the project of clarifying, defining and limiting the scope of the concept of accountability, Lindberg argues that accountability only arises when there exists an agent or institution who is to give an account (A for agent), an area, responsibilities, or domain subject to accountability (D for domain), an agent or institution to whom A is to give account (P for principal), the right of P to require A to inform and explain/justify decisions with regard to D and the right of P to sanction A, if A fails to inform and/or explain/justify decisions with regard to D.

On this view, accountability is a relationship between two actors oriented toward an agreement in the past; there must have been some prior point in time when a transfer of discretionary decision-making power from the principal to the agent took place along with a determination of the limits and conditions of use of that power. From this point on, the agent can use those powers while the principal is able to request information and justification for their use by the agent. The principal then assesses whether the decision-making power has been used adequately and decides whether to apply sanctions to A that may include the withdrawal of powers. Accounting, then, describes the mechanisms through which the principal gains information about the agent's use of their decision-making power and is able to sanction or control the agent. This fixed timeline implies that accountability relationships only operate retrospectively (Bovens, 2007). This temporality resembles contractual modes of accountability that operate on the basis of legally bounded, propertied conceptions of power.

Within this liberal paradigm there are differing views on how strictly to limit accountability relationships (Shenkin and Coulson, 2007). The neoliberal view treats accountability only within the traditional agency relationship regulated by contract and market logics. The liberal-democratic view takes into account broader 'stakeholder' relationships and the

broader rules and procedures that regulate them. Lindberg, falling in the latter camp, argues that his model accounts not only for business and bureaucratic relationships but also for relationships of political representation and societal regulation. This is because accountability relationships can vary along a select number of axes. Firstly, the source of accountability may be internal or external to the relationship between an agent and principal. This distinction serves to separate accountability practices that arise by agreement between the agent and the principal (contractual accountability), and those that arise by imposition of some external authority such as criminal law. Secondly, the intensity of control held by the principal within an accountability relationship can vary, meaning that relationships of accountability can include those where accounting practices impose only very weak responsibilities to report or explain behaviour. In mainstream institutional accountability literature, accountability appears in two guises (Fox, 2007; Jayal, 2007; Schedler, 1999): 'Answerability' or 'Soft Accountability' translates as 'transparency' and arises when there is the obligation to inform about and to explain what they are doing; 'Hard Accountability' or 'enforcement' occurs when there is the ability to impose sanctions on the holders of power. In many contexts, the need for reward and sanction is required for accountability (Smyth, 2007).

Thirdly, accountability can be either vertically (upward or downward) or horizontally oriented. This spatial understanding of flows of information assumes a fixed hierarchical, bureaucratic relationship that pre-exists the practices of accountability. Upward accountability is being accountable to one's superiors (in an organisation or to the state) whereas downward means being accountable to one's inferiors or those who have less institutional power (state officials being accountable to a public, for example). Finally, liberal accounting relationships can vary in the scope of the domain. Accountability processes in a given relationship may only refer to a specific portion of activity or have only specific responsibilities to report.

In summary, accountability arises within a 'relationship in which people are required to explain and take responsibility for their actions' (Sinclair, 1995). Accounting refers to the practices within which these explanations are given. Accountability works to define distinct subjects, fix responsibilities, grant rights of action to agents and rights to demand accounts to principals and stakeholders. It therefore works to manage and regulate the relationship

between more passive principals that merely grant or legitimise power and the agents that carry out power. The coherence between this notion of accountability and representational politics is clear. Indeed Pitkin (1967), for example, spends a chapter of her work distinguishing the concept of representation from a relationship in which power is merely granted, arguing that representation only occurs when power is transferred with an expectation of accountability.

Critical accounting studies

A more sophisticated view of the process of accounting comes from critical accounting studies. For many critical accountants, accounting is a practice of 'reality construction' (Morgan, 1988) undertaken through specific social practices that elide differences between subjectivist and objectivist conceptions of accountability (Boland Jr., 1989).²³⁵ That is, they understand accounting as a socially and materially contingent form of abstraction that enable judgements of commensurability between distinct states of affairs. Debts, for example, arise from a socially imposed equality of debit and credit often tied to an ideological belief in the moral benefit of repayment that abstracts from the social context within which debts are created. Accounting produces descriptions of states of affairs and allows for equivalences to be drawn between particular social occurrences. These are often numerical accounts, a form that adds to the perceived objectivity or scientific value of those accounts, but they can also be qualitative, written or verbal. While this social constructivist theme runs through critical accounting studies, there are several contrasting movements within it.

Some argue, following Habermas' writing on democracy and the public sphere, that accounting's abstractions are necessary aspects of deliberative, democratic practice (Edward Arrington and Puxty, 1991) in which giving reasons for our behaviour to a public forum for adjudication produces the possibility to generate deliberative, inter-subjective agreement. However, this approach seems to occlude the ways that accounting can support domination even in spaces that support formally equal power relations. As Brown and Dillard argue (2013), the approach assumes that the purpose of all dialogue is to achieve

²³⁵ Critical accounting scholars typically argue against the idea that accounting practices produce objective depictions of reality while also rejecting that they are the merely subjective interpretations of social practice.

grounded, justified consensus and that in most spaces, with the impossibility of correcting for power imbalances, it is likely that such a theory will be used to reinforce existing hegemony.

Others writing within the social accounting literature attempt to broaden the domains typically accounted for, liberating accounting from a purely economic practice in order to account for impacts upon labour rights, the environment and society (Gray, 2002). Social accounting and auditing have primarily been concerned with internalising responsibility for the environmental and social costs of business leaving intact traditional accounting practices. Social accounting's primary thrust is, therefore, to develop symbiotic transformation with the capitalist system (Gray et al., 2014), and to expose impact in the hope that in the long run the systems will change or end.

Arnold and Hammon follow a line of writers (Edward Arrington and Puxty, 1991; Tinker et al., 1982) in arguing that expanding the domain rather than transforming the practice of accounting further embeds it as an ideological tool of legitimation rather than a tool for structural change. They argue that corporate social reporting is a way to support a firm's profit motives and thus legitimise rather than challenge capitalist endeavours (Ahmar and Kamayanti, 2011). In effect, these critiques of accounting challenge the view that mechanisms of accounting are neutral, technical tools (Arnold and Hammond, 1994). In their example, the Sullivan Principles, a social accounting project in which US corporations working in apartheid South Africa had to publish information on how they improved the lives of black workers, became a device that entrenched the 'progressive force' narrative that corporate investment in South Africa would improve the lives of black workers without systemic change. Other empirical studies have also shown disappointing results (Spence, 2009).

While elements of the liberal notion of accountability have been challenged in the two examples seen so far, these critical interventions have been criticised for the way they can be easily incorporated into existing formations of power. In response, a number of authors advocate for the development of accounting projects that operate independently of the systems that they are accounting. This point resonates with Marxist views of accounting, such as that expounded by Cooper et al. (2005). They argue that accounting projects not only have to be theoretically informed but should also be produced outside of the

mechanisms of the market and in a way that is embedded in the material struggles of social movements, something that differentiates them from the social accounting project. Spence, for example, celebrates organisations that produce 'anti-accounts' which attempt to expose the contradictions and conflicts within the institution being held to account by groups that are transparent about their partisan nature.²³⁶ From the Gramscian perspective Spence (2009) draws upon, we are inescapably engaged in an ideological conflict that implies both the necessity of accounting but also the possibility of change coming about through exposition, unearthing and reframing.²³⁷

This drive for new accounts developed within new practices of accounting is challenged by more pessimistic readings of accounting in anarchist theory. These readings identify accounting primarily with the legitimation of violence and exploitation and with enabling a state and capitalist power. Mennicken and Miller see accounting as an 'inherently territorializing' process that operates to construct and limit the possibilities of personhood and make complex spaces calculable and, therefore, governable from afar (Mennicken and Miller, 2012). Accounting practices are a disciplining and individuating force that emphasise the 'solitary and isolated character of the self' (Roberts and Scapens 1990). For these authors, capitalist accounting displaces and abstracts from the 'concrete' sociality, in which real social relations and values are sustained, and replaces it with an emptied-out exchange value. In the process of developing forms of accountability, the actual practice changes, building in an orientation towards the external values of accounting rather than enabling further realisation of internal goods. The prognosis is, therefore, a return to an orientation to the particulars of concrete reality and a refusal of abstractions of accounting.

²³⁶ They are called 'anti-accounts' because they challenge the content and credibility of official accounts and do not claim the neutrality and objectivity usually associated with accounts.

²³⁷ In creating critical accounting practices there is also the need to create models of reality that can be measured. Smyth (Smyth, 2007) argues for a model of public accountability that challenges individualised, isolated approaches to accountability and writes into a critical accountability an account of the state and civil society that takes into account the 'broader context' including, the often invisibilised connections between people who suffer similar trouble at the hands of the state (in his example, housing). To Smyth and Cooper (Cooper et al., 2005), this feature requires a dialectical understanding of the political economy of the state: this means an understanding of totality (all elements of the world are related), and change (all change is theorised as a result of internally generated contradiction rather than outside of it).

However, these refusals of accountability are not only unconvincing to sustain in practice, where there is often a normative concern for accountable activism and organisation, they also undermine our ability to understand and critique social reality. Joseph identifies a 'fetishisation of the concrete' in these works. She argues that they read abstraction as the 'stripping away' of difference (2014: 11) but that a better response to the damaging abstractions of capitalist accounting is to identify abstractions that more fully articulate actual effects of social processes (as in Marx's account of the move from use value to exchange value). The accounting pessimist appears to do away with what Avery Gordon calls 'haunting'. This concept captures the ways in which the 'organised forces and system structures that appear removed from us make their impact felt in everyday life in a way that confounds our analytic separations and confounds the social separations themselves' (19). This understanding of accountability as circulating, embedded and constitutive of particular practices allows us to understand how accounting is not only a process of abstraction but is also one of differentiation, and particularisation in racial capitalism.²³⁸

From this point of view, demands for giving account are not only a means of closing off radical possibilities but can also serve as points of departure. For Joseph, this means that progressive modes of accounting always need to incorporate the idea that they are partial, perspectival and incomplete, gesturing beyond the current framing of the situation. It is the possibility for accounts to both characterise injustice and point to the flaws in the current way of understanding injustice that allows for projects of radical transformation, such as abolitionism, to engage in a politics of reform without limiting themselves to specific reform proposals. Accounts and demands for accounts should therefore be understood as a process rather than an end point for critique.

To summarise, critical accounting studies is sceptical about the assumed causal relationship between accounting practices and the achievement of progressive change. It notes that the emphasis on accounting and instituting accountability relationships has facilitated the reproduction of neoliberal hegemony and systemic racism (Joseph, 2014) and that accounting can sustain institutional relationships of unequal power rather than seek to

²³⁸ For Joseph, accounting processes – for example process of turning the severity of a crime into a length of time to serve in prison – are not only the basis for abstraction away from the harm of that crime but also produce particularisation through the racialised disparities that are produced through criminal sentencing.

undermine and transform them. Critical accounting is also worried about the ways accountability practices can undermine the internal values of social practices. However, we have also seen that accounting can be part of finding progressive pathways out of them. Critical accounting studies stresses the contingency of accounting practices as acts that abstract from the complex realities of social life, and is concerned whether these abstractions are tools only for legitimising power or whether, by keeping accountability closer to the social base of progressive movements, they can be adapted to become tools of radical and emancipatory politics.

A corollary to this analysis of accounting studies, is that post-representational politics seems unsuited for the kinds of accountability and accounting relationships discussed so far. Post-representational activism is concerned with practices that enable the formation of communities of resistance that do not assume set subject-object positions where the difference in agency is predetermined. Post-representational activism attempts to value responsiveness and open-endedness whilst accountability seems to demand prior agreement of purpose that is followed through. Whereas post-representational activism is primarily based within informal, emerging networks, accountability often seems to require formal processes. As such, accountability feels both unachievable in grassroots organising where such formality is rarely possible. In the next section, I argue that accountability and practices of generating accounts are important elements of radical anti-detention activism. However, in order for post-representational politics to incorporate accountability we need an expanded and altered notion of accountability practice.

[Post-Representational Politics, Affinity and Accountability](#)

In this section, I argue that post-representational activism is concerned with developing the concept of accountability for use within the anti-detention movement. To draw out alternative ways of figuring accountability, I draw on another strain of critical accounting studies. Materialist, post-structuralist writers view accountability as an organic, reflexive concept that emerges within and varies with specific social practices. Against Lindberg and Bovens' argument for the analytical development of a bounded and consistent concept of accountability, a line of authors argue in a variety of settings that accountability can only be understood as arising through the social practices in specific locales (Agid, 2012; Jerak-Zuiderent, 2015; Suchman, 2002). They argue against universalistic approaches that lead to

the view that accountability is a static concept which is desirable and achievable in similar ways, whatever the setting. For these authors, understanding how to be accountable and what forms accountability can take cannot be separated from an understanding of the practical action through which it arises (Jerak-Zuiderent, 2015). In contrast to Miranda Joseph's work, these authors focus on accountability as features of everyday practice rather than on the possibilities of specific accounting practices to support progressive pursuits.

These authors also dispute the idea that accounting practices are necessarily specially designed formal systems that are developed on the outside of the substantive work of organisation that they supervise (Gray et al., 1997; Shenkin and Coulson, 2007). This idea is implicit even in those approaches that are critical of imposed accounting practices in institutions. For example Wiener et al (1989) argue that accountability practices negatively impact upon practices of good care. Studies of accountability generally assume that practices of care, teaching etc. are separate activities from the work of accountability. This assumption is challenged by Jerak-Zuiderent (2015) who argues, in a health-care context, in which what she calls 'narrative work' – the work of creating narrative lines that connect situated knowledges, present action and possible future - is integral to the practice of good care. Accountability is, in other words, a core aspect of care work rather than something extraneous to it.

This literature raises the importance of looking at the ways that expectations, promises, obligations, actions, the ability to be present, and the ability to speak are distributed and actively transferred within the everyday of activist organisation. In this view, accountabilities arise within practice, they are part of what keeps it going, setting up flows of communication and connectivity. In the following, I make a similar argument about accountability in post-representational activism. I build on this work by detailing three ways that post-representational politics figures accountability. Firstly, post-representational politics is sensitive to the formal and informal accountabilities that arise from choices about ways of positioning its organisation in relation to centres of power and the ways these can change the abolitionist activism's projects. Secondly, post-representational politics sustains an emphasis on prosaic accountabilities which emerge within practices of affinity politics. Thirdly, post-representational politics serves to build the capacities of those in detention to create accounts and hold others to account. I then reflect on limitations and points of

further development that forms of grassroots and post-representational activism might take.

Navigating Multiple Accountabilities

The first aspect of post-representational accountability is developing an awareness of the ways groups and practices can become incorporated *into* or altered *by* the systems of detention through multiple informal and formal accountabilities. One thread of post-representational activism is becoming critically aware of the ways activist groups and individuals can become answerable to the systems that they intend to abolish and, in this way, become attached to them. Reflecting on the complexity of doing charitable work in detention centres, Ruth, a caseworker and activist said,

The sole person you want to be accountable to are those you're working with and those without papers. You don't try to be accountable to anyone else - the media, the police, the border force. When you're working in detention, there are a lot more people who one is accountable to. (Ruth - Interview)

Ruth's wish to remain solely accountable to people in detention is obstructed by a wide range of potential accountabilities that tempt actors into what Ruth saw as becoming controllable by, and answerable to, the detention regime itself. Ruth was particularly concerned by the desire of the charity she worked for to maximise the number of people it was supporting, and in the process develop agreements with the detention centres in order to gain access to more clients. Through being involved in an organisation that had entered into these agreements, she had witnessed how the detention centres had used them to limit the campaigning activity of the group and change the way they were able to interact with their clients. This chimes with the concerns of a caseworker in another charity who had also experienced detention centres' administration using agreements with support groups (Amanda – Interview). She recounted how, following a critical social media post, the centre had banned the group from delivering workshops within the detention centres. The point here is that engaging in certain ways with the detention centres can generate formal relationships of accountability with the institutions or organisations that one is opposing.

These accountability relationships arise not only within these formal modes but also in informal accountabilities. Ruth continued:

They are using the social structures that they know. It's also to do with the longevity of relationships. With detention support groups the sustained relationships are with [detention staff]. It's the fleeting relationships with the people they support. (Ruth - Interview)

This quotation echoes the arguments of Shenkin and Coulson (2007) who attempt to situate practices of accounting within multiple fields of relationality. They argue that one's actions can be subject to and be the subject of an array of informal and formal accountabilities that invoke class, race and gender to organise and normalise. Here, Ruth is aware of the ways her work creates multiple ties in which accountability develops. Sustained anti-detention work involves becoming used to the way things are run and the people that run that system. Yet those who one intends to support are continually on the move; both entering and exiting detention and moving between detention centres. Ruth also noted how the professionalisation of resistance created a privileged class of activists that were able to engage with the management of the centres, both gaining esteem from doing so and thus fearing the loss of respect from authority.

The requirements of post-representational accountability, here, refine and complement existing work on social movement accountability. This work centres intersectional analysis and reflexivity as important in developing modes of accountability praxis (Ishkanian and Peña Saavedra, 2019; Russo, 2019). Post-representational accountability not only requires the recognition of the ways the intersecting power lines of race, class, gender, sexuality and disability shape the activist practice and the disruption of those effects. It also requires a finer-grained analysis of the ways the positioning of activists in and around spaces of oppression shapes activist work. This is seen most evidently in the agreements between activist groups and detention centres. It is also seen in the use of the discursive frameworks of immigration law, and the informal relationships built with detention centre staff.

As I indicated in the opening section of this chapter, post-representational politics is frequently connected to apparent disavowals of accountability. However, this disavowal is not necessarily against accountability per se but is sensitive to forms of formal and informal

accountability that distort and prevent the ability of activists to achieve goals. Instead, post-representational accountability is first about identifying the frames of accountability that structure a practice and then choosing, consciously, how we should relate to them.

Accountability and Affinity

In chapters four and five, we saw how practices of anti-detention activism help foster affinity relationships between people in and out of detention. Here, I want to draw attention to the ways affinity and accountability are held together. In doing so, I draw out the ways anti-detention activism is thinking about accountability in radical movement practice. To do this, it is necessary to spell out a post-representational approach to affinity.

Affinity in social movement praxis is an organisational form that involves the use of small autonomous, loosely networked groups of five to ten people who know and trust each other as a basis from which to organise activist work²³⁹. The basis in friendship intends to recognise the singularity and particularity of the individual rather than understand each individual as performing roles that are assigned to each other by the group. Affinity politics has roots in anarchist practice in Spain in the 1870s and 1880s as small groups of friends met to prepare actions, share news and debate. It spread through both European and Latin American anarchist activity influencing the organisational strategies of New Social Movements of the 1960s and 70s, and was resurgent in the global justice movements of the 1990s (Dupuis-Déri, 2010; McDonald, 2002). While in some larger anarchist networks ‘Spokescouncils’ are employed as a method of reaching consensus amongst affinity groups (Graeber, 2002), there is, more generally, an acceptance that diverse, even contradictory approaches to activism will be employed.

Organisation within affinity groups has a number of advantages. It aims to allow for organisation without a centralised, hierarchical leadership, encouraging responsibility to be taken by those who are acting. With a grounding in friendship and pre-existing trust amongst members, the work of affinity groups can aid in more efficient organising as people already have a shared political language that aids communication (Luchies, 2014). As an

²³⁹ In conventional usage, the term affinity is used to denote chemical attraction between two substances or two people or things being well suited.

affinity group remains independent from a hierarchical political structure, individuals within the group have more control over the actions of the group – they can more easily reach a consensus-based politics. This aids in deploying a variety of tactics as groups can coalesce around activities that individuals within the groups feel comfortable with. Chatterton (2008) has argued that enabling and valuing emotional connections both support an examination of our own positionalities but also foments a desire to engage in oppositional action.²⁴⁰

Anarchist thinking on affinity, consistent with anarchism's humanist roots, formulates affinity as a naturally occurring and already persisting relationship between already constituted individual subjects. The notion of affinity attempts to sustain a fidelity to the individual, unique and contextualised and, therefore, little is said about the patterns or practices of affinity in specific contexts which rely on an individual's situated judgement. Rarely are kinds, degrees or contexts used to qualify affinity in anarchist thought and help articulate what is needed to foster affinity in different settings. In general, anarchist affinity presupposes the existence of trust, commitment and energy amongst a group (Clough Nathan L., 2012) rather than drawing attention to how they are fostered. Affinity is a necessarily reciprocal and symmetrical relation that excludes even informal power hierarchies (McDonald, 2002).²⁴¹

Post-representational affinity avoids a romanticised view of affinity that can be seen in some accounts of anarchist and anti-border politics. For example, King writes on her work in 'No Borders' activism in Europe that 'affinity is a form of solidarity that creates relationships

²⁴⁰ As well as enabling action, the reliance on emotional attachment also is weakness, making them easily vulnerable to the tactics of a securitised policing that promulgates suspicion and distrust (Clough Nathan L., 2012).

²⁴¹ Accounts of the alter-globalisation movement develops affinity at a slightly more abstract level from the anarchist organisational tactic, identifying a 'logic' or an 'ethics' of affinity that characterises post-hegemonic politics (Day, 2004; Larsen and Johnson, 2012). King defines affinity as 'the way people form connections with others, mindful of individual autonomy', drawing on Katsiaficas notion of the 'politics of the first person' (Katsiaficas, 2007; King, 2016). The logic of affinity includes the project of creating alternatives to state and corporate structures, an attempt to transcend the reform-revolution binary with strategy of disengagement and reconstruction, through 'enabling experiments and the emergence of new forms of subjectivity, in the name of inventing new forms of community' (Day, 2004). Affinities are, thus, for Day not only a means for achieving anarchist futures but a characterisation of the futures itself – one not attempting to create a 'new knowable totality' but a multiplicity of autonomous radical projects.

and ways of being that are free from domination and that, in being so effectively construct 'outsides' to the state.' (King, 2016). The problem with this characterisation for post-representational detention activism is that it seeks to erase the differences in power that are continuously a part of the work of anti-detention activism and sustains a notion of the state as an entity with clearly demarcated insides and outsides (see also the discussion of state-phobia in chapter eight). It optimistically presents power as something which, through work, it is possible to overcome.

However, as I argued in previous chapters, the practical knowledge developed in visiting and witnessing is precisely about navigating a space that upholds differences in power. Affinity does not escape the state or power, nor is it a pre-political relationship that is a base from which political work can be done. Affinity is a relationship that is curated, worked at and sustained in the specific conditions that holds up concern for individual agency.

Larsen and Johnson helpfully bring affinity politics beyond its humanistic focus by placing affinity in a way that secures the openness, diversity and progressive potential of places. They understand affinity as 'a shared ethical commitment to helping people develop the capacity to determine the conditions of their own existence' (Larsen and Johnson, 2012). They argue for a place-based politics that recognises the ways an attentiveness to one's own 'situatedness' can point to boundaries, connections and dependencies upon human and non-human others. Situating affinity within this account of praxis, they write that affinity 'involves finding and creating relationships at the edges of ontological situatedness as a lived point of access to progressive thought and action' (641). As Evans discusses, if affinity is founded in sameness or likeness, it is an achieved, situated and worked for likeness that assumes and gives space for disagreement and difference (Evans, 2016) (see also chapter four).

In suggesting that post-representational politics relies on a form of affinity, I necessarily push at the boundaries of some of the assumptions about affinity groups in anarchist politics. Post-representational practices of affinity are diverse and responsive, and they do not aim to enact some ideal form of friendship or love. But neither are post-representational affinities singularities, outside of any general form. Affinity relationships happen within a material and political milieu that shapes the relationship – it is a relationship held up by doing, by practices of engagement in the space of detention. Rather

than being based in a prior or pre-political relationship, post-representational affinity is the result of, and is structured by, an ongoing practice or doing.

Affinity relationships are one form of practice-based accountability at work in the anti-detention movement. In the previous subsection, both Ruth and Sandy argued that the process of locating and negotiating accountabilities that have the potential to co-opt an activist practice is pursued to create space to become accountable to those one is working with in detention. This sentiment was echoed by many interviewees, who either used the word accountable itself or raised the idea of being 'led' by those in detention. This motivation, as I outlined in the introduction, was an important feature driving involvement in post-representational activism. Sandy, for example, connects this with her experience working in Palestinian solidarity movements:

It's similar to Palestinian organising. I might not always be possible to take a direct steer from anyone and it's not saying there is a voice of 'the colonised Palestinian' or one voice of someone in detention, but trying to be led by those people who have been in detention both because they know what that system is and what changes need to happen. And there's a principle - nothing without us. (Sandy – Interview)

The most immediate interpretation of these aspirations is that accountability is owed to specific groups and individuals who are at the forefront of injustice. Accountability is much more than a process separated from the actual practice of visiting or testimony taking. The work of activism needs to bring with it, include and be accountable to those who have experienced it, and this requires communications to occur at a more molecular level and in a forum in which those in detention are able to shape the nature of that cooperation. It is for this reason that post-representational visiting groups attempt to leave the content and direction of activist visiting to be determined within relationships of affinity rather than as fixed by groups outside.

As I discussed in chapter five, in trying to set up more horizontal and open-ended relationships, rather than ones that are oriented primarily around care for the other, visiting detention frequently creates awkwardness and possibilities for misinterpretation. But rather

than filling this openness with role descriptions and direction, grassroots visitor trainings²⁴² encourage participants to think about the importance of recognising and communicating visitors' own motivations. Ali expanded on this idea; for them, accountability was about:

Building expectations and creating a culture of feedback and understanding – which you would have in any organising group – about what we expect from each other and having a conversation which isn't formal but says what we expect and when we've disappointed each other.
(Ali – Interview)

For Ali, the challenge is to create relationships in which each individual can explain their motivations and expectations and, therefore, open the space for dialogue and disagreement. Accountability is, therefore, the expectation to make explicit what is usually left implicit in ordinary relationships. Robin also emphasised that this was key to engaging with people in detention through visiting: while there was no overall role that visitors were there to implement, it was important that individuals made explicit their reasons for being there both to themselves and to those they were visiting (interview). This is a form of intra-practice account giving, where communication about motivations and choices are made within the relationship itself, based upon the promises and commitments made to specific people in detention. As Georgia explained, in chapter four, this concern for making explicit motivations and for keeping open the possibility of changes in the relationship and its boundaries was central to the approach of detention visiting.²⁴³ Lydia, another experienced visitor, echoed this idea.

First of all, it is important not to assume that I know how to enact my activism better than the people I'm working with. In visiting, creating friendships, and perceiving yourself as making connections and allowing the relationship to be guided what they need or want. And then you make a decision about whether it's something you can do or you can't and

²⁴² FN 5/1/17

²⁴³ Reiterating the words from Georgia, quoted in chapter 5, "in visiting you are trying to keep the question of power as a question"

having an honest conversation and a communicative one where both of you are shaping it together. (Lydia - interview)

Being led by those in detention is not to give up one's own politics; it is to hold out for the possibility of new perspectives. There are frequently disagreements within the practice of visiting that present problems for the relationships. These disagreements underline the ways post-representational accountability is mutual but non-reciprocal; there is an expectation of accountability to each other but that does not mean that visitors and those in detention require the same things from one another.

There's no plastering over issues of inappropriate interactions between people in detention and visitors – there's no easy fix. But it encourages us to think about how we ended up on the side of the visitor and the different power complexes there. It isn't necessarily going to be this great beautiful friendship, pain has to sit there, but it isn't something that you have to run away from. (Hannah, Interview)

Echoing the critiques of accountability, this form of accountability does not presuppose a finality in which issues and transgressions are overcome but only the possibility of building on what is there.

In a less intimate way, detention protest is also a part of a collective ritual which locates specific people to whom the movement should be accountable to. It is also a venue in which people explain motivations, attempt to understand one another's experiences and make commitments. Each demonstration ends with the 'We'll be back' chant as protesters leave the site of Yarl's Wood.



244

Affinity performs the function of accountability in other ways. Firstly, through the development of emotional solidarity, affinity contributes to the generative momentum of activist work, replacing contract or voluntarism as a means to stimulate work. This emotional connection is also the basis for people working through strategies that are important expressions of solidarity but are sometimes very unlikely to come to fruition, such as online airline campaigns and crowd-funding for appeals.

Secondly, affinity works to construct a presentation of someone, outside of the languages and bureaucracies that detain them, in a different medium. Sandy, a caseworker in a grassroots visiting group, for example, emphasised the importance of affinity when doing case-work as a way of forming and maintaining a view of someone outside of the categories of immigration control. She said that the practice of doing casework, to believe in the truth of someone's case, is harder to sustain without having a relationship, when the state is working so hard to undermine and disbelieve someone. Affinity relationships here create an alternative to the languages of immigration law and casework. It is another way of creating

²⁴⁴ <https://drawnoutthinking.net/2015/05/10/yarls-wood/> [accessed 2/1/2019]

an account of someone's situation. It is not a 'true' representation carried within words. It is constructed through a material practice of conversation.

In this section, I have argued that post-representational affinity practices are important aspects of developing accountable social movement practices. In this way, post-representational politics is consistent with critical accountability scholars' understanding of accountability as a process of reality construction, one that attempts to develop responsiveness to the particular conditions that individuals face and one which is left out of the framings of immigration law and NGO narratives. In making the argument that affinity is part of developing movement accountability, I do not attempt to mask power and abuses of power within affinity relationships. Instead, I argue that an important aspect of organising in ways that sustains flows of accountability is bringing the concepts and practices of affinity and accountability closer together. I am not arguing that affinities imbue individuals and individual action with accountability in a kind of tokenistic gesture that legitimises the action of the privileged. It is rather that, in forming relationships and collectives that enable the formation of interpersonal collectives, spaces are created within which collaboration and transformation can occur.

Generating Abolitionist Accounts

Focusing on a politics of affinity is not just a way of keeping individuals connected to anti-detention work but of generating an ethos of solidarity within the anti-detention movement, where those at the forefront of border violence are recognised as able to take an active role in challenging detention. It breaks down the divide, evident in the above discussion, of liberal accounting, between a passive principal and an empowered agent. This aspect of post-representational politics is related to a further way that post-representational politics engages with notions of accountability: the focus on building the capacities of those in detention to hold others, including the detention system and those campaigning against detention from the outside, to account. This feature of post-representational politics was raised in the discussions of detention protest and witnessing.

We saw in chapter four that one of the aims of the detention protests was to create a forum within which those in detention can speak back to the detention centre by phone, amplified on loudspeakers. In chapter six, we saw how testimony projects such as Detained Voices can

be read as attempting to create the infrastructure through which both those experiencing abuse within detention and the anti-detention movement can speak out against detention as well as to the movement.

While testimony is often used by campaigners as evidence that justifies the actions and campaigns of others, post-representational activism views the testimony of those in detention as a political intervention in its own right. It is a means of shifting agency over the anti-detention movement toward those in detention. As Lydia says of the Detained Voices project:

In Detained Voices, there are no limitations on what people in detention can say and how they can say it- so it gives control to that person. They're not constrained to give the answer in a way that satisfies the system. They have that agency because 'It's not for anything necessarily'. And, therefore, they're not constrained by it having to result in something or fit in with the correct process. If they've done something wrong then there's no need to hide it, unless they want to. We're not going to come back at them – they are their own gate keepers.

Lydia here, points to the fact that Detained Voices is independent from both explicit NGO campaigns for detention reform, and from individuals' campaigns to challenge their detention. The project's intention, therefore, resonates with the imperative in critical accounting studies to develop modes of accounting which speak back to official mechanisms of accounting and that are embedded within the constituencies most effected by injustice.

Miranda Joseph's discussion of accountability is also relevant here. She advocates for the developments of accounting which always pointed beyond themselves. In other words, modes of accounting which did not limit and territorialise injustice in a project of reform. In chapter six, I argued that testimony frequently points beyond itself by marking out, often in its failure to communicate, the conditions of injustice that cause its production. In this way, testimony functions to point beyond the account which it gives.

There are several examples from elsewhere within the detention movement where those with experience of detention are speaking back to the movement – engaging with debates over strategy and organisation. The UnfollowMFJ project is one example. Here, testimony

from members of Movement for Justice was published, outlining concerns about the organisational tactics which enabled coercive and abusive relationships to form between leaders of the group, and those within the group, who had experience of detention.²⁴⁵ The Freed Voices project has increasingly been a space of discussion where its “expert by experience” membership discuss campaign strategies around the project of detention reform.²⁴⁶

In summary, post-representational politics is invested in the production of different kinds of accounts, separated, institutionally from both the campaigns against detention and projects that attempt to mediate between those in detention and agents within the state. This includes building capacity to create accounts of detention by those incarcerated in them and learning how to become more responsive to accounts made about the problematic organising in the movement itself.

The Limits of Grassroots Accountability - Sustainability, Collective and Inter-Collective Accountabilities

I have argued that post-representational accountability has three dimensions. It includes a sensitivity to ways that working against detention that can create both formal and informal accountabilities that can influence the practice of anti-border activism. It centres the ways affinity relationships aid in understanding the conditions of detention, creating affective ties of responsibility and enabling open ended spaces of communication about motivations and expectations. Finally, post-representational politics involves developing tools to increase the capacities of those affected by detention to hold others to account.

The argument that post-representational politics are attempting to generate accountable ways of performing grassroots activism, in the context of detention, is not to valorise the practices I have analysed in this project. Nor is it to argue that activists themselves believe that grassroots politics is an accountable space. The purpose is to locate activist accountability as an ongoing process of practical and conceptual tension in which

²⁴⁵ www.unfollowmfj.wordpress.com [accessed 2/2/2019]

²⁴⁶ For example, <https://detntionaction.org.uk/2018/06/23/speak-to-the-brain-not-just-to-the-heart> [accessed 2/2/2019]

experimental accountability is being practiced. There are severe limitations on this kind of accountabilities that are outlined above.

The practice of affinity generates a great deal of work that relies on individuals to feel responsible to keep going. In certain ways, this activism is designed to place the emotional burden of responding to the structural violence of detention on individuals outside of detention. It places a lot of emotional and intellectual demand on activists which impacts upon the sustainability of post-representational activist pursuits. There can be limits to the emotional openness that this more open and responsive politics requires. As Georgia notes:

I did it for so long that I started to put it in a service provision box. I did it for so much longer than I should have done. I did it for two years, no one does it for two years. It was especially the year I did it on my own. The other year was fine. But by that point I'd worked out the tricks - but I think these are tricks that are quite similar a service provider would do. And that meant I could carry on effectively but there was some distancing there that didn't used to exist. But it does exist and I hope it goes away. (Georgia – Interview)

Georgia points to the 'tricks' that enable her to direct the conversation and to bypass difficult, more open-ended communication, replacing it with simpler more direct communication that creates distance between her and those she is working with. The development of tricks or shortcuts that bypass the slow development of affinity politics is also enabled by a tendency to underplay the strain and emotional labour of doing detention support work on individuals outside of detention. This has the effect of making invisible the work of activists on the outside and contributing to the feeling that the support work is not valued (Hannah, Interview). This is reflected, perhaps, in the way Detained Voices actively hides the labour of the activists transcribing and circulating testimony.

Finally, many within grassroots politics are conscious of the failings of these informal notions of accountability, where accountability is a part of the practice of relationship building. Without institutional rules motivating and structuring these conversations, they become overlooked. As Robin states,

We are bad at encouraging conversations about boundaries and expectations... We don't support individuals to have conversations about it. Having these conversations might reduce anxiety, and make everybody feel more comfortable. It's quite fictitious to think that friendships can be made from a clean slate in such an artificial environment. Rules help people to know where they are and that's the most important part. (Robin – Interview)

Because of the emphasis on individuals creating unique and responsive relationships with those inside detention, the opportunities for collective discussion over what kinds of reflexivity and behaviour is expected is not well established. This has led to activists wanting to reach beyond the informal accountabilities and confront the contradictions involved in setting up grassroots anti-hierarchical procedures of accountability. As Lee argues;

I think accountability is really pivotal to the work we do but it's not in any way ingrained enough in the culture of activism. I think that's something that comes with non-hierarchical organising. Most structured organisation will have a form of accountability process and it's not something that we've worked out how to do in a horizontal organisation spaces yet. It's really difficult to create a structure which seems horizontal for people inside detention to be able to hold others to account where in reality there are so many boundaries preventing someone from doing that. (Lee – Interview)

For Lee and Robin, developing accountability mechanisms for grassroots activist groups is important, but also accountability mechanisms always threaten to embed hierarchy and structure because the accountability process will inevitably be controlled by those outside detention.

The forms of accountability in post-representational politics also have strategic limitations. The prevalence of individually constituted and responsive accountabilities in place of accountabilities constructed in reference to a stable political analysis, changes and limits the forms of political intervention possible within these movements. For example, it means that

the movement focuses more on those currently in detention, rather than with people who are at risk of detention.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to identify the contribution anti-detention activism makes to post-representational politics and, specifically, to post-representational notions of accountability. As movements grow, they generate both organisational power that direct activist practice and enables them to change and influence structures outside the movements. Experiments in post-representational politics are trying to find ways of organising that redistribute and allow for negotiation of that power, in a context where those who are most affected by the system of detention, are also likely to be less able to shape the movements that support them. It is, as I said at the outset of this chapter, an attempt to think about what forms of accountability can be practiced, when those in detention are unable to hold others to account. It is also an attempt to overcome a primary tension in post-representational organising in which activists are pulled towards accountability as signifier of legitimate forms of activism but conversely, they want to resist the effects of dominant modes of thinking about accountability that cements roles and responsibilities.

This chapter has argued that the affinity-based politics of post-representational politics is a form of practice-based thinking about what accountability means for grassroots politics, and for attempts to create forms of accountable organising in conditions where conventional accountability is not possible or desirable. It has challenged the idea that accountability only requires formalistic, bureaucratic practices that abstract from the conditions in which practices occur. It has also challenged the idea that accountability requires a point of finality in which events are accounted for and involve a claim to neutrality or objectivity which serves to legitimise political activity. In the process, I have argued how affinity-based politics performs a number of functions which accountability performs. It makes explicit the expectations within a relationship, it provides time and space to challenge and change the ways relationships are understood, it generates momentum and drive for work, and bolsters the ability of people to speak out and define oppressions and injustice. This is an important recognition because representational forms of accountability, which rely upon set roles, descriptions or contracts, can sometimes close spaces for these more open forms of accountability.

Post-representational activism is also less concerned with creating and generating adherence to coherent political outlooks, such as creating an abolitionist world view because this might hinder opportunities to work collaboratively. Instead, local accountabilities keep individuals and groups open to encounter-ability. It emphasises the importance of putting resources in the hands of those inside detention and moulding those resources to meet the needs of those inside. It also centres the potential for being changed by one's activism, rather than activism being the output or result of a set and pre-determined political viewpoint. Post-representational accountability, then, is about 'encouraging people to think and act contextually' (Anonymous et al., 2012).

In making this argument, the chapter has outlined one way of understanding the contribution and limits of post-representational politics to the anti-detention movement. It also points towards ongoing practical-intellectual challenges that face grassroots and NGO organisations working with those in detained contexts for abolitionist causes.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Two months after the Hunger for Freedom strike in March 2018, the Labour Party announced its intention to close Yarl’s Wood and Brook House and to end outsourcing within the detention estate.²⁴⁷ It also reaffirmed its commitment to impose a 28-day time limit on detention. Four months later, in July 2018, the Conservative government announced that it would carry out an inquiry into a time-limit on detention and that it would also commission “alternative to detention” pilot projects.²⁴⁸ The government also reemphasised its position that detention should be a last resort.²⁴⁹ The gap between the current operation of the detention system and the realisation of these policies is still significant, as is the distance between these political commitments and the prospect of an immigration regime that ends detention and mass deportation. However, what is clear, is that the public debate on detention has advanced greatly since the beginning of the PhD project in 2014.

In the intervening years, the political climate has shifted in response to the persistent rumbling of migration-related controversies. In 2015, a year after the start of this project, the Mediterranean ‘Migration Crisis’ that precipitated after the Syrian Civil War and the destabilisation of the Middle East and North Africa, exposed the limits of British hospitality as well as potential support for more generous refugee policies.²⁵⁰ The Brexit referendum of 2016 polarised, or exposed existing polarisation in, the public’s attitudes towards the wider world and revealed the damage that can be wrought by European border liberalisation in combination with neoliberal austerity.²⁵¹ The change in Labour Party leadership and politics has been, for some, a source of optimism leading to public conversations about what a

²⁴⁷ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/yarls-wood-immigration-diane-abbot-detention-centre-hostile-environment-theresa-may-a8353846.html> [accessed 2/3/2019]. For a discussion of Alternatives to Detention policies see Bosworth (2018) and, in the US context, Koulisch (2015)

²⁴⁸ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-pilot-schemes-to-support-migrants-at-risk-of-detention> [accessed 2/3/2019]

²⁴⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jul/24/sajid-javid-to-consider-ending-indefinite-immigration-detention> [accessed 10/09/2018]

²⁵⁰ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/syria-civil-war-five-million-refugees-conflict-resettlement-un-geneva-donald-trump-europe-migrant-a7658606.html> [accessed 2/3/2019]

²⁵¹ <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/BRIEFING-Public-Opinion-pdf.pdf> [accessed 2/3/2019]

‘progressive’ border policy might look like.²⁵² In 2018, the Windrush scandal exposed so publicly that which used to seem radical and contentious; that border policing is institutionally racist, that it is moulded by the UK’s persisting histories of colonialism and that it inflicts acute and hidden damage on individuals and communities trying to lead their lives in the UK.²⁵³

There are of course complications and contradictions within this picture. The politics of Brexit and the Labour party’s new-found ability to appear ‘pro-migration’ while pursuing, or at least flirting with, policies that will significantly limit EU migration cannot be discounted.²⁵⁴ And, more fundamentally, what appears as a complete break-down in the neoliberal world order is just as likely, if not more, to be an opportunity for forces of the far right than an opening for more progressive shifts.²⁵⁵

With so much at stake, it may seem that the concerns of post-representational politics are outmoded or worse, distracting. Its concern for the processual politics and emphasis on consensual and collaborative forms of activism, could be seen to usurp resources and energy from the pressing tasks of forming counter-hegemonic alliances to engage in more agonistic (Mouffe, 2013), public-focused and state-oriented campaigning. Some of this concern is justified. It is true that post-representational politics is, in important ways, structured by assumptions that border related oppressions will continue, that alliances

²⁵² As Emma Gin, director of anti-detention NGO Medical Justice, noted at the organisation’s AGM, in Diane Abbott’s presence: ‘We needn’t whisper it any longer: We want to end detention.’

²⁵³ <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3774-on-windrush-citizenship-and-its-others> [accessed 2/3/2019]

²⁵⁴ Equally worrying is the current Labour Party pledging to expand border force and police as part of its reversal of austerity. This stance has echoes of the Left’s traditional blind spot on the capacity of the state to inflict violence. As Diane Abbott, Labour Shadow Home Secretary announced: “We will focus on preventing illegal immigration. It wasn’t Labour who cut the Border Force. It was the Tories. Labour’s last manifesto committed to adding five hundred extra border guards, over and above the level we will inherit from this Government. They are vital in the fight against people-traffickers, and the drug and gun smugglers, as well as preventing illegal immigration.” <https://labour.org.uk/press/diane-abbotts-speech-labours-plans-simpler-fairer-immigration-system/>

²⁵⁵ Looking at the situation in Hungary is instructive. A group named Migrations Watch that aimed to work in collaboration with those in detention, was forced to change its methods due to changes in the political situation:

“In the current situation, we find that we, unfortunately, cannot function the way we used to. We have no way of being in touch with detained asylum seekers, and even if we did, we would risk becoming targets of state-sponsored hate campaigns, also we would risk their personal safety during the asylum procedure.”

<http://www.migrationswatch.com/blog/desperate-times-call-for-new-measures> [accessed 30/04/18]

against the mistreatment of undocumented people will be hard to find and that counter-hegemonic projects that could support 'progressive' or post-border futures will not be forthcoming. Post-representational politics is, therefore, primarily a way of supporting and existing *with* those subject to state violence, bearing witness *to* violence in ways that are open to but do not expect openings for change. It is a pessimistic politics, albeit one that finds hopefulness in the practice of building communities of resistance and opposition.

However, as the later chapters of this thesis have attempted to show, this depiction of post-representational politics as being *only* introverted and concerned with its internal dynamics, is not complete. This realisation is important in understanding its continuing relevance for anti-border politics. For when it becomes easier to speak about detention and its abolition, or as is equally likely, when it becomes necessary to argue against new manifestations and extensions of border control, questions regarding who speaks for those detained, how people with experience of detention are included in that conversation, and what are the pervasive logics that shape that conversation, intensify. A more useful understanding is that post-representational politics is the concern for the practice of the formation of counter-hegemonic articulations that can support an anti-detention politics rather than an alternative to such a politics.²⁵⁶

Revisiting Motivation, Questions and Approach

The research questions of this thesis emerged from experience working with activist projects that addressed, in different ways, the problem of how to include those directly experiencing detention who are institutionally, politically and sometimes physically prevented from engaging in public political activism. The predominant modes of representation designed to alleviate the conditions and support people to get out of detention appeared, from the point of view of grassroots activists, to participate in silencing and pacifying protest rather than to support and amplify them.²⁵⁷ This project also aimed to respond to gaps in the literature on migrant solidarity which had not yet addressed

²⁵⁶ While the literature on counter-hegemonic politics stemming from the work of Laclau and Mouffe (Laclau, 2001) in an influential in encouraging a radical movements to work on 'articulating' or connecting diverse constituencies and linking discrete struggles together, the notion of articulation remains abstract and ungrounded. Post-representational politics can be seen as the 'doing of equivalence' or taking care of the processes of articulation.

²⁵⁷ Field Note 12/03/15

practices of solidarity with migrants in detention and centred upon concepts of belonging and citizenship rather than a wider range of conceptual innovations, which link it to broader trends in political theory and social movement research. The first aim of this thesis was to understand what forms of organisation have been fostered to allow for solidarity, cooperation and alliance-building in the anti-detention movement. To do so, I developed the concept of post-representational politics and asked how it illuminated different forms of praxis operating in the anti-detention movement. As I discussed in the introduction and in chapter three, this concept has arisen within debates about the political uses and limits of representation and different imaginaries of activist organisation and social change. Post-representational politics is both a way of reading political work and, when this sensibility becomes operative within activist practice, can be used to describe the practices themselves. The thesis has provided a new and distinctive approach to post-representational politics and showed its relevance to the specifically challenging terrain of migrant imprisonment.

The project asked an empirical question examining what forms of organising are present in contemporary anti-detention movements. It also set out to answer an evaluative question. I asked, to the extent that post-representational politics describes forms of anti-detention activism, what does this politics contribute to anti-detention and critical anti-border politics? And what are the limits to this politics? To answer this question, I used a methodology that drew upon recent critical social movement literatures to emphasise the diverse generativity of social movements; acknowledging the ways movements sustain different forms of knowledge production, different ways of imagining the world and, therefore, expanding the possible ways of inhabiting and navigating it. This approach allowed for an appreciation of, and participation in, thinking within activist practice, rather than imposing standards of political praxis from without, or conceiving of social movement actors as unaware of the problems and conflicts within which their work is bound up. I adopted a conceptual methodology which allowed for understanding of how anti-detention activists articulate different models for organising in these specific settings without seeing those models as static, but rather as always being in process and characterised by tension. This brought about a third broad question which guided substantive chapters of this thesis:

what political thinking is ongoing within post-representational activism within the anti-detention movement?

The political thinking of post-representational anti-detention activism

The project's core argument was that post-representational politics forms an important part of contemporary radical anti-detention activism. Support for this proposition appeared in three engagements with anti-detention practices: detention protest, detention visiting, and activist witnessing. Each of these identified how the post-representational frame made sense of the stakes of certain forms of activism, and exposed both tensions and opportunities to collaborate with those in detention in resistance. They showed how post-representational practices seek to appropriate and adapt existing representative models of activism. The street protest becomes a noise demonstration, shifting focus from making demands to the state to building community, making affinity connections, and building a movement based on listening to those in detention. Casework and pastoral support become the more ambiguous and open-ended work of visiting. In doing so, they support practices that do not assume needs of individuals in detention in advance, avoid playing into humanitarian notions that limit the agency of those inside, and are wary of becoming co-opted and incorporated into the routine landscape of detention. Campaigning, evidence gathering, and report writing become practices that enable witnessing and protest within the detention centres in which the words of those in detention are not used merely to support the arguments of campaigners but are recognised as a political intervention in and of itself. In the process of developing these post-representational inversions, I found that the political thinking that constituted these activist practices spoke to fundamental issues within movements that attempt to resist the violent effects of border regimes and activism that attempt to form solidarity with those disempowered.

In chapter four, I focused on the concept of solidarity which is frequently offered as a common counter-point to representation. I argued that the detention protests and the solidarity expressed in those protests served some of the interests of representational politics – engaging with social and news media to raise Yarl's Wood specifically as a site of anti-racist concern. The protests aided in forging a movement of solidarity and movement identity. Yet it also provided resources for thinking about the meaning of post-representational solidarity which forged means of connection and collaboration with

activists in detention. The protests constructed a forum to determine how detention should be understood and campaigned against. The chapter emphasised the development of practical knowledges which enable cooperation, giving space for others to speak, the development of trust, and the formation of interpersonal relationships. Solidarity as a practical pursuit of opening spaces and methods of communication works to overcome the limitations of telephones; technologies that, I argued, actively shape and restrict the forms of relationships possible between those in and out of detention. By employing the literature on communities of practice to understand solidarity, I argued that solidarity involves the active cultivation of skills that aid in overcoming material barriers that prevent those in detention from engaging in public protest. I also emphasised the practical elements of solidarity in which protests aim to reach those without contact with support networks.

As I discussed in chapter five, detention visiting is a practice of fostering individual relationships with people in detention, holding together three distinctive roles of: political resistance, practical and emotional assistance and friendship. As practices sensitive to power and space, I argued that inhabiting the subject-role of the visitor is an important aspect of radical hospitality. The chapter argued that detention visitors develop two ways of operating; both as hosts and as visitors. Hosting, it was argued, reflected representative politics; the visitor takes on a prescribed role on behalf of the visiting group and mediates between the detention centre and the environment, acting as guides and attempting to appear welcoming. This replicates the role and rule-based hospitality of Derrida's conditional hospitality in which the host determines the object and boundaries of the relationship. Performing hospitality as a guest, on the other hand, illuminated the ways in which visitors articulate their detachment from the detention centre, allowing the relationship to be shaped through the practice of detention visiting. In doing so, the chapter developed a critique of Derridean conceptions of hospitality as being too focused on hosting and based upon a closed understanding of the roles of host and guest, one which is fully determined by social factors, rather than as objects of play and experimentation.

In chapter six, I argued that Detained Voices enabled individual and collective voices to be represented beyond the detention centre through collaboration amongst detained and non-detained witnesses. Facilitating witnessing is a way in which agency is redistributed towards those in detention because activists largely give up control of discursive framing and

develop tools that can be used by those in detention to campaign themselves. The chapter argued that in order to understand these possibilities of testimony, we need to develop a politicised notion of testimony, which views failures to represent the condition of incarceration as consequences of detention, rather than as evidence of humanity. The practice of *Detained Voices*, I argued, undermines the distinction in the literature on witnessing between survivor and ally testimony. This is important because it reveals the agency and role of activists in creating opportunities for protest and resistance. In this way, post-representational solidarity moves from passive listening and re-presentation of testimony, to building affinity and cooperation with those in detention.

In chapter seven, I argued that one of the primary tensions and points of creativity running through the practice of post-representational politics is the practice of accountability in social movements. Post-representational politics responds to perceived failings of representational accountabilities, which seeks to set up formal regulated distance between those in detention and those outside. I argued that post-representational accountability focuses on developing practices of explanation and promise-making within activist support work rather than requiring external, accounting practices. I suggested that a version of affinity politics is important both in remaining involved in the anti-detention movement and in sustaining an attentiveness to both individual and structural implications of detention. I also noted the importance of developing tools for those in detention to hold both the detention system and the anti-detention movement to account.

[Conclusions on Post-Representational Politics](#)

One of the aims of the thesis was to establish the forms of post-representational politics at play in the anti-detention movement. This section draws together some of the ways the arguments of the thesis have extended academic understanding of post-representational politics. It does so by revisiting the concept of activist edgework and reflecting on the ways this concept provides additional ways of understanding the temporal orientation of activist work. The section then moves to discuss the pragmatism of post-representational politics through the ways in which it mobilises shifting rationalities and through the ways it relates to the state.

In chapter three, I suggested that activist edgework was a way of understanding the political practice of post-representational politics in the anti-detention context. Edgework involves the kinds of organising in which activists are trying to work in more collaborative ways with those in detention, in the knowledge that horizontal politics is impossible to establish in a detention context. One of the reasons for using this term was to open spaces of experimentation, conceptual generativity and novel political imaginaries in spaces that were not intended to be prefigurative, in the sense of bringing abolitionist ends or ideals into the present, trying to form relationships as if those in detention were free. The notion of activist edgework suggests different orientations to the temporality of political action than instrumentality and prefiguration.

Instrumentality is the subordination of the current activity to deliver a payoff or change in the future. It is embedded in the common notion of the 'activist' as someone 'who campaigns to bring about change' (Google definition). In a conversation with Robin, an anti-detention organiser, they noted that 'It is interesting that political aims generate activities that won't bring about those aims'. For Robin, while bringing about worlds without borders and without prisons was one of the motivations bringing activists together, a lot of the activity was taken up with reproducing activist work that had been done before, merely performing one's opposition and generating radical affect rather than 'actually' opposing and contributing to effective resistance. Robin, here, is anxious that strategy and goals were lacking in a lot of supposedly radical activism. As the chapters on Protest and Visiting suggest, the focus of much of post-representational politics on detention and those held within it means that post-representational activism exists on the edge of what we mean by activism. It is a set of practices that help form equitable and collaborative relationships and modes of communication and cooperation across the prison walls. And as can be seen both in chapter five and six, an essential part of post-representational activism is the temporary giving up of activist goals, relinquishing the need to push for one's own agenda.

In contrast, prefiguration operates to bring an imagined, utopian future into the present as a form of knowledge-building and critique. This focus brought attention to the grounded and local ways abolitionist politics is practiced in the context of detention – not just as a radical demand or a radical challenge to conventional imagination, but as a lived practice. As Hannah argued, "Abolitionism is against borders, prisons and punishment. It's a very grand

vision and as an abolitionist I don't believe it will ever end. There is always going to be oppressive systems which shift and that we have to have means to fight against." For Hannah, post-representational politics is a form of dystopian prefigurative practice. It prefigures the means of supporting survival and working to build capacities for resistance within institutions of violence and the complicated relationships of that combine the solidarity and friendship that they give rise to. The 'future' of dystopic prefiguration is not imagined as one in which progressive movements have succeeded but one in which lessons about how to meaningfully deal with oppression will still have to be learnt. She went on "but it isn't something that you have to run away from. It's the opposite – we've got to be dealing with these things now – if not then who, when, how?" If post-representational politics is the opposite of running, it is one of being present, of walking toward and of sitting or speaking with, of navigating the slow politics of presence and collaboration.

Another way of approaching this dystopian or negative pre-figuration is to centre the way, as edgework does, that any counter-hegemonic articulation that attempts to include the most disenfranchised within it, will embody a range of power relations, including sharp differences in power within praxis. Instead of understanding this pursuit as prefiguration which attempts to bring the future into the present, living 'as if' there were an equality, in order to explore the political possibilities that emerge from trying to live imaginative futures, we might understand this as a pre-emergent politics. Edgework is pre-emergent because it is practiced in anticipation of the moments in which representational politics can make break-throughs, whether they be counter-hegemonic articulations, or moments of reform. It thus points to the need for a co-existence of instrumental and non-instrumental elements of practice.

This mix of activist temporalities is matched by the diverse and shifting logics that post-representational activists adopt. Throughout the research I found myself surprised at the pragmatism of the activists I was working with. For example, in the chapter on detention visiting, I had intended to focus on the rejection of hosting as a logic through which to engage in pro-migration politics. But the interviews conveyed something more complex – an oscillation or movement between modes of interaction that incorporated shifts between distinct and often inconsistent rationalities and approaches. In the context of detention visiting, while hosting is associated with taking the lead and setting boundaries, as well as

emphasising one's own belonging in and connectedness to a space, visiting looks to the other to receive direction and highlights the ways activists are remote from the impacts of migration politics. Post-representational witnessing similarly displayed this capacity to overlap divergent rationalities. At points, witnessing was conceived as a passive and individual act of amplifying an other's voice – a practice of giving reverence and distinction to the voices of those in detention. Yet, in other instances, it also incorporated more collective and collaborative elements in which protests inside were shaped, both in their public presentation, and in their private action.

We might understand these alternative strategies as examples of 'situated differential responses'. The notion of differential strategies has been developed in social movement theorising, to describe approaches that enable movement and flexibility between different positionings, in order to enable groups to form, coalitions to emerge, and actions to be carried out, which facilitate emancipatory or progressive functions. For example, Karma Chávez (2014), drawing on Sandoval (2000), describes differential consciousness as a mode of rhetoric that enables the speaker to shift between different political stances, orientations and critiques. This movement facilitates coalitional practices amongst groups of activists that are motivated by different critiques but coalesce around the same target or objective. Consistency in one's rhetorical position is a luxury that activists cannot always afford and can be subordinated, in order to form relationships that enable groups to work together. The situated differential response outlined, evidenced in post-representational organising, identifies the ways that activists engaged in detention-visiting shift between the contradictory roles, that enable both support and collaboration, both aid and friendship.

A similar pragmatism can be seen in the way post-representational politics both leans towards and pushes against accusations of state phobia – a principal accusation against post-representational politics discussed in chapter three. State-phobia can be encountered in two distinct registers (Dean and Villadsen, 2016). Firstly, it names a theoretical perspective that rejects the state as a centre of power, preferring instead to explain domination in terms of circulating rationalities, projects and programmes that are taken up by a range of actors and institutions that may or may not traditionally be identified as state actors. As such, it rejects the explicative utility of the boundary between state and civil

society. Secondly, it names a normative perspective that valorises the political and moral activity of civil society actors that refuse the state as a means for exercising their power.

The discussion in previous chapters reveals that while state-phobic rhetoric is prevalent in abolitionist and non-reformist activism and anti-racist anarchism, post-representational politics can and does operate within state spaces. Whether post-representational politics is or is not state-phobic in either sense is not a straightforward question. First, post-representational politics is centrally organised around and against state violence and rationality, rather than only cultivating spaces that enable a privileged few to access heterotopic cul-de-sacs of prefiguration away from state power. Post-representational politics includes a sensitivity to the ways the logics and the practices of the state can be taken on by traditionally non-state actors, even those who are seen as resisting it. It is a process of becoming attuned to the complicity that caring plays within the detention centre itself and the ways that discursive frameworks of immigration law become constitutive of activist practice. In the second sense, post-representational politics is state-phobic in the sense of not being primarily oriented towards using the state as a means for enhancing its power. However, by rejecting certain engagements with state actors it attempts to open up new ways of engaging with the state, including viewing detention as a set of practices that can be altered by activist intervention rather than being determined exclusively by Home Office policies. Post-representational politics, therefore, involves working out ways that the space of detention can be interfered with and resisted, rather than mediating through state officials. For this reason, it is important not to confuse atypical engagements with the state with the connotations of state-phobia as irresponsibly leaving state power alone.

To summarise these arguments, post-representation is both an other to representation and a way of producing representations. It is not, as Spivak would say of Foucault and Deleuze, an intellectual elite refusing its power to represent, and failing to use their own voice to further the cause of others. It is, rather, an attempt to take concern for the practices that underpin and enable representations and a site of experimentation for a means of a representation which does not create distance between representatives and the represented.

In the final sections of the conclusion, I reflect on the approach I have taken to this thesis and point towards further study and possible applications of post-representational politics.

Reflections on Methodology

At the outset, this was a project that attempted to use the intellectual and institutional resources of academia to address difficulties faced when working in challenging areas and to record and contribute to the activist thinking ongoing in these spaces. There are a number of conclusions and observations on the methodological approach that I wish to carry forward when working with activist groups in this way again. The first is that I underestimated the difficulties of developing a project that spoke to both academic and activist concerns. Over the course of the research, my view as to the coherence between my activist roles and my academic roles has evolved. I arrived, I think, wanting to produce academic work that was an extension of my thinking through the dilemmas of activism. I was bemused by the sharp distinctions between the research and ‘the field’ that other researchers made. I valued the idea of political, motivational and narrative unity between the activist work and my PhD project and had, as an ideal, the notion that my writing would attempt to remain accountable to my colleagues whose work I was writing about. I was and still am critical of the kind of social movement scholarship that engages in an extractive project that takes social movement thinking and presents it for academic inspection.

For a number of reasons, however, I shifted towards a perhaps more ‘realistic’ view that draws clear but porous boundaries between activist and academic logics. Part of this is about the cultures of academia and anti-detention activism. Many of my activist colleagues were, I think, supportive but suspicious about ‘academic’ interest in what they were doing – it was not useful to them and the attempt to mix was not always clear. Attempts to try to set up more participatory forms of research were in practice difficult to achieve because such an approach would have placed more demands upon activists’ already overstretched labour and time. This perhaps could have been alleviated had I been able to clearly present the questions and fledgling arguments which I developed in this thesis at an earlier stage. But in practice, trying to come to terms with new literatures, ideas and perspectives and allowing for intellectual experimentation and movement that is necessary in writing, while being able to consistently identify the relevance of the project to the everyday of activist life, is more difficult than I imagined. In the end, the need for the project to consistently satisfy both the academic criteria and the political values of the activist groups I work with was unrealistic, created added pressure and was intellectually limiting.

This experience mirrors Cox's reflections on the idea of doing movement-relevant research as a PhD thesis, with its attendant pressure to shift from 'thinking activist' to 'radical academic' (Cox, 2015). Without claiming to have become this by any stretch, the (self-imposed) pressure to be relevant to two communities has made this project more difficult than it perhaps needed to be. The pressures for individualism and ownership of ideas in an academic project, such as a PhD, conflicts with the collaborative and collective ethos of social movement organising. It points to the need to take more care and build in more clarity into the project at the early stages for projects that work in and with social movements.

The second point of reflection is about the methodological choices I made to study the politics of anti-detention activism. Studying 'practices' through a conceptual methodology can have the effect of decontextualising and rendering abstract the rich, dynamic and multifaceted reality of anti-detention work. The vitalist materialism that framed my research instilled a respect for social life as a domain of generativity and encouraging a recognition of the variance and particularity of different social and political spaces. However, the project has not escaped certain downsides that these approaches make more likely. By trying to leave space open for the specificity and dynamic interaction between each activist encounter, the project has sat at a level of abstraction from particular histories and geographies, giving little space to the context to those interactions. For example, while there have been political struggles against charter flights within Nigerian and Jamaican communities, this study of conceptual and practice-based thinking does not illuminate the particular historical processes of class formation and racialisation that shape the networks of power and the possibilities of solidarity activism. A result is that we are still reliant on labels of activists and detainees – even while the project is trying to work out practices of enabling collaborations that overcome these labels. This is partly a result of choosing concepts that cohere with activist discourse, which has brought the ahistoricism implicit in 'no border' politics. This ahistoricism stems from the abstract rejection of borders in general and for everybody that does not wish to claim that any particular group in detention has a specific claim to be free from border control. The conceptual focus does not illuminate the ways "No Borders" activism is a politics specific to centres of post-colonial power which holds in relationship actors differently positioned with respect to that power. Illuminating

the historical and geographical specificity of “No Borders” activism and its relationship to post-colonial power would be useful way of understanding no borders politics, exposing more linkages with anti-racist struggles more generally.

Areas for further study

The discussion of post-representational politics in this thesis points towards several areas for future study of critical anti-oppression movements. Firstly, I am interested in the ways post-representational politics, and the concept of activist edgework, helps connect literature on prefiguration, utopian politics and intentional politics with work on state violence. I think these concepts help open up space for thinking and action that attends to urgent needs of survival (what is sometimes called firefighting) and at the same time is politically generative and oriented toward emancipatory futures. Further work can be done exploring activist edgework theoretically, in new empirical domains and with different methodologies. I am specifically interested to use the concept to reflect on and critique current understandings of prefigurative politics as related only to utopian and hopeful affect. While this project has drawn on the experiences of activists outside detention, there are further opportunities to use participatory action research methodologies to incorporate a wider range of experiences to reflect on the utility of activist edgework.

Secondly, as I discussed in chapter seven, there are important questions about how to establish forms of accountability culture in horizontally organised groups and movements. This means taking seriously the benefits and drawbacks of both representational and post-representational accountabilities. Of interest, here, is the tension between the affective nature of post-representational work that requires open-endedness and attention to individual, and the forms of routinisation that inevitably brings closure to activist projects.

Thirdly, the thesis has discussed post-representational activism from the perspective of grassroots groups that typically aim toward horizontality and that are engaged in navigating spaces that necessitate sharp power imbalances within their practice. There are further questions about the compatibility of post-representational politics with conventionally hierarchical NGO and charitable institutions attempting to practice forms of horizontality. It would be interesting to study experiments in post-representational politics at work in NGO settings. This would help avoid the cliché (that this thesis participates in) that horizontal

groups are associated with dynamism and creativity and vertically organised groups are assumed to be rigid and uncreative. It would also extend the applicability of post-representational politics by shedding light on interesting experiments in post-representational politics currently on-going in anti-detention NGOs. Such experiments expose new tensions and inevitably transform the practice of post-representational politics.

Finally, this project has advanced understanding of activist roles within a specific configuration of the border. It did this to learn from activist thinking and, in part, to hold that work accountable. It is important that further work maps the changing landscape of immigration detention and community border enforcement and documents the role of social movement organisations in these changes. It is well documented that the means to differentiate and police the borders of citizenship have become integrated into other domains of social life. However, there are signs that the infrastructure of deportation is shifting away from its reliance on detention towards a model that uses more distributed, community-based technologies of control that enhance and embed the mechanisms of removal. This movement is signalled by moves that prevent legal and community challenges to deportation such as the removal of in-country rights to appeal, the use of removal windows and cuts to legal aid, as well as the development of technologies of surveillance and conditions on release including reporting conditions, electronic tagging and community networking schemes run by NGOs. It is important both to chart these changes, understand the involvement of social movement actors in developing future manifestations of border enforcement and to uncover new possibilities for solidarity and resistance.

Bibliography

- Agid S (2012) Worldmaking: Working through Theory/Practice in Design. *Design and Culture* 4(1): 27–54. DOI: 10.2752/175470812X13176523285110.
- Ahmar N and Kamayanti A (2011) Unmasking the Corporate Social Responsibility Reporting. *Asian CSR and Sustainability Review* 1(1): 65.
- Ahmed S (2002) The Contingency of Pain. *Parallax* 8(1): 17–34. DOI: 10.1080/13534640110119597.
- Aiken SJ, Lyon D and Thorburn M (2014) Introduction: 'Crimmigration, Surveillance and Security Threats': A Multidisciplinary Dialogue. *Queen's Law Journal* 40(1). Available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2530438 (accessed 3 January 2017).
- Alcoff L (1991) The Problem of Speaking for Others. *Cultural Critique* (20): 5–32. DOI: 10.2307/1354221.
- Allred P (2003) No borders, no nations, no deportations. *Feminist review* (73): 152–157.
- Allen A (1999) Solidarity after identity politics: Hannah Arendt and the power of feminist theory. *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 25(1): 97–118. DOI: 10.1177/019145379902500105.
- Anderson B (2010) Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers. *Work, Employment & Society* 24(2): 300–317. DOI: 10.1177/0950017010362141.
- Anderson B, Sharma N and Wright C (2009) Editorial: Why No Borders? *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 26(2). Available at: <http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/article/view/32074> (accessed 22 January 2014).
- Anderson B, Gibney MJ and Paoletti E (2011) Citizenship, deportation and the boundaries of belonging. *Citizenship Studies* 15(5): 547–563. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2011.583787.
- Andersson R (2014) *Illegality, Inc.: Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe*. 1 edition. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Anonymous, Celeste A and Gorrion A (2012) *The Broken Teapot*. Available at: <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/anonymous-the-broken-teapot> (accessed 16 April 2018).
- Anti-Raids (2017) Operation Skybreaker. Available at: <https://network23.org/antiraid/2014/09/25/operation-skybreaker/> (accessed 31 July 2017).
- Appadurai A (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Public worlds v. 1. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press.

- APPG on Refugees and APPG on Migration (2015) *The Report of the Inquiry into the Use of Immigration Detention in the United Kingdom*.
- Applebaum B (2016) "Listening Silence" and Its Discursive Effects. *Educational Theory* 66(3): 389–404. DOI: 10.1111/edth.12172.
- Arendt H (1945) The Stateless People. *Contemporary Jewish Record; New York, N.Y.* 8(2): 137–153.
- Arnold P and Hammond T (1994) The role of accounting in ideological conflict: Lessons from the South African divestment movement. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 19(2): 111–126. DOI: 10.1016/0361-3682(94)90014-0.
- Bacon C (2005) The Evolution of Immigration Detention in the UK: The Involvement of Private Prison Companies. *RSC Working Paper No. 27*. Available at: <http://jrseurope.org/accompanydetainees/docs/UK%20Refugee%20studies%20working%20paper.pdf> (accessed 3 January 2014).
- Bail for Immigration Detainees (2014) *Denial of Justice*. Available at: https://hubble-live-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/biduk/redactor2_assets/files/157/Denial_of_Justice.pdf (accessed 1 August 2017).
- Bailey R (2009) Up Against the Wall: Bare Life and Resistance in Australian Immigration Detention. *Law and Critique* 20(2): 113–132. DOI: 10.1007/s10978-009-9048-z.
- Baker G (2010) The 'Double Law' of Hospitality: Rethinking Cosmopolitan Ethics in Humanitarian Intervention. *International Relations* 24(1): 87–103. DOI: 10.1177/0047117809348689.
- Bal M (2009) Working with Concepts. *European Journal of English Studies* 13(1): 13–23. DOI: 10.1080/13825570802708121.
- Baldwin P (1990) *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875-1975*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bales K (2017) Immigration Raids, Employer Collusion and the Immigration Act 2016. *Industrial Law Journal* 46(2): 279–288. DOI: 10.1093/indlaw/dwx003.
- Bales K and Mayblin L (2018) Unfree labour in immigration detention: exploitation and coercion of a captive immigrant workforce. *Economy and Society* 47(2): 191–213. DOI: 10.1080/03085147.2018.1484051.
- Bales WD and Mears DP (2008) Inmate Social Ties and the Transition to Society: Does Visitation Reduce Recidivism? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. DOI: 10.1177/0022427808317574.
- Barad K (2007) *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. duke university Press.

- Barnett C (2005) Ways of relating: hospitality and the acknowledgement of otherness. *Progress in Human Geography* 29(1): 5–21. DOI: 10.1191/0309132505ph535oa.
- Barreto MA, Manzano S, Ramírez R, et al. (2009) Mobilization, Participation, and Solidaridad Latino Participation in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies. *Urban Affairs Review* 44(5): 736–764. DOI: 10.1177/1078087409332925.
- Baszile DT (2008) Beyond all reason indeed: the pedagogical promise of critical race testimony. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 11(3): 251–265. DOI: 10.1080/13613320802291140.
- Bay A-H and Pedersen AW (2006) The Limits of Social Solidarity Basic Income, Immigration and the Legitimacy of the Universal Welfare State. *Acta Sociologica* 49(4): 419–436. DOI: 10.1177/0001699306071682.
- Behrman S (2014) Legal Subjectivity and the Refugee. *International Journal of Refugee Law* 26(1): 1–21. DOI: 10.1093/ijrl/eet049.
- Bell DA (2005) *The Derrick Bell Reader*. NYU Press.
- Benveniste É and Lallot J (1973) *Indo-European Language and Society*. University of Miami Press.
- Berry M, Garcia-Blanco I and Moore K (2016) Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: A content analysis of five European countries.
- Beverley J (1998) Theses on subalternity, representation, and politics. *Postcolonial Studies* 1(3): 305–319. DOI: 10.1080/13688799889987.
- Beverley J (2004) *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Biehl J, Locke P, Fischer MM, et al. (2010) Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming. *Current Anthropology* 51(3): 317–351.
- Blinder S (2015) *Briefing: Deportations, Removals and Voluntary Departures from the UK*.
- Bloch A (2000) A new era or more of the same? Asylum policy in the UK. *Journal of refugee studies* 13(1): 29–42.
- Blomley N (2014) 3 learning from larry. *The Expanding Spaces of Law: A Timely Legal Geography*: 77.
- Boggs C (1977) Marxism, prefigurative communism, and the problem of worker's control. *Radical America* 11(6): 12.
- Boland Jr. RJ (1989) Beyond the objectivist and the subjectivist: Learning to read accounting as text. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 14(5–6): 591–604. DOI: 10.1016/0361-3682(89)90021-4.

- Boler M (1997) The risks of empathy: Interrogating multiculturalism's gaze. *Cultural Studies* 11(2): 253–273. DOI: 10.1080/09502389700490141.
- Bosworth M (2011) Human rights and immigration detention in the United Kingdom. In: Dembour M-B and Kelly T (eds) *Are Human Rights for Migrants?: Critical Reflections on the Status of Irregular Migrants in Europe and the United States*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, pp. 165–184.
- Bosworth M (2013) Can Immigration Detention Centres be Legitimate? In: Aas KF and Bosworth M (eds) *The Borders of Punishment: Migration, Citizenship, and Social Exclusion*. First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Bosworth M (2014) *Inside Immigration Detention*. First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Bosworth M (2018) *Alternatives to Immigration Detention: A Literature Review*. ID 3299532, SSRN Scholarly Paper. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. Available at: <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3299532> (accessed 24 January 2019).
- Bovens M (2007) Analysing and Assessing Accountability: A Conceptual Framework1. *European Law Journal* 13(4): 447–468. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-0386.2007.00378.x.
- Bowling B and Westenra S (2018) 'A really hostile environment': Adiaphorization, global policing and the crimmigration control system. *Theoretical Criminology*: 1–21. DOI: 10.1177/1362480618774034.
- Breines W (1980) Community and Organization: The New Left and Michels' 'Iron Law'. *Social Problems* 27(4): 419–429. DOI: 10.2307/800170.
- Brich C (2008) The Groupe d'information sur les prisons: The voice of prisoners? Or Foucault's? *Foucault studies* (5): 26–47.
- Brito Vieira M (2015) Founders and Re-founders: Struggles of Self-authorized Representation. *Constellations* 22(4): 500–513. DOI: 10.1111/1467-8675.12178.
- Brodie J (2002) Citizenship and Solidarity: Reflections on the Canadian Way. *Citizenship Studies* 6(4): 377–394. DOI: 10.1080/1362102022000041231.
- Brokenshire J (2016) *Immigration Detention: Response to Stephen Shaw's Report into the Welfare in Detention of Vulnerable Persons: Written Statement - HCWS470*. Available at: <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2016-01-14/HCWS470> (accessed 26 September 2017).
- Brown G and Pickerill J (2009) Space for emotion in the spaces of activism. *Emotion, Space and Society* 2(1). Activism and Emotional Sustainability: 24–35. DOI: 10.1016/j.emospa.2009.03.004.

- Brown G and Yaffe H (2014) Practices of Solidarity: Opposing Apartheid in the Centre of London. *Antipode* 46(1): 34–52. DOI: 10.1111/anti.12037.
- Brown GW (2010) The Laws of Hospitality, Asylum Seekers and Cosmopolitan Right A Kantian Response to Jacques Derrida. *European Journal of Political Theory* 9(3): 308–327. DOI: 10.1177/1474885110363983.
- Brown J and Dillard J (2013) Critical accounting and communicative action: On the limits of consensual deliberation. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 24(3): 176–190. DOI: 10.1016/j.cpa.2012.06.003.
- Brown W (1993) Wounded Attachments. *Political Theory* 21(3): 390–410.
- Bulley D (2015) Ethics, power and space: International hospitality beyond Derrida. *Hospitality & Society* 5(2): 185–201. DOI: 10.1386/hosp.5.2-3.185_1.
- Bulman M (2017) Number of migrants detained for longer than six months increased by 10%. *The Independent*, 25 May. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/detention-indefinite-home-office-statistics-immigration-six-months-a7756251.html> (accessed 13 July 2017).
- Bulman M (2018) Rogue immigration solicitors exploiting vulnerable migrants by charging thousands for ‘substandard’ service. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/immigration-solicitors-exploit-migrants-rogue-substandard-lawyers-a8325706.html> (accessed 5 February 2019).
- Candea M (2012) Derrida en Corse? Hospitality as scale-free abstraction. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18: S34–S48. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9655.2012.01759.x.
- Candea M and Da Col G (2012) The return to hospitality. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18: S1–S19. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9655.2012.01757.x.
- Carlson D (2009) The Border Crossed Us: Education, Hospitality Politics, and the Social Construction of the “Illegal Immigrant”. *Educational Theory* 59(3): 259–277. DOI: 10.1111/j.1741-5446.2009.00318.x.
- Casas-Cortés M, Cobarrubias S, De Genova N, et al. (2015) New Keywords: Migration and Borders. *Cultural Studies* 29(1): 55–87. DOI: 10.1080/09502386.2014.891630.
- Casas-Cortés MI, Osterweil M and Powell DE (2008) Blurring Boundaries: Recognizing Knowledge-Practices in the Study of Social Movements. *Anthropological Quarterly* 81(1): 17–58. DOI: 10.1353/anq.2008.0006.
- Castoriadis C (1975) *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Mit Press.
- Castoriadis C (1994) Radical Imagination and the social instituting imaginary. In: Robinson G and Rundell JF (eds) *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity*. London ; New York: Routledge. Available at: 136-154.

- Celsi RL, Rose RL and Leigh TW (1993) An Exploration of High-Risk Leisure Consumption through Skydiving. *Journal of Consumer Research* 20(1): 1–23. DOI: 10.1086/209330.
- Chatterton P (2008) Using Geography to Teach Freedom and Defiance: Lessons in Social Change from ‘Autonomous Geographies’. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 32(3): 419–440. DOI: 10.1080/03098260701731157.
- Chatterton P and Pickerill J (2010) Everyday activism and transitions towards post-capitalist worlds. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35(4): 475–490. DOI: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2010.00396.x.
- Chavez KR (2014) *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Chesters G (2012) Social Movements and the Ethics of Knowledge Production. *Social Movement Studies* 11(2): 145–160. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2012.664894.
- Cho H, Wilkum K, King AJ, et al. (2010) Fraternity Drinking as Edgework: An Analysis of Perspectives on Risk and Control. *Health Communication* 25(3): 212–220. DOI: 10.1080/10410231003698887.
- Choudry A (2015) *Learning Activism: The Intellectual Life of Contemporary Social Movements*. Guelph, Ontario: University of Toronto Press.
- Chouliaraki L (2010) Ordinary witnessing in post-television news: towards a new moral imagination. *Critical Discourse Studies* 7(4): 305–319. DOI: 10.1080/17405904.2010.511839.
- Church K, Shragge E, Fontan J-M, et al. (2008) While No One is Watching: Learning in Social Action Among People who are Excluded from the Labour Market. In: *Learning through Community*. Springer, Dordrecht, pp. 97–116. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4020-6654-2_6.
- Close Campsfield Campaign (2012) *21 years of resistance to immigration detention at Campsfield*. 21 November. Oxford. Available at: <https://closecampsfield.files.wordpress.com/2014/12/ccs-chronology-of-resistance.pdf>.
- Clough Nathan L. (2012) Emotion at the Center of Radical Politics: On the Affective Structures of Rebellion and Control. *Antipode* 44(5): 1667–1686. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.01035.x.
- Cochran JC (2012) The ties that bind or the ties that break: Examining the relationship between visitation and prisoner misconduct. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 40(5). The Prison Experience: 433–440. DOI: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2012.06.001.
- Cochran JC and Mears DP (2013) Social isolation and inmate behavior: A conceptual framework for theorizing prison visitation and guiding and assessing research. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 41(4): 252–261. DOI: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2013.05.001.

- Conlon D and Gill N (2013) Gagging orders: asylum seekers and paradoxes of freedom and protest in liberal society. *Citizenship Studies* 17(2): 241–259. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2013.780748.
- Cook ML (2010) The Advocate's Dilemma: Framing Migrant Rights in National Settings. *Studies in Social Justice* 4(2): 145–164.
- Coole D (2013) Agentic capacities and capacious historical materialism: Thinking with new materialisms in the political sciences. *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 41(3): 451–469.
- Cooper C, Taylor P, Smith N, et al. (2005) A discussion of the political potential of Social Accounting. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 16(7): 951–974. DOI: 10.1016/j.cpa.2003.09.003.
- Cooper D (2014) *Everyday Utopias: The Conceptual Life of Promising Spaces*.
- Cooper D (2017) Prefiguring the State. *Antipode* 49(2): 335–356. DOI: 10.1111/anti.12277.
- Cornelisse G (2010) *Immigration Detention and Human Rights: Rethinking Territorial Sovereignty*. Immigration and asylum law and policy in Europe v. 19. Leiden ; Boston: Brill.
- Corporate Watch (2016) *Snitches, Sings and Leaks*. Available at: https://corporatewatch.org/sites/default/files/CW%20immigration%20raids%20report_0.pdf (accessed 31 July 2017).
- Corporate Watch (2017a) *Deportation Charter Flights Fact Sheet January 2017*. Available at: https://corporatewatch.org/sites/default/files/CW%20Charter%20Flights%202017_0.pdf (accessed 26 July 2017).
- Corporate Watch (2017b) The Hostile Environment: turning the UK into a nation of border cops. Available at: <https://corporatewatch.org/news/2017/apr/08/hostile-environment-turning-uk-nation-border-cops> (accessed 11 April 2017).
- Cox L (2015) Scholarship and Activism: A Social Movements Perspective. *Studies in Social Justice* 9(1): 34–53.
- Cox L and Fominaya CF (2009) Movement knowledge: what do we know, how do we create knowledge and what do we do with it? 1: 20.
- Crenshaw K (1989) Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *U. Chi. Legal F.*: 139.
- Darling J (2009) Becoming Bare Life: Asylum, Hospitality, and the Politics of Encampment. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27(4): 649–665. DOI: 10.1068/d10307.

- Darling J (2010) A city of sanctuary: the relational re-imagining of Sheffield's asylum politics. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35(1): 125–140. DOI: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2009.00371.x.
- Darling J (2014) From Hospitality to Presence. *Peace Review* 26(2): 162–169. DOI: 10.1080/10402659.2014.906872.
- Day RJF (2004) From hegemony to affinity: The political logic of the newest social movements. *Cultural Studies* 18(5): 716–748. DOI: 10.1080/0950238042000260360.
- Day RJF (2005) *Gramsci Is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*. London: Pluto Press [u.a.].
- De Giorgi A (2010) Immigration control, post-Fordism, and less eligibility: A materialist critique of the criminalization of immigration across Europe. *Punishment & Society* 12(2): 147–167. DOI: 10.1177/1462474509357378.
- Dean J (1996) *Solidarity of Strangers: Feminism After Identity Politics*. University of California Press.
- Dean J (1998) Feminist Solidarity, Reflective Solidarity. *Women & Politics* 18(4): 1–26. DOI: 10.1300/J014v18n04_01.
- Dean M and Villadsen K (2016) *State Phobia and Civil Society: The Political Legacy of Michel Foucault*. 1 edition. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- DeLanda M (2012) Emergence, Causality and Realism. *Architectural Theory Review* 17(1): 3–16. DOI: 10.1080/13264826.2012.661549.
- Deleuze G and Guattari F (2011) *What Is Philosophy?* Repr. London: Verso.
- Dembour M-B and Kelly T (2011) *Are Human Rights for Migrants?: Critical Reflections on the Status of Irregular Migrants in Europe and the United States*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.
- Derrida J (1989) The Force of Law: The mystical foundation of authority. *Cardozo L. Rev.* 11: 920–1045.
- Derrida J (1997) *Adieu à Emmanuel Lévinas*. Incises. Paris: Galilée.
- Derrida J (2001) *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Derrida J (2005) The Principle of Hospitality. *Parallax* 11(1): 6–9. DOI: 10.1080/1353464052000321056.
- Derrida J and Anidjar G (2002) *Acts of Religion*. New York: Routledge.
- Derrida Jacques and Dufourmantelle Anne (2000) *Of Hospitality*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

- Detention Action (2011) *Fast Track to Despair*. May. Available at: <http://detentionaction.org.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/FastTracktoDespair.pdf> (accessed 25 July 2014).
- Detention Action (2013) *The financial waste of long-term detention - briefing*. Available at: <http://detentionaction.org.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/costs-briefing-03131.docx> (accessed 25 July 2014).
- Detention Forum (2018) Detention Forum Website. In: *Detention Forum*. Available at: <https://www.detentionforum.org.uk/> (accessed 5 February 2019).
- Dicey AV (2012) *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England*. Liberty Fund. Available at: <https://muse.jhu.edu/chapter/754032> (accessed 2 January 2019).
- Dikeç M (2002) Pera Peras Poros Longings for Spaces of Hospitality. *Theory, Culture & Society* 19(1–2): 227–247. DOI: 10.1177/026327640201900111.
- Dikeç M (2013) Beginners and equals: political subjectivity in Arendt and Rancière. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38(1): 78–90. DOI: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00508.x.
- Dixon C (2014) *Another Politics: Talking across Today's Transformative Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dovi S (2018) Political Representation. In: Zalta EN (ed.) *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Fall 2018. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University. Available at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2018/entries/political-representation/> (accessed 11 September 2018).
- Dupuis-Déri F (2010) Anarchism and the politics of affinity groups. *Anarchist Studies; London* 18(1): 40–61.
- Duwe G and Clark V (2013) Blessed Be the Social Tie That Binds The Effects of Prison Visitation on Offender Recidivism. *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 24(3): 271–296. DOI: 10.1177/0887403411429724.
- Ebrahim A (2003) Accountability In Practice: Mechanisms for NGOs. *World Development* 31(5): 813–829. DOI: 10.1016/S0305-750X(03)00014-7.
- Edward Arrington C and Francis JR (1993) Giving economic accounts: Accounting as cultural practice. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 18(2): 107–124. DOI: 10.1016/0361-3682(93)90029-6.
- Edward Arrington C and Puxty AG (1991) Accounting, interests, and rationality: A communicative relation. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 2(1): 31–58. DOI: 10.1016/1045-2354(91)90018-9.

- Edwards M and Hulme D (1996) Too close for comfort? the impact of official aid on nongovernmental organizations. *World Development* 24(6): 961–973. DOI: 10.1016/0305-750X(96)00019-8.
- Einwohner R, Kaire J, Sinclair-Chapman V, et al. (2016) Active solidarity: Strategies for transnational political cooperation in contexts of difference, domination, and distrust. *Purdue University Working Group on Social Movements*. Available online at www.laurelweldon.com/uploads/1/4/1/9/14197205/solidarity_and_identity_spsa_march_29.pdf. Available at: <http://www.fernandotormos.com/s/Solidarity-and-Identity-SPSA-March-29.pdf> (accessed 29 September 2017).
- El-Enany N (2017) Things Fall Apart: From Empire to Brexit Britain. Available at: <http://blogs.bath.ac.uk/iprblog/2017/05/02/things-fall-apart-from-empire-to-brexit-britain/> (accessed 3 October 2018).
- Engels F and Marx K (1848) *The Communist Manifesto*.
- Escobar A (1992) Culture, Practice and Politics: Anthropology and the study of social movements. *Critique of Anthropology* 12(4): 395–432. DOI: 10.1177/0308275X9201200402.
- Evans J (2016) The Experiment of Friendship: Anarchist Affinity in the Wake of Michel Foucault.: 142.
- Eyerman R (2007) How Social Movements Move: Emotions and Social Movements. In: Flam H and King D (eds) *Emotions and Social Movements*. Routledge, pp. 41–56.
- Eyerman R and Jamison A (2007) *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fadaee S (2015) The Immigrant Rights Struggle, and the Paradoxes of Radical Activism in Europe. *Social Movement Studies* 14(6): 733–739. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2015.1070336.
- Fassin D (2007) Humanitarianism as a Politics of Life. *Public Culture* 19(3): 499–520. DOI: 10.1215/08992363-2007-007.
- Fassin D (2012) *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present Times*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Featherstone D (2012) *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism*. London: Zed. Available at: <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/56256/> (accessed 12 November 2014).
- Feinberg J (1968) Collective Responsibility. *The Journal of Philosophy* 65(21): 674–688. DOI: 10.2307/2024543.
- Fekete L (2005) The deportation machine: Europe, asylum and human rights. *Race & Class* 47(1): 64–78. DOI: 10.1177/0306396805055083.

- Felski R (2011) Suspicious Minds. *Poetics Today* 32(2): 215–234. DOI: 10.1215/03335372-1261208.
- Fernandez C, Gill M, Szeman I, et al. (2006) Erasing the Line, or, the Politics of the Border. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 6: 466–483.
- FERRELL J, MILOVANOVIC D and LYNG S (2001) Edgework, Media Practices, and the Elongation of Meaning:: A Theoretical Ethnography of the Bridge Day Event. *Theoretical Criminology* 5(2): 177–202. DOI: 10.1177/1362480601005002003.
- Fillmore E (2010) The effects of immigration detention on the health of children and families in the UK. *Adoption & Fostering* 34(1): 88–91.
- Finchett-Maddock L (2008) An Anarchist’s Wetherspoons¹ or Virtuous Resistance? Social Centres as MacIntyre’s Vision of Practice-based Communities. *Philosophy of Management* 7(1): 21–31.
- Fischer N (2013) Negotiating Deportations. An Ethnography of the Legal Challenge of Deportation Orders in a French Immigration Detention Centre. In: Anderson B, Gibney MJ, and Paoletti E (eds) *The Social, Political and Historical Contours of Deportation*. New York, NY: Springer New York. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4614-5864-7.
- Flynn M (2013) *The Hidden Costs of Human Rights: The Case of Immigration Detention*. ID 2344193, SSRN Scholarly Paper, 1 September. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. Available at: <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2344193> (accessed 6 January 2017).
- Flynn M and Cannon CJ (2009) *The Privatization of Immigration Detention: Towards a Global View*. ID 2344196, SSRN Scholarly Paper, 1 September. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. Available at: <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2344196> (accessed 6 January 2017).
- Foucault M (n.d.) *Essential Works of Foucault*. Rabinow P (ed.).
- Foucault M and Deleuze G (1977) Intellectuals and power. *Language, counter-memory, practice*: 205–17.
- Fox J (2007) The uncertain relationship between transparency and accountability. *Development in Practice* 17(4–5): 663–671. DOI: 10.1080/09614520701469955.
- Fox JE, Moroşanu L and Szilassy E (2012) The Racialization of the New European Migration to the UK. *Sociology* 46(4): 680–695. DOI: 10.1177/0038038511425558.
- Franks B (2003) Direct action ethic. *Anarchist Studies* (1): 13–41.
- Friese H (2010) The Limits of Hospitality: Political Philosophy, Undocumented Migration and the Local Arena. *European Journal of Social Theory* 13(3): 323–341. DOI: 10.1177/1368431010371755.

- Gane N (2009) Concepts and the 'New' Empiricism. *European Journal of Social Theory* 12(1): 83–97. DOI: 10.1177/1368431008099645.
- Gawerc MI (2017) Solidarity is in the heart, not in the field: joint Israeli–Palestinian peace movement organizations during the 2014 Gaza War. *Social Movement Studies* 16(5): 520–534. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2017.1344544.
- Genova NPD (2002) Migrant 'Illegality' and Deportability in Everyday Life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31: 419–447.
- Gibney M (2001) The state of Asylum. *Working paper No. 50*.
- Gibney MJ (2008) Asylum and the Expansion of Deportation in the United Kingdom. *Government and Opposition* 43(2): 146–167. DOI: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2007.00249.x.
- Gibson S (2006) Border Politics and Hospitable Spaces in Stephen Frears's Dirty Pretty Things. *Third Text* 20(6): 693–701. DOI: 10.1080/09528820601069631.
- Gibson S (2013) Testimony in a Culture of Disbelief: Asylum Hearings and the Impossibility of Bearing Witness. *Journal for Cultural Research* 17(1): 1–20. DOI: 10.1080/14797585.2011.613221.
- Gill Nicholas (2009) Governmental mobility: The power effects of the movement of detained asylum seekers around Britain's detention estate. *Political geography* 28(3): 186–196.
- Gill Nick (2009) Whose "No Borders"? Achieving Border Liberalization for the Right Reasons. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 26(2). Available at: <http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/article/view/32082> (accessed 29 January 2015).
- Gill N (2010) Tracing Imaginations of the State: The Spatial Consequences of Different State Concepts among Asylum Activist Organisations. *Antipode* 42(5): 1048–1070. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00793.x.
- Gill N (2016) *Nothing Personal?: Geographies of Governing and Activism in the British Asylum System*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118315996.ch2/summary> (accessed 6 September 2016).
- Gish O (1968) Color and Skill: British Immigration, 1955–1968. *The International Migration Review* 3(1): 19–37.
- Givoni M (2011) Beyond the Humanitarian/Political Divide: Witnessing and the Making of Humanitarian Ethics. *Journal of Human Rights* 10(1): 55–75. DOI: 10.1080/14754835.2011.546235.
- Givoni M (2016) *The Care of the Witness: A Contemporary History of Testimony in Crises*.
- Godwin W and Kramnick I (2015) *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice: And Its Influence On Morals And Happiness*. Penguin Classics.

- Graeber D (2002) The new anarchists. *New left review* 13(6): 61–73.
- Graeber D (2014) *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement*. Penguin.
- Gray R (2002) The social accounting project and Accounting Organizations and Society Privileging engagement, imaginings, new accountings and pragmatism over critique? *Accounting, organizations and society* 27(7): 687–708.
- Gray R, Dey C, Owen D, et al. (1997) Struggling with the praxis of social accounting: Stakeholders, accountability, audits and procedures. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* 10(3): 325–364. DOI: 10.1108/09513579710178106.
- Gray R, Brennan A and Malpas J (2014) New accounts: Towards a reframing of social accounting. *Accounting Forum* 38(4): 258–273. DOI: 10.1016/j.accfor.2013.10.005.
- Griffiths M (2014) Immigration detention in the media: anarchy and ambivalence. Available at: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/shinealight/melanie-griffiths/immigration-detention-in-media-anarchy-and-ambivalence> (accessed 18 April 2018).
- Griffiths M (2017) Foreign, criminal: a doubly damned modern British folk-devil. *Citizenship Studies* 21(5): 527–546. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2017.1328486.
- Griffiths MBE (2014) Out of Time: The Temporal Uncertainties of Refused Asylum Seekers and Immigration Detainees. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 0(0): 1–19. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2014.907737.
- Grosz E (2010) Feminism, Materialism, and Freedom. In: Coole DH and Frost S (eds) *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics*. Durham [NC] ; London: Duke University Press, pp. 139–157.
- Gutiérrez-Jones C (2001) *Critical Race Narratives: A Study of Race, Rhetoric, and Injury*. Critical America. New York: New York University Press.
- Hage G (2012) Critical Anthropological thought and the radical imaginary today. *Critique of Anthropology* 32(3): 285–308.
- Haiven M and Khasnabish A (2014) *The Radical Imagination: Social Movement Research in the Age of Austerity*. Halifax ; Winnipeg ; London: Fernwood Publishing ; Zed Books.
- Hall A (2010) ‘These People Could Be Anyone’: Fear, Contempt (and Empathy) in a British Immigration Removal Centre. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(6): 881–898. DOI: 10.1080/13691831003643330.
- Hall S (1996) Gramsci’s relevance for the study of race and ethnicity. In: Chen K-H (ed.) *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. 1 edition. London ; New York: Routledge, pp. 411–440.
- Halpin DR (2006) The Participatory and Democratic Potential and Practice of Interest Groups: Between Solidarity and Representation. *Public Administration* 84(4): 919–940. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9299.2006.00618.x.

- Hamington M (2010) Toward a Theory of Feminist Hospitality. *Feminist Formations* 22(1): 21–38. DOI: 10.1353/nwsa.0.0112.
- Hansen R (2000) *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Haraway D (1988) Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies* 14(3): 575–599. DOI: 10.2307/3178066.
- Harding S (1992) RETHINKING STANDPOINT EPISTEMOLOGY: WHAT IS ‘STRONG OBJECTIVITY?’ *The Centennial Review* 36(3): 437–470.
- Harrebye S (2015) The ambivalence of creative activism as a reorganization of critique. *Culture and Organization* 21(2): 126–146. DOI: 10.1080/14759551.2013.813512.
- Harris CI (1993) *Whiteness as Property*. ID 927850, SSRN Scholarly Paper. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. Available at: <http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=927850> (accessed 16 November 2013).
- Harvey J (2007) Moral solidarity and empathetic understanding: The moral value and scope of the relationship. *Journal of social philosophy* 38(1): 22–37.
- Hayter T (2003) No Borders: The Case against Immigration Controls. *Feminist Review* (73): 6–18.
- Heath S (2007) Widening the gap: pre-university gap years and the ‘economy of experience’. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 28(1): 89–103. DOI: 10.1080/01425690600996717.
- Held D (2006) *Models of Democracy*. 3rd Revised edition edition. Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Hemphill D and Leskowitz S (2013) DIY Activists: Communities of Practice, Cultural Dialogism, and Radical Knowledge Sharing. *Adult Education Quarterly* 63(1): 57–77. DOI: 10.1177/0741713612442803.
- Hickman MJ (1998) Reconstructing deconstructing ‘race’: British political discourses about the Irish in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2): 288–307. DOI: 10.1080/014198798330025.
- HM Inspectorate of Prisons for England and Wales (2015) *Immigration Detainees Findings Paper 2015*. Available at: <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmiprison/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2015/11/HMIP-Immigration-detainees-findings-paper-web-2015.pdf> (accessed 1 August 2017).
- Home Office (1998) *Fairer, Faster and Firmer: A modern approach to immigration and asylum*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/264150/4018.pdf (accessed 14 August 2017).

- Hoofd IM (2012) *Ambiguities of Activism: Alter-Globalism and the Imperatives of Speed*. Routledge research in cultural and media studies 43. New York: Routledge.
- Hooker J (2009) *Race and the Politics of Solidarity*. OUP USA.
- Hughes J and Field O (1998) Recent Trends in the Detention of Asylum Seekers in Western Europe. In: Hughes J and Liebaut F (eds) *Detention of Asylum Seekers in Europe: Analysis and Perspectives*. [The Hague] : Cambridge, MA: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers ; Sold and distributed by Kluwer Law International, pp. 5–48.
- Humbracht M (2015) Reimagining Transnational Relations: the Embodied Politics of Visiting Friends and Relatives Mobilities. *Population, Space and Place* 21(7): 640–653. DOI: 10.1002/psp.1918.
- Husanović J (2015) Economies of affect and traumatic knowledge: lessons on violence, witnessing and resistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Ethnicity Studies*: 19–35.
- Hynes M (2013) Reconceptualizing resistance: sociology and the affective dimension of resistance: Reconceptualizing resistance. *The British Journal of Sociology* 64(4): 559–577. DOI: 10.1111/1468-4446.12038.
- Hyysalo S (2006) Representations of Use and Practice-Bound Imaginaries in Automating the Safety of the Elderly. *Social Studies of Science* 36(4): 599–626. DOI: 10.1177/0306312706058426.
- Ibrahim Y and Howarth A (2017) Communicating the ‘migrant’ other as risk: space, EU and expanding borders. *Journal of Risk Research* 0(0): 1–22. DOI: 10.1080/13669877.2017.1313765.
- ILPA (2010) *Information Sheet: Detained Fast Track*. 16 March. Available at: <http://www.ilpa.org.uk/data/resources/4674/10.03.1132.pdf> (accessed 15 July 2014).
- INCITE! (ed.) (2007) *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*. Cambridge, Mass: South End Press.
- INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (2003) Community Accountability Principles/Concerns/Strategies/Models Working Document. Available at: http://www.incite-national.org/sites/default/files/incite_files/resource_docs/0528_incite-communityaccountabilityprinciples.pdf (accessed 15 April 2018).
- Independent Chief Inspector of Borders and Immigration (2016) *An Inspection of Home Office Outsourced Contracts for Escorted and Non-Escorted Removals and Cedars Pre-Departure Accommodation: July - November 2015*.
- IRR (2017) Deaths in immigration detention: 1989-2017 | Institute of Race Relations. Available at: <http://www.irr.org.uk/news/deaths-in-immigration-detention-1989-2017/> (accessed 13 July 2017).

- Ishkanian A and Peña Saavedra A (2019) The politics and practices of intersectional prefiguration in social movements: The case of Sisters Uncut. *The Sociological Review*: 0038026118822974. DOI: 10.1177/0038026118822974.
- Isin EF (2008) Theorising Acts of Citizenship. In: Isin EF and Nielsen GM (eds) *Acts of Citizenship*. Zed Books Limited, pp. 15–43. Available at: <http://enginfinis.eu/assets/2008d.pdf> (accessed 6 November 2015).
- Jaworsky BN (2017) *The Boundaries of Belonging. Online Work of Immigration-Related Social Movement Organizations*. Available at: <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1352674> (accessed 31 January 2019).
- Jayal NG (2007) New Directions in Theorising Social Accountability? *IDS bulletin* 38(6): 105–112.
- Jerak-Zuiderent S (2015) Accountability from Somewhere and for Someone: Relating with Care. *Science as Culture*: 1–24. DOI: 10.1080/09505431.2015.1050368.
- Jessop B (2015) *The State: Past, Present, Future*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (2017) *Passport Please*. Available at: https://www.jcwi.org.uk/sites/jcwi/files/2017-02/2017_02_13_JCWI%20Report_Passport%20Please.pdf (accessed 29 July 2017).
- Joseph M (2014) *Debt to Society: Accounting for Life under Capitalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jubany O (2011) Constructing truths in a culture of disbelief Understanding asylum screening from within. *International Sociology* 26(1): 74–94. DOI: 10.1177/0268580910380978.
- Kanstroom D (2007) *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History*. Harvard University Press.
- Kant I (1795) Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch. Available at: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm> (accessed 18 March 2016).
- Katsiaficas GN (2007) *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*. Oakland, Cal.; Edinburgh: AK.
- Kaye R (2001) 'Blaming the victim': an analysis of press representation of refugees and asylum-seekers in the United Kingdom in the 1990s. In: King R and Wood N (eds) *Media and Migration: Constructions of Mobility and Difference*. 1 edition. London ; New York: Routledge, pp. 53–70.
- Kearney R (1998) *Poetics of Imagining: Modern to Post-Modern*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Keenan S (2013) Bringing the outside (r) in: Law's appropriation of subversive identities. *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly* 64(3): 299–316.

- Keenan S (2017) A Border In Every Street. In: *The Disorder Of Things*. Available at: <https://thedisorderofthings.com/2017/06/29/a-border-in-every-street/> (accessed 26 July 2017).
- Kenney M (2015) Counting, accounting, and accountability: Helen Verran's relational empiricism. *Social Studies of Science*: 0306312715607413. DOI: 10.1177/0306312715607413.
- Khasnabish A and Haiven M (2012) Convoking the Radical Imagination Social Movement Research, Dialogic Methodologies, and Scholarly Vocations. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 12(5): 408–421. DOI: 10.1177/1532708612453126.
- King N (2016) *No Borders: The Politics of Immigration Control and Resistance*. London: Zed Books.
- Klein A and Williams L (2012) Immigration Detention in the Community: Research on the Experiences of Migrants Released from Detention Centres in the UK. *Population, Space and Place* 18(6): 741–753. DOI: 10.1002/psp.1725.
- Kolers A (2014) The Priority of Solidarity to Justice. *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 31(4): 420–433. DOI: 10.1111/japp.12076.
- Komter AE (2005) *Social Solidarity and the Gift*. Cambridge University Press.
- Koopmans R and Rucht D (2002) Protest Event Analysis. In: Klandermans B and Staggenborg S (eds) *Methods of Social Movement Research*. U of Minnesota Press.
- Koulish R (2015) Spiderman's Web and the Governmentality of Electronic Immigrant Detention. *Law, Culture and the Humanities* 11(1): 83–108. DOI: 10.1177/1743872111433376.
- Kramer S (2017) *Excluded Within: The (Un)Intelligibility of Radical Political Actors*. Oxford University Press.
- Kunelius R and Renvall M (2010) Stories of a public: Journalism and the validity of citizens' testimonies. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* 11(5): 515–529. DOI: 10.1177/1464884910373533.
- Kymlicka W (ed.) (1995) *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka W and Banting K (2006) Immigration, Multiculturalism, and the Welfare State. *Ethics & International Affairs* 20(3): 281–304. DOI: 10.1111/j.1747-7093.2006.00027.x.
- Laclau E (2001) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. 2nd ed. London ; New York: Verso.
- Lamble S (2008) Retelling racialized violence, remaking White innocence: The politics of interlocking oppressions in Transgender Day of Remembrance. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 5(1): 24–42.

- Lamble S (2011) *Epistemologies of Possibility: Social Movements, Knowledge Production and Political Transformation*. University of Kent.
- Larsen SC and Johnson JT (2012) Toward an Open Sense of Place: Phenomenology, Affinity, and the Question of Being. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102(3): 632–646. DOI: 10.1080/00045608.2011.600196.
- Laurendeau J (2006) “He Didn’t Go in Doing a Skydive”: Sustaining the Illusion of Control in an Edgework Activity. *Sociological Perspectives* 49(4): 583–605. DOI: 10.1525/sop.2006.49.4.583.
- Leung G and Stone M (2009) Otherwise than Hospitality: A Disputation on the Relation of Ethics to Law and Politics. *Law and Critique* 20(2): 193–206. DOI: 10.1007/s10978-009-9046-1.
- Levitas R (1995) We: problems in identity, solidarity and difference. *History of the Human Sciences* 8(3): 89–105. DOI: 10.1177/095269519500800305.
- Lindberg SI (2009) Accountability: the core concept and its subtypes. *Africa Power and Politics Programme Working Paper* 1. Available at: http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Staffan_Lindberg2/publication/265158360_Accountability_the_core_concept_and_its_subtypes/links/5461fa340cf2c1a63c01e259.pdf (accessed 14 September 2015).
- Lindberg SI (2013) Mapping accountability: core concept and subtypes. *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 79(2): 202–226. DOI: 10.1177/0020852313477761.
- Lorek A, Ehntholt K, Nesbitt A, et al. (2009) The Mental and Physical Health Difficulties of Children Held Within a British Immigration Detention Center: A Pilot Study. *Child Abuse and Neglect* 33(9): 573–85. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2008.10.005>.
- Luchies T (2014) Anti-oppression as pedagogy; prefiguration as praxis. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* 6(1): 99–129.
- Luchies T (2015) Towards an Insurrectionary Power/Knowledge: Movement-Relevance, Anti-Oppression, Prefiguration. *Social Movement Studies* 14(5): 523–538. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2014.998643.
- Lynch P, Molz JG, Mcintosh A, et al. (2011) Theorizing hospitality. *Hospitality & Society* 1(1): 3–24. DOI: 10.1386/hosp.1.1.3_2.
- Lyng S (ed.) (2004) *Edgework*. 1 edition. New York: Routledge.
- Lyotard J-F (1989) *Differend: Phrases in Dispute*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
- Macey D (1995) *Lives of Michel Foucault*. Reprint edition. New York: Vintage Books.
- MacIntyre AC (2007) *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press.

- Maddison Sarah and Scalmer Sean (2006) *Activist Wisdom: Practical Knowledge and Creative Tension in Social Movements*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Maeckelbergh M (2011a) Doing is Believing: Prefiguration as Strategic Practice in the Alterglobalization Movement. *Social Movement Studies* 10(1): 1–20. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2011.545223.
- Maeckelbergh M (2011b) Doing is Believing: Prefiguration as Strategic Practice in the Alterglobalization Movement. *Social Movement Studies* 10(1): 1–20. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2011.545223.
- Mainwaring C and Silverman SJ (2017) Detention-as-Spectacle. *International Political Sociology* 11(1): 21–38. DOI: 10.1093/ips/olw016.
- Mandel E (1989) Trotsky's conception of self-organisation and the vanguard party. *Originally published in French in Quatrième Internationale* (36): 35–49.
- Mansbach D (2015) Witnessing as Activism: Watching the Other at the Israeli Checkpoints. *Journal of Human Rights*: 1–17. DOI: 10.1080/14754835.2015.1062720.
- Mansbridge J (2003) Rethinking Representation. *The American Political Science Review* 97(4): 515–528.
- Marc F. Plattner (2009) Populism, Pluralism, and Liberal Democracy. *Journal of Democracy* 21(1): 81–92. DOI: 10.1353/jod.0.0154.
- Margalit A (2004) *The Ethics of Memory*. 3. Aufl. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Maria Elizabeth Grabe, Mariska Kleemans, Ozen Bas, et al. (2017) Putting a Human Face on Cold, Hard Facts: Effects of Personalizing Social Issues on Perceptions of Issue Importance. *International Journal of Communication* 11. Available at: <http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/167604/167604.pdf> (accessed 15 February 2018).
- Marshall E, Pinkowska P and Gill N (2016) Virtual Presence as a challenge to immobility. In: Peters K and Turner J (eds) *Carceral Mobilities: Jennifer Turner, Kimberley Peters*. Available at: <https://www.book2look.com/book/EDdqU6Ku2M> (accessed 29 January 2018).
- Massumi B (2002) *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Duke University Press.
- Mau S and Burkhardt C (2009) Migration and welfare state solidarity in Western Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy* 19(3): 213–229. DOI: 10.1177/0958928709104737.
- McAdam D (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press.
- McCarty TW (2019) Insisting on complicity. *Contemporary Political Theory* 18(1): 1–21. DOI: 10.1057/s41296-018-0257-9.

- McDonald K (2002) From Solidarity to Fluidarity: Social movements beyond 'collective identity'—the case of globalization conflicts. *Social Movement Studies* 1(2): 109–128. DOI: 10.1080/1474283022000010637.
- McGregor J (2011) Contestations and consequences of deportability: hunger strikes and the political agency of non-citizens. *Citizenship Studies* 15(5): 597–611. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2011.583791.
- Medical Justice (2015) *Healthcare in Detention - Written evidence submitted by Medical Justice to the Shaw Review*. Available at: <http://www.medicaljustice.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/althcareinDetention-SummarybyMedicalJusticeforShawReview.pdf> (accessed 14 August 2017).
- Medical Justice, Birnberg Peirce & Partners and National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns (2008) *Outsourcing Abuse*. July.
- Melucci (1989) *Nomads of the Present*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, U.S.
- Melucci A (1980) The new social movements: A theoretical approach. *Social Science Information* 19(2): 199–226. DOI: 10.1177/053901848001900201.
- Mennicken A and Miller P (2012) Accounting, Territorialization and Power. *Foucault Studies* 0(13): 4–24.
- Mensink S (2019) Prefiguration, strategic interaction and political belonging in undocumented migrant and solidarity movements. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 0(0): 1–17. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1561251.
- Mercer K (2013) *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies*. Routledge.
- Meulen R ter (2016) Solidarity, justice, and recognition of the other. *Theoretical Medicine and Bioethics* 37(6): 517–529. DOI: 10.1007/s11017-016-9387-3.
- Mezzadra S (2004) The Right to Escape. *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 4(3): 267–275.
- Miles R and Cleary P (1993) Migration to Britain: Racism, State Regulation and Employment. In: Robinson V (ed.) *The International Refugee Crisis: British and Canadian Responses*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 57–75. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-349-12054-3_5.
- Miller P (2013) *Collective Expulsion: The Case against Britain's Mass Deportation Charter Flights*.
- Millner N (2011) From "refugee" to "migrant" in Calais solidarity activism: Re-staging undocumented migration for a future politics of asylum. *Political Geography* 30(6): 320–328. DOI: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.07.005.
- Mitchell T, Abourahme N and Jabary-Salamanca O (2016) Thinking against the sovereignty of the concept. *City* 20: 737–754. DOI: 10.1080/13604813.2016.1224486.

- Molyneux J (2008) *Marxism and the Party*. Chicago, Ill.: Haymarket Books.
- Molz DJG and Gibson DS (2007) Introduction: Mobilizing and Moring Hospitality. In: Molz JG and Gibson S (eds) *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Montanaro L (2012) The Democratic Legitimacy of Self-Appointed Representatives. *The Journal of Politics* 74(4): 1094–1107. DOI: 10.1017/s0022381612000515.
- Moore RS and Wallace T (1975) *Slamming the Door: The Administration of Immigration Control*. London: M. Robertson.
- Moran DD (2015) *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Morgan G (1988) Accounting as reality construction: Towards a new epistemology for accounting practice. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 13(5): 477–485. DOI: 10.1016/0361-3682(88)90018-9.
- Mortensen M (2015) Connective witnessing: Reconfiguring the relationship between the individual and the collective. *Information, Communication & Society* 18(11): 1393–1406. DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2015.1061574.
- Mostafanezhad M (2014) *Volunteer Tourism: Popular Humanitarianism in Neoliberal Times*. New directions in tourism analysis. Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Mouffe C (2013) *Agonistics: Thinking The World Politically*. 1 edition. London ; New York: Verso.
- Mountz A (2011a) The enforcement archipelago: Detention, haunting, and asylum on islands. *Political Geography* 30(3): 118–128. DOI: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.01.005.
- Mountz A (2011b) The enforcement archipelago: Detention, haunting, and asylum on islands. *Political Geography* 30(3): 118–128. DOI: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.01.005.
- Mountz A, Coddington K, Catania RT, et al. (2013) Conceptualizing detention: Mobility, containment, bordering, and exclusion. *Progress in Human Geography* 37(4): 522–541. DOI: 10.1177/0309132512460903.
- Müller M (2015) More-than-representational political geographies. In: Agnew J, Mamadough V, Secor A, et al. (eds) *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Political Geography*. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/15031515/More-than-representational_political_geographies (accessed 20 July 2016).
- Mulqueen T and Tataryn A (2012) Don't Occupy This Movement: Thinking Law in Social Movements. *Law and Critique* 23(3): 283–298. DOI: 10.1007/s10978-012-9103-z.

- Murphy S and Patterson M (2011) Motorcycling edgework: A practice theory perspective. *Journal of Marketing Management* 27(13–14): 1322–1340. DOI: 10.1080/0267257X.2011.627366.
- Nail T (2012) Violence at the Borders: Nomadic Solidarity and Non-Status Migrant Resistance. Mendieta E (ed.) *Radical Philosophy Review* 15(1): 241–257. DOI: 10.5840/radphilrev201215117.
- Näsström S (2011) Where is the representative turn going? *European Journal of Political Theory* 10(4): 501–510. DOI: 10.1177/1474885111417783.
- Neimanis A (2015) No Representation without Colonisation? (Or, Nature Represents Itself). *Somatechnics* 5(2): 135–153. DOI: 10.3366/soma.2015.0158.
- Newmahr S (2011) Chaos, Order, and Collaboration: Toward a Feminist Conceptualization of Edgework. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 40(6): 682–712. DOI: 10.1177/0891241611425177.
- Newman S (2016) Occupy and Autonomous Political Life. In: Kioupkiolis A and Katsambekis G (eds) *Radical Democracy and Collective Movements Today: The Biopolitics of the Multitude Versus the Hegemony of the People*. Routledge.
- Nunes R (2014) *Organisation of the Organisationless: Collective Action after Networks*. PML books. London: Mute.
- Nussbaum MC (2008) *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. 8th pr. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Nye C (2014) Inside UK immigration removal centres. *BBC*, 12 May. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-27332370> (accessed 28 July 2014).
- Nyers P (2003) Abject Cosmopolitanism: the politics of protection in the anti-deportation movement. *Third World Quarterly* 24(6): 1069–1093. DOI: 10.1080/01436590310001630071.
- Oliver K (2001) *Witnessing: Beyond Recognition*. U of Minnesota Press.
- O’Neill J (2001) Representing People, Representing Nature, Representing the World. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 19(4): 483–500. DOI: 10.1068/c12s.
- Painter J (2006) Prosaic geographies of stateness. *Political Geography* 25(7): 752–774. DOI: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2006.07.004.
- Pakes FJ and Holt K (2016) Crimmigration and the prison: comparing trends in prison policy and practice in England and Wales, and Norway. *European Journal of Criminology*. Available at: <http://eprints.port.ac.uk/19614/> (accessed 2 January 2017).

- Pantti M and Ojala M (2018) Caught between sympathy and suspicion: journalistic perceptions and practices of telling asylum seekers' personal stories. *Media, Culture & Society*: 0163443718756177. DOI: 10.1177/0163443718756177.
- Papadopoulos D (2010) Activist Materialism. *Deleuze Studies* 4(supplement): 64–83. DOI: 10.3366/dls.2010.0206.
- Papadopoulos D and Tsianos VS (2013) After citizenship: autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons. *Citizenship Studies* 17(2): 178–196. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2013.780736.
- Parker N and Vaughan-Williams N (2009) Lines in the Sand? Towards an Agenda for Critical Border Studies. *Geopolitics* 14(3): 582–587. DOI: 10.1080/14650040903081297.
- Parker N and Vaughan-Williams N (2012) Critical Border Studies: Broadening and Deepening the 'Lines in the Sand' Agenda'. *Geopolitics* 17(4): 727–733. DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2012.706111.
- Parker O (2017) Critical political economy, free movement and Brexit: Beyond the progressive's dilemma. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 19(3): 479–496. DOI: 10.1177/1369148117711082.
- Patton P (2003) Concept and Politics in Derrida and Deleuze. *Critical Horizons* 4(2): 157–175. DOI: 10.1163/156851603322398251.
- Paul Patton (2010) *Deleuzian Concepts: Philosophy, Colonization, Politics / Paul Patton*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.
- Pearce J (2007) Toward a Post-Representational Politics?: Participation in the 21st Century. *World Futures* 63(5–6): 464–478. DOI: 10.1080/02604020701404141.
- Pellew J (1989) The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905. *The Historical Journal* 32(2): 369–385.
- Phelan S (1994) *Getting Specific Postmodern Lesbian Politics*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Phelps J, Ohtani E and Detention Action (2016) *Without Detention: Opportunities for Alternatives*. Available at: <http://detentionaction.org.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Without-Detention.pdf>.
- Phillips A (2003) *The Politics of Presence: [The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Race]*. Reprinted. Oxford political theory. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Pitkin HF (1967) *The Concept of Representation*. University of California Press.
- Porta DD and Diani M (2009) *Social Movements: An Introduction*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Porter A and Stockwell AJ (1989) *British Imperial Policy and Decolonization, 1938-64 - Volume 2: 1951-64*. Palgrave Macmillan. Available at: <https://www.palgrave.com/gb/book/9780333385135> (accessed 5 February 2019).

- Pottage A (2012) The Materiality of What? *Journal of Law and Society* 39(1): 167–183. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-6478.2012.00576.x.
- Pratt G (2009) Circulating sadness: witnessing Filipina mothers' stories of family separation. *Gender, Place & Culture* 16(1): 3–22. DOI: 10.1080/09663690802574753.
- Pulido L (2007) A Day Without Immigrants: The Racial and Class Politics of Immigrant Exclusion. *Antipode* 39(1): 1–7. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2007.00502.x.
- Rawls J (2013) The justification of civil disobedience. In: Kavanagh A and Oberdiek J (eds) *Arguing About Law*. Routledge.
- Reisinger Y and Steiner C (2006) Reconceptualising Interpretation: The Role of Tour Guides in Authentic Tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism* 9(6): 481–498. DOI: 10.2167/cit280.0.
- Reynolds J (2002) Habituality and Undecidability: A Comparison of Merleau-Ponty and Derrida on the Decision. *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 10(4): 449–466. DOI: 10.1080/09672550210167423.
- Ricoeur P (1994) Imagination in discourse and action. In: Robinson G and Rundell JF (eds) *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity*. London ; New York: Routledge. Available at: 118135.
- Rigby J and Schlembach R (2013) Impossible protest: noborders in Calais. *Citizenship Studies* 17(2): 157–172. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2013.780731.
- Robinson G and Rundell JF (eds) (1994) *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Robjant K, Robbins I and Senior V (2009) Psychological distress amongst immigration detainees: A cross-sectional questionnaire study. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology* 48(3): 275–286. DOI: 10.1348/014466508X397007.
- Rocha Gómez JL (2014) Hospitality as Civil Disobedience. *Peace Review* 26(2): 185–191. DOI: 10.1080/10402659.2014.906883.
- Rose AM (1952) *Union Solidarity: The Internal Cohesion of a Labor Union*. U of Minnesota Press.
- Rosello M (2001) *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest*. Stanford University Press.
- Roseneil S (1993) Greemham Revisited: Researching Myself and My Sisters. In: Hobbs D and May T (eds) *Interpreting the Field: Accounts of Ethnography*. Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press.
- Rousseau J-J (1762) *The Social Contract*. Wallachia Publishers.
- Roy A (2014) The NGO-ization of resistance. In: *Massalijn*. Available at: <http://massalijn.nl/new/the-ngo-ization-of-resistance/> (accessed 2 December 2016).

- Rozakou K (2012) The biopolitics of hospitality in Greece: Humanitarianism and the management of refugees. *American Ethnologist* 39(3): 562–577. DOI: 10.1111/j.1548-1425.2012.01381.x.
- Rundell JF (1994) Introduction. In: Robinson G and Rundell JF (eds) *Rethinking Imagination: Culture and Creativity*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Russo A (2019) *Feminist Accountability: Disrupting Violence and Transforming Power*. New York: New York University Press.
- Ruthrof H (2009) The Information-Control Continuum. In: Poster M and Savat D (eds) *Deleuze and New Technology*. Deleuze connections. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 206–223.
- Rygiel K (2011) Bordering solidarities: migrant activism and the politics of movement and camps at Calais. *Citizenship Studies* 15(1): 1–19. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2011.534911.
- Rzepnikowska A (2019) Racism and xenophobia experienced by Polish migrants in the UK before and after Brexit vote. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45(1): 61–77. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1451308.
- Sandoval C (2000) *Methodology of the Oppressed*. Theory out of bounds v. 18. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sanghera G and Thapar-Björkert S (2012) The Imagination and Social Capital. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 2(2): 141–149.
- Saward M (2006) The Representative Claim. *Contemporary Political Theory* 5(3): 297–318. DOI: 10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300234.
- Saward M (2009) Authorisation and Authenticity: Representation and the Unelected*. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 17(1): 1–22. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9760.2008.00309.x.
- Schatzki TR (2001) Introduction: Practice Theory. In: Schatzki TR, Cetina KK, and Savigny EV (eds) *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*. New York: Routledge, pp. 1–15.
- Schedler A (1999) Conceptualizing Accountability. In: Schedler A, Diamond L, and Plattner MF (eds) *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 13–28.
- Schoenfeld E and Meštrović SG (1989) Durkheim's concept of justice and its relationship to social solidarity. *Sociological Analysis* 50(2): 111–127.
- Scholz SJ (2010) *Political Solidarity*. Penn State Press.
- Scholz SJ (2015) Seeking Solidarity. *Philosophy Compass* 10(10): 725–735. DOI: 10.1111/phc3.12255.

- Schrover M and Vermeulen F (2005) Immigrant Organisations. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(5): 823–832. DOI: 10.1080/13691830500177792.
- Sedgwick EK (2002) Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is About You. In: Barale MA, Goldberg J, and Moon M (eds) *Touching Feeling*. Duke University Press, pp. 123–151. DOI: 10.1215/9780822384786-005.
- Sharp H (2007) The Force of Ideas in Spinoza. *Political Theory* 35(6): 732–755. DOI: 10.1177/0090591707307326.
- Sharpe S (2013) The Aesthetics of Urban Movement: Habits, Mobility, and Resistance: The Aesthetics of Urban Movement. *Geographical Research* 51(2): 166–172. DOI: 10.1111/j.1745-5871.2012.00781.x.
- Sharpley R and Telfer DJ (2008) *Tourism and Development in the Developing World*. London ; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Shaw S, Great Britain and Home Office (2016) *Review into the Welfare in Detention of Vulnerable Persons*.
- Shay H (2017) Virtual Edgework: Negotiating Risk in Role-Playing Gaming. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 46(2): 203–229. DOI: 10.1177/0891241615603448.
- Shenkin M and Coulson AB (2007) Accountability through activism: learning from Bourdieu. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal* 20(2): 297–317. DOI: 10.1108/09513570710741037.
- Silverman SJ (2014) Internment in the United Kingdom During the Twentieth Century and Its Links to the Evolution of Immigration Detention. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology* 3: 168–174.
- Simpson B, Tracey R and Weston A (2018) Traveling concepts: Performative movements in learning/playing. *Management Learning*: 1350507618754715. DOI: 10.1177/1350507618754715.
- Sinclair A (1995) The chameleon of accountability: Forms and discourses. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 20(2–3): 219–237. DOI: 10.1016/0361-3682(93)E0003-Y.
- Singh A (2014) Immigrants paid £14MILLION in compensation for being unlawfully detained. *Mirror*, 4 December. Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/immigrants-paid-14million-compensation-being-4750010> (accessed 14 August 2017).
- Sivanandan A (1982) *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance*. London: Pluto Press.
- Smelser NJ (1962) *Theory of Collective Behavior*.
- Smyth S (2007) Public Accountability: a critical approach. *Journal of finance and management in public services* 6(2): 27–45.

- Solórzano DG and Yosso TJ (2002) Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 8(1): 23–44. DOI: 10.1177/107780040200800103.
- Soysal YN (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. University of Chicago Press.
- Spence C (2009) Social accounting's emancipatory potential: A Gramscian critique. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 20(2): 205–227. DOI: 10.1016/j.cpa.2007.06.003.
- Spencer IRG (2002) *British Immigration Policy Since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*. Routledge.
- Spivak GC (1988) Can the subaltern speak? In: *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Springer, pp. 271–313. Available at: http://link.springer.com.chain.kent.ac.uk/chapter/10.1007/978-1-349-19059-1_20 (accessed 1 December 2016).
- Squire V (2009) *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum*. Migration, minorities, and citizenship. Basingstoke [England] ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Srnicek N and Williams A (2015) *Inventing the Future: Postcapitalism and a World Without Work*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso Books.
- Starodub A (2015) Post-representational epistemology in practice: processes of relational knowledge creation in autonomous social movements. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* 7(2): 161–191.
- Still J (2010) *Derrida and Hospitality: Theory and Practice*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Stoetzler M and Yuval-Davis N (2002) Standpoint theory, situated knowledge and the situated imagination. *Feminist Theory* 3(3): 315–333. DOI: 10.1177/146470002762492024.
- Stoll D (1999) *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press.
- Stravarakakis Y (2016) Hegemony or Post-Hegemony? Discourse, Representation and the Revenge(s) of the Real. In: Kioupiolis A and Katsambekis G (eds) *Radical Democracy and Collective Movements Today: The Biopolitics of the Multitude Versus the Hegemony of the People*. Routledge.
- Stronks MC (2012) The question of Salah Sheekh: Derrida's hospitality and migration law. *International Journal of Law in Context* 8(01): 73–95. DOI: 10.1017/S1744552311000449.
- Stumpf JP (2006) The crimmigration crisis: Immigrants, crime, and sovereign power. *American University Law Review* 56: 367.

- Suchman L (2002) Located accountabilities in technology production. *Scandinavian journal of information systems* 14(2): 7.
- Summers-Effler E (2007) The emotional significance of solidarity for social movement communities. In: Flam H and King D (eds) *Emotions and Social Movements*. Routledge, pp. 135–149.
- Tait S (2011) Bearing witness, journalism and moral responsibility. *Media, Culture & Society* 33(8): 1220–1235. DOI: 10.1177/0163443711422460.
- Taylor C (2002) Modern Social Imaginaries. *Public Culture* 14(1): 91–124.
- Taylor D (2015) Dossier calling for Yarl’s Wood closure chronicles decade of abuse complaints. *The Guardian*, 15 June. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jun/15/yarls-wood-report-calling-for-closure-decade-abuse-complaints> (accessed 1 August 2017).
- Taylor D (2016) Suicide attempts at UK immigration removal centres at all-time high. *The Guardian*, 4 April. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/apr/04/suicide-attempts-uk-immigration-removal-centres-all-time-high-home-office-figures> (accessed 13 July 2017).
- The Migration Observatory, Silverman S and Hajela R (2013) *Immigration Detention Briefing*. 29 November. University of Oxford. Available at: <http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/migobs/Immigration%20Detention%20Briefing.pdf> (accessed 16 July 2014).
- The Salvage Collective (2016) *Gendered Violence in Activist CVommunities*. Available at: <https://projectsalvage.files.wordpress.com/2016/09/salvage-report-zine-september-20162.pdf> (accessed 15 April 2018).
- Thiele K (2010) ‘To Believe In This World, As It Is’: Immanence and the Quest for Political Activism. *Deleuze Studies* 4(Supplement). DOI: 10.3366/E175022411000111X.
- Thomassen L (2007) Beyond Representation? *Parliamentary Affairs* 60(1): 111–126. DOI: 10.1093/pa/gsl051.
- Thrift N (2008) *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*. International library of sociology. London: Routledge.
- Tilly C (1978) *From Mobilization to Revolution*. McGraw-Hill.
- Tinker AM, Merino BD and Neimark MD (1982) The normative origins of positive theories: Ideology and accounting thought. *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 7(2): 167–200. DOI: 10.1016/0361-3682(82)90019-8.
- Toal MP (2010) *Solidarity without owners: an ethnography of Canada-Colombia relations ‘from below’*. Thesis. Arts & Social Sciences: Latin American Development Studies. Available at: <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/11286> (accessed 12 November 2014).

- Tormey S (2006) 'Not in my Name': Deleuze, Zapatismo and the Critique of Representation. *Parliamentary Affairs* 59(1): 138–154. DOI: 10.1093/pa/gsj001.
- Tormey S (2012) Occupy Wall Street: From Representation to Post-Representation. *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies* 5: 132–137.
- Tormey S (2015) *The End of Representative Politics*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Tsangarides N (2012) *'The Second Torture': The Immigration Detention of Torture Survivors*.
- Turnbull S (2014) 'Stuck in the Middle': Waiting and Uncertainty in Immigration Detention. *Criminal Justice, Borders and Citizenship Research Paper*. Available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2540549 (accessed 25 March 2015).
- Turner SP (1994) *The Social Theory of Practices: Tradition, Tacit Knowledge and Presuppositions*. Cambridge [England]: Polity Press.
- Tyler I (2006) 'Welcome to Britain': the cultural politics of asylum. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9(2): 185–202. DOI: 10.1177/1367549406063163.
- Tyler I and Marciniak K (2013) Immigrant protest: an introduction. *Citizenship Studies* 17(2): 143–156. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2013.780728.
- Tyler I, Gill N, Conlon D, et al. (2014) The business of child detention: charitable co-option, migrant advocacy and activist outrage. *Race & Class* 56(1): 3–21. DOI: 10.1177/0306396814531690.
- Ullma C (2006) Bearing witness: Across the barriers in society and in the clinic. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 16(2): 181–198.
- Urbinati N (2006) *Representative Democracy*. University of Chicago Press. Available at: <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/R/bo3793416.html> (accessed 27 February 2017).
- Urbinati N and Warren ME (2008) The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science* 11(1): 387–412. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053006.190533.
- Valluvan S (2019) The uses and abuses of class: Left nationalism and the denial of working class multiculturalism. *The Sociological Review* 67(1): 36–46.
- van der Tuin I and Dolphijn R (2010) The Transversality of New Materialism. *Women: A Cultural Review* 21(2): 153–171. DOI: 10.1080/09574042.2010.488377.
- van Oorschot W (2008) Solidarity towards immigrants in European welfare states. *International Journal of Social Welfare* 17(1): 3–14. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2397.2007.00487.x.

- Vasta E (2010) The controllability of difference: Social cohesion and the new politics of solidarity. *Ethnicities* 10(4): 503–521. DOI: 10.1177/1468796810378326.
- Vatter M (2015) Political ontology, constituent power, and representation. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 18(6): 679–686. DOI: 10.1080/13698230.2015.1092663.
- Verran H (1998) Re-imagining land ownership in Australia. *Postcolonial Studies: Culture, Politics, Economy* 1(2): 237–254.
- Vigoda E (2002) From Responsiveness to Collaboration: Governance, Citizens, and the Next Generation of Public Administration. *Public Administration Review* 62(5): 527–540. DOI: 10.1111/1540-6210.00235.
- Vink M (2003) Asylum Applications and Recognition Rates in EU Member States 1982–2001: A Quantitative Analysis. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 16(3): 297–315. DOI: 10.1093/jrs/16.3.297.
- Virdee S (2019) Racialized capitalism: An account of its contested origins and consolidation. *The Sociological Review* 67(1): 3–27. DOI: 10.1177/0038026118820293.
- Wahl-Jorgensen K (2013) The strategic ritual of emotionality: A case study of Pulitzer Prize-winning articles. *Journalism* 14(1): 129–145.
- Wainwright H (1994) *Arguments for a New Left: Answering the Free-Market Right*. 1st Paperback Edition edition. Oxford, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell.
- Walters W (2016) The Flight of the Deported: Aircraft, Deportation, and Politics. *Geopolitics* 21(2): 435–458. DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2015.1089234.
- Warren ME (2008) Citizen representatives. *Elections and Beyond*: 269.
- Webber F (2011) How voluntary are voluntary returns? *Race & Class* 52(4): 98–107. DOI: 10.1177/0306396810396606.
- Weber L and Bowling B (2008) Valiant beggars and global vagabonds: Select, eject, immobilize. *Theoretical Criminology* 12(3): 355–375. DOI: 10.1177/1362480608093311.
- Wenger E (1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wenger E (2011) Communities of practice: A brief introduction. Available at: <http://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/11736> (accessed 28 November 2017).
- Westmoreland MW (2008) Interruptions: Derrida and hospitality. *Kritike* 2(1): 1–10.
- Whalen CJ (2007) Union-driven economic development initiatives and community solidarity in Western New York. *ephemera*: 403.

- White AR (1990) *The Language of Imagination*. Oxford, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: B. Blackwell.
- Wiener CL and Kayser-Jones J (1989) Defensive work in nursing homes: Accountability gone amok. *Social Science & Medicine* 28(1): 37–44. DOI: 10.1016/0277-9536(89)90304-3.
- Wilde L (2007) The Concept of Solidarity: Emerging from the Theoretical Shadows? *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 9(1): 171–181. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-856X.2007.00275.x.
- Williams C (2015) Patriality, Work Permits and the European Economic Community: The Introduction of the 1971 Immigration Act. *Contemporary British History* 29(4): 508–538. DOI: 10.1080/13619462.2014.1002775.
- Williams PJ (1988) On Being the Object of Property. *Signs* 14(1): 5–24. DOI: 10.2307/3174659.
- Wilsher D (2012) *Immigration Detention: Law, History, Politics*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Winter F (2009) Giving Voice to the Voiceless? Second Thoughts on Testimony in Transitional Justice. *A Contracorriente: Revista de Historia Social y Literatura en América Latina* 6(3): 90–107.
- Wolfe P (2016) *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*. Verso.
- Women for Refugee Women (2017) *We are Still Here*. Available at: <http://www.refugeewomen.co.uk/2016/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/We-are-still-here-report-WEB.pdf> (accessed 11 February 2019).
- Woolley A (2017) Narrating the “Asylum Story”: Between Literary and Legal Storytelling. *Interventions* 19(3): 376–394. DOI: 10.1080/1369801X.2016.1231585.
- Wray H (2006) The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma. *Journal of Law and Society* 33(2): 302–323. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-6478.2006.00359.x.
- Wright M and Bloemraad I (2012) Is There a Trade-off between Multiculturalism and Socio-Political Integration? Policy Regimes and Immigrant Incorporation in Comparative Perspective. *Perspectives on Politics* 10(01): 77–95. DOI: 10.1017/S1537592711004919.
- Yates L (2015) Rethinking Prefiguration: Alternatives, Micropolitics and Goals in Social Movements. *Social Movement Studies* 14(1): 1–21. DOI: 10.1080/14742837.2013.870883.
- Young IM (2001) Assymetricical Reciprocity: On Moral Respect, Wonder and Enlarged Thought. In: Beiner R and Nedelsky J (eds) *Judgment, Imagination, and Politics: Themes from Kant and Arendt*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Yuval-Davis N (2013) A situated intersectional everyday approach to the study of bordering. *Euborder-scapes Working Paper* (2). Available at:

http://www.euborderscapes.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/Working_Papers/EUBORDER_SCAPES_Working_Paper_2_Yuval-Davis.pdf (accessed 22 February 2016).

Yuval-Davis N, Wemyss G and Cassidy K (2017) Everyday Bordering, Belonging and the Reorientation of British Immigration Legislation. *Sociology*: 0038038517702599. DOI: 10.1177/0038038517702599.

Zibechi R (2005) Subterranean echos: Resistance and politics “desde el Sótano”. *Socialism and Democracy* 19(3): 13–39. DOI: 10.1080/08854300500257922.

Zizek S (2009) *Violence*. Main edition. London: Profile Books.

Zwick D (2005) Where the Action Is: Internet Stock Trading as Edgework. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 11(1): 22–43. DOI: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2006.tb00302.x.